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Temples, Texts, and Taxes:
**the *Bhagavad-gītā* and the Politico-
Religious Identity of the Caitanya
Sect**

*an archival and textual investigation into the text and times of the
Sārārtha-varṣiṇī commentary on the Bhagavad-gītā by Viśvanātha
Cakravartī*

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This dissertation is my own work, and all sources have been acknowledged.

signed: Burton



Overview

The *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* is an orthodox Gauṛīya *vaiṣṇava* commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā*. This research project aimed to use the text of the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* as the starting point for an investigation into the Gauṛīya sect around the time of its composition. The project began by establishing a scholarly edition of the text with the aid of extant manuscripts and available printed editions. A critical edition and translation of the first three chapters are presented in the appendix.

As the project progressed, interesting archival material surfaced, and the relationship of the sect with the state of Amber/Jaipur became the focus. The role of Gauṛīya religious dignitaries in religious debate in Jaipur was investigated, and the issue of sectarian affiliation emerged as an issue for which the text of the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* was particularly illuminating.

Joseph O'Connell and Klaus Klostermaier had done fine academic research on works by the same author and had even touched on this work. Nevertheless, a large amount of groundwork remained to be done to ascertain basic issues such as names, dates, claims of authorship, and other biographical details. Sections One and Two of this dissertation review previous scholarship and tradition on these issues and provide new insights from textual analysis and archival investigation.

With regard to the politico-religious milieu in Rajasthan, V.S. Bhatnagar, Monika Horstman and Irfan Habib had already performed significant archival research and published extremely useful findings. My study was therefore greatly assisted in this area, and this dissertation was able to build on the very solid foundation established by these fine scholars. This study contains reference to many archival documents already published by them, and it introduces a good deal of previously unpublished archival records. Of particular interest are the new records regarding the influence of Viśvanātha Cakravartī, Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya, and Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa. Section Three combines old and new material to create for the first time a “historical” snapshot of these Gauṛīya dignitaries and the politico-religious issues of their times.

The analysis of the sectarian influences on the text of the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* (Section 4) brings together the historical issues of the era and the edited text. This section provides clear empirical analysis on the sectarian affiliation of the sect in matters of doctrine. The textual evidence clearly indicates that the Gauṛīya-Mādhva affiliation was merely an “official” stance. Evidence from the text points to a much stronger doctrinal allegiance to Śrīdhara Swami and the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*. The

Bhagavad-gītā commentary has provided an invaluable common platform from which to compare the Gauṛīya sect with other established sects and important commentators.

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Abbreviations

BM	British Museum
BP	<i>Bhāgavata-purāṇa</i>
BS	Bengali Era (Bāṅgā Saṁvat, Bāṅgā-abda)
BṛU	<i>Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad</i>
IOL	India Office Library
JAOS	The Journal of the American Oriental Society
JRAS	The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JSA	Jaipur State Archives, Bikaner
KaU	<i>Kaṭha Upaniṣad</i>
KD	Kapaddvara Collection (Kapaṛa-dvārā)
ms(s)	manuscript(s)
MuU	<i>Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad</i>
NCC	<i>New Catalogus Catalogorum</i>
NLI	National Library of India
NP	Nusukhā Puṇya (Jaipur State Archives Bound Volumes)
NV	<i>Narottama-vilāsa</i>
P	Pāṇini (Āṣṭādhyāyī)
SKS	Suker Kshetra Shodh Sansthan, Kasganj (Collection of Dr N.C. Bansal)
SS	the Śāka era (Śāka saṁvat, Śākābda)
VRI	The Vrindavan Research Institute
VS	the Vikrama era (Vikrama saṁvat)

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Particular thanks goes to Dr. V.S. Bhatnagar, whose marvellous book derailed my original project by introducing me to the treasure of the Rajasthan 'State Archives.

Indic Language Transliteration Conventions

For all Indic language words in this dissertation, I follow the I.P.A. transliteration conventions for Sanskrit. Anyone familiar with Sanskrit will recognise easily all the diacritics used. Bengali and Hindi present one minor problem: the retroflex flaps.¹ These have been transliterated (following Barz and Yadav 1992) with ɽ and ɽh (e.g. Gauṛīya). This is the same symbol as for the retroflex vowel (as in *kṛṣṇa*), but there can be no confusion since the two never occur in the same environment: the flap ɽ only occurs after a vowel, whereas the vowel ɽ never occurs after another vowel.

Acceptable English words like “Swami” (also “Goswami”) or “Hindi” are written as if they were English words, that is to say without transliteration and in their simplest form (i.e. Swami not *svāmin*).

I have not used diacritics where an Indic word has a commonly accepted English rendering (e.g. “Jaipur” or “Jai Singh”). Diacritics have equally not been used where modern Indian authors or institutions present themselves in publications with an Anglicised rendition of an Indic name (e.g. “Ghosh”, “Chakrabarti” or “Man Singh II Museum”). For bibliographical references, all titles, authors, and institutions have been transcribed exactly how they are on the title page of published works.

Other proper names are given with transliteration but without italics (e.g., Gaṇeśa). Compounded Indic proper names received only initial capitilisation (*Bhagavad-gītā* and not *Bhagavad-Gītā*).

Diacritics have not been used when a word has become “anglicised by marriage”, i.e., when it has accepted English derivational suffixes (e.g., “Vaishnavism” as opposed to “*vaiṣṇava*”). When a word accepts English derivational suffixes, then it is treated as a “naturalised” English word.

Sanskrit nouns appear in the basic form in which they would appear in a

¹ The retroflex flaps are an unfamiliar sound for English speakers. They are made by flapping the tip of the tongue along the roof of the mouth down across the gums behind the front teeth. It is generally heard as a “funny kind of d.” Therefore in some transliteration systems the flaps are transliterated by the symbol “d” (eg. Gauḍīya). However in that case there is no way of differentiating them from ordinary retroflex stops. Other systems use a different diacritic (e.g., “ɽ”) but my font did not allow that luxury, and in any case it is not necessary.

Sanskrit compound. That is to say, they have no case ending (“*Skanda-purāna*” and not “*Skanda-purānam*”) and they exhibit their simplest stem form (“*sannyāsi*” and not “*sannyāsin*”).

As this dissertation involves Sanskrit, Braj Bhasha, Rajasthani, Bengali, and Persian material, there was the potential for multiple transliterations of the same word, e.g., *vaiṣṇava*, *vaiṣṇav*, *baisnab*, *boiṣṇob*, *baisno*, and so on. I have tried as much as possible to transliterate in a regular way, generally using the standard Classical Sanskrit forms. In my own writing I have therefore included the final “a” in words like “Govinda-deva”.² In the transliteration of a quoted vernacular passage, I have exercised my discretion to use an appropriate standard for that particular dialect or language, taking into account prosodic considerations.

I have taken the liberty of sporadically using the ordinary honorifics and suffixes like “*Śrī*” or “*Bhaṭṭācārya*”. This is basically to give the text a little variety, especially with frequently mentioned persons such as “Caitanya” or “Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya”. The honorifics serve to convey the honour given to them by their followers and they help to avoid monotony. Thus throughout the text “Caitanya”, “*Śrī Caitanya*”, and “Caitanyadeva” all refer to the same person. Similarly the section on Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya contains references to “Kṛṣṇadeva”, “Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma”, and “Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya” in order to break the monotony.

The names of modern Indian authors have been transliterated as they appear on the cover of their books (e.g. Prasad). If the books are in Hindi or Bengali, I have rendered the names with diacritics (e.g. Hari-dāsa Dāsa).

² Some well-known place names (like “Braj”) have escaped the final “a” treatment.

A Note on the Historical Sources and Methodology.

The first part of this dissertation contains some historical information as a background to the text, which is edited and translated as the second half of this dissertation.

Archival records for this project are relatively rich, thanks to the involvement in the affairs of Braj by the rulers of Amber/ Jaipur in the 17th and 18th centuries. The correspondence between the maharajas and the temple priests constitutes the bulk of the archival documents available for the period. Some of these have been retained in the Jaipur State Archives (Bikaner), and others have been retained in the various temples of Braj and Jaipur. The documents are written in Persian, Sanskrit, Rajasthani and Braj-bhāṣā, and some are bilingual.

The records held in the Jaipur State Archives (JSA) are immense and only a fraction of them deal with the religious history which is the focus of this dissertation.³ Thus far only limited use has been made of these documents by scholars of religious history.⁴ The majority of documents from the Jaipur State Archives used in this dissertation are previously unpublished.⁵

The documents of the Jaipur State Archives Collection are arranged by type of document, and the following categories have been used in this study:⁶

- *Kharitā* are “official letters” written between the chief priests of the temples and the ruler. Those kept in the Archives are the letters

³ The political history of the period has been ably chronicled by V.S. Bhatnagar (1974) making extensive use of the vast archival materials.

⁴ Bhatnagar’s chapter on “Cultural Institutions” is really only an appendix to the very fine political history. M. Horstmann makes good use of the Jaipur State Archives in her later works (1994, 1999, and forthcoming). A.K. Roy (1975, 1986) makes some use of the Jaipur State Archives collection, but not always accurately (see section 2.4 below).

⁵ Dr. Prof. Monika Horstmann is working on a related field, and has conducted similar archival research.

⁶ A much more detailed description of these document types is furnished by Bhatnagar (1972: 347-355) and Horstmann (1999: 41-61).

received by the maharaja. Mostly these are standard letters of formality, offering flowery praise to the maharaja, inviting the maharaja to visit the temple and giving him a gift of blessed food or clothing (*prasād*). Some, however, contain interesting requests. Unfortunately they are rarely dated. The *Kharitā* are written on fine coloured paper with distinctive decorative motifs and watermarks.

- *Parvānā* are “royal orders”. They are authoritative documents informing the court officials of the decision of the maharaja in regard to matters such as the offering of land in *jagir* and dedicating villages to a deity. They document the government processes. These note-pad size papers are stored in bundles according to date.
- *Sanad* is a “voucher” or a “statement of accounts”. These cover the fiscal orders relating to land grants. Almost like a receipt, the *sanad* are quite often issued to the recipient of the grant.
- *Dastur Kaumwar* are records of gifts given as part of Jaipur court protocol. These documents are stored according to caste (*kaum*). These record official visits of religious dignitaries to the court. The bundles of notepad size pieces of paper have been transcribed and indexed in bound volumes. They contain occasional cross-references to the *Siah Hazur*.
- *Siah Hazur* are records of the daily activities of the maharaja.
- *Nusukhā Punya* are accounts of the charity given by the maharaja. They give more detail about the offering of villages in *jagir* to those with whom the maharaja was pleased, such as court officials, temple priests, deities, and warriors. This extensive collection is transcribed and bound (but not indexed) and is divided into two sections: one arranged according to village and district, the other according to caste of the recipient.

Another collection of immense importance is the Kapaddvara Collection kept in the maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum in the Jaipur City Palace. This is a smaller collection of documents similar to those in the Jaipur State Archives Collection, but which were kept in the personal wardrobe (*kapara-dvārā*) of the maharaja. Being the private collection of the maharaja they were not taken to Bikaner with the other documents in the State Archives. These contain many of the statements of opinion which Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh II solicited from pandits from as far away as Navadvīpa in Bengal. Unfortunately, for bureaucratic reasons, the collection was not open for inspection during this project, but G.N. Bahura and C.Singh (1988) have provided a short synopsis in English of all the documents, and

the work of Horstmann provides some transcripts.

The letters written from the Jaipur State to the chief priests (*mahant* or *adhikārī*) have mostly been preserved in the collections of the various temples themselves. The Vṛndāvana Research Institute (Vṛndāvana U.P.) has microfilmed a good quantity of documents from the temples of Govindadeva, Rādhā-Dāmodara and Madan-mohana, all in Vṛndāvana.

A small but significant collection of Persian, Braj, and Rajasthani documents pertaining to the official dealings of certain Gauṛīya *vaiṣṇavas* has been published by Irfan Habib (1996). This is a synopsis of documents from various sources arranged by the name of the person involved.

Monika Horstmann (1996 & 1999) has also published some very significant documents concerned with the custodianship of the Govindadeva temple. Both this and the collection of Habib are documents collated by the deceased Tarapada Mukherji.

The only problem with the above documents is that they only record the “official” dealings, such as the exchange of land, money and gifts, or with squabbles which had to be resolved by the state authorities. Some of the more reclusive members of the sect are not mentioned at all in these documents.

More specific personal information about our author is found in sections of two traditional works composed by members of the Gauṛīya sect. The older of the two is Narahari Cakravarti’s *Narottama-vilāsa*, which appears to have been written some time between 1700 and 1750.⁷ The second work is Gopāl Kavi’s *Vṛndāvanadhāmānurāgāvalī*, which was written in 1843.⁸ Both works are verse hagiographies, the former written in Bengali and the latter in Braj-bhāṣā. Both provide interesting information of a personal and devotional nature.

The only problem with these two works is that they are not “history”; they do not provide accurate chronological or factual detail for the purposes of modern academic scholarship. The authors are operating in a different paradigm, in which such concerns are not prominent. What is essential for these writers is to impress

⁷ The author, Narahari Cakravarti, says that his father had become Viśvanātha’s disciple in Saidābād. This would mean his father was initiated sometime before 1679. As Viśvanātha probably lived for another fifty years after that, and as Narahari’s account mentions the passing away of Viśvanātha, it was probably written shortly after his demise. The dates mentioned here are discussed in detail below.

⁸ A copy of an autograph manuscript dated 1900VS was kindly provided by N.C. Bansal.

upon their readers the spirit of *bhakti* of their respective biographical subjects. Even authorities within the Gauṛīya movement have pointed out that the main worth of these particular books is devotional and not strictly historical.⁹

It is difficult to generalise, and each book must be taken case by case. In the *Narottama-vilāsa* we find a collection of traditional anecdotes about the life of Viśvanātha Cakravarti. Thus, it is a mixture of very interesting “oral history” and pious tradition.¹⁰

The issue is further complicated with the description of miraculous events such as the appearance of lights at the birth of Viśvanātha Cakravarti or his ability to write in the rain without getting wet.¹¹ It would be inappropriate to refer to these incidents as “history”, as they rely on a belief in supernatural powers which is not within the domain of academic research. Yet in the same paragraph there is reference to Viśvanātha’s birth and childhood in the village of Deva-grāma in the Murshīdbād district of Bengal, which is a widely accepted “fact”.¹²

Thus, although some aspects of the *Narottama-vilāsa* are obviously not appropriate for historical purposes, one would nevertheless not like to “throw the baby out with the bath water”. Many of the details furnished in the *Narottama-vilāsa* are valuable insights into the life of Viśvanātha Cakravarti and a historian is perhaps best advised to be like the legendary *hamsa* bird, which drinks only the milk from the mixture of water and milk.

Therefore, for the purposes of “historical enquiry”, one is obliged to make a *selective* use of traditional sources. Leaving aside miraculous incidents as non-verifiable, and making allowances for the non-historical nature of the works, the traditional accounts can be safely accepted as “based on historical events”, particularly with regard to plausible descriptions of non-controversial happenings.

⁹ Rosen (1991) p.8-11. Rupert Snell (1994 2) remarks that historical research is *referential*, whereas traditional Indian hagiography is *reverential*. He quotes Mahipati as saying that what these biographers “sought by writing about the lives of the saints was their company, *sat-saṅga*.”

¹⁰ For other reflections on the historicity of this work and others of the sect, refer to D.C. Sen (1917: 169-183), S.K. De (1961) B.B. Majumdar (1939: 506-515 and 1965:81), A.K. Majumdar (1965: 81) Dimmock (1966: 41-67), Rosen (1991:8-11), Stewart (1994, 1991), Burton A.P. (1995 p.3-5).

¹¹ *Narottama-vilāsa* Chapter 13.

¹² E.g., Mital 1965 p. 338; Bansal 1980 p. 302.

The account of the *Narottama-vilāsa* is most valuable when the details of the story conform with documentary and manuscript evidence. The balancing act is where to draw the line.

Rupert Snell has remarked a recent re-evaluation within academic circles of traditional sources:

More recent research on this literature, however, sees it as addressing and revealing facets of belief and attitude which, though at some remove from historical actuality, lie at the very heart of the traditions they represent.¹³

This “anthropological” approach accepts traditional accounts for what they tell us about the belief system of the people concerned. This approach, however, does not resolve the question at hand but rather crosses the river at a point further down stream¹⁴, for the question still remains: what do these traditional sources tell us about the events of the times?

The narrations of the *Narottama-vilāsa* tell us what was current within the tradition about Viśvanātha Cakravarti in the period just after his passing away. They tell us of the existence of a traditional version of the events, and their historical strength lies in their relative proximity to the period. Their historical weakness is their fusion with articles of faith and metaphysics.

Traditional sources have been used in this dissertation to corroborate assumptions which have been formed using the limited “historical” evidence of the archival and manuscript material. Thus traditional sources have been used to fill out the narrative framework established by stronger historical evidence. As in any history, the reader is asked to make allowances for the varying quality of the various sources. B.B. Majumdar reminds us of the hermeneutical fragility of any attempt at writing “history”:

Narahari Chakravarti was a diligent historian, a fine biographer, an expert in prosody, an expert geographer of the areas surrounding Mathura and Nabadwip.... His account ...might not be absolutely free from historical errors. But the same sort of doubt may be raised

¹³ Snell, R.(1994) p.1.

¹⁴ An image borrowed from R.D. Baird (1986: 200).

against all historians from Herodotus to Tarachand.¹⁵

Although Majumdar is perhaps a little generous in his evaluation of Narahari Cakravarti as a historian, the point is valid. Even archival documents used in this research may not be “true” in some absolute sense. There is no guarantee that the authors of these government documents were in full knowledge of all the facts of the events and disputes they arbitrated on. They recorded what they were told and what they felt to be the facts of the case, but whether that always corresponded to the events is not guaranteed. And more often than not, they recorded only part or one side of a story.

All sources, whether traditional or “official”, whether oral or written, necessarily only record a version of a story. A history such as this attempts to bring together all these versions of the story and let them all contribute each in their own way to represent the events of the period. *Caveat lector* - let the discerning reader form an impression of the period taking into account the varying values of the sources involved.

This dissertation by necessity adopts the hermeneutic mode of the discipline of history which, in the words of Schlegel, is based on the elementary creed that one must find out “whether or not something actually happened, whether it happened in the way it is told or in some other way.”¹⁶ These often unexpressed ideological foundations are theoretical aims which are of course impossible in practice and even if partially possible are not the end of all enquiry. Of equal importance, especially in a historical investigation which includes religious tradition, is to know what different people said happened, what different people believed happened, and the possible reasons for this.

In this regard, the method adopted in this research resembles the method of New Cultural History.¹⁷ The approach of this dissertation is in some ways similar to the approach of Natalie Zemon Davis in her classic, *The Return of Martin Guerre*, where she uses diverse evidence to shed light on the famous story of Martin Guerre. Here I have used archival evidence not only from the life the author and his disciples but also from the politico-religious debates of the period to provide a framework from which to analyse the text of the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī*. The approach adopted here could be viewed as part of a larger trend to blur the boundaries between History, Cultural Studies, Anthropology, and Religious Studies.

¹⁵ B.B Majumdar 1965 p.81.

¹⁶ August Schlegel quoted by Harvey (1966: 4) and Neusner (1974: 39).

¹⁷ See for example, *The New Cultural History*, edited by Lynn Hunt (1989).

All history is an act of interpretation, and even though this project claims to be “an archival investigation” without any particular theoretical stance, it must nevertheless take account, in the interpretive task, of the stance of the interpreter. It is not quite so easy to assume the “perfect impartiality” of a theoretically disinterested observer when the very enterprise of “history” is an ideology in itself. This is particularly the case when one uses the tools of historical enquiry on cultures and periods where those values were perhaps not shared. It is all too easy to integrate these cultures on our own terms and absorb them along western academic lines.

Another theoretical and methodological issue faced in this study is the tension between archival records and religious tradition. Being at the interface of politics and religion, this study proposes to bring together disparate sources such as archival documents and “pious legends”, which are normally treated as incompatible. It is true that they are born of conflicting epistemology, but they co-existed in the society of the time, so there should be a place for both of them in a history of the period. Both archival sources and “pious legend” have their limitations in what they can tell us. This dissertation proposes an integrated approach viewing them as complementary sources, rather than contradictory. Our method entails using both sources in a way that takes into account their respective shortcomings. Where there are discrepancies, rather than proclaiming tradition right or wrong, our approach will be to look for insight into the mechanisms behind the development of traditions.

Nevertheless, the primary focus of this project is on the archival material and on establishing as far as possible the series of events connected with the rise of religious patronage in the period. To this framework the traditional sectarian sources can be added to enrich the history with details, traditions, beliefs, and the world-view of the practitioners.

Section 1: The Text

1.1 Authorship

The *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī ṭīkā* is universally attributed to Viśvanātha Cakravarti. The extant printed editions of the work all attribute it to Viśvanātha Cakravarti.¹ Secondary literature also attributes the work to Viśvanātha Cakravarti.² In this respect the traditional attribution is widely accepted.³

Within the commentary itself there is no indication of the author's identity, so the association of Viśvanātha Cakravarti with the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī ṭīkā* is largely based on the tradition handed down within the sect.

The earliest reference in traditional literature to the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī ṭīkā* is found in the *Narottama-vilāsa* of Narahari Cakravarti. This work must have been written shortly after the time of Viśvanātha Cakravarti, as the author describes himself as the son of one of Viśvanātha Cakravarti's disciples, Jagannātha Vipra.

At one point in the work, Narahari Cakravarti lists the major literary works of his father's guru and says: "His *Bhagavad-gītā* commentary has no other match."⁴

Although this passage of the *Narottama-vilāsa* does not mention the name of Viśvanātha's *Bhagavad-gītā* commentary, it does show us that Viśvanātha was already widely associated with a commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā* at the time of Narahari Cakravarti. When contemporary followers of the sect write biographical essays on Viśvanātha Cakravarti, they usually follow directly or indirectly the

¹ The printed editions used in the textual editing in this dissertation are listed in the bibliography. For a discussion of these and a list of other printed editions refer to section 2.7.

² E.g., Callewaert 1983 p100; Klostermaier 1974 p.96; O'Connell 1976 p.34; Hari-dāsa Dāsa 1987 p.1799.

³ There is some contention about the authorship of some of Viśvanātha Cakravarti's works, e.g., the *Camatkara-candrikā*, which some contend is by Kavi-karṇapura (q.v. De 1961 p.603fn.).

⁴ NV ch. 13 : "kaila bhāgavater ṭippanī mahāśaya, śrī gītāra ṭippanī nāhika yāra para."

descriptions given in the *Narottama-vilāsa*.⁵

To find a stronger historical basis for the association of *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* ṭīkā with Viśvanātha Cakravarti we must look toward the manuscript evidence.

The principal manuscript with which I worked was a manuscript which I located in the City Palace Museum in Jaipur (“Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum”). The manuscript is dated 1766 VS (approx 1709AD).⁶ As will be shown in the course of this study, that date is well before the death of Viśvanātha Cakravarti.⁷ The scribe’s colophon of that manuscript reads: “Thus ends this commentary upon the *Bhagavad-gītā* composed by that great gentleman and very venerable teacher, Viśvanātha Cakravarti.”⁸

This represents very strong contemporary evidence that the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* ṭīkā was written by Viśvanātha Cakravarti. At the very least we can assert that this commentary, the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* ṭīkā, was associated with Viśvanātha Cakravarti even during his own lifetime. The manuscript in question is very reliable, being from the personal collection of Maharaja Jai Singh II (the founder of Jaipur).

At least this evidence rules out the possibility that the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* was written by some later and lesser known author and passed off as the work of the illustrious Viśvanātha Cakravarti in order to gain credibility for the work. It is highly unlikely that someone could do so during the lifetime of Viśvanātha Cakravarti.

1.2 Title

The text which is the focus of this study is a commentary (or a “*ṭīkā*”) on the *Bhagavad-gītā*. Its title is “*Sārārtha-varṣiṇī*” (That which Showers Down the Essential Meanings).

Some scholars have suggested that this work also goes under the name of “*Sārārtha-darśiṇī*” (*That which Reveals the Essential Meanings*). For example, in Winand Callewaert’s very comprehensive listing of Sanskrit commentaries on the *Gītā*, we find the following entry: “Cakravarti, Viśvanātha, (end 17th cent.), *BG-*

⁵ E.g., Kapoor 1984 p.459 onwards.

⁶ Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum MS#5610 folio118. Details on this ms are given in the appendix.

⁷ refer to Table one in section 2.1

⁸ इति महामहोपाध्यायमहाशयश्रीविश्वनाथचक्रवर्तिचिनिर्मिता श्रीभगवद्गीताटीका समाप्ता ॥

sārārtha-varṣiṇī (or *-darśinī*).”⁹

As another example, Joseph O’Connell, in his ground-breaking thesis on Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇavism, refers to Viśvanātha’s *Bhagavad-gītā* commentary as the *Sārārtha-darśinī*. O’Connell acknowledges that there is a diversity of opinion saying,

Viśvanātha’s commentary (ṭīkā) on the Gītā is variously called *Sārārtha-darśinī* by Haridāsa Dāsa (GVS 2;116) and *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* by Adharacandra Cakravarti.....I shall follow Haridāsa in calling it *Sārārtha-darśinī*.¹⁰

In a subsequent article, O’Connell revises his position and refers to the work as “*Sārārtha-varṣiṇī*” and adds parenthetically that it “is also mentioned as *Sārārtha-darśinī*”.¹¹ This second view is presumably O’Connell’s preferred position, with which I completely agree.

With the benefit of the further research, however, I think we can now be much clearer on this topic: Viśvanātha’s commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā* is called “*Sārārtha-varṣiṇī*” and definitely not *Sārārtha-darśinī*. Any references to it as *Sārārtha-darśinī* are simply errors.

The textual evidence is very clear here. At the end of every chapter of this commentary we find a summary verse: “Thus ends this chapter of the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī*, which is to bring joy to the hearts of devotees....”¹²

Moreover, at the end of the last chapter the author writes in very clear prose, “Thus ends this commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā* called “*Sārārtha-varṣiṇī*”.¹³ This is followed by another verse referring to “*Sārārtha-varṣiṇī*”.

In this way there are twenty explicit references to the title in the text of the commentary. This is confirmed in all manuscripts consulted as well as in the available printed versions. So there can be no doubt as to the title of the book.

The confusion with the name *Sārārtha-darśinī* is not just a matter of an alternative name or an alternative reading. It is actually a mix-up with another commentary written by Viśvanātha Cakravarti. *Sārārtha-darśinī* is the name of his

⁹ Callewaert 1983 p.100.

¹⁰ J. T. O’Connell 1970 p. 194.

¹¹ O’Connell 1976 p.35.

¹² “*iti sārārtha-varṣiṇyām harṣiṇyām bhakta-cetasām....*”

¹³ “*iti śrī-bhagavad-gītā-ṭīkā sārārtha-varṣiṇī samāpti-bhūta...*”

commentary on the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*. Viśvanātha has deliberately mirrored the titles of the two works, and perhaps this is the source of the confusion.

Viśvanātha has also ended each chapter of his *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* commentary with the very same verse: “Thus ends this chapter of the *Sārārtha-darśinī* commentary which is to bring joy to the hearts of devotees...”.¹⁴ The only difference is the use of the words “*darśinī*” and “*varṣiṇī*” in the respective commentaries. Manuscripts evidence from the *Bhāgavata* commentary also confirms this.¹⁵

Thus, although some confusion is understandable, it is very clear that the title of Viśvanātha Cakravarti’s *Bhagavad-gītā* commentary is “*Sārārtha-varṣiṇī*” and definitely not *Sārārtha-darśinī*. Nor should *Sārārtha-darśinī* be given as an alternative name for his *Gītā* commentary.¹⁶ “*Sārārtha-varṣiṇī*” is the name of Viśvanātha’s *ṭīkā* on the *Bhagavad-gītā*, and “*Sārārtha-darśinī*” is the name of his *ṭīkā* on the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*.¹⁷

Dr V.K. Caturvedi’s version of the title, “*Bhakta-harṣiṇī*”¹⁸, is simply a mistake, most likely caused by confusion arising from the concluding verse of each chapter which also includes the words “*harṣiṇyām bhakta-cetasām*”¹⁹

Dr B.P. Singh’s “*Sārārtha-vārdhinī*” is likewise to be rejected.²⁰

1.3 Date of Composition

As discussed above, there is no author’s colophon at the end of the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* *ṭīkā* as is sometimes found at the end of such works, indicating the author as well as the date, place, and circumstances of composition of the work. In the absence of definitive proof, we can only hypothesise as to when the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī*

¹⁴ “*iti sārārtha-darśinyām harṣiṇyām bhakta-cetasām...*”

¹⁵ Manuscript # 2915 Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum (Khasmohor collection).

¹⁶ As per O’Connell [1976]and Callewaert [1983].

¹⁷ Some of the confusion is attributed to Haridāsa Dāsa (GVS 2:116) by O’Connell as quoted above. However, elsewhere Haridāsa Dāsa (1957 p.1798-1800) quite clearly differentiates the two works.

¹⁸ V.K. Caturvedi 1976 p. 227.

¹⁹ “*iti sārārtha-varṣiṇyām harṣiṇyām bhakta-cetasām...*”

²⁰ B.P. Singh 1988 p. 719.

ṭīkā was actually written.

The only scholar who has attempted to conjecture a date is J. T. O'Connell, who mentions in passing that it was composed "toward the end of the seventeenth century."²¹ I accept that view as generally accurate. Yet for the purposes of the present study, which is wholly devoted to this text, I think it also appropriate for me to go into more detail. It will not be the last time in this dissertation that I will build on the excellent foundations laid by Professor O'Connell.

Notwithstanding the paucity of evidence on the matter, I would propose that the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* was written at sometime in the period of five years between 1704 and 1709.²² It is doubtful whether we will ever know in exactly what year the work was written, but I am confident that we can narrow it down to this period of five years.

1.3.1 The upper limit of composition.

Definitely the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* was written before 1709. This we can say unequivocally because the JMS manuscript was transcribed in 1709.²³ Perhaps we could say that the original must have been completed by 1708 to allow time for copies to be made and taken to Amber (Jaipur) and then for this copy to be completed for the maharaja by 1709.

Thus the upper limit is fairly straight forward - it must have been completed before 1709, because the oldest extant manuscript was transcribed in 1709. The lower limit is less simple and consequently more speculative.

1.3.2 The lower limit of composition

I have proposed 1704 as the earliest date of composition because 1704 marks

²¹ J. T. O'Connell 1976 p.43; Callewaert (1983 p. 100). One would assume that Callewaert is following O'Connell.

²² 1761-1766VS.

²³ The dates of manuscripts are cryptically written, and this one is dated: "*vairi-śatru-sapta-prthvī*" "enemy-foe-seven-earth". Read from right to left, this gives 1766 VS, where "earth" stands for one and "enemy" and "foe" stand for six. On the cover of that manuscript, someone has written 1733 VS, but I think the more likely interpretation of "*vairi*" or "*śatru*" is six and not three. Besides, the manuscript is from the personal collection of the Maharajas of Amber and Jaipur, and such a work is far more likely to have been commissioned by Sawai Jai Singh II in 1709AD than by Raja Ram Singh in 1676AD.

the date of completion of Viśvanātha's commentary on the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*.²⁴ I am proposing that Viśvanātha Cakravarti composed the commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā* after having completed his commentary on the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*.

Put simply, the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* is a far more important text for the Gauṛīya-vaiṣṇavas, and thus it would seem that Viśvanātha Cakravarti would have commented on the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* before commenting on the *Bhagavad-gītā*.²⁵

Whilst explaining why none of the great Gauṛīya literati before Viśvanātha Cakravarti had ever commented on the *Bhagavad-gītā*, O'Connell says,

...the difficulty with the Gītā is that it does not give sufficiently unambiguous precedence to *bhakti* over *karma* and *jñāna*. The Gītā says nothing of the Vṛndāvana *līlā*, the delicacy of which is a distinguishing aspect of Gauḍīya *vaiṣṇava* meditation.²⁶

One does not have to rely on inference or deduction to establish that the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* takes precedence over the *Bhagavad-gītā* within the Gauṛīya sect. Jīva Goswami kindly provides us with a formal statement of its epistemology in his *Tattva-sandarbhā*.

In a nutshell, Jīva argues that knowledge gained by traditional methods such as direct perception or inference is inherently faulty and inappropriate for enquiries into transcendent and inconceivable matters. Thus he concludes that only knowledge obtained through revealed scripture (*śabda*) is valid because of its non-human origin. The archetypal scriptures are the four Vedas, but Jīva says that the Itihāsa and Purāṇas are equally divine in origin and more appropriate than the Vedas, since the meaning of the Vedas cannot really be fully ascertained without them.

And of all the Itihāsa and Purāṇas, Jīva identifies the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* as the highest because it is *sattva* in nature, is divinely composed, is the essence of all Vedas, Itihāsa, and Purāṇas, is based on the Brahma-sūtra and is widely available in its complete form. He sums up by calling the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* the "Monarch of all means of acquiring valid knowledge".²⁷

Jīva remarks that Vyāsa was not satisfied after composing all the Purāṇas and

²⁴ The author's colophon is dated at 1626 SS.

²⁵ O'Connell 1970 p. 195

²⁶ *ibid*, p. 196.

²⁷ "sarva-pramāṇānām cakravartibhūtam.." *Tattva-sandarbhā* 18.

Itihāsa, and *Brahma-sūtras*. Therefore he composed the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*. This is a reference to a story from the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* where Vyāsa's guru, Nārada, says that Vyāsa's inner dissatisfaction is a result of his not having directly glorified the activities of Kṛṣṇa in previous works such as the Mahābhārata.²⁸

For the purposes of the present study it is sufficient to note that according to the internal logic of the members of the Gauṛīya sect, the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* is epistemologically far superior to all other scriptures including the Mahābhārata, in which we find the *Bhagavad-gītā*. This is not a tacit convention, but an explicit axiom of the sect.

This is why I contend that Viśvanātha Cakravarti would have commented on the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* before commenting on the *Bhagavad-gītā*.

None of Viśvanātha Cakravarti's predecessors in the sect had composed any commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā*, and Rūpa and Sanātana are very sparing in their quotations from the Gītā.²⁹

It is not that the *Bhagavad-gītā* was unpopular or unauthoritative with the founding fathers of the Gauṛīya sect. Jīva and Kṛṣṇa Dāsa quote quite extensively from it. This is probably due to their subject matter. The works of Rūpa and Sanātana, as a general rule, centre upon the sweet feelings of devotion to Kṛṣṇa felt by the inhabitants of Braja. Obviously one finds little mention of that in the Gītā. Jīva's Sandarbhas and Kṛṣṇa Dāsa's Caitanya-caritāmṛta are more didactic and doctrinal in nature, and thence the simple authoritative verses of the Gītā appear quite often in their works. Even so, quotations from the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* are far more frequent than those from the *Bhagavad-gītā*.³⁰

Thus it most likely that Viśvanātha Cakravarti composed the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā* after having completed his commentary on the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*. There is of course the possibility that the two texts were composed simultaneously.

As mentioned above, there are certain common characteristics between the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* and the *Sārārtha-darśinī*.³¹ Both are commentaries on standard texts. The names of the two texts are mirrored. At the end of each chapter of both works there appears a verse which is identical in both works except for the words

²⁸ BP. 1.5.1-10.

²⁹ De 1961 p. 220, 253; O'Connell 1970 p.195. O'Connell contends that there were probably one or two obscure commentaries written by lesser known Gauṛīya writers, which have subsequently become unavailable.

³⁰ Tables in De 1961 p. 451 and O'Connell 1970 Appendix III.

³¹ Section 1.2

“*varṣinī*” and “*darśinī*” in the respective texts.³²

This could all be interpreted as an indication of twin works closely related in form and possibly in time. The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* commentary was completed in 1704. I would suggest that the *Bhagavad-gītā* commentary was composed at the same time or shortly afterwards.

The conclusion of available evidence on the date of composition of the *Sārārtha-varṣinī* is that it was written sometime in the first decade of the eighteenth century, and most likely between 1704 and 1709.

³² “*iti sārārtha-varṣinyām harṣinyām bhakta-cetasām....*” and “*iti sārārtha-darśinyām harṣinyām bhakta-cetasām....*”

Section 2: The Author

2.1 Dated Works

In trying to ascertain a time-period for the life of Viśvanātha Cakravarti, the best place to start is with a list of his dated works and related documents:

Table 2 : Dated Works and Documents Related to Viśvanātha Cakravarti .

Year AD	Work	Reference
1678	<i>Surata-kathāmṛta</i>	according to Sundarānanda Vidyāvinoda (1951)
1679	<i>Kṛṣṇa-bhāvanāmṛta</i>	MS# 1938 Vrindavan Research Institute ¹
1683	<i>Prema-samputa</i>	MS# 2671 VRI
1696	<i>Ānanda-candrikā ṭīkā</i>	MS# 6237, 4158 VRI
1704	<i>Sārārtha-darśinī ṭīkā</i>	MS# 10899 VRI
1709	<i>Sārārtha-varṣiṇī ṭīkā</i> copy	MS# 5910 Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum
1712	signed document	VRI microfilm T1: 25
1713	document	Document deposited with Dr. N. C. Bansal, Suker Kshetra Shodh Sansthan, Kasganj. Also Wright Collection #17 (mentioned by Habib 1996 p.135)

The above table is a list of available dated works and documents. To the best

¹ The date 1685 (1607 SS) given by Sarasvati (1922: 24) and S.K. De (1962: 398) is perhaps a confusion of 1601 and 1607 (১৬০১ and ১৬০৭ in Bengali script).

of my knowledge, there are no autograph manuscripts available. All the references above are to copies of manuscripts where the date of composition of the original is mentioned in the colophon. I have personally sighted all these dates except for the *Surata-kathāmṛta*, which I could not locate. The date of 1678² is given by Sundarānanda Vidyāvinoda³ and has been accepted by A.K. Majumdar and Klostermaier.⁴ In any case, the *Kṛṣṇa-bhāvanāmṛta* is clearly dated just one year later, so it is not a controversial or exceptional date.

On the other hand V. K. Caturvedi does have a very controversial date to add to the above list.⁵ He proposes that the *Gauraṅga-līlā* was written in 1669, which is ten years earlier than any of Viśvanātha's other dated works. Obviously this would be relevant in calculating the date of birth of Viśvanātha Cakravarti. Yet I feel there are grounds for doubting the validity of this date. Firstly, Caturvedi gives no source or quote to back up this assertion. I checked several manuscript and printed editions of the "*Gauraṅga-līlā*", and none have any indication of date of composition.⁶

That is not a reason in itself to doubt the date, for Dr Caturvedi may well have other evidence to which we do not have access. However, just a few pages further on, Caturvedi gives a different date for the composition of that same book: SS1601 (1704AD), some thirty five years later.⁷ This creates enough doubt to warrant disregarding both dates, until such time as either can be properly substantiated.

Dr Caturvedi also gives 1705 as the date of composition of *Kṣaṇadā-gīta-cintāmaṇi*, which is less controversial. Nonetheless, I have chosen to ignore that date, because again Caturvedi gives no reference for his statement, and again I have not been able to find any corroboration for it in primary or secondary sources.⁸

² SS 1600

³ Vidyāvinoda 1951 p.

⁴ Klostermaier 1974 p.98 fn

⁵ Caturvedi

⁶ MS# 8697 VRI; "*Gauraṅga-līlāmṛta*" ed. Hari-dāsa Śāstrī (1988)
Vṛndāvana.

⁷ V.K. Caturvedi 1976-77 p. 226.

⁸ Of the numerous manuscripts of the *Kṣaṇadā-gīta-cintāmaṇi* held in the VRI none has any indication of date of composition. I have a feeling that Caturvedi's date (1705) is simply based on the assumption that Viśvanātha died shortly after his last dated work, *Sārārtha-darśinī* (1704),

The item dated 1712 in the table above is a previously unpublished archival document. It is a *sammāti-patra* (a formal statement of opinion) bearing the signature of some fifty seven *vaiṣṇavas* including Viśvanātha Cakravartī.⁹

The item from the following year (1713) is perhaps linked with the previous one, as both involve the *mahant* (head priest) of the Govindadeva temple, Jagannath Goswami, as well as a group of other Gauṛīya *vaiṣṇavas*. Taken together these two documents are significant, as they are the latest dated evidence of Viśvanātha Cakravartī. They show that Viśvanātha was active at least ten years after his last dated literary work.

There is another document from the Rajasthan State Archives which could possibly push the date back a few years later. The letter is from the *mahant* of the Gokulānanda temple and is addressed to Jai Singh II (ruled 1699-1743). The *mahant* asks the maharaja to do something urgently about the brigands on the roads around Braj.¹⁰ Although there is no year on the letter, there is a month, fortnight, weekday and *tithi*. Within the reign of Jai Singh II that particular configuration can only fall in 1700, 1710, 1716, 1737, or 1741.¹¹

The contents of the letter seem to describe perfectly the period in 1716 when Churaman Jat (Jāṭ) had been charged with the security of the roads in the area and was exploiting the opportunity by extorting taxes from travellers and harassing local land owners.¹² The letter complains of those very activities: “The *vaiśyas* are committing many great atrocities, disturbing the people, beating cows, Brahmins and women and blocking the roads”.¹³

⁸ (...continued)

and that the Kṣaṇadā-gīta-cintāmaṇi, being incomplete, was written in the last year or so before his death. However, documentary evidence uncovered in this study shows that Viśvanātha was alive and active ten years later.

⁹ see 2.4 for discussion of its contents.

¹⁰ Rajasthan State Archives *Kharitā* 4/1 #252.

¹¹ My thanks to Dr. Chris Eade of the ANU for these calculations.

¹² Entwistle 1987 p. 188.

¹³ Of course, the Jāṭs are not strictly speaking *vaiśyas*; they are more like an ethnic group including groups of warriors, landowners, agriculturalists, and peasants. They are in the middle ground between *kṣatriyas* and *vaiśyas*, but are not accepted by either group (R.P. Singh 1988 p.6). The

(continued...)

In fact, in September of 1716 Jai Singh was given charge of the campaign to subdue Churaman, and Jai Singh laid siege to his fortified town of Thun in Braj.¹⁴ More importantly, it was during that very campaign that Jai Singh visited Viśvanātha's temple in Rādhā-kuṇḍa and dedicated the revenue from a whole village as a regular stipend for the running of the temple.¹⁵ This letter was written on the 13th day of the dark fortnight of Kārtika, which would be just a fourteen days before Jai Singh's visit on the full-moon day.¹⁶ Indeed it was perhaps this letter that prompted the maharaja to leave his military exploits for a few days to visit Rādhā-kuṇḍa on the occasion of the auspicious full moon.

Viśvanātha's connection with the deity of Gokulānanda is well-documented, and the majority opinion of scholars would certainly have Viśvanātha alive in 1716.¹⁷ Therefore I am satisfied that this letter written by the *mahant* of the Gokulānanda temple was written by Viśvanātha Cakravarti in 1716. However, since that assertion relies on a certain amount of inference, I have not included it in the above table of dated works and documents of Viśvanātha Cakravarti.

¹³ (...continued)

word used in this document is *vaṇik-putra*. In Braj-bhāṣā the word "*vaṇik*" generally refers to a *vaiśya* (*Sāhityik Braj-bhāṣā Koś* Vol III p.224), so *vaṇik-putra* means "sons of *vaiśyas*" or "*vaiśyas* by birth alone". With the antagonism between the Jāts and the Rajputs it would have certainly been diplomatic of the author of the letter to refer to the Jāts as *vaiśyas*, even though the emperor had recently given Churaman the title of "Rao" (Bhatnagar 1974 p. 122).

¹⁴ Bhatnagar 1974 p.122.

¹⁵ More details in section 2.4 below.

¹⁶ "*kārtik badi vāsara budhaḥ tithau 13 sthāna parvata pālapā*". The Kachavāhā documents use a *puṇmānta* system (Horstmann 1999: 69). Whether or not the letter from the Gokulānanda-jī temple uses the same system is not clear.

¹⁷ See sections 2.2 and 2.4 respectively.

2.2 Date of Birth and Death

The date of birth of Viśvanātha Cakravarti is not known. This, however, has not stopped scholars in the field from making certain inferences. The most popular way of calculating has been to look at the dated works and documents (discussed in the previous section) and subtract twenty or so years from the earliest dated work to arrive at a date of birth.

The shortcoming of this method is that one will never know at what age he wrote that first dated work. Moreover, only a fraction of his works are dated, and one has no idea how many works he wrote before the first dated work.¹⁸

The same procedure generally applies for fixing the time of his death: add a few years onto the date of his last dated work. The same shortcoming obtains: one will never know exactly how many years before his death he wrote that last dated work nor how many other undated works were written after the last dated work.

There is no available evidence which would allow one to pinpoint an exact date of birth or death for Viśvanātha Cakravarti. Given this, it is perhaps unrealistic to try to situate his life within dates of birth and death. However, date of birth and death are the conventional historical methods of locating a person in history. Pressure to conform to this convention seems to be the main motivation for scholars to nominate a date of birth for Viśvanātha Cakravarti.¹⁹

But in the case of Viśvanātha Cakravarti the only thing one can say with any assurance is that he was active from at least 1679 until 1713 or beyond. This much one can definitely say based on the evidence compiled in the table of dated works and documents above.

Notwithstanding the paucity of dated documentation, one can approximately establish the period of the life of Viśvanātha Cakravarti, and with the help of other evidence one can say a few sensible things about his date of birth and death.

2.2.1 Date of Birth

Extrapolating from the evidence one can propose a likely date of birth. The table below shows the various dates which have been proposed for the birth of Viśvanātha Cakravarti:

¹⁸ Section 2.7 lists some thirty six works attributed to Viśvanātha Cakravarti, and only a handful of them are dated (section 2.1).

¹⁹ And yet, even today many people in the sub-continent do not know their date of birth. It is quite possible that Viśvanātha Cakravarti himself did not know his own date of birth.

Table 3 : Proposed Dates for the Birth of Viśvanātha Cakravartī.

PROPOSED DATE	SOURCE	REFERENCE
1628	“Vṛndāvana Kathā”	reported by G.P. Sharma and Mital.
1638	B.S. Sarasvatī (“approx”)	1922 p. 24.
	B.K. Darśanācārya	1987 p. 16 (alternate date: 1654).
1643	Saidābād Memorial	reproduced by D.S. Dāsa (1992 p. 105).
	V. C. Caturvedi	1976 p. 225.
	N. C. Bansal	1980 p. 301.
	G. P. Sharma	1991 II p.14.
1646	P. D. Mital	1965 p. 65.
	A.W. Entwistle quoting De (not found in De ²⁰).	1987 p.192.
1654	Haridāsa Dāsa	1957 p.1370.
	Kṛṣṇa Dāsa Bābā	intro. to the <i>Grantha-ratna-pañcakam</i> .
	Haridāsa Śāstri	intro. to the <i>Saṅkalpa-kalpa-druma</i> .
	O.B.L. Kapoor	1984 p. 459 (following Kṛṣṇa Dāsa Bābā)
	D.L. Haberman (“sometime”)	1988 p. 105.
1660	Klostermaier (“circa”)	1974 p. 96.
	J. T. O’Connell (“probably around”)	1980 p. 185.
1664	Haridāsa Das (“matāntara”)	as above
	“Gauṛīya vaiṣṇava jana-śruti”	reported by G. P. Sharma 1991.
1667	B.P. Singh	1988 p. 719.

²⁰ Entwistle gives no reference from De, and I could find no such reference in the works of De at my disposal. De simply says that Viśvanātha Cakravartī lived “at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century” (1960 p.254). In another place De mentions that Viśvanātha died “about 1754” (1961 p. 170 fn.).

The above table represents the range of scholarly opinion regarding the date of birth of Viśvanātha Cakravarti. From this table one thing is very clear: there is no definitive evidence as to exactly when he was born, therefore scholars have made general inferences, or followed in the footsteps of previous scholars. The range of proposed dates is about forty years with the earliest date being 1628 and the latest being 1667.

As discussed in section 2.1 above, Viśvanātha Cakravarti's earliest reliably dated works are the *Surata-kathāmr̥ta* (1678) and the *Kṛṣṇa-bhāvanāmr̥ta* (1679). It is from these dates that one must work back to find a likely date of birth. From the above table I would immediately reject the two latest dates (1667 and 1664), since they would have Viśvanātha Cakravarti writing these two works at the age of eleven or fourteen, which would seem unreasonably young for someone to write the extensive 1,326 ślokas of the *Kṛṣṇa-bhāvanāmr̥ta* in *mahākāvya* style. Of course, such a feat is not impossible, but on the balance of probabilities it is highly unlikely.

The hagiographies of the Gauṛīya sect contain no claims that he began writing elevated poetry at such an early age. The main source of biographical detail is the thirteenth chapter of the *Narottama-vilāsa*. There we find descriptions of Viśvanātha passing a seemingly normal childhood in the village of Deva-grāma, getting married, and furthering his studies in the town of Saidābād under Kṛṣṇa-caraṇa Cakravarti and Rādhā-ramaṇa Cakravarti. According to tradition Viśvanātha Cakravarti opened a grammar school and taught students in Saidābād.²¹

Thus not even the hagiographies of the sect give any indication of Viśvanātha starting his devotional literary career at such an early age. To the contrary, in the *Narottama-vilāsa* he is portrayed as a grammar teacher, and his devotional literary achievements are not mentioned until he renounces his family life and goes to settle in Braj:

He (then) settled near Rādhā-kuṇḍa and composed many books which spread throughout the world.²²

²¹ D.S. Dāsa 1992 p. 103-105; Caturvedi 1976 p. 223.

²² NB ch. 13: “*karilen bās rādhā-kuṇḍ samīpe te, racilen bahu granth byapil jagate*”.

A similar description is found in the VDA (Gokulānanda-caritra section, chapter 32):

(continued...)

This would indicate that Viśvanātha was much older than eleven when he began to compose his devotional literary works in Braj. In any case, one would imagine that had Viśvanātha Cakravartī started writing *mahā-kāvya* at the age of eleven, the sect's biographers would not have passed over this fact.

Moreover, the manuscript evidence supports the proposition that Viśvanātha did the bulk of his writing in Braj. All the dated manuscripts of Viśvanātha Cakravartī also mention either Rādhā-kuṇḍa or Vṛndāvana as place of composition.²³

There is one work of Viśvanātha Cakravartī which was not written in Braj. The colophon of his commentary on the *Alaṅkāra-kaustubha* has no date, but it does contain the following reference to the place of composition:

This commentary called "*Subodhinī*" was written by Viśvanātha Śarmā Cakravartī, the resident of Saidābād.²⁴

It would thus appear that this work on poetics and rhetoric was written in Saidābād. In this way the manuscript evidence clearly indicates that the bulk of his devotional work was written in Braj, with at least one work on poetics having been written in Saidābād. Thus the manuscript evidence lends support to the *Narottama-vilāsa*'s description of Viśvanātha living in Saidābād as a Brahmin teacher and subsequently settling in Braj as a renunciant.

Since the colophons of even his earliest dated works mention that they were composed in Braj, it follows that the *Subodhinī ṭīkā* was written even before the earliest dated works, since it was written in Saidābād.

This has important implications for any attempt to calculate Viśvanātha Cakravartī's date of birth. It was mentioned above that the date of birth of Viśvanātha Cakravartī could only be approximated by counting backwards from his

²² (...continued)

lai gokulānande kau kīnau rādhā-kuṇḍa nivāsā,
tini tah śrīmat bhāgavat hi pai ṭīkā kari prakāsā.
tahā rahi kē puni viśvanāth ne granth anek banā'e,
śrī gokulānande ka u puni tah āchī bhānti laḍā'e

"He took (the deity called) Gokulānda and settled in Rādhā-kuṇḍa, and there he wrote his commentary upon the Śrīmat Bhāgavata. Whilst living there he wrote a good many books and lovingly worshipped Śrī Gokulānanda."

²³ Refer to Table 4 in section 2.3.

²⁴ *saiyadābāda-vāsī-śrī-viśvanāthākhyā-śarmaṇā
cakravartīti nāmneyam kṛtā ṭīkā su-bodhinī*

earliest dated works. But taking into account traditional and manuscript evidence we must also allow time for Viśvanātha to be educated, married, and become a teacher of sufficient qualification and renown to write at least one substantial book, the *Subodhinī ṭīkā* on the *Alaṅkāra-kaustubha*. We must also allow him to stay sufficiently long in Saidābād to become identified as a “resident of Saidābād”, since all traditional sources describe him as being born and raised in Deva-grāma and moving to Saidābād as a young man.²⁵

I would suggest that Viśvanātha would have to be at the very least thirty years old at the time of his first devotional literary works, which were composed in Braj and dated 1678 and 1679. That would put his date of birth no later than 1648. Perhaps it would be wiser in the circumstances to say that Viśvanātha Cakravarti was born at sometime in the first half of the seventeenth century.

The date of birth of ca.1660 proposed by Klostermaier and O’Connell²⁶ would have Viśvanātha already in Braj writing *mahā-kāvya* at the age of eighteen, which in light of the traditional and textual evidence is not likely. Slightly better is the age of twenty-four, which would be the case were we to accept a date of birth of 1654 as proposed by Haridāsa Dāsa, Kṛṣṇa Dāsa Bābā, Haridāsa Śāstrī, Kapoor, and Haberman.

As stated above, I would feel more comfortable giving him at least thirty years to live in Saidābād, write at least one book, then renounce his family life, settle in Braj and compose several large works.²⁷ We must also keep in mind that over thirty works are ascribed to Viśvanātha Cakravarti and only a handful have dates, so it is most likely that some of the undated works were composed even before the first dated work in 1678.

So I would re-iterate that one should leave at least thirty years before 1678

²⁵ NV ch. 13; Sarasvati 1922 p.24; Haridāsa Dāsa 1957 p.1370; Mītal 1968 p. 338; Kapoor 1984 p.459.

²⁶ Table 2 above.

²⁷ There seems to be a tradition that Viśvanātha wrote at least another three books whilst in Saidābād: the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu-bindu*, *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi-kiraṇa*, and *Bhāgavatāmṛta-kaṇa*. This tradition is referred to by Haridāsa Dāsa (1957: 133), D.S. Dāsa (1992: 102), Darśanācārya (1987: 20), and Kapoor (1984: 459). Were this tradition to be based on some truth, it would underline the necessity to leave ample time for Viśvanātha to establish himself as an author in Saidābād. However, A.K. Majumdar (personal correspondence quoted by Klostermaier [1974: 98]) considers that the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu-bindu* was written in 1704 in Vṛndāvana.

if one desires to postulate a date of birth for Viśvanātha Cakravarti.

Thus the proposed dates (from Table 2 above) which fall in the first half of the seventeenth century are all acceptable, and there has as yet been no evidence adduced to definitively confirm or deny any of them. One might wonder whether the earliest proposed date in Table 2 (1628) is perhaps “too early”. The latest documented record we have of Viśvanātha Cakravarti is 1713.²⁸ Were he to have been born in 1628, he would have been eighty-five years old in 1716 and seventy-six in 1704, when he composed his commentary on the *Bhāgavata-purāna*. Although these are quite advanced ages, they are not unprecedented, and 1628 can not be disregarded simply on these grounds.

There is a traditional story which, if true, would push Viśvanātha’s date of birth even earlier. The thirteenth chapter of the *Narottama-vilāsa* recounts a brief visit to Braj by Viśvanātha as a very young man, and on that visit he is said to have met with Mukunda Dāsa “a few days” after the death of Kṛṣṇa Dāsa Kavirāja. Kṛṣṇa Dāsa was born in about 1527 and passed away not too long after completing the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* in 1616.²⁹ Were Viśvanātha to have met Mukunda Dāsa “a few days” later, that would push Viśvanātha’s date of birth well back before 1616.

This is significantly earlier than most scholars have previously been willing to postulate. Such a hypothesis, however, relies upon taking the description of the *Narottama-vilāsa* as a precise “historical” account, whereas it is actually a collection of non-historical oral traditions put to writing.

We have documents which mention Viśvanātha being alive in 1713, almost a hundred years later. This would significantly reduce the probability of a date of birth in the early 1600s, despite ages of over a hundred having often been associated with Viśvanātha.³⁰

2.2.2 Date of Death

The date of death of Viśvanātha is to be approached in much the same way as his date of birth. Referring back to the documented dates of Table One in section 2.1 above, one can postulate that Viśvanātha Cakravarti died some time after the 1713. If one accepts my analysis of the document in Rajasthan State Archives (*Kharitā* 4/1 #252), that date could be pushed back to 1716 (see section 2.1 above).

Below is the range of dates that have been proposed by various scholars for

²⁸ See Table 1 above (section 2.1).

²⁹ According to De (1961: 56) and B. Majumdar (1939: 305).

³⁰ Bansal (1980 p. 303), Mītal (1962: 66) and A.K. Majumdar in Klostermaier (1974: 98fn).

the date of death of Viśvanātha Cakravarti:

Table 4 : proposed dates for the death of Viśvanātha Cakravarti.

PROPOSED DATE	PROPONENT	REFERENCE
1704	B.P. Singh (“possibly”)	1988 p. 719.
soon after 1704	S. Sen	1935 p. 3.
1708	B.S. Sarasvatī	1922 p.24.
1708	“ <i>Vṛndāvana Kathā</i> ”	reported in Mītal 1965 p. 65fn.
1708	B.K. Darśanācārya	1987 p. 20.
1700- 1720	J. T. O’Connell (“first or second decade of the seventeenth century”)	1980 p. 189 (following S. Sen and B.B. Majumdar).
1724	A.W. Entwistle	1987 p.192 (quoting De, but see below?) ³¹
1730	Saidābād Memorial Engraving	reproduced in D.S. Dāsa.
1754	S.K. De (“about”)	1961 p.170 fn.
1754	P. D. Mītal	1962 p. 66.
1754	Klostermaier (“circa”)	1974 p. 96.
1754	N. C. Bansal	1980 p. 303. ³²
1754	D.L. Haberman (“sometime before”)	1988 p. 105.
1754	G. P. Sharma	1991 II p.23 (following Bansal).

The table above shows the range of scholarly opinion as to the date of death

³¹ Again Entwistle’s quote from De is mysterious (see footnote to Table 2). Entwistle says that De gives 1724 as Viśvanātha’s date of death as opposed to Mītal who gives 1754. However De (1961: 170 fn) clearly says that Viśvanātha died in “about 1754”.

³² The date “1881” on p.301 is a misprint.

of Viśvanātha Cakravarti. Again there is a lack of definitive evidence, and scholars have inferred dates in a range of fifty years between 1704 and 1754.

The first few dates can now be rejected out of hand, since we have documentary evidence of Viśvanātha Cakravarti being alive in 1713 and perhaps in 1716.³³ Thus from the table above the proposed date of 1704 (B.P. Singh) as well as the proposed date of 1708 (B.S. Sarasvatī, B.K Darśanācārya and “*Vṛndāvana Kathā*”) are both to be rejected as impossible.

For the same reasons, J.T. O’Connell’s suggestion (“first or second decade of the eighteenth century”) is also unacceptable, because Viśvanātha Cakravarti was clearly still alive in the first decade of the eighteenth century.

This leaves only three proposed dates on Table Three: 1724 (Entwistle), 1730 (Saidābād Memorial), and 1754 (De, Mītal, Klostermaier, Bansal, Haberman, and Sharma). It is not possible to confirm or deny these dates.

I find the date of 1754 questionable for reasons to do with documentary evidence related to two of Viśvanātha Cakravarti’s disciples: Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya and Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa. The Jaipur archival evidence relating to these two is extensive enough to be dealt with in a separate section.³⁴ For the purpose of the present section I would like to draw attention only to those documents which would help us to establish the death of Viśvanātha Cakravarti.

Both Baladeva and Kṛṣṇadeva are traditionally considered to be students of Viśvanātha Cakravarti.³⁵ Baladeva explicitly refers to himself as a student (*śiṣya*) of Viśvanātha Cakravarti in the *puṣpikā* of his commentary on the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*:

Thus ends the first chapter of this *Vaiṣṇavānandanī* commentary composed by the student of Viśvanātha Cakravarti, Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa.³⁶

A document from the VRI microfilm collection portrays Kṛṣṇadeva as one of the

³³ See section 2.1 above.

³⁴ Section 3.1.2 and 3.1.3.

³⁵ VDA (Chapter 32 *Vinodī-lāl Caritra* section,); Sarasvati 1922 p. 35; Mītal 1962 p.68; Kapoor 1984 p. 461; Darśanācārya 1987 p.19.

³⁶ *Vaiṣṇavānandanī* 1:1 (*puṣpikā*): “*iti viśvanātha-cakravarti-śiṣya-baladeva-vidyābhūṣaṇa-racitāyām vaiṣṇavānandinyām ṭikāyām prathamō ‘dhyāyah’*”.

students of Viśvanātha Cakravarti living in the *Gokulānanda-kuñja*.³⁷

After an active public life, Kṛṣṇadeva died between 1745 and 1749. By 1745 it was reported that Kṛṣṇadeva had relinquished his post in Jaipur, and in 1749 his grand son lodged an application with the Maharaja of Jaipur to take over his deceased grandfather's office as priest of the Vinodī-lāl temple.³⁸ Thus Kṛṣṇadeva had passed away before 1749.³⁹

Therefore, on the balance of probability one would say that Viśvanātha Cakravarti would normally have passed away before his student Kṛṣṇadeva. Of course, if a student dies young, it is always possible that the teacher would survive the student, but in this case we at least know that Kṛṣṇadeva did not die a young man, since he had a mature grandson.

Moreover, there are records of him as *mahant* of the Rādhā Vinodī-lāl temple for over thirty years.⁴⁰ We have no information about the date of death of Viśvanātha, so it would be prudent to assume that he passed away before his disciple Kṛṣṇadeva, who passed away around 1745. Thus I would question the proposition that Viśvanātha Cakravarti passed away in 1754, since it would see him passing away almost ten years after his student, Kṛṣṇadeva, who himself seems to have lived a fairly long life.

Archival evidence concerning Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa also casts doubt on the proposed date of 1754. In 1742 the *mahant* of the Govindadeva temple in Jaipur wrote to Sawai Jai Singh, assuring him that he and the others would appoint new *mahants* in consultation with Vidyābhūṣaṇa. At that time Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa was in charge of the service of Govindadeva in Vṛndāvana, and it would appear from this letter that he was considered the ultimate authority within the Gauṛīya sect in Braj at that time.⁴¹ This would suggest that his teacher, Viśvanātha Cakravarti,

³⁷ VRI microfilm T1: document 25.

³⁸ Jaipur State Archives: Nusūkhā Puṇya Vol 19, p. 249.

³⁹ More detail on these events is found in section 3.1.2.

⁴⁰ Jaipur State Archives: Nusūkhā Puṇya Vol 19 p. 247; VRI microfilm T1: document 25. For a more detailed treatment see section 3.1.2.

⁴¹ Document #1531 Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum (Kapadwara Collection). One of the great tragedies of this research was the impossibility of accessing the Kapadwara documents for reasons which appear only bureaucratic. G.N. Bahura has given a synopsis of the main documents in his Catalogue (1988). This particular document (#1531) by great fortune is described in greater detail by M. Horstmann (1996: 186),

(continued...)

had already passed away by 1742.

In conclusion, one can say that Viśvanātha Cakravarti was definitely still alive in 1713, and had most probably already passed away in 1742. Thus I would accept as plausible only two dates from Table 3 above: 1724 (Entwistle) and 1730 (Saidābād Memorial). As Entwistle's date seems perhaps to be the result of a certain serendipity,⁴² I would probably only commend the Saidābād Memorial. It is interesting to note that the Saidābād Memorial also had a plausible date of birth.⁴³ There is perhaps a case for looking into that memorial tablet more closely.⁴⁴

⁴¹ (...continued)
whose synopsis I quote here.

⁴² See the footnote to Table 3 above.

⁴³ See the conclusion of the previous section.

⁴⁴ In the course of this research I was not able to go to Saidābād, but perhaps further investigation as to the source of the dates on the plaque will reap interesting results. It was only erected in 1936. The Memorial is referred to by Darśanācārya (1976: 225), G.P. Sharma (1991: 13) and D.S. Dāsa (1992: 106). According to Dās's translation, the memorial marks the house where Viśvanātha resided in Saidābād.

2.3 Places of Residence

From traditional sources we hear unanimously that Viśvanātha Cakravarti was born in Deva-grāma in the Nadia district of West Bengal.⁴⁵ According to the *Narottama-vilāsa*, Viśvanātha received his education there and subsequently settled in Saidābād as a student of Kṛṣṇa-caraṇa Cakravarti and Rādhā-ramaṇa Cakravarti. As discussed above, the colophon of Viśvanātha's commentary on the *Alankāra-kaustubha* indicates that this work on poetics was written by Viśvanātha in Saidābād as a Brahmin teacher:⁴⁶

This commentary called “*Subodhinī*” was written by Viśvanātha Śarmā Cakravarti, the resident of Saidābād.⁴⁷

Two words are significant in this statement. The first is the Brahmin appellation “Śarmā” which we do not find used in Viśvanātha's later life in Braj. This is consistent with the idea that at this stage of his life he was earning a living as a Brahmin and that later in Braj he lived as a renunciant and thus no longer used the caste appellation.

The other word of interest is “*Saidābād-vāsī*”, identifying Viśvanātha as a “resident of Saidābād”, which would indicate that he remained in Saidābād for a considerable length of time.

In the *Narottama-vilāsa* we hear that Viśvanātha briefly visited Vṛndāvana during this period of residence in Saidābād. The author of *Narottama-vilāsa* says that his father became a student of Viśvanātha upon the latter's return to Saidābād from Vṛndāvana. It appears that Viśvanātha remained in Saidābād teaching such students, and continuing his own study under Rādhā-ramaṇa Cakravarti. That book describes Viśvanātha renouncing his young wife and eventually leaving Saidābād.⁴⁸

The remainder of Viśvanātha's life seems to have been spent in the Braj area

⁴⁵ NV Ch13; Haridāsa Dāsa 1957 p. 1370; Mītal 1968 p. 338; Bansal 1980 p. 301; Kapoor 1984 p. 459.

⁴⁶ Section 2.2.1 above.

