(1) **Introductory:**

GO comes next to VL and VT as a prolific writer. A tradition goes that he put in as many works as would comprise nine lakhs of S'lokas (considering 32 letters as one S'loka). But so much literature of his is not available to-day. It is only a heresay, perhaps, a production of some of his disciples. Whatever it may be, but it is true that his works are not small in number.

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1. Vide: वैदिक पौराणिक प्रेरणा सरकार तरंगभि भ्रमणां वाक्यां भ्रमणसमयं श्रीमाणाक्षीनां चीता सार्ध श्री मूलकालिक बैलानी विभ्या भर्ति उद्घाटन साङ्गां धार्मिकः स्मरणां यथा ॥ केवासानी श्रीमाणाक्षीनां शास्त्रित्वने पुलत चर्कानां जो वाचि ते महाभारत वैदिकां ॥ तत्र ४ गणां भूमन महाभारतीनो नु यद्य प्राय भवनां = पुराणों त देनेभास्तर कर्ता प्रभुनु वे कद यथा वेदांक भूमनं ते श्राहित्यं यस् = श्री गुरुदासिकौ स्त्राकी पुष्टिमार्गियं उत्तराकृति दी बाणी (सं १९३३ - ६२ व १९४४ - ५२) की टिपणीं व टिपण (सं ५० पीपटाल सुखो) -- प.१५०

The same tradition goes in the case of Purusottama also. The editor of the Tapani has not stated the source of information.
GO's works are found in two languages: Sanskrit and Vrajabhāsa, the popular dialect of the region of Vraja, which then grew into a literary language.

The Saṃpradāya - Kalpadruma (SK)² of Vitthalanātha Bhatta reports that GO wrote the following 13 works:

2. Cf. लघु कथा भोज किंतु गोकुलनाथ प्रवीण नृपमान ॥ १२।।
   बलभद्रस्त्री मृदुलुक्तिर्भुनगीत परमां ॥
   गोकुलनाथ स्वतंत्र किंतु, पवित्र सुहर्षु शुभदान ॥ १३।।
   बलभद्रस्त्री गुरू सुपरस्ति गथ दृष्टि अयोद्धा ग्रेष ॥
   बलभद्रस्त्री बर्ष किंतु, प्राण दुर्गम पथ ॥ १४।।
   लक्ष्मीमन्दिरेन वु फिर, मालावाद सुभाष ॥
   भावसाहित्य ग्रंथ किंतु निर्णय नृपमान ॥ १५।।
   बचनायुग बौद्धिक किंतु, देवीजन सुखदान ॥
   बलभद्रस्त्री वारता प्रकट की० नृपमान ॥ १६।।
   - SK.P.140.

It should be noted that doubts are raised as regards the authenticity of this work.

The Word प्राण दुर्गम पथ is understood by Shri H. Tandan as all literature of GO in Vrajabhāsa, and he takes निर्णय as a separate work, which is doubtful.
3. Works, having such asterisks against them are taken account of, in this chapter, and do not form the subject of my study, on account of their either dubiousness or unavailability.
The periodical Vallabhiya Sudha (VS)\textsuperscript{4} notes the following as the works of GO:

- **Gachhag Tika**
- \textsuperscript{*} **Sanvatsar Dipika**
- **Pallava**
- \textsuperscript{*} **Prasna Tika**
- **Pramane Sthitaj, Vyakhya**
- \textsuperscript{*} **Utthjan Nitiya**
- \textsuperscript{*} **Bhata Rakhana**
- \textsuperscript{*} **Vadvab**

The same periodical again mentions elsewhere\textsuperscript{5} the following as the works of GO in addition to those noted above:

- **Rath Yatra**
- \textsuperscript{*} **Rath Yatra Ratnakosha**
- **Uttan Bhavna**
- \textsuperscript{*} **Sri Guru Charitam-Charitam Charitam**
- \textsuperscript{*} **Nitinchar Naav**
- \textsuperscript{*} **Shree Charitam Shakthi**
- \textsuperscript{*} **Havali Prakasa**

\textbf{Shri Bhacharya - Sri Guru Sahib Ka Swarup Ka Vichar}

The History of Fustimarga (in Gujarati)\textsuperscript{6}

by Shri Vasantram Shastri does not mention all the above-

\textsuperscript{4} Cf. Vol. VI, No.2, P.17 and P.23.
\textsuperscript{5} Cf. Vol. XI, No.4, P.16.
\textsuperscript{6} Cf. P.84 (First edition, 1982 V.S.)
-mentioned works as the works of GO, but it mentions among others some more works, not mentioned in the VS. They are as follows:

Vyakhya of 'Asmat Kulami Niskalamkari'.

* खारसंग्रह

गायत्रीभाष्य विवरण

भावरत मंबूता (1900 श्लोक)

Shri Javaharlal Chaturvedi of Mathura

has prepared a bibliography of all the Pustimargiya works. His list notes the following as the works of GO:

* उत्तरविनय

धिकाकदार पृष्ठ-टोका

ग्रंथावली टोका

* प्रसंग संबंध भ्रम

मुहराणकट टोका

वस्त्रभाषकट टोका

वर्णितग्रंथ टोका (तुल), वर्णितग्रंथ टोका (वही-वृहत्ति)

* रुपान्त्रमुद्र (दो: महती और सूक्ष्म) विशिष्ट (१७ श्लोकः)

* सुबोधिनी की उपर प्रसन टोका

गायत्री भाष्य विवरण
Shri Dvarkadas Parikh ascribed to GO.

He following works, in addition to those mentioned in the MS:

- गुरुवार्तक - वचनाभाव
- गुरुवार्तक - वचनाभाव
- गुरुवार्तक - वचनाभाव
- गुरुवार्तक - वचनाभाव
- गुरुवार्तक - वचनाभाव
- गुरुवार्तक - वचनाभाव
- सुफ्त - वचनाभाव
- सुफ्त - वचनाभाव

In the MS list of the DevakiNandana Pustakālaya of Kamavāna, the following works, among others, are ascribed to GO.

- *(संस्कृत) भक्तिवद्वात्र - श्री गोकुलसन्नी - (मूर्त्ति)
- *(संस्कृत) भक्तिवद्वात्र निरामित्र - श्री गोकुलसन्नी (पूर्ण)
- *(संस्कृत) वैश्विन श्री गोकुलसन्नी जी (मूर्त्ति)
- *(संस्कृत) तिलक निरामित्र
also mentions some works of GO. Among them, there is one ascribed to GO and it is nowhere mentioned as a work of GO. It is विवरण गोकुलेश कृत व्याकरण, to which I had no access. There is one more work of GO, which is not mentioned by any one, it is 

This is also found in the MSS collection of Shri Gattulalaji Institution of Bombay.

S'ri GO himself mentions the following as his own works:

7. Cf. सार्वशिल्पिकारसिद्धिप्रदायक प्रणव व्याकरणिकृति विबिंदमित्रित।

-Badri Tīka (Porbandar MS) P.286.
It appears from the perusal of the Badī Tīka of the SS that Bhāvamānjūṣā (perhaps the same as Bhāva-ratha-mānjūṣā mentioned by Vasantrām Shastri) and Svātantryaka are the other titles of the Badī Tīka and the Vyakti-Vivrti is the same as the small (sūkṣma) commentary of the SS. The

8. Cf. पुनःत्वर्धमानस्वरूपः पुनः भावमानुष्यः प्रतार्थार्थार्थिनिषेदः वापर्यः पुत्रभाषीति etc. 'Asmat Kulaṁ Niskalanaxkam Vyākhyā′, P.9 (Published by Shri U.S. Parikh of Karpāvanj in श्रीलम्बलापार इन स्वरूप विश्वसनी).  
9. Cf. इत्यपि पवित्रसूत्रधर्मसर्वपल्लेप यथा भावार्थमूलाभायमूलाभायमिति विशेषः।।।। - Śrī Mad Gāyatrī-Bhāṣya (Third edition) - P.5. 
10. Cf. मया स्वरूपार्थिनां दृष्टान्तिक्रिया प्राप्तिप्रस्तावे स्वरूपप्रम्परापि निपूणोऽप्रप्यवहारविद्।।।। - P.2, ibid. 
11. Vide Chapter III(a) (ii) Comm. on some of the works of VT.

10(a) Shri Jatāshankar Shastri has noted that the Badī Tīka is also called svatantra: स्वातन्त्र्य स्तूत्रविक्रम (स्वातन्त्र्य): vide Suddhādvaita and Bhaktimārtanda, Vol. 9, Nos. 3-4, P.19.
Svantra is most probably his independent articles on some of the stanzas of the BG or some Kavikas of the Sub.

Harivyanaji speaks of VT's Yamunastaka Vivrita, which was completed by GO. 12

It is unfortunate that none of the close disciples of GO, has given a full authentic list of the works of GO. Kalyana Bhatta mentions the commentaries (Comm) of SS, Vallabhastaka, SN, AKP, BN, SR, PR, and of the stanzas of the works, and it is said that GO wrote a commentary on these stanzas. Gopaldas only notes that GO did not write original works, but wrote commentaries on the works of VL and VT. He does not even speak of the number of the commentaries and the names of the works, on which he wrote commentaries.

It is said that GO wrote a commentary on the Gita, named Rasika-Ranjani. But I have not found its MS anywhere. According to some, it is ascribed to Kalyana Bhatta. 15

12. Vide Chapter-III(a)(iii) Commentaries on some of the works of VL.
14. Cf. Tattvavithidohana; Anugraha Vol. 10, P. 335, and footnote No. 54 of this chapter.
15. A Gujarati Translation of Rasika-Ranjani is published in some of the issues of the periodical Anugraha, but there is no mention of or discussion about the authorship.
I have seen some more works, in addition to those noted above, during my search of the works of GO. They are as follows:

- कृष्णश्रव्य टीका (श्रव्य) *(Seen in Kapadvanj)*
- गोकुलांक्त टीका (श्रव्य) *(as well as in Kāśikaroli)*

In this way, there is no unanimity of opinion about the number of works of GO, and also about the titles of some of the works. I have carefully gone through these different lists and have found that none of them is correct and complete and is based mostly on hearsay, and none has tried to classify them. Perhaps, some of the works of GO are irretrievably lost and the authorship of some of them ascribed to him is doubtful. We shall deal with such works in the later part of this chapter.

According to my opinion, the available works of GO can be classified as follows:

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16. Dr. S.N. Dasgupta has also not given a correct and complete list of the works of GO as well as VL & VT. The list, as given by him, is incomplete and incorrect. Vide History of Indian Philosophy Vol.IV P.373 - 381.
(a) Sanskrit Works:

(i) Original works: विख्यातिः विज्ञापिः, श्रीवल्लभाचार्य भक्तानां नामावली.

(ii) Vivrtis or lekhas on some of the works of S’rī VT: On SS, Vallabhaśṭaka, Asmat Kulaśīlaśīkākaśi, Gokulāśīka and Guptaraśa.

(iii) Comm. on the following works of VL

17. Shri Keshavlal Bhaganagari has written a Purvapithika to his translation of GO's comm. of Srī ŚN. There in he says that GO wrote seven comm. only i.e. on SS, Vallabhaśṭaka, Srī ŚN, BhV, FPP, AŚP, and ŚN, with a view to showing six attributes (dharma) and the one attributed (dharmā).

Read: श्रीभाराकी वसंतश्री तीर्णाने टीका ग्राह करी। श्रीकाल्यात् न करी। और ग्रंथ पर टीपणी कीयो सबवा त्वर्तन कही श्रीभागवतसु – वौचियो उपर लेख गूढान्त। दुर्वैश्च ग्रंथ कठिणा है ताकु प्रकाश करवैकू किवे।

From a MS of Shri O.C. Modi of Balasinor.

The statement that GO wrote only 7 comm. is not correct, for some more comm. such as that on Gadya-Mantra, are available. The statement that all others are Tapanis is also not scientifically correct. The word seven is perhaps used only to show that six of them show the six attributes of the Lord and the seventh indicates the Dharmā.
Yamunāstaka, SM, PP, SR, NR, AKP, Kramaśraya, CS', BhV, Jalabheda, SN, NL, Madhurāstaka and a tract on the Gāyatī-Bhasya.

(iv) Commentary on the two Mantras and other tracts.
Commentary on Gadya-mantra & on Aṣṭakaṣara, and expository tracts on the stanzas: 

क्षण सत्यिनि जन्म, धन्यास्तु —
पुजयते: — etc.

(b) Varta-Sahitya: 34 and 252 vartas,
Bhāva-sindhu, Gharu-vartā, Bethaka-carita
Nīye vartā etc. 18

(c) Bhavānā Sahitya: Rahasya Bhāvanā,
Līlā Bhāvanā, Svarūpa Bhāvanā, Utsava
Bhāvanā, etc. 19

(d) VacaSaṁśrta Sahitya: Different Collections. 20

(c) Dohas, Padas, Letters, Works on Astrology—
etc. 21

18. Vide Chapter III (b).
19. Vide Chapter III (c).
20. Vide Chapter III (d).
21. Vide Chapter III (e).
(ii) An account of the unavailable or doubtful works of GO.

Now we shall take an account of the works not included in the above five-fold classification.

I have not come across the three works Dandi-mada-mardana, Mālāvāda, and Bhava-rasāyana, mentioned by the SK. The first two have probably a reference to the event, popularly known as the Mālā-prasāṅga. It is said that GO collected all available scriptural authorities (pramanas) in favour of the tulasi-mala and saw the ascetic (Cidrūpa), and challenged him to refute them. This collection of the authorities might have been known as Mālāvāda. Dandi-mada-mardana may be a separate work, or may be another title of the Mālāvāda. The seventh Kallala (Taraṅga 15, 16, 17) of Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa contains a reference that GO collected various authorities for the tulasi-mala and saw Cidrūpa. All those authorities are also given in that Kallala. Can we assume that the seventh Kollola contains or is the same as the Mālāvāda? If so, it is only a compilation and not an original work. The work, titled Mālākara, included in the list of Shri Javaharlal Chaturvedi and also mentioned in the VS (Vol.VI-2, P.17) is perhaps a misnomer and might be the same as Mālāvāda.
As regards the Bhava-rasayana, Gopaladasa Vyarovala says,

एकादशीतटाले श्रवण नीरामिनी एक महाप्रमुख आयु करी कृपया हे विवेक।
ते माणूसे नाम भवरसयांने प्रशिक्षण करण्ये हे वहु धारण निर्णय करण्ये ॥

This shows that Bhava-rasayana is nothing but the एकदासः I - Nirnaya. It is referred to in Chapter III(e). It is also said by some Bharati Vaisnavas that GO discussed the problem of observing the एकदासः I, Jyamstami, etc., and that Veda is called Bhavarasayana, which is not accessible to-day.

Sobodini - pras'na - tika is not found as a separate work. Some articles or comments on some of the stanzas of the म्ब BG and the Sub. are written by GO, but we are not in a position to ascertain how many of such articles are there. There are several Vacanamsartas, in which he has given explanations of and removed doubts about certain stanzas of एक BG and lines of Sub. But I have not come across any mention of such a title of the work elsewhere.

22. त्रिया तराणा: मामस 12, स्त्री.116 - 117.
There is no separate work like Utsava-Nirnaya. Gopaldas Vyaravala notes that GO had a discussion with an ascetic named Prabodha Sarasvatī in the presence of Todarmal and Birbal, as regards the observance of Janmāstami. Such discussions might have gone by the title Utsava-Nirnaya, but apart from the Ekādasi-Nirnaya, no other 'nirnaya' is found today. There is no such 'vāda-granthā' ascribed to GO.

Reḥṣaya Bhāvena and Nitya-sevā-prakāra are mentioned as separate works by the above-noted persons, but the various MSS point to the fact that they are one and the same.

Śrījānā ke śvārpa kī bāwānā is found in the Vidyāvibhāga of Kāṅkerolī, but its author is not mentioned. This MS is nothing but the Utsvā-Bhāvēna.

23. There is one MS (Hindi section No. 87 - 4 - 1) in Kāṅkerolī, named Bhāvēna-Vacanāmṛta, whose colophon reads: इसने श्रीजाने कुप्त को उद्योगपिन्य हर्जीयां खिल्ल। - This MS is nothing but the Utsvā-Bhāvēna.

24. Cf. श्रीजाने जन्माष्टमीनिर्णय कीप्त को ही श्रीमान् प्रकटाया शिखः । - Prakatya Siddhanta, Maṅgalā 22, St. 144 etc.

25. Vide Chapter III (c).
26. Vide Chapter III (c).
ascribed to GO, but no such work is so far traced.

There is one work called स्वरूप भावना, which includes the Bhavanas of the seven idols, but its author is Dvārakāsajī.

भावना वननामूल is a MS in Kāṇkaroli, but it is nothing but Utsava-Bhavanas.27

हार्दिकप्रथम, वननामूल, and वक्तरानामापत्तलकोश are the collections of the scattered vacanamārata of GO.28

A MS29 of गुलाबी-दामोदरदास कवाड is found in Kāṇkaroli, but its author is not mentioned. In this work, there is a mention of the re-birth of Dāmodarādās as GO.30 Secondly, the work notes that:

को सिलिने बात दामोदरदासों कही दो ये गुलाबीने चंतुले कही एक ग्रंथ कीते है यह ये गोकुनायकों के पास हुता। ता को विस्तार या एक ग्रंथ विषय है।

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27. Vide Chapter III (c).
28. Vide Chapter III (d).
29. Vide MS Hindi Section No. 92/4/1 P.11 to 71.
30. Cf. P. 23 and 24, Ibid. Also see footnote No3, Chapter II.
Therefore, it is clear that it is not a work of GO. There is also another MS\textsuperscript{31} whose colophon reads तृतीय श्रेराक्रमण कोणार दामोदरदास हरसानी की जलांच संपूर्ण. --- that, too, is not the work of GO.\textsuperscript{32}

A MS\textsuperscript{33} of '84 Aparaṇda' is found in the Vidiyāvibhāga of Kāṅkaraḷī. It \textit{कर्म्यम्} begins in this way: न श्री सातत्विकी वहानुभूति कुमन्त्राप्रति पुज्वितमच्छिदी विद्यमानाः कहते हैं. . . . . . . There is no mention of the author.

MSS of Sara-Samgraha\textsuperscript{34} are found in Kāṅkaraḷī. They contain collections of stanzas from different Purāṇas on different subjects like the Ekādasi, Mahaprasāda - mahimā, etc. These

\textit{\textsuperscript{31} Vide MS Hindi Section No. 137/6.}\n\textit{\textsuperscript{32} Vide Chapter III (b), footnote No.79.}\n\textit{\textsuperscript{33} Vide MS Hindi Section No.95/3/2 & 92/5.}\n\textit{\textsuperscript{34} Vide MSS Sāmākṛt No.79/13, 82/8, 82/13, Vide also the MS No.1949 of Sāmākṛt Section of Gujarat Vidya Sabha of Ahmedabad. It contains extracts from Purāṇas, authorities about the observance of different festivals. It also contains Prahlāda-Samhitā. There is no reference to either the date or the author.}
MSS do not mention the name of the author. If the Sara-saṃgraha is taken to be a compilation by GO, it would show that GO was well versed in the Purāṇas. Some people believe that the collection of the authorities about the tulsi-mālā, as found in the seventh Kalols, is the Sara-saṃgraha. But in the absence of any genuine authority, we are not able to say whether the collection is called Mālavādas or Sara-saṃgraha.

Prapaṇca - Saṁsāra - bheda is ascribed to GO. The editor of Vādāvalī, in which the tract is printed, also gives the same opinion. But it is not the work of GO, but of another Vallabhaji.

Two comm. of Sūkṣramanuṣṭhāna, śruti-sādhanī are taken to be the works of GO, by Shri Javaharlal Gaturvedi. Shri Jatās'ākara S'āstri has stated that one Sūkṣramanuṣṭhāna टीका of

36(a) Shri M.T. Telivala has nearly conclusively stated that it is written by Vallabhajī (birth 1729 V.S.), a descendant of Raghunāthji, the fifth son of VT. 
36(b) Cf. S'uddhādvaita ane Bhaktimārtanda, VOL IX 3 - 4, P. 16, 17, 19.
Vallabha is available in Gokul. It is dated 1868 V.S. and is unpublished. He also makes a mention of स्फुरण्णायुत टिका (महत्त्रि). But I could not get any of them. During my search of MSS of GO's works, it is said that some भारूणि वैस्नावस residing at Vallabha-घाट (Gokul) have some rare MSS of the works of GO, but they do not allow any one to read or copy them, because they consider those MSS as the स्वरुप of GO. माला-प्रसान्ग is a work by Gopaldas. Vallabha-विलास is not the work of GO, but of some भारूणि वैस्नाव and is published from Kashi. It describes GO as Purusottama. It cannot be the work of GO, for he did not believe himself be God or an incarnation of God. 37

About वेनु-गीता-टिका, it may be said that GO has talked about it in his वैकान्तमित्र. A tract on जलिष्ठ is available, but a complete Com. of वेनुगीता is not available to-day.

Bhakti-Hetu or Bhakti-Hetu-Nirmaya 38

37. Vide Chapter III (a), Commentary on the SS.
38. It is published by the पुष्टिमंगलया युवका पारिसाद of Bombay. The Com. of रघुनाथजी mentions the title as भक्ती-हेतु.
is the work of VT, but the Kāśyana list of MSS ascribes it to GO as well. The MSS are not available, and therefore, it is not possible to pass any remark about it, as well as other works ascribed to GO, in the Kāśyana list of MSS. It is said that VT used to show his works to GO, invited his (GO's) remarks on them and incorporate such remarks wherever possible. So, it is possible that GO might have a hand in some of the works of VT, but before looking into the MSS, it is difficult to say anything about the joint authorship of such works. The same thing is to be said about the रास्यवाणियो ताल्पर्य and the विनंदप्यश्चूक्ष्य.

Except one Vijnāpti, all the others are ascribed to VT.

Among the प्रकरण स्तोत्र व्याख्या mentioned by the VS, there are comm. on the Vallabhaṣṭaka, SS and the Gokulaṣṭaka. 40

39. On account of rains, the MSS were heaped in a small room, when I visited Kāśyana in October, 1961, and hence could not have an access to the MSS in question. Later, I inquired for the MSS, but no reply was received.

40. Vide Chapter III (a).
Shri Hariharnath Tailor has made a mention of GO's Com. on Sāgaravasa-mandana, but no catalogue of MSS (in Kānkaroli, Nāthadvara or Kamavarna) makes a mention of it. The available edition of Sāgaravasa-mandana also does not refer to a Com. by GO.

In the story of Kisoribai in the 252 Vartas, the following account is given:

The above account informs us that GO wrote a Com. on Rasa-mangari, which is known to be the work of Nandadasa. The Com. of GO is

41. Vide Varta Sahitya, P.561
42. It is edited by Shri Telivalsa and published in 1975 V.S., wherein the editor refers to a Com. by Gokulotsavasvājī.
not traced to-day. If we take it for granted, on the strength of the above authority, that GO wrote a com. on Rasa-Mañjarī, it would show that GO was humble enough to comment on a work of a follower.

Harirāyasī wrote Gokulesāstaka, in honour of GO, wherein he states that GO made famous the Artha-tattva-vivṛti of the BG. The line, in question, also means that GO talked at length about the time meaning of the BG. So, whether Artha-tattva-vivṛti refers to Sub. of VL or another work of GO is a vexed question. No work of this title is so far available. As stated above, GO wrote some small tracts on some of the verses of the BG and the Sub., but all of them are not available. It is possible, that Harirāyasī perhaps refers to his (GO's) teachings of the BG in general, some of which are found in the vacanāmārtas.

in the Vidyāvibhāga of Kāṅkaroli, there is a MS, titled Lalita-tribhāṅga. It contains

45. Cf. ०० ००.०० ०० (०० ओ०) ो०
-Harirāya - Vāṁ - mukhāvalī, Part II, P. 236, St. 1.
46. Sanskrit section No. 93/13.
bhasa-tika by GO. The handwriting is illegible; hence I could not read it, and therefore, no comments about its contents can be passed. It is possible that it may be the Vraja-version of GO's Com. on the Guptarasa of VT.

There is a play named Amrtodayami by Gokulanātha, published in the Kāmyamālā series (No. 59) by the Nṛnaya Sēgar press. The author seems to be a follower of Śaṅkarācārya. The play describes allegorically a conflict between Vedic and Buddhist Philosophy. GO, the fourth son of VT, is surely not the author of the work.

Shri L.P. Parekh notes that some people believe that the work Bhagavat-pithika is written by VT and some believe that it is by GO. It is also said that it is written by VT. In the absence of any cogent authority, it is not possible to ascertain the authorship of the Bhagavat-pithika. (iii) About the Chronology of GO's works:

In the absence of sufficient external or internal evidences, it is difficult to fix the correct dates of composition of the different works of GO.

Number do we find the date of composition, mentioned in the works proper or elsewhere. Even then, an attempt is made here to do so, on the strength of some statements found in different works.

(1) Gopal das states that Mālaḷājī Pancholi of Baroda invited GO to visit his place. GO visited Gujarat in 1646-47 V.S. This leads us to surmise that all the vacanāmrtaś where Mālaḷājī is referred to, are uttered after 1647 or after the period when Mālaḷājī came to reside at Gokul. After the event of Mālaḷāprasaṅga, many Vaisnavas were drawn towards GO, who used to talk to them about the religious doctrines. Most of the vacanāmrtaś, therefore, might have been told after 1675 V.S. or so and compiled after 1680-90 V.S. The earliest MS of the vacanāmrtaś is dated 1693 V.S.

(2) Rasakahana and Vīsaṇudāsa Chīpī make references to the 84 Vaisnavas in their padas. Both of them flourished in the first half of the 17th century of Vikrama Era. So we can surmise that the 84 Vartas were told and probably compiled by 1650 V.S. or so.

48. Cf. Gujarātā-prasaṅga, Māligaḷya 13, St.7.
49. MS (Hindi Section) No.1413 in the Vidyāvībhāṣa of Kāṅkarolī.
(3) Com. on गर्गर्गवुल्लि निष्कालकः mentions the Com. on the SS and गर्गर्गवुल्लि on the stanza वच्चदामण्यां. So, the latter two works were surely written before the Com. on गर्गर्गवुल्लि was written.

(4) A tract on गर्गर्गवुल्लि-भाष्यम speaks of the Com. on the SS and the ध्वज़ on the stanza द्विवक्ष्यस्तु मूद्याम: — ... So the latter two were written before the tract on गर्गर्गवुल्लि-भाष्यम was written. Now, the बादः-तिका on the SS mentions the Com. on the गर्गर्गवुल्लि निष्कालकः. Hence, बादः-तिका comes next to the Com. on the गर्गर्गवुल्लि निष्कालकः and because the बादः-तिका on the गर्गर्गवुल्लि-भाष्यम mentions in गर्गर्गवुल्लि, which is most probably the Badā-ṭikā, the tract on the गर्गर्गवुल्लि-भाष्यम was perhaps the last among the abovementioned works.

(5) The language of the Com. on गर्गर्गवुल्लि गायत्री भाष्यम, द्विवक्ष्यस्तु मूद्याम, बादः-तिका and वस्मत्तक निष्कालकः evinces maturity of style and it is a bit difficult too. The matter is also full of deep thought. Hence it can be safely surmised that at least these works might have been written during the last phase of his life.

50. Vide footnote No. 8 in this chapter.

51. Vide footnote No. 9 in this chapter.
Generally, the Gosvamis were keeping scribes with them and were dictating their works. In the case of GO, it is reported that Govardhana Bhatta and Kalyana Bhatta acted as scribes. So, hardly any works in GO's own handwriting are available. It is said that there are some works in GO's own handwriting in possession of some Bharuci Vaishnavas. But few are allowed to read or copy them. The seat of GO is at Gokul, but no work of his is available at Gokul to-day. It is said that some works of GO, that were at Gokul were taken by the late Sri Vallabhalalaji to Kamavana in the Devakinandana Pustakalaya. Presently, all the MSS are lying in a disorderly heap and hence it is not possible to find out any MSS in GO's own hand or to trace the date of their composition.

(iv) Some Miscellaneous Information about GO's works:

Gopaldas in his Tattvarthadamsa says that GO did not write any original work, but wrote Comm. on the works of VL & VT, as he wanted to bring out the inner meaning of their works. Then, he says


the ultimate fruit of their works and the
Pustimarga was GO (the Original Svarupa) himself.
So, there was no use writing original works, as
VL & VT did. The reason given here as to why GO
did not write original works, is too sectarian
and personal to believe in it. On the contrary,
we can well say that the doctrines of S'uddhadvaita
Pustimarga were fully propounded by VL in his AnBh,
TDN, etc. and by VT in Vidvan-mandana, Bhaki-Jetu,
etc., and GO thought it proper to explain their works
in his own say. He believed in the prameya-way
of interpretation and it did not attach much
importance to the pramana. He stood for the pure
Pustimarga, the way of the Gopijanas, and so, VT
sought many times GO's opinion as regards his (VT's)
own statements. It is also traditionally said that
many times VT incorporated in his works the
interpretations or suggestions advanced by his
son GO.

54 Of. श्री चामचार्यश्री गुप्ताईंब्रो तौ भविष्यमां ए स्वरूप देवांवाने
ग्रंथ कीया ने ए स्वरूप तौ प्राग्य यथं तौ हवे भागल ए स्वरूप कोने
देवांवा ग्रंथ करे? पारे पौरे ग्रंथ नकीया ने पौरे विग्रहोग बहुदय
परितापपुत्स सर्दीक पार्षद कीया।

--- P. 355 - Ibid.
Bethaka - carita of GO's 13 Bethakas (seats) (Published in the work, titled Nija-vārtā, Gharu-vārtā, Bethaka-carita by Shri Lallubhai C. Desai) gives the following information about some of the works of GO.\(^{55}\):

(i) The Com. on the Vallabhaṣṭaka was composed at the Bāmsivātā in Brindavan.

(ii) The Com. on the SS was composed at Ānanda Sarovara.

(iii) The incident of VenuGITā was discussed at the bethaka of Karahā. It means that the Com. or tract on the VenuGITā or on some of its stanzas was composed at Karahā.

(iv) The incident of BhramaragITā was talked at length at Rāsol and it lasted for three praharas (i.e. 9 hours).

With this initial discussion, and information gathered about GO's works, we shall now turn to the study and estimate of his available works, according to classification stated above.

\(^{55}\) Cf. Nija-vārtā, Gharu-vārtā etc. (ed. L. O. Desai), P.P. 315, 316, 318 and 318 respectively.
(1) Original Works:

As stated above, GO has not written any original or independent works of great value as VL and VT did. It appears that he thought it proper to write Comm. on the works of his father and grandfather, and to explain what they have said. However the following are taken as his original works, as they are not the Comm. of any works.

1. Tilaka- Nirnaya

The followers of VL's sect, viz. Pustimarga make two types of forehead marks ('tilaka'); one is popularly called 'joined', i.e. that in which the two lines are joined by a curve between the eyebrows and the other is called 'separated' or dandakara or dvirekha i.e. that in which the two lines are kept apart. The followers of GO make the second type of 'tilaka' mark on

1. Vide Chapter III (iv).
the forehead and all the others mark the first type. Various anecdotes 1(a) are related to explain why only the followers of GO, mark the second type.

1(a) It is said that GO once forgot to join the lines of the 'tilaka', and when the Lord S'ri Nāthajī saw it, He smiled and said that such a mark appears very good. From that day onwards, GO marked two separate lines of 'tilaka' on his forehead and his followers did the same. The tradition is reported in the periodical 'Vaisnava Dharma Pataka' Vol. VIII, No.3, P.84. Secondly, it is said that when GO visited Kashmir to have a talk with Jahangir, in connection with the removal of mālā, as desired by Cidṛūpa, Jahangir asked GO to do something at least to maintain his (Jahangir's) honour. So, GO said that he would remove the curve of the 'tilaka' and would mark only two lines on the forehead. S'ri Giridhara Jī Maharāja ke l20 Vacanāmrtaś notes this tradition in the Vacanāmrtaś No.44 (P.89 ed. L.C. Desai). It relates GO telling Jahangir, 'हम दो तुम्हारे कोई निचे को तिलक न करिया।' The incident appears to be baseless and evinces a tendency to belittle GO who shined glorious in the affair of the Mālapraśāga.
of 'tilaka', but they do not appear authentic. The followers of GO maintain that they follow the principle laid down by VL, in the words "रण्डाकार
लताई स्यात्" in the Tattvadipa - nibandha. This statement of VL is, however, interpreted differently by other followers of VL. Whatever may be the case, it remains an inexplicable mystery as to how there are two types of forehead marks among the followers of one and the same sect.

GO is said to have written Tilaka-nirvyanay to establish the scriptural authenticity of the 'dandakara tilaka'. He quotes, in his favour, from the Acaramayukha, the Padma Purana and the S'atapatha. He explains the Puranic statements with intricate grammatical niceties. From this, it can

2. Cf. TDN - II - St. 244.

3. Its MSS are available at Broach, Kapadvanj and Kaniyam. It is published in the Work, named दान्दाकार -दिवाकर (ed. 2002 V.S.) by Balmukund Sharma of Birpur. It is also published in a booklet named कृपहिंगुरुगच्छित निरूपण अने विलक्षणय by Shri Utsavalal S. Parikh (ed. 1994 V.S.).

4. Cf. दृष्टिदद्दृशोकरणो धातोमुखलादारभा कन्धकसंभूरथ आग्रामपर्यन्त । - - -Dandakara-divakaral, P. 88.
be seen that the controversy about these two types of the tilaka-mark was going on in GO's days, and he, therefore, wrote the work to prove his stand as regards 'dandakara tilaka'. It can also be said that there is no authority to prove that the Tilakā-nirṇaya is written by GO. It might have been written by one of his followers and ascribed to him. The work does not contain any maṅgala (auspicious stanza), and no obeisance to Viṣṇu or Viṣṇu is made either, in the beginning or at the end of the work. Hence, a doubt can be raised as regards its authorship by GO. But in the absence of any genuine authority, it is difficult to pronounce any final word about it.

2. Vijñapti

Vijñapti is one of the important works of GO. As regards the number of the stanzas in it, there is a difference of opinion. Kalyana Bhatta says that GO wrote 37 stanzas which are full of deep

5. It is printed in the Gokules'a-vāksudā (GVS) edited by Shri N.N. Gandhi and published by Shri U.S. Parikh in 2009 V.S.
sense of separation from the Lord, while Jopal Das says that GO wrote only 55 stanzas. Both of these writers were contemporaries of GO, were his close disciples, and therefore, it is difficult to say which of them is right. However, we can put more trust in Kalyana Bhatta, who worked as a scribe of GO.

Another question in the case of GO's Vijñapti is that of its authorship. There are ten such Vijñaptis ascribed to VT. They are published

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6. Cf. "... नराज्ञी हुयो मे गक्यु तीन लचले तितले पुरुष अधि अपराजी पार दे लीला पर् स्मरे दे।" - Kallola XII, Taranga 10 - Translation (unpublished) by Shri Loknath Pandit. Some readings of this work as given by Kallola are different from those given in the GVS, but they are not important and hence are not noted here.

7. Cf. "ये ते तन्य युग्मशास्त्री से परे र गिरिजाि।" - Bhakta Bhavartha, Mārgalysa 2, St. 307 (unpublished). Vide also, Tattvarthadhoha: Anugraha Vol. I, No.10, P.335. There is a MS of the Vijñapti in the Dahilaxmi Library of Nadiad. It contains only 34 stanzas and their order is not the same as that printed in the GVS.
in the Brhat-stotra-saritāgara (BSSS)\textsuperscript{8} on P.171 and on Pp.198 to 226. On comparing them with that of GO, it is noticed that most of the stanzas of GO's Vijñāpti are found in those of VT.\textsuperscript{9} So, the question is as to who is the real author of the Vijñāpti ascribed to GO. Happily enough, we have enough authorities to prove that the author of the Vijñāpti in question is GO and not VT. Both Kalyāna Bhatta and Gopālās ascribe it to GO, as stated above. Again, GO himself makes a reference to the Vijñāpti in his Bādi Tīkā,\textsuperscript{10} and explains at length the meaning of the term 'Rādhes'a' used

\textsuperscript{8} It is published by Pt. Narāyaṇa Mūlasā of Bombay in 1927 A.D.

\textsuperscript{9} Sts 1 to 23 and 29 of GO's Vijñāpti are found verbatim in the Vijñāpti printed on BSSS P.171.

\textsuperscript{10} Cf. मतो मथोकमसस्व बिणपति भवत्व भृगाहेतुर् etc. - Bādi Tīkā (Porbander MS, hereafter referred to as MS or MS (P)), P.33.
in St. 1. It appears improbable that GO might have mentioned a work of his father as his own. These internal evidences settle the question of the authorship of the Vijnapti in question.

The Vijnapti is a devotional prayer and appeal to Lord Krsna. We find in the author a soul completely dedicated to the Lord. It describes the author's deep pain of separation from the Lord. The author is despaired of the union with the Lord, but at the same time, has full faith in him, that he would not abandon the true devotee.

The author is not a pedant. The style is nearly lucid and the diction simple. St. No.13 is a good Anyokti. 12

3. श्री बलभाराह भक्तानां नामाश्री

This small work attempts to give in 18 stanzas a list of the 84 disciples of VL. The purpose of the work is to give the list of the names of the 84 Vaisnavas, for daily muttering. It has nothing

12. Cf. स्वभाव-कर्म-कृत्य-कायमुदयः

जानोहै सैस्य द्वाराय यो न यो गयस्या

- GVS - P. 280.
13. It is published, in 1974 V.S. alongwith the 84 Vartās, by Shri Lallubhai C. Desai of Ahmedabad.
14. Cf. तथापि स्वात्मप्रवृत्ति सिद्धितानि......! - St.18.
poetic about it. Not only that, there are grammatical mistakes also in the Namavalī.15 Can it be concluded from this, that the author is not GO, but some one else who ascribed it to GO? In the absence of any authority, we are not able to decide the issue.

On comparing this list with the 84 Vartās, it is found that the order of the Vaisnavas given in the Namavalī is not the same as that in the 84 Vartās. Secondly, the following Vaisnavas are not mentioned in the Namavalī:

वच्चुलबाबा वारस्व, नारायणदास भाट, नारायणदास दीपान, भिक्षुनाद के स्वीपुरण, अहेलका सुदा, गीतिदेव दुबे, रामदास चौहान।

Thirdly, निच्छय and इन्द्रप्रस्थ भार्तर16 who are mentioned in the Namavalī are not referred to in the 84 Vartās.

There is another reading17 of St.16, and if it is genuine, then Ramdas Chauhan becomes eliminated.

15. Cf. तभि नामानि कब्जवत्तावः - 17 and दिख्नदे धारवद्वृत्त - St. 12.
17. Cf. कुण्डसिद्धि कुण्डसिद्धि वायुको वायुकरणः। - H. Tandan, Varta Sahitya P.151.
A rare manuscript of Gokulnathaji's Badi or Brihati Tika on Sarvottama-Stotra

(By courtesy of Gosvami Shri Madhavaraya Maharaj of Porbandar - Saurashtra)
The list attempts to give the names of the
18 Vaisnavas, but actually the number is less than if we take etc. in one group as found in the 84 Vartas. But the list itself does not appear particular about the number, and says that there were many disciples of VL. 19

(ii) Comm. on some of the works of VT:

The following five are the Comm of GO on the works of his father VT.

1. Commentaries (Comm) on the Sarvottama Stotra (SS):

The SS is a work of 35 Stanzas, by Sri VT. It contains 108 names (or epithets) of Sri VL and describes his divinity and greatness as an Acarya and religious preacher. It is called the 'Sarvottama Stotra', because it is the most important of all the stutis (eulogies) and it is the eulogy of the Guru,

18. Cf. चकुरसीतिकथानां व्यक्ति कुले शकार्यतः। - - - St.1.

19. Cf. श्रीभद्रार्थिकथानां नामानि बधस्वयः। - St.17. Vide also the story of Sundas in the 84 Vartas, where it is stated all the disciples of Suradasa turned to be the followers of VL, after Suradasa was initiated.
who is considered in India the Lord par excellence. 20

21. Six Comm on this stotra are said to be available. They are by Raghunātha, Gopes'varajī, Harirājayī, Vallabha, and Dvarakes'ajī. It is also said that there are some more Comm on the SS, than the above-mentioned six. Bālakṛṣṇa is said to have written a Sarvottama-Bhasya which is not accessible to-day. 22. Go is probably the first to comment on the SS. He has written two Comm. on it. One is brief (laghu or sūksma) and another is long (bṛhatī), popularly known as Bādi-tīkā. The brief one is all included in the long one, excepting a few words here and there. For example, the introductory

20. Cf. गुरुव्रुंदसा गुरुव्रुंदपुडळ देशो महर्षरा। एको लोकदान तो नहीं,

and also the well known verse of Kabir: जो काने लागू पाये।


22. Cf. बालकृष्णोको टीका पाँच भाग बलकनने कहीं है। परंतु बालकृष्णोको पहाड़ा बनाने कहीं है तो बर्ताव है। ता को नाम सन्तान मात्स्य है। जो छ तमार रात्रिको पूर्व है। जो टीका हमें सरस्वती भाषामें बुझी परंपरा पात नही। — —

-Giridharajī Maharajā ke Vacanāmṛta, P. 52.
comment on the St. 4 in the brief commentary (Com)\textsuperscript{23} has two long sentences of seven printed lines, while the long Com contains a long discussion running over eighteen pages of the MS\textsuperscript{24}, set between the two sentences of the brief Com. The discussion is about the divine nature of VL and contains most of his (GO's) Com on the first stanza of Vallabha\textasciitilde staka.

