Śrī Candrāvalī :
A Translation and Commentary

This thesis is a product of original research carried out at the Australian National University between the years 1966 and 1970.

by
William Garlington
This thesis is a product of original research carried out at the Australian National University between the years 1976 and 1978.
Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank the following people who helped him in various ways during the preparation of this thesis; Dr. Richard Barz, Father William Dwyer (Ph.D.) and Mr. Yogendra Yadav.
Note on transliteration

In transliterating Sanskrit to English the chart on the following page has been employed. The central problem that the translator had to face was how to include the necessary marks above the letter that represent the nasal or aspirated sounds which are so common in Sanskrit. It has often been pointed out that transliteration of a given word, in Sanskrit-to-English translation, brings out the pronunciation, while in modern Hindi, it is generally left off. What makes the matter more difficult is that while the sounds (where in Sanskrit written in Sanskrit, numerous terms used in the introduction and commentary (as well as in some of the notes) are Sanskrit in origin. On the one hand, it was desirable to maintain Hindi pronunciation, yet it seemed absurd to change the Sanskrit terminology (much of which already has an established usage in English) for the sake of consistency. In the end a type of compromise was reached. Traditional Sanskrit names, places, texts, and technical terminology (philosophical, theological, and aesthetic) have been transliterated without the Sanskrit i (except when certain conjunct endings such as pāpam are inevitable). In practice this led to the fact that most terms in the text itself have been transliterated in Hindi, while the introduction and commentary have numerous Sanskrit renderings. Even with this general decision, exceptions will be found. For example, although in the commentary renderings from Sanskrit have been given for many personal names (i.e., Pitākānāmī), certain names have not been so rendered, as with Śrīvatsa, which has been used rather than Śrīvatsa. This is the case when the name in question has a more or less accepted form in English transliteration. To maintain such sort of consistency here, the rendering 'śri' rather than 'shr' has been used in other names with a similar ending, e.g., Śrīmad. These terms in the commentary, which are transliterated without the i above, have been judged by the author not to be technical enough in the sense mentioned above or have been used in the text in their Hindi form. Although the above system lacks consistency in terms of a singular form of pronunciation, it is the author’s conviction...
Note on transliteration

In transliterating from Devanāgarī to English the chart on the following page has been employed. The central problem that the author had to confront in this vein was when and when not to include the final a (ँ) sound in the transliteration of a given word. In Sanskrit the final a is pronounced, while in modern Hindī it is generally left off. What made the situation all the more difficult was that while the drama itself is not written in Sanskrit, numerous terms used in the introduction and commentary (as well as in some of the notes) are Sanskrit in origin. On the one hand it was desirable to maintain Hindī pronunciation, yet it seemed absurd to change the Sanskrit terminology (much of which already has an established usage in English) for the sake of consistency. In the end a type of compromise was reached. Traditional Sanskrit names, places, texts and technical terminology (philosophical, theological and aesthetic) have by and large been maintained, while remaining terms have been transliterated without the Sanskrit a (except when certain conjunct endings make the a sound inevitable). In practice this has meant that most terms in the text itself have been transliterated in Hindī, while the introduction and commentary have numerous Sanskrit renderings. Even with this general outline, exceptions will be found. For example, although in the commentary renderings from Sanskrit have been given for many personal names (ie. Vitthalanātha) certain names have not been so rendered, as with Sūrdās, which has been used rather than Sūradāsa. This is the case when the name in question has a more or less accepted form in English transliteration. To maintain some sort of consistency here, the rendering 'dās' rather than 'dāsa' has been used in other names with a similar ending - ie. Kṛṣṇadās. Those terms in the commentary which are transliterated without the a have been judged by the author not to be technical enough in the sense mentioned above or have been used in the text in their Hindī form. Although the above system lacks consistency in terms of a singular form of pronunciation, it is the author's conviction...
that to change everything to either Hindi or Sanskrit renderings would not only make it difficult for the reader, but that it would be a falsification of linguistic reality.

**TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION**

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Introduction

Northern India in the mid-nineteenth century was a land in ferment. Since Plassey, the British had gradually expanded their base of political power, and by the end of Dalhousie's Governor-Generalship (1856), the Union Jack flew over territory that stretched from Bengal to the Panjāb. With the spread of western political dominance, great changes began to take place in both the economic and social spheres of Indian life, a revolutionizing process that unleashed in its wake numerous socio-political forces.

British attitudes and policies during the period were by no means consistent. In fact, Conservative and Liberal oscillations were a dominating theme, especially after the Mutiny. However, it is still fair to say that the dominating motivation was the imperial ideal - Britain's duty to govern (either as a result of Providence or political and cultural superiority), and her responsibility to reform (whether through direct legislation or gradual education). And, if in the meantime she received financial benefit, this was little reward for her service.

The most obvious manifestation of this ideal, of course, was the actual machinery of government. As the British expanded, the traditional forms of power, for example the Mughal and princely courts, were either eliminated or dwarfed into political insignificance. In their place arose a system of administration, at first under the East India Company and later under the Crown, characterized by its governor-generals, councils, civil service and army. A new caste of rulers had appeared on the Indian scene, 'the new white Brahmans' as one author has called them. The external aspects of British rule however, were not the most significant. Over the centuries India had been

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1 The author has no specific date in mind, but in general he is referring to time period of Hariscandra's life - 1850-1885.


governed by numerous 'foreigners', but the effect of their rule on society as a whole could not compare to the socio-economic transformation that took place under British sovereignty. In this respect, one of the most important aspects of British policy was its economic programs, both agricultural and commercial.

The central aim of British land policy, before or after the Mutiny, was an efficient collection of revenue, but in the process of accomplishing this aim, far-reaching structural changes were made to the traditional systems of land tenure. This was especially true of the so-called zamindari system whereby ownership of the land was given to a new class of landlords. The system eventually resulted in the rise of non-rural or absentee landlordism, '...and the special relationship between landlord and peasant suffered accordingly.' Moreover, the introduction of cash crops (such as tea, cotton and indigo) disrupted traditional patterns of labor and economic interchange. Although the system often created employment for a number of landless peasants, it also undermined traditional economic security in the land, for it brought cultivators under the dictates of the world market and its inherent fluctuations.

The effects of British commercial policies were likewise detrimental to traditional economic organization. By the early 19th century, British goods, especially textiles, were pouring into India, and with the development of the railways, new markets heretofore inaccessible were now opened to British manufacturers. The result of this inflow of foreign goods was the virtual destruction of the indigenous manufacturer. Government policy

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5 By 1869 four thousand miles of track were in operation. Michael Edwards has summed up the effect of this institution as follows: 'Railways contributed to the decay of indigenous industry, but they were a stimulus to modernization, making the distribution of imported products easy, encouraging the establishment of industry beyond the immediate vicinity of the ports, stimulating the production of cash crops, and the growth of a money rather than a barter economy. But the railways also brought India into the vortex of world trade. The consequences of economic depressions many miles away from India were to have their effect...', p. 223
provided him with little or no protection, without which he could not
successfully compete. Moreover, while the British followed a policy of
laissez-faire as regards the introduction of their own goods into India,
they were not so committed to Adam Smith when it came to the importing of
Indian goods into the British Isles. Nehru summarized the plight of this
class when he wrote:

The liquidation of the artisan class led to
unemployment on a prodigious scale. What were
all those scores of millions, who had so far
been engaged in industry and manufacture, to
do now? Where were they to go? Their old
profession was no longer open to them; the way
to a new one was barred. They could die of course;
that way of escape from an intolerable situation
is always open. They did die in tens of millions.
The English governor-general of India, Lord
Bentick, reported in 1834 that "the misery hardly
finds parallel in the history of commerce. The
bones of the cotton-weavers are bleaching the plains
of India." 7

While government policy was effectively transforming the country's
economic base, the efforts of British social reformers were coming to
fruition. Both the religious and secular wings of this movement had proved
successful in a number of areas. An act forbidding widow burning (satī)
had been passed in Bengal as early as 1829, and similar legislation, such
as the prohibition of Thuggee and the provision for widow remarriage, had
been introduced during the following decades. And, while it is true that
legislation of this type was greatly curtailed after the Mutiny, the spirit
of reform did not die in 1857 but was increasingly taken over by Indians
themselves, many of whom had been educated in the schools (either government
or mission) of their masters. The effects of the introduction of English
education, signalled by Lord Macaulay's 'Minute on Education' in 1835, had
thus begun to be felt. Introduced to European literature and science, many

6 This tariff discrimination against Indian manufactures to build up the
British textile industry was carried on in the first half of the
nineteenth century. In the parliamentary enquiry of 1840 it was reported
that, while British cotton and silk goods imported into India paid a
duty of 3 percent and woolen goods 2 percent, Indian cotton goods
imported into Britain paid 10 percent, silk goods 20 percent and woolen
goods 30 percent.' R. P. Dutt, India Today, in The British in India,
ed. by Martin D. Lewis, (Boston, 1962), p. 46

7 Jawaharlal Nehru, The Discovery of India, (New York, 1960), p. 211
young Indians began to take seriously the ideas contained therein:

The combined effect was the creation of what has been called the Indian renaissance. The whole society was shaken by the new forces let into India by imperial rule. It was compelled to reconsider the entire foundations of its life, thought and morals. New ideas flooded the Indian mind. New concepts opened new channels of thought. A whole new spirit entered the Indian outlook, possessed it, agitated it, shook it, and left it quivering with excitement.  

The responses were by no means homogeneous: some, having accepted the superiority of western civilization, desired a thoroughgoing reform of Indian society; others, reacting against British cultural militancy, attempted to find security in the past and tradition; a large number took a more middle course, accepting western criticisms of those 'decadent' aspects of Indian society while at the same time upholding the 'true' spiritual values contained within the ancient scriptures. The symbol of the latter had been Ram Mohan Roy (1774-1833). While adopting the humanitarianism of Christianity, he rejected its claim to be the singular embodiment of religious truth by expounding on the spiritual verities contained within Vedantic Hinduism. Most members of the 'new class' followed a similar tact or variation thereof. Similarly, and here lies one of history's little ironies, a large percentage of the western trained intellectuals took the enlightened ideals of Locke, Rousseau and Mill seriously enough to want to see them eventually introduced into Indian society, and thus the British were sowing with their own hands the seeds from which the nationalist movement would eventually spring.

It was into such a milieu that the poet, essayist, and dramatist, Bharatendu Hariścandra was born. His birth took place in the north Indian

8Aziz, p. 238

9For example, H.P. Mody. See his The Political Future of India, (London,1908).

10Bharatendu, which means 'Moon of India', was a title applied to Hariścandra signifying his contribution to the development of Hindi literature.
city of Varanasi in the year 1850, seven years before the great upheaval that would shake the foundations of British rule in the subcontinent. His father, one Gopālcandra Sāhu, a prominent and very wealthy Agrawāl businessman, was a well-known Brajbhasā poet, who, according to Hariścandra himself, had composed over forty volumes under the pen name Giridhār Dās. In fact, it was probably the influence of his father that led Hariścandra into a literary career, as 'Vaisnava worship (pujā) and poetic composition were two things which took a prominent place in his life.'

While his grandfather also wrote some poetry, the other members of Hariścandra's ancestral line were not devoted to letters. Several of them, however, deserve to be mentioned here, specifically as regards their relationship with the British; for this intercourse, which became almost a family trait, no doubt influenced Hariścandra and provided the basis for the progressive strain in his thinking.

For four generations the family had been to greater and lesser degrees in contact with the rising British power in India. Hariścandra's great-great grandfather began the association in 1756, and, in so doing, was unwittingly preparing the way for his own personal disaster. Amīcand had gone to Bengal as a trader and had soon become involved with both the court of the local Muslim navāb, Sirajuddaula, and the East India Company. He apparently amassed a considerable fortune and often aided the British in their power struggle with the young prince. When in 1757 he became aware that the British were plotting to overthrow the navāb, he demanded, and was promised, a large sum for his silence. After Plassey the British reneged on their promise, leaving Amīcand without reward for his treachery. He died soon after.

Even though his father had been so blatantly deceived, Phathacand (Amīcand's son and Hariścandra's great-grandfather) helped the British time

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11 The reference is made in the opening scene of Candravālī. See Forward, p. 26
13 Ibid., p. 20
and again in Vārānasi (to where he had moved shortly after Amīcand's death). Moreover, along with another brother, he rehabilitated the family fortune and strengthened it by means of marriage alliances, a process which led to the family's becoming financier to the Maharājā of Vārānasi.

Mathacand's son, Harascand, maintained the fortune and in turn continued to offer support to the foreigners. 14

Gopalcandra was likewise on friendly terms with the British government, whose favours he often obtained. 15 More importantly, despite being a devout Vaisnavite, he wholeheartedly attached himself to many western progressive ideas, especially in the field of education. According to Hariscandra's own account, 16 he favoured female education and accordingly sent his eldest daughter to the first girl's school in Vārānasi. Moreover, Hariscandra was given an English education - a boon that would help prepare him to deal with the changing social realities of nineteenth century India.

According to tradition Hariscandra displayed his literary creativity at an early age. It is said that his father predicted his future greatness when he was only six years old. 17 His skills in the area of language and literature definitely became evident during his formative years of education. Although Hariscandra's schooling was somewhat unsystematic, he did attend Queen's College for several years and also received personal tutelage from several gurus. As a result, he was versed in Sanskrit, Persian, Urdu and Hindi, not to mention Marāthī, Bengālī and Brajbhāsā.

14 Varsney, p. 20
15 It has been said that his family was so loyal that when the British were in distress in 1857, the British agent at Vārānasi sent all the precious belongings to the house of Gopalcandra. See Madan Gopal, Bharatendu Harischandra, (New Delhi, 1971), p. 8
18 In this study 'Hindi' will be used to refer to the dialect spoken in the areas surrounding Delhi, more commonly known as Khādi Boli.
Hariścandra's first real endeavour in public life was in the field of education. In 1867 he founded the Caukhambha school in Varānasī for the purpose of propagating modern education. As many Indians were unable to send their children to either government or mission schools, this effort by the young man of seventeen was an attempt to offer to a wider social spectrum the advantages of a 'progressive' education. Like many reformers of the period, Hariścandra was enamored of the thought of a curriculum in which western and traditional elements could be brought together, and to this end the school was dedicated.

Hariścandra next turned to journalism, and began to actively promote the development of Hindī. Although Hindī had to some degree already been accepted in a prose form (as is witnessed by the publication of Lallū lāl's Prem Sāgar - 1803-1810- and Ināā Allah Khān's Rānī Ketkī kī Kanānī - 1803), it had not been systematically nurtured. It is true that the language of the journal published in 1844 from Varānasī under the patronage of Rājā Siv-prasād (Sitār-e-Hind) was referred to as Hindī, but aside from the use of the Devanāgarī script, its language was largely a Persianised Urdu.

By the time Hariścandra was ready to enter the field, moreover, several 'Hindī' newspapers were being published, and a controversy had grown up over the nature of the language being used. Those who opposed Rājā Sivprasād's Hindī called for an increase in the usage of common words found in local vernaculars and the elimination of imposed Persian and Arabic words.

Hariścandra began his journalistic efforts in 1867 by launching a monthly journal known as Kavivacansudhā. Its main purpose was to publish poetry, both traditional and modern, but as it developed, Hariścandra and other contributors published prose articles dealing with social, literary
and political topics, the language of which tended away from the Persianized forms mentioned above.

The trend was continued and developed in his next journalistic venture, *Hariscandra's Magazine* (later changed to *Hariscandra Candrika*), first published in 1873. This journal was primarily centred around prose and drama, but its novelty was the variety of articles it contained and the number of celebrated contributors who produced them. Historical, political, scientific, literary and satirical essays were found within its pages. More importantly, although it published compositions in Sanskrit, Brajbhaṣa and English, and made use of both Devanāgarī and Roman scripts,

A significant aspect of this journal was the propagation by it of the spoken language of the common people, as against the highly Persianized vocabulary used by Raja Shiv Prasad 'Sitar-i-Hind' and his followers or the Sanskrit-ridden Hindi of the Brahmanical class of Benaras. Harishcandra stood for Hindi as it was spoken.

The next year, 1874, saw the publication of yet another journal under the direction of Hariscandra. *Bālā Bodhini* was a monthly journal for women and was a pioneer in the field of women's liberation. This was followed by *Bhāgavat Tosini*, a journal associated with the Tādiya Samaj (a religious society of Vaiṣṇava bent) which advocated, among other things, a ban on cow slaughter and the prohibition of alcohol.

While the journals edited by Hariscandra were in themselves milestones in the history of Hindi journalism, his significance spread far beyond his own publications. Because of his influence, journals began to appear in Varanasi, Calcutta, Bombay and numerous other cities. A special group of journalists and writers acknowledged by their title, 'Hariscandra Mandal', the inspiration they received from him. In his footsteps they made a conscious effort to publish a variety of magazines and journals in Hindi.

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21. Gopa, p. 22


23. Only a few copies of this journal were ever published.
rather than Urdu and thereby 'purify' the language. Thus, through his own publications and those which followed in his stead, Hariścandra not only enriched journalistic literature, he also helped mould the language of Khaḍī Bolī Hindī.

Hariścandra's literary career (not including his journalistic endeavours) can be said to have begun in 1868 with the publication of Hindī translations of some of the leading Sanskrit dramas. His own creations began to appear in 1873, and for approximately the next ten years he wrote prolifically in a variety of genres including poetry, drama and prose. Before surveying the more important of these compositions, however, it would be worth out time to briefly examine some of the major influences that helped shape the writer's 'world view', as his principal literary themes are embodiments of the attitudes contained therein.

One of the primary influences in Hariścandra's life was Vaiśnava bhakti. As mentioned earlier, his father was a devout bhakt, as was his grandfather. More specifically, the family was attached to the Vallabhasampradāya, a Vaiśnava community which claimed to base its beliefs and practices on the doctrines of the late fifteenth-early sixteenth century religious teacher, Vallabhacarya.

Vallabha's birth, like those of most great saints, is said to have been surrounded by miraculous events. Similarly, his early years in Vārāṇasi are believed to have been characterized by astonishing


25 Tradition relates that Vallabha's father left Vārāṇasi with his pregnant wife to travel south in order to escape an impending Muslim raid. When they reached Cōmārāṇa, a forest in the Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh, the child was born prematurely, and the parents thinking he was dead sadly left him behind. That night, however, Śrī-Kṛṣṇa appeared to the father in a dream and instructed him to return to the forest. There the couple found Vallabha unharmed in the midst of a blazing fire which had protected him through the night.
accomplishments. At the age of ten, Vallabha left Varanasi to accompany his father and mother on a pilgrimage to southern India. In the course of this pilgrimage his father died, and subsequently the young Vallabha left on the first of three pilgrimages around India which were to mark his personal life and provide him with the time to perfect his philosophical system. Although these trips encompassed a period of between fifteen and twenty years, and included, therefore, numerous episodes which are held by the Sampradāya to be of great significance, the exposition of just two events will suffice here, as they seem to best reflect the import of Vallabha's impact on both followers and adversaries.

The first of these events is said to have occurred at Gokula in the year 1493. According to the movement's teachings, at that time and place Kṛṣṇa appeared before Vallabha and told him the way that human souls might be expurgated of their sins. This was the revealing of the Brahmasambandah mantra, the recitation of which allowed the devotee to offer himself up to Kṛṣṇa without reservation and by so doing make himself pure. The event is important not only for its theological implications, which will be examined more thoroughly at a later point in this study, but also in that it marked the origin of the Sampradāya, as Vallabha now had divine sanction to establish a community whose purpose was the preparation of souls for liberation.

The second event took place at Vijayanagara in 1509 during Vallabha's third tour around India. On this occasion he is said to have personally

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26 For example, he is supposed to have mastered the Vedas, as well as important śåstras and purānas.
27 'Sri Kṛṣṇaḥ Śaraṇam mama' (Śri Kṛṣṇa is my refuge)
28 Barz, p. 19
29 Vijayanagara was the capital of the Hindu kingdom of the same name which occupied roughly the area of the modern state of Madras. The king at the time of the famed debate was Kṛṣṇadevarāya.
30 According to the Sampradāya's traditions this event took place during his first tour, but later scholarly work has established the date to have been closer to 1509.
defeated in debate the followers of Śaṅkarācārya by upholding the superiority of bhakti-mārga over the vedāntic monism advocated by his opponents. This victory not only raised the philosophical prestige of the bhakti school, it also earned Vallabha the titles 'Kanakabhisekā' (chief religious leader of the country) and acārya (teacher or spiritual guide). The latter was appended to his name (thus Vallabhācārya), and thereby allowed for his future placement alongside the famed quartet of Vaiṣṇavite bhakti teachers and philosophers: Rāmānuja (1017-1137?), Madhva (1197-1280), Nimbārka (1130-1200) and Caitanya (1485-1534). Moreover, from this time onward Vallabha and his community were to become a significant element within the panorama of Hindu thought.

The remainder of Vallabha's life can be divided into two parts: 1) his years as a householder and 2) his last days in Varanasi.

From 1512 to 1531 Vallabha alternated his residence between Adai and Caraṇāṭa. During this period his wife bore him two sons, Gopinātha (1512) and Viṭṭhalanātha (1516), issues which would assure the legitimate transference of authority within the community after his death. It was also during this period that his main commentaries on the Brahma-Sūtra (Anubhāṣya) and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (Subodhinī) were written. Furthermore, a good deal of his time was spent on pilgrimages to the spiritual centre of his community at Govardhana Hill in Braj. In 1531 he took the vow of sannyās and left

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31 Parekh, p. 15
32 Unlike many holy-men in Indian history, Vallabha took a wife and lived the life of a householder. He was thus negating the traditional ideal that celibacy was necessary for progress towards the divine.
33 Located across the Yamunā river from Allāhābād.
34 Caranāṭa is located near Varanasi.
35 Located fourteen miles west of Mathurā, this hill is a holy spot for all Vaiṣṇavites, as it is believed that during his incarnation in Braj, Kṛṣṇa directed the cowherds to pay homage to it instead of honoring Indra. This resulted in Indra's attempt to wash away the hill by means of a sudden deluge, but Kṛṣṇa lifted the hill over his head for seven days, thus protecting the cowherds from Indra's wrath.
36 The fourth stage in the life cycle of the twice-born Hindu. A sannyāsi renounces all his possessions and is free from all social duties and obligations. He centres his thoughts on union with the divine.
for Varanasi. A month later, having transferred the leadership of the community to Gopinatha, Vallabha entered the waters of the Ganga and perished. 37

Gopinatha led the community for twelve years. Upon his death in 1543 it appeared as though there might be a schism in the Sampraday, as factions supporting Vitthalanatha and Gopinatha’s son, Purusottama, vied with each other for control. The problem was resolved in 1550 with Purusottama’s premature death and Vitthalanatha’s subsequent ascension to the position of divinely ordained guru.

Vitthalanatha maintained his position for thirty-six years, but before his death in 1586 he divided the leadership of the Sampraday among his seven sons. During the next three centuries the number of gurus multiplied greatly, so that by the time of Hariścandra’s initiation into the sect there were numerous communities throughout northern and western India, each centred around its specific guru or gurus. This affiliation, however, was largely one of geographic convenience, as all legitimate gurus were considered (theoretically at least) to be divinely ordained.

The doctrines of Vallabha will be examined in greater detail in subsequent parts of this study (specifically in Part III where they will be presented in relationship to the commentary on Hariścandra’s Candravali). For the moment, suffice it to say that the core of Vallabha’s teachings revolve around the belief that Krsna is the One Supreme Reality and that salvation depends on his grace (anugraha). However, before turning to an examination of some of the other influences that affected Hariścandra’s world view, it is still necessary to quickly review the state of the Sampraday in the mid-nineteenth century, the time when our writer was initiated into its ranks.

As with any spiritual movement, the majority of Vallabha’s followers,

37 According to sectarian accounts, when Vallabha entered the Ganga he was enveloped in a brilliant flash of light and ascended into the sky. Barz, p. 52
both contemporary and subsequent, were not interested in the intricacies of metaphysical thought, but were attracted to the emotional and ritualistic aspects of his religion. Vallabha himself championed this approach by holding up as exemplars the gopis of Braj, who completely surrendered themselves to Krṣṇa without the need of theological disputation. Thus, as a religious community the Śampradāya found its focal point not in esoteric dogma but in ritualistic devotional activity, the centre of which was a form of worship known as seva.

Seva means service, and in terms of the Vallabhasampradāya it refers to the devotee’s experiencing of the supreme love of Krṣṇa by means of viewing one of his svarūps (true forms) in a variety of divine activities. The svarūp takes the form of an image which is believed to be an embodiment of Krṣṇa. According to tradition, Vallabha originated worship through seva with the establishment of the first svarūp on Govardhana Hill in 1494. By the time that Vitthalanātha divided the leadership of the community among his seven sons, there were nine such svarūps and, like the number of gurus, they multiplied over the centuries.

By the mid to late nineteenth century, when the Śampradāya was at its height, the practice of seva had become quite elaborate, and, since a major tenet of the movement was the complete surrender of one’s mind body and wealth to Krṣṇa, many of its temples had become extremely opulent. It had, moreover, become popular with wealthy merchant communities, an example of

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38 gopis were the cowherd girls who were the constant companions of Krṣṇa during his earthly life in Braj. They were all maddened with love for him, so much so as to leave their husbands and filial duties to follow the lure of his flute. Tradition recounts that the gopis were sixteen thousand in number.