⁴⁷ *saiyadābād-vāsī-śrī-viśvanāthākhyā-śarmaṇā
cakravartīti nāmneyaṁ kṛtā ṭīkā su-bodhinī*

⁴⁸ A.K. Majumdar doubts whether Viśvanātha Cakravarti ever got married (personal correspondence reported by Klostermaier [1974: 97]).

as a renunciant. The traditional biographies depict him residing at Rādhā-kuṇḍa⁴⁹ in the house previously owned by Kṛṣṇa Dāsa Kavirāja.⁵⁰ The manuscript evidence seems to match the traditional accounts:

⁴⁹ NB ch. 13: “*karilen bās rādhā-kūṇḍ samīpe te, racilen bahu granth byapil jagate*”.

Also VDA (Gokulānanda-caritra section, chapter 32):

*lai gokulānande kau kīnau rādhā-kuṇḍa nivāsā,
tini tah śrīmat bhāgavat hi pai tīkā kari prakāsā.
tahā rahi kē puni viśvanāth ne granth anek banā'e,
śrī gokulānande ka u puni tah āchī bhānti laḍā'e*

“He took (the deity called) Gokulānda and settled in Rādhā-kuṇḍa, and there he wrote his commentary upon the Śrīmat Bhāgavata. Whilst living there he wrote a good many books and lovingly worshipped Śrī Gokulānanda.”

⁵⁰ S.K. Sen 1935 p. 239. Kṛṣṇa dāsa's house in Rādhā-kuṇḍa is mentioned in the documents presented by Habib (1996: 144). From Kṛṣṇa Dāsa it passed to Hari Dāsa, the *adhikārī* of Govindadeva temple. Perhaps after Govindadeva moved on from Rādhā-kuṇḍa to Kāmā on the way to Jaipur (ca. 1671), the house was vacated and passed on to Viśvanātha Cakravarti.

Table 5 : Dated Works and Documents Indicating Place of Residence of Viśvanātha Cakravarti .⁵¹

Year AD	Work	Place of Composition	Reference
undated	<i>Alaṅkāra-kaustubha</i>	Saidābād	composed by “Saidābād-vāsī”.
1679	<i>Kṛṣṇa-bhāvanāmṛta</i>	Rādhā-kuṇḍa	“sarasyos taṭe gandharva-giridharinoḥ”
1674	<i>Prema-samputa</i>	Rādhā-kuṇḍa	“Rādhā-girīndra-saras-taṭe”.
1696	<i>Ānanda-candrikāṭīkā</i>	Vṛndāvana	“Vṛndāvane”.
1704	<i>Sārārtha-darśinīṭīkā</i>	Rādhā-kuṇḍa	“Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-saras-taṭe”.
1712	signed document	Rādhā-kuṇḍa	“Gokulānanda-jī kuñja” (rādhā-kuṇḍa-vāsī).
1713	document	Rādhā-kuṇḍa	in connection with admittance to “Rādhā-kuṇḍa”.
undated	<i>Saṅkalpa-kalpa-druma</i>	Vṛndāvana	“Yoga-pīṭha.”

The above table displays the available documents and literary works which indicate Viśvanātha Cakravarti’s place of residence or place of composition of a literary work. Indeed five documents link him with Rādhā-kuṇḍa (or Rādhā-kṛṣṇa-kuṇḍa). This is a sacred pond in the village of Ariṭh (now simply known as “Rādhā-kuṇḍa”) which was excavated and paved by Raghunātha Dāsa Goswami.⁵² Rūpa Goswami described it as the most sacred place in the universe,⁵³ and many of the Gauṛīya greats lived there. It would appear from the above table that Viśvanātha spent most of his time there.

⁵¹ References for all these documents and manuscripts are given in Table One in Section 2.1 above.

⁵² Document references given by Habib (1996 p. 154).

⁵³ Upādeśāmṛta verse 11.

The document of 1712 mentions Viśvanātha Cakravarti at the head of a list of devotees living in the “Śrī Gokulānanda-jī kuñja”. A “kuñja” is an informal group of huts etc., set amongst trees and gardens centred presumably in this case upon the worship of “Śrī Gokulānanda-jī”, the deity worshipped by Viśvanātha Cakravarti.⁵⁴

In 1716 Sawai Jai Singh dedicated the whole village of Dholāṅ to the service of this “Ṭhākura Śrī Gokulānanda-jī”.⁵⁵ The documents confirm that the deity was “residing in Rādhā-kuṇḍa in the district of Kāmā”. Thus it would seem that Viśvanātha Cakravarti passed the last years of his life in Rādhā-kuṇḍa with state support for himself and his deity. Tradition has it that he died in Rādhā-kuṇḍa on Māgh Śukla Pañcamī.⁵⁶

But life was not always comfortable for Viśvanātha in Rādhā-kuṇḍa. It seems that a few years earlier in 1713 a dispute had broken out, and a large group of Gauṛīya devotees, including Viśvanātha, were excluded from living in Rādhā-kuṇḍa by the then *mahant* of the Govindadeva temple, Jagannātha Goswami.⁵⁷

The grounds of the dispute are uncertain, but it seems that earlier Rūpa Kavirāja had stolen a sacred book and some other goods and fled. In 1711 his disciples tried unsuccessfully on his behalf to have him re-admitted to Rādhā-kuṇḍa.⁵⁸ In 1713 Rūpa Kavirāja was re-admitted with a large group of prominent devotees including Viśvanātha, Manohar Ray-jī (poet, guru of Priya Dāsa), Mohan Dāsa Swami (a leader of the Gauṛīya society), and Kṛṣṇa Prīyā Ṭhākuraṇī. It is not clear how all these eminent Gauṛīya devotees became embroiled in the dispute. The matter was settled quickly by the *jamīndārs* and *mukaddam* (landholders and head men of the village).⁵⁹

It is clear that Viśvanātha’s principal place of residence was Rādhā-kuṇḍa. And yet, although the majority of Viśvanātha’s dated literary works attest to this, at

⁵⁴ See section 2.4 below for details.

⁵⁵ Kartik sudi 15 VS 1773 {Friday 30th October, 1716 AD}. The *parvāna* was not finalised until Phalguṇ Sudi 4 VS1774 {Sunday 6th March, 1718 AD} (Jaipur State Archives NP vol. 17 p. 205).

⁵⁶ Haridāsa Dāsa 1957 p.1370; Mītal 1961 p. 66; Kapoor 19

⁵⁷ Document references Habib 1996 p. 135.

⁵⁸ *ibid.* p. 155-6.

⁵⁹ Document of Dr N.C. Bansal, Suker Kshetra Shodh Sansthan, Kasganj. Synopsis given by Habib (1996: 150). More details about Rūpa Kavirāja in Section 3.2 below.

least two of his books were written in Vṛndāvana: the *Ānanda-candrikā* and the *Saṅkalpa-kalpa-druma*. Thus it would seem that he spent some time in Vṛndāvana as well.

Passages from the *Saṅkalpa-kalpa-druma* shed more light on this. In verses 99 and 100, which are addressed to Govardhana Hill and Rādhā-kuṇḍa, Viśvanātha refers to himself as residing there and intending to die there. The next verse is addressed to the Yoga-pīṭha, the site of the big Govindadeva temple in Vṛndāvana, which is known in Gauṛīya literature as an intimate meeting place of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa:

O Yoga-pīṭha! Divine desire tree of Vṛndāvana! Since you have yourself forced me to reside here in you, therefore you should swiftly fulfill all my desires as I live here on top of you.⁶⁰

Viśvanātha's disciple, Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya, has written a commentary on this book and about this verse he writes:

A disciple of Viśvanātha who lived in Mathurā had a dream in which Mahāprabhu came to him as a sannyāsī and ordered him to buy a *kuñja* on the Yoga-pīṭha spot and give it to Viśvanātha Cakravarti. This the disciple did and forced Viśvanātha to accept it. Therefore in this verse the word "forced" has been used.⁶¹

It seems therefore that Viśvanātha also had a residence in Vṛndāvana on the Yoga-pīṭha spot near the Govindadeva temple.⁶² Senior residents of Vṛndāvana can still remember a spot near the Govindadeva temple in Pathara-purā where the *samādhi* memorial of Viśvanātha used to be.⁶³

⁶⁰ *Saṅkalpa-kalpa-druma* v. 101.

⁶¹ *ibid* *ṭīkā*.

⁶² Mītal (1968: 339) says that Viśvanātha lived in Vṛndāvana but in his old age moved to Rādhā-kuṇḍa. The places of composition of his dated works (shown in Table 4 above) do not confirm this.

⁶³ G. Ghosh, the librarian of the VRI, recounts that in his childhood the *samādhi* memorial of Viśvanātha Cakravarti was in this spot in Pathara-purā and that the memorial was moved to its present site between the Yamunā and the Rādhā-ramaṇa temple when the old land was sold.

Later on, by around 1820, the temple of Gokulānanda-jī had been moved from Rādhā-kuṇḍa to this spot in Vṛndāvana, and documents of that time still refer to the land as “*cakarvarat kā dharā*”, or “Cakravarti’s land”.⁶⁴

It would not be surprising if Viśvanātha Cakravarti, like many of the other renunciants of Braj, wandered around the region and spent periods of time in various spots of the pilgrimage circuit of Braj. Indeed the Narottama-vilasa portrays Viśvanātha as living in a cave on the sacred hill of Govardhana whilst composing some of his commentaries.⁶⁵

There is no indication that Viśvanātha ever left Braj after having settled there. The Gauṛīya devotees place great importance on living in Braj. Rūpa Goswami identified it as one of the vital aspects of Gauṛīya devotional practice.⁶⁶ Viśvanātha, himself, when commenting upon Rūpa’s statement, confirms that living in Braj is the best option for a devotee. If that is not possible then he recommends “living there in one’s mind”.⁶⁷

In fact, one traditional account portrays Viśvanātha as having taken a vow to never leave Braj:

The officer took the mount and came to Rādhā-kuṇḍa. He said, “Sawai Jai Singh has summoned you to Jaipur.” Viśvanātha Cakravarti would not go and said, “I am a renunciant, under no circumstances would I ever leave Braj.”⁶⁸

⁶³ (...continued)

Haridāsa Dāsa (1957: 1370) and Kṛṣṇadāsa Bābā (1954: 6) both corroborate this story saying that Viśvanātha’s *samādhi* memorial used to be in Pathara-purā.

⁶⁴ Jaipur State Archives NP “Ṭhākuradvārā” p. 201.

⁶⁵ *svapna-chale kṛṣṇa-caitanya ājñā haila, govardhane kandarāte vasi fīkā kaila*

⁶⁶ *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* 1.2.40.

⁶⁷ *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu-bindu*: section 9.

⁶⁸ VDA Chapter 32 (Gokulānanda-jī-caritra):
*“lai asavāri ka u pradhān tab rādhā kuṇḍ hi ā’e,
kahī savā’ī jai singh hi nē jaipur tum bulvā’e.
viśvanāth cakravartī ne karī calan kī nahī,
ham virakt bād hi ke kārañ taji hai braj ko nahī”*.

The incident referred to here is the subject of considerable diversity of opinion, and its historicity will be dealt with later. For the purposes of the present discussion on the place of residence of Viśvanātha Cakravarti, this particular quote simply shows the existence of a tradition that Viśvanātha never left Braj.

2.4 Temple

Viśvanātha Cakravarti is generally associated with the deity of Gokulānanda-jī. Most of the great Gauṛīya literati of Braj established the worship of a particular *arca-vigraha* (icon statue) of Kṛṣṇa. Generally the worship of that deity was continued by their disciples, and in many cases large temples were eventually erected to house the deity. For example, Rūpa Goswami started the worship of Govindadeva, and that worship was continued by his followers, who erected a massive temple for the deity.

The documentary evidence clearly links Viśvanātha with the deity of Gokulānanda-jī. The Vṛndāvana Research Institute holds a microfilm of a 1712 *sammati-patra* (letter of approval) signed by a large number of residents of Vṛndāvana and Rādhā-kuṇḍa.⁶⁹ The signatures are grouped together under headings such as “*Gopīnāth-jīr kuñja*” and “*Śrī Madan-gopāl-jīr kuñja*”. This demonstrates how some Gauṛīya renunciants in Braj lived together in groups under a senior *mahant*, and each group had its own deity which served to identify them as a group.

The word “*kuñja*” refers particularly to a park-like garden, with informal pergolas and unattached one storey huts here and there. In this context “*kuñja*” refers to the gardens and simple residences surrounding a particular temple.⁷⁰ The temples themselves varied from simple huts to massive structures like Govindadeva’s temple in Vṛndāvana.

In the 1712 document under the heading of “*Gokulānanda-jīr kuñja*”, there are six signatures, and the first is “Viśvanātha”. Among the others is the name of “Kṛṣṇadeva Bhaṭṭācārya”, the disciple of Viśvanātha who soon afterwards went on to hold an influential position in the court of Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh II.⁷¹ This is clear evidence of Viśvanātha’s connection with the temple of Gokulānanda-jī in Rādhā-kuṇḍa.

Just a few years later in 1716, Sawai Jai Singh visited Rādhā-kuṇḍa. He had come to the area on an Imperial campaign against the Jāts, whose headquarters were in the fortified towns of Thun and Deeg on the eastern side of the Braj region.⁷² Before commencing the siege proper, Jai Singh took time off to visit Rādhā-kuṇḍa. Ātmarāma, Jai Singh’s contemporary biographer, records that the maharaja bathed

⁶⁹ Vṛndāvana Research Institute, microfilm T1: 25.

⁷⁰ Nāth 1996 p.167.

⁷¹ Horstmann 1996 p. 193 note 29. See section 3.1.2 below for more detail.

⁷² Bhatnagar 1974 p.124-5 with all documentary references.

in the sacred waters of Rādhā-kunḍa on the full-moon day of the auspicious month of Kartika.⁷³

Archival evidence indicates that on that same day the maharaja made a solemn vow to offer the income of a whole village to the service of Śrī Gokulānanda-jī in Rādhā-kunḍa.⁷⁴ Thus it would appear that the maharaja visited Viśvanātha's temple in Rādhā-kunḍa. And Jai Singh must have been impressed by his experience, for he set up a permanent state income for the temple. In any case it would indicate that the institution was significant enough to warrant state subvention.

The grant is described in the official documents as a “*punya-bheṭ*” or a charitable gift to the deity. Horstmann describes a *bheṭ* in this way:

Bheṭ is basically a “complimentary gift made to a superior, here more specifically a religious donation. It could consist of money or other objects, such as real estate property. A *bheṭ* was not issued on application on the part of the grantee. *Bheṭs* were made for usufruction or consumption of the object granted. *Bheṭ* was not allowed to be sold.⁷⁵

In this case the entire taxation revenue from the village of Dholān (1,000 r/. per year) was gifted to the deity, or to the *mahant* of the temple as a representative of the deity. The money would be used for the stipends of the priests and expenses connected with the daily food and ornament offerings to the deity.

Thus it would seem that towards the end of his lifetime, Viśvanātha

⁷³ Savā'i Jai Singh Carita: verse. 528 (ed. by G.N. Bahurā 1979): “*kātik pūnya u bhūp tab vḥā ta i rādhā-kunḍ, nhā'i bahuri āyo tahā bic mīḍī arirūḍ.*” As indicated above in section 2.1, it is quite possibly a letter from the Gokulānanda-jī temple a fortnight earlier that prompted Jai Singh to visit Rādhā-kunḍa in the middle of the preparations for the siege.

⁷⁴ “*Mito kātig sudi 15 sāvat 1773 na i sākalap kiyō*” [Friday 30th October 1716] (Rajasthan State Archives NP vol. 17 p.205). The ritual offering of something valuable to a deity is called *saṅkalpa*. As this *saṅkalpa* took place at Rādhā-kunḍa, one would assume that it consisted of a ritual bathing followed by taking some sacred water and sesame seeds in the palm of his hand and the recitation of mantras under the direction of a priest. More detail about *saṅkalpa* is furnished in Section 3.1.2.

⁷⁵ Horstmann 1999 p. 37.

Cakravartī's situation was quite comfortable. He was surrounded by disciples and received from the Jaipur state a healthy stipend and running expenses for his temple. One thousand rupees per year would have been a very considerable amount of money in 1716.⁷⁶

All the documentary correspondence concerning this grant confirms that the original temple of Gokulānanda-jī was in Rādhā-kuṇḍa. Scholars like Entwistle and Mital who claim that the temple was always in Vṛndāvana did not perhaps enjoy access to this earlier documentation.⁷⁷

Viśvanātha must have passed away some time after this; there are no more documented references to him. The worship of Gokulānanda-jī, however, was continued (presumably by Viśvanātha's disciples), and the patronage of the temple by the Jaipur state was renewed each time a new Mahārājā ascended the throne. Thus we see the sponsorship extended by Īśvarī Singh in 1745 and by Madho Singh in 1751.⁷⁸ In 1754 the Mahārājā wrote a letter to support the Ṭhākura-jī's priests in a dispute with a certain Rām-jīvan.⁷⁹

Sometime before 1820 the temple was transferred from Rādhā-kuṇḍa to Vṛndāvana.⁸⁰ The associated documents speak of the new temple being in

⁷⁶ As mentioned below, Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya purchased a small residence in Kāmā in the same year for 150 rupees.

⁷⁷ Mital 1962 p.65; Entwistle 1987 p.192. See below for a clarification of this issue.

⁷⁸ Jaipur State Archives, NP Vol 17 p.205. *Parvāna* of Mādho Singh dated "Magasar budi 12 VS 1808" {15th November 1751 AD}.

⁷⁹ Jaipur State Archives NP Vol 17 p.206. *Ciṭṭhī* dated "Kārtik sudī 6 VS 1811" {22nd November 1754 AD}.

⁸⁰ Jaipur State Archives NP Ṭhākura-dvārā Vol. 46 p. 200-201. I cannot agree with A.K. Roy's reading of this document (1985: 70). He reads into it that "Mā-jī Baṛā Bhaṭṭhāyānī-jī brought Gokulānanda-deva to Vṛndāvana from Rādhā-kuṇḍa and had a temple built for the deity in the place where Lokanath Goswami's deity, Rādhā-Vinoda, was." This is a complete misinterpretation of the document which simply says that in 1820 Gokulānanda-jī was already residing in Vṛndāvana and that in that year an agreement was reached between Mā-jī Baṛā Bhaṭṭhāyānī-jī and the *adhikār* of the temple, Nīma-carāṇa, by which she could take 3,100 *gaj* from Cakravartī's land to build a *kuñj mahal*, and, in return for giving up all claim on the land, the temple would be paid 1 rupee 1 anna daily (442

(continued...)

Vṛndāvana on “Cakarabarti’s land”, adjacent to markets, shops and the “*kuñj-mahal*” of Mā-jī Barā Bhaṭhyānī-jī. This would indicate that Gokulānda-jī was transferred to Viśvanātha Cakravarti’s *kuñja* in Pathara-purā near the Govinda-jī temple in Vṛndāvana.⁸¹

Gopāl Kavi Ray in his *Vṛndāvana-dhāmānurāgāvalī* (written 1843⁸²) refers to the temple of Ṭhākura Rādhā-Gokulānanda-jī in Vṛndāvana. He describes the temple of Gokulānanda-jī as also housing a *pratibhū* deity of Rādhikā Vinodī-lāl known as “Vijai Rādhikā Vinodī-lāl”, the original having been taken to Jaipur.⁸³ Gopāl Kavi remarks that the temple and *samādhi* memorial were both at the same spot (i.e. Patharā-purā), and he says they were both built by “Jai Singh”.⁸⁴

Recently the *samādhi* memorial of Viśvanātha has been moved from Pathar Purā to its present site near the *samādhi* memorial of Lokanāth between the Rādhā-ramaṇa Temple and the Jamunā river.⁸⁵ The deities of Rādhā-Gokulānanda-jī and Vijai Vinodī-lāl-jī are also installed there.

Traditional accounts such as the *Narottama-vilāsa* and the *Vṛndāvana-dhāmānurāgāvalī* have copious references to the deity of Gokulānanda-jī in relationship with Viśvanātha Cakravarti. Both works have a similar colourful story depicting how Viśvanātha first obtained that deity:

There was a supremely peaceful *brahmacārī* who came to circumambulate the holy pilgrimage centre of Mathura. He always

⁸⁰ (...continued)
rupees 2 anna yearly) for the deity’s food offerings.

⁸¹ See section 2.3 above.

⁸² An autograph ms dated VS 1900 was kindly photocopied for me by Dr N.C. Bansal. His publication of this work is forthcoming.

⁸³ *Vṛndāvana-dhāmānurāgāvalī* (Ch. 32, end of Sarvabhūmi Paṇḍita Caritra). A.K. Roy (1985: 71) notes that in the Rādhā Vinoda temple in Jaipur there is also a Gokulānanda-jī, and that in the Gokulānanda temple in Vṛndāvana there is also Rādhā-Vinoda. It seems likely the Vṛndāvana temple holds the original Gokulānanda-jī and a *pratibhū* Rādhā Vinoda, whereas the Jaipur temple holds the original Rādhā Vinoda and a *pratibhū* Gokulānanda-jī.

⁸⁴ *Vṛndāvana-dhāmānurāgāvalī* (Ch. 32, v. 69 {end of Sarvabhūmi Carita}).

⁸⁵ See also section 2.3 above.

took pleasure from his service to a deity called Śrī Gokulānanda. How can one describe his activities? One day Śrī Gokulānanda appeared to the *brahmacārī* in a dream and spoke to him with a gentle smile: “In Vṛndāvana there is one Viśvanātha Cakravarti; you should offer Me to him.” At daybreak, the *brahmacārī* went and offered Śrī Gokulānanda to Viśvanātha with great bliss. Viśvanātha said, “Look, you are the proper servant of this deity; I can’t understand why you are offering Him to me.” The *brahmacārī* replied, “I was instructed to do so by the deity”. “Well, He will only suffer from this. I’m telling you, *you* do the service to Śrī Gokulānanda.” Upon hearing this, the *brahmacārī* returned to where he was staying. Again Śrī Gokulānanda appeared to him in a dream and instructed him once more, “Take me again to Viśvanātha at daybreak. In the meantime I will instruct him to accept Me.” At day break, according to the instruction of the Lord, again the *brahmacārī* set off for Viśvanātha’s place in great joy. At that same time, blissful Śrī Gokulānanda appeared to Viśvanātha in a dream, and addressed him with sweet words, “O Viśvanātha, don’t worry your mind over this. Just offer Me whatever you receive as a mendicant. If you serve Me in this way, I will be supremely satisfied with your service. Saying this, He bestowed great mercy upon Viśvanātha, whose sleep broke at that very instant. I cannot describe Viśvanātha’s excited and agitated state. Just then the pilgrim *brahmacārī* arrived. In great happiness he offered Śrī Gokulānanda to Viśvanātha, who became fully absorbed in the happiness of service to the deity.⁸⁶

⁸⁶ NV Chapter 13:

*parama susānta eka brahmacārī, mathurā ā’ilā tīrtha pradakṣiṇa kari
śrī gokulānandera sevāya sadā rata, tāñra yaiche kriyā tā kahibe kebā kata
eka dina svapna-chale śrīgokulānanda, brahmacārī prati kahe hāsi manda
manda*

*vṛndāvane viśvanātha cakravarti yathā, tāñre samarpaha more haiyā yāha tathā
rajanī prabhāte brahmacārī mahānande, viśvanātha samarpaye śrī gokulānānde
viśvanātha kahe laha sevā adhikārī, more samarpaaha kena bujhite nā pāri
brahmacārī kahe more ha’ilā ādeśa, viśvanātha kahe ethā pā’ibena kleśa
āpani karaha sevā āmāra kathāya, śuni brahmacārī gela āpana vāsāya
punaḥ śrī gokulānānda ha’iyā sadaya, brahmacārī prati punaḥ svapne nideśaya
punaḥ prāte laiyyā more yābe tāñra sthāne laiben teñho āmi kahibo tāñhāne
brahmacārī prātaḥkāle prabhura ājñāye, viśvanātha pāśe cale ullāsa hiyāya*

(continued...)

The *Narottama-vilāsa* also mentions that Viśvanātha worshipped a famous *Govardhana-sīlā* which had been given to Raghunāth Dāsa Goswami by the founder of the sect, Caitanya-deva. This sacred stone from the Govardhan Hill had been given by Raghunāth to Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, who gave it to Mukunda Dāsa, who gave it to Kṛṣṇa Prīyā Ṭhākuraṇī⁸⁷, who in turn gave it to Viśvanāth. Narahari reports that in his time, this *sīlā* was also worshipped in the temple alongside Gokulānanda-jī.⁸⁸ This is still the case today in the current Gokulānanda-jī temple in Vṛndāvana.

We noted above that there was certain confusion on the part of scholars like Mital and Entwistle about the location of the temple of Gokulānanda-jī. As the work of both these scholars is generally very reliable, it is important to clarify the matter. Entwistle says that “Gokulananda was worshipped along with Raḥdavinod in Vrindaban”. This is obviously a confusion with the current state of affairs, in which both deities are worshipped in the same temple in Vṛndāvana. At the time of Viśvanātha Cakravartī, however, there was certainly no connection between the two.

A reference from the *Vṛndāvana-dhāmānurāgāvalī* tells us that Rādhā-vinoda

⁸⁶ (...continued)

*ethā śrī gokulānanda ānanda āveśe, svapne viśvanātha prati kahe mṛdu-bhāṣe
uḥe viśvanātha tumi nā bhāriha mane, āpana bhakṣaṇa dravya ānibo āpane
yaiche taiche yadi mora sevā kara tumi, tāhāte’i parama ānanda pābo āmi
brahmacārī adya more laiṅyā āsibe, tumi sevā kaile teṅhe mahānanda pābe
eta kahi ati anugrahe kaila kole, śrī viśvanātha nidrābhaṅga hena kāle
ha’ilo byākula yaiche kahite nā pāri, hena kāle ā’ilā tairthika brahmacārī
śrī gokulānande ati sukhe samarpila, viśvanātha aiche sevā sukhe magna haila*

Also VDA Chapter 32 (Gokulānanda-jī-caritra):

*ik paṇḍit ke sevya gokulānand-ju ṭhākur so’i,
tin paṇḍit sa u kahi svapn ma i ati prasann hai jo’i...*

⁸⁷ Kṛṣṇa-priyā is mentioned in the documents collated by Habib (1996: 146). As the widow of Braja-kumara, she seems to have been embroiled in disputes concerning his estate, particularly the gardens and buildings around the *samādhi* tombs of Rūpa and Jīva Goswami.

⁸⁸ NV Chapter 13:

*hena kuṇḍa-vāsī ṭhakurāṇī viśvanāthe, madhye madhye sīlā sevā karāna
sakśate
govardhana sīlā śobhā kahan nā haya, adyāpi gokulānanda pāśe
vilāsaya.*

was located in Karauli before coming to Jaipur/Amber.⁸⁹ Presumably the deity was taken from Braj to Karauli in around 1670 as part of the general exodus of deities from Braj which followed the razing of the fabulous temple of Keśavadeva in Mathura by the troops of Aurangzeb.⁹⁰ Certainly Rādhā-vinoda-jī had come to Jaipur by 1714, for by then we find documentation of the deity's state patronage in Jaipur.⁹¹

Thus, for most of the active career of Viśvanātha Cakravarti, the deity of Rādhā-vinoda was not even in Braj. On the other hand, all the documentary evidence indicates that Viśvanātha worshipped Rādhā-gokulānanda in Rādhā-kuṇḍa, and it was not until well after his death that the deity was moved to Pathara-pura in Vṛndāvana (around 1820). In 1843 Gopal Kavi reports that the deity of Gokulānanda-jī was in Vṛndāvana accompanied by a *pratibhū* image of Rādhā-vinoda.

On a related matter, Entwistle also states that Rādhā-gokulānanda had been brought to Rādhā-kuṇḍa by Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya.⁹² Again this seems to be a confusion of two histories. There are no archival documents pertaining to the origin of the deity, but, as noted above, traditional sources agree that the deity of Gokulānanda-jī was given to Viśvanātha by an anonymous *brahmacāri*. The *Vṛndāvana-dhāmānurāgāvalī* account, to which Entwistle refers as the source of his information, also includes this story as well as a story about Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya coming to Rādhā-kuṇḍa, and it seems that Entwistle has confused the two.⁹³

⁸⁹ *Vṛndāvana-dhāmānurāgāvalī*, Chapter 32 (*Sarvabhūmī-carita*). The full passage is quoted in section 3.2 below.

⁹⁰ Entwistle 1987 p. 180-187

⁹¹ Refer to section 3.1.2 below for documentary references.

⁹² Entwistle 1987 p. 192.

⁹³ *Vṛndāvana-dhāmānurāgāvalī*, chapter 32, (Rādhā-gokulānanda-carita for the *brahmacāri* story and Sarva-bhūmi carita for the story of Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya).

2.5 Name

The name of the author of the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* is Viśvanātha Cakravartī. This has been established in Section 1.1 above.

Earlier in his youth Viśvanātha also used the title Śarmā, a general caste name of Brahmins.⁹⁴ In his later life this name Śarmā is not found. Often we find the title “*Mahopādhyāya*”, which literally means “a great teacher” and which is a term of respect for a very learned person. This title is found in the scribal colophons, including the oldest available manuscript dated 1709, which is well within the lifetime of Viśvanātha.⁹⁵ It would seem that this title of “*Mahopādhyāya*” was the title conventionally used with Viśvanātha after he settled in Braj and gradually became famous as an author and a teacher.

Manuscript colophons also use the title “*Thākura*” (or *Thakkura*) in connection with Viśvanātha Cakravartī.⁹⁶ This is a title meaning “venerable”, very often used with the names of the various deities, but also used with devotees as a term of respect.⁹⁷

Although the caste title “Śarmā” is not found in Viśvanātha’s later years, his family name “Cakravartī” is certainly widely used.⁹⁸ He signs simply as “Viśvanāthasya” in the Sanskrit document of 1712,⁹⁹ but all other contemporary

⁹⁴ The colophon of *Subodhinī ṭīkā* reads:
saiyadābād-vāsī-śrī-viśvanāthākhyā-śarmanā
cakravartīti nāmneyam kṛtā ṭīkā su-bodhinī

⁹⁵ Ms# 5910 Maharaja of Jaipur Museum. Also in the colophon of the *Śrī-bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu-bindu*.

⁹⁶ Colophons of *Saṅkalpa-kalpa-druma* and *Śrī-gaurāṅga-līlāmṛta*.

⁹⁷ Haridāsa Dāsa 1957 p. 294.

⁹⁸ Haridāsa Dāsa (1957: 1370) mentions his father as “Rām Nārāyaṇ Cakravartī”. Thus Cakravartī is his family name. I am more inclined to accept this than A.K. Majumdar’s suggestion (in Klostermaier [1974: 97]) that Viśvanātha received the name “Cakravartī” from his connection with his initiating guru Rādhā-ramaṇa Cakravartī. It is far more likely for the caste name “Cakravartī” to pass through birth lines than through initiation lines.

⁹⁹ Vṛndāvana Research Institute microfilm T1: 25.

documents refer to him as “Viśvanātha Cakravartī”.¹⁰⁰ Baladeva Vidyābhūṣana also refers to him as “Viśvanātha Cakravartī”.¹⁰¹

“Cakravartī” is a Bengali Brahmin caste name, and it is somewhat surprising that Viśvanātha would have retained it after retiring to Braj as a renunciant.

It would be simplistic to say that the followers of Caitanya completely rejected all caste divisions. They certainly played down caste divisions and rejected caste identity as temporary, mundane, and irrelevant for devotional purposes. Nevertheless they were not interested in a caste revolution and were happy enough to function within the society of the time and let that society continue to provide the material necessities of life.¹⁰²

In any case, the society of devotees in Braj continued to use a Brahmin caste name to identify Viśvanātha Cakravartī. The most common Bengali *vaiṣṇava* appellation is “Dāsa”, meaning “servant” or “slave” (e.g., Kṛṣṇa Dāsa, Narottama Dāsa). Other great renunciants in the line have been called “Goswami” (e.g., Rūpa Goswami, Jīva Goswami) or “Ācārya” (e.g., Advaita Ācārya, Śrīnivāsa Ācārya), but rarely are caste appellations used to identify renunciants within the sect. There is a feeling that the renunciant is no longer identified in terms of caste or family but rather as a servant of Kṛṣṇa.¹⁰³

I would suggest that Viśvanātha must have already had some fame before becoming fully devoted to the life of Gauṛīya Vaishnavism and certainly before settling in Braj as a renunciant. As discussed in section 2.2.1 above, it would seem

¹⁰⁰ All other documents listed in Table One as well as all available scribal colophons refer to him as “Viśvanātha Cakravartī”.

¹⁰¹ “*iti viśvanātha-cakravartī-śiṣya-baladeva vidyābhūṣana-viracitāyām ...bhāgavata-ṭīkāyām prathamā ‘dhyāyah’*” - commentary on *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* 1.1.

¹⁰² De 1961 p. 108-109. A more detailed investigation of the social implications of the Gauṛīya movement is given by O’Connell (1970).

¹⁰³ There is a traditional verse in praise of Viśvanātha which gives an “etymology” of the name “Cakravartī”:

*viśvasya nātha-rūpo’ sau bhakti-vartma-pradarśanāt
bhakta-cakre vartitavāt cakravarty-ākhyayābhavat*

“He is the leader of the world (*viśva-nātha*) because he shows the whole world the path of *bhakti*. He got the name “Cakravartī” because he lives (*varti*) in the circle (*cakra*) of devotees.” This ingenious “etymology” perhaps reveals an uneasiness on the part of Viśvanātha’s followers with the normal connotations of Cakravartī.

that Viśvanātha spent some time in Saidābād as a Brahmin teacher, and I would suggest that he built up a name for himself as “Viśvanātha Cakravartī” and that he arrived in Braj with that name well-established.¹⁰⁴

Another name by which Viśvanātha Cakravartī was known is “Hari-vallabha” or simply “Vallabha”. This is a pen name under which Viśvanātha is supposed to have compiled one of the earliest anthologies of vernacular vaiṣṇava poetry, called *Kṣaṇadā-gīta-cintāmaṇi*. This is a compendium of three hundred and nine poems by about forty-five different poets.¹⁰⁵ The fifty three poems with the *bhanitā* “Hari-vallabha” or “Vallabha” are universally attributed to Viśvanātha Cakravartī.¹⁰⁶

The tradition which links Viśvanātha Cakravartī with this “Hari-vallabha” is a very old one. The *Narottama-vilāsa*, which was written shortly after Viśvanātha Cakravartī, says explicitly:¹⁰⁷

Śrī Viśvanātha’s (other) name is “Hari-Vallabha”. This is clear from the way he signs his songs, which all learned men acknowledge.

Some have suggested that this was a confidential initiate name.¹⁰⁸ Haridāsa Dāsa says that he took the name Hari-vallabha after accepting *veśa*, or the clothes and lifestyle of a renunciant. Yet Haridāsa Dāsa concedes perhaps that Viśvanātha

¹⁰⁴ Similarly, two of the celebrated “Six Goswamis of Vṛndāvana” retained the South Indian Brahmin name “Bhaṭṭa”: Gopāla Bhaṭṭa Gowsami and Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa Goswami.

¹⁰⁵ S. Sen 1935 p. 259.

¹⁰⁶ B.S. Sarasvati 1922 p. 41; S. Sen 1935 p. 258; Haridāsa Dāsa 1957 p.1418; Bansal 1980 p.301-303, Kapoor 1984 p. 461.

¹⁰⁷ *Narottama-vilāsa* Ch. 13:
śrī viśvanāthera nāma śrī hari-vallabha
gūtera ābhoge vyakta kahe vijña saba.

The author, Narahari Cakravartī, says that his father had become Viśvanātha’s disciple in Saidābād. This would mean sometime well before 1679. As Viśvanātha probably lived for another fifty years after that, Narahari’s account was probably written shortly after Viśvanātha had passed away.

¹⁰⁸ Haridāsa Dāsa 1957 p. 1370; Bansal 1980 p. 301; Kapoor 1986 p. 460.

never officially took *veśā*.¹⁰⁹

Others contend that “Hari-vallabha was the devotional and mystic name of Viśvanātha’s guru and Viśvanātha adopted it as his own pen name in deference to him.”¹¹⁰ A.K Majumdar (in Klostermaier 1974: 97) even suggests that Hari-vallabha was Viśvanātha’s original name and that he accepted the name Viśvanātha Cakravarti “as a sign of respect for his spiritual predecessor”, Gaṅgā-Nārāyaṇa Cakravarti. As mentioned above, this is a doubtful origin of the name Cakravarti. In any case, Gaṅgā-nārāyaṇa Cakravarti was the *parama-parama-guru* of Viśvanātha and not his direct guru as suggested by Majumdar (in Klostermaier).

There is no reason to reject the very old version of the *Narottama-vilāsa* that “Hari-vallabha” was the name used by Viśvanātha to write vernacular poetry. There is no evidence at all of the name “Hari-vallabha” being used other than for this purpose. None of the contemporary records or other scribal colophons refer to anyone by that name. On the other hand, there are numerous references to “Viśvanātha Cakravarti”. Thus, if “Hari-vallabha” were an initiation name, it was definitely not widely used at all. It appears likely that it was simply a pen name.

Contemporaries certainly referred to him by the name “Viśvanātha Cakravarti” or permutations of that name. Hita Rasika Dasa of the Rādhā-vallabha *sampradāya* was a fellow resident of Braj in Viśvanātha Cakravarti’s time. Writing in around 1694, Hita Rasika Dāsa pays tribute to him simply as “Cakravarti”.¹¹¹

In 1709 the scribe of the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* ms referred to him as “Viśvanātha Cakravarti”.¹¹² We noted above that he signed as “Viśvanātha” on the document of 1712.¹¹³ The document of 1713 refers to him as “Viśvanātha Cakravarti”.¹¹⁴

His students and followers refer to him as “Viśvanātha Cakravarti”, or “Cakravarti”, or simply just “Viśvanātha”. We noted that Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa referred to himself as “*viśvanātha-cakravarti-śiṣya*”. Kṛṣṇadāsa offers homage to

¹⁰⁹ Haridāsa Dāsa 1957 p. 1370

¹¹⁰ S. Sen 1935 p. 258.

¹¹¹ *Rasika-siddhānta-cintāmaṇi* v. 117: “*khyāta cakravartī ke hai` sādhu suśīla anupa...*” (quoted by Bansal [1980: 409]).

¹¹² MS# 5910, Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum .

¹¹³ VRI microfilm T1: 25.

¹¹⁴ Document deposited with Dr. N. C. Bansal, Suker Kshetra Shodh Sansthan, Kasganj. Also Wright Collection #17 (mentioned by Habib1996 p.135).

his guru as both “Cakravartī” and “Viśvanātha Cakravartī”¹¹⁵ The verses of Śrī Govardhana Bhaṭṭa praise him simply as “Viśvanātha”.¹¹⁶ Later writers such as Narahari Cakravartī and Gopāla Kavi use all these appellations.

All these references indicate that “Viśvanātha Cakravartī” was indeed the primary epithet of the author of the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī*.

Moreover, they indicate that Viśvanātha Cakravartī’s name was held in high regard. In this connection, the most weighty of the above references to Viśvanātha Cakravartī is that of Hita Rasika Dāsa, the poet from the Rādhā-vallabha *sampradāya*:

Cakravartī is famous as a unique and good-natured *sādhu*. He constantly contemplates in his mind the devotional practice of Śrī Rūpa....¹¹⁷

Even though sectarian boundaries were less pronounced at that time than today,¹¹⁸ still it is significant that Viśvanātha Cakravartī should attract eulogies from members of other sects within his own lifetime.

The praise heaped on Viśvanātha Cakravartī by the scribe of the Jaipur court also indicates that his name and fame were established well within his own lifetime. The 1709 copy of the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* from the Jaipur Pothī-khānā describes Viśvanātha as a gentleman and a great scholar (“*mahāśaya-mahāmahopādhyāya*”).

Shortly afterwards, in 1718, Sawai Jai Singh personally commissioned his favourite scribe to copy Viśvanātha Cakravartī’s *mahā-kāvya*, the *Kṛṣṇa-bhāvanāmṛta*.¹¹⁹ Many of the works of Viśvanātha Cakravartī are held in the maharaja’s library in Jaipur and were no doubt commissioned during this period.

¹¹⁵ ...*cakravartī mukhe vaktā śrī kṛṣṇa caitanya,*
śrīla viśvanātha-cakravartī guru tāhāra caraṇa dhyāne
saṣṭa amṛta-vṛṣṭi tāra bhāṣā dīna kṛṣṇa dāsa bhaje
(quoted by Haridāsa Dāsa[1957: 1188])

¹¹⁶ “*granthālīm racayantam ujjvala-rasaṁ śrī-viśvanātham bhaje*” (quoted by D.S. Dāsa [1993: 130]).

¹¹⁷ *Rasika-siddhānta-cintāmaṇi* v. 117: “*khyāta cakravartī ke hai` sādhu*
suśīla anupa...” (quoted by Bansal [1980: 409]).

¹¹⁸ Entwistle 1987 p. 136 ff.

¹¹⁹ “*śrī-śrī-śrī-śrī-śrī-mahārājādhirāja-jayasimhadevajīkasyājñayā likhitam*
idaṁ tulā-rāmeṇa”: Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum ms #287
(catalogue entry reads simply “by a disciple of Caitanya”).

They include the *Bhagavatāmṛta-kaṇikā*¹²⁰, the *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi-kiraṇa-leśa*¹²¹, the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu-bindu*¹²², the *Mādhurya-kādambinī*¹²³, and commentaries to the *Bhagavad-gītā* and *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*.¹²⁴

Thus during his own lifetime, Viśvanātha Cakravartī's name and fame extended outside the sect and even all the way to the court of Jaipur/Amber. Within his own sect he came to be considered as an incarnation of Rūpa Goswami.¹²⁵

¹²⁰ Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum mss # 2602, 2715 (anonymous in the catalogue).

¹²¹ Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum mss # 534, 2716 (anonymous in the catalogue).

¹²² Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum mss#2594-6, 2598, 2717.

¹²³ Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum mss # 2672, 2687, 5780 (simply “*gaurīya*” in the catalogue).

¹²⁴ Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum mss 5910 and 2914 respectively.

¹²⁵ References provided by D.S. Dāsa 1993 p. 129-132.

2.6 Sect and Lineage

Viśvanātha Cakravarti belonged to the Gauṛīya *vaiṣṇava* sect. One of the hallmarks of the sect is its veneration of Śrī Caitanya, and we find ample examples of this at the beginning of the literary works of Viśvanātha Cakravarti. For example, in the *maṅgalācaraṇa* of the text studied in this project we find explicit homage to “Śrī-kṛṣṇa-caitanya”:

May the golden-beamed moon of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya rise in my mind.
That Caitanya-moon makes the lotus-like devotees bloom with joy;
the Caitanya-moon eradicates the darkness of this world by its own
splendour, by his own holy name. May that Śrī-Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya
increase my attachment for himself.¹²⁶

Similar homages to Caitanya are to be found at the beginning of the following of Viśvanātha’s major works: *Mādhurya-kādambinī*, *Kṛṣṇa-bhāvanāmṛtā*, *Camatkāra-candrikā*, *Sārārtha-darśinī ṭīkā*, *Sukha-vartanī ṭīkā*, *Prema-bhakti-candrikā ṭīkā*, and the *Subodhinī ṭīkā*.

Viśvanātha also said to have composed some works in direct praise of Śrī Caitanya, such as the *Gaurāṅga-līlāmṛta* (sometimes known as the *Gaurāṅga-smaraṇa-maṅgala-stotram*), as well as a commentary on Kṛṣṇa Dāsa’s classic biography of Caitanya, the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*.

These are all very clear indications of Viśvanātha’s allegiance to the Gauṛīya sect.

The word “sect” used with regard to the Gauṛīya *vaiṣṇavas* can give the wrong impression of a completely homogeneous and distinct group.¹²⁷ Certainly veneration of Caitanya is a distinguishing feature, but the great master Caitanya left no literary heritage to form the basis of a standard group of teachings which could define his followers as a group.

Shortly after the passing away of Śrī Caitanya, an orthodox set of teachings

¹²⁶ *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī maṅgalācaraṇa* 1.

¹²⁷ For a review of the diversity within the Gauṛīya sect and the struggles between orthodox and heterodox see Dimmock(1966), T.K. Stewart (1986) and Haberman (1988: 94-114), Entwistle 1987 p. 136ff. (p.150 etc. give evidence of the fluid nature of the boundary between sects). Section 3 and Section 4 of this present work also document diversity of opinion within the sect.

was developed in the literary works of Sanātana, Rūpa, and Jīva.¹²⁸ When Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh II was soliciting opinions from Gauṛīya pandits, the pandits generally quoted the authority of Rūpa, Sanātana, and Jīva.¹²⁹ Thus in North India at the time of Viśvanātha Cakravarti, a simple definition of orthodoxy in Gauṛīya Vaishnavism was to be a follower of Rūpa, Sanātana, and Jīva.¹³⁰

Viśvanātha Cakravarti wrote numerous commentaries and interpretations of the works of Rūpa, Sanātana, and Jīva, which would place him squarely within the orthodox tradition of Gauṛīya Vaishnavism.¹³¹ Moreover, with time Viśvanātha's interpretation of their work became *the* standard interpretation.¹³² In this way Viśvanātha's interpretation was the standard interpretation of Gauṛīya orthodoxy. It is therefore difficult to avoid the conclusion that Viśvanātha was an orthodox Gauṛīya *vaiṣṇava*, since he practically defined what it meant to be an orthodox Gauṛīya.

Klostermaier has suggested that Viśvanātha “became a follower of Nimbārka and spent the rest of his life in Vṛndāvana writing many important works on *bhakti* from the Nimbārka standpoint and became this movement's chief theologian.”¹³³ It has been remarked earlier that Viśvanātha enjoyed remarkable popularity amongst the Nimbārka group.¹³⁴ Nevertheless, regardless of the possibility that some of Nimbārka's followers may have adopted Viśvanātha,¹³⁵ there is more than enough evidence to safely conclude that Viśvanātha Cakravarti was first and foremost a Gauṛīya.

Indications of the spiritual lineage of Viśvanātha are found in several places amongst his works. The most explicit are Viśvanātha's series of *guru-aṣṭaka* prayers which appear in his collection of prayers known as *Stavāmṛtā-laharī*. He

¹²⁸ S.K. De 1961 p. 111- 119.

¹²⁹ Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum (Kapaddvara Documents) #1521, 1519, 1501.

¹³⁰ The other great authority quoted was Śrīdhara Swami, whose influence in the sect will be examined in Section 4.4 below.

¹³¹ A short description of Viśvanātha's works appears below in section 2.7.

¹³² Haberman 1988 p. 104; Mital 1968 p. 339; Klostermaier 1974 p. 96; S.K. De 1961 p. 165, 170, 203.

¹³³ Klostermaier 1974 p. 97.

¹³⁴ Section 2.5.

¹³⁵ O'Connell 1980 p. 189.

dedicates a set of eight verses to each link in his initiatory chain going back to Caitanya.

The first prayer, *Guru-caraṇa-smaraṇāṣṭakam*, makes specific reference to *Rādhā-ramaṇa Cakravartī*¹³⁶. In the *Parama-gurvaṣṭakam*, Viśvanātha refers by name to Kṛṣṇa-caraṇa Cakravartī.¹³⁷ The next set of eight verses is dedicated to Gaṅgā-nārāyaṇa Cakravartī as *parāt-para-guru* and these are followed by prayers offered to the renowned Narottama Dāsa and Lokanātha Goswami, who was a contemporary follower of Caitanya.¹³⁸

Therefore the succession from Caitanya, as indicated by Viśvanātha himself, can be depicted thus:¹³⁹

Lokanātha Goswami

Narottama Dāsa

Gaṅgā-nārāyaṇa Cakravartī

Kṛṣṇa-caraṇa Cakravartī

Rādhā-ramaṇa Cakravartī

Viśvanātha Cakravartī

There is a condensed version of this same *guru-paramparā* in the *maṅgalācaraṇa* to the *Rāsa-pañcādhyāya* section of Viśvanātha's commentary on the tenth *skandha* of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*. In one short *śloka* Viśvanātha offers homage to the whole line of gurus:

*śrī-rāma-kṛṣṇa-gaṅgā-caraṇān natvā gurūn uru-premnaḥ
śrīla-narottama-nātha-śrī-gauraṅga-prabhuṁ naumi*

¹³⁶ “*śrī-rādhā-ramaṇam mudā guruvaram vande.*”

¹³⁷ “*sa kṛṣṇa-caraṇa-prabhuḥ pradiśatu sva-pāda-nṛtam.*”

¹³⁸ Entwistle 1987 p. 143-144.

¹³⁹ A form of this lineage appears in Klostermaier (1974: 97), but omitting Rādhā-ramaṇa Cakravartī and Kṛṣṇa-caraṇa Cakravartī.

This is a type of short-hand: the word “*śrī-rāma*” stands for Rādhā-ramaṇa Cakravartī; the word “*kṛṣṇa*” stands for Kṛṣṇa-caraṇa Cakravartī; the word “*gaṅgā*” stands for Gaṅgā-nārāyaṇa Cakravartī; the word “*narottama*” indicates Narottama Dāsa; the word “*nātha*” stands for Lokanātha; and “*śrī-gaurāṅga-prabhu*” refers to Śrī Caitanya.

This exact lineage is also found in the traditional biography, *Narottama-vilāsa*.¹⁴⁰ Considering that the author of that book, Narahari Cakravartī, says that his father was in turn a disciple of Viśvanātha, one would expect Narahari’s family to have had an interest in this spiritual lineage. The *Vṛndāvana-dhāmānurāgāvalī* also follows this traditional version.¹⁴¹

There is another more cryptic reference to this succession in Viśvanātha’s work, *Saṅkalpa-kalpa-druma*. There, Viśvanātha invokes several *mañjarīs* in a succession of prayers imploring divine grace.¹⁴² Viśvanātha’s disciple Kṛṣṇadeva wrote a commentary on this book, in which he gives the “inner” meaning of these

¹⁴⁰ *Narottama-vilāsa*: Ch. 13. Concerning the lineage Narahari says:
prabhu priya pārṣada gosvāmilokanātha, yānhāra caritra cāru jagate
vikhyāta
tāhra priya śiṣya narottama premamaya, yāra khyāti jagate ṭhākura
mahāśaya
tāhra śiṣya gaṅgā-nārāyaṇa cakravartī, parama paṇḍita yeṅha prema
bhakti mūrti
tāhra śiṣya cakravartī śrī kṛṣṇa caraṇa, prema maya rāma-kṛṣṇācāryera
nandana
śrī rāma caraṇa cakravartī śiṣya tāhra , sarvāmśe pravīṇa ati śuddha
bhakti yāhra
tāhra priya śiṣya viśvanātha dayāmaya, yāhra janma kāle haila sabāra
vismaya

With regard to his father’s initiation, Narahari says:

vṛndāvana haite yabe gaurā-deśa āilā, se’i kāle vipra jagannāthe śiṣya
kailā
jagannātha viprera ānanda atīśaya, pā’iyā ṭhākura viśvanātha padāśraya
 ...
hena jagannāthera nandana muṇi chāra....

¹⁴¹ *Vṛndāvana-dhāmānurāgāvalī*: Ch. 32 (Gokulānanda Mandira section)

¹⁴² A *mañjarī* is a particular type *gopī*, the female cowherd girl-friends of Kṛṣṇa. For a description of the place of the *mañjarī* in Gauṛīya theology see Haberman (1988: 108-114).

invocations.¹⁴³

When he (Viśvanātha) says, “O Tulasī Mañjarī”, he is addressing his guru using his guru’s *siddha-deha* name, the name of his perfected form¹⁴⁴.....When he says, “O Raṅga Mañjarī”, he is addressing his grand-guru by his *siddha-deha* name. “O Prema Mañjarī” refers to his great-grand-guru. “O Vilāsa Mañjarī” refers to his great-great-grand-guru, Śrī Narottama Ṭhakkura Mahāśaya. And “O Mañju-lālī Mañjarī” refers to his great-great-great-grand-guru, Śrīla Lokanātha Goswami.

This list gives an idea of the mystic identities ascribed to each person in the spiritual lineage and confirms the view that there are five generations between Viśvanātha and Śrī Caitanya, the founder of the sect.

¹⁴³ *Saṅkalpa-kalpa-druma* v.89-92.

¹⁴⁴ An eternal form and identity in which the *bhakta* participates in the *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa.

2.7 Works

The following is a bibliography of works ascribed to Viśvanātha Cakravarti (in alphabetical order). It is a thorough list of all works ascribed to Viśvanātha, but is not meant to be a complete list of every edition of those works ever published. Rather, it is a list of all editions used in this dissertation as well as a catalogue indicating the most conveniently available editions of each work. As most of the recent editions are out of print, these editions have been supplemented with older editions available in the British Museum [BM], the India Office Library [IOL], and the National Library of India [NLI]. In a few cases where no publication could be found, manuscript references from Aufrecht or the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* [NCC] have been given.

The earliest available record of Viśvanātha's works comes from the *Narottama-vilāsa* (early 1700s). It is not a comprehensive list; the author simply writes, “*racilen bahu granth*”, or “he composed many books”. Narahari Cakravarti then picks out a few works for particular praise: the *Sārārtha-darśinī* commentary on the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā*, the commentary on Kavi-karṇapura's *Ānanda-vṛndāvana-campu*, the commentary on Rūpa Goswami's *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*, and “wonderful books such as the *Kṛṣṇa-bhāvanāmṛta*”.¹⁴⁵

The *Vṛndāvana-dhāmānurāgāvalī* (c. 1843) also says Viśvanātha “wrote many books”, but mentions only one work in passing: a commentary on the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*.¹⁴⁶

Several traditional lists of Viśvanātha's works have been published:

B.S.	(1922 p.54)	22 works	11 original works/ 11
Sarasvati		mentioned	commentaries
Vidyāvinod	(1951 p. 66)	27 works	12 original works/ 15
a		mentioned	commentaries
Haridāsa	(1957 p.	24 works	11 original works/13
Dāsa	1370	mentioned	commentaries

¹⁴⁵ *Narottama-vilāsa*: Chapter 13. He also mentions a work called the “*Caitanya-rasāyana*”, which we are told Viśvanātha never finished after being so instructed in a dream by Caitanya himself.

¹⁴⁶ *Vṛndāvana-dhāmānurāgāvalī* Chapter 32:27: “*tini taha śrīmat bhāgavata hi pai ṭikā kari prakāsā. taḥā rahicē puni viśvanāth ne granth anek banā'ē*”

Kapoor	(1984 p. 462)	27 works mentioned	12 original works/15 commentaries
D.S. Dāsa	(1992 p. 8- 13)	30 works mentioned	15 original works/ 15 commentaries

These works form a sort of kernel of conventionally accepted works. The present work has critically analysed these lists and has profited from wider catalogue references, manuscript evidence, textual references, as well as recent publications.

2.7.1 Independent Works:

Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu-bindu (synopsis of Rūpa Goswami's *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*).

- included in *Bindu, Kiraṇa, Kaṇā*, ed. & tr. by Murali Mohana Goswami. Calcutta: Vāṇi Press, 1913 [IOL 3396] [BM 14055.a.3.(i)].
- included in *Bhakti-vartma-pradarśaka-grantha*. Calcutta 1915 [BM 14060.bb.11.(1)].
- included in *Bhakti-ratna-mālā*, ed. & tr. (Bengali) by Prāṇa Gopāla Goswami. Nadiya: Śaṅkara Press 1928 [IOL San.D.799].
- included in *Bhakti-ratna-mālā (or Bhakti-grantha-mālā)* tr. (Hindi) by Vanamālīdāsa-jī & ed. by Rāmadāsa-jī Śāstrī. Vṛndāvana: Śrī Dānavihāri Lāla Śarmā Vidyālaya Press, 1953.
- tr. (English) & intro. by K. Klostermaier in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 94.1 (Jan-March 1974) p. 96-107. 1974.
- ed. and tr. by Śyāma Dāsa. Vṛndāvana: Hari-nāma Press, 1977.
- ed. and tr. (Hindi) by Bhaktivedānta Nārāyaṇa Maharaja. Mathurā: Gauṛīya Vedānta Samiti, 1993.

Bhāgavatāmṛta-kaṇā (interpretive synopsis of Rūpa Goswami's *Laghu-Bhāgavatāmṛta*).

- included in *Bindu, Kiraṇa, Kaṇā*, ed. & tr. by Murali Mohana Goswami. Calcutta: Vāṇi Press, 1913 [IOL 3396] [BM 14055.a.3.(i)].
- included in *Bhakti-vartma-pradarśaka-grantha*. Calcutta 1915. [BM 14060.bb.11.(1)]

- ed. & tr. by Kāṇu-priya Goswami Nadia: Śrī Ṭhākura-kanai Sevā Samiti. 2nd edition, 1932 [NLI 180.jc.93.283].
- ed. and tr. (Hindi) by Bhaktivedānta Nārāyaṇa Mahārāja. Mathurā: Gauṛīya Vedānta Samiti, 1993.

Camatkāra-candrikā¹⁴⁷ (a description of four short *līlā* between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa).

- ed. & tr. (Bengali verse) by Śacī-nandana Goswami. Calcutta: Vidyāratna Press, 1855 [IOL 2.A.15].
- ed. & tr. (Bengali) by Haridāsa Dāsa, Navadvīpa: Hari Bol Kuṭīra, 1940.

Gaura-gaṇa-svarūpa-(tattva-)candrikā (revealing *siddha* identities of members of the Gauṛīya sect). Referred to by D.S. Dāsa, who seems to follow Haridāsa Dāsa.¹⁴⁸

Gaurāṅga-līlāmṛta or **Gaurāṅga-smaraṇa-maṅgala-stotram** or **Gaurāṅga-smaraṇaika-daśaka** (meditations on the *aṣṭa-kālīya-līlā* of Śrī Caitanya).

- included in the *Sādhanopāsana*, with translation in Bengali verse. Calcutta, 1901 [NLI 180.Nc.90.24.].
- ed. by Haridāsa Śāstrī with Kṛṣṇa dāsa's Bengali *Gaurāṅga-līlāmṛta*. Vṛndāvana: Gadādhara-gaurahari Press, 1988.

Kṛṣṇa-bhāvanāmṛta (1347 verses describing *aṣṭa-kālīya-līlā* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa).

- ed. by Rādhikā-nātha Goswami. Vṛndāvana: Devakī-nandana Press, 1904 [IOL 20.G.27] [BM 14070.dd.31].
- Calcutta: New Aryan Mission Press & Hoogly: Ghoṣa Machine Press, 1918-1921 [IOL San.c.44].
- ed. & tr. by Madhusūdana Adhikārī with commentary by Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya. Hoogly, 1918 (perhaps identical with the above) [NLI 180.Nc.91.94.]

¹⁴⁷ According to S.K. De (1961: 47, 603) this work is sometimes attributed to Kavi-karṇapura, but was most probably written by Viśvanātha.

¹⁴⁸ D.S. Dāsa 1992 p. 10; Haridāsa Dāsa 1957 p. 1537. Haridāsa attributes this work to Viśvanātha, giving references to a manuscript of the *Pāṭabārī Punthi*. He also notes a work called the *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā*, which he says has been falsely attributed to Viśvanātha.

Mādhurya-kādambinī (analysis of various symptoms and characteristics of *bhakti*).

- included in *Bhakti-vartma-pradarśaka-grantha*. Calcutta 1915. [BM 14060.bb.11.(1)]
- ed. & tr. Satyendranātha Vasu. Comilla, Nadia: Saṅkara Press, 1928. [IOL San.d.942] 1935: [NLI 180.Jc.93.179.]
- ed. & tr. (Hindi) by Śyāmadāsa. Vṛndāvana: Braja-gaurava-Prakāśana.
- ed. and tr. (Hindi) by Bhaktivedānta Nārāyaṇa Mahārāja. Mathurā: Gauṛīya Vedānta Samiti, 1993.

Mantrārtha-dīpikā (explanation of the *kāma-gāyatrī mantra*).

- referred to by Haridāsa Dāsa (1957: 1718) and D.S. Dāsa (1992: 11).¹⁴⁹

Prema-samputa (description of a *līlā* between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa).

- ed. & tr. (Bengali) by Śyāma-lāl Goswami. Vṛndāvana, 1905 [BM 14060.b.17.(3)].
- ed. & tr. (Hindi) by Harikṛṣṇa Pandit. Mathura: Kṛṣṇadāsa, 1946 [180.c.94.90].
- ed. and tr. (Hindi) by Haridāsa Śāstrī. Vṛndāvana: Śrī-gadādhara-gaurahari Press, 1984.
- ed. & tr. (English) by Kuśa-kratha Dāsa. Alachua: Kṛṣṇa Institute, 1997.

Rāga-vartma-candrikā (an analysis of *rāgānugā-bhakti*).

- included in *Bhakti-vartma-pradarśaka-grantha*. Calcutta, 1915 [BM 14060.bb.11.(1)].
- ed. & tr. (Bengali) Yogendra Candra Vidyāvinoda. Charhauma, 1925 [NLI 180.Jd.92.44].
- ed. & tr. by Prāṇa Kiśora Goswami. Howrah: Vinod Kiśora

¹⁴⁹

There is another work called the *Harināmārtha-dīpikā*, which is referred to anonymously by Haridāsa Dāsa (1957: 1813) and which is attributed by the VRI catalogue to Viśvanātha (#4424, #1362). The first two volumes of this catalogue are notoriously inaccurate, and thus this attribution should probably not be accepted without first-hand inspection of the manuscripts in question.

Goswami, 1965.

- tr. (English) & intro. by J.T. O'Connell in *A Corpus of Indian Studies*, ed. A.L. Basham et al. p. 185-209. Calcutta: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 1980.
- ed. and tr. (Hindi) by Bhaktivedānta Nārāyaṇa Mahārāja. Mathurā: Gauṛīya Vedānta Samiti, 1993.

Rūpa-cintāmaṇi There would seem to be two works of similar name, one describing the auspicious markings on the feet of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa (contained in the *Stavāmṛta-laharī*), and the other describing the feet of Caitanya and Nityānanda (independent). Haridāsa Dāsa gives references to both works.¹⁵⁰

- ed. & tr. (English) by Kuśa-kratha Dāsa. Alachua: Kṛṣṇa Institute, 1982.

Sādhya-smaraṇa-kaumudī (an analysis of the means and goals of *bhakti*).

- Aufrecht (Vol I p. 707). This work is not widely known, and there are no printed editions nor references to it in the traditional lists of Viśvanātha's works.¹⁵¹ The colophon clearly mentions "Viśvanātha Cakravartī". The subject matter is noted in considerable detail in "*Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*", and it is quite consistent with the works of Viśvanātha. The reference is to a manuscript in Berhampore in the Murshidabad district, not far from Saidābād, the town where Viśvanātha spent his youth. It is perhaps a work of his younger days, in which case it would be a seminal work of the Kiraṇa, Bindu, Kaṇā trilogy.¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰ Haridāsa Dāsa 1957 p. 1740. Manuscripts of this name are noted in Aufrecht (Vol I p. 504) and more manuscripts are held in VRI .

¹⁵¹ B.S. Sarasvati 1922 p.54; S.Sen 1935 p. 259; Vidyāvinoda 1951 p. 66; Haridāsa Dāsa 1957 p. 1370; Kapoor 1984 p. 462; D.S. Dāsa 1992 p. 8-13.

¹⁵² Haridāsa Dāsa (1957: 1797) does refer to this particular work, but without giving an author. He also notes that the work is closely based on the works of Rūpa Goswami.

*Stavāmṛta-laharī*¹⁵³ (a collection of prayers)

- in *Vaiṣṇava-Sandarbhā* (periodical), ed. by Nitya-sakhā Mukhopādhyāya (incomplete). Vṛndāvana: 1903-7 [BM 14123.ff.13].

The following works are considered part of *Stavāmṛta-laharī* but have also been published independently:

Svapna-vilāsāmṛta.¹⁵⁴

- ed. & tr. (Hindi) by Kṛṣṇadāsa Bābā with a commentary. Rādhā-kuṇḍa: Kṛṣṇadāsa Bābā, 1968.

Saṅkalpa-kalpa-druma

- included in the *Sāadhanopāsana*, with translation in Bengali verse. Calcutta, 1901 [NLI 180.Nc.90.24.].
- ed. & tr. (Bengali) by Rādhikā Nātha Goswami with the commentary of Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya. Vṛndāvana: Devakī-nandana Press, 1902 [IOL 3477]
- included in *Hari-bhakti-sudhā-nidhi*, Vṛndāvana: Jamunā Printing Press, 1924 [IOL San. B.799.(d)].
- included in the *Grantha-ratna-pañcakam*, compiled by Kṛṣṇadāsa Bābā. Rādhā-kuṇḍa: Gaura-hari Press, 1954.
- ed. & tr. (Hindi) by Haridāsa Śāstrī with the commentary of Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya. Vṛndāvana: Gadādhara-gaurahari Press, 1982.
- ed & tr. (English) by Kuśa-kratha Dāsa. Alachua: Kṛṣṇa Institute 1990.

Gītāvalī (considered as part of the *Stavāmṛta-laharī* by some and as independent by others).¹⁵⁵

- NCC, vol. 6 p. 41.

¹⁵³ Full lists of contents of this collection are given by Vidyāvinoda (1951 p. 66) and B.S. Sarasvati (1922 p. 54). Both list twenty-eight prayers. Vidyāvinoda includes *Gītāvalī* as part of the *Stavāmṛta-laharī*, but Sarasvati lists it as an independent work. Several other poems from this collection are published independently (such as the *Saṅkalpa-kalpa-druma* and the *Svapna-vilāsāmṛta*), and they are listed within this entry in smaller font.

¹⁵⁴ Vidyāvinoda (1951 p. 66) includes it in the *Stavāmṛta-laharī*, whereas in the introduction of his own edition of the *Svapna-vilāsāmṛta* Haridāsa says that it is not part of *Stavāmṛta-laharī*.

¹⁵⁵ Vidyāvinoda 1951 p. 66; B.S. Sarasvati 1922 p.54.

*Svakīyātva-nirāsa-parakīyātva-pratipādana*¹⁵⁶ (argument in favour of *parakīyā*)
 – ed. by Haridāsa Śāstrī. Vṛndāvana: Gadādhara-gaurahari Press, 1982.