We quote below an example to show the difference between the two Com:

\begin{quote}
मण्डलस्मारिः स्मरितयोऽभिद्धिः पुराणिकाधिकारः \\
\\
\textsuperscript{15} - The short Com.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\\
\\
\textsuperscript{16} - The long Com.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{23} Vide GVS P.7.

\textsuperscript{24} Vide Bad\-\textasciitilde tika (P) leaves 1 to 10.

\textsuperscript{25} Cf. GVS P.8.

\textsuperscript{26} MS P.10 - 11. The underlined words are not found in the brief Com.
The brief com appears to be an abbreviation of the long one. But it is not really so. The brief com was written before the long one was written. This is proved by the fact that GO himself refers to a work, names व्यक्तिविवृति or स्वातःविवृति or फङ्क-विवृति in the long com. at several places.27 The sentences preceding the words हित्यादिना व्यक्तिविवृति or हिति ह व्यक्तिविवृति are found verbatim in the brief com. Secondly, the example explanation of the word रोषधदिकाष्टवपुष्टि: (SS St.14) is different in both the Com and the long com notes that the explanation is differently given in the brief com.28 So, the work

27. Cf. (1) भक्तिमार्गरूप: यदुबंश: सत्य मार्गिण: प्रकाशक हित्यादिना स्वातःविवृत्वादस्तथाकृष्टिः प्रपंचितविलित। MS.P.64. (2) भक्तिमार्गरूपः शुद्धान्तितुपृष्ठभित्रिः... फङ्क-विवृति हित्यादिना अविभिवृत्व-नूपुर्वः संवेदितविवृत्वा विद्याधिकारवा स्वयंभुववस्तवपुष्टि। MS.P.67. (3) दानी... सूचित: हिति ह फङ्क-विवृति मया प्रपंचित-विलित। MS.P.170. Also vide MS P.167, 185, 190, 286, and 231 of Ujjain MS.  
referred to in the tract on
and also in the long com,
is nothing but the brief com on the SS and it becomes
clear, from the comparison of the two com, that
the brief one is an earlier work. The long com
was most probably written in GO's afterlife, for
it includes not only the brief com on the SS, but
it incorporates into it, some parts of his com
on the NL, SN, CS', Vallabhastaka etc. This is
also corroborated by GO's statement29 that his
disciples looked upon him as Purusottama, which
must have happened in the later years of his
life.

The long com is also known as Svatanta
or Svatantryaka - vivriti. GO himself has mentioned
this title in the long com.30 It is difficult to
ascertain whether it is also called Bhavanamanjusa,

29. Cf. स्वहस्त्रदीय: मात्र पुरुषोत्तम निरीक्षण भवनिष्ठ......
MS. P. 264. अस्मात्विवि-द्विते-परस्तवांिविक-सिवस्य वेष्णविन परिवर्त्यीय-30. Cf. स्वगाधिदं तु ते परस्तवांिविक सिवस्य वेष्णविन भवनिष्ठाभिषेक

न तु तद्विविविषिकि... कोषाः। - इदै. P. 65, Cf.
also footnote on 27(2) ibid. a. the chapter.
mentioned in his tract on Gayatri-bhasya, or whether it is called Bhāve-ratna-maṇjūśā, as mentioned by Shri Vasantram Shastri in his History of Pustimārga (Gujarati). But it should be noted here that the long com uses the word Bhāve-maṇjūśā figuratively at some places. The long com show the true spirit of the Pustimārga and the Gopīs and hence it is possible that GO might have called it Bhāve-maṇjūśā.

The long com is not so far printed and is not available in its entirety. Fortunately, I got two MSS of this com, which were in good and legible condition, although incorrect at several

31. Cf. ... इत्यव महावाक्यारहस्यं मया भावनामूलोणामुद्वाहितं विशेषः
33. Cf. तैय श्रीमुक्तज्ञानेश्वरी प्रभावतानन्दि एवं स्वस्त्वभावमुल्लाप्याद्यादि...
   - MS P.156. Vide also MS FF.157 - 158.
34. A free Gujarati translation of some of its part is printed in some of the issues of Pusti-bhakti-sudhā (Vol. IV to VII), where substance of other available comm is also given.
places. The MS, which I got from Porbandar, contains 297 pages of 8.3" x 4.3" size and was undated. It begins with the sentence —- and ends with the words ——
Thus the com on the first two stanzas (nearly) and the last thirteen stanzas (nearly) i.e. from the 67th name of VI) is not available. The Ujjain MS is even more incomplete than the Porbandar

35. I am indebted to Gosvami Shri Madhavrayaji of Porbandar and Shri Jamnadas Zalani of Ujjain for sending the MSS to me. Both of them are incomplete. The Porbandar MS is not very old and is written on blue paper manufactured in London. -- Some pages have the date 1868 in it, which can be seen by holding up the paper in the sunlight or electric light. The MS appears to be a copy of some older MS, for the number of the leaves begins with 1, even though some part of the beginning is not there. It may some 50 to 75 years old. The Ujjain MS is taken down on the note-book-size paper perhaps some 25 to 30 years ago.
MS. 36

VL is the founder of the sect and naturally the followers look upon him as an incarnation of God. The SS is, therefore, considered to be the 'Gayatri' of the Pustimarga. 37 Just as the twice-born (dvija)...

36. Shri Jamnadas Zelani of Ujjain, who owns the MS wrote to me that a complete MS of the com was in possession of some Bharucī Vaisnava, who used to read daily at least the beginning and the end of the com. Whenever he went out, he took those parts (beginning and end) of the com with him. Once when he was out on some journey, he expired and those parts of the com, which he took with him, were irretrievably lost.

It is impossible to ascertain the truth of this account, but in present circumstances, it appears that a complete MS of the long com is inaccessible. I inquired of some well-known Bharucīs and at Vallabhagāta (Gokul), but could not get any information about the com or its lost parts.

37. Cf. वर्षेत्स्त्रीण स्त्रीय नामाजय चरण को नामात्मक स्वरूप है, या प्रकार श्री भगवत कृष्ण को नामात्मक स्वरूप है। यही संप्रदाय की वीचारत्मक गायत्री है। - VB Vol.X-No.2 P.21.
are enjoined to utter the Gayatri everyday without fail, followers of the Pustimarga are enjoined to recite the SS everyday without fail. In Gujarat, most of the Vaisnavas recite daily its Gujarati translation, which is rendered by Dvarkeswarji.

The brief com of the SS begins with a margala of three stanzas. In the second stanza GO says that he is not qualified to write a com on the names of Sri VL and hopes to get qualified by his grace. It shows the humble attitude of GO and the word 'Svayatvena' indicates that he has full confidence in his servility (dasatva) and the mercifulness of the Guru VL.

Then, GO informs of the purpose of the 'stotra', which is to reveal the form (svarupa) of VL and also the purpose of his birth. He comments on each and every word of the 'stotra', with a view to bringing out its true import. For example, the words брахма Свами (SS St.1) are explained as वार्षिकाकरापपुजोदतादित्व पद्यः सार्वस्य वाजानुवादित्रः प्रौढःसार्वाविन्दाकारः.

38. Cf. वार्षिकाकरापपुजोदतादित्व पद्यः - GVS p.1.

38(a) Cf. GVS - p.2.
The purpose of the com is also to show God's form according to the S'uddhadvaita doctrine. He shows logical connection between one verse and the other, between one name and the next name. For example, in the second stanza of the SS, it is said that the greatness of the Lord is not properly known even by the learned on account of the influence of the Kali age. The commentator raises a prima facie view: if that is so, how could the author, VT, know it? The commentator replies that it is only on that account that the author of the SS says the Hari will be kind to 1es his greatness to him. Here the word greatness (महानत्व) is understood as having the nature of the bliss of Pusliśyā (पुस्तिमार्गव्यंजितवारसवारस) - and not in the ordinary sense.

The first three stanzas of the SS are applicable to the Lord, Hari. GO has shown that they can also be applied to VL who is the mouth-incarnation (Mukhavatāra) of the Lord.

As regards the purpose of the 108 names of VL, the long com says that some of the names give causes for the propriety of the birth of VL while some of the names are indicative of his Agni-svarupa leading to the realization of the highest fruit, and therefore, the impediments in the realization of their meaning will be removed by the greatness of the Lord.
by the greatness of the Lord.\textsuperscript{39}

In spite of some long compounds and some long sentences at some places, the brief com is simple and brings out the import of the 108 names very well. The long com treats of various subjects, related to the Pustimarga, even by digressing from the mainpoint of discussion.

Following is the substance of his thoughts on the S'uddhadvaita Philosophy.

According to GO, the highest Brahman or Purusottam is Krsna who is विपुलारकशायथ, \textit{bala\textsuperscript{34}} वालकर, कौटिकर्पप्पालय. \textit{pure eternal, all pervading and all bliss, All His sports...}
are eternal and beyond the ken of our intelligence. 41
He is above Aksara, beyond the ken of Veda and the
word, faultless and having contradictory attributes. 42
He is the Prameya (the sole object to be known) 43, who
uplifts and allows in this divine sports, the souls
by his prameya-bala, 44 which is defined as मेवर्णप्रमेर्यतासः
तेव पूर्णप्रमेर्यतासः संवर्ण भवति. 45

Krñna is the Purnavatara and all the others are
the amavataras. 46 In another context, he is
described as the deep esoteric bhaña of S'ri
Svaminiji. 47

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41. Cf. क्रेण तु स्वाभिमानाभ हृदयवाह महात्मार्यतापि स्वाभिमानाभ

42. Vide MS PP. 113, 114, 118, 142, 144, 150, and footnote

No. 47 below.

43. Cf. ब्र elit हृदयवाह महात्मार्यतापि स्वाभिमानाभ

44. Cf. ब्र elit हृदयवाह महात्मार्यतापि स्वाभिमानाभ

45. MS - P. 255.

46. Vide MS PP. 76-80.

47. Cf. क्रेण तु स्वाभिमानाभ हृदयवाह महात्मार्यतापि स्वाभिमानाभ
GO accepts S'rutis as the pramana, for the knowledge of Brahman, but at the same time, he considers the BG, especially the Phala-prakarana (BG X - Chapter 26 to 32) therein, to be the sole authority to understand the Bhagavatika. According to GO, the Phala-prakarana is the hidden meaning of the BG.

VL is the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa's Mouth (Garbha), born to uplift those souls, who participated in the divine sport of Kṛṣṇa and have afterwards fallen from that highest position. He is the Divine Fire, the fire of separation from the Lord. His sevā is bhāvatmaka and the bhāva is threefold (Śvaminī - Bhāva - Kṛṣṇa - bhāva and their communion). He has propounded the doctrine of Pustimarga, whose

48. Cf. ...ब्रह्मण... | GVS - P.18.
49. Cf. ...सत्य एवं ब्रह्मण... | MS - P. 25. and तु भक्तिव्रतवान-प्रकाशाये, आत्मात्मा भक्तिव्रतस्य राधादिनुक्षेत्रिष्टिः | MS - P.32. Vide also the discussion on BG. I - 1-3 - MS - P. 29 to 35.
50. Cf. ...मुक्तिपाचितः अपनाकार्य नित्यादितावधिः | MS-P.91.
51. Cf. ...वार्तित: स्वतः और तत्तत्वपमत्वः व्याप्तम् भिन्नतमा ज्ञापिते। | MS - P.114.
52. Cf. ...सुभाषितम् कालान्तः प्रवृत्तियुक्तपरं | MS - P.90.
The essence is the flames of the fire of separation from the Lord and it is he who is able to give the true knowledge of the sect. The following lines will make it clear:

Śrīmad-Bhagavatam Śrīviśvanātha Alvaṭalavkṛtēn Bhāskara Saṁghāyukṣamārṇaṇam Śrīviśvanātha Bhāva-Vyākhyāyukṣamārṇaṇam Śrīviśvanātha Alvaṭalavkṛtēn Prakṛta-Vyākhyāyukṣamārṇaṇam Praśnānānāṃ Prakṛtam Prakṛtam Prakṛtam Prakṛtam Prakṛtam

Go shows well the difference between other bhashyakaras and S'ankara and other have written comm on the BS, but they have resorted to indication (lakṣanā) in interpreting the aphorisms, but Vā has given the directly expressed (abhidhyāya) meaning of the aphorisms. He is the

52. Cf. ... Śāṅkara Mallaśāstra-sūtrādhyāyuṣmatātma... - MS - P.90.
53. MS - P.159.
54. Cf. यथापि संक्रामकदीनमापि व्यासदववाक्षकृतः वेदि यथापि व लक्षणात्मकत्वं सुवाच्यानात्मत्त्वं "दल्देष ानान्तः गुरुद्वार" "वा तसो यदि" इत्याध्यायानात्मकेऽकृत्य शास्त्राध्यायविनियोजितः धार्मिकाध्याय-प्रकाशपद्धारागायमािरुण व इत्याध्यायविनियोजिति गुरूपर्मप्रतिपादनपुर्वकः शास्त्राध्यायविनियोजितः धार्मिकाध्याय-प्रकाशपद्धारागायमािरुणि इति... GVS - P.74-75.
greatest exponent of the BG and is, in a way, the
decomment, for it is he who becomes
instrumental in attaining the ultimate fruit. Like
VT, GO has also shown over-enthusiasm in applying
some of the S'ruti to VL. There is no propriety
in so interpreting the S'rutis as to applying them
to VL.

The long com also describes the true
nature of the Pustimarga and its fruit. The
Pustimarga is पुस्तिमर्गशः शौचेदातीति and
is eternal. In this sect, experiencing of the
sense of separation from the Lord is most important,
it is tapasvaka, and the Gopis and are to be taken
as the ideal devotees. Therefore, GO says that
the main object of human existence (purusartha) is
no other than the worship of the Lord, and that
one should not remain satisfied with the initiation,
but has to experience inwardly the intense pangs

55. Vide MS - P.224.
56. Cf. गाधिपरिवर्तितोभावां पुरुषोत्तममेंतमार्गमय नित्यवतादि-
-MS - P.283.
57. Cf. गृहीताज्ञ मुहारथादिक विचाराधिक भक्तिमार्गीको.......
-MS - P.283.
58. Cf. िवरुवोष सामाजिक हरभक्तिमार्गलक्षणं etc. -MS.P.64.
59. Cf. स्वयंभृत्यवाक्य नाम परमपूर्व व्याख्यतां नामर्थय -
MS - P.116.
of separation from the Lord. The fruit (phala) of the Pustimarga is not what is ordinarily called mukti, but experience of the swarupa of Rasatmaka Brahman, which is described as tasting the nectar of the lower lip of Krsna. This type of 'phala' is obtained through the personal grace of Swaminij.  

There are other things, pertaining to the Pustimarga, that are referred to in the long com...
important there, but the attitude (bhāva) of Svāminī, with which they are to be prepared and offered, is important. As regards the scriptural injunctions about the performance of the Vedic rites, Gāo quite categorically says that everything to be used in such rites must be first surrendered to the Lord, otherwise, the devotee would commit the fault of 'anyāṣṭīraya'. As regards the worship of the wooden-feet (padukās-sevās), he has stated that they are to be worshipped with the same attitude as we have for the Lord, but certain rules are to be followed. 64 In this conn, he describes his father Vṛt as having the real 'ṣṭri-bhāva' required for the attainment of the Īṣṭamārga phala. 65

Some important information is also supplied by the Badā-tīkā, which is as follows:

64. Cf. परंतु तत्त्वाति मार्गमयिद्योवत्सादिद्रु प्रस्तावे विलक्कोऽविशिष्ट हर्षकारां कृत्वा भुजः: मायत्वानमुनािद्रुषु प्रयोजयिति श्रीवते। रामारणी प्रत्ययु ओ तप्याय भूवेद्व न तव न्येशः। तत्त्वान-मार्ग-चारणम् प्रेमद्विया वेणां चरणारविन्दयोऽऽसन प्रूङ्वेदेषाः।
- MS - P. 261.

65. Cf. विष्णुकृष्णनाथः साधकाद्वयनानांक पुरुषोत्तम मुनि विनाकोविदकः स्नितन्वातः गृहविलयां विविधवेदवात्मकत्वात्।
- MS - P. 291.
(1) It is said the VL wrote AnBh up to BS - III - 2 - 53 and the remaining portion was written by VT. This is corroborated by the following statement of GO.:

... इति व ग् रहेदपन्नरुपम्भव्यत्वायाः स्याधिवात्। - 66

(2) That VT wrote a tract on the Nyāsādes'ā, is proved by the statement, viz.

न्यादेश्वरुपम्भव्यत्वायाः स्याधिवात्। तवधीर दृश्यवादामां सङ्करायाचार्यायांत्विचाराणां। etc. 67

Nothing is stated here about the authorship of the Nyāsādes'ā, but it is ascribed to VL in the com on the St. 25 of the SS. 68

(3) That the followers of GO began to look upon him as the highest Lord during his lifetime, is proved by the following statement:

व्यासदीप्याः मां पुरुषोद्योगी निन्दित्य भक्ति केन विनिंकिति कुयुक्तां विविधायार्थाणां प्रहन्नता विधिति। न कथायित्यसः इत्याहासहिति भवविष्णुवेश (इष्ठायां एव) नियामकत्वादृश्यादिकर्मानां नारिति। - 69

66. MS - P. 192.
68. Cf. "न्यासदीप्याः" त्यादित्य स्वेषोपृष्टाः, MS - P. 60.
69. MS - P. 254.
It appears that GO tried to dissuade his disciples from looking upon him as God, but they did not cease to do so. Even to-day, there is a section of Vaisnavas, called Bhamatis, who worship GO as the Highest Lord.

(4) Go refers to a new twelve-syllable mantra, with which few devotees are conversant to-day and which was taught by VT. 70

(5) Damodaradas and Padmanabhatdas are referred to as the close devotees (antaranga bhaktas) at several places and Prebhudas is mentioned only once. 71

Go, in this work, discusses an important problem of the Pustimarga. It is traditionally believed that all the descendents of VL are to be looked upon as VL himself and the authority of VT is cited in this connection. 72

70. Cf... तदोपरि निरंतर पञ्चीमांगं मंत्र हेमहारापिन्दम्

71. MS - P.95.

72. Cf. SS - St.22.
GO says that the words 'anvaya' and 'vaams'a' mean 'the son', and that VL has passed his 'greatness' to his son only. This is a very bold and revolutionary view. In his com on the stanza 'Asmat-kulani....' GO holds the same view. He emphasizes that all the descendents of VL are not be taken as divine or as VL himself. How is it that GO held such an unusual view?

Raghunāṭha-jī, his younger brother interprets the word स्वर्ग as जपत्यागपरम। No lexicon gives 'a son' as a meaning of the word 'Vaams'a' or 'anvaya'. So, from the viewpoint of literal interpretation, GO is not right in saying that the word (vaams'a) or 'anavaya' means 'the son' and that too, Agnikumāra.

Secondly, let us look at the interpretation from the probable view-point of the original writer of the stanza viz. VT. Did VT intend to say that VL had passed on his greatness and divinity to him, his son, VT, only? It would be highly improper on his (VT's) part to say so. It would be only

73. Cf. वाकानक्यवस्य पुनःपर्यः जैनम...— MS-P.285.
74. Cf. इत्यदि स्वर्गोदिनिकारे एवंश्रेष्ठमातर्म्यं स्वार्थमः। — MS - P.287.
75. Lalita - tribhaṅgi - stotra, St.1.
self-praise and nothing else. Most probably, VT used the word 'Vahdš'a' or 'anvaya' to mean all the descendants. Then, the question arises, why GO gave such an untoward meaning to those words? A probable reply to the such a question can be attempted. GO lived fairly a long life of 89 years. During his life-time, he saw the sect well spread and well protected but he might have perhaps seen the beginning of its degeneration. The Mughal Emperors looked upon the Gosvāmīs with great respect and there was no harassment to the Gosvāmīs from the political quarters. When Jahangir and Shahjahān ruled, there was peace and plenty. The Gosvāmīs began to have considerably a good following and hundreds of their followers brought big amounts of money to them as presents. So, they were rolling into richness. This fact might have made some of the Gosvāmīs arrogant and puffed up and might have led them to believe that they were as great and divine as VL himself. Consequently, they might have ignored their true activities, viz., Bhagavat-sevā and spiritual leadership. They might have ceased to set an example of a true devotee. GO during his after-life, might have seen some of them
degenerated. 75 Such a condition of the sect and the Gosvāmīs might have induced GO to interpret the words 'vamśe' 'vamśa' and 'anwaya' to mean 'the son', viz., VV only. He liked to tell them that it is only VV who had been as great as VL and not all of them were great; and that their family would be spotless only if Kṛṣṇa had accepted them as their own, and not by the fact that they were born in the family of VL. 77

From the practical point of view, GO's interpretation of the stanza in question, is very healthy and helpful. He lays stress on the qualities of character of the Gosvāmīs rather than their being descendants of VL. The stanza in question has been responsible for the degeneration of the sect. The Vaisnavas began to look upon the Gosvāmī as God incarnate and thought it their duty to dedicate to them. Consequently, the Gosvāmīs considered themselves to be divine and paid little attention to their spiritual development. GO, perhaps saw and foresaw such a danger in believing that all the descendants

75. It is said that GO's son, Gopālajī, had started a 'Jaya Gopāliya Pantha' in his name. According is another view, it was Raghunātan's son, the and so.
77. Vide GO's tract on 'Asmat Kulam'...
of VL were as divine and great as himself (VL).
GO's interpretation, I think, is to be understood in this light.\textsuperscript{78}

The cult of guru-pūja is very old. VT stated it in the Pustimarga\textsuperscript{79} and GO followed the footsteps of his father. He showed the greatness of VL in his comm on the SS and Vallabhāstaka, and emphasized even guru-sevā.

The study of these two comm on the SS shows that the short one is quite simple and generally to the point. The long one does not explain the SS only, as shown above, but also treats of a wide range of religious topics. It explains the true nature of VL, and his sect, shows the ideal way of life of a Pustimargiya devotee, gives the Śuddhadvaita view of the Vedit rites, teaches the true spirit of worship (sevā) and explains the nature of salvation, and the svarupa of Parabrahman Kṛṣṇa. It can be said that the long

\textsuperscript{78} Vide in this connection the following remarks of GO: प्रकटिः-शास्त्रादृश्यं भगवं-भवांसतिः-सक-शास्त्रार्थेव भवांसतिः-पुनः-पुनः-पुनः-पुनः-पुनः-पुनः-पुनः-पुनः-धर्मः.

\textsuperscript{79} Vide VT's Vallabhāstaka and SS.
com on the SS is a good theological (and to a certain extent eschatological) exposition of the S'uddhādvaita Brahmasvāda.

In the Badi-tīka, we find GO at his best. It shows that he was a great exponent of the Pustimārga. It evinces that he was fully conversant with all the works of VL and VT, the Purāṇas, especially the BG, the Sūrutas and the Gītā. He was no less than a critical scholar. While explaining the work, he raises the prime facie views, examines and refutes them and establishes the Pustimārghya view. He admits of alternative explanations and, at times, gives ingenious interpretations, including grammatical or etymological explanations. At some places, there are farfetched explanations too. For example, while commenting on the word प्रावत्याम्ब (SS St. 4), he says that व त च वने प्राबुद्धायात्मक प्रक्षात कोशन्य तु कल्पितवा ज्ञाननिति जातिवधम्। It is not right to say that the prefix 'pra' indicates

80. Vide, e.g. Explanations of रोधस्वरूपायाशस्त्र: (MS - P.170), विरह: etc. (MS - P.222), भर्तिमागिष्ठमार्ग: (MS - P.66), निगमतः: (MS - p.29) etc.
81. GVS - P.79. Vide also the com on the word विलोकीयता, which is ingenious but farfetched.
such a meaning. It is not narrated the names, and so it is not reasonable to say that the names were already there (siddha). He gives copious quotations from the works of VL, the BG and the Gitā and at times gives his own interpretations of such quotations. Thus we find in the Badī-ṭīka some parts of his comm on Vallabhaśāstra, NL and his views on some of the stanzas of the BG, Sub and the UR.

The style of this work is like that of a bhashya. It explains each and every word with its logical context and gives esoteric sense of certain words. Mostly it is clear but at a few places, it is quite clumsy and makes its reading difficult to follow on account of very very long sentences. Irregular punctuation marked by the scribes also is responsible for making its reading difficult. There are certain expressions which occur off and on and make for its bulky composition e.g. मूलबोधायश्च पारित: विभाषणार्थवात्सक्कपुरुषोत्सव, खासकालार्थपुरुषरूपिकारिकासिद्धान्ता: अवरुपकाणार्थी - स्मृतिज्ञानु: - - etc. If such expressions repeated mostly as adjectives, were removed, the bulk of the work can be reduced considerably. It
appears that the work is written in a deep spiritual mood (bhāva-vyāsa).

Of the six comments on the SS, mentioned above, I have come across only those by GO and Raghunātha Ācārya. The comment by Raghunātha Ācārya is short and simple and is useful for ordinary devotees. GO's comments are comparatively elaborate and full of devotional passion (bhāva).

2. Comment on the Vallabhāstaka

The Vallabhāstaka is a composition in 8 stanzas by Śrī VT. It is an eulogy of Śrī VT. Four comments on the Vallabhāstaka are available. The first is by GO, the second is by Purusottama Ācārya, the third is by Raghunātha Ācārya and the last is anonymous. Purusottama Ācārya's comment is a sub-comment on the comment of GO and is the longest of

81(a). It is published with the four comments by Śrī Tribhuvandas P. Shah of Nadiad. The date of publication is not given on it.

82. Cf. ...Śrīmatpuruṣottamāṅkāḥ, वदिचिक्षाव्यावनामस्मि... नवनिधिभास्यादिस्तिः प्रकटवानवरणवतिरिव। प्रत्यक्षमर्यादीकृतविचारस्तिः... आतुः नन्दिकात्याहारः।। P. 16. iibid.
all and brings out the meaning with many more illustrations from the scriptures. Raghunātha's com is the shortest and paraphrases the stanzas in simple language. The anonymous com is called Bhakti-rasa-jaladhi. It says that the first two stanzas describe the 'dharma svarūpā' of VL and the later six describe his six attributes (dharmas). GO's com is mentioned as vivarana in the beginning and at the end, while the second stanza of the māṅgala māṅgala mentions it as vivṛti. Of course, there is no technical difference between a vivarana and a vivṛti, but this fact leads to a surmise that the lines in the beginning and at the end might have been written by a scribe.

The purpose of this etymology is to show the divine nature of VL, who is the mouth-lotus (or head) of the Highest Lord Kṛṣṇa. He (VL) is the divine Fire, different from the physical fire. The purpose of his birth is to give the true meaning of the Vedas to show the correct path of worship (seva).

83. Cf. श्रीवल्लभविरचितं श्रीवल्लभास्तकविवरणं।
GVS-P.83, इति श्रीभागवतंकारणं श्रीवल्लभविरचितं श्रीवल्लभास्तक-विवरणं संपूर्णम्। - GVS P.101 and निब्रत्ति: (निब्रत्ति?)
क्रुःकर्मवृष्ण: ............... etc.-GVS - P.83.
and to uplift the divine soul and to lead them into the divine sport of Krsna. Because he is the mouth of the Lord, he knows correctly the meaning of the Vedas. His word is the pramana. At the end, it is stated that VL is virtually Krsna himself.

GO begins his com with an obeisance of his father and at the end he states that it is through his father’s grace that he has been able to expose the meaning of the work and begs forgiveness of VL for his audacity to describe his (VL’s) form. He has very well pointed out the meaning of the work. He shows how VL’s teaching is different from other acaryas. He says that the ultimate fruit of the path of convention (maryada marga) is salvation, while that of the path of grace is to be in close touch with the form of the Lord. In the com on St. 2, he has correctly explained the idea of salvation in different philosophical systems. In the com on St. 4, he has shown the difference between ‘seva’ and ‘puja’. When VL says that VL is Krsna and no one else, as is proved by experience and Vedic texts, GO, on his part illustrates the point by quoting the experience of

84. Cf. त्वदेविवनादनन्यता रूपानि दान्तव ते...। St.3.
86. Vide GVS - P.93.
87. of स्त्रुतम्: कृष्ण पत्र। - St.8,GVS P.99.
Krsnadasa who took fire in his hand and vowed that it should burn his hand, if VL was not Purusottams. He illustrates the second proof (i.e. the Vedic texts) in this way: the Vedic texts declare that Brahman is the highest being and is Bliss; so is VL. Hence he is not different from Krsna, the highest being, he is His incarnation.

Neither the eulogy nor the com on it contains a phala-s'ruti. The language of the com is not simple but elaborate and at some places it is a little clumsy too. Sentences are full of long compounds and are unduly long.

One point needs to be noted here. VL considers VL as Krsna himself and GO, too, gives illustrations in favour of the statement. This statement along with the epithet of VL, स्वयं स्वापितंशिष्माहात्य: is perhaps responsible for the later belief that all the descendents of VL are incarnations of the Lord. But GO held only VL and VT to be the divine incarnations. Dr. H. V. Glasenapp rightly notes

88. Vide GVS - F.100. Vide also 34 Vartas, story No. 1.
89. SS - St. 22.
90. Vide his com on the SS St. 22 and on the stanza 'Asmat kulaM....'
that "These words (supposed that they are not a later addition) should perhaps express no dogmatic view, but should only express an exuberant homage full of piety towards the master, who preached the unity of all beings with Kṛṣṇa." 91

VL is the Guru and traditionally the Guru is looked upon as God 92 and therefore, VT is not wrong in describing him as God.

3. Com on 'Asmat-kulani-nīskalanikam'

VT wrote a work, named Lalita-tribhaṅga-stotra, containing 51 stanzas. 93 It describes the rasatmaka form and līlā of Lord Kṛṣṇa. The first stanza which is an obliśanato VL, is as follows:

91. Dr. H.V. Glasenapp: Doctrines of Vallabhacharya, P. 22 - 23 (footnote No. 2).

92. Vide footnote No. 20 above, Cf. also, tapam deśe pāra bhaktirāva deśe tva maṇLA. tasyāt te kṛṣṇa-bhakta Guru-patāte maṁ labhate: 11 -Śvetāṣṭara Up, Chap. VI-23.

93. Vide BSSS = P. 163.
GO has written a tract on the above stanza which means that "I bow down to the holy dust of the lotus-feet of my father, dedication to whom brings the spotlessness of our family, which gets accepted by Lord Krsna." He first explains the word यज्ञविदनाथ and then the greatness of the Acarya Sri VL. He states that the family of Vl is not unimpeachable and impeccable, only because the male members of the family are the agnat descendants of VL, the Divine Fire and the mouth-incarnation of Krsna. GO opines that unless one has completely surrendered oneself with all the spirit to Vallabhagai, unless one has renounced meneness and unless one has engaged all the senses and mental propensities in the worship of God, one's family is not spotless. Otherwise, GO continues, why VL would warn his sons in the celebrated S'iksa'lokah? It is emphasized that self-surrender (atmanivedana) is imperative for all the Gosvamis.

94: It is published in Anugraha Vol. II No.2 and also in a pamphlet named श्रीगौड़स्वामिनिरूपण - in which it is printed on 4 pages of the size of 10" x 6½".

95: Cf. .. विश्वासगारस्निनिधि धर्मस्तथापित निबिदनाथव वस्तुभवाद्य निबद्धकृत्य निष्प्रूढास् स्थवर-परिवेशितच।

-P.6- ibid.
GO here refers to his com on the SS and reminds the readers of his interpretation of the word 'vamsa' as "the son" in it. The following lines give the gist of tract:

Through inadvertence, pages Nos. 195, 195 & 196 are not given.

'fullness' (purnatva) or etc.

The tract, together with the long com on the SS St. 22, expresses a revolutionary and, at

96. Ibid P.7.

97. Com on the 'Asmat-kulam-....' is also referred to in the Badi-tīka. Vide: वधापत्तेऽविधात्तक निक्षेपकारित्यकोशाः- 

कः यं गणयते निक्षेप-पिद्यकालं दक्षिणात्य-यस किञ्चि सुर्यधि एव न तु चः। --- --- --- --- MS-P.292.
the same time, original view as regards the divinity of the Gosvamis. GO is not prepared to accept any descendant of VL as divine, only because he is born in the family of VL. But he lays emphasis on his having true spirit of the Lord's worship. The spirit of such an interpretation corresponds to what VL says in his TDN. According to VL a devotee should have such a guru as is free from pretension etc., as is the knower of the meaning of the BG and as worships himself the Lord; in the absence of such a guru, VL says, he should himself institute an idol and worship the Lord.98

The tract is very short, but brings out GO as a true exponent of the spirit of the Pushtimarga. It shows GO as an original and non-traditional thinker. Its language is very tough; it is full of long compounds and sentences, and, therefore, beyond the ken of ordinary persons. Only those persons who are accustomed to read difficult Sanskrit prose, can follow the tract. It reminds us of

4. Com on the Gokulastaka

The Gokulastaka is a small work, in 9 stanzas, by VT. It contains 32 names or epithets of Gokule'ssa. There is nothing poetic about it. It emphasizes that Lord Krsna is the life and soul of Gokul.

There are some MSS in Kaflkaroli.

99. Vrajanatha, son of Raghunathaji, has written a com. on the Lalita-tribhada-stotra, which is available in the Dahilaxmi Library of Nadiad. It is very simple, just a paraphrase of the stanzas. Ghanas'ymaji is also said to have written such a com, and its MS is treasured in Kaflkaroli. Unfortunately, I could have no access to it, when I have been there.

100. In some MSS (e.g. Hindi No. 92/1 & 85/1/5), the work is ascribed to VL. But generally, it is taken as the work of VT. In one of the com. on Madhurastaka, ascribed to Vallabha alias GO, it is stated that

- In P.50, Madhurastaka, edited by Shri Selivala and published by Pustimargiya Yuvaka Parisad - Bombay.
which contain G0's com on the Gokulastaka in Vrajabhasa. MS No. 89/16 (P. 266) begins in this way: यह श्री गोकुलाष्टककी टीका लिखा है। यहाँ प्रथम श्री गुर्जसक्षों शास्त्रीय भाषाप्रमुख को नमस्कार करत हैं। रत्नोक नमो शास्त्रीय श्रवणं महानिष्ठि ॥१॥ यह को अर्थ बन श्रीदरायक्रमी करत है ॥१॥. etc. MS No. 90/2 (P. 90) begins in this way: यह श्री गोकुलाष्टककी प्रथम श्री शास्त्रीय को श्री गुर्जसक्षों शास्त्रीय को नमस्कार करत हैं। कहा देने वह गोकुलाष्टककी टीका करिये में माफी प्राप्त होई तब श्री गोकुलाष्टककी टीका करी जाई।। यह भाषण पर बिचारण पारो प्राध्यन्त को रत्नोक करत हैं। रत्नोक नमो शास्त्रीय शरणं महानिष्ठि ॥१॥ यह को अर्थ बन श्रीगुरुक्तलायकी कहत है ॥२॥।

The colophon of this MS reads: यहाँ प्रकार श्रीगुरुक्तलायकी वैद्य देव देवे जो वैद्य कु म श्रीगुरुक्तलायकी वहाँ में विश्वास माति नाम करि श्रीगुरुक्तलायकी पाठ करे। पहुँच शिकार कीए। इति श्री गोकुलाष्टक श्रीगुरुक्तलायकी कह की टीका श्रीगुरुक्तलायकी संपूर्ण।

101. I have seen one more MS of this com. It is in possession of Shri Chimanlal M. Vaidya of Kapadvanj. It is generally the same as MS No. 90/2 of Kāṅkaroli. But there is some difference in the colophon, in which it is stated: तारं श्री दहिरायक्रमी कहत हैं जो श्री गुर्जसक्षों को नमो श्री गोकुलाष्टककी रत्नोक करी टीका भाषणं करिए हैं तारं श्रीगुरुक्तलायकी माफी प्रह्लं रहिये।

- MS - P. 370.
We find from the above extracts of the domm, that according to the first MS the com is written by Harirāyajī, while according to the second MS it is written by Go. The first MS differs from the second one at some places, but mostly they are similar. However, the second MS quite clearly states that Go is the author of the com. It is not clear whether he wrote it first in Samskṛta and then translated it in Vraja. It is possible that Go wrote in Samskṛta and Harirāyajī translated in Vraja. It is equally possible that he might have written the com in Vraja only.

The com begins as usual with obeisance to the Acārya and VT. Then he explains each and every name. The com emphasizes that Kṛṣṇa's sports (līla) in Gokul are eternal and beyond understanding, and therefore, beyond description. It states that they are the sports of Pūrṇa Paruṣottama and that VL and VT are always there in Gokul, and therefore, it is beautiful. Gokul is the divine place of Kṛṣṇa's sports and hence residence in Gokul is recommended to the devotees, for it would lead to all types of
mystic experiences. 102

The com is in quite simple Vrajabhāṣa prose 103 and brings out the meaning of the astaka very well. Its style is very pleasant. The fruit of its reading is that the divine sports of Kṛṣṇa are impressed firmly in the devotee's heart.

5. Com on the Guptarasa

The Guptarasa 104 is a small work in 31 stanzas, written by Vī. The meaning of the title is 'secret sentiment.' The purpose of the work is to

102. Cf. की कोई संबारापुरी तापके भरस भे बीव दुःखी बे बारें के श्रीगोकुलपुरी बंधन को जो बाँधक करत है तिनकों श्रीगोकुल प्रभाव कर हर दृष्टि अमृत तो विष के उनके बीतत करत हैं। तामें श्रीमुरार्जन ने श्रीमुरार्जनका क्रेष्ण। " -- -- 
Kāñkaroli MS No. 89/16, P.97.

(I have not seen or heard of this com published anywhere. It is worth publishing.)

103. Even though the chapter is titled 'Sanskrit Works,' such comm are included in this chapter for the sake of convenience.

104. It is published in the BSSS on p.192 to 195.
show how greatly and profoundly the Gopīs loved Kṛṣṇa. They prized his sight (dars'ana) and company most. They prepared various sweets and several preparations of milk with sugar and spices and tempted their Lord to come to their houses to taste them. They kept those things on the slings (s'ikyas), but, bearing in mind the facility of Balarāma, they kept those stools, big utensils pounding clubs etc., so that Kṛṣṇa could climb them and easily reach those sweets. Not only that the clever Gopīs anticipated that as long as the elderly and the other persons were there, Kṛṣṇa would not be able to come to their houses and therefore, they induced Him to create certain opportunities to send the elders out of houses, or to engage them in other household business. They expected that Kṛṣṇa should let loose the calves, awaken the sleeping children and steal away and enjoy the sweets in the company of His friends. The Gopīs then, would go to Yasodā, inform her of His Kṛṣṇa's mischiefs and would pretend to scold her but would inwardly experience indescribable feelings (bhavas) at the sight of their
The work, thus, describes some of the sports (mischiefs) of Lord Krsna. But this is only the apparent meaning. As the title of the work suggests, it has some hidden sense, viz. Gopīs' esoteric love for the Lord. The work, therefore, is symbolic in nature.

GO has written a com on this work, and has very well brought out the hidden sense of the work. The author gives, in the beginning of the com on each of the stanzas, its purpose. Each of the stanzas is as it were, an answer to an anticipated question or a doubt raised by the Lord and the whole work is interpreted as a dialogue between the Gopīs and Krsna, with the speeches of the latter suppressed.

