CHAPTER V

VAISNAVA POETICS IN BENGALI:

AN EVALUATION
The word *Bhakti* has been derived from root verb *bhaj*, which means ‘to share’, to pray’, ‘to worship’ or ‘to adore’; so, the principal meaning is service. Of course, in the opinion of Dr. Bhagavat Kr. Goswami the root *bhaj* of the word *bhakti* means ‘to share’ or ‘to partake of something’; so, he has mentioned — “It is *bhakti* that literally stands for devoted service to Him and for glorious association as a partner with this life of infinite greatness. *Bhaj* means to share and to serve.”¹ However, the definition of *bhakti* has been determined from various angles at different times. The application of this word has been found in India since very ancient times, though Dr. Chinmoyee Chattopadhyay has mentioned in her book, *Bhakti Raser Vivartan* that there is no mention of *bhakti* in the Vedic *Samhita*.² Nevertheless, it may be pointed out that even in the *Rgveda*, reference to the word *bhakti* has been found, viz. — *bhaktam-abhaktam abah*.³ In the *Vedas* the word *pūjanaṁ* has also been found.⁴ The sage, Dirghatama has said in the *Vedas* — *Mahaste Visno sumatim bhajāmahe*⁵ meaning – ‘O Visnu, thou art great, we worship thee to gain thy favour’. Even reference to the nine types of *bhakti*, viz. *sravana*, *kīrtana*, *smarana* etc. as mentioned in the *Bhāgavata* are present there in the *Rgveda*.⁶ In the age of the *Upaniṣadas* the word, *bhakti* gained momentum all the more widely. The conspicuous mention of the word *bhakti* in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣada* is remarkable.⁷ In this context, a remark of Dr.S. Radhakrishnan is note worthy. He has considered *bhakti* as the natural development of the *Upaniṣadas* : ‘Bhakti is a direct development of the *Upāsanā* of the *Upaniṣadas*’.⁸ Of course, in the matter of establishing *bhakti*,

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¹ Dr. Bhagavat Kr. Goswami.
² Dr. Chinmoyee Chattopadhyay.
³ *Rgveda*.
⁴ *Vedas*.
⁵ Dirghatama.
⁶ *Bhāgavata*.
⁷ *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣada*.
⁸ Dr. S. Radhakrishnan.
with all its variegated characteristics, on the special position of honour, the
names of the works like *Nārada Bhaktiśūtra, Śaṅdilya Bhaktiśūtra, Viṣṇupurāṇa* along with *Śrīmadbhāgavat* etc. need special mention. In fact, *Śrīmadbhāgavat* may be considered to be the book which is the repository itself of bhaktirasa. In one of the verses of the *Padmāpurāṇa* it has been stated that bhakti first evolved in the land of the Dravids:

\[ \text{utpānā āraviṇe bhakti-brāhmīṃ karṇātaka gata} | \]

\[ \text{kvacīt kvacīn mahārāṣṭre gurjare pralayaṃ gata} \]  

Actually, as a result of the sincere efforts of the saints of Alwar community of Southern India, a wide growth of the bhakti trend among the masses took place. The maiden galaxy of philosophers of bhakti philosophy, Natha muni, Yamunacarya, Ramanujacarya were all eminent personalities who belonged to the Alwar community.

Some of the important definitions of bhakti which have been found in Indian literature may be mentioned here:

Regarding the significance of bhakti it has been said in *Śaṅdilya Bhaktiśūtra* —śā parānuraktirīśvare meaning ‘absolute devotion to God is bhakti;’ of course, though about the nature or form of bhakti it can be known from this definition, nothing, however, is stated regarding the elements in it.

About bhakti it has been said in *Nārada Bhaktiśūtra* —sā tasmin parama premarūpa, that is, ‘Devotional service manifests as the most elevated, pure love for God’. Here also, the nature and elements of bhakti did not come out clearly. However, it is not that nothing at all has been expressed about the nature of bhakti in *Nārada Bhaktiśūtra*. About bhakti it has been said that it is nirgun or unqualified, devoid of any other desire; that is, it is beyond māyā, it is soulful or a matter of consciousness. But the
question may arise that the power of the being (Jīvaśakti), the unqualified Brahmapā and the power of God (Śivarupa śakti) are also matters of consciousness. But which one of these matters of consciousness is of the real nature of bhakti has not been made clear in Nārada Bhaktisūtra. In the later period no one, except the Vaiṣṇava teachers of Bengal, has ever attempted to determine the essential nature of bhakti. Jiva Goswami has shown that the power of the being (jīva śakti) the intrinsic delight of unqualified Brahma, and that of God are not bhakti; bhakti is but the predominantly delightful state of svarūpa śakti.

The definition of the word bhakti had been expressed in a more compact way in Nārada Bhaktisūtra — ‘Bhakti consists of offering one’s every act to the supreme Lord and of feeling extreme distress in forgetting Him’. The meaning of bhakti became more pervasive in the Śrīmadbhāgavat. There, it has been said that to concentrate the mind in Lord Kṛṣṇa by any means, proper or improper, is what is bhakti, kenāpyupāyena manah kṛṣṇe nibesāyet. Of course, in the commentary, Kaivalyadīpipā of the book, Muktāphala Bopadeva had also said — ‘To fix the mind unwaveringly in God is bhakti’.

In the definition of bhakti in Pāñcarātra Paramasambhitā it has been said—sneha pūrvamanudhyānam bhaktirityabhidhiyate, meaning, uninterrupted concentration of the mind with the feeling of affection (sneha) is bhakti. Ramanujacarya has characterized bhakti as dhruvānusmṛti i.e., continuous remembrance of God like the inseparable flow of oil — evamrūpa dhruvānusmṛtireva bhaktiśabdenabhidhiyate.

In Nāradapañcarātra the meaning of bhakti has been derived as service to Viṣṇu through the senses or indriyas— Hṛṣikena Hṛṣikeśa sevanāṁ
bhaktiruttama. Though Sankaracarya, in his book Vivekacūḍāmani, speaks of bhakti as one of the best means of liberation, in his opinion it may however be mentioned, bhakti is but the search for the real self rather than service to God. So, we do not think that in the sphere of the evolution of the dedicated pursuit of bhakti Sankaracarya has played any role. In this context it has been rightly said, “In Sankara’s Vedānta also bhakti is not entirely ruled out but bhakti or devotion assumes different form in his Advaita framework, e.g. when Sankara identifies it with enquiry into one’s own nature. Upāsanā or worship of the different forms of God belongs to the sphere of Avidyā or nescience according to Sankara, because there cannot be worship without duality of the worshipper and the object of worship and duality itself comes under the purview of avidyā or nescience.”

Far from serving as an inspiration to the dedicated pursuit of bhakti cult the unqualified monism of Sankaracarya rather struck at the very root of it.

Here it may be mentioned that prior to the era of Bhakti Movement in India no one has recognized bhakti as a rasa in spite of the definition or discussion of bhakti having been accorded a special place to in this regard Indian rhetorican also played a negative role.

Bharatacarya, the first rhetorician of Rasavāda has stopped short at the recognition of eight rasas. Abhinavagupta a rhetorician and commentator stressed on all the nine rasas recognizing śānta as one of them, and discarded bhakti as a rasa accepting it only as ratibhāva. Regarding this he has early said, “The devotion and adoration concerning realization of God having been infused with smṛti, mati, dhuti, utsāha etc. become part of śānta rasa. So these have not been counted as separate rasas.”
Through Acarya Mammata Bhatta recognized bhakti as bhāva he has not accepted it as a rasa. In this regard, the views of Acarya Visvanatha also toe their line. Even though Panditaraja Jagannatha did not consider bhakti ineligible to deserve the name of rasa, he too, however, discarded bhakti from the title of rasa following the foot prints of his predecessors.

So, it is found that according to opinions of the Indian rhetoricians bhakti can be expressed in terms of bhāva-bibhāva etc. and so, it cannot be raised to the level of rasa. Here the role of the Vaiṣṇava thinkers of Bengal is note-worthy; they recognized bhakti as a rasa from a truely rhetorical point of view.

Of them, the names of Srirupa Goswami, Sri Sanatana Goswami, Sri Jiba Goswami, Kavi Karnapura, Madhusudan Sarasvati come first. Bharatacarya says that whatever is tasted or enjoyed is rasa. Following this dictum the Vaiṣṇava rhetoricians demonstrated that the Supreme Lord’s existence as Delight having been tasted by the devotee creates the divine supernatural feeling of happiness. In this state the devotee’s love for the Lord and its surge of delight merge and interningle into one. So, it is just to call bhakti rasa. In the commentary of Rudrata’s book Kavyālaṁkāra, Namisadhu admitted that all mental states are eligible to attain the attribute of rasa. In his Pṛitisandarva Sri Jiba Goswami has rationally explained how God-related sentiment of Love can gain the title of rasa. He says that as because the sentiment of love concerned with God attains the condition of rasa by virtue of cause and effect, it is sthāyibhāva. This sthāyibhāva being mingled with bibhāva etc. gets transformed into rasa. That the rhetoricians have refused to accept bhakti as rasa for want of rasa in it is applicable only to the case of gods and goddesses—not in respect of Srikrsna.
The pervasiveness and predominance of *bhaktirasa* has been recognized for the first time in the book *Muktaphala*. In the commentary *Kaivalyadipika* of *Muktaphala* which goes in the name of Hemadri, the famous grammarian appearing in the fourteenth century A.D. Bopadeva has said that when *bhakti* attains perfection it turns into *rasa*; So *bhaktirasa* cannot be ignored or negated.\(^{29}\) He showed that the contents of *bhaktirasa* were the *sthāyibhāva* of the concentration of the mind in God, the *anubhāva* of hearing about the character of the devotee and the *byābhičāribhāva* of *dhṛti* etc.\(^{30}\) Bopadeva has made mention of *nababidhāna bhakti*. In his opinion whoever has felt *bhaktirasa* is a devotee or *bhakta*. The sign of *bhakti* as he looks at it is extraordinary. To fix the mind in Kṛṣṇa by any means has been accepted as *bhakti* by him. Even *hāsya* or laughter etc. aimed at God is also a means of concentration of the mind in God. Therefore, laughter is nothing but a kind of *bhaktirasa*. In his view only *bhakti rasa* is the principal and primary *rasa* (i.e. *ādirasa*).\(^{31}\)