39 This type of seva involves darsan or viewing of the image at eight stages throughout the day which include: waking, dressing, at pasture with the cows, eating (3 periods), awaking from nap, and preparing for bed. Special sevas revolve around specific festivals throughout the year which commemorate individual deeds performed by Krṣṇa during his days in Braj.

40 In the Śampradāya the word used for temple is havelī, which means house or mansion. The implication is that the havelī is the private abode of Krṣṇa and should therefore only be entered during the appointed times of worship.
which was the Bhātias of Gujarat who lavished their wealth upon the svarūps. Even today,

The treasuries of some images are astonishing. Through the years the faithful have not only presented utensils of silver and gold but also jewelèd tiaras, necklets, bracelets and anklets.

Along with the extreme wealth of many of the Samprādāya's temples, another feature which characterized the community during the second half of the nineteenth century was the attacks mounted against it by moralists and social reformers, both British and Indian, for the supposed corruption within its ranks. The most celebrated of these bombasts was made by Karsandas Mulji, the defendant in the now notorious Maharāj Libel Case (1862). As editor of a Bombay newspaper, the Satya Prakāś, he had continually attacked the 'life styles' of the community's gurus (or Maharājas as they are called), accusing them of 'shamelessness, subtlety, immodesty, rascality, and deceit'. This led one of the mahārājas from Surat to sue for libel, and thus the reformer's invective was brought into a court of law. After a forty day hearing Mulji was awarded costs, but the whole tone of the trial condemned the mahārājas for being involved in immoral conduct, specifically as regards their relationships with female devotees.

In 1865 Mulji anonymously published a book on the Vallabhasampradāya under the title History of the Sect of Maharājas or Vallabhāchāryas in Western India, in which he not only gave a summary of the trial, but continued his tirade against the mahārājas indecent sexual practices with words such as the following:

If while the Maharaj is in the sitting room speaking to his followers, a female happens to come to the temple with her present of fruits, or whatever else it may be, he immediately retires into the zanna-khana, and there accepts the present from her, and ministers to her lust.

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42 Mulji himself was a nominal member of the Sampradāya.
43 Pockock, p. 118
44 Karsandas Mulji, History of the Sect of Maharājas or Vallabhāchāryas in Western India, (Bombay, 1865), p. 106
And,

Our whole narrative has been scarcely anything but one continuous recital of the profligacy, debauchery, and licentiousness of the notorious Maharajas.\(^{45}\)

Mulji was not alone in his crusade. Many Gujarati newspapers, vernacular and English, had joined the attack. For instance, the Poona Observer, 20, May, 1862, referred to the outcome of the trial in the following way:

The religion of the Vallabhacharyas will not survive this blow; at least we hope so for the honour of human nature.\(^{46}\)

While Hariścandra was a devout bhakt and Vallabhan theology had a great influence on his life, he was by no means a blind traditionalist.\(^{47}\)

As we have seen, his father exhibited a progressive attitude, and this element in Gopālcandra's thinking was no doubt passed on to Hariścandra, thus adding a vital component to the young writer's outlook.

Like many of his generation who had come into contact with western culture, Hariścandra saw the value of introducing a number of its components into the mainstream of contemporary Indian society. Not only did he encourage English education and support the elevation of the status of women;\(^{48}\) he also spoke out against unfounded superstition, advocated foreign travel

\(^{45}\) Ibid., p. 132

\(^{46}\) Ibid., p. 151

\(^{47}\) One example of Hariścandra's progressive attitudes having influence on traditional religious modes was his suggestion that the method of showing the feet splayed sideways in traditional Krishna iconography be replaced by the technique of foreshortening. See Robert Skelton, Rajasthani Temple Hangings of the Krishna Cult, (New York, 1973), p. 28

\(^{48}\) In the preface of one of his later dramas, Nīldevī, Hariścandra 'Indian women should make a positive contribution to mankind and not get lost in family quarrels and useless household servitude. The hope is that having countered the present worthless situation, our household goddesses might attain to some reform. The main obstacle to this reform is our rigid traditionalism and nothing else...' in Bharatendu Granthāvalī, Vol. I, p. 102 - 103
and the crossing of the seas, and actively promoted and supported such technological innovations as lithograph printing and photography. What is more, he was an avid patron of the railways, to which his numerous trips around northern India testify.

With the spirit of a reformer he often bore witness to the degradations of contemporary Indian society. In one of his most well-known dramas, Bhārat durāsā (India’s plight, 1880), he pictured India’s condition as one of impotence, discontent and despair, much of which was the result of inner inertia rather than mere foreign domination. Similarly, Andhernagarī (A City of Darkness, 1881), though a farce, had as its theme the existent corruption in Varanasi. Hariścandra also attacked what he saw to be the defilements of much of contemporary Hinduism. In this regard, while being steeped in Vaishnavite doctrine, he bitterly criticized untouchability, the hypocrisy of commensal modes, and the ignorance of Vaishnavite gurus. Moreover, he often depicted his period as one of religious decline which needed regeneration through love of God, country and community. Towards this end he founded the aforementioned Tādiya Samāj and, while not always agreeing with their points of view, praised certain contributions of other

49Traditionally, orthodox Hindus were not supposed to travel outside of India, as to do so would mean contact with foreign ways and their implied impurities.

50One of the features of Hariścandra’s short life was the numerous trips he made to major cities throughout northern India - an activity which no doubt broadened his cultural awareness and allowed him to become acquainted with the rapidly changing social conditions of the day. His first trip was made only two years after he was married (1865), when he accompanied his family to Puri. This was followed by another trip a year later to Bulandshahr. In 1871 he made an extended tour, lasting more than a month, during which he visited Kanpur, Lucknow, Masuri, Hardwar, Lahore, Braj, Delhi and Agra among other cities of northern India. These were followed by subsequent trips in 1877, 1879, 1880, 1882 and 1884. On these occasions he visited literary societies, made religious pilgrimages, and in general, absorbed himself in the socio-cultural milieu of the period.

51McGregor, p. 79

52Kesarinārāyaṇa Ṣukla, Bhāratendu ke Nibandh, (Varanasi, 1952), p. 16
The foregoing, however, should not be taken to mean that Hariścandra was in favour of thorough westernization. While he saw the practical advantages of such things as English education and western technology, he did not advocate essential structural changes, either social or cultural. As regards the former, one scholar has gone as far as to say that while he verbally condemned caste and bans on widow remarriage, it is difficult to believe that in his heart he was totally opposed to either. In terms of culture, while Hariścandra undoubtedly called for religious reform, this was to take the form of a return to the 'truths' of the ancient faith; he had no desire to see the synchronization of Hindu and western beliefs. Nevertheless, it can not be doubted that Hariścandra was affected by the spirit of reform characteristic of his time, and that these attitudes in turn influenced his literature.

The final 'world view' shaping influence in Hariścandra's life to be mentioned here is traditional Indian aesthetics. Indian literature has a long and rich history. The 'golden age' of this tradition is generally accepted to have been the era of classical Sanskrit literature, but future periods also added much to the treasury of literary creativity. As might be expected from such a tradition, there developed over the centuries a large body of aesthetic theory, one of the purposes of which was to set forth standards required of any work of art. Towards this end there arose the

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53 The former in that it was bringing to light unknown aspects of ancient culture, and the latter in that it was helping indirectly to protect the ancient faith.
54 Kesarinārayan Sukla, p. 11
55 To Hariścandra this of course meant Vaiśnavism. This attitude is perhaps best expressed in his essay 'Vaiśnavatī aur Bharatvārī' (Vaiśnavism and India).
56 The 'golden age' of Sanskrit literature roughly encompasses the time period 350 - 550 A.D.
The theory of Rasa, or aesthetic emotion. The theory posited nine basic human emotions (bhavas) from which could be elicited nine rasas (moods). Being aesthetically induced, rasa was considered to be a more sustained and universal emotional state than bhāva, and therefore superior. One of the aims of every good artist, therefore, was to transmit through the medium of his art, be it poetry, drama, music, etc., heightened emotional stimulants capable of creating within the recipient specific refined moods.

The implications of the Theory of Rasa went beyond mere definitions of artistic creativity; they demanded of the listener or recipient an ability to appreciate aesthetic expression. Thus, the real aesthete (rasik) was a person who exhibited a toned sensitivity, which was often reflected in his fastidiousness, patronage of artists and amorous life style.

In life as well as in literature, Hariścandra strove to maintain the image of the aesthete. In fact, his personal life style seemed to epitomize

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58 These bhavas are as follows: rati (love), hāsa (mirth), krodha (anger), śoka (sorrow), utsaha (energy), bhaya (terror), jugupsa (disgust), vismaya (astonishment) and śāma (tranquility).

59 Rasa is generally translated as "mood" or "sentiment", but it means more literally the taste or flavour of something - the rasa of a verse or a dramatic scene is the essential prevailing flavour of a given emotional situation. Bartrihari: Poems, trans. by Barbara Stoller Miller, (New York, 1967), p. xx. The nine rasas are as follows: śrīnāra (erotic), hāsya (comic), raudra (furious), karuṇa (pathetic), vīrya (heroic), bhayaṇaka (terrifying), bibhatsa (disgusting), adbhuta (astonishing) and sānta (peaceful).

60 For a short yet penetrating discussion of rasa and bhāva see D. H. H. Ingalls' introduction to An Anthology of Sanskrit Court Poetry, (Cambridge, Mass., 1965).

61 Originally, Rasa constituted the basic quality of a dramatic work - then it infiltrated into Poetry and from Poetry to other forms of art like Music and Painting. Professor Nagendra, 'The Nature of Aesthetic Experience', An Introduction to Indian Poetics, ed. by V. Raghavan, (Bombay, 1970), p. 117.
the aesthetic ideal. In the first place, he is reported to have had meticulous tastes which included an attachment to perfumes, gaudy clothes and fine silks. As one author has written:

According to contemporary accounts he bought itra (scent) in such huge quantities that it was misused. His requirements of special scents for betel leaves was enormous, because, according to one estimate, his daily consumption of betel leaves stood at the incredible figures of several hundred a day... He donned clothes like a prince, and bestowed his patronage freely on all those who catered to his aesthetic sensibilities...

Moreover, aside from his own artistic endeavours, he was a connoisseur of the arts in general. In this vein he purchased a variety of cultural treasures and supported, both financially and emotionally, numerous budding young writers. As a result, he was constantly attended by friends, poets, and other artists, and his surroundings became a virtual court.

Living the life of an aesthete, he often engaged in unconventional behavior, and, as a result, condemnation was forthcoming from several quarters. Some thought him immoral and labeled him a vilāsī. This was largely the result of his amorous life style which allowed for intimate relations with females outside of his family. In addition, his lavish spending of family money resulted in domestic friction and an eventual partition of the family assets, a stroke which greatly reduced his personal capital. Nevertheless, he continued in his ways undaunted by family and critics. His was a life dedicated to beauty and love, and it was unable to be bound by the mores of conventional society.

 footnote

62 Gopāl, p. 10
63 Cauhan, p. 12
64 One whose life is centred on enjoyment, luxury and amorous play.
65 Hariścandra apparently had two permanent mistresses. One was a reconverted Hindu (from Islām) and the other was a Bengālī widow who helped him in his literary work.
66 As a result of this financial setback Hariścandra was forced to take out numerous personal loans which in later years caused him great worry and concern.
These three, then, religion, social awareness and aesthetics, were dominating factors in Hariscand ra's life, and most of his important literary creations came under their influence.

In his first independent drama, Vaidikī himsā himsā na bhavati (The excesses of the orthodox are no excesses, 1873) he combines orthodox Vaisnava views with his socially progressive attitudes in the form of a farce which criticizes certain irregularities of contemporary upper caste orthodox Hindus. The theme of his first substantial dramatic production, Candrāvalī (1877), however, is completely traditional, recounting as it does the love relationship between Krsna and one of the copīs of Braj. Thereafter, Hariscandra's most significant dramatic endeavours take the form of social criticism. Bhārat janānī (Mother India, 1877), Bhārat durdāsa (India's plight, 1880) and Mīldevī (1881), all contrast the glories of India's past with her present plight. Each depicts the agents of this decline in a somewhat different light. Bhārat janānī and Mīldevī focus on the Muslim conquest and Muslim-Aryan conflict, while, as we have already seen, Bhārat durdāsa spreads the blame more evenly between Muslim, western and indigenous sources.

Hariscandra's verse, which is copious, and is written primarily in Brajbhāsa, reflects both traditional and modern themes, but the former is easily the most dominant. The devotional poetry of the period which was of greatest consequence took as its theme Kṛṣṇa-bhakti, and in this direction Hariscandra made significant contributions. While he wrote some verse in the vātsalya mode, his main field was madhura bhakti. Here he employs a number

67 Mīldevī, however, accentuates the theme to a greater degree.

68 Brajbhāsa was the dominant vehicle for vernacular literature in the heartland of northern India between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many of the medieval bhakti poets wrote in Brajbhāsa, the most prominent of which was Sūrdās (1483 - 1563).

69 A category of love poetry which focuses on the mother's love for the child. In Kṛṣṇa poetry it finds its theme in affection for the child Kṛṣṇa and his numerous antics.

70 A category of love poetry which focuses on 'honied' love: a presexual romantic love

of traditional motifs including the lord’s līlā (play), the pain of separation (virah), love without alterior motive, and the difficulty of the love path, all of which illustrates that the new arrangements of the kaleidoscope of traditional subject matter could still be aimed at and realised effectively in the late nineteenth century.  

In 'Prabodhini' (1874) and 'Bharat bhiksa' (1875) the poet turns his verse to more socio-political topics. As in his later dramatic works of the same bent, Hariścandra bemoans his country’s present condition in contrast to its glorious past.

Other poems are more occasional, their subject matter being specific political events or individual personages. It is noteworthy that Hariścandra also composed verse in Urdu and Hindī, the latter being some of the earliest examples of Khāṭī Boli poetry.

Hariścandra’s prose writings cover a variety of subjects ranging from historical essays and biographical sketches to commentaries on contemporary religious, social and literary themes. His essays dealing with religious topics are generally coloured by pro-Vaisnavite views (largely based on Purānic traditions), as the following passage from one of his more well-known religious essays, ‘Vaisnavata aur Bharatvars’, indicates:

If one reflects it will become clear that India’s oldest belief is Vaisnavism. Our Aryan ancestors created in ancient times the foundation of civilization, and therefore they were the initiators of religion, ethics, indeed, of all aspects of human endeavour. They understood from earliest times that the sun was the world’s supreme benefactor and life-supporter, and their principal mantra, gāyatrī, was sung in the worship of Sūrya Narayana. In the Veda, Sūrya’s name is Viṣṇu, because it is on account of his extensiveness that the world is established. Therefore, he was the Aryan’s oldest god, and consequently, even at this time the Aryans were Vaisnavites.

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72 McGregor, p. 82
73 For example he wrote verse recounting Indian involvement in the Afghan and Egyptian wars and penned eulogistic poems to the Queen and Prince of Wales.
74 Gopal, p. 26
75 For example, essays on Sūrdās, Rāmānuja, Kālidāsa, Vallabha, to mention a few.
Many of Hariścandra's essays on contemporary social problems follow the same themes found in earlier dramatic and poetic compositions. For example, in 'Bhāratvars kī unnati kaise ho saktī hai?' ('How can India progress?') he depicts the social rather than religious nature of many contemporary Hindu practices - conventions which undermine true religion and hinder India's development:

In the name of religion numerous types of regulations, social conventions and hygienic practices have multiplied. Take a few examples. Why has your Ballia mela been established? For this reason, that people who never see each other can come from great distances and meet together in one place. They can share their sorrows and joys. Those household articles which they can not obtain in the village may be purchased here. Why is it that ekādāsī fast is kept? So that once or twice a month the body can be cleansed. Why is it a rule that when bathing in the Ganga, water is first poured over the head before entering with the feet? To prevent the heat rising from the soles to the head and thereby causing damage. Diwali is held for this reason - it is an excuse to have a total house cleaning once a year...As such, all festivals, pilgrimage spots, fasts etc., are social contrivances. People have mixed religious and social regulations like they mix milk and water. The sad thing that has happened is that people do not understand why these things have come about, and they accept them as true religion. Brothers, true religion is only the worship of the lotus-feet of the Supreme Lord. 

Hariścandra's essays on antiquarian and historical subjects as well as the articles recounting his numerous trips in northern India gave an added boost to the development of Hindī prose, pointing it, as they did, in a variety of new directions. In the same vein, his essays on literary subjects, such as 'Nāṭak', helped initiate Hindī literary criticism, as writers associated with Hariścandra began writing similar articles, '...evaluating individual works and also discussing theories on literary creation and

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77 Hariścandra, 'Bhāratvars kī unnati kaise ho saktī hai', in Bhāratendu Granthavālī, Vol. III; p. 900

78 One of Hariscandra's last works (1883), it is an extensive essay on dramaturgy which includes within its pages an analysis of the classical theatre vis-a-vis Hindī drama, as well as a brief account of the history of European drama.
appreciation.  

In 1882 during a trip Udaipur Hariścandra became ill with cholera. His pace of life as well as family and financial worries added to his ill-health, and, although he recovered from the attack, his strength was greatly diminished. Three years later on January 5, 1885, he died at the age of thirty-five 'having contributed more in his short life than is usually possible in a hundred years.'

It remains to say a few introductory remarks concerning Candrāvalī. As stated above, Candrāvalī was written in 1877 and was Hariścandra's first substantial original drama. The story recounts the love relationship between Kṛṣṇa and one of the gopīs of Braj, Candrāvalī. The main motif is that of virah, or the pain of separation experienced by a devoted lover. Candrāvalī, finding herself separated from Kṛṣṇa, agonizes over his seemingly indifferent attitude towards her plight. During the course of the drama Candrāvalī's virah intensifies, only to be relieved in the final scene by an act of divine grace.

The main background materials for Candrāvalī are puranic, especially those Purānas which portray Kṛṣṇa as a divine lover. In addition, the drama is influenced by such sources as the Bhakti Sūtras of Nārāyaṇa, Rūpa Gosvāmi's Ujjvalanīlamani and Vidagdhamādhava and the themes of medieval devotional

79 Gopal, p. 37

80 Varsney, p. 31

81 For example, the Padma, Viṣṇu, and Bhāgavata Purāṇas.

82 Aphorisms upholding the supremacy of the bhakti-mārga attributed to the semi-mythological rsi, Nārāyaṇa.

83 Rūpa Gosvāmī was a follower of the sixteenth century Vaiṣṇavite devotionalist, Caitanya. He was one of the six gosvāmis who maintained the Caitanya temple at Vraja-bhūmi and who, through their literature and discourses, set the guidelines of the sect's theology.
Hindi poetry. Added to these sources is the cannon of Vallabhan theology, the influence of which can be seen throughout the play.

In terms of structure, the play is modeled along the lines of classical Sanskrit drama, containing four acts, prologue, viskambhak, and interlude. The author also makes use of such traditional dramatic fundaments as the opening benediction, stagemanager, and pitha-marda. The characters speak both in Hindi (often quite idiomatic) and Brajbhāsa, while the latter is the standard for all verse, of which there is a significant amount.

Part II of the present work consists of a translation of Candrāvalī. In translating the play the writer has attempted to convey essential meanings rather than provide a literal rendering of the text. This is especially true of idiomatic passages and the Brajbhāsa verse. The translation will be followed by a commentary (Part III) which will hopefully help the reader to understand both the ideas contained within the drama and the theological position from which they are derived.

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84 For example the devotional themes found in the poetry of such writers as Surdās, Nandādās, Kṛṣṇādās and Kumbhandās.

85 A short prelude (in Sanskrit drama, often before each act) which sets the scene, summarizes past and future action, and in general gives continuity to the play.

86 Sanskrit dramas were generally preceded by an elaborate series of invocations and benedictions, the purpose of which was to appease the gods. In Candrāvalī the benediction takes the form of a brāhmaṇ reciting several lines of verse.

87 A type of 'Master of Ceremonies' known in Sanskrit as the śutradhāra (string-holder) whose role it was to introduce the drama and explain its general purpose.

88 A stock character in Sanskrit dramas whose role is that of helping the hero (or heroine).
Sri Candrāvalī

Ludé - the theatre
(A manager enters reading a clipping)
- The vision of a rare conquering goddess, eyes-filled
  with love, from outer - the touch of Tara.
  make me mine again like a possession
  a Candrāvalī never smirks Sri krām.
  the indescribable love who is the extent of all
  (The stage manager enters)
  Oh - enough, enough! There's no need for more. Maria, hurry, we'll never
  again have an opportunity like this one, having displayed our skills, we
  will certainly be gratified.
  (The stage manager enters)

Oh, well, are you so happy today? Which drama are you contemplating
proposing? And what about your (name) is there in it that you can't
contain yourself?
Oh, oh, you still don't know today I've ought to stage a completely new
play. I've no longer got the heart to keep on translating Vayu's
script into the spoken language.

Always as it is used in the Vallabhaśastra refers to that which is
supernatural or divine.

The Hindi word bhāgā (fortune, frame) is often used as a symbol. For Krishna.
in Sanskrit it can meanशाखर, killer, or slayer, and it is
associated with Krishna because he is often referred to as the killer of
the evil.

See note 18 note 19 below.

You can read all this of pentecost.

The other hind (the Indian red-legged partridge,') is said to exist on
many places. In Arya is often symbolized by the moon, the other hind is
a frequently used image in Vaisnavite literature.

Srikrām - the sun, best-lover. This term is used in the Bhadrakāli
Hinduism (ii. 4. 12) to describe his purely negative dual of the universal
reality.

14. uddhavatātman - that which is associated by the word tai [Sanskrit
that]. This is a reference to the Gauḍāpada Tāntītattvamālā that
all tattvas are that, or the universal salve.

The stage manager's note.
Place - the theatre

(A brāhmaṇ enters reciting a blessing)

- The vision of some conquering alaukiṅda cloud, ever-filled with love-fresh water - the rain of rasa
- makes my mind dance like a peacock
- O Candraballī cakor glorify Śrī Kṛṣṇa
- the indescribable lord who is the essence of all

(The stagemanager enters)

SM Enough, enough, there's no need for more. Maris, hurry, we'll never again have an opportunity like this one. Having displayed our skills, we will certainly be gratified.

(The paripārvak enters)

P Tell me, why are you so happy today? Which drama are you contemplating producing, and what enjoyment (rasa) is there in it that you can't contain yourself?

SM Ah, you still don't know? Today I'm about to stage a completely new play. I've no longer got the heart to keep on translating Sanskrit dramas into the spoken language.

1 alaukik as it is used in the Vallabhasampradāya refers to that which is supernatural or divine.

2 The Hindi word ghan (Sanskrit ghana) is often used as a symbol for Kṛṣṇa. In Sanskrit it can mean striker, killer, or destroyer, and it is associated with Kṛṣṇa because he is often referred to as the killer of the self.

3 See page 18 note 59 above.

4 mor can mean both my and peacock

5 The cakor bird (the Indian red-legged partridge) is fabled to subsist on moon beams. As Kṛṣṇa is often symbolized by the moon, the cakor bird is a frequently used image in Vaisnavite literature.

6 neti-neti - 'not this, not this'. This term is used in the Brhadāranyaka Upanisad (iv., 1-22) to describe in purely negative terms the universal essence.

7 tat-sabd-pratipādyā - that which is enunciated by the word tat (Sanskrit that). This is a reference to the Upanisadic formula tat tvam asi (Thou art that) = brahma or the universal essence.

8 The stagemanager's assistant
P Your idea is good - why not? But tell me this; who wrote this drama?

SM Our old friend Hariścandra.

P (having grimaced) Sometimes you make no sense. What does he know about playwriting? He is only a beginner, and there are several great poets available. Might we not stage one of their creations?

SM (having laughed) It is not your fault. You have never met him. Even his friends don't understand him, so what are you expected to think?

P (with surprise) Yes, I was unaware of him. Well, tell me, that I might hear some of his virtues.

SM Why not? But listen with veneration.

P With trust like Prthu's, I am all ears.

SM (joyously) Listen!

- Who can equal Hariścandra: an impromptu poet, a great entertainer, a storehouse of love
- a foremost man of taste, a generous mine of virtue.
- Who cannot bow his head to Hariścandra
- the son of Giridhardās, who composed forty volumes.
- By the power of his love he has abandoned the world as if it were straw
- using his name is like rinsing the mouth with rosewater.
- The moon may vanish, the sun may vanish, the rules of the world may vanish, but this is certain;
- Hariścandra's firm love will never vanish.

P Bravo! Bravo! I didn't know such things. It would certainly be a mistake to delay this experiment.

(At the back of the stage)
- Except for destroyed souls, who can neglect the virtues of Hari?
- the abductor of fear, the happiness of the rainy season, the One who cannot be abandoned.
- Just as we cannot forgo the most meritorious fruit
- There is nothing in the world as sweet as the Kṛṣṇa story

9 Prthu was a legendary king who bestowed upon mankind the fruits of the earth. Here he is used as a symbol of faith and trust.