105. Cf. यदोपासनीव तत्: कदृश यो बृहत्तिष्ठेऽ
ग्यास्तुदा प्रिमतमिव प्रकृतिः विवेकाः:।
तरंगे इति रामायणप्रियोऽथि: प्रियोर्भिष्।
भावा यज्ञपानास्तरी विक्रियास्तवत्तृत्वाकासः।।
- Guptara St. 28-29.
The com shows that there are two meanings of the work: one is the word-sense, apparent meaning, and the other is the hidden or esoteric meaning, viz., profound and undivulged 'rasa' of the lovers. The commentator points this out by the words: अर्थ मूलार्थः। भावार्थेऽः. etc.

It is so far not published. I have read it in MS which is available in the Dabhalaxmi Library of Nadiad. The MS contains 19 pages of the size of 4½" x 9½", but pages 12, 13, 14 are missing and so comment on st. 13 to 19 is lost. The readings of the stanzas in the MS are similar to those printed in the Puṣṭisudhā Vol. IV - No. 2 - 3, in which free Vrajabhāṣā translation of the com is published. I have read also an incomplete free Vrajabhāṣā translation of the com, which is in possession of Shri P.T. Kavi of Nadiad. The Vrajabhāṣā translation of the com is full of mistakes, but is important because it gives some different reading of the Guptarasa. For example, it reads: गोणे लिङ्खे (st. 6), वृत्तुदृश् (st. 9) शालाप्रस्नी न धा (?) बिन्ना (st. 31) instead of गोणे लिङ्खे, वृत्तुदृश् and शालाप्रस्नी न धावित; etc.

Two MSS (No. 61/29 and 74/43, dated 1813 and 1900 V.S.) are available in Kāṅkāroli. Two more are available in the MS library of Gujarat Vidyasābhā-Ahmedabad. All of these MSS are ascribed to GO.
In the comment on the first stanza, GOpI says that the Lord is simple and artless and, therefore, the beloved GOpI here teaches Him how to enjoy the flavour. Seven eatables are mentioned in the stanza; the commentator says that 'ghee' is common to all and hence the remaining six indicate the six sentiments (out of the well-known nine ones), barring bhayānaka, raudra and bhīhatā, which are not accessories to S'rilgara.

At the end of the comment on St. 1, GOpI points out that the Gopīs desire to witness the sports of the Lord and participate in them, for the attainment of 'nirodha.'

The comment on St. 2 and 3 states the Puṣṭimargiya doctrine, that everything, apparently belonging to the embodied soul, belongs really to the Lord, that He, who is the very life of the Gopīs, should accept them as His own

107. Cf. श्रीमति बालशिष्टारूप प्रियोधुनामुग्नहिंसा प्राति रसानुभवविकारवृत्त
    मत्वेषयः प्रियतमो भगवान हिंसा प्राति प्रेतः।—Wadiad MS, P.1.

(I have quoted from the MS after correcting the mistakes therein.)

108. Cf. ...निरूपणोऽविश्वस्यन्तप्रवृत्तिदिव्यश: ब्रूहिष्ठ: पुष्पिता:।
    चषुष्ण भगवीपत्रमप्रमोहतु उक्ताः स्वार्थ न तेषस्तम्भु मुखे रसे
    तमोपयोगः इति पुष्पग्रहणस्वहितां स्वरादयो जाहिवं भवितः॥—
    Ibid, P.1.
and remove the agony of their mundane existence. They do not mind the abuse at the hands of the people and invite the Lord to do all those child-sports and mischiefs, so that they can experience various moods, love and enjoy His company.

GO, then, says that the work (St. 6 to 15) mentioned different types of nayikas:

मुक्ता, मध्या and प्रगत्वा. Each of them has three sub-types: व्यासालम्बिना, नारायणकृष्णिना and नारायणिना. All these gopis have completely surrendered to the Lord and hence appeal to the Lord to consider them and their belongings as His own and not to entertain any doubt about it. The commentator, at the end of the com says that he has pointed out what the secret sentiment, is and it is through Vi's grace, that the devotee, however simple and devoid of knowledge, can experience it.

As stated above, the work is symbolic in nature. GO, while commenting, points out what

109. Cf. रससास्त्रे यथो नायिकामेता निरुपितचं:। मुक्ता, मध्या प्रगत्वा वैति तलायतालम्बिना नारायणकृष्णिना नारायणिना वैति। तलायतालम्बिना शाक्तालम्बिना मध्या निरुपितचं चापि शालिल्यकृष्णी। सा हि रससास्त्रवा वाकुण्डनिकिता मध्यालावधृ। —MS — P.8.
is symbolic in each of the stanzas. For example, in St. No. 10 — there is a mention of the clay-utensils. The commentator says that they indicate rustic flavour (ग्राम्य रस्) and the lids, mentioned therein, indicate that the flavour is pure and untouched. In the case of the word दुःश्चर्वकानि, it is said that they indicate breasts. The word दुःश्चर्व and not दुःश्चर्व कानि is used because दुःश्चर्व etymologically means 'causing delight'. In the production of sentiment (रसा) (rasa), the changing moods or feelings (vyabhicāri-bhavas) are necessary. Here too, the commentator says, they that the preparations of the mangoes, ginger, lemons, etc. which add to the taste of the sweets, are mentioned to indicate the vyabhicāri-bhavas, like māna, kālaḥa, etc. Similarly, the stools, utensils, pounding clubs, which are used for reaching the eatables which are kept high in the slings, are said to symbolize love-messengers and the sling is a symbol of heart.

This may appear to some people as describing only physical passion and some would

110. Cf. दशा शिल्पस्य प्रतिनिधित्वार्थार्थिवः... - Badāntā-tīkā (F) P.271. Go refers to the Guptarasa in his long com on the SS and explains in it some stanzas also. Vide the MS(1), P.268 to P.271.
look upon the interpretations as rustic and obscene. Perhaps anticipating such criticism, GO, while commenting on the word भावुंदर (St.20), says that there is no tinge of physical passion in the case of the Gopis.

The com, thus, shows how GO knows the true spirit of Rasalinarga and how he is conversant with the Rasas'atra. He has shown the importance of different words, given etymological and alternative explanations and has divulged the hidden meaning of the work. I, think, but for his com, the Guptarasa cannot be properly understood.

Ghanes'यामजि's com on the Guptarasa is also available. It is not as elaborate as that

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In this connection, the complete com on St.20 is worth reading. A few words are quoted here:

"सत्तपु त्र त्वथा ध्रुवोधरं भावस्पदेवति। कामिनिनकं पति हि ताहसा बल: कर्मादिकं व नाताकामावस्थकान्तिपदितमावर्षिनां भोग एको चित्तं भोगानविदितं विष्णुपितम्।

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Nadiad MS, P.15.

112. I saw a MS (No.85 in the bundle No.10/1) of this com, which is in Vrjabhisā, in the Dayarama Library of Debhoi. One MS of Ghanes'यामजि's com is available in Kālikarolī also. It gives only the same paraphrase of the vers.
of GO and does not add anything more than what GO says.

(iii) Comment on some of the works of VL

VL wrote sixteen (small) Prakaras granthis, popularly known as the 'Sodas'ya Granthis' (Sixteen Treatises). The total number of the stanzas in all of them is only 221½, but they are very important, for they represent important teachings of VL. It is no exaggeration to say that they constitute the guiding principles for the Pustimarga Vaishnavas and that they represent the theology and ethics of VL's sect.

VL's language is enigmatic at some places. It is difficult to follow his works at those places, and hence comment are necessary to understand fully what VL intends to say. GO, therefore, wrote comment on most of the Sixteen Treatises. It is difficult to say today whether he wrote on all the Sixteen Treatises. I have tried to collect all available comment written by him from various sources, but I have not come across his comment on the Balabhodha, the Vivekadhairya's Rayas, the Panca-Pradyotini and the Seva-phala. Unless all the MSS in the different MS collections in all the Pustimarga temples and
with some Vaisnavas, are catalogued, it would be premature to say that the comm, mentioned hereafter are the only comm of GO on the Sixteen Treatises.

As regards the authorship, of one or the other, I have followed the conclusions of the editors of the Sixteen Treatises.

I have also read comm of these Treatises written by other commentators and referred, in short, to their importance. It is possible that GO might be the first commentator of these Treatises, but in the absence of any dates of composition mentioned in the comm, we are not in a position to say a final word about it. GO's comm on the Sixteen Treatises, not only explain the but also discuss various issues of the S'uddhadvaita doctrine.

Following is the study of GO's comm on the 'Sixteen Treatises' and other works of VL.

1. Com on the Yamunāstaka

Yamunāstaka is an etymology of the deity Yamunājī, written by VL. It is the first in the Sixteen Treatises and contains nine verses.
YT has written a vivrti on it and Harirayaji, Purusottamaji and Dvarakes'aji have written sub-commentaries on VT's com.  

Purusottamaji and Dvarakes'aji state that VT wrote the com upto the sixth stanza of the Yamunastaka and the remaining part of the com was written by GO. Harirayaji does not state anything about it in his sub-commentary, but in his

These authorities prove that GO has written a com on the last three stanzas of the Yamunastaka, at the behest of his father. The com of VT as well as GO is very simple. It paraphrases the stanzas in simple language. The com on the last stanza, which is a phala-s'ruti, very well explains

113. The work is edited by S'ri C.H. S'strI and is published in 1985 V.S. with the com of VT, and the above-mentioned sub-commentaries.

114. Cf. एतावदन्तं स्यायं भूणाम्। कृष्ण तदापत-श्रीगृहकुलनाथानाम्।
-P.26, ibid, and भव्यं प्रभूदत्तात्र नाथानाम श्रीगृहकुलनाथानाम।

115. Cf. पितामहं यमुनाधर्मस्य श्रेणिक्षेत्रवाचककालम्।
S'ri Gokules'a-dholapadamadhubī (ed. by S'ri C.M. Vaidya), l.l.
how this eulogy of Śrīl̄a Yamunājī leads to the fruit, mentioned in it. It is said that we have to believe in what VL, the true devotee of Hari, says. 116

These three sub-commentaries, mentioned above, explain elaborately what is said by VT and GO.

Apart from the com on the last three stanzas, GO seems to have written another com also. It is difficult to say whether he commented on all the nine stanzas or on only the first and/or second stanzas.

I have seen a MS 117 of GO’s com on

116. Cf. तेनाप्यवाक्यवैलेन प्रामाण्यमुक्तम्। नम्निते मुखः कैलाप्युक्तवाद भवदुरितवाक्यम् केव प्रामाण्यमिति चेलवाहुः। श्रीहरिरितिः। - Yamunāstaka - P. 35.

117. The MS is available in Śrīl̄a Gaṭṭulēlājī Institution of Bombay. It is copied in 1948 V.S., by the scribe Rāmalēla S'arma. The source, from which it is copied, is not stated. It is also available in Kāṅkaroli Vidyāvibhāga (MS No. 54/25 and in Nathadvārā MS No. 117/15) also.

Śrīl̄a N.N. Āndhi states in his Gujarati Preface to Vidvamandana that VT asked GO to comment on 'Mukunda-reti-verdhini'; GO did so, and he (VT) was pleased to listen to it. I have not seen any such com of GO.
the first stanza of Yamunāstaka. The first sentence, shows that it is not written by VT and it is different from VT's com on the Yamunāstaka. The colophon "द्रवि श्रीमुनाःतकः प्रवरलीक्या स्वायं श्रीगोकुलनाथ्यं दृष्ट" indicates the same thing.

GO explains why VL first of all pays obeisance to Śrī Yamunājī. It is only VL who knows her real nature and form (svarupa) and he desires to reveal it to his followers. While commenting on the word शब्दमिद्य, he says that it does not mean the eight superhuman powers (asta-siddhis), which can be attained by Yoga; according to him, the word means attainment of divine physique useful for the Lord's worship, witnessing the divine sport, experiencing divine 'rasa' and attainment of 'Sarvatma-bhava'।।118 A second interpretation is also given by breaking the word, 'sakala' as 'sa' and 'kala'. According to sakala is taken to mean the Kumārikas. It is, then said that all the hindrances

118 Cf. बाकाड्रमोझ्यो गिद्धाद्वितीयो महोत्तमोक्तिकारातृतवात् भवेकुर्तकब्याबचित्त तदनंतरप्रभाय सर्वसिद्धां श्रेयः।:।

- Kānikaoli - MS - No. 54/25 - F.1.
in the way of realization of God are removed by S'ri Yamunājī and one is able, by Her grace, to obtain the divine form useful for the Lord's service.

As regards the date of composition of the com, it can be said that the com on the last three stanzas was written before 1642 V.S., when VT passed away and because GO completed the com at his behest. In the com on the first stanza, we find him a better and ingenious commentator. It is difficult to say in what yer he wrote it.

2. Com on the Siddhaṭṭa-muktavali(SM)

The SM is the third among the Sixteen Treatises. In the 21 verses of this work, VL explains in brief the nature of Brahman, Aksara and the world (with a fitting illustration of the Ganges), preaches the Path of Bhakti as a means

119. It is edited by Messrs M.T. Telivala and D.V. Sankalis with the available 8 comm, in 1979 V.S.
of realization and shows its different forms.
Popularly the work is titled as SM, but VT in his
Vivrti on it, calls it Siddhantsa-VaBîma.120
Perhaps SM might have derived its title from the
wording, of the benedictoryverse in VT's com, viz
and GO's wor&ing

VT is the first to comment on the SM.
On his com, there are eight sub-commentaries. They
are by GO, Kalyanarayaji, Purusottamajî, Valleshaji,
Vrajanâthajî, Lalûbhâttâ, Dwârakes'aji, and
Harirayajî. Dwârakes'aji's com is called paris'ista
by the editors and is incomplete. He states that
GO might have written his sub-com on the com of
VT, after the latter passed away.121 Harirayajî
has written only a few lines on St.16 of SM. VT's
com is only explanatory and very short, and all the
commentators have, more or less, explained some of
the lines and words of the com of VT. Of these
comm the sub-com (Prakasa) of Purusottamajî is
elaborate and is very clear. It very well brings out
the meaning of the work and can be called the best of

120. Vide P.8, ibid.
121. Cf. उ इदिः पिलृम्पृणिः: परोक्षात्तब्धतमि श्रीमद्योगस्वामिनाः
कल्याणविषयकानन्तर तिम्यणसे कुञ्जिति: -Ibid, P.77.
all. GO's sub-com is very small and explains only certain words of his father's com. There is nothing noteworthy about it. It may be the work of his early years. It appears that he has not done justice to this work, which propounds some important doctrines of VL's philosophy and which, therefore, deserves explanation at length.

3. Com on the Pustipravahamaryada (PPM)

PPM (also called PPM-bheda)\(^{122}\) is one of the Sixteen Treatises of VL, 4th in the numerical order. It is written in 25½ stanzas and describes the nature of the three types of soul, viz. Pusti, Pravaha and Maryada. It is, in a way, the cosmogony of the world of human beings. It is incomplete, as the commentators except Kalyanarayaj\(\bar{i}\), state at the end of their comm.

The language of the PPM is difficult to follow and hence the importance of the comm. For comm are available on this treatise. They are by GO, Raghunathaj\(\bar{I}\),

\(^{122}\) The work is edited with the available four comm by Messrs M.T.Telivala and D.V. Sankalia and is published in 1981 V.S.
Kalyānārāyaṇa and Pitāmbara. The editors have opined that the last com must be from the pen of Puruṣottama, who might have ascribed the authorship of the com to his father.123

Of these comm, Pitāmbara’s com is the longest and scolerly too. More than half of it comprises quotations from various scriptural authorities and refutes them by quoting various scriptures. The comm by Raghunāthā and Kalyānārāyaṇa are the shortest and explain the treatise clearly. The latter appears to be influenced by the com of GO.

GO’s com on the PPPM is very clear. Unlike the com of Pitāmbara, it avoids elaborateness and some unnecessary quotations, but it explains the stanzas with necessary quotations. For example, st.12 and st.13 state that the Pūtimarga soul is not different from the Lord, in points of svarūpa, avatāra, līnga, gūna, kriya, etc., and the statement is clearly illustrated by examples from the Phale-prakarana of the BG.124 Similarly, he clearly differentiates the Path of Bhakti, described by Kapila, from the Pustimārga, where love rules

Therefore, he says that VL describes in the treatise FRM, the three Paths, which no one has so far done. While commenting on st. 2, he discusses the question whether ज्ञात्मक (knowledge of the greatness of the Lord) is necessary for a devotee. After quoting the well known definition of Bhakti from the Narada-pancaratra, he says that, though profound love for the Lord is absolutely necessary in the Pustimarga, knowledge of the greatness of the Lord is also necessary for the development of Pustibhakti, but it would not be required when deep unshaken love for the Lord arises in the devotee's heart. This he illustrates, by the examples of Yasoda and the vrajavasis.

While commenting on st. 5 and showing the greatness

125. Cf. तद भक्तियोगियराज्यपुज्यायपरेंतु स्वपुज्येन कर्माभावातः

न स्वपुज्येनभक्तित्वमः ! — — Ibid, P.2.

126. Vide P.1, ibid.

127. माहात्म्यकारपूर्वस्तु सुझूदः सर्वेऽविभिन्नः

स्यैहौ भक्तिविवेके प्रीतस्तथा पूजितस्य बान्धवः! Ibid, P.2.

128. Cf. प्रथमः एवामायुक्तकिलिकांध्वस्त साध्वः यावत्सुहृदः

सर्वेऽविभिन्नः स्यैहौ भक्ति, तावतेष्वादिकरणो भक्तिविवेके

माहात्म्यान्त्योपयोगः। सुधार्ते निदोषपन्नं तत्स्वतः

(uktarsa) of Pusti, he shows, giving quotations from the Gita, the difference of the aims of the Path of Bhakti and the Path of Knowledge. He says that the direct sight of the Lord is the aim of the Path of Bhakti and mental realization is the aim of the Path of knowledge. Thus, he clearly shows the true nature of Pustibhakti and also shows how the Pustimargiya souls differ from the Praveshmargiya and Maryadsmargiya souls.

At two places, GO gives farfetched meaning, e.g. in the com of St.1, he says that तरुणस्वयं भवदनुभगिज्ञता हि निर्पुराः, and in the com of St.15 he says that नारीनयताः प्रवेशमार्गायताः. 130 Raghunathaji and Pitambaraji explain तरुणस्वयं (St.23) as partial, which eventhough etymologically true, is not proper.

There are some places, where the commentators give different explanations. The word

129. Cf. भक्तिमार्गस्य साक्षात्स्वयं भवदनुभगिज्ञता हि निर्पुराः - Ibid, P.5. Cf. also उपैतुस्मार्गस्य साक्षात्स्वयं सुरुक्ष्यामार्गायताः - Ibid, P.9.

130. Ibid, P.1.

in St. 20 is very important, Raghunāthaśārī explains it as कपड़ा, which does not appear proper in the particular context. Kalyānārayājī explains कपड़ा विधाप as स्वतन्त्र श्री, कपड़े हिंदुस्तान, which is also not proper. GO says कपड़ा नाम लीलामुख: and Kalyānārayājī has also accepted the meaning. This meaning may be true, if we look to the spirit of the stanza, but the meaning given to it is not correct. Pitāmbarājī says that कपड़ामन्विते विहीबंधाम: which is correct.

Similarly, in the interpretation of the stanzas 15 (cd) and 16(ab), there is a notable difference of opinion among the commentators. Raghunāthaśārī says that the divisions of souls referred to in the said stanza belong to Puṣṭī, and Pitāmbarājī also says the same thing. Kalyānārayājī gives a ninefold classification of the souls in the following manner:

133. Ibid, P.15.
134. Ibid, P.55.
136. Vide ibid, P.30.
This classification is no doubt, ingenious, but is not warranted by the wording of the stanza. GO interprets that the soul having the mixture of Pusti in them have omniscience as their characteristic, the soul having the mixture of pravaha in them, have indulgence in action (क्रियारत्न) as their characteristic and those having the mixture of maryadā in them, have knowledge of the qualities of the Lord (मुनारत्न) as their characteristic. Although interpretations of Raghunāthajī and Pītāmerajī are not bad, but GO's interpretation appears to be in accordance with the wording of the stanza. 137

137. It should be noted here that the ninefold classification is generally accepted in the demarcation. Kalyānārayajī also refers to पुष्टिपृष्ठ & पुष्टिमयादा as different categories in his com on SR. Read: वस्तुस्तु राजा मयादापुष्टाकामोक्तः, न केवलपुष्टा, नवम पुष्टिमयादात्राः.... | SR(ed.by Telivalas and Sankalas), P.38.
There is also a difference of opinion in the interpretation of the words इतरी and पौरोष्याविषय. In इतरी, Raghunathaji says that means मर्यादाप्रवाही and takes प्रवेश: as प्राकृत: व्यः. This is farfetched. GO, Kalyanarayaji and Pitambaraji rightly take इतरी as the मर्यादा and पृष्ठ souls. Kalyanarayaji explains प्रवेश as लीलाप्रवेश and पौरोष्य as मर्यादामार्गी पौरोष्य. GO explains the word स्वस्तमार्गीपौरोष्य: and Pitambaraji explains it as वधार्यार्थिकः पुरुषार्थप्रवेश.

As regards the difference in the readings of the FPM, it is to be noted that Kalyanarayaji and Pitambaraji read एकता, while GO and Raghunathaji read एकता in इत. 10, which is immaterial. It is curious that Pitambaraji reads इत. 4(cd) as इत. 5(cd), इत. 5(ab) as इत. 4 (cd) and इत. 5 (cd) as इत. 5 (ab).

4. Comment on the Siddhanta-rahasya (SR)

SR is the fifth among the Sixteen Treatises of VL. It contains only 8½ stanzas, but is the most important of all the 'Sixteen Treatises', as it contains the cardinal principle of the sect, viz.
abandonment of unoffered things. In this treatise, VL informs ad verbum of what the Lord told him as regards the ceremony of Brahma-Sambandha and self-surrender by the souls.

SR^138 has eleven comm on it. They are by GO, Ragnhunāthajī, Kalyānarāyajī, Vrajotsavajī, Gokulotsavajī, Harirāyajī, Vitthales'varajī, Puruṣottamajī, Giridharajī, Lalābhaṭṭa and S'rīs'amatānuvartī. Of these, the comm by GO, Puruṣottamajī and Lalābhaṭṭa are important. All the other comm are simple and have nothing important to say. Vrajotsavajī's comm is a bit longer than that of GO and treats at length the meanings of S'rāvaṇa (st.1), sarvesām (St.2) etc. Giridharajī's style is scholarly and he deals with the five fold faults at length. Vitthales'varajī raises a question why the Lord gave admonition to VL in the forbidden period of Daksināyana and answers that for God's admonition, no time is unsuspicious. He has written it in the style of question (by VL) and answer (by God).

138. It is edited and published with the available eleven comm, by Messrs M.T. Telivala and D.V. Sankalia, in 1980 v.s.
GO's com is most probably the first in chronological order, and brings out clearly, in graceful language, the meaning of the work. He shows the significance of the month, the fortnight, the day and the time, when the Lord spoke in person to VL. He says that VL tells us in verse what the Lord told him. The modes of worship of other sects are well settled but that of Pustimarga is not, and therefore, the Lord told VL to teach the divine souls to perform all actions after self-dedication and to surrender all things to Him (Krsna) before using them. God is faultless (nirdosa) and things surrendered to Him become faultless, and hence, there would not be any sin in using the offered (samarpita) things. An example is given to make it clear. As servants, in the worldly communications act according to the consent of their masters, similarly the devotees should offer all things to their Divine Master and then use them. GO explains how one has to perform worldly and Vedic duties with the offered things and removes doubts, that are likely to arise in the minds of the devotee in this connection. He explains the difference between dana and nivedana and shows with illustrations from the Gita and the Bh, that Pustimarga is different from other paths. At the
end of the SR, there are three words, 6a, eva and hi and he gives very ingenious explanations of all of them. In the case of 6t.3, he has shown the difference of the Pujāmarga and the Bhaktimarga, and says that the five fold faults do not operate in the latter and that by surrender to the Lord alone, everything becomes faultless.

An important problem is raised by GO's interpretation of the word ब्रह्मचारीकरण. He says that the word means surrender to the Lord through an acārya of this sect. He does not explain here the word acārya. He uses the word acārya for VL alone, not even for his father, at several places in the Badh-tika. But in this case it is felt that the word ब्रह्मचारिकरण अचार्य is used for the descedents of VL. Otherwise he should have used the word acārya alone. VL has not stated anywhere that the Brahma-Sambandha ceremony is to be performed by his descendants. But the tradition has established itself that it is performed (excepting in the case of the Bharuci Vaishnavas) by an agnate descendent of VL. But it is difficult to prove that GO was responsible for starting this tradition. Even in the days of VL,

129. Cf. ब्रह्मचारीकरण नाम एकत्र्यामित्रा अचार्य
    भववर्णविवेदनाय। - Ibid. P.2.
the initiation ceremony was performed by him or his sons. Perhaps, Go might have been the first to voice that tradition through such an interpretation. It is on account of such an interpretation that GO is severely criticised by the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. XII.\footnote{\textit{Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. XII.}}

140. Cf. But the sense in which this dedication was enjoined and accepted by the Vallabhaşacharyas is made clear in a commentary on Vallabha's Siddhanta Rahasya. The commentator who was no other that the celebrated Gokulnath, the grandson of Vallabha, the famous fourth son of the second guru, Vithalnath, thus expounds the formula:

"Therefore in the beginning even before ourselves enjoying wives, sons, etc. (putraśi includes daughters along with sons) who should be made over because of the expression serva vastu (all things) occurring in the text. After marriage, even before using her ourselves, the offering of her (the wife) should be made with a view to her becoming usable (by ourselves)." - P. 582.

One can easily see that the editor of the Encyclopaedia has not read GO's aim of SR and has held him responsible for the degeneration of the sect.
It should, however, be noted that according to a tradition, the Acarya or Guru is VL alone and all others are only guru-dvaras.

This explanation leads to a fact that according to GO, the Brahmatamandha ceremony is to be performed by an agnate descendant of VL and that it goes against the practice of the Bharuci Vaishnavas, who do not approach any Gosvami for such a ceremony.

In this connection it should also be noted here, that GO admits of different ways through which the Lord can teach or guide or accept a devotee. According to him, the Lord can teach or guide or accept a devotee through another devotee, in a dream, during the devotee's state of meditation or through some aerial speech.¹⁴¹

Purugottamajii's com is the longest and treats of the subject of dedication at length. It the beginning, he deals with the 'Gadyamantra', which according to him, is the exposition (vivarana) of the five-syllabic mantra,¹⁴² and deals with a

¹⁴¹. Cf. क्वचिदः प्रभुवानू स्वोच्छिंद्र श्वपन्यक्षरा वाय्यतिः, क्वचिदः श्वपन्यक्षरा, क्वचिदः "गिरं समाधा" विति न्यायिनाकां - कण्ठारापि वाय्यतिः -SR (Telivala edition), P.2.
¹⁴². Cf. विष्णु पंचाकारान्तविषवत्तादितिर्ग्यम् - Ibid, P.36.
prima facie view as to why the word 'dārā' is
used in the sacred mantra. He shows the importance
of Brahma-sambandha, says why the subject mā is
repeated here, even though it is dealt with
repeated-he in the BG (Chapter XI) and gives a
scholarly discussion of the point of 'dattāpahāra',
which GO has treated in short. He discusses the
point whether women are eligible to do self-
surrender.

One may ask why Purusottamaṣj dealt
with such points at length, when VL's works were
there, and in reply it may be said that his age
perhaps demanded it.

Lalībhatṭa's com is also important.
He says that by Brahma-sambandha, a general
surrender is made, while offering things to the
Lord before using them is the special surrender.\(^{143}\)
In the com on st.8, he discusses a point whether
a devotee should subsist on begging from another
devotee. He opines that a householder's life would
be useful in performing sevā, which a single man

\(^{143}\) Cf. तथा यथा हর्षाकीर्त्तियांग्नी स्वकीयधार्मान्तः ब्रह्मसांबन्धः
न नामान्यत: समर्पणम्। पुनर्दुपयोगिकरं विशेषतः
समर्पणं अयथः। — Ibid, P.52.
can do only with difficulties. He also discusses the question why both a wife and a husband should be separately initiated. From this it is known that even children were initiated by the 'Gadysamanta', which did not happen in the early history of the Pustimarga. We get another information also. Nowadays, the Vaishnavas generally observe the impurity (कुन्कुरुलङ्का) caused on account of a child's birth in the family, for 16 days, whereas Lālābhaṭṭa says that it is observed for 10 days. ²

Important words in the work are बधारकथः:

(शै.१) प्रभुसमायन्यकरणान् (शै.२), निविर्दिभः (शै.५)
ब्रह्म प्रयत्नः.

As regards the word बधारकथः, G0 says that the sentence-sense is expressed in verse after looking to the sense of each letter, and others have followed him. The word

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144. Cf. तथा च मय निष्पादः यह कृपणात्वा हिष्मति। 
तद्यापि 
उ केनायः। न निरवाहः। - - Ibid, P.61.

145. Cf. द्वादिवधानान्यं यथा पूर्णात्मातिन्त्र, तात्त्वा कालेन गुणः 
साल्लिङ्गल्पातः। - - - Ibid, P.59.

146. Cf. वाक्यार्थं एव यथा यथा सम्पूर्ण इत्यादिन्त्रो भविष्यं, तथा 
प्रकरणं कथन प्रतिवादते कुदार प्रकरणं। उपर्युः हिति। तदेव पूर्वक्त- 
वाकरसः प्रत्यक्षार्थविवाचनपुर्वक्तम्यात्। - - Ibid, P.2.
is variously explained. GO takes it, as shown before, as dedication to the Lord through some acarya of the sect. Raghunātha says, it is the relation with God to whom dedication of body and soul is to be made. 147 Kalyānarayaji has followed GO in his explanation of this word. Vrajaotseva says that it is the connection with the Highest Lord. 148 Gokulotsava and others have given the same sense. Harira says that it is in the manner of a marriage. 149 Puruṣottama says that it means establishing Lord's ownership on all things. 150 The word निवेदिति is taken by GO as a subject, meaning by those who have dedicated themselves to the Lord, and most of the commentators follow him. Raghunātha and Gokulotsava explain it as 'with those who have dedicated themselves to the Lord' and Viṣṇuṇārāj and Giridhara too give the same meaning. Puruṣottama and Lalābhāṭṭa say that the word means 'the things that are offered to the Lord'. Śrī Śrīmatānunavarti says that it means 'after dedicating things through the great
dedicated souls', which is far-fetched. The word 'brhumata' is explained by GO as 'faultlessness and equality' and most of the commentators have more or less followed him. Vrajotsavaji explains it as 'sambhidandata'. Giridharaji explains it as 'bhagavidyata' and Lalubhatta includes both these explanations in his com. Looking to the context the first explanation is better than others.

As regards the difference in the readings of the work, it is to be said that GO and others read स्थूता: in st. 2 and कार्यम् in st. 4, while some of the commentators, read पता: and कर्मज्ञ instead, but this does not make any notewordy difference in the meaning of the stanza in question, although Raghunathajjji notes in his com that कर्मज्ञ is read through negligence. 151

5. Com on the Navaratna

Navaratna is the sixth among the Sixteen Treatises. It is said that Govinda Dave was very much engrossed in worldly worries and hence he wrote it to teach him how life is to be lived.

The title of the work means 'nine gems' for it contains nine stanzas, and it is truly so; because the teaching is very valuable. It teaches the devotee to live life in a spirit of complete surrender and disinterestedness and considering all worries as only the sports of the Lord.

Five com on the Navaratna are to-day available, but none of them is from the pen of GO. There is one com in it, by Vallabha, but he is different from GO. The editors have rightly said that the com ascribed to Vallabha is not from the pen of GO, but from the pen of some other Vallabha. VT has written Prakas'a on the Navaratna and the other four comm are the sub-comm on it.

The question arises here is whether GO wrote a com on the Navaratna or not. It appears from the statements of Gopaldas and Mahavadasa that GO perhaps wrote a com on it, but it is not accessible.

152. The work is edited by Messrs H.T. Telivala and D.V. Sankalia and is published by the Pustimargiya of Nadiad.

to-day. In the prakāsās of VT, there are certain lines, given in the brackets. The editors have noted that perhaps the lines, in question, might have been added by GO, but Purugottamaśī and Vallabhājī (who flourished in the 18th century) do not take note of them. So, of the question, their authorship remains a moot point.

Gopālādāś notes in his Tattvārtha-dohana that GO explained the true meaning of St. 6 of the Navaratna to his followers. GO said that comfort or ease (स्वास्थ्य) is a hindrance to realization and the Lord does not give it to any true devotee.

In the Rasasindhu of Mahāvādāsa, there are two references to the Navaratna. The work is a dialogue between Mahāvādāsa and Motājī, who

155. Vide Anugraha Vol. XIV, No. 11-12, P. 428.
156. Of. "वे बेटो स्वास्थ्य उपजे बेटो स्वास्थ्य शाचे बंतराय धाय। स्वप्नमां दल्दल बाणीते स्वास्थ्य न करे।" — Ibid, P. 428.
was one of the close disciples of GO and who, it is said in the work, represented faithfully the views of GO. Nivedana is interpreted as marriage of the soul with God ās-ām and it is said that 'tulasi', which is used in the ceremony of initiation, indicates that the souls are expected to act like 'her' (tulasi), who is a mahāpativratā.\(^{158}\)

Then, the word 'nava' is variously interpreted, wherein it is said that it represents the nine types of devotion. These types are the popular types (श्रवण, कीर्तन etc.), but they are other types, such as राजवी तामसी, राजवहालिकी, राजसराज्यी, etc.\(^{159}\)

It is possible that both Gopālās and Mahāvadāsa might have quoted from the com of

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158. Cf. पुस्तक ते मूर्दनां स्वरूप हे आते मूर्दन च महापविवाह है।
ते मूर्दन पारे श्रीत्री कहे हे ते मूर्दन बैवी पविवाह है - कैसी है.
ते पुस्तक नामें कराए हैं ते केवल गुण बोध नहीं... परेवा रहे तो श्रीपुरुष भोजस्म संवेदी सब गुणा पामाहे,
पुस्तकदलन्य ए भाव।" - Ibid, P.15

159. Ibid, P.50.
it is equally possible that they might have written down what GO said during some discourse. Whatever it may be, both of them report the views of their master, viz. GO. We find from these references, that GO has quite clearly pointed out the true spirit of devotion according Pustimarga. 160

6. Comment on the Antahkarana Prabodha (AKP)

AKP is one of the Sixteen Treatises, seventh in number. It contains 10½ stanzas of Amustup metre. The work is an admonition and invocation to the mind. It mentions some incidents (Divine calls or Decrees) in the life of VL, and

160. There are two MSS of the com of the Navaratna (Gujarati section No. 984 and Gujarati-Hindi Section No. 1466) in Gujarat Vidyā Sabha of Ahmedabad. They are written in Hindi and are undated and are incomplete. Their authors are not mentioned. They make a mention of the nine types of devotion, as stated above, but therefore, they are incomplete and so, it is not possible to compare them with Rasasindhu and say anything about their authorship.
through the work, VL intends to admonish his followers.

Five comm of the AKP available. They are by Gokulanātha, Raghunātha, Hariraya, Vrajaraṇa and Purusottama. All of them point out the aim of the work, in the beginning of their comm. Raghunātha's comm is, as usual, simple. According to him, VL teaches the devotees, through the guise of an address to his mind. Hariraya's comm is in verse, and generally follows GO's comm. Vrajaraṇa says that the singular used in the word indicates oneness of all in the sect, which is farfetched. He says that VL wrote eleven stanzas (really there are 10½ stanzas) to indicate advice to the eleven senses. Purusottama connects this work with the SR and Navaratna and says that VL admonishes, not his mind, but the minds of all his followers.

In the introductory stanzas of his comm, GO pays obeisance to his father and grandfather and then he refers to the purpose of the birth of VL.

161. It is edited and published by Shri C.H. Shastri in 1981 V.S., with the available five comm.
God sent him, GO says, to teach the divine souls the true meaning of the BG. VL began to write a com on the BG, viz. Sub; but before he could finish it, the Lord gave him a call to write on the tenth book of the BG and then return to him. VL had written Sub up to the third book, so he passed over the remaining books and started writing on the tenth book. When the com on the tenth book was another finished, the Lord gave him a second call to return to Him. VL thought that the purpose of his birth was not served well and hence did not obey the second call of the Lord, who, therefore, gave a third call out of anger and also grace. At that time, GO says, VL wrote the AKP as an invocation to his mind and followed the order of the Lord. Gharuvārta also says that the AKP was written by VL after taking to remuniciation.

The reference to the Divine Calls or Degrees in the work may appear to some as nonsense and contrary to reason. But we should remember

162. Cf. दशाश्रम पद snowy न्याय विकृत्वारोपितार्थ पूर्वक पुनः स्वनिकटायमनार्थ तुरीयार्थ दत्तवान्. Ibid, P.2.
163. Vida Vārta No.11, P. 125 (Nījāvārta, Gharuvārta etc., ed. by Lallubhai C. Desai).
that in the realm of Religion and Philosophy, reason is subservient to mystic experiences. In modern terminology, it may be said that Divine Call is equivalent to the inexplicable Inner Voice.

GO explains the importance of the 44 different words, including particles like 'tu' in their proper context. He has rightly explained the word 'daivam' etymologically in all its ten senses. He answers that God accepts the soul as His own, at the time of the latter's (soul's) dedication and, therefore, the soul has not to worry about anything, including, even, the ultimate fruit.

GO discusses the question of suicide. Suicide is considered to be a sin, but he says that it would not be a sin, if one has to do so in respect of a Divine Call. As regards, the disobedience in respect of the first two calls, he explains that there is no cause of worry or repentance, for punishment is already meted out in the form of anguish due to the postponement of the

164. वदेश ते देहसमयं सार्वत्र भवेत् भूतोऽनाभेदः विलम्बे जन कार्यः - AKP - P.7 (ed. by C.H. Shastri).
fruit (फलमिल्यां)। GO, here, gives his viewpoint as regards the ultimate fruit. He says that if VL had accomplished the work of commenting on the BG, it would have been a great worldly achievement, but that would not have been instant realization of the ultimate fruit. He says that salvation is no fruit according to the S'uddhadvaita doctrine. According to him, every devotee should think, while doing anything, that there comes no adik impediment to the ultimate fruit.

In the comments on the last two lines, he explains that the word Śrī Kṛṣṇa is used to indicate the लीलारास्क and the word दास is used to show that दास्य is the fruit of the pure Pustimarga. He explains the word Vallabha in two senses, (as the proper noun and as dear to God) and takes the word वल्लभु to mean आक्षोत्तम.

Purusottamaji has criticised GO for his words, दर्शनस्य लीलारास्क स्वीकारानां भक्तिवर्धनम् घ, 166 for

165. Cf. शैक्षणिकरास्क शैक्षणिकरास्क स्वीकारनां भक्तिवर्धनम् घ, तदार्थालाप्तेयुद्युक्तमार्गार्गमार्गमस्य शैक्षणिकरास्क प्राप्तस्य

166. Ibid, P.1.
VL has shown स्तरीयमानस in the sub. But his argument is not weighty. Purusottamaji adds an additional independent note on st. 5 to 7. Therein he says that God's first call to VL was to take birth on the earth and give an exposition of the BG. The second and third calls were at the गंगाशामस्तम्य and मुद्गल respectively. The latter two calls were to test his mercifulness to the devotees. Purusottamaji says that it is on this account that VL did not obey the latter two calls. This interpretation is not warranted by the wording of the work. It appears that GO has more faithfully interpreted this work and because GO was nearer to VL in point of time, he might have heard about the real meaning of the work, either from his father or VL's disciples. GO's com is helpful in understanding the work which is to a certain extent enigmatic.

7. Com on the क्रन्दस्रया

क्रन्दस्रया is ninth among the Sixteen Treatises of VL. It contains 11 stanzas and teaches

167. Cf. सौम्यमर्गरथिणि युज्योहिन्यारंभोऽरोणेन रूपस्वरूप कृतवल्लुरु... दृष्टान्तः पः । - Ibid, P. 27.
that Krsna is the only refuge of the souls. Six comm in Samāskṛta on the work are available, but none of them is ascribed to GO. Of these comm, that of Kalyāna-rayāyaji, and the anonymous one are important.