Besides, it was also not justified that Abhinabagupta had wanted to include *bhaktirasa* in the purview of *śāntarasa*. Though there were similarities between the two, the dissimilarities were also not lacking. For, the feeling of attachment or devotion to God is the real nature of *bhaktirasa* which vaisnavites have called *kṛṣṇarati*\(^{32}\), whereas the very nature of *śāntarasa* is detachment or rememciation, so the outburst of joy in the heart of the devotee at the time of the enjoyment of *bhaktirasa* or the love related to Kṛṣṇa felt every moment in newer and newer forms, or the charm of God producing a maddening effect in the devotee — all these charms of *Līlā* are not there in *śāntarasa*; for, in its abyss of solemnity the joy of happiness or melancholy of sorrow fade out.\(^{33}\) In fact, the sentiment of *bhakti* which is supposed to be there in *śāntarasa* concerns Highest Knowledge. But the devotion of the vaisnavite consists in the feelings of love where Nonqualified
God is not revealed as *paramātmā* but perceived as one's nearest and most loved one. This *Līlā* is not possible in *sāntarasa*. Of course, Panditaraja Jagannatha has admitted that *bhaktirasa* cannot be admitted in *sāntarasa*. In fact, though Anandavardhana, Abhinavagupta and even Bharatacarya the writer of *Nātyaśāstra*, had accepted *sāntarasa* as being the best or as the root of all other rasas, yet *bhaktirasa* of the vaisnavites cannot be made to be dependent on *sāntarasa*. Depending on the feelings of love towards God *bhaktirasa* was established as the fundamental *rasa* on account of the efforts of the *Vaiṣṇava* rhetoricians of Bengal. The books *Pṛitisandarbha* and *Bhaktirasāyanaṃ* by Jiba Goswami and Sri Madhusdana Sarasvati respectively had played the principal in establishing the originality of *bhaktirasa*. Of course Srirupa Goswami's book *Bhaktirasāṃṛtasidhu* deserves a mention have ahead of all others.

Here the achievement of Krishnadasa Kaviraja, the author of *Caitanyacaritāmṛta*, is particularly noteworthy. In *Caitanyacaritāmṛta* composed by him he has established the *rasa* aspect of *bhakti* through a detailed discussion of it in the 23rd chapter of this book. As a matter of fact, he was the pioneer in the field of the discussion of *bhaktirasa* in the Bengali language. His book, *Caitanyacaritāmṛta* is recognized as the biography of Sricaitanya, a book containing the philosophy of religion of the Vaisnavites of Bengali and the source book of *rasaśāstra* all in one. In this poetical work done in verse form called *payār* in Bengali, the author had given expression, with great sincerity and dedication, to the abstruse and profound tenets of philosophy as well as *rasa*. Standing at the fag end of life, suffering from the burden of old age, Krishnadasa had poured forth his vast store of knowledge bounteously into this book, *Caitanyacaritāmṛta*. Showing how devotion to God gets transformed into *rasa*, he wrote in his inimitable language:
It may be mentioned that following the portion of *Caitanyakaritāmṛta* beginning with the ślokas, *ratirṇidhāpi Kṛṣṇadaiyaḥ* etc. in Srirupa Goswami’s *Bhaktirasāṃṛtasindhu* a new concept concerning the creation of *rasa* has been established. Meanwhile, four viewpoints had evolved following Bharatacarya’s principle *bibhāba, anubhāba, sātvika, byabhicārī* | *sthāyibhāba rasa hay mili ei cāri* ||

*dadhi yemana khaṇḍa-marica-karpūra milane*|  
*rasa lākhya rasa hay apūrbāsvādane||*  

According to this view, *rasa* has no expression, it is only the transformation of a *bhāva* or sentiment through the mingling of various elements. The meaning of the word *sāmyoga* of Bharatacarya is *milana* and that of *nispattiḥ* is *parināma*.* Depending on Krisnadasa’s *Caitanyakaritāmṛta* and accepting *bhakti* as a *rasa* in Bengali, the beginning has been there of a new trend which was completely original and independent of the founding grounds of the Sanskrit rhetoricians of the preceding period.

In Krisnadasa Kaviraja’s book under consideration along with the minutest studies of the five types of *rasas*, such as, *sānta, dāsya* etc. two different kinds of *śṛṅgāra* viz. *bipralambha* and *sambhoga* with their various categories have been presented very neatly. We can show here in the portion
quoted below how Krisnadasa Kaviraja in his rhythmic verse had presented the subtle philosophical ideas of literature in Bengali language.

*Rūḍha adhirūḍha bhāba kebal madhure  
Mahiṣīganer rūḍha adhirūḍha, gopīka-nikare  
Adhirūḍha mahābhāba dui tin prakāra  
Sambhoge mādan birahi mohan nāma tār  
Mādane cumbanādi hay ananta bibheda  
Udaghūrṇā citrajalpā mohana dui bheda  
Citrajalpa daśa aṅga prajalpādi nāma  
Bhramaragītā daśa śloka yāhāte pramāṇa* 39

In this context it may be mentioned that Sri Gopeswar has accorded recognition to bhakti as the tenth rasa over and above the nine types of rasas in the Prameya Prakarana chapter of his book, Bhaktimārtanda. Thus the peak of the development of Vaisnava literature which was ushered in by Caitanya as the outcome of the Bhakti Movement had also played the most important role in securing the foundation of bhakti as rasa. As a matter of fact, the efforts of Srirupa Goswami, Sri Jiba Goswami, Kavikarnapura Krisnadasa Kaviraja etc. had played the principal role in vindicating the attribute of rasa pertaining to bhakti. While discussing the history of the principle of rasa in the Bengali language, modern Bengali scholars have often dragged in the topic of bhaktirasa. Apart from this, those who have discussed Vaisnava literature or the principle of rasa have made thorough studies of bhaktirasa focusing from various angles. Consequently, a particular trend of discussion has developed in the Bengali language in the modern age around
the subject of bhaktirasa. In the discussion of the principle of rasa, the evaluation of these books is also essentially necessary.

Of course, here the subject of the translation of various books related with the dissertation of bhaktirasa into Bengali language may also be presented. Apart from Narada’s Bhaktisūtra, Sandilya’s Bhaktisūtra which are there in translation, Bengali translated versions of Ujjvalanīlāmaṇī, Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu, Pritisandarva, Bhaktirasāyanam etc deserve special discussion.

Ratikanta Thakur’s disciple Ramgopal Choudhury of Srikhanda, popularly known as Gopal Das, wrote the book, Rasakalpavalli in 1673, which is an important addition to the discussion of Vaiṣṇava poetics of Rasa in the Bengali language⁴⁰. This book is divided into twelve segments called Karokas. In the first Koraka there is Maṅgalacaranaka, in the second nāyakabarnana, in the third Nāyikā prakaranaka, in the fourth Bhāvabicāra, in the fifth Nāyikā Barṇana, in the sixth Bipralambha, in the seventh Anurāga, in the eighth Aṣṭanāyikā’s Bhāva, in the ninth Viraha Uddīpana, in the tenth Sambhoga Bibarana, in the eleventh Bibidha Līlā, and in the twelfth ‘conclusion’. His son Pitambar Das wrote the book Rasamañjari on the basis of eighth koraka. On the discussion of the theory of rasa in Bengali one must mention the name of this book.

In introducing Vaiṣṇava theory of Rasa to the Bengali language mention must be made, ahead of all others, of the name of Rasamañjari⁴¹, a book written by Pitambar Das, a disciple of Sachinandan Thakur, a native of Srikhanda, son of Gopal Das, the author of Rasa Kalpavalli. In the book various terms of Vaiṣṇava rasa literature, eight types of Nāyikā, such as, abhisārikā, vāsakasajjikā etc with eight classification for each i.e. altogether sixty four classifications of rasas have been presented by him⁴². Actually, this
book has been composed depending on the eighth segment or *Karoka* of his father’s book, *Rasakalpavalli*. His achievement lies in the fact that he has often extended the subject matter as indicated by *Ujjvalanilamanī* keeping an eye to the *Padāvalī* literature. An example will make this matter clearer; for instance, in the discussion of *abhisārikā* Srirupa Goswami had followed two kinds of classifications viz. *Jyotsnī* and *Tāmasī*. But, Pitambar Das had shown eight kinds of classifications of *abhisārikā nāyikā* in his book keeping an eye to *Padāvalī* literature.

\[
\textit{sei abhisār hay punah āt prakār} \\
\textit{jyotsnā tāmasī varṣā divā abhisār} \\
\textit{kujhvatikā tirthayātrā unmattā saṅcāra} \\
\textit{gītā-padya-rasaśāstre sarvajanotkarā}^{43}
\]

As a matter of fact, by composing his *Rasamanjari* Pitambar Das had widened the scope of *Vaiṣṇava rasa* literature in Sanskrit language.