Ujvala-nīla-maṇi-kiraṇa (synopsis and interpretation of Rūpa Goswami's
Ujvala-nīla-maṇi)

- included in *Bindu, Kiraṇa, Kaṇā*, ed. & tr. by Murali Mohana Goswami. Calcutta: Vāṇi Press, 1913 [IOL 3396] [BM 14055.a.3.(1)].
- included in *Bhakti-vartma-pradarśaka-grantha*. Calcutta 1915 [BM 14060.bb.11.(1)].
- ed. & tr. (Hindi & Manipuri) by Vraja Mohana Varmā. Silchar: Arian Press, 1919 [IOL San.B.502] 1920. [BM 14055.a.3.(2.)].
- ed. & tr. (Hindi) by Bhaktivedānta Nārāyaṇa Mahārāja. Mathurā: Gauṛīya Vedānta Samiti, 1993.

Vraja-rīti-cintāmaṇi (a description of the Braj region through devotional eyes).

- ed. & tr. (Hindi) by Haridāsa Śāstrī. Vṛndāvana: Śrī-gadādhara-gaurahari Press, 1979.
- ed. & tr. (English) by Kuśa-kratha Dāsa. Alachua: Kṛṣṇa Institute, 1981.

¹⁵⁶

This work is not found anywhere else other than in this edition. Its authenticity is supported by Haridāsa Dāsa (1957:1619 & 1808), who notes manuscripts of this work in Vṛndāvana and Jaipur, which he also attributes to “Cakravartipāda”.

2.7.2 Commentaries:

on the *Alaṅkāra-kaustubha* of Kavi Karṇapura called “*Subodhinī*”.

- ed. & tr. (Bengali) by Rāma-nārāyaṇa Vidyā-ratna, with commentary by Viśvanātha. Berhampore: Rādhā-ramaṇa Press, 1900 [IOL San.D.185] [BM 14053.ccc.25] [NLI 180.8c.89.2].
- ed. with intro by Śiva-prasāda Kāvya-tīrtha Sāhitya-śāstrī with the commentary of Viśvanātha. Rajshahi, Calcutta: Varendra Research Society Publications, 1923 [BM 14092.aaa.3.(3)].
- ed. by Puri Dāsa with the commentary of Viśvanātha. Calcutta: Haridāsa Śarmā, 1953 [NLI 180.Pb.95.5].
- ed. & tr. by Haridāsa Śāstrī with the commentary of Viśvanātha. Vṛndāvana: Gadādhara-gaurahari Press, 1989.

on the *Ānanda-vṛndāvana-campu* of Kavi Karṇapura.

- ed. by Mukundadeva Śāstrī with the commentary of Viśvanātha. Mathura, 1898 [BM 14070.dd.8].
- ed. by Puri Dāsa with the commentary of Viśvanātha. Vṛndāvana: Haridāsa Śarmā, 1954 [NLI 180.Nb.95.19; 180.Jb.95.20].

on the *Bhagavad-gītā*, called “*Sārārtha-varṣiṇī*”.

- with seven commentaries including that of Viśvanātha, ed. by Damodāra Mukhopādhyāya. Calcutta: Metcalfe Press (vol 1) Kṛṣṇa Press (vol 2 & 3), 1897-1905 [BM 14049.bb.11] [NLI 180.Jb.90.58-60]. 1907-9 [IOL 1.K.16]. 1923 [NLI 180.Jb.92.152] [RASL].
- ed. with commentary of Viśvanātha and Bengali synopsis by Kedaranātha Datta. Calcutta: Śrī Caitanya Press, 1885 [IOL 1024] [NLI 180.Jc.81.43].
- new edition of Kedaranātha Datta [see above], ed. by Varṣabhānavī Dāsa, Nadia: Bhāgavata Yantra Press, 1913 [IOL San.C.106] [NLI 180.Jc.140]. 3rd Edition, 1926 [NLI 180.Jc.92.209].
- new edition of Kedaranātha Datta [see above], ed. by Kuñjavihārī Vidyābhūṣaṇa. Calcutta: Kuñjavihārī Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 1926 [IOL San.B.1076].
- new edition of Kedaranātha Datta [see above], ed. by Bhakti-dayitā-mādhava Swami, Calcutta: Śrī Caitanya Gauṛīya Maṭha, 1950, 1973, 1988. Referred to as “BDM”.
- new edition of Kedaranātha Datta [see above], ed. by Bhakti-vilāsa-tīrtha Swami. Māyāpura: Śrī Caitanya Maṭha, 1947...1991 [NLI

180.Jc.94.86]. Referred to as “BVT”.

- *The Gītā as a Chaitanyite Reads It*, an English commentary based on the commentary of Viśvanātha. Bombay: Popular Prakāśana, 1938.
- *Gītāra Bhakti-vyākhyā*, Gītā text with Bengali notes based on the commentary of Viśvanātha by Hṛṣīkeśa Śīlā Calcutta, 1939 [NLI 180.Jc.93.245.].
- ed. & tr. (Bengali) by Bhakti-viveka Bharata Goswami. Calcutta: Gaudiya Mission, 1951 [NLI 180.Jc.95.71].
- ed. by Adhara Candra Cakravarti. Calcutta: Tārā Library, 1954.
- ed. by Kṛṣṇadāsa Bābā with commentaries of Viśvanātha and Baladeva. Rādhā-kunḍa: Gaura Hari Press, 1966. Referred to as “KDB”.
- ed. with Hindi “*bhāvānuvāda*” by B.V. Nārāyaṇa Goswami. Mathura: Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇava Samiti, 1997. Referred to as “GVS”. English edition published in 2000.
- edited and with Hindi translation of Viśvanātha’s commentary by Kṛṣṇa Vihārī Miśra. Vṛndāvana: Braja-gaurava Prakāśana, 1987. Referred to as “BGP”. 2nd edition with the addition of the commentary of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 1996.

on the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, called “*Sārārtha-darsinī*”.

- ed. & tr. by Rāma-Nārāyaṇa Vidyābhūṣaṇa with commentaries by Śrīdhara, Jīva, and Viśvanātha, (Skandha 1-6) Berhampore: Rādhāramaṇa Press 1882 [IOL 1055] [BM 14018.dd.3.]. (Skandha 1-10) [NLI K/180.Ja.88.1].
- ed. & tr. by Khagendranātha Śāstrī with commentaries by Śrīdhara and Viśvanātha. Calcutta: Ārya Press, 1897 [IOL San E.42]. Skandha 3,10,11 [NLI K/180.Jb.90.8]. 1906-1911 Skandha 1-12 [NLI 180.Jb.90.70.(1-12)].
- ed. by Nitya-svarūpa Brahmācārī (Skandha 1-9). Vṛndāvana: Devakī-nandana Press, 1903-4 [IOL 9M.10-13] [NLI 180.Ja.90.26-30,59; 180.Ja.90.2-10].
- (10th Skandha) ed. & tr. by Śacī-nandana Goswami, (5 vol.) Calcutta: Devakī-nandana Press, 1910 [NLI].
- as above (9th Skandha). Calcutta: Newtown Press, 1911. [IOL 23 H.2].
- ed. & tr. by Haripāda Caṭṭopādhyāya with commentaries by Śrīdhara, Sanātana Jīva, and Viśvanātha. Kalyanapur: Paśupati Press, 1912-13 [IOL 26.I.18] [NLI 180.Jb.91.71].

- (10th Skandha) ed. by Śītala Prasāda. Calcutta, 1912 [NLI 180.Jb.91.81].
- including the commentaries of Viśvanātha and Ānanda-Tīrtha with the Gauṛīya-bhāṣya by Bhakti-siddhānta Sarasvatī based on the above. Calcutta: Gauṛīya Printing Works, 1924- [IOL San. F. 78] [NLI 180.Jb.92.37; 180.Jb.92.140].
- *Veda-Stuti* (an excerpt from 10th Skandha of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*), ed. by Tridaṇḍī Goswami with the commentary of Viśvanātha and Śrīdhara. Hṛṣīkeśa: Caitanya Saraswat Vidyāpīṭha, 1954.
- ed. by Kṛṣṇa Śāṅkara Śāstrī with eight commentaries. Vārāṇasī: Samsāra Press.

on the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* of Rūpa Goswami, called “*Bhakti-sāra-pradarśinī*”.

- ed. & tr. (Bengali) by Haridāsa Dāsa with commentaries of Jīva, Viśvanātha, and Mukunda Dāsa. Navadvīp: Haribol Kuṭīr, 2nd edition 1945.
- ed. & tr. (English) by Bon Mahārāja with explanatory notes on the commentaries of Jīva, Viśvanātha, and Mukunda Dāsa. Vṛndāvana: Institute of Oriental Philosophy, 1965.
- ed. & tr. (Hindi) by Śyāmadāsa with commentaries of Jīva and Viśvanātha. Vṛndāvana: Hari Nām Press, 1981.

on the *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇa Dāsa Kavirāja.

- ed. with Bengali interpretation by Mākhana Lāla Dāsa Bhāgavata-bhūṣaṇa with Sanskrit commentary by Viśvanātha. Calcutta, 1908 [BM 14123.g.24.].

on the *Dāna-keli-kaumudī* of Rūpa Goswami, called “*Mahatī*”.

- ed. & tr. (Hindi) by Kṛṣṇadāsa Bābā with a commentary by Viśvanātha. Rādhā-kuṇḍa: Kṛṣṇadāsa Bābā, 1967.

on the *Gopāla-tāpanī-upaniṣad*, called “*Bhakta-harṣiṇī*”.

- ed. & tr. by Rāma Nārāyaṇa Vidyāratna with the commentaries of Viśveśvara and Viśvanātha. Berhampore (Murshidabad): Rādhā-ramaṇa Press, 1883 [IOL 283].

on the *Haṁsa-dūta* of Rūpa Goswami.

- Aufrecht (Vol. I p.753).

on the *Manah-sikṣā* of Raghunātha Dāsa Goswami.

- Aufrecht (Vol III p. 92).¹⁵⁷

on the *Prema-bhakti-candrikā* of Narottama Dāsa.

- ed. by Rāmadayālu Ghoṣa with the Sanskrit commentary of Viśvanātha. Calcutta 1896 [BM 14123.e.20].
- ed. with notes by Ananta Dāsa Bābā-jī, with Sanskrit commentary by Viśvanātha. Rādhā-kuṇḍa: Śrī Caitanya Śāstra Mandira, 1992.

on the *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* of Rūpa Goswami, called “*Ānanda-candrikā*”.

- ed. & tr. (Bengali) by Rāma-nārāyaṇa Vidyāratna with the commentaries of Jīva and Viśvanātha. Berhampore: Rādhā-ramaṇa Press, 1889 [BM 14053.d.49] [NLI 180.Nb.88.3-4; 180.Nb.88.5].
- ed. by Pandit Durga Prasad & Vasudev Lakshaman Shastri Panashikar with commentaries of Jīva and Viśvanātha. Kavyamala #95. Bombay (Silchar): Nirnaya Sagar Press, 1913. [BM 1407.ccc.12.] [NLI 180.Nc.91.42.] 1935 [IOL 28.G.17 17a]. Bombay: Pandurang Jawaji, 1932 [NLI 180.Nc.93.110].
- ed. by Puri Dāsa, with commentaries by Jīva and Viśvanātha. Vṛndāvana: Haridāsa Śarmā, 1954 [NLI 180.Nb.195.7].
- reprint of the above, Delhi: Chaukhamba Sanskrit Pratishthan, 1985.

on the *Vidagdha-mādhava-nāṭaka* of Rūpa Goswami.

- ed. & tr. (Bengali) by Rāma-nārāyaṇa Vidyāratna in *Vaiṣṇava Dharma Prakāśika*. Berhampore: Rādhā-ramaṇa Press, 1880 [IOL 6.E.4; 1246] [BM 14028.d.19] [NLI 180.Nc.88.20].

¹⁵⁷

This work does not appear in any of the traditional lists of Viśvanātha’s works, but it is however a very likely work for Viśvanātha to have commented on. The manuscript notes say clearly, “with a commentary by Viśvanātha Cakravarti”. The manuscript in question deserves closer study.

2.7.3 Unavailable / Doubtful Works:

Aiśvarya-kādambinī - This work is referred to in the beginning of the second 'shower' (read 'chapter') of the *Mādhurya-kādambinī*. There Viśvanātha writes, "In this work there is not a full dissertation on dualism and monism (*dvaitādvaita*), but those who seek such a thing will find it in another work called *Aiśvarya-kadāmbinī*. But neither manuscripts nor printed editions have ever been noted for such a work. There is a second work, by Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa, also called *Aiśvarya-kādambinī*, which was completed in 1779. As Viśvanātha probably passed away some 50 years prior to that, Viśvanātha's reference must be to some other work called *Aiśvarya-kadāmbinī*, probably composed by Viśvanātha to complement his *Mādhurya-kādambinī*. Or perhaps he simply intended to do so, but never actually composed the work.¹⁵⁸

Caitanya-rasāyana - This work is referred to by Narahari Cakravarti in the *Narottama-vilāsa*. We are told that after Caitanya appeared to him in a dream, Viśvanātha never finished this work and never explained why.¹⁵⁹

Brahma-saṁhitā-ṭīkā (commentary unpublished /unavailable).¹⁶⁰

Lalita-mādhava-nāṭaka-ṭippaṇī (the attribution to Viśvanātha is questionable).¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ The *New Catalogus Catalogorum* wrongly attributes a manuscript of the *Aiśvarya Kādambinī* to Viśvanātha Vidyābhūṣaṇa. The manuscript in question (Notices #2513) is a manuscript of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa's work.

¹⁵⁹ *Narottama-vilāsa*: Chapter 13:
śrī caitanya rasāyane varṇiten yāhā, nā haila grantha pūrṇa na varṇila tāhā.

¹⁶⁰ No trace of this work has ever been reported, but there is a fairly strong tradition as to its existence: B.S. Sarasvati 1922 p. 54 ; Vidyāvinoda 1951 p. 66; Haridāsa Dāsa 1957 p. 1370 & 1672; Kapoor 1984 p. 462; D.S. Dāsa 1992 p. 13; but not in S.Sen 1935 p. 259.

¹⁶¹ A commentary (*ṭippaṇī*) exists for this play, but Haridāsa Dāsa [1957 p. 1745] remarks there is nothing at all in the text to indicate Viśvanātha composed this commentary. Viśvanātha certainly did write a commentary

- ed. & tr.(Hindi) by Kṛṣṇadāsa Bābā, with a commentary (anonymous). Rādhā-kuṇḍa: Kṛṣṇadāsa Bābā, 1967.

Smarāṇa-krama-mālā (“directions for meditating on and mentally worshipping Kṛṣṇa, Gauracandra and his followers”).

- Aufrecht I p.745. This work is not widely known and there are no printed editions nor references to it in the traditional lists of his works. Very little detail is given in the “*Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*”, so it is difficult to say whether or not Viśvanātha Cakravarti actually wrote it. The colophon clearly mentions “Viśvanātha Cakravarti”. Yet the scanty details given in the Notices point to a much simpler verse style than is Viśvanātha’s norm. It may be a work of his very early days, or it may be an appropriation of the author’s name by Sahajīyā sects.

Gopī-premāmṛta - This work is also not noted in any of the traditional lists except by S. Sen who, given his vast experience with Bengali manuscripts, must have sighted some obscure manuscript of this work.¹⁶² NCC has a manuscript of this name which is said to be an excerpt from a Purāṇa.¹⁶³ Haridāsa Dāsa has a reference to a work of this name, which is a description of the glories of the Hare-kṛṣṇa mantra in a Puranic-style conversation between Pārvaṭī and Śiva.¹⁶⁴ It is not likely to be an authentic work of Viśvanātha.

¹⁶¹ (...continued)

on the sister-play *Vidagdha-mādhava*, and there is a tradition that Viśvanātha did indeed compose this commentary, yet there are also competing traditions which would say this commentary was composed by a disciple of Jīva Goswami, Rādhā-kṛṣṇa Dāsa. These remarks are repeated (almost verbatim) by Kṛṣṇadāsa Bābā in the introduction to his 1967 edition of this play. This work is not mentioned by S. Sen (1935: 259)

¹⁶² S. Sen 1935 p. 259.

¹⁶³ NCC Vol 6. p. 161.

¹⁶⁴ Haridāsa Dāsa 1957 p. 1504.

2.7.4 Vernacular Works of “Hari-vallabha”

ANTHOLOGY:

Kṣaṇadā-gīta-cintāmaṇi (an anthology of vernacular poetry compiled by and contributed to by Viśvanātha).

- ed. by Rādhikā Nātha Goswami. Vṛndāvana: Devakī Nandana Press 1904.
- ed., with intro by B.B. Majumdar. Calcutta: General Library, 1962.

As mentioned in section 2.5, it seems certain that Viśvanātha Cakravarti wrote vernacular poetry using the pen name “Hari-Vallabha”. Generally scholars and devotees agree that Viśvanātha wrote several Braja-būlī poems using the name “Hari-vallabha” or “Vallabha”. These poems appear in the *Kṣaṇadā-gīta-cintāmaṇi*, an anthology of Bengali *vaiṣṇava* lyric poetry compiled by Viśvanātha.¹⁶⁵ This compilation, one of the earliest known of its kind, contains three hundred and nine poems by forty-five different poets. Of these, forty have the “signature” of “Hari-vallabha”, and thirteen have that of “Vallabha”, and these fifty-three poems are universally attributed to Viśvanātha Cakravarti.¹⁶⁶

It was noted that the earliest reference to this “Hari-vallabha” is by Narahari Cakravarti, writing one generation after Viśvanātha in his *Narottama-vilāsa*:

Śrī Viśvanātha’s (other) name is “Hari-Vallabha”. This is clear from the way he signs his songs, which all learned men acknowledge.¹⁶⁷

Thus, there is a good deal of support for the idea that the Braja-būlī poems of the *Kṣaṇadā-gīta-cintāmaṇi* were written by Viśvanātha Cakravarti.

¹⁶⁵ B.S. Sarasvati 1922 p. 41; S. Sen 1935 p. 258; Haridāsa Dāsa 1957 p.1418 & 1483; Bansal 1980 p. 301-303, Kapoor 1984 p. 461.

¹⁶⁶ Sen 1935 p. 258; see Haridāsa Dāsa 1957 p. 1483 for slightly different figures.

¹⁶⁷ *Narottama-vilāsa* Ch. 13:
śrī viśvanāthera nāma śrī hari-vallabha
gītera ābhoge vyakta kahe vijña saba.

As mentioned previously, this work was written shortly after the death of Viśvanātha Cakravarti.

Viśvanātha Cakravarti could also be the author of some Braja-bhāṣā poems in a second anthology of *vaiṣṇava* poetry, also called *Kṣaṇadā-gīta-cintāmaṇi*. This second anthology consists only of Braja-bhāṣā poetry, including poetry from Sūra Dāsa, Nanda Dāsa, and Haridāsa Swami. As this anthology mostly consists of poetry by Manohara Dāsa, it is thought to have been compiled by Manohara Dāsa.¹⁶⁸ In this anthology there are several Braja-bhāṣā poems by “Hari-vallabha” and “Vallabha”, one of which is dedicated to Caitanya, and N.C. Bansal remarks that there is no Gaurīya poet of that name other than Viśvanātha Cakravarti.¹⁶⁹

In addition to these poems, there is the Braja-bhāṣā translation of the *Bhagavad-gītā* by Hari-vallabha, which some have suggested could also have been written by Viśvanātha Cakravarti under the name of Hari-vallabha. This Braja-bhāṣā *Gītā* is noted by Callewaert and Hemraj, and the date of composition is given as 1714, with the possibility of a similar work having been composed in 1643.¹⁷⁰

This being the case, a *bhāṣā* work written in 1714 by Hari-vallabha would appear very much like a work of Viśvanātha Cakravarti since we know that Viśvanātha was still alive and active in 1713,¹⁷¹ and we also know that he composed vernacular poetry in the name of Hari-vallabha.

As the *Kṣaṇadā-gīta-cintāmaṇi* appears incomplete, there is a tradition that Viśvanātha wrote much of his vernacular poetry toward the end of his life. The date of 1714 would indeed correspond to the tail end of Viśvanātha’s life.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ Mītal 1962 p. 234. Bansal 1980 p. 301. Mītal calls him Manohara Rāya. This work is unpublished, but Haridāsa refers to a manuscript in the Nimbarka *Granthālaya* in Vṛndāvana.

¹⁶⁹ N.C. Bansal 1980 p. 301-2.

¹⁷⁰ Callewaert and Hemraj 1984 p. 167 & 169. It would seem that there is some confusion about the date “*satrah sai ekottarā*” which if read as VS1701 would give 1643-4, but if read as VS1771 would give 1714 (Bansal 1980: 303 fn.).

¹⁷¹ Wright Collection document #17 (Habib1996 p.135); see Table One above, section 2.2.1..

¹⁷² Haridāsa Dāsa 1957 p. 1843; Darśanācārya 1976 p. 225; D.S. Dasa p.10, 126. Only a “*pūrva-vibhāga*” (“Eastern Section”) was composed by Viśvanātha, which leads one to think that three other sections were planned but never produced. The “ocean” of the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* is divided into four quarters starting with the “Eastern Section”, and it would seem that Viśvanātha planned a similar structure for this work.

R.K. Varma also mentions “Hari-vallabha” as the author of a “Hindi verse” translation and commentary of the *Bhagavad-gītā*.¹⁷³ However, Varma says that this Hari-vallabha was active from around 1643, which does not match with our Viśvanātha Cakravarti, as we postulate that 1643 was about the time of Viśvanātha’s birth.¹⁷⁴

Callewaert and Hemraj mention a manuscript dated 1711, and they quote B. Tiwari as saying that there are two separate works, one composed in 1643 and another in 1714.

Whatever the case may be, until the date is clear, it is difficult to decide on the authorship of the work. Were it to have been written in 1714, then it would very likely be a work of Viśvanātha Cakravarti. If the date of composition is 1643, it is highly unlikely to be so. More work needs to be done in this area, starting with a thorough inspection of manuscripts.

In this regard, it should be noted that the Pothikhana Collection of the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum in Jaipur holds some six different works in the name of “Hari-vallabha”, including a “*Bhagavad-gītā Bhāṣā*” and parts of a “*Bhāgavata Bhāṣā*”.¹⁷⁵ The Vr̥ndāvana Research Institute also holds a partial manuscript copy of a Braja-Bhāṣā *Bhagavad-gītā* by Hari-vallabha as well as numerous sections of a Braja-bhāṣā *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* by the same author.¹⁷⁶ The existence of a Braja-bhāṣā *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* by the same author is a significant detail, given the Gaurīya predilection for this work.

¹⁷² (...continued)

However Haridāsa Dāsa (1957: 1484) says that the second Kṣaṇadā-gīta-cintāmaṇi, which was mentioned above in relation to Manohara Dāsa, is in fact just the “*paścima-vibhāga*” (“Western Section”) of the same Kṣaṇadā-gīta-cintāmaṇi. Now Manohara-dāsa and Viśvanātha were contemporaries (see Entwistle 1987: 186) and it is just as possible that they collaborated on this work, with Viśvanātha compiling the Eastern Section (Bengali) and Manohara Dāsa compiling the Western Section (Braja-bhāṣā).

¹⁷³ R. K. Varma 1964 p. 597.

¹⁷⁴ See section 2.2.1 above for date of birth. Varma’s date for this work could be the same doubtful date “*satrah sai ekottarā*”.

¹⁷⁵ Pothikhana Catalogue [G.N. Bahura 1976] p.340, *Bhagavad-gītā* ms# 1489, 1768, 2469, 3798, 3930; *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* ms# 1339, 1534.

¹⁷⁶ Catalogue of Hindi Manuscripts [R.D. Gupta 1979] p. 6,18-25, *Bhagavad-gītā* ms#8099; *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* ms# 4133, 4137, 4602, 4659, 5095, 7573.

Section 3: The Era

3.1 Disciples

In section 2.4 above mention was made of a document of 1712 which described the “*Gokulānanda-jī kuñja*” at Rādhā-kuṇḍa.¹ This would seem to have been an “*āśrama*” type situation, with a group of students under the tutelage of Viśvanātha Cakravartī. That document lists the names of five students present in the *kuñja* in 1712: Kṛṣṇadeva Bhaṭṭācārya, Prāṇa-vallabha, Sadānanda Dāsa, Narahari Dāsa, and Kiṅkara Dāsa.

One cannot take this as a definitive list of students, as these are simply the list of signatories to that document who were living at the Gokulānanda-jī *kuñja*. Others may well have been living there but may not have been involved in the matter of that document. And other students would have lived elsewhere. We have seen that the author of *Narottama-vilāsa* describes his father becoming a disciple of Viśvanātha in Saidābād, presumably more than thirty years before the 1712 list. It would seem that Viśvanātha acted as guru for a very long time and that the list of his students would be fairly considerable.

Certainly tradition has it that Viśvanātha had a sizeable following of students, as is evident from the following enthusiastic passage by Narahari Cakravartī:

“Who in Vṛndāvana does not revere Viśvanātha Cakravartī? He remained always absorbed in the sweet emotions of *bhakti* as he accepted numerous disciples. All of his disciples became great devotees.”²

Three famous Gauṛīya authors refer to themselves in their writing as disciples of Viśvanātha Cakravartī: Kṛṣṇadāsa Dāsa, Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami, and Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya (also mentioned in the 1712 document). Each of these will be dealt with separately below.

¹ Vṛndāvana Research Institute, microfilm T1: 25.

² *Narottama-vilāsa*: Ch. 13 :
*viśvanāthe keba nā ādare vṛndāvane sadā bhakti-rase magna laiyā śiṣya-
gane*
viśvanātha cakravartī śiṣya kaila yata, sakale'i ha'ilena mahā bhagavata

3.1.1 Kṛṣṇadāsa Dāsa

Kṛṣṇadāsa Dāsa is the author of numerous Bengali translations of the works of Viśvanātha Cakravarti. At the end of his translation of Viśvanātha's *Mādhurya-kādambinī* Kṛṣṇadāsa Dāsa explicitly mentions Viśvanātha Cakravarti as his guru:

“This work, the *Mādhurya-kādambinī* has blessed the world. It was spoken by Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya through the mouth of Cakravarti. Thus lowly Kṛṣṇa Dāsa utters the translation of the sixth nectar shower [chapter], meditating upon the feet of his guru, Śrīla Viśvanātha Cakravarti.”³

Kṛṣṇadāsa Dāsa is said to have composed Bengali translations of the following of Viśvanātha's works: *Camatkāra-candrikā*, *Mādhurya-kādambinī*, *Rāga-vartma-candrikā*, *Bhāgavatāmṛta-kaṇā*, *Bhaktirasāmṛta-sindhu-bindu*, and the *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi-kiraṇa*. Also attributed to Kṛṣṇadāsa Dāsa is a verse translation and elaboration of Viśvanātha's *Gaurāṅga-smaraṇa-maṅgala* known as *Gaurāṅga-līlāmṛta*.⁴

³ ...śrīla viśvanātha-cakravarti guru tāhāra caraṇa dhyāne
 ṣaṣṭa amṛta-vṛṣṭi tāra bhāṣā dīna kṛṣṇa dāsa bhāṇe.

-quoted from Haridāsa Dāsa (1957: 1188).

⁴ Haridāsa Dāsa ibid.

3.1.2 Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya

The document of 1712 mentioned above describes Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya as one of the students of Viśvanātha Cakravarti in the Gokulānanda-jī *kuñja*.⁵ Thus the documentary evidence suggests that Kṛṣṇadeva lived there in the *kuñja* in Rādhā-kuṇḍa with Viśvanātha, most probably as some kind of initiated disciple.

In the traditional sources, there is a more colourful description of how Kṛṣṇadeva came to be living in the *kuñja* of Viśvanātha :

A champion scholar from the East named Sārvabhauma Pandit arrived [in Braj] one day. He had heard of the name of Viśvanātha Cakravarti. Having been victorious in all directions, he travelled with a retinue of horses, elephants, and riches. Many male and female slaves attended him. [He proclaimed:] “I will become the servant of whosoever can defeat me. But as of yet I have never met anyone from whom to take initiation...”

Finally he arrived in Rādhā-kuṇḍa and came upon Viśvanātha Cakravarti bathing at the *kuṇḍa*. He asked Viśvanātha “Do you know where Viśvanātha is?”

Viśvanātha replied “Who knows where he is! Just ask me whatever you wanted to ask him.”

“But I want to debate with him.”

“That’s all right. Just debate with me. Don’t stall.” And he sat down right there on the bathing *ghāṭ* and said, “You just answer what I say.”

They debated at great length and the very person whom the pandit had come to defeat defeated him in debate. Thus Sārvabhauma Pandit became Viśvanātha’s disciple and distributed all his wealth. For some time the pandit remained there and applied his mind to serving his guru.....⁶

Although somewhat theatrical, this tradition certainly suggests that there was a formal relationship of initiation between Kṛṣṇadeva and Viśvanātha. Also,

⁵ Section 3.1.

⁶ *Vṛndāvana-dhāmānurāgāvalī* Ch 32 (Sarvabhūmi Paṇḍit Caritra):
“*sarvabhūmi paṇḍit pūrv tē yak dig-vija’ī āyau... ...ko’ī dīn bha’e tabē gur sevā mē man dīna u*”.

Kṛṣṇadeva seems to have had a good reputation as a scholar before becoming Viśvanātha's disciple.

Whatever the case may be, Kṛṣṇadeva did not remain in Rādhā-kuṇḍa for very long after 1712. By early 1715, he was in Jaipur receiving a grant of the income of the village of Baḍodyā on behalf of the deity Rādhā Vinoda-jī. The matter of a charitable grant for Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya was raised (“*araj pahūcī*”) in April of 1715,⁷ and the order (*hukam*) was given that he should receive the revenue from the autumn harvest (Oct-Nov) of 1715. The official documents (*pravāno*) were finalised in August of 1716.⁸

The grant given to Kṛṣṇadeva was a particular type called “*punya udik*”, meant to ensure the sustenance of religious figures. In Kṛṣṇadeva's case, the total taxation revenue from the village of Baḍodyā (Rs. 1,375 p.a.) was allocated to him. According to Horstmann, the particularity of a *punya udik* grant was that the benefactor had previously made a solemn vow (*saṅkalap*) in ritual fashion taking a palm full of water (*udak*) and other auspicious ingredients such as sesame seeds.⁹

In this case, Maharaja Jai Singh had previously dedicated the revenue of the village to the supreme lord (*parameśvara*) in the holy place of pilgrimage, Prayāga, at the confluence of the Ganges and Yamuna Rivers; this would tend to support the ritual nature of the act.¹⁰

This grant marks the beginning of a long public career for Kṛṣṇadeva in Jaipur as one of the theological counsellors of Jai Singh II.¹¹ In fact, it was a period of rapid expansion in the relationship between the whole Gauṛīya sect and the state of Amber/ Jaipur. It was shortly after this, in 1716, that Sawai Jai Singh dedicated the village of Gholāṅ to the service of Rādhā-Gokulānanda-jī, the deity worshipped

⁷ *Cait sudi 11 samvat VS 1772* {Sunday 14th April 1715 AD}.

⁸ *Bhādvā sudi 11, VS 1773* {Friday 28th August 1716 AD} from Jaipur State Archives NP vol. 17 p. 811. Volume 19. p 247 mentions a *pravāno* in *Asoj budi 10 samvat 1772* {26th June 1715}, but this is probably an earlier step in the administrative process connected with the issuing of a *pravāno*. See Horstmann (1999: 49-61) for a description of the process.

⁹ Horstman 1999 p. 37.

¹⁰ *Māh budi 14 VS 1771* {Sunday 3rd February 1715 AD}, Jaipur State Archives NP vol. 17 p. 811. However, volume 19 p. 247 says “*Bhādvā budi 8 samvat 1771 kā ne śrī parmeśur mimit saṅkalap huvo*” {Sunday 2nd September 1714 AD}.

¹¹ Horstmann 1996 p. 193 fn 29.

by Kṛṣṇadeva's guru Viśvanātha Cakravartī. Horstmann feels that 1713 marks a turning point in the influence of the sect in Jaipur, remarking that at this time Govindadeva-jī emerged as the presiding deity of the royal house of Kachavāhā.¹²

In 1715 when Kṛṣṇadeva received his grant for the worship of the deity, the city of Jaipur was only jungle, and Govindadeva-jī had just arrived in the Kanaka Vṛndāvana site on the Mān Sagar lake between Amber and the future Jaipur.¹³

Kṛṣṇadeva's grant was somehow connected with the worship of the deity Rādhā-vinoda (also called "Vinodī-lāl-jī"). This is evident from the fact that the priest who maintained the temple in Kṛṣṇadeva's absence applied successfully to have the grant transferred into his own name.¹⁴ Kṛṣṇadeva had established a temple for Vinodī-lāl high on a hill overlooking the Jai-nivāsa gardens, which eventually formed the heart of the new, city. Subsequently this temple was transferred to the Rāmānandī sect, and eventually a deity of Sītā-Rāma was installed there.¹⁵ That temple still exists today on the hill behind the Purānī Bastī in Jaipur.¹⁶

However, for thirty years (1715-1745) Kṛṣṇadeva was officially the *mahant* of this Rādhā-vinoda-jī temple and played an influential role as advisor of Jai Singh II.¹⁷ The inquisitive maharaja of Jaipur commissioned a series of three works from

¹² *ibid.*, p. 19

¹³ R. Nath 1996 p.174-175.

¹⁴ *Pravāno saptī Kārtik budi 8 VS 1802*, Jaipur State Archives NP vol 17 p. 248.

¹⁵ *Pravāno saptī Pos sudi 6 VS 1802* {14th December 1745}, Jaipur State Archives NP vol 17 p. 248. More details below.

¹⁶ A.K. Roy 1978 p. 191-2. Roy also mentions in passing this connection with the old Rādhā-vinodī-lāl temple. The documents speak of a temple of Sītā-Rāma, whereas Roy reports that this temple holds Jānakī-Rāma deities. The other major Rāmānandī temple of Sītā-Rāma is in Galtā.

¹⁷ Kṛṣṇadeva had a second residence in Kāmā (near Rādhā-kuṇḍa in Braj) and was there connected with the Madanamohana temple as indicated by Horstmann (1999: 22). The Kṛṣṇadeva-related documents published by Habib (1996) all come from the Madana-mohana collection. The documents available from the Jaipur State Archives link him with the temple of Rādhā-vinoda (sometimes called Rādhā-Vinodī-lāla).

Kṛṣṇadeva: *Karma-vivṛti*, *Jñāna-vivṛti*, and *Bhakti-vivṛti*.¹⁸ These works teased out the implications of three important aspects of the Gauṛīya vaiṣṇava faith, namely, works, knowledge, and devotion.

In 1723 Kṛṣṇadeva also composed the ecumenical work, *Siddhāntaikyaparakāśika*, which seems to have been directly commissioned by the maharaja in his quest to establish some unity amongst the rival sects.¹⁹ A contemporary record suggests that the group of four works represent a kind of collaboration of the two men:

Siddhāntaikyaparakāśika, *Karma-vivṛti*, *Jñāna-vivṛti*, and *Bhakti-vivṛti* - in these four books Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya, at the behest of His Royal Highness, has synthesised all holy books, and we are in full agreement with whatever is in those works.²⁰

The king was interested in how the devotional religion of Caitanya was to be practised in harmony with the established norms of Hinduism and within the social structures of the day. On one occasion the Mahārāja seems to have solicited an official opinion from the Bhaṭṭācārya on whether devotees were still eligible to perform the works of *karma-yoga*. The Bhaṭṭācārya replied,

A person may be a fit candidate to perform the activities of pure *bhakti* according to the rules and regulations of scripture, and yet if his faith has not become strong, he may still retain a very slight candidacy for the activities of the path of *karma*. This is the opinion

¹⁸ Mss # 2641, 2642, 2645, 2694, 2695, 2701 in the Jaipur Pothikhana Catalogue (Bahura 1976: 226).

¹⁹ Horstmann 1994b p.58, 1996 p. 193 fn29, 1999 p. 22 fn79, and forthcoming. In Bahura's catalogue, the *Siddhāntaikyaparakāśika* is not listed as one of Kṛṣṇadeva's works but simply as a work commissioned by Jai Singh (Bahura 1976: 124). However, the contemporary records below confirm that the work was authored by Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya.

²⁰ Letter of deliberation, *Āśvin sudi 5 VS 1789* {24th September 1732}, document held at SKS, reproduced by Bansal 1980 p. 501. A similar statement is found from the son of Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya in the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum KD # 1523, dated *Baisakh budi 11 VS 1793* (6th April 1736).

of Śrī Kṛṣṇadeva Bhaṭṭācārya.²¹

This was in fact a very diplomatic response to his patron who was both a *bhakta* of Govindadeva and a king interested in the social and ritual activities of *karma-yoga*. This accommodating stance had already been spelt out in fine detail by Kṛṣṇadeva's guru, Viśvanātha Cakravarti, in his commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā* which is the object of the current dissertation.²²

The City Palace Museum in Jaipur holds records of the maharaja's private correspondence. These records show that on several occasions the maharaja canvassed the opinion of Kṛṣṇadeva Bhaṭṭācārya on theological matters such as the duties of devotees or more philosophical questions such as the basis of *bhedābheda* philosophy espoused by the Gauṛīya sect.²³

In 1719 and 1735 Jai Singh sent Kṛṣṇadeva to Bengal to canvass the opinion of Gauṛīya *vaiṣṇavas* on controversial theological topics. Jai Singh was trying to establish some kind of religious and moral consensus, and he sent Kṛṣṇadeva Bhaṭṭācārya to the courts of various maharajas to discuss draft resolutions with the court pandits. A.K. Roy cites the documents of a conference around 1719 in which Kṛṣṇadeva was the *sabhāsad*, "the assistant-chairman of the assembly". After the decision of the assembly had been reached, Kṛṣṇadeva was deputed to Gauṛa-deśa (Bengal) to present the conclusions of the assembly. The Nawab of Murśīdabād presented the matter to his court pandits, who rejected the proposal and sent their conclusions back to Jaipur with Kṛṣṇadeva.²⁴

Some time later, in 1735, the Bhaṭṭācārya was again sent out to represent the opinions of Sawai Jai Singh. On this occasion the court pandits of Vishnupur wrote back saying that they were "agreeable to the decisions of Rajadhiraja Jai Singh, so kindly sent here. Other facts will be explained by the Rev. Bhaṭṭācārya."²⁵ It would

²¹ Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum: Kapaddvara Documents # 1517 (undated). (reproduced by Bahura & Singh (1988) plate 143).

²² See Viśvanatha's comments on verse 3.26.

²³ Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum: Kapaddvara Documents # 1504, 1517, 1525, 1526.

²⁴ A.K. Roy (1985: 85) says that the documents of a conference in this connection were registered on 17 Phalguṇ BS 1125 {15th February 1719AD}.

²⁵ Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum KD Documents # 1504. Translation of G.N. Bahura.

appear that Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya was sent out to collect these *sammati-patra* for Jai Singh. He was also trusted to verbally convey the conclusions.

There are many such *sammati-patra* in the personal letter collection of Jai Singh. The maharaja seems to have been particularly interested in getting confirmation for his religious proposals from the courts of other *vaiṣṇava* kings. As well as the above examples, there are also statements of opinion from “the Pandits and considerate learned persons of the court of Śrī Kīrti-candra Nṛpati of Burdwan”, from twenty three pandits of the court of Raja Kṛṣṇa Candra Rai of Navadvīpa, from thirty *vaiṣṇavas* of Navadvīpa, and from Śrī Kṛṣṇa Rāma Sharmā of Saidābād. It is conceivable that Kṛṣṇadeva was instrumental in canvassing many of these opinions.

Jaipur was not the only place of residence for Kṛṣṇadeva. It would appear that he shared his time between Jaipur and Braja. In 1716, he purchased a *haveli* (residence) in Kāmān, a town in the north-east of Braja near Barsānā and Nandagāo.²⁶ He seems to have enjoyed the favour of the prince in charge of Kāmā, Maharaja Jait Singh, because the maharaja ordered the clerks of the revenue office to exempt Kṛṣṇadeva from one fourth of the sale price of the *haveli*.²⁷

Kṛṣṇadeva was not a recluse; in fact he acquired quite a portfolio of property. A year later he purchased the shop and house next door with the assistance of Madhusūdana, the revenue officer of the Govindadeva-jī temple. He also owned properties in Barsānā and Vṛndāvana.²⁸

In 1723 the Bhaṭṭācārya received another grant of land to supplement his already healthy income. We have already noted that Kṛṣṇadeva received subventions from the maharajas of Jaipur and Kāmā. This time he received a “*madad-i ma’ash* of 51 bighas” from Bādām Singh.²⁹ In June of the previous year Bādām Singh, leader of the rebellious Jāt race of Braja, had capitulated to Jai Singh,

²⁶ Decree of Jait Singh dated 19 Shawwāl AH 1129 (Horstmann 1996 p.191).

²⁷ Decree of Jait Sing 18 Ramazan AH 1130 (ibid and SKS). The block was 246 square *gaj* (1 *gaj* = approx 1 yard). The sale price was Rs. 163/12 *annas*, from which a discount of Rs. 41/15 *annas* was taken. The eastern boundary was shared with Seṭh Lāl and Bhagavān Seṭh, the south side with the Sarai Road, the north side with Lālu Banāhnu Tambodi, and the west side with Gokul Banāhnu and Rām Brahman’s place.

²⁸ Documents from Habib (1996: 146).

²⁹ Ibid.

which ushered in an era of peace and prosperity for the region.³⁰ Kṛṣṇadeva seems to have been one of the first to benefit from this new atmosphere.

The grant received was a “*madad-i ma’āsh*” (literally “income assistance”), a type of grant inherited from the Islamic tradition, which was offered to religious people to give them a source of income. In this case it was a grant of 61 *bighas* of cultivable land (approx. 30 acres) in the district of Mangotla, from which Kṛṣṇadeva would receive revenue without being able to evict the existing cultivators.³¹

In 1725 the personal minister (*divān*) of Jai Singh II gave Kṛṣṇadeva official sanction to procure red stone from imperial quarries in Bayānā to restore a temple of Rādhā-kānta-jī in Vṛndāvana.³²

In that same year Kṛṣṇadeva returned to Jaipur several times, perhaps in connection with some official work for the maharaja. He was received in court on two occasions, and in accordance with the traditional formal protocol was offered cloth to the value of eighty-five rupees.³³ That represented quite a substantial sum, considering that a few years previously he had purchased a residence in Kāmān for 150 rupees.

It was around this time that Kṛṣṇadeva wrote several of his books. Horstmann gives 1723 as the date of composition for the *Siddhāntaikyā-prakāśika*. That group of four works commissioned by the maharaja does not appear to have been widely circulated in the greater Gauṛīya community, as sectarian lists of his works do not mention them.³⁴

The Dhaka University holds a ms of Kṛṣṇadeva’s *Padānka-dūtam* which is dated 1723.³⁵ According to Haridāsa Dāsa, the work was composed in that year in

³⁰ V.S. Bhatnagar 1974 p. 164-5.

³¹ Horstmann 1999 p. 35-6.

³² Documents from Habib 1996 p. 146. This is more likely to be the fort-like red stone temple of Rādhā-kānta in Jao (Jāvaṭ or Yāvaṭa) not far from Kṛṣṇadeva’s place of residence, Kāmā (Entwistle 1987: 386). Such a temple is not known in Vṛndāvana.

³³ Jaipur State Archives DK, vol 15 p. 122.

³⁴ Haridāsa Dāsa 1957 p. 1190; D.S. Dāsa 1992 p. 96-98. The four works, namely *Siddhāntaikyāprakāśika*, *Karma-vivṛti*, *Jñāna-vivṛti*, and *Bhakti-vivṛti*, are discussed above.

³⁵ MS # 200A, dated 1645 ŚS (Parvin [1994: vol 2]).

Navadvīpa (Bengal).³⁶ This may well have been on one of Kṛṣṇadeva's trips to Bengal as religious envoy of Sawai Jai Singh. The Padāṅka-dūtam is an original literary work of the *dūta-kāvya* genre, similar in format to Rūpa Goswami's *Haṁsa-dūtam*.

Haridāsa Dāsa mentions that Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya wrote commentaries on Viśvanātha's *Kṛṣṇa-bhāvanāmṛta*, Rūpa's *Vidagdha-mādhava*, Baladeva's *Prameya-ratnāvalī*, and possibly Kavi Karṇapura's *Alaṅkāra-kaustubha*.³⁷ D.S. Dāsa adds to that list a commentary on Viśvanātha's *Stavāmṛta-laharī*, as well as a commentary on Baladeva's *Aiśvarya-kādambinī*. The authenticity of the latter work needs to be questioned, since Kṛṣṇadeva had passed away by at least 1749, but Baladeva's *Aiśvarya-kādambinī* was not composed until 1779.³⁸

Haridāsa Śāstrī has published an edition of Viśvanātha's *Sanikalpa-kalpa-druma* with a commentary by Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya.³⁹

By 1732, Kṛṣṇadeva's fame amongst the Gauṛīya community was well established. It was in that year that a royal assembly in Sawai Jai Singh's court declared the teachings of Rūpa Kavirāja heretical. On that occasion, when the assembly wanted to give examples of orthodox Gauṛīya theology, Kṛṣṇadeva was cited as an authority along with other illustrious Gauṛīya teachers such as Rūpa, Sanātana, and Jīva. Obviously the involvement of Jai Singh in the production of four of Kṛṣṇadeva's works made those particular works eminently quotable in a debate held in Jai Singh's own assembly hall. Regardless of that political factor, it is fairly clear that Kṛṣṇadeva was regarded by his peers as an authority on Gauṛīya

³⁶ Haridāsa Dāsa 1957 p. 1588; D.S. Dāsa 1992 p. 96.

³⁷ Haridāsa Dāsa 1957 p. 1190. Some of these works are "signed" by "Vedānta-vagīśa", which is said to be a pen-name used by Kṛṣṇadeva.

³⁸ For the date of Kṛṣṇadeva's death see below. The date of the *Aiśvarya-kādambinī* is clearly spelt out in the colophon: "... *bhū-viyat-sindhu-śaśāṅka-śake....*" (= ŚS1701 = 1779AD). The final verse of the *Aiśvarya-kādambinī* mentions that the work was composed by the grace of Sārvabhauma Prabhu. Again, given the date of composition and the date of death of Kṛṣṇadeva, that reference must be some posthumous tribute to Kṛṣṇadeva, or it may mean that this work had been suggested by Kṛṣṇadeva before he passed away but not actually composed until some time later.

³⁹ "iti śrī-kṛṣṇadeva-sarvabhauma-bhaṭṭācārya-kṛtā sanikalpa-kalpa-drumasya ṭīkā samāptā."

theology.⁴⁰

By 1735 we see that Kṛṣṇadeva's son, Rāma-nātha Deva Śarmā, had also emerged as a public figure in Jaipur. In April of that year Rāmā-nātha addressed a letter to Jai Singh concerning the treatises compiled by his father and Jai Singh. It would seem that by this stage, Kṛṣṇadeva's son had already begun to share some of the responsibilities and offices which had been assumed by his father. Kṛṣṇadeva's position seemed ready to be passed down from generation to generation.

However, the last years of Kṛṣṇadeva's life did not run so smoothly, and his position seems to have disappeared completely. A certain amount of political intrigue is to be expected with the transfer of such large amounts of money and prestige. In this case we do not have the full story, only fragments as they appear in the various applications made at court.

In 1745, a year or so after the death of Jai Singh II, a petition was tabled through the long-serving *diwān* of the Jaipur court, Rāja Ayamal. Evidence was produced that now Virajānanda was doing the *sevā* for Rādhā-vinodī-lāl, and therefore Virajānanda requested that the grant which had previously been given to Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya should be transferred to his own name.⁴¹

This petition was accepted, and by the force of a royal *parvāno*, Virajānanda received that income from autumn (month of Kartik) of 1745.⁴² He was successful in getting transferred into his own name not only the village which provided the income but also the temple gardens and land.⁴³

Just a few months later, the new *mahant*, Virajānanda, returned to the court with another petition. Since the last application, apparently "Ṭhākura-jī" (Rādhā-vinodī-lāl) had gone to Vṛndāvana, and Virajānanda had decided to establish deities of Sītā and Rāma in their place. He therefore requested that the grant which he had just transferred from Kṛṣṇadeva's name to his own name should now be associated

⁴⁰ Bansal 1980: 504-6; Haberman 1988 p. 103. Dr. Bansal kindly gave me a copy of the document of the settlement of the assembly. It is dated September 1732 AD (*Āśvin sudi* 5 VS1789). Details in section 3.2 below.

⁴¹ Jaipur State Archives NP vol. 19 p. 247

⁴² Jaipur State Archives NP vol. 19 p. 248, *Parvāno sabatī Kāttī budi* 8 VS1802 {18th October 1745}.

⁴³ Jaipur State Archives NP vol. 17 p. 812. "*bhog kā gā`v vā bāg vā dhartī*"

with the new deities of Sītā-Rāma rather than with Rādhā-vinodī-lāl.⁴⁴

His request for a new *parvāno* detailing the new arrangement was accepted, and the new deities under his charge now received the full income from the village of Baḍodyā (Rs. 1375 p.a.).

What exactly was happening on Kṛṣṇadeva's side during all this is not at all clear from the available evidence. The next we hear from that side is in 1749, when Vṛndāvana Bhaṭṭācārya, Kṛṣṇadeva's grand son (*dohitā*) appeared in the Jaipur court and explained that Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya had passed away. Vṛndāvana Bhaṭṭācārya laid claim to the grant which had previously been given to his grandfather.⁴⁵ It thus appears that Kṛṣṇadeva Bhaṭṭācārya and his son, Rāma-nātha deva Śarmā, had both died. Now the son of Kṛṣṇadeva's daughter was the eldest male heir and was in a position to claim the grant.

We had observed above that in 1735 Rāma-nātha, the son of Kṛṣṇadeva, was emerging as a successor, and we would have expected Rāma-nātha to claim his father's post. But it appears that Rāma-nātha died before his father, because he made no such claim on his father's post. It was Rāma-nātha's sister's son, Kṛṣṇadeva's grandson, who made the claim.

It is not exactly clear when Kṛṣṇadeva passed away. From the documentary evidence produced above, however, it appears that he died between 1745 and 1749. In 1745 Virajānanda claimed Kṛṣṇadeva's right to the income of the Vinodī-lāl temple simply because he was the one now doing the service. No mention is made of Kṛṣṇadeva having passed away.⁴⁶ The deity was then recalled to Vṛndāvana, and only in 1749 does Kṛṣṇadeva's grandson appear on the scene reporting the death of his grandfather and claiming the hereditary grants:

⁴⁴ “*Ab thākur-jī śrī bindrāban-jī padhāryā*” - Jaipur State Archives NP vol. 19 p.248. No precise date is given, simply: “*ibtadāy samvat 1802 the hāsīl havālo karbo kījyo mukararā gā`v tan 1375 ko 1.*” which could be anytime between the previous decision (October 1745) and March 1746 when the new calendar year began.

⁴⁵ Jaipur State Archives *ibid* p. 249 and vol. 17 p. 814: “*vindrābān bhaṭṭācārij hazur āyo so ibtadāya sākḥ syālū samvat 1806 the pravāno sabati karābo kā umedvār so...*”

⁴⁶ A similar situation is described below in Section 3.1.3, where Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami's post is successfully claimed by one Viśvambhara because Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami had left his post and Viśvambhara was the one actually doing the service. Vidyābhūṣaṇa subsequently claimed the post back.

...By power of the royal edict of Kartik k. 8, 1802, {18th October, 1745AD} the *mahant* in question [Virajānanda] received the revenue of the village because he was performing the service for Śrī Rādhāvinodī-lāl. Then Ṭhākur-jī [Vinodī-lāl] graced Vṛndāvana with his presence, and in his place *Mahant* Virajānanda established the deities of Sītā-rāma in the temple, and he desired to get a royal order re-made [for revenue for the new deities]. This was issued from 1745 with respect to the village in question of the value of 1375 r/. In the meantime, a written statement was issued to the effect that the village in question had been granted to Virajānanda. Then Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya passed away, and his grandson, Vṛndāvana Bhaṭṭācārya, came to court and laid a claim for the revenue of the village from the winter crop of 1749...⁴⁷

Even though the letter of 1735⁴⁸ suggests that Kṛṣṇadeva's son Rāma-nātha was by then active in Jaipur affairs, there is nowhere in the very detailed documents

⁴⁷ Jaipur State Archives NP vol. 19 (tālukā Havelī) p. 248. Also vol.17 p. 813-814.

“...āge gā`v majkūr mu`āfik pravāno sabatī karār kārtī budi 8 samvat 1802 the Ṭhākur-jī śrī rādhā vinodī lālji kī sevā me` mahant majkūr kai havāle karī hī tab su pāve chā so. ab ṭhākur-jī to śrībindrāban-jī padhāryo ar ṭhākur-jī śrī sītārām jī mahant viarajānand-jī mindar me` birajmān kiyo so pravāno fer karāyo cāhe so ibtadāy samvat 1802 the hāsīl havālo karbo kījyo mukararā gāv tan 1375 ko 1. farad hu`ī jyo bīc me` mahant virajānanda-jī ne diyo cho so. ab kisandev sārbbhom bhaṭācāraj kālvās huvo ar dohito birandāban, kisandev sārbbhom bhaṭācāraj ko, hazūr āyo so ibtadāya sākḥ syālū samvat 1806 the pravāno sabati karābo kā umedvār so...”

Dr. Prof Horstman has mentioned to me in personal correspondence that there are documents in the possession of the present Rāmānandī *mahant* which might indicate earlier dates for this affair (ca. 1722). Not having access to those documents for this project, I have not been able to attempt to reconcile them with the Jaipur State Archives documents which clearly date these events around 1745-1749. Further research will no doubt clarify the matter, and in turn uncover new questions.

⁴⁸ Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum KD # 1523, dated *Baisakh budi* 11 VS 1793 (6th April 1736).

any reference to the estate of Kṛṣṇadeva passing to Rāma-nātha. When Kṛṣṇadeva's grandson claims the grants of the Vinodī-lāla temple, he claims them on account of the death of his grandfather.

From the scant evidence available, it is not clear why Kṛṣṇadeva left his post vacant in Jaipur, especially if he had a grandson and perhaps a son who were fit to carry on. One could assume that he originally planned to return. Also, the arrangement and relationship between Virajānanda and Kṛṣṇadeva is very uncertain. Whether or not Kṛṣṇadeva approved of Virajānanda taking over the grant in 1745 is not explicitly mentioned in the documentary evidence, but it seems plausible that he did not approve at all, because only months later the deities were recalled to Vṛndāvana.

In any case, the Jaipur state administration was now in a fix. It had transferred Kṛṣṇadeva's grant over to Virajānanda, and had tied the grant up with the worship of the Sītā-Rāma deities. It had even handed over the temple land and gardens. And now a descendant of Kṛṣṇadeva had appeared on the scene wanting to re-claim his grandfather's grant. This claim was upheld by Īsvara Singh, the son and successor of Jai Singh II. Thus from 1749 Kṛṣṇadeva's grandson was able to receive the income from the villages of Baḍodyā, Karjolī, and Lohar Baḍo.⁴⁹

We noted above that the type of grant which Kṛṣṇadeva was enjoying was a *punya udik*. As a general rule, the *punya arath* and *punya udik* grants were granted in perpetuity, and thus it is not surprising that the grandson of Kṛṣṇadeva should have been able to re-claim the grant. What was perhaps unusual about this decision was that the post of *mahant* was passed on through a female descendant. In the Gauṛīya sect, a daughter had no rights of succession, nor her son.⁵⁰

In late 1750, Mādho Singh came to the throne in Jaipur, and Vṛndāvana Bhaṭṭācārya came to the court shortly afterwards to have his grants ratified by the new monarch, as was the custom for all grant-holders upon the coronation of a new

⁴⁹ Jaipur State Archives NP vol. 19 p. 249, vol. 17 p. 814, and NP Ṭhākura-dvārā volume p. 66. These documents seem to have been drawn up in VS1806, with the arrangement coming into effect with the winter harvest of VS1806 (1749 AD): "*hukam huvā ibtadāy sākḥ syālu samvat 1806 the pravāno sabti likho mukararā gā`v tan darovast ek 1. pravāno sabtī karār mitī bhādvā budi 4 sāl samvat 1805*" (note: this is the harvest year) {2nd August 1749}.

⁵⁰ This fact was explicitly stated in the documents concerning one Gopinātha (Habib 1996: 140), who came to Vṛndāvana to claim his maternal grandfather's position, but whose claim was not accepted. Instead, the lineage was traced through the male relations of his grandfather.

maharaja.⁵¹

Meanwhile, a disciple of Virajānanda named Bālānanda had succeeded to the position of *mahant* of the Rāmānandī Sītā-Rāma temple, and he began to have a strong influence on the new king.

The court records of the time show that the new maharaja held Bālānanda in great esteem:

On *Cait budi* 8, VS 1809 {27th March, 1753} the maharaja himself went to the camp of Bālānanda to pay him his respects, and gave him his offering of ten Mohars and two coconuts. The maharaja received the blessings of Bālānanda and gave him his offering of ten Mohars and two coconuts. The maharaja received the blessings of Bālānanda and a “*dupaṭṭa*” and “*Prasāda*”. Thereafter, the maharaja used to go to Bālānanda every year to give his offerings and receive Bālānanda’s “*Prasāda*”.⁵²

Shortly after Mādho Singh ascended the throne, Bālānanda-jī contested the previous monarch’s decision to return the grants to Kṛṣṇadeva’s grandson. As leading student and heir of Virajānanda, Bālānanda claimed the grants for himself. The matter was settled in favour of Bālānanda-jī. From the winter harvest of 1752 onwards, the revenue from three villages, Baḍodya, Karjolī, and Lohar Baṛo, was awarded to Bālānanda-jī for the worship of Ṭhākura Sītā-Rāma-jī.⁵³

This is the same Bālānanda who later became a very influential leader of the Rāmānandī sect in Jaipur and Braja.⁵⁴ He is said to have mobilised the Rāmānandī ascetics into small armies.⁵⁵ Bālānanda became a very significant player in Jaipur

⁵¹ Jaipur State Archives NP vol. 17 p. 809 and vol. 19 p. 251.

⁵² Jaipur State Archives DK vol. 31 p. 669 (quoted from A.K. Roy 1978 p. 193).

⁵³ “*ibtidāy sākḥ unhālu samvat 1809 mahant Bālānandajī kai ṭhaharyo*”: Jaipur State Archives NP vol. 19 p. 252; vol. 17 p. 815; vol. Ṭhākuradvārā p.67; vol. 24 p. 445.

⁵⁴ Mital 1969 p. 209; A.K. Roy 1978 p.191-194; Entwistle 1987 p. 193. Horstmann 1987, 1994 b) 49-67.

⁵⁵ This surely did not happen in 1713 as described by G.S. Ghurye (quoted in A.K. Roy 1978: 192). As documented above, Bālānanda-jī did not succeed Virajānanda-jī as *mahant* until around 1749. Other details are

(continued...)

politics. Some say that he even became the guru of Maharaja Mādho Singh,⁵⁶ but a formal guru/disciple relationship probably did not develop until the next generation, i.e. between Govindānanda and Pratāpa Singh.⁵⁷

There is no evidence that Kṛṣṇadeva's grandson got anything in place of the grants which were transferred to Bālānanda's name.⁵⁸ The deities of Rādhā-vinoda seem to have received another grant, albeit a few years later, in 1760.⁵⁹ The grant this time was an "inām", or "gift", which is more a reward than a grant. It is perhaps of a lower category, because it is not given in perpetuity.⁶⁰

According to A.K. Roy, it was in this year that Vinodī-lāla-jī returned to Jaipur.⁶¹ It is not known exactly where the temple was situated at that time. It seems likely that the temple was in the Purāṇī-bastī (Old Quarter) near the Chandpol Gate. In the Jaipur State Archives there is an ambiguous reference in 1761 to Rādhā-Vinodī-lāla residing in the Purāṇī-bastī (Old Quarter) in Jaipur.⁶² There is also a reference in 1780 to the king and Bālānanda-jī meeting at Chandpol on the way to the Vinodī-lāl temple.⁶³ According to oral tradition, eventually a high government official donated his own residence opposite the Tripolia gate to Vinodī-

⁵⁵ (...continued)
given by A.K Roy.

⁵⁶ A.K. Roy *ibid.*

⁵⁷ Horstmann [forthcoming] p.143.

⁵⁸ Jaipur State Archives, NP vol. 24 p. 445-6.

⁵⁹ *Phālgun sudi 3 VS 1817* {9th March 1761} - Jaipur State Archives NP. vol. Ṭhākuraadvārā p. 67.

⁶⁰ Horstmann 1999 p. 37. In private correspondence Professor Horstmann informed me that documentation of this grant in the Daftar Mavajana Khurd characterises this grant as a *bhog* grant (to provide food offerings etc. for a diety), which in the circumstances would be more logical.

⁶¹ A.K. Roy 1985 p. 61. Of course Roy assumes that this is Rādhā-vinoda's first trip to Jaipur. The documentary evidence cited above makes it abundantly clear that Rādhā-vinodī-lāla had previously been in Jaipur from before 1715 until 1745.

⁶² Jaipur State Archives NP, Ṭhākura-dvārā vol. p. 72. ("āgai virājamān kasbā savā'ī jaipur mai purāṇi basatī mai chā").

⁶³ Jaipur State Archives DK vol. 31 p. 681 (quoted in Horstmann [forthcoming] p. 151).

lāla. That is where the deities presently reside.

Maharaja Mādho Singh does not seem to have been inimical to the Gauṛīya devotees, and it would be prudent not to read too much into the limited detail available to us in the archival documents.⁶⁴ The “competition” between the Gauṛīya sect and the Rāmānandī sect is also a subtle question which cannot be fully described within the scope of the present work.⁶⁵ Nevertheless, it is certain that the Gauṛīyas in general and Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya in particular benefited during the reign of Jai Singh II. However, Mādho Singh’s favour towards Bālānanda seems to have swung the balance back in favour of the Rāmānandī sect, and the temple on the hill in the south western part of Jaipur seems to have been a symbol of that sea-change.

⁶⁴ Cf. the favourable treatment of Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami during this period (section 3.1.3 below).

⁶⁵ For which see Horstmann (1994b), (1999: 6) and (2000). In this regard Horstmann also refers to an unpublished MA thesis of Clementin-Ojha on the rivalry between sects in Jaipur. This important work has since been published as *Le Trident au Palais: Une Cabale Anti-vishnouite dans un Royaume Hindou à l’Epoque coloniale*, Paris 1999.

3.1.3 Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa

Another famous disciple of Viśvanātha Cakravartī was Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa. Baladeva refers to himself as Viśvanātha's student in different places of his commentary on the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*. For example, at the close of the first chapter he writes:

Thus ends the first chapter of the Vaiṣṇavānandinī commentary written by Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa, student of Viśvanātha Cakravartī.⁶⁶

Further on, in the tenth *skandha*, when Baladeva pays respects to those who gave him inspiration in writing his commentary on the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, he mentions Sanātana, Śrīdhara, and Viśvanātha.⁶⁷

It is unlikely that the relationship of teacher and student between Viśvanātha and Baladeva was ever formalised by a mantra initiation. Traditional sources suggest that the basis of the relationship was that Baladeva studied the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* under Viśvanātha. Tribute to Viśvanātha appears often in Baladeva's commentary on the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, but such tribute is not found elsewhere in Baladeva's works.

Baladeva's formal mantra initiation is traditionally said to have been from within the Mādhva *sampradāya*. Traditional sources seem to agree that Baladeva was born in the Bāleśvara district of Orissa in a village near Remuna. He is said to have been educated in grammar and rhetoric on the banks of the Cilkāhrad River, after which he travelled to Mysore, where he studied the Mādhva philosophy and eventually became a *sannyāsī* in that order. From there he returned to Orissa and settled in a Mādhva monastery in Puri. Baladeva is said to have come in contact with the Caitanya sect in Puri and become a student of Rādhā-dāmodara Goswami.⁶⁸

Some time later, Baladeva came to Vṛndāvana, where he is said to have

⁶⁶ *Vaiṣṇavānandinī* commentary on *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* 1/1 close: “*iti viśvanātha-cakravartī-śiṣya-baladeva-vidyābhūṣaṇa-racitāyām vaiṣṇavānandinyām ṭīkāyām prathamō 'dhyāyaḥ'*”.

⁶⁷ *ibid.* Skandha10: “*sanātana-śrīdhara-viśvanātha-dayā-lavaḥ samprati śakti-rāśiḥ*”.

⁶⁸ S.N. Dasgupta 1922 IV p. 438; Sundarānanda Vidyānoda 1951 p. 67; Haridāsa Dāsa 1957 p. 1292; Caturvedi 1976 p. 232; J. Sinha 1976 p. 87; Elkmann 1986 p. 25; D.S. Dāsa 1992 p. 74.

studied the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* under Viśvanātha Cakravartī. When exactly Baladeva came to Vṛndāvana is not known, but it would appear that it was some time after 1712. In 1712, the Gauṛīya ascetics living in Vṛndāvana and Rādhā-kuṇḍa were asked to give their opinion on the correct behaviour for renunciants, and some sixty prominent Gauṛīya ascetics signed the declaration, including both Viśvanātha Cakravartī and Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya.

However, Baladeva's name does not appear on that list at all. Both archival documents and sectarian tradition link Baladeva very strongly with the temple of Rādhā-Śyāmasundara.⁶⁹ However, in that document of 1712 we find no mention of Baladeva among the devotees living in the *kuñja* of Śyāmānanda Gosā'ī.⁷⁰ This is not decisive evidence, because he may have been absent at the time of that debate, but it certainly raises the possibility that Baladeva had not arrived in Vṛndāvana by 1712.

Moreover, as Baladeva's death is documented in 1793, it is unlikely that he would have been born any earlier than 1700. In addition to this, tradition ascribes to him quite a full youth before arriving in Vṛndāvana: studying grammar in Orissa, training as a Mādhva *sannyāsī* in Mysore, returning to settle in Puri, becoming influenced by the Gauṛīya sect there, studying under Rādhā-dāmodara Dāsa there, and then finally travelling to Braja.

In the absence of any positive evidence, it is difficult to propose a date for Baladeva's arrival in Braja before 1730, taking into account that it is likely that he was born after 1700 and that it would take him thirty years to achieve everything ascribed to him by tradition before coming to Vṛndāvana.