There are two MSS in the Vidyāvibhāga of Kaśkaroli, in which we find a comm of Kṛna-rayāya in Vrajabhāsa. In the MSS it is not stated whether the comm is a translation of the Samāskṛta comm. In the MSS MS No. 99/16 (Hindi Section), the colophon reads as follows:

पुस्तक के निर्धारित नाम नाके कृष्णास्वरूप ताकी टीका की गीतकलाकृति कृत भाषामें पूर्ण।

In the other MS (Hindi Section No. 90/2) there is no mention of the author. I have seen a third MS of this comm in Kapadvanj (Dist. Kaira). It is similar to the above MSS, excepting some differences here and there. In this MS also, the name of the author is not given. None of them gives the date of the MS and none of them contains an obeisance either to VL or VT. The comm begins

169. P. 167. The comm runs from P. 150 to 167 of the MS, whose size is 14½" x 8½".

170. The MS is in possession of Shri O.M. Yaidya and the comm runs from P. 353 to 365.
straightway with the purpose of the work. On the strength mentioned of the colophon of the first of the above-mentioned MSS, and on the strength of the author’s manner of giving examples (which we find in the Vacanamṛtasa), I have taken for granted that the com is by GO.

The com first says that the different ways of salvation, viz., karma, jñāna and upāsana have become of no avail in the Kaliyuga as time and place have become polluted and therefore, salvation has become impossible for the human beings. So, Govardhanāthājī showed VL, the way of surrender (samarpana). Quoting the BG, the comentator says that in the Kaliyuga the means of salvation are beset with difficulties, but the Kaliyuga has one good point in it, viz. with a fewer means, greater fruit is achieved in the Kaliyuga. 171 It is emphasized that a man who surrenders himself completely to the Lord, does not see the messengers of Yama even in sleep.

In the com on 3t.6, it is said that the Ekādāsī, with the tinge of the tenth day, should

171. Cf. तारं कलियुगमें बडो गुणं देवो वोरे बाँधनं देव चैतुर फलं होतं हे। - Ibid, P.354.
not be observed, and if it is observed the devotee commits a sin.172 (The same thing is stated in the Ekādaśī-nirṇaya173) And the authority of Bhāgavatopāpuraṇa and Padmapurāṇa is quoted.

Some points, emphasized by the author are worth noting. Firstly, on account of the pollution of the tirthas (sacred places), the deities presiding over them have disappeared and hence they do not give any fruit. In the Kaliyuga the bhagavatīya sanctifies the sacred places and not vice versa. Thus the devotees of the Lord are held supreme and above all. Secondly, it is said that Lord Kṛṣṇa does not give a worldly fruit; whenever he is pleased, He gives a divine fruit. The example of Dvīpa is quoted. Thirdly, it is stated all the other gods lead to disaster if any mistake is committed by the devotees, whereas Kṛṣṇa never takes into account the faults of His devotees and also the faults in their worship 173(a, b) Fourthly, it states that Vedas and

172. Cf. वह दामीकेश पुंकोणयी महापापपूर्ण ॥५॥ - ibid, p.359.
173(a) Vide Chapter - III(e).
173(b) Cf. और देवानाके भजन करत मैं जो या बोलको चूर्णि दर्शि परति है तब वाको भजन कोयी सब कृपा ही होई बात हैं और उबटो भजन करिकेवारे को वह देवता बुरोई करत हैं। और श्री कृष्णके भजन करत मैं जो बीत को चूर्णि परति हैं तो श्री कृष्णको बीताके सब दोषन को निवारण करते हैं। - Kāmaroli
MS No.89/16, P.163.
Puranas speak of salvation of the human beings only, while worship of Krsna, the Highest Lord, brings salvation to even birds and animals. Gajendra-moksa and Jatayu-moksa are instances in point. The com enjoins that a Vaisnava should not pray to God either for worldly or other-worldly benefit. The above-mentioned points lead us to believe that the com must be from the pen of GQ, who held the same views. But we cannot accept them as the final proof to decide the issue.

The com extensively quotes from the BG and the Gita and refers to irf and jnana. The com is very simple. Relation (sangati) of one stanza with the other is well stated. The style is attractive and offers pleasant reading. It is content enough to speak about firmness of mind (drdhnata) and attitude of refuge in Krsna, which is the sole purpose of the work.

8. Com on the Calths'loki (CS')

CS' is the tenth of the Sixteen Treatises of VL. It is in only four stanzas and tells us about

174(a) Cf. Shri chitransh Shrivastava: Chal says that GQ wrote a letter to the Kaphale gota is quoted by a statement in a translation: (Shri chitransh: Brahma Samhita, translated by GQ. Gandhi's notebook, p. 352.)

174(b) That GQ wote a letter to the Kaphale gota is proved by a statement in a translation: (Shri chitransh: Brahma Samhita, translated by GQ. Gandhi's notebook, p. 352.)
what should be the four objects of life (purusārthas) for the followers of the Pustimerga.\textsuperscript{175} There are seven comm on this work.\textsuperscript{176} six of them are by Vrajarayaji, GO, Mathuranathaji, Bhatta Krsnaraya, Mathes's Nathabhatta (who has written only on the first stanza of the OS') and Dvarakes'a, and one is anonymous, which is only explanatory and has nothing noteworthy about it.

Of these comm, those of Vrajarajaji and Mathuranathaji are elaborate and treat the subject of the work very well. The latter seems to be influenced by GO and refers to his (GO's) comm on Vallabhaṭṭaka at one place. His comm on St.1

\textsuperscript{175} It is also expressed in a different but sure manner in the following verse, found in the comm of Vratrasura - CS' by Vr and ascribed to VL: 

\begin{verse}
पुरििष्ठम दृश्यम धर्मोऽथ धरिते रिः
कामो दृश्यमद्वितीयोऽसः कृपणस्य चेतु पुष्पः
\end{verse}


\textsuperscript{176} The work is edited with the available seven comm by Messrs C.H. Shastri and H.V. Shastri in 1979 V.S.
begins with a sentence, which is found in the Badi-titra of GO. He explains each and every word and quotes authorities from VL and VT. He is the only author who accepts the reading instead of in St.3, Srinatha Bhatta says in his com that VL writes in this work (viz. OS') the conclusion of the discussions of all the scriptures, and discusses the problem of and .

GO's com is very short and simple. It has nothing noteworthy about it. As usual, he quotes various authorities and substantiates the view of the work. He explains as which, as he later says, to be cultivated by the divine souls (daivsjivam). In his long com on the SS, he also explains the first stanza of the OS'. The wording is different, but the meaning is the same.

177. The sentence " \( \text{Bhāavānapa...} \) " (Ibid, P. 14) is found verbatim in the Badi-titra (P. MS, P. 191).

178. Cf. श्री वल्लभाचार्यः...समासः...वैसास्वार्थः निरूपिता. - OS' P. 13.


180. Vide P. MS P. 191.
9. Com on the Bhaktivardhini (BhV)

BhV is one of the Sixteen Treatises, eleventh in number. It contains eleven stanzas and is written to show how bhakti is to be nourished and strengthened.

Twelve comm are available on the work. They are by Balakrsnajī, GO, Raghunāthajī, Kalyānarāyajī, Vallabhaḍī, Harirāyajī, Gopes'varajī, Purusottsmajī, Jayagopāla Bhatta, Lālūbhaṭṭa and Balakrsnajī; and one of the comm is anonymous.

GO first explains the purpose of the work, by raising a prima facie view. In the Purāṇas, it is already stated how bhakti is produced and increased; then why does VL repeat the subject, here? GO says that what the Purāṇas state is about Maryaḍa-bhakti and its means. VL has instituted a new path of bhakti viz. Pustibhakti, and hence here he shows the way of nourishing and increasing it. He explains some important words like वीक्षण, त्याग, स्वर्णमयी, अत्युति, etc., which GO to determine the sense of the work.

181. It is edited with the 12 available comm by Messrs M.T. Telivala and D.V. Sankalia in 1977 V.S.
He explains ब्यज्याब to be the acceptance by the Lord, after the soul has surrendered according to the tradition of Pushtimarga. He discusses this point also in his commentary on the Gadyamanta, which is different from the above explanation. According to GO, the seed of bhakti is produced by the Brahma-Sambandha. He, then, says that VL shows here the means for its increase. The means are the attitude of renunciation, listening to the sports of the Lord and singing His praise, and then he defines what they (renunciation etc.) are.

Other commentators differ from GO in the interpretation of some of the words. GO explains the word स्वर्गम (in stanza 2) as स्वर्गम भवन्तर and not the वर्णाश्रयम. He maintains that the

182. Cf. गुप्तविद्याधारिणिवन्दनं प्रवर्धितं स्वर्गमपकारस्वर्गमविवेचनानन्दं भवति निशाचर्य एव ब्यज्याब:। - Ibid, P.7.


184. Cf. भव स्वर्गमपदन वर्णाश्रयम न विविषितं: किंतु स्वर्गम-वर्णाश्रयम विविषितं:। कुत: वर्णाश्रयमपारं स्वर्गमाभावादृ।

- GVS - P.201.


The suffix तथापि is an adverbial suffix and does not change and therefore it indicates that तथापि means unchangeable permanent. Then, he emphasizes that according to the सुद्धार्थवाचर्य doctrine, स्वल्प and स्वत्व (कथा) are one and the same and in the comment on भ.7, he says that a deeply attached devotee attains firm devotion, superior to even the four types of salvation. The word पूजा (in भ.2) is here taken to mean पुन्निनामिक शेष and an example from the Venugita is given. One statement, made in this connection by GO, does not appear convincing. He says that worship of the Lord may be done with or without love, but it is पुन्निनामिक because the Highest Lord is worshipped in Pustimarga on account of the grace of the Acarya.

185. Cf. त्वत्स्वसमुद्भुतपृथक्यसमापि सद्भावऽ | | ——— GVS, P. 211.
186. Cf. तद्वस्तरोत्तरमृत्युष्ठमयाश्रमाध्यायी भविष्यात् | — | GVS, P. 202.
While discussing the result of 3TT¥f'Rf (intense attachment to the Lord), he says that there are two causes by which the attached devotee gets dislike for his home. They are चाषकत्व and भालमत्व. Here he raises a prima facie view. The S'ruti says that ता नित्रे पुराणां स्वाभाम पुरा: ग्रिप्या भजन्ति, किन्तु सात्तन:। निम्न पुरा:। ग्रिप्या भजन्ति, and how do the different relatives appear to be non-self? G0 answers that the soma does not experience self-relation (-स्वतःव-न्यक्त) in मृत्यु to the Lord and finds in Him alone, not even in himself.187

He explains the word ता (in St.9) in two ways. It means 'and' and also 'or'. He emphasizes on both ता and ता and does not approve of remaining in seclusion or leaving home. In the explanation of ता we find him laying stress on proper thinking and its execution. He does not consider mechanical utterance as useful.188

187. Cf. स्वतः भगवदास्तमा निरुपिन्देहान्तपत्तचैन हंगतात्वा-व्यावहार स्वरूपम्, न तु स्वात्मनि। -GVS, P.208.
188. Cf. गत्वे सम्प्रक्षावर्त्यजा न कैले पाठ्यायार्ज्जणं सिद्ध्व प्रविष्टद्वर्षिणान्वितार्पितद्विविष्यनमुष्टापृ। - GVS, P.219.
At the end of the com, GO, in all humility, asks forgiveness from the great Acarya for his audacity to explain his work.

The com is written in simple and flowing prose. All the utthanikas are properly framed and the relation of one stanza with the other is well stated. It shows that GO considers the path shown by VL as quite different from that or those propounded in other books, and does not consider the वणितंत्र्यम् as supreme.

There are different readings of some of the stanzas of the BhV. Bālakṛṣṇaṇaḷḷī and Gopes'vārajī read अंकुम्भ instead of क्षेत्र in St. 3, and Jayagopāla and Lālūbhatta and the anonymous com read नधेकुम्भ, which gives a good meaning, but there is no authority for it. The word सदृशिदिश्यक्षम in St. 8 is read as सदृशिदिश्यक्षियोऽ्रुत्स्य्यस्यपन्नकार्यम् by some and सर्वतोपपिच्छिन्य in St. 6 is read as सर्वतोपपिच्छिन्य. Vallabhajī reads विनाशकृष्ट instead of विनाशकृष्ट in St. 6. All these readings are not important, as they do not go to change the sense of the stanzas concerned.

Bālakṛṣṇaṇaḷḷī explains कोषभाव as सत्यन्वसन्तरसुन्दरार्थानुविवेकोपलोकान्त: अत्यद्वोपकालोपन्ह इति यावं द्रस्त: and then, says that कोषभाव अत्यद्वोपकालोपन्हु ॥ ॥

While explaining St. 4 and St. 5, he says that by love, there results attachment there results गुरुस्वरूपम् by attachment there results गुरुस्वरूपम् and by व्यक्ति there result वापकल्प and शामिलतेः. This appears logical. The word वा in St. 9, according to him, indicates दुकृत्वम् of स्वयम्, which is farfetched. Raghunathaaji interprets वोज्ञान just like Balakramaji. He says to the householders belonging to the way of convention, 190 which is not proper. Kalyanarayaji says that the eleven stanzas indicate that devotion purifies eleven senses and first ten stanzas (eleven minus the phala-s'ruiti) are written for implanting on the mind, the tenfold devotion. His com appears to have been influenced by that of Ragunathaaji, and there is nothing important in it. Harirayaji's com is in verse and what is new in his com, is this: he says that VL shows in the BhV how devotion can increase by त्वानु and नस्यनि बल्गः, which appears farfetched. Gopeshwaraji's com has nothing new to say. It is full of many quotations and appears to have an impression of GO's com. Purusottamaji's com is full of many quotations and he has given sources of most of the

190. Cf. मविद्यामयायांगुगुत्वानांविद्यायूर्ध्वकारयादुः:
-Ibid, P.15.
quotations. He refers to GO as प्रामः, but he has not refuted his views. According to him, St.1 refers to the way of increase in devotion of the मथय बनिकारी and St.2 has reference to the दीन बनिकारी. He explains the word bhakti etymologically and states that the bhakti defined in the नारद भस्मात्र is discussed in the BhV. He explains ब्यासः: as बणाश्रिंशधर्मविन्दुः, which does not appear proper. Vallabhajī's com has nothing new to say. Jayagopāla's com is the longest and also scholarly. He criticises GO's view by referring him by केचित्तो, as regards hiā (GO's) explanation of वीज्जान. He says that बीज is रति, while others (केचित्तो) understand वीज्जान as भाग्यरण. He explains the word धर्म in स्वर्णभर्ण, लिक्किलिक्कर्यम् and also दायिक्यम्.

The anonymous com also explains धर्म as दायिक्यम्. Lalubhatta mostly follows Harirāyajī in his com. The com of BālākranaJī (son of Vallabhajī), Giridharajī and Dvārakesajī give some different

191. Cf. केचित्तो बीज नाम....पुष्पमारमिक भाग्यरण, अन्धात्रि तर प्रुर्तिरेव न स्वादिस्वादिक्षारिण व्याकरणं। तत्त्वचलनम्।
- Ibid, P.52.
explanations of some words, but there is nothing important about them. Of all these comm, those of GO, Purusottamaji and Jayagopala appear to be important.

It should not be noted here that Jayagopala mentions two of his works in his com: प्रमस्करणप्रकृतिप्रवण and ग्रहपृष्टिकवास्रेखण, which are hardly known.


The Jalabheda is the 12th of the Sixteen Treatises. It has 21 stanzas and treats of the twenty types of the devotees who are compared to the twenty types of water mentioned in the seventh chapter of the Taittirlya Samhita.

Four comm on the work193 are available. They are by Kalyanarajaji, Purusottamaji, GO and Balakramaji. The editors of the work have stated that on the strength of the words बल दी गई on a MS of Nathadvarā and similarity of language of

193. It is edited with the four comm by Messrs M.T.Telivala and D.V.Sankalia in 1975 V.S.
that MS with that of GO's other comm, they have
ascribed the third comm to GO. It can also be said,
is addition, that we find, in the comm (on st.14)
the word 'धयपावित' which is mostly used by GO
in his works, and that the reference to the stanza
वर्णवत्ता . . . of the वेनुगीता Venugīta is in
the manner of GO. And, therefore, it is not wrong
in ascribing the comm in question to GO.

GO has shown that there are
different types of attitudes (bhāvas) and consequently
different types of the devotees. He has very well
explained the 20 types of devotees with different
authorities quoted from the Purānas and other works.

Furusottamājī's comm quotes fully the
mantra of the Taittirīya Samhitā and gives many
quotations from different scriptures. Kalyānāryājī also illustrates the different types of the devotees
with quotations and gives many etymological
explanations. Bālakṛṣṇājī's comm is simpler and
smaller than all the other three.

An independent tract on the stanzas
13 and 14 of the work is written by Harirāyājī,
and it is important. It correctly points out the
Pūṣṭimārgīya devotees and धर्मपरा (i.e. they worship
the Lord) while the devotees, following the way of
convention (maryādā) are धर्मपरा: (i.e. they
worship the qualities of the Lord). Then, the tract gives the six types of those devotees. The tract says that S'esa and Agni are the Puṣṭimārgiyas devotees and the others are māryādāmārgiyas. GO includes all those in the second category. Commentators differ in their interpretation of the above stanzas, but it should be noted that GO and Kalyānasāyaji have stuck to the devotion of the words and have not resorted to indication or suggestion.

11. Com on the Savānyāsa-nirnaya(SN)

SN is the fourteenth among the Sixteen Treatises. It contains 22 stanzas and treats the question of renunciation, the fourth stage (ās'ram) of life.

Eight comm on the work are available. They are by GO, Raghunāthajī, Gokulottasvajī, Gācā Gopes'ajī, Gopes'varajī, Purusottamajī, Vallaabhajī and Gācā Gopes'ajī.

194. The work is edited with the 8 comm by Messrs M.T. Telivala and D.V. Sankalia and is published in 1974 V.S.
(as stated by the editors). Of these comm, those of GO, Cāca Gopes'aji (son of Ghans'yāmajī) and of Purusottamajī are important. Others are comparatively brief and bring out in short the meaning of the work. In the case of Vallabhaṭa's comm, it is to be noted that he explains the word कौणिन्यः\textsuperscript{195} (ṭ.8) as 'the queens', whereas all the other commentators take it as the name of a sage referred to in the भविष्योत्तर पुराण.\textsuperscript{196}

Gopes'aji's comm (i.e. no. 4 in the printed edition of Messrs. Pelivala and Sankalia) is very lucid and according to my opinion, the best of all. It is, as it were, a vivaraṇa on the comm of GO. Purusottamajī's comm is the longest of all and explains the various points with copious quotations from several authorities. He differs from others in one important point. He connects and this work with अक्षर/says that VL did not obey the two Divine Calls (अजुना) and when there was a third

\textsuperscript{195} Cf. कृषिणेन भवा कौणिन्यः श्राधान्धिनि।......वर्ग एव महिष्य: कौणिन्यः। - Ibid, P. 75.

\textsuperscript{196} Vide P. 17, Ibid.
Call, he thought of taking to renunciation and hence in the SN, he (VL) thinks over the path of renunciation. He explains the last stanza in the same context.\footnote{197}

GO’s com explains all points, referred to in the work. His style in this work is elaborate, compared to that of SR. He says that the purpose of the work is to show how the bhaktimargiya renunciation differs from the maryadāmargiya renunciation. He has explained well in his com their difference by quoting the authority of the BG. Kaundinya belongs to the path of convention. GO explains why he is mentioned as a guru. In the com on St.19, he explains very clearly why the word Hari is used in the particular context,\footnote{198} and in the com on St.20 he shows how the path of devotion is superior to the path of knowledge. He emphasizes that unless there is mental anguish (कस्तक्षण) and uneasiness (भलवास्य), a true devotee should not take to renunciation, otherwise it would lead to pretension and disaster,

\footnote{197} Vide P.71, Ibid.

\footnote{198} Cf. ...स्वपनेक भृत्स्वास्यं बुमलिदा स्वसैवावं फक्षप्रतिवन्धकवत्... भवेदु हस्पितवमिद्रापनार्थविन्यस्तं हरिरहि न सक्षमति स्वपि बाणां दुलो परे हरित। - - Ibid, P.11.
and that the renunciation does not lead to the highest fruit, but it breeds only repentance. GO refers to this work in his long comment on the SS and repeats his comment on st.12 of the SN in it also.

There are some different readings in some of the stanzas. Raganāthajī notes a reading प्रकृःतिः in st.9, and accepts कल्याणः (in st.11) instead of वाण्यः. Purusottamajī reads प्रविष्टार्थम् (in st.3) instead of प्रवृत्तार्थम् and कालत: (in st.5) instead of कामत: But all these readings are not important, as they do not go to change the meanings of the stanzas concerned.

12. Comment on the Nirode-laksanas (NL)

NL is one of the Sixteen Treatises, 15th in number. It is written in 20 stanzas. In it, ........................

199. Cf. श्रव: कल्याणः प्रविष्टार्थम् स्वाभाविकत्वात् तद् यथिरे यथावत् जन्मापत्य ज्ञानार्थ वस्तुप्रक्षेपिक्रमस्यक्रियार्थ भावातु पर्वतार्थि प्रवृत्तार्थविनि: हेतुत्सविति: - Ibid, P.10.

200. Cf. इत्यादिष्ठि: महाप्रविष्टार्थि त्यागार्थयागनिष्ठार्थयागनि- प्रविष्टार्थविनि: - सू.222.

201. Vide P.217, Ibid.
VL shows the way of effecting nirodha, i.e., fixing one's mind firmly in God.

There are six comm available on the work.202 They are by Gopa'sjI, VallesbajI HarirayajI, GO, FurusottamajI and VrajarayajI. Gopes'ajI's com is short and simple and paraphrases each stanza. His com on st.8 and st.10 is more extensive than those of others and interprets रूपेक्षण and निरीक्षण as रूपमत्यंतर्.203 VallesbajI's com has nothing noteworthy to say, excepting that it says in the beginning that the स्वरूपविवर्णम of nirodha is shown in the 10th book of the BG and the लक्षणम is shown in the NL.204 HarirayajI's com is the longest and the best to my mind. It extensively quotes from the UR, the BG and the works of VL and discusses what nirodha is and what comprises its 'phala'. FurusottamajI

202. The work is edited with the six comm by Messrs M.T. Telivala and D.V. Sankalia and is published in 1973 V.S. The editors note in the preface that they are not sure whether there are any more comm hidden into the bulk of the MSS collected in different temples.

203. Vide P.4, Ibid.

204. Vide P.8, Ibid.
shows, in the beginning the logical connection of NL with SN, BhV and Sevaphala. In this respect, his com is very helpful in understanding the purport of the four works. According to PurusottamaJi, the first three stanzas show the nirodha, of the three types of the adhikaris, viz., the low, the middle and the highest. He explains स्वित्वदानंदता (st.9) as वाक्यरूपमया, which does not appear proper. The com of VrajeRajaji explains the work in simple language. At places, he gives good interpretations of certain words, e.g. गोकुल in St.1 is interpreted as इन्द्रकुल also.

GO’s com is one of the good com on NL. In the com on the first stanza, he says that the unhappiness experienced by Yas‘oda, Nanda and the Gopīs is beyond our reach. Therefore, only probability of its attainment is mentioned and NL has not prayed for it. He later explains that in experiencing such pain of separation, there is intense joy. While explaining st.4, he says that

205. Vide P.47, Ibid.
206. Vide P.52, Ibid.
207. Cf. एवंदुःस्य भ्रमितस्यापि सुधाकृत्तचतुर्वधार भवोदुर्यूक्तस्येकैः नाशितुर्विभाषस्यायणाय समवावनैकाय, नेत्र प्रार्थनम्। - - Ibid, P.30.
the word 'mahat' is used for the svaminis alone, which is in accordance with the statement of VT. Viz., श्रीमान्यर्ग स्वामिन्य एव गुरुः but the sense is very restricted and excludes the disciples of VL and VT, mentioned in the 84 and 252 Vartas, and such other spiritually highly qualified devotees. The commentator, then, shows the difference between the निरोध of अनानार्य and that of भक्तिमार्य, in which pain of separation rules supreme. He interprets यज्ञिदानवंत्य in स्त्रा.10 (or स्त्रा.9 according to others) as व्रजमाथवंतपि: and also as भक्तिलोपताः, which is consistent with its etymological meaning.

VL, in स्त्रा.16 of the treatise, says that a devotee has to be free from envy and greed and GO correctly emphasizes that man having these vices cannot cultivate devotional spirit at all, which is psychologically true. PurusottamaJI says that स्त्रा.17 and स्त्रा.18 point to other means (शाखान्त:), whereas GO explains them at length in continuity.

208. Cf. तन महाशादेन स्वामिन्य एवोकता इत्यवम्यते! Ibid, P.33.
211. Cf. भक्तिलोपताः मार्यार्य शीताधमवः गुणार्णानामणत्य भोभे तु स्वामिन्यास्विषति कुरुस्तदवः: -- -Ibid, P.38.
with the previous stanzas.

The introductory lines (utthanikas), in each of the stanzas in GO's com, are really nice and go to show consistency of one stanza with the other.

The order of the stanzas followed by GO, is not accepted by others. In GO's and Purusottamajī's comm, stanza 9 and 10 are interchanged. Vallsbhajī follows still a different order. Purusottamajī refers to this state of affairs at the end of his com. It is strange to find such a thing. How this came to happen is inexplicable to-day. Another thing to be noted about the work is this. Different commentators accept different readings in some of the stanzas. GO reads तवः instead of चचः in st.10, तु instead of त्र in st.9. But what is noteworthy is the reading of the stanza No.12 d (st. 14 d or 16 d according to Purusottamajī and Vallsbhajī respectively). GO reads it as भूमिनः द्रादमः योपि येव whereas others read it as भूमि ईश्वर्य योपि येव ! It appears very strange. Of the six commentators, GO is chronologically first and no one refers to the reading of GO, in his com. GO explains the word तदां as the self with the eleven senses with all their objects and explains भूमिनः as भूमि, which does not appear proper. Whether he read some another
In his long com on the SS also, Go explains the first three stanzas of the NL, but substantially there is no difference between it and the com in the NL. 213

13. Com on the Madhurastaka

The Madhurastaka is a small eklogy of Krsna, e in 8 stanzas, composed by VL. It describes the charm and pleasantness of all things connected with Krsna, the Lord of all charm and pleasantness (मधुराचरण). On this work, 214 there are six comm in Sanskrit and one in Vrajabhāsa. They are by VT, Ghanṣ'ya, Balakrsnajī, GO, Raghunāthajī and Hariyajī. The com in Vraja bhāsa is ascribed

212. Of...पर्यावरत्नोत्तरप्रत्येकदेवलोचनाएवो भवने... tātāni prabhāyaṁ samāsumudravāya yāt ca ādhyātmikābhāvyābhāvyā kalpāṁ vijñānadvaitaḥ pūrṇaṁ yasya pravardhānam apy utāmānām avasthitāṁ kṛṣṇāḥ tattvātmanāṁ śuddhājñānaṁ yatrāḥ tavanām yādāḥ

213. Vide P. VS P. 164, 165.

214. The work is edited by Shri M.T. Telivala and is published in 2018 V.S. by Pustimārgiyā Yuvaka Paris'ada of Bombay.
to VT, and is not the translation of his Sāmkṛta com.

Of these comm, that of Raghunāthājī is short and clearly explains all the stanzas. One thing is noteworthy about it. It notes a second reading of the last quarter of the stanzas, it is मधुराविषेषते: , which is not noted by any other commentator. Ghanas'yāmajī's is a sub-com on the com of VT. It is incomplete and there is nothing noteworthy in it. Harirāyājī has written a 'तत्तपर्या' in ten stanzas only and has stated that the eulogy refers to two things: the attributes (dharmāḥ) and the form (svarūpa) and that the devotees describe to each other the 'rasātmake svarūpa' of Hari.

The com of VT is a good piece. It states that everything pertaining to Kṛṣṇa and sports in the 'nikuṇja' are charming. The com is a good example of 'gaudī' style of prose.

The com of Bālakṛṣṇājī is also good. There are long compounds, but even then the language is lucid. It explains why the word 'adhare' (lower lip) is mentioned first and explains the charming nature and form of the Lord, by quoting the incidents from the Phala-prakāraṇa of the Gī. It also interprets
the first four stanzas with reference to the child-sports of Krsna.

The com of GO is the longest and one of the best ones. After obeisance to VL, the commentator says that VL could not bear separation from the Lord and he, therefore, passed his time in singing the eulogy of the Lord. A question may be raised here as to how to connect this statement with the subject of the AKP. But there is no difficulty in reconciling these two statements.

The obeisance is unusually long (written in 9 stanzas) and the com of each of the next stanzas is preceded by two verses. The com gives various interpretations, sometimes three, sometimes four or five too, of each of the words of each stanza.

215. The editor Shri Telivala says that the com in question is ascribed to Hariräysä by some persons but according to his estimate it should be ascribed to GO. The language and the way of interpretation are in line with GO's com of the SS. (Vide P.67,ibid).

The argument of the editor is full of weight, but no any other cogent proof is available in this respect.
the stotra. It rightly states that in attributes (dharmah) is mentioned and then that of the Dhammad is mentioned. To show the charm of the different limbs of and the things connected with the Lord, the commentator copiously refers to the incidents of Krsna's life, as depicted in the tenth book of the BG. It also makes references to the SS and the Gitagovinda of Jayadeva. It can be said that GO's com is as charming as the stotra itself. The style is pleasing and the diction is perspicuous and hence the com offers a pleasant reading. It shows that the author of the com is a devout bhakta and well-read in the BG.

The Vrajabhasa com, ascribed to VT, is faulty at many places. Like other com, it also describes the child-sports of Krsna, to prove the charming nature of everything connected with the Lord.

217. Vide P. 34 and P. 45, Ibid.
216. Of. एवं वर्तितिष्ठ्यापूर्व्यं निरूपयं व धर्मविविष्ठमापुर्यं निरूपणसंविधांश्च। यत् भर्तीणां माधुर्योऽस्मिन् भावपूर्वकं निरूपितं तद् धर्ममापुर्यं कि वाच्यामिति केमुदिक्याय: प्रदर्शितं इत्ययः। — — —

A strange thing needs to be noted as regards this com. It is in respect of different readings of the stanzas. It takes करणं, श्रामिलं and करणं (st.5) as करणं, श्रामिलं, and करणं respectively, it reads शिष्टं (st.7) as शुभं and गावं: (st. 8) as गावं and explains the words as such. It interprets the word वदवितं (st.2) as acceptance of the devotees in the रुपस्मिरणिया way and the word वदवितं (st.8) as विद्वात्मक स्वरूप: • This is farfetched.

I have seen one more व्रजाभासा com in the विद्याविश्वास of कान्हकर्मी. It runs up to the com of वचनं मूर्तं in st.2 and is very fine. It is ascribed to GO. On comparing it with the साम्स्कृति com of GO, it is found that both are different from each other. It is

218. Vide साम्स्कृति MS No.85/1. A few lines of the com are quoted here:

वचनं श्रीताकुर्णिके सर्वं भावात्मक हैं ताको भावसहित वर्णन करत हैं, . . . को प्रयोग भावात्मक भावकर वर्णन करतो है ताके सम्बन्ध महापूर्व हैं लो श्रीनाथजीको स्वरूप श्रृंग जुन यह कार्यको स्वरूप श्रृंग ज्ञात जार्दित बांधने हैं श्रीताकुर्णिको बांधे को महाप्रभु देखते हैं लो वर्णन करत है . . .

-MS, P.28.
possible that GO might have written two com on the Madhurastaka, one in Sanskrit and the other in Vrajabhāṣā. But no more evidence in this respect is available.

14. A tract on the Gayatrī-bhāṣya (Gayatrī-bhāṣya)

VL is said to have written a small gloss on the Vedic stanza (RV III 62 10), known as the Gayatrī. Although the gloss is known as GB in the sampradaya, GO calls it vivrti in the colophon of his tract on it.

Hindu scriptures enjoin the muttering of the Gayatrī always 67 by the twice-born. VL, VT, GO and others, therefore, wrote on it and gave interpretations which suited to the Suddhadvaita doctrine. Purusottamajī has written a sub-com on

219. It is edited by Prof. M.G. Shastri with the comm of VT, Purusottamajī etc. also. I have referred here to its third edition published in 1974 V.S.

220. Cf. इति कीर्तिदासाचार्यवर्णकृतमात्रादेवतीविभुत्यपरि स्वरूपः 
लेखस्तरलम्बात्माबालानामिति दिक्ष। - Ibid, P.6.
the Vyakhyā of VT. Mathes' a Indires' a and
Govardhans Bhatta have also written comm on the
Gayatri.

As regards the authorship of the
GB, there appears to be a difference of opinion.
Shri L.P. Parekh says that

Shri C.H. Shastri has also discussed
the question of the authorship of GB. His
arguments are as follows:

(1) The paragraph beginning with
the word स्नित्तु and ending with the words द्विति भाव:
is found verbatim in the AnBh on the ophorism
No.3-3-37. Now, this part of the AnBh is written by
VT. It cannot be said that VL quoted from that part
of AnBh written by VT. It is GO who must have quoted
from his father.

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221. L.P. Parekh, Vallesbācaryajī, P.386. The author
does not state anything else in favour of his statement.

222. Vide Shri C.H. Shastri: नवी विचारणाभावी

223. Vide GB (ed. Prof. M.G. Shastri), P.4 and P.5.
(2) In the tract of GO, the whole passages of the GB are included verbatim. GO does not call his tract a तिका but calls it 'an independent article'. So, it is possible that GO first wrote the GB and later he might have made additions in the form of 'the article'.

(3) Neither VT nor Purusottamaji makes a mention of the GB of VL.

(4) By the words दशाकर्त्तमवृद्धि प्रपंचितमस्थापि: 224 it is said that, in the comment on the tenth book of the BG, the writer of the GB has shown how the knowledge of pure Monism is acquired. Now, there is no reference to this, in the Sub on the tenth book of the BG. Hence the GB cannot be ascribed to VL.

(5) Consequently, the reading स्थष्टो नेति 225 must be स्थष्टो दशि , because the meanings of प्रणाव etc. are given by VT in his गायत्रीकारिका and the author of the GB has not explained them. If स्थष्टो नेति is taken as the correct reading, the author of the GB should have explained them. But he

224. Ibid, P.5.

has not. So, it is right to say that the author of the GB is GO.

The above arguments, excepting argument No. 3, are cogent enough to carry out the stand. The arguments can be substantiated: The GB is a gloss and while the 'lekha' seems to be an addition and expansion. There is a brief com on the SS by GO and again he has written a longer com, and all the sentences, excepting a few words, here and there, of the brief com are found verbatim in the longer com. Similar is the case of the GB and the 'lekha'. GO has incorporated the whole GB in his 'lekha'. Secondly, the well known words used in the GB are found in the SS. Did VT take them from the GB or the author of the GB copied from the SS? Thus, on account of all these arguments, it appears that VL is not the author of the GB, but possibly GO is the author of the GB as well as the 'lekha'.

If the GB is taken to be the work of GO, it is to be also accepted that he wrote , but such a work of his is not traced to-day.

But there is another possibility also.

The passage in question (नन्……...िति भावः) may not be originally the part of the GB. It might have been added later from the 'lekha' of GO, by some scribe. The continuity of the GB is not broken by removing the passage. Or it can be argued that VT took the passage ad verbum from the GB in the AnBh.

Then, there is the question about colophon of the lekha, which mentions VL to be the author. In reply, one can say that the colophon may not be genuine, for GO does not generally mention himself तदांतवात्मकवानान्. It might have been added later.

So it can be concluded that if the passage 'नन्…..िति भावः' is taken to be a genuine part of the GB, then, we have to admit that the GB cannot be ascribed to VL. If the passage does not form the part of the GB, it can be ascribed to VL.

GO explains गायत्री to suit the S'uddhavaita view. तव is explained as Kṛṣṇa, the High Lord or the Truth, शब्दः is said to stand for the creator Kṛṣṇa; the word वर्णम् is taken to devote परस्परवरण (mutual acceptance) and भर्गः is interpreted as भजनीयपूयनान् of Kṛṣṇa and it is stated that abolition of worldly existence (संसारनिवृत्ति)
is caused by the प्रेमकर्त्ता of Krsna. Pustimarga is a path of perfect love and dedication and so, the word प्रेमिक is taken to mean प्रेमिक कर्म. The word प्रेमद्वार is understood as 'lead us to the eternal dance रामलीला'. The whole Gāyatrī is taken to be Svarupa of Śrīmānji.227

The salient points of the tract are as follows:

(1) The 'rasātmaka' (bliss) form of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā (Śrīmānji) is explained in the same way as found in the long com of the SS.
(2) The way of devotion (bhaktimarga) is described as the way beyond the means of proof. 228
(3) While interpreting the word बरेष्य , G0 discusses why in the eight-syllabic mantra, the word Kṛṣṇa is used with Śrī. It is explained that in the eight-syllabic mantra Kṛṣṇa is बल्लिदानर्दर्श: and in the Gāyatrī mantra He is उदानतर्दा: . In the teaching of the first mantra, both knowledge

227. Cf. गाय Lockheed वाद्यतैल...... भक्तिभावन उत्तराधिकारीतितरदात्ता श्री स्वामिनियाथैते। - Ibid, P.1. Cf. also प्राकृतसाधायापि गाय Lockheed श्रीमुखाभावाथव विकेिया । - - - - -

- Ibid, P.1.

228. Cf. ....प्रभाणानित्वेऽभक्तिमार्ग...... - Ibid, P.1.
and action are implied. (4) In the discussion of the word विनिबु: , the theory of manifestation without a change (विनिबुः विनिवर्गारम्भवाद) is emphasized, and गृहोर (i.e. स्वामित्रि) is said to be the agent of the vast creation. (5) It is said that the गृहोर is the seed, औद्य is the tree and the BG is the fruit, the abode of rasa. Here, it is also said that according to the path of devotion, salvation is immaterial; it is insignificant in comparison to the rasa. 229 According to GO, the central theme of the BG is the Phala-prakarana (X-26 to 32 or X-29 to 35). Just as a tree is produced from its seed, here too the tree in the form of the Veda is produced from the seed in the form गृहोर, which is also called वेदात्म. Then, it is said that the tree in the form of the Veda is कृष्णगुणारकुलक: and that tree is produced by the deep esoteric attitude (निगृह्वभाव ) of स्वामित्रि. In the end, their oneness is stated. 230 (6) The महावाक्य तत्वमार्य is


230. Cf. वर एव प्राकृत्यात्मावर्गि गायत्रीयुपेण श्रीमृणारामनवेव विदेशया, देवलविदुष्मत्वारिपेण कृष्णगुणारकुलपुष्पम: फलवीष्ट्ररूपेदर्पन्तात्व: फल वीर्य विन्न फल दशोऽ: फलवीष्ट्ररूपेण प्रभुविश्वन्तसमि..... ! -Ibid, P.5.
interpreted as तृत्य त्वमसि and oneness of the meaning of कृपायमसि and कृपण कवास्य is established. The first is said to be विद्यमानात्मक and the latter is said to be संवैभवात्मक.

In this tract, GO refers to his three works स्तवं, संवैभवात्मिक and भावनामूषण. The first appears to be his tract on the stanza "अपि श्रोमणि भोजनंसि (BG - X - 15 - 11) of the long com on the SS and the second is GO's brief com on the SS. No work having a title भावनामूषण is traceable to-day. At some places in his long com on the SS, GO uses the word भावमूषण and possibly भावमूषण or भावमूषण might have been a figurative title of the long com. But in the absence of any other authority or cogent evidence, it remains a moot point.

We find, in the tract, that the author has propounded an original and non-traditional interpretation of the Gayatri. It may be objected

231. Vide P.5, Ibid.

232. Cf. मया स्नातनी इरिपोणो गुप्तज्ञानक्रियाप्रस्तुत्वाते संवैभवात्मापि विवृति प्रयंचितसिद्धि। - - - - - Ibid, P.2, ...Cf.

also, ...इत्यज्य महाभाषार्थस्यमया भावनामूषणमुद्भावित विक्रियों।

- Ibid, P.5.

233. Vide Chapters III and III(a).
that the meanings given by GO are unauthentic and have no bearing on the wording of the Gayatri; for example, the word वर्त्तमान in it is interpreted as कालवर्त्तमान. Similarly, it can be argued that the Gayatri is a stanza from the Rgveda Samhita, and how can it be called वद्वारा? It must be admitted that there is a truth in the arguments. But we have to remember that GO gives in his tract, a sectarian interpretation, an interpretation in keeping with the S'uddhadvaita doctrine. The interpretation is based on the acceptance of the belief in the world of divine sports (लीलावद्धि or the मोहीक), where Krsna is eternally sporting with His consort Radha alias वर्त्तमान, with all the necessary accessories and which is the ultimate destination of a devotee believing in the S'uddhadvaita doctrine.

The style of the tract is mature and difficult to follow. The sentence construction is elaborate and full of long compounds and at places it is disorderly. We find the same style in his long comment on the SS and in his tract on the stanza 'समस्त
We find in the commentator a convinced profound scholar of S'uddhadvaita Philosophy.