The first Bengali translation of Srirupa Goswami’s *Ujjvalacandrika* that has been found is the one in verse. This was published in 1885 A.D. by Sachinandan who gave it the name *Ujjvalacandrika*^{44}. The book *Ujjvalacandrika* was written in keeping with the two commentaries in existence, viz. *Locanarocani* and *Ānandacandrika* nourished by the subject described in *Ujjvalanilamaṇi*. The author Sachinandan Bidyanidhi has translated the *Sūtras* (aphorism) of the Sanskrit book in the rhythm pattern called *Payār* and has translated the verses quoted as examples in the original book everywhere in the rhythm pattern called *Tripadi* or *totak*. Later on, some scholars like Harekrishna Mukharjee have humbly acknowledged their indebtedness to Sachinandan Bidyanidhi’s book.\(^{45}\) Here, Sachinandan’s achievement must be recognized in spreading the thought and philosophical subject of *Ujjvalanilamaṇi* into Bengali.
The title on the heading relating to the subject of Vaiṣṇava rasas, as a kind of mellon (relationship) was referred to in the book Śrī Śrī Bhaktirasāṁṛtasindhuḥ of Sri Rupa Goswami. Sri Haridas Das, the great Vaiṣṇava, while translating this book into Bengali has made Bengali intelligentsia acquainted with devotional mellon or rasas, the taste of sweetness that has dipped the devotees in ecstasy of drift. Sri Das, the author of Śrī Śrī Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhān has thus made a great contribution to Bengali literature. His Bengali translation (1st edn.) was published in 1948. At that time, only two volumes namely Śrī Śrī Bhaktiras Kallolini in payār metre translated into Bengali was published separately. Second edition of this book was published in 1961. In this 2nd edition there are three commentaries in Sanskrit: (a) Durgamsaṅgamani of Sri Sri Jiba Goswami (b) Artharatnālpadipikā of Mukundadas Goswami (c) Bhaktisārapradarsāni of Visvanatha Chakraborty and (d) The Bengali translation of Haridas Das.

Bhaktirasāṁṛtasindhu is said to be the spiritual science of bhakti and the highest fruits of Gauḍīya rasa literature. This book is divided into East, West, North and South. In the Eastern division there are four waves called Sthāyiibhābotpādana. In the Southern there are five waves named Bhaktirasasāṁanya nirūpanā in the Western wave Mūkhyabhaṭṭirasāṇirūpanā and in the Northern division Gounabhaktirasādi-nirūpanā there are nine waves, all in total twenty-three waves. This book contains 2141 ślokas. Sri Haridas Das has translated this voluminous book into Bengali, which very easy to read and comprehend. From the following illustration it can be seen that he has followed so simple and lucid style in order to clear inscrutabilities which are commonly seen in tendering of rhetorical diction. For example, there is in śloka no 2/2/16 of this book,
In translating this portion, Sri Haridas has written, 'It seems that the
sage fascinated by the love of a snake being bitten, has been motionless in
application and from his mouth nectarine saliva is flowing gently.'

Although we find that somewhere his translation is inert in expression,
even it is ever new and an object of wonder connoting the terminology
nityanutana; to translate this particular term he has written, sadākāl
anubhūyamān haiyāo yini mādhuri rāśair dvāra ananubhūtabāt pratiyamān
han ebam sakaler bīṣmayotpādan karen—tāhāke nityanutan kahe | 49

Sri Haidas Das, for his work of translation of Srirupa Goswami’s
original book, has been ever to be remembered by the intellectual society,
specially for introducing doctrine of bhaktirasas to the Bengali community.

Calcutta University Puthi – 5056 meterical system of Bengali poetry of
Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhū composed by Rasamoy Das is available. 50

On the discussion of Vaiṣṇava rasatattva, a kind of mellow
fruitfulness in Vaiṣṇava cult Srirupa Goswami, who is one of the chief of six
Goswamis of Vrindavana, is to be placed in the fore-front as exponent (or
father) of bhakti-rasa, the nectar of devotion amongst all other rhetoricians.
Sri Narattam Thakur has rightly praised him as the founder of cherished
heart’s divine of Sricaitanya’s principle of movement
(Srīcaitanyamanoabhīṣṭasthāpaka). 51 His devotional books
Mathurāmāhātmya, Uddhavasandeśa, Hāmsadūta, Laghubhāgavatānmbta
and Sanskrit drama (plays) Vidagdhmādhava, Lalitimādhava Nāṭaka-
Candrikā etc. along the two treatises with Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhū and are
worth-mentioning. His two books are actually the source of discussion on the
subject of nectar of devotion. His *Ujjvalanīlāmaṇī* deals with the science of *ujjvala* or *madhura rasa* – Devotional service in conjugal love – the intimate mellow of devotion to the supreme in conjugal love. His work (*Bhaktirasāmyatasindhu*) is virtually the last part of the ocean of the pure nectar of devotional service. This book containing fifteen sections of chapters such as – *nāyakabheda prakaraṇam* (ninety six kind of *nāyakaguṇa* of Śrīkrṣna has been discussed here); (2) *sahāybhedā prakaraṇam* (five types of *sahāyaka* of hero is mentioned here); (3) *śrīharipriyā prakaraṇam* (the fine division of two *haripriyā* named *svaikiya* and *parakiya* has been shown in this part); (4) *Śrīrādha prakaraṇam* (the originality of Śrī Rādhā supported by *bhaktirasāstra* has been explained here); (5) *nāyikābheda prakaraṇam* (360 types of definitions and examples of heroine have been given here); (6) *yūthesvarībheda-prakaraṇam* (the classification and judgement of *yūthesvarī guṇa* has been done here); (7) *dūtbheda-prakaraṇam* (the two kinds of *dūtbheda* named *svayam dūti* and *āptadūti* have been shown here); (8) *sakhī-prakaranam* (the fine discussion of twelve classifications which are there among the *sakhīs* or female friends has got place in this chapter); (9) *hariballabha-prakaraṇam* (the show of *gopībheda* is the matter of discussion in this part); (10) *uddīpanaibhāba-prakaraṇam*; (11) *anubhāba-prakaraṇam*; (12) *Śaṭvika prakaraṇam*; (13) *byabhicārī prakaraṇam*; (14) *sthāyibhāba prakaraṇam* and (15) *srīgārabheda-prakaraṇam*.

In the last six chapters Srirupa Goswami has presented various examples suitable to acceptance of mental speculation and subtle elements to this context. There is no other book than Srirupa Goswami’s to claim the pioneership in the field of *Bhakti-rasa*.

Some critic has rightly said, ‘this book being composed in Sanskrit is not easily accessible to be comprehended by those whose knowledge of
Sanskrit is limited; even those who have a little knowledge of Sanskrit can hardly get at the contents of the book.\textsuperscript{52} Sri Haridas Das has made the Bengali community indebted in the matter of their search for poetic mellows by translating this most valuable book of Srirupa Goswami. He has not only made the translation easy in poetic form, but with it he has also given the annotations of \textit{svātmapromadini} of Bishnudas Goswami, a disciple of Krishnadas Kaviraja.\textsuperscript{53} Though this book has been translated in to Bengali verses in easy form with Sanskrit words used here and there in unchanged form in Bengali, even then it has not lost the inner senses (or flow of thoughts). Though prosy Bengali worlds have been sometimes used for expressing the Sanskrit rhetorical words yet this book is free from unconspicuousness to achieve its aim.

In the field of establishing the \textit{rasa}-attribute of \textit{bhakti} \textit{Bhaktirasāyanam} composed by Madhusudan Sarasvati is an excellent book. Though disputes are there within the circle of the learned scholars regarding the period of his appearance on the scene, yet it has been said that he was born in the district of Faridpur in the earliest Bengal in the first part of the sixteenth century (1540-1632 A.D.)\textsuperscript{54} He was an Advaitist, in the beginning, who later on was attracted towards \textit{Vaiṣṇava} religion of Bengal. The \textit{slokas} composed by him viz. \textit{advaitasāmrājya-pathādhirūḍhaḥ}, \textit{dhyanābhyaśabāśikṛtena mānasa} and \textit{bamsībibhūṣitakarāt} etc. carry hints of his entry into the path of \textit{bhakti} from that of Advaitism.\textsuperscript{55}

\textit{Bhaktirasāyanam} appears to be the last book of Sri Madhusudan’s matured age.\textsuperscript{56} There are three chapters in this book. Only the first chapter contains the author’s own interpretation which is not there likewise in the remaining two chapters. It is surmised that either the author had passed away having written the interpretation of the first chapter or might have considered
the last two chapters too easy to need any interpretation. Whatever might have been the case the author's own interpretation not having been there in the two succeeding chapters had hampered to an extent the savour and elegance of the book itself. In the first of these three chapters and in the second respectively the general and the special characteristic marks of bhakti are there and in the third the nature of bhaktirasa has been determined. Besides, along with these, those theories and various other kinds of views or opinions have been elaborated and discussed. Here the author has described in detail, from the philosophical point of view, all the subjects of cause and effect etc. regarding the nature origin, position and practice etc. of bhakti. He has composed this book, with a philosophical approach and with the help of reason and perception with a view to resolving those questions or doubts which may naturally crop up in the minds craving for theoretical knowledge.