10 Kṛṣṇa

11 The rainy season in Indian tradition is the season for the union of lovers and has come to symbolize the spiritual union between the devotee and Kṛṣṇa.
SM (having listened with great pleasure) Aha! Look! My dear little brother has made himself up like Sukdev\textsuperscript{12} and come upon the stage, and we still have not resolved these matters. Let's go Maris so that we can put on our costumes.

P Stop! Wait a minute. Allow me to see the beauty of Sukdev's costume - then I will go.

SM He speaks the truth. Aha, how beautiful he has become. Bravo my brother, bravo! Well, why not? After all he is the stagemanager's brother.

- Exceedingly slender, his body a beautiful blue\textsuperscript{13}.
- his curly hair more effective than magic.
- His large arms, his shining moon-like face, his coy eyes
- like drawn bows his eyebrows are engraved in my memory.
- My eyes cannot avoid him - even for a moment - his beauty is indescribable
- it is as if all five forms of love\textsuperscript{14} revealed themselves at once.

Then let's go, that we might return in costume.

(Both go)

\textsuperscript{12} Sukdev (Sanskrit Sukadeva) was the sage who is supposed to have recited the Bhagavata Purana to Raja Pariksit and in so doing enabled the king, who had unwittingly killed a holy man, to attain salvation.

\textsuperscript{13} sānvaro - a dark blue hue.

\textsuperscript{14} A reference to the five bhāvas or modes of love by which the devotee can worship Krsna. These are: dāsya bhāva (servant - master relationship), sakhya bhāva (friend - friend relationship), vatsalya bhāva (parent-child relationship), madhurya bhāva (lover - beloved relationship), and śanta bhāva (deity - devotee relationship).
Joyfully, with a swaying gait, Sukdev enters.

(having repeated his previous verse) Aha! How remarkably diverse are the interests of the world's souls. Some are steeped in religious rules of behaviour; some are engrossed in the search for knowledge; some remain intoxicated by quarrels over doctrine. They all find fault with one another and think only themselves to be correct. Some, having accepted the world as the be-all and end-all, are repelled by the search for spiritual truths. Some, having accepted spiritual knowledge as the highest object of human pursuit, consider worldly matters as worthless as straw. Each sees his belief as Truth. Whoever has formulated a theory buries it in his being and spends the rest of his life defending it.

But that which is the highest love is bhakti, the emergence of which destroys the darkening ignorance of all types of dogmatic form and automatically frees one from the shackles of the world. But since no one can attain it, from where can it be obtained? No one is its adhikāri. Furthermore, both thinkers and hedonists neglect it. The former are too busy disputing and annulling doctrine, and the latter are stopped by their craving thirst of desire. (having thought) Aha! Śiva has drunk this wine and will drink nothing else. Even Parvati's sitting on his lap cannot shake him from its effect. He is blessed, he is blessed. Who else is so blessed? (having thought) No. No. The gopīs of Braj have surpassed him. A love that is so difficult to maintain

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1. Jñāna - refers to metaphysical knowledge, specifically, attempts to understand by means of intellectual pursuit such questions as the nature of the universal essence (Brāhma).

2. Bhakti - selfless devotion to a god (here meaning Kṛṣṇa). In the text it is referred to as amrt-may (full of nectar).

3. Adhikāri - a person who holds a position of authority over other persons. Here it refers to one who has mastered a sphere of knowledge or some method of spiritual discipline.

4. Along with Viṣṇu and Brahmā one of the three principal deities in the Hindu pantheon. Śiva is often characterized by his austerity. In the Viṣṇupurāṇa Śiva is depicted as a bhakt of Viṣṇu, and thus the reference here.

5. Śiva's wife
is truly remarkable - almost indescribable; for, where there is great knowledge, love is usually absent, and where there is complete love, great knowledge is usually absent. But they are blessed, because among them both are to be found. Otherwise, why would a liberated man like me sing of their glory night and day.

(At the back of the stage the vīna plays)

(having looked skywards and having heard the sound of the vīna) Aha! How resplendent the sky is, and how sweet to the ear is the sound of the vīna. Is it possible that Devarṣī Nārada comes here? Aha! The vīna speaks with such sweet notes. (having looked to the rear of the stage) There he is. He is blessed. How beautifully elegant he is.

- The golden matted hair on his head is striking
- Seeing the garland of tulasī around his neck, the mind is enraptured
- Around his waist, a skin of a lion, on his feet, small jingling bells
- He calls out the names Nārāyaṇa, Govinda and Kṛṣṇa
- Taking the vīna he fills the air with sound and rhythm
- Shouting the name of Hari he saves in a moment the sinful world, allowing men who hear it to cross the ocean of existence
- The vīna made of two gourds displays a beauty pleasing to the mind
- The tone and the melody are like hanging bundles
- The ascent and descent of the scale like splendid fresh fruit
- Both soft and high notes completely ravish the mind

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6 The term used in the text is nivṛtt which can mean disencumbered, retired, free, liberated, unoccupied, finished, completed or terminated. Here it refers to Sukdev's position vis-à-vis the world.

7 The Indian lute, containing seven strings, a curved neck and two large gourds. The gourds are resonating chambers. One is located at the end where the instrument rests on the ground and the other is near the top which generally sits in the player's lap.

8 Nārada is claimed to be the inventor of the vīna.

9 Indian basil

10 A name applied to Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa.

11 Literally 'cow-keeper'; an epithet of Kṛṣṇa.
- Displaying the numerous virtues of Radhā and Kṛṣṇa
- these two unfathomable treasures are ever-full - manifest yet transcendent
- As if taking the kāṇvārī upon his shoulders, he has made the deeds of Kṛṣṇa pilgrimage spots
- or he has made heaven as tangible as the anvula fruit to the hand
- It is as if he constructed the vīṇa as a test for the world
- and hung on the balance the two baskets of bhakti and mukhtī
- It is as if the vīṇa thrives by the singing of the Śrīrāg
- or, he has brought the two gourds for the crossing of the ocean of samsāra
- He established the two gourds
- and thereby transcends the paradoxes of the universe
- Some, having taken only one tunba can become bairagis
- why shouldn't they who take both advance to the apex.

In meeting him today I will obtain supreme joy.

(Nārada enters)

S (having advanced and embraced him) Come! Come! Tell me, how are you? Which country have you been making holy by your presence?

N When I have the honour of being in the presence of a great man like you, how else could I be but fine?

S Well, if you say so, but tell me, from where do you come?

N This time I come from Śrī Vṛndāvana.

12 A pole with baskets at each end carried on the shoulders for the purpose of transporting goods etc. It is often used at pilgrimage spots.
13 Liberation
14 A special rag (a class of modal melodies in Indian classical music) whose melody expresses love and passion.
15 The world of cause and effect - the endless cycle of birth and re-birth
16 A gourd of the vīṇa.
17 One who renounces the world and spends his life in meditation and prayer.
18 A meadowy area (literally 'herd-forest') in the Braj country on the banks of the Yamuna river where Kṛṣṇa dallied with the milkmaids (gopīs).
Aha! You are blessed to be coming from such a sanctified spot. (he touches Narada's feet.) Blessed is the dust of this land. Tell me, what did you see there?

Forgetting time I watched the love-filled devotees of Kṛṣṇa in their state of virah and thereby purified myself. Aha, these gopīs are blessed. Who can speak of their virtues:

- The gopīs have no equals
- abandoning family honour as if insignificant straw, they become absorbed in the rasa of Hari
- Embracing the son of Nanda, they put him in their power
- the heads of all saints remain in the shadow of their umbrella feet
- O make me a creeper leaf of Braj
- that the dust of the gopī's holy lotus-feet might moisten my head
- That I might always drink their nectar-form as they come and go in the passageways of the grove
- O Hari, grant me this boon, that the name of Radha will remain in my mouth always.

(having wiped his tears) They are blessed; they are blessed. Now if I don't take care the vīna might fall from your hand on account of your ecstasy. Why not? Is this surprising for one who has been deserving of Śiva's love?

(having become alert) Aha! How these moments pass with joy. This is the result of being in the presence of a great soul like you.

Tell me, amongst all the gopīs, whose love is unique?

virah - the state of separation which causes pain in the hearts of lovers. It is considered a hallmark of bhakti.

Kṛṣṇa

It is one of the primary tenets of the Vallabhasampradāy that Kṛṣṇa is as attached to the foremost bhaktis as they are to him. Since the gopīs are considered the best exemplars of true bhakti, they are pictured here as having Kṛṣṇa in their power.

Chief of the gopīs and Kṛṣṇa's favourite consort. In the Vallabhasampradāy she is considered to be Kṛṣṇa's wife. For further theological explanations, see Part III.

This is a puranic reference to Śiva's relationship with Narada, Śrī Candravālī Natika, ed. by Hariścandra Varma, (Kuruksetra, 1967), p. 13
Some are special; some are not. Radhā presents no problem - she is Kṛṣṇa and appears distinct for the purpose of līlā. However, among all the other gopīs, word has spread in the very paths of Braj about the love of Candrāvalī. Aha! How remarkable love is. Although father and mother, brother and kinsmen forbid it, and, what is more, there is the fear of Radhā, nevertheless she mixes with Kṛṣṇa like water in milk. Public opinion or elders cannot stop her. She will remain with Kṛṣṇa by any means.

She is blessed; she is blessed. Her love sanctifies not only the family but the world.

(At the back of the stage the sound of a flute)

Aha. The sound of the flute reminds me of Braj. Let's go! I can't bear the pain of separation. If we go quickly, we might see this love. My eyes remain impatient for līlā.
Act One

(Curtain rises)

Place - Sri Vrndavana, Mount Govardhana appears in the distance.

(Candravalī and Lalita enter)

L Beloved, why are you so anxious?
C I'm not sakhi. What is there to be anxious about?
L OK, if that is the case I must be a blind fool.
C No sakhi, I speak the truth. I have no worries.
L My dear sakhi, then only you are clever, and the rest of us are fools.
C No sakhi, If I had a problem wouldn't I tell you? Would I hide such a thing from you?
L Then there must be some shortcoming. If you regard me as your beloved sakhi, then why do you conceal this matter from me?
C Stop it! Don't bring me pain. If you aren't my beloved sakhi, then who is?
L But you are speaking with your mouth and not with your heart.
C Why?
L If you spoke with your heart then you wouldn't conceal this from me.
C No sakhi, this is only your unfounded suspicion.
L Sakhi, I also live in Braj, and I see everyone's conduct and disposition. Why are you so evasive? Do you think that I will give this secret away to someone? Don't think such a thing. Sakhi, you are my life. To whom would I tell your secret?
C Sakhi, God forbid that anyone might suspect something. Once people begin to have suspicions it is very hard to reassure them.
L OK, swear there is no secret. 3

1 See page 11, note 35
2 sakhi - a female friend or companion. It can also be used interchangeably with gopī.
3 The term used in the text is saugand khā, which literally means eat an oath.
C: Yes sakhi, I'll make the type of promise you make.

L: What do you mean?

C: Your promises are worthless.

L: What do you mean worthless? Don't be deceptive. Your trickery gets you nowhere. Why do you try and hide the fact? Sakhi, your face gives it away - something is bothering you.

C: Why sakhi? What does my face reveal?

L: It reveals that you are involved with someone.

C: My dear sakhi, you disgrace me.

L: Sakhi, your tactics will be of no avail. In the end I will be involved in this matter, and you will tell me everything, because you will not find another physician for your ailment.

C: Yes, but when I am sick - not now.

L: Again you say the same thing. Do you think that I am so imperceptive? The lord has given me eyes and a heart, and I am not without sensitivity.

C: Who said you are insensitive? What do you mean by that?

L: I mean, that among the women who live in Braj, only those who are insensitive could be immune from him.

C: From whom?

L: He whose absence causes your condition.

C: Who?

L: Sakhi, again you repeat yourself. My queen, these eyes are so mischievous that no matter how hard you might try, you cannot hide their secret.

- You cannot conceal the eyes' secret
- it is obvious, everyone knows, your sari is no protection
- It is useless to try and hide love-soaked eyes
- brazenly they sway, coloured by the love of Mohan

"An epithet of Krsna - literally, 'delighting', 'charming' or 'attractive'.
C. O Sakhī, just what are you driving at? You are the one who is now dealing in riddles. Go! Don't speak such falsities. Fear God!

L. If you fear God then why do you lie? O sakhī, how very cunning you have become. In order to hide your own guilt you have made me out to be a liar. (joining her hands) How great you are. You are deserving of prostration. Have mercy and put out your foot that I might offer puja. Leave! I won't question you anymore.

C. (somewhat startled) No sakhī, why are you a liar? I am the liar, and if you no longer question me, then who will? Sakhī, I dauntlessly continue to have faith in you, yet you become angered.

L. Never mind. I've learned my lesson.

C. (joining her hands) No sakhī, don't say such things. I am already greatly pained, and when you say these things my misery is compounded. (her eyes fill with tears)

L. Beloved, you can trust me. Don't be sad. I am all yours, and I am prepared to give my life for your welfare. This was a joke. Do you think I am unaware of the fact that you will not keep anything from me, and that if you do, the problem will not be solved? Look:

- If the secret is maintained, and barriers fall between us
- Who will introduce the lover and the beloved? How will the goal be reached?
- If you don't tell me, how will the task be accomplished? Who else will remove this agony?
- If the patient will not reveal the ailment, what can the poor physician do?

C. Then what is it that is kept from you? Why do you deliberately go on asking? You do this in order to ridicule me. Besides, why do you cause me pain by reminding me of useless memories?

L. Sakhī, I understood from the first. I pressed the issue because of your obstinacy. Why else would I do this?

C. Sakhī, what can I do? I want so much to forget these thoughts, but I can't erase his beauty from my mind. As a result, it is obvious to everyone.

5 puja karna - to worship or respect. To offer puja to someone's feet is a sign of great respect. Here Lalita is being sarcastic.

6 Literally, I am dying. This is probably a reference to the pain she is experiencing as a result of her separation from Kṛṣṇa.

7 The term used in the text is nithur - cruel one = Kṛṣṇa.
L Sakhī, you're right.

- Infatuated eyes are like no others
- no amount of effort can conceal the lustre of love's glance
- Their nature is temptation; they cannot be covered - even for a moment
- for one stricken by love it is impossible to hide: in the end everyone knows

C You're right. The eyes are to blame. It is the eyes that are fascinated and can not keep themselves concealed. In the end these evil ones cry over their own doings

- Sakhī, these eyes are very mischievous
- since meeting with Hari they've become vagabonds, as if not mine
- Under the influence of Mohan's rasa they dart wildly; without him they become restless
- abandoning all my advice they are uncontrollable
- Irritated folk have tried to censor them, but they are obstinate
- although they apppear like nectar-filled lotuses, they are knives soaked in poison.

L There is no doubting what you say. I have experienced all of this, and I know their behaviour well. This is the nature of indolent eyes.

- O Sakhī, lovers' eyes are naturally entangled
- neither thinking nor understanding, they are trapped
- If someone does not control them, they become like an enraged elephant
- what can one say about these rebellious eyes - they bring misfortune

C Moreover, they are so obstinate that when they become fascinated they can not forget. And how can they forget? It is impossible to forget him.

- These eyes cannot forget his beauty
- his compassion-filled glance surrounds me, and my eyes bloom like lotus petals
- His approach, his laugh, his smile, steal my heart

8 They are in truth causing me great pain.
his speech, his stance, his scan
Lotus in hand, striding slowly, cows following
adorned in yellow, his pan-stained mouth playing the flute
Mesorized eyes follow him; they cannot be averted
everything is sacrificed to his beauty

L Sakhī, I have already undergone this calamitous experience, and therefore I can't say anything to you. If I were another, I would condemn you and try to stop you.

C Sakhī, if you were someone else, I would not speak to you so intimately. Sakhī, you are my soul. Will you help me or not?

L But sakhī, the astonishing thing is that while at this moment you are sad, you are not always like this.

C No sakhī, from the exterior I do not appear sad, but my heart knows how the nights pass.

- When you are separated from Kṛṣṇa, the eyes continuously wash the body with tears
- falling into love's snare, they completely lose sense of family honour
- Somehow the days pass in sorrow, but the nights bring forth the pain of separation
- O sakhī, we know this condition: are the nights for sleeping or for crying?

L This may be, but when I saw you I only saw one condition. You were always looking at your face in a mirror or handglass, but today I understand why.

- I continually pondered why you could not put down the mirror
- union and separation - there seemed no difference
- Today, my queen, I understand; you are travelling the holy path of supreme love
- the image of the beloved dwells in your eyes: day and night you peer into the mirror

9 pan (in the text biri) - the betel leaf, which when chewed leaves a red residue on the lips and tongue.

10 Mind, body and wealth

11 In the text the name Haricand appears. This name can be taken in two ways: first it is the author's signature (a poetic convention), and second, it can be an epithet of Kṛṣṇa. The translator has throughout the play chosen to use the implied meaning rather than use the name of the author or Kṛṣṇa.
L: Sakhī, you are blessed. You are so full of love that you are the personification of the word itself and the splendour of the mandal.¹²

C: No sakhī, this is not so. I looked into the mirror for another reason. Oh! (she sighs) Sakhī, when I saw my face in the mirror and noted its pallid colour then I prayed to Bhagavan: 'O Bhagavan, although I desire this cruel-one, may he not want me.'¹³ (tears begin to fall)

L: O sakhī, how can I console you? But it is my prayer that you not be so sad. Whatever you desire, I am prepared to do my all.

C: O sakhī, it is amazing, but I have no desire and want nothing. Nevertheless, separation from him causes me great pain.

L: Sakhī, I have already said that you are blessed. In this world, no matter how much love one may have, some is based on desire, and all people seek their own happiness. But you are different. You love without desire and seek the happiness of the beloved. In this sense you are unique, and that is why I called you the pure and holy one of the mandal.

C: (her eyes having become watery, she lowers her head)

(A servant girl enters)

S: Hey. Your mother is irritated. There is house work to be done, and you spend the time in jest. Come on, get up. You've been here since dawn.

C: Go. I will come. Enough of this useless prattle. (to Lalita) Listen sakhī, we must go. (taking a deep sigh, she rises).

(All three go)

¹² mandal - a circle, ring or collection. Here it refers to the circle of sakhīs.

¹³ The Lord - the transcendent aspect of Kṛṣṇa.

¹⁴ Candrāvalī's response is somewhat obscure. It seems that Lalitā understands Candrāvalī's love to be based on the ideal of constant union. Candrāvalī's longing for union (as symbolized by her constant mirror-gazing) is evidence for Lalitā that her love is blessed. Candrāvalī corrects her by stating that her desire is not union but the well-being of the beloved.
Act II

Place - A banana forest

Time - Twilight, some clouds have gathered

(Candravali enters alone)

C___(having sat down under a tree) O beloved, both you and your love are extraordinary^2, and it is certain that without your mercy no one would grasp its mystery. How can anyone know, for in this respect there are no adhikāris. Whoever has understood the situation has acknowledged this. Yes, that divine love, which makes knowledge and asceticism superfluous, and is the ultimate bestower of peace, is unfathomable. All have forgotten it amidst their own self-interest and arrogance.

Some think it is being attracted to a handsome man or beautiful woman; others think it is worshipping god in a grand manner. But beloved, your love is not comparable to these, because this divine nectar is only found by him to whom you yourself choose to give it. (having paused) Alas, to whom can I speak about this? And what can I say, and why should I say it? Who would listen? And even if they listened, who would understand?

- Who in the world knows love's agony? To whom can one mention the fire of separation?

- who would believe, let alone understand; so why cause problems?

- Should the bearer of past remembrances undermine trust with prattle?

- all ask why I sit in silence: beloved, what answer can I give them?

because

- No one knows the pain in my heart

- I cry alone - who would listen or believe?

- The uninitiated^3 cannot feel the burning

- to whom shall I explain; no one hears my story

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^1 She enters as a viyogini - in the state of separation from one's beloved.

^2 The word used in the text is vilaksan (remarkable or extraordinary), and in this context is equated with alaukik or supernatural.

^3 be-maharam - those who do not know the secret.
- Surrendering self-respect and family honour, I have lost everything

- so be it, I will suffer

But beloved, are you listening? It is unbelievable that having committed myself to you, I find myself in such a condition. Beloved, whoever is without a guardian is called an orphan. (her eyes fill with tears) Beloved! If this was to be the result, then why did you take me as yours?

- Your initial smile made me blush; why did you turn and make me weak?

- having trapped my eyes and heightened love, why did you promise fulfillment?

- Oh, you have become cruel-hearted: you have terminated love

- if you knew you would betray me, why did you nourish, and then disgrace me?

Beloved, you are heartless. Oh! Don't you have any feelings? (her eyes fill with tears) Beloved, those who at first cause happiness should not later inflict so much suffering. So why do you torment me like this? Because:

- I remain desirous of your favourable glance, but you stay angry and irritable

- you never speak nor smile: you continually entice me from afar

- Compassion finds no place within you: what transformation has taken place?

- beloved, why give me happiness, if it is followed by such suffering?

Have you no shame? Married people support each other for an entire life, and yet you are incapable of constant affection. No, no, you were not like this. Is it something I didn't see before, or have you yourself changed? You should be ashamed of yourself.

- Wither has love gone; why have you become so harsh?

- You have changed, and the silence is unbecoming

- I continue to wait for you on the banks, but you see my face and flee

- having first fostered me and caused me to love you, now in anger you shamelessly sulk

The banks of the Yamuna, one of the sacred rivers of India which passes through Vrndavana
Beloved, if this was to be the outcome, you shouldn't have been so rash. Because:

- I'm yours, I'm yours, they all cry; beloved, can you not hear?
- you are meant to be our refuge, but this is for you to ponder
- What has happened, has happened: my hands are clean
- you nourished me then reconsidered: you have put the cart before the horse\(^5\)

O Lord of Life! (tears well-up in her eyes) O eyes, suffer the results of your own doings.

- Running forward you met him; tell me, whom did you ask?
- you abandoned all shame in an instant: who advised such ambition?
- You have ruined everything - O why are you so impatient?
- why do you weep as if dying? Why don't you accept the fruits of your actions?

Oh!

- Even in dreams these miserable eyes have found no happiness; they are forever restless and upset
- although the beloved's time of return has passed, they will not die
- Without beholding him in full, they will remain remorseful - in any world
- O Love of My Life, without seeing you these eyes will not close

But beloved, who else will attract them and keep them still, because, having drunk nectar, how will they drink buttermilk?

- Separation from the beloved has made the world empty; what can I do, what can I see?
- without the happiness of your union, what value has this frivolous world?
- Having dealt in diamonds, can I examine glass?
- the eyes which harbour your form, what else can they see?

Therefore eyes, remain closed! (she covers her eyes with her sari)

\(^5\text{Jalpān kai puchānī jāt nahīn} - \text{You do not drink water and then ask from whose hands you have drunk. This refers to the fact that Hindus should not drink water from the hands of a member of a caste lower than their own. The implication is that to ask after the fact is not the natural order of things, and thus the use of the English idiom in rendering a translation.\)
(Bandevī, Sandhyā and Varsā enter)

S__Hey Bandevī, who is this sitting alone in the forest with her eyes closed?

B__Don't you know? She is the daughter of Rājā Candrabhānu, Candrāvalī.

V__Then why is she sitting here?

B__God only knows. (having thought) Oh, I know. She always sits here and babbles. She has gone mad over the svāmī of this forest.⁷

V__Well, lets go speak to her.

B__Let's go.

(The three approach Candrāvalī)

B__ (near Candrāvalī's ear) O my forest queen Candrāvalī! (waiting a moment) Ram!⁸ Can't you hear? (with a raised voice) Hey my beloved sakhī Candrāvalī! (again waiting) Alas, she is not in her proper senses. To whom will she listen? (in an even louder voice) Hey, don't you hear me my beloved of the lord?

C__ (her eyes remain closed) Yes, yes, Oh why do you shout? The thief will flee.

B__Which thief?

C__The thief of the butter,⁹ the thief of the clothes,¹⁰ and the thief of my heart.

B__Where will he go?

C__Don't you see? I have trapped him in my eyes, so if you cry out and I open them, he will escape.

(Bandevī places her hand on Candrāvalī's back)

C__ (quickly rising she grabs Bandevī's hand) Speak O Lord of Life! Now where will you flee?

* Wearing green clothing, a diadem of leaves and a garland of flowers
** Wearing deep orange clothing
*** Slight darkness of complexion and wearing red clothing

⁶ Chief of the cowherds
⁷ svāmī - master, lord or owner. Here of course it refers to Kṛṣṇa
⁸ Ram is often used in a colloquial sense as an interjectional utterance expressive of surprise or hate.
⁹ A reference to Kṛṣṇa's childish antics of stealing butter in the ninth chapter of the tenth book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.
¹⁰ A reference to Kṛṣṇa's stealing of the gopi's clothes in the twenty-second chapter of the tenth book of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.
(Bandeval releases Candraval's hand and slips to the trees on one side of the stage, while Varṣa and Sandhya go to the other.

C So! What has happened? I know, in this way you flee from my heart. You've pulled your hand away, but why? I didn't want this. Ah, what a fine lover you are.