(iv) Comm on the two Mantras & Other tracts

1. Comm on the Eight-syllabic Mantra

Aṣṭākṣara or the eight-syllabic mantra (कृष्ण: शरणं मम) is well known among the Vaisnavas. As tradition goes, the mantra is to be silently muttered by the devotees, while he turns, on his finger-tips, a rosary of 108 beads. VT and GO have written comm on this mantra.

I have read GO's comm on the eight-syllabic mantra in MS. The comm begins with obeisance to Kṛṣṇa, VL and VT. The colophon reads:

As the MS is found in the collection of a Bharuci Vaisnava and as the general spirit of interpretation is in line with other comm of GO, it

234. The MS is available in the MSS-collection ofhari Nathji Madhavji of Kapadvanj (Dist. Kaira,) Gujarat).

235. The MS is hopelessly incorrect.
is not wrong to accept the com as the work of GO.

The work extends over nearly three pages and as it is incorrect, it is difficult to follow at some places: e.g. the sentences श्रीकृष्णमारणे देवं एकस्मादाकारे भवति and श्रावणाशैपुरार भाषये यथा शक्तितं उच्चते are difficult to understand.

The com first gives the views of different systems of philosophy and then shows the purpose of the birth of VL and the Brahma-sambandha. The main point to be noted is this: the Gāḍhyāyāntra refers to the 'virahātmaka' form of Kṛṣṇa, while the eight-syllabic mantra refers to the 'rasātmaka' form of Kṛṣṇa. The word 'Śrī' is said to be indicative of this.

There is another small work (tract) ascribed to GO. It is जपप्रकार भगवा महादात्मारणरणम् व्यासानं. Its MSS are available in Kāṅkaroli, Nāthādvarā and Kāṁsvana. The tract is simple, but 235. In the Vidyāvibhāga of Kāṅkaroli there is one MS (Sanskrit section No. 54/93), on which the words "श्रीनायुतात्मको व्रज" are found. It contains four leaves of the size of 9¾" x 5". The lists of MSS of the Devakīndana Rustakalaya of Kāṁsvana and of Nāthādvarā also mention a work, called and ascribe it to GO. I could have no access to them, but the MSS may be the same as the MS of Kāṅkaroli. There is one जपप्रकार in Vrajaśibhāga (Kāṅkaroli MS No. 90/2, P. 168) which is the gist of the work under discussed discussion).
incorrect at some places. It shows how to mutter the two mantras, the five-syllabic (कृष्ण ललित) and the eight-syllabic. It shows that the fruit of the first is 'सृवत्तमेभवां' and that of the second is two-fold: God's grace and desire to give the highest fruit to the devotee and secondly the removal of demoniac nature. The first is to be muttered while the devotee sits before the Lord (i.e. the idol) and the other, to be muttered when he is out of the nisse-mandir (parokse). The work enjoins a devotee to remember all the sports of Krsna, to have the spirit of humility and to conceive the feeling of sepration, while muttering the mantras.

Both these tracts have nothing new to say, and perhaps therefore, are not widely known.

2. Comm on the Gadyamantra

There are two mantras (incantations) used for initiation or consecration in the Pustimrgs; one is the eight-syllabic mantra, also called नाममंत्र or वर्णमंत्र, and the other is the Gadyamantra, also called निवेदनमंत्र, अयपर्णमंत्र.
It is believed that the first mantra qualifies a devotee to do the nine-fold worship, while the second one qualifies him to do bhagavat-seva.

It is said that once VL was drowned in deep anxiety as regards the uplift (or elevation) of the divine souls, engrossed in their mundane circumstances and not remembering their original form. The day was the eleventh of the bright half of the month of Sravana and the time of was mid-night. At that time, Lord Govardhanasthaj, manifested Himself to VL and 'gave' (taught) him the said Gadyamantra and asked him (VL) to consecrate the souls with it. The Lord said that such consecration would unite the souls with Him and will qualify them to serve (worship) Him. The incident is noted in the SR of VL. It is also said that the Lord only asked VL not to worry but to teach the souls to surrender themselves to Him. The mantra was a spontaneous utterance of dedication by VL.

The mantra is esoteric in nature and is not uttered in public and is not muttered without taking a bath and keeping a state of uparana (untouchability). The gist of the mantra is this: I am separated from Thee, O Lord Krsna, for thousands of
years and even do not remember that I am separated from Thee. Now I surrender to Thee everything, that I consider mine, I wholly resort to Thee, I am Thy slave. Complete whole-hearted surrender and complete identification with the will of God is the spirit of this mantra, which bespeaks the nature of Fustimarga. 237

237. The same spirit is noticed in Radha's prayer of S'ri Mätaji, uttered in the Arvindas'rams of Pondicherry. The teaching of Arvind Ghosh has much similarity with that of VL. I have heard some persons calling it, Neo-vaishnavism. Some lines from Radha's prayer are quoted below:

"O Thou whom at first sight I knew for the Lord of my Being and my God, receive my offering. Thine are all my thoughts, all my emotions, all the sentiments of my heart ........ I am absolutely Thine, Thine without reserve. What Thou wilt of me that I shall be. Whether Thou choosest for me life or death, happiness or sorrow....... all that come from Thee will be welcome. Each one of Thy gifts will be always for me a gift divine bringing with it supreme felicity."
I have seen five comments on the Gadyamatra. Two of them are by GO, Vrajabharaṇajī, Harirājaḷī and Giridharaṇajī, and one comment does not mention its author clearly; a note at the end of the comments states that the author may be either GO or Vallabhaḷī Lekhavāla or some Laksmana Bhatta. The comments, excepting that of GO, are very short and do not

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238. I read them in MS. I got the MS from Shri P.T. Kavi of Nadia. The MS is a diary of the size of 4\(\text{\textquotedbl}1\text{\text quotedbl}}\times 7\text{\text quotedbl}}\). The comments are given in it in the following order:

2. Comment of Vallabha - 10 pages.
3. Comment of Harirayaḷī - 10 pages.
5. Comment of Giridharaṇajī - 16 pages.

The above comments were taken down from a published book, which is not available today.

The Comment of GO is available in print, published in the GVS.


Cf. also...स्वयं विहीनप्रदानकुलारण प्रणीतार श्री गोकुलनाथाय प्रवल्लभे षुकृतो वा, नवपुष्पकाल्नुकारणे केवलफरीत्या शस्त्र कार्मकाल्मणं भद्रं वा तमिलसे अव सक्षमः। — — — —

— Ibid, P.11.
discuss any important point. Vrajjabharanaji says that Lord Krsna is emotional, and so there are two mantras, the first is meant for all and the second is for those who are dear to VrL. He explains the words of the mantra with quotations from the BG and the Sub. Harirëyajñi enjoins muttering of both the mantras, after obeisance to VrL and VrL and then the teacher who teaches (gives) the mantra. Giridharajñi does not add anything more, but notes that GO is said to have added the word Śrīgopācāryavallabhāy in the mantra and then he shows its purpose.

Purusottamaññi has not written a comment on the Gadyamantra, but in his comment on the SR, he discusses how गद्यमन्त्र by the Gadyamantra differs from that shown in the BG. He also says why both males and females are asked to make सार्पण and what the word दारा signifies.

GO's comment is the longest and the earliest of all the available comments on the Gadyamantra, and brings out the true meaning of the mantra. He categorically states that the mantra is taught by the Lord. He explains each

240. Cf. विज्ञानार्थीं मूर्तिपीडिताम् प्रकाशितां भववेदं चिन्तनात् - श्रीमदभागवतसर्वप्रत्यक्षानुसरणार्थैः विषयिति। - GVS, F.103.
and every word of the mantra and their propriety. He states why the word परिवर्त्त कर instead of वंत्त कर is used. He raises a prima facie view, which states that नापकल्प, caused by worldly affairs are referred to in the mantra, and he replies that it is not so; नापकल्प caused by the separation from the Lord are referred to in the mantra. Such separation is experienced by those who are accepted by the Lord. The commentator says that the words देवेद तम्मसिंि and दारागार • • • • •• of the mantra, respectively indicate the object of I-ness ( अर्जुन ) and mineness ( मनुष्य ) , and therefore, they are to be dedicated to the Lord. He gives an ingenious interpretation of the word ज्ञान , which is to be understood as the other word. If a soul earns merit ( पुण्य ), he has to go to the other world and that would delay the soul's accompaniment with the Lord. Hence, all merits too, are to be surrendered to Him. The word ज्ञान is used twice in the mantra and GO rightly says that the first ज्ञान is to be taken as 'I' full of ego and the next ज्ञान is to be understood as ' I ' free from ego, because the soul first surrenders everything to the Lord and then says दारागार क्रमन तवादि.
He has shown the difference between the paths of knowledge and the Pustimarga. The first enjoins the means such as restraint of mind and senses etc., while the latter is based on dedication, service of the Lord with love, which releases the soul from the five-fold ne-science. He shows that surrender (समर्पण) is a sacrament just like the teaching of the Gayatri.

The ladder of elevation is shown in this way:

समर्पण \rightarrow क्षेत्राधिकार \rightarrow प्रेम, माधविक,

अध्यन \rightarrow भाषाद्विगुणि \rightarrow परसे \ :\ 242

In this com, he has discussed the meaning of the word वर्णक्रम used in BhP (St.1) and has shown consistency of what is stated in BhP, SN and TDN. In it, he categorically states that the giving up of वर्णक्रम is not necessary for

\[ \text{241. Vide GVS F.106 and F.107.} \]

\[ \text{242. Of ...पुष्टिमार्गोऽत्वत्स्तविनियितपूर्वक स्वाम्यक्ति कथव} \]

\[ \text{देहादिविनियोगे प्रमोदपूर्वा तद्विधातः भाषाद्विगुणितस्तती} \]

\[ \text{विग्रहभाविन देहाव्यवेन वाकाद्वभन्नन्दनानुमः} \]

\[ \text{--} \]

\[ \text{-- Vide GVS, F.107.} \]
doing Lord's worship. 243

An important point to be noted in connection with GO's com on the Gadyamantra is this: It is said that the mantra did not contain the word श्रीगोपीवल्लभाय, but GO later added it. Followers of the 'Six Houses' do not include that word when they utter the mantra, while the followers of the 'Fourth House' include it in the mantra. GO considers the word श्री—श्रीगोपीवल्लभाय as a part of the mantra itself and states that the word is used to qualify the word गृहानाथाय. According to him the word गोपीवल्लभाय is used to indicate Krishna's nature of having the sentiment of love ( पुन्मारस्सूरपत्ति ), the word 'S'rI' is used to indicate the Gopis and it is suggested that union with the Lord is assured by complete surrender to the Lord of Love, and that no other means are necessary. 245 A question may be asked why did GO add the word in the sacred mantra?

243. Cf. वन वाणिज्यवात्स्यामाग्री भववत्तेश्वरप्रेमिन्या स्वस्य गुरुधारीनां ज दोषानाभाय। GVS p.110.

244. यI had seven sons. GO was his fourth son. After yI passed away, the seven sons got separated, & established their separate seats. Followers of GO are called the followers of the 'Fourth House' and others are called followers of the 'Six Houses'.

245. Cf. तेन पूण्मारस्सूरपत्तिके कुलनात्मकविदेशीय संयोगस्वायत्ति प्रारंभिकता न तद्रथ साधनान्तरायणकोणिकान। - GVS, p.104.
In defence, it be said, tbat he might have done so with a view to clarifying and emphasizing the fact that प्रत्यं mentioned in the mantra is the Lord of the Gopīs and not VL and/or his descendents.  

But nowhere does he state that the word in question is not a part of the mantra. How this state of affair with regard to the mantra took place is a point which remains unexplained in the absence of any more information. Did GO offer another version of the mantra? 

246. The Encyclopaedia of Religions and Ethics wrongly states that "The dedication in the first instance ...is that which takes place when the offering is made to the guru, through whom it reaches Krsna of whom he is the manifestation Vol. XII, P. 581 - 582.  

247. I met some Bhrucı Vaisnavas and inquired of them whether GO added the word in question in the mantras. I was informed that the mantra in GO's handwriting is treasured at Vallasbhagā (Gokul) and in Broach and in neither of them, the word in question occurs. I had no opportunity to read the mantra in GO's handwriting and hence cannot opine about the veracity of the information.
There is another small comment on the Gadyamantra, which is ascribed to GO. In the beginning it treats, in short, the subject of the nature of Brahman and how the Gadyamantra came into existence. Then, the mantra is given and explained. There is nothing noteworthy about this comment.

In connection with the mantra, one point needs to be noted. Shri M. T. Telivala opines that the original mantra was only कृपण तंगारिम.

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248. If I read the MS of the comment, called संर्फणविवृति: in Kapadvenj (Dist. Kaira). I saw the MS in the collection (Vol. X) of Pari Nathaji Madhavji. The MS is incorrect. The comment ends with the following lines:

ततैव सवलिथानवर्णा ख्रिःतीव तत् मदीयमस्य भवेति प्राणोऽन
कृपण तंगारिम: हि दौनादीपूर्वकं मयुनारि जूभिष्टवर्णनं न
वर्तमानं समर्पितं हदानी कृपा विषेषम् ख यास्मिपि कृपणं लालनकारके
भगवद्वृति संर्फणविवृति: हि श्रींगुकुलाध कृता संर्फणविवृति:
समाप्ता।
and the whole Gadya preceding to it was added later by VT. No authority is quoted to substantiate his opinion. Neither GO nor any other commentator say anything in this respect.

3. Tracts on some of the verses of the BG and the Sub.

GO is said to have written tracts

249. Cf. "The initiation of the Vaisnavas was a very simple formula, as he put it somewhere in his Subodhini, Viz., Krsna, I am Thine, कृष्ण तपारिय। This would seem to be the ordinary mode of initiation as communicated to VL by Lord S'rI Krsna. But for the practical purposes of the Sampradāya, some solemn declaration was a necessity, and hence we feel it is possible that the language used in the explanation incorporated in the Gadya formula (सहस्र ..... तबारिम्) is the work of S'rI Vitthales'vara." — Shri K.M. Zaveri: Imperial Firmans: S'rI Vitthales'vara and his Vidwanmandana, P.13. The sketch of the life of VT is written by Shri Telivala, as stated by the editor of the work.
('svatentras) on some of the verses of the BG and the Sub. Harirāyajī makes a mention of his

\textit{abhinivitā} and a work named \textit{bhojadhīPLEX} is ascribed to him. But these works are not available
to-day. Perhaps, they are not the titles of his works, but refer to some of his tracts on the BG
and the Sub or to his discourses on them, some of which are found in his scattered \textit{vacanāmṛtaś} and
also in his long \textit{com} on the SS.\textsuperscript{251} In the present
state of affairs, we have no authority or evidence
to state that GO wrote a particular number of
tracts on the BG and the Sub. Only the available
tracts are referred to here.

GO himself mentions one of his tracts
in the GB.\textsuperscript{252} Probably, it is the tract on the

stanza \textit{'ध्यायांस्तु मूलवः} \ldots \ldots \ldots \llbracket BG.X.18-11\rrbracket.\textsuperscript{253} The

\textit{Vidyāvbhaṅga} of Kāvikaroli, there are some tracts ascribed to GO. I
could have an access to only one, referred to above.

\textit{Vide} appendix \textit{X.}
tract is very helpful in understanding GO's views and method of explanation. He states that in the Pustimarga, rules of the way of convention (Maryadā-marga) are not to be obeyed, and that is not its fault, but it is its adornment. He says that the animals and birds are considered senseless, devoid of intellect, according to the way of convention, but in the Pustimarga, they are not looked upon as such. He has well explained how the pūja of Kṛṣṇa done by the does is full of genuine love and how it is superior to the pūja of the way of convention.

Kalyāna Bhatta states that GO wrote a tract on the stanza 'मर्यादानिधिरूपसः' (BG - X - 32-19), but it is not accessible to-day.256

254. Cf. मर्यादामार्गियंगामाभवैत्र्यम भूषणां न ते हूँ - Kāṅkāroli MS No.35/21, P.2.

255. Cf. मर्यादामार्गेष्व भूषणां न ते हूँ - Kāṅkāroli Vide Kallola XII - Tarāṅga - 9 - St. 19,20.

256. Vide Kallola XII - Tarāṅga - 9 - St. 19,20.

257. In Kāṅkāroli there is one MS, which is a tract on the stanza in question and is ascribed to GO, but I could not get it.
It is said that GO wrote a tract on, the well known stanzas 'क्रिया स्वरपिपत्तिवर्त्तमान्'।

It is printed as a part of the तिपपार्ण of VL and it is noted, on the strength of परस्पररत्नजीत's statement that it is written by GO. This statement is corroborated by Gopaldas also. In this tract, GO has explained clearly that the Lord sported with the Gopīs but there was no physical passion in the actions which were similar to those

258. These are the four करिकाः at the end of VL's Sub. on the BG X, Chapter 26.

259. It is edited by Messrs M.T. Telivala and D.V. Sankalia in 1977.

260. Cf. 'वस जानकारायात्मादं दियायो यवनायुं कुर्ष्यते, तद्र पाणुमृदिने नास्तिश्च द्रौपदीलपरं तत्प्रकटतादि, वसरत्नोपि कर्तिते च | य श्री पुरुषोथमः। - - - - -Ibid, P.109(footnote).

Vide also the editors' preface, P.3.

261. Cf. 'देहनत्यं भृजाय सेविते ज्ञायां समाप्चे

श्री आचार्यजीनी कारिकात्मानं । १४४।

पांच कारिका देने मध्ये पारले राज

जीया वर्णपक्षानुरूपे देने देने । १४५॥

......पांच कारिकात्मानं न हीन्यं गलोक । १४६॥

रत्नक त्वरूपे रत्नवेश वर्ज्य सत्य नित्यादात्री

रत्नाहीति प्रवत्त । - भाष्यं । १४७॥

-Gopaldas: Trīya Taranga, Maigala - 12.
in the physical enjoyments, because the Lord had no physical passion. 262

It is said that some additions were made by GO in the Tippanī of VT, but we have no evidence to sift out from the Tippanī, additions made by GO. 263

The above is in short, the study of GO's available works. His diction and style are not of the same type in all the works. At some places, the diction is lucid and the style is simple and easy, but at many places, he follows the elaborate bhashya-style, uses very long compounds and makes his am. difficult to follow.

262. Cf. यदि भक्तानां तीर्थक: काम: स्वातंत्र्यालिफ्किल भगवत्कामेन पूर्णां न स्थालः - लघोः परस्परमेक्त वागीश्वरात्माराष्ट्र:। तिप्पनी, प.109.

263. It is said that GO wrote a tract on the line विषयमन्या: हि परमसार्थम्: (Sub. X - 26-32), wherein he is said to have stated that अत्यधिकम् is more important than the देहयम्. Unfortunately I have not come across the tract.
His comm offer analytical discussions about the salient features of the S'uddhadvaita view. At places, he gives etymological explanations also to substantiate his stand. His comm have well explained the works of VL and VT (whom he acknowledges as his great Masters) and have shown their true import.

As regards the means of proof (pramanas), he follows VL and accepts the four authorities (UP, BS, Gita and BG). He does not ignore the Vedic authorities, but quotes mostly from the Gita and the BG, which is considered the fruit of the Veda.\textsuperscript{264}

The long comm of the BS (Badi Tika) and the comm on Gadyamantra, GB, 'Asmat Kulam...' and Guptarasa can be called his mommental contribution to the S'uddhadvaita literature.

\textsuperscript{264} Cf. निगमतरौपलिवर्त फलं... - BG, I.1.3
Chapter III (b)
The Varta - Sahitya

(1) The Varta - Sahitya:
Works written in Vrajabhasa and known as the Vartas are generally ascribed to GO. Under this caption, generally the following works are included:

(1) Stories of 84 Vaisnavas
(2) Stories of 252 Vaisnavas
(3) Bhava Sindhu (BhS)
(4) Nija Varta (NV)
(5) Gharu Varta (GV)
(6) Bethaka Caritra (BC)
(7) S'rI Mahaprabhuji ki Prakarya Varta
(8) S'rI Nathaji ki (or S'rI Goverdhanathaji ki) Prakarya Varta
(9) S'rI Gosamiji ki " " (or Nija varta)
(10) S'rI Gopinathaji ki Nija Varta
(11) Vana - Yatra

All these works are in Vrajabhasa.

(ii) Stories of 84 and 252 Vaisnavas: Their authorship
Out of these works, the first two are the most important and have played and been playing an important role in the history of Pushtimarga. They are the compilations of the incidents in the lives of the 84 and 252 disciples of VL and VT respectively. They
give an account of how and when they became the disciples of VL & VT, how they performed Lord's seva and what mystic and spiritual experiences they had during their life-time.

There is a controversy in Hindi Literature, as regards the authorship of these works. Critics like Acarya Candrabalī Pānde, Dr. Dhīrendra Varmā, Acarya Rāmacandra S'ukla, Dr. Matāprasad Gupta and others have put forth doubts about the authorship of these Vārtas and have stated that GO could not be their author. They have all more or less misunderstood the words रचिता, क्षयक and लेखक. The problem is fully examined, (and therefore need not be re-examined here), by, Harīharnath Tandān in his Thesis, named, 'Vārtā Sāhitya: An extensive study', and has shown that GO is the original author of these Vārtas. He writes:

1. Vide P. 208 to 230
Some of the salient points, however, may be noted here.

GO was a worthy son of a worthy father. After the passing away of VT, many Vaisnavas used to gather round GO. Usually, they came to him for religious sermons in the afternoon and at night and requested him to teach them the spirit of Pustimarga and relate the happenings in the lives of Śrī VL and Śrī VT and their disciples. On such occasions, GO told them the stories of the Vaisnavas and the incidents that took place in the lives of VL and VT, and preached them the Pustimargiya way of life. These teachings were systematically collected under the names of the Vāraṇs and the Vacaśaṁs, etc.

In the Sampradāya, it is said that one disciple was listening to these stories and was noting them down after going home. Once GO repeated an incident of the life of some vaisnava, whereupon that disciple told him (GO) that it was already related. Then, GO asked him how he could remember the fact. The disciple replied that he used to write down those incidents after going home and read them off and on. GO did not like that such mystic experiences of the 'bhagevadiyaś' should be put in black and white, because they would someday go into the hands of the
unqualified (नन्दुकार्य) and faithless persons. It is said that from that day he stopped relating the Vārtas of Vaisnavas.

Whatever may be the truth in this, one thing is certain that GO is the author (i.e. the originator) of these Vārtas and that he did not like to get them written down. That he wanted to keep them beyond the reach of the unqualified is also corroborated by a statement in a MS (dated 1246 V.S.) in Kānkaroli, where it is stated that GO. kept a (Pothi), sent to him by Kṛṣṇa Bhātta of Ujjain, under lock and key, but when it was copied down, he took it as God’s will. 3 He told the Vārtas only to the ‘antaraṅga sevākas’ (close disciples). But some of the disciples might have taken them down in black and white. There is one MS (NO, Hindi 98/2) in the Vidyāvibhāga of Kānkaroli, which is dated 1297 V.S. (—Caitra Sākla Pañcami), and which contains the 84 Vārtas, NV, GV, and the Vārtas of the four Sakhās from the 252 Vārtas. 4 This proves, beyond

3. Cf. मोघवल्लु प्राण वई भाषाविद्धा मानवी. H. Tandai’s Vārtā Sāhitya, p.137.
4. Ibid p.139. Also vide Kānkaroli MS No.92/1 (Hindi) dated 1841 V.S., which contains only 131 Vārtas, of the disciples of both VL & VT.
doubt the fact that during the life-time of GO these 84 Vartās were systematised and were read with reverence and faith by the Vaiśnavas. Although the earliest MS of 252 Vartās is dated 1804 V.S., the incidents described in these Vartās are found in the MSS dated 1796 V.S. and 1746 V.S., and the stories of the four Sakhās are found in the MS of Kākākaroli dated 1697. Some incidents of 252 Vartās are also found in the Vasantārta literature of GO. Possibly, the 252 Vartās were given the present written form by Harirāyaji (1647 - 1772 V.S.), for he has written a Tipālī called Bhava-Prakāśa on 252 Vartās as well as on the 84 Vartās.

We find other proofs also as regards the authorship of the Vartāsahitya.

(1) GO has written a list, in Samskṛta, of the 84 Vaiśnavas, known as S'rī Gokulanāthji Kṛita Nāmāvalī.

6. Cf. H. Tandon's Varta Sahitya, P.135. Also see Kākākaroli MS No.981 (Hindi) dated 1841, which contains 131 Vartās of some of the disciples of VL and VT.
7. Ik.1, f.159.
(2) The Sampradāya-Kalpadruma which is dated 1729 V.S. mentions, among the works of GO, the work called Vallabha Viśhala Vārta, which means the stories of the disciples of VL and VT.

(3) In the com on the Vallabhaastaka and the SS, GO, refers to the incidents of the lives of Krsnadāsa and Padmanābhadasā respectively. 8(a)

(4) Rasakhaṇa has written a list of 84 Vaisnavas in Vrajabhāṣā and he is well known as the disciple of VT and the date of his initiation is round about 1630 V.S.

(5) Vīśnudāsa Chīpa (Circa 1570 - 1680 V.S.) has written Chāraḍī bṛhṇavāke Chābāra wherein he says, "Chāraḍī māhābhāg niṣṭhān ke viṇāṅ gūn gādhāyān."

(6) The Bhaktamāla of Nābhadasa mentions 34 celebrated Vaisnavas out of these 84 and 252. The date of the composition of Bhaktamāla is circa 1640-80 V.S.

(7) The Prabhu - Garita - Cintāmaṇī of Devaśī nandanaśī (birth date 1634 V.S.) says that

8. Cf. कल्प विद्वत बारता फूक जीवन गुप्तम - SK P.140-42.
8(a). Vide comment on st.8 of Vallabhaastaka and on St.23 of the SS (GVS P.100 and 57 respectively). In the Badi-tīka also Damodarādaś is also mentioned, vide P. 24 of the Porbandar MS.
GO used to tell the Vaisnavas the incidents that happened in the lives of VL and VT. The date of its composition is circa 1660 V.S.

(8) The celebrated poet and one of the 'Asta Sakhas', Parmanandadasa writes in one of his padas (which begins with प्रातः सुपृभूति करिये श्रीपद्माणु सुतु गाम) that श्री गोविन्दनाथ प्रकत किसी नाम कबान Parmanandadasa left this mortal world in 1640 or 1641 V.S. This shows that by 1641 GO came to be known among the Vaisnavas as an expositor of the Puṣṭimarga, by his Vacanāṁartas and by the Vartas.

(9) Yadunātha's Vallabha-Digvijaya, which is said to have been written in 1658 V.S., contains, certain events that we find in the Vartas. 10

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9. Cf. तदपि भगवत्स्वा पैरे: श्रीगोविन्दनाथे: समनभोगकोटरलख पाख्या-ब्यरे: युवोपिन्यातः दीर्घ भगवत्स्वाभावनामस्वरे श्री ददाशांतदत्ततटपिपक्ष्या निष्पधिनिष्येन परिमुहिता बक्तवर्। - प्रमुखरित विकारण्ण: -
Quoted by S'rI H. Tandan in his Vartā - Sāhitya on P. 52.

10. Cf. Also the Stanza : - चहुरसीविस्स्तृतप्रक्ता बाहुपाल्लु तत्त्वः। - वल्लभ दिगविक्य। - quoted by S'rI H. Tandan in his Vartā Sāhitya on P. 120.
(10) Pracīna—Vārtā—Kahasya states that these Vārtās are composed after 1642 V.S. and before 1645 V.S., for it notes that "कबन्धवाहीनी वार्तामानी श्रीगोकुलनाथजी यश करवा माते श्रीगिरिश्रोत्रीनी संवति भागे छे ते बतावे छे के लबो जुदा यहा पद्मालं वार्तामानी रचाई हुइं।" 

GO and his eldest brother Giridharajī separated in 1645 V.S.12

(11) Prāktaṣya Siddhānta of Gopaldas (Maṅgala third and fourth) has given a similar list of the disciples of VL. Its date is circa 1700 V.S.

These are some of the facts which GO to prove that the author of these Vārtās is GO. The words, गोकुलनाथजी कहत है etc. simply found in them are added by the scribes. The Gosvāmīs were keeping scribes with them and generally they dictated their works to them, and hence we cannot hope to get all their works in their own handwriting, much less the Vārtās, which were not intended to be written at all. However, one thing is certain that the 84 Vārtās got their present form and order during GO's life, as the words '84 Vaisnavas' are referred to by several authors and a MS dated 1697 V.S. is found in Kāśīkarolī. In the

case of the 252 Vārtas, it cannot be said so with certainty, as neither an authentic statement nor a MS earlier than 1697 V.S. is available. The 252 Vārtas might have possibly taken the present form after Go's passing away, although all or some of the Vārtas might have been narrated by him.

With regard to this Vārtā literature, one question would quite naturally be asked: How could Go know all these incidents, so varied and so different? An answer to the question may be attempted. He was in very close contact with his father and the disciples of his father and grandfather. Many stories of the Vaiśnavas had become prevalent in the sampradāya even in the times of VL. and VT. The Sampradāya Pradīpa of Gadādhara Bhatta, written in 1610 V.S. contains some incidents, which we find in the 84 Vārtas. This, too, might have been helpful to Go. So, he might have learnt these incidents from his father and the disciples. His knowledge was varied.

13. Cf. 252 Vārtas Part II P. 312 (ed. D. Parikh) (No. 147): श्रीगुपाक्षी श्री मुख ने कहे .... ऐसे श्रीगुपाक्षी श्रीमुखके बातो दोनो। Such statements prove one fact that certain incidents (of 252 Vārtas) might have happened during Go's life and some might have been heard by him from his father.
and vast and he had a faculty of deep retention. He had an art and a capacity to teach the doctrines of Śuddhādvaita Pustimārga to his disciples through examples and anecdotes and tales. The Vacanāmṛta literature is a testimony to this fact. It was not impossible for GO to gather the material of these Vārtas from various sources as stated above and systematise it into the Vārtas.

Another question, too, may be raised. Were there really only 84 disciples of VL and 252 of VT? Really speaking it is not so. The number of the Vaisnavas mentioned in the 84 Vārtas is 92, but the number is brought to 84, by putting some of them under one family group. For example, Tulasām is included in the Vārta (No. 4) of Padamanabhādāsa. Similarly, the Vārtas No. 44 and 75 are those of two persons but are taken as the Vārta of one Vaisnava only. Even the Nāmāvalī of Vaisnavas by GO mentions more than 84 Vaisnavas, if we count each of them separately and it also says that there are many disciples of VL.14 Moreover, in the story of Sūrādasap it is said that all his (Sūrādāsa's) followers were initiated by VL.15

14. Cf. श्रीमदाधिक प्रत्योग नामानि नामवल्ला-GO's Nāmāvalī, St. 17.
15. Vide Corāśi Vaisnavakī Vārta (ed. D. Farikh in 2010 V.S.), P. 742
Similar is the case with 252 Vartās. I think, only those Vaisnavas, who came to be known in the sampradāyas in one way or the other and who had some mystic experiences, were made the subject of these Vartās.

One can ask, then, why the number is taken to 84 and 252. The fact is that there is something mystic about the number 84, like the numbers 5, 11, 18, 108 etc. It indicates the 84 lakhs of births through which a soul has to pass, before attaining salvation. Harirāyaḷī has written Bhāva Prakāṣa, popularly known as 'stories of three births', on these Vartās. In the beginning of the Bhāva Prakāṣa on the 84 Vartās he says:

चौरासी वैष्णव की कारण यह है, जो देवी जीव चौरासी 84 लाख पौरिति में पह हैं, तिनमें निकालते हैं पौरिति के वर्ष चौरासी वैष्णव चिकि ।

चौरासी वैष्णव चिकि के हैं ।............ एक एक लाख पौरिति ए है एक एक वैष्णव निपुण वारे की उद्दार (इन) वैष्णव चिकि ।

और बावर्षिक के बंग दादा हैं, जो स्वरूपात्मक हैं। एक एक संगमें वात वात धर्म हैं। ऐसवर्ष, बोर्ष, यश, श्री, ताम, बैरागुप्त ये छह वर्ष, एक थर्म वालमो। यह प्रकाश बारह चौरासी वैष्णव श्री बावर्षिक के बंग रूप गलीचक लव धामपूर्य रूप है।

The 84 disciples of VL are nirguna and out of the 252 disciples of VT 84 are sattvika, 84 are rajas, and 84 are tamasa. 17

These are the later interpretations. It is difficult to say whether GO intended such interpretations. This is done to impress upon the mind of the reader the greatness of the Acaryas and their disciples and to create a system out of the simple stories of the disciples of VL & VT.

As regards the events, where the Lord is described as talking playing with the devotees, one may like to say that they are all bogus fabrications. Such criticism is not proper. For, these are all spiritual experiences and such experiences are beyond the ken of ordinary human intelligence. Mysticism is a part and parcel of religion and cannot

be estranged from it. One French writer once said that for those who believe in God, no proof is necessary; for those who do not believe in God, no proof would be of any use. So, ultimately, this becomes a question of faith and belief. All religions have more or less such type of literature and it is more or less based on experience. The Jātaka-kathās are an instance in point.

S'rī Hariharnath Tandan states in his

18. Read: "Mysticism is an approach to Truth and Reality, ... Mysticism arises from the demand of Life and Spirit... it is an approach to Truth through life and experience." - Mehendranath Sircar's Mysticism in Bhagavad Gītā Preface P. V-VI.

Read also: Mysticism is 'the type of religion which puts the emphasis on immediate awareness of religion with God, on direct and intimate consciousness of the divine presence. It is religion in its most acute, intense and living stage.' - Studies in Mystical Religion: Introduction P. XV. - quoted in the abovementioned book 2 Preface P. VI.
This conclusion is based on the following passage taken from a MS (Kāṅkaroli Vidyāvibhāga: Hindi MS No. 101/1):

This thesis, named वर्ता - सहिद्या, that इनके (वार्तालीय थे) बादिय लेख उन्जीन के कृपणाथ के, विन की पौयी के बाबार पर ही इनका विस्तार हुआ है। He also says that मध्य यह निर्मलराद रूपसे विस्मय हो बाता है कि मध्यसार faulty प्रयम लेखक की गौकुनाथन को नहीं हैं। बरन श्री कृपणा भूमी है और हिंदीमा के बादिय लेखक यह श्री कृपणा भूमी है और श्री गौकुनाथन को नहीं। इनकी सिद्ध पौयी प्रभावित ही कर श्री गौकुनाथन के बादिय लेखक के बुद्ध संस्करण की तो वीजन की बादिय इन के महत्व की बड़ामा व मान्यता है। इसके ये हो इसके बादिय लेखक माने गए हैं बड़ा ही और कृपणाथ का नगर उसी प्रकार विस्मय हो गया है बिन्कार मुद्दर भवन निर्माण करनेवाले के स्वाभ और उसका धारा थे। उसका निर्माण करनेवाले की मिल माहित है।

19. Cf. Conclusion No. 18, P. 638
20. Ibid, P. 353, and P. 230, etc.
बर्मने देश की बात। तब कृष्ण भट्टै ए बार लिखि दो दिन प्रति
इसकी पाठ करे। और कोई भगवदगी बाल्लाजब आये तासैं
करे। वों करते भट्टै की बकीर शक्षे। तब गोविंद भट्टै बोतायें
जल्दये। बाबा ए पीथी बसू जो धरकी बोत सब थी गोकुल
पठो। तदुपरांत गोविंद भट्टै श्री गोकुलनाथजी के सेवक थे।
तब थी गोकुल बापू तब कृष्ण भट्टै श्रीगोकुलनाथजु दीवापू।
तब श्रीमुरार्ध्व। प्रजनन भए। भट्टै श्रीमुरुकुपक बारम्ब। श्री ग्राम
नामे निवेदन श्री नवलम निम्न। श्री गुरुर्विभी की श्राप बाबू।
श्री गोविंद भट्टै ने बीडीबी बेट पठये। भारति भाँच्छ के नभिरप
संबंध। श्री ऐंठे करते बीडीबी बर्षा करी। तब नेत्राक्ष पठये।
तब विश्वास फिकौ पीथी श्री गुरुर्विभी श्री भभगवत श्री चूरोमजी
दीपका दीपनी सब पीथी बसू बेट पठी बाली बाबू। तब उनकी दीपै।
कही श्रीमातिकेशाके बागे भरियी बसू कही बाप की बसू बेटा पठये।
के बाली बाप की सौँ श्री गोकुल बापू। श्री गोकुलनाथजु के बागे रांचि
लैट और पीथी। बब महाभुपुर बोल्मो तव हुदी भरी बासै। बसू
कही यह निवेदन बीतनी कही। तब पीथी श्रीहर्षके बीती तबवीच
छोटी बीतरी नोढी। तब बाण्यो। वांचकी बांच की खार्दी। बसू
हुक भरी बाबू। श्री निपुणा पाठ करते ता पा चे और की पाठ
करते। एक वारात बसू बोलें बांच यटे के पेटेंके पार। ये तारी भारी के
भोजन को पारते। श्री करते बहुत बसू बोलें तब नेत्र की प्रकार 21
भयै। तब श्री रामथु एक कही के पीथी पेटेंके हे श्री
बाबी। तब श्री रामथु ने पेटें से बाप के पीथी श्री इत्या
में दोनों बब के बानी। वेकर नेत्राक्ष सर्व फैरि

21. The word must be 'Vikāra'.

रामकुं फ़ी दोनी रामकुं फ़ी दोनी। दो नित्य यहाँ
क्या तो एक दिवस रामकुं फ़ी दोनी तब नित्य खायी। तब इनके
प्रभ सह गोपालसु छुआ। हेमवात गीर रामकुं फ़ी दोनी
कृष्णवकी ताल है। तब गोपालसु फ़ी कही के दिखी। तब
इनके फ़ी, तब देख न बार। घनाशी बहुत बार करि
रामकुं फ़ी है। तारे में है। और भी पाया मांगत है। तब
भागने देत है। फिर के कहत है धरी तब फ़ी। हाँ जै
बब भौजन चू पारं धरत है। तब फिर श्रीगोपालसु फ़ी
गुम एक काम करी। बब उनके देत है। तब देखा के
फिर देत है तब इन फिर देत है। बब छरी धरी के फिर
तारे फिरी। वरु वे पूरा तारे दियो तब कहिया दिया।
तब फिर नही। फिर बब दूसरी दोनी श्री गोपालसु फ़ी
मांगी तब रामकुं फ़ी भागे दीनी। तब श्रीगुण नेमको लाभ के
फिर दीनी। तब रामकुं फ़ी भागे में पारी पाए भौजन की
प्रार्थ। श्रीरा तो भौजन कर के पीछे। पाए श्री रामकुं फ़ी
गोपालसु के पर पारे। तब पौड़ी गोपालसु फ़ी दोनी। तब
पौड़ी वाँच वाँच कर गद गद बन थी। पाए नुरारणार्ध
कृष्ण की बुद्धारं तब पौड़ी सिखाई तो तो दी ते प्रति
की। एक उनके दोनी दूसरी कृष्ण के पार रही। ही
गोपालसु रामकुं फ़ी बागी नही। ही सीखने के बाण में बाण
सी बाण। एक और सीखने रहे ही बाण बाण के कही तब
उनके यह लीजाये देश। तब बाणके कही तब उन लीजाये

21. The word must be
The date of the MS is 1746 V.S. and the colophon states that it is copied down from the MS of Govindadasa Brāhmaṇa. In the MS there are sentences in the present tense, e.g. तो जी रचनात्मकी के लिए भी है। and जी गोकुलानंदके पाषेन सेवा विराजमा है। This shows that the original MS of Govindadasa was written during GO’s life.

The small booklet, which GO prized most and read everyday with devotional attitude and kept under lock and key, was later copied without his knowledge.

22. H. Tandan: Vārtā Sūhitya P.136-7 (Kāñkareli MS Hindi No. 101 - 1 P. 65 - 66)
23. Cf. विषयः १७५६ वर्षी अर्थात् राजस्थान कुंदी ३ सुकी बानी सीके है।
   प्रति गोविंददास ग्रामजनी पीयरी बल्के के – MS P. 68.
S'ri Hariharnath Tandan and S'ri Dvārkādēs Parikh maintain that GO composed and narrated the 84 and 252 Vārtās on the basis of the pothi of Krisna Bhatta, who is the first writer of some of these Vārtās.

I think that such a conclusion cannot be drawn from the above paragraph of the MS. The reasons are as under:

1. The date of the 'pothi' of Govindadāsa is not given in the MS. The year 1746 V.S. is the date of Copying. As the words suggest, it might have been written during the last phase of GO's life.