According to the author, yoga is of three kinds Karmayoga, Jñānayoga and Bhaktiyoga. Of these again, Bhaktiyoga has got two divisions namely (1) Sādhanabhakti and (2) Prema or Parābhakti. In his opinion in Karmayoga citta or mind becomes spotlessly pure, and in a pure mind like this devout eagerness to the hearing of the divine discourse grows. One whose heart does not melt at the hearing of God etc. of the religion of Bhāgavata is not eligible for Bhaktiyoga when the hearing of the Nāma, of the words of the Bhāgavata etc. through dedicated practice melt the heart or mind so that it merges into God, the said bhaktiyoga itself appears in the form of rasa along with bibhāva, anubhāva and saṅcaribhāva. The sthāyiibhāva of this bhaktirasa is attachment in relation to God. He has admitted that Jñānayoga and Bhaktiyoga are not one and the same thing because in Jñānayoga the difference between the being and the Brahma disappears, whereas in Bhakti yoga this difference exists till the very end.
These books had been specially helpful in the studies of the evolution of bhaktirasa of the vaisnavites of Bengal. Translating this book written in Sanskrit into Bengali Sri Durgacaran Samkhya-Vedantatirthah has obligated the curious and appreciative Bengali readers.

His translation has been lucid and spontaneous all through and along with the translation of the original he has also translated the foot notes. With this, special terms or significant statements have been explained in the footnotes in a simple language. Apart from this while explaining the special terminology, such as, bhāva, bibhāva etc. of Rasa-Śāstra, the translator has quoted slokas or particular theories of Sanskrit rhetoric of rasa with their elaborates interpretation. This effort of the translator has been of immense help in the presentation of the complex subject of Rasa-Śāstra and its interpretation in an easy and simple language as displayed in this book. So far as the interpretation or explanation is concerned, the author has often taken the help of various philosophies, such as Vedānta philosophy, Mīmāṁsā, Sāṁkhya etc; consequently, later on the discussion of bhaktirasa in Bengali language has been specially helped to widen its area of influence.

The book in Bengali which needs to be mentioned particularly in relation to the discussion of Vaiṣṇava philosophy and the principle of bhakti is the commentary, Śrīśrīcaitanyacaritāmṛta composed by Vaisnavacarya Radhagobinda Nath, Paravidiyacarya, Vidyabacspati, Bhagavatbhusana, Bhakti Sidhanta-bhaskara on Caitanyacaritāmṛta. In the book there has been rational vindication of diverse bhaktirasa alongside the composition of the commentary of Caitanyacaritāmṛta. The particular terms, of which the use is found in the bhakti principle of Bengal, have been discussed in this book along with their elaborate definitions. Particularly sādhyā and sādhatattva, established in the discussion of Rayramananda and Caitanya, on the banks of
Godabari and, along with this the lucid interpretation of bhaktirasa as well as the vindication of the superiority of kāntāprema and madurarasa, which was one of the important subject matter of the eighth chapter of madhyalīlā of Caitanyacaritāmṛta, have been profoundly established in the interpretation of Radhagobinda Nath. In fact, there will be no exaggeration of facts to say that such lucid explanation of bhakti cult is rare in Bengali language except here in this book of Radhagobindanath. In the twentieth chapter of madhyalīlā, the central subject was Mahaprabhu’s discussion with Sanatan Goswami about the real nature of God (Bhagavat svarūpa), in the twenty-first it was with him (Sanatan Goswami) on Sambandhatattva vicāra, in the twenty-second Abhidheyasādhanabhaktitattvakathana by Mahaprabhu, in the twenty third Mahaprabhu’s Premabhaktirasakathana etc. all these abstruse subjects of bhakti principle have been explained in clear and lucid terms in the discussion of Radhagobinda Nath. Such authentic discussion of these inscrutable principles in hard to fluid anywhere else in Bengali language. In this context, the first part of his Śrīśrī Caitanyacaritāmṛta, in the form of an introduction, deserves special mention. Several subjects concerning Vaisnavism of Bengal have found their place in this part. In this regard, the words of commendation from many learned scholars must also be mentioned. Specially, on the first part of Caitanyacaritāmṛta edited by the author, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chattopadhyay has commented, ‘All the basic tenets of Vaiṣṇava religion of Bengali have been put together in this book; there wont be any overstatement of fact to say that it is, so to say, the kernel of all Gosvāmi Śāstra; it is the store-house of Vaiṣṇava conclusions.’

Besides, the achievement of Sri Nath has been recognised by many learned scholars of Bengal. In fact, had Sri Radhagobinda Nath not taken up his pen, they, such a difficult and abstruse scholastic subject would not have been presented so lucidly for the benefit of the Bengali readers.
The name of Sri Harekrishna Mukhopadhyay has to be mentioned as one of the pioneers in the discussion of the Vaisnavite theory of rasa in Bengali language. A respected scholar of great repute Sri Mukhopadhyay did not stop short at his collection of the padas (poems) of Vaiṣṇava Paḍāvalī. With his mind nourished by the studies of Vaiṣṇava śāstra, having enjoyed the delight of going through Srirupa Goswami’s Bhaktirasamrtaśindhu and Ujjvalanilamaṇī and publishing his collection of paḍāvalī literature in the book Paḍāvalī Paricay with a view to evaluating Vaiṣṇava literature in the light of the two books mentioned here Sri Mukherjee has made the Bengalis as a nationality indebted to him for ever. It deserves to be mentioned that in the context of introducing Bengali literature of the middle ages and its evaluation, baring achievements of Jagabandhu Bhadra (1842-1906), the collector of Mahājan Paḍāvalī Saṅgrahā and Gaurapadatarāṅgini of the collector, Aksaychandra Sarkar, of Prācīn Bāṅglā Kāvyasaṅgrahā, of Ramgati Nyayratna, the writer of the book Bāṅglā Bhāṣā O Sāhiṭya Viṣayak Prastāb (1st part) of Dinesh Chandra Sen, the writer of Baṅgabhaṭṭā O Sāhiṭya and Bṛhat Baṅiga the name which is pronounced ahead of all others in the field of the discussion of Vaiṣṇava literature is that Harekrishna Mukharjee. In fact, the evaluation of Paḍāvalī recital (kīrtāna) in the light of Vaiṣṇava Rasa śāstra and the classification of Paḍāvalī in the light of the various terms of Vaiṣṇava Rasa literature is the basic subject matter of Paḍāvalī Paricay. This book is indispensable for its classifications of Paḍāvalī-rasa, nāyaka-nāyikā as well as in giving a clear idea about Sakhī and dyuti, rasa and bhāva etc. along with illustrations, Harekrishna Mukhapadhyay’s contribution is undeniable specially in presenting the various terms described in Bhaktirasamrtaśindhu and Ujjvalanilamaṇī in simple and easy Bengali and in passing Vaiṣṇava theory of rasa with suitable examples from Paḍāvalī literature into Bengali language. Observing the variety of the subject matter of this book Dr. Suniti Kumar Chattopadhyay has expressed the view that this book is like ‘A casket containing in it the world of paḍāvalī’.
Harekrishna Mukhapadhyay’s achievement is top most as far as introducing the world of *Vaiṣṇava rasa* literature into Bengali language is concerned.

The name that deserves to be mentioned at the outset, in the context of the discussion on the singular achievement of the *Gaudīya Vaiṣṇava* community in the field of establishing *bhakti* as *rasa*, which in the perspective of the *Bhakti* Movement has got recognition in the history, of Indian rhetoric, is that of Sri Radagobinda Nath. Of the particular books which this eminent modern Pandit has written on the basis of the *Vaiṣṇava* religion of Bengal, the most notable one is *Gaudīya Vaiṣṇava Darśan* which is divided into nine parts. The principal subject-matter of discussion of eighth and nineth part of this magnum opus consists of the *Vaiṣṇava* poetics of *rasa*. However, it has to be mentioned here that in spite of the main of the seventh part being *Gaudīya Vaiṣṇava prematattva* or the *Vaiṣṇava* principle of devotional love as obtained in Bengal, actually the theoretical aspect of *bhakti rasa* has specialty occupied a place in this part. This is so because the particular subjects such as the characteristic marks of the devotional love of the Lord, its different categories, *bhavabhakti, premabhakti, sneha, māna-pranāy, rāga-anurāga, mahābhāva, kāntārati* etc. and the particular *Vaiṣṇava* terms or vocabulary which have found place in this part are mainly interlinked with the concept of *bhakti*. Starting from *bhāva, anubhāva* of *bhakti rasa*, its *niṣpatti* and the different kinds of *bhakti rasa* viz. *śanta-dāsya sakhyā* etc., the nature of *madurabhakti*, along with this the differences of *nāyaka-nāyikā*, the principle of *rasalilā* etc. are the subjects which have been covered in the eighth and Nineth part of this book. The manner and the subtle outbook in which Radhagobinda Nath, the erudite scholar of *rasa sāstra*, has evaluated *bhakti rasa* is unprecedented In spite of having secured a post graduate degree in mathematics the mark of success which Sri Radhagobinda Nath has left in the discussion of *Vaiṣṇava* literature of India, and specially with regard to the
areas of *Gaudīya Vaiṣṇava* philosophy and the *rasas*, will remain ever bright in the history of *Vaiṣṇava* literature. The long interpretation which has been added to the portion concerning the principles of *rasa* of the book *Caitanyacaritāmṛta*[^1], edited by him, also deserves a special mention.