(Bandevī whistles)

C Look at that treacherous one. Having released my hand he has fled. Now, who knows where he stands playing the flute? Oh, where is the cheat hiding? Speak! Speak, because no living soul will tell me. (having paused) Well, don't speak then; I will find you myself. (she questions the trees) O trees, tell me where my thief has hidden. Why, O peacocks, do you remain silent when it is your nightly cries that eat away my life? Why don't you tell me where he has hidden? (she sings)

Tell me trees, have you seen my beloved?
now that he has left me, where has he gone?

O kadam 11, O mango and nim 12, O bakul 13 and tamal 14 tell me, did you see Nanda's beautiful son Mohan?
O grove, forest, vines, plants, grass, I ask you

- did you see that charming Syam? why don't you tell me?
- O Yamunā, O birds and animals, O Govardhana
have you seen the love of my life, Manmohan Hari?

(She embraces each tree, and again Bandevi whistles)

C Aha! Look! My beloved calls me. I must go. (she arranges her ornaments)

(Varṣa and Sandhya come near)

V (having grabbed Candrāvalī's hand) Where are you going in such array?

C To meet my beloved.

V Do you know where you are?

11 Nauclea Cadamba, a tree with orange-coloured fragrant blossoms.
12 The margosa tree.
13 The tree Mimusops Elengi.
14 Xanthocymus pictorius, an evergreen tree with white blossoms.
15 An epithet of Kṛṣṇa — literally, the 'dark one'.
C This is my beloved's abode.

V How do you address him?

C Beloved of my life.

V What is your purpose?

C To meet my beloved.

V Tell me, who am I?

C My beloved, No?

V Who are you?

C Beloved to the beloved is my name.

S (amazed) Suprisingly she always gives the same answer. Today she has become one with Kṛṣṇa. 16

(Bandevī comes up from behind and puts her hands over Candrāvalī's eyes)

C Who is it?

B It is me.

C Who are you?

B (coming in front of Candrāvalī) It is me, your sakhī Vrnda.

C Then who am I?

B You are my beloved sakhī Candrāvalī, aren't you? You just forgot yourself.

C Then what are we doing alone in the forest?

B You are searching for your lord, no?

C Yes! O Lord of Life! O beloved, where have you gone? Lord, it was fated to be. O beloved, has this forest been created for the purpose of bringing about virah or for sporting with you? Oh!

- If it had to turn out this way
- then why did you speak to me words of rasa
- I might have known it would turn out like this
- fate has turned agianst me - it is intollerable
- Forgetting me, Mohan has gone away; his behaviour has changed
- O what has happened? It is beyond words

16 The text reads ek rūp aṁ śyāmā bhai śyām hai - Today śyāma has become one with śyām. Śyāma is usually identified with Rādhā, but here it refers to Candrāvalī.
B (her eyes fill with tears) O beloved, why are you so worried? Look, what will this sakhī standing here say?

C Who is she?

B (looking towards Varṣā) She is my sakhī Varṣā.

C This is Varṣā? Then where is the cloud of my happiness? My beloved, where are you? Do you thunder in one place and rain in another?

- I have sacrificed myself to your dark face and comely appearance; when will you reveal yourself to my eyes?
- I am a cātak, dying of thirst; where is the nectar for this bird to drink?
- When, in your lightning-yellow garments, will you hasten here and shine?
- O Cloud of Joy, when will you come and rain down your love?

Beloved! Even though you thunder and shake, the cātak can not live without you, because, as everyone knows, the cātak will drink no other water. Beloved, you are such an ocean of compassion that just upon hearing a single request you provide a full river. What effort is there then in filling the small beak of the cātak, because I will not quench my thirst in any other way. My Dark Cloud, you are my support.

(Tears well-up in her eyes and the three look on in amazement)

B Look Sakhī, have some respect and listen to her. Now what will she say?

S What are you saying sakhī? Having seen her love we remain her unpaid servants. You on the other hand treat her as if you were a pandit.

C Look beloved, they are all laughing. They can laugh. Come! Where in the forest are you hiding? Show your face. Let them laugh.
- Give me strength to disregard family honour
- in spite of their slander, let me abandon modesty
- Let the backbiters cry out all around me
- O Moon-Faced One, fill my eyes with your vision

Because

- The creator never gives these crying eyes any joy
- anxiously seeing the gossips' suspicion, they turn away
- Although I have abandoned all, this great pain remains
- how will my life be saved when I long to see your face from afar?

(she cries)

B (having wiped the tears on the upper part of her sārī)
They will not remain here forever. Compose yourself sakhī. When we go, then you can do as you wish.

C O sakhīs, forgive me. I saw you arrive and I made no preparations to receive you. (her eyes fill with tears, and she joins her hands in supplication) Sakhī, forgive me, and know that among my sakhīs such an evil one exists.

V & S No, no sakhī! You are more beloved to us than life itself. Sakhī, we speak the truth. We have never seen such true love. Everyone loves, but you are special.

C All right sakhī, and (having noticed Sandhya) what is this sakhī's name?

B Her name is Sandhya.

C (becoming worried) Sandhya has come. What message has she brought? Speak! What has the lord said? Sakhī, you are late in coming. (having paused) It has become twilight - then he will probably come from the forest. Let's go sakhīs and sit in the jharokhās. Why are we sitting here?

(At the back of the stage the moon rises)

21 Brahma
22 Candrāvalī is referring to herself.
23 sandhya literally means twilight. Here Hariścandra is making a play on the character Sandhya as a personification of twilight.
24 In the Bhāgavata Purāṇa Kṛṣṇa returns from herding the cows at twilight.
25 jharokā - an oriel, oriel window
C (having seen the rising moon) Oh! Oh! Look! He comes.

(She points with her finger)

- Look sakhī, fix your eyes on his garments, whose splendour exceeds the sun

- his heat has dispelled the anxiety in my heart; seeing his magnificent beauty, joy abounds

- The cowherd plays his flute among the stars; raining down rasa he wins over the sulking lotuses

- putting aside the pall of clouds and cover of dust, the Cowherd arises: a moon among the lotuses

Let’s go! Let’s go! (she runs towards the moon)

B (grabbing her hand) Oh, she has gone mad. The moon has risen, and she thinks that he has come from the forest?

C (becoming worried) Has the sun come up? Dawn has come! Alas! Alas! How can the heat of this evil sun be endured? Dawn has come! The entire night has passed without consequence. Oh, now I must attend to the trivial matters of the house. Ah me!

- By what fault of mine is this life not extinguished; what is it that is holding me?

- I am confused; why has the creator made me so stubborn?

- Alas, the night has passed; how is it that without him I do not die?

- dawn has come again to see the sadness of these unfortunate eyes

Then let’s go home. But what excuse will I make to my mother, because she will certainly ask what I was doing alone in the forest all night. (having paused) But beloved! Tell me: where have you been all night? Look, you lied to me didn’t you. You are a big liar. Don’t continue

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26 Krsna’s garments are traditionally yellow.

27 A reference to the night-blooming lotuses which symbolize the gopīs

28 The dust which rises as a result of the cows returning from pasture.

29 The brightness and heat of the moon cause Candrāvalī to think it is the sun that has risen. The heat of the moon is a reference to the tradition that true lovers are so delicate that they are burned by the moon.

30 The implication being that therefore I can lie to my mother.
this deception. Come! Come! Come now!

- Come, my best of liars
- embodiment of trickery, image of deception, vehicle of deceit
- Why have you broken your promise
- and shamelessly left me after love?

Go! Leave me, you liar

- Come O Mohan, my beloved cheat
- you deceived me, and yet you sulk
- Don't touch me: your lip is tainted by another
- and you are not the least ashamed - Oh how disgraceful

But beloved, tell me. why do the nights pass so slowly without you?

- I will have no more to do with him; he can pass the night where he wishes
- but this entreaty I humbly make, and answer me mercifully
- Why have you contracted with the sun to mutually stay away?
- because you are upset, the sun is angry: tell me why.

Go! Go! I will say no more (she runs underneath a tree).

B,V S She's gone mad. Look how she sways. Let's go sit in the shade of the trees. (all three sit down near the edge of the stage)

C (looking worried, she comes forward, her hair and sarī in disarray)
Where has he gone? Where has he gone? Speak! Don't be angry. Am I the criminal or is it you? OK, it is me. Then forgive me and come show your face. Oh, it has all been too much for me. Entice me, but not to the point of tears. (having thought) Oh, Bhagavān has no gratitude. Look how I suffer from his staying away, and it is he who sulks. But what can I do? I am trapped, and I must accept it. (singing out to the trees, she again questions them) Alas, no one speaks. 0 my daily companions, give me some help.

- O joyous wind, you who go wherever you desire,
- why don't you end your silence and advise him who is dear to Rādhā?

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31 The meaning is that Kṛṣṇa does not come to fulfill her longing for union, and the sun does not come to end the pain of her nightly yīrnī.
- O black bumble bee, fickle in love
- why do you not reveal to Śyām my plight?
- O hans, you royal bird, beauty of the lake,
- why do you not tell my beloved of this sadness?
- O crane, you know well separation's pain
- then why do you not convey to him my state?
- O koyal, love-filled colour of Śyām
- fortune allows you near him; why don't you speak?
- O papiha, daily you cry piu piu, piya piya
- why do you not entice him here with your call?
- O sun, your rays shine in every house
- why do you not unite me with my beloved and destroy my sorrow?
- No one answers me; they are all heartless
- Beloved of Life, now tell me, where should I search?

(The moon is covered by a stray cloud, and in the background clouds begin to gather)

C (having remembered) Alas! In my confusion I called the night day. Oh, for whom was I searching, and what might the three sakhīs have thought of my foolish behaviour? Oh, it was the moon, which now hides behind a cloud. I had forgotten that this is the murderous rainy season. In such darkness the path is not visible. Where will I go, and how will I get home? Look beloved! The one who used to know pleasure in meeting you has now become fearful. The forest which appeared so nice to these eyes now seems so frightful. Everything is here except you. (tears fall from her eyes) Beloved, where have you gone? Lord, these eyes remain thirsty; when will you cause them to drink the nectar of your appearance?

32 This is a reference to Uddhava, who in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa is sent by Kṛṣṇa in the form of a black bee to inform the gopīs that they should give up their longing for him and practice meditation. The gopīs berate him, and uphold the superiority of the bhakti-mārga.
33 Swan
34 Cuckoo
35 Sparrow hawk
36 In Hindi piya means darling or husband
Beloved, my hair is braided; when will you unravel it?³⁷ (crying) Lord, except for you, no one else can wipe these tears. Alas, even an orphan's condition is better than this. O My Creator, what kind of happiness is it that changes to such sorrow? Even at the hint of fulfillment I used to become excited, and then calming myself I used to say that someday you would return. But it has become too much — I can endure no more. If we are to meet, then meet me while I am alive. Oh, if I might have had but one full glimpse of you, then my fervor may have been quelled. I longed to see your face, but even in my dreams my expectations were left unfulfilled. Alas, I can't even tell my family or friends about this calamity. O Dear Ones, take care of Braj; now here I ...(choked with tears she begins to cry) Oh you cruel one! I didn't think you could be so stonehearted. Seeing these clouds you should have come to me. In this season even the traveller returns to his home, and yet you do not find me. Alas, I endure this sadness in the hope that the rains might come, and when they do, you still stay away. Oh, again the rain has come; again the leaves have become green; the koyal has called; but beloved, you have not come. Alas, all the sakhis will probably swing, but with whom will I swing?³⁸ All of them will find lovers to swing them, but who will get wet with me, protect me, and call me beloved? (she cries) Oh, I am shameless. O love! I have shamed you by staying alive.³⁹ Why hasn't my breath departed? What benefit is there in living? Anyone can see that my heart is not impenetrable, for...(just at this moment she faints and is about to fall to the ground when the three sakhis come to her aid)

(Curtain falls)

³⁷ A symbol of love making.
³⁸ The gopis are often depicted as playing on the swings in an amorous fashion.
³⁹ I should have died of love-sickness long ago.
Interlude

Place - A clearing in the forest

(Sandhya enters running)

Ram! Ram! I am tired from running. These cows of Braj are more like bulls; look how they raised their tails and gave chase. And that sonless Subal mischievously played the tumuri and allowed them to pounce on me. Oh, if I hadn't exerted myself and fled, I would have fallen into their path. How can I get even with him? He has become very obstreperous: what use is there in such jokes? Perhaps I wouldn't be so worried if it wasn't market day in Nanda, for I must go there and entrust Candravali's letter to her beloved. (becoming nervous) Oh, again these cows sweep like wild buffalos.

(She runs off, and from her coil a letter falls)

(Campakalata enters)

Camp__ (having seen the fallen letter) Oh, whose letter might this be that has fallen here? I might look and see. Now, what does it say? (picking it up she looks) Ram! Ram! Who knows what sadness is contained in a letter that is so damaged by tears that it can hardly be read and is impossible to open without tearing. (opening it with great difficulty, she reads)

Beloved!

What can I write? You are so cruel. Well now, you certainly displayed your valour. I have forsaken everything for you: worldly concerns, convention and my reputation. Why then have you abandoned me? Don't tell me that fruit is obtained by following dharma. O shameless one, you have no honour. You should silently hang your head in shame, but you remain im-perturbed. Such a faithful lover. Anyway, you know the situation.

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1. The name of a local village
2. Bodice
3. This is a reference to the ethical approach to liberation extolled in the Bhagavad Gītā. In this famous work Kṛṣṇa preaches a doctrine based on following one's correct dharma or socio-ethical duty. Candrāvalī will have none of this, as her only desire is union with Kṛṣṇa. No other benefits, including liberation, will do.
I will sigh no more. Let it be like this; having informed you, I am absolved. Enough. Only yours,

Camp (having taken a deep breath) Oh, this is a horrible affliction. God forbid that such a thing should happen to an innocent one. My heart is pounding just from reading this letter. How horrible is the condition of women in this situation. They are as meek as doves.\(^5\) Such is the state of love. Rām! Rām! It is as if you wanted to cry out but were unable to do so. I know this pain, but what can the uninitiated know, because 'he who has not had cracked feet can not know the pain'.\(^6\) The writer is obviously in pain, but who might she be? (having thought) Aha, I know. This is certainly Candrāvalī's letter, because the writing is like hers. Moreover, here is her mark. Oh, my sakhi\(^7\) has been treacherously trapped. I knew she was in trouble, but not to this extent. Oh, how exceptional is silent love; it seeks no worldly benefit. Such a person is homeless;\(^7\) having abandoned the happiness of the world, she seals her own fate. Anyway, I must get this letter to him and request that a meeting be arranged.

(From the wings a voice of an elderly person)

Yes, you will take care of things.

Camp (having heard the voice and then thought) Oh, who is it? (looking) Who is this haggard old lady? I certainly hope that this secret doesn't get out. I had better explain, then go.

(She leaves)

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\(^4\)Candrāvalī's mark

\(^5\)Literally, they are like pigeons who do not cry out when being strangled.

\(^6\)A village idiom

\(^7\)She belongs neither here nor there - she loses the pleasures of the world, and yet she does not receive union.
Act III

Place - A park near a pond

(A swing has been set up and some sakhīs are swinging, while others are roaming here and there)

(Candrāvalī, Mādhavī, Kāmamāñjarī, Viḷāsaṇī, etc., are sitting together, while Candrakānta, Vallabhā, Vyāmalā and Bhāma are on the swings. Kāmini and Mādhuri are strolling hand in hand.)

Kāmini, look with what hustle and bustle the rainy season comes. It is as if Kāma has sent his army to conquer us weak women. The clouds, rolling and whirling all round, have gathered in layers; wild geese are driven to flight; the lightning flashes like a brandished sword; the thunder booms, and water rains down like the arrows of Kāma. Trying to entice those evil ones, peacocks enthusiastically sing in a variety of voices. These indolent clouds attack the dignity of the family, as they cause an upsurge of desire in every part of the heart. Having seen such clouds, how can one maintain modesty or be faithful?

Madhuri Especially one like you Kāmini.

K Enough! You are always being smart. Look! Everywhere the earth is adorned in greenery; rivers, streams, wells and tanks have become full; birds gather their feathers and sit in nervous silence in the trees; ladybugs and fireflys can be seen everywhere, day and night; riverbanks break and crash with a thumping sound; snakes come out of their holes and wander here and there unprotected; roads are closed; travellers are stranded. To separated lovers it is as if the chota pralaya-kāl has come.

M Why chota? The bada pralaya-kāl has come. The water is welling up everywhere. Even those vessels which are paragons of virtue have been sunk. As far as separated lovers are concerned, the world is drowned.

1 The god of love
2 The clouds
3 Here Madhuri is playing on the relationship between Kāmini's name and the word kāma - sensual love.
4 The dissolution at the end of each ardha-kalpa of Brahmā equivalent to 4,320,000,000 years when the material universe and the lesser gods return to cosmic chaos.
5 The great dissolution at the end of one hundred years of Brahmā (each kalpa equals one day of Brahmā) when the whole cosmos including Brahmā perishes.
6 Respectful women
K: But you have the support of Krsna, so what is it to you? That day you stood near the banyan tree talking and we went...

M: (breaking in) And Candrāvalī?

K: Yes, poor Candrāvalī. She passes the time in solitude. Moreover, people are suspicious, and she is under surveillance. She can't even get a glimpse of him. Now what...

M: (breaking in) Let's forget these things. Look, again the easterly wind has begun to blow, and the coiled vines are shaking themselves loose from the trees. Both ends of the sārīs are beginning to fly up, and the peacocks sing in harmony. Look! Again it begins to thunder.

K: Sakhi, by saying the divine name, somehow separated lovers can be saved from the spring breeze and the moon of sarad, but nothing can save them from these black clouds, the gusty east wind, and the pitter patter of rain.

M: On top of this you are Kāminī, so how could you escape?

K: Be gone Joker! Even now you remain full of the intoxication of that day, and therefore you are unable to understand the problems of others. If such problems would have befallen you, then you would know.

M: They have befallen me, but I am not so weak that a little excitement makes me lose control.

K: Come now: who are you that you can stay calm? Just how much capacity does a woman have? In this season even great yogīs abandon their meditation. Some become remorseful for having renounced the world; others let down their matted hair and heave a great sigh, and many break their pots and seek a life of pleasure.

M: Well, it is evident that some expert has initiated you and caused you to break your pot.

K: Get lost! What do you know about this pain? Sakhi, the earth and the kadamph are transformed, and these evil clouds affect the mind. If you

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7 Ram Ram

8 Khari Boli - sarad, the full moon night in the month of kvar, the seventh month of the Hindu calendar.

9 Natural phenomena which should bring joy, instead cause sorrow, as they remind one of Krsna and intensify the pain of virah.
were in love then you would understand. In the desire for happiness, the world seems different - like a strange beauty which arouses the passions.

M__Kāmīṇī is passion's possession, therefore she is teased time and again.

(At the back of the stage peacocks cry)

K__Alas, poison is the only means of being saved from this seductive sound. The cry of these damned ones and the blowing of the east wind are unbearable. They are blessed who at such times as these stand with their husbands on high balconies adorned in colourful clothes and watch the rain clouds and green landscape, or wander through gardens, hills and fields in each other's arms. They protect each other from the rain, and their embrace magnifies their love. They sway, swing, laugh, splash, sing and caress together.

M__And you have no one to protect you from the rain or embrace you. There is no one to arouse your love let alone magnify it.

K__Be gone you scoundrel! He who has not had cracked feet can not know the pain.

(Continuing to speak she goes in the shade of a tree)

Mādhavī__ (to Candrāvalī) Sakhī, look how enchanting Śyāmalā appears. See how charming the cunari is on her moon-like face. Wet locks hang down her neck; her clothes cling to her body; and the running pān and kājal on her face create a strange beauty.

C__Why not? She is the beloved of our beloved. Were I near her I would bless and embrace her.

Kāma__Sakhī, today under this tree beauty is truly raining down. The sakhīs and the surroundings are both spell-binding. In swinging, their colourful sāris take the form of the half-moon and appear as beautiful as the rainbow. Some of the sakhīs sit peacefully on the swings and experience the cool breeze; having tightened the upper and lower parts of their sāris, others swing through the air. Some sing; some clutch one another out of fear; some cry out to be let down; but others, in order to tease

10Mantle or shawl - the part of the sāri that covers the face.
11Collyrium used as an eye makeup.
12bālaiya loma - the act of stroking the head with both hands, as with a young child. The act implies a type of benediction and can also take on the meaning of taking a burden on to one's self.
them, push them even higher.

M It is not only the swings that are swaying. Their hearts sway with the desire to swing the beloved, and the image of the beloved sways in their eyes. Today Śyāmālā is the essence of love. Look how the lightning reveals her lovely face, and how time and again the breeze unveils her beauty. Look!

- Like Kṛṣṇa's barb of virah she pains the heart; full of zeal she plays on the swing
- causing song, laughter and merry-making, as the clouds rumble she increases desire four-fold
- I am overcome by her laugh, her pose and her conversation; pan runs down her lips, kājāl from her eyes
- the billowing clouds and the cūnārī on her face seem like veils superimposed

C O Sakhīs, what an injustice that while everyone is fulfilling her desire my condition is so awful. Alas, someone should have mercy upon me. (her eyes fill with tears)

M Sakhī, why are you so dejected? Tell us what to do. We are your faithful servants. We will do whatever is in our power; we can't say no to you.

K.M. That is well and good sakhī, but what will we say to her? After all, she is only our choti svāminī.

Vilāsanī Yes sakhī, we have two svāminīs, and we are in a fix. The fact is that they will once again be reunited - if a stick strikes water it will not cause it to separate - but if for the present Rādhā hears that some sakhīs have not kept an eye on Candrāvalī, there will be a real commotion.

M Yes, it is we who are at fault. Someone has been telling tales about Candrāvalī. We are in reality all one; whoever causes ill to Candrāvalī, causes ill to herself.

C (to herself) Alas, such is my condition, and yet beloved you pay no attention. O Beloved, what will become of us? This chance only comes now: later, love will be unobtainable. O lord, to whom can I speak of

13 Literally, 'Saṅvalā (Śyāmālā) hi kī menhādi aur cūnārī to rang hai! - 'Śyāmālā's feet and mantle are coloured red.', red being the colour of love and passion.

14 svāminī is a term generally associated with Rādhā, meaning our mistress. Here it is being pointed out that both Rādhā and Candrāvalī are svāminīs to the sakhīs, but Rādhā is superior, and therefore Candrāvalī is only the choti (smaller) svāminī.
my desires, and how can I release my emotions? The night is short, and desire is great; life is brief, and enthusiasm abounds. Oh, there is no abode for one drowning in love's illusion. Day and night are passed in crying. I have no caretaker, because in this world no one sees the heart - people only see the surface. Alas, having become indifferent to family and friends, I am rendered useless. I abandoned everything for your shelter, so you are to blame for this state of affairs. After this, how can I belong to another? Beloved, after me you will not find such an ardent lover - then you will search for me with a lamp. Oh, you betrayed me, and what is more, the story of your cruelty to this gentle dove will spread. Having given me affection, you deceived me, but still you are called the wise and gentle one. The goat was sacrificed, but the partaker did not relish the flavour. Oh, I didn't know you would do these things. Ha, such a faithful lover. Even the executioner remembers his victim, but do you inquire about me? If just once you would embrace me!

Beloved, a person's virtue is realized only after death. When I am gone who will long to meet you and cry for you? Alas, the world can't even be renounced. I suffer all this pain, and I am trapped. O lord, why have you seized my heart and made me so useless? Oh, this insufferable longing consumes me; why haven't you manifest yourself and redeemed me? Where has all of your compassion gone? Quickly release me from the bonds of this world: I can endure no more. Beloved, don't make your servant a bondsman of the world.

O Lord of Virtue, why can't you maintain your love? Having submerged me in mid-stream, you now demand a fee. Beloved, I have already paided, so take me across. Patience has its limits! I writhe in pain, and you watch the show. Why have you caused me to leave my family and friends and become a vagabond? I am disgraced: you hide after transforming me from a beauty to a hagard, from a respectful woman to a wench, from a diamond to a cowrie. You make me angry, and my heart wants to cry out. Now I will abuse you; what else can I do? Look, even in insult I speak to you heart to heart: false, cruel, shameless, stone-hearted, hypocritical - all of these invectives suit you. Was it necessary to tell so many lies? What caused you to do such a thing? Was a promise needed? Liar! Liar! Not just a liar but a betrayer!

Why did you so pompously lead people to believe in you? Left to their own devices they would either die or go to hell: you have given them false hope. But what is worse is that you don't even care about their
suffering. Alas, how sad the people are, and you treat everyone the same. Suffering results either from surrender to you or the sadness of the world. To you they are both traps for fools, and therefore this name - 'cruel-hearted'. Well, what passion was it that caused such a muddle? Who asked you to set this mischievous snare? There was nothing; you were alone; all was calm and blissful. Why then did you create such a poisonous world? Hypocrite! And you are even more shameful for creating such confusion. Your reputation has spread. Because of you, the people are wandering aimlessly. Lies have come from your very mouth. Oh, you are utterly without shame. What is there to say? Having beaten down honour, you have cast it aside; it no longer accompanies you. No wonder the world is without integrity. Alas, if you would just but once show your face, then sectarians would cease breaking each other's heads. Well, you are exceedingly shameless. Where will be found one such as you? Even abuse does not stir you. Forget it, I too am a liar and a hypocrite. Why not? - as the groom, so the wedding party. Still, you are the main culprit, but realize this: no one will tell you such, because those who worship you as formless will cry neti neti; they will not speak the truth. But tell me, will the sadness and confusion keep spreading, or will there be a reconciliation? What about me? Clear my mind of this confusion. Oh, to whom am I speaking? Is anyone listening? Who sees the peacock dancing in the wilderness? No! No! He sees everything, but he doesn't pay any attention. Even a stone would melt, but not Kṛṣṇa. No! No! I have wrongly abused my beloved. O Beloved, you are not at fault. This is just a result of my karma. Lord, I am the guilty one - Forget my shortcomings and think only of your own (well-being).