2. The above Vārtā does not give us the date when Krisna Bhatta died or when his 'pothi' was sent to GO. The words suggest the fact that he (GO) got it when he was not very old. S'ri Tandan says that it reached S'ri GO before 1658 V.S., because by that time the 84 and 252 Vārtās had taken shape. This statement is contradictory to what he later says on P.638.

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26. इन बातजोंका बायार श्रीगौकलावलोके वचनावृत्त ते अतिरिक्त और जुष नहीं हो सकता है। - Vārtā Sahitya, P. 138.
(3) It is not known when Govardhandasa went to Ujjain and told Krsna Bhatta the stories of the Vaisnavas which formed the subject matter of the said small booklet.

(4) It is not said whence Govardhandasa came to know those Vartas - Prasaigas. It is possible that Govardhandas might have learnt them from the common source viz. from Sri VT or his disciples or from the floating material among the Pustimangalis.

(5) The Pothi of Krsna Bhatta is not available otherwise a comparison could have been attempted.

(6) As the MS suggests, GO wanted to keep the contents of the Pothi a secret. So, how can it be said that he narrated these Vartas on the basis of the 'Pothi' of Krsna Bhatta or he elaborated the incidents described in the 'Pothi'.

The sure conclusion is this that Krsna Bhatta wrote down some of the prasaigas of the lives of the Vaisnavas, but we do not know in what year he did so, and therefore, we cannot definitely opine that he was the first writer.

Secondly, the pothi of Krsna Bhatta might have perhaps the भावनात्मक स्वरूप – described in it, because the paragraph in question says that for three
days, Krsna Bhatta had no knowledge of his physical whereabouts.

It is possible that, if the 'pothi' came to the hands of GO in the early years of his life, he might have taken only some clues from it, but it is not right to conclude that he elaborated the material which formed the subject matter of the 'pothi' (i.e. the small booklet) in question.

So, in the absence of any contrary proof, we have to believe that the author (i.e. चिन्तित एवं व्यक्तिकं कवि एवं नायकं) of these Vartas is GO. Of course, it should be admitted that he himself did not pen them down. He was the story-teller and the source of his stories might have been some of the Vaisnavas, his father, and also the flowing material carried from one place to another by the 'bhagavadiyas.'

(iii) The Bhāva - Sindhu (BŚ) 27.

This is a collection of the incidents that took place in the lives of the disciples of VL., such as Bāmodaradāsa, Kṛṣṇadāsa Meghana, Kṛṣṇadeva Rāja

27. It is published by Śrī Lallubhai C. Desai in 1978 V.S., in which he has stated that the publication is only a part, and that he has not come across the remaining part of it.
and others. In this work, the purport of the incidents is given, as its name suggests: e.g.

and others. In this work, the purport of the incidents is given, as its name suggests: e.g.,

These incidents are related to the Vaisnavas by GO and it appears that they are taken down by them. Incident No. 6 in the story of Damodarādāsa begins in this way.

There is also a mention of GO on P.174, 242, and P.260 of this work.

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28. Ibid, PP.11 & 12
29. Ibid, P. 19-20. There is also a mention of GO on P.174, 242, and P.260 of this work.
So it means that the narrator of the BhS is not the writer as is the case with the 84 and 252 Vartas.

Most of the incidents, related in this work are found in the 84 Vartas and some of them are found in the Nija-Varta (NV) too. But there are some, which are not found elsewhere, and hence the value of the work. For example, some part of the story of the King Kranadeva is exclusively found here. Similarly, the story of Narayanasas Brahmavtar is given in the BhS with more details. Again, in the story of Santadasa Copada, BhS gives an incident (viz. he kept hungry throughout the day, because Cacaj did not turn up), which is not found in the 84 Vartas.

These facts show that this work is nothing but a collection of some of the Vartas, with some additions here and there and with their purport shown at some places. It is possible that it might have been compiled during GO's life.

(iv) Nija - Varta (NV) and Gharu - Varta (GV) 30

These two are the collections of incidents

30 These are published by S'I Lallubhai G. Desai of Ahmedabad in 1979 V.S. They are also published in Mathura. Some part of Gharu-varta is also published in VS Vol. VI & VII
of the life of VL. These two, along with the Mahāprabhuji Prakātya Vārtā, relate the spiritual aspect of VL's life. NV generally gives the account of the meeting of VL and his disciples and illustrates his divinity. The GV relates some incidents of VL's home-life. But it is not strictly and exclusively so. Some of the incidents which are incorporated in the NV, are also found in the GV. The Ahmedabad publication gives 51 incidents of the NV and 12 of the GV. In some MSS of GV, we find some incidents of NV and vice versa. For example, the 47th and the 44th prasāṅgas found in the NV published in Ahmedabad, are given as the third and fourth prasāṅgas in the GV MS of Puṣṭimārgiya Pustakālaya of Nādiad. I have also seen one MS of NV, (in possession of Śrī K.K. Shastri) in which the number of the prasāṅgas is 24, some of which describe more than one incident.

Again, these Vārtās are not totally new and exclusively different from those of the 84 Vārtās. Most of the Vārtās are found in the 84 Vārtās, e.g. the story of Tulasesā which is found in the 84 Vārtās is also found in

31. Vide Vraja-bhāsā Section, No. 131. It is dated 1918 V.S.

32. One MS of Kaṅkaroli (Hindi No. 96/3/1) contains only 18 incidents. It is dated 1851 V.S.
the NVśa well as the BhŚ, with a little difference in the language. Similarly, the Vārtā of Vasudeva Chākāda is found in both the 84 vārtās (No. 38) as well as in the GV (No. 3 in the Ahmedabad edition). At places, the NV relates the incidents of the 84 vārtās in greater details. For example, NV No. 3 tells us how Dāmodardāsa happened to see Śrī Vī and became his disciple.

The author i.e. the story-teller is GO, as said in the GV. For, it begins with the words श्रीगोपुलनाथवी माता करत भये। — and in the NV it is said श्रीगोपुलनाथवी माता भगवदयधन ते इतनी क्षा कर्ण्य निधान करत भये। 33

The words "तहां पूर्णमिल्ला शान्ति जवाब देयो। जो एक बहुतदान मार्गजीर रहेते तिनकी बात संग सिल्यो है" 34 show that this is a later compilation, but who did it and when it was done is a moot point. The NV No. 40 says that या प्रकार श्रीगोपुलनाथवी श्रीगोपुलनाथवीं वसन वेष्कन श्रीब्राह्मण महापुरुषों की परिस्थिता के चरित्र लुनाय के जो या प्रसंग के चरित्र को वेष्कन को या प्रसंग की कह्ने बहुत कह्दे की भाग कह्दे की रहणी हुतो हो तुम्ही लुनायो। 35

34. Cf. GV (ed. L.C. Desai) P. 126.
35. Ibid P. 86.
This means that it is a reproduction of what GO narrated earlier. Secondly, NV No. 4 says that 

\[ \text{\ldots} \]

... 2.0 ... 1763 Y.S.) ... 33 that

Similarly, NV No. 21 says at the end 33 that

\[ \text{\ldots} \]

Again in NV No. 40, there is a mention of the work

Kallola of Kalyana Bhatta, which is said to have been written in the beginning of the 18th century

(circa 1710 - 1757 Y.S.). This shows that either the above parts of the Vartās are later additions or the NV took its present form during the reign of Aurangzeb (1658 - 1707 A.D. i.e. 1714 - 1763 Y.S.) and after S'ri Nathajī Prakātya Vartā was compiled.

37. Ibid, P. 41.
38. Ibid, P. 49.
(v) The Bethaka - Caritra (BC) 39(a)

In the Sampradaya, it is traditionally said that there are 84 bethakas (seats or places) sacred to VL, 28 to VT, 4 to Giridharaj, 13 to GO and 7 to Harirayaji. The BC describes the noteworthy events that took place at the different bethakas. 39(b)

Traditionally, it is said that the author of these BCs is GO, but there is no other authority to maintain it. At the end of the 84 and 28 Bethaka-caritras, it is noted that...

...321...
(Ahmedabad edition); similarly the incident of Ayodhya - Bethaka is found in the NV No. 47 and the incident at Badari nārayana is found in the Varta of Krsnadasa Meghana in the 84 Vartas, and so on. The BC is surely a later compilation, but it is difficult to say when exactly it was compiled. 40

The BC is full of exaggeration and unbelievable events and describes VL and VT as God Incarnate. For, here the rivers are deified and reported to have come to listen to the BG, although this is not against the puranic trend. It is also said that at every tirtha, the god or goddess of the tirtha came to listen to the BG when VL read and explained it. It is said that at each of the 84 Bethakes VL read the BG for 7 days.

The BC has no historical sense; it does not give the date when VL or VT visited that particular place, nor is there any chronological order. VL toured India thrice and he visited some places in a particular

39(c) contd... Bethakes; but this is wrong, as he is later than GO.

40. The MSS of the Bethaka-Charitas in Kāmkākolī (No.91/11 G.No.95/4) mention GO. as their author.
region during the first tour, and during the second and the third. This is also not mentioned in the BC.

There is one contradiction also. In the description of the 38th Bethaka, which is at Laksmana Balaji in South India, it is stated that VL went with his father. Now, the NV No. 1 says that his father died in 1556 V.S. and after that event only VL started touring India. The contradiction can be removed, if we take it for granted that the event described took place before the death of Laxmana Bhatta and not during any of VL's three tours.

The aim of the BC is to enhance the importance of the reading of the BG, to show the importance of the 'Irthas' (places of pilgrimage) and bring home to the Vaishnavas, the divinity of VL.

As regards the three works, - NV, GV, and BC, - one article in the Precina Varta Rahasya,⁴¹ states as follows:

The footnote classifies them as under

- निबवार्त - दलिताय रूप
- पुरवार्त - रक्षय भाषा
- वैद्यविधि - (विशेषतः) परमतरुप

This statement and classification does not appear proper, as the contents of one work are not exclusive of the other.

(vi) S'ri Nāthajīki Prākātya Vārtā

This work gives the history of the manifestation of the idol of the Lord S'ri Govardhana Nāthajī and His going to Mewar. It is a collection of all material regarding the manifestation of S'ri Nāthajī, collected from different Vārtās and Vacaṇamārtas related by GO. I have seen one lithoprint edition, published by S'yema - Kasi - Press of Mathura, in the Pustimārgiya Pustakālaya of Nadiad (Vraja Bhasa section No. 57), where it is said that श्री श्री गोवर्धनायक के वचनामुद के समूह में उदार करके त्यारे लिखे हैं। It is undoubtedly a later compilation, because, it contains an account of

42(a) Of. also the colophon of गृह undated MS(Gujarati-Hindi Section No. 800) of Gujarat Vidya Sabha of Ahmedabad:

इति श्रीगोवर्धनायक के वचनामुद में श्री नाथजी की प्रागट तथा मुख वरित्र संपूर्ण ||

Vide also श्रीगोवर्धनायक इतिहास: बेंगलुरु ग्रन्थ २-५ प्रो.१९५२ :

ि० १९६० माह जानवर बद ३ २ २ ने दिखे श्रीगोवर्धन पवित्रार्धी श्रीनाथजी प्रागट यथा। इन्हें गाठीली गामना मानव गोराने भाजा करी के हुं बहुतं हुं।

ि० १९५९ माह जानवर बद ३ २ २ ने दिखे श्री नाथजी की बाचार्यवीणा सेवक परमाशक निवर्तित लग्नु होसे ........... ि० १६६१ माह श्री मुखार्थी ने समूह मंदिर बने मणिक्रोता भेंपाव्रका का श्रीमुखार्थी भाजा करे।
Sī Nathajī's going to Mewar i.e. Nathadvāra, the present site, and that took place after GO's passing away.

In this Vārtā, there are references to historical persons, such as, Rupamañjarī and Nandāsā, Mirā and Aśabakumvarī of Mewar, and the kings of Mewar and Kishangarh, but the incidents are not chronologically related. The idol (śvarūpa) of Śrī Nathajī was taken away from Gopālān to the 15th day of the bright half of As'vina of 1726 V.S. and it was re-instituted in Mewar at Nathadvāra on the 7th day of dark half of Pālguna of 1728 V.S. This journey of long duration is described in details which are full of miraculous and mystic happenings.

(vii) Śrī Mahaprabhuḍdikī Prakāśya Vārtā, etc. 42(b)

It contains 18 incidents with the Bhāvapratikṣā of Harimāyajī. It describes the birth of Śrī VL and the divine purpose of his birth and contains some of the events of his life, most of which are found in the 84 Vārtas, 42(c)

42(b) It is published by the Vidyāvibhaṅga of Kaṅkarollī.
42(c) Vide Hariharṇath Tandān: Vārtā-Saṅghītā, P. 356-7; & also the undated Kaṅkarollī MS (Hindi Section No. 100/3 of the size of 12½"x7½"), which contains 16 incidents and another MS (Hindi Section No. 96/3/1) which contains 18 incidents. There is also one MS (Hindi No. 137/6 size 7"x7" in Kaṅkarollī, titled भावप्रतिक्षा महाप्रभुढ्दि की वार्ता but it is quite different from the above two MSS and contains a dialogue (P. 37 to 177) between VI & Damodardas & a description of Kṛṣṇa's sports in the 12 groves (kuṇjas).
There are some MSS in Kākārālī which contain S'ṛī Gosāmijī and S'ṛī Gopīnāthajī NVs. MS No.100/1/1 contains a NV of S'ṛī Vṛtā. In it, there is a reference to the poverty of Kumbhanadāsa. At that time, S'ṛī Vṛtā was at Dwarka and he invited Kumbhanadāsa to join him in his journey in Gujarat. After that, there is a story about Krsnādāsa.

There is another MS (Hindi No.101/2) in Kākārālī. It is dated 1862 V.S. and it belonged to Vallabhdās of Dwarka. It contains S'ṛī Gosāmijī NV in 14 incidents (pages 432 - 447) and S'ṛī Gopīnāthajī Vṛtā in 8 incidents (Pages 447 - 472). The first is quite different from that mentioned above, viz., the Vṛtā given in MS No.100/1/1. It describes some of the events in the life of Vṛtā and his journey to different places in India. The purpose this NV seems to inclucate in the mind of the reader the divinity of Vṛtā. The Gopīnāthajī NV contains his nectar-precepts (Vacanāmṛtās). The first incident relates how a calf is animated by him. The third incident refers to a question asked by Kālyān Bhatta to S'ṛī Mahāprabhu (alias S'ṛī GO). This raises a question whether Gopīnāthajī is the author or narrator of all the nectar-precepts.

The author of these works is not mentioned, but these NVs are given after some of the 252 Vṛtās and hence it is generally said that GO is the common
Every year Vraja-Yātra or Vraja-94 Kosā-Parikrama starts from Mathurā on the 12th or the 13th of the bright half of the month of Bhādrapada, moves from one sacred place to another & ends at Mathurā after 40 to 42 days. The above is a scene of such a Vraja-Yātra, which made a halt at Gokul on the 8th day of the dark half of the month of Āsvina of 2017 V.S. (Dt. 31-10-1961).
It should be noted that the list of the works of GO is given in the VS (Vol. VI-2-F.12), where the Prakṣṭya Vārtaṇa of Śrī Nāthaji and Śrī Mahāprabhuji are not mentioned as GO's works. They are believed to be the works of Śrī Harirajji.

(viii) Vanayātra

A small work called Vanayātra is said to be the work of GO. The work begins in the following way:

43. It is published in the VS (Vol. IV - Nos. 3 & 4) under the caption Vraja-yātra. I have also seen an old copy, which was given to me by Śrī Kalidās V. Shah of Nadiad, to whom I am indebted. Its size is 5" x 6½" and has 112 pages. It is published in litho-print in Gujarati Script by Ramnarayan, Mathura Press, Mathura. It has got many pictures of Rasa, temples, photos of the tirths. The publisher has not stated anything about the MS, which formed the basis of the lithoprint. Another lithoprint of Vanayātra is published by Śrīyāma Kes'ī Press of Mathura in the work titled Śrī Govardhanpāthajīki Prakṣṭya Vārtaṇa. Most of the MSS ascribe the work to GO.
As in the case of the Vārtas, the work might not actually have been from the pen of GO, but he might have described the event to his followers, who might have taken down the account and might have passed it as the work of GO. Later additions are also found in the work; for example the mention of the bethakas of GO and Harirāyajī is in the work.

The work is an account of the pilgrimage of the Vraja region made by VT. At the end, a list of different Kundas, Vanas, Uparanas and the bethakas of VL and VT in the region of Vraja is given. The date of pilgrimage as noted here is 1600 V.S. As GO's birth date is 1608 V.S., the account might have been narrated by him when he was old enough to command respect of the Vaiṣṇavas. VT went on such pilgrimage more than once. Other dates are 1624, 1628, 1634 V.S. Vaniyatra of 1600 seems to be the first and GO might have heard the account from his father or some of his close disciples or he might have taken part in later pilgrimages and might have based his account on them.

To-day, in every rainy season, in the months of Bhadrapada and As'vina, pilgrimage of 84 kos'as is
undertaken by the Vaisnavas, under the auspices of some Gosvami Maharaja and the pattern is generally that one as described in the Vanyatra. VL travelled in the Vraja three times and showed the religious importance of the places where Lord Krsna had sported. Later VT consolidated a pattern which we find in the Vanyatra. Of course, it must be noted that today the Vrajyatra continues for nearly 40 days, while in the days of VT, it was finished within 20 days nearly. The form of Vanyatra determined by VT was shorter than that followed in our times. During the reign of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, it was not possible to perform religious practices on a popular scale and hence the Vrajyatra was discontinued during his rule. It was Purusottamaji of Mathura (1805 V.S.) who re-started the Vrajyatra and that too, on a larger scale and for a longer period, i.e. 50 days nearly. Later, the period was reduced to 40 days nearly by Gopalalalaji.44

This work mentions the different stepped banks (ghatases) of Yamuna and other tirthas at Mathura and of Vraja, describes different Kundas (stepped wells) and Vanas, (sacred places in the forest of the region of Vraja) e.g. Madhuvana, Telavana, etc., where Sri Krsna

44. Vide VS Vol. 7 No.3-4, P.1-2.
played and killed the demons and performed different sports with the cowherds and His consort Radha.

It also shows the importance of the hetakas of VL and VP and others and the places of mystic happenings in the lives of some of the 84 and 252 Vaisnavas.

The following paragraphs will give an idea of the work:

45. P.42-43 in the edition mentioned in footnote No.43.
46. Ibid P.60-62.
The work has no philosophical importance. It is useful for those who have deep faith in such pilgrimages and it has, thus some religious importance. It has some historical importance too.

It is said that the Vrajyatraś were first started by Śrīla Narāyaṇa Bhāṭṭa Gosvāmī, a follower of Madhvācārya, who came to Vraja in 1602 V.S. and wrote Vrajabhakti-Vilāsa in 1609 V.S. This work sets aside the claim of Śrīla Narāyaṇa Bhāṭṭa to be the starter of Vrajyatraś, for VT had made the Vraja (na)Yatra in 1600 V.S. It is also said that VL was the first to go round the sacred places of Vraja in 1599 and then in 1555 V.S. That Yatra was of a short duration, nearly seven days.  

(ix) Estimate of the Varta Sahitya

The subject of the 84 and 252 Vartas is the incidents that took place in the lives of the

47. Ibid - P. 103.

disciples of VL and VT, and that of NV etc. is the
events of the lives of VL and VT. They do not give
all the details about their lives, but give only
those events which are connected with initiation of
the Vaisnavas into the Pustimarga and which deal with
their spiritual experiences.

Harirayaji has written Bhava-Prakasa's, (as
stated above) a tippani with certain additional
incidents, on the 84 and 252 Vartas, and has shown
the true spirit (bhava as the title suggests) of these
Vartas. He has also shown the original Svarupa of
each of the Vaisnavas, which he had in the Nikunja
of Lord Krsna. To a layman, it would all appear
senseless and bogus, but to a Pustimargiya, it has
all reality about it. The Bhava-Prakasa is popularly
known as वण कम्पनीकारा because it shows the
original form, then physical birth in this world and
the new birth after the Brahmasambandha.

The Vartas became very popular and therefore
SrI Natha Bhatta (circa 1724 V.S.) thought it an
honour to render them into Samskra. It is known as
(Samskra) Varta-Mani Mala and contains 3707 stanzas.
Its MS is preserved in the Vidyavibhaga of KarkarolI.
A small part of it is published in the Pracina Varta
Rahasya published by the same institution.
The Vārtā Śāhitya is very important from various points of views. Although it lacks historical sense, as its aim is not to provide historical facts, we are able to gather certain historical material and that too particularly for the history of Hindi Literature and of Pustimarga. It furnishes biographical material for the lives of VL, VT and great poets like Sūradāsa, Paramānandabāṣa,

49. Vārtā No. 96 (in 252 Vārtās) of Renāī of Kapadavanj reports that when GO went to Kapadavanj, Renāī requested him to 'give' Udaya-nivedana to his wife and son. GO granted his request and initiated them into Pustimarga. After this incident, Renāī went to Gokul and met VT. Now this is historically wrong, for GO visited Gujarat in 1646 - 47 V.S. and VT passed away in 1642/ V.S. NV gives certain dates, but their authenticity is not always beyond doubt. For example, it is said that VL's father died in 1546 V.S. (NV No.1) and VL started touring India in 1548 V.S. and he got the divine mandate in 1549 V.S. The Bīs mentions S'rī VL and Akbar as contemporaries, which contradicts historical facts.
Nandadasa and others; and they also throw light on their works. The Varta Sahitya also makes mention of a number of minor poets, hardly mentioned anywhere but who have enriched the Bhakti literature in Hindi. It contains a number of padas, of different devout poets, which are not available elsewhere. No literary historian can afford to ignore this literature produced by GO.

It gives some information about Todarmal Birbal, Akbar, Teja-bibi and Bhajadeva of Puri.

50. Varta 233 says that Krsnadasa Jada has written Indra-kopa, Kasa-pañoodyaśī and Rukmini-maṅgala. Similarly, several disciples such as Katiharas (235), Radhodasa (234), Yadavendra (240), Sagunanada (242), Vrindavana (240), Brahmadasa (236), Prthvisimha (233), Tulsiadasa (239), Caturabihari (248), Ramaraya Hita Bhagavana (252) and others, who are hardly known, have written several padas.

51. Cf. Bhava Sindhu (ed. Lallubhai C. Desai) P. 289 and also the 252 Vartas.

52. NV No. 16 (ed. Lallubhai C. Desai).
and others. The NV gives the following information:

1. Kesava Bhatta Kashmiri was the follower of Nimbarka’s sect and he had written Krama-dipika and other works. (No. 28, P. 65).

2. Madhusudana Sarasvati showed his work, named Bhaktirahasya, to VL. (No. 29, P. 64) and he taught VT (No. 36, P. 85).

3. At Kasí, Dinakara Bhatta, Laksmana Bhatta, Nityananda, Candradevi Nilekana, Upendra Sarmā, Prakasananda Sarasvati came to VT for discussion. (No. 33, P. 67-68).

4. VL did not write a commentary on Gita because he believed that it was simple and all speeches (totalling 574) of Lord Krsna are to be taken as authority. (No. 36, P. 75).

5. GV No. 10 tells us why VL took to a renunciation and that he passed away on the third day of Asadha of 1587 V.S., after teaching the Siksa-Slokas to his sons and followers. (P. 121-23).

6. VL married at the instance of Panduranga Vittalanatha (NV No. 28 and BC No. 35).

53. Edited by Lallubhai O. Desai.
But it should also be remembered that there are exaggerated and contradictory accounts also. For example, in the BC No. 33, it is said that Madhavananda and Mukundadasa came to Camparanaya from KasI and Puskara respectively within six days, and No. 50 says that rain did not fall on the disciples of VL. At places, there are contradictions also. For example, in NV No. 11, it is said that VL took seven gold-coins out of the presents given by the king Krisnadeva and got anklets prepared for Lord S'ri NathajI, and NV No. 28 says that the seven gold-coins were used for the anklets of VitthalanathajI of Pandharepura.

The Varta Sahitya gives us a lot of social, political and geographical data. It gives information about the mode of worship, and religious terminology (e.g. चंटा, छोटा, बनलबो, बृज, बुरारो) used in the Pustimargiya temples. It tells us about the dresses and clothes, utensils, political divisions, architecture, sculpture and their plans, commerce and currency,

54. Cf. NV P. 27 and 61
55. For details see R. Tandan's Varta Sahitya P. 483 - 534 and 252 Vartas Part III (ed. Dvarkadas Parikh).
means of transport (horse, chariot, elephant,
bullock-cart, palaki, boat etc.), flora and fauna,
ways of entertainment, such as music, dance, magic,
and listening to the kathas. It was an age of peace
and plenty. The cost of living was very low. We
find in the story of Santadasa (both in the BhS and
the 84 Vartas and also Vartas No. 57 in 252 Vartas),
that he was able to maintain himself with 1 1/2 pice a
day. 57(a) About the fineness of cloth, it is said
that Narayanadasa 57(b) used to present Vr such cloth
as was seen with difficulty and which dried up within
a few seconds.

There are many idols worshipped in the
different pustimargiya temples at different places
in India. From these Vartas, we gather their history,
particularly about the nidhi-svarupas. 57(c)

Some miracles, too, are found in this literature.
For example, in Varta No. 103 of the 252 Vartas, it is
stated that the head cut off from the trunk was joined
to the trunk again by the sacred offered food

57(a) Cf. also Vincent Smith's 'Akbar the Great Mogul'
(ed. 1919 A.D.) P. 391, where it is stated that one rupee
bought 194.25 Lbs. of wheat.
57 (b) Cf. 252 Vartas: No. 5.
57(c) Vides 252 Vartas Part III (ed. B. Parikh).
in the Varta No.106, it is stated that the Vrajavasi returned from Surat to Gopalpur within two days. I think that such incidents are narrated to inculcate in the mind of the reader the importance of bhakti, prasada, faith, etc. They are not to be taken as literally true.

The Varta Sahitya provides an example of the earliest Vrajabha prose. No one can deny the fact that the Gosvamis have become instrumental in the development of Vrajabha prose and poetry. The language in the Vartas is generally what GO spoke. The difference of spelling and absence of right punctuation in different versions is on account of the scribes who belonged to different regions and who were not scrupulous enough to maintain the purity of language. They cared more for the matter and its purport rather than its language. They were not also careful in copying down the Vartas. Hence we find the forms कह्यो, कह्यो and कहि, के and के, बहे and बहे, हति and हतो करि and करि के, पहि and पहोि and पोहि, दिवाि and दिवाि, कुरि and स्मुरि, सि and समि, कहि and कहि, देवि and देवि etc. etc. Another thing is also to be noted. It was the age of the growth of the language and as such, it was natural to have various forms and spellings of the same words. Even then, the language
is full of both grace and simplicity. The sentences are short and words simple. The purport is easily brought home to the listener. The following lines are a fitting tribute to the language of these Vārtās:

"ये यहौ दन पुस्तकों की भाषा बहुत ध्वस्त है। यद्यपि 
इसमें लन्य और जटिलवाक्य गठनक प्रमुख नहीं है, तथा उनके 
प्रतिपादित विधानक अर्था स्पष्टकरण हुआ है। छोटे छोटे 
वाक्यों में विरित-नामकों का वरिष्ठ ऐसी स्पष्टताएँ चिह्नित हुआ 
है मानो नियुक्त क्लासिकर बुकसी तुल्यिकाई बहुत पारमूली रंगों के बहारे 
चित्रों को अदी माना दिया हो।" 58

"इनके गद्यों स्वयंस्वविश्वसकी धारा हैं, तथा सजीवता, स्वभाविकता 
हावनसूम्पत्ति और पार्थुर जासिद गुण हैं।" 58(a)

But all this is of secondary importance. The principal purpose of these Vārtās is religious. GO knew well that the dry S'astric teaching does not make an appeal to the masses, who are not literate and intelligent enough to understand the niceties of the philosophical and religious doctrines. Again, Samskrta Language was the language of a few Pandits. So he thought it wise to preach in the popular tongue of the region, Viz., Vṛjabhāṣā. He narrated the incidents.

58. Hazariprasad Dwivedi: Hindi Śaṁitya; quoted in 
Hariharmath Tandan's Vārtā Śaṁitya P.230.
58(a) Ganesha Vihari Miskra Etc. Mistra - bandhu - 
Minoq : P.249.
that had happened in the lives of his predecessors and the great Vaisnavas, so that the listeners could understand and appreciate the doctrines of the Pūṣṭimārga. For example, anyāyās'raya (i.e. seeking refuge in God Kṛṣṇa alone) is one of the main principles of Pūṣṭimārga. He brought home this principle by narrating the story of a brahmīn woman, who was helped by some officer and who hence, said that she was by him. The Lord was, therefore, displeased with her. 59 This incident would appeal more than the verse 

The Vaisnava has to bear well in mind the doctrines of Pūṣṭimārga, that Lord's happiness is to be attended to always and He is not to be requested to take pains on our behalf and that unoffered (asamarpita) food is to be avoided and that the 'bhāgavadiyas' are to be treated as equal to the Lord. To teach these doctrines, several instances are given in these Vārtas. 61 Tradition plays an important role

59. Cf. तत्र वा वाहिते वा शास्त्रकोष कदाच जो पूव! ते मो कौ विवाहि।

60. Vi. Vivekadhaiyās'raya, St.15.

61. Vide, for example, the story of Vāghājī Rājapūta: Bhāva - Sindhu (ed. Lallubhai Desai) P.217. Also see the 84 Vārtās (ed. D. Parikh) P.5 (Bhāva Prakāśa): शाश्व व्याधीको फल फूल देत| जैननन की वाता| न घाटो फल बानी| वैष्णव उपरांत और कदू पदार्थ नहीं है।
in any religion and society and these vārtas lay down certain traditions and practices, of Pustimārga, which are even followed today. In short, the Vārtā Pāhitya is the code-book of the Pustimārgiya conduct and explains its doctrines with examples in simple language.

The Vārtas teach that unalloyed and disinterested love (S'uddha sneha bhava) is the true spirit of Sevā. They teach us how to perform Lord's Sevā and how to adjust oneself in the day-to-day affairs of the world. Priorities are to be fixed in this way: Sevā, Vaidic Kriyā and then worldly duties. Company of the Vaisnavas (satsāga) is to be always sought and Kṛṣṇa-līlā is to be understood from them. So, the reading of the Vārtas results into the fixity (drdhata) of spirituality, strengthening of religious attitude and faith and producing deep disinterested love for the Lord. The practical side of the Pustimārga, the Sevamarga and its true spirit (maram) are well presented in this literature. The ultimate aim or the

62. Cf. धार्मिक जीवन आधारण साधनकम लोके ॥
63. Cf. स्वर्णभाग्य समाधानकम लोके ॥

salvation according to the Pustimarga is to witness the Krsnalila and to be a partner in it and this is indicated at several places. 64

In India, guru is valued by the disciples more than the Lord. 65 The Varto-Sahitya shows the importance and greatness of the guru VL and his son VT. It bears out the supernatural and superhuman character and mystic powers and divine nature of VL and VT and their love for their disciples (bhakta - vatsalata), and thus it becomes instrumental in creating in the hearts of the disciples true devotion and sense of reverence for them (VL and VT). VL's divinity and his capacity as a saviour are particularly emphasised in the NV 67 and the BC.

64. Vide BC No. 33 and 60 etd. (ed. Lallubhai C. Desai).
65. Cf. गुरुगौरिण्द ठाये रद्दे, विन को कामुं गाय। विस्कारी गुरु आफिको विन गौरिण्द दीनो वताय ल। - कवीर. Also read: हमतो बाप के हाथ बिकाने है। हम को तो श्रीरत्नभरी भाप वताए है। तव हम श्रीरत्नभरी को बाने है। says Nāgajī Bhatta to VH. - 252 Vartas (ed. D. Parikh) Vol. I P. 18-19.
67. For example, see NV No. 47 - P. 99, where Rama says to Hanuman that VL can assume his (Rama's) form, but he (Rama) cannot assume the form of Sirī VL.
It should be noted here that the excess of guru-Mahatmya (greatness), shown at some places, has led to the denigration of the sect; for the later Gosvamis were looked upon as divine beings par excellence. Of course, GO has rung a warning bell against this, in the comment on अरद्ध-केन्द्रग्रंथ and धार्मि-सूत्रस्य विषयं।

The Purūtisārga is based on the doctrine of grace, (found in the Katha-Upanisad) and considers the Sadhanamarga subservient to it. Knowledge of the scriptures is not absolutely necessary for realisation. God manifests Himself to those souls, whom he considers His own, irrespective of their merit or demerit. This prameya-bala of the Lord is amply exemplified in these Vartas.

Some of the important teachings of the Vartas are as follows:

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<tr>
<th>The story of</th>
<th>Number of the story</th>
<th>Lesson</th>
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<tr>
<td>1) Gajjana Dhāvana</td>
<td>13 in 84 Vartas</td>
<td>The state of 'vjasana' is the best</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

68. Vide Chapter III (a) (ii): Comm on G Asmat Kulami" and the SS.
69. कथा U-I - 2-23.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(2) Madhava Bhatta</th>
<th>27 in. 84 Vartās</th>
<th>Secrecy of Kāśmirī महिष्मय is to be maintained and mercy must be shown towards all.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(3) Amṛt Kṣatrāṇī</td>
<td>12 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Veinsavas should not feel distressed &amp; all misery is to be looked upon as God's sport.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Dāmodarādāsa</td>
<td>3 &quot; &quot; &quot; (Also Vartās No. 59, 205, 231 in. 252 Vartās)</td>
<td>No shame is be experienced in doing Ādeva &amp; anyāṣ'raya should be avoided.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) Kṛṣṇadāsa Mejhan</td>
<td>2 in. 84 Vartās</td>
<td>The guru is great, spirit of anyāṣ'araṇa be kept alive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) Govinda Bhatta</td>
<td>11 &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Avoid egism in doing Ādeva. Observe humility.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) Rajo Kṣatrāṇī &amp; Rupa Poria</td>
<td>116 &quot; &quot; (252 4)</td>
<td>Things to be offered to the Lord should not be used for any other purpose.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) Kṣatrāṇi of Simhanada</td>
<td>60 &quot; &quot; 84 &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>For Ādeva, no money is to be borrowed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(9) Gopaldas
6/2 in 184 Vartas Importance of kirtan is shown.

(10) Tulasam
4/1 Importance of Mahaprasada is shown.

(11) Chandabai
BhS P.231 Idol of God is to be looked upon as God Himself.

(12) Vaghaji
BhS P.217 Lord's happiness is to be minded first of all and no rules and regulations deter a true devotee and lover.

(13) Gharu Varta
No.4 (P.113) No. 149 of 252 Vartas All miseries are to be undergone with patience.

(14) A Vrajavasi etc.
63 & 154 in 252 Vartas Importance of a Vaisnava's dress & greatness of Sri VT are shown.

(15) A poor brahmin
161 in 252 Vartas Greatness of Giriraja is pointed out.

(16) Purusottama
49 Difference between Pustimarga and Maryadamarga is shown.
In addition to this, general principles of religion and ethics such as truth, abandonment of greed, contentment, benevolence, non-violence, hospitality, faith, self-denial, mercy towards all creatures and characteristics of the Pustimarga such as samarpana-bhava, modes of deva, the true svarūpa of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Vṛ & Śrī Vṛ etc. are emphasised in different Vartās.

Severe criticism is levelled against the Puṣtimarga that it leads to inactivity, that it is immoral and has physical enjoyments as its chief aim. But it is not proper. It does lay stress on simplicity and renunciation (vairāgya). These Vartās offer several instances which offer an answer to such criticism. Many stories show that moral conduct in day-to-day affairs is emphasized. The story of Santadas shows how simply he lived and kept away from amassing wealth. The story of Kṛṣṇadas (wife and husband) is not to be looked upon as an example of debauchery or nuptial faithlessness or unsocial sexual relations.

70. Cf. BhS (ed. Lallubhai Desai) P. 163
71. No. 75 in 84 Vartās (ed. D. Parikh)
Its intention is to teach the importance of ‘ṣṭhitya – dharma’ and of a Vaisnava. The purpose of the Vārta is to be noted here and not the actual event. Otherwise, the story of Viśvāmitra would be looked upon as teaching us a great deal of immorality.

For example, once he snatched away dog’s flesh from a cāndāla, but this incident does not imply that eating of flesh is morally and religiously allowed. It only shows how a hunger-stricken man, however, great he may be, acts (पुत्रसिक: त्रयं त्रयेक न परमत). In this spirit, the Vārtas are to be understood.

The Vārta Śhitya shows that VL and VT initiated people, irrespective of their caste or creed, and showed them the path of devotion. In the horrible frustrating in the beginning of the Mughal rule, when life was uncertain and people experienced a pervading sense of despair and dejection, VL and VT gave them a purpose of life, taught them that true devotion alone pleases the Lord, and that S'astric ceremonies and wealthy rituals are of no avail, when kāla and Deśa are polluted. 73

72. Cf. 252 Vārta ś (ed. D. Parikh) No.124, No.136 and No.167; the persons referred to in them are a shoe-maker, a fisherman and a sweeper respectively.

73. Cf. VL's Krpaśreya.

74. Cf. अर्थव्यवहारिकम्: I — SS St. 9
caste people like potters and sweepers and even Muslims were accepted in the creed.\textsuperscript{74} The \textit{Vārtā} literature is an irrefutable evidence of the above statement. Had not GO collected and related these stories to his disciples, the treasure might have been perhaps lost and later generation would not have been able to have before them the exemplary behaviour of a Vaisnava. GO has, thus, rendered a valuable service to the cause of the Pustimārga.

With the passage of time, the \textit{Vārtās} became so popular that they took the place of the works of VL and VT\textsuperscript{5}. \textit{To-day,} \textit{Vārtās} are more read than the \textit{Subodhini}, the \textit{Nibandha} and the Sixteen Treatises. The popular tongue in which the \textit{Vārtās} are written is also responsible, to a certain extent, for this state of affair. However, one has to make a sad observation that the works of VL and VT\textsuperscript{5} are neglected by the Vaisnavas.

\textit{(1)} References to other works not available now.

It appears that some more works of this type might have been composed or compiled by GO. In

\textsuperscript{74} Cf. स्त्रोत्रायापूर्वोत्तिकां | ss - St. 9.
In the same issue of the periodical, there is a mention of a work named "Bhagvadite Koi Purusha Anuktsa". It appears to be incomplete. A few lines will give an idea about it:

The Bhagavat of Srinivasa Chandra Gaurang Chakraborty (1771) states that the Purusha who went from the body of the devotee in the dreams is a manifestation of the Lord himself.

There is another work of the same title, published by the Vidyavibhaga of Kankaroli. The writer of that work is stated to be Vrajabhushanji (Birth: 1765 V.S.). It deals with the history of the idol of Dvara-krishnasa-ji.

75. Vide VS Vol. VI - 3 - F. 23 ed. by D. Parikh

76. There is another work of the same title, published by the Vidyavibhaga of Kankaroli. The writer of that work is stated to be Vrajabhushanji (Birth: 1765 V.S.).
The colophon reads:

हिति श्रीनामजी के प्राप्तवधि स्थानस्थि स्थि
श्री पुरुषोत्तम श्रैलक्षणे अन्न ग्रन्थ स्मारितस्व व स्मरण भगवदोऽनि को पूर्ण
भाग स्नात्वं च वल संपूर्णं चंतु १८७१ मीती श्रावन दृश्चि कृप्या
शुभः भवतु।

It means, therefore, that the MS of 144 pages, as referred to in the issue, contains several works, among which one, is the शब्दसौंदः के पूर्ण संस्करण।

It is stated in the work in question, that it is the translation in Vrajabhasa of a work of GO. In the absence of any other reference anywhere else, it is not possible to say anything about it. One thing is clear that the original work was in Sanskrit and the work in question was its translation. We know that Harirayaji has written Bhava-Prakasa on the 84 and 252 Varttas, in which he has mentioned the original forms, in the 'nikunj', of the Vaisnavas. Can we surmise that Harirayaji might have taken clues from such a work of GO? Of course, it should be noted that there is a difference between this work and the Bhava-Prakasa as regards the mention of the previous births or forms.

(xi) The Vallabha Kalpa Druma

A work in Gujarati, named Sri Vallabha kalpa-
Drums has come to my notice. It is the translation of the Sanskrit work by Pandit Baryudasaj, son of Pandit Gopinathaj. It is written in the beginning of the 20th century (circa 1920 V.S.) as noted by the translator, whereas Sri K.K. Shastri has said in the preface that it is written in the 17th century; but it cannot be earlier than 18th century, as Harirayaji (1647 - 1772 V.S.) is mentioned in it.