Such a proposition finds indirect support in the absence of references to Baladeva in available documentary evidence until 1741 and the absence of any dated works before 1764.⁷¹ Of course, earlier dates are possible, but we simply do not have evidence of them.

One of the earliest works written by Baladeva would seem to be a commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras* commissioned by the maharaja of Jaipur. In the personal library of the maharajas of Jaipur we find a manuscript of a terse sūtra-wise

⁶⁹ Documents will be cited below. Traditional evidence is reported by D.S. Dāsa (1992) and Caturvedi (1976: 233).

⁷⁰ Nor is there mention of any of the aliases which are advanced for Baladeva: Govinda Dāsa, Ekāntī-govinda Dāsa, Dāmodara Vipra (cf. the above mentioned traditional accounts).

⁷¹ Details below.

commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras* called the *Brahma-sūtra-kārikā-bhāṣya*.⁷² The manuscript bears no date, but it seems obvious it was commissioned by Jai Singh II, who ruled between 1700 and 1743. Jai Singh commissioned a similar work in 1730.⁷³ It is likely that around this time, the maharaja amassed the formidable collection of *Brahma-sūtra* commentaries by various teachers from different sects which is still present today in the Pothikhana at Jaipur. It was perhaps at this time that the absence of a Gauṛīya commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras* came to the maharaja's attention and he commissioned Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa to provide one.⁷⁴

Another work which seems to have been written in this early part of Baladeva's career is the *Prameya-ratnāvalī*. The work itself bears no date, but there is a commentary on this work traditionally attributed to Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya,⁷⁵ who died sometime before 1749.⁷⁶

Incidentally, provided the attribution of this work to Kṛṣṇadeva is correct, then one can be sure that the *Govinda-bhāṣya* was also composed before 1749, as the *Govinda-bhāṣya* is mentioned in the first line of that commentary on the *Prameya-ratnāvalī*:

A commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras* called the *Govinda-bhāṣya* was composed by Baladeva, the pure devotee of Govinda (*Govindaikānti*), later known as "Vidyābhūṣaṇa". Then some of his disciples asked him about the philosophical underpinnings of that commentary, so he

⁷² Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Pothikhana Catalogue # 6079.

⁷³ Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum Pothikhana Catalogue # 5850.

⁷⁴ Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum Kapaddvara Catalogue # 1519. If the Gopīnātha mentioned in this letter is the nephew of Gopī-ramaṇa who died in 1718 (Habib 1996: 140), then it would appear that as early as 1718 Jai Singh was considering commissioning a commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras* from the Gauṛīya sect. More details can be found in section 3.2 below.

⁷⁵ The commentary closes with a verse which describes its author as "Vedānta-vāgīśa". Tradition within the Gauṛīya sect says that this is a pen name of Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya (Haridāsa Dāsa 1957: 1191 & D.S. Dāsa 1992: 95).

⁷⁶ Refer to section 3.1.2 above.

summarised them [in this book]....⁷⁷

Although there is no available documentation concerning Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa's life before 1741, it seems reasonable to assume that he was a very influential figure from quite early on in his career.

In 1741, Maharaja Jai Singh visited Vṛndāvana and met personally with "Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami". Vṛndāvana seems to have been Baladeva's place of residence around this time. On the occasion, the Swami organised a feast (*mhaco*), and Jai Singh presented Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami with one hundred rupees.⁷⁸

The feast, or "*mhaco*" (i.e. *mahottsava*), mentioned in this document may well have been a particular feast prepared after the death of a religious dignitary.⁷⁹ If that were the case, the meaning would be "Vidyābhūṣaṇa performed the mourning ceremony for the goswami". It is possible that Goswami Vidyābhūṣaṇa became the *mahant* of the Govindadeva temple in Vṛndāvana after this function.⁸⁰

A letter of 1742, written by several distinguished *mahants* to Jai Singh, describes Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami as being responsible for the service of the Govindadeva temple in Vṛndāvana. Moreover, it seems that by this time Baladeva was already a recognised leader of the Gauṛīya sect, since in the same letter the custodian of the Govindadeva temple in Jaipur assured Maharaja Jai Singh that he and the other *mahants* would consult Śrī Vidyābhūṣaṇa before appointing new *mahants*.⁸¹

⁷⁷ *Kāntī-mālā* commentary on *Prameya-ratnāvalī* verse 1:
 "vidyābhūṣaṇāparanāmnā baladeva-śrīgovindaikāntinā brahma-sūtreṣu
 govindabhāṣyābhīdhānam vyākhyānam viracitam. atha kaiścic chiṣyair
 bhāṣya-prameyāṇi pariṣṭah sa tāni saṅkṣepa....". Details on the
 significance of the different names are given below.

⁷⁸ Jaipur State Archives NP vol. 5 p. 525: "*Gusā`ī Vidyābhūṣaṇ. Samvat
 1798: miti jeṭh sudi 10 ne` behalā the vidyābhūṣaṇ vyandarāban-jī me`
 gusā`ī ko mhaco kiyā. ti ne 100*" {25th April 1741 AD}.

⁷⁹ For this information I am grateful to Shivchand Tivari of the Jaipur State
 Archives, Bikaner,

⁸⁰ It is very interesting that Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa should be described as
 Gusā`ī (Goswami), when it is said that he was not born of Brahmin
 parents (eg., Elkmann 1986: 26).

⁸¹ Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum Kapadvāra Catalogue # 1531
Baisakh budi 6 VS 1799 {14th May or April 1742}. The above details are
 (continued...)

The documentary evidence of the time also links Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa to the Rādhā-Śyāmasundara temple. This temple was situated in Vṛndāvana near the *kuñja* of Jīva Goswami. Baladeva's connection with this temple can be traced through Rādhā-dāmodara, his guru from Puri, who was initiated in the line of Śyāmānanda, the founder of the Rādhā-śyāmasundara temple in Vṛndāvana.

The Rādhā-śyāmasundara temple in Vṛndāvana had been receiving pecuniary assistance from the Amber state since 1711.⁸² In that year, Jai Singh's younger brother, Vijai Singh, made a grant in favour of Rādhā-śyāmasundara-jī in Vṛndāvana.⁸³ This was during a short period in which Vijai Singh had usurped power from his elder brother and was issuing royal edicts in his own name.⁸⁴

There is no evidence that Baladeva was at all involved with these grants during this early period. As discussed above, evidence of his involvement has thus far only been found from 1741 onwards, and it is quite likely that Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami did not even arrive in Braj until well after 1711.

The *sanad* of 1711 is evidence of Vijai Singh's general support for the Gauṛīya community, as it names three Gauṛīya deities (Govinda, Gopīnātha and Śyāmasundara-rāya) and assigns three villages (Ḍahārā, Sālīmpur, and Balhero) to

⁸¹ (...continued)

furnished by Horstmann (1996: 186), who seems to have had access to the original document.

⁸² The Rādhā-śyāmasundara temple does not seem to have been a major temple prior to this. For example, in 1628 Rādhā-śyāmasundara was not mentioned in the documentation of a grant offered "to the temples situated in Mathura and Vṛndāvana" (document reproduced by Horstmann [1999: 114-124]).

⁸³ *11 Rajab A.H. 1123* according to Jaipur State Archives NP (praganā Hinḍon) p. 951, but *21 Ramazān A.H. 1123* (2nd November 1711) according to the bilingual *sanad* in Horstmann (1999: 212-215). Horstmann's previous index entry for this document (1996: 304) suggested that this temple was in Jaipur, but her later and more definitive work does not mention Jaipur (1999: 214-5, 373). This is more compatible with the document of Jaipur State Archives, which clearly mentions Vṛndāvana as the location ("*ihākur śrī syāmasundar-jī birājmān bindrāvan-jī*").

⁸⁴ The *sanad* begins, "*śrī mahārājādhīrāj mahārājā-jī śrī mīrjā rājā vijai syangh-jī devavacanāt*". Bhatnagar (1974: 38-40) gives details of Vijai Singh's diplomacy. Horstmann (1999: 208-11) reproduces another bilingual *sanad* issued as a "royal order" of Vijai Singh.

them. From the Jaipur State Archives document, it is clear that this was not a shared grant, but that each temple received one village. The third village, Balheṛo, was assigned solely to Rādhā-śyāmasundara.

By 1712-1713 Jai Singh had re-claimed his position as monarch of Amber and imprisoned his younger brother, Vijai Singh.⁸⁵ Jai Singh immediately re-issued a grant under his own authority for Govindajī's village, Salīmpur.⁸⁶ A few years later, in 1720, Jai Singh also decided to re-issue under his own authority the grant pertaining to Rādhā-śyāmasundara's village, Balheṛo. He took the opportunity to exchange the village of Balheṛo with the village of Somlādāgar.⁸⁷

After the death of Jai Singh II, the grant was renewed by his son Īśvarī Singh in 1745. Shortly afterwards it was reported to the Divān at Jaipur that Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami had been performing the service for Rādhā-śyāmasundara, but had for some reason suspended his service and had gone off with the grant documentation (*parvāno*). Viśvambhara Adhikārī had taken up the post of head priest in Vidyābhūṣaṇa's absence, and in 1749 successfully applied to have the grant documentation re-issued in his own name.⁸⁸

The available archival documents give no explanation as to why Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami stopped performing the service for Rādhā-śyāmasundara, nor do they give any indication of when he started that service and exactly when he stopped it. A statement by Horstmann (1996: 186) adds more information:

....there is a document of V.S. 1799/ A.D. 1742 which informs us that Vidyābhūṣaṇa was in charge of the service of Śrī Govindadeva in Vṛndāvana (*sevā vidyābhūṣaṇa karai chai*).

Thus it would seem that Vidyābhūṣaṇa was the head priest of two temples in Vṛndāvana: Govindadeva and Rādhā-śyāmasundara. At some time before 1749, he relinquished the service of the Rādhā-śyāmasundara temple and retained only his service to Govindadeva. It is tempting to speculate that he had been serving Rādhā-

⁸⁵ Bhatnagar 1974 p. 87.

⁸⁶ Jaipur State Archives: NP Pragnā: Hiṇḍoṇ, Gāv: Sālīmapura p. 957; *Sāvāṇa budi 14 VS1769* {31th August 1712} *parvānā Āsoj sudi 9 VS1771* {21st June 1714}.

⁸⁷ Jaipur State Archives: NP (praganā Hiṇḍoṇ) p. 951, *Parvāno sabtī Pos sudi 8 1777* (8th December 1720).

⁸⁸ Ibid.: *Parvano sabtī Māgaśra sudi 2 VS 1806*: “*sevā vidyābhūṣaṇa karai chai so mokūf kiyo ar pravāno le uṭh gayo*” {11th December 1749}.

śyāmasundara for some time and that after being appointed *mahant* of the Govindadeva temple he suspended his responsibilities in the service of Rādhā-śyāmasundara.

Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami certainly held some position of prominence in Vṛndāvana. In 1751 the new Maharaja of Jaipur, Mādho Singh, received him as “Goswami Vidyābhūṣaṇa of Vṛndāvana” and, as his father had done ten years earlier, offered him a hundred rupees and a valuable cloth as a parting gift.⁸⁹

Even though Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa had ceased personally doing the service for the Rādhā-śyāmasundara deity in Vṛndāvana and was acting throughout this period as *mahant* of the Govindadeva temple in Vṛndāvana, nevertheless Vidyābhūṣaṇa’s name continued to be associated with the temple of Rādhā-śyāmasundara.

In fact, around this time it seems that Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa opened a second Rādhā-śyāmasundara temple, this time in Jaipur. We noted above that the charge of the Rādhā-śyāmasundara temple in Vṛndāvana had been transferred to Viśvambhara around 1747, after Vidyābhūṣaṇa had discontinued his service there. In 1751, around the time of Vidyābhūṣaṇa’s visit to Mādho Singh, the matter again came before the *divān* of Jaipur, who determined that Viśvambhara should keep the revenue from the village of Somlāḍāgar for the service of Rādhā-śyāmasundara in Vṛndāvana and that Vidyābhūṣaṇa should be allotted the revenue from a village called Narasinghapur for the worship of “Vijai Śyāmasundara-jī who resides in the Vidyābhūṣaṇa temple in the city of Jaipur.”⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Jaipur State Archives, NP (nām jāṭ gusā’ī) p. 452. “*bābat vidā kā bakhasyā*”.

⁹⁰ Jaipur State Archives, NP, (pragnā Hiṇḍaun, tapa Khoh, *gāv* Narasinghapur) p. 258-9. The documentation of these two grants is somewhat intertwined and can be a little opaque at times. The above entry comes under the heading of the Vṛndāvana temple (“*bābat bhog ṭhākura śrī śyāmasundara-jī virājmān śrī brindāvan-jī*”), presumably because the *divān* was asked to settle the revenue question between Viśvambhara and Vidyābhūṣaṇa.

It is clearly stated that Viśvambhara was awarded the revenue of the village of Somlāḍāgar to worship Rādhā-śyāmasundara in Vṛndāvana. At first glance it seems contradictory that Vidyābhūṣaṇa also continued to serve Ṭhākura-jī and that he was also given the revenue of a different village, Narasinghapur (ibid p.260). A letter of the same year (ibid p.261) confirms that Mahant Vidyābhūṣaṇa received this village because he was performing the worship of Śrī Śyāmasundara-jī. However, later

(continued...)

The fact that this temple came to be called the “Vidyābhūṣaṇa Mandir” means that at some period of his life Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa spent considerable time there in Jaipur. It also indicates that he was a well-known personality, because Gauṛīya temples were invariably named after their presiding deities, but in this case the establishment was named “Vidyābhūṣaṇa Mandir” after its presiding devotee.⁹¹

In 1754, a devotee named Rām-lāl was registered in the Jaipur court documents as “Rāma-lāl, *mahant* (of) Vidyābhūṣaṇa’s Śrī Śyāmasundara-jī.”⁹² Rām-lāl received a gift from the maharaja in the course of a traditional rite of succession of *mahants* called the *mātami*.⁹³ The document does not specify whether “Ṭhākura Śyāmasundara-jī” was in Vṛndāvana or in Jaipur. However, it seems obvious that this was the Jaipur temple because the *mahant* of the Vṛndāvana temple was Viśvambhara, not Rām-lāl as mentioned here. In fact, the reference to this temple as “Vidyābhūṣaṇa’s Śrī Śyāmasundara-jī” was probably enough to distinguish the Jaipur temple, as opposed to the Vṛndāvana temple, which was under the care of Viśvambhara.

The very fact that Rām-lāl was “the *mahant* of Vidyābhūṣaṇa’s Śrī Śyāmasundara-jī” would suggest that Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami did not himself

⁹⁰ (...continued)

documentation makes it clear that in fact there was by this time a second Śyāmasundara-jī deity (Vijai-śyāmasundara-jī), this one in the city of Jaipur in the “*Vidyābhūṣaṇa mandir*”.

Explicit reference to the Vijai-śyāmasundara-jī deity is found in 1760 (ibid p. 263), and documentation from 1770 explains in retrospect that in 1751 the original grant of the village of Narasinghapur had indeed been made to Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami so that he could perform the service to Vijai-Śyāmasundara-jī in Jaipur (ibid. p.265).

⁹¹ There is no trace of this temple in the present day Jaipur city. The archival material repeats many times that it was in the city (*kasbā*) of Jaipur. I have not been able to establish the whereabouts of the Vidyābhūṣaṇa temple despite asking many of the old Gauṛīya *vaiṣṇavas* of Jaipur. Nor could the Devasthāna Vibhāga in Jaipur offer any assistance.

⁹² Jaipur State Archives, Tojī Dastur Kaumvār, Bundle 34 (Dastur Syāmī) doc # 368, Bhādvā budī 13 VS 1811 {15th September, 1754}. “*mhent rām lāl, vīdyābhūṣaṇ kā ṭhā[kur] śrī syāmasundar-jī*”. This could also mean “*mahant Rām Lāl, (disciple) of Vidyābhūṣaṇa (of the) Śyāmasundara-jī (temple).*”

⁹³ For a discussion of the *mātami* see Hortstmann (1999: 9fn & 37).

personally perform the service even though the Rādhā-śyāmasundara deities and temple in Jaipur were still somehow considered as Vidyābhūṣaṇa's. The Vidyābhūṣaṇa Mandir would thus seem to be an institution bearing his name, and over which he had control, but the worship there seems to have been organised by a local *mahant*, in this case Rām-lāl.

As for Vidyābhūṣaṇa himself, he seems to have still been occupying the post of head priest at the Govinda-jī temple in Vṛndāvana. In 1755 and 1756, he made two official visits to the then Maharaja of Jaipur, Mādhava Singh, and was received as "Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami, of the Govindadeva-jī temple".⁹⁴ As part of the traditional formalities, Baladeva received some valuable cloth as a gift. Despite maintaining a presence in Jaipur and arranging for the worship of Vijai Rādhā-śyāmasundara there, nevertheless Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami was still clearly identified with the Govindadeva temple.

It is not absolutely clear what post Baladeva held at the Govindadeva-jī temple, as it is also generally assumed that the post of *mahant* was handed down through interrelated Bengali brahmins.⁹⁵ Nevertheless, the documentary information calls him "Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami, of the Govindadeva-jī temple" and says quite clearly that he was in charge of the service of Śrī Govindadeva temple in Vṛndāvana. That connection is underlined by the fact that Baladeva named his famous Brahma-sūtra commentary *Govinda-bhāṣya*. In the *Siddhānta-ratna*, Baladeva's appendix to that book, Baladeva gives a hint as to why he named that book after the deity of Govindadeva:

Hail to the magnanimous Śrī Govinda, the dear friend of Rādhā, who delights his friends! He decorated me with knowledge and thus made me famous as "*vidyā-bhūṣaṇa*". In a dream he indicated [that I should write] that commentary.

The traditions surrounding the composition of this work are discussed in the following section. However, for the purposes of this section it is sufficient to note

⁹⁴ *Jeth budī 1* and *Phāguṇ sudī 4* VS 1812 {26th April 1755 & 5th March 1756}, Jaipur State Archives, Tojī Dastur Kaumvār, Bundle 34 (Dastur Syāmī) doc # 391. Again the documentation does not clearly state whether this Govindadeva temple is the one in Jaipur or Vṛndāvana. However, on the strength of the Horstmann's evidence (1996: 186) we can safely assume that Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa was the *mahant* of the Govindadeva temple in Vṛndāvana.

⁹⁵ Horstmann 1994 a) p. 84.

that tradition links the composition of this work with the deity of Śrī Govindadeva in Jaipur.

In 1757 during the Holi celebrations there was a horrific wholesale massacre of civilians and *sādhus* in Mathura and Vṛndāvana. The marauding troops of Ahmed Shah Abdali were let loose to plunder and pillage as they pleased, and they were paid five rupees for each infidel head they delivered to the chief minister's residence in Mathura. One eyewitness report states that "you could only pick your way with difficulty, owing to the quantity of bodies lying about".⁹⁶

Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami was one of the lucky ones who escaped the appalling carnage. What effect the massacre had on his Govindadeva temple in Vṛndāvana is not documented, but one would imagine that as the most prominent Hindu shrine in the whole area, it must have attracted special attention. In fact, *sādhus* were singled out for special treatment:

Everywhere in lane and bazar lay the headless trunks of the slain; and the whole city was burning...I saw a number of Bairagi and Sanyasi huts huddled close together... In each hut lay a severed head with the head of a dead cow applied to its mouth and tied to it with a rope around its neck.⁹⁷

Three years later in 1760, it was reported to the court in Jaipur that Viśvambhara, the head priest of the Śyāmasundara temple in Vṛndāvana, was no longer performing the service in the temple properly, nor was the deity being offered the requisite daily food offerings.⁹⁸ Mahant Vidyābhūṣaṇa had stepped in and taken over the service there, and thus it was decided that the revenue grant for the service of Rādhā-śyāmasundara, which had been registered under the name of Viśvambhara since 1747, should be re-registered under the name of Mahant Vidyābhūṣaṇa starting from the autumn harvest of 1760.⁹⁹

There are a number of letters preserved in the Jaipur State Archives written

⁹⁶ Samin, translated and annotated by Irvine (1907: 60-63), quoted in Entwistle (1987: 197-8), who also gives other sources.

⁹⁷ Ibidem.

⁹⁸ "sevā karī nhī vā bhog pahuñcāyo nhī": Jaipur State Archives NP (Ṭhākura-dvārā) p.606.

⁹⁹ VS 1817, ibidem and vol. Hiṇḍon (gāo Somlādāgar) p. 953-4.

in Sanskrit by “Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami” to Mādhava Singh I.¹⁰⁰ All these letters bear the *invocatio*¹⁰¹ (letterhead) “Śrī Śyāmasundaro Bhagavān Vijayate” or some variation of that formula. Therefore, it would appear that these letters were written in the period after 1760 (when Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa resumed the service of Rādhā-śyāmasundara) and before 1768 (when Mādhava Singh passed away).

These are mostly formulaic letters, offering stock passages of praise to the monarch, such as:

Hail to His Royal Highness Mādhava Singh, whose mind is like a bee drinking the nectar of the lotus flower feet of Śrī Śyāmasundara, whose enemies are like owls trying to imitate the sun-like intensity of his arms...[etc for ten lines]. Ever may Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami, your Highness’s well-wisher, simply contemplate his worshippable deity. All is well here. At the time of worship here we always wish the same for you there with your family.... Please accept this *bhagavat-prasāda* and letter I have sent. Written on the sixth day of the dark fortnight of the month of Sahas [Mārga-śīrṣa].¹⁰²

Similar letters were sent by Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa on special festive days such as Vijaya Daśamī (Dusherra) and Dholotsava (Holi). On such occasions Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami sent special *prasāda* from the celebrations of that day or some cloth that has been used by the deity in the course of the festivities.¹⁰³

It is thus evident that Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa was careful to maintain his relationship with the maharaja. The existence of many other similar letters from other temples addressed to the maharaja would suggest that this was a traditional practice for the head priests under the patronage of the Jaipur state.¹⁰⁴

In 1764 Baladeva completed his commentary on Rūpa Goswami's *Stava-mālā*. Although Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa was a prolific writer, only a handful of his

¹⁰⁰ Jaipur State Archives *Kharitā* bundle 4/1 documents # 139, 175, 211.

¹⁰¹ This is a term used by Horstmann (1999: 45) following Bresslau and Busse. As Horstmann is the only person to have attempted such an analysis for the Rajasthani documents, and as she has done it particularly well, I have followed her terminology.

¹⁰² Jaipur State Archives *Kharitā* bundle 4/1, document # 75.

¹⁰³ Jaipur State Archives *Kharitā* bundle 4/1, documents # 139 and 211.

¹⁰⁴ Ibidem, various documents.

works are dated, and this is the earliest dated work currently available.¹⁰⁵

The literary works generally attributed to Baladeva are very broad in scope, and they are evidence of great scholarship in many different fields. These include devotional works (such as the *Aiśvarya-kādambinī*), commentaries on devotional works (such as the *Bhagavad-gītā*, *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, and *Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta*), many works on Vedānta philosophy (such as *Siddhānta-ratna*, *Siddhānta-darpaṇa*, *Vedānta-śyāmāntaka*, and *Prameya-ratnāvalī*), commentaries on works of Vedānta philosophy (such as several commentaries on the *Vedānta-sūtras*), works on poetics and grammar (such as *Sāhitya-kaumudī*, *Vyākaraṇa-kaumudī*, *Kāvya-kaustubha* and *Pada-kaustubha*) as well as commentaries on works on poetics and grammar (such as Rūpa's *Nāṭaka-candrikā* and on his own *Sāhitya-kaumudī*).¹⁰⁶

There are two important works of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa held in the Pothikhānā of the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum in Jaipur: the *Brahma-sūtra-kārikā-bhāṣya* and the *Tattva-dīpikā*. Neither of these two works are mentioned in academic or traditional lists of Baladeva's works. It is more than likely that they were both commissioned personally by Jai Singh II and not widely distributed otherwise. Hence they have remained relatively unknown until a catalogue of the maharajas' Pothikhānā was drawn up recently.¹⁰⁷

The first work, the *Brahma-sūtra-kārikā-bhāṣya*, will be discussed at more length in the following section as it is a significant commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras*. The other work, the *Tattva-dīpikā*, is a Vedāntic ontological work. It is significant from an historical point of view in that it ties together several of the strands of the life of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa. The *Tattva-dīpikā* opens with a simple homage to Śrī Govindadeva: “*śrī-govindadeva-pādāravindebhyo namaḥ*”. This is yet another confirmation of Baladeva's connection with the Govindadeva temple.

At the same time, the handwriting of the *Tattva-dīpikā* is identical with the handwriting in the letters written by the Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami of the Rādhā Śyāmasundara Temple. This dispels any doubt that there might be two Vidyābhūṣaṇas, one from the Govindadeva temple and one from the Rādhā-śyāmasundara temple.

¹⁰⁵ The *Prameya-ratnāvalī* was certainly written much earlier than this, as it has a commentary by Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya, who died before 1749.

¹⁰⁶ S.N. Dasgupta 1922 p 438; Haridāsa Dāsa 1957 p. 1292; Caturvedi 1976 p. 232; S. Narang 1984 p.4; Kapoor 1984 p.466; D.S. Dāsa 1992: 83-93.

¹⁰⁷ G.N. Bahura 1976 & 1996 p.213 endnote 20.

The *Tattva-dīpikā* ends with mention of Pītāmbara Dāsa, who was one of the preceptors of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami.¹⁰⁸ This same Pītāmbara is referred to with respect by Baladeva in several of his works, notably at the close of the *Siddhānta-ratna*, an appendix to the *Govinda-bhāṣya*. In that work Baladeva says that the ideas of this book were compiled by the grace of Pītāmbara.¹⁰⁹ Interestingly, the *Siddhānta-ratna* begins with a homage to Śrī-Śyāmasundara.

Therefore, the “Mahant Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami” of the Jaipur records is certainly the same as the “Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa” of *Govinda-bhāṣya* fame. And likewise it is certain that the Mahant Vidyābhūṣaṇa of the Rādhā-śyāmasundara temple is the same person as the “Goswami Vidyābhūṣaṇa of the Govindadeva temple”.¹¹⁰

Baladeva’s contemporary, Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya, explicitly states in his commentary on Baladeva’s *Prameya-ratnāvalī* that “Baladeva, the pure devotee of Govinda (“Govindaikānti”), was later known as Vidyābhūṣaṇa”.¹¹¹

In 1768 Pṛthvī Singh became Maharaja of Jaipur, and shortly afterwards

¹⁰⁸ “*pītāmbarasya karuṇāvaruṇālayasya kāruṇyataḥ*”. References to Pītāmbara in connection to Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa are found in S.N. Dasgupta 1922 IV p 438; Haridāsa Dāsa 1957 p. 1292; Caturvedi 1976 p. 232; S. Narang 1984 p.4.

¹⁰⁹ *Siddhānta-ratna* 8.35. There is doubt as to the authorship of the commentary on this book, but there is general agreement that Baladeva wrote the *mūla* text itself (S.N. Dasgupta 1922: IV 438; A.K. Majumdar 1967: 282; S. Narang 1984: 4; D.S. Dāsa 1992 p. 83).

¹¹⁰ Having responsibility for two temples seems to have been common enough. Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya was connected with both Rādhā-vinoda and Rādhā-madana-mohana (cf. section 3.1.2.).

¹¹¹ “*Kāntī-mālā*” commentary on *Prameya-ratnāvalī* verse 1: “*vidyābhūṣaṇāparanāmnā baladeva-śrīgovindaikāntinā brahma-sūtreṣu govindabhāṣyābhidhānam vyākhyānam viracitam.*”

It is hard to say how much one can make of the phrase “*vidyābhūṣaṇa-apara-nāmnā*”, which literally means “whose later name was Vidyābhūṣaṇa”. The word “*apara*” can also mean “other”, so the phrase might simply mean “whose other name was Vidyābhūṣaṇa”. The former interpretation reflects the tradition that Baladeva received the epithet “Vidyābhūṣaṇa” as a result of the fame he received after composing the *Govinda-bhāṣya*. That tradition finds its origin in the verse from Baladeva’s *Siddhānta-ratna* (8.31) quoted above: “*vidyā-rūpam bhūṣaṇam me pradāya...*”.

in 1770 he renewed all of Baladeva's land grants, as was the custom each time a new maharaja came to the throne.¹¹² Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa seems to have gone personally to Jaipur to oversee the process. The maharaja received him as "Vidyābhūṣaṇa Goswami of Vṛndāvana" and marked the occasion by offering Vidyābhūṣaṇa a gift of one hundred rupees, just as his father and grandfather had done before him.¹¹³

By this time, Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami must have become a very senior member of the community. We noted above that even as early as 1741 he was already being consulted regarding the appointing of new *mahants* and that he himself was the *mahant* of the Govindadeva temple in Vṛndāvana. In 1771 his reputation can only have been all the more enhanced after having held the position of *mahant* at the temples of Govindadeva and Śyāmasundara for another thirty years and after composing so many books. In 1777 we see that his signature was sought as a witness to an administrative document from the archives of the Madana-mohana temple.¹¹⁴ He seems to have been acting in the capacity of a "community elder".

Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami continued writing well into his old age, as we have two dated works from 1779 and 1781: the *Aiśvarya-kādambinī* and the *Kāvya-kaustubha* respectively.

The *Aiśvarya-kādambinī* ends by saying:

By the grace of Sārvabhauma Prabhu let this vast rain-cloud (*kādambinī*) of opulence (*aiśvarya*) gather quickly in order to extinguish the fire-like suffering of those *sādhus* whose hearts are like

¹¹² Jaipur State Archives NP vol. Ṭhākura-dvārā I p.645 and II p. 607-8; vol 18, p. 263; vol. Hiṇḍon p. 954. All the grants for the various villages were prepared on *Pos sūdī 2 saṁvat* 1827 {19th December 1770 AD}.

¹¹³ Jaipur State Archives NP Vol. Kaumvār, Jāt Gusāī p. 493. This entry is registered under *saṁvat* 1828, but it quotes the same treasury sanction date (*Pos sūdī 2*) as reported in the previous footnote in *saṁvat* 1827. The difference of one year may be due to the former being a *phaslī sāl*, although the prefix *sāl* is not found in the documents. The gift seems to have been offered two weeks after the settling of the grants, i.e., on *Māgaśra budī* 14.

¹¹⁴ Vṛndāvana Research Institute Microfilm T2 document # 66: "*atra sākṣī mahant vidyā bhūṣaṇa-jī*". Unfortunately, the photocopy I made during fieldwork of this project turned out to be unintelligible, and I had made no other notes on this document other than that the matter was in Rajasthānī and the document was dated VS 1834.

parched and faded lotuses due to the lack of a description of the opulence of the (soothing) moon of Braja, Kṛṣṇa.¹¹⁵

The reference to Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya is a little puzzling since the work is dated 1779 and, as noted above, Kṛṣṇadeva's death is documented some thirty years previously, between 1745 and 1749.¹¹⁶ When Baladeva says that the work was composed "by the mercy of Sārvabhauma Prabhu", it must refer to the inspiration for the work. Perhaps it refers to something from thirty years beforehand, perhaps an unfinished manuscript by Kṛṣṇadeva or a suggestion by Kṛṣṇadeva implemented posthumously by Baladeva.¹¹⁷

There are no more historical records pertaining to Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa other than those which record his passing away in 1793. The last twelve years of his life are thus undocumented. After the death of Mādho Singh I in 1768, a sequence of minors came to the Jaipur throne, causing instability and underhand diplomacy to develop.¹¹⁸

Moreover the Empire, in which Jaipur had thrived since the time of Akbar, was now in tatters, and the rise of Maratha power in Northern India began to marginalise the rulers of Jaipur. By 1789, three years before the death of Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami, the Marathas had established complete control over the Braj region and had begun to replace the system of *jagir* land grants which the ruling house of Jaipur/ Amber had built up in the area over the past two centuries.¹¹⁹ This was the effective end of an era of patronage of the temples of Braja by the Rajput

¹¹⁵ *Aiśvarya-kādambinī* colophon:
*"aiśvarya-parikīrtanād vraja-vidhoḥ kṛṣṇasya ye sādhaveḥ stāpāgni-pratīlīdha-
hṛt-sarasijāḥ mlāyanti śuṣya-tviṣaḥ,
teṣāṃ tāpa-vimardanāya viśadā śrī sārvabhauma prabhoḥ kāruṇyād uditeyam
āśu bhavatād aiśvarya kādambinī"*.

¹¹⁶ Section 3.1.2.

¹¹⁷ D.S. Dāsa refers to a commentary on this work written by Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya. If the date of composition is indeed 1779, then it is impossible for Kṛṣṇadeva to have written a commentary on this work since he had been dead for over thirty years. If he did actually write a commentary, then the date of composition must be wrong. Or if that date is right, then the records documenting his death must be inaccurate. The commentary was most likely written by somebody else.

¹¹⁸ Entwistle 1987 p. 213. Horstmann [forthcoming] p. 140.

¹¹⁹ Entwistle 1987 p. 211.

nobles.¹²⁰ By this time, the British were well-established in East India and were waiting in the wings for their opportunity, which would come some twenty years later.

The passing away of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa is recorded in the following document of 1793:

Protocol Charity for Swamis

In the name of: Sādū Caraṇ, disciple of Mahant Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *mahant* of the Ṭhākura Śrī Śyāmasundar-jī [temple].

Year: VS 1850 {1793 AD}.

Dated: the fourteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Bhādvā

{the nineteenth of September}

Place: Sawā'ī Jaipur

Mahant Vidyābhūṣaṇa passed away, and at his condolence ceremony the abovementioned [Sādū Caraṇ] stood in the Govindadeva-jī temple and had a Tulsī-wood necklace tied around his neck and also received a fine decorative cloth to the value of ----.

Mahant Sādū Caraṇ gave a shawl to His Majesty as an offering. The sum of Rs. 1836, a.2 p.3 was settled.¹²¹

This document does not record the date on which Mahant Vidyābhūṣaṇa passed away; it simply records the date of his *mātami tīkā*, literally the “condolence anointing” ceremony. This is a ceremony which both “mourns” (*mātami*) the death of a *mahant* and anoints the successor with a special marking on the forehead (*tīkā*). Therefore, the document tells us that Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami passed away shortly before this. The document states explicitly that the events took place in Jaipur. As

¹²⁰ After Independence a government department of the Rajasthan state government called the Devasthāna Vibhāga took over responsibility for all the temples previously supported by the Rajput maharajas. The Gokulānanda / Rādhā-vinoda temple in Vṛndāvana was still until recently officially under their care.

¹²¹ Jaipur State Archives, Tojī Dastur Kaumwār Bundle 34 document 117.

Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami was the *mahant* of two temples in Vṛndāvana, one can only assume that he passed away there and that after the mourning formalities had been completed there, his successor, Sādu Caran, made his way to Jaipur to have the grant documents relating to the Rādhā-śyāmasundara temple transferred into his own name. Thus one would expect Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami to have died a few months earlier.

Traditional evidence would tend to support this, as a ceremony commemorating the passing away of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa is observed within the Gauṛīya community every year on the Jyeṣṭha *śukla* 10,¹²² which is about two and a half months before the date recorded above for the *mātāmī ṭikā* ceremony. It is an interesting reflection on the cyclical nature of “traditional history” that the precise day of the lunar calendar was marked, but the year was not marked. The day is important for traditional calculations of mourning periods and yearly observances, but the precise point on a time line does not seem to have been a priority.

In any case, from a combination of archival evidence and tradition, it would appear that Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa passed away on the Jyeṣṭha *śukla* 10 VS 1850, or the nineteenth of June, 1793 AD.

The document of 1793 quoted above gives us some interesting details on how a *mātāmī ṭikā* ceremony was conducted. A few months after the passing away of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami, his successor made the trip to Jaipur, and a ceremony was held in the Govindadeva-jī temple there. We may infer that the priests of the Govindadeva-jī temple were in charge of the ceremony of anointing a new *mahant*. Horstmann suggests that the custodians of the Govindadeva temple had long been considered responsible for the administration of land grants on behalf of other temples in Vṛndāvana.¹²³

We also noted above that in 1742 the *mahant* of the Jaipur Govindadeva temple in Jaipur gave an undertaking that before appointing new *mahants* he and others would consult with Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami, the *mahant* of the Govindadeva temple in Vṛndāvana.¹²⁴ This confirms that the priests of the Govindadeva temple in Jaipur were usually involved in appointing a new *mahant*, as suggested in the document describing the *mātāmī ṭikā* of Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami.

The phrase “*mātāmī ṭikā*” indicates that an integral part of the ceremony was the anointing of the forehead with a marking of religious significance (*ṭikā*). In this

¹²² D.S. Dāsa 1992 p. 82.

¹²³ Horstmann 1999 p. 123.

¹²⁴ Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum Kapadvvara document # 1531. More details given in Horstmann 1996 p. 186.

case, that *ṭīkā* seems to have been applied by the priests of the Govindadeva temple in Jaipur. This would signify that the new *mahant* had been recognised by his peers as successor to Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami.

Moreover, Sādū Caraṇ was asked to stand in the Govindadeva temple whilst Maharaja Pratāpa Singh (“Śrī-ji”) attached a necklace of Tulsī wood to his neck and offered him a piece of fine decorative cloth. These are the items of customary charity protocol (*dastūr*) recorded in the maharaja’s *dastūr* records of the occasion. These actions would signify that Sādū Caraṇ had been recognised by the state as successor to Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami concerning the revenue grants in favour of Rādhā-śyāmasundara in Vṛndāvana.

In return, the new *mahant* offered the maharaja a *dūsālo*, a kind of thick woollen shawl, and it was decided that the new *mahant* should give an “offering” (*nījṛānā*) of 1,835 rupees. The sum of money referred to here is the *mātamī matlabā*, a kind of death duty, which Sādū Caraṇ would have been required to pay as the successor to an estate. The sum due was calculated in differing percentages according to the type of revenue grant. In this case, religious grants in the personal name of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa would have been taxed at half the ordinary rate, and revenue grants for the food offerings to the deities Rādhā-śyāmasundara would have been taxed at one quarter.¹²⁵ The full sum due was calculated at eighteen hundred and thirty six rupees, two anna and three paisa. This is a fabulous sum for those days, but it gives an idea of the extent of the estate of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami.¹²⁶

Worship of the Rādhā-śyāmasundara deity in Vṛndāvana continues to this day, as does worship in the Govindadeva temple in Vṛndāvana. However, as was mentioned above, there is no sign of the Vidyābhūṣaṇa Mandir in Jaipur at present. What happened to that establishment will remain unknown until new evidence comes to light.

There is some indication that the Vijai Śyāmasundara deities installed by Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa in Jaipur in his Vidyābhūṣaṇa Mandir were eventually taken to Vṛndāvana and installed beside the original Rādhā-śyāmasundara deities there. There are two large sets of Rādhā-śyāmasundara deities in the Rādhā-śyāmasundara temple in Vṛndāvana at present, and the oral tradition handed down within that temple has it that the larger of the two sets was installed by Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa.

¹²⁵ Horstmann 1999 p. 37.

¹²⁶ To give some idea of the relative size of the estate, we can compare the tax assessment of 1,835r./ on Baladeva’s estate to the assessment of 6,846 r./ on Bholānāth, who inherited the estate of the Govindadeva temple in 1935 (some 142 years later).

The current head priest of that temple also claims that Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa was cremated and his ashes buried in the temple grounds there. Directly at the foot of the back wall of the present temple structure there are three small mounds and a small cenotaph. The mound just to the right of the cenotaph is said to mark the *puṣpa samādhī* of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ Oral evidence of Kṛṣṇa Gopālānandadeva Goswami of the Rādhā-śyāmasundara temple in Vṛndāvana. According to Mr Gopal Ghosh, librarian of the VRI and long-time resident of Vṛndāvana, there has been a fair amount of shuffling of the cenotaphs connected with the temple of Rādhā-śyāmasundara in Vṛndāvana.

3.2 Religious Debate in Jaipur During the Reign of Jai Singh II

The biographical details of Viśvanātha, Kṛṣṇadeva, and Baladeva have been presented above. Within the Gauṛīya sect there is a quite detailed tradition with regard to the participation of Viśvanātha and his two famous students in a religious debate in Jaipur. Because that traditional account draws together all three of these religious dignitaries, the next section of this study is devoted to an analysis of that traditional account and religious debate in general during the reign of Sawai Jai Singh.

The reign of Sawai Jai Singh was characterised by very public religious debate, often instigated by the maharaja himself.¹²⁸ Jai Singh appears to have been a religious-minded man. Certainly his devotion to Govindadeva was celebrated, and he is known to have theologically favoured the Gauṛīya sect, but there is no indication that he ever became a formal follower of the Caitanya sect. He seems to have remained independent and open-minded. As a monarch, he seems to have remained even-handed and his predilection for the Gauṛīya sect does not seem to have translated into disadvantage for other religious groupings. There is evidence that he supported a broad range of Hindu institutions.¹²⁹

Overall Jai Singh seems to have been broad-minded and genuinely inquisitive. He showed a personal interest in the religious issues of the day. The Kapaddvara records of the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum show how Jai Singh actively sought opinions on issues of religious practice and theology and at the same time gave instructions to certain sects on principles of ethics and morality.¹³⁰ Many such religious issues were discussed in the assembly hall of Jai Singh.

3.2.1 The Story of A Debate

Within Gauṛīya circles there is a widespread tradition that Viśvanātha's students took part in a religious debate in Jaipur / Amber, where they impressed the maharaja with their learning and saved the honour of their sect. The story of this debate is a story which has been mostly passed down orally within the sect itself, and as such has developed numerous variations and has naturally been embellished

¹²⁸ Bhatnagar 1974 p. 341; Entwistle 1987 p. 191-4; Horstmann 1994 (b) p. 49-68.

¹²⁹ Bhatnagar 1974 p. 337-340; G.N. Bahura 1976 p. 63-71; Horstmann 1994a) p. 85- 93, 1999 p. 19; A.K. Roy 1978 p. 18-29.

¹³⁰ Bahura and Singh 1988.

in places by storytellers predisposed to the Gauṛīya cause.¹³¹

A colourful version of these events is found in Gopāl Kavi's *Vṛndāvanadhāmānurāgāvalī*, which was composed in 1843, and thus represents the oral tradition as it had developed about one hundred years after the events. As a basis for discussion on this topic, Gopāl Kavi's portrayal of the event is here quoted in full:¹³²

Meanwhile a fresh dispute arose between the four *sampradāyas*. The Rāmānandīs and the followers of Viṣṇu Swami and Harivyāsa claimed that the deities of Govinda, Gopinātha and Madana Mohana should be served by them. Then King Sawai Jai Singh said to the Gauṛīyas, "Bring one of your pandits here before me."

The Gauṛīyas replied, "We have a lot of pandits in Braj. [For example] there is Viśvanātha Cakravarti in Rādhā-kuṇḍa."

The king then sent off a carriage to fetch him. He sent off a letter to the four *sampradāyas* telling them of the matter. The officer came to Rādhā-kuṇḍa in his carriage and said, "Sawai Jai Singh himself has summoned you to Jaipur."

Viśvanātha Cakravarti did not want to go, saying, "No, after renouncing the world how can I leave Braj?...."

Hearing this, his disciple Sārvabhauma said "I can go to Jaipur".

.... Sārvabhauma vowed to go and take part in the discussion on the scriptures and to restore the Gauṛīya *sampradāya* to its high position. The guru was then very satisfied and said "Just go there and you will be triumphant".

So, off he went to Jaipur with pot in his hand and only a

¹³¹ Some of the major variants are summarised by Elkmann (1986: 26-29) and Entwistle (1987: 192-194). Traditional sources not mentioned by Elkmann and Entwistle include: S. Vidyāvinoda (1951: 68-72), Kṛṣṇa Dāsa Bābā (1954(a): 5-6), Mital (1961: 67), G.N. Bahura (1976: 66 & 1996: 208); N.C. Bansal (1985: 302-3); Kapoor (1984: 463-465); D.S. Dāsa (1992: 76-81).

¹³² Narahari Cakravarti's *Narottama-vilāsa* (ca. 1700-50) includes some biographical details of Viśvanātha Cakravarti, but makes no mention of Viśvanātha Cakravarti's connection with Jaipur and certainly makes no mention of any conference.

tattered cloth draped over his shoulder. He would not sit on the carriage, but went only on foot. As he arrived in Jaipur, everyone ran to get a glimpse of him. Upon seeing his renunciation the king spread out his own shawl [for him to sit on], but he refused the seat, saying that the king is a manifestation of God in this world. He just stood there effulgently showing his power.

Then the king called all the head priests and pandits of the four *sampradāyas* to come and meet him in debate.... Debating with them one after the other he defeated the four *sampradāyas*. Then the king fell at his feet and said “Be gracious and make me your student.”

Sārvabhauma said, “One shouldn’t think that there is any difference between us, the four *sampradāyas* are one, and this defeat and dispute were really needless.”

[aside] At that time Rādhā-govinda had arrived in Galtā, and Gaurāṅgī, Vallabhā-kānta and Vraja-mohana had built a temple for them.....

The king touched the pandit’s feet and said, “Please accept something from me.”

The pandit replied, “I am a renunciator, I don’t need any boon”, and he did not take anything. [However] he said, “The deity Śrī Vinodī-lāla has now fled to Karauli. He used to be the worshippable deity of our lineage when He graced Vṛndāvana.”

The king said, “First, please be merciful and stay in Jaipur [for a while] with us. Grace us with your presence here.”

Then the king wrote a letter to Karauli and sent it with some attendants. They said, “The king has sent us here to take Vinodī-lāl. Please give Him to us.”

So they gave Vinodī-lāla, but did not give Rādhā....

[When they arrived,] Sārvabhauma exclaimed, “How is it that you have brought Ṭhākura-jī without Ṭhākurānī!”

[And the king sent a message back saying], “I sent you a letter asking you to send us Ṭhākurānī!”

[The priests from Karauli replied] “But you didn’t write ‘Rādhikā-vinodī’ [you only wrote ‘Vinodī-lāla’]. And a supplicant only has one opportunity to ask. After leaving he can’t come back.” Upon hearing this, the king just gave up and eventually went home happily.

That helpless Ṭhākurānī stayed there [in Karauli] next to [the deity called] Madana-mohana, and Ṭhākura Śrī Vinodī-lāla was

installed in Jaipur. Here [in Vṛndāvana] in the temple of Viśvanātha's Gokulānanda-jī, there is a Vijai Rādhikā Vinoda-jī [a deity made in the image of Rādhā-Vinoda].¹³³

This traditional account was written over a hundred years after the events, and successive generations of enthusiastic raconteurs partial to the Gauṛīya sect seem to have added to some kind of a historical kernel. As remarked above, there is a tradition within sectarian sources regarding a conference or debate involving the Gauṛīya pandits being summoned from Vṛndāvana by the maharaja to defend the sect. It is important to note in this regard that several different versions of this story exist within the Gauṛīya sect, and other versions of a similar story exist within Rāmānandī sources.¹³⁴

3.2.2 Variation within the Tradition

There are numerous variations of this traditional account. For simplicity, we will deal with them under just two categories: variations in the participants involved and variations in the cause of the argument.

Many variations of this story revolve around the presence or absence of either Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya or Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami. The above nineteenth century account by Gopāla Kavi does not mention Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa at all. According to that account, Kṛṣṇadeva went to Jaipur/ Amber alone. Twentieth century followers of the sect, such as Bhakti Siddhānta Sarasvati and Haridāsa Dāsa, report the tradition that both Kṛṣṇadeva and Baladeva went to the conference together.¹³⁵ A.K. Roy has mentioned this version in his *History of Jaipur City*.¹³⁶

D.S. Dāsa reports a version in which both Kṛṣṇadeva and Baladeva go to a conference in Jaipur, but this version puts Baladeva very much at centre stage. This description of Baladeva recalls some of the details attributed to Kṛṣṇadeva in Gopal Kavi's version quoted above. For example:

¹³³ *Vṛndāvana-dhāmānurāgāvalī* Ch13. Sarvabhūmi Paṇḍita Carita: "itna i cāri sāpradāy mẽ kuch uṭhayau vivād navīna u..... puni thākur gokulānand-jī viśvanātha ke jo ha i."

¹³⁴ For a summary of some of the differing views, see Entwistle (1987:192-193) and Elkman (1986: 26-7, 38-47).

¹³⁵ B.S. Sarasvati 1922 p. 51; Haridāsa Dāsa 1957 p. 1191, 1292; Caturvedi 1976 p. 233; D.S. Dāsa 1992 p. 76-81.

¹³⁶ A.K. Roy 1978 p.171.

...Baladeva carried a water pot in his hand , draped a torn quilt over his shoulders, and he wore a loincloth covered with a simple outer wrap. Entering the Royal Court alone in such a dress he inquired of the king how he might help...¹³⁷

Numerous other accounts speak only of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa in connection with this conference. In these accounts there is no mention of Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya¹³⁸

Another source of variation in this story is the cause of the dispute. Gopāl Kavi's version quoted above says simply:

Meanwhile a fresh dispute arose between the four *sampradāyas*. The Rāmānandīs and the followers of Viṣṇu Swami and Harivyāsa claimed that the deities of Govinda, Gopinātha and Madana Mohana should be served by them...

Many accounts do mention this challenge to the Gauṛīya right to worship the Govindadeva deity or a challenge to the authenticity of the sect as a “*sampradāya*”.¹³⁹ Others trace the dispute to a philosophical difference with the Rāmānandīs over the worship of Govinda before Nārāyaṇa, which then developed into an argument as to why the Gauṛīyas had no commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras*.¹⁴⁰ S.K. De and G.N. Bahura suggest that lack of a Brahma-sūtra commentary was the very reason the Gauṛīya sect's validity was being questioned.¹⁴¹

Yet others report that the real cause of the dispute was the Gauṛīya's support of the “immoral” *parakīyā-vāda* philosophy, which says that Kṛṣṇa enjoyed amorous

¹³⁷ D.S. Dāsa 1992 p. 76. Compare with Gopal Kavi's description of Kṛṣṇadeva: “So, off he went to Jaipur with pot in his hand and only a tattered cloth draped over his shoulder.”

¹³⁸ S.K. De 1961 p. 22; S. Vidyāvinoda 1951 p. 61; Mital 1962 p. 68; Kapoor 1987 p. 434. Darśanācārya 1987 p. 15.

¹³⁹ Roy op. cit., Caturvedi op. cit., Vidyāvinoda op. cit., Haridāsa Dāsa op.cit., S. Dāsa (quoted in Elkman 1986: 28).

¹⁴⁰ Kapoor, D.S. Dāsa.

¹⁴¹ S.K. De 1961 p.22; G.N Bahura 1976 p. 66.

pastimes outside of wedlock.¹⁴² This gave rise to objections to the worship of Rādhā. S. Narang (following Kṛṣṇadāsa Bābā) refers to all three of the above issues.¹⁴³ And A.K. Majumdar feels that the Gauṛīyas themselves initiated the dispute, because they wanted to eat in a separate line from the other *sampradāyas* when *prasāda* was distributed in temples.¹⁴⁴

B.S. Sarasvati's version portrays it as an internal argument within the Gauṛīya *sampradāya* over their sectarian affiliation:

The caste goswamis [of the Gauṛīya sect] had completely forgotten their own loyalty to the Śrī Mādhva-sampradāya. Being ignorant of the true facts of the disciplic succession, and being disrespectful to *vaiṣṇava* Vedānta, they had fallen into such a degraded condition that Śrī Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa was obliged to write a separate commentary on the Vedānta-sūtras, according to the Gauṛīya *vaiṣṇava* philosophy. This was done just to refute their false conclusions.¹⁴⁵

Faced with this remarkable diversity within the tradition, historians have been naturally drawn to investigate and clarify the situation. After relating one version of the events, A.K. Roy concludes that "it is difficult to say how far this story of religious debate in Galta is true."¹⁴⁶ Elkmann acknowledges the variety within the tradition, but concludes that Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa did attend a conference and seized the opportunity to introduce Mādhva doctrine within the sect.¹⁴⁷ Entwistle also accepts that some kind of debate took place, but suggests "the real cause of the dispute was rivalry between the Gaudiyas and Ramanandis for the patronage of Sawai Jai Singh."¹⁴⁸ Horstmann is more circumspect, acknowledging the scant nature of the documentary evidence in this regard:

The paucity of evidence resists a conclusive interpretation of this and

¹⁴² Mital 1961 p. 67.

¹⁴³ S. Narang 1984 p. 5. Kṛṣṇadāsa Bābā 1954 p.5.

¹⁴⁴ A.K. Majumdar 1969 p. 269.

¹⁴⁵ B.S. Sarasvati 1922 p.61 (translation by D.S. Dāsa 1992 p. 8)

¹⁴⁶ A.K. Roy 1978 p. 171.

¹⁴⁷ Elkmann 1986 p. 46.

¹⁴⁸ Entwistle 1987 p. 193.

a number of other events of the second decade of the 18th century. It might be expedient not to lose sight also of events which do not surface at all in the documents. Around 1718 Jai Singh sought to settle conflicts between rivalling *vaiṣṇava* sects, presumably not so much as an arbitrator but rather as an interested party. After this, he seems to have especially favoured the Caitanyas, as is evident from a treatise commissioned by him and written in 1723 by Kṛṣṇadeva Bhaṭṭācārya, a theologian affiliated to the Madanmohan temple and a recipient of many favours from the Mahārājā.¹⁴⁹

The following analysis of archival material will suggest that we are not talking about one conference at all, but several, in fact many, conferences and disputes during the period of the reign of Jai Singh II. I will argue that the traditional account bundles several different issues and events into a single story, which then “represents” historical events but at a certain distance from actuality. The oral tradition would thus be viewed as a mixture of “edited highlights” and “theatrical re-enactment”.

All of the above-mentioned disputes were important issues at the time, and the Gauṛīya devotees certainly became very influential in Jaipur/Amber during this period. Archival evidence definitely supports this. But I will argue that the influence of Gauṛīya religious dignitaries at the court in Jaipur was not the result of one single event but rather of many successive events.

A single dramatic debate is portrayed in the traditional verbal accounts passed down amongst Gauṛīya devotees. I will suggest that this traditional account is probably a conglomeration of several events, several debates involving different people at different times. The variety found in the oral tradition regarding the subject of “the” debate would thus represent aspects and issues from many different debates which were going on at the time. The diversity of the oral tradition *as a whole* would represent a diversity of events which took place during the reign of Sawai Jai Singh and his successors.

3.2.3 The Players: Kṛṣṇadeva and Baladeva

The first issue to consider is the relative age difference between Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya and Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa. Although we do not know Baladeva’s

¹⁴⁹ Horstmann 1999 p. 22. Horstmann’s remark is in the context of a snap visit to Karoli by Govindadeva in 1719.

date of birth, we do know that he passed away in 1793.¹⁵⁰ Being very generous, we could say that he lived for over ninety years and that he was born around 1700. Now we also know that Kṛṣṇadeva was already established in Jaipur/Amber in 1714, as he received State support for the Vinodī-lāl temple in Jaipur in March of 1715. Furthermore, Jai Singh was posted in Malwa from October 1713 till the end of 1715.¹⁵¹ Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya for his part was still in Rādhā kuṇḍa in the autumn (Oct-Nov) of 1712.¹⁵² Therefore, if there were to have been a meeting between Jai Singh and Kṛṣṇadeva which led to Kṛṣṇadeva receiving his grant for the Rādhā-vinoda temple, such a meeting would have to have been at sometime in the period between October 1712 and October 1713.

Even if Baladeva were born around 1700 (and it is likely that he was born after that), he would have been just over ten years old in 1712. It is not at all likely that he would be representing anyone in a debate. Moreover, Baladeva was not born into Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇavism; he came into the Gauṛīya fold in Vṛndāvana much later in life. As mentioned above in section 3.1.3, tradition has it that he left home at an early age, and studied grammar and rhetoric on the banks of the Cilkahrada River in Orissa. His next place of residence was in Mysore, where he studied Vedānta and eventually took initiation as a Mādhva *sannyāsi*. From there he moved back to Orissa, where he settled in a Mādhva monastery in Puri. There he eventually came under the influence of a Gauṛīya teacher, Rādhā-dāmodara, and in the end became his student. Sometime later he set off for Vṛndāvana and is said to have studied the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* under Viśvanātha Cakravartī.¹⁵³

It is highly unlikely that Baladeva accomplished all that by the age of ten. Nor is that an age to be writing a commentary on the Vedānta-sūtras. In fact, he probably did not accomplish all of that before the age of thirty, in which case it is highly unlikely that he would have even arrived in Vṛndāvana by 1720. That being the case, Kṛṣṇadeva first went to Jaipur by himself, and if there had been any assembly in 1712 which led to his receiving patronage for Vinodī-lāl (as per the account in *Vṛndāvana-dhāmānurāgāvalī*), then Kṛṣṇadeva would have participated in that debate by himself.

Whatever the exact circumstances of Kṛṣṇadeva's rise to fame at the court of

¹⁵⁰ See section 3.1.3 above.

¹⁵¹ Bhatnagar 1974 p. 115-119.

¹⁵² VRI microfilm document T1: 25 dated “*saṁvat 1769 māsa śarat-kālina-paurṇāmasī*”. For details see section 3.1.2 above.

¹⁵³ S.N. Dasgupta 1922 IV p. 438; Haridāsa Dāsa 1957 p.1292; Elkman 1986 p. 25.

Jai Singh, there is no evidence to suggest that Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa was involved at this early stage.

The account of the *Vṛndāvana-dhāmānurāgāvalī* has certainly been dramatically embellished. For example, there is no evidence that Jai Singh ever officially became Kṛṣṇadeva's disciple.¹⁵⁴ Nevertheless, the kernel of the traditional account in the *Vṛndāvana-dhāmānurāgāvalī* matches the scenario suggested in the archival records, as it describes an event where Kṛṣṇadeva goes to "Jaipur" (Amber) alone and establishes the Vinodī-lāl temple there.

Moreover, the timing finds support in that account, as Gopāla Kavi mentions the deity of Govindadeva being present near Galtā at the time of the incident. *En route* from Vṛndāvana to Jaipur, the deity of Govindadeva stayed at the mouth of the Galtā Valley in the village of Rūpaheṛa from 1707 till 1713.¹⁵⁵

That is not to say that Baladeva did not go to Jaipur or participate in debates, or write his commentary on the Vedānta-sūtras. There is plenty of documentary evidence of his influential public life in Jaipur, but at a much later period, from around 1740 until 1793, in which year his death is documented.¹⁵⁶

It was mentioned above that there was a certain amount of divergence in the oral tradition about the participants of the supposed debate. All possible configurations appeared: Kṛṣṇadeva alone, Baladeva alone, as well as Kṛṣṇadeva and Baladeva together. The documentary evidence indicates that Kṛṣṇadeva went to Jaipur/ Amber long before Baladeva and had very fruitful contact with Sawai Jai Singh very early on. Given this, we can begin to understand how the traditional account has merged the stories of these two influential Gauṛīya dignitaries and merged the two stories into a single striking event.

3.2.4 Debates and Conferences

Below we shall analyse some of the issues said to be involved in "the" debate. It will be evident that the growth in the influence of the Gauṛīya dignitaries at court actually grew gradually over a number of years with a succession of incidents, debates, and issues, rather than a single event.

The various issues referred to in traditional accounts as the causes of "the dispute" were almost certainly all the subject of debates in Jaipur, and the variations in the tradition probably refer to different debates which over time merged into one story. In that sense the traditional story *with its variations* should be seen as

¹⁵⁴ A.K. Roy 1978 p. 18-29; Horstmann 1994a) p. 85- 93, 1999 p. 19 .

¹⁵⁵ R. Nātha 1996 p. 174.

¹⁵⁶ See section 3.1.3 above.

representative of events that took place over the whole period.

Religious debates and conferences were quite common at the time, and we find reference to numerous such assemblies not only from Gauṛīya sources but also from Rāmānandīs, the followers of Swami Haridasa, and the followers of the Rādhā-vallabha *sampradāya*.¹⁵⁷

Both Mital and Haynes give 1723 as an approximate date for a conference on affiliation of sects to traditional *sampradāyas*.¹⁵⁸

Another theological conference is mentioned by Bansal and Haberman with regard to the philosophy of a certain Rūpa Kavirāja, who lived in Rādhā-kuṇḍa at the beginning of the 18th century.¹⁵⁹ Previously, in 1711, Jai Singh had instructed Anup Singh not to let Rūpa Kavirāja return to Rādhā-kuṇḍa as he had stolen some goods and fled. In 1713 Rūpa Kavirāja was allowed to return with a large group of other devotees.¹⁶⁰

In 1732 a Jaipur theological council was held in the assembly hall of Sawai Jai Singh to investigate the philosophical stance of Rūpa Kavirāja, and a determination was made in front of all the parties concerned.¹⁶¹ A number of the aspects of Rūpa Kavirāja's philosophy were declared heretical: his theory of four *dhāma* and four *sādhana*, his theory that Gokula and Vṛndāvana were different, his theory that *sādhana* and *sādhya* were different, and his theory that *samārthārati* and *mahābhāva* were dependent on creating a *parakīyā* self-image.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁷ Entwistle 1987 p. 193-4; Mital 1968 p. 208-9, 356-9, 423-4, 468. Bansal 1980 p. 505; Bahura 1988 p. VI.

¹⁵⁸ Haynes 1970: 121-3; Mital 1968 p. 210. The date 1723 is arrived at through inference, as it corresponds to Jai Singh taking up the governorship of Agra.

¹⁵⁹ Bansal 1980 p. 504-6; Haberman 1988 p. 103. Dr. Bansal kindly gave me a copy of the document of the determination of the assembly. It is dated *Āśvin sudi 5 VS1789* {24th September 1732}. Haberman's date of 1727 may be an oversight, or perhaps it is based on different documents.

¹⁶⁰ Documents in Habib (1996: 155-6). Refer to section 2.3 above for details and document references.

¹⁶¹ Document of *Āśvin sudi 5 VS1789*: “*śrī mahārājādhirāj ke sabhā me hām sab nirdhār kiyo....*”

¹⁶² *ibidem*: “*iyā mat yo viruddh mat iha hai : dhām cāri....*”. A good summary of these teachings of Rūpa Kavirāja can be found in Haberman

It was declared criminal to study or teach the works of Rūpa Kavirāja. In refuting Rūpa Kavirāja, the assembly appealed to the authority of Rūpa, Jīva and Sanātana Goswamis. They also mention Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya and in particular the works he composed for the maharaja.

Thus it is clear that such official debates were certainly being held in the assembly hall of Sawai Jai Singh. And certainly the important Gauṛīya theological advisors (such as Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya in this case) were consulted as authorities. I am suggesting that the oral tradition which refers to “a” debate in Jaipur is actually representative of *a series of debates* which are documented in the records of the period.

3.2.5 Issues: *Parakīyā* vs. *Svakīyā*

In 1719 another major debate took place in Jaipur/ Amber over the *parakīyā* vs. *svakīyā* dispute.¹⁶³ We noted above that some versions of the story of “the debate” in Jaipur cited this *parakīyā* question as the contentious issue which caused the debate. Before examining the historical details of the 1719 conference on the *parakīyā* question, we should first describe some of the theological issues involved.

The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* describes Kṛṣṇa as enjoying intimate pastimes with young cowherd girls of Braja who were married or engaged to other cowherd men. To the orthodox Hindu this was unacceptable behaviour and not a good example to be set by God. The basic Gauṛīya stance on this may be illustrated by Jīva Goswami:

Although the cowherd girls of Braja are actually Kṛṣṇa’s in the highest sense (i.e. *svakīyā*), nevertheless in the *līlā* manifest in this world (*prakaṣa-līlā*) they seem to be married to someone else (*parakīyā*).¹⁶⁴

That is to say, the Gauṛīyas considered the *gopīs* to be *śaktis* of Kṛṣṇa, or manifestations of Kṛṣṇa’s own power. Thus in that higher sense they belonged to him, or in other words were “*svakīyā*”. Jīva continues:

¹⁶² (...continued)
1988: 98-104.

¹⁶³ *Svakīyā* means “belonging to oneself”, and *parakīyā* means “belonging to someone else”. Applied to a woman *svakīyā* means “one’s own wife” and *parakīyā* means “married or belonging to someone else”.

¹⁶⁴ *Prīti-sandarbhā* Section 278: “*atha vastutaḥ paramasvīyā api prakṣalīlāyām parakīyāmāṇāḥ śrī-vraja-devyaḥ.*”

In the Bhāgavata (10.33.35), when we hear a phrase like ‘the *gopīs* and their husbands’, we should understand that this is said only in a pragmatic or earthly sense and not in the higher sense. From the higher perspective they are his *svarūpa-śakti*, or his integral potencies. This has been established here in the *Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha* and in many other places as well.¹⁶⁵

This was a typical Gauṛīya *acintya-bhedābheda* solution where two contradictory statements are simultaneously true. The *gopīs* are both *parakīyā* for the purposes of the earthly *prakāṣa-līlā* yet *svakīyā* in their inherent nature. Thus the Gauṛīya stance was a twin proposition, both *svakīyavāda* and *parakīyavāda*.

But arguing both cases left them open to objections from orthodox Hindus who could not accept such “immoral” behaviour from God. Also, the *rasa-śāstras* which provided the framework for Rūpa Goswami’s analysis of *bhakti* did not speak in glowing terms of *mādhurya-rasa* with unmarried women.¹⁶⁶ Therefore, the *parakīyā* aspect was softened by many teachers of the sect. Thus, for example, Rūpa Goswami in some of his works stressed the “belonging to Kṛṣṇa” aspect more, by depicting a wedding of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa¹⁶⁷ or by interpreting the union of Kṛṣṇa and the *gopīs* as a *gāndharva* wedding.¹⁶⁸ And Jīva Goswami in some instances played down the “belonging to someone else” aspect by saying that the *gopīs*’ marriages to other cowherd-men were illusory and the *gopīs* themselves had been replaced by illusory forms.¹⁶⁹

Whether Rūpa and Jīva were more inclined to either side of the twin proposition is an interesting dissertation in itself, but it is too broad a question for the scope of this work.¹⁷⁰ Suffice to say that in the period under study Viśvanātha Cakravarti was advocating the *parakīyā* proposition without compromise. Viśvanātha’s stance was to accept at face value the descriptions of extra-marital

¹⁶⁵ *Prīti-sandarbha* Section 279: “*atra ca tat-patīnām iti tad vyavahāra-dṛṣṭi-mātreṇoktam na tu paramārthadrṣṭyā. tad-dṛṣṭyātu śrī-kṛṣṇasandarbhe tāsām svarūpa-śaktitvamevātra paratra ca sthāpitam.*”

¹⁶⁶ S.K. De 1961 p. 205 gives references.