In the eight part of his book *Gaudīya Vaiṣṇava Darśan*, varieties of subjects, viz. mainly the history of *bhaktirasa*, *bibhāva*, *anubhāva*, *sāttvikabhbāva*, *byabhicārībhāva*, *sthāyibhbāva* of *bhakti*, poetry, grammar, *rasanispatti* or *rasa* transformation *bhakti*, the differentiation of *śātru-mitra* of *bhakti*, *rasābhāsa*, *rasollāsa* etc. —have been presented in the perspective of a very learned discussion. In the ninth part of the book the division of *bhaktirasa* as *mukhya* (primary) and *gouna* (secondary) and other such *bhakti rasas* associated with *bhakti* have found their place. In the context of the variegated discussion of *bhaktirasa*, subjects such as *madhura bhaktirasa*, the differentiation of *nāyaka-nāyikā*, the essential nature of *Śrīrādha*, discrimination between *svakīyā-parakīyā*, differentiation of *ujjvala rasa* and the principle of *rasalīlā* etc. have been included. The way in which Sri Radhagobinda Nath has carried on his discussion even with regard to each and every minutest common topic in the light of various *śāstras* is rare in Bengali literature. He has presented his discussion of the subjects everywhere on the basis of the comparative method of study. As a result, his discussion of *bhakti rasa* has not remained confined within the limits of *bhakti* alone. For instance, he has quoted from the tradition of Indian rhetoric, the views of rhetoricians like Bharatacarya, Lollata, Sankuka, Bhattacharya, Abhinavagupta etc. While judging the super-natural or spiritual aspect of *bhaktirasa* he has discussed, according complete deference to the subject, the secular *rasas* (that is, the *rasas* that are not related to God) also. So, even if these two parts of the book have been written on the *rasa* principle of Bengal-vaishnavism, yet it also helps to satisfy our curiosity regarding the history of Indian rhetoric and the
nature of its course of development. No second book of this kind having such extensive discussion of bhakti rasa, set in such wider perspective, has come to our notice. That the rasa prakriyā of the vaisnavites of Bengal (i.e. the process of transformation of rasa as obtained in vaisnavism of Bengal) has been shown basically following these words of Bharatamuni, viz. bibhābānubhāva hyabhisāmīyogād rasaniśpatītī has been mentioned by Sri Nath and has marked it with a new terminology like utpattīvāda of Lollata anumitivāda of Sankuka. He has written, “From their (of the rhetoricians of the Vaiṣṇava school of Bengal) works it is known that they have meant milan by the word samyoga and by niṣpatti they have meant parināma. So, their ideology may also be called parināmavāda.” 68

The critic has also discussed elaborately regarding the clear philosophical basis of this concept of bhaktirasa of the Vaiṣṇava rhetoricians. — “The discussion of the Vaiṣṇava stalwarts of Bengal was founded on the basis of spiritual philosophy, the real happiness of beings was their goal”69. The rasa of other types of literature is basically of the nature that leads to bondage, not like bhaktirasa which leads to freedom from bondage. As a matter of fact, the manner in which Radhagobinda Nath has discussed bhaktirasa on the background of the various śāstra, beginning from the Vedas the Upaniṣadas to rhetoric, it would be only justified to look upon him as a true successor of Srirupa Goswami, Sri Jiba Goswami and Krisnadasa Kaviraja instead of considering him only as a critic of bhakti rasa.

Of the books written in Sanskrit in the middle ages on the subject relating to the principle of bhaktirasa only a few have been translated in Bengali. Most of these Sanskrit treatises have remained in the manuscript form or in the original Sanskrit language. So, Bengali inquisitive readers have been deprived of the delight of reading them. The man who, with the labour
of his whole life, has put all the curious men and women thirsting to
bhaktirasa in an irredeemable debt by introducing to them these Vaisnava
treatises, is none other than the best of the

Vaisnavites, Haridas Das whose real name before entering the life
'sannyas' or renunciation, was Sri Harendra Kr. Chakraborty. The name of
his famous book is Śrīśīraudya-Vaiśnava-Abhidhan,70 divided into four
vol. In the first part of this book as well as in the second he has shown the
meaning and application of the tatsama or Sanskrit equivalent words and the
ancient words of different languages used in the Padāvalī literature
respectively. At the end of this second part he has given the meaning and
introduction of Padāvalī language, rhythm, grammar, rasa, aḷaṁkāra, 64 rasa
of kīrtan, bādyā, nṛtya, etc. and the terms of music. In the third part he has
presented the short biographies and achievements of the great Vaiśnava
personages of the middle ages. In this context it can be mentioned here that in
the third part he has acquainted the Bengali. Readers with the ocean of
bhaktirasa, as it were, through his collection of the essential researched
materials of the various forms of Vaiśnava literature. Without these books
Bengali readers would not have been familiar with the books written in
Sanskrit and Bengali on the subject of bhaktirasa. Not only this but also in the
discussion of bhaktirasa even in this present age the work of Haridas Das is
rather indispensable and without any second to it. Such a monumental work
on the bhakti cult in Bengali has not been achieved so far by anyone else.
Neither there is much hope of anyone doing so in the future.

In the fourth part of the book there is the history of the different
Vaiśnava dhāmas or holy places of pilgrimage. In the end we find an
elaborate discussion on Sanskrit and Bengali rhythm. So, if anyone has really
played a principal role in introducing to us the discussion of the books in
Bengali relating to the subject of *bhaktirasa* and in acquainting us with different *Vaisnava* authorities, then it is none other than Sri Haridas Das.

Among all the treatises, as available with Bengali literature on the subject of the nature and the place of *bhakti* as one of the *rasas* in poetics the one written by Smt Chinmoyi Chattopadhyay namely *Bhaktiraser Bibartan*,\(^1\) deserves special discussion. Accordingly, going through this research work just as we can get a compact idea concerning the concept of *rasas* pertaining to poetics, so also can we get ourselves acquainted with the fact as to how through the ages the ideas of the eminent teachers of poetics had undergone changes and got familiar with a clear analytical discussion regarding the historical and theoretical basis of such changes. Over and above, in several other ways, Smt. Chattopadhyay has enriched the storehouse of Bengali literature through this composition of hers. In this context the comment of Sri Bishnupada Bhattacharya in the introduction of this book deserves our attention;

"Already in different languages – particularly in Bengali and English, undoubtedly there had been more than one valuable discussion generally on the *rasas* of poetics and specially regarding *bhaktirasa*; but the philosophical views of the teachers of *bhakti* school, the historical evolution and the multilateral development of *bhakti* concept, the differences of opinions of the authorities concerning a separate principle of *rasa* in relation to *bhakti* and, last of all, the vindication of the superiority of *bhaktirasa* through the efforts of the stalwarts of poetics of the *Vaisnava* school of Bengal variegated discussions have been put together in this one volume by Smt Chattopadhyay with such dedicated sincerity that it is really worthy of praise.\(^2\)

In the context of dealing with *bhakti* Smt. Chattopadhyay has mentioned in her book about Caitanyadeva’s path to *bhakti* or love along with
the names of the dedicated propagators of bhakti philosophy like Ramanuja, Nimbark, Madhva, Ballava etc. According to Smt Chattopadhyay, Caitanyadeva’s religion of love is not exactly the religion bhakti; the meaning of the word bhakti is love.

\[ \text{sā tasmin paramapremarūpā (Nārādyā Bhaktisūtra/sūtra-2)} \]

Translation: Devotional service manifests as the most elevated, pure love for God.\(^73\)

Before Caitanyadeva Ramanuja, Nimbarka, Madhva and Ballava supported the ideology of Bhakti, that is, they considered bhakti to be the principal means of attaining mokṣa or salvation. But it has been also mentioned by Smt. Chattopadhyay that though their bhakti is included in the level of love, it is not of that kind which submerges the heart or obliterates the self, that is, it is not that feeling as that of the beloved for her lover or of the mother for her son.\(^74\) This is the kind of love which Sri Caitanyadeva had propagated, it is this pure, absolute attachment of the heart in which the subject and the object of love become one. Speaking about this path propagated by Sri Caitanyadeva, the writer has further said that the basic principle of this religion is that here the god of worship is not Viṣṇu of four hands. The conch (śāṅkha), the wheel of destruction (chakra) etc, he is Sri Kṛṣṇa enthralled by the love Radha. In this context she has quoted the following lines from Caitanyacaritāmṛta,

\[
\text{rāgamārge bhakta bhakti kare ye prakāre |}
\]
\[
\text{tāhā śikhāila īlā ācaranā dvāre | 1/4}
\]

that means, the path of love following which the devotee offers his devotional service is the same as has been taught by Mahaprabhu through the modes of divine love-play.
According to the opinion of Smt. Chattopadhyay Sri Caitanyadeva had transformed the religion of Vaishnavism into a religion of love and thereby reduced *bhakti* which was accepted by his predecessors as the path to *mokṣa* or salvation into a matter of *rasa*. In doing so, he was probably influenced by the ideal of Madhabendrapuri, the dedicated servant of God preceding him.

Speaking about the untainted heavenly feeling of delight inherent in *bhaktirasa*, she writes that not only the worship of or service to God but love also like grief etc. is the final outcome of a particular state of consciousness of the devotee. Just as *srṅgāra, karuṇa* etc. are rasas so also *bhaktirasa* is the ultimate outcome of *bhakti*. So, there is no difference between *bhakti* and *bhaktirasa*.

In course of tracing the evolution of *bhaktirasa* the author has divided the subject-matter of her discussion in this book into twelve chapters. Each of these chapters is rich in information, predominantly thoughtful and spontaneous.

In the first chapter there is a discussion regarding the ideas of the various schools of rhetoricians, both vaisnavite and non vaisnavaite, concerning *rasas*. Over and over, this there is also a discussion on the question as to where lies the spirituality of the *rasas*. About this first chapter Smt Chattopadhyay herself has said.

"This chapter is like an introduction to the whole book. This chapter has been introduced on the consideration of the fact that before going to judge the reasons behind *bhaktirasa* it is most essential for everyone to have a general understanding of the principle of *rasas*."