It is written in the puranic style. It can rightly be said the Vallabha Purana after the style of S'iva Purana or Visnu Purana. It is in the form of a dialogue between GO and the Vaishnavas. It deals with the life and deeds of VL and his family, and his descendents. The following lines will give an idea of the contents of the work:

एक दिवसे श्रीकार्यमाणे परबारी विशालिना समयमा कृपानिधान श्रीमद्यिवनाथजीना स्वाम्यवहार कार्यमाणे व्यक्तिर वर्णनार सुश्रुषापुरुषे भैरवनार श्रीगोपुलेश्वरु पोताना भवनानि विशालिनिस्त्रावर्तनार विरवता हला... हे समये गोमन्दनरणं अन्यने यणा वहाला हे एक ते भयण्डतो स्त्रीगोपुलेश्वरु अवस्था नाग्मान : - ३ - ४

77. It is published by Suddhadvaita Samsad in 1950 A.D. It is mentioned here because it is based on GO's works.

78. Ibid, P.15-16.
The whole work (of nearly 750 pages) is written in such a style. The contents of the work are drawn from the Vartas-Sanhitas. The work is written it appears, to enhance the greatness of G0, in as much as he is given the position of a Narrator (Vyas) in this Purana-style work.

(xii) An unpublished work: A dialogue between Sri VW and Damodardas:

There is a MS in Ka'karoli (Hindi Section No. 92/4/1, pages 11 to 71), which is titled "Sri Guru Bhand Brahmachari and Damodardas's Debate."

The colophon reads as follows:

79. There is also other MSS (Hindi No. 137/6 and No. 96/4) in Ka'karoli, which is titled "Brahmachari Mahadevan's Vartas" but it contains some incidents of Vartas and also a dialogue between Vyas and Damodardas. It is different from this work. The author is not mentioned. The colophon reads:

As far as I know, it is not published.
It contains information about Laksmana Bhatta and relates the true purpose of the birth of VL. There is a story about the curse given pronounced on Indra by the Highest Consort of the Lord. It tells us also about the svarupa of Damodarasa.

In the beginning, it states that -

This statement tells us about a Samskrta work by VL. It is doubtful whether the work in question is the expansion of that work and whether it is done by GO.
Chapter III (c)

The Bhavana Sahitya

(i) What is Bhavana Sahitya? ¹

GO preached more of the practical side of religion than its theoretical side. Practice of religion involves certain actions or rituals (Kriyās) to be done by a devotee. The doctrine of Seva involves such actions and also use of certain things, each of which has some esoteric meaning. If the religious actions are not properly done and if their purport or esoteric meaning is not understood, they are reduced to meaningless, burdensome and fruitless ceremonies. ² GO, therefore, used to explain the esoteric meaning, i.e. the bhava and the rahasya of each and every action and also the various things used in and for the Lord's worship.

Collections and compilations of such esoteric explanations are known as Bhavanas. He was the first to produce such

1. The Bhavana Sahitya is in a way a part of the Vacanamrta literature, but because it has a distinct subject, it is treated in a separate chapter.

Bhāvanās, although later Gosvāmīs, such as Hari-rāyajī, Dvārakāsajī and others have also written such Bhāvanās.

The following Bhāvanās are ascribed to Gō:

1. Rasāṣṭra Bhāvanā (RBh)
2. Gōva Bhāvanā
3. Seva Bhāvanā
4. Līlā Bhāvanā
5. Svarūpa Bhāvanā
6. Utsava Bhāvanā (UBh)
7. Sadārtu Bhāvanā or Khaṭ - R̷ ̷u - Vārtā
8. Grahana Bhāvanā
9. Svāminījī ka Carana-cihna ki Bhāvanā
10. Śrī Acāryajī Tathā Śrī Gūsañjī ke Svarūpa ko Vicāra
11. Rasāṣṭra - Bhāvanā, - Utsava Bhāvanā, etc.

RBh treats of the subject of Bhagavat-Seva & its various rituals with the significance attached to each of the actions and things used while worshipping the Lords e.g. निजमंदिर की भावना, बंटानकरी भावना, खंडनद की भावना, सम्पूर्ण के तलिया बांदी की भावना, काली की भाव, मंगलावरती की भावना, सुंगारकी भावना, तिलक की भावना, नृदङ्क की भावना, ज्ञेया की भाव, स्तनों की भाव, स्तरंज की भाव, ब्रजवन को प्रवाद दिखाये की भावना, etc. etc.

It also enjoins the Vaisnavas to do seva-smarana etc. right from daydawn and also emphasizes the importance of purity and cleanliness to be observed while doing seva & how one should be pure before entering the niṣa-mandira
(Lord's temple).

The following passages will give an idea of the subject-matter:

(8) मंदिर के विवार की भावना - मंदिर के दो विवार श्री स्वामिनीजी के दो नेत्र के परमेश्वर हैं। श्री स्वामिनीजी पलले हैं तव श्री ठाकुरजी की सांगी होय है।

(9) निधनमंदिर की भावना - मंदिर मकार श्रीकृष्ण, तमाहात्म्य में। बाल लीला में श्री कंदाकृष्ण, रहस्य विमुख भावना में। श्री स्वामिनीजी की निधन है, बुद्धिक में तव श्री ठाकुरजी युगल स्वरूप सहित पीठ ही हैं। अय्यर श्री भावार्थकी और सब भक्तके हुदय हैं, तव श्री प्रभु (नमानि हुदये तेषी प्रश्न) होय के सदा विराजमान हैं, जोक स्वामिनी सहित सब भाव विवारनी।


The RBh is published in the above issue of the VS. I have also seen another RBh published by S'ri Kālārāma Mukhiyā and S'ri H.H. Thakkar of Jāmakhambhālī in 1983 V.S. Both treat the same subject, but there is some difference in the language here and there. At places the former has some more details, at places the latter has some more details. For example, in धनंजयकी भावना the latter has given in full details the तमर ग्रस्कम.

I have also seen a note-book manuscript, dated 13.3.1947, in S'ri Kanaiyaprabhu Fustakālāya of Modasa. It contains Sevā-Vidhi and Rahasya Bhāvanā. This RBh treats of many more subjects than those treated in the above, e.g. चरणाचिन्ह की भावना, बप करिकीं की भावना, गिरिराज की भाव etc. I think, the scribe has taken down many topics from different works.
It appears on comparison of various publications & the MSS of Rādhānītī, that it includes many more subjects than those included in the one published in the Vallabhiyasudhā (VS) (Vol. XI - Nos. 1-2).

4. VS Vol. XI, Nos.1-2, P.6-7
The booklet, published by Kalurama etc.
gives the following topics in addition to those
given in that published in the VS:

- आयनकी भावना (in more details)
- तिमण्डूकी भाव
- गिरिराजके वात व्यार तिनकी भाव
- ब्रजतृपा कुमारिका की भाव
- बंगत कुमारिका की भाव

And at the end of this, we find the following
lines: एवं श्रीमद्वाणार्जर्षय श्री वल्लभसुकमलभूमि श्रीमद्वौराञ्चि
श्री गोकुलनारायणी भावार्जय मुल गित्य वेना गूंगार की भावना
खंडनंद्यु। समयू।'

After the above colophon, the following
topics are treated:

- शाबरणकी भाव
- पंजीरी की भाव
- बालकुशकी की भाव

The EBh (The note-book - MS) of Modasa
treats of the following topics:

7. Ibid, 121-126. There is a publication titled Khañ -
Rtu-Varta edited by Sri Dwarkadasa Parikh. In the beginning,
the work is titled as Sri Gokulnathchhoriyaarcarit Brahman
कि वार्ता
( महत्त्वपूणे कवि चुमुक्दास कवित ). ....... It describes the use
of different things in different seasons and Kusaha-llal
in the company of Svamini and other Sakhis. The editor
has not discussed the problem of authorship. Whether
the author is Go or Caturbhujadasa.
This is what is published in the VS
(Vol. XI Nos. 1-2)

And then, the following topics are given:

(1) दु:तिमालार की भावना,
(2) नये संवत्सर की भाव
(3) चैत्र चूँक रामनवमी की भाव
(4) देश संक्रांति की भाव
(5) श्री आचार्यजी के उत्सव की भाव

The MS is incomplete. The source, from which the matter is taken down, is not noted. This work is similar to that published by Kalûrâma Mukhiya, and gives some more details than the RBh published in the VS (Vol. XI - 1 & 2).

This MS also gives us the details about the performance of Seva on different festivals, e.g. नृसिंह चुड़ासी, गंगादरस्वामी, लालन्याता, etc. It enjoins what type of
food and clothes for the Lord are to be prepared and which 'Kīrtanas' are to be sung on those festivals. I think, this is the Uṣṇīṣa, ascribed to Śrī GO. But at one place, it is said that इति श्री हरिरायकी कृत रात्रिनामार्थ को भाव कंपूर्ण . So, it seems that some part of this work (i.e. Utsava - Bhava) was written or amended by Śrī Harirāyaji.

I have seen one MS, in possession of Śrī C. C. Modi of Balesinor, which begins as follows: —

श्री कृष्णाय नमः || श्री गौपीणन वल्लभाय नमः ||

The follow details about the and significance of different actions (e.g. awakening the Lord, the eight kinds of Darśanās etc.). The work runs over 58 Pages and

3. The MS is not dated, but the letter न is written as न and the numeral ०० is written as ००. It may be perhaps nearly two hundred years old.
The above quotation shows that the contents of the Balesinor MS are more or less the same as the RBh published by Kalūrama; but the question, that comes to our mind is about the authorship. All other MSS and publications note that the author of Nitya Krata Bhāvanā or RBh is Śrī GO. A question is raised by the words ताके ऊपर भाषामें श्री हरिरायाजी कि हें। Does it mean that GO wrote it in Samskṛta and Harirāyasī translated it in Vrajabhāsa? GO generally taught such subjects in the colloquial tongue. I surmise that Harirāyasī might have made additions to what GO said, or he added those subjects or topics not referred to by GO.

The Balesinor MS contains another work, which runs from P-58 to P-162. It begins as under:

अथ उत्सव के भाषावान शिल्पते। श्री गोपीजन वल्लभाय नमः। श्री बुधनाथ नमः। श्री पारशुरामनाथ नमः। श्री प्रभु प्रकाशनाथ नमः। श्री सरस्वति नमः। श्री ब्रह्मचार्य नमः। श्री राम सरस्वती नमः। श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री

Then, guidance about the performance of Sevā on different festivals, (such as Janmāstami, Rādhāstami, Vāmana-dvādes'ī etc.), is given in details.
The colophon reads: इति श्री गोकुलनाथजी कृत्य उत्सव की विषि संपूर्णम्। This is, I think, nothing but the Utsava - Bhavanā.

I read one more MS. It treats 33 topics of Nityaki Bhavanā and 51 topics of Utsavaki Bhavanā.

The work begins in this way: श्री कृष्णान् नमः। भव श्री गोकुलनाथजी कृत्य रहस्य लिखिते। सो पुष्पिकरणमें जितनी मिला हैं। की यह श्री स्वाभिमालों के भाष्य हैं। ताते मंगलाश्रय गावे। यथा श्री स्वाभिमालों के चरण क्रम की नमस्कार करत हैं।

After this श्रीस्वाभिमालों के चरण चित्रकी भावना is given. The MS ends with the words इति श्री गोकुलनाथजी कृत्य चरण चित्रकी टोका संपूर्णम्। After that, another Bhavanā begins: अष्ट नित्यकी भावना विद्ध हैं। ब्रह्मांक की प्रातःकाल होते ही भगवतेका की विषि करनी

etc. This MS is mostly the same in this part as that published by Kalurama Mukhiā. But there are marked differences at some places, e.g. पाँच निवेदन मंत्र गुरु-दाताकी स्मरण करे के नमस्कार करिके श्री गुरुधार्धको रूप ही विचारनी। Whereas in the printed edition we read. पाँच निवेदनमंत्र के दाता गुरु को स्मरण करिके नमस्कार करि श्री गुरुधार्धको ही स्नेहित विचारनी।

9. The MS belongs to Shri Chimanlal M. Vaidya. It contains 181 leaves of size of 8"×13½", and is written in 1945 V.S.
This part of the work ends with the words

इति श्री गौड़ास्थानाची कृत निल्म संवादिकार की भावना संपूर्ण।

It does not include here the topics वाभरणकी भाव भाव,

पंजोरी की भाव, आदि तुककी which we find in the RBh

published by Kalurama Mukhiya.

Then (on P. 41) begins another Bhāvana

in this way: अथ श्री हरिवर्धनी कृत की गुवाई के हरिराजी कृत जन्माष्टमी की भावना सिख्यते। भाकापद तद्भव कृत की पार्श्व पिछोरा दियते। कृष्णी धरिते। etc.

On P. 78, it is stated इति श्री गौड़ास्थानाची कृत की गुवाई के जन्म उत्सवकी भावना संपूर्ण। श्री फुल नामाभावम्।

Similarly, it includes other Bhāvanās, of other festivals, by S'ri Harirayaji, e.g. फुल मंडळीकी भाव (P. 137) स्नान यात्रा की भाव (P. 152).

The UdBh enjoins certain things to be done, on certain Puṣṭimārgi'ya festivals: What types of clothes, ornaments and food are to be offered to the Lord and what Kīrtanas are to be sung on those days.

The following passage will give an idea of this Bhāvanā:

10. Cf. MS P. 41.
Then it is noted that इति श्री गौक्षुकानाथवर्गीयम् बृह तथा श्री वल्लभवर्गीयम् बुधु उत्तरबाधतनाको विचि संपूर्णमि। वध वाभरनां को भाष कहेत है।

Then, वध करिवे को भावना says how to do the अष्ट, how to turn the rosary and why 108 beads are used. And then, significance of the 'Gomukhi' (a kind of cloth bag, in which the rosary is to be kept and turned) is given. After this we find गिरिराजकीय भावना, मुहुर्मेत्त्वी भावना, पंड़री की भावना and then is given the method of preparation of different sweets to be offered to the Lord.

11. Cf. MS - P.163.

The colophon (P.161) reads: 

इति श्री

गौकुलनाथस्वरूप श्री कान्तस्वरूप 

तिष्ठतम श्रीमद्ब्रह्मचारी 

अनन्यजी के मंडल में छाया गया है। 

निजी शासन बदो में 

कान्तस्वरूप १९४४।। 

भक्ति भक्ति भक्ति भक्ति 

श्री

A MS (Hindi No.87/4/1) preserved in 

the कैंकरोली श्रीमती बिहारी श्रीमती विभाग 

begins as follows: 

भक्ति भक्ति भक्ति भक्ति 

बाबा बचनाने लिया कि। 

मार्गशीर्ष बदो में 

बलि के भक्त उसे कामायनी बताए कि, 

बेश के श्रीमती पुष्प भक्ति ि तत्त्व श्रीमत मंगल करार करा।

Then, it asks the devotee to cultivate 

the attitude (bhāva) with which food and clothing 

are to be offered to the Lord and to observe the 

spirit of the स्वामिनी and her different sakhis 

on different days.

At the end, it is stated that -

या हीलू हव उल्लघ श्री नारायण श्री कुमार श्री गुंजाई जी 

के बल श्री गौकुलनाथस्वरूप के बाद गई ि इतने श्रीमती श्रीमती कर की उत्थान 

निर्णय संक्षेप में शिखर है।

Another MS(Hindi No.84/4/2) preserved in the 

Kānkārolī Vidya Vibhāga begins as follows:

श्री गौकुलनाथ नमः।। 

प्रवाह ब्रज श्रीगौरवर्णनाथस्वरूप 

श्री गौरवर्णनाथ श्री गौरगुंड 

हव दक्षिण श्री गौरगुंडरण प्रमहोती 

भक्ति विनोभ से शक्तार्थे।।

नित्य शिष्य श्रीमती ि ि झाला देश।
The MS teaches what type of spirit is to be observed on different festivals.

In another MS (Hindi No. 92/1/3) dated 1873 V.S. of Kāñkaroḷ Vidya Vībhāga, there is a mention of Utsava mālīka\(^{13}\) of Harirayaji; similarly, some MSS (e.g. the Modasa note-book-size MS referred to above) mention Harirayaji to be the author at some places. So, Uabh is a joint work of Gā and Harirayaji.

Comparison of these MSS and printed editions of Rbh leads to the following conclusions:

1. Rbh is not a uniform and settled form of work. Different MSS treat a variety of topics.

2. Rbh is the same as the Nitya Kratya Bhāvanā or the Sevāvidhi or the Nitya Sevā Singarakā Bhāvanā.

3. Sevā Bhāvanā\(^{14}\) (mentioned on P. 2 of this Chapter) is not different from the Rbh or the Nitya Kratya Bhāvanā.

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13. Vide footnote No. 39 at the end of this chapter.
14. There is a Gujarati work titled Seva Sarvasva, written by S'ri Narotmā Shastri of Kapañvānj. It contains Sevāvidhi and Utsavavidhi etc. to be followed by the Vaisnavas belonging to the 'Fourth House'. It is based on the Rahasya Bhāvanā and Utsava Bhāvanā.
A Photo-copy of Gokulnāthji's Rahasya-Bhāvanā, beginning with the Bhāvanā of Svāminīji's Lotus-feet-marks. Underneath is the end of the Nitya-Bhāvanā or Nitya-Sevā-Sringāra-Bhāvanā of Gokulnāthji. The MS is dated 1945 v.s. (By courtesy of Shri Chimanlal M. Vaidya.)
(4) Some MSS. of Nitya Kratya Bhāvanā or RBh include Svaminike Carana Cihnakā Bhāvanā, UBBh Sad Rukho Bhāva, etc.

(5) The present UBh or Utsava Vidhi is a joint work of GO and Harirāyajī and S'rī Vallabhajī. It is difficult to ascertain whether this Vallabhajī is the same as Kākā Vallabhajī (birth 1703 V.S.).

(iii) Bhāva - Bhāvanā, Līlā Bhāvanā and Svārūpa Bhāvanā

(a) The word Bhāvanā is common to other Bhāvanās too. In the Balasinor MS, the UBh begins in this way:

बय उत्थवन के भावभवना निलयेत्।

15. Vide also footnote No.38 at the end of this chapter. Also vide in this connection the colophon of a MS (no.1033 Gujarati - Hindi Section) of Gujarat Vidya Sabha of Ahmedabadi.

इति श्री गौकुलनाथजी तथा श्रीकारामकजी तथा श्री हरिरामजी कृत्य भावभवना नित्यभवनी तथा वरणा चिन्तकी तथा भवभवनी होती वर्तत तथा दोल की भावना तथा कष्ट स्मरण की भावना तथा चरण की भावभवना संपूर्ण। सो १९ अ २ ४ मा ० दु ० १६.

16. Vide also the colophon of the MS referred to in the above footnote. Also see Kāṃkarolī MS. (Hindi No.159/5) which is titled Bhāva-Bhāvanā. It is ascribed to Harirāyajī in the beginning, and to both GO and Harirāyajī at the end. It is as good as Rahaṣya Bhāvanā or Seva Bhāvanā. In the
It seems that Bhāva Bhāvana of GO is not a separate work. I have consulted some māryādī Vaiṣṇavas and they opined that the Bhāva Bhāvana is the same as the Seva-bhāvana or the Bbān.

There is one MS titled Bhāva Bhāvana of GO in the Kanaiyaprabhu Pustakalaya of Modasa. The MS is dated 1984 V.S. The colophon reads:

This work gives a description of Madhuvana, describes the Svarūpas of VL, VT, describes the and GO; and refers to some incidents of their lives. The work enumerates 31 purposes of the birth of GO. I think it is most probably written by some Bharucī Vaiṣṇava.

(b) A MS (Hindi No. 103/4/16) of Kānkeshī Vidya Vibhāga contains Svarūpa Bhāvana and Līlā Bhāvana. The author and the date are not mentioned therein. The Līlā Bhāvana begins as follows:

16. ..Contd... beginning, it is stated that Seva is to be performed with the attitude and spirit of Svāminījī.

17. Cf. PP. 54 – 57 of the MS in question.
This page contains a section that describes the forms of Yamunāji, Mount Govardhana, Vraja, and Vraja bhaktas. It states that on page 135 of the said MS, it is stated that the forms (svāraupa) of Mount Govardhana, Vraja, and Vraja bhaktas are described.

On page 135 of the said MS, it is stated that the forms of Mount Govardhana, Vraja, and Vraja bhaktas are described. The author and date of the MS are not mentioned. In the absence of any other MS of this work or any statement in the work, it is difficult to ascertain its authorship. But generally it is said in the Sampradāya that such Bhavanas are ascribed to Gō.

The Līlā Bhāvanā, as its name suggests, describes the places and things, rather, the paraphernalia, of the Divine Sport.

There is a MS (Hindi No. 137/6) in Kākarolī Vidya Vibhāga, titled नामार्थ्योऽधारण-महामून-की-वार्ता. It contains, among other things, a description of different 12 Kuṅjas (पुष्प, फल, रस, रास, गी, ढार, नव, रासिः, प्रम-विक्रत शक्तिः प्रम-जुलीं)...

18. Very similar is another MS (Hindi No. 90/2) of Līlā Bhāvanā, but no more information is available from it.
It is stated that the grace of Śrī VL leads one to the site of the Divine Sport and an instance is given here, as to how Śvāminījī shows the Kuñjas to a disciple of Śrī VL. It is difficult to say, whether this forms a part of the Līlā Bhāvanā.

(c) There are several MSS in Kāṅkaraḷī which contain Śvārupābhāvanā. Generally, the Śvārupa Bhāvanā is included in Bhāva Bhāvanā or Bhāsya Bhāvanā or Līlā Bhāvanā. In these MSS GO is not mentioned as its author. There is one śvārupa Bhāvanā published in Fustimudha (Vol. V. Nos. 5 to 8). The author is not mentioned, but in one foot-note (On P. 15) the word 'we' occurring in the work itself, is explained as श्रीस्वामिनीके कार. So, the author of the published work is probably Śvārīkēṣājī.

A MS (Hindi No. 87/4/4) in Kāṅkaraḷī gives in some five lines the description of Śrī Nathājī. The Author is not mentioned. It is titled श्री नाथजी के स्वरूप की

19. MSS (Hindi Section) Nos. 6/3/2, 103/4/15, 106/6/1, (Sanskrit Section) No. 90/2/4, 92/4/7.

20. Kāṅkaraḷī MSS No. 96/3/2 and No. 103/4/6 are similar to the published Śvārupa Bhāvanā.
A MS in Gujarat Vidyā Sabha of Ahmedabad is titled as श्री गोकुलनाथजी तथा श्री हरिरामजी लूट भावभावना। It contains many topics; one of them is अष्टस्वरूप की भावना on p. 28 it begins with the words यथा श्रव स्वरूप की भावना लिखिते। About the idols of Govardhananathaji alies S'rīnathaji and S'rī Gokulanathaji, it is said as follows:

श्री स्वामिनीजी के मनोरथी के बांध इस्त उंच रास को भाव है कहीं ते गोर्वनिज द्वारा ही है तो इस्तकी मुढ़ी बांधी होती। एक संगरीनी उंची हुई इक्की तो पांची संगरी सम निव्व में कहे इस्त को भाव दिखावत है तथा कहे इस्त को भाव की बुझाए भक्त के मन खेलिये के अपनी दक्षिण इस्त की मुढ़ी में कहे लीए पाँच को जी जब भक्त को इमारो मन बुझारे पाव है की देख्ये तो बायं तब अंगुलीः दिखाएं। (पृ. २९)

21. Cf. यथा श्रीजी त्वरूप की भावना। श्रीनाथजी पीठ कुंग दर्शण दिखा गांव १ श्रीजीहैं। न भक्ति १ तो प्रत्यय दर्शन देत है। तथा \( कळियां \) के वर्गिक ढिरामधिक तथा मुख प्रत्यय दर्शन देत हैं। मुखार्यियों तीर्थीयों के सन्नात है। ता उपर नये बेटों है उपर मन्या है। ता उपर मंड़ा है। ता उपर एक भक्त त्वरूप हैं। श्री मस्तक उपर मार है। नाम \( कळियां \) में भक्त त्वरूप देते हैं। (इत्यादि)। इति श्री भावना संपूण।

22. Vide footnote No. 15 ante.
In this way, the description and meaning of the different 'nidhi - Svarupa' are given in this work.

Svarupa Bhavana, as its name suggests, shows the esoteric meaning of the different idols of Krishna.

(iv) Sri Svarupa Krishna: Carana Chhina ki Bhavana:

In MSS, this work is included in the RBh23. It is published in one of the issues of the VS24 beginning with the words 'kv-kri - katu, katu' and have found that there is hardly any difference between these two, excepting some change of words and sentences.

23. Vide P.359 and 368 in this Chapter.
24. Cf. Vol. V, Nos. 5-6, P.5. The source of the MS is not stated. I have also seen it in the note-book MS of Modasa and have found that there is hardly any difference between these two, excepting some change of words and sentences.
In the beginning, it is said that the mind tried to find out a suitable simile for the feet of S'ri Svāminījī, but it could not do so; however, when the mind sought refuge in Her lotus-feet, the mind was inspired to describe them. Her lotus-feet have ten fingers, which indicate that the ten-fold Bhakti has taken refuge in Her feet. So, every Vaisnavas should worship and serve and seek refuge in the lotus-feet of Svāminījī, the Divine Consort of Lord Kṛṣṇa.

Then it is said that Her lotus-feet have 15 different fortune marks (astrological signs). The right foot has seven marks: a Chatra, a cakra, a flag, a lotus, a barley grain, a goad (ākus'a) and a vertical line, while the left foot has eight marks: a mace, a lotus, a chariot, an arrow (i.e. A'akti), a fish, an altar, an ear-ring and a mount. After this, the significance of each of the marks is dealt with. For example, the mark of the chatra or the umbrella indicates that whosoever seeks protection of the Highest Lord (Purna Purusottama), will obtain the highest bliss; and hence the sign of the chatra should be meditated upon with faith. The cakra is the emblem of a great lord and indicates supreme power. Here the mark of the cakra indicates that S'ri Svāminījī has full influence and power over the Highest Lord, and just as king Ambarīṣa was saved by the
cakra from the ferocity of Durvasas, the cakhs saves the devotees from all miseries. That is why S'ri Svāminījī keeps the mark of cakra on her foot.

The right foot is the principal Puṣṭi and S'ri Svāminījī, with these seven marks, indicates that the six attributes (Dharmās: ais'varya, Vīrya, Yas'as, S'ri, Jñāne, Vairāgya) with the attributed (Dharmā) reside in her. The eight marks on the left foot are indicative of the sevā of eight times (praharas). It is stated that it is very difficult even to perform one sevā fully, what to talk of the sevā of eight different times! So, these eight marks inform us that meditation on them leads to all the fruit of sevā. At the end, the following lines are read:

या प्रकार दोऊँ चरण के चिन्ह की भाव विहरत
वर्णिन रङ्गल। दोऊँ चरण में पन्नः चिन्ह हैं। सारे महिता किसा
वर्षा भाव गयें। तात्त्विक कोई वेदःपन्नः चिन्हः की चिन्ह
की तिन्हो वर्षूः कोई वाक्यः रक्षे अनुभव में प्रतिवेचन न करेंगो।
सदा एक रथ रूप की अनुभव होगये। या प्रकार चिन्हःके भाव
वर्षू अपनी बुद्धि के बन्धार वर्णिन रङ्गल। इति कोई गोकुलायकः
कुट चरणचिन्हःको भावना ठीकः उदितः वर्णिनः ॥

The last words 'ठीकः उदितः ' raise a question, whether there is any original work, whose translation and comment comprise the present work.
In the beginning, there is no mention to the word 'सृजना'. It may be that there may be some Samskrta work, and this may be the translation with additions here and there. But all other Bhavanās are in Vrajabhāsa and so may be this work. It is possible that the words 'नील अग्निः' might have been added by the scribes or by a person who might have added some explanations here and there.

This work quotes one pada of Nandadasa,\textsuperscript{25} one verse from Subodhini\textsuperscript{26} and one pada of Paramanandas\textsuperscript{27}. But these do not lead us to determine the date of composition of this work, for the dates of composition of those padas are not known.

There is a reference to some Devis, in this work, such as Madhyama, Naubhari\textsuperscript{28} etc., who are hardly known.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{25} VS. Vol. 75-5, p. 8
  \item \textsuperscript{26} Ibid, p. 11
  \item \textsuperscript{27} Ibid, p. 13
  \item \textsuperscript{28} Ibid, p. 12
\end{itemize}
(v) Grahana - Bhavana

This work is published in Anugraha29 and runs over one and a half page. The editor of the work, S'ri Harikrsna V. S'astrT has said that the MS is dated 1875 and the colophon reads श्री गोकुलस्य जन्म । इति । It is found included in some MSS in the Utssva - Vidhi or UBh. It says what type of dress and meals (v'asra and bhoga) are to be offered to the Lord on the occasion of an eclipse and teaches with what spirit (bhava) the Lord is to be worshipped at the time of an eclipse.

(vi) S'ri Acaryaji Tatha S'ri Gussmijike Svarupa ko Vicare.

A MS of work is found in the Vidyavibhaga of Kdkerol.30 As far as I know, it is so far unpublished. The colophon reads इति क्रियावधिकी की तथा क्रियावधिकी के स्वरूप की विचार बंधुरागी। श्रीगुनामानयजी 

29. Vide Vol. 5-12, F.26 & 58.

30. Vide Hindi Vidyavibhaga Bandha No. 99, Pustak No.17. There is another MS too, (No.104/7/1) titled आचार्यविधि के स्वरूप की निर्देशित। The author is not mentioned. It is different from the above MS.
This work says that the Lord asked His Lotus-mouth to display all His greatness (mahātmya) and show His real svarūpa to the Pustimargiya souls and make them experience the Divine Sport. In this way, the purpose of the birth of Śrī VL is shown here. Then, the verse बींदुः निब्धुः गुणान् is given and it is explained that at the time of the Divine Sport, the 'ātman-bhava' of the Lord and the 'purusabhava' of Śrī Śvāminījī separated and those two bhavas formed the form of VL.

Then, a third explanation is given. At the time of Rāsa-kṛīḍā, Kṛṣṇa disappeared and the devotees of Vṛṣṇi uttered the verse भवताः कुञ्जलिकः ... 32. Kṛṣṇa, then, said, न घरेहः etc. 33, in which it is said that the (Kṛṣṇa) could not repay the debts of the 'dāsatva bhava' of Śvāminījī. So, he took the form of Śrī VL and exhibited His 'dāsatva bhava' towards Śrī Śvāminījī.

31. Cf. भूतल विंश्ति प्रमोध हमारे शक्ति नाधाराम्य बंगरंग लीलावती द्वारा प्रकटकरि पुष्पिक्षमय बीकन क्रोऽ हमारे शान्ति सत्रुपको दायरे ॥ - P.2 of the copy of the MS, in possession of Śrī O.C. Modi of Belesinor.

32. Bg. X - 32 - 16.

The work, then, explains the form of VT. It is said that the 'strī-bhāva' of Svāminiṣṭī and the 'kāma-bhāva' of the Lord both combined to form the svarūpa of VT. Therefore, whatever actions VT has done, they are the sport of the Lord. Secondly, he is the svarūpa of Candrayalījī. Thirdly, he is the svarūpa of Yamanājī. 'Dāsatvabhāva' towards Svāminiṣṭī in S'rī VT did not reach its culmination and hence to bring to it its completeness, the Lord assumed the form of VT, who described his 'dāsatva' in S'rīsvāminyaśeṭṭaka and Svāminiṣṭotra.

VT has said that Svāminiṣṭī is the true guru of the Pustimarga, in which 'strī-bhāva' is all important, and, therefore, VT, who is the 'strī-bhāva' incarnate of S'rī Svāminiṣṭī, became the guru and taught 'dāsatva' and seva to his devotees; and led them to the Divine Sport. This is different from what we read in Vallabhaṅgaṇa of Gopaldas.  

34. Cf. ततार्थेन श्रीपुसांहीनो बंद्रा कलीकोषी स्वरूप धरिः तीला। शाम्प्री विष्णु करिन्द्रको दामत्थ धिनो । — O.C. Modi's MS P.G.

35. Cf. वचन निःश्वर श्रीनाथे मायु, क्रीणो क्रीवलंकर्मीं गुण वाः। अत्र तौ इत्या एत्ये श्रे नन्दन खमे तात ॥ — Vallabhaṅgaṇa II - 16.
At the end of the work the following verse is given:

This small work is an attempt to give a literal interpretation and purpose of the births of VL and VT, who are both the svarūpas of the Highest Lord. The style and phraseology (e.g. the word līlā - madhya - pāti) are like those found in other works of GO.

(vii) Importance of the Bhāvanā Sāhitya

Thus, sevavidhi, sevābhāva and daily religious routine of a Vaisnava form the subject matter of the Bhāvanā Sāhitya. The Bhāvanās show the import and significance of each and every action and rite that the devotee has to do while worshipping the Lord. They inculcate in the mind of the devotee that in Sevā, love and affection for the Lord and devotional attitude (bhāva) are more important than the rite (kriyā). RBh goes to the extent of enjoining the devotee to observe the appointed time of the sevā and to make betel marks on the body later. Chewing the betel-leaf

36. This work is included in the chapter on Bhāvanā Sāhitya because it exposes the bhāvanā or the spirit of the svarūpas of Śri VL and Śri VT.

37. Cf. स्वयं समय भयो ही तो मुद्रा वीठे करनी।

- RB Vol.xi - 1, 2 - P.3.
nut is enjoined to remove the bad smell of the mouth and not for its tastefulness. Love and affection reign supreme, the Pustimarga and therefore the work enjoins the devotee that he should keep in mind, above all, the happiness and comfort of the Lord. Mechanical actions and rites have no value if there is no true bhava at the back. Pustimarga is principally based on devotional attitude (bhava), it is bhavanatmaka and the different actions and the things, employed while doing seva, have some bhava attached to them. The Bhavanas teach such bhavas. They teach the spirit of Pustimarga truly. They show how the Lord Balakrsna is to be worshipped affectionately (वात्सल्य भावना) and in the spirit of a 'pativrata'. So, the Bhavanas are important from this point of view. S'rī VL gave a philosophical basis to the S'uddhadvaita Pustimarga, S'rī VT created a structure of purposeful sevamarga (path of worship), and GO gave significance to each of the rites, offered allegorical interpretations of rituals and things used therein, and thus gave a strong bhavanatmaka base to the mode of worship. He, in this way, prevented the modes of worship from turning into a mechanical and meaningless jumble of rituals. It is on this account, that Bhava Bhaktimarga is different from UpaBanamarga.

It should be noted here that all of this Bhavana Sahitya is not actually from the pen of GO.

38. 'pfptf Wpgl tdtl Ttil ftfel-Ibid, P.J.
He is the narrator (pravakte) as in the case of the 84 and 252 Vartas, and the scribes and the followers might have taken down what he said. The principal author is S'ri GO and later scribes and Gosvamis like Harirajajii might have made additions, and even some modifications later. This is how we can account for the differences of language in different MSS and publications, and the mention of Harirajajii and Vallabhajii as authors at some places.

These Bhavanas are most probably compiled later from the vacanamrtas of GO. A MS (Hindi Section No. 9/2/2) in Kanhakoli is titled as कान्हाकोली आंकोकोली from व्यक्तिमार्थ. In this MS, it is stated at one place that श्री गोकुलनाथजी के कवच राम श्री चन्द्रण मी की जो करनो दो लिखत है। चार पर प्राण रहें सर रहनी। I think, most probably Harirajajii was instrumental in compilation and additions, for many MSS mention GO and Harirajajii as authors of Nityakrta Bhavana and Utsava Bhavana or Utsavamalika. 39

39. Vide the Kannakoli MS (Hindi No. 8/2/2) where the author of Utsavaparakara is stated to be GO, and also the MS (Hindi No. 92/1/3) where the author is stated to be Harirajajii. Read: श्री इसी रामणजी पुण्टिचाव कीमो हे भाषामें का उत्प्रभावित करी हैं से अनुष्ठान करता। - MS P. 108.
Chapter III (d)

Vacanāmrta Sāhitya

(i) What is Vacanamrta Sāhitya?

The word Vacanāmrta (Vac) is in vogue in the Pusṭimārgīya literature. It is a metaphor. Speech (or word), which is sweet and inspiring, is identified with nectar. Speeches or talks of great religious preceptors are considered as sweet as nectar, because they teach us how to be free from worldly miseries and to experience bliss. Oral precepts of Vī, Vī, Gō and other Gosvāmīs are, therefore, called vacanāmrta, nectar-precepts. Unfortunately Vac of Vī and Vī are not available today. Those of only a few Gosvāmīs, such as Kṛṣṇa Vallabha, Giridharājī etc., are available. It is a good fortune that some of the followers of Gō took down his oral precepts and passed them on to posterity.

Gō made his usual practice to talk to the Vaiśṇavas about a variety of subjects. Such talks were going on even while he bathed or while he was in the nīja-mandira for the Lord's worship. But mostly he preached in the afternoon, while he took his seat

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(gādī) and at night after supper, when the Vaisnavas used to gather round him to listen to his sweet and humorous talks. At such times, they brought their queries as regards the mode of worship, about some incidents described in the BG etc., and GO, answered their queries. Many times the Vaisnavas requested him to talk about the special characteristics of their religion, and about the Acārya (i.e., VL) and his disciples, and he preached them the doctrines of the religion with illustrations from the scriptures as well lives of the great Vaisnavas. The Vārtas and the Bhāvanās are the results of such discourses or talks. Practically, they form part of the Vasanārtha literature, but they, having formed distinct subjects, are collected under those captions. Those discourses or talks which are not included in the Vārtas or the Bhāvanās or other works, are collected under the caption Vac.

The Vac, being oral teachings, might have been lost for ever, had not some followers of GO written them down. To-day, we are not able to trace how many Vaisnavas took down the Vac. There are many MSS of the

2. Cf. वचनमुखयुग्मयुगम् वेश्वरं उपस्तुत: - - Vignudāsa's Astottaras'atansmani (Gokuleśa - Dhola - pada - Madhuri, P. 20).
collections of the Vac but the Vaisnava scribes are not mentioned. Some information is supplied by Gopaldas. He relates that Jamanadasa Jani collected some Vac, but they were only a small part of Go's Vac. The collection is called S'ri varaväkyamrta - rasa - ratna - kos'a (hereafter referred to as Varaväkyamrta).

It appears that there were some more collections, and there were various versions also. Today, in some of the storehouses of books (Bhandaras in the temples) and in the collections of some of the Vaisnava, there are several MSS of Go's Vac, which do not appear to be the copies of one MS, but appear to be collections of Vac uttered at different times and places. Such collections

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3. Cf. पढ़े प्रौताधी श्रस्कृत्त्वा ज्ञानी तत्त्व बमनादार.
   तेलाहैः शाङ्ककायो पीता भाष्क्रासः। - ६०
   पूर्वश्रीमुख बमनाग्रहती संथळ छे क्षीर ताहरे।
   व्याख्यां ल्यांहाथो ती करी लाभी कारब छे एक माहरे। - ६१

..........

पूर्वी बमनाग्रहती संग्रह कीभी सारः। - ६४

..........

पूर्वी बमनाग्रहती संग्रह कीभी सारः।

ते उपर भाष्क्रायां हवो ग्राव विस्तार । - ६६

..........

श्रीगुङ्गक्ष्या बमनाएः बमगर वेदावी कणाका मातः

ते जव ब्रह्म उवम कीभी पूणा धरण सक्या नहीं पातः। - ६८

are found at Kañkaroli, Kāmavāna, Nāthadvārā, Baroda, Dabhoi, Kapadvaj, Modasa, Balasinor, Deogadhbaria, Bāadhlpur etc. The earliest MS of the Vac is dated 1693 V.S. and is available in Kañkaroli. These collections can be compared to modern works like 'Speeches of Sardar Nehru', 'Collections of Gandhiji's speeches', 'Edmund Burke's speeches, on American Taxation', etc.

(ii) Published and unpublished collections of the Vac-

The number of Vac is very great. It is placed at from fifteen thousand to one lakh. But today, it is difficult to ascertain the truth about their total number. Whatever it may be, we find several MSs as well as publications of Vac published under different titles. Some of them are also published in different

4. Vide Hindi Section MS No. 141/3.
5. The following publications of the Vac have come to be known:

(i) श्रीगोकुलनाथबाबू दास्यप्रबंधो भाग - १ (२००० विखयूं)
(ii) श्रीगोकुलनाथबाबू दास्यप्रबंधो भाग - २ (२००० विखयूं)
(iii) वर्षाकाव्यमृत (२००० विखयूं)

It appears that वर्षाकाव्यमृत is the same as the '24 Vac'.