¹⁶⁷ Rūpa Goswami’s *Vidagdha-mādhava* Act 10.

¹⁶⁸ *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi*: “*gandharva-rītyā svikārāt svīyātvam iha vastutaḥ*”.

¹⁶⁹ *Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha* Section 150.

¹⁷⁰ S.K. De (1961 p. 205, 348-50, 410-11) mounts the case that they supported the *parakīyavāda*.

affairs in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, but to say that the bad connotations of “extra-marital” did not apply to Kṛṣṇa:

If previous *ācāryas* spoke very poorly of the character of a paramour [i.e., of *parakīyā* relations], that was in connection with an ordinary person, because for an ordinary person being a paramour is immoral (*vaidharmya*), irresponsible, and a source of suffering because it takes the person to hell.... In literary studies such a person is spoken of very poorly, and they are considered unfit to be the main figure of a literary work. This, however, could not be the case with Kṛṣṇa, as he is the creator of religion and irreligion. In fact, he is the creator, sustainer and destroyer of everything. He is glorified as the original person, who can destroy everything with the lifting of an eyebrow. He is God himself, the supreme person, who enjoys *līlā* in the human form. Nor can this fault of “extra-marital” be levelled at the *gopīs*, because they are the manifestation of his *hlādinī-śakti* (potency of joy), which is the supreme of all his great potencies.... Even the *janma-līlā* is considered eternal because somewhere or other Kṛṣṇa is always somehow appearing [so these *prakāṣa līlā* are eternal and not illusory].... If they were illusory, how long will they go on for? Take the *rāsa-līlā*. It is the crown jewel of all *līlās*, and if the extra-marital parts were to be rejected as illusory, then the whole thing would have to be rejected, because from beginning to end, the major emotion is extra-marital love.... We have never heard of any *rāsa-līlā* happening between husband and wife.¹⁷¹

However, in 1719 opposition to the *parakīyā* half of the Gauṛīya proposition was registered in Jaipur, and it seems that Jai Singh himself was not impressed by this apparent sanctioning of “immorality”.

The documentary evidence adduced by A.K. Roy¹⁷² describes how Jai Singh presided over a conference in Jaipur and came down in favour of the *svakīyāvāda* proposition alone: Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa were always married, and there were no extra-

¹⁷¹ *Ānanda-candrikā* commentary on Rūpa’s *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* 1.18.

¹⁷² A.K. Roy (1985: 84-7). The documents were published by S.R. Miśra (1922: 131ff) as well as in *Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā* (1899,1901). Only Roy’s work was available for the present study, but in the future these full transcripts should be fully analysed to shed more light on this important event.

marital affairs. Such a position is hardly surprising for a Hindu ruler who made efforts to tame the *sādhus* of Braja by ordering that they were not to accumulate guns or keep women.¹⁷³ In order to encourage these “*sādhus*” to marry and conform to the traditional norms of *grhastha* life, Jai Singh started a colony called Vairāgyapura to provide land for such newly married (ex-) *sādhus* in Mathura.¹⁷⁴

A.K. Roy adds that as part of the terms of Jai Singh’s decision against *parakīyāvāda*, Kṛṣṇadeva was deputed to take the findings of the Jaipur assembly to pandits elsewhere. But in Bengal the question was again debated in the court of Jafar Khān, and the maharaja’s “only *svakīyāvāda*” proposition was defeated. The documents recording this second conference are said to have been issued in 1719.¹⁷⁵

The court pandits of Navadvīpa were also consulted on the question of *parakīyā* and *svakīyā*. The learned pandits of Rājā Kṛṣṇa-candra replied to Jai Singh that “Rādhikā, although apparently *parakīyā*, was eternally *svakīyā*.”¹⁷⁶

In the course of these events, it seems that Jai Singh also solicited an opinion on the *parakīyā* issue from the head priests of the four big Gaurīya temples in Vṛndāvana and Jaipur. In the maharaja’s private collection we find a letter signed and sealed by all four of them, in which they adopt a diplomatic stance:

Śrī Sanātana, Rūpa and Jīva Goswamis all agree that Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa *līlā* is *parakīyā* in the manifest *līlā* of this world, but *svakīyā* in the unmanifest [eternal] *līlā* of the other world. But because the *līlā* are eternal, then both *svakīyā* and *parakīyā* are equal, and both are the height of *rasa*. This is because the emotion felt for Kṛṣṇa (Mādana-

¹⁷³ Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Jaipur: KD Records #1284, 1483

¹⁷⁴ Bhaṭṅar (1976: 342) refers to a letter dated 1727 from Jai Singh’s minister to the Jaipur town planner, Vidyādhara. There is a misconception that Jai Singh somehow influenced Jagannātha, the head priest of Govindadeva’s temple, to break with tradition and marry (Roy 1978:164, Entwistle 1987:192). The work of Horstmann (1996: 187-8) and Habib (1996:132-159) show quite clearly that some priests had been marrying since the first generation after Rūpa Goswami. What changed around the time of Jagannātha was that the rule of inheritance by primogeniture became entrenched.

¹⁷⁵ 17 *Phalgun 1125 BS* {February 1719}, A.K Roy *ibid.* See section 3.1.2 above for details of Kṛṣṇadeva’s role as envoy of Jai Singh.

¹⁷⁶ Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, KD Records #1507.

mohana) is to be analysed in a similar way to natural love [and *parakīyā* and *svakīyā* are both accepted in analyses of everyday love]. Because all *līlā* are eternal, it is quite fitting that if one worships *svakīyā līlā* one will attain the *līlā* of the Lord. And it is just as fitting that if one worships *parakīyā līlā*, one will also attain the *līlā* of the Lord. And this state of *parakīyā* is created by *yoga-māyā* so that Kṛṣṇa can taste *parakīyā-rasa*. Therefore it is said that Abhimanyu simply thought he was the husband of Rādhikā. Words are used in this sense, “He considered himself as a husband, but was not really so”, just as when we say that somebody fancies himself as a pandit. Rūpa Goswami has confirmed this in his *parakīyā-līlā-prārthana* poem in the *Stavāvalī*.¹⁷⁷

There is a small work by Viśvanātha Cakravarti, which seems to have been composed as part of this controversy. The Govindadeva temple in Jaipur has a manuscript copy of a two-part work called “*Svakīyā-nirāsa Parakīyā-pratipādana*”, or “Rebuttal of the *Svakīyā* Philosophy and Establishing the *Parakīyā* Philosophy”.¹⁷⁸ This is a work of a much more polemic nature than what we are accustomed to find from Viśvanātha Cakravarti, and would seem to be Viśvanātha’s contribution to this debate. Were that to be the case, and if the abovementioned date of 1719 is correct for the documentation of the defeat of *svakīyāvāda*, then this would be an indication that Viśvanātha Cakravarti was still alive and active around that time.

We noted above that within Gauṛīya tradition there are multiple versions of the story of a debate in Jaipur. The different variations in the tradition probably represent several different conferences, each on a separate issue. One of those issues was the issue of *parakīyā* vs. *svakīyā*. This was certainly an issue at the time, and the documentary evidence points to very direct participation of Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya and the indirect participation of Viśvanātha Cakravarti. These facts are very clear from the documentary evidence. This *parakīyā* issue is one of the variant issues mentioned in the oral tradition of “the” debate in Jaipur/Amber. This is an example of one element of the story or one variant of the story which represents some kind of a “real” historical event. The story of this event has been merged with other events in the story of a single debate in “Jaipur” (with multiple variations).

¹⁷⁷ Maharaja Sawai Man Singh Museum, KD Records # 1521.

¹⁷⁸ Haridāsa Dāsa 1957: 1619, 1808.

3.2.6 Issues: A *Brahma-sūtra* Commentary

Another issue which appears frequently as a variant in the oral tradition is the issue of the authenticity of the Gauṛīya *sampradāya*. Here again this was an important issue of the period, and there is every indication that at some stage there was a formal debate on the subject. Reference to this issue in some versions of the traditional story is therefore another example of an important aspect of the period being represented in the traditional account and its variations.

We have already noted evidence from the Rādhā-Vallabha *sampradāya* that Jai Singh held an assembly or series of conferences around 1723 trying to get the myriad of new *bhakti sampradāyas* to conform to the traditional moral and social norms of the established *vaiṣṇava* sects.¹⁷⁹ Elkman suggests that it was at one such conference as this that Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa was asked to defend the authenticity of the *sampradāya* and compose a commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras*.¹⁸⁰

We have, however, noted that elements of the traditional account and its variations have been drawn from several separate issues, separate events, and separate debates. In this case, too, it can be shown that the affiliation of the sect and the composition of the *Brahma-sūtra* commentary were important issues of the period, but not necessarily limited to a single debate or event.

Certainly Jai Singh was very interested in the *Brahma-sūtras*, and his personal manuscript library contains multiple copies of the *Sūtras* as well as twenty five different commentaries on the *Sūtras* by *ācāryas* of a variety of different sects and persuasions. These include a couple commissioned by Jai Singh, one of which was by Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa.¹⁸¹ One such work is dated 1730, so it was perhaps around this time he noticed that the Gauṛīya sect had no direct commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras*.¹⁸²

The maharaja's correspondence mentions the *Brahma-sūtras* several times. One letter to the maharaja from the head priest of the Gopīnātha temple in Jaipur

¹⁷⁹ Haynes 1970: 121-3; Mital 1968: 210.

¹⁸⁰ Elkman 1988 p. 43.

¹⁸¹ Catalogue entries 5850 and 6079 (Bahura 1976: 63-64). This work is different from Baladeva's *Govinda-bhāṣya* and it is puzzling why this "Karikā-bhāṣya" has been ignored by the many studies dealing with his Vedānta philosophy. From a philosophical point of view it does not seem significant, but it is a work that needs to be published and analysed for its historic value, particularly in tracing the development of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa's philosophy.

¹⁸² 1787 VS.

explains that the Gauṛīya sect did not have a commentary on the Brahma sūtras, because the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* was regarded as the natural commentary. Of course, this was not a *sūtra* by *sūtra* commentary, and therefore the Goswami agreed “that the Maharāja should commission a *sūtra*-wise commentary with quotations from the *Bhāgavata*.”¹⁸³

It seems reasonable to conclude from this that the lack of a Gauṛīya Brahma-sūtra commentary was somehow perceived as a shortcoming by the maharaja, who was a well-wisher of the sect. Thus he planned to request a Gauṛīya pandit to compose such a work.

The maharaja seems to have gone ahead with his idea, because he did commission such a work from Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa. The maharaja’s personal library holds a manuscript of a work called the *Brahma-sūtra-kārikā-bhāṣya*, or the “Commentary on the Text of the Brahma-sūtra”.¹⁸⁴ The *maṅgalācaraṇa* reads thus:

Vidyābhūṣaṇa bows down to Vyāsa and, upon the order of his majesty, composes this commentary on the lucid text of the Brahma-sūtra.¹⁸⁵

At the end of the work, he re-iterates:

I, who am called “Vidyābhūṣaṇa”, have composed this commentary on the text of the *sūtras* according to the instructions of his majesty.¹⁸⁶

It would seem reasonable to infer that Baladeva composed this *Kārikā-bhāṣya* commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras* before he composed his better known *Govinda-bhāṣya* commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras*. Several details point to this conclusion.

Firstly, had Baladeva already written the extensive *Govinda-bhāṣya*, there would hardly seem any point in Jai Singh commissioning Baladeva to write a commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras*. Nor would the head-priest of the Gopīnātha-jī

¹⁸³ Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Kapadvara document # 1519 (synopsis of G.N. Bahura).

¹⁸⁴ Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, Pothikhana ms # 6079.

¹⁸⁵ *natvā vyāsaṁ sarva-siddhi-pradeśaṁ dattānujñāḥ śrīla rājādhirājaiḥ bhāṣyaṁ vidyābhūṣaṇo brahma-sūtreṣv acchārthābhiḥ kārikābhir vidhatte*

¹⁸⁶ *śrīmad-rājādhirājānām ājñayā racitaṁ mayā, vidyābhūṣaṇa-sañjñena kārikā-bhāṣyam āśritaṁ....*

temple have agreed that there was a need for a *sūtra*-wise commentary. The *Govinda-bhāṣya* is already a comprehensive *sūtra*-wise commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras*.

Secondly, it is very surprising that there is no copy of the *Govinda-bhāṣya* in the personal library of Sawai Jai Singh. As mentioned above, the maharajas' Pothikhānā holds some 60 manuscripts of the *Brahma-sūtras* with twenty-five different commentaries, several of which had been commissioned by Sawai Jai Singh himself, including the *Karikā-bhāṣya* by Baladeva. Were the *Govinda-bhāṣya* to have been written as the culmination of some debate before Jai Singh, one would have expected the inquisitive maharaja to have procured himself a copy.

Thus it seems that the concise *Karikā-bhāṣya* was the work which Baladeva composed at the request of Jai Singh II, and the more comprehensive *Govinda-bhāṣya* was composed some time later, perhaps after the passing away of Jai Singh.¹⁸⁷

Here again the varying elements of the traditional story regarding "the debate" in Jaipur appear to represent several events which occurred during the period. The traditional account with all its variations, rather than being looked upon as true or false, should be viewed as bringing together disparate events and issues of the time. The traditional account with all its variations is certainly representative of many real events and issues of the period, but it not a precise record of a single historical event.

For example, Baladeva certainly wrote a commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras* for Jai Singh which remedied the Gauṛīya's lack in this regard. He also composed a much more comprehensive work, the *Govinda-bhāṣya* at a later date. The traditional account merges the two events and then combines this "event" with other real events and issues to form a kind of shorthand summary of the whole era in a single narrative.

3.2.7 Issues: Authenticity and Sectarian Affiliation

A related issue which comes up in traditional accounts of "the debate" is that of the authenticity and identity of the Gauṛīya sect. As noted above, traditional accounts from several different sects speak of pressure from Jai Singh for the new *bhakti* sects of Braj to affiliate with one of the established *vaiṣṇava* sects. At one such conference, the ascetic followers of Swami Haridāsa are said to have declared affiliation with the Nimbārka Sampradāya, whereas the Goswamis in charge of the

¹⁸⁷ For reasons outlined in 3.1.3, it seems likely that the *Govinda-bhāṣya* was composed before the death of Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya (before 1749).

temple of Bānkī Bihari did not accept this affiliation and opted for the Viṣṇusvāmi *sampradāya*.¹⁸⁸ Thus traditional sources describe this conference as the final separation of the two groups who had initially begun as followers of Swami Haridāsa.

Sources from the Rādhā-vallabha *sampradāya* also mention a conference on affiliation called by Jai Singh. Cācā-jī Vṛndāvanadāsa (writing in 1763) says that the problems regarding their affiliation began after Jai Singh's appointment as governor of Agra (1722-3).¹⁸⁹ Jai Singh had been *faujdar* of Mathura as early as 1713 and active in the campaign in Braja against the Jats in 1716-17, but from 1722 he took control of the whole *subah* of Agra and more importantly subdued the Jats. In the new atmosphere of peace and prosperity, it seems he turned his mind to the social and cultural welfare of the area.

Rādhā-vallabha sources describe how the then *mahant*, Rūpa Lāla, refused to affiliate his sect with any of the existing four *sampradāyas* and refused to attend the conference where he was supposed to defend the views of the sect.¹⁹⁰ As a result of this defiance, Cācā-jī Vṛndāvanadāsa reports that Rūpa-lāla and his family were persecuted by the maharaja and obliged to leave Braja.

Tradition within the Gauṛīya *sampradāya* also speaks of an assembly called to discuss their own sectarian affiliation. We have been analysing the traditional account of "a debate" involving Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa or Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya, and found that it probably represents several such debates. This is another example. It seems clear from various sectarian reports that there was an assembly or series of assemblies on this subject of sectarian affiliation, and doubtless the Gauṛīya *sampradāya* was also asked to prove its credentials. However, it is better to see this debate as a separate issue, discussed on a separate occasion to the other issues mentioned above.

It is generally accepted that Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa was responsible for affiliating the Gauṛīya *sampradāya* with the Mādhva *sampradāya*. The evidence for this is in the formal lineage found at the beginning of his work *Prameya-ratnāvalī* and at the beginning of the *Sūksmā Ṭikā* to the *Govinda-bhāṣya*. Also there are several works, such as the *Prameya-ratnāvalī*, in which Baladeva introduces formal elements of the Mādhva philosophy into the Gauṛīya system. This is generally seen as part of the need to affiliate the new *bhakti* sect with one of the established

¹⁸⁸ Entwistle 1987 p. 194; Mital 1968 p. 464; Haynes 1974 p. 120.

¹⁸⁹ Mital 1968 p. 423.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid. p. 422.

sampradāyas.¹⁹¹

Certainly the affiliation of the Gauṛīya sect had been the object of debate for some time before Baladeva. From the time of Caitanya himself, there is evidence of the existence of a tradition linking the sect to the Mādhva sect.¹⁹² But as a general rule the main Gauṛīya theologians neglected the subject, preferring to say that Caitanya was an avatar of Kṛṣṇa, and as such he was the “*sampradāya-sahasrādhidaiva*” or the “presiding deity of countless *sampradāyas*”.¹⁹³ The argument goes thus: the disciplic lineage of a *vaiṣṇava sampradāya* is meant to show that the teachings have been passed down from Viṣṇu. Since Caitanya is an avatar of Kṛṣṇa himself, one need only show one’s connection to him.

However, as we have seen, around the time of Jai Singh II there was pressure on all the new devotional sects in Braj to show some authenticity by associating with one of the established *sampradāyas*. Arguments based on Caitanya’s divinity would not have been acceptable to those outside the sect.

Around this time Viśvanātha Cakravartī produced a work called *Gaurāṅga-gaṇa-svarūpa-tattva-candrikā*, largely based on Kavi-karṇapura’s *Gaurāṅga-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā*, in which Viśvanātha supports the affiliation to the Mādhva sect which appears in Kavi-karṇapura’s work.

There is another work called “*Sampradāya-bodhinī*” attributed to Manohara-dāsa-jī, a contemporary of Viśvanātha. It describes in detail the lineages of the four standard *sampradāyas* and links Caitanya to Mādhva via Mādhvendra Purī in the

¹⁹¹ More details on this issue are to be found in section 4 below. For the moment we will limit our discussion to those elements relevant to the period of religious debates in the court of Jai Singh II.

¹⁹² Elkman 1986 p.33-5 reviews the available evidence on the subject and presents the examples of pupillary lineages in the works of Orissan poets contemporary to Caitanya and in Kavi Karṇapura’s *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā*.

¹⁹³ Jīva Goswami in his *Sarva-samvādinī* commentary on the *maṅgalācaraṇa* of the *Tattva-sandarbhā*. It is interesting that Jīva talks about “countless *sampradāyas*” (literally “thousands of *sampradāyas*”) when orthodox tradition only speaks of four. This is particularly significant when Jīva himself is somehow proposing independent origin for the Gauṛīya *sampradāya*.

same way as the *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā*.¹⁹⁴ The Gauṛīya lineage is said to be based on the evidence of Gopāla-guru, a contemporary of Caitanya, whose Sanskrit verses are quoted. Also mentioned as evidence is a work by Devakī-nandana Kavirāja, a grand disciple of Nityānanda. The *Sampradāya-bodhinī* also refers its readers to Vṛndāvana dāsa's Caitanya-bhāgavata.

Whatever the origins of this work might be, the final verses of the Gauṛīya section indicate that there was some controversy on this issue:

Amongst all the *pramāṇas* we call “*aitihya*” evidence obtained from previous generations, and what we hear from them is certain: from the very east of Gauṛa Deśa (Bengal) all the way to here (Vṛndāvana) everyone both young and old says that they are from the Mādhva *sampradāya*. O community of devotees! When you hear new modern theories on this, don't get doubts in your mind, (remember that) the opinions of old are supreme.¹⁹⁵

Thus, debate on this issue should not be seen as limited to one conference but rather as an on-going issue; nor is there any reason to believe that opinion within the Gauṛīya sect was homogeneous. We have noted above that not everyone in the Rādhā-vallabha and Haridāsa sects was happy to compromise their independence. There is evidence of rather public debate within the Gauṛīya sect, too.

The following letter to Jai Singh II from Śyāma-caraṇa Dāsa, the head priest of the Gopīnātha temple, shows strident opposition to compromising any of the sect's independence:

Hail Gopīnātha!

In order to manifest his most confidential secrets, and in order to

¹⁹⁴ The origin and date of this work have been questioned. Kṛṣṇa-dāsa Bābā in his publication of the work says that it was taken from a ms of VS1707 (1650 AD). This date is not consistent with the other works of Manohara-dāsa-jī which are dated from 1696 to 1719, some seventy years later (Entwistle 1987: 186fn). The later period is, however, precisely the period in question when the issue of affiliation came to a head. It is possible that there were two Manoharas. The 1713 document (Table One, Section 2.1) mentions a “Manohara Dasa” who seems to have been the most senior devotee in the Gopīnātha-kuñja, as well as a “Śrī Manohara Ray” who was somehow linked to the Govinda-kuñja.

¹⁹⁵ “*Sampradāya-bodhinī*” v. 70-72.

savour them himself, Lord Kṛṣṇa, the prince of Braja, became manifest in this world in the form of Caitanya Mahāprabhu and Kṛṣṇa's emanations, partial manifestations, and weapons manifested along with him as his companions. This conclusion has been reached by his companions with evidence from such books as the venerable Bhāgavata and Mahābhārata, by the fact that he demonstrated a six-arm form, and because he experienced such elevated states of divine love. Therefore it is the power of Mahāprabhu alone which is the source of our *sampradāya*. Scripture says that all *sampradāyas* culminate in Bhagavān alone. Therefore, since Mahāprabhu is himself directly Bhagavān, there is nothing defective with our *sampradāya* culminating in Mahāprabhu. On the other hand, those who suffer the defect of lacking faith and accept that he belonged to some other *sampradāya* have in fact become hostile to him. Such people are condemned by us and are worthy of punishment. Enough said on that....¹⁹⁶

Although this letter is not dated, it seems that Śyāma-caraṇa was the head priest of the Gopīnātha-jī temple from 1696 to somewhere around 1730.¹⁹⁷ The catalogue entry for this letter speaks of an annexure from both Śyāma-caraṇa and Gopīnātha. This Gopīnātha would appear to be the grandson of Gopī-ramaṇa, who came to Braj around 1706 in a dispute over the succession to the custodianship of the Rādhā-dāmodara temple. He died before 1718 of smallpox, and if he is connected with the above letter, then the date of the letter must be between 1706 and 1718.¹⁹⁸

This is the same period noted above for Manohara-dāsa-jī and Viśvanātha Cakravartī, who both had written in favour of the Mādhva connection. Certainly the issue was being debated widely at the time, and it seems that Jai Singh was active in seeking diverse opinions on the subject. In his personal library there are even two

¹⁹⁶ Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum KD # 1519. "*śrī-gopīnātho jayati. svātyanta-rahasya-prakaṣanārtham svayam tadāsvādārtham ca.....daṇḍyāś ca bhavanītyalam iti prasaṅgena.*"

¹⁹⁷ He received the inheritance of his uncle Gopāla Dāsa in 1696 (documents in Habib 1996:158).

¹⁹⁸ Document synopses published by Habib (1996: 140).

copies of a short work entitled “Caitanya-guru-paramparā”.¹⁹⁹

Elkman (1986: 43) suggests that Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa took part in a debate on Gauṛīya affiliation some time between 1720 and 1723. That date seems to coincide nicely with the evidence adduced above, however two objections to the participation of Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami arise from material discussed earlier in this dissertation.

The first is a concern at Elkman’s taking the traditional account too literally, when it has become apparent through this study that the traditional account merges separate issues involving different people at different times into one dramatic debate. Notwithstanding that, it is certainly possible that one of the issues, namely sectarian affiliation, was addressed at that time by Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa.

The second is a concern over the age of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa. As mentioned in section 3.3, Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa’s death is documented in 1793. Being generous, we have allowed that he might have lived to the ripe old age of ninety, which would have made him a maximum of seventeen years old in 1720. It seems a very young age at which to be representing a *sampradāya*, especially when we must allow him time to be educated, be trained as a Mādhva ascetic, take vows of *sannyāsa* in that sect, convert to the Gauṛīya sect, and be trained by both Rādhā-dāmodara in Puri and Viśvanātha in Vṛndāvana. I have therefore expressed the opinion that we should not expect him to come to the limelight until the 1730’s, and until now the earliest available documentary evidence related to “Vidyābhūṣaṇa Swami” is from 1741.

These misgivings are simply based on the balance of probabilities, but to be fair to Elkman, it is nevertheless theoretically possible that Baladeva lived to the age of 100, in which case he would have been twenty-seven in 1720. Of course, that would be a more plausible age for Baladeva to be representing the *sampradāya* in Jaipur, but such a scenario requires him to live to an exceptionally old age and is thus less likely. The tradition from the sect does not give any indication as to how long he lived. Were he to have lived to sixty-five, a more plausible life expectancy, then he would not even have been born in 1720.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum Pothīkhānā mss # 5170, 5172. Time constraints did not allow investigation of this work in the course of the present project. Future research will no doubt identify this as a very significant document.

²⁰⁰ The lack of documentation in connection with Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa during this period thwarts any attempt at a definitive answer to this question. As we have dated documentation with regard to Kṛṣṇadeva

Regardless of the details and time of Baladeva's involvement in the debate on affiliation, it is certain that Baladeva was a key player in the discussion and offered a sophisticated solution by effecting a rapprochement between the Gauṛīya sect and the well-established Mādhva school. As mentioned previously, the idea of this connection was not new, but in his writings Baladeva managed to formalise it and add a philosophical element to the connection which had hitherto not existed.²⁰¹

A literal reading of the traditional story is not helpful as it groups together too many issues into the same story. For example, by combining the debate on sectarian affiliation with the composition of the *Govinda-bhāṣya*, it is difficult to reconcile Baladeva's motivations. If he was affiliating the sect with the Mādhva sampradāya, what was the use of this new and independent commentary? Or if the debate was about "the independence of the Gauṛīya sect" then why did Baladeva introduce concepts of Mādhva ontology into his master-piece? These contradictions have puzzled many academics who have read this traditional account literally.²⁰²

If, however, one sees this traditional story of a religious debate as representative of many debates, issues, and events, then the contradiction is resolved. We have noted that Baladeva composed two different commentaries on the *Brahma-sūtras*. The earlier, simpler commentary, the *Kārikā-bhāṣya*, was written specifically for Sawai Jai Singh. It would have satisfied the maharaja's documented desire for a Gauṛīya commentary at a time when he was collecting and commissioning *Brahma-sūtra* commentaries from all manner of Hindu sects. This commentary "upheld the glory of the Gauṛīya sect" at a time when its chief patron perceived a lacuna.

The *Govinda-bhāṣya* was no doubt composed at a later date, and it is an original synthesis of Gauṛīya theology and Mādhva ontology. This new and independent work would have been pointless as evidence of the sect's affiliation with the Mādhva sect. Rather, the *Govinda-bhāṣya* reflects a period after the Mādhva affiliation had been "officially" resolved (perhaps through a simple *guru-paramparā* list). The *Govinda-bhāṣya* is evidence of Baladeva incorporating Mādhva concepts into the existing independent ideas of the Gauṛīya theology.

²⁰⁰ (...continued)

Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya around this time, it is perhaps more reasonable to follow Horstmann's inference (1999: 22) that it was Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya who carried the Gauṛīya flag in the Amber court in the 1720s.

²⁰¹ Details below in section 4.

²⁰² Hardy 1974 p.36; Elkman 1986 p. 45.

The debate on sectarian affiliation is thus a related but different issue, with its own series of debates and conferences which took place in parallel with the composition of Baladeva's two compositions.

3.2.8 The Development of a Tradition

To summarise this whole section, we can see that real issues which were widely debated during the period became merged into one traditional story of a debate in Jaipur with many variations, such as sectarian affiliation, the Gauṛīya commentary on the Vedānta-sūtras, the granting of patronage to the Rādhā-vinoda temple, the controversy over *svakīyā* and *parakīyā*, the independence of the Gauṛīya sect, etc.. Many of these issues were discussed in formal debates and assemblies in the court of Jai Singh and elsewhere. Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya and Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa were both high-profile participants in several of these issues and present as authorities in some of the formal debates. The dates of their involvement span from 1713 to 1793. It is likely that the traditional story depicting a single dramatic debate should be interpreted as consolidating many different incidents and debates on many different issues over a long period involving first Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya and later Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa.

The interpretation adopted in this dissertation is an attempt to reconcile the multitude of variants of the traditional account. Were this interpretation not to be adopted, then one would need to account for the many variations of the story current within the Gauṛīya community. Moreover, one would need to explain how most of these variants are *supported* by separate pieces of archival evidence, and yet there is no evidence of one particular event where all the elements of the story come together at the same time.²⁰³

Therefore, this dissertation treats the traditional account as a fusion of several separate issues. Rosen has already identified in these religious authors a tendency to group similar events together into one narrative:

Gaudiya writers, especially in the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries, are not and have never been *historians* in the western sense of the term. Rather than focusing on chronology, for example, they tend to write in a topical way.... Another example of this can be seen when the *Bhagavatam* [viz. *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*] discusses the killing of demons: the events leading to the deaths of Paudraka, Dvidida,

²⁰³

Of course, in this case proof by absence of evidence can never be entirely conclusive, as we can never be sure of having all the evidence. However, this dissertation is a reflection of research as it stands at the moment.

Jarasandha, Shishupal, Shalva, and Dantavakra are taken up successively, even though the time periods that separate these deaths are quite considerable. In Vaishnava literature we thus often find that topics are grouped together. Dates and sequence of activity are considered less important. This is the general rule.²⁰⁴

To indulge briefly in speculation on the development of this particular tradition, we might reflect upon a possible manner in which the various stories may have merged.

On the one hand, there is strong evidence for the Bhaṭṭācārya being quite successful in Jaipur very early on, before 1713, at a time when Govindadeva-jī was transiting near Galtā *en route* to Jaipur. It is possible that he sorted out some dispute at that time. He was certainly a very trusted theological advisor of Jai Singh and presided over many religious debates until 1740.

On the other hand, Baladeva quite possibly came to Jaipur well after the arrival of Kṛṣṇadeva, perhaps even as late as the 1730s. He was also a very influential figure in Jaipur and Vṛndāvana, entrusted with appointing head-priests as well as being commissioned personally by Jai Singh to comment on the *Brahma-sūtras*. Such was his fame that his temple in Jaipur was known by his own name, “Vidyā-bhūṣaṇa Mandir”, rather than by the name of the presiding deity there.

One could speculate that as a first step, these two influential students of Viśvanātha Cakravarti could quite easily have been associated with each other from the perspective of *bhaktas* in Braja. It is normal that they would have come to be regarded as contemporaries, even colleagues, since they shared so much in common. Then, in this century, Baladeva’s fame continued to grow because of his illustrious *Govinda-bhāṣya*, and Kṛṣṇadeva’s fame waned naturally with time.

Thus it would appear that eventually the story was only told in connection with Baladeva. Moreover, as details of specific incidents faded with time, various debates based on various issues seem to have all been subsumed into the one meta-story which served as a vehicle for generations of Gauṛīya devotees to learn about the events of a whole era through the medium of a single story.

The approach adopted here in dealing with traditional materials is not simply to confirm or deny the traditional version of events against the criteria of historical verifiability. Certainly the traditional materials must be seen in the perspective of archival documentation. However, over and above this we have tried to explore the tradition with all its contradicting variations and explore what the tradition can tell us not simply about the events but also about the perception of an era.

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Rosen 1991 p. 8-9.

Moreover, this particular example reveals a good deal about tradition and how to study it. In this case, the question, “Was there really a debate in Galtā?”, is largely irrelevant, or at least simplistic. The relationship between the story and the “historical events” is not a relationship of strict one-to one-correspondence, but rather one story corresponds to many events. The perspective provided by the archival documents thus provides an insight into the workings of tradition.

Concerning tradition within Judaism, Jacob Neusner remarked that tradition is not capricious:

If an earlier follower of Eliezer alleged that he gave a ruling, a later tradent - one who participates in the formation and transmission of tradition - would likely do one of two things. Either he would refine the substance of that ruling, or he would hand on in Eliezer’s name a ruling either spun out of the principle established in the original saying or closely related to it. I found out that it would be highly unlikely that to Eliezer would be attributed a saying with no roots whatever in the primary and original corpus of teachings assigned to him by the circle of his contemporaries... Tradition in this sense is living, yet, as I said, accurate and careful, mindful of what has gone before. It is not capricious, not subjective, not ahistorical, not indifferent to the facts of the past.²⁰⁵

A similar situation is evident here, where the story of a religious debate is a tradition which has developed over several centuries. Most of the elements of the tradition and its oral variants are real events and issues of the period, but rather than all taking place in one momentous debate, they were spread out over fifty years or so in a series of events, debates and discussions. The story of the debate may not be exact, even though most of its elements are. The tradition does not invent things out of nothing; it builds a narrative out of several “real” events. In that sense tradition is not “capricious”. It is not built whimsically, but from authentic material of the period.

However that does not make the traditional account “historical”. History and religious tradition are related but different fields. The interest of religious tradition is in perpetuating the religious experience. Some elements of the tradition are no doubt fanciful, and this is a result of an over-zealous desire to perpetuate a particular sect. Such is certainly the case, for example, in the portrayal of Jai Singh becoming a disciple of Kṛṣṇadeva or Baladeva. But interestingly, even this is not a complete

²⁰⁵ Neusner 1975 p. 33.

invention, just an exaggeration.

But when seen as tradition, this story of a momentous debate appears more like a vehicle for describing a whole period. A traditional story such as this has developed within the community of devotees to communicate the events of a whole period, and importantly to explain the relevance of those events to their contemporary faith. It is not a history. It is not a photograph of a particular event, but rather a painting of the glories of a whole era, a past golden era where the religious, political, and literary influence of the Gauṛīya sect was at its peak.

Section 4: Sectarian Affiliation and Influences on the Text

4.1 Preliminary

The previous section described the atmosphere of religious debate current in Jaipur/ Amber during the reign of Sawai Jai Singh II. One important debate was that on the sectarian affiliation of the Gauṛīya sect. It seems that Jai Singh himself required the new *bhakti* sects flourishing in Vṛndāvana to affiliate with one of the established four *vaiṣṇava sampradāyas*. This was part of a larger program in which the maharaja wished to make the sadhus of Braj conform to mainstream Hindu social behaviour.

And yet the Gauṛīya sect had developed doctrines and practice which were quite independent of the established *vaiṣṇava* schools. Gauṛīya Vaishnavism had been moulded on the example of the life of Caitanya and on the devotional interpretation of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* of the *advaitan sannyāsi*, Śrīdhara Swami. These had in turn been developed into a coherent school of thought by the leading disciples of Caitanya.¹

As a general rule the Gauṛīya sect had been happy enough to ignore the question of sectarian affiliation, because the founder, Caitanya, came to be considered by his followers as an avatar of Kṛṣṇa. Thus for them the pupillary succession needed only be traced back as far as Caitanya in order to be authentic. After all, from their perspective, the point of affiliation was to trace the teachings back to some divine origin. As a result of this, the goswamis of Vṛndāvana devoted no time to questions of affiliation in their works.

However, a claim to authenticity based simply on faith in the divinity of Caitanya would not have been very persuasive for outsiders. And certainly the state of Jaipur/ Amber would not have been filled with the atmosphere of natural respect for Caitanya which the Gauṛīya devotees had hitherto enjoyed in Bengal, Orissa, and Braj. Here they would need an official connection to a *vaiṣṇava sampradāya* which was essential to authenticate the sect in the eyes of other *vaiṣṇava* schools. A

¹ S.K. De 21-23. Section 4.4 below shows that even up to the time of Viśvanātha the main traditional authority for Bengal Vaishnavism was still Śrīdhara.

connection of formal initiation would have been considered necessary.²

Even the contemporaries of Caitanya had seen a need to refer to a chain of initiations (*guru-paramparā*) linking Caitanya back to some *vaiṣṇava sampradāya*. There is evidence of several rudimentary lineages written by contemporaries of Caitanya in Orissa which link some of Caitanya's *pūrva-guru*'s with the lineage of Mādhvācārya.³ Similar lineages are found in the works of Kavi-karṇapura and Gopāla-guru, in the first generation after Caitanya. Elkman also quotes another reference from the Vallabha *sampradāya* which refers to Caitanya's *parama-guru*, Mādhavendra, as a *sannyāsi* of the Mādhva *sampradāya*.⁴

Thus, there is certainly a tradition within the sect that Caitanya's lineage could be traced back to Madhva, and that tradition seems to have existed from the time of Caitanya himself. However, there is debate over the authenticity of the purported link between Mādhavendra Puri and the Mādhva sect. For example, S.K. De finds that the succession was probably made up by Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa "from hearsay or imagination" for a conference in Jaipur.⁵ And A.K. Majumdar considers the lineage "spurious" when compared with the records of the Vyāsarāya Mādhva *maṭha*.⁶

Elkman, on the other hand, reviews the evidence and arguments of De and Majumdar and dismisses many of their objections, concluding that the lineage was not invented by Baladeva, but rather "had its beginnings in the early years of the Gauṛīya *vaiṣṇava* movement".⁷ As for the authenticity of that tradition, Elkman concludes that the link to the Mādhva *sampradāya* is plausible, with Mādhavendra's

² The need for initiation into a *vaiṣṇava sampradāya* is expressed in verses attributed to the Padma-purāṇa, which name four *sampradāyas* and which state that mantras are fruitless if they do not belong to one of these four *sampradāyas* (quoted by Elkman 1986: 30 & note).

³ Mukherjee, as quoted by Elkmann (1986: 33). According to Mukherjee, these Orissan lineages also seem to have been promulgated by a group under pressure to authenticate themselves in a hostile society.

⁴ Ibid p. 34.

⁵ S.K. De 1961 p. 15.

⁶ A.K. Majumdar 1969. This view is repeated by Entwistle (1987: 190fn193) and Hardy (1974: 26). The idea that the link has something to do with a perceived phonic similarity between Madhva and Mādhavendra seems also a little "spurious".

⁷ Elkmann 1986 p.38.

mantra initiation coming from a Mādhva guru of the name of Lakṣmīpati, and Mādhavendra's *sannyāsa* initiation coming from the Advaitic Puri order.

If this is the case, then Mādhavendra was not a Mādhva *sannyāsi*, but for the purposes of official affiliation, at least some kind of *mantra* initiation had taken place. Elkman hypothesises:

Between the time of his *mantra* initiation and *sannyāsa* initiation, his views underwent significant change, leading him to feel a greater affinity for the Purī order of Śāṅkara *sannyāsins* than for the Mādhvas.⁸

This "Purī order of Śāṅkara Sannyasins" was a group of devotional *sannyāsins* who followed Śrīdhara Swami's interpretation of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*.⁹ In fact, the simultaneously contradictory nature of much of Gauṛīya philosophy could perhaps be traced to this marriage of opposites (Mādhva and Śāṅkara) in Mādhavendra Purī.

Notwithstanding the conceivable authenticity of this somewhat delicate disciplic connection, the actual influence of Mādhva philosophy on the Gauṛīya school was practically non-existent. In both the Caitanya-caritāmṛta and the Caitanya-candrodaya-nāṭaka, biographers portray Caitanya as rather indifferent to the Mādhvas.¹⁰

I saw many *vaiṣṇavas* [in the south], but they were all worshippers of Nārāyaṇa; there were also the *tattva-vādins* [the Mādhvas], but they were just the same, and their philosophy is not perfect. The others were just worshippers of Śiva. A good many were heretics. But, Sārvabhauma, only Rāmānanda Rāy's philosophy really interested me.

Even those established Gauṛīya authors who appear to have supported the disciplic affiliation with the Mādhva sect, such as Kavi Karṇapura, Viśvanātha

⁸ Ibid p. 32.

⁹ According to Caitanya's biographer's, Caitanya greatly esteemed Śrīdhara Swami (e.g., Caitanya-caritāmṛta 1.7.96). The relationship between the Śrīdhara Swami and the Caitanya sect is mentioned by Hardy (1974: 320), and the dates of Śrīdhara Swami are discussed by Gode (1949).

¹⁰ Caitanya-candrodaya Act Eight; also Caitanya-caritāmṛta 2.9.270-80.

Cakravarti, and Narahari Cakravarti, did not show any hint of Mādhva doctrine in their writings.¹¹

Direct quotes of Mādhvācārya appear once or twice in passing in the works of Rūpa and Sanātana, and several times in Jīva's Sandarbhas, but proportionally no more than Rāmānuja, and insignificantly compared to Śrīdhara Swami.¹²

Jīva's approach is far less polemic than the general tone of the works of the Mādhva *sampradāya*. As an example we may refer to Jīva's treatment of the attainment of *brahman*-realisation in the *Bhagavat-sandarbha*. He does not enter into an argument with the *advaitans* on the relative merits of *brahman* and *bhagavān*. Rather, he ignores *brahman* and explains that understanding of *brahman* will automatically be included in any understanding of *bhagavān*, because *brahman* is simply a preliminary featureless realisation of *bhagavān*. Thus he finds no need to write a "Brahma-sandarbha" and moves straight onto a *Bhagavat-sandarbha*.¹³

Jīva accepts *brahman*-attainment as a preliminary, featureless realisation of *bhagavān*. He gives some examples of such realisation of "oneness" (*tad-ananya-bodhyatā*) from the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, but he points out that such realisation is impossible by one's own efforts and only possible by devotedly worshipping Bhagavān with that aim in mind.¹⁴

In this way Jīva accepts a certain type of *brahman*-realisation as authentic yet only preliminary, and thus he totally ignores it. This is not an approach characteristic of the more polemically-minded Mādhva *sampradāya*. But it does bear some of the hallmarks of the devotional *advaitan* followers of Śrīdhara Swami.

Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa is the first Gauṛīya *ācārya* in whose works we actually find some tangible influence of the Mādhva philosophy. And even then, that influence is mostly restricted to his epistemological works such as the *Prameya-ratnāvalī*, the *Siddhānta-ratna*, and to a lesser extent the *Govinda-bhāṣya*. In these works we see traditional Gauṛīya ontology and epistemology merged with the

¹¹ Kavi-karṇapura at the beginning of the Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā; Viśvanātha Cakravarti in his elaboration of that same work called the Gaura-gaṇa-svarūpa-tattva-candrikā; Narahari Cakravarti in the Bhakti Ratnākara (5/2169) quoting the much earlier work of Gopāla-guru.

¹² S.K. De 1961 p.417, 21.

¹³ *Bhagavat-sandarbha* Section 7: *vyāñjite bhagavat-tattve brahma ca vyajyate svayam*.

¹⁴ *Bhagavat-sandarbha* Section 6: "...sādhaka-śaktir nāsti... sādhanabhaktyārādhitasya śrī-bhagavataḥ prabhāvād eva...."

Mādhva concepts such as “*viśeṣa*” and the Mādhva system of *pramāṇas*.¹⁵

However, the essential Gauṛīya system had diverged significantly from the Mādhvas on many matters, such as the supremacy of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, the *rasa* theory, *vaidhī* and *rāgānugā bhakti*, the position of Caitanya, the position of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* with the *pāñca-rāsādhyāya*, and the emotional emphasis upon congregational dancing and chanting. There is no evidence that Baladeva or anyone else ever tried to reject or “Madhva-ise” any such distinctive elements of the sect, and the Mādhva influence in doctrinal matters seems to have been restricted to some aspects of ontology and epistemology.¹⁶

The second part of this dissertation contains a textual edition and translation of the first three chapters of the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī*, Viśvanātha Cakravartī’s commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā*. This present section will analyse the question of Gauṛīya sectarian affiliation in the light of textual evidence from the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī*.

The *Bhagavad-gītā*, being one of the *prasthāna-traya*, has been commented on by nearly all the founding teachers of the major *vaiṣṇava* sects as well as by Śāṅkarācārya and Śrīdhara Swami. Therefore, a commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā* provides an opportunity to analyse sectarian stances and affiliations across a single common text.

This present section will examine what the text of the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* tells

¹⁵ Elkman, 1987 p. 40-1. Most of Elkman’s arguments are very sound, but his suggestion (p. 41) that there was some scheme on the part of Baladeva to use the conference in Jaipur as an opportunity to “wield an influence over the Gauṛīya community which otherwise might not have been possible” is a hypothesis which we don’t have enough evidence to prove or disprove.

Moreover, such a hypothesis relies on a literal reading of the traditional account of the debate in Jaipur. This dissertation raises the possibility that the story of the debate in Jaipur should not be read literally, but rather should be seen as a representative symbol of many debates and issues which took place at the time.

Specifically, evidence adduced in 3.1.3 suggests that Baladeva first wrote the *Brahma-sūtra-kārikā-bhāṣya* for Jai Singh, and then wrote the *Govinda-bhāṣya* at a later date. Thus the *Govinda-bhāṣya* with its Mādhva influence was certainly not composed as part of the earliest contact between Jai Singh and Baladeva. As there is no copy of the later work in the Pothi-khānā in Jaipur, it is possible the *Govinda-bhāṣya* was composed after the reign of Jai Singh II.

¹⁶ S.K. De 1961 p.22-3.

us about the controversial sectarian affiliation of the Gauṛīya sect, in particular the claim for affiliation with the Mādhva *sampradāya*. Section three above described the issue and diverse positions held by both devotees and academics on the question. We noted some prominent members of the Gauṛīya society strongly affirming the independence of the sect and stridently opposing any attempt to link Caitanya with another *sampradāya*.¹⁷ Others, such as Kavi-karṇapura, were prepared to admit an official link with the Mādhva sect and yet showed no interest (and even disdain) for the teachings of Madhva. At the other end of the spectrum were people like Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa, who not only admitted a link of initiation but also incorporated facets of Mādhva doctrine into his work. Now, we shall investigate the sectarian stance and affiliation of Viśvanātha's commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā*.

¹⁷ See the statements of Śyāma-caraṇa-deva Śarmā, head-priest of the Gopīnātha temple, in section 3.2 above.

4.2 Invocations

The *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* begins with a poetic invocatory verse to Caitanya (*gaurāṁśukaḥ sat-kumuda-pramodī...*), and no homage is offered to any one else. This is common practice in the works of Viśvanātha and the other great *literati* of the Gauṛīya movement.¹⁸ Such a practice would indicate that Gauṛīyas traced authority back to Caitanya as the founder of the sect and divine incarnation. In the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī*, no homage is offered to Madhvācārya. This would support the idea that the formal affiliation to Madhva's sect expressed in the works of some Gauṛīya authors, including Viśvanātha himself,¹⁹ was more of a formality used when the sect needed some official affiliation.

The *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* has a second invocatory verse which outlines quite explicitly the stance adopted by the author in questions of doctrine (*mata*):

Although foolish, I desired to taste a drop of the nectar of the *Bhagavad-gītā*. After having thoroughly studied the statements of the previous [*ācāryas*], I have in this work relied solely upon the doctrine of my ascetic Lord [Śrī Caitanya]. For this, good people, please show me indulgence.²⁰

This second invocation is significant for several reasons. Firstly, it is a frank declaration of hermeneutic stance. It betrays a self-awareness that is not always expressed by traditional commentators.

Moreover, it is significant that the invocation mentions previous *ācāryas* only generally, and no particular teacher is singled out for particular gratitude. Though not conclusive by itself, this point certainly lends support to the notion that whatever the relationship may have been between the Caitanyites and the Mādhva sect, it was certainly not based on any particular philosophical or procedural allegiance.

The invocation cited above also sheds light on the process of formulating the philosophical stance of the commentary. Viśvanātha Cakravartī states clearly that he has thoroughly studied the previous commentaries written on the *Bhagavad-gītā*, but that nevertheless he has relied solely upon the doctrine of Śrī Caitanya. Thus we

¹⁸ For detail on the invocations to Caitanya at the beginning of Viśvanātha's works, see section 2.6 above.

¹⁹ See section 3.2 above.

²⁰ “*prācīna-vācaḥ suvicārya so 'ham....*” See the *maṅgalācaraṇa* at the opening of Chapter One of the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī*.

find a description of the fine balancing act being performed by the Caitanyites.

On the one hand, they accept and base their statements on traditional teachings, or “*prācīna-vācaḥ*” (literally “previous statements”). Here we are to assume that Viśvanātha Cakravarti is referring to the previous commentaries sanctioned by antiquity, especially the commentaries of the major *vaiṣṇava ācāryas*. This would indicate that Viśvanātha and the other Gauṛīya authors consciously consulted and based their works on the teachings of other sects.

On the other hand, Viśvanātha seeks indulgence because when necessary he has overridden the teachings of those previous *ācāryas* with the doctrine of Śrī Caitanya (*yater prabhor eva mate*). He retains a respectful stance towards those other great teachers by asking for understanding and indulgence for those instances where he has chosen to ignore their statements.

More detail on this balance is available from a similar statement made by Jīva Goswami in the *Tattva-sandarbha*. There Jīva says that when explaining the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* he follows the commentary of Śrīdhara Swami as a general rule, but only when the Swami’s conclusions match with pure *vaiṣṇava* tenets. Jīva considers the Swami a great *vaiṣṇava* who had in some passages introduced monistic philosophy to attract the numerous monists to the glories of Bhagavān. In those cases Jīva says that he would ignore those passages and instead refer to other works of Śrīdhara Swami or to doctrine found in the works of Rāmānuja.²¹

Again this is very significant in our attempt to trace the sectarian affiliation of the Gauṛīya *vaiṣṇavas*. Jīva makes explicit mention of both Śrīdhara and Rāmānuja as authorities to whom he would refer in matters of doctrine.

Just as significant is the fact that Jīva fails to mention Madhvācārya there as a special authority. This is additional support for the notion that the relationship between the followers of Caitanya and those of Madhva was not based on any doctrinal conformity. When Jīva does mention Madhva, it is in the following section (#28), where Jīva outlines his own bibliographical sources. There Jīva says that in most cases he has quoted from sacred scriptures which he has personally sighted. In some cases, however, he has quoted from sources which he has not personally seen but which are mentioned in the works of Madhvācārya and his followers.²²

Thus a pattern emerges where both Viśvanātha and Jīva base their works on several of the previous great teachers, and where Madhvācārya merits no special mention. Moreover, in certain cases, both Viśvanātha and Jīva apply a fresh

²¹ *Tattva-sandarbha*, section 27.

²² *Tattva-sandarbha*, section 28.

interpretation based on their own understanding. In Jīva's case that understanding is said to be developed in harmony with the spirit of the speaker and compiler of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (Śuka and Vyāsa).²³ In Viśvanātha's case that understanding is said to be based on "the doctrine of my ascetic Lord (Śrī Caitanya)".

This stance of Viśvanātha suggests that he was proposing his commentary as an independent representative of the teachings of his "ascetic lord", Caitanyadeva. There is not even a token gesture at affiliation with the Mādhva sect. Quite the opposite, Viśvanātha proclaims that despite consulting the commentaries of old, he has made a commentary which represents the doctrine of the Mahāprabhu, Caitanya.

To fully understand this situation one needs to understand the nature of tradition in Indian religion. A new interpretation cannot be totally new, otherwise it would be heretical.²⁴ Caitanya and his followers were not interested in establishing something heretical.²⁵ To the contrary, they saw themselves as remaining within the orthodoxy of the *vaiṣṇava* faith, but at the same time introducing a new emphasis, or better still, they saw themselves as revealing a deeper understanding of the already existing scriptures and practices. Madhva himself is said to have done something similar when he took initiation within the monistic sect of Śaṅkara to gain authenticity, but then developed a dualistic philosophy from that base.

A comparison with Buddhism would perhaps be useful. From the perspective of Hinduism, Buddhism is considered heretical despite its enormous similarities, because Buddhism rejects outright such fundamental aspects of Brahmanism as the authority of the Vedas and the importance of the caste system. Although Caitanya vaishnavism also *effectively* rejects both of these notions, the Caitanya school does not openly repudiate them, but rather accepts them, appropriates them with all their status, and then through astute textual interpretation explains them away.

For example, in the *Tattva-sandarbha*, Jīva Goswami accepts that the Vedas are authoritative and of divine origin but explains that they are not completely available, nor readily understandable, nor do they deal with the highest subject matter. Therefore, he replaces the Vedas with the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* as his highest

²³ *Tattva-sandarbha*, section 49.

²⁴ T.K. Stewart 1994 p. 229ff (in a slightly different context) describes how the Gauṛīya sect tends to assimilate and incorporate older traditions rather than rejecting them outright. S. K. De (1961: 542-555) describes a similar process with regard to the Gauṛīya stance on caste and ethics.

²⁵ O'Connell (1970) gives an in-depth analysis of the Gauṛīya tendency to be part of the Hindu orthodoxy.

authority.²⁶ But he does it in such a way as to maintain respect for the Vedas, and to remain within the “Vedic” tradition.

Similarly the invocation of the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* declares that Viśvanātha does not propose to reject any of the commentaries of the previous great teachers; rather he plans to use them, quote them, acquire them, and build on them.

²⁶

Details in Section 1.3.2 above.

4.3 Acknowledged Quotations of Authorities

Given the approach outlined in the invocations of the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī*, we should next analyse the actual authorities quoted in the text under study. Viśvanātha Cakravarti does not frequently quote authorities openly in the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī*. The following is a table of quotations made in a sample of the text (chapters 1-6):

Table 6 : Authors Cited by Name in the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* (chapters 1-6).

Author Quoted	Verse Reference From <i>Sārārtha-varṣiṇī</i> .	Total number
Śrīdhara Swami	2:44, 2:45, 2.45, 4:6, 4:6, 4:9.	6
Rāmānujācārya	3:7 4:6, 4:9, 4:9, 4:10, 4:10.	6
Madhusūdana Sarasvati	4.6, 4.6, 4.7 4.9, 4.36.	5
Madhva		0
Śaṅkara		0

In this table we have clear confirmation of the notion that the Mādhva sect had no particular philosophical or procedural influence on the Gauṛīya sect. Madhvācārya is not once cited by Viśvanātha Cakravarti in this six chapter sample passage of the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī*. Whatever the relationship between the Mādhvas and the Caitanyites may have been by initiation, one thing is certain: there was little if any influence of Mādhva doctrine in Viśvanātha's flagship *Bhagavad-gītā* commentary.

Moreover, the above table makes it quite clear that Viśvanātha did quote previous *ācāryas*; he simply did not quote Madhva. Of the four *vaiṣṇava sampradāyas*, Viśvanātha shows a clear preference for quoting Rāmānuja (six times in the above sample). In fact, Rāmānuja is the only such *ācārya* quoted by Viśvanātha. It was noted above in section 4.1.1 that Jīva Goswami had mentioned Rāmānuja as his preferred authority in matters which required a thoroughly *vaiṣṇava* perspective. The above table shows numerical evidence of that principle in action in the work of Viśvanātha.

Also in line with Jīva's stated policy is Viśvanātha's predilection for quoting Śrīdhara Swami (six times in the sample). It is clear that Śrīdhara Swami was the

chief textual authority for the Gauṛīya *vaiṣṇava* sect, and his particular influence on this text will be studied more carefully in the next section (4.4). The above table shows him equal with Rāmānujācārya in terms of number of acknowledged quotations in the six chapter sample of the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī*.

Perhaps more interesting is the relative prevalence of quotes from Madhusūdana Sarasvatī. Like Śrīdhara Swami, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī was another commentator who was ostensibly a follower of Śāṅkara, but whose devotional and theistic attitude must have met with the approval of the Gauṛīya *vaiṣṇavas*. Madhusūdana is said to have written his commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā* called the *Gūḍhārtha-dīpikā* at the end of the 16th century. In it, Madhusūdana embraced many *vaiṣṇava* principles, such as the primacy of *bhakti* and the non-illusory nature of Kṛṣṇa.²⁷ These passages are quoted by Viśvanātha in his own *Bhagavad-gītā* commentary.

Nevertheless Madhusūdana was still an *advaitan sannyāsi*. In fact he was the author of a famous treatise called *Advaita-siddhi*, which was a direct rebuttal of the Mādhva school's classic work, the *Nyāyāmṛta*, an attack upon monistic philosophy composed by Vyāsa Rāya (ca. 1460-1539).²⁸ Certainly Madhusūdana can hardly have been very popular with the Mādhva school.

Under these circumstances, it is not clear why Viśvanātha quotes Madhusūdana; it may well be the case that Viśvanātha is employing the *kaimutika-nyāya*, or an argument *a fortiori*. In other words, Viśvanātha might be saying that if a famous *advaitan sannyāsi* like Madhusūdana agrees with some devotional principle, then what to speak of others?

Whatever Viśvanātha's motives may have been, it is significant that when we combine the quotations of Śrīdhara and Madhusūdana, they represent a clear majority of quotations. The Gauṛīya sect seems to have been very comfortable with this class of devotional *advaitan sannyāsis* to which both Śrīdhara Swami and Madhusūdana belonged. This is hardly surprising, since Caitanya himself and many of his peers and precursors were also *advaitan sannyāsis* by initiation.

This is not to say that the Caitanya sect should be considered a Śāṅkara sect; it is most definitely a *vaiṣṇava* sect. However, as noted above in section 4.1 their *acintya-bhedābheda* approach is far more of a synthesis of monism and dualism than the work of Madhva. The devotional *advaitan sannyāsis* like Śrīdhara and Madhusūdana also attempted such a synthesis from the other direction, which would

²⁷ S.K. Gupta 1977 p. xii; Minor 1982 p. XVII; Callewaert & Hemraj 1983 p. 90.

²⁸ S.N. Gupta 1922 p. 205-320.

explain their common ground with the Gauṛīyas. Certainly Jīva and Viśvanātha both seem to have had an open approach to these *advaitan sannyāsis*. Viśvanātha's willingness to favourably quote them is quite clear from Table 2.

4.4 The Influence of Śrīdhara Swami

On closer analysis of Viśvanātha's *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* and Śrīdhara Swami's *Bhagavad-gītā* commentary, the *Subodhinī*, a much deeper relationship emerges between the two texts. It becomes evident that Śrīdhara Swami's work forms the foundation of Viśvanātha's text.

To fully tease out the relationship between the two texts would be a full dissertation in itself. In this particular dissertation, I am simply trying to detect the influence of any sectarian affiliation in Viśvanātha's commentary, and to examine this in light of the issues of the period. I propose to analyse a sample of the text and try to quantify the extent of the influence of Śrīdhara Swami on Viśvanātha's text. A comparative study of the philosophical stance of Viśvanātha and Śrīdhara Swami will have to wait until a later date.²⁹

As a preliminary example of what is meant by the influence of Śrīdhara Swami on Viśvanātha, let us examine their respective commentaries on verse twenty seven of chapter three (*prakṛter kriyamāṇāni...*):

²⁹ It is not the intention of this work to contrast the interpretive stance of Viśvanātha Cakravarti with that of famous *Bhagavad-gītā* commentators, as has been so ably done for Śaṅkara by T.G Mainkar in his *Comparative Study of Commentaries on the Bhagavad-gītā*. The comparison in this section is undertaken with the sole intention of ascertaining sectarian affiliation. It will not focus so much on the actual philosophies of the various commentators, but rather on identifying how they influence each other. It will not focus on how they contrast, but rather on how they are similar.

Correspondence Between Viśvanātha Cakravartī (VC) and Śrīdhara Swami (SS) for Bhagavad-gītā chapter 3 verse 27

VC:	<i>nanu yadi vidvān api karma kuryāt tarhi vidvad aviduṣoḥ ko viśeṣa ityāśaṅkya tayor viśeṣam darśayati,</i>
SS:	<i>nanu viduṣāpi cet karma kartavyam tarhi vidvad aviduṣoḥ ko viśeṣa ityāśaṅkyobhayor viśeṣam darśa-yati,</i>
VC:	<i>prakṛter iti dvābhyām.</i>
SS:	<i>prakṛter iti dvābhyām.</i>
VC:	<i>prakṛter guṇaiḥ guṇa-kāryair indriyaiḥ sarvaśaḥ sarva-prakāreṇa kriyamāṇāni yāni karmāṇi,</i>
SS:	<i>prakṛter guṇaiḥ prakṛti-kāryair indriyaiḥ sarvaśaḥ sarva-prakāreṇa kriyamāṇāni yāni karmāṇi,</i>
VC:	<i>tāny aham eva kartā karomīty avidvān manyate</i>
SS:	<i>tāny aham eva kartā karomīty avidvān manyate....</i>

As can be seen from the chart of correspondences on the previous page, Viśvanātha's commentary on this verse is almost word-for-word identical with that of Śrīdhara Swami. Only some very minor differences are evident:

- Viśvanātha replaces a passive construction with an active one: “*viduṣāpi karma kartavyam*” is replaced by “*vidvān api karma kuryāt*”.
- Viśvanātha replaces the words “*ceṭ*” and “*ubhayor*” with the synonyms “*yadi*” and “*tayor*”.
- The word “*sarvaśaḥ*” from the verse is added by Viśvanātha for clarity.
- Viśvanātha uses the phrase “*guṇa-kāryair*” where Śrīdhara Swami uses “*prakṛti-kāryair*”.

Apart from these very minor changes the commentary of Viśvanātha is identical. Of the thirty six words used by Śrīdhara Swami, thirty (85%) are absolutely identical in Viśvanātha's commentary. Another five words (14%) are the same word with a different grammatical suffix or a synonym. That makes the two commentaries 99% the same.

This example is enough to indicate a very strong relationship between the two commentaries. However, in order to get a real idea of the influence of the Śrīdhara on Viśvanātha, we will need to know more about the frequency of such occurrences. Is this the only such occurrence of a close correspondence between the two commentaries? Are there other, perhaps less literal, correspondences? To get a feel of the numerical strength of such occurrences I compared each word of the two commentaries for chapter three of the *Bhagavad-gītā*. The results are discussed in the following sections.

4.4.1 Exact Correspondences

In the analysed sample (chapter three), there were two verses in which Viśvanātha's entire commentary is taken word-for-word from Śrīdhara Swami. These were verses thirteen and twenty-seven. Verse twenty seven has already been discussed above. Their commentaries on verse thirteen run as follows:

3:13

VC: *vaiśvadevādi-yajñāvaśiṣṭam annam ye 'śnanti te pañca-sūnā-kṛtaiḥ pāpāir mucyante. pañcasūnās ca smrtyuktāḥ "kaṇḍanī peṣanī cullī udakumbhī ca mārjanī. pañca-sūnā gṛhasṭhasya tābhiḥ svargaṁ na vindati" iti.*

SS: ...*vaiśvadevādi-yajñāvaśiṣṭam annam ye 'śnanti te pañca-sūnādi-kṛtaiḥ kilbiṣair*

mucyante. pañcasūnās ca smṛtāv uktāḥ “kaṇḍanī peṣaṇī cullī udakumbhī ca mārjanī. pañca-sūnā gṛhasthasya tābhiḥ svargaṁ na vindati” iti....

As in verse twenty-seven, all of Viśvanātha’s commentary is word-for-word identical with that of Śrīdhara except for some very minor differences:

1. Viśvanātha omits the word “*ādi*” (etc.) from the phrase “*pañca-sūnādi-kṛtaiḥ*”.
2. Viśvanātha replaces the word “*kilbiṣaiḥ*” with the synonym “*pāpaiḥ*”.
3. Viśvanātha uses the compound form “*smṛtyuktāḥ*” instead of “*smṛtāv uktāḥ*”.

Thus in Viśvanātha’s commentary upon the forty-three verses of chapter three, the commentary on two verses is taken completely word-for-word from the commentary of Śrīdhara Swami. This represents about five percent of the sample.

4.4.2 Substantial Correspondences

Viśvanātha’s commentary on verse three of that chapter contains long passages are identical with the commentary of Śrīdhara Swami. Thus it represents a slightly different relationship, where the commentary of Śrīdhara forms a sort of structure around which Viśvanātha weaves new material. Viśvanātha’s commentary begins with a passage which loosely corresponds to Śrīdhara’s commentary:

3:3

VC: *atrottaram. yadi mayā paraspara-nirapekṣāv eva mokṣa-sādhanatvena karmayoga-jñānayogāvuktau syātām tadā tad ekaṁ vada niścīyati tvat-praśno ghaṭate...*

SS: *atrottaram śrī-bhagavān uvāca - loke ‘sminn iti. ayam arthaḥ - yadi mayā paraspara-nirapekṣaṁ mokṣa-sādhanatvena karma-jñāna-niṣṭhā-dvayam uktaṁ syāt tarhi dvayor madhye yad ekaṁ bhadraṁ syāt tad ekaṁ vadeti tvadīya-praśno saṅgacchate...*

In the following sentences, Viśvanātha diverges from Śrīdhara Swami by introducing his own literal interpretation of the word “*niṣṭhā*” (“*nitaram sthitir maryādā*”). At the end of the commentary on this verse, there are again substantial correspondences. Viśvanātha uses Śrīdhara’s definition of the Sāṅkhyas (“*sāṅkhyānām - śuddhāntaḥ-karaṇatvena jñāna-bhūmikām adhirūḍhānām*”), and Viśvanātha paraphrases Śrīdhara’s definition of the Yogis.

Viśvanātha also cites the same two verses from chapter two of the *Bhagavad-*

gītā which Śrīdhara Swami quotes to corroborate his definitions of the Sāṅkhyas and the Yogis: “*tāni sarvāṇi saṁnyamya...*” (2:61) and “*dharmyāddhi yuddhāt śreyo...*” (2:31).

So in his commentary on this verse (3:3) Viśvanātha has used substantial material from Śrīdhara’s commentary. Some of it has been taken word-for-word, some of it has been paraphrased and Viśvanātha has quoted the same verses which Śrīdhara had cited. But Viśvanātha has also introduced original material of his own.

Verse twenty four is another example where Viśvanātha’s commentary is a mixture of both original material and a significant passage from Śrīdhara’s commentary:

3:24

VC: *...tataś ca varṇa-saṅkaro bhavet tasyāpy aham eva kartā syām, evam aham eva prajā hanyām malinīkuryām.*

SS: *...tataś ca yo varṇa-saṅkaro bhavet tasyāpy aham eva kartā syām bhaveyam, evam aham eva prajā upahanyām malinīkuryām iti.*

So if we add these verses (3:3 and 3:24) to the above two verses (3:13 and 3:27), we have four verses from a total of forty-three verses in the sample which are either identical to or substantially taken from the commentary of Śrīdhara Swami. This equates to almost ten per cent of sample.