(She cries)

M__Alas, sakhīs, she is crying.

K.M.__Beloved sakhī, stop crying. We can't take anymore.

V__Sakhī, we will do as you desire, even if it means experiencing the wrath of Radhā. We are with you.

M__Oh, she doesn't listen. (wiping Candrāvalī's tears) My beloved, I entreat you, stop crying!

15 The implication is those who worship god as nirguna - without qualities.

16 See page 25, note 6.

17 Reference to the traditional Hindu doctrine which proclaims that a person's station in life is not a result of chance but follows from previous action in a former life.
K.M. Don't say anymore to her. Let's get together and decide on a way to help.

V We are all willing to sacrifice our lives for her, but what can be done?

C (crying) Sakhī, there is one solution if you accept it.

M Why shouldn't we accept it?

C Then go and leave me alone.

M What will you do here alone?

C That which is my desire.

M Might we hear of this desire?

C Sakhī, I can't tell you.

M Then she plans to die! Sakhī, we are not so foolish as to leave you alone.

V Sakhī, it is useless to try and take your life; existence will not cease, and where will you again find such a beautiful body?¹⁸

K.M. Sakhī, don't say such things to us. We will do all we can to help you, so don't even contemplate death. As long as we are alive we will not allow you to die; after that, it is out of our hands.

C (crying) Alas, I can't even die. What injustice.

M On the contrary Sakhī.

K.M. Forget it Mādhavī. Don't question her anymore. Let's consult and decide what to do.

V Yes. Mādhavī, you are clever - think of something.

M I have an idea. Since there are three of us, we will divide the work into three parts. I will take the most difficult assignment - persuading Rādhā, while you two will have the responsibilities of clarifying the situation to her family and arranging a meeting with Krṣṇa.

K.M. I will speak to Krṣṇa and make him feel ashamed of himself. Moreover, I'll do everything within my power to arrange a meeting.

M Sakhī, what else can he do? From fear of Rādhā he can't do otherwise.

V Then you will take care of Rādhā?

M Yes, yes, Rādhā is my responsibility.

V And Candrāvalī's family is mine.

¹⁸ A reference to the doctrine of reincarnation. Existence does not cease with the death of the body, so there is no use in taking one's life.
M—Well, that's that, but don't divulge this plan to anyone. Let's go.

C—Sakhīs, why do you waste your time? My fate is sealed.

M—But sakhi, our fate is favourable. Good fortune will see the task through.

K.M.—Sakhī, why do you remain dejected? As long as there is life there is hope.

M—Enough, now it is settled, but until the work is done don't let the plan fall on anyone's ears.

V—Don't worry, there's no way the news will leak.

K.M.—(grabbing Candrāvalī's hand) Forget it. Get up. Let's go swing.

M—Yes sakhi, forget your dejection.

C—Sakhī, it has passed, but I will not swing; my eyes themselves are swinging.

- The beautiful eyelid seat hangs on ropes of love; the poles of hope are firmly fixed
- the earings of enthusiasm sweep away popular disdain
- Raining tears from the eyes are the rag to the glory of the beloved
- desire for union is the momentum that keeps the eyes swinging on the swing of virah

And sakhi, if I were to swing I would become more dejected.

M—As you wish sakhi. We are agents of your happiness.

C—Oh, seeing those dark clouds, the heart becomes even sadder.

- Seeing those dark clouds recollections appear, and the cloud of virah begins to rumble in my heart
- when I see the rainbow and the bagamal, the joyous memories of his garland and pearls arise within
- The koyal and the peacock recall his flute, and his beautiful stance passes before me
- the double-flash lightning resembles his cloak, and my heart soars

Alas, the rain, which brings happiness to the earth, is a messenger of sorrow to me.

19 Traditionally the gopis sing verses of praise to Kṛṣṇa.

20 bagalā— a heron.
M The sorrow will cease. Arise. Let's go home.

K.M. Yes, let's go.

(All go)

(The curtain falls)
Act IV

Place - Candravali's drawing room: through the window the Yamuna is visible. The bed is made and the curtains are drawn. A perfume box, pan box, etc., decorate the room.

(A yogin \(^1\) enters \(*\) )

Y Alakh, alakh! \(^2\) Reverence to the guru! Aho, is anyone home? No one answers. Isn't anyone here? Then what should I do? I might wait. There is nothing to worry about; there are no incumbrances for a mendicant. Moreover, I am a yogi of love. Now I think I will sing a little:

- Someone is here in yogi's disguise
- with bow-like brows and mesmerizing eyes \(^3\)
- Enchanted by such beauty, folk drink the holy water
- while this urbane Karna offers song and music to the Supreme
- The enchanting yogi has now appeared \(^5\)
- so attractive; a rosary around her neck, the ochre robe on her body, the tika on her forehead
- Deceptive eyes, drunk-red with passion, intoxicate all
- while saraangi\(^7\) in hand her music and song awaken the fire of virah
- The yogi's love is manifest

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\(*\) ochre sari, ornaments and feminine attire, slight darkness of complexion. A long crooked tika of vermillion, hair in disarray. A saraangi in hand, eyes red, exceedingly beautiful. When she sings she uses the saraangi

\(^1\) A female yogi

\(^2\) alakh - invisible or imperceptible - a term used by holy men when referring to the divine or supreme being

\(^3\) Literally, eyes that stretch to the ear - stylized beauty

\(^4\) Water sprinkled from the hand of a yogi or holy man is considered blessed.

\(^5\) The term manmohan (in the text manmohanI) means enchanting or alluring - one who tempts or charms - , but it is also an epithet of Krsna. Thus the line has a double meaning and can be taken as Krsna has appeared as a yogin.

\(^6\) An ornamental mark of vermillion or sandalpaste which indicates a woman's husband is alive. Here it is a sectarian mark.

\(^7\) The Indian equivalent of the violin - a non-fretted stringed instrument which can have from three to twenty strings and is played with a bow.
large bending eyes cast a lazy infatuated glance
- Steeped in love's ways, the rasa-soaked suitor embodies desire
- a beggar in the city of love singing the song of virah
- The yogin's eyes are inebriated with love
- restless, pointed, beautifully lined with flowing kajal
- Love-red eyes immersed in rasa; light diffused across her face,
- the yogin takes the sarangī and plays to her beloved - the desire of life
- On her forehead a dangling ringlet
- black curly hair that pleases the mind
- Flowing locks and ochre garment increase the beauty two-fold
- and the eyes, seeing love's perfect image, are comforted

(At the back of the stage there is the sound of jingling anklets)
Oh! Someone is coming. I will hide and silently listen. Then I will see what takes place.

(The yogin leaves and Lalitā enters)

L What is this? Candrāvalī has not yet returned. Evening has come and there is no sakhi or servant in the house. What if a thief might come? (looking through the window) Oh, how beautiful the Yamunā is. Just as with the passing of the rainy season and the beginning of autumn, so the Yamunā, like a mixture of the sweet smell of Vrndāvana flowers and the gusty wind, is so beautiful and pleasing that the mind comes under its spell. This magnificence can not be described. If Candrāvalī were here now, then I would show her, but alas, what good would it do, for it would only increase the pain of virah. (looking towards the Yamunā) Without doubt, the Yamunā is splendid at this time.

- On the banks of the Yamunā the unequalled tamāl stretches forth
- pleasing the mind as it reaches to touch the water
- As if standing on tip toes and looking in a mirror to see its own beauty
- or knowingly bending to receive a boon

8 In the text the Yamunā is referred to as the 'daughter of the sun'.
- As if willingly casting a shadow to alleviate the bank's heat
- or pleasurably bowing like a devotee before Hari
- At other spots the pure white lotus displays its beauty
- while amidst the water-grass rows of night-blooming lotuses appear
- Like raised eyes seeking the beauty of the Yamunā and Braj
- or countless buds bursting forth love for the beloved
- As if outstretched hands calling the beloved near
- or devotees enchantingly going forth to offer puja
- Clutching the image of the beloved's foot to their hearts
- or bumble bees turning their faces and singing praise
- Like the lotus-faces of Braj9 shimmering and shining
- or numerous Lakṣmīs coming to touch the feet of Hari
- As if the two gunas of satvik and anurag11 have encircled Braj
- or hundreds of the goddess' abode are dotting the water
- And when the brilliance of the full moon appears
- the sky spreads over the water like a canopy
- Everything becomes mirror-like: one shining brightness
- whose beauty puts the body, mind and eyes at rest
- What poet could describe the beauty of that moment
- when earth meeting sky manifest a singular charm
- Radiant moonlight falls amidst the waters
- and pleasantly dances on the waves
- As if to catch a glimpse of Hari, the moon has taken up its beautiful abode in the flow
- or the waves, mirror in hand, are reflecting the splendour

9 The gopīs

10 The goddess of wealth and spouse of Viṣṇu.

11 A guna is an essential quality or property of a thing. The three essential gunas in Sankhya philosophy are sattvā, rajas and tamas which appear in certain combinations in different forms of evolving cosmic matter. Sattva or goodness is symbolized by the colour white; rajas (in the text anurag) 'passion' has red as its colour. In the poem they take on the images of white and red lotuses.
As if the water is casting forth the brightness of Hari's crown during rasa-līlā,
- or the lord's image, dwelling in the river's breast, is revealing itself.
- At times it seems a hundred moons play hide and seek
- the wind creating numerous forms
- As if full of passion, the moon is frolicking in the current
- or swinging on its rippling ropes
- Like a soaring kite, flopping from side to side
- or a girl of Braj assessing the water's depth
- As if the moon were waxing and waning in the Yamunā
- or deceptively playing amongst the stars
- As if there were as many rendezvousing images
- as waves fashioned by Kālindī
- Like a spinning silver disc or spray jumping on the surface
- or a wrestler performing his exercises
- Here a swan sings, and a pigeon bathes
- there ducks fly and water fowl scurry about
- Geese drift, and herons await their prey
- parrots and cuckoos drink, and bumble bees sing
- On the shore peacocks dance, and birds chirp a variety of tunes
- the beauty of the bank enhanced by wildlife's watery retreat
- A wide expanse of pure white sand
- shining as if it were a silver stairway to the moon
- Or a carpet laid down for accommodating the beloved
- or a sea of finely ground jewels

12 rasa-līlā - 'passion sport' a reference to Krṣṇa's dancing and sporting with the gopīs of Braj as depicted in various Purāṇas
13 The image is that of a girl bobbing up and down in the water.
14 Yamunā - the name Kālindī comes from the fact that the Yamunā is supposed to take its rise in the mythical Kalinda mountains.
15 The image is that of a wrestler moving up and down in exercise.
- Like a glistening pearl, adorning dark hair
- the flowing whiteness of Braj's abode pleases the heart

(Candrāvalī suddenly enters)

C Well done my sister. Such excellent poetry - today you have opened the knot of poetry's sack. Unbeknown to you, I heard all.

(The yogin quietly tiptoes in and stands in one corner)

L Well, well, it is really something that you should notice my poetry.

C (listening, she sighs and reflects)

- O sakhi, why have you reminded me
- when domestic duties had made me forget?
- Now the condition has returned, and my worried heart will perish
- as only repression allows me to live

L Forget it! Let's talk about something else.

Y (to herself) Without doubt her love is firm. Remembering me, her cheeks become pale. Tears fill her eyes, and her mouth becomes small and dry. In such a short time she has become transformed. Alas, so this is her condition.

- She looks a teased, overcome, wonder-struck lass, always weary as if having been sold
- speech full of babble, her eyes a blank gaze - like the stare of a doll
- When others disturbed try to console, she bitterly sobs, as if living dead
- sorrowful reminiscences cause her sakhis to weep; happiness unfulfilled, she falls in a swoon

Now it is impossible to stay away. All parts of my body remain impatient to be with her.

C (having heard Lalitā's words, but not paying any attention, she notices a flutter on the left side of her body, and speaks to herself) Aha! Why does this good omen come at such an untimely moment? (having paused) Oh, what an evil thing hope is, and love, as well, makes man blind. Although we are separated, the heart, trusting this omen, thinks that he will certainly come. (having laughed) Oh, as if he is concerned. I am only an encumbrance, but the heart only knows its own
logic. Even in hopeless situations it maintains the illusion. (sighing) Oh! Look at love; it never abandons hope. Though the beloved doesn't even pretend to care for you, still the heart trusts that he will. (placing her hand over her heart) Be still! Why this sudden upsurge? Be patient; he won't come out of some wall.

Y____(to herself) He will, beloved, he will: I am here. It is just that my heart is such that even though it is referred to as the 'inner-self', it is slow in meeting with the devotees. (making her appearance, she advances) Alakh! Alakh!

(Candrāvalī and Lalitā give their respect and sit down)

L____It is my extreme fortune to meet such a great-souled-one as yourself.

C____(to herself) Why is my heart drawn towards this yogin?

Y____What is so special about seeing us sadhus?17 We can be seen casually wandering nearly everywhere.

L____Where is your home?

Y____Love city, beloved village.

L____What does your guru call you?

Y____Lover is my name.

L____Why did you become a yogin?

Y____For my beloved.

L____What is your mantra?18

Y____Alone the beloved's name.

L____What have you abandoned?

Y____Worldly honour.

L____Where is your asan?19

Y____Everywhere

L____What is your path?

Y____Love.20

16 antaryāmi - see Commentary.
17 sadhu - a religious mendicant.
18 mantra - an incantation or mystical verse.
19 asan - a special place for the practice of yogic meditation.
20 anurag - love with a slightly more erotic connotation.
L. What is your means?
Y. Union with the beloved.
L. What position do you recognize?\textsuperscript{21}
Y. Lover.\textsuperscript{22}
- The guru taught me with speaking eyes the power of virah
- and ever since, I have abandoned all and wandered from place to place
C. (to herself) Alas, she is also separated from her beloved. No wonder my heart is drawn to her.
L. Then your path is different from the ways of the world. But tell me, are other yogins wasting their time in useless endeavours?
Y. Is there any doubt? Listen. (arousing the sarangi, she sings)
- All such efforts are purely in vain
- for the true yogin is a separated lover
- She mortifies herself with the pain of virah\textsuperscript{23}
- her ear ornament becomes the sound of the flute
- Streaming tears, the mendicant's beads
- Gokul's dust, the yogi's ash
- Platted hair, his matted locks
- for the true yogin is a separated lover
- Listen 0 sakhis to the guru's sermon
- lay down the deerskin of separation's pain
- On the beads of your mind repeat the name of the beloved
- as the true yogin's conduct is completely unique
- for the true yogin is a separated lover

\textsuperscript{21} gadi - position or office, hence seat symbolic of these; the guru's throne.
\textsuperscript{22} suhag - literally, the happy state of a married woman.
\textsuperscript{23} Hindu mendicants often inhale smoke from a fire as a means of penance. Here the pain of virah corresponds to this practice.
\textsuperscript{24} One article in some yogi's paraphernalia is a deerskin.
- My deportment is this - loving dedication
- so never put on ashes, the symbol of ill
- Put _sendur_\(^{25}\) on the head; keep your hair up in plaits
- wear bangles on the arm; adorn your mouth with _pan_
- Keep a cup full of liquor ready to drink
- for the true _yogin_ is a separated lover
- Wild eyes are my creed
- so forget family, convention and heavenly goals
- Like Śiva, show ignorant _yogīs_ the way
- and magnify your love for the beloved alone
- This kind of _yog_ is worth thousands\(^{26}\) of others
- for the true yogin is a separated lover

C (to herself) Oh, how her singing enraptures my heart. The effect of her words is beyond description. My heart seems wounded; her voice is just like that of the beloved's. (forcibly she restrains her tears) I will make her sing some more. (aloud) O _yogin_, if you don't mind, sing something else. (having spoken, she alternately looks at the _yogin_ with expectation and lowers her head in thought)

Y (smiling) All right beloved. Listen. (she sings)
- The _yogin_ appears longing for nectar
- without union she roams the forests forlorn
- A hermit of love, forsaking wealth, house and pleasure
- crying _alakh_ she worships her lord
- For you Manmohan she searches the groves
- in delicately donned _yogī_'s guise
- In hope of one glimpse she fills pathways with song
- so reveal yourself beloved; do not let her go on.

C (to herself) Alas, all she says is very revealing. Suddenly my heart is in my throat. O beloved, reveal yourself.

\(^{25}\)Vermillion which is put on the head of an Indian woman to symbolize her happy state of coverture.

\(^{26}\) _lakh_ - 100,000
Y: Now you must sing to the yogin. I sang for you; will you not sing for me? (to herself) On this pretense I will be able to hear the life-giving words of the beloved. (aloud) Do not let my request come to no avail. I am a mendicant, so what shame is there is singing before me?

C: Well, I don't know any songs, and, moreover, today my condition is not sound: I have a sore throat. (pausing and glancing downwards) And what is more, I am shy.

Y: (having smiled) Ah what a shy one. Well, why be shy in front of me? I will become displeased if my request is ignored.

C: (to herself) Oh, how sweet are these words which simultaneously seize my heart. How noble she appears, her eyebrows drawn taught with feigned anger. Lord! Is it that you have appeared in the form of a yogin? (aloud) No, no, don't be angry. Why shouldn't I sing. I will let you hear whatever comes to my mind, but I tell you, it will not please you. Therefore I beg of you, don't make me sing. (she joins her hands in supplication)

L: You must obey the request of a guest. I implore you; why won't you sing? You can't fool me; your only making excuses.

C: Then why don't you sing? You are always ready to give orders to others.

Y: Yes sakhi, why don't you sing first. I will aid you with the sarangi.

L: Look at this; the burden falls on the counselor. Oh well, what's it to me; I will sing

(She sings)

- Can one who perceives the divine condition of lover and beloved
- not see the arrival of your giradhari
- All the trappings of the world are sacrificed
- as oblations to the incessant states of love

C: (to herself) Oh, who knows what is going on. I am not dreaming, but today one thing seems another. I don't understand what I am seeing or hearing. I haven't been drinking, and this yogin is not a magician. (becoming nervous she looks here and there)

(Seeing this, Lalita is startled and the yogin laughs)
L. Why do you laugh?

Y. It's nothing. I want to sing to her, but only if she promises to return the favour.

C (worried) Yes! I certainly will sing. Now you sing. (she becomes extremely attentive)

(Strumming the sarangi, the yogin sings)

- Why do you look like some wonder-struck doe?
- Whom are you seeking; what have you lost; why are you upset?
- Take care - absorbed in some thought your sari has slipped
- Befuddled you sit, as if drunk or longing for sleep
- In great alarm you glance all around, as if passionately pursuing the beloved in dream
- You seem a mute fawn astray from the herd
- Without shame, no concern for family or caste
- So entrapped must you wander alone?
- Why do you look like some wonder-struck doe?

C (with intense passion) I will follow. I will follow. (remembering herself) Oh, what has happened to me? I have become so immodest as to babble in front of everyone. Well, what will this yogin think? Fortunately, this time my reputation was saved. If not, then - Ram Ram! No, I spoke quietly; no one could have heard me. Aha, music and literature are such that man becomes absorbed in them, but for me it is like putting salt on a burn. Oh lord, to whom can I speak of the heart-felt passions and heightened desires that are increased with every rhyme of poetry and every beat on song? Through them the remembrance of your sweet image and character is so clear and filled with love as if to be a direct experience. But alas, in the end pathos prevails, because suddenly one remembers physical limitations and is surrounded by an ocean of helplessness.

Y. Now what might she be thinking? Sing! I won't wait any longer.

L. Yes sakhi, now fulfill your promise.

C. (in a simi-hysterical manner) Yes, yes, I will sing

(Sometimes with eyes full of tears, sometimes repeating herself, sometimes pausing, sometimes with rising emotion, sometimes out of rhythm, sometimes correct, sometimes with a broken voice, she sings as if possessed.)
- To whom can I speak of the pain in my breast?
- it is hopeless, for me the whole village detests
- No one will help; they only disdain
- not experiencing this fire, how can I explain?
- With what voice can I show them what prevades my whole being?
- without him, to whom can I reveal my feelings?
- By describing this state, why cause sakhī's distress?
- at the feet of the beloved, I would humbly confess

(While singing she loses consciousness, and just as she falls
there is a lightning-like flash in which the yogīn is transformed into Kṛṣṇa who subsequently raises and embraces her while at the back of the stage instruments play)

L (with great happiness) Congratulations sakhī, a thousand congratulations. Come to your senses. Look who has taken you in his lap.

C (passionately embracing Kṛṣṇa)

... Beloved,
- Thee in my arms forever I will keep
- bound to my heart, I won't let you leap
- Your body my embrace, your image my cogitation
- I will use all my guile to keep this relation
- How in my heart will you I conceal?
- all seekers the pain of your beauty do feel
- Like a pupil my eyelids will trap you inside
- but in my mind and my heart how will thee I hide?
- Alas it's my fate, lovers snatch you away
- having come here, why don't you stay?
- O my dear, don't go anywhere else
- to this pauper why not give your nectar rasa
- I will do as you say - my heart welling up
- O why can't I keep you to fill my mind's cup

27 Literally, grabbing his kamarband.
- Daily show your beautiful moon-like body to my cakor eyes
- for even a moment, O lord, from eyelid shelters do not fly
- O my beloved, how can I keep you in my power?
- our hearts and eyes how can they mingle?
- What can I do, plan formulate, or entreaty offer?
- the nectar lips of lives' longing - how can I kiss them?

K Beloved, how can I ever leave you? You are my own nature; this is your līlā to demonstrate total love.

L How wonderful. Who else could experience the bliss which has just come to me? The happiness Candrāvalī has realized has also fallen on me. It is true: without the grace of the divine pair the experience of this bliss is impossible.

C But lord, why are you so cruel? How can you watch the sadness of your devotees? Oh, I used to think of thousands of things that I would ask when we were together, but now that you are here in front of me I am speechless.

K Beloved, I am not cruel. I am the unpaid slave of my lovers, but I know that my lovers like separation more than they like union, and that is why I keep aloof. In this cruelty those who are true lovers increase their love, and those who are insincere reveal themselves. So beloved, this is for others. Why are you so worried - you and I are one. You cannot be separated from either Rādhā or myself. I told you before, this is all līlā. (having joined his hands) Beloved, forgive me. I am indebted to you forever. I will never be able to repay you (his eyes fill with tears).

C (nervously she frees her hands as her eyes fill with tears) Enough. Enough. This is too much; I cannot endure anymore. Having seen the tears in your eyes, I am unable to control myself (she embraces him).

(Viśākhā enters)

V Sakhi, congratulations. Rādhā has instructed me to tell the beloved to joyfully enter Candrāvalī's bower.

C (excited with delight) Sakhi, I have met the beloved only because of you. (having joined her hands) I will sing your virtues forever.

V Sakhi, the beloved is yours and you are his - we are only your servants. This is all your līlā. Who could interfere in this and what could they
say? This is the indescribable story of your love, which will be the standard example for true lovers. You are blessed, your love is blessed, those who understand your love are blessed, and those who read of your love are blessed. There is no difference between you and Rādhā. Moreover, you are the expert nurturer of rasa. But enough, now the two of us request that you and Kṛṣṇa embrace that we might purify our eyes with this holy sight.

(Kṛṣṇa and Candrāvalī embrace and sit in the yugal svarūp) ...

LV

- Look - fill your eyes and take the complete benefit
- the rasa ocean of the yugal svarūp pours forth beauty and sweetness
- Constantly direct your desires on this pair; don't let anything else get in the way
- whoever wishes to make his life a success should grasp the lotus feet of these two
- Give up other paths, even though it may mean endless ill-fame
- you must remain immersed in their intoxication, as it is they who maintain the world
- Through the power of their love the world's myriad enticements are burned up like straw
- let your intention be complete surrender to them
- Say that your joy is Rādhā, Candrāvalī, Kṛṣṇa, Yamunā, Girīvar ...
- through all lives sustain this difficult love

K Beloved, whatever you desire tell me, because what is beloved to you is beloved to me.

C Lord, I have no other desire than to worship you with my eyes. Nevertheless, might this final verse come to pass

- The utmost truth and self - the two don't mix
- you must recognize your acārya
- In the forest of Vṛndāvana always be firm with joy
- without bhakti no one can be called a Vallabha

The image of the divine pair (usually Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa) in embrace.

Literally, to make thy darśan.
- Abandon the world-snares that you might become an adhikari of his love

- may the jewel-lamp of Hari's love always enlighten the world

(Flowers fall, instruments play and the curtain falls)

THE END
Commentary

A superficial reading of *Senjûnin* reveals only the plot in primary focus as a socio-psychological exercise, an exploration into the self and soul of one of the main characters. As such the play is divided into five acts, all presented in a way that emphasizes the structural unity of its drama, if not overdeveloped development, and several "scene codes" borrowed from its structural unity. Thus, as the following paragraphs will indicate, throughout form and technique are also subordinate to the dramatic and poetic representation of such unity.