In the second chapter the difference among the kinds of *rasas* has been discussed and in doing so the writer has brought out the divergence views
among various groups concerning rasa. The manner in which the writer has discussed the differences of kinds or of the number of rasas in her book reflects some influence of the scholastic writer V. Raghavana's book The number of Rasa where there is discussion about the number of rasas. However, Smt. Chattopadhyay’s originality lies in the fact that here the dual character of rasa has been shown in accordance with the difference of sthāyi and sañcārī. Besides, much more importance has been given to the theories of rasa represented by Acarya Bhoja and the Vaiṣṇava rhetorician than to those of others, which was not done in the book of Sri Raghavana.

The third chapter speaks about securing the place of bhaktirasa. Here it has been mentioned that in the Vaiṣṇava literature bhakti is not merely a rasa but the only rasa without a second to it. Besides, the justification of bhaktirasa according to both Vaiṣṇava and non-Vaiṣṇava poetics of rasa and whether this bhaktirasa truly deserves to be called rasa have been discussed from a comparative stained point.

The nature and Characteristics of bhakti sentiment and the characteristics of bhaktirasa along with the views of Madhusudan Sarasvati have been presented in the fourth and fifth chapters respectively. And also in the fifth chapter, the author has presented the views of Jiva Goswami and Kavikarnapura on the subject of rasa.

The sixth and the seventh chapters of this research work have been written to show the different kinds of bhakti sentiment and bhaktirasa respectively. Having mentioned the views expressed in The Gītā, The Bhāgavata and the Pañcarātrapramasāmhitā etc., the researcher has given a comprehensive idea of the terminologies associated with the path of bhakti such as āropasiddhā, saṅgasiddhā, svarūpasiddhā, maryādābhakti, puṣṭibhakti, sādhana and sādhyabhakti, baidhi and rāgā-nugā bhakti,
sakhibhāba, rāgātmikā, bhābabhakti, premabhakti etc. This discursive treatise has served to a great measure like a dictionary of the abstrusive concepts of bhaktirasa and at the same time thrown light on the evolution of bhaktirasa. How rāgānugā bhakti assumed a concrete shape around the spiritual life of Sricaitanyadeva has also been discussed in this sixth chapter. Similarly, in the seventh chapter mentioning the views of Madhusudana Sarasvati and Srirupa Goswami regarding bhaktirasa Smt. Chattopadhyay has given the definitions of bhaktirasa like śānta, dāsya, sakhyā, bātsalya, madhura, hāsya, abhūta, vīra, karuṇa, raudra, bhayānaka, vibhatsa etc. and has discussed their special characteristics and also from the theoretical standpoint she has established the justification of bhaktirasa, such as karuṇa etc.

The researcher has had recourse to one whole chapter for the elaborate discussion of only madhura pertaining to bhaktirasa. In this chapter the superiority of kāntāprema and madhura rasa has been established. Along with the discussion of such madhurārati as sādhārāni, sāmaṅjāsā, samarthā etc. has also found place here in this chapter. Also an elaborate discussion of the terms like gopīprema, Rādhāprema, parakīyā bhāva, prema, sneha, māna pranaya, rāga anurāga, bhāba, mahābhāba, bipralambha, madhurarasa, purbarāga, māna, premabaitīya, pravāsa, sambhoga, mukhya sambhoga, gaunasambhoga etc. has also been included here in this chapter.

In the ninth chapter the writer has presented the subtle analysis only of the detailed description of bhaktirasa which is found in the Śrīmadbhāgavata. That the rasa called śānta in Bhāgabata is superior to other forms of bhaktirasa and that the tenth part of this book is the best example of bhaktirasa have been well established by the author through her dissertation. In the next chapter i.e. in the 10th chapter it has been discussed
with illustrations how *Vaiṣṇava bhaktirasa* has assumed a concrete form in the literature of *Vaiṣṇava Padāvali*. In this context the varied expressions of *rasa* that have taken place in *Śākta Padāvali* has also been discussed.

In the eleventh chapter the researcher has introduced *bhakti* concept on the basis of the *Vedānta* philosophy. Here, in course of discussion the philosophical outlook of Bengal vaisnavism has found place in the perspective of the particular philosophical views of Sankaracarya, Ramanujacarya, Nimbarka, Madhvacarya, Ballabhacarya etc. In the last chapter authentic and informative discussion has been undertaken as to how *bhakti* principle has evolved starting from *Ṛgveda* down to *Upaniṣada, Mahābhārata, Purāṇas*, from *Pañcarātrasaṁhitā* to Alwara community, Sufi, Boul etc. Smt. Chattopadhyay has drawn the conclusion of this book of hers with the discussion of *bhaktirasa* which is present in the literature of Rabindranath Tagore, the greatest poet of modern Bengal.

The manner in which this book written in the Bengal language has made the process of the evolution of *bhaktirasa* come out concretely through her discussion with the *Vedas* and then covering the tradition consisting of various *śāstras* is undoubtedly worthy of praise. The bibliography appended at the end of the book serves as a remarkable document for future researchers in the field of studies of *bhakti*.

In this context the comment made by Sri Ramaranjan Mukhopadhyay in his introduction of this book deserves to be carefully noted. ‘Dr Chinmoyee Chattopadhyay’s book *Bhaktiraser Bibartan* will remain as a valuable addition in the field of literary criticism and philosophy in respect of its intellectual brilliance, the dexterity in the juxtaposition of arguments and, above all, the wealth of information.’78
Devidas Bhattacharya’s *Vaiṣṇava Padāvali Sāhitye Paścādpat O utsa* in Vaiṣṇava lyrical literature has been a special addition to the collection of poems and songs for discussion. He, instead of writing textbooks of routine nature, has discussed the background of traditional Vaiṣṇava lyrics in a scholastic style with replete of erudition. This book contains discussion on principle and nature of different types of Vaiṣṇava rasas or mellow. He has also drawn the reference of ancient rhetorics vis-a-vis rasas or mellow of Vaiṣṇava in his discussion. He skilfully described newness of different types of Vaiṣṇava rasa from Gauḍīya rhetoricians. He has made a strong foundation on the doctrine of rasa in discussing its source with examples of different kinds of mellow from collection of Vaiṣṇava lyrics, drawing references from ancient Indian literature which has made a firm footing of Gauḍīya rasatattva. In this context the comment of Sukumar Sen may be quoted – He has observed lonely the mystic sport of Braja (Brajalilā) played by Lord Kṛṣṇa keeping in view scripture and rhetoric on the fore-front in the field of literary works. For this his name is to be remembered with reverence.

Another book written on Vaisnava literature and philosophy has to be mentioned here in this context. The name of this book written by Dr. Parul Ghosh is *Bāmlār Vaiṣṇava Dharma Sāhitya O Darśane*. Dr. Parul Ghosh got her Ph.D. Degree from Jadavpur University for this research work in the year 1975. Though from philosophical and literary point of view the basic subject of discussion of this book is the Vaiṣṇava religion of Bengal, yet Dr. Ghosh has felt the necessity of discussing the underlying philosophical basis of the concept of bhakti of the Bengali school in the chapter titled *Vaiṣṇava Dharmer Dārśanik Bhitti*. But the fact to be noted here is that she has paid attention to the discussion of the concept of bhakti also, but this, however, has failed to attract the intellectual section of Bengali readers towards any kind of
basic studies of bhaktirasā! Her discussion of bhaktirasā has remained confined only within the limits of some stereotyped quotations from Caitanyacaritāmṛta. Here she has not succeeded in leaving any mark of her intellectual capability. In the chapter Vaiṣṇava O Vaiṣṇava Sāhitya there was ample scope for her to discuss the subject of the excellence of bhaktirasā or of the principle of bhaktirasā in Vaiṣṇava literature which she has failed to make proper use of. In fact, this book, so to say, has made little contribution to our subject of discussion.

The book which deserves to be mentioned in the field of discussion of the principle of rasas in the Bengali language is Gaudīya Vaiṣṇaviya Raser Alaukikatva written by Dr. Uma Roy. This book was, as a matter fact, was intended for the Ph.D. degree of Calcutta University. However, it has played a special role in the studies of Vaiṣṇava poetics of rasas vis-à-vis Vaiṣṇava philosophy. According to her – this Vaiṣṇava philosophy as well as the Vaiṣṇava literature – they are inextricably related to the Vaiṣṇava principle of rasas, even, among them, the principle of rasas appears to be comparatively more complete in itself. The root of the principle of the Vaiṣṇavites rasa is the local Vaiṣṇava philosophy, of which the wonderful development was poetics. This comment of the research scholar proves the fact that she has taken up the subject with a profound approach. In the context of discussing Vaiṣṇava poetics she has left out those views, which have no relation with Vaiṣṇava bhakti rasa, and which are Alaṅkāravāda Bhamaha’s, Vamana’s Rūtvāda, Kuntaka’s Bakroktivāda etc. and she has presented a discussion starting from Bharata’s Nātyaśāstra to Dhvanivāda of Anandavardhana, Locanatīkā of Abhinavagupta along with those views like Utpattivāda, Anumitivāda, Bhuktivāda, Abhibyaktivāda etc. which also developed around the principle of rasas. Besides, alongside examining the resemblance between the ancient Sanskrit rhetoricians’ ideas and Vaiṣṇava
bhakti rasa she has also discussed how the latter differed from Sanskrit poetics.