4.4.3 Correspondence in Prefatory Remarks³⁰

Viśvanātha has a tendency to copy the prefatory remarks from Śrīdhara’s commentary, but to give his own paraphrase and comment on the words of the verse. The following are examples of this tendency from the sample (Chapter Three):

3:7

VC: *etad viparītaḥ śāstrīya- karma-kartā gṛhastas tu śreṣṭha ity āha: yas tv iti...*

SS: *etad viparītaḥ karma-kartā tu śreṣṭha ity āha: yas tv iti...*

3:11

³⁰ For the technical description of the term “Prefatory Remarks”, refer to Part B: “Punctuation and Layout of the Edited Text”.

VC: *katham iṣṭa-kāma-prado yajño bhavet tatrāha: devān iti...*
 SS: *katham iṣṭa-kāma-dogdho yajño bhaved ity atrāha. devān iti...*

3:12

VC: *etad eva spaṣṭīkurvan karmākarāṇe doṣam āha: iṣṭān iti...*
 SS: *etad eva spaṣṭīkurvan karmākarāṇe doṣam āha: iṣṭān iti...*

3:14

VC: *jagac cakra-pravṛtti-hetutvād api yajñam kuryād evetyāha...*
 SS: *jagac cakra-pravṛtti-hetutvād api karma kartavyam ity āha: annād iti tribhiḥ...*

3:20

VC: *atra sadācāram pramāṇayati: karmaṇeti...*
 SS: *atra sadācāram pramāyati: karmaṇeti...*

3:22

VC: *atrāham eva drṣṭānta ityāha tribhiḥ...*
 SS: *atrāham eva drṣṭānta ityāha na me iti tribhiḥ...*

3:32

VC: *vipakṣe doṣam āha ye tv etad iti...*
 SS: *vipakṣe doṣam āha ye tv etad iti...*

The above verses (3:7, 11, 12, 14, 20, 22, and 32) are examples of where Viśvanātha has followed word-for-word Śrīdhara Swami's prefatory remarks, but has introduced his own material in the remainder of his commentary.

There are other verses in the sample chapter where Viśvanātha abbreviates or expands on the ideas of Śrīdhara's prefatory remarks:

3:4

VC: *citta-śuddhyabhāve jñānānutpattim āha: neti.*
 SS: *ataḥ samyak citta-śuddhyā jñānotpatti-paryantaṁ varṇāśramocitāni karmāṇi kartavyāni. anyathā śuddha-citta-śuddhyabhāve jñānānutpattir ity āha: neti.*

3:19

VC: *tasmāt tava jñāna-bhūmikārohaṇe nāsti योगyatā, kāmya-karmaṇi tu sad-vivekavatas tava naivādhikāraḥ. tasmān niṣkāma-karmaiva kurv ity āha: tasmād iti.*

SS: *yasmād evāmbhūtasya jñānina eva karmānupayogo nānyasya tasmāt tvam karma kurv ity āha: tasmād iti.*

3:35

VC: *tataś ca yuddha-rūpasya dharmasya yathāvad rāga-dveṣādi-rāhityena kartum aśakyatvāt paradharmasya cāhimsādeḥ sukaratvād dharmatvāviśeṣāc ca tatra pravartitum icchantam pratyāha śreyān iti*

SS: *...tarhi svadharmasya yuddhāder duḥkha-svarūpasya yathāvat kartum aśakyatvāt paradharmasya cāhimsādeḥ sukaratvād dharmyatvāviśeṣāc ca tatra pravartitum icchantam pratyāha: śreyān iti.*

Thus in total we have some eleven verses from the sample (25%) in which Viśvanātha has used Śrīdhara Swami's prefatory remarks whilst introducing his own material in the body of the commentary.

When we add this twenty five per cent to the ten per cent identified in the previous two sections, we arrive at thirty five per cent of the verses in the sample where Viśvanātha's commentary contains significant passages taken from the commentary of Śrīdhara Swami.

4.4.4 Correspondence in *Paryāya-śabda*.

Another tool-in-trade of a traditional commentator is the *paryāya-śabda*, or synonym. The crux of the commentarial style is to rephrase the verse in question into prose and to juxtapose a synonym to each word of the original verse. In the *Sārārtha-varṣinī*, Viśvanātha often uses exactly the same synonym as Śrīdhara Swami has used in his *Subodhinī* commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā*. The following examples surfaced in the sample (bold indicates a word from the *mūla* text of the *Gītā*):

3:7

VC: *karmendriyāṇi vāk-pāṇyādīni nigrhya yo manasā dhyānacchalena...*

SS: *vāk-pāṇyādīni karmendriyāṇi saṁnyamya nigrhya yo manasā bhagavad-dhyānacchalena...*

VC: *...so mithyācāro dāmbhika*

SS: *...so mithyācāraḥ kapaṭācāro dāmbhika*

3:8

VC: *tasmāt tvaṁ niyataṁ nityaṁ sandhyopāsanādi... tava śarīra-nirvāho 'pi*

SS: *yasmād evaṁ tasmān niyataṁ nityaṁ karma sandhyopāsanādi... tava śarīra-yātrā śarīra-nirvāho 'pi...*

3:10

VC: *...prasaviṣyadhvaṁ prasavo vṛddhir uttarottaram ativrddhiṁ labhadhvam ity arthaḥ...*

SS: *...prasaviṣyadhvaṁ prasavo vṛddhir uttarottarām abhivrddhiṁ labhadhvam ity arthaḥ...*

VC: *...iṣṭa-kāmadhuk abhīṣṭa-bhoga-prado 'stv ity arthaḥ*

SS: *...iṣṭa-kāmadhuk iṣṭān kāmān dogdhīti tathā abhīṣṭa-bhoga-prado 'stv ity arthaḥ*

3:12

VC: *...vṛṣṭyādi-dvāreṇa...annādīn...ebhyo devebhyaḥ pañca-mahā-yajñādibhir adattvā ... sa tu caura*

SS: *...vṛṣṭyādi-dvāreṇa...annādīn...ebhyo devebhyaḥ pañca-yajñādibhir adattvā ... sa tu stena caura*

3:14

VC: *...annād eva śukra-śoṇita-rūpeṇa pariṇatāt...ṛtvig-yajamāna-vyāpārātmakatvāt karmaṇaḥ*

SS: *...annāc chukra-śoṇita-rūpeṇa pariṇatāt...karmaṇā yajamānādi-vyāpāreṇa*

3:15

VC: *...kāryam avaśya-kartavyatvena vihitam param mokṣam...*

SS: *...kāryam avaśya-kartavyatvena vihitam... param mokṣam...*

3:23

VC: *anuvartante anuvarterann ity arthaḥ.*

SS: *anuvartante anuvarterann ity arthaḥ.*

3:30

VC: *mayi karmāṇi sannyasya samarpya nirāśīr niṣkāmo nirmamaḥ sarvatra mamatā-śūnyo...*

SS: *karmāṇi mayi sannyasya samarpya.... nirāśīr niṣkāmo...mamatā-śūnyo...*

3:37

VC: ...*kāma eva kenacit pratihato bhūtvā krodhākāreṇa pariṇamatīty arthaḥ...*

SS: ...*kāma eva hi kenacit pratihataḥ krodhātmanā pariṇamate...*

Thus there are ten verses in the thirty four verse sample (23%) in which part of Viśvanātha's interpretation (his choice of synonym or his paraphrasing) is practically word-for-word identical to the *Subodhinī* of Śrīdhara Swami.

Verse thirty-seven also has an interesting passage in which parts of Viśvanātha's interpretation are certainly based on some distinctive elements from Śrīdhara Swami, but there is not the word-for-word correspondence noted above. Here, Viśvanātha has expressed the same idea in his own words:

3:37

VC: ...*nanu dānena sandhātum śakyaś cet sāma-bhedābhyām sa sva-vaśīkartavyaḥ tatrāha: mahā-pāpmā aty ugraḥ.*

SS: ...*yato nāsau dānena sandhātum śakya ity āha: mahāśano mahat aśanam ...na ca sāmṇā sandhātum śakyo yato mahāpāpmā aty ugraḥ.*

4.4.5 Correspondences in Quoted Verses.

Another important aspect of the commentarial style is the appeal to authority by quoting a verse from the scriptures to support one's argument. Again Viśvanātha quotes the same verses as Śrīdhara Swami. In section 4.4.1 above, we noted that Viśvanātha's commentary to verse 3:13 contains a verse quoted from the *smṛti* scriptures ("*kaṇḍanī peṣaṇī cullī...*") which had been quoted by Śrīdhara Swami.

In his commentary to verse 3:15, Viśvanātha quotes two verses ("*asya mahato bhūtasya...*" and "*agnau prāstāhutiḥ samyag...*")³¹. These very same verses are also found in Śrīdhara Swami's commentary on 3:15 and 3:14 respectively.

4.4.6 Summary of Correspondences

It is clear that there are very close correspondences between the commentary of Viśvanātha and the commentary of Śrīdhara Swami. In the above sections we

³¹ BṛU 2.4.10. and Manu Smṛti 3.76.

have tried to put some kind of an indicative numerical value on the degree of closeness. In the test sample (Chapter Three), we identified thirty-five per cent of the verses in which Viśvanātha's commentary was either identical to or contained significant passages from the commentary of Śrīdhara. In addition to that, there was a considerable group of verses which contained small but distinctive portions of the interpretation of Śrīdhara Swami. In total, around fifty per cent of the verses from the sample contained evidence of some kind of influence from the commentary of Śrīdhara Swami.

In modern academic scholarship, such a close relationship would be termed plagiarism. Viśvanātha has used *verbatim* significant passages from Śrīdhara Swami's commentary without acknowledging their source. However, it would be a grave mistake to use today's academic criteria to judge a work of a different period and a totally different scholarly milieu. Our present academic convention always requires "original scholarship" and requires acknowledgement of the source of ideas. In particular, passages copied word-for-word must be acknowledged.

The art of Sanskrit commentary, however, belonged to a different world, with different norms and conventions. In section 4.2 above we remarked that "new" schools of thought in Indian religious philosophy were not eager to be so different as to be termed heretical. New schools were formed from within orthodoxy. We noted the example of Madhva himself, who took initiation as a Śāṅkarite *sannyāsi* and from that position within the orthodoxy he developed an opposition school of thought.

Thus a new commentator was not expected to have different views on everything. He was not expected to have original ideas on everything. To the contrary, if he could use some of the ideas of the established orthodoxy, his new school would appear authentic. Thus all the great teachers who wrote Sanskrit commentaries on the *Bhagavad-gītā* borrowed extensively from the existing tradition. Commentators like Śrīdhara Swami, Nīla-kaṇṭha, and Madhusūdana Sarasvati based their interpretations closely on the metaphysics of the Śāṅkara-bhāṣya but added some simple but far-reaching revisions, such as the crucial role of *bhakti* in attaining liberation. None of these scholars felt the need to constantly reference the enormous amount of material they used from Śāṅkara's commentary.³² Evidently this was the convention. It seems one was expected to use significant amounts of material from one's own tradition.

Viśvanātha's extensive use of material from Śrīdhara Swami should be seen

³² According to Mainkar's appendix (1969: ii) Śrīdhara Swami only mentions Śāṅkara by name once in his entire commentary. Madhusūdana does so eighteen times and Nīla-kaṇṭha twenty times.

in the light of his own culture, not ours. Using material from previous teachers was standard practice and, far from being contemptible, was greatly esteemed, as it established the commentary within the tradition, within the orthodoxy.

Even Madhva, whose very *raison d'être* was to confront the monistic teachings of the Śāṅkara school, used material from Śāṅkara and his followers. This probably meant that there was a strong tradition which extended well back beyond our two oldest extant commentators, Śāṅkara and Bhāskara. In fact in some instances the tradition is so strong that practically all the well-known commentaries correspond very closely. Take for example the prefatory comments to verse 3.9:

Correspondence Between Major Schools* for Prefatory Remarks to 3.9

3.9:

Śaṅkara:	<i>yac ca manyase</i>	<i>bandhārthatvāt karma na kartavyam iti tad apy asat. katham:</i>
Hanumān:	<i>yat tu manyase</i>	<i>bandha-hetuvāt karma na kartavyam iti tad asat katham:</i>
Bhāskara:	<i>yac ca manyante sāṅkhyāḥ sarvaṃ</i>	<i>karma bandhātmakam iti tad asat ity āha:...</i>
Śrīdhara:	<i>sāṅkhyās tu sarvaṃ api</i>	<i>karma bandhakatvān na kāryam ity āhus tan nirākurvann āha:</i>
Vallabha:	<i>sāṅkhyās tv ātmātiriktasya</i>	<i>bandhakatvam ālocya karma na kāryam iti vadanti. tat tad adhikṛta-viṣayam api na..</i>
Ānanda-giri:	<i>“karmaṇā badhyate jantuḥ” iti smṛter</i>	<i>bandhārthaṃ karma. tan na śreyo'rthinā kartavyam ityāśaṅkāṃ anūdyā dūṣayati:</i>
Mādhva:	<i>“karmaṇā badhyate jantuḥ” iti</i>	<i>karma bandhakaṃ smṛtam ity ata āha:</i>
Nīla-kaṇṭha:	<i>nanu “karmaṇā badhyate jantuḥ” iti</i>	<i>karmaṇāṃ bandhakatva-smṛteḥ katham mumukṣuṃ mām tatra niyojayasīty āśaṅkyāha:</i>
Viśvanātha:	<i>nanu tarhi “karmaṇā badhyate jantuḥ” iti smṛteḥ</i>	<i>karmaṇi kṛte bandhaḥ syād iti cen na. parameśvarārpitaṃ karma na bandhakam ity āha:</i>

*Arranged in such a way as to bring out the correspondences.

The table on the previous page shows clearly the correspondences between these teachers of various persuasions. In many other instances, they disagree with each other on major points of doctrine, and many of them only exist as a rebuttal of the others. Nevertheless, they all speak with one voice in this instance. Not only do they speak with one voice, they use the same phrases word-for-word.

We even see Madhva giving the same interpretation as Śaṅkara, and using the same scriptural citation from the Mahābhārata as used by Śaṅkara's prominent disciple Ānanda-giri. It is a shared tradition of interpretation which obviously extended back before Śaṅkara to commentaries which are now lost.

Now none of these commentators acknowledge where they sourced their ideas. There was obviously no convention requiring them to do so. In this case that would hardly seem necessary. There is only one interpretation, and to follow it was normal. It would be more necessary to explain if one intended to depart from it.³³ In fact, when Viśvanātha actually gives a referenced quote to Śrīdhara Swami's commentary it is usually when Viśvanātha wishes to diverge from Śaṅkara. At that point Viśvanātha cites Śrīdhara Swami by name to support his own interpretation.³⁴

And yet the analysis of chapter three above showed that every second verse commented on by Viśvanātha displays some word-for-word correspondence with the commentary of Śrīdhara Swami. But in the same chapter Viśvanātha does not cite Śrīdhara Swami by name once. In the first six chapters Viśvanātha only quotes him by name six times. It is clear that there was a strong sense of tradition among the commentators of the *Bhagavad-gītā*, and they seemed happy to share that tradition without feeling the need to acknowledge their direct source.

It can hardly be termed plagiarism when every educated scholar must have been well acquainted with the existing commentaries. It is highly unlikely that the subsequent commentators were trying to pull the wool over the eyes of their educated audiences. To the contrary, it must have been quite obvious to any educated reader that much of the material for these new commentaries was part of a shared tradition.

Moreover in the example given above (3.9), it is difficult to say where Viśvanātha sourced his ideas. Was it from Nīla-kaṇṭha, Madhva, or Ānanda-giri? Or was it simply a shared tradition, a "received" understanding of the text, which was passed down textually and orally in religious debate? It is interesting to note

³³ Only Rāmānuja's prefatory remarks on this verse show no correspondence with the rest of the commentarial tradition.

³⁴ For example in verse 4.9 where Śaṅkara asserts that Kṛṣṇa's bodily form consists of matter (*prakṛti*), Viśvanātha cites Śrīdhara Swami by name to support his own interpretation of the word *prakṛti* as "inherent nature".

that in all the correspondences noted above between Śrīdhara Swami and Viśvanātha Cakravarti, hardly one is 100% word-for-word exactly the same. Most have simple little differences of a word or two in each passage. This raises the possibility that Viśvanātha was not always consulting a written text of Śrīdhara's commentary, but remembering passages from previous study or discussion.

At the beginning of most of these commentaries, one sometimes finds a brief mention of previous commentators. For example, Śrīdhara Swami anonymously refers to Śaṅkara and Ānanda-giri:

I have critically analysed the doctrines presented by the author of the *bhāṣya* and his commentator and I have written this commentary according to my own understanding.

There seems not to have been any other social requirement to acknowledge a source. Rather it seems that the commentator was expected to use material from an established tradition, and acknowledgement was reserved only for exceptional circumstances. This would seem to reflect a different academic paradigm, where the underlying assumption is that one would follow a tradition.

And certainly from the analysis of the text in this section, Viśvanātha's commentary is clearly based on the commentary of Śrīdhara Swami.

4.5 Influence of Other Commentators

The previous sections established a significant degree of correspondence between the commentary of Viśvanātha and that of Śrīdhara Swami. In the vast majority of cases where there was a very close word-for-word correspondence between Viśvanātha's commentary and that of Śrīdhara Swami, *there was no correspondence at all between Viśvanātha's commentary and those of Śaṅkara, Mādhva, Rāmānuja, or Nīla-kaṇṭha*. This is very significant because it means that the abundant similarities between Viśvanātha's commentary and that of Śrīdhara Swami can not be dismissed as the "shared tradition" mentioned above, nor can they be attributed to the normal chance similarities one would expect to appear when two people interpret the same text.

There are nevertheless some instances when the close correspondence between the commentary of Viśvanātha and that of Śrīdhara Swami is indicative of a shared tradition between all commentators rather than a special relationship between Viśvanātha and Śrīdhara. Again, it should be stressed that when Viśvanātha's commentary corresponds word-for-word with that of Śrīdhara Swami there was practically no correspondence at all with any of the famous commentators. The few exceptions to that rule will now be analysed since "the exceptions confirm the rule". In section 4.4.4 above, the following correspondence was noted:

3:37

VC:	...kāma eva	kenacit pratihato bhūtvā	k r o d h ā k ā r e ṇ a pariṇamatīty arthaḥ...
SS:	...kāma eva hi	kenacit pratihataḥ	k r o d h ā t m a n ā pariṇamate...

Upon wider analysis, the correspondence is found to be much more widespread:

3:37

VC:	...kāma eva	kenacit pratihato bhūtvā	k r o d h ā k ā r e ṇ a pariṇamatītyarthaḥ...
SS:	...kāma eva hi	kenacit pratihataḥ	k r o d h ā t m a n ā pariṇamate...
Śaṅkara:	...sa eṣa kāmaḥ	pratihataḥ kenacit	k r o d h a t v e n a pariṇamate.
Bhaskara:	...sa eva	kenacit pratihataḥ	krodhāḥ saṃpadyate
Rāmānuja:	...eṣa eva	pratihata-gatiḥ pratihatihetubhūtacetanān prati krodha- rupena pariṇato.	

Nīla-kaṅṭha: ...*sa eṣa kāmaḥ kenacin nimittena pratihataḥ krodha-rūpeṇa pariṇamate*

A simple point is made by each of these commentators: when lust is frustrated it transforms itself into anger. This interpretation seems to be a widely accepted view, a common ground shared by the major schools. Therefore this is a particular case in which the correspondence between Viśvanātha and Śrīdhara does not necessarily indicate that Viśvanātha based his interpretation on Śrīdhara Swami's. This was simply a widely held view amongst religious philosophers in India. One cannot conclude from this example anything about a specific relationship between Viśvanātha and Śrīdhara Swami, because the influence may have come from any or all of the above commentators.

Of course, given the considerable correspondence documented above between Viśvanātha and Śrīdhara Swami it is likely that even this traditional interpretation came to Viśvanātha through the medium of Śrīdhara Swami.

This example is, however, significant with respect to the relationship between Viśvanātha and Madhva. The various correspondences for verse 3:37 listed above do not include Madhva. Madhva says the point of this phrase is that wherever we find anger we must assume that lust is behind it in some kind of causal role. Thus Madhva positions himself outside the widespread tradition evident above. In fact Madhva says that those who interpret this verse differently to himself have not understood the subtlety of the relationship between lust and anger. Jaya-tīrtha, Madhva's recognised interpreter, says that Madhva is expressly rejecting Śaṅkara's interpretation that frustrated lust is transformed into anger.³⁵

And yet despite this warning from Madhva and Jaya-tīrtha, Viśvanātha's interpretation follows Śrīdhara, Śaṅkara, and others. Not only does Viśvanātha not follow Madhva's interpretation, but he actually follows the interpretation expressly rejected by Madhva. This would confirm the notion that the influence of Madhva on this commentary of Viśvanātha is negligible. We have also been addressing a wider question of the relationship between the Gauṛīya *sampradāya* and the Mādhva *sampradāya* in the context of claims of affiliation. The evidence from the text of the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* would tend to confirm the notion that the relationship between the two was only "official" and not based on any doctrinal affiliation.

As shown in section 4.4 above, Śrīdhara Swami exerted by far the strongest influence on the text of Viśvanātha's *Bhagavad-gītā* commentary. Madhva seems

³⁵ "kāma eva kenacit pratihataḥ krodhatvena pariṇamata iti pareṣāṃ śaṅkarādīnāṃ vyākhyānaṃ dūṣayati."

to have no direct influence at all. Perhaps some of the general *vaiṣṇava* principles expounded by Madhva indirectly influenced Viśvanātha . However even there, Viśvanātha's commentary often aligns itself more with Śaṅkara than with some of the *vaiṣṇava* teachers, because Viśvanātha's commentary is based so strongly on the commentary of Śrīdhara Swami which was in turn based on the commentary of Śaṅkara and Bhāskara.

For example, in verse 3:14 we noted a correspondence between Viśvanātha and Śrīdhara Swami in both interpretation as well as prefatory remarks. This correspondence extends to Śaṅkara and to Nīla-kaṇṭha:

3:14 (prefatory remark)

VC: *jagac cakra-pravṛtti-hetutvād api yajñam kuryād evety āha...*

SS: *jagac cakra-pravṛtti-hetutvād api karma kartavyam ity āha: annād iti tribhiḥ...*

Śaṅkara: *itaś cādhikṛtena karma kartavyam. jagac cakra pravṛtti-hetur hi karma...*

Nīla-kaṇṭha: *jagac cakra-pravṛtti-hetutvād api karma kartavyam ity āha: annād iti...*

Bhaskara: *jagac-cakra-pravṛtti-hetutvāc cāvaśyam karma kartavyam ity āha...*

3:14 (interpretations)

VC: *...annād eva śukra-śoṇita-rūpeṇa pariṇatāt...ṛtvig-yajamāna-vyāpārātmakatvāt karmaṇaḥ*

SS: *...annāc chukra-śoṇita-rūpeṇa pariṇatāt...karmaṇā yajamānādivyāpāreṇa...*

Śaṅkara: *annād bhukta-lohita-retah-pariṇatāt... ṛtvig-yajamānayoś ca vyāpārah karma*

Nīla-kaṇṭha: *annād reto rūpeṇa parinatāt... karmebhyo yāga-homadānādibhiḥ*

Bhāskara: *annād upabhoktād reto-bhūtād... yajamānartvig-vyāpārah karma*

Thus Viśvanātha Cakravarti falls into a group of commentators like Nīla-kaṇṭha and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī who base their commentaries on Śrīdhara Swami and Śaṅkara. Surprisingly, it would appear that the Gauṛīya *vaiṣṇava* commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā* bears more influence of Śaṅkara than of Madhva.

As another example we may take the interpretation of the word "brahma" in verse 3:15:

3:15

VC:	<i>brahma vedah</i>
SS:	<i>brahma vedah</i>
Śaṅkara:	<i>brahma vedah</i>
Nīla-kaṅṭha:	<i>brahma vedo 'pi</i>
Rāmānuja:	<i>brahma-śabda-nirdiṣṭam prakṛti-pariṇāma-rūpaṁ śarīram</i>
Madhva: ³⁶	<i>brahma para-brahma</i>

Here again, since Viśvanātha has based his commentary Śrīdhara Swami's commentary, Viśvanātha aligns itself with the group of *advaitan* reformers including Nīla-kaṅṭha and Madhusūdana Sarasvati. Ultimately, in detail, Viśvanātha's commentary resembles that of Śaṅkara more than that of the great *vaiṣṇava* teachers such as Madhva and Rāmānuja.

The correspondences for verse 3:15 listed above clearly demonstrate this. Viśvanātha could quite easily have followed either Madhva or Rāmānuja and thus fallen into line with one of the established *vaiṣṇava sampradāyas*. Instead, by interpreting the word “*brahma*” as “*veda*”, he obviously followed Śrīdhara Swami and thus fell into line with the *advaitan* reformers and ultimately with Śaṅkara. The two great *vaiṣṇava* teachers, Rāmānuja and Madhva, interpret the word “*brahma*” in this verse as “*prakṛti*” and “*para-brahma*” respectively. Again Jaya-tīrtha, Madhva's interpreter, says that Madhva expressly rejects the interpretation of Śaṅkara and others that “*brahma*” means “*veda*” here.³⁷ And again Viśvanātha follows Śrīdhara Swami and effectively ignores Jaya-tīrtha's warning. It is clear that Viśvanātha's commentary makes no attempt to follow the Mādhva tradition. It is clear that in questions of theology the Gauṛīya sect made no attempt to align itself with the Madhva sect. Quite to the contrary, the great Gauṛīya theologian Viśvanātha Cakravarti seems content to loosely align his commentary with the arch enemies of the Mādhva sect, Śaṅkara and the *advaita-vedāntists*.

And yet, Viśvanātha's commentary is certainly *vaiṣṇava* in character. Viśvanātha strongly supports the basic tenets of the *vaiṣṇava* faith. He argues for the eternal nature of Kṛṣṇa's body, birth, and activities (e.g., 4:9). Viśvanātha also advocates the supremacy of devotion (e.g., 3:3) and describes knowledge and action

³⁶ Madhva's interpretation is much longer, so for ease of comparison I have quoted Madhva's recognised interpreter, Jaya-tīrtha.

³⁷ “*karma brahmodbhavaṁ brahmaṇā vedena prakāśyam iti pareṣāṁ vyākhyānam asad.*”

as two aspects of the same path which leads to liberation (e.g., 3:26).³⁸ Where does Viśvanātha's *vaiṣṇava* inspiration come from, if not from the traditional great *vaiṣṇava* teachers? The most significant source seems to have been the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*.

³⁸ A comparative study of Viśvanātha's *Bhagavad-gītā* commentary with those of Śrīdhara, Śāṅkara, Madhusūdana Sarasvati, Nīla-kaṇṭha, Rāmānuja, and Mādhva is a full research project which deserves to be done. I deliberately skim over these important points here, since in the context of this project I have chosen to remain focused on simply identifying the major influences on Viśvanātha's work. The aim of this section is to see what light the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* can shed on the larger historical question of the affiliation of the Gauṛīya sect. T.G. Mainkar (1969: 5-55) compares the stances of these major commentators on these and other important issues. It is interesting that Viśvanātha agrees with the *vaiṣṇava ācāryas* in the broad principles, but with the *advaitans* in the fine details.

4.6 Influence of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*

An analysis of the source of citations from the sample (chapter three) shows the absolute primacy of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* in Viśvanātha's commentary:

Bhāgavata-purāṇa

<i>Sārārtha-varṣiṇī</i> reference	Quoted verse	
3.9	<i>sva-dharma-stho yajan yajñair...</i>	11.20.10-12
3.18	<i>vāsudeve bhagavati...</i>	6.17.31
3.18	<i>yad upāśrayāśrayāḥ śuddhyanti...</i>	2.4.18
3.18	<i>sarṁsthā hetur apāśrayaḥ...</i>	12.7.9
3.26	<i>svayaṁ niḥśreyasaṁ vidvān...</i>	6.9.50
3.26	<i>tāvat karmāṇi kurvīta...</i>	11.20.9
3.26	<i>dharmān tyajya yaḥ sarvān...</i>	11.11.32
3.26	<i>tyaktvā sva-dharmaṁ caraṇāmbhujāṁ harer...</i>	1.5.17
3.35	<i>vidharmaḥ paradharmaś ca...</i>	7.15.12
3.37	<i>yat pṛthivyāṁ vrīhi-yavaṁ</i>	9.19.13
3.39	<i>na jātu kāmāḥ kāmānām...</i>	9.19.14

Skanda-purāṇa

<i>Sārārtha-varṣiṇī</i> reference	Quoted verse	
3.33	<i>aho dhanyo 'si devarṣe...</i>	

Mahābhārata

<i>Sārārtha- varṣiṇī</i> reference	Quoted verse	
3.9	<i>karmaṇā badhyate jantuḥ...</i>	12.241.7

“Smṛti”

<i>Sārārtha- varṣiṇī</i> reference	Quoted verse	
3.13	<i>kaṇḍanī peṣaṇī cullī...</i>	

Manu Smṛti

<i>Sārārtha- varṣiṇī</i> reference	Quoted verse	
3.15	<i>agnau prāstāhutiḥ...</i>	3.76

Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad

<i>Sārārtha- varṣiṇī</i> reference	Quoted verse	
3.14	<i>asya mahato bhūtasya...</i>	4.5.11

The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* was cited by Viśvanātha Cakravarti eleven times in

the sample. Five other scriptures were cited, but only once each. There were citations from the *Mahābhārata*, *Manu-smṛti*, *dharma-smṛti* and *Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. The citations from these other scriptures, however, are also cited by some or all of the famous commentators on the *Bhagavad-gītā*. I.e., they are all verses popular amongst commentators, or “traditional orthodox citations”.

The distinctive feature of Viśvanātha’s commentary is that his *main* source of authority is the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*. Of a total of sixteen citations in the sample chapter, eleven were from the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (69%). The other famous commentators quote extensively from the Upaniṣads, the Vedic *saṃhitās*, *Brahma-sūtras*, and the *Manu-smṛti*. These are the orthodox scriptural authorities for traditional Indian religious debate.

The unique feature of Viśvanātha’s commentary is that it interprets the *Bhagavad-gītā* in terms of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*.³⁹ The *vaiṣṇava* outlook of the commentary is the *vaiṣṇava* perspective of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*. It is not the vaishnavism of Madhva nor Rāmānuja; it is an expression of the *vaiṣṇava* principles of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*. This is in keeping with the explicit description of Gauṛīya epistemology discussed in section 1.3.2 above, where Jīva Goswami clearly states that the Gauṛīya sect considers the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* as the “Monarch of all means of acquiring valid knowledge”.⁴⁰

In section 4.2 above we also noted how both Jīva and Viśvanātha openly declare their policy: they followed great teachers of the past, but ultimately their overriding concern was to remain in harmony with the spirit of the speaker and compiler of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (Suka and Vyāsa).⁴¹

The above analysis of citations in the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* indicates their stated policy was indeed implemented by Viśvanātha. In matters of doctrine, the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* was clearly the ultimate authority for the Gauṛīya sect as represented by Viśvanātha’s flagship commentary. Śrīdhara Swami’s comments were adopted as the basic structure of the Gauṛīya interpretations, and the epistemological foundations were provided by the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*.

Certainly the interpretive task was independent of any established *vaiṣṇava*

³⁹ The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* was not unknown, but was certainly not widely cited by other commentators. Madhva, Śrīdhara Swami and Nīla-kaṇṭha cite it quite often, but nowhere near as much as Viśvanātha and certainly not in the majority of cases. Śāṅkara and Rāmānuja do not cite the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* at all.

⁴⁰ “*sarva-pramāṇānām cakravartibhūtam...*” *Tattva-sandarbha* 18.

⁴¹ *Tattva-sandarbha*, section 49.

sampradāya.

4.7 Conclusion

In section 3.2 above we noted the vigorous debate at the beginning of the eighteenth century concerning the affiliation of the new *bhakti* sects in Braja with established *vaiṣṇava sampradāyas*. That pressure became official state policy of Jai Singh around 1722. We saw that there was an established tradition within the Gauṛīya sect of some kind of a delicate link of initiation with the Mādhva sect. Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa (section 3.1.3) seems to have been a particular advocate of officially affiliating the Gauṛīya sect with the more established *vaiṣṇava sampradāya* of Madhva.

In several of his works Baladeva promulgated a disciplic succession linking Caitanya to Madhva. This was based on a tradition that had existed within the sect from the time of Caitanya himself. In section three it was noted that Kavi Karṇapura and even Viśvanātha Cakravartī had also referred to this initiatory link with the Mādhva sect.

Thus Baladeva was not suggesting something new by linking the Caitanya sect to the Mādhva sect through *initiation*. Baladeva's contribution was to effect a *philosophical* rapprochement by a synthesis of the two schools of thought. This is mainly evident in his works on Vedānta such as his monumental *Govinda-bhāṣya* on the *Brahma-sūtras*.

The evidence from the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* (section 4.4) is important because Viśvanātha was Baladeva's teacher. The textual evidence from the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* makes it clear that in the generation directly preceding Baladeva, the philosophical influence of the Mādhva doctrine on the Gauṛīya school was negligible.

Baladeva's philosophical affiliation of the Gauṛīya sect with the Mādhva *sampradāya* was more than likely the result of the political situation at the time (section 3.2). It was certainly not the result of any particular, long-standing doctrinal allegiance with the Mādhva school. Viśvanātha's *Bhagavad-gītā* commentary, which was a standard bearer of the sect's theological stance, shows no evidence of any special relationship with the Madhva doctrine. It does contain evidence of a special doctrinal relationship, not with Madhva, but with Śrīdhara Swami and the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*.

In the personal letter collection of Sawai Jai Singh, there are several letters sent by various Gauṛīya pandits justifying the Gauṛīya stance on various issues. Generally these pandits at some point support their arguments with an appeal to authority. The Gauṛīya pandits do not refer to Madhva. However time and time again, the name of Śrīdhara Swami comes up. For example:

...We therefore agree that the your Royal Highness should commission a sūtra-wise commentary with quotations from the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*. The commentary should be based on the *ṭīka* by Śrīdhara Swami and the *Bhāgavata-sandarbha ṭīkā*⁴².

In the maharaja's letter collection there are many such references to Śrīdhara Swami and the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* as authorities of the Gauṛīya sect.⁴³ Explicit statements from Viśvanātha Cakravarti and Jīva Goswami to the same effect were also noted above (section 4.2). The textual evidence from the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* (section 4.4) also strongly indicates that the main authorities for the Gauṛīya sect were Śrīdhara Swami and the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*.

Again the significance of the textual evidence from the *Bhagavad-gītā* commentary must be stressed. The *Bhagavad-gītā* is important for two reasons. Firstly, all major schools possess a commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā*, so it gives us a common criterion upon which to compare sectarian positions. Secondly, as the *Bhagavad-gītā* is a "standard text", one of the *prasthāna-traya*, it must be seen as flag-ship work, representative of the sect's teachings.

In this crucial text we find unequivocal evidence of negligible influence of Mādhva doctrine and significant influence from Śrīdhara Swami and the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*. The Jaipur/ Amber state was prominent in the affairs of Braja and was the major patron of the Gauṛīya sect in the 17th and 18th centuries. Political pressure from Jaipur/ Amber should be seen as one of the major factors behind attempts to align the Gauṛīya sect with the Mādhva sect. Evidence from the text of the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* and from contemporary records indicate that in questions of doctrine the Gauṛīya sect had hitherto depended almost exclusively upon the authority of Śrīdhara Swami and the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*.

⁴² Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum KD 1519 (a).

⁴³ Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum KD 1519, 1519 a), 1521, 1527.

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Appendix:
Translation and Edition of the
***Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* (chapters 1-3)**

A Note on the Textual Edition

The following sources were used in the edition of this text:

Manuscripts:

1	JMS	1709 AD	Jaipur Manuscript.
2	UMS	-	Udaipur Manuscript.
3	MMS	1851	Mathura Manuscript.
4	AMS	1853	Alwar Manuscript.
5	VMS	-	Vrindavan Manuscript.

Printed Editions:

1	BVT	1947 (last ed. 1991)	ed. by Bhakti-vilāsa-tīrtha Swami.
2	BDM	1950, 1973, 1988	ed. by Bhakti-dayitā-mādhava Swami.
3	KDB	1966	ed. by Kṛṣṇadāsa Bābā.
4	BGP	1987	published by Braja-gaurava Prakāśana.
5	GVS	1997	published by Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇava Samiti.

Manuscripts

1	JMS	1709 AD	Jaipur Manuscript.
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Location: Jaipur, Rajasthan, in the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum, City Palace, Jaipur. It is part of the Khasmohor collection, the “special seal” collection, which is the private collection of the Maharajas of Jaipur.

Reference: The only reference to this manuscript is in the museum catalogue.⁴⁴ It is catalogue number 5910.

⁴⁴ Bahura 1976 p. 270.

Date: 1709 AD. The scribe has dated this manuscript thus: “*vairi-śatru-sapta-prthvī*” “enemy-foe-seven-earth”. Read from right to left this gives 1766 VS, where “earth” stands for one and “enemy” and “foe” stand for six. On the cover of that manuscript, someone has written 1733 VS, but I think the more likely interpretation of “*vairi*” or “*śatru*” is six and not three. Besides, the manuscript is from the personal collection of the Maharajas of Amber and Jaipur and such a work is far more likely to have been commissioned by Sawai Jai Singh II in 1709AD than by Raja Ram Singh in 1676.

The other date details given by the scribe are unclear: “*tapa māsa pañcama tithau site ‘khilam*” The fifth day of the bright fortnight of the hot month. It is not clear which hot month is meant. Assuming that “*tapa-māsa*” refers to the month of Jyaiṣṭha, this would give us a date of Wednesday, the twelfth of June 1709.

Scribe: Nanu Rāma-candra, perhaps a diminutive name of Tulā Rāma, Sawai Jai Singh’s favourite scribe.⁴⁵

Description: This is a high quality, paper manuscript written in clear “standard” Devanāgarī script. It consists of 118 regular-size folios, written recto verso. Folios 81,82, and 83 are missing. All folios are written in the same hand. It has been corrected by the original scribe and perhaps a subsequent hand. Corrections are generally added in the margin along with the number of the line in question, and the place of insertion is marked with a semicircular caret-like symbol.

It is set out in *dvi-pāṭhī* style with the verses of the Bhagavad-gītā in the middle third of each page and the commentary on those verses flanking them on the top and bottom thirds of each page. Every page has two vertical ruled margins on either side.

This is the oldest available manuscript of the Sārārtha-varṣiṇī, dating from within the lifetime of the author. It is also the best quality copy of the text, and together with the Udaipur manuscript, UMS, it formed the basis of my edition. The scribe’s colophon reads:

*ati kaṣṭāt samutpannam sarvasiddhānta-saṁyutam, khala-murkhe na
dātavyam evam vadati paṇḍitaḥ. ripu-vairi-sapta-prthvī-mite
‘abadake likhitam hi pustakam idam śubhābdake. tapa-māsa-
pañcama-tithau site ‘khilam. nanu-rāma-candra iti viśrutena. iti śrī
mahā-mahopādhyāya mahāśaya-śrī-viśvanātha-cakravarti-vinirmitā
śrī-bhagavad-gītā-ṭīkāsamāptā. śrī-govindadevo jayati.*

⁴⁵ Bahura 1976 p. 427.

A wise man will say that (a work such as this), which is the result of much hard work and which contains all received conclusions, should not be given to mischievous fools.⁴⁶ This book was written (copied) on the fifth day of the hot month of the year 1766 of the auspicious calendar (=1709 AD) by one known as Nanu Rāma-candra. Thus ends the commentary on the Bhagavad-gītā by the great scholar and gentleman, Viśvanātha Cakravarti. Hail Govindadeva!⁴⁷

I am extremely grateful to Mr. Sahay, the Keeper of the Maharaja Sawai Man Singh II Museum for allowing me to photograph this very important manuscript.

2 UMS - Udaipur Manuscript.

Location: Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Udaipur (City Palace, Udaipur), formerly part of the Maharaja of Udaipur's personal collection.

References: Catalogue of the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Udaipur, manuscript # 113.

Date: Unknown. The last folio is missing, and with it presumably the scribe's colophon. There is however a seal on the front folio which reads: "...udaipur-ādīśa-granthālaya...samvat 1931 pauṣa kṛṣṇa..." These incomplete details indicate that the ms was inducted into the Maharaja of Udaipur's library in January 1875 AD. The library staff said that the library's collection was greatly increased at that time and that an existing manuscript was probably brought from somewhere else.

Description: This manuscript is written on paper in clear but unartistic Devanagari

⁴⁶ One hopes that this does not include textual editors and translators.

⁴⁷ The mention of Govindadeva in the colophon of this manuscript dated 1709 AD is very important evidence of the influence of this deity in Amber/ Jaipur even at this very early stage. In 1709 Govindadeva was still en route to Jaipur/ Amber, most likely at Rūpaheṛa, at the mouth of the Galtā valley (Nāth 1996). This invocation to Govindadeva on a manuscript in Sawai Jai Singh's library shows that this deity was already influential in the House of Kachavāhā long before being installed as the presiding deity of Jaipur.

script. Presumably it originally consisted of 118 regular sized folios, but this ms ends at folio 117, and folio 118 is missing.⁴⁸

Every page has four vertical ruled margins on either side. It is also set out in the *dvi-pāṭhī* style described for JMS. The entire manuscript is written in the one hand, but there are corrections by the original scribe as well as by at least one other person. The corrections are made in the same way as described for JMS.

This manuscript is closely related to the JMS but is not of the same high standard. It contains more copyist errors and is thus a poorer member of a good family. On the front cover someone has added up the number of lines in the manuscript. This suggests the manuscript was copied by a contracted scribe who was paid by the line. However it would appear that he did not always understand the subject matter.⁴⁹

I am grateful to the staff of the Udaipur branch of the RORI for their assistance in the photocopying of this manuscript.

3 MMS 1851 Mathura Manuscript.

Location: Library of the Shree Krishna Janmabhoomi Sansthan, Mathura.

Date: 1851 AD. The scribe writes: “*saṁvat 1907 phalguṇa-māse śubhe śrī-kṛṣṇa-pakṣe vadi10 maṅgalavāsare...*” This comes out as Tuesday, the twenty-fifth of February 1851.⁵⁰

Scribe: Hare Kṛṣṇa Dāsa Vaiṣṇava.

Description: This manuscript is written on paper in clear bold Devanagari script. It consists of 100 regular sized folios, none of which are missing. It is set out in the *dvi-pāṭhī* style described for JMS. The scribe has a distinctive way of writing the

⁴⁸ The pagination of this ms is exactly the same as that of JMS. Therefore we are safe in presuming that only one folio is missing at the end.

⁴⁹ Irregularities in punctuation suggest that the scribe is not really understanding or paying attention to the meaning of the text. This manuscript also has a small tendency to include regional spellings such स for ष (e.g. verses 2.60, 2.59, 2.55).

⁵⁰ As the day is specified as a Tuesday this date must be a *purnīmānta* date, otherwise it would work out as Thursday the twenty-seventh of March.

samāsa akṣara, स्थ, which he writes almost like a स्ठ.⁵¹ The scribe has a tendency of including regional spellings, such as स for ष (e.g. निस्काम).⁵²

The entire manuscript is written in the one hand. The few corrections seem to be those done by the original scribe as he went. They are generally crossed out and written *in situ*.

This manuscript has been very carefully copied with a minimum of copyist mistakes, but its source seems to have been a late manuscript of lower standard.

The scribe, Hare Kṛṣṇa Dāsa Vaiṣṇava, makes a point of revealing that he is a devotee and that the copy was made in Śrī Vṛndāvana, on the banks of the river Yamunā. His copy is evidently a work of devotion:

*iti śrī bhagavad-gītā samāptā. saṁvat 1907 phalguṇa-māse śubhe śrī-
kṛṣṇa-pakṣe vadi10 maṅgalavāsare śrī vṛndāvana-madhye yamunā
tate hastā akṣara hare kṛṣṇa dāsa vaiṣṇava.*

The librarian at the Krishna Bhoomi Sansthana was very helpful in arranging a photocopy for me.

4 AMS 1853 Alwar Manuscript.

Location: Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Alwar (City Palace Alwar), formerly part of the Maharaja of Alwar's personal collection in the Palace Library, Alwar.

Reference: Catalogue of the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Alwar, Manuscript # 1336.

Date: 1853 AD. The scribe writes: “ *miti pauṣa badi - saṁvat 1909 kā kalyānam astu*”. As the scribe did not specify the day of the fortnight, no precise date can be given. The approximate date is late January or early February 1853.

Description: This manuscript is written on paper in clear but scrawled Devanagari script. It consists of 96 regular sized folios. It is set out in the *dvi-pāṭhī* style described for JMS.

⁵¹ E.g verse 2.8 स्ठितस्य for स्थितस्य. Other examples at 1.11 अवस्ठित, 2.20 स्ठायी, 2.28 स्ठिर.

⁵² Verse 2.48 or 2.58.

The entire manuscript is written in the one hand. The few corrections seem to be those done by the original scribe as he went. They are generally crossed out and written *in situ*.

This manuscript is closely related to the MMS, but is not of the same standard. Being written just two years later than the MMS, it is quite possible that it was copied from the MMS or copied from the same manuscript as the MMS. It contains more copyist errors and is thus a poorer member of a poor family.

The scribe quite commonly uses regional spellings, writing स instead of ष (e.g. निस्काम)⁵³ and स] instead of श (e.g. सून्यः)⁵⁴. He also writes च for चृ (e.g. ब्रह्मस्पति)⁵⁵. On occasions he even writes ग्य instead of ज्ञ (e.g., ग्यानकर्माद्यमिश्रत्वं).⁵⁶

In the colophon, the scribe has added up the number of lines in the manuscript. This suggests the scribe was paid by the line. It seems that the scribe was more concerned with getting his payment right than getting the manuscript right:

*iti śrī bhagavad-gītā samāptā. miti pāuṣa badi - saṁvat 1908 kā
kalyāṇam astu. śloka saṅkhyā ṭīkā kī paṅkti 2130 i kī sasaitisakā
śloka 3061 mūla saṅkhyā 756 saṅkhyā 3815.*

The staff at the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, in Alwar were very helpful in arranging a photocopy for me.

5 VMS - Vrindavan Manuscript.

Location: Vrindāvana Research Institute, Microfilm collection.

Date: Undated.

Description: This manuscript is written on paper in clear Devanagari script. It

⁵³ Verse 2.41.

⁵⁴ Verse 2.57.

⁵⁵ Other examples at verses 2.8, 2.14, 2.32. Sometimes the scribes over corrects in the opposite way, changing a legitimate र to a ऋ, as in verse 2.48 where he writes हृष्ट्यं instead of द्रष्ट्यं.

⁵⁶ Verse 2.46.

consists of 108 regular sized folios. The microfilm is fairly clear, but the photocopy made from the microfilm does not clearly show the headings and numbers, etc., which are all written in red ink.

The entire manuscript is written in the one hand. The numerous corrections seem to have also been done by the original scribe. The corrections are made in the same way as described for JMS.

This manuscript is closely related to MMS (and therefore also to AMS). It shares with MMS the distinctive way of writing the *samāsa akṣara* स्], which is written like a sC.⁵⁷ I only received this manuscript late in my research, and I only included its readings from chapter three onwards. However, as it belonged to the same grouping as MMS and AMS, it did not provide any new readings, but rather served to confirm the identity of that group of manuscripts.

There is no colophon to speak of:

iti śrī bhagavad-gītā samāptā. śrīr astu. kalyāṇam astu.

Dr. Goswami of the Vṛndāvana Reseach Institute was very helpful in arranging a photocopy for me.

Printed Editions:

1 BVT 1947 (last ed. 1991) ed. by Bhakti-vilāsa-tīrtha Swami.

“Śrīmad-bhagavad-gītā”

– A new edition of Kedaranātha Datta’s edition [1885, 1915, 1926], ed. by Bhakti-vilāsa-tīrtha Swami. Māyāpura: Śrī Caitanya Maṭha, 1947...1991.

2 BDM 1950, 1973, 1988 ed. by Bhakti-dayitā-mādhava Swami.

“Śrīmad-bhagavad-gītā”

⁵⁷ E.g verse 2.8 स्खितस्य for स्थितस्य. Other examples at 1.11 अवस्खित, 2.20 स्वययी, 2.28 स्खिर.

- A new edition of Kedaranātha Datta's edition [1885, 1915, 1926], ed. by Bhakti-dayitā-mādhava Swami, Calcutta: Śrī Caitanya Gauṛīya Maṭha, 1950, 1973, 1988.

3 KDB 1966 ed. by Kṛṣṇadāsa Bābā.

“Śrīmad-bhagavad-gītā”

- ed. by Kṛṣṇadāsa Bābā with commentaries of Viśvanātha and Baladeva. Rādhā-kuṇḍa: Gaura Hari Press, 1966.

4 BGP 1987 published by Braja-gaurava Prakāśana.

“Śrīmad-bhagavad-gītā”

- edited and with Hindi translation of Viśvanātha's commentary by Kṛṣṇa Vihārī Miśra. Vṛndāvana: Braja-gaurava Prakāśana, 1987. 2nd edition with the addition of the commentary of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa, 1996.

5 GVS 1997 published by Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇava Samiti.

“Śrīmad-bhagavad-gītā”

- ed. with Hindi *“bhāvānuvāda”* by Bhaktivedānta Nārāyaṇa Goswami. Mathura: Gauṛīya Vaiṣṇava Samiti, 1997.

Textual Editing

All the manuscripts and printed editions were collated word by word. Each word of the commentary, but not of the *mūla* text, was collated. This task was made relatively easier by the comparatively short period elapsed since the first composition of the text (ca. 300 years). On average there was only one significant variant reading per line of printed text.

The variant readings were analysed, and a decision was made as to the most appropriate reading. These decisions are the *crux* of textual editing process and they are made on a number of criteria.

Readings are favored if they score well when judged from the point of view of:

- standard spelling⁵⁸
- grammaticality⁵⁹
- semantic appropriateness⁶⁰
- consensus of collated sources⁶¹
- the relative quality of supporting sources⁶²
- examples of the same passage in other works (for quoted passages or cited verses)⁶³
- balance and symmetry in the style of the sentence or paragraph⁶⁴

⁵⁸ E.g., 3.28 *sanuṣya* is to be rejected outright in favor of *manuṣya*.

⁵⁹ E.g., 3.28 *niṣkāma-karmam eva* is to be rejected in favor of *niṣkāma-karmaiva*

⁶⁰ E.g., 2.59 “*samārtham*” (instead of “*asamartham*”) is an inappropriate meaning.

⁶¹ Other things being equal, a reading only attested in one source will not be accepted.

⁶² Readings from old good quality manuscript such as JMS has more weight than other sources..

⁶³ An anomolous reading in a quote from the Mahābhārata (e.g., 2.5 “*baddhāsmi...*”) or Pāṇinī (e.g., 4.13 “*svārthe ṣyañ*”) can be verified from a critical version of the quoted work.

⁶⁴ E.g., 3.34 where parallel passages help to clarify the tangle of readings starting from “*para-strī-gātra-...*”.

Readings are not favored if they exhibit any of the symptoms of the natural corruption which results from copyist errors:⁶⁵

- confusions
- repetitions
- omissions

These corruptions are mostly involuntary mechanical corruptions, as for example, when instead of “*vikāśakaś ca*” the Braj family reads “*vikāśaś ca*”.⁶⁶ Sometimes the “corrupt” readings are semi-voluntary, as when a copyist is transcribing at the dictation of another person, and confusions of regional pronunciation can creep in as discussed above with स being written instead of श (e.g. सून्यः).⁶⁷

Occasionally, however, the corruptions are intentional, as in the second *maṅgalācarāṇa* verse at the very opening of the work where UMS reads रामानुजस्वामिसंघाश्रितो instead of प्राचीनवाचः सुविचार्य सो. This isolated variant is so flagrantly sectarian that it must be a wilful interpolation. Not all wilful interpolations are mischievous. The printed edition BVT has a tendency to “correct” corrupt readings with “more sensible” readings. Unfortunately two wrongs don’t always make a right, and quite often BVT’s “corrected” readings do not bring it any closer to the original.⁶⁸

None of the criteria listed above are absolute in themselves and a variant reading is judged on as many of the criteria as possible. Each case is dealt with on its own merits. This is the “art” in textual editing.

In this edition, all variant readings are noted in the first chapter, no matter how banal. In the following chapters, trivial errors are ignored and only variant readings of significance are noted.⁶⁹ Those variants which attest an alternative meaning or which help to clarify the relationships between the sources have been

⁶⁵ This is a gross simplification of Katre (1954: 54-62) who identifies nineteen different types and another thirty sub-types.

⁶⁶ Verse 1.1 (*maṅgalācarāṇa*).

⁶⁷ Verse 2.57.

⁶⁸ E.g., verse 3.41.

⁶⁹ These are simple, non-sense readings like यादच्छिकु- for यादच्छिक- in UMS 3.2, or absurd punctuation । विशेषतः । आ... for । विशेषतः आ... in AMS 3.2.

noted. Even the slightest anomaly in JMS is noted throughout, due to its antiquity and consequent central position in the textual edition.

By applying all these principles of textual editing one can expect to establish a version of the text which is free from the errors which creep into the text through successive generations of copying. One can also expect to be able to identify interpolations. This should bring the edition fairly close to the original text.

There is, however, no guarantee that the resultant edition will be exactly the same as the original. The quality and range of source material are obviously restraining factors. On the other hand, the process of editing will tend to select the most standard, logical, and correct readings. If there were any incongruities or inconsistencies in the original, these will tend to be “edited out”. A “non-standard” reading in early manuscripts may be rejected in favour of a standard grammatical form from later sources.⁷⁰ In some cases, one would perhaps postulate that the original authorial draft was unclear or erroneous, and the “best reading” may well be a subsequent correction.⁷¹

Other cases suggest that the original copy contained corrections and that there was some confusion as to what should or should not be included. For example, in verse 2.18 fn 103, there is almost a whole line of text found in UMS which is not found in any other source except JMS, but in JMS the passage has been deleted. The content of the line is so commonplace that one can hardly postulate interpolation. Exceptional cases such as this are difficult to categorise, but they indicate that JMS had been cross-checked with another ms.

The process of collating each word in so many sources is certainly a painstaking affair, but the complexities involved underline the importance of the exercise. The plethora of variant readings which emerge demand analysis. It is particularly imperative to establish which reading to translate if one intends to translate the text.

The printed editions, which would be the natural place to start for any translation contain the greatest number of aberrant readings. Such variants are at best confusing for a translator and at worst can be downright misleading. For

⁷⁰ E.g., verse 3.9 fn. 45, where the non-standard *anyam* is rejected (despite finding support in all the mss) in favour of the standard form *anyat* (found in the later editions).

⁷¹ E.g., verse 1.31 fn. 86, where the manuscripts have readings which cannot be easily connected with the context (युद्धस्वेत्यत : JMS, UMS, MMS. युद्धस्वेत्यत : AMS). The reading in the printed editions (युद्धस्वेत्यत) is elegant and stylish, even if it represents a later emendation of the text.

example in verse 2.45, the printed editions have तदनुष्ठाने (*tad-anuṣṭhāne*) instead of तदननुष्ठाने (*tad-ananuṣṭhane*). This gives precisely the opposite meaning (“practising this” instead of “not practising this”). There are enough challenges for a translator to face without having to deal with aberrant readings like this in the text. The printed editions are riddled with such quirks.⁷²

Working from a manuscript would be advantageous for a translator of this text, but the erratic quality of the mss demands that several manuscripts be used to verify readings. Even the JMS, which is a very high standard manuscript and which dates from within a few years of the original composition contains a fair share of aberrant readings. The other sources are still necessary in order to fill in those gaps.

This edition has tried as far as possible to avoid conjectural emendation of the text. This edition tries to only use readings transmitted to us through the extant mss. Fortunately the combination of extant mss nearly always allowed the reconstruction of a trustworthy text where all readings included in this edition are attested in at least one of the extant sources.⁷³ Sometimes it was necessary to combine several different readings in the one phrase, so that the phrase as a whole is not attested in any of the extant mss, but each element of the phrase is attested somewhere.⁷⁴

This edition is very close indeed to the original text, as it uses a good quality ms (JMS) which dates from just a few years after the original composition. Moreover to correct the few corrupt readings in this ms, there is one closely related ms as well as a relatively independent family of mss. This combination affords an optimum verification for an already excellent source.

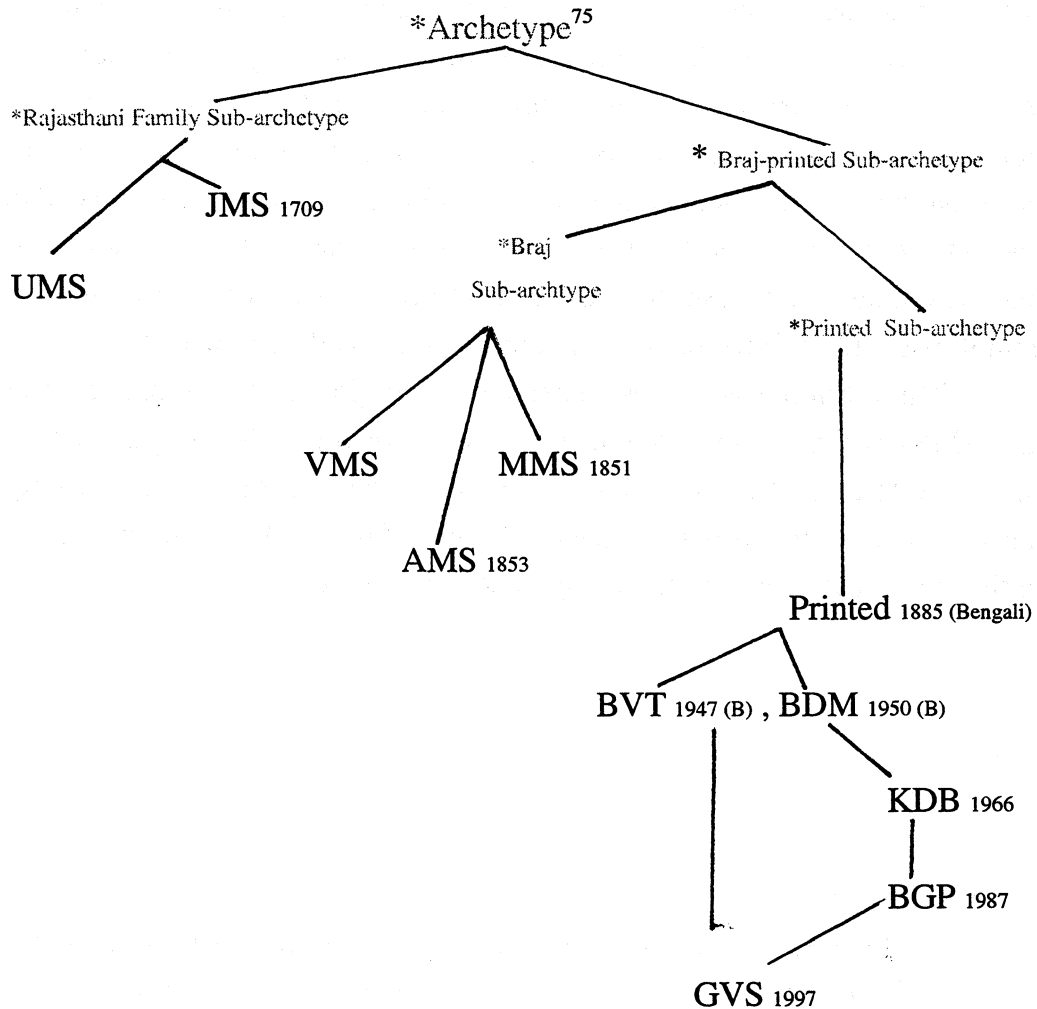
⁷² Another example of a completely reversed reading was noted above in 2.59 “*samārtham*” instead of “*asamartham*”. In other instances (e.g. 3.16, 3.14) a compounding of inaccurate readings and sloppy punctuation render the meaning almost inaccessible.

⁷³ A possible exception to this is found in verse 3.34 (*para-strī...*) where for all intents and purposes the reading of UMS has been followed except for its spelling mistake, परिचरणा for परिचरण.

⁷⁴ E.g., see verse two of the opening maṅgalācaraṇa (*pracīna-vācaḥ...*) where the last line (*yateḥ prabhor...*) as a whole is not attested in any of the mss but all elements are attested in various mss.

Recension of the Text

The time elapsed since the composition of the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* is relatively short (approx. 300 years) and the number of mss available for collation was also quite small (5). Therefore it is probably not worthwhile looking for recensions of the text. Certainly the aim of this scholarly edition was not to establish recensions, but rather to facilitate the task of translation. Nevertheless, the readings of the various manuscripts and printed editions did group together into loose “families”:



⁷⁵ The terms “archetype” and “sub-archetype” (or “hyparchetype”) are used in the sense of Maas (1958: 5) and Katre (1954: 90). The sub-archetypes are the reconstructed common origin of groups of mss, and the archetype represents the reconstruction of the text to its earliest form possible on the evidence of the extant mss.

The above family groups are established by analysis of the variant readings, which are noted in the footnotes of this edition. The signs of a family are the variant readings shared by a group of manuscripts. When time and time again a group of manuscripts shares variant readings, we conclude that this cannot be the product of chance but rather the result of the manuscripts having a common source. The table below takes Chapter Three as a sample and shows the quantity of shared variant readings:

Table One: An Analysis of Shared Variant Readings in Chapter Three.

Variant readings common to AMS, MMS, and VMS (Braj Family):	Variant readings common to all printed editions (Printed Family):	Variant readings common to JMS and UMS (Rajasthani Family):
26	44	10 ⁷⁶

For example in chapter three, there were twenty-six variant readings peculiar to the three manuscripts AMS, MMS, and VMS. This is hardly likely to have happened by chance. Therefore we group them together, and since they all come from the Braj and Eastern Rajasthan area, they have been labeled “The Braj Family”. In this way we have established three major families.

The Rajasthani Family

The Rajasthani family consists of two manuscripts: JMS and UMS, from Jaipur and Udaipur respectively. Together they represent the most reliable source of the text. JMS is the elder and more careful of the two. UMS serves mainly to support the readings of JMS.

The most important relationship between the two texts is in their common readings of passages. Time and time again the Braj family and the Printed family come up with doubtful readings, but UMS and JMS both constantly have a sound readings.

⁷⁶

This number includes five shared variant readings as well as five readings from the edited text which were only attested in JMS and UMS.

The two mss share precisely the same pagination throughout their 118 folios. That is to say, there is exactly the same amount of text on each folio, and the page breaks come at exactly the same spot in each. This could hardly be by chance and would indicate a strong relationship between the two texts.

As many of the scribal errors in UMS do not appear in JMS, one can safely rule out the possibility that JMS was copied from UMS. However several other possibilities exist to explain the relationship between the two mss:

1) “Father-son” relationship: UMS may have been copied directly from JMS, and in the copying process some errors crept in.

2) “Sibling” relationship: Both UMS and JMS may have been copied from a third ms, and UMS just copied at a lower standard of accuracy.⁷⁷

However, there are instances where JMS has omitted a legitimate word from the text, but that word or phrase is found in the text of UMS, as well as in the other mss and editions.⁷⁸ This would rule out the possibility of UMS being a “son” or “grandson” of JMS. It would seem that UMS is a “sibling” (or “nephew”) of JMS.

Another striking relationship exists between the two manuscripts: quite often when text is added in the margin of JMS, that very same text will be completely omitted in UMS.⁷⁹ One might speculate that a scribe who is copying a manuscript may not notice or may ignore text added in the margin. Assuming that UMS and JMS are “siblings” (they were copied from the same ms), we would have to say that marginal insertions in the “parent” ms were also inserted in the margin of JMS, but mostly omitted in UMS.

There is a distinct possibility that UMS is a “nephew” of JMS (i.e., UMS was copied from a “sibling” of JMS). The huge number of scribal errors in UMS would suggest that it is the result of a secondary copying.

The Braj Family

⁷⁷ Other possibilities are “Grand-father” or “Uncle” relationships: UMS might have been copied from a copy of JMS or copied from a sibling of JMS.

⁷⁸ E.g., verse 2.8 fn 34 where the whole phrase “त्वं शोकार्त एव खलु” has been omitted in JMS but retained in UMS and all other mss and editions.

⁷⁹ E.g., verse 3.33 fn 126, verse 3.41 fn 168, 4.10, etc.. Another example is in verse 4.35-42 (not included in this dissertation) where JMS adds the verse numbers in the margin, and these very same numbers are omitted from UMS.

The Braj family of manuscripts distinguishes itself from the Rajasthani family through a considerable number of different readings. These peculiar readings are shared by all the members of the Braj family (AMS, MMS, VMS) but not by any of the members of the Rajasthani family (JMS, UMS) nor by the printed family. Chapter three alone yielded twenty-six such occurrences.

Within the family the quality of readings varies greatly. Below is an analysis (again from chapter three) of the copyist errors in the three manuscripts:

Copyist Errors in MMS	Copyist Errors in VMS	Copyist Errors in AMS
2	3	18

From this evidence we conclude that AMS is a poorer quality manuscript with less reliable readings.

The relationship between the three mss is not clear. Peculiar readings in all three mss confound any attempt to order them in relation to each other. Both MMS and VMS have been corrected, perhaps at a later date, which is a complicating factor. It seems that none of the Braj mss were copied from another within the group, yet all have a common archetype which is represented in our stemma diagram as a single node from which the whole family proceeds.

The relationship between this family and the printed family is apparent in a small number of peculiar variants which are common to both the Braj family and the printed family. In chapter three (our sample data) seven such variant readings were common to both families. This suggests a more distant relationship, a relationship between the archetypes of both these families, and this is indicated in the stemma diagram.

The Printed Family

The printed family was the most unreliable of all sources. In fact, in and of themselves they were inconsequential in establishing the text. Nevertheless they were collated because they are indirectly useful in establishing the relationships between the text families. Moreover, as these printed editions are the most prominent representations of the text at present, it was important to show just how poor quality the text in these printed editions is. In the third chapter alone (our sample passage) there were forty-four major variant readings of the text which were found only in the printed editions.