(iv) A very small part of the Varavākyaṁrta - ratnakos’a is published in the periodical Anugraḥa Vol. XI No. 12.
periodicals also. 6

As regards the unpublished Vac, it is to be said that there are many collections which have a number of Vac in common. Out of these collections, some of the Vac are published, but still there are hundreds of them, which still await publication.

Apart from the stray collections of the Vac, there are certain Vac which appear to have been collected or told under some particular titles.

There is one such collection, called ब्रह्मचार्य ख्वाणिक (32 characteristics)7. The name of the author is not given, but it being a dialogue between GO (called here Mahaprabhu) and K. Bhatta, should be ascribed to GO. It has much similarity with the '24 Vac'. It is possible that this work and the '24 Vac' may be different versions of one and the same discourse.

The subject of the work, as its title suggests, is the characteristics of a Vaisnava. It can be called Pustimargiya Ethics.

6. Vide the files of Anugraha (Particularly Volumes XI, XVIII, XXII), S'uddhādvaita & Bhaktimārtanda and the VS (Vol. I to V and VIII, IX and X)

7. Its MS (dated 1873 V.S.) is available in Kāṅkaroṭi. Vide Hindi Section No. 92/1/3 P. 84 to 109. There is another MS (No. 106/5) too and is very similar to the above.
There is another MS in Kāñkarolī, whose title is not given. It is a dialogue between S'riji (i.e. GO) and K. Bhatta, and hence should be ascribed to GO. The subject of the work is Pujāmarga and Bhaktimarga. It is shown here, how the sixteen actions (vidhis, e.g. Āvāhana, āsana, arghya, ...visarjana) of the Pujāmarga differ from those of the Bhaktimarga.

There is another MS, titled Mita - vinoda - s'iksā. At the end of the work, there is the story of Narayanaśāśa Karabhārī. The work is a dialogue between Akbar and Mahāprabhuji, who may be either VL or GO. But the style of the work is like that of GO’s Vac, and therefore, I surmise that the work is a collection of GO’s talks. Secondly, VL and Akbar were not contemporaries, while GO and Akbar were. It is in the form of short questions and short answers. It may be argued that such a talk between GO and Akbar might not have taken place, but we have no evidence to prove any of the two stands. The work is a good example of ready-witted answers.

Vide Hindi Section No. 108/12. It contains 12 pages of size. 

10. MS No. 108/12 (some words are not clearly understood).
In the Rasasindhu of Mahāvādaśa, Tattvārthadohana of Gopālāc and such other works of GQ's followers, there are references that GQ said or explained this or that thing. Such references can also be included in the Vac literature.

Most important of all the collections of the Vac, are the Vara Vākyāmrta and the fourteenth book of the Kallola, of K. Bhatt, which is called श्रीपुरविलैक्षणम. Only a few Vac from the Vara Vākyāmrta are published. It is divided into 84 to 90 divisions, such as गुप्तरात्रि ब्राह्मणानी हाँसी (No.1), श्रीभीनी बात (No.18), प्रेमवल्ली बात (No.19), इख्कूलन प्रलंभ (No.42), वचनव मार्गधार्मिकी बात (No.45), गाःग्रामपरमात्मानी बात (No.58), गुणाध्रवलक्षणी बात (No.60), बालकवल्ली बात (No.66) etc.

Each of the divisions contains a number of talks (prasaṅgas); e.g. division No.42 contains 35 talks. Some talks found in one division are also repeated in other divisions.13

11. Its MSS are available in Kāṅkaroli, Vide Hindi Section Nos.142/8 (complete) and 86/4 (incomplete). The former MS contains 272 leaves of the size of 11" x 6¾" and is written by more than one scribe.

12. Its MSS are not easily available. One MS is available in the temple sacred to GQ, in Baroda, a part of it is available in the Dahilaxmi Library of Nadiad दाहिलाक्षि लालितमन्त्रीकरण & a free translation of it by Pandit Loknath is available in the collection of MS of S'rī C.C. Modi of Balasinor.

13. Cf. for example, talks Nos. 13 & 14 of the division No. 42 (इख्कूलन प्रलंभ) with the talk No.30 of the division No.35. (स्नाइवेंद्रबल्ली बात)
It is possible that the Vara-Vakṣyāṁṛta might have been arranged after collecting the Vac from different Vaiṣṇavas. It is said that the commendable effort was done by Jamanāḍasa Jānī, who was inspired by Gokulabhaṭṭa to collect the Vac of Gauḍa Kesāvalīṇa. Bhāganagarī is said to have written comments on the Vara-vākṣyāṁṛta. Many MSS of the collections of the Vac are copied from this classified collection.

The second important collection is in the 14th part of the Kallola, which contains 30 tarsaṅgas in Sanskṛta. It is in both prose and verse, and treats of topics like श्रीलान्तरवण (No.1) श्रीलालायतु (No.2), भक्तलक्षण (No.3), श्रीमत्वभाव (No.4), गुण भौतिक (क्राविष्टम विपश्येकृत No.15), आचार्यवादि दोष (No.18), मुध्य तत्तुगती गुण (No.24), उपस्तम्भ कृतामर्त (No.27) etc.

(iii) The themes and method of the Vac

The Vac are scattered talks given on different occasions and therefore, do not have one uniform topic or theme. GO talked on a variety of subjects, mostly pertaining to the religion. In the Vara-vākṣyāṁṛta, there has been an attempt to classify them, but the basis of classification does not appear proper. The themes of the Vac are a legion. They contain GO's views on the BG, the Sub Kṛṣṇalīla, Pūṣṭimārgiya worship, etc.

14. The Vac literature needs to be explored, recategorized & recataloged into uniform topics like, Pūṣṭimārgiya worship, Ethics, Interpretations of the verses of BG & Sub, Doctrines of Pūṣṭimārga, A true vaisnava, Kṛṣṇalīla, साधक वास्तविक विचार, भक्तविद्यालाल्य, महाप्रकाशदाराल्य etc. etc.
A photo-copy of a page of the fourteenth
part of the Kallola of Kalavanh Malla

(Reproduction of Kali Sarna Library, Nepal)
The method of explanation is easy and touching. Teaching of the philosophical principles is generally dry and require critical acumen on the part of the listeners, most of whom do not possess that faculty. GO knew this. As a true preceptor, he understood the psychology of people, that they do not like to listen to dry teachings of the scriptures. He also knew that knowledge should be imparted with an abiding interest. Hence, he adopted a method which was helpful in bringing home to the listeners the principles of religion. He explained the principles with adequate illustrations and by the use of allegories, and that too with humour.\textsuperscript{15} He was a mine of tales and anecdotes & through them he imparted the knowledge of religious principles. He gave illustrations from the BG, the sub, and the Māhābhārata & gave ingenious interpretations. A good example of such precepts is the story of two jewels, brought in the court of a king. Through this story, he explains the greatness or the smallness of persons.\textsuperscript{16} A devotee has to cultivate the spirit of a 'pativrata'. This is explained by the example of Gandhāri.\textsuperscript{17}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{15} Vide the वरावक्यामुर्त in the \textit{Vare-vākyāmūrta} & \textit{Shrīgītāpuśpanāgini \Śrūśpuśpanāgini} edited by Shri Dinsakinākare.
\item \textsuperscript{16} Vide Varāvākyāmūrta: \textit{Anugraha Vol. XI-12, P.470}.
\item \textsuperscript{17} Cf. \textit{Vara Vākyāmūrta}: \textit{नरिरसासी आत्र ब्राह्मण 6}.
\end{itemize}
Similarly, he explains the real form of worldly existence (samsāra) by means of a metaphor. He says that the 'samsāra' is a tree, the family is its branches, and happiness and misery are the fruits, etc. Some of his teachings are in very small sentences, like aphorisms, & could easily be remembered.

The language of explanation is very simple and colloquial and hence we find, in the Vac, as in the Vartās, some uniformity of language; although, at places there are differences in spelling and forms; but that may be due to the scribes. The Vac are in Vrajabhasa and are later translated into Gujarati. They provide examples of colloquial tongue of the 17th century of the Vikrama era. Most of the followers who took down the Vac, were not highly educated and, therefore, there is no respect for spelling and purity of language. In some of the Vac many words are nasalised, which is a trait of the people of the south-west of Saurashtra and therefore it can be said that such Vac might have been taken down by those hailing from the south-west of Saurashtra.

Through the Vac, GO taught the Vaishnavas, the true form of the Pustimarga. It would not be an exaggeration to say that such a method of teaching,

appealed more to the mind of the listeners rather than the
great scriptures and that the Vac gave the Vaisnavas
all the necessary knowledge of Religion and Philosophy
in general and the Pustimarga in particular. We quote
a few of them as specimen:

(1) वक्ष्यार भगवद्यूँ की ती ते वाचक नयी। वेद पदार्थाद्वारा
वी दीय ते जीवन स्वर्गक्रु मयी पुर्ण वाचक स्वर्य करे।
(2) एक वाच प्रारम्भिकै श्रीपुरे कारी जो - वैष्णव की वांच
वाय संगीत्रे में न करनो। जीव न करनी। निन्दा तरानी। वायस्य
न करनो। वैष्णव के दौव की न लेनी, वपने वार्ता की दोष
ताके दौव की लेनी। स्वामीजनो न करनो, कर तो गृहत
होय। धैर्य कोई भगवदीय को हे ते सर्वश करनी।
(3) सलम भगवदीयनो संग दीय जीता संगी चाकुर वागते रहे ती
ते वायक बवा न पामे, नही ती ते ने गृहस्य वायक बहाय।
(4) एक वायक जा है, हूँ तो वैवृत्त पत्त गयी। वायवा करवामा
वाई वायक रहूँ नयी, यहौ भविनाकाम करे। ए दौषण-दौषण
वचनों वायक है।
(5) केवल यही बसु भक्ति यही मध्ये बंदर बौद्ध है। येऊक की प्रस्तुत
यही के विचार होते। बाबूर भक्ति की प्रस्तुत स्वरूप के
विचार।
In these Vac, we find GO's method of imparting instruction and his original way of interpreting.

27. Vide S'rī Gokulanātha-dīnām Vac (O.M. Vaidya's MS) P. 60.
incidents and his ethical outlook. Through them, as through the comm, we find in GO. a critical and analytical scholar. At some places, he makes paradoxical statements, but later explains them in an interesting way. He says that whoseever worships the Lord will not realize Him, but those, who do not worship him, will realize him, and he later explains that the worshipper who does not know that he worships and it is not proud of his worship of the Lord, will realize Him.28 Similarly while explaining the stanzas शर्मणं परिवत्तरथम् (Gītā XVIII – 66), he gives an original interpretation, which is in line with the doctrine of Śādhdvaita. He says that the Lord has six qualities (sis'varya etc.) & if a devotee does not mind those qualities, but approaches the Lord (Dharma) with the feeling of love alone, then the Lord accepts him.29 In like manner, he explains why worship of the Lord is to be done with motherly affection (bālabhāvena). He says that a child would not be pleased

28. Cf. "वे भगवद्भक्ति नष्टि करता तैने भगवत्प्राप्तिः वे भगवद्भक्ति करे छ तैने नहीं प्राप् "...... वे भक्ति करीने पण भविष्यति करतो नष्टि, तैं पारे तैंभगवद्प्राप्ति करो। - Anugraha Vol.XI-12, P.482.

29.0f. .........पुल्लोकतबे छ युग द्वारा ....... पद्मिनी नयिन ई पूर्णे त्वान्य करीने सरण भावे लोङ्गे करी ए पत्ते करी जय जाणे

को यो हौ-प्रकारे जाणीने न ही बनुसे एक स्वीकार करी बनुसे।

- Kālikarolī MS Hindi Section No.141/3 (dated 1693 V.S.) P.33.
with jewels, but it can be pleased with an ordinary thing like knocking with an iron chain. As there is no law in child's behaviour, so is the case with the Lord.\textsuperscript{30}

(iv) Estimate of the Vac literature:

As stated above, the Vac form a considerably big part of GO's works. They have brought him a great credit as a religious preacher. Like the \textit{Malaprasaṅga}, the \textit{Vac} have also made him well known in the sampradāya. In the \textit{Vac}, as in the his long com on the SS, etc., we find him a true exponent of the \textit{Pustimarga}, and advocate of the \textit{Prameyamarga}. He talked on various topics connected with the \textit{Pustimarga} code of conduct, preached in a humorous way the doctrines of the sect and answered the queries raised by the \textit{Vaisnavas}, whom he prized most and gave him a very high place, even equal to the \textit{Gosvāmīs}.\textsuperscript{31} His habit of such talks shows how he kept himself in intimate contact with the \textit{Vaisnavas} and shared his leisure with them in a purposeful way. This fact drew many men and women around him. In one of the incidents related in Kāśi Vallabhājī's \textit{Vac}, the son tells his father that GO's \textit{Vac} were equal to twelve

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\textsuperscript{30} Cf... श्रेष्ठक्षेत्रों की बालकी उपमा देते तो की कहा भाव? जो बालक दो कोना के माणिपास्क के खिलाफ ते न रूप। और फिकाड़की वाढ़क बढ़ताये ते रूप। याहों विनयाक कहेंगे नाही।-
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\vspace*{1cm}
\textsuperscript{31} In one of the \textit{Vac}, it is related that Vitthalarayajī, GO's second son, left the \textit{Vaisnavas} behind & returned earlier from Agra, whereupon GO said to him, "If you left the \textit{Vaisnavas} behind, what did you bring with you?"
\end{flushright}
thousand BGs. The Vac are helpful to the Vaisnavas in making their devotional attitude very deep and firm and in understanding the spirit of the Pustimarga. If a Vaisnava reads only the Vac, even then, he would be able to get necessary knowledge of religion and ethics. Of course, it should be stated that GO did ask the Vaisnavas to read the scriptures, the works of VL and VT.

Some of the Vac are important from the historical point of view. They give information about some incidents of the lives of VL and VT. For example, it is said that VL was eleven years old when the Kankabhisheka ceremony was performed in the court of the King Krsnadeva. But in one of the Vac, it is said that the event took place, when VL toured India for the second time. This shows that the event did not take place when he was eleven years old, but when he was more than twenty-five years old.

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32. Cf.ที่บันทึกไว้ในหนังสือของเขา แต่ที่เห็นได้ว่า เขาใช้คำว่า "นิยาม" ตามที่กล่าวไป ดังนั้น จึงควรคำนึงถึงคำว่า "นิยาม" ที่จะสร้างให้เกิดขึ้นได้.


33. Vide Vasantarama S'āstri: Pustimargano Itihsa; p.27. Vide also Sudhādvaita & Bhaktimārtanda Vol.I, Nos. 1 to 5.
S'rī M.C. Parekh evaluates the Vac in the following words:

"Perhaps his most important contribution to the Sampradāyic literature is his vacanāmṛtas. Suffice it here to say that they make a most interesting and instructive piece of religious literature. They are on all sorts of subjects, albeit relating to spiritual life, and they throw much light on the belief and practices of the Vallābha church. They reveal an original insight on his part into the things of the spirit together with a characteristic way of saying things...... He makes a free use of parables and allegories, which is a new feature in the teaching of this Sampradāya. He is besides, a man of rich humour, which breaks out everywhere in these sayings."

A student of S'uddhādvaita literature will find that the above quotation needs no comment, except that, it is not an exaggeration, but a truthful appreciation of Gō's Vac.

34. M.C. Parekh : S'rī VL (ed. 1943), P.306.
Chapter III (e)

Letters, Padas and Miscellaneous Works

(1) Letters of GO:

GO had a considerably vast following during his life-time. His disciples used to write letters to him and sought guidance from him as regards religious problems and desired to have inspiration from him. GO on his part, replied to such letters and inspired his disciples to sustain religious fervour and tenacity. References to some of the letters are found in the works of Gopālādās Vyārāvālā and of Kalyāṇā Bhātta and in some Vacaṁmr̥tas. Mehanabhāī of Broach, who was staying mostly in Agra, was in his close contact and exchange of letters between GO and Mohanabhāī was usual. But unfortunately, hardly a few of his letters are available to-day. It is possible that some letters, in GO's own handwriting, may be lying with the devout followers of GO, known as Bharucīs, but they are not shown to others, as they (Bharucīs) consider them to be 'svarūpātmaka.' However, I have come across the following letters during my search for GO's works:

(1) One letter\(^1\) is quoted in the work, called

\(^1\) It is published in the periodical Puṭṣisudhā (Vol.III No.8-9, P.37) and also in a work, named Bharucī Nīmadia Kalasha (P.180), published by S'īrī Utsavīlāī S. Parikh of Kapadvanj, and also in Anugraha Vol.13 Nos.11-12. The letter is very important and is, therefore, quoted in full.
It so happened that Yadupati, grandson of Balarama, once went to Bhelasa. He questioned the Vaishnavas, why they initiated people, with the sight of a letter. So, they wrote to Go about the incident and requested him to explain their stand. Go wrote the following letter in reply.

Gokules'apura, by Gopālāda Yāyaravāla. It so happened that Yadupati, grandson of Balarama, once went to Bhelasa. He questioned the Vaishnavas, why they initiated people, with the sight of a letter. So, they wrote to Go about the incident and requested him to explain their stand. Go wrote the following letter in reply.

स्वर्णिमः कश्तक्षणिः भवत्कथामहेश्वरादिश्वामहसाद-
सिथिष्ठि नायोर्भवाल मातारम परदर्शयदाः भोगदास इतिबारः प्रभृतिभाष्यः।
ग्रहेत स श्रीमोदीनः स्मरवयं। किम्
शीलदार्शेनसंविष्यः शाकालनामघ्रिपूणे श्रीमारायारा श्रीमारायारा वा
श्रीमारायारा नामघ्रिपूणे पार्श्वंशाभवस्वभवदर्शकारी भवत्कथेव नात्र वदेह।
वते एवोद्वेदायम् “सत्यम् कामविख्यातं युद्धस्तु” दुर्गायं भवार्थविहि भ्रमणपर्यूँदकः।
भवत्कथाभौसूत्तमं वे निघा याता: वदतु॥ भवानु” हि ति वहः
भवत्कथाभौवृजम्य भक्तिमार्गः स्वर्गवृजम्य तद्वलक्षविश्रवांश्च वल्लिपानाः।

tत्मकहित्वा — संप्रदाये प्रकरणानां दाक्षिणात्यारिं इष्टायी शाकालनामघ्रिपूणे
प्रकारः वत्तिविष्णु दुर्गायं करणुपूर्विख्यातिक्रिया प्रत्येकः कतज्जुः इति।
शाकालनामघ्रिपूणे। बस्तिकृतेऽपि प्रामाण्यारिं भवत्कथानंदिवेदं हिताः
भक्तिमार्गः। तत्रभौश्च नामार्थानां करणाश्च वहार्थम् नीलनामपुष्पाः।
केननामार्थिन्न भक्तिनुः — उरणामु हृदितोऽह। भाघुः तरणे द्रामास्यो
नाबा तरणे न कौदेवतिकारि निमित्ति दुर्गायं पञ्चविधिरं विद्यानिति नात्र विज्ञाये।
भवत्कथाये परिवृत्तम् व्यवहारं। तद्वर्षे व्रुतिकोणां किंचित। केन श्रेष्ठां
भवत्कथाये नामार्थानां तद्वलक्षे तथा श्रीमारायारे। कथा श्रेष्ठां वदेह उत्तितः।
तद्वलक्षे तद्वलक्षे श्रीमारायारे। किंचित्तेः मार्गविश्वप्रकियाः।
The letter raises an important question, viz., who is qualified to initiate people into the Pustimarga? The Brahma Sambandha Ceremony, for initiating people into the religious fold, was originally performed by VL and then, by his two sons. No example is so far traced, before the times of GO, where Vaisnavas, apart from the Gosvamis, were allowed to do the Brahma Sambandha ceremony. The 252 Vartas inform that CacaHitaharivams'ajI was giving 'nama' to the people, i.e. he was performing the Nama-grahana ceremony, and accepting people into the Pustimarga, but he was not performing the Nivedana i.e. Brahma Sambandha Ceremony. Therefore, the question, raised by Yadupati, as regards initiation into the Pustimarga by the Vaisnavas, by the sight of a letter, was quite natural. Through this letter, GO admits of other ways of Nama-grahana, but there is no reference to 'nivedana'. The ways of Nama-grahana are these:

1. By the progeny (Sambandhibhyah) of S'rI AcaryajI i.e. VL.
2. By the sight of a letter (of course, of some Gosvami).

Vide also Niga Vartaa Prasaanga 28 (L.C. Desai edition) where it is stated that Seth Purusottama was also authorised to perform 'nama'-ceremony.
(iii) By a dream (in which a divine order is experienced).
(iv) By a disciple (of some Gosvāmī).

As regards the fourth way, GO has not trodden a new path, for Cacājī was doing so. The second and the third ways are newly suggested. The following points need be noted in this connection:

(i) In the medieval times, long travels were difficult and a few Gosvāmīs were undertaking such travels. In such circumstances, it was not possible for them to initiate people living in distant quarters, and therefore, very few people could enter into the religious fold of Pustimarga. GO, therefore, allowed disciples to initiate people and accepted them into the Pustimarga through letters, when such disciples were not available. Thus, he had shown a practical way for the propagation of the sect.

(ii) Secondly, as regards Nāma-grahana, GO puts a Gosvāmī and a Vaisnava on the same level.

It should be here noted that Nāma-grahana ceremony is even to-day, performed by the chiefs (Mukhīyājas) of the Pustimargīya temples; and at some

3. It should be noted that there is a reference to nivedana by a letter of Vīśeṣa in the story of Haridāsa. Vide H. Tandans Vīrtā Śāhitya P.586.
places by some Vaisnavas also, who are allowed to do so, by the Gosvāmis.

(iii) Thirdly, to uphold his doctrine, he quotes authority from the BG. It appears that he attaches greater importance to the BG than traditions and the Prasthāna-traya. He does not cling to traditions only, but lays emphasis on the purpose of the ceremony and the cardinal doctrine of the Sāmpradāya, viz., prapatti i.e. complete dedication. In this respect, he follows, I think, VL who has stated that GO held a liberal attitude towards the observance of conventions and traditions.

(iv) Fourthly, the letter does not refer to the 'nivedana' ceremony, it uses the word 'nāma-grahana'. Now, in the Pustimarga, 'nāma' and 'nivedana' are two different ceremonies. It appears that some followers of GO might be performing 'nivedana' ceremonies and hence Yadupati might have raised the question of 'nivedana' ceremony by the Vaisnavas. Today, the Bharuci Vaisnavas do not approach a Gosvāmi for the 'nivedana' ceremony, but go to some other Bharucis and perform the ceremony before the Pādukās of GO by reading the Gadya-mantra and/or a small poem, by Gopāldās, translating into the

4. TIN - II, St. 227 & 228.
Vernacular, the spirit of the mantra. How far this is admissible according to Yustimargiya tradition, is a point demanding authoritative discussion.

It is not possible to find out the date of the letter, as the date of Yadupati's visit to Bhelasa is not traced. It can be said that the letter might have been written after 1663 V.S., which is Yadupati's birth date.

(2) The contents of a copper plate are published in Amgraha:

"Śrīnāthobhāṣa khaṭā." Śrī Kṛṣṇa:

Śrīgokulakaṇṭha-bhakti (क्रि) svarūpākār śrīgokulakaṇṭha-bhakti
swastita śrīgokulakaṇṭha-bhakti khaṭā... nitya
śeṣa bādājīŚrī svarūpa gopāla bhakta śrī namānāvī prājñā (स्वरूपा)
dinī, kārāṇāti prājñā (स्वरूपा) kri bhakta śrī namānāvī
gokulakaṇṭha-bhakti śeṣa bhāvār pādānāvī unke mārā passāre II śrī II
śrī sambād 1669 nirūpa patākārī kṛṣṇa 11 jīmā vārāde śrī II

The copper-plate endorses the contents of GO's letter to the Vaisnavas of Bhelasa, quoted above. In this way, GO allowed Vaisnavas to perform nāma-ceremony in the distant corners of India.

Sūrī Jates'ānkarā

5. It is noted by Sūrstri that the copper-plate is today found in the home-temple of Gokuladas of Kāśī. Vol., IV, No. 10, P. 314.
(3-4) GO had written two letters\(^6\), one to Ratanabai (alias Bahenagiraja) and the other to her friend, who were both devout followers of GO. It is said that Ratanabai\(^7\) had some mystic experiences in a dream. She considered GO as her saviour and used to write letters to GO. The letters in question, are written by GO in reply to their letters. Through these replies, GO asked them to remain free from all anxieties and have full faith in the Lord.\(^8\) He consolde them in the miserable turmoil of their lives.

(5) One letter, ascribed to GO, is published in the periodical Anugraha.\(^9\) Its MS is preserved in the temple of Medanamohanaji at Ahmedabad. It is addressed to the Vaishnavas Murari, Baladeva, and others. The date of the letter is not mentioned, but S'rI K. K. Shastri has surmised that it might have been written 1650 and 1696 V.S. The letter enjoins the Vaishnavas to go on muttering the eight syllabic mantra and to avoid anxieties and keep faith in GOD.
A photo copy of GO's letter is published in the Varta Sahitya of Hariharnath Tandan. It is addressed to some Pohakaradasa (?). There is nothing noteworthy about it. The writer asked to help a person who had approached him for help to fulfil some social obligation like a marriage. The date of the letter is not mentioned. It is possible that the letter in question may not be in GO's own handwriting, but may be in the handwriting of a scribe. GO did not ordinarily mention himself as Gokules'a.

(ii) Fadas and Dohas of GO:

Śrī Giridharajī (1854 - 1933 V.S.) says that GO composed Kirtanas and mentioned himself as Vallabha therein. Śrī Dvarkadas Parikh prepared a list of Pustimargiya poets of Vrajabhaṣa and therein he stated that GO had composed some Dohas and Fadas.

10. Vide the art-plate, between pages 638 and 639, under which it is stated that the MS of the handwriting was obtained from Śrī Vasantram Shastrī.


Mistra Bandhu Vinoda also mentions GO a poet. A collection of Padas etc. named Sri Vallabha Vamis's Padya Vacanamrita (Part I) also says that GO had composed many padas and Dohas.

These references show that GO composed some Padas, Dohas etc. But hardly a few Padas and Dohas are available today. His famous Pada is as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{छेठ हरि राघवः कुंज भवन अपने रंग} \\
\text{क हर मुरली अपर परे सारंग पुष गाइ} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Another Pada is about the ten principles (marmas) of Pustimarga. It is in Gujarati and at the end, the name Vallabha is not mentioned; the last line refers Sri Vl and not to Vallabha i.e. GO.

It is said that Govindasvami, one of the Astacapa poets, could not finish the dhamara-pada, the famous one: श्री गोविन्दस्वामि राम धामाः and passed away.

13. Cf. इनका कथित राव शंकर संवित् १६२५ के पारंपरिक होना प्राप्त होता दिहेत। Ganesh Vihari Mishra etc. - Mishrabandhu Vinoda, P.249.
14. Cf. ज्योति भाषामार्थः पील पद ध्याः कथा, P.37.
15. Ibid, P.40.
GO finished the pada by adding, "यह विषय होती निल ही
इन्जवारीन नंग वणाम - etc." \(17\)

Four padas of Vellabha are published in the
Mahâprebhu - stuti - muktâvali (Part II) \(18\), published
by Pustimârgiya Pustakâlaya of Nadiad, (1942 A.D.).
It is difficult to ascertain that these four padas
are from the pen of GO; for there are many Gosvâmis
whose name was Vellabha, such as Kâka Vellabhajî. \(19\)

A kavît titled भक्तन के प्रविष्टाल is
published in Anugraha Vol.13, No.11-12 (1950 A.D.) is
stated that they are written by GO, but the source is
not mentioned by the procurer Sri L.C. Desai.

\(17\). Cf. श्री गोविंद स्वामी के कीर्तन.... चाहे बाबा हे तामें "श्री
गोविंद राय बाबा" ए बाठी को,... तब श्री गुपालवी बाप बाबा
कवी से गोविंदादि ऐसे क्षण रही गए?.... देहाशाछ रहूँ नहीं सो
लीलाम प्राप्त थे। फेरी थीमीलाइनमवी तुरा पुरी करी।!!
- "Sri" Girdharajî ke 120 Vacanamrta, P.60.

\(18\) कथा भ्रेंदावनवेंद वदनरुपि ....... !- P. 52
- श्री कृष्णदि स्री शक्त्र नंद.... !- P.79
- भरनोधी श्रीवल्लभनी को राक्षो । - P.100
- वागवीश श्रीमाळामुखीको बनना ! - P.110.

\(19\). Vide Vams'âvali (ed.1943 A.D.) P.231.
All these padas etc. are either descriptive or dedicative and didactic. Mostly, they are full of two sentiments (bhavas), dinā and as'rāyā. There is nothing extraordinary about them. From the point of view of poetic value, they cannot be rated very high.

There are a number of MSS of Gō's Vacanāmrta in Gujarat and Rajasthan. In several Vacanāmrta, there are ādahās generally with the words ēk bār .......... ni bār pālī de bār prākūn kahī na dūhi kahī kahī de ....... etc. It is difficult to ascertain whether the ādahās are his own compositions or they are quotations. Some of the ādahās are as follows:

(1) तिसन लागी तिसकी तिस चिन दीर्घ न जाय।
    मानि मिलायो तिसकी तो दें जाय। 21

20. There is a MS in Kāśkaroli (Hindi No. 85/5) titled, Kirtana - Samgraha - Rakhatā which contains padas and Ṛekhatās of Vallabhājī. It is difficult to ascertain whether the author is Gō or any one else. One Ṛekhatā is as follows:

उम्में के प्यारोकी दिन दुखी बागों ।
    ताकौं उसके उन उत्साह ही गृह गायें । । । । । मुराद दूरे उख्ती।...

21. This is also found in Vara-vākyāmrta - ratna kosā - XXII - 22.
23. Vide S'rI Gokulansathajina Vacanamrta, Dayaram
Library Register No.83 Potala No.42.
24. The words in the MS are not understood clearly.
25. Do has no 4 to 7 are taken from Mr. Krsnaalala's
Dalala's MS dated 1929 V.S.Vide also Anugraba Vol.X-
Nos.11-12 Tattvartya -dohana P.429-30 where one complete
is mentioned.
In the collection of MSS/ Devakinandana Pustakalaya of
Kamsvana (Dist.Bharatpur -Rajasthan) there is one MS in
Vrjasbhasa, titled pish virgojukesavi (incomplete) but
the MS library, being in disorder and there being no access
to it, it was not possible for me to read it and hence
nothing can be said about it here.

(2) विराद वर्तमं कंगत ली पुस्मिर प्रीतिकै कैन।
(3) नेत्रिण नीति भविष्यकार लिख वर्ण चुस्तावलि कैन।।
(4) सरस ते संघ गद्वकी चोट, सयुजी चुरुर नर बाने
बोट कोट से कठिन प्रभुकी चोर। प्रेमकी फंद कहा बड छोट।।
(5) गुहाक देशकर्मधि यि याम कायम गंधर ।
यरह से प दोलांनां से हे शायबत तार।।
(6) हरिपुण्य निरूपण नागरी नागरी नार।
कमलनाथ के कमल वदन पर वारिव वारिव वार।।
(7) चंद्र घावर पांब घान।।
कथा चेष्टें कोकू कीजू जान।।
In the वृष-वेक्ष्यम्रत्स रत्ना कोशाः, there are 84 divisions, out of which the 22nd is पददीहारविवितानं and which has 40 prasaṅgas (incidents). It contains some stanzas, some of which may possibly be GO's own composition and some of which may be quotations from other poets.

Tradition and some works mention GO as a poet, hence it is not impossible that GO wrote such दोहास. He was a good talker and had instantaneously composed some दोहास. The above दोहास are enigmatic and possess strikingness.

(iii) Miscellaneous Works:

(a) Ekādasā - Nirnaya — (S'ri Krsnaśāla)

Dalāls of Baroda contains GO's Ekādasā Nirnaya. There is a difference of opinion between the Śaivites and the Vaisnavaś about the observance of Ekādasā. The Vaishnavas are asked to observe Ekādasā on that day which has not even the slightest part or tinge of das'āmi (tenth day). The Ekādasā Nirnaya contains stanzas, about the observance of Ekādasā, from different Puranas, such as Skanda, Viṣṇudharmottara etc. There is nothing original about it.

26. Cf. वी वैष्णव हृदय ती दसमी विन्द्र झाकादशी न करेन, कदाचित् करे तो बाकी वैष्णवता कर्तव्यम्।

- MS P.186.
This work along with the Puranic references collected in defence of Tulasimla and Tilaka, found in the seventh Kalola, shows how deeply GO was interested in collecting scriptural authorities in defence of his stand.

(b) Works on Phala Jyotis: Two works, known as (Prayana mukurti-) Vasanamrta and Prasnavali, are traditionally ascribed to GO. The first is also called Sri Gokulamthaj ka Vasanamrta. It is particularly used to find the auspicious day and time for starting on a journey. Along with the fruit of the prahara (part of the day), the direction is also mentioned. Only twelve days of the lunar months are mentioned in the table and it is said that the auspiciousness or otherwise of the thirteenth, fourteenth and the full moon day is to be seen according to the third and fifth days of the month; and the amavasya is to be avoided for the purpose of journey. Here the months are to be taken as those followed in the region of Vraja and the days according to the Vaisnava calculation. Many followers of GO follow it with great faith.

We may take an instance. A person wants to start for some place on the third day of the dark half of the month of Margasira (according to Gujarati Calendar). Then, he should refer to the column of the third day of the month of Posa. The fruit is: karya Siddha, karya paripurna, laari varta samhala.
So, it is suggested that the person concerned would succeed in his undertaking. If the prahara and the direction are to be found for the success of the undertaking, the seeker should do the work in the first three praharas and in the East or the North direction.

In Indian calendars (Pañcāṅgas), it is also given as Gorakha Mika or Prayana Muhūrtā. Some people believe that it is composed by Gorakhanātha, the celebrated Yogi of Nāth Sampradāya. It is difficult to determine the authorship of this work. It is possible that GO might have come across such a traditional table (kothā) and have asked his followers to follow it. The word Vacanāmṛta leads to such a surmise for whatever he had said, was taken as a Vacanāmṛta.

The second work is titled Śrī Gokulanātha Ki Prasānavalli. It begins as follows:

27. I have not so far found it printed anywhere. I got its MS from the Kalyanarāyaṇa Mandir of Baroda. The MS is of the size of 6" x 7" and has 14 leaves.

There is one MS named श्रीगोकुलनाथकी प्रसावली, (see MS list P.413) in Sevakīnāḍana Pustakālīya of Kāmavana (Rajasthāna). I had no access to it, as the MSS were in disorder on account of rains.
Then there is a table of 64 (8 x 8) numbers: 111, 112, 113, 114, 121, 122, 123, 124 etc. When a person wants to know whether he would succeed or fail in an undertaking, he has to put his finger on any one of the 64 numbers and see the fruit against the number, mentioned in the main part of the work. For example, a person puts his finger in the column of the number 311, and sees the fruit mentioned against the number, he would find the following line written against the number:

311 - जो काज तुम चिनता हो तो होगा कुलदेव की शरण तिदि होगा। ३११

So, it is suggested that the person concerned should proceed with the work, after adoring the family deity.

Such works are said to be composed according to the principle of Phala - Jyotis. It is said that there is nothing like astronomical and/or astrological calculations in such works. I have heard that such tables are found in some Jain works also and some Musalmans priests, too, have such tables. Modern mind would think that such phalādes' a is based on mere chance.
It is also said that such fables are formed on the basis of the science of Numerology. Every planet has a definite number given to it. E.g., the sun is given the numbers, 1 and 4, the moon 2 and 7, Jupiter 3, Mercury 5, Mars 9, Saturn 8, and Venus 6. So, when we choose the number 314 in the table, the total of numerals in the number is $3+1+4=5$, and, therefore, it has connection, Mercury. 28

It is curious to find that Sri GO is said to be the author of such astrological works. The question to my mind in this connection is this: if complete and profound faith in God is the supreme principle of Pustimarga, how such muhurt finding and following it are complete compatible with the Pustimargiya spirit? I think it is just following the age-old tradition.

28. One such Pras'navali is printed in वर्ष प्रस्फोत रणे अष्टांगनिमित (Gujarati) of Sri Megha Vijaya Gani (Published in 1927 by Master Popatlal S. Shah of Bhavnagar) and it is titled श्रीगोकुलनाथजी. It has 27 columns (3 horizontal x 9 vertical) and 27 numbers: 111, 331, 132, (first line) 113, 323, 222 (second line) etc. and the fruit (in some more details than the Pras'navali of Sri Gokulanathajā) is mentioned against each number. This shows that such question tables were in vogue in ancient and medieval times.
(iv) Gorakha – Kundalini

There is a MS in Kangaroli, titled Gorakha Kundalini. On the first page it is written गोकुलनाथस्येद्य. It begins in this way:

श्रीगुप्तांशमारम: | अय गोर्ली कुंडलिनीते।|| नामिनिधी खृष्टी खृष्टी बाकारी स्थित हैं। ...........

The language of the MS is incorrect.

I surmise that the words गोकुलनाथस्येद्य mean that the work belongs to GO, and does not mean that it is written by him. It is difficult to ascertain as regards his authorship of the work in question, in the absence of any other reliable data.

This work and the Gorakh-ānka lead to one fact that GO had some knowledge of the Nātha Sampradāyas, or he was interested in Nātha-literature and had contact with some Nāthas.

29. Vide Hindi MS No. 107/17. Its size is 1½" x 9" and it has 5 pages.

30. The kundalini is said to be residing in between the private parts. Read: यह (धृताराष्ट्र व्यर) में तद्वारे विजयव और विकल्प के मध्यमें रहता है। इस चक्र एक निकृष्ण व्यक्ति है, जिल्ला कुंडलिनी, देवल नर्व (Vagues Nerve) निवास करते हैं। – Dr. Ramkumar Verma: Kabir kā Rahasyavādā (ed. 1951) P. 77. Also, see Harariprasad Dwivedi: Kabir P. 44 (Third Edition 1950). This work states that it resides in the navel. Possibly there may be another tradition as regards the site of the Kundalini.
Sri Gokulanathaji's handwriting as found in the handwriting-book of his Gor in Kashi
(By courtesy of Sri Lallubhai C. Devai)
Handwriting of GO are seen at some places. I have seen his handwriting, we can call it rather signature, at two places in Kapadvanj, (Dist. Kaira). In the house of S'ri Utsavlal S. Parikh, a piece of paper with the word वल्लभस्य, said to have been written by S'ri GO, is kept as a treasure. In the place, sacred to Bahenjraja, there is a MS of Subodhini, on the front page of which is written वल्लभस्य and the MS is dated 1647 V.S., the year in which, GO visited Kapadvanj.

S'ri Hadharnath Tandan has given in his thesis named Varta Sahitya, a photo-print of a letter written by S'ri GO and has stated that he got it from S'ri Vasantram SastrI, and that the letter is in GO's own handwriting.

S'ri Lallubhai C. Desai has given a photo copy of GO's handwriting in the Todaramala Smaraka Grantha. It is said that the handwriting is found in the handwriting-book of S'ri VL's Tirtha Purohit of KasT. In this handwriting it is curious to find that Sasti is written as S'astri and guru and guru. In this, as well as the above photo-print, the writer mentions himself as Gokules'a and Gokulanatha. GO did not mention himself as Gokulanatha. It is possible that

32. See the photo-copy on the opposite art paper.
both of them might have been written by some scribes at the behest of GO.

A letter in the handwriting of GO is found in the temple of Madsamohanajī of Ahmedabad.32

There is a statement taken from the Pothī of Mattujī Maharaja and published in VS(Vol. III-No.1 P.17), in which it is said that GO's handwriting are found at the following places:

1) Gokul
2) Kākaroli
3) S'rī Nāvanītepriyājī temple of S'rī Gīmenīlījī of Bombay.
4) Cāmpesnī Vaisnavs Velajī

It is also said that the Gadyamatra in GO's handwriting is found in Gokul and in Broach.

In Kākaroli, in the temple of S'rī Bālakrṣnaṇajī handwriting of S'rī VĪ, S'rī Vī, S'rī GO and S'rī Bālakrṣnaṇajī (third son of S'rī Vī) are preserved.

There I have seen one page of Bālābodha in the handwriting of S'rī GO.

In an article in Venunada,33 there is a mention of Pradīpa in GO's handwriting, but that work is not traceable to-day.

32. Vide footnote No.6.