For the sake of convenience Dr. Roy has divided her book into two parts i.e. pūrbakalpa and uttarkalpa. In the beginning of pūrbakalpa the characteristics of vaisnava poetry and along with it the predominance of the principle of vaisnava rasa have been discussed. Regarding this part the researcher has commented — “In fact, this part is but a kind of an introduction.” In the very beginning of her discussion she has mentioned that in comparison to what the Indian rhetoricians have said about rasa that it is brahmasvādasahodara that is, akin to the same nature as that of the direct experience of brahmasvāda, Vaiśnava bhaktirasa is in itself brahmasvāda (or the direct experience of delight in brahmasvāda). In this context she comments — ‘Just as the Vaiśnava principle of rasas is like the life of Vaiśnava poetry so it is of Vaiśnava philosophy.”

From page 36 of the book, by way of framing a background to the discourse on the supernatural or spiritual aspect of the Vaiśnava bhakti rasa she has elaborately discussed Bhattalollata’s Utpattivāda, Sankuka’s Anumitivāda, Bhattanayaka’s Bhūktivāda and Abhinabagupta’s Abhibyaktivāda.

Then, trying to establish the correct position of the Vaiśnava rasas, she has presented the wide ranging history of Indiana poetics where bhakti has never been recognised as a rasa. This has been followed by a rational discussion with a view to establishing the spiritual or supernatural characteristic of bhakti. In this connection, along with the works of Srirupa Goswami and Srijiba Goswami she has also analysed the books of Madhusudan Sarasvati, Nārada Bhaktisūtra etc. In the chapter titled Bhaktiraser Alaukikatva (The supernatural aspect of Bhaktirasā) Dr. Roy
has analysed *bhakti rasa* from a comparative standpoint on the basis the statements of rhetoricians like Abhinabagupta, Bhojaraja etc. In this context she has made an extraordinary remark which has inspired the enlightened Bengali readers to think afresh. She said: “The lasting sentiment of the love of Lord Krsna is but the reflection of the Energy of Delight (represented by Radhika) in the inner organs like heart etc.”

In the next chapter Dr. Roy has analysed the significance of the direct and indirect classification of the *rasas*. In the last two chapters she has presented the characteristic of *rāgānugā* and *rāgātmikā* *bhakti rasa* with various illustrative quotations from *Vaiṣṇava* poetry called the *Padāvalī*. In the end having discussed comprehensively, with the support of adequate reasons and arguments the different levels of *rasas* she has come to the conclusion of her book after having mentioned *svakiyāvāda* of Sri Jiba Goswami and *parakiyāvāda* of Bisvanatha Chakrabarty which have been discussed in the commentaries *Locanarocanī* and *Ānandacandrika* of *Ujjvalanīlamāṇi* respectively.

The book has left a mark of special originality by introducing a fundamental subject looked at from a novel standpoint. The logical manner, in which she has presented the subtle differences after raking through the materials of various schools of poetics and offered in the end the new reasoned interpretation of *premabīlasavivarta* after having endorsed the *Vaiṣṇava* inferences regarding the question of spirituality of the *Vaiṣṇava* idea of *rasas*, undoubtedly demands a word of praise for her efforts. However, though in the comparative perspective of different rhetorical views she has demonstrated the subtle differences of *Vaiṣṇava rasas* adopting a logical method, the language of her discussion fell short of attaining spontaneity.
Very often almost every reader is forced to try hard in order to comprehend the meaning of her language. This will become clear from an example.

Madhusūdan Sarasvatī bibaranmatānusārī | Sthāyi bhāba
bhāgabadaṅkarakita manobṛtti, arthat, mana-rūp upādhite sthāyibhāba
bhāgabatpratibimbavasarūp ha'ye thāke | Ataeb bimba pratibimber
abhedanyayānusāre pratibimber ānandātmakatva svayamprakāśatva ityādi
paramārthik hay|.

But, while explaining the spirituality of the Vaiṣṇava rasas the way she has initiated the subtle discussion mainly on the basis of five books viz Srirupa Goswami’s *Ujjvalanīlāmani* and *Bhaktirasāṃrtasindhu* etc. Srijiba Goswami’s *Ṣaṭasandarva*, Madhusudan’s *Bhaktirasāyanam* and Kavikarnapura’s *Alamkārakaustubha* has made a mark of novelty in the studies of vaiṣṇava bhaktirasa in the Bengali language.

*Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Sampradāya: Bhaktiras O Alamkār Śāstra* by Bishnupada Bhattacharya, an eminent Sanskrit scholar, is a notable contribution in the Bengali language to the research oriented studies of bhaktirasa. Leaving aside two, all the three of the five articles comprising this book are involved in the discussion of bhaktirasa in some way or the other. The first article divided into thirteen chapters is the outcome of the important research, from various approaches of poetics, in the evaluation of bhaktirasa. At the very outset he has attempted to point out the fundamental difference which exists between the discussion of rasas of Indian poetics and the Vaiṣṇava poetics. In this context he has referred to the course of the evolution of bhakti sādhanā which had been in existence since the vedic Age. In fact the author has also mentioned that the Bhakti Mārg or the path to bhakti of The Gītā has originated in the *Upāsanā Kanda* of the Vedas. Of course, through an informative and analytical approach he has tried to
demonstrate the difference which was there between the course of bhakti sadhana of the Decan region and that of the Vedic Age. Here, his intellectual journey has been enriched with the help of quotations from different books. He has also demonstrated how in the pursuit of the bhakti cult of Bengal the streams of bhaktirasa, both of the vedic origin and of the Decan merged. Mention may also be made of the fact that the teachers of the school of rasa have accorded recognition to divine love or devotional love in relation with the Lord as bhāva instead of calling it bhaktirasa. Even Panditaraja Jagannatha has tried to establish the fact, through different arguments, that bhakti cannot be accepted as rasa. The teachers of the Bengal school of vaisnavism were the first to recognise the love in relation to Lord Krsna as bhaktirasa instead of calling it bhaktibhāva. Whereas other Vaiṣṇava teachers were hesitant to recognise bhakti as rasa despite singing the glory of devotional service to the Lord, the Vaiṣṇava teachers of Bengal ushered in the flow of a fresh stream of rasa. In this context, the following observation of the researcher deserves to be perused: 'The teachers of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇava philosophy, nevertheless, recognise the eternal mutual attachment of love between Radha and Kṛṣṇa as the best manifestation of the sentiment of love according to their śāstra, like wise they consider the love of the Vaiṣṇava devotees in relation to Lord Kṛṣṇa to be only the evaluation of the delightful bhaktirasa instead of calling it bhakti bhāva. Of course the researcher has not forgotten to point out the fact that this bhaktirasa is completely separate from that which was born in the heart of the Śaiva or the Śākta commentitis. Sri Bhattacharya has successfully attempted to establish, from historical point of view and with the support of adequate reasoning, this achievement of the Vaiṣṇava teachers. In fact, it will be no exaggeration to say that there is no second to this research-oriented article on bhaktirasa and on the subject of rhetoric of the Vaiṣṇava sect of Bengal in Bengali.
In his second essay – *Śrīcaitanyadeva : Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Sampradāy O Saṁskṛta Sāhitya* he has tried to show how *Vaiṣṇava bhaktirasa* has been present in the personal compositions of Caitanya and other Vaiṣṇava literature, particularly in the literature that was created around Caitanya’s life at the centre of it. In this article he has also discussed the two plays viz. *Lalita Mādhava* and *Bidagdha Mādhava* composed by Srirupa Goswami as examples of rasas accepted by the Vaiṣṇava community of Bengal. The researcher has also thrown light upon the fact that with these plays *Caitanyacandrodaya* composed by Kavikarnapura is also essential in order to understand the true character of the *bhaktirasa* of Bengal.

In his third article *Saṁskṛta Sāhitye Bhakti O Jātiya Samhitā* from the historical angle, the author has thrown light on the place of *bhakti* in the Sanskrit language. The varied presence of the concept of *bhakti* in various schools of poetics and also in the literary works of writers like Kalidasa really compels the Bengali readers to reflect on the ideology of *bhakti*. The researcher was also very much aware of the fact as to how far it was impossible, without an understanding of this wide perspective, to assess the contribution of the Bengali Vaisnavites to the poetics of *bhakti*. This awareness makes him comment thus, ‘………………In the new school of literary evaluation and of aesthetics established by the Vaiṣṇava teachers, the nature of *śringāra rasa* was interpreted according to a completely independent and novel outlook. The position in which *sahṛdaya* (large hearted) was enthroned in the discussion of the principle of the rasas in ancient poetics was henceforth occupied by the *bhakta sādhaka* (dedicated Devotee), the mutual love between the Hero (*nāyaka*) and the Heroine (*nāyikā*) was replaced by the love of Lord Kṛṣṇa as an everlasting sentiment ………………’ 

92 The place of *bhaktirasa* and its evaluation in the perspective of Indian poetics summarised so instantly in this manner was never observed in the discussion of anyone
else. In the context of the discussion of bhaktirasa in the Bengali language this achievement of Bishnupada Bhattacharya must be recognised.

In the course of discussion on the theory of literature with reference to appraisal of the contribution of Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava the book Vaiṣṇava Rasaprakāś of Ksudiram Das can be mentioned. In this book, the loving mood or attitude, ecstasy, mellow inseparably mixed in Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava literature, particularly the loving attitude relished in the exchange of love with the supreme, which are special characteristics of Vaiṣṇava literature have been discussed. This book has been divided into 10 chapters dealing with bhaktirasa without going deeper into the nature of bhakti-rasa, he has dealt with general topic on mellow or rasa:

1) bibhāva – Special symptoms or causes of ecstasy. 2) anubhāva – subsequent ecstasy. 3) byabhicāribhāva – aggressive ecstasy, 4) sthāyibhāva- fervent or continuous ecstasy, 5) baidhi 6) rūgānugā , 7) premabhakti, 8) rasa, 9) pañcarasa, 10) gauna sthāyibhāva. He has tried to fulfill the immediate need of students by quoting illustration in discharging his responsibilities. In the later phase in madhurarasabaicitri the writer has discussed multifarious aspects of madhura rasa from Vaiṣṇava Padasāhiya by quoting examples. In this context he has presented the terminology of sādhāranī, sāmaṇjasā, samarthā and in corresponding development of samarthārati, prema, sneha, māna pranaya, rāga, anurāga, bhāva, mahābhāva, madana, mohana, modana etc. Apart from that he has thoroughly analysed rasas from Vaiṣṇava śāstra showing distinction between the hero and the heroine.