From the point of view of dramatic action, *Senjûnin* is strongly unified. However, the essential action is not to be isolated to *Senjûnin* to lending name and theme to the novel during a time of 'divine guidance' and 371 contains primarily background actions: that of the rakushûs and while the only real action is the leading transformation of the rakushû into the purveyor of drugs, with action kept to a minimum, verbalization becomes virtually the writer's sole dramatic medium, and even here, dialogue often given way to long monologues employed by the character. In both, both are constrained by monologues, the conversation of the verbal medium being primarily support dialogue.

Thus can it be said that the action is intended to test character development. The picture that *Senjûnin* paints of *Senjûnin* is not one of a unified personality or even a personality having logically from one generation to another. Rather, she is presented as a composite of many different faces, taking from monologues in the past and to emotional sources of love, rage, and jealousy as well as to the momentary expressions of which are often dictated by external conditions. Consequently, *Senjûnin* is essentially the same character at the end of the play that she was at the beginning; for, although she is ultimately united with her lover.
Even a superficial reading of Candrāvalī reveals that the play is primarily a religio-psychological exercise - an exploration into the mind and soul of one of the gopīs of Braj. As such the play is lacking in many of the essentials of dramatic presentation: action is minimized; there is little, if any, character development; and several 'loose ends' detract from its structural unity. Thus, as the following paragraphs will indicate, dramatic form and technique are made subordinate to the heroine's course of self-revelation.

From the point of view of dramatic action, Candrāvalī is patently deficient: Act I contains no action whatsoever; the essential action in Act II is limited to Candrāvalī's dashing here and there in the forest during a bout of 'divine madness'; Act III contains primarily background action, that of the sakhīs swinging; while the only real action in Act IV is the flashing transformation of the yogin into the personage of Krṣna. With action kept to a minimum, verbalization becomes virtually the author's sole dramatic medium, and, even here, dialogue often gives way to long rambling monologues by the heroine. In fact, both act II and III are dominated by monologues, the conversation of the various sakhīs being primarily support dialogue.

Nor can it be said that the author is interested in true character development. The picture that Hariścandra paints of Candrāvalī is not one of a unified personality or even a personality moving logically from one condition or state to another. Rather, she is presented as a composite of incoherent moods, ranging from seriousness in the first act to emotional outbursts of love, rage, and self-pity in subsequent acts, the appearance of which are often dictated by external conditions. Consequently, Candrāvalī is essentially the same character at the end of the play that she was at its beginning; for, although she is finally united with her beloved,  

1 Usuually natural phenomena, such as the rising moon, gathering clouds, and peacock's cries.
the union has not been engendered by any personal decision or line of action on her part, but results from an act of divine grace.²

Structurally, the play contains several 'loose ends', notably, the author's use of Narada and Sukdev, the role of the sakhīs in aiding Candrāvalī, and the long poetic description of the Yamunā.

Dramatically speaking, every character or event utilized by the author, with the exception of those which provide comic relief, should in some way be connected to the main plot, but Hariścandra's use of Narada and Sukdev in the Viskambhak violates this axiom. Having briefly made mention of Candrāvalī's love for Kṛṣna, the two depart the stage (apparently heading towards Braj) never to be seen or heard of again. Thus, while the two sages may act as a sounding board for the author's personal notions of bhakti, they add little to the unity of the drama. Similarly, it is never made clear to the audience as to which sakhī or sakhīs are responsible (if they are responsible at all) for the final meeting between Kṛṣṇa and Candrāvalī. In several places during the course of the drama help is promised. In Act I Lalitā promises to do her all for Candrāvalī (pg. 38, line 8). Likewise, in the Interlude we find Sandhyā setting out to deliver Candrāvalī's letter to Kṛṣṇa, and, after she has dropped it, Campakalatā eventually decides that she will request a meeting (pg. 52, lines 16 and 17). Then in Act III it is set out that Kāmamānjari will arrange the meeting (pg. 59, line 28). When the meeting finally takes place, the audience is still left in suspense.

²Although it could be argued that having received Kṛṣṇa's enlightenment as to her real nature, Candrāvalī is a different person at the end of the play (from the point of view of knowledge), this does not seem to the present writer to be an aspect of character development but just another example of 'external' factors regulating Candrāvalī's spiritual awareness. Of course, if one takes the position which Kṛṣṇa advocates at the end (that Kṛṣṇa and Candrāvalī are ultimately one), then Kṛṣṇa cannot be considered an external factor, but such a position makes any attempt at character analysis superfluous, as the individual personality becomes virtually insignificant. Therefore, for the purpose of analysis, characters must be dealt with as separate and unique individuals.

³Premnārāyana Śukla, Bhāratendu ki Nātya-Kalā, (Kānpur, 1971), p. 165
did the sakhīs play a causal role, or did Kṛṣṇa act independently? Finally, while containing some clever use of imagery, the long poetic description of the Yamuna in Act IV seems somewhat overdone, so as to break up the continuity of the dramatic progression.

It is clear, therefore, that the author was not primarily interested in form or structure. Rather, he was preoccupied in presenting to his audience a number of religious 'ideas' through the personage of Candrāvalī. This being the case, our commentary will not be concerned with structural analysis but will focus on Candrāvalī's ideological content. Here, three lines of interpretation will be followed: the historic, the degree to which the play reveals specific historical events within the Vallabhasampradāya as reflected in the sect's own literature; the theological, viewing Candrāvalī as an exposition of Vallabhan theology, and the personal, the extent to which such 'ideas' were meaningful to the author and his time.

As mentioned in the introduction, the primary sources from which the author of Candrāvalī drew inspiration were those Purāṇas which have as their theme the life of the avatar Kṛṣṇa and his numerous amorous relationships with to gopīs of Braj, the most prestigious of which were the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. However, from the point of view of the character Candrāvalī, neither of these works can be considered fountainheads, as Hariścandra's heroine is only briefly mentioned in the former and is not to be found in the latter. We do find mention of her in the Brahma-Vaivarta Purāṇa, but here only once, and then in terms of an associate of Kṛṣṇa's...

4 It is true that after Campakalā has read Candrāvalī's letter, the old woman says, 'You will take care of things' (pg. 52, line 18), possibly indicating that it is Campakalā who will act as intermediary, but if this is so, why the introduction of Kūmamanjarī's assignment in Act III? One can also speculate that the old woman is Kṛṣṇa in disguise, but once again, if this is the case, it is never made clear.

5 avatar - literally, 'descent' or 'coming down', it refers to the incarnation of a deity.
primary consort, Radhā. She can also be found in the Padma Purana, again in association with Radhā, but here she takes on a role of theological significance, as she is spoken of as a manifestation of one of the eight natures of Radhā. That Candrāvalī continued to be associated with Radhā is apparent from later medieval poetry and drama, a notable example being her use by Rūpa Gosvāmī in his play Ujjvalālamanī.

According to Dr. D. Ojha, the first attempt to deal with Candrāvalī as a main character in a drama was Rūpa Gosvāmī's use of her in his Vidagdhamādhava, and it is possible that Hariścandra found the origin for Candrāvalī in this sixteenth century play. But one need not go to the literature of another sect to find reference to the sakhi Candrāvalī; she can be located in one of the principal works of the Vallabhasampradāya, namely, the Caurāśī Vaisnavan kī Vārtā.

The Caurāśī Vaisnavan kī Vārtā, which literally means 'accounts of eighty-four Vaisnavas', is one of the most important texts within the Sampradāya. Its import is derived from the fact that it is written in Braj-bhāsa prose, and therefore, unlike many of the Sanskrit texts of Vallabha, it can be understood by most members of the community. As such, it has become a popular guide, its stories of certain episodes in the lives of eighty-four ideal followers of Vallabha acting as illustrations of desireable bhakt qualities.

Tradition has it that the Caurāśī Vaisnavan kī Vārtā was composed by

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6 Brahmā-Vaivarta Purāṇa, Kṛṣṇa Janma Khanda, XXVIII, 45
7 Padma Purāṇa, Pāṭāla Khanda, LXX, 4-5
8 Hariścandra Varmā, p. 15
9 Dr. D. Ojha, Hindī Natak: Udbhav aur Vikās, (Delhi, 1970), p. 169
10 It will be recalled that Rūpa Gosvāmī was a member of the Caitanya sect.
11 Durz, p. 101
the fourth son of Viśṇuṣṭhānātha, Gokulanātha (1552 - 1641), in the form of oral sermons and subsequently recorded in Brajbhāsa. At a later date, Harirāyajī (1591 - 1716), one of the most famous writers in the Sampradāya, organized the vārtas and added his own commentaries (bhāvaprakāśa).

The commentaries not only contain biographical information regarding the eighty-four believers, they also provide theological explanations to certain historical events.

Outstanding among the eighty-four vārtas found in the Caurāsī Vaisnavan kī Vārtā are those of Sūrdās, Kṛṣṇadas, Paramānandadas and Kumbhandās, four of the famed Astachāpa poets. Following the pattern noted above, these vārtas relate a variety of lifetime episodes, each of which is designed to exemplify an aspect of the poet's devotional attributes. Harirāyajī's commentaries, moreover, add additional information as to 1) their lives before they were initiated into the Sampradāya, and 2) their identities in the divine līlā. Thus, the vārtas and the commentaries when taken together present a three-sided portrait of each bhakt: his life before initiation

12Gokulanātha gathered up the traditions relating to eighty-four followers of Vallabha and two hundred and fifty-two followers of Viśṇuṣṭhānātha and used them in his oral teachings. The former were later to comprise the Caurāsī Vaisnavan kī Vārtā while the latter formed the Dōsau-Bavan Vaisnavan kī Vārtā.


14These commentaries shed light on the spiritual conditions and (or) aspects of individuals and events. The full title of the work when it contains the commentaries is Caurāsī Vaisnavan kī Vārtā [Tīn Janma kī Līlā Bhāvanāvālī].

15The Astachāpa poets were eight Brajbhāsa poets who sang kīrtanas (devotional songā) before the svarūpa on Mt. Govardhana. The four poets mentioned above were initiated by Vallabha and are thus included in the Caurāsī Vaisnavan kī Vārtā, while the other four were brought into the community during the leadership of Viśṇuṣṭhānātha. For a study of the Astachāpa poets and their relationship to the Sampradāya see Dīndayāl Güpta, Astachāpa aur Vallabha-Sampradāya two vols., (Allahabad, 1948).

16līlā - sport or play, it refers to Kṛṣṇa's manifest activities, often associated with his appearance in Brāj as recorded in the Bhagavata Purāna. In addition there is a divine or eternal līlā where Kṛṣṇa continually sports. It is a supernatural condition and is often described by the use of the term alaukik.
his life as a member of the Sampradāy (ādhyātmika); his life in Golok (ādhaivaṅka).

In order to grasp the import of this threefold division (and its relevance to the personage of Candrāvalī) it will be necessary to briefly discuss an important element of the Sampradāy’s theology, namely, its multi-dimensional interpretation of phenomena. According to Vallabha, all phenomena in the universe can be observed from three different perspectives or attitudes. An example of such an analysis is recorded in the Pustimārgopadēśikā of Čīmanalāla Hariśaṅkarājī, where the author recalls Vallabha’s explanation of the nature of the holy Ganga river. A summary of the Pustimārgopadēśikā’s account follows.

One day a guru went to the Ganga with his students. Having seen its beauty and having observed people bathing within its waters, a student asked the guru as to the nature of the river. The guru replied that a man might see the Ganga in three different forms: he might view it as a flowing stream—in which case he has seen its ādhibāṭikā (material) form; he can view it as a pilgrimage spot, a place to purify himself, and thereby see its ādhyātmikā (spiritual) form; or he might view it in its ādhaivaṅka (divine) form, as a sacred place at which to offer selfless devotion.

The passage goes on to say that in a like manner Kṛṣṇa can be viewed in three ways: as the material universe (jagat), as the impersonal absolute underlying the universe (Aksara Brahman), or in his fully manifested form. The bhakt who views Kṛṣṇa from this point of view attains the goal of the Pustimārga—a selfless devotee—and in so doing, loses all sorrow or sadness.

17 Golok—literally, 'cow world', it refers to the eternal divine līlā.

18 In one of his Sanskrit works, the Siddhāntamuktāvalī, a small book which has been combined with fifteen other such texts to form the Sodāṣaṃgrantha (The Sixteen Books), Vallabha uses the above example, and the Pustimārgopadēśikā has incorporated the account into its pages.

and transcends the ocean of *samsara*.

In writing his commentaries, Harirayaji made use of this theological framework established by Vallabha and also added another dimension—the *sakhā* and *sakhī* divisions of the *adhidaivika* form. According to Harirayaji, the *Āstasakhās* have two forms in divine *līlā*: the *sakhā* form, which is their masculine form, and the *sakhī* form, which is their feminine form. The classification is explained in the *varta* of Surdās and is outlined in the following paragraph.

The question arises as to how Surdās, who in *līlā* is the *sakhā* Kṛnasakhā, could sing of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa’s night-time love in the grove; for, according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* only *sakhīs* (gopīs) can view this *līlā*. The answer can be found by referring to that same text, as the book states that while the *sakhās* do not accompany Kṛṣṇa to the grove at night (and thus experience *virah*), they sing of the event and thereby experience it. Similarly, the *sakhīs*, who do not accompany Kṛṣṇa to the pasture during the day, experience this daytime *līlā* by means of song. What this means is that each participant in *līlā* has two forms; during the daytime *līlā* the *sakhā* or masculine form experiences Kṛṣṇa, and during the night-time *līlā* the *sakhī* or feminine form experiences Kṛṣṇa. Thus, Surdās (when referring to his *adhidaivika* form) is both the *sakhā* Kṛnasakhā and the *sakhī* Campakalāta.

It is in reference to the *Caurāsī Vaiṣṇavaṇ ki Vārtā*'s *sakhā* – *sakhī*

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20 *The Āstasakhā poets in their *adhidaivika* form.*


22 The *sakhās* were the male cowherd companions of Kṛṣṇa during his earthly manifestation in Braj. They used to go with Kṛṣṇa when he took the cows to graze during the day. The *sakhīs* were the *sakhā*’s wives.

23 As can be imagined, this masculine and feminine division was incorporated into the Sampradāya’s theological system. As will be seen in a later part of this commentary, the *sakhās* are really parts of Kṛṣṇa, and the two forms (*sakhā* and *sakhī*) are manifestations of himself that allow him to perform both daytime and night-time *līlās* and enjoy them.

24 *Caurāsī Vaiṣṇavaṇ ki Vārtā*, p.400 , and Barz, p. 107
distinction to the ādīhīdvīma form that we encounter the personage of Candrabalī, specifically, in a commentary relating to the vārtā of one of the above mentioned poets, Kṛṣṇadas. Here Harirāyāji tells how Lalitā (who is Kṛṣṇadas' sakhi form in the divine līlā) had been promised by Kṛṣṇa that he would accompany her alone to the grove. Another sakhi, Candrabalī, overheard this promise and decided to so charm Kṛṣṇa that he would forget his vow to Lalitā. Her plan worked, and Kṛṣṇa forgot to visit Lalitā for an entire six months. As a result, Lalitā suffered extreme virah, and in so doing, aroused the pity of Rādhā. Rādhā and Lalitā then went to see Kṛṣṇa, whereupon Rādhā informed him that she was putting a curse on Candrabalī for having caused Lalitā such pain. The curse was to take the form of Candrabalī's having to experience six months of separation from Kṛṣṇa.

Having found out about Rādhā's curse, Candrabalī cast a counter curse upon Lalitā which declared that Lalitā was to be born on earth, suffer an untimely death, and remain a ghost in samsāra. Moreover, the latter condition could not be undone by either Kṛṣṇa or Rādhā. Shortly thereafter, news of the curse was relayed to Lalitā, and the unfortunate sakhi called upon Rādhā for help. Once again Rādhā approached Kṛṣṇa, this time to ask for his aid in the matter. Having heard her plea, Kṛṣṇa decided that all of them should visit Candrabalī in order that the entire affair might be settled. When they arrived at Candrabalī's dwelling, Candrabalī worshipped Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, gave them fine food and pān, and treated them with humility and affection. Moved by her devotional attitude, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa sat down with Candrabalī and explained that Lalitā was her sakhi as well as theirs.

25 Caurāsī Vaisnavaṇa ki Vārtā, pp. 526 - 571 and Barz, pp. 238 - 243

26 In the commentary Candrabalī explains to another sakhi that Lalitā has misled both Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, and that by causing the latter to place a curse upon her, Lalitā is actually harming Rādhā. This situation is explained by Harirāyāji as follows: Candrabalī was manifested from the moon-like mouth of Rādhā who was manifested from Kṛṣṇa. From Candrabalī are manifested all of Rādhā's sakhis. Candrabalī, therefore, is the foremost of all the sakhis of Rādhā, and by cursing her, Lalitā is in truth cursing a form or aspect of Rādhā.
and that she therefore need not curse her. Candrāvalī answered that the curse could not be removed, but that she herself would come and save Lalitā from her ghostly existence. Hearing this, Lalitā fell at Candrāvalī's feet and said: 'I have sinned against you and I have got what I deserved.'

Rādhā then added that all of them would become manifest on Mt. Govardhana in the kali yuga for the performance of līlā.

The story of Rādhā's curse and Candrāvalī's counter-curse outlined above was not just an isolated episode in divine līlā which had no relevance to historical events within the Sampradāya. On the contrary, Harirāyajī presents the tale as a means of explaining a specific historical situation.

It will be recalled from the introduction of the present work that the Vallabhaśampradāya experienced a temporary schism after the death of Vallabha's eldest son, Gopinātha. At this time there was rivalry over the question of community leadership between followers of Vallabha's second son, Viṭṭhalanātha, and those who supported Gopinātha's son, Purosattama. The incident appears in the varta of Kṛṣṇadasa, but it is explained from a 'spiritual' point of view, the basis of which is the divine līlā episode. In order to understand more clearly how the two occurrences relate, we must once again turn to the text, but this time to trace the flow of events as they took place on the earthly plane.

One day in Braj Rādhā approached Kṛṣṇa, who was present in the form of Viṣṇu, and reminded him that Viṭṭhalanātha had to...
suffer separation for six months as a result of the curse incurred in the
*divine lila*. In order that the curse might be played out on earth, Rādhā
directed Kṛṣṇa to cause a quarrel between Viṭṭhalanātha and Kṛṣṇadās.
This was to be accomplished by arousing Kṛṣṇadās' anger towards Viṭṭhalanātha,
a predicament which would eventually lead to Kṛṣṇadās' banning Viṭṭhalanātha from the temple and thereby causing him to forgo viewing the
*svarūp* for six months.

Rādhā knew that Kṛṣṇadās was very fond of an outcaste girl named
Gaṅgābāī, and she decided to use her as a catalyst in the quarrel.

Having been informed by Śrī Govardhananāthajī that he had not eaten the food
presented to him by Viṭṭhalanātha and had thus caused the latter to
unknowingly eat the *prasād* without the *svarūp* having first tasted it,
Rādhā ordered Śrī Govardhananāthajī to inform a certain devotee that he had
not eaten it because Gaṅgābāī had first seen the food and thereby polluted it. The bhakta then informed Viṭṭhalanātha of the situation, and the latter,
realizing that the divine curse was about to be fulfilled, presented another
offering of food to Śrī Govardhananāthajī and afterwards partook of the
*prasād* with a number of devotees. Kṛṣṇadās then accused Viṭṭhalanātha of
having prepared the second offering only for his own pleasure, to which

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32. Viṭṭhalanātha's *sakhī* form in the divine *līlā* is Candrāvalī.
33. It will be recalled that Kṛṣṇadās' *sakhī* form in the divine *līlā* is Lalitā.
34. Kṛṣṇadās was the superintendent (*adhikārī*) in charge of administration of
the temple on Mt. Govardhana.
35. Several times a day the *svarūp* is offered food. The main meal takes place
at mid-morning. According to the *varta*, Śrī Govardhananāthajī had not
eaten the food because he had left the temple to partake in another feast
in Gokula.
36. *prasād* - food that has been offered to the *svarūp* during *darśan*. Members
of the community are allowed to partake of this food only after it has
first been offered to the image.
37. According to Barz, 'The food offered to the divine *svarūpa* in a *havelī*
of the Vallabha *Sampradāya* must be absolutely untainted by any contact
including visual contact - with any individual except a purified
*bhītāriya* or a male member of Vallabhadācārya's family.' (Barz, p. 237,
note, 1).
Vitthalanātha replied that the necessity of the two offerings was caused by Kṛṣṇadāsa himself, as he had allowed Gaṅgābāī to view the food before it was presented to the svarūp. Hearing this, Kṛṣṇadāsa became furious and decided to ban Vitthalanātha from the temple. Accordingly, he approached Purusottama and convinced him that he was the legitimate heir to the leadership of the Saṁpradāya. Purusottama thereafter seated himself within the temple, and Vitthalanātha, being informed of his expulsion, left for Parasolī to undergo six months of separation.

After six months, news came to Vitthalanātha that Rāja Bīrabala had imprisoned Kṛṣṇadāsa in Mathura on account of his retaliatory actions. Upon hearing this, Vitthalanātha was stricken with sorrow and decided to fast until Kṛṣṇadāsa was released. When Rāja Bīrabala became aware of Vitthalanātha's fast, he approached Kṛṣṇadāsa and promised to release him under the condition that he would never again quarrel with Vitthalanātha.38 After his release, Kṛṣṇadāsa humbled himself before Vitthalanātha and asked the banished guru to forgive him. Furthermore, he begged him to return to the temple and assume his rightful place therein.39 Vitthalanātha did so, and ordered that Kṛṣṇadāsa maintain his position as adhikārī of the temple.40

In this way, the curse that was initiated in the divine līlā was brought to fruition on earth: Candrāvalī (Viththalanātha) was forced to experience virah; Lalitā (Kṛṣṇadāsa) was overcome by misfortune; and Candrāvalī saved Lalitā from her ordeal as a ghost.

The story as presented in the Caurāśī Vaisnavan kī Vārtā is no doubt an attempt to take the sting out of what was most likely a traumatic episode in the early history of the community by giving it a theological raison d'être. Our concern with the story, however, lies not in its rationalizing

38 Caurāśī Vaisnavan kī Vārtā, p. 562, and Barz, p. 248
39 This action, of course, symbolizes Vitthalanātha's being recognized as the heir to leadership in the Saṁpradāya.
40 Later, as the vārtā goes on to say, Kṛṣṇadāsa was killed by falling into a well, and, as his body was not recovered, his soul remained in samsāra as a ghost. Finally, Vitthalanātha performed the last rites which released him from this ghostly form.
motive, but in its presentation of the character Candrāvalī and the possible influence this presentation had on Hariścandra's use of her in his drama.

It can in no way be claimed that Candrāvalī is a direct dramatic presentation of the episode cited above. On the other hand, it seems evident, as the following examples will show, that the author was not only aware of the story, but that he employed some of its material in his literary creation and was thereby, if not drawing a direct parallel, at least alluding to a specific historical event.

The most obvious example, of course, is the character Candrāvalī herself. It is evident from reading the play that Hariścandra was preoccupied with describing the heroine's experience of virah, and as such, he needed a character who could symbolize this spiritual condition. As we have seen, it is the sakhi Candrāvalī who is condemned by Rādhā to experience six months of separation from Kṛṣṇa. Moreover, since Candrāvalī's earthly form was that of a son of Vallabha and an ordained guru of the Sampradāya, Vitthalanātha, he would no doubt symbolize to many followers the state of virah, and it is hard to imagine that Hariścandra, being well-versed in the literature of his sect, did not recognize this. Consequently, it is safe to posit that the author's selection of Candrāvalī was to some degree based on her symbolic significance within the Sampradāya's literary tradition.

Then, there is Hariścandra's use of the sakhi Lalitā. She appears on two occasions: in Act I, where her conversation with Candrāvalī introduces the latter's dilemma; and again in the final act when Candrāvalī is united with her beloved. In both instances one can trace elements of her character (and her relationship to Candrāvalī) back to the traditional story as presented in the Caurāśi Vaisnavan kī Vārtā.

In the initial part of the first act the relationship between Lalitā and Candrāvalī is characterized by a tension that sometimes borders on

\[\text{\textsuperscript{1}}\]

In the vārtā of Kṛṣṇadas, Vitthalanātha says: 'For one who belongs to you O Lord, but is deprived of your darśana, life is as useless as renewed youthful vigour would be for Durbhagā (the daughter of time).’ Caurāśi Vaisnavan kī Vārtā, p. 560, and Barz, pp. 245 - 246.
animosity. Lalita is trying to get Candravali to tell her why she is so filled with anxiety (I, 33, 1), to which Candravali replies that she has no such problem (I, 33, 2). This leads to a series of exchanges in which the mood becomes progressively hostile. Lalita claims that there must be a shortcoming in their relationship if Candravali will not reveal her thoughts (I, 33, 8), a challenge which Candravali sees as being based on unfounded suspicion (I, 33, 15). Lalita demands a promise (I, 33, 22), and Candravali sarcastically responds that she will make the type of promise that Lalita makes - worthless (I, 34, 3). The antipathy culminates in Lalita's sardonically offering to worship Candravali's foot (I, 35, 6-7).