As these printed editions are dated, it is fairly easy to chart the relationship between these texts. The BGP edition is the poorest quality. Being quite recent, it

has simply compounded the errors of all its predecessors. There is ample evidence that BGP was copied from the KDB edition which was in turn copied from the Gauṛīya Maṭha editions (BVT, BDM). Of these, BDM has made some attempt to correct dubious readings and therefore was distinguished from the other members of the printed family on seven occasions in the sample. The GVS edition is copied from several of these sources.

Interesting variants have developed from the transferral of the text into Bengali script in the first printed edition of 1885 and its subsequent return to Devanāgarī in 1966 by KDB. Although the early printed editions are all in Bengali script, no Bengali mss of the Sārārtha-varṣiṇī have been located. There are strong indications that the first printed editions were made from Devanāgarī mss. For example, in verse 2.21 the printed editions have an alternate reading “*janyāpakṣayā*” for “*janmāpakṣayā*”. This is most likely to have happened in Devanāgarī where जन्म and जन्य are likely to be mistaken. This is not the case in Bengali where জন্ম and জন্য are quite dissimilar. Thus we postulate a Devanāgarī mss source for the printed family.

Later printed editions were transferred back into Devanāgarī creating some interesting results. The KDB edition was copied from the Bengali Gauṛīya Maṭha editions (BDM, BVT), and misreading based on the Bengali script is evident in the new Devanāgarī text. For example in verse 2.22 the three Devanāgarī editions (KDB, BGP, and GVS) all have वस्तुता instead of वस्तुतो. This is likely to have come from Bengali বস্তুতো confused with বস্তুতা.

Layout and Punctuation of the Edited Text

A textual edition theoretically strives to recreate the original text. However that attempt stops short of recreating the physical layout of the original, even though that original layout is fairly clear. All the available manuscripts are in the *dvi pāṭhī* format where the *mūla* text (the verses of the Bhagavad-gītā) is set out in the middle third of each page. The top and bottom thirds of each page are taken up by the commentary on those verses. Since every available manuscript is laid out in this fashion, it would appear that this format was used by the author.

This edition is set out in a more linear fashion with each verse of the Bhagavad-gītā presented individually and followed by the text of the commentary on that particular verse. This format was preferred as more familiar to a global audience and also simpler from the point of view of typesetting.

Verse numbering is another area where this edition makes no effort to re-

create the “original” numbering. The numbers used by the author of the commentary could be fairly easily re-created from the extant manuscripts as there is a good deal of agreement. However, this edition has opted for a regular numbering system where each set of two lines of verse is numbered separately regardless of any grouping of verses together.

Punctuation was very erratic amongst the mss, and no attempt was made in this edition to recreate “original punctuation”. The punctuation of the edition is based on that of JMS and is made with the sole purpose of making the text clearer.

The layout of this edition attempts to emphasise the different elements of the commentary by placing the prefatory remarks of the commentary before the *mūla* text. The body of the commentary then follows the *mūla* text. Thus, this edition splits the commentary on a particular verse in two. E.g.:

टीका- एवं विचारेण तत्तत्सहनाभ्यासे सति ते विषयानुभवाः काले किल नापि दुःखयन्ति । यदि च न दुःखयन्ति तदात्ममुक्तिः 'स्वप्रत्यासन्नैवेत्याह'⁸⁰ ।


Ṭikā: Then Kṛṣṇa says, “When one thinks like that and practices tolerating these things, eventually one is no longer distressed by experiencing the objects of sense. When that happens, liberation of the soul is near...

2.16

यं हि न व्यथयन्त्येते पुरुषं पुरुषर्षभ ।
समदुःखसुखं धीरं सो ऽमृतत्वाय कल्पते ॥१६॥

Immortality awaits that sober person who, undisturbed by these things, is equipoised in both happiness and distress.

टीका- यमिति । अमृतत्वाय मोक्षाय ॥१६॥

Ṭikā: “Immortality” means liberation. ⁸¹

⁸⁰ सत्यासन्नैवेत्याह : AMS. समासन्नैवेत्याह : MMS

⁸¹ This lotus symbol is used to demarcate the end of commentary on each verse. If more commentary follows, then it should be understood to be the (continued...)

This format is not evident in any of the mss. Rather it is a deliberate attempt to have the format underscore the content. This format is not original but has been used successfully in other editions of commentaries which contain extensive prefatory remarks.⁸²

The text of the commentary is split at the end of the prefatory remarks, because the prefatory remarks provide the context in which the commentator wants the reader to view the verse. Therefore, in this edition the prefatory remarks precede the *mūla* text to prepare the reader's frame of mind.

The prefatory remarks almost invariably end with a verb of speech (typically *āha*) because the commentator is portraying what the original author is wanting "to say". The commentator attempts to describe what the speaker of the verse is really "saying".

After the prefatory remarks, the direct commentary on the verse commences with the *pratīka*. The *pratīkā* is "the first word of a verse" or "the head word". The *pratīka* of the above sample verse, which begins "*yam hi na vyathayanty ete....*", will be "*yam iti*". Although verse numbers are seen in even old manuscripts, they are not generally used to refer to a verse. The head word, or *pratīka*, is used to refer to a verse. Thus, commentators use the *pratīka* to indicate which particular verse they are commenting on.

Commentary on this verse begins "*yam iti*", which simply indicates that he is now commenting on the verse that begins with the word "*yam*". The commentary which follows the *pratīka* is of a different nature to the prefatory remarks. The commentary after the *pratīka* consists largely of paraphrasing and synonyms. Synonyms and interpretations are juxtaposed with the words of the original verse. Classical commentators such as Śaṅkara give synonyms and paraphrases for each word of the *mūla* verse. The commentary after the *pratīka* transforms the *mūla* verse into prose and clarifies any obscure grammatical forms. The focus of this part of the commentary is on each word.

⁸¹ (...continued)
prefatory remarks for the next verse.

⁸² E.g., "*The Bhagavad-gītā, Translation and Commentaries in English according to Sri Madhwacharya's Bhashyas*" by S. Subba Rau, New Delhi: Publications India (1988).

Also: "*Śrīmad Bhagavad Gītā Bhāṣya of Śrī Saṅkarācārya*" tr. by Dr A.G. Krishna Warriar, Madras: Sri Ramakrishna Math (1983).

In contradistinction to this, the focus of the prefatory remarks is on the larger context, on larger units within the text as a whole. The prefatory remarks map the development of arguments and themes. They interpret the whole verse in terms of the larger issues of the text. Statements from the original text can be given a particular significance when viewed within a context or in a particular relationship to a preceding verse. That context is introduced in the prefatory remarks before the *pratīka*.

By separating the prefatory remarks from the commentary which follows the *pratīka*, this edition separates the *pratīka* from the verb of speech which invariably ends the prefatory remarks. This can cause some problems because the *pratīka* itself acts as an ambiguous second object of that verb of speech. In the above example (2.16) the prefatory remarks are grammatically independent. The reported speech which is the object of the verb *āha* is the clause which ends with the speech marker, “*iti*”. Nevertheless, the *pratīka* is a sort of *de facto* second object of the verb of speech from the prefatory remarks. The gist of such a translation would be “This is what he is saying when he speaks the “*yam*” verse”.

There is certainly an ambiguous double object involved in these cases, and for that very reason this edition places the *mūla* text where the *pratīka* falls in the commentary. This conveys the idea that “He spoke this verse with this thought in mind”. The layout of this edition, however, treats the *pratīka* as grammatically independent, more like a marker of where commentary on the words of the verse begins. This approach finds support from the punctuation of JMS which has the *pratīka* preceded by a double *daṇḍa*.⁸³ There are other instances where the *pratīka* has been omitted, showing that the verb of speech from the prefatory remarks is independent.⁸⁴ Nevertheless in the original layout of the commentary there is this ambivalent double object of the verb of speech, which is rendered unnecessary by the layout of this edition.

However when the verb of the prefatory remark is not “*āha*” but “*darśayati*”, “*saṃharati*”, or *dr̥ḍhayati*⁸⁵ then the independent nature of the *pratīka* is demonstrated.

Another characteristic of the prefatory remarks is the use of the inceptive particle *nanu* to introduce a hypothetical objection of an imaginary opponent (*pūrva-*

⁸³ Except where a number of verses are being treated together as in verse 2.56, where *dehān iti dvābhyām* is not separated from the *āha*.

⁸⁴ E.g., verse 3.27.

⁸⁵ E.g., 2.65.

pakṣa). In this commentary the Viśvanātha Cakravarti ascribes these objections to Arjuna as he listens to the teachings of Kṛṣṇa. In this way he constructs a complex hypothetical exchange between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna in between the verses.

For example, Viśvanātha Cakravarti introduces verse 2.8 by postulating an objection by Kṛṣṇa to Arjuna's previous statement:

(Kṛṣṇa then objects,) "But your relationship with me is one of friendship, not respect. How then can I make you my disciple? Why don't you approach someone you respect, someone like Dvaipāyana (Vyāsa-deva)?"

Arjuna replies:

The coming verse is then portrayed as a response to that objection. In this case, a very vivid and personal picture is painted of the two bantering away between verses.

The prefatory remark is an important tool of the commentator by which he can develop his interpretations and build an argument over a succession of verses or even chapters. The prefatory remark is distinctive from the main body of the commentary by its position before the *pratīka* and its interpretive (non-paraphrasing) style. The prefatory remark is a characteristic trait of the traditional commentarial style used by famous commentators such as Śaṅkara, Bhāskara, Rāmānuja, and Mādhva.

A Note on the Translation

This translation is an attempt to represent the original Sanskrit text in English. The translation is meant for those who do not know Sanskrit; that is to say, it is not meant to provide a literal word-for word correspondence to help students of Sanskrit to translate the text. Rather, the English translation of the text is, as far as I could manage, as elegant as the original is in Sanskrit.

In every line, there are notions expressed in the original which cannot or need not be expressed in the translation. There are also just as many times when the translation needed to say far more than the original. I have done whatever was necessary to represent the original text in English.

In addition, as this is a commentary demonstrating the Caitanya sect's doctrinal position, I have endeavoured to maintain in the translation the viewpoint of its author as he tries to validate his sect's devotional position.

In formulating this translation, I have benefited from consulting vernacular translations of this commentary, published mostly by adherents of the Gauṛīya sect in Braj and Bengal. The *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī* was paraphrased in Bengali by Kedaranātha Datta in 1886, and that edition was reprinted several times by B.S. Sarasvati and his disciples. A century later, in 1987, a Hindi translation by Kṛṣṇa Vihārī Miśra was published in Vṛndāvana by Braja-gaurāva Prakāśana (Hari Nam Press). An English commentary on the Bhagavad-gītā, based more or less on the *Sārārtha-varṣiṇī*, has also been published: *The Gītā as a Caitanyite Sees It* by Bon Maharaja (1939).⁸⁶

In this present edition, the *mūla* verses of the Gītā have also been translated. The Bhagavad-gītā is probably the last book in the world that needs another English translation. However, I felt that the translation of this commentary on the Bhagavad-gītā would have been hard to follow without the verses of the Gītā themselves. The translation of the Gītā verses, however, proved more problematic

⁸⁶ A few months before the submission of this dissertation, an English translation of the text was published by in Mathura by B.V. Nārāyaṇa Maharaja. Unfortunately my translation work had been completed several years previously, so I did not have the privilege of consulting that work for my translation. In any case, because this present edition is based on several very old manuscripts, there are significant differences between the text of this edition and that of the printed editions, upon which B.V. Nārāyaṇa Maharaja's edition is based.

than the translation of the commentary. As this translation of the Gītā was meant specifically to accompany this commentary, the Gītā translation had to perform a fine balancing act between reflecting the interpretations of the commentary and not preempting those interpretations. The translations of the verses of the Gītā had to reflect somehow the spirit of the commentary, or else it would make the commentary look beside the point. And yet, if the translations reflected the commentary too much, they would make the commentary look superfluous. Therefore, a fairly neutral “bare bones” translation was therefore called for; but whenever a choice of interpretation was unavoidable, I chose to keep the translation of the verses as close as possible to the interpretation of the commentator.⁸⁷

It should be remembered that this translation of the verses of the Gītā is only meant to accompany this commentary. Nevertheless, in the translation of the Gītā verses I have again benefited from the above mentioned editions of the Gītā, as well as some well-respected English translations. These include translations by F. Edgerton (1952), R.C. Zaehner (1969), K.W. Bolle (1979), J.A.B Van Buitenen (1981), R.N. Minor (commentary, 1989).

⁸⁷

For example, in verse 2.46, several interpretations are theoretically possible. I was unable to express the ambiguity of the Sanskrit verse in my translation. Accordingly, my translation of this verse, follows the interpretation given by the commentator.

Textual Editing Instruments

A single open quote mark ' in the Devanāgarī text marks the spot from which an alternate reading begins. The footnote number in the Devanāgarī text marks the spot where the alternate reading ends. The reading given in the footnote thus represents an alternate reading for the passage in the body of the text starting from the ' mark and ending with that particular footnote number. For example in the passage: प्रापञ्चिकलोक⁴³लोचनगोचरीकृतो the alternate reading given in the footnote below is an alternate reading for the passage between the mark ' and the footnote number ⁴³ (in this case the word लोक). Thus the alternate reading सकल BGP and KDB given in the footnote is *instead* of the word लोक from the body of the text.

The mark ' will appear immediately next to the footnote number when an alternate reading is to be inserted in addition to what is already in the body of the text. For example in the passage: परमप्रबला ते द्वे⁴⁹ बिनैव विशुधप्रभावती the alternate reading in the footnote is to be *added* to the reading in the body of the text at the point where the footnote number is placed.

∅ The zero sign ∅ is used in footnotes to show that the passage in the body of the text between the ' mark and the footnote number is not attested at all in that manuscript or printed edition. For example in the passage श्रीगीताशास्त्रमष्टादशाध्यायमन्तर्भूता⁸⁸ष्टादशविद्यं the word अन्तर्भूत is not attested in UMS.

(A single unclosed bracket in the Devanāgarī text indicates the beginning point of a long alternate reading. The end of the variant passage will be indicated by a footnote number which is not directly preceded by a single quote marker (see above).

⁸⁸ सकल : BGP, KDB. सकललोक : BVT, BDM, GVS.

⁸⁹ (कर्मज्ञाने) : printed.

⁹⁰ ∅ : BGP.

(इत्यादि)

Devanāgarī text in rounded brackets () means that this reading is either found a) in the margin of a ms or b) in brackets in a printed edition.

इन्त्यादि

struck out Devanāgarī text denotes a reading which has been crossed out in a ms.

CHAPTER ONE

Arjuna-viṣāda ¹

टीका-

गौरांशुकः सन्कुमुदप्रमोदी स्याभिख्यया गोस्तमसो निहन्ता ।
श्री कृष्णचेतन्यसुधानिधिर्मे मनो ऽधितिष्ठन् स्वरतिं करोतु ॥

'प्राचीनवाचः सुविचार्य सो^२ ऽहमज्ञो ऽपि गीतामृतलेशलिप्सुः ।
'यतेः^३ प्रभोरेव मते तदत्र सन्तः क्षमध्वं 'शरणागतो ऽस्मि'^४ ॥

¹ ø : JMS, UMS, MMS. सैन्यदर्शन : printed. VMS illegible. The chapter headings come as is the custom in Sanskrit texts at the end of the chapter. In the translation I include the chapter name at the beginning of the chapter as is the custom in English texts. This first chapter heading is very uncertain and the choice is really quite arbitrary. In the most reliable manuscripts there is no heading at all. So it is possible that in this particular commentary the first chapter had no heading. I have included a chapter heading simply to match the other chapters. Arjuna-viṣāda is the heading preferred by Belvalkar.

² रामानुजस्वामिसंघाश्रितो : UMS.

³ यते : JMS, UMS, MMS, AMS, VMS.

⁴ शरणागतस्य : printed.

Ṭikā:

“May the golden-beamed moon of Śrī Caitanya rise in my mind. That Caitanya-moon makes the lotus-like devotees bloom with joy; the Caitanya-moon eradicates the darkness of this world by its own splendour, by his own holy name. May that Śrī Caitanya increase my attachment for himself.”

“Although foolish, I desired to taste a drop of the nectar of the Bhagavad-gītā. After having thoroughly studied the statements of the previous [ācāryas], I have in this work relied solely upon the doctrine of my ascetic Lord [Śrī Caitanya]. For this, good people, please show me indulgence.”

टीका- ⁵ महाप्रभुपक्षे गौरंशुकः गौरवर्णः रक्तांबरश्च । कृष्णपक्षे पीताम्बरः । ⁶ गौरो ऽरुणे सिते पीते इत्यमरः । साधुकुमुदानन्दी । ⁷ उत्तमकुमुदविकासकश्च⁸ । स्वाभिख्यया हरे कृष्ण हरे कृष्णेति मंत्रात्मकस्वनाम्ना गोः पृथिवीवर्तिजनसंघस्य⁹ तमसो ऽविद्याया हन्ता । स्वाभिख्यया केशिकंसवधादिस्वकीर्त्या गोः पृथिव्यास्तमसो महाभारदुःखस्य ¹⁰ हन्ता¹¹ स्वशोभया तमसो ऽंधकारस्य हन्तेति क्रमेणार्थः । अभिख्या नामधेये स्याच्छोभायां च यशस्यपि इति मेदिनी । कृष्णचैतन्य एव सुधानिधिश्चन्द्रः । कृष्णनामा चैतन्यामृतसमद्र इति शाकपार्थिवादिः । मनश्चित्तमधितिष्ठन् ¹² स्वरतीकरोतु स्यासक्ती करोतु । यस्मान्मनसो अधिष्ठाता ¹³ चंद्र¹⁴ इति भावः ¹⁵ चन्द्रपक्षे ऽपि इति

⁵ This whole commentary on the *maṅgalācaraṇa* (from “*mahāprabhu-pakṣe...*” to “*...iti bodhaḥ*”) is not attested in any of the printed versions.

⁶ चन्द्रपक्षे सितकिरणः । : UMS.

⁷ उत्तमक मुदविकासश्च : AMS, MMS.

⁸ पृथ्वीवर्तिजनसंघस्य : AMS, MMS.

⁹ हन्ता : JMS.

¹⁰ सन् : UMS.

¹¹ ∅ : AMS. (च)न्द्र : MMS.

¹² end of commentary : UMS

बोधः^{१३} ॥

Ṭikā: [The following is commentary on the first verse of the *maṅgalācaraṇa* (*gaurāṁśukaḥ...*)]. The word “*gaurāṁśuka*” in reference to Mahāprabhu means “fair in colour” or it can also mean “having reddish clothes”. In reference to Kṛṣṇa it could mean “having yellow clothes”. [In reference to the moon it could mean “having white rays”.]¹⁴ This multiplicity of meanings is possible because the word “*gaura*” is defined in the *Amara-kośa* as meaning “pink, white, or yellow”.

This moon gives bliss to the *sādhus*, the saintly devotees. This moon also causes the best of these *kumuda* lotuses to unfold.¹⁵

This moon dispels the darkness of the world with its splendour (“*abhikhyā*”). So too, he destroys the ignorance of all the people who live in this world by his *abhikhyā*. According to the *Medinī koṣa*, “*abhikhyā*” means a “name” as well as “splendour” and “fame”. He destroys ignorance with his *name* in the form of the *mantra*, “*hare kṛṣṇa hare kṛṣṇa...*” He destroys the heavy burden of suffering of the world with his *fame*, such as his glorious title “The killer of Keśi and Kamsa”. And he destroys the darkness with his *splendour*.

According to Śāka-Pārthiva, Kṛṣṇa-caitanya is that moon, the source of all nectar, and the name of Kṛṣṇa is the living ocean of nectar.

May that moon take charge of my mind and make me attached to himself, because the moon is the controlling deity of the mind. In this way the verse also refers to the moon. ❀

टीका- इह खलु सकलशास्त्राभिमतश्रीमच्चरणसरोजभजनः स्वयं भगवान्नराकृतिपरब्रह्म श्रीचसुदेवसूनुः

¹³ ज्ञातव्यः : AMS, MMS.

¹⁴ This sentence is only present in UMS.

¹⁵ This variety of lotus (*kumuda*, or the white *Nymphaea esculenta*) is said to bloom at night in the presence of the moon.

'साक्षाद्ब्रह्म'¹⁶ 'श्री'¹⁷ 'गोपालपुर्यामतीर्यापार'¹⁸ 'परमातर्क'¹⁹ 'स्वकृपाशक्त्यैव'²⁰
 प्रापञ्चिक'लोक'²¹ 'लोचनगोचरीकृतो भवाब्धिनिमज्जमानान् 'जगज्जानानुद्धृत्य'²²
 स्वसौन्दर्यमाधुर्या'द्या'²³ स्वादनया स्वीयप्रेममहाम्बुधौ निमज्जयामास ।
 'शिष्टरक्षण'²⁴ 'दुष्टनिग्रहव्रतनिष्ठामहिष्ठप्रतिष्ठो ऽपि भुवो भारदुःखापहारमिषेण दुष्टानामपि
 स्वद्वेष्टृणामपि महासंसारग्राहग्रासीभूतानामपि मुक्तिदानलक्षणं परमरक्षणमेव कृत्वा
 स्यान्नर्द्दानोत्तरकाल'जनिष्यमाणान'²⁵ 'नाद्यविद्याबन्धनिबन्धनशोकमोहाद्याकुलानपि जीवानुद्धर्तुं
 शास्त्रकृन्मुनिगणगीयमानयशश्च धर्तुं स्वप्रियसखं तादृशस्येच्छावशादेव रणमुद्धृत्युद्धृतशोकमोहं श्रीमदर्जुनं
 लक्ष्मीकृत्य काण्डत्रितयात्मकसर्ववेदतात्पर्य'पर्य'²⁶ 'वसितार्थरत्नालङ्कृतं
 श्रीगीताशास्त्रमष्टा'दशा'²⁷ 'ध्यायमन्तर्भूताष्टादशविद्यं साक्षाद्विद्यमानीकृतमिव परमपुरुषार्थमाविर्भावयाम्
 बभूव । तत्राध्यायानां षट्केन प्रथमेन निष्कामकर्मयोगः द्वितीयेन 'भक्तियोगः तृतीयेन'²⁸ ज्ञानयोगो दर्शितः
 । तत्रापि भक्तियोगस्यातिरहस्यत्वाद्दुभयसञ्जीवकत्वेनाभ्यर्हितत्वात् सर्वदुर्लभत्वाच्च मध्यवर्तीकृतः ।
 'कर्मज्ञानयोर्भक्तिराहित्येन'²⁹ वैयर्थ्यत्वे द्वे भक्तिमिश्रे एव सम्मतीकृते । भक्तिस्तु द्विविधा केचला
 प्रधानीभूता च । तत्राद्या स्वत एव परमप्रबला ते द्वे '³⁰ 'बिनेव विशुद्धप्रभावती अकिञ्चन
 अनन्यादिशब्दाच्या । द्वितीया 'तु'³¹ 'कर्मज्ञान'³² 'मिश्रेत्यखिलमग्रे 'चिन्मतीभविष्यति'³³ ॥

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- 16 साक्षाच्च : printed.
 17 ø : JMS.
 18 गोपालपुर्यामतीर्यापार : MMS. गोपालपुर्यामतीर्यापर : BVT.
 19 परमातर्क : MMS.
 20 ø : BGP, KDB, BVT.
 21 सकल : BGP, KDB. सकललोक : BVT, BDM, GVS.
 22 जगज्जानानुद्धृत्य : UMS.
 23 ø : printed, AMS, MMS. ऋ(द्या) : UMS
 24 शिष्टरक्षा : printed, AMS, MMS.
 25 जनिष्यमान : BVT. जनिष्यमानान : BDM, GVS.
 26 ø : UMS.
 27 दस : AMS.
 28 ø : BVT.
 29 कर्मज्ञानयोर्भक्तिराहित्येन : UMS.
 30 (कर्मज्ञाने) : printed.
 31 भु : BVT.
 32 कर्मज्ञानम : KDB.
 33 चिन्मतीभविष्यति : AMS.

अथार्जुनस्यशोकमोहौ कथमुद्धृताचित्यपेक्षायां³⁴ महाभारतवक्ता श्रीचैशम्पायनो जनमेजयं प्रति तत्र भीष्मपर्वणि कथामवतारयति धृतराष्ट्र उवाच इति ।

Ṭīkā: Kṛṣṇa, the son of Vasudeva, is God himself, the supreme absolute with a human-like form. He is directly the supreme absolute. All scriptures agree that his lotus feet should be worshipped. This very same person appeared in this world in Gopāl Purī, Braj, and by his unlimited spiritual potencies he made himself visible to the mundane vision of everyone. He rescued the poor people of this world who were drowning in an ocean of material suffering and plunged them instead into the great ocean of his own love by letting them experience his own beauty and sweetness.

Kṛṣṇa is famous for being steadfast in his vow to protect the gentle and destroy the wicked. Although this is certainly true, Kṛṣṇa nevertheless granted his merciful protection even to the wicked who were inimical to him and completely in the clutches of the material illusion. Although it may seem externally that Kṛṣṇa was killing these wrongdoers and thus alleviating the burden of impiety on the earth, in fact he was granting them ultimate protection in the form of liberation from this world.

But as for those conditioned living beings who would take birth here after Kṛṣṇa's departure back to his abode, they would always be afflicted by lamentation and delusion due to their eternal spiritual ignorance. To help these conditioned souls and to confirm the predictions made by the great sages who compiled the scriptures, Kṛṣṇa spoke the Bhagavad-gītā to his dear friend Arjuna. By the desire of Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna was plunged into lamentation and delusion in the middle of the battlefield, and then Kṛṣṇa revealed to him the knowledge of the Bhagavad-gītā.

The Bhagavad-gītā consists of eighteen chapters, and it contains all eighteen categories of knowledge.³⁵ It is decorated with the jewel of the ultimate conclusion of the Veda, and it directly defines the highest goal of life.

The first group of six chapters explains *niṣkāma-karma-yoga* (the path of desireless action), the second group of six explains *bhakti-yoga* (the path of devotion), and the third *jñāna-yoga* (the path of knowledge). *Bhakti* has been put in between the two others because it is most confidential, rare, worthy, and it sustains the other two. Therefore it takes the central position. *Jñāna* and *karma* are useless without *bhakti*; they must be combined with some devotion to be acceptable.

³⁴ कथम्भूताचित्यपेक्षायां : printed. कथमुद्धृताचित्यपेक्षायां : UMS.

कथमु(द)भूताचित्यपेक्षायां : AMS.

³⁵ Namely, four Vedas, six Vedāṅgas, four Upavedas, Purāṇas, Mimāṃsa, Nyāya and Dharma.

As for *bhakti*, it can be divided into two types: *kevalā* (pure) and *pradhānībhūtā* (primary). The former (*kevalā bhakti*) is inherently powerful and even without *jñāna* and *karma* it is pure and potent. This type of devotion is described as *akiñcanā* (unalloyed) and *ananyā* (unadulterated). The other type of devotion (*pradhānībhūtā bhakti*) is devotional service mixed with *karma* or *jñāna*. That mixed devotion will be more fully explained later.

The narrator of the Mahābhārata, Śrī Vaiśampāyana, thought that his listener, Janamejaya, might ask him how Arjuna became deluded and lamentful. Therefore Śrī Vaiśampāyana continues relating the story to Janamejaya in the Bhīṣma Parva of the Mahābhārata:

1.1

धृतराष्ट्र उवाच

धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे समवेता युयुत्सवाः

मामकाः पाण्डवाश्चैव किमकुर्वत सञ्जय ॥१॥

Dhṛtarāṣṭra said, “Sañjaya, what did my sons and the sons of Pāṇḍu do after gathering in the religious area of Kurukṣetra to wage war on each other?”

टीका- धृतराष्ट्र उवाचेति । कुरुक्षेत्रे युयुत्सवो युद्धार्थं सङ्गता मामका दुर्योधनाद्याः पाण्डवाश्च युधिष्ठिरादयः किं कृतवन्तस्तद् ब्रुहि । ननु युयुत्सव इति 'त्वं'^{३६} ब्रवीष्येवातो युद्धमेव कर्तुमुद्यतास्ते तदपि किमकुर्वतेति केन अभिप्रायेण पृच्छसीत्यत आह धर्मक्षेत्रे इति । कुरुक्षेत्रं 'वै'^{३७} देवयजनम् इति श्रुतेस्तत्क्षेत्रस्य धर्मप्रवर्तकत्वं प्रसिद्धम् । अतस्तत्संसर्गमहिम्ना यद्यधार्मिकानामपि दुर्योधनादीनां क्रोधनिवृत्त्या धर्मे मतिः स्यात् पाण्डवास्तु 'स्वभावात्'^{३८} एव धार्मिकास्ततो 'बन्धु'^{३९} हिंसनमनुचितमित्युभयेषामपि विवेके 'उद्धृते'^{४०} सन्धिरपि संभाव्यते । ततश्च ममानन्द एवेति सञ्जयं प्रति ज्ञापयितुमिष्टो 'भावो'^{४१} बाह्यः '४२' आभ्यन्तरस्तु सन्धौ सति पूर्ववत् सकण्टकमेव 'राज्यं'^{४३} मदात्मजानामिति मे दुर्वार एव विषादः । तस्मादस्माकीनो भीष्मस्त्वर्जुनेन दुर्जय एवेत्यतो युद्धमेव

36 तं : BVT.

37 ø : printed, AMS, MMS.

38 स्वभावात् : UMS.

39 बन्धु : KDB.

40 उद्धृते : AMS.

41 वो : UMS.

42 १ : MMS.

43 राज्य : AMS.

श्रेयस्तदेव भूयादिति तु तन्मनोरथोपयोगी दुर्लक्ष्यः ।⁴⁴ अत्र धर्मक्षेत्रे इति क्षेत्रपदेन धर्मस्य धर्मावतारस्य सपरिकरयुधिष्ठिरस्य धान्यस्थानीयत्वम् । तत्पालकस्य श्रीकृष्णस्य कृषिचलस्थानीयत्वम् । कृष्णकृतनानाविधसाहाय्यस्य जलसेचनसेतुबन्धनादि⁴⁵स्थानीयत्वम् । श्रीकृष्णसंहार्यदुर्योधनादेर्धान्यद्वेषीधान्याकारतृणविशेषस्थानीयत्वं च बोधितं 'सरस्यत्या'⁴⁶ ॥१॥

Ṭikā: Dhṛtarāṣṭra says, “My sons (Duryodhana, etc.) and the sons of Pāṇḍu (Yudhiṣṭhira etc.) came together at Kurukṣetra to fight (*yuyutsavāḥ*). Tell me what they did.”

Now Sañjaya may well object, “You just said they came to fight (*yuyutsavāḥ*), so obviously they were getting ready for battle. Why then are you asking me what they did (*kim akurvata*)?”

To this Dhṛtarāṣṭra replies, “*dharma-kṣetre*” (“on the field of righteousness”). In the *śruti* scriptures there is mention of Kurukṣetra as a holy place for offering sacrifice to the gods (*kurukṣetraṁ vai deva-yajanam*⁴⁷). Thus it is well-established that this place is conducive for performing religious duties. Outwardly Dhṛtarāṣṭra is saying, “By the influence of being at that holy place my unholy sons might give up their hostile attitude and become righteous. As for the Pāṇḍavas, they are by nature peaceful, law-abiding men, so if both sides could come to their senses and understand that it is not good to kill members of their own family, then there could surely be a peaceful solution. And I would be very happy for that.” This is what Dhṛtarāṣṭra is outwardly trying to say to Sañjaya.

Inwardly, however, Dhṛtarāṣṭra is saying to himself, “I just can’t help worrying that maybe the influence of the holy place will in fact bring about a peaceful solution, and then we will be back to the previous political situation in the kingdom, a situation which was troublesome for my sons. Therefore, it is better for us that there be a war, because Arjuna will not be able to defeat our Bhīṣma. So let there be a war.” These are the subtly expressed intentions of Dhṛtarāṣṭra.

With respect to the phrase “*dharma-kṣetre*”, the word “*kṣetra*” can also

⁴⁴ From here to the end of this verse the UMS commentary is written in the margin.

⁴⁵ बन्धताहिस्थानीयत्वं corrected to बन्धनादिस्थानीयत्वं : MMS. बन्धनानीयत्वं : BVT.

⁴⁶ ∅ : UMS.

⁴⁷ The source of this quote is unclear. Similar passages are found in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa (xiv. 1) and the Jābāla Upaniṣad (1.2).

mean “a field” and “*dharma*” can stand for “*dharma-avatāra*” or Yudhiṣṭhira.⁴⁸ So “*dharma-kṣetra*” means the field of Yudhiṣṭhira. Yudhiṣṭhira and his family are the crop of rice growing in that field.

Kṛṣṇa is the farmer (*kṛṣīvala*) who looks after the field of rice, and when Kṛṣṇa helps the Pāṇḍavas, it is like when the farmer builds little irrigation canals to water the rice crop. Duryodhana and his brothers are weeds which grow alongside the rice. The weeds look just like rice sprouts, but they would grow and strangle the rice paddy; these weeds will ultimately be pulled out by the farmer.

This is the message that the Goddess of speech, Sarasvatī, has sent through Dhṛtarāṣṭra’s words. ॐ

टीका- विदिततदभिप्रायस्त्वदाशंसितं युद्धमेव भवेत् किन्तु तन्मनोरथप्रतिकूलमिति मनसि कृत्योवाच ।

Ṭikā: Sañjaya understands Dhṛtarāṣṭra’s intention, and replies whilst thinking to himself, “This war which you favour so much will definitely take place, but it won’t turn out the way you want”:

1.2

संजय उवाच

दृष्ट्वा तु पाण्डवानीकं व्यूढं दुर्योधनस्तदा ।
आचार्यमुपसंगम्य राजा वचनमब्रवीत् ॥२॥

Sañjaya replied: Seeing the Pāṇḍava army drawn up in battle array, the king approached his preceptor and uttered these words:

टीका- दृष्ट्वेति । व्यूढं व्यूहरचनयावस्थितम् । राजा दुर्योधनः सान्त्तर्भयमुवाच 'पश्यैतामिति'⁴⁹ नवभिः श्लोकैः ॥२॥

Ṭikā: The word “*vyūḍham*” (arranged) in this verse refers to the arrangement of troops in battle formations.⁵⁰ The king, Duryodhana, speaks the next nine verses

⁴⁸ Yuddhiṣṭhira is known as the son of Yama, and as such he is *dharmāvatāra*, an “incarnation of justice”.

⁴⁹ पश्यैतानिति : JMS (last syllable ambiguous). पश्यैतामिति-तु : UMS.

⁵⁰ According to different battle strategies, troops would be arranged in different formations called *vyūhas*, such as the *maṇḍala-vyūha* (the

(verses 3-11) with some fear within. ❀

1.3

पश्येतां पाण्डुपुत्राणामाचार्य महतीं चमूम्
व्यूढां द्रुपदपुत्रेण तव शिष्येण धीमता ॥३॥

O my teacher, behold the mighty Pāṇḍava army, set out in formation by your intelligent student, the son of Drupada.

टीका- द्रुपदपुत्रेण धृष्टद्युम्नेन । तव शिष्येणेति स्ववधार्थमुत्पन्न इति जानतापि त्वयायमध्यापित इति तव 'मन्दबुद्धित्वम्'⁵⁰ । धीमतेति शत्रोरपि त्वत्तः सकाशात् त्वद्वधोपायविद्या गृहीतेत्यस्य महाबुद्धित्वं फलकाले ऽपि पश्येति भावः ।

Ṭikā: When Duryodhana says “by your own student” he is saying to Droṇa, “You were very foolish, because although you knew that Dhṛṣṭadyumna was born to kill you, still you instructed him in military arts.” When Duryodhana describes Dhṛṣṭadyumna as “*dhīmatā*” (intelligent), he is saying to Droṇa, “Your student was very clever because, even though you were his enemy, still he could accept from you the knowledge which would ultimately enable him to kill you. Just you behold all this when it unfolds.” ❀

1.4

अत्र शूरा महेष्वासा भीमार्जुनसमा युधि
युयुधानो विराटश्च द्रुपदश्च महारथः ॥४॥

1.5

धृष्टकेतुश्चेकितानः काशिराजश्च वीर्यवान् ।
पुरुजित्कुन्तिभोजश्च शैब्यश्च नरपुङ्गवः ॥५॥

⁵⁰

(...continued)

circular formation), the *asamhata-vyūha* (the loose formation), or the *varāha-vyūha* (the boar-shaped formation).

⁵¹

मन्दबुद्धित्वम् : AMS.

1.6

युधामन्युश्च विक्रन्त उत्तमौजाश्च वीर्यवान् ।
सौभद्रो द्रौपदेयाश्च सर्व एव महारथाः ॥६॥

In that army there are the likes of Yuyudhāna, Virāṭa, and Drupada, the champion charioteer. They are mighty bowmen who are just as capable in battle as Bhīma and Arjuna. There is also Dhr̥ṣṭaketu, Cekitāna, the powerful Kāśi-rāja, Purujit, Kuntibhoja, and Śaibya. They also have the spirited Yudhāmanyu, the powerful Uttamauja, the son of Subhadra, and the sons of Draupadi. In fact all these men are champion charioteers.

टीका- अत्र 'चम्वाम्'⁵² 'महान्तः'⁵³ 'शत्रुभिश्छेत्तुमशक्या'⁵⁴ इष्यासा धनूषि येषां ते । युयुधानः सात्यकिः सौभद्रो ऽभिमन्युः द्रौपदेया युधिष्ठिरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यो जाताः प्रतिचिन्ध्यादयः । महारथादीनां लक्षणम् एको दशसहस्राणि योधयेद् यस्तु 'धन्विनाम्'⁵⁵ । शस्त्रशास्त्रप्रवीणश्च महारथ इति स्मृतः । अमितान् योधयेद् यस्तु स एवातिरथः स्मृतः । 'रथश्चैकेन'⁵⁶ यो योद्धा तन्न्यूनो 'ऽर्धरथः'⁵⁷ स्मृतः ॥ इति ॥४-६॥

Ṭīkā: At the beginning of these verses the word “*atra*” (literally “here”) means “in their army”. In their army there are many *maheṣvāsās* (great archers). A *maheṣvāsā* is someone whose bows (*iṣvāsā*) are so mighty (*mahā*) that the enemy cannot break them. The Yuyudhāna mentioned here is the son of Satyaka. The “son of Subhadrā” mentioned here is Abhimanyu. The “sons of Draupadī” are the sons of the five Pāṇḍavas, born of Draupadī, such as Prativindhya.

With regard to the definition of *mahā-rathas* etc., it is said: “A charioteer who is expert in the science of weaponry and who can fight with ten thousand archers at once is known as a *mahā-ratha*. One who can fight with an unlimited number of archers is known as an *ati-ratha*. A warrior who can fight with one archer is called a *ratha*. A junior charioteer (who fights alongside someone else on the same chariot) is known as an *ardha-ratha*.”⁵⁸

52 चंस्वां (चम्वाम्) : JMS. चस्वाम् : BGP, KDB.

53 महान्तः : UMS.

54 शत्रुभिश्छेत्तुमशक्या : UMS, AMS, MMS.

55 धन्विताम् : MMS.

56 रथी चैकेन : printed. रथी त्वैकेन : AMS, MMS.

57 ऽर्धरथः : JMS.

58 “*eko daśa-sahasrāṇi yodhyed yas tu dhanvinām.....*”

1.7

अस्माकं तु विशिष्टा ये तान्निबोध द्विजोत्तम ।
नायका मम सैन्यस्य संज्ञार्थं तान्ब्रवीमि ते ॥७॥

1.8

भवान् भीष्मश्च कर्णश्च कृपश्च समितिञ्जयः ।
अश्वत्थामा विकर्णश्च 'सौमदत्तिस्तथैव च'⁵⁹ ॥८॥

1.9

अन्ये च बहवः शूरा मदर्थं त्यक्तजीविताः ।
नानाशस्त्रप्रहरणाः सर्वे युद्धविशारदाः ॥९॥

O Brahmaṇa, now hear from me about our exceptional men, the leaders of my army. For your information, I will tell you who they are: yourself, Bhīṣma, Karṇa, the victorious Kṛpa, Aśvatthāma, Vikarṇa, and the son of Somadatta. There are many other great heroes, and they are all willing to give up their lives for my cause. They are all well armed and highly experienced in warfare.

टीका- निबोध बुध्यस्य संज्ञार्थं सम्यग् ज्ञानार्थम् ॥७॥ 'सौमदत्तिर्जयद्रथः'⁶⁰ ॥८॥ त्यक्तजीविता इति जीवितत्यागेनापि यदि मदुपकारः स्यात्तदा तमपि कर्तुम प्रवृत्ता इत्यर्थः । वस्तुतस्तु मयैवैते निहिताः पूर्वमेव निमित्तमात्रं भव सव्यसाचिन् इति 'भगवदुक्तेर्दुर्योधनसरस्वती'⁶¹ सत्यमेवाह स्म ॥९॥

Ṭikā: Duryodhana says “*nibodha*” which means “please hear from me” or “please know from me”. He wants to fully inform Droṇa, so he says, “*samjñārtham*” which means “for your complete (*sam-*) knowledge (*jñāna*)”.

The “son of Somadatta” mentioned here is Jayadratha.

Then Duryodhana says that all these great leaders are “*tyakta-jīvita*” (literally “they have given up their lives”). He means, “If dying will help my cause, then they are ready to do so for me.”

But actually Sarasvatī, the goddess of speech, has made Duryodhana speak the truth when he says that they have “given up their lives”. Actually they are

⁵⁹ सौमदत्तिर्जयद्रथः : BVT, BDM, GVS. सौमदत्तिरतथैवच : BGP, KDB.

⁶⁰ सौमदत्तिर्भूरिश्रवाः : printed.

⁶¹ भगवदुक्तेर्दुर्योधनसरस्वती : UMS.

already dead, as Kṛṣṇa says, “I have already killed all these men on the battlefield, Arjuna. Now you just be my instrument for the carrying out of that action.”⁶² ❀

1.10

अपर्याप्तं तदस्माकं बलं भीष्माभिरक्षितम् ।
पर्याप्तं त्विदमेतेषां बलं भीमाभिरक्षितम् ॥१०॥

Our forces might be deficient, even though our army is under the care of Bhīṣma. Their forces are certainly adequate, for their army is under the care of Bhīma.

टीका- अपर्याप्तमपरिपूर्णम् । पाण्डवैः सह योद्धुमक्षममित्यर्थः । भीष्मेणातिसूक्ष्मबुद्धिना शस्त्रशास्त्रप्रवीणेनाभितो रक्षितमपि 'भीष्मस्योभयपक्षपातित्वात्'⁶³ । एतेषां पाण्डवानां तु भीमेन स्थूलबुद्धिना शस्त्रशास्त्रानभिज्ञेनापि रक्षितं पर्याप्तं परिपूर्णमस्माभिः सह युद्धे प्रवीणमित्यर्थः ॥

Ṭīkā: Duryodhana calls his own side *aparyāptam*, or incomplete and he calls the opposition's side *paryāptam*, or complete. He means his side might not be capable of competing with the Pāṇḍavas: “Our army is fully protected (*abhi-rakṣitam*) by Bhīṣma; the Pāṇḍava army is protected by Bhīma. Although our Bhīṣma has a very fine intelligence whereas Bhīma does not, and although our Bhīṣma is a master in the science of weaponry whereas Bhīma is not, still Bhīṣma's heart is torn between the two camps whereas Bhīma's is not. Therefore Bhīma's side, under his care, will be competent to take on our side.” ❀

टीका- तस्माद् युष्माभिः सावधानैर्भवितव्यमित्याह ।

Ṭīkā: Duryodhana then says, “Therefore you should all be very careful...

1.11

अयनेषु च सर्घेषु यथाभागमवस्थिताः ।
भीष्ममेवाभिरक्षन्तु भवन्तः सर्व एव हि ॥११॥

⁶² BG 11.33

⁶³ ∅ : UMS.

And all of you just try to protect Bhīṣma by remaining fixed in your divisions at all the entrance points to the army.

टीका- 'अयनेषु'^{६४} 'व्यूहप्रवेशमार्गेषु'^{६५} यथाभागं 'विभक्तां'^{६६} स्वां स्वां रणभूमिमपरित्यज्यैवावस्थिता भवन्तो भीष्ममेवाभितस्तथा रक्षन्तु यथान्यैर्युध्यमानो ऽयं पृष्ठतः कैश्चिन्न हन्येत'^{६७} ।
भीष्मबलेनैवास्माकं जीवितमिति भावः ॥११॥

Ṭikā: : “Let all men who have been placed at the *ayanās*, or entry points into our army stay there and not abandon the positions in which they have been arranged on the battlefield. Let them thus protect Bhīṣma from all sides (*abhi-rakṣantu*) to make sure that he is not killed from behind whilst busy fighting with others. After all, Bhīṣma’s strength is our very life.” ❀

1.12

तस्य संजनयन्हर्षं कुरुवृद्धः पितामहः ।
सिंहनादं विनद्योच्चैः शङ्खं दध्मौ प्रतापवान् ॥१२॥

And then his grandfather, that mighty patriarch of the Kuru dynasty, delighted Duryodhana by blowing a conch-shell, making a sound as loud as a lion’s roar.

टीका- ततश्च स्वसम्मानश्रवणजनितहर्षस्तस्य दुर्योधनस्य भयविध्वंसनेन हर्षं संजनयितुं कुरुवृद्धो भीष्मः । सिंहनादमिति उपमाने कर्मणि 'चेति णमुल्'^{६८} । सिंह इव विनद्येत्यर्थः ॥१२॥

Ṭikā: Then the patriarch of the Kuru dynasty [Bhīṣma] was pleased to hear Duryodhana praising him in that way, he was happy and in turn wanted to cheer Duryodhana on by dispelling his fears. Therefore Bhīṣma roared like a lion. The phrase “*simha-nāda*” is formed according to the grammatical rule “*upamāne karmaṇi ca*” [P. 3.4.45], by which the grammatical suffix *ṇamul* is added in the sense of comparison. ❀

⁶⁴ अयनेष्विति : BDM, GVS.

⁶⁵ व्यूहप्रवेश अयनेषु मार्गेषु : GVS.

⁶⁶ विभक्ताः : printed.

⁶⁷ हन्यते : printed.

⁶⁸ चेति ण(मु)ल् : JMS. चेति णपुल् : UMS. चेति णमुन् : BVT, BDM.

टीका- ततश्चोभयत्रैव युद्धोत्साहः प्रवृत्त इत्याह ।

Ṭikā: “And then on both sides battle-cries erupted:

1.13

ततः शङ्खाश्च भेर्यश्च पणवानकगोमुखाः ।
सहस्रैवाभ्यहन्यन्त स शब्दस्तुमुलो ऽभवत् ॥१३॥

Then all of a sudden conch-shells, horns, large drums, clay drums, and kettle drums all began beating and sounding, and all that noise rose into a tumultuous din.

टीका- तत इति । पणवा मार्दलाः आनकाः 'पटहाः'^{६९} गोमुखा वाद्यविशेषाः ॥१३॥

Ṭikā: A *paṇava* is a *mārdala*, or a clay drum. An *ānaka* is a *paṭaha*, or a type of military kettle drum. A *gomukha* is a particular kind of musical instrument. ❀

1.14

ततः श्वेतैर्हयैर्युक्ते महति स्यन्दने स्थितौ ।
माधवः पाण्डवश्चैव दिव्यौ शङ्खौ प्रदध्मतुः ॥१४॥

1.15

पाञ्चजन्यं हृषीकेशो देवदत्तं धनञ्जयः ।
पौण्ड्रं दध्मौ महाशङ्खं भीमकर्मा वृकोदरः ॥१५॥

1.16

अनन्तविजयं राजा कुन्तीपुत्रो युधिष्ठिरः ।
नकुलः सहदेवश्च सुघोषमणिपुष्पकौ ॥१६॥

1.17

काश्यश्च परमेष्वासः शिखण्डी च महारथः ।
धृष्टद्युम्नो विराटश्च सात्यकिश्चापराजितः ॥१७॥

1.18

द्रुपदो द्रौपदेयाश्च सर्वशः पृथिवीपते ।
सौमद्रश्च महाबाहुः शङ्खान्दध्मुः पृथक्पृथक् ॥१८॥

Then Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna stood upon their huge chariot drawn by white horses and blew their conch shells. Kṛṣṇa blew his conch, called Pāñcajanya, and Arjuna blew his shell, Devadatta. O king, the awesome and voracious Bhīma also blew on his mighty conch, named Pauṇḍra. King Yudhiṣṭhira, the son of Kuntī, blew on his conch, Ananta-vijaya. Nakula and Sahadeva blew on their conches, Sughoṣa and Maṇi-puṣpaka. The fine archer the King of Kāśī, the champion charioteer Śikhāṇḍī, Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna, Virāṭa, the invincible son of Satyaka, Drupada, the sons of Draupadi, and the mighty-armed son of Subhadra all blew on their respective conch shells.

टीका- पाञ्चजन्यादयः शङ्खादीनां नामानि । अपराजितः केनापि पराजेतुमशक्यत्वात् । 'अथच'^{७०} चापेन धनुषा राजितः प्रदीप्तः ॥१४-१८॥

Ṭīkā: Here the conch shells are being named, starting with Kṛṣṇa's conch shell, Pāñcajanya. The phrase “*sātyakiś cāparājitaḥ*” should be broken up as “*Sātyakiś ca a-parājitaḥ*”, which means “and (*ca*) Sātyaki, who is not able to be conquered by anyone (*a-parājita*).” Alternatively, it could be broken up as “*Satyakiś cāpa-rājitaḥ*”, which means “Sātyaki, adorned (*rājita*) with a bow (*cāpa*)”. ❀

1.19

स घोषो धार्तराष्ट्राणां हृदयानि व्यदारयत् ।
नभश्च पृथिवीं चैव तुमुलो ऽभ्यनुनादयन् ॥१९॥

The tumultuous resonance made heaven and earth vibrate and shook the hearts of Duryodhana's men.

1.20

अथ व्यवस्थितान्दृष्ट्वा धार्तराष्ट्रान् कपिध्वजः ।
प्रवृत्ते शस्त्रसंपाते धनुरुद्यम्य पाण्डवः ॥२०॥

1.21

हृषीकेशं तदा वाक्यमिदमाह महीपते ।
सेनयोरुभयोर्मध्ये रथं स्थापय मे ऽच्युत ॥२१॥

1.22

यावदेतान्निरीक्षे ऽहं योद्धुकामानवस्थितान् ।
कैर्मया सह योद्धव्यमस्मिन्रणसमुद्यमे ॥२२॥

As the arrows were just about to fly, Arjuna, with his monkey flag flying, took up his bow as he looked upon Duryodhana's troops in formation. At that point, O King, Arjuna turned to Kṛṣṇa and said: O dependable Kṛṣṇa, please position my chariot out between the two armies so that I may see who wants to do battle, so that I may see who I must fight in this clash of arms.

1.23

योत्स्यमानानवेक्षे ऽहं य एते ऽत्र समागताः ।
धार्तराष्ट्रस्य दुर्बुद्धेर्युद्धे प्रियचिकीर्षवः ॥२३॥

Let me see those who have assembled here willing to fight and please Dhṛtarāṣṭra's evil-intentioned son, Duryodhana.

1.24

एवमुक्तो हृषीकेशो गुडाकेशेन भारत ।
सेनयोरुभयोर्मध्ये स्थापयित्वा रथोत्तमम् ॥२४॥

1.25

भीष्मद्रोणप्रमुखतः सर्वेषां च महीक्षिताम् ।
उवाच पार्थ पश्यैतान्समवेतान्कुरूनिति ॥२५॥

At Arjuna's request, Kṛṣṇa drove the great chariot out and parked it in between the two armies. Right there in front of Bhīṣma, Droṇa, and all the other kings, Kṛṣṇa said: O Arjuna, son of Pṛthā, behold the assembled Kurus.

टीका- हृषीकेशः सर्वेन्द्रियनियन्ता^{११}प्येवमुक्तो ऽर्जुनेनादिष्टः अर्जुनवागिन्द्रियमात्रेणापि नियम्यो

ऽभूदित्यहो प्रेमवश्यत्वं भगवत इति भावः । गुडाकेशेन 'गुडा'^{७२} यथा माधुर्यमात्र'प्रकाशकास'^{७३} तथा^{७४} स्वीयस्नेहरसास्यादप्रकाशका अकेशा विष्णुब्रह्मशिवा यस्य तेन । अकरो विष्णुः को ब्रह्मा ईशो महादेवः । यत्र सर्वावतारिचूडामणीन्द्रः स्वयं भगवान् श्रीकृष्ण एव प्रेमाधीनः सन् आज्ञानुवर्ती बभूव तत्र गुणावतारत्यात्तदंशा विष्णुब्रह्मरुद्राः कथमैश्वर्य'^{७५} प्रकाशयन्तु । किन्तु स्वकर्तृकं स्नेहरसं प्रकाशयैव स्वं स्वं कृतार्थं 'मन्यन्ते स्मेत्यर्थः'^{७६} । यदुक्तं श्रीभगवता परमव्योमनाथेनापि - द्विजात्मजा मे युवयोर्दिदृक्षुणा - इति । यद्वा गुडाका निद्रा तस्या ईशेन जितनिद्रेणेत्यर्थः । अत्रापि व्याख्यायाम् साक्षान्मायाया अपि नियन्ता यः 'कृष्णः'^{७७} स चापि येन प्रेम्णा विजित्य वशीकृतस्तेनार्जुनेन मायावृत्ति निद्रा 'वराकी'^{७८} जितेति किं चित्रमिति भावः । भीष्मद्रोणयोः प्रमुखतः '^{७९} प्रमुखे 'सम्मुखे'^{८०} सर्वेषां महीक्षितां राज्ञां च । प्रमुखत इति समासप्रविष्टे ऽपि प्रमुखतः शब्द आकृष्यते ॥२४-२५॥

Tīkā: In this verse Kṛṣṇa is called Hṛṣīkeśa, which means “the controller of all sensory faculties”. Although Kṛṣṇa is the controller of everybody’s sensory faculties, nevertheless he has been controlled simply by Arjuna’s faculty of speech. Just see how the Lord can be controlled by love!

The word “*guḍākeśa*” is used to describe Arjuna. This word can be broken up as “*guḍa-akeśa*”, meaning “one who enjoys the sweet affection of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva”. In this analysis “*guḍa*” stands for that soft crystallized cane syrup. The word “*akeśa*” stands for Viṣṇu, Brahmā, and Śiva because “A” is a name of Viṣṇu, “Ka” is a name of Brahmā, and “*Īśa*” is a name of Mahadeva (Śiva). So just as cane sugar only ever manifests sweetness, so too Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva only show their sweetness to “*Guḍākeśa*”. Here Śrī Kṛṣṇa, God himself, the finest crown jewel of avatars, has come under the sway of the love and is obediently following the orders of Arjuna. In such a situation, how can Viṣṇu, Brahmā, and Śiva manifest any majesty? After all they are only *guṇa-avatars* and as such are simply manifestations of Kṛṣṇa. Rather they only feel satisfied only when they show their affection to Arjuna. This has been explained by Viṣṇu, the Lord of the spiritual realm, when he said, “*dvijātmaḥ me yuvayor didṛkṣunā...*” (“I wanted to see you

72 गुडो : MMS.

73 प्रकाशक रस : MMS.

74 तत्तथा : printed.

75 कथमैश्वर्यः : AMS.

76 मन्यन्त इत्यर्थः : printed, MMS, AMS.

77 श्रीकृष्णः : printed.

78 ∅ (वराकी) : UMS. वराका : BGP.

79 प्रमुखतः : UMS.

80 ∅ : AMS.

two, therefore I [have taken away this] brāhmaṇa boy...”)⁸¹

Another interpretation of the word “*gudākeśa*” is *gudākā-īśa*, meaning “the master of sleep or the conqueror of sleep”. In this explanation too [a similar logic applies]. Arjuna has conquered Kṛṣṇa with love and has brought Kṛṣṇa under his control. But Kṛṣṇa is himself the controller of *māyā* (material illusion), so it is not surprising that Arjuna should be able to conquer crude sleep which is just a facet of illusion.

Kṛṣṇa parked the chariot opposite and facing Droṇa, Bhīṣma and all the other kings. From a grammatical point of view, even though the word “*pramukhataḥ*” is contained within a compound, it is also understood with the word *mahīkṣitām*. The word *pramukhataḥ* is used in the sense of “*pramukhe*” or “*sammukhe*” (“facing”).



1.26

तत्रापश्यत्स्थितान्पार्थः पितृन्थ पितामहान् ।
आचार्यान्मातुलान्भ्रातृन्पुत्रान्पौत्रान् सखींस्तथा॥
श्वशुरान्सुहृदश्चैव सेनयोरुभयोरपि ॥२६॥

There in both armies Arjuna could see his many relatives and friends: fathers, grandfathers, teachers, uncles, brothers, sons, grandsons, friends, fathers-in-law, and well wishers.

टीका- दुर्योधनादीनां ये 'पुत्राः' पौत्राश्च तान् ॥२६॥

Tīkā: This verse says that Arjuna could see “sons and grandsons”. This includes the sons and grandsons of Duryodhana [whom Arjuna considered as his own].

1.27

तान्समीक्ष्य स कौन्तेयः सर्वान्बन्धूनवस्थितान् ।
कृपया परयाविष्टो विषीदन्निदमब्रवीत् ॥२७॥

⁸¹ BP 10.89.58. Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna go to visit Mahā Viṣṇu in order to get back the sons of a brāhmaṇa who have died prematurely. Mahā Viṣṇu admits that he stole the children in an elaborate plan to get the *darśana* of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna.

⁸² पुत्रा : AMS, MMS.

When Arjuna, the son of Kunti, thus saw all his relatives arrayed on the battlefield, he was struck by a strong feeling of compassion and began to speak dejectedly:

1.28

दृष्ट्वेमं स्वजनं कृष्ण युयुत्सुं समुपस्थितम् ।
सीदन्ति मम गात्राणि मुखं च परिशुष्यति ॥२८॥

O Kṛṣṇa, seeing my relatives gathered here ready to fight I can feel my limbs shaking and my mouth drying up.

टीका- दृष्ट्वेत्यत्र स्थितस्येत्यध्याहार्यम् ॥२८॥

Ṭīkā: We have to infer that the verb “dr̥ṣṭvā” is referring to Arjuna. He is saying, “As I stand here, I see my relatives...and my limbs are shaking, etc..” ❀

1.29

वेपथुश्च शरीरे मे रोमहर्षश्च जायते ।
गाण्डीवं संसते हस्तात्त्वक् चैव परिदह्यते ॥२९॥

My body is trembling, the hairs on my body are standing on end, my bow Gāṇḍīva is slipping from my hand, and my skin is burning.

1.30

न च शक्नोम्यवस्थातुं भ्रमतीव च मे मनः ।
निमित्तानि च पश्यामि विपरीतानि केशव ॥३०॥

O Keśava, I cannot stand here any more, my head is spinning, and I see nothing good coming out of all this.

टीका- विपरीतानि 'निमित्तानीति'^३ धननिमित्तको ऽयमत्र मे वास इतिवन्निमित्तशब्दो ऽयं प्रयोजनवाची ।
ततश्च युद्धे विजयिनो मम राज्यलाभात् सुखं न भविष्यति किन्तु तद्विपरीतमनुतापदुःखमेव भावीत्यर्थः
॥३०॥

Ṭikā: The word “*nimitta*” is used here in the sense of “*prayojana*”, an “end”, a “goal” or a “result”. For example one might say “*dhana-nimittako ‘tra me vāso*” “I live here with the goal (*nimitta*) of getting money”. Here, Arjuna says that he will achieve the opposite of his goal (*nimittāni viparītāni*): “Even by winning the battle and getting the kingdom I will not be happy; quite the opposite, I will be sad and will have deep regrets.” ❀

1.31

न च श्रेयो ऽनुपश्यामि हत्या स्वजनमाहवे ।
न काङ्क्षे विजयं कृष्ण न च राज्यं सुखानि च ॥३१॥

I don’t see any ultimate benefit at all from killing members of my own family in this battle. Nor do I have any desire for victory, kingdom, or pursuant pleasures.

टीका- श्रेयो न पश्यामीति द्वाविमौ पुरुषौ लोके सूर्यमण्डलभेदिनौ । परिव्राड्योगयुक्तश्च रणे चाभिमुखे हतः ॥ इत्यादिना हतस्यैव श्रेयोविधानात् ‘हन्तुस्तु’⁸⁴ न किमपि सुकृतम् । ननु दृष्टं फलं यशोराज्यं वर्तते ‘युद्धस्येत्यत’⁸⁵ आह न काङ्क्षे इति ॥३१॥

Ṭikā: Arjuna here says, “I see no ultimate benefit (*śreyas*)”. It is said:

*dvāvimau puruṣau loke sūryamaṇḍala-bhedinau,
parivrāḍ yoga-yuktaś ca raṇe cābhimukhe hataḥ*

“There are two types of men who are elevated to the sun planet at the time of their death: one is the sannyāsi absorbed in yoga, and the other is the soldier who dies going forward on the battlefield.”

Arjuna is thinking, “According to that verse, only the soldiers who die in battle will reap any ultimate benefit (*śreyas*), whereas there is no pious benefit to be gained by the soldier who does the killing.”

Then Kṛṣṇa might retort, “Granted, but surely the victorious warrior is left with the immediate benefits of winning the battle: fame and the kingdom of defeated party.”

Arjuna answers, “*na kāṅkṣe...*”. “No, I don’t want victory, kingdom, or pursuant pleasures.” ❀

⁸⁴ हन्तुस्तु : AMS, MMS.

⁸⁵ युद्धस्येत्यत : JMS, UMS, MMS. युद्धस्येत्यत : AMS.

1.32

किं नो राज्येन गोविन्द किं भोगैर्जीवितेन वा ।
येषामर्थे काङ्क्षितं नो राज्यं भोगाः सुखानि च ॥३२॥

1.33

त इमे ऽवस्थिता युद्धे प्राणांस्त्यक्त्वा धनानि च ।
आचार्याः पितरः पुत्रास्तथैव च पितामहाः ॥३३॥

1.34

मातुलाः श्वशुराः पौत्राः श्यालाः सम्बन्धिनस्तथा ।
एतान्न हन्तुमिच्छामि घ्नतो ऽपि मधुसूदन ॥३४॥

What good is this kingdom to us, Govinda? What good are the royal luxuries and what is the good of being alive when all those with whom we desired to share these things are here, ready to sacrifice life and wealth in battle: our teachers, fathers, sons, grandfathers, uncles, fathers-in-law, grandsons, brothers-in-law, and other relatives. O Madhusūdana, I do not feel like killing them, even if they try to kill me.



1.35

अपि त्रैलोक्यराज्यस्य हेतोः किं नु महीकृते ।
निहत्य धार्तराष्ट्रान्नः का प्रीतिः स्याज्जनार्दन ॥३५॥

O Janārdana, we would feel no satisfaction from killing the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra even in return for a kingdom extending over the entire universe, let alone for this earthly kingdom.



टीका- ननु अग्निदो गरदश्वैव शस्त्रपाणिर्धनापहः । क्षेत्रदारापहारी च षडेते आततायिनः ॥ इति ।
आततायिनमायन्तं हन्यादेवाविचारयन् । नाततायिवधे दोषो हन्तुर्भवति भारत ॥ इत्यादि वचनादेषां
वध उचित एवेति तत्राह ।

Ṭikā: At this point Kṛṣṇa might object, “But don’t the scriptures say,

*agnido garadaś caiva śāstra-pāṇir dhanāpahaḥ
kṣetra-dārāpaharī ca ṣaḍ ete ātatāyinaḥ*

“There are six types of aggressors: an arsonist, a giver of poison, an armed attacker, a thief, and one who plunders land and women.”⁸⁶

*ātatāyinaṃ āyantaṃ hanyād evāvicārayan
nātatāyi-vadhe doṣo hantur bhavati bhārata*

“One may kill an aggressor without hesitation as soon as he approaches. O descendant of Bharata, there is no fault incurred by one who kills an aggressor.”⁸⁷

“Considering all these scriptural statements, Arjuna, surely it is quite appropriate for you to kill these men”.

Arjuna replies,

1.36

पापमेवाश्रयेदस्मान् हत्वैतानाततायिनः ।
तस्मान्नार्हा वयं हन्तुं धार्तराष्ट्रान्स्वबान्धवान् ॥३६॥

O Mādhava, sin will come upon us if we kill these aggressors. Therefore we should not kill our kinsmen, the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra.

टीका- पापमिति । एतान् हत्वा स्थितानस्मान् । आततायिनमायन्तम् इत्यादिकमर्थशास्त्रं धर्मशास्त्राद् दुर्बलम् । यदुक्तं याज्ञवल्क्येन अर्थशास्त्रान्तु बलवद्धर्मशास्त्रमिति स्मृतम् इति । तस्मादाचार्यादीनां वधे पापं स्यादेव ॥३६॥

Ṭikā: “If we kill these men (*etān hatvā*), then sin will come upon us (*asmān*). These verses, such as “*ātatāyinaṃ āyantaṃ...*” come from the *artha-śāstra* (practical laws), but the *artha-śāstra* cannot take precedence over the *dharma-śāstra* (ethical laws). Yājñavalkya states, “The *smṛti* tradition holds that the *dharma śāstra* takes precedence over the *artha-śāstra*.”⁸⁸ Therefore, we will indeed incur sin if we kill people like our teachers.” ❀

⁸⁶ Manu 8.350.(23).

⁸⁷ Ibidem

⁸⁸ Yājñavalkya-smṛti: 2.21.

टीका- न चैहिकं सुखमपि स्यादित्याह - स्वजनमिति

Tīkā: And then Arjuna argues “And I wouldn’t even be happy in this life if I were to kill my relatives.”

1.37

स्वजनं हि कथं हत्वा सुखिनः स्याम माधव ॥३७॥

For how can we possibly be happy after killing our own kinsfolk?



टीका- नन्वेते तर्हि कथं युद्धे वर्तन्ते तत्राह यद्यपीति ॥३८॥

Tīkā: But then Kṛṣṇa might ask, “Yes, but then why are *they* ready to fight?”. So Arjuna says,

1.38

यद्यप्येते न पश्यन्ति लोभोपहतचेतसः ।
कुलक्षयकृतं दोषं मित्रद्रोहे च पातकम् ॥३८॥

1.39

कथं न ज्ञेयमस्माभिः पापादस्मान्निवर्तितुम् ।
कुलक्षयकृतं दोषं प्रपश्यद्विर्जनार्दन ॥३९॥

Even if their minds are infected with lust, and they can’t see the wrong in destroying their family and assaulting their friends, still we should know how to refrain from sin. After all, Janardana, we do see clearly the wrong in destroying our family.