In this context in the chapter – Śrīgāra rasa-bibhāga he has dealt with different symptoms of pūrvarāga (courtship), pravāsa (sentiments caused by separation from living abroad), premabaicitra etc. This discussion and writing
bear direction aiming at the students of University level. His book could not make any special mark in discussion on the evolution of Vaisnava rasa as a new dimension or aspect, though the inquisitive Bengali-society expected more of Pandit Ksudiram Das.

It was observed that the journey of Bhakti literature which had started in Bengal, depending on the essence of the Bhāgavata, hand in hand with Jaydeva and Candidasa, from a course like that of a feeble stream beginning to discharge high-rise tumultuous waves to give birth to vast ocean that could be compared to the touch of the sea of the spiritual surge of Caitanya. The attempt to measure the depth of the this portion of bhāva or the magnitude of its waves there developed an extraordinary new poetics among the Caitanya-lovers. In this poetics, they recognized bhakti which was not accepted as rasa in Sanskrit rhetoric not only to be the best rasa but also as the very source of it. They accepted this rasa as the most brilliant and most developed of all rasas.94 While according recognition to Bhakti as a rasa. They gave form to other parts associated with it. That rasa poetics having been nourished by books like Ujjvalanīlamāni, Bhaktirasāṁśtasindhu, Caitanyacaritāmṛta etc. not only became established, but also along with this a vast range of Bhakti literature evolved centering round this rasa theory. Both this rasa poetics and rasa literature of Bhakti have enthralled the Bengali genius, made them to think particularly of the intellectual awareness of the Bengalies that has entered into a new domain depending on this Vaisnava Rasa poetics. As a result of this, the interpretation of the poetics of the evaluation of Vaisnava Pada literature, its originality, its comparative study with Indian rhetoric etc. and above all with all these at the center, there grew a vast magnitude of literary criticism in Bengali. In the discussion of Rasa poetics in the Bengali language, the contribution of this criticism of Indian rhetoric having taken place in other Indian languages and in the field of the criticism of the poetics
of Bhakti literature the Bengali intellect seems to have secured, as it were, a kind of monopoly right. Here the thought and judgement of the Bengali mind is significant in the perspective of the discussion of Indian poetics. Consequently, in the discussion of the poetics of rasa the scope of Bengali literature has particularly expanded and newer and newer terminologies associated with Bhakti literature have enriched the Bengali language. Though the poetics of rasa which flourished by the support of Bhakti with the majority of its terms having been taken from Sanskrit rhetoric, yet its newer interpretation has stirred the sense and sensibilities of the intellectual of Bengal in a new way. The proof of this is there in the books which have been discussed by us. As a matter of fact, so far as the discussion of Bhakti rasa is concerned the Bengalies appear to have become the inhabitants of a new intellectual domain. The grave responsibilities, which Caitanya Mahaprabhu placed on his two brothers, Srirupa and Sanatana, of propagating the two principal constituents of Vaisnava religion, viz. Vaisnava philosophy and Vaisnava poetics, had gained success at the touch of their genius as well as that of untiring effort of their nephew, the Vaisnava philosopher, Srijiba Goswami. In their discussion the Bengali intellectuals in the modern age have, as it were, brought completeness or fulfillment that grave responsibility passed on to the later generations by Caitanya and have provided the inquisitive and appreciative Bengali society with a passport to the new world of thought.

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Notes and References:


3. *Rgveda*, 1/127/5

4. sāthi pūjanam; Ibid, 8/17/12.

5. Ibid, 1/1/156/3.


7. Śvetāsvataraopaniṣada – 6/23.


10. The seed of Vaishnavism in south India was sown by the Alwars who were the earliest Brahmin messengers to the south. They gave prominence to the emotional side of vaishnavism and used the language of the people in their, songs and hymns. *The religion of Love and Devotion* by Lakshminath Bezbaroa ed. Dr. Maheswar Neog. p-1.

11. *Śāndilya Bhaktisūtra* –1/2
12. **Nārada Bhaktisūtra** No. 2 English translation: A.C. Vaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada,


14. **Nārada Bhaktisūtra** –19

15. **Śrīmadbhāgabat** -7/1/31

16. *upāyapūrbakam bhagavati manah sthirikaranam bhaktih*. Quoted by Chinmayi Chattopadhyay in her *Bhaktiraser Bibartan*. p-80

17. **Pañcarātra Paramasaṁhitā** –4/71 (*Bhaktiraser Bibartan* p-93)


25. *īśvarapranidhānavigaye bhaktiśraddhe

   smṛtimatāṛtyutsāhādyanupraviṣṭe evāṅga (sāntasya) miti na tayoḥ

   prthagrasatvena gaṇanam. (Abhinavabhāratī), Quoted by Chinmayi Chattopadhyay in her *Bhaktiraser Bibartan*. p-75

26. R.D. Karmerkar (ed.): *Kāvyaprakāśa* (by Acarya Mammata), p-118

28. Dr. Sandhya Bhaduri (tr. & ed.): Rasagaṅgādhara (by Acarya Panditaraja Jagannatha), p-121.

29. Muktāphala - 11/2


32. Sri Haridasa Das (ed. & tr.): Bhaktirasamṛtasindhuḥ (by Srirupa Goswami) Southern part, 1/5.

33. na yatra duḥkham na sukham na dveṣo nāpi matsaraḥ |

   samāḥ sarbbeṣu bhūtesu sa sāntaḥ prothito rasah \nyāyaśāstra 6/106

34. Chinmayi Chattopadhyay: Bhaktiraser Bibartan, P-84.

35. Dr. Sandhya Bhaduri (tr. & ed.): Rasagaṅgādhara (by Panditaraja Jagannatha), 1st chapter, p-121.


37. Nyāyaśāstra (by Acarya Bharata), Chapter VI


40. This book is of rare availability and so a rare mere introduction of the book is put forward as found in the volumes from II to IV of Śrīśrīgaudīya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhan (p.1732-1733).

41. The book is not at present available; As a result no discussion other than its simple references can be mentioned.
42. Quoted from *Vaiṣṇava Padāvalī Sāhitye Paścūdpat O Utsa* by Devidas Bhattacharya.


44. The book is not at present available; As a result no discussion other than its simple references can be mentioned.


46. Publisher Sri Mukundadas Das, Sri Haribola Kutir, Nadia

47. Sri Haridas Das: *Śrī Śrī Gaudīya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhān*, 2nd, 3rd and 4th vol. p-1676.

48. Sri Haridas Das (ed. & tr.): *Bhaktirasamārtasindhu* (by Srirupa Goswami) p-266.


50. The evaluation of the translation work of this book can not be done as the copy of the book is rare.


52. Hirenrendranarayan (tr.): *Ujjvalanīlamanī, bhūmikā*-Satkari Mukhopadhyay, p-5.


55. Ibid, p-1304.

56. Sri Durgacharan sankhya-vedantatirtha (tr.): *Bhaktirasāyanam* (by Sri Madhusudana Sarasvati), p-bhumika-kha.


59. 1st Pub. 1952.

60. 1st Pub. 1873.

61. 1st Pub. 1903.

62. 1st Pub. 1872.

63. 2nd Pub. 1902.

64. 1st Pub. 1935.


66. 1st pub. 1957.

2nd pub. 1980.

67. Divided into four parts, 1st publish 1934.

68. Radhagobinda Nath: Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Darśan Eighth part, P-217

69. Ibid, P-254.


71. First pub. 1972.

72. Srimati Chinmayi Chattopadhyay: Bhaktiraser Bibartan P-ta.

73. yāt sā parama premarūpā, Nārādiya Bhaktisūtra –2, (Eng. Tr. A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami)


75. Sri Sanatana Goswami said in the Vaiṣṇavatoṣini commentary of Śrīmadbhāgabat that, Madhabendrapuri is the first person in the world who propagate the bhaktirasa-lokeśvaṅkurito yena krṣṇabhaktirasāṅghripaḥ, Ibid, p-4.

76. Ibid, p-5.

77. Ibid, p-8.
78. Ibid, p-Mukhahabandha (n)
80. Ibid p-Mukhahandha.
82. Dr. Uma Roy: Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇaviya Raser Alaukikatva, p introduction (kha)
83. Ibid, p-(gha)
84. Ibid, p-14
85. Ibid, p-112
86. Ibid, p-98
88. (a) Ācārya Anandavardhāna O Kāvyā Nay
   (b) Alamkārāśāstra O Sāhitya Samālocanā.
89. A) Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Sampradāya : Bhaktiras O Alamkār Śāstra.
   b) Śrī Caitanyadeva : Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Sampradāya O Saṁskṛta Sāhitya.
   c) Saṁskṛta Sāhitye Bhakti O Jātiya Samhāti.
90. Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Sampradāya : Bhaktiras O Alamkār Śāstra, P-16
91. Ibid, p-21
92. Ibid, p-81-82
94. Vidagdhamadhava-1/2. Quoted by Krishnadasa Kaviraja in his Caitanyacaritāmṛta, Ādilīlā.