It is apparent from the foregoing exchange that the author was attempting to create an atmosphere of tension. This tension, no doubt, was a dramatic device designed to elicit the essential issues of the drama, but it is significant that it is the sakhi Lalita who plays the role of the provocateur. Again, it seems natural that Hariścandra would seek a character who had a traditional basis for such a position.

Allusions other than those of conflict can also be found in the first act. It is significant that at one point in the act Lalita says: 'Sakhi, your tactics will be of no avail. In the end I will be involved in this matter, and you will tell me everything, because you will not find another physician for your ailment.' (I, 34, 10-12). If we recall the traditional story, we will find that only Krsnadās (as the adhikārī of the temple) can readmit Vitthalanātha, a fact which is accentuated by Vitthalanātha's reply to Krsnadās' request that the former return to his position in the temple - that he would return only because Krsnadās had commanded him to do so.

Later in the act Lalita declares that since Candravali will not be honest, she will abandon her (I, 35, 7). Becoming upset Candravali replies: 'No sakhi, don't say such things. I am already greatly pained, and when you...

\[Caurāśī Vaisnavan kī Vārtā, p. 562, and Barz, p. 248\]
say these things my misery is compounded.' (I, 35, 12-13). In this regard it is interesting to note that Candrāvalī undergoes her extreme bouts of virah when Lalitā is not present (Acts II and III). Is this just a coincidence, or was Hariścandra following the traditional story-line whereby Vitthalanātha underwent virah after Krsnadas had banished him from the temple and was thus no longer in his presence? Furthermore, Lalitā makes reference to her own experience of virah (I, 37, 6), and as we know from the Caurāsī Vaisnavaṇ ki Vārtā, Lalitā experienced such pain as a result of Candrāvalī's curse.

While it is true that Lalitā subsequently says that she is prepared to give her life for Candrāvalī and that her statement about abandoning her sakhi was just a joke (I, 35, 16), this does not negate the traditional account; in fact, it is quite consistent with it. In this regard, it must be remembered that the curse can be viewed on two levels. From the spiritual or alaukik point of view the curse is in fact a type of joke, part of a divine game. On the other hand, on the earthly level it is enacted in all seriousness. Thus, Lalitā could say that in truth she is prepared to give her life for Candrāvalī (I, 35, 16), but this does not remove the fact that Candrāvalī must undergo virah.

By the end of the first act the two sakhiṣa have become reconciled. Candrāvalī opens her heart to Lalitā, and in turn Lalitā tells Candrāvalī that she is blessed and that her love is the personification of the word itself (I, 38, 2). This appeasement can be seen as a continuation of the dualistic approach mentioned above, or, and this seems more probable, it can be viewed as representative of the eventual reconciliation that takes place between the two in the traditional story.

Harīrayaṇa distinguishes between curses that take place on earth and those which occur in the divine līlā. The former are evil and sinful, while the latter are not. Alaukik curses take place so that the divine līlā might appear on earth. (Caurāsī Vaisnavaṇ ki Vārtā, p. 556 and Barz, p. 241)

It is true that in the traditional story the reconciliation does not take place until after Vitthalanātha has undergone the period of virah. It is not our intention, however, to show that the drama follows the traditional episode in every detail. Rather, we are positing that Hariścandra moulded the story according to his own dramatic needs.
The reappearance of Lalitā in the final act, the act in which Candrāvalī is reunited with Kṛṣṇa, also seems to indicate Hariścandra's awareness of the traditional story. According to the traditional account, after his period of virah Vitthalanātha was accompanied by Kṛṣṇadas back to the temple. Furthermore, upon reconciliation Kṛṣṇadas sang in praise of Vitthalanātha. In the drama, when Candrāvalī and Kṛṣṇa are united, it is Lalitā who cries out that she is experiencing a similar bliss.

Once again, it must be stressed that the present writer is in no way claiming that Hariścandra simply recreated the traditional story as it appears in the vārtā of Kṛṣṇadas. What is being said, however, is that given the numerous similarities between certain characters (the roles they play and the attitudes they represent) in Candrāvalī and their counterparts in the Caurāsī Vaisnavan kī Vārtā, it seems likely that Hariścandra drew on this source for inspiration. In doing so, he was shaping a new literary creation out of time-proven material—transforming the past into the present—which, after all, is the method of any true artist.

While Hariścandra may have taken advantage of the traditional account in the Caurāsī Vaisnavan kī Vārtā in forming the story-line for Candrāvalī, the major thrust of the drama is not historical but theological. That Candrāvalī was written to disseminate Vallabhan ideas is made clear in the last verse of Act IV where the heroine sings:

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45 Caurāsī Vaisnavan kī Vārtā, p. 562, and Barz, p. 248
46 Caurāsī Vaisnavan kī Vārtā, p. 562, and Barz, p. 248
47 Along no doubt with other sources such as those of Rūpa Gosvāmī mentioned above.
- In the forest of Vrndavana remain firm with joy

- without bhakti no one can be called a follower of Vallabha

In discussing the elements of Vallabhan theology exemplified in **Candrāvalī**, two lines of thought will be followed, strains which, for the purpose of clarification, will be subsumed under the titles **suddhādvaita** and **pustimārga**. The division, although somewhat arbitrary, is significant in that it separates into two convenient categories the philosophical solution to, and the existential remedy for an age old religious problem.

The central problem in Vallabhan theology, as with most systems of Indian thought, or for that matter, most religious doctrines in general, is how to reconcile on the one hand the necessary unity of the sacred with the apparent multiplicity of the profane. As we shall see, the Vallabhan solution to the dilemma is to eliminate the profane by expanding the concept of the sacred to that of unity in multiplicity. Such a linguistic trick requires a detailed explanation, and it is for this purpose that doctrines such as the above were put forward. In the following pages these concepts will be examined in greater detail, with specific reference made to their deployment by Hariścandra in **Candrāvalī**.

In terms of the drama's sequential development, it would be appropriate to start with the doctrine of **pustimārga** and work towards the culminating unity of **suddhādvaita**. Two factors dictate against this approach. First, in terms of theological reasoning, it seems more logical to start with **suddhādvaita**; and second, and perhaps in our case more importantly, since the majority of the theological content in **Candrāvalī** is framed around those issues which the author has classified as coming under **pustimārga**, it seems proper to begin with an examination of **suddhādvaita** followed by a more elaborate discussion of **pustimārga**.

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48 Here reference is made to Emile Durkheim's distinction between the sacred and the profane. As he states, 'The division of the world into two domains, the one containing all that is sacred, the other all that is profane, is the distinctive trait of religious thought.' The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, trans. by Joseph W. Swain, (New York, 1965), p. 52
One of the principal ideas contained within Vallabha's teachings is summed up in the word *suddhādvaīta*, a term by which his philosophy is often labeled. The word is actually a compound consisting of two words: *suddha* (pure), and *advaita* (non-dualism), and thus its meaning - pure non-dualism. In order to understand the import of the doctrine of *suddhādvaīta* in Vallabha's thought, we must remember that the purpose of most Indian metaphysical speculation is a functional one, namely, to provide man with a means by which he can transcend the profane sphere and thereby realize the sacred. Vallabha's system follows this traditional course, as the purpose of his teachings is to purify human souls and thus make them acceptable to the divine. Moreover, since the teachings Vallabha mouthed are believed to have been direct revelation from Kṛṣṇa, the divine takes an active rather than a passive role in the purification process.

If, then, the ultimate purpose of Vallabha's teachings is the purification of the soul, one of the essential prerequisites would have to be an explanation of the nature of the relationship between the soul and the sacred, and it is here that the doctrine of *suddhādvaīta* plays an important role. As we have seen, *suddhādvaīta* means pure non-dualism, which to Vallabha meant the existence of only one reality, the divine or sacred (commonly referred to in Indian thought as *Brahman*, and by Vallabha as *Parabrahman Sṛī Kṛṣṇa*). It follows, therefore, that human souls are not qualitatively different from the divine but are part of it, and that the material world (*jagat*) was not created *ex nihilo*; 'It is evolved out of Him.' Such a doctrine, however, presents a fundamental problem, which can be summarized in the following questions: if there is only one reality, why does the variety of worldly

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50 In this work the terms divine and sacred will be used interchangeably.

51 Vallabha is believed to have been the manifestation of Kṛṣṇa's mouth.

phenomena seem distinct and individual, and, moreover, why do the souls regard themselves as separate from the whole?

A closer look at the doctrine of *suddhadvaita* reveals that the divine entity is made up of three components: sat (existence), cit (intelligence), and ananda (bliss). As Barz has pointed out, it is important to realize that these components are not qualities of Brahman, but that they are Brahman.

While on the one hand Brahman is transcendent and limitless, these aspects of his nature allow him to become manifest in a variety of ways. By his own desire, Brahman reveals himself. In so doing, the sat portion of his being is manifest as jagat, lifeless inert matter; the sat and cit portions when combined become the souls, characterized by consciousness; while the sat cit and ananda combination of Brahman takes two forms: the Aksara Brahman, a ground of being underlying the universe and equivalent to the Brahman of the Upanisads, and the antaryāmin (inner-controller) which abides within all living beings, though concealed.

The picture with which one is presented, therefore, is one of numerous divine forms emanating from the one supreme Parabrahman Śrī Kṛṣṇa. As mentioned above, the position of the human souls in this paradigm is that of harbourers of the sat and cit aspects of Brahman as well as carriers of

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53 For the purpose of this discussion Brahman will be used as synonymous with Parabrahman Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

54 Barz, p. 66

55 Although the antaryāmin contains all three aspects of Brahman, it is distinct from Brahman because unlike the latter it has limitations on account of its being engrossed in activity, and thus the transcendent or concealed nature of Brahman is always maintained.

56 The complete philosophical explanation is somewhat more complex than the process outlined above, as there are concepts of concealment and intermediary stages of manifestation. For more detailed explanations see Barz, Ch. 3, and Marfatia, Chs 2 and 3.

57 These are generally categorized as the adhibautika, adhyatmika, and adhidaivika levels of revelation. See pp. 91-92 above.
latent ānanda. But since this ānanda is concealed (by the will of Brahman) the souls are filled with ignorance (avidyā) as to their real nature - fragments of Brahman. This ignorance leads them to egotistic illusion (samsāra) and is responsible for sin, pain and suffering.

There are, however, different classifications of souls, as Brahman has manifested them with varying degrees of potential. First there are the pusti souls which are well-nourished or complete and are considered the highest of all the souls. Next come the maryādā souls which follow conventional religious law as found in the Vedas. Although they are capable of liberation, they are not as complete as the pusti souls. Finally, there are the pravāha souls which are demonic.

The purpose of these emanations is to allow Brahman to perform his līlā, a type of divine play or sport in which he experiences himself. Like most concepts in Vallabhan theology, līlā is multi-dimensional. On one level there is the eternal līlā, without beginning and without end, which Kṛṣṇa performs in the supernatural changeless land of Golok. Then there are the earthly līlās, the most significant of which was the time when Kṛṣṇa sported in Braj as depicted in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. These līlās not only allow Kṛṣṇa to enjoy his own existence, they also allow the souls which have been separated from him to again experience his communion and fellowship.

There still remains the concept of māyā. When discussing Vallabha's understanding of māyā, one usually contrasts it with the interpretation given by the eighth century advaita philosopher, Śaṅkara. To Śaṅkara, jagat or the

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58 The souls are compared to sparks which proceed out of a fire.

59 These three kinds of souls are further divided into subdivisions and cross divisions among themselves. The most important of these are the jñāna pusti souls which in contrast to the other souls contain six dharmas (virtuous qualities) of Brahman. As such they are free from impurity and stand apart from other souls.

60 Barz, p. 8

61 According to Vallabha this is the only time Kṛṣṇa appeared on earth in his true form. His other incarnations did not contain his ānanda aspect.

62 Parekh, p. 139
world of multiplicity, is essentially unreal. It is a type of mirage projected by a force known as \textit{māyā}. \textit{Māyā} is neither real, for it has no separate existence from \textit{Brahman}, nor totally unreal, because it plays such a practical role in mundane existence, and thus in Śaṅkara's writings it takes on a mysterious independent character that is inexplicable. To Vallabha, the admission of such a force was an essential denial of \textit{advaita}. In effect, he '...could not admit any power outside of \textit{Brahman} or inside of \textit{Brahman} that is credited with the power to create something that is not \textit{Brahman}'.\footnote{Barz, p. 65} Rather, he saw \textit{māyā} as a \textit{sakti} (energy or power) of \textit{Brahman} which acts as the medium through which the latter manifests the \textit{jagat}. Thus it is one of the efficacies of \textit{Brahman}: not an illusory force but a true and eternal aspect of the divine.

As can be seen, the doctrine of \textit{suddhadvaita} presents a multi-dimensional universe which collapses into the unity of Parabrahman Śrī Kṛṣṇa. On one level, the \textit{laukik} or profane, the various manifestations can be viewed as independent or separate, while on the other level, the \textit{alaukik} or divine, they are seen for what they are - parts of the whole. Taking the latter view, it is not incorrect to speak of any one of the system's components as being one with any other component; it is just a matter of degree. It is this assumption that forms the ideological foundation of \textit{Candrāvalī} and allows for the various 'spiritual' identifications contained therein, namely, Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā and Candrāvalī (and other \textit{sakhīs}) and Candrāvalī and Kṛṣṇa.

Before the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā-Candrāvalī unity can be adequately explored, it will be necessary to say a few words about the figure Rādhā and her position within Vallabhan theology.

Rādhā is not mentioned in the \textit{Bhāgavata Purāṇa}, but one well-known scholar concludes that she is probably the text's unnamed \textit{gopi} who is the
favourite of Kṛṣṇa. Vallabha made reference to Rādā under the title Svāminījī, but his son Vitthalanātha was most prominent in raising her position in the Sampradāya. It was in Bengāli Vaiṣṇavism, specifically within the Caitanya Movement, that Rādā was elevated to Kṛṣṇa's supreme consort, and this movement probably influenced Vitthalanātha. Thus, within the Vallabhan community Rādā soon came to be envisaged as being married to Kṛṣṇa, and her personage assimilated the figure of Rukmini, Kṛṣṇa's chief wife in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. In theological terms, Rādā was seen to be the power of māyā mentioned above, by whose means the world is manifested for the purpose of līlā.

During the course of Candrāvalī Hariścandra makes several references to Rādā and her relationship to 1) Kṛṣṇa, 2) the heroine, and 3) other sakhīs.

In the AthVīṣkambhak the Rādā-Kṛṣṇa relationship is spoken of twice: once by Sukdev, and once by Narada. In his song of praise to Narada, Sukdev speaks of the famed rṣi as displaying the numerous virtues of Rādā and Kṛṣṇa, 'these two unfathomable treasures' (Viś, 30, 2), thereby alluding to their unity. A little later, in response to Sukdev's question as to which gopī in Vṛndāvana has a unique love, Narada refers to Rādā as follows:

Some are special; some are not. Rādā presents no problem - she is Kṛṣṇa and appears distinct for the purpose of Līlā (Viś, 32, 1-2)

Here the unity of Rādā and Kṛṣṇa is made explicit. Rādā, as the māyāsakti of Kṛṣṇa, is part and parcel of the inmost nature of Kṛṣṇa. Indeed, she is Kṛṣṇa, '...and Krishna distinguished the Rādā aspect of himself solely for the...


65 The twelfth century poet Jayadeva, who depicted the love of Rādā and Kṛṣṇa in his Gitagovinda, no doubt had a great influence on Bengāli Vaiṣṇaviṣm.

66 Within the Bengāli tradition Rādā is usually described as being someone else's wife. See S.M. Pandey and Norman Zide, 'Śūrdas and His Krishna-Bhakti', Krishna: Myths, Rites, and Attitudes, ed. by Milton Singer, (Honolulu, 1966), p. 183
purposes of joy and \( līlā \). \(^{67}\)

The Rādhā-Candrāvalī and Rādhā-sakhī associations are somewhat more complex, as the author deals with these on two planes comparable to the laukik alaukik dichotomy mentioned above. In both the Ath Viṣkambhak and Act III, mention is made of a possible antagonism between Candrāvalī and Rādhā. In the first instance, Nārada, speaking of the remarkability of the heroine's love, declares that not only does Candrāvalī have to combat family and kinsmen, 'what is more, there is the fear of Rādhā...' (Vis, 32, 5-6). In Act III, the three sakhis, Kamāmaṇjarī, Mādhavi and Vilāsanī, are apprehensive about helping Candrāvalī on account of Rādhā (III, 56, 21-27). In both cases there are underlying tones of rivalry, as both Rādhā and Candrāvalī are vying for Kṛṣṇa's love. \(^{68}\) Here the two are depicted from the point of view of manifested multiplicity, the plane of laukik understanding. But this is not the only perspective from which Hariścandra writes. In Vilāsanī's speech in Act III (III, 56, 23-25) the following statement appears:

The fact is that they will once again be reunited — if a stick strikes water it will not cause it to separate —

There can be no doubt that this passage refers to the fundamental unity existent in the Rādhā-Candrāvalī relationship; Rādhā and Candrāvalī, like Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, are separated for the purpose of \( līlā \), and in the long run they will once again become one. Thus, while the two heroines of the drama sometimes appear at odds, from the alaukik perspective they are one and the same. This lack of differentiation is confirmed in the final act when Kṛṣṇa himself says that there is no difference between you (Candrāvalī), myself and Rādhā (IV, 73, 21). Theologically this is so because, as was shown previously

\(^{67}\) Surdās, quoted in Pandey and Zide, p. 186

\(^{68}\) The fact that Rādhā's approval must be obtained before Kṛṣṇa and Candrāvalī can meet is another example of this theme.
in the varta of Krsnadās, Candrāvalī is herself a śakti manifested from the mouth of Rādhā.

A similar dualistic approach is used in presenting Rādhā's association with the other sakhīs. In Nārada's speech cited above, Rādhā's love cannot even be compared to that of the other gopīs. 'Rādhā presents no problem', because being the māyasakti of Kṛṣṇa, she is definitely superior to the gopīs. In this case the gopīs are obviously meant to symbolize human souls, who, lacking manifest ānanda, are but partial manifestations of Brahmā.

However, as with Rādhā and Candrāvalī, there is another side to the story. Besides being the symbols of the human souls, the sakhīs are often considered to be extensions of Kṛṣṇa's līlā śakti, a designation which makes them essentially undifferentiated from both Rādhā and Candrāvalī. Such an orientation is disclosed in both Act III and Act IV. In the first instance Mādhavī says: 'We are in reality all one;...' (III, 56, 29), and in the second case Lalitā exclaims: 'The happiness Candrāvalī has realized has also fallen on me.' (IV, 73, 9)

The crux of the drama, however, is not concerned with Rādhā, but with Candrāvalī, and more specifically, with her relationship to Kṛṣṇa. By now, the ultimate nature of this relationship must be evident, as it is spelled out by Kṛṣṇa himself in no uncertain terms in the final act:

Why are you worried— you and I are one. You cannot be separated from either Rādhā or myself.
I told you before, this is all līlā. (IV, 73, 21-23)

This unity also has two dimensions. On the one hand, as a śakti of Rādhā, Candrāvalī is by deduction one with Kṛṣṇa. But Hariścandra no doubt meant his heroine to be a symbol of the human condition, and thus Candrāvalī is also

69 Shri Svāminījī (Rādhā) presents a meaning different from the meaning of the gopīs. Shri Svāminījī is never in the Vallabha Acārya Sampradāya or in any other Vaishnava sect seen as a symbol of the Śiva, for Shri Svāminījī is the shakti of Shri Kṛṣṇa and is therefore, entitled to worship in her own right. (Barz, p. 90)

70 Varma, p. 74
a representation of the soul. On this second level the process of
identification is somewhat different than those already mentioned. The
human soul can be spoken of as being one with Kṛṣṇa because in truth it
contains his sat cit and ānanda; it is just that the ānanda aspect is
suppressed. The soul, therefore '... is itself the same substance as the
Supreme Soul with one attribute rendered imperceptible.'\textsuperscript{72}This suppression,
however, is significant in that it prevents the soul from being aware of
its proper identity, and consequently while objectively speaking the soul
and Kṛṣṇa are one, subjectively, from the point of view of the knowing
being, individuality is accepted. The problem, therefore, is how the soul
can bring the bliss aspect to the surface, and it is in answer to this question
that one encounters the doctrine of pustimārga.

Before turning to an examination of the pustimārga, however, it would
be appropriate to say a few final words concerning Harīcandra's use of the
doctrine of śuddhādvaita within Candrāvalī

It is patently clear that by using the doctrine of śuddhādvaita
Harīcandra was able to provide a philosophical frame through which the major
problems of the drama could be reconciled. The power of śuddhādvaita lies
in the very fact that it allows for eventual rapprochement between all
dialectical contradictions. But the doctrine also provided the author with
an effective dramatic technique; by his fluxuating use of the various levels
of spiritual identification mentioned above, he is able to create a
mystical atmosphere, almost an air of unreality, which casts the reader or
viewer into an alaukik or supernatural frame of mind and thereby prepares
him to more effectively participate in the drama's inner message.

\textsuperscript{71}As Marfatia points out (p. 22), there is not a complete identity between
Brahman and the soul. Rather, Brahman is the foundation of the soul,
like gold is the foundation of a ring.

\textsuperscript{72}R. C. Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism, Shaivism and Minor Religious Systems.
(Varanasi, 1965), p. 78
How does the soul, the subjectively marooned atom of consciousness, reestablish its original identity with the divine? It is at this point that the doctrine of the pustimārga is introduced, more accurately, the methodology of the pustimārga, for, as the translation of the term reveals (pusti = grace, mārga = path or way), it is a spiritual path. In order to grasp the nature of this path, however, it must be viewed as a multi-dimensional process.

The first step that any soul must take is initiation into the Vallabhan community. This is accomplished by receiving the aforementioned Brahmasambandha mantra (see Introduction, p. 10). It was through his grace that Kṛṣṇa revealed this mantra to Vallabha so that souls could be washed clean of their impurities and thus start on the path to spiritual enlightenment. Without this gift they could not even begin their journey, and therefore acceptance of Vallabha and his station is an essential structural component of the pustimārga. In terms of Candrāvalī, the fact that Hariścandra's characters espouse Vallabhan doctrines is proof that they are functioning within a Vallabhan styled universe.

Synonymous with initiation is the acceptance of bhakti as the superior means of reaching spiritual awareness. During the course of Hinduism's historical development, a number of systems providing for the attainment of such a goal have evolved, the three most prominent of which are generally categorized under the titles karma, jhāna and bhakti mārga. Karmamārga relied on 'action', more specifically, the proper performance of Vedic rituals, ceremonies and ethics; jhānamārga emphasized knowledge, self-realization through meditation, and bhaktimārga proclaimed devotion to a supreme deity. It is the last two that have produced the dominant philosophical strains within Hinduism, and the fundamental difference between them has revolved around the nature of the supreme entity.

73 Actually, this same problem forms the basis for individual differences within the bhakti camp, but the doctrinal positions are not as divergent as those that exist between jhāna and bhakti.
Followers of the *jñānamarga* almost always conceive the one reality to be impersonal and devoid of attributes, while the advocates of *bhaktimārga* see the supreme entity as personal and possessed of divine qualities.  

The real import of this distinction lies in the fact that *bhakti* allows for a personal relationship between the devotee and his deity, a relationship that is characterized by love. Thus, in the *Nārada Bhakti Sūtras* we read:

That (*bhakti*), verily, is of the nature of supreme Love of God."  

As an adherent of the *bhaktimārga*, it is natural that Vallabha would hold the 'way of devotion' as superior to those of *jñānamarga* and *karmamarga*. While the latter were not antagonistically condemned, they were seen to be limited in their ability to reach the ultimate goal - union with the divine. For example, Vallabha did not hold knowledge to be completely useless; this method could allow some men to merge with a limited form of the divine (the aforementioned Aksara Brahman). However, only *bhakti* was capable of transporting the soul to union with Parabrahman Śrī Kṛṣṇa.

The superiority of *bhaktimārga* over *jñānamarga* and *karmamarga* is clearly enumerated in Sukdev's speech in the *Ath Viskambhak*. Having described the variety of the world's souls and their preoccupations, including those who are 'steeped in religious rules of behaviour' (*karmamarga*) and those who are 'engrossed in the search for knowledge' (*jñānamarga*), the sage concludes:

But that which is the highest love is *bhakti*, the emergence of which destroys the darkening ignorance of all types of dogmatic form and automatically frees one from the shakles of the world. (Viś, p. 28, 12-14)

Thus, speaking through the mouth of Sukdev, Hariścandra establishes from the beginning his drama's ideological foundations. Here he rephrases the words

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74 There are *bhakti* teachers who preach *nirgūra* (without qualities), but by far the dominant *bhakti* approach has been *sagūra* (with qualities).


76 But even here the partial union is only accomplished by the will of Kṛṣṇa.
of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*

The Divine Son of the Gopi is not as easily obtainable by the self-knowing ascetics or by sages proud of the discontinuance of worldly acts, as he is by the devotees.77

This attitude is likewise expressed, although in a somewhat more sarcastic tone, in Act II when Sandhyā retorts that Bandevī is treating Candrāvalī in the manner of a pandit, while her position towards the heroine is one of an unpaid servant (III, 45, 22-23).

Like other devotional teachers, both before and after him, Vallabha included in his path the various actions and states of mind considered to have been necessary for the true practice of *bhakti*. Traditionally these are nine: sravana, hearing the accounts of Kṛṣṇa's life, especially the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*; kīrtan, singing the names78 and qualities of Kṛṣṇa; smarana, mental remembrance of Kṛṣṇa, especially at the time of death; pāda-sevana, humility before Kṛṣṇa; ārca, worshipping the image of Kṛṣṇa; dāśya, maintaining an attitude of servitude towards Kṛṣṇa; sakhya, an attitude of companionship towards Kṛṣṇa; and ātmanivedana, complete self-surrender to Kṛṣṇa. This last step, which to Vallabha was the first in that it was considered to be the foundation upon which the other eight rested, involves a willingness to surrender mind, body and wealth to Kṛṣṇa: putting one's entire life in his protective hands.

To this point Vallabha's *bhakti* displays most of the essentials found in the systems of other acaryas. There is an important difference, however, between his system and those of other *bhakti* teachers, a distinction which is evidenced by the word *pusti*.

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78 As the dialogue of *Candrāvalī* reveals, Kṛṣṇa has numerous epithets, some of the most common of which are Mohan, Govinda, Lal, and Syam.

79 Literally, 'worshipping the feet', the symbol of which is reverent service before the image of Kṛṣṇa.

80 In Vallabhan terms this is *sevā*. See Introduction, p. 13.
Pusti as used by Vallabha meant 'nourished' or 'prosperous', specifically, the nourishment received by the grace of God. To his mind, bhakti was not something that could be attained by human effort, but was a condition contingent upon God's anugraha (favour, kindness, grace). Since it was Krsna who, by concealing his ananda, manifested the souls into their state of ignorance, it is only by his will that they can again become enlightened. Thus: "According to Vallabha, the origin, development and perfection of bhakti, are dependent almost wholly, if not altogether, on God." \(^{81}\)

It is to this powerlessness of human endeavour in attaining liberation from samsāra that Hariscandra refers in both the Ath Viśkambhak and Act II, the first time through the mouth of Sukdev and the second time through Candrāvalī herself. In both instances the same term is used - adhikārī (Viś, 28, 15 and II, 39, 4). Literally adhikārī means a person or position of authority, but as used by Hariscandra it refers to one who has control over some sphere of spiritual discipline: in this case, bhakti. Both Sukdev and Candrāvalī say that bhakti has no adhikārī; that is, no one has authority or control over it. Elaborating on this theme, Candrāvalī then says:

But beloved, your love is not comparable to these, because this divine nectar is only found by him to whom you yourself choose to give it (II, 9-11)

By these words, Hariscandra grants absolute freedom to Krsna. In a completely Vallabhan manner, final liberation is not seen to be a result of personal exertion; it is solely the consequence of the will of Krsna. \(^{82}\)

If, then, Krsna chooses those to whom he will manifest his ananda, what signs or indications of his grace do the 'elect' reveal? How does one know a true follower of the pustimarga? In order to respond to questions such as

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\(^{81}\) Parekh, p. 136

\(^{82}\) Pustimargopadesika, p. 70
these, we must now focus our attention on the character of Candrāvalī, as she is Hariscandra's embodiment of the ideal bhakt:

However, among all the other gopīs, word has spread in the very paths of Braj about the love of Candrāvalī (Viś, 32, 2-4).

One who has become the recipient of Kṛṣna's grace becomes a living embodiment of ātmanivedana. The bhakt of divine favour exhibits signs of complete self-surrender, and as such personifies the following mantra:

Om. The God Krishna is my refuge. Distracted by the infinite pain and torment caused by the separation from Krishna, which has extended over a space of time measured by thousands of years, I now, to the holy Krishna, do dedicate my bodily faculties, my life, my soul, and its belongings, with my wife, my house, my children, my whole substance, and my own self. O Krishna; I am thy servant.

He (or she) has reached an alaukik state in which love for Kṛṣna becomes and end in itself. He fulfills the requirements of Nārada in making bhakti...

... the consecration of all activities, by complete self-surrender, to Him...

The true bhakt, therefore, demonstrates his love for Kṛṣna by means of behaviour that is detached from the concerns of the world. He relegates conventional religious behaviour (i.e., Vedic law and puja) to a position of insignificance and concentrates on a spontaneous flow of emotion from the heart. He practices mānasī sevā (service of the mind or heart): sevā which is entirely internal.

It becomes evident from the first act that Candrāvalī is following such a path. The fact that she wants to conceal her situation from Lalitā

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83 This mantra is recited when an individual receives final initiation into the Sampradāya


85 Nārada Bhakti Śūtras, p. 6

86 Puja or 'worship' as commonly practiced in Hinduism involves the offering up of prayers and gifts to the image of a deity in return for personal blessings or favours. In the Sampradāya this is contrasted to sevā, for the latter is done through love for god while the former is seen to be utilitarian in nature.

87 Parekh, p. 142
demonstrates that her love is hidden or internal and is not motivated by desire for worldly benefit. The non-utilitarian nature of Candrāvālī's love is expressed when the heroine, speaking of her own mirror gazing, declares:

Sahī, when I saw my face in the mirror and noted its pallid colour then I prayed to Bhagavān: O Bhagavān, although I desire this cruel-one, may he not want me (I, 38, 4-6).

Fearing that such love will bring pain to her beloved, she deliberately requests his indifference. A few lines later her lack of alterior motive is again exemplified when she says:

O sahī, it is amazing, but I have no desire and want nothing. Nevertheless, separation from him causes me great pain (I, 38, 9-10),

to which Lalitā replies:

In this world, no matter how much love one may have, some is based on desire, and all people seek their own happiness. But you are different. You love without desire and seek the happiness of the beloved (I, 38, 11-14).

In the Interlude the theme is again demonstrated. Having read Candrāvālī's letter, Campakalatā exclaims:

Oh, how exceptional is silent love; it seeks no worldly benefit (Int, 52, 14-15)

Another indication of the alaukik nature of Candrāvālī's love is her total dependence on Kṛṣṇa for her spiritual nourishment. In Act II she sings out:

- without the happiness of your union, what value has this frivolous world?
- Having dealt in diamonds, can I examine glass? (II, 41, 21-29)

A little later in the same act she says:

Beloved. Even though you thunder and shake, the cātak cannot live without you, because, as everyone knows, the cātak will drink no other water (II, 45, 14-16).

Bhanudev Sukla, Bhāratendu ke Natak, (Kanpur, 1972), p. 44
Here, by comparing herself to the famed cātak bird who is fabled to subsist only on rain drops, she is pronouncing her complete and utter need of Kṛṣṇa's support, as he, symbolized by the dark rain cloud, is the sole source of the rain that will quench her thirst.

The love of a bhakt the stature of Candrāvalī gradually develops into intense attachment (āsakti), by which there appears a passionate desire for Kṛṣṇa and a disregard for social convention. Family, relations, friends, all must be abandoned for the sake of the beloved. In this condition the devotee is likely to cry out:

I would set fire to my house for him, I would wear the scorn of the world. 89

References to Candrāvalī's āsakti are numerous and are found in all four acts. For example:

Act I, Candrāvalī speaking;
- falling into love's snare, they (eyes) completely lose sense of family honour (I, 37, 17-18)

Act II, Candrāvalī speaking;
- Give me strength to disregard family honour (II, 46, 1)

Act III, Candrāvalī speaking;
Alas, having become indifferent to family and friends, I am rendered useless (III, 57, 5-6)

Act IV, the yogin describing Candrāvalī
Without shame, no concern for family or caste (IV, 71, 13)

As the passages cited above indicate, Candrāvalī’s desire for the beloved is so intense that even those bulwarks of the social system, family and jāti are cast aside. In the name of love, Candrāvalī takes on the burden of being an underminer of family honour, and in so doing, she faces the potential reaction of social castigation.

Finally, the follower of the pustimārga reaches a state of addiction - vyasana, the highest point of love a devotee can reach. 90 This is the state

90 Caturvedī, p. 305
sometimes referred to as 'divine madness', in which the world itself becomes unreal. The bhakt, intoxicated with the love of Krsna, loses the perspectives of time and place and sees himself only in relationship to his lord:

Not only is the world in its jagatā form, but even one's own self, is transcended. There is thus a kind of destruction of the soul, atma-nivṛtti, and God is loved absolutely for His own sake, and the soul is loved as it is in God.91

It is in Act II that Candravalī’s vyāsana condition is most clearly illuminated. When the three sakhīs come upon her in the forest she is in a state of 'divine madness', totally removed from worldly reality. Her orientation is such that she mistakes Bandevedī's hand and whistle as belonging to Krsna. She subsequently runs among the trees pleading with them to help her locate her beloved.92 Then when Varsā grabs her hand the following exchange takes place: (II, 43 and 44)

V. Where are you going in such array?
C. To meet my beloved.
V. Do you know where you are?
C. This is my beloved's abode.
V. How do you address him?
C. Beloved of my life.
V. What is your purpose?
C. To meet my beloved.
V. Tell me, who am I?
C. My beloved, No?
V. Who are you?
C. Beloved to the beloved is my name.

It is obvious that Candravalī is in a world of her own, a plane of existence where only Krsna and the devotee exist. She is so totally absorbed in the thought of Krsna that Sandhyā is prompted to say:

Suprisingly she always gives the same answer. Today she has become one with Krsna (II, 44, 10-11)

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91 Parekh, p. 143

92 This scene is no doubt based on a similar event in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa where the gopīs in distress over being abandoned by Krsna, question the trees as to his whereabouts. See Sanyal, IV, p. 123.
Candrāvalī, then, is a bhakt of the pustimārga who has reached the state of vyasana. Her vyasana, however, is not continual, but appears in sporadic bursts often accompanied by feelings of intense pain of separation (virah). Before the latter can be adequately explored, it will be necessary to discuss another important dimension of Vallabhan thought.

It is evident from the preceding discussion that divine love is the condition to which the Vallabhan bhakt should aspire. Love, however, like other states of human emotion, can take on different characteristics according to the nature of the object towards which it is directed. Consequently, there has developed within most bhaktimārgas a classification of different bhāvas or emotional attitudes which the bhakt can adopt.

Different communities stress different bhāvas as paramount, but most accept five as being worthy modes of expression: santa, dāsya, sakhyā, vātsalya and madhura. Santa bhāva is a state in which the worshipper considers Kṛṣṇa the supreme god and himself as lowly and insignificant; dāsya bhāva is when the devotee looks upon himself as Kṛṣṇa's servant; sakhyā bhāva pictures Kṛṣṇa as a friend; vātsalya bhāva is the condition of looking upon Kṛṣṇa as one's child; and madhura bhāva is the devotional emotion by which the bhakt sees himself as Kṛṣṇa's lover.

Vallabha himself championed the vātsalya bhāva, but sakhyā and madhura bhāvas were also considered effective. Under Vitthalanātha's leadership the status of madhura bhāva greatly increased, and today the gopīs, the symbols supreme of madhura bhāva, are considered the gurus of the pustimārga.

The gopīs, it will be recalled, can be viewed on two different levels, and thus their relationship with Kṛṣṇa is two dimensional. When they are looked upon as his saktis, the relationship is known as svakīyā, a term denoting a woman who has been taken in marriage and does not depart from her wifely vows. On the other hand, when they are seen as symbols of the

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93 As Edward Dimock points out, since it is a peaceful condition and not an emotional state, some writers do not consider it a bhāva- The Place of the Hidden Moon, (Chicago, 1966), p. 22
94 Barz, p. 90
human soul, their relationship with Krsna is parakīya:

A parakīya woman is she who, having no dependence on ordinary dharma, belonging to another, is attracted to a man and causes him to be attracted to her, but who does not enter into marriage with him.95

The importance of this latter relationship is that it goes against the dictates of conventional society, and therefore a parakīya woman has great symbolic significance, as her love for Krsna is maintained despite the antagonism of social and religious laws. Such was the case of the gopīs as recounted in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. Despite their parakīya status (many were married to other cowherds), they proceeded to sing, dance and frolic with Krsna in the pathways and groves of Braj, thereby transcending all worldly cares and institutions in their desire for union with him.

In Candrāvalī, Hariścandra uses the gopī theme of madhura bhāva as the sole mode of expressing the heroine's love for Krsna. She is portrayed as a young gopī in Braj, and Krsna is her beloved. Her longing for union is filled with the passion of a young lover, and the language used to relate her mood verges on the erotic. For example, in Act I Krsna is described in the following sensuous manner: (I, 36 and 37)

- These eyes cannot forget his beauty
- his compassion-filled glance surrounds me, and my eyes bloom like lotus petals
- His approach, his laugh, his smile, steal my heart
- his speech, his stance, his scan
- Lotus in hand, striding slowly, cows following
- adorned in yellow, his pān-stained mouth playing the flute
- Mesmorized eyes follow him; they cannot be averted
- everything is sacrificed to his beauty

In Act II she displays the characteristics of a jealous lover when she says:

- Don't touch me: your lip is tainted by another
- and you are not the least ashamed - Oh how disgraceful (II,48,9-10)

And the sensuality of the union scene in Act IV is so manifestly apparent

95 Rupa Gosvāmī cited in Dimock, Place of the Hidden Moon, p. 17
that Bhanudev Sukla considers it to be beyond the bounds of traditional Indian dramatic propriety.\footnote{Bhanudev Sukla, p. 46}

Much of the play’s poetic imagery is likewise pregnant with madhura bhāva. This is best exemplified in Act III during the conversation between Kāminī and Mādhurī. The use of Kāminī herself is indicative of the author’s intention, as she is a symbol of sensual desire.\footnote{Reference here is to the play on the word kāma (Hindi kam) = passion, desire:}

Furthermore, the description of the rainy season implies madhura bhāva, as this time of year is traditionally associated with young lovers. Indeed, Kāminī claims that indolent clouds cause an upsurge of desire in every part of the heart (III, 53, 8), and Mādhurī asserts that as separated lovers are concerned, the world is drowned (III, 53, 21). Even yogīs abandon their meditation and seek a life of pleasure (III, 54, 21-25) adds Kāminī, and Mādhavī continues the theme by giving an erotic description of Śyāmala on the swing with her hanging wet locks, body-clinging clothes and running pān and kājal (III, 55, 18-20).

Like the gopīs of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Candrāvalī’s relationship with Kṛṣṇa can be viewed as both svakīyā and parakīyā. From the alaukik point of view it is svakīyā, as there is no difference between Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā and Candrāvalī. On the laukik plane, however, she is a parakīyā woman who must receive the permission of Rādhā before she can meet with Kṛṣṇa. Harīścandra no doubt found the parakīyā relationship a more suitable means for expressing his own ideas on bhakti since this love is by its very nature more intense than that associated with svakīyā.\footnote{This is due to the fact that in a parakīyā relationship there is fear of separation.}

In fact, this is probably the main reason that he chose a gopī other than Rādhā as his heroine.\footnote{Śrī Candrāvalī Nāṭikā, ed. by L. Varsney, (Vārāṇāsi, 1963), p. 44}

Now that madhura bhāva has been introduced, we can return to the concept of virah. In the ideal bhakti of the madhura bhāva type, two states or
conditions must be experienced. These are union (sanyog) and separation (virah). By alternating the bliss of union and the pain of separation, '...the bhakta is drawn away from the laukika existence towards the alaukika plane of devotion to Shri Krsna.' The gopis, therefore, experienced more than just the joy of Krsna's līlā; they also felt the searing pain of virah when he was away, and as a consequence they have become the models of this condition - a model which every true bhakt should try to emulate. In fact, for many bhakti sects, including the Vallabha-sampradāy, virah is the more valued condition, as it allows for an all-consuming desire for Krsna on the part of the devotee and thereby proves one's devotion to him. Thus:

Just as a bud which has developed amidst thorns blooms, in the same way, love, while enduring the pain of virah, is manifested in its most beautiful form.¹⁰²

It is evident from reading Candrāvalī that Harîscandra was preoccupied with displaying the heroine's virah, for he saw this state as the apex of the soul's spiritual advancement. In fact, it is this preoccupation that results in the seemingly one dimensional nature of Candrāvalī's character, as the only variation within her personality seems to be the alternation between various sub-states of virah.

From the point of view of the Śastras there are ten stages of virah.¹⁰³ These are: 1) craving or longing, 2) worry, 3) remembrance, 4) utterances of praise, 5) restlessness, 6) babbling, 7) hysteria, 8) stupefaction, 9) swooning, and 10) death. In portraying Candrāvalī, Harîscandra makes use of all but one of these phases; only death is not included in her repertoire of virah expressions.

The most intense forms of virah are found in Act II and Act III and are

¹⁰⁰Barz, p. 91
¹⁰¹For example when Krsna left Braj and went to Mathurā.
¹⁰²P. Sukla, Bhāratendu ki Nātya Kalā, (Kānpur, 1972), p. 175
¹⁰³Śrī Candrāvalī Nāṭikā, ed. by Rāngey Rāghav and Prof. Rāmvaśiṣṭha, (Āgrā, 1976), p. 28
portrayed by means of long rambling monologues on the part of the heroine. However, every act contains some phase of *virah*, even the first act, where Candrāvalī displays some degree of composure. Here, through the prodding of Lalitā, her 'restlessness' or anxiety is uncovered. Once it is apparent that Lalitā knows her situation she concedes:

- When you are separated from Kṛṣṇa, the eyes continually wash the body with tears (I, 37, 15-16)

and

- Somehow the days pass in sorrow, but the nights bring forth the pain of separation (I, 37, 19-20)

There is no need to list the numerous displays of *virah* found in the two middle acts, as they speak for themselves. Here are found nearly the entire collection of *virah* modes including a dramatic swoon at the end of Act II. An example from each act will suffice.

- No one knows the pain in my heart
- I cry alone— who would listen or believe?
- The uninitiated cannot feel the burning
- to whom shall I explain; no one hears my story (II, 39, 23-26)

and

- Seeing those dark clouds recollections appear, and the cloud of *virah* begins to rumble in my heart
- when I see the rainbow and the *bagamal*, the joyous memories of his garland and pearls arise within
- The koyal and the peacock recall his flute, and his beautiful stance passes before me
- the double-flash lightning resembles his cloak, and my heart soars (III, 60, 24-31)

Perhaps the best description of Candrāvalī's *virah*, however, does not come from the mouth of the heroine, but from Kṛṣṇa himself. In Act IV, disguised as a yogin, he recites the following lines in which all nine *virah* modes are included:\(^{104}\)

- She looks a terrified, overcome, wonder-struck lass, always weary, as if having been sold

\(^{104}\)The capital letters inserted above the various words in the song match the following *virah* modes:

| A. craving | B. worry | C. remembrance | D. utterance of praise | E. restlessness | F. babbling | G. hysteria | H. stupefaction | I. swoon |
speech full of babble, her eyes a blank gaze - like the stare of a doll
- When others disturbed, try to console, she bitterly sobs, as if living dead
- Sorrowful reminiscences cause her sakhis to weep; happiness unfulfilled, she falls in a swoon (IV, 66, 15-22)

At this point, one might ask: 'How does Chandrāvallī's anger (of which there are numerous examples in both Act II and Act III) fit into the scheme of divine love?' Are not her raging antics and outbursts of name-calling an indication of pride and self-centeredness - the antithesis of true bhakti?

The answer is found in the Narada Bhakti Sutras:

Dedicating all activities to Him, desire, anger, pride, etc., should be directed only towards Him, or employed only in the exercise of Bhakti towards Him.105

Thus, far from being a taint on her character, Chandrāvallī's anger shows that she has directed her entire being towards Kṛṣṇa. Furthermore, it indicates the depth of her love, as such rage could only appear in a person totally committed to the beloved.

Ironically, the pain of virah is actually a sign of Kṛṣṇa's grace. One who displays its symptoms, as does Chandrāvallī, is automatically known to be a follower of the supreme love path (pustimarga), a fact which is continually reiterated throughout the play by various sakhis. Her intense suffering indicates that she completely relies on Kṛṣṇa for her salvation and places no faith in her own self-effort towards this end. It is proof of pure love without alterior motive, and it separates the true bhakt from would be pretenders. As Kṛṣṇa himself says in Act IV:

In this cruelty those who are true lovers increase their love, and those who are insincere reveal themselves (IV, 73, 19-20)

Hence, only by passing through the intense pain of virah can the devotee reach the final stage of union with Kṛṣṇa, a state which Chandrāvallī attains in the final act. She is now one with her lord, not in the sense of monistic

105 Narada Bhakti Sutras, p. 19
absorption, but in the manner of united lovers. Suddhādvaita and pustimārga have become one; subjective reality has merged with objective reality.

'It is a perfect union in and of love. It is an absorption in God, but of a kind in which there is room for an eternal rhythm of separation and union.'

Before closing, a few final words need to be said about the personal dimension of Candrāvalī, that is, the way in which the play reflects Hariścandra's own existential crisis. Here we are interested not only in the social milieu of nineteenth century India and the author's position in that milieu vis à vis other Indian responses; our concern is also to be directed towards his immediate personal problems, especially in relationship to his own family. It is realized that such a venture must always be somewhat speculative, as there are not clear 'sign posts' which link the play's content with these types of categories. Moreover, searching for inner meaning, especially of a personal nature, is always a dangerous business: so dangerous that many advise against it. It is the present writer's feeling, however, that while an artist may create on the historical, philosophical or social planes, he does so only so far as these dimensions are integrated with his own inner dynamic, and therefore any attempt at literary criticism cannot be complete if the personal aspect is not considered - even if it is not something that can be neatly packaged.

Mention was made in the introduction of the plethora of reactions that arose in nineteenth century India in response to the British cultural challenge. Much of the foreign criticism was directed against Indian, particularly Hindu, religious forms and ideas; they were an accumulation of superstition and decadent custom which had no real spiritual base. If India was to advance, she must throw off the shackles of the past and rebuild with

106 Parekh, p. 143
the bricks and mortar of western ideals and institutions. We have also seen how Hariścandra agreed with much of this criticism, especially as regards religious 'forms'. On the other hand, he was deeply influenced by Vaisnavism. Thus, he was torn between two worlds, and some sort of resolution was needed.

It is this writer's opinion that bhakti, especially the type of bhakti portrayed in Chandrāvalī, provides a workable resolution to the type of dilemma facing Hariścandra and that it has provided this function throughout Indian religious history. By focusing on the 'subjective' aspect of religion - the confrontation of the individual with the divine - bhakti effectively separates religious idea from religious form and thereby allows for (not necessitates) a rejection of social convention. Here one cannot but help notice the numerous references in Chandrāvalī to the superiority of the divine love experience as against family, caste and ritual. In fact, they are often put in opposition to one another - the true bhakt cannot be bound by ephemeral institutions. This type of 'safety valve' allowed Hariścandra to retain his deep seeded identification with Hinduism while at the same time decrying many of its social institutions. Seen in this light, Chandrāvalī is not merely a restatement of traditional Vallabhan theology (which on one level it certainly is) but a reflection of the times in which it was written. It is an attempt by the author to justify his own religious beliefs in the face of almost overwhelming social criticism. In this regard we cannot help but restate part of the author's speech quoted in the introduction:

As such, all festivals, pilgrimage spots, fasts etc., are social contrivances. People have mixed religious and social regulations like they mix milk and water. The sad thing that has happened is that people do not understand why these things have come about, and they accept them as true religion. Brothers, true religion is only the worship of the lotus-feet of the Supreme Lord.

Such a subjective approach to religion was no doubt also a bulwark against the specific criticism he received from contemporaries and family.
To many, his lavish life-style was not only manifest impropriety; it was immoral and irreligious. This was particularly true of his relationships with women other than his wife. But to Hariścandra, as to Candrāvalī, love was not something that could be bound by convention. Was not this the message of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa? Did not the gopīs, the symbols of divine love, abandon their conventional spouses when the call of the flute met their ears? And since Kṛṣṇa has no specific substance—he is present in all things—is it not the quality of the internal experience and not the object towards which that emotion is directed that determines if love is divine or profane?

Again it must be emphasized that such a re-creation of Hariścandra's 'world view' is largely speculative. Yet, it seems to the present writer that the potential for such a pattern of thought is explicit within Vallabhan theology. The doctrine of śuddhādvaita allows for diminution, if not an elimination of the profane, and the pustimarga, with its emphasis on the grace of Kṛṣṇa, is structurally a subjective oriented tenet. If everything in the final analysis is an aspect of Kṛṣṇa, and complete devotion to him is the inner sign of grace that guarantees one's divine status, then true love cannot be bound by social forms. In fact, it was such rationalizations, and opposition to them, that formed the crux of the Maharaja Libel Case mentioned in the introduction. Logically speaking, if the guru is Kṛṣṇa, or some part thereof, there is nothing wrong in offering one's mind, body and wealth (here translated wife) to him. Divine love cannot be measured by social standards; it is completely subjective and is known only to the 'elect', most acutely through the pain of virah. No doubt society will scorn such a devotee, but this is the price the true lover must pay—love must be its own reward.
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