1.40

कुलक्षये प्रणश्यन्ति कुलधर्माः सनातनाः ।
धर्मे नष्टे कुलं कृत्स्नमधर्मो ऽभिभवत्युत ॥४०॥

With the destruction of the family comes the destruction of timeless family traditions; and with the destruction of those traditions the whole family sinks into irreligion.

टीका- ⁸⁹ सनातनाः कुलपरम्पराप्राप्तत्वेन बहुकालतः प्राप्ता इत्यर्थः ॥३९॥

Ṭikā: The word “*sanātana*” (literally “eternal”) here refers to traditions passed down from one generation to another from ancient times. ❀

1.41

अधर्माभिभवात्कृष्ण प्रदुष्यन्ति कुलस्त्रियः ।
स्त्रीषु दुष्टासु वार्ष्णेय जायते वर्णसंकरः ॥४१॥

When irreligion becomes prevalent, the women of the family become corrupted, which in turn creates disregard for the proper rules of marriage according to *varṇa*.⁹⁰

टीका- प्रदुष्यन्तीति अधर्म एव ता व्यभिचारे प्रवर्तयतीति भावः ॥४०॥

Ṭikā: The word “*praduṣyanti*” (“they become corrupt”) refers here to adultery. It is the prevalence of irreligion which will cause the women to be engaged in acts of adultery. ❀

1.42

संकरो नरकायैव कुलघ्नानां कुलस्य च ।
पतन्ति पितरो ह्येषां लुप्तपिण्डोदकक्रियाः ॥४२॥

This disregard for the marriage rules of *varṇa* will send the whole family to hell along with the destroyers of that family. For their ancestors also suffer when prescribed offerings of food and water are stopped.

⁸⁹ कुलक्षय इति : printed.

⁹⁰ Literally: “the confusion of *varṇas*”.

1.43

दोषैरेतैः कुलघ्नानां वर्णसंकरकारकैः ।
उत्साद्यन्ते जातिधर्माः कुलधर्माश्च शाश्वताः ॥४३॥

The sins of those who would destroy their family cause this disregard for the *varṇa* rules of marriage. As a result all traditional caste and family principles are lost.

टीका- दोषैरिति उत्साद्यन्ते लुप्यन्ते ॥४३॥

Ṭīkā: In this verse the word “*utsādyante*” means “are lost” or “disappear”. ❀

1.44

उत्सन्नकुलधर्माणां मनुष्याणां जनार्दन ।
नरके नियतं वासो भवतीत्यनुशुश्रुम ॥४४॥

And people who lose their family traditions inevitably go to hell, O Janārdana - this is what I have heard from Vedic tradition.

1.45

अहो बत महत्पापं कर्तुं व्यवसिता वयम् ।
यद्राज्यसुखलोभेन हन्तुं स्वजनमुद्यता ॥४५॥

Alas! What a pity it is that we have decided to commit this great sin and that we are ready to kill our own relatives out of greed for royal happiness.

1.46

यदि मामप्रतीकारमशस्त्रं शस्त्रपाणयः ।
धार्तराष्ट्रा रणे हन्युस्तन्मे क्षेमतरं भवेत् ॥४६॥

I would be happier to face the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra unarmed without offering them any resistance and let them kill me on the battlefield with their weapons in hand.

1.47

संजय उवाच

एवमुक्त्वार्जुनः संख्ये रथोपस्थ उपाविशत् ।
विसृज्य सशरं चापं शोकसंचिग्रमानसः ॥४७॥

Sañjaya said: The despondent and distracted Arjuna finished speaking, dropped his bow and arrows, and sat down on his chariot in the middle of the battlefield.

टीका- संख्ये संग्रामे रथोपस्थे रथोपरि ॥४६॥

Ṭikā: The word “*saṅkhye*” here means “on the battle-field” and the word “*rathopasthe*” means “on the chariot”. ❀

इति 'श्रीमहाभारते शतसाहस्र्यां संहितायां वैयासिक्यां भीष्मपर्वणि'^{११} 'श्रीभगवद्गीतासूपनिषत्सु'^{१२} ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे^{१३} प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥१॥

Thus ends the first chapter of the yoga-śāstra, the Bhagavad-gītā Upaniṣad, that conversation between Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa on spiritual knowledge within the Bhīṣma-parva of Vaiyasaki's epic work, the Śrī Mahābhārata, which consists of 100,000 verses.

टीका-

इति सारार्थवर्षिण्यां हर्षिण्यां भक्तचेतसाम् ।
गीतासु प्रथमोऽध्यायः संगतः संगतः सताम् ॥^{१४}

Ṭikā:

Thus I have completed with the approval of saintly sages

91 ø : AMS, MMS, BGP.

92 श्रीश्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासूपनिषत्सु : printed. श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतासूपनिषत्सु : BVT.

93 अर्जुनविषादो नाम : AMS. - - : MMS. सैन्यदर्शनः : printed.

VMS
illegible.

94 इति श्रीगीतायां प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥१॥ : AMS, MMS.

*the first chapter of this Sārārtha-varṣiṇī commentary on the Bhagavad-gītā,
which is simply meant to bring joy to the hearts of devotees.*



CHAPTER TWO

Sāṅkhya-yoga

टीका-

आत्मानात्माधिचेकेन शोकमोहतमो नुदन्
द्वितीये कृष्णचन्द्रो ऽत्र प्रोचे मुक्तस्य लक्षणम् ॥१॥

Ṭikā:

In this second chapter Kṛṣṇa-candra removes Arjuna's lamentation, delusion, and ignorance by distinguishing between the self and the non-self. He thus explains the characteristics of a liberated person.

2.1

संजय उवाच

तं तथा कृपयाचिष्टमश्रुपूर्णाकुलेक्षणम् ।
विषीदन्तमिदं वाक्यमुवाच मधुसूदनः ॥१॥

Sañjaya said: In this way the despondent Arjuna was overwhelmed with compassion and his flurried eyes filled with tears. Madhusūdana Kṛṣṇa then spoke to him as follows:



2.2

श्री भगवानुवाच

कुतस्त्वा कश्मलमिदं विषमे समुपस्थितम् ।

अनार्यजुष्टमस्वर्ग्यमकीर्तिकरमर्जुन ॥२॥

Arjuna, how have you become tainted at this critical time? This is not befitting of a civilised person; it will not lead you to heaven, nor will it be good for your reputation.

टीका- कश्मलं मोहः । विषमे ऽत्र संग्रामसंकटे । कुतो हेतोः । उपस्थितं त्वां प्राप्तमभूत् । अनार्यजुष्टम् 'सुप्रतिष्ठितलोकैरसेवितम्' । अस्वर्ग्यमकीर्तिकरमिति पारत्रिकैहिकसुखप्रतिकुलमित्यर्थः ॥२॥

Ṭīkā: “This contamination (*kaśmalam*) is bewilderment (*moha*). Where has this come from (*kutaḥ*)? What is the cause of this? How has it come upon you (*upasthitam tvām*) at this difficult moment of battle?

This is “*anārya-juṣṭam*”, i.e. “not indulged in by reputable people”. And it is both *asvargyam* and *akīrtikaram*, that is to say, it will not bring you pleasure in this life or in the next.”

2.3

क्लैब्यं मा स्म गमः पार्थ नैतत्त्वय्युपपद्यते ।

क्षुद्रं हृदयदौर्बल्यं त्यक्त्योत्तिष्ठ परंतप^२ ॥३॥

Do not be a coward, o son of Kunti. It is not befitting of you. Give up this paltry weakness of heart and arise, o vanquisher of enemies.

टीका- क्लैब्यं क्लीबधर्म कातर्यम् । हे पार्थेति त्वं पृथापुत्रः सन्नपि 'गच्छसि'^३ 'तस्मान्मा'^४ स्म गमः मा प्राप्नुहि । अन्यस्मिन् क्षत्रबन्धौ वरमिदमुपपद्यताम् । त्वयि 'मत्सखे'^५ तु नोपयुज्यते । नन्विदं 'मे'^६ शौर्याभावलक्षणं क्लैब्यं मा शङ्किष्ठाः । किन्तु भीष्मद्रोणादिगुरुषु धर्मदृष्ट्या विवेको ऽयं धार्तराष्ट्रेषु तु दुर्बलेषु मदस्त्राघातमासाद्य मर्तुमुद्यतेषु दयैवेयमिति तत्राह ॥ क्षुद्रमिति ॥ नैते तव विवेकदये किन्तु

1 सुप्रतिष्ठितलोकैरसेवितम् : printed.

2 परंतप : BGP.

3 गच्छसि : AMS.

4 तस्मान्मा : AMS, MMS.

5 मत्सखौ : printed.

6 ø : printed. त्वं : AMS, MMS.

शोकमोहावेव । तौ च मनसो दौर्बल्यव्यञ्जकौ । तस्मात् हृदयदौर्बल्यमिदं त्यक्त्वा उत्तिष्ठ । हे परन्तप परान् 'शत्रून्नेतान्'^७ तापयन् युद्धस्य ॥३॥

Ṭikā: The word “*klaibyam*” means “the nature of a coward or eunuch (*klība*)” and is used here in the sense of “cowardice”. Kṛṣṇa addresses Arjuna as “Pārtha”, the son of Kunti. Kṛṣṇa is trying to say, “Don’t be a coward; you are being a coward and yet you are the son of Kunti. It might be alright for other non-qualified *kṣatriyas* to behave like this, but this is not appropriate behaviour for a friend of mine.”

But then Arjuna may retort, “Don’t just assume that I am being cowardly or unheroic. I am actually declining to fight Droṇa and Bhīṣma on ethical grounds, for they are my superiors. And I am declining to fight the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra on compassionate grounds, for they are weaker than me, and as soon as they receive the blows from my weapons they will be killed.”

Kṛṣṇa replies, “This is neither compassion nor ethical discretion! This is lamentation and illusion! And these are indicative of a weakness of heart. Therefore give up this weakness of heart and arise! O “Parantapa”, vanquish these enemies (*param-tapa*) and engage in the battle!”^७

टीका- ननु प्रतिबध्नाति हि श्रेयः पूज्यपूजाव्यतिक्रमः - इति धर्मशास्त्रम् अतो ऽहं युद्धान्निवर्त इत्याह ।

Ṭikā: But then Arjuna takes objection to Kṛṣṇa’s argument and says, “I am only refusing to fight because the Dharma-śāstras say that neglecting to honour a venerable person is a source of inauspiciousness for the future...”⁸

2.4

अर्जुन उवाच

कथं भीष्ममहं संख्ये द्रोणं च मधुसूदन ।

इषुभिः प्रतियोत्स्यामि पूजार्हाचरिसूदन ॥४॥

Arjuna said: O Kṛṣṇa, slayer of the demon Madhu, how can I possibly fight against Bhīṣma on the battle field? How can I fire my arrows upon Droṇa? O Kṛṣṇa, slayer of enemies, they are both my venerable superiors.

⁷ शत्रून् : printed, AMS, MMS.

⁸ “*pratibadhnāti hi śreyah pūjyapūjā-vyatikramah*”

टीका- कथमिति । प्रतियोत्स्यामि प्रतियोत्स्ये । नन्वेतौ 'यदि' 'युद्धेते'⁹ तर्ह्यनयोः प्रतियोद्धा भवितुं त्वं किं न शक्नोषि । सत्यं न शक्नोम्येवेत्याह पूजार्हाविति । अनयोश्चरणेषु भक्त्या कुसुमान्येव दातुमर्हामि न तु क्रोधेन तीक्ष्णशरानिति भावः । भो वयस्य कृष्ण त्वमपि शत्रून्नेव युद्धे हंसि न तु सान्दीपनिं 'स्वगुरुम्'¹¹ नापि बन्धून् यदूनित्याह । हे मधुसूदनेति । ननु मधवो यदव एव तत्राह । हे अरिसूदन । मधुर्नाम दैत्यो यस्तवारिरिति ब्रवीमीति ।

Ṭikā: (Here the form *pratiyotsyāmi* is used instead of the form *pratiyotsye*.)

Kṛṣṇa counters, "But if Bhīṣma and Droṇa are ready to fight you, then surely you can oppose them, can't you?"

Arjuna responds by saying, "*pūjār hau*". "That is the point, I *cannot* fight them; they are my venerable superiors (*pūjār hau*). I should worship them. I should be devotedly offering flower petals at their feet, not angrily firing sharp arrows at them."

By calling Kṛṣṇa "Madhusūdana" (killer of the demon Madhu) Arjuna is saying, "Listen my dear Kṛṣṇa, you only kill enemies in battle; you don't kill your guru, Sandīpani, or your friends and relatives, the Yadus."

Kṛṣṇa might reply, "But the Yadus are also called "the race of Madhu", so maybe Madhusūdana means 'the Killer of the Yadus'."

"No, I am also calling you "*ari-sūdana*", the killer of enemies. I am talking about the demon Madhu, who is your enemy." ❀

टीका- नन्वेवं ते यदि स्वराज्ये ऽस्मिन् नास्ति जिघृक्षा तर्हि कया 'वृत्त्या'¹² जीविष्यसीत्यत्राह ।

Ṭikā: "Alright Arjuna," Kṛṣṇa might then say, "if you don't want to take back your kingdom, then how do you expect to earn your living?"

Arjuna replies,

2.5

गुरूनहन्त्वा हि महानुभावान् श्रेयो भोक्तुं भैक्ष्यमपीह लोके
हत्वार्थकामांस्तु गुरूनिहैव भुञ्जीय भोगान् रुधिरप्रदिग्धान् ॥५॥

⁹ ∅ : printed.

¹⁰ युद्धेते : printed. युद्धे : UMS.

¹¹ स्वगुरु : AMS.

¹² वृत्त्या : AMS.

Even if we have to live in this world as beggars, it would still be much better for us to not kill these noble-minded men who are our superiors. They are still superiors, even though they may be greedy for wealth; if we were to kill them, whatever pleasures we might gain would be stained with blood.

टीका- गुरूनहत्या गुरुबधमकृत्वा भैक्ष्यं क्षत्रियैर्विगीतमपि भिक्षया प्राप्तमन्नमपि भोक्तुं श्रेयः । ऐहिकदुर्यशोलाभे ऽपि पारत्रिकममङ्गलं तु नैव स्यादिति भावः । न चैते गुरवो ऽवलिप्ताः कार्याकार्यमजानन्तश्चाधार्मिकदुर्योधनाद्यनुगतास्त्यज्या एव । यदुक्तं गुरोरप्यवलिप्तस्य कार्याकार्यमजानतः । उत्पथप्रतिपन्नस्य परित्यागो विधीयते ॥ इति वाच्यमित्याह । महानुभावानिति । कालकामादयो ऽपि यैर्वशीकृतास्तेषां भीष्मादीनां 'कुतस्तत्तद्वेषसम्भव'¹³ इति भावः । ननु अर्थस्य पुरुषो दासो दासस्त्वर्थो न कस्यचित् । इति सत्यं महाराज बद्धो ऽस्म्यर्थेन कौरवैः । इति युधिष्ठिरं प्रति भीष्मेणैवोक्तमतः साम्प्रतमर्थकामत्वादेतेषां महानुभावत्वं प्राक्तनं विगलितम् । सत्यम् तदप्येतान् हतवतो 'मम'¹⁴ दुःखमेव स्यादित्याह - 'अर्थकामानर्थलुब्धानप्येतान्'¹⁵ 'गुरून्'¹⁶ हत्वाहं भोगान् भुञ्जीय किञ्चिन्तेषां रुधिरेण प्रदिग्धान् प्रलिप्तानेव । अयमर्थः । एतेषामर्थलुब्धत्वे ऽपि मद्गुरुत्वमस्त्येव । अत एवैतद् बधे सति गुरुद्रोहिणो मम 'कः खलु भोगो दृष्टकृतिमिश्रो न स्यादिति'¹⁷ ॥५॥

Tīkā: “Ultimately the best thing for us is to not kill our superiors. We will just eat food obtained through begging, even though this practice is not at all recommended for *kṣatriyas*. We might lose all reputation in this life, but at least our next lives will not be plagued with inauspiciousness.”

Arjuna then refers to Bhīṣma and the other opponents as “*mahānubhavān*”, or “noble minded men”. By this Arjuna is saying, “These superiors are not to be rejected on the grounds that they are proud, unable to discriminate between right and wrong, and have become followers of evil Duryodhana. Of course the scriptures do say that a guru can be rejected if he becomes proud, is unable to discriminate between right and wrong, or strays off the path of righteousness.¹⁸ But Bhīṣma and the others are “noble minded men”. They have conquered such base tendencies as

¹³ कुतस्तद्वेषसम्भव : printed, UMS. कुतस्तुभद्वेषसम्भव : AMS

¹⁴ महः : AMS.

¹⁵ अर्थकामानर्थलुब्धानप्येतान् : AMS.

¹⁶ (गु)रून् : MMS.

¹⁷ खलु भोगो दृष्टकृतिमिश्रः स्यादिति : printed.

¹⁸ Mbh Udyoga 178.48, Śānti 57.7; Śukra Niti 5.4:

*guror apy avaliptasya kāryākāryam ajānantaḥ
utpatha-pratipannasya parityāgo vidhīyate*

quarrelsomeness and lust. How can they possibly succumb to such faults?"

But then Kṛṣṇa will counter, "But has not Bhīṣma himself admitted to Yudhiṣṭhīra, 'A man is the slave of money, and money is the slave of no-one. Thus it is true, o king, that I have been tied up with money by the Kauravas'¹⁹? So, Arjuna, although Bhīṣma, Droṇa, and the others were certainly noble-minded men, surely they can no longer be considered as such, because of their greed for money?"

So Arjuna replies, "Yes, that may be true, but nevertheless killing them will only make me unhappy. They may well be greedy for money (*artha-kāmān*), but whatever opulence I might gain by killing them will still necessarily be stained with their blood."

In other words Arjuna is saying, "Although they might be greedy for money, still they are my superiors, therefore if I kill them I will be a *guru-drohi*, or one who injures his superiors. In this way, my enjoyment will have been mixed with evil."



टीका- किञ्च गुरुद्रोहे प्रवृत्तस्यापि मम जयः पराजयो वा भवेदित्यपि न ज्ञायत इत्याह ।

Ṭikā: Arjuna then thought, "What's more, even if I were prepared to fight against my superiors I don't even know whether I would win or lose..."

2.6

न चैतद्विद्मः कतरन्नो गरियो यद्वा जयेम यदि वा नो जयेयुः
यानेव हत्या न जिजीविषामस्ते ऽवस्थिताः प्रमुखे धार्तराष्ट्राः ॥६॥

Nor do I know which is better for us: if we defeat them or if they defeat us. For we cannot bear to live without the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, who are standing there opposite us on the battlefield.

टीका- न चैतदिति । +तत्रापि²⁰ नो ऽस्माकं कतरत् +जयपराजयोर्वस्तुनोर्मध्ये²¹ किं खलु गरीयो ऽधिकतरं भविष्यति एतन्न विद्मः । तदेव पक्षद्वयं दर्शयति । एतान् वयं जयेम । नो ऽस्मान् वा एते

¹⁹ Mbh Bhīṣma 41.36 (repeated throughout that chapter): "*arthasya puruṣo dāso dāsas tv artho na kasya-cit...*"

²⁰ तथापि : printed.

²¹ जयपराजयोर्मध्ये : printed.

जयेयुरिति । किञ्च जयो ऽप्यस्माकं फलतः पराजय एवेत्याह । 'यानेवेति'²² ॥६॥

Ṭikā: “We don't know which one is better for us: victory or defeat?”

Therefore Arjuna identifies the two sides of the argument, “Either we will beat them, or they will beat us.”

But then in the last line (*yān eva...*) he thinks, “Even if we win, that victory will, because of its consequences, seem just like defeat.”²³

टीका- ननु 'तर्हिणोपपत्तिकं'²³ शास्त्रार्थं त्वमेव ब्रुवाणः क्षत्रियो भूत्वा भिक्षटनं निश्चिनोषि तर्ह्यलं मदुक्त्येति तत्राह ।

Ṭikā: Kṛṣṇa might start to think, “Well then, you seem to have made up your mind to live by begging even though you are a *kṣatriya* and for this you are using well-founded arguments from scripture. So I can't see any point in my saying anything more to you.”

So Arjuna says,

2.7

कार्पण्यदोषोपहतस्यभावः पृच्छामि त्वां धर्मसंमूढचेताः ।
यच्छ्रेयः स्यान्निश्चितं ब्रूहि तन्मे शिष्यस्ते ऽहं शाधि मां त्वां प्रपन्नम् ॥७॥

My natural disposition is now affected by the weakness of compassion, and I have become bewildered as to my duty. Therefore I am asking you to tell me clearly what is in my ultimate interest. I am now your disciple, fully obedient to you. Please instruct me.

टीका- 'कार्पण्येति'²⁴ । स्याभाविकस्य शौर्यस्य त्याग एव मे कार्पण्यम् । धर्मस्य सूक्ष्मा गतिरित्यतो धर्मव्यवस्थायामप्यहं मूढबुद्धिरेवास्मि । 'अतः श्रेयस्त्वमेव'²⁵ निश्चित्य '²⁶ ब्रूहि । ननु मद्वाचस्त्वं पण्डितमानित्येन खण्डयसि चेत् कथं ब्रूयाम् । तत्राह शिष्यस्ते ऽहमस्मि नातः परं वृथा खण्डयामिति

²² यानेवेत्याह : AMS, MMS.

²³ तर्हिणेपपत्तिकं : UMS (aberration).

²⁴ कार्पण्येति : UMS (aberration).

²⁵ अतस्त्वमेव : printed. अतरत्वमेव : BGP.

²⁶ श्रेयो : printed.

भावः '। शाधि शिक्षय^{२७} ॥७॥

Ṭīkā: “Actually this compassion of mine (*kārpaṇya*) is really just me abandoning my heroic nature. They say that the path of duty is very elusive²⁸, and that is why even in the performance of my duty I have become bewildered. Therefore you please decide what is best for me and advise me.”

Kṛṣṇa persists, “But if you are going to consider yourself very expert and just raise objections to my advice, then what can I say to you?”

Arjuna placates Kṛṣṇa by saying, “*śiṣyas te 'ham...*”, “I am your disciple, and from now on I will not engage in frivolous objections.” ❧

टीका- ननु मयि तव सख्यभाव एव न तु गौरवम् । अतस्त्यां कथमहं शिष्यं करोमि तस्माद् यत्र तव गौरवं तं कमपि द्वैपायनादिकं^{२९} प्रपद्यस्येत्यत आह ।

Ṭīkā: Kṛṣṇa then objects, “But your relationship with me is one of friendship, not respect. How then can I make you my disciple? Why don't you approach someone you respect, someone like Dvaipāyana (Vyāsa-deva)?”

Arjuna replies:

2.8

न हि प्रपश्यामि ममापनुद्याद् यच्छोकमुच्छ्रोषणमिन्द्रियाणाम् ।
अवाप्य भूमावसपन्नमृद्धं राज्यं सुराणामपि चाधिपत्यम् ॥८॥

Nor do I see what could take away this sorrow of mine which is causing my body³⁰ to dry up and wither away. Nothing can help me, not even winning an earthly kingdom of unchallenged opulence nor even reigning over the demigods in heaven.

टीका- न हीति । मम शोकमपनुद्यात् दूरीकृत्यदिवं जनं 'न^{३१} प्रकर्षेण पश्यामि । त्रिजगत्येकं त्यां विना स्वस्मादधिकबुद्धिमन्तं 'बृहस्पतिमपि^{३२} न जनामीत्यतः शोकार्त एव खलु कं प्रपद्येयेति भावः । यद् यतः

²⁷ ∅ : printed.

²⁸ “*dharmasya sūkṣmā gatiḥ*”.

²⁹ द्वैपायिनादिकं : BGP, KDB.

³⁰ literally “my senses”

³¹ ∅ : AMS.

³² बृहस्पतिमपि : AMS.

'शोकादीन्द्रियाणामुच्छ्रोषणं³³ महानिदाघात् क्षुद्रसरसामिव उत्कर्षेण शोषो भवति । ननु तर्हि साम्प्रतं 'त्वं शोकार्त एव खलु³⁴ युध्यस्य ततश्चैतान् जित्वा राज्यं प्राप्तवतस्तव 'राज्यभोगाभिनिवेशेनैव³⁵ शोकोऽपयास्यतीत्यत आह । अचाप्येति । भूमौ 'निष्कण्टकं³⁶ राज्यं स्वर्गे सुराणामाधिपत्यं वा प्राप्यापि स्थितस्य 'ममेन्द्रियाणामेतदुच्छ्रोषणमेवेत्यर्थः³⁷ ॥८॥

Tīkā: “In the whole world I can’t see anyone who can take away (*apanudyāt*) this sadness of mine. In the three worlds I don’t know anyone who can help me except you, and you alone, not even Bṛhaspati, who is far more intelligent than me. This being the case, who can I to turn to in my distress?”

“As a consequence (*yat*), this sorrow is drying up my body just as a hot summer dries out small ponds of water.”

Kṛṣṇa might then suggest, “Even though you are sad and distressed at the moment, why don’t you just fight anyway. Then when you have conquered these people and won back your kingdom, you will start to be preoccupied with the pleasures of royal life. In this way you will forget your sorrows.”

Rejecting this idea, Arjuna then says: “Even if I win a trouble-free kingdom here on earth or even sovereignty over the demigods in heaven still this sorrow will make my senses [my whole body] dry up and wither away.” ❀

2.9

संजय उवाच

एवमुक्त्वा हृषीकेशं गुडाकेशः 'परंतप³⁸ ।

न योत्स्य इति गोविन्दमुक्त्वा तुष्णीं बभूव ह ॥९॥

Sañjaya said: O vanquisher of enemies, in this way Arjuna, the conquerer of sleep, spoke with Kṛṣṇa, the master of all senses. Finally he told Govinda, “I am not going to fight”, and then fell silent.

33 शोकादीन्द्रियाणामुच्छ्रोषणं : BDM, BVT, GVS.

34 ø : JMS.

35 राज्यभोगाभिनिवेशेनैव : UMS. राज्यभोगानिनिवेशेनैव : AMS

36 निष्कण्टकं : printed, MMS, AMS.

37 समेन्द्रियाणामेतदुच्छ्रोषणमेवेत्यर्थः : JMS. ममेन्द्रियाणामेतदुच्छ्रोषणमेवेत्यर्थः : UMS.

38 परंतपः : BVT, BDM, GVS.

2.10

तमुवाच हृषीकेशः प्रहसन्निव भारत ।
सेनयोरुभयोर्मध्ये विषीदन्तमिदं वचः ॥१०॥

O descendent of Bharata , there in the middle of the two armies Kṛṣṇa, the master of senses, faintly smiled at the dejected Arjuna and spoke to him as follows.

टीका- अहो तवाप्येतावान् खल्वचिवेक इति सख्यभावेन तं प्रहसन् अनौचित्यप्रकाशेन लज्जाम्बुधौ निमज्जयन् । इवेति तदानीं शिष्यभावं प्राप्ते तस्मिन् हास्यमनुचितमित्यधरोष्ठनिकुञ्चनेन हास्यमावृण्वंश्चेत्यर्थः । हृषीकेश इति पूर्व 'प्रेम्णैवार्जुनवाङ्मन्योः'ऽपि साम्प्रतमर्जुनहितकारित्वात् प्रम्णैवार्जुनमनोनियन्तापि भवतीति भावः । सेनयोरुभयोर्मध्ये इत्यर्जुनस्य विषादो भगवता प्रबोधश्चोभाभ्यां सेनाभ्यां सामान्यतो दृष्ट एवेति भावः ॥१०॥

Ṭikā: Kṛṣṇa smiles at Arjuna in a friendly way as if to say “Oh dear, now even you are being so foolish!” Thus Kṛṣṇa tries to embarrass Arjuna by exposing the inappropriateness of his action. But then Kṛṣṇa thought that it might be inappropriate to keep smiling when Arjuna had adopted the mood of a disciple, so he covered up his smile by curling his lips downwards. Thus the word “*iva*” indicates that Kṛṣṇa was “almost” smiling.

Kṛṣṇa, is “Hṛṣīkeśa”, the “Controller of all Senses”. Previously, however, it was Kṛṣṇa who was controlled by Arjuna’s friendly words. Now Kṛṣṇa helps Arjuna by bringing Arjuna’s mind under control. In both circumstances Kṛṣṇa is acting out of love alone.

The words “*senayor ubhayor madhye*” (in the middle of the two armies) suggests that this all took place in full view of both armies. They all saw Arjuna getting depressed and then Kṛṣṇa enlightening him. ❀

टीका- भो अर्जुन तवायं बन्धुवधहेतुकः शोको भ्रममूलक एव तथा कथं भीष्ममहं संख्ये इत्यादिको विचेकश्चाप्रज्ञामूलक एवेत्याह ।

Ṭikā: Now Kṛṣṇa says, “Arjuna, you feel sorry about having to kill your relatives, but alas, that sorrow is based on error. And moreover when you say, “How can I

possibly fight against Bhīṣma?"⁴⁰ that reasoning is simply based on a lack of knowledge...

2.11

अशोच्यानन्वशोचस्त्वं प्रज्ञावादांश्च भाषसे ।
गतासूनगतासूंश्च नानुशोचन्ति पण्डिताः ॥११॥

You are lamenting over things you really need not lament over, and yet at the same time you are speaking intelligent words. The really wise do not lament over the living or the dead.

टीका- अशोच्यान् शोकानर्हानिव त्वमन्वशोचः अनुशोचितवानसि । तथा त्वां प्रबोधयन्तं मां प्रति प्रज्ञावादान् 'भाषसे' ।^{४१} प्रज्ञायां 'सत्यामिव'^{४२} ये वादाः कथं भीष्ममहं संख्ये इत्यादीनि वाक्यानि तान् भाषसे न तु तव कापि प्रज्ञा वर्तते इति भावः । यतः पण्डिताः प्रज्ञावन्तो गतासून् गता निःसृता भवन्त्यस्यो येभ्यः तान् स्थूलदेहान् न शोचन्ति 'तेषां नश्वरस्वभावत्वादिति भावः' ।^{४३} अगतासून् अनिःसृतप्राणान् सूक्ष्मदेहानपि न शोचन्ति ते हि मुक्तेः 'पूर्वमनश्चरा'^{४४} एव । उभयेषामपि तथा तथा स्वभावस्य दुष्परिहरत्वात् । मूर्खास्तु पित्रादिदेहेभ्यः प्राणेषु निःसृतेष्वेव शोचन्ति । सूक्ष्मदेहांस्तु न ते प्रायः 'परिचिन्वन्त्यतस्तैरलम्'^{४५} । एते हि सर्वे भीष्मादयः स्थूलसूक्ष्मदेहसहिता आत्मान एव । आत्मनान्तु नित्यत्वात्तेषु 'शोकप्रसक्तिरेव'^{४६} नास्तीत्यतस्त्वया यत्पूर्वमर्थशास्त्रात् धर्मशास्त्रं बलवदित्युक्तं तत्र मया तु धर्मशास्त्रादपि ज्ञानशास्त्रं 'बलवदिति प्रत्युच्यत'^{४७} इति भावः ॥११॥

Ṭikā: You have been lamenting (“*anu-a-śoc-as*”) over things which are not worth worrying about (*aśocyān*).

I have been instructing you, and you have been replying with intelligent words. When you say, “How can I possibly fight against Bhīṣma?” this sounds like the speech of an intelligent man. However you are not being intelligent at all, because wise people who really have intelligence do not worry about “that which is

⁴⁰ Verse 2.4.

⁴¹ ∅ : printed (not BVT).

⁴² सत्यामेव : printed.

⁴³ (तेषां नश्वरस्वभावत्वादिति भावः ।) : JMS. ∅ : UMS. तेषां नश्वरभावत्वादिति भावः : printed.

⁴⁴ पूर्व नश्चरा : BGP, KDB, BVT.

⁴⁵ परिचिन्वन्तीत्यतस्तैरलम् : AMS, MMS.

⁴⁶ शोकप्रवृत्तिरेव : printed. शोकप्रसक्तिरेव : AMS.

⁴⁷ बलवदित्युच्यत : printed.

lifeless” nor do they worry about “that which has life”.

‘Lifeless’ (*gatāsūn*)⁴⁸ refers to the gross material body because it has no life when the life force leaves it. The wise do not worry about these gross bodies because they know them to be temporary in nature.

‘That which has life’⁴⁹ (*agatāsūn*) refers to the subtle body because it retains the life force even after the destruction of the gross body. Wise men do not worry about the subtle body because it is only destroyed when one reaches liberation. Both subtle and gross bodies have their respective natures and those natures cannot be changed. So the wise do not lament about them.

The ignorant, however, lament when the life force leaves the gross body of their father or some dear one. No need to mention the subtle body; these ignorant people don’t lament for the subtle body because as a general rule they are not acquainted with the subtle body.

Bhīṣma and all these people here are in fact souls. Their souls are accompanied by these gross and subtle bodies. These souls are eternal, and therefore lamentation is not applicable.

You were arguing before that the *dharma-śāstra* (ethics) takes precedence over the *artha-śāstra* (practicalities). But I would reply that my arguments come from the *jñāna-śāstra* (knowledge), and the *jñāna-śāstra* takes precedence over the *dharma-śāstra*.” ❀

टीका- अथवा सखे त्वामहमेवं पृच्छामि ⁴⁸ प्रीत्यास्पदस्य मरणे दृष्टे सति शोको जायते 'तत्रेह'⁴⁹
प्रीत्यास्पदमात्मा देहो वा । सर्वेषामेव भूतानां नृप स्वात्मैव वल्लभः । इति शुकोक्तेरात्मैव
प्रीत्यास्पदमिति चेत्तर्हि जीवेष्वरभेदेन द्विविधस्यैवात्मनो नित्यत्वादेव मरणाभावादात्मा शोकस्य विषयो
नेत्याह ।

Ṭīkā: Now Kṛṣṇa says, “Or perhaps, my friend, I could ask you this: When people lament upon seeing a loved one die, what is the object of their affection at that time? the body or the soul? Śuka Goswami has said, ‘The dearest thing for all living entities is their own self, their soul.’⁵² Therefore we can conclude that the soul should be the only real object of love.

⁴⁸ Literally “that from which the life force has gone”.

⁴⁹ Literally, “that from which the life force has not gone”.

⁵⁰ किञ्च : printed, AMS, MMS.

⁵¹ तत्र : AMS.

⁵² BP,10.14.50: *sarveṣāṃ api bhūtānāṃ nṛpa svātmaiva vallabhah.*

“Now if that is the case, then it is not right to be lamenting, because the soul is eternal and immortal. There are two types of *ātma*, or soul: the *jīvātma* (the living beings) and the *paramātma* (the supreme soul), but both are eternal and immortal, and neither is a proper object of lamentation...

2.12

न त्वेवाहं जातु नासं न त्वं नेमे जनाधिपाः ।
न चैव न भविष्यामः सर्वे वयमतः परम् ॥१२॥

There has never been a time when I did not exist; nor have you and all these kings ever not existed. Nor in the future will any of us ever cease to exist.

टीका- न त्वेवाहमिति । अहं परमात्मा जातु कदाचिदपि पूर्वं नासमिति न । अपि त्वासमेव । तथा त्वमपि जीवात्मा आसीरेव । तथेमे 'जनाधिपा राजानश्च जीवात्मान आसन्नेव इति प्रागभावाभावो दर्शितः । तथा सर्वे वयमहं त्वमिमे⁵³ जनाधिपाश्च अतः परं न भविष्यामो न स्थास्याम इति न । अपि तु स्थास्याम एवेति ध्वंसाभावश्च दर्शितः इति परात्मनो जीवात्मनाश्च 'नित्यत्वादातमा'⁵⁴ न शोकविषय इति साधितम् । अत्र श्रुतयः नित्यो नित्यानां 'चेतनश्चेतनानामेको'⁵⁵ वहूनां यो विदधाति कामान् इत्याद्याः ॥१२॥

Ṭikā: It is not the case that I, the supreme soul, have ever at some time in the past 'not existed'. Rather, I have always just existed. Likewise you, as a living being (*jīvātma*) have always just existed. Similarly all these kings have always existed. Thus we all meet one of the criteria for eternity, technically known as “*prāg-abhāvābhāva*”, “never at any time in the past having being non-existent”.⁵⁶

Nor is it the case that any of us (you, me or all these kings) will ever cease

⁵³ ∅ : AMS.

⁵⁴ नित्यत्वादातमा : AMS.

⁵⁵ चेतनश्चेतनानामेको : AMS.

⁵⁶ According to the Indian tradition of logic (*nyāya*), one aspect of eternity is *prag-abhāvābhāva*. Before a temporary object is created, that object does not exist. That state is called *prāg-abhāva*, or the non-existence of something before it comes into existence. However for something beginningless, there is never a time before it existed, so there is no *prāg-abhāva*. That is called *prāg-abhāvābhāva* (not having been non-existent). This is one kind of eternity: beginningless (even if one day the object comes to an end).

to exist at some time in the future. Rather we will always just exist. Thus we meet the other criteria for eternity, technically called “*dhvāmsābhāva*” “indestructible”.⁵⁷

In this way the supreme soul as well as the individual souls are all eternal, and therefore it has been demonstrated that there can be no reason to lament for the soul.

In this regard we find statements such as the following in the *śruti* scriptures: “There is one eternal and conscious being who fulfils the desires of the many other eternal and conscious living beings.”⁵⁸

टीका- ननु चात्मसम्बन्धेन देहो ऽपि प्रीत्यास्पदं स्यात् देहसम्बन्धेन पुत्रभ्रात्रादयो तत्सम्बन्धेन ऽपि 'नष्त्रादयो'⁵⁹ ऽपि अतस्तेषां 'नाशे'⁶⁰ शोकः स्यादेवेति चेदत आहा ।

Ṭikā: But then Arjuna might object, “Granted, but the body is related to the soul, so surely it can also be an object of our affection. And then family members are related to the body, and grandchildren are related to those family members. Thus they can all be objects of our affection and when they die we can lament.”

To address such objections, Kṛṣṇa says,

2.13

देहिनो ऽस्मिन्यथा देहे कौमारं यौवनं जरा ।
तथा देहान्तरप्राप्तिर्धीरस्तत्र न मुह्यति ॥१३॥

Just as the embodied soul in this body undergoes childhood, adulthood and then old-age, so too does the soul receive a new body (after death). A wise person is not bewildered by this.

टीका- देहिन इति । देहिनो जीवस्यास्मिन् देहे कौमारं कौमरप्राप्तिर्भवति ततः कौमारनाशानन्तरं यौवनप्राप्तिर्यौवननाशानन्तरं जराप्राप्तिर्यथा तथैव देहान्तरप्राप्तिरिति । ततश्चात्मसम्बन्धिनां

⁵⁷ An other aspect of eternity is *dhvāmsābhāva*, or indestructibility. If something never ends, then it can also be called eternal. The soul is here described as having both these aspects of eternity (*dhvāmsābhāva* and *prāgabhāvābhāva*).

⁵⁸ KU 2.2.13, ŚU: 6.13: “*nityo nityānām cetanaś cetanānām eko bahūnām yo vidadhāti kāmān*”.

⁵⁹ न पुत्रादयो ऽपि. : KDB, BGP, BVT

⁶⁰ नाशे : AMS (MMS corrected).

कौमारादीनां प्रीत्यास्पदानां नाशे यथा शोको न क्रियते तथा देहस्याप्यात्मसम्बन्धिनः प्रीत्यास्पदस्य नाशे शोको न कर्तव्यः । यौवनस्य नाशे जराप्राप्तौ शोको जायत इति चेत् । कौमारस्य नाशे यौवनप्राप्तौ हर्षो ऽपि जायत इति । अतो भीष्मद्रोणादीनां जीर्णदेहनाशे खलु नव्यदेहान्तरप्राप्तौ तर्हि हर्षः क्रियतामिति भावः । यद्वा । एकस्मिन्नपि देहे कौमारादीनां यथा प्राप्तिस्तथैवैकस्यापि देहिनो जीवस्य नानादेहानां प्राप्तिरिति ॥१३॥

Tīkā: “Within this body, the embodied individual soul (*dehino*) undergoes childhood. And then as childhood finishes, the soul undergoes young adulthood, and then as adulthood finishes, the soul undergoes old age. In the same way, [as this body finishes] the soul receives another body. Those different states of childhood, adulthood and old age are certainly related to the soul, but still we don’t lament for the passing of one stage of life to another, and in the same way we need not lament for the passing away of a body, even though that body has certainly been intimately related to the soul.

“You might reply that still people lament when the soul passes in this body from youthful adulthood to old age. But you should also remember that people rejoice when they pass from childhood to adulthood. So when the old worn-out bodies of Bhīṣma and Droṇa are destroyed, they will both get new fresh bodies, and therefore we should be happy.”

Alternatively one could say that just as the one body undergoes different states from childhood through to old age, so too does the one embodied individual soul undergo different states in successive bodies. ❀

टीका- ननु 'सत्यमेवमेव'^{६१} तत्त्वं तदप्यविवेकिनो मम मन 'एवानर्थकारि'^{६२} 'वृथैव'^{६३} शोकमोहव्याप्तं दुःखयतीति तत्र न केवलं एकं मन एव अपितु मनसो 'वृत्तयो'^{६४} ऽपि सर्वास्त्वगादीन्द्रियरूपाः 'स्वस्वविषयाननुभाव्य अनार्थकारिण्य'^{६५} 'इत्याह'^{६६} ।

Tīkā: Arjuna might then say, “Yes that is certainly true, but I am not very wise and

⁶¹ सत्यमेव : AMS, MMS, printed.

⁶² एवानर्थकारी : printed (not BVT).

⁶³ वृथैव : AMS.

⁶⁴ वृत्तयो : AMS.

⁶⁵ स्वविषयाननुभाव्यानाथकारिण्य : BGP, KDB, GVS. स्वस्वविषयाननुभावा अनर्थकारिण्य : BVT.

स्वविषयाननुभाव्य अनार्थकारिण्य : BDM.

⁶⁶ इत्याह(शंक्या)ह : MMS.

my corrupt mind for no reason at all succumbs to illusory lamentation and becomes sad.”

To this Kṛṣṇa replies, “Not just your mind but also the functions of the mind, like the sense of touch, all become corrupt as they experience their respective sensual objects...

2.14

मात्रास्पर्शास्तुकौन्तेय शीतोष्णसुखदुःखदाः ।
आगमापायिनो ऽनित्यास्तास्तितिक्षस्य भारत ॥१४॥

Contact with matter creates happiness and distress such as heat and cold. But these perceptions come and go and are always impermanent. Just tolerate them, O descendant of Bharata.

टीका- मात्रा इन्द्रियग्राह्यविषयास्तेषां स्पर्शा अनुभवाः शीतोष्णेति आगमापायिन इति यदेव शीतलजलादिकमुष्णकाले सुखदं तदेव शीतकाले दुःखदमतो 'ऽनियतत्वादागमापयित्वादनित्यत्वाच्च'^{६७} तान् विषयानुभवान् तितिक्षस्य सहस्य । तेषां सहनमेव 'शास्त्रविहितत्वाद्धर्मः'^{६८} । न हि माघे मासि जलस्य दुःखदत्यबुद्धयैव शास्त्रे विहितः स्नानरूपो धर्मस्त्यज्यते । धर्म एव काले सर्वानर्थनिवर्तको 'भवति । एवमेव'^{६९} ये पुत्रभ्राताद्याः उत्पत्तिकाले धनाद्युपार्जनकाले च सुखदास्त एव 'तन्मृत्युकाले'^{७०} दुःखदा आगमापायिनो ऽनित्यास्तानपि तितिक्षस्य न तु तदनुरोधेन युद्धरूपः शास्त्रविहितः स्वधर्मस्त्याज्यः । विहितधर्मानाचरणं खलु काले महानर्थकृदेव इति भावः ॥१४॥

Ṭikā: “*Mātrā*” refers to the particular sensual objects which are perceived by different senses. The word “*sparsā*” means “contacting” or “experiencing”. So together they mean “experiencing the sensual objects”.

Such sensual experience comes and goes. The same cool water which brings so much happiness in summer will bring distress in winter. Therefore because these sensory perceptions come and go, are uncertain and impermanent, one must simply tolerate them. And tolerating these is a religious duty, since it is prescribed in the scriptures. In the winter month of Māgha one can not think, “It’s too cold, this water

67 ऽनियतत्वादागमापयित्वाच्च : printed, AMS.

68 शास्त्रविहितो धर्मः : printed.

69 भवत्येव : JMS.

70 मृत्युकाले : printed.

is unpleasant” and thus refuse to perform the prescribed duty of bathing.⁷¹ The performance of prescribed duty will in due time eliminate all non-sense.

Similarly, the sons, brothers, and other relatives, who give you so much happiness when they are born or prosper, will cause you so much distress when they die. These are temporary, vacillating experiences and you should learn to tolerate them. You should not out of lamentation for them give up your fighting duties, which are prescribed for you in the scriptures. Indeed, failing to perform one’s prescribed duties will eventually have unfortunate consequences.

टीका- एचं विचारेण तत्तत्सहनाभ्यासे सति ते विषयानुभवाः काले किल नापि दुःखयन्ति । यदि च न दुःखयन्ति तदात्ममुक्तिः 'स्यप्रत्यासन्नैवेत्याह'^{७२} ।

Ṭikā: Then Kṛṣṇa says, “When one thinks like that and practices tolerating these things, eventually one is no longer distressed by experiencing the objects of sense. When that happens, liberation of the soul is near...

2.15

यं हि न व्यथयन्त्येते पुरुषं पुरुषर्षभ ।
समदुःखसुखं धीरं सो ऽमृतत्वाय कल्पते ॥१५॥

O mighty one, immortality awaits that sober person who, undisturbed by these things, is equipoised in both happiness and distress.

टीका- यमिति । अमृतत्वाय मोक्षाय ॥१५॥

Ṭikā: “Immortality” means liberation.

टीका- एतच्च विवेकदशानधिरूढान् प्रति उक्तम् । वस्तुतस्तु असंगो ह्ययं पुरुषः इति 'श्रुतेर्जीवात्मनः'^{७३} स्थूलसूक्ष्मदेहाभ्यां तद्धर्मैः शोकमोहादिभिश्च सम्बन्धो नास्त्येव । तत्सम्बन्धस्याविद्याकल्पितत्वादित्याह ।

⁷¹ The lunar month of Māgha occurs around January in the coldest time of year in North India. At that time of year there are prescribed bathing days such as Gaṅgā-snāna and Kumbha-melā.

⁷² सत्यासन्नैवेत्याह : AMS. समासन्नैवेत्याह : MMS.

⁷³ श्रुतेर्जीवात्मनश्च : printed, AMS, MMS.

Ṭikā: Now Kṛṣṇa says, “The previous statements were spoken for those on a lower platform of understanding. Actually, as stated in the scriptures, ‘the spirit has no connection whatsoever with this world.’⁷⁴ That is to say, the individual soul has no real link with the subtle or gross bodies nor with lamentation and bewilderment which are also material in nature. Any apparent link [between these material objects and the soul] is only imagined out of ignorance....

2.16

नासतो विद्यते भावो नाभावो विद्यते सतः ।
उभयोरपि दृष्टो ऽन्तस्त्वनयोस्तत्त्वदर्शिभिः ॥१६॥

Material illusion has no enduring existence whereas spiritual reality never ceases to exist. Those who see the truth have concluded this about the nature of the two.

टीका- नेति । असतो ऽनात्मधर्मत्वादात्मनि जीवे अवर्तमानस्य शोकमोहादेस्तदाश्रयस्य देहस्य च भावः सत्ता नास्ति । तथा सतः 'सत्यस्वरूपस्य'⁷⁴ जीवात्मनो ऽभावो 'नाशो'⁷⁵ नास्ति । तस्मादुभयोरेतयोरसत्त्वतोरन्तो निर्णयो ऽयं दृष्टः । तेन भीष्मादिषु त्वदादिषु च जीवात्मसु सत्यत्वादनश्वरेषु 'देहदैहिक'⁷⁶ 'शोक'⁷⁷ 'मोहादयो नैव सन्तीति कथं भीष्मादयो नक्ष्यन्ति कथं वा तांस्त्वं शोचसीति भावः ॥१६॥

Ṭikā: “The material body and its ensuing lamentation and bewilderment do not exist within the soul because they are of different nature to the soul. These material things have no enduring existence. Moreover the spiritual reality, the soul with its nature of pure reality, is never destroyed and never ceases to exist. Great sages have come to this conclusion about spirit and matter.

“Therefore there can be no lamentation or bewilderment about the fate of the soul or body of Bhīṣma. The same applies for you, and the other warriors here. As individual souls (*jīvātmās*) you are all spiritual in nature (*satya-tva*), and hence eternal. How can Bhīṣma and the others die? And how then can you lament for them?” ❀

⁷⁴ BraUp 4.3.15 : “*asaṅgo hy ayam puruṣaḥ*”.

⁷⁵ सत्यरूपस्य : printed.

⁷⁶ ∅ : AMS.

⁷⁷ देहदैहिकविवेक : printed.

⁷⁸ नाशो : AMS.

टीका- नाभावो विद्यते सत इत्यस्यार्थ स्पष्टयति ।

Tīkā: Now Kṛṣṇa clarifies the meaning of the phrase “*nābhāvo vidyate satah*”⁷⁹:

2.17

अविनाशि तु तद्विद्धि येन सर्वमिदं ततम् ।
विनाशमव्ययस्यास्य न कश्चित्कर्तुमर्हति ॥१७॥

Understand this: you cannot destroy that which is spread through everything. No-one can destroy that eternal one.

टीका- 'अविनाशीति'^{७०} । तत् जीवात्मस्वरूपं येन सर्वमिदं शरीरं ततं व्याप्तम् । ननु 'शरीरमात्रव्यापिचैतन्यत्वे'^{७१} जीवात्मनो मध्यमपरिमाणत्वेनानित्यत्व'प्रसक्तिः'^{७२} । मैवं । सूक्ष्माणामप्यहं 'जीवः इति'^{७३} भगवदुक्तेः 'एषो ऽणुरात्मा'^{७४} चेतसा वेदितव्यो यस्मिन् 'प्राणः'^{७५} पंचधा संघिवेश इति ॥ बालाग्रशतभागस्य शतधा कल्पितस्य च । भागो जीवः स विज्ञेयः इति ॥ आराग्रमात्रो ह्यवरो ऽपि दृष्टः इति इत्यादि'^{७६} श्रुतिभ्यश्च तस्य परमाणुपरिमाणत्वमेव । तदपि सम्पूर्णदेहव्यापिशक्तिमत्त्वं जतुजटितस्य महामणेर्महौषधखण्डस्य वा 'शिरस्युरसि'^{७७} वा धृतस्य सम्पूर्णदेहपुष्टिकरणशक्तिमत्त्वमिव नासमञ्जसम् । स्वर्गनरकनानायोगिषु गमनञ्च 'तस्योपाधिपारवश्यादेव'^{७८} । +यदुक्तं'^{७९} प्राणमधिकृत्य दत्तत्रेयेन येन संसरते पुमान् इति । अतएवास्य सर्वगतत्वमप्यग्रिमश्लोके वक्ष्यमाणं नासमञ्जसम् । अतएवाव्ययस्य नित्यस्य नित्यो नित्यानां चेतनश्चेतनानामेको बहुनां यो विदधाति कामान् इति श्रुतेः

⁷⁹ Verse 2.16: “The spiritual reality never ceases to exist”.

⁸⁰ अविनाशिति : MMS.

⁸¹ शरीरमात्रव्यापी चैतन्यत्वे : printed. शरीरमात्रवापिचैतन्यत्वे : UMS.

⁸² प्रसक्तिः : AMS. प्रसक्तः : MMS.

⁸³ ती : AMS.

⁸⁴ एषो ऽणुरात्मा : AMS. एषो ऽणुरात्मा : MMS.

⁸⁵ प्राणं : printed.

⁸⁶ इत्यादि : AMS, MMS. इति : printed.

⁸⁷ शिरस्युरसि : BGP, KDB.

⁸⁸ तस्योपाधिपारवश्यादेव : AMS, MMS.

⁸⁹ तदुक्तं : printed, AMS, MMS.

॥ यद्वा ननु 'देहो'⁹⁰ जीवात्मा परमात्मेत्येतद्वस्तुत्रिकं 'मनुष्यतिर्यगादिषु'⁹¹ सर्वत्र दृश्यते । तत्राद्ययोर्देहजीवयोस्तत्त्वं नासतो विद्यते भाव इत्यनेनोक्तम् । तृतीयस्य परमात्मवस्तुनः किं तत्त्वमित्यत आह । 'अविनाशि त्विति'⁹² । 'तुभिन्नोपक्रमे'⁹³ परमात्मनो मायाजीवाभ्यां स्वरूपतः पार्थक्यात् । इदं जगत् ॥१७॥

Ṭīkā: The *jīvātma* (*tad*) pervades the whole body (*sarvam idam*) and is indestructible.

Hearing this someone might object, “If the soul is present as consciousness throughout the body, can we not conclude that the soul is temporary just like any ordinary sized object?”⁹⁴

“No, not at all, in the scriptures there are many statements which indicate that the soul is of infinitesimal size:

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa: “Of subtleties, I am the soul.”⁹⁵

The Maṇḍuka Upaniṣad: “This infinitesimal soul (*aṇur ātmā*) can only be known by pure consciousness. The five-fold life-force attaches itself.”⁹⁶

The Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad: “The soul is understood to be one ten thousandth the size of the tip of a hair.”⁹⁷

The Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad: “The soul is even smaller than the point of a needle.”⁹⁸

Nevertheless it is not incompatible that this infinitesimal soul has the power

⁹⁰ देही : AMS.

⁹¹ मनुष्यतिर्यगादिषु : AMS.

⁹² अविनाशित्विति : UMS. JMS corrected.

⁹³ तुभिन्नोपक्रमे : printed (‘r’ mātrā deleted from AMS).

⁹⁴ The tradition of Indian logic assumes that only infinitely small and infinitely large objects are eternal. Ordinary sized objects can not be called eternal. Being able to be broken into smaller parts is a way of being destroyed, and thus anything that can be broken into smaller parts can not be eternal. Therefore only the atomic (*aṇu*) or the all-pervasive (*vibhu* or *mahat*) are considered eternal, because they have no parts. Anything in between (*madhyama-parimāna*) cannot be eternal.

⁹⁵ BP 11.16.11: *sūkṣmāṇām apy ahaṁ jīvaḥ*.

⁹⁶ MaṇḍU 3.1.9: *eṣo ‘nur ātmā cetasā veditavyo yasmin prāṇaḥ pañcadhā saṁviveśa*.

⁹⁷ ŚvU 5.9: *bālāgra-śatbhāgasya śatadhā kalpitasya ca bhāgo jīvaḥ sa vijñeyah*.

⁹⁸ ŚvU 5.8 : *ārāgramātro hy avaro ‘pi drṣṭaḥ*.

to pervade the whole body just as a jewel or a herbal extract when placed on the head or the chest has the power to invigorate the whole body.

Taking birth in various species in heaven and hell is only an imposition of a false designation or identity upon the soul. This re-birth has been mentioned by Dattatreya: “This is what causes the repeated birth and death of the living being.”⁹⁹

Therefore in a subsequent verse the soul is rightly described as “*sarvagata*”¹⁰⁰ (literally “gone everywhere”) since it takes births in so many different situations.

And thus the soul is described here as “*avyaya*” which is a synonym for “*nitya*”, or “eternal”. In the *śruti* scriptures it is confirmed that the living being is eternal: “There is one eternal and conscious being who fulfils the desires of the many other eternal and conscious living beings.”¹⁰¹

Another interpretation of this verse can be arrived at if the word “*tad*” is said to refer to the supreme soul and the phrase *sarvam idam* (“all this”) is said to refer to “the whole universe”. The verse would then mean, “You should know, however, that the Supersoul, who pervades the whole universe, is imperishable.”

The verse would then be a reply to the following question: “Three principles are seen in men, beasts, and all other forms of life: the body, the individual soul, and the supreme soul. Two of these principles have been explained in the verse “*nāsato vidyate bhāvo...*” (namely the body and the *jīvātma*). Tell us about the third principle, the *paramātma*.”

To respond to such a request then Kṛṣṇa would speak this verse (*avināśi tu....*). “You should know, however, that the Supersoul, who pervades the whole universe, is imperishable.”

In this analysis the word “*tu*” (“however”) is pertinent. It serves to separate this idea from the preceding ideas. This is because the supreme soul described here is inherently different from *māyā* and the *jīva* discussed in the previous verses. ❀

टीका- नासतो विद्यते भावः इत्यस्यार्थं स्पष्टयति ।

Ṭikā: And then Kṛṣṇa clarifies the meaning of the phrase “*nāsato vidyate*

⁹⁹ Bhā 11.9.20 : *yena saṁsarate pumān.*

¹⁰⁰ Verse 2.24.

¹⁰¹ KaU 2.2.13, ŚvU 6.13: *nityo nityānām cetanaś cetanānām eko bahūnām yo vidadhāti kāmān.*

2.18

अन्तवन्त इमे देहा नित्यस्योक्ताः शरीरिणः ।
अनाशिनो ऽप्रमेयस्य तस्माद्युध्यस्व भारत ॥१८॥

These bodies are temporary, but the embodied one within is eternal, indestructible, and unfathomable. Therefore, you should engage in the battle, O descendant of Bharata.

टीका- अन्तवन्त इति ।¹⁰³ शरीरिणो जीवस्य अप्रमेयस्य अतिसूक्ष्मत्वाद् दुर्ज्ञेयस्य । तस्माद् युध्यस्येति शास्त्रविहितस्य स्वधर्मस्य त्यागो ऽनुचित इति भावः ॥१८॥

Ṭikā: The embodied soul, the *jīvātma*, is called “*aprameyasya*” or “unfathomable” because it is so subtle and thus difficult to understand.

Kṛṣṇa says, “Therefore you should engage in the battle.” Or in other words, “It would be inappropriate to give up this fighting which is prescribed for you as a religious duty in the scriptures.” ❀

टीका- भो वयस्य अर्जुन त्वमात्मा न हन्तेः कर्ता नापि हन्तेः कर्म इत्याह ।

Ṭikā: “Listen my friend, Arjuna, as a soul you can not be the subject of the verb to kill nor can you be the object...”

2.19

य एनं वेत्ति हन्तारं यश्चैनं मन्यते हतम् ।
उभौ तौ न विजानीतो नायं हन्ति न हन्यते ॥१९॥

Both he who thinks it a killer as well as he who thinks it killed are

¹⁰² Verse 2.16: “Material illusion has no enduring existence”.

¹⁰³ इमे स्थूलदेहा ज्ञानोत्पत्तौ सूक्ष्मदेहा अपि यद्यस्थिरत्वादसान्तस्तर्हि तत्सम्बन्धस्यासत्त्वं किमुत वक्तव्यमिति भावः । : UMS (deleted in JMS). Translation: “The word “bodies” here refers to the gross bodies, but if one has some knowledge it also refers to the subtle bodies. Now if even these bodies have no lasting existence because of their impermanent nature, then what to speak of those things which are related to these bodies.”.

mistaken. It does not kill and is not killed.

टीका- य इति । एनं जीवात्मानं हन्तारं वेत्ति भीष्मादीनर्जुनो हन्तीति यो वेत्तीत्यर्थः । हतमिति भीष्मादिभिरर्जुनो हन्यत इति यो वेत्ति तावुभावप्यज्ञानिनौ । अतो ऽर्जुनो ऽयं गुरुजनं हन्तीत्यज्ञानिलोकगीताद् दुर्ग्रहसः का ते भीतिरिति भावः ॥१९॥

Tīkā: Some might think that it (the *jīvātma*) can kill, and they will say, “Arjuna is going to kill Bhīṣma”. Others might think the *jīvātma* can be killed and they will say, “Arjuna is going to be killed by Bhīṣma”. But neither really understands.

Therefore Arjuna, why should you be afraid of the disrepute that might come from the ignorant general populace saying things like, “This Arjuna is going to kill his superiors.” ❀

टीका- जीवात्मनो नित्यत्वं स्पष्टतया साधयति ।

Tīkā: And then he clearly establishes that the *jīvātma*, or the individual soul, is eternal:

2.20

न जायते म्रियते वा कदाचिन्नायं भूत्वा भविता वा न भूयः ।
अजो नित्यः शाश्वतो ऽयं पुराणो न हन्यते हन्यमाने शरीरे ॥२०॥

It is not born nor does it ever die. Nor has it ever come into being nor will it ever come into being again. It is unborn, eternal, perpetual, and primordial. It does not die when the body does.

टीका- न जायते म्रियते इति जन्ममरणयोर्वर्तमानत्वनिषेधः । नायं भूत्वा भविता इति तयोर्भूतत्वभविष्यत्वनिषेधः । अतएव अजः इति कालत्रये ऽप्यजस्य जन्माभावान्नास्य प्रागभावः । शाश्वतः शाश्वत् सर्वकाल एव वर्तत इति नास्य कालत्रये ऽपि ध्वंसः । अतएवायं नित्यः । तर्हि बहुकालस्थायित्वाज्जराग्रस्तो ऽयमिति चेन्न पुराणः पुरापि नवः प्राचीनो ऽप्ययं नवीन इवेति षड्भावविकाराभावादिति भावः । ननु शरीरस्य मरणादौपचारिकन्तु मरणमस्यास्तु । तत्राह नेति । शरीरेण सह सम्बन्धाभावान्नोपचारः ॥२०॥

Tīkā: The phrase “*na jāyate mriyate*” rules out birth or death in the present. And the phrase “*na bhūtvā bhavitā*” rules them out in the past and future.

Therefore it is described as “*ajāḥ*” or “unborn”. Because in the past, present, and future the soul is never born, there is no such thing as a time when it did not exist (a *prāg-abhāva*).

The soul is also described as “*śāśvataḥ*” (or “*śāśvat*”) which means “existing at all times”. In past, present, and future the soul has no “*dhvaṁsa*”, or destruction.

Therefore, [because it has neither *prāgabhāva* nor *dhvaṁsa*] it can be technically described as “*nitya*”, or “eternal”.¹⁰⁴

In case Arjuna should think that the soul, being so old, must be afflicted with old-age, Kṛṣṇa says, “No, the soul is “*purāṇa*”, or primeval. The word “*purāṇa*” includes two notions: *purā* (ancient) and *nava* (new), that is to say that despite being ancient it is still just like new. The proof of this is that the soul does not undergo the six types of transformations [which characterise all temporary things].¹⁰⁵

Arjuna might still object, “Yes but with the death of the body surely there is at least a symbolic death for the soul?” To this Kṛṣṇa replies, “No, the soul does not die when the body does. There is no possibility of even a symbolic death because the soul has no connection whatsoever with the body.” ❀

टीका- अत एवम्भूतज्ञाने सति न्यं युध्यमानो ऽप्यहं युद्धे प्रेरयन्नपि दोषभाजौ नैव भवाव इत्याह ।

Ṭikā: Kṛṣṇa then says, “And from the perspective of such knowledge, there is nothing wrong with you going to battle nor with me inciting you to go...”

2.21

वेदाचिनाशिनं नित्यं य एनमजमच्ययम् ।
कथं स पुरुषः पार्थ कं घातयति हन्ति कम् ॥२१॥

If a person always keeps in mind that the soul is indestructible, unborn, and eternal, then how is it possible for him to kill anyone or to cause others to kill?

टीका- वेदेति । नित्यमिति क्रियाचिशेषणम् । अचिनाशिनमिति अजमिति

¹⁰⁴ See verse 2.12 with the accompanying footnotes for *prāgabhāva* and *dhvaṁsa*.

¹⁰⁵ Birth, growth, maintenance, reproduction, decay, and destruction.

अव्ययमित्येतैर्विनाशजन्मापक्षया¹⁰⁶ निषिद्धाः । स पुरुषो मल्लक्षणः कं घातयति कथं घातयति तथा स पुरुषस्त्वल्लक्षणः कं हन्ति कथं वा हन्ति ॥२१॥

Tīkā: The word “*nityam*” is here used as an adverb, in the sense of “always”.

It is stated here that the soul is “*avināśa*” (indestructible), “*aja*”, (unborn) and “*avyaya*” (eternal). All these references are rebuttals of the idea that the soul can be destroyed, born, or wither away.

Kṛṣṇa is saying to Arjuna, “[If we know that the soul cannot die, then] how would it be possible for you to actually kill anyone or for me to incite you to kill?”

❧

टीका- ननु मदीययुद्धाद् भीष्मसंज्ञकशरीरन्तु जीवात्मा 'त्यक्षत्येवेत्यतस्त्वच्चाह्व्य'¹⁰⁹ तत्र हेतू¹⁰⁸ भवाव एवेत्यत आह ।

Arjuna might object, “Fine, let’s say I approach the fight with the mentality that there is a soul presently in a body called Bhishma, and by my fighting, that soul will simply leave that body. Even still, surely you and I would be held responsible for that, wouldn’t we?”

So Kṛṣṇa address that issue:

2.22

वासांसि जीर्णानि यथा विहाय नवानि गृह्णाति नरो ऽपराणि ।
तथा शरीराणि विहाय जीर्णान्यन्यानि संयाति नवानि देही ॥२२॥

Just as one discards old, worn-out clothes before putting on other new ones, so too the embodied living being sheds an old, worn-out body and then receives another new one.

टीका- वासांसीति । नवीनं वस्त्रं परिधापयितुं जीर्णवस्त्रस्य त्याजने कश्चित् किं दोषो भवतीति भावः । तथा शरीराणीति 'भीष्मो'¹⁰⁹ जीर्णशरीरं 'परित्यज्य'¹¹⁰ 'दिव्यं'¹¹¹ नव्यमन्यच्छरीरं प्राप्स्यतीति कस्तव वा

106 जन्या अपक्षया : printed.

107 त्यक्षत्येवेत्येवेत्यतस्त्वच्चाह्व्य : BGP, KDB.

108 हेतु : printed, AMS (MMS corrected).

109 भीष्मे : BGP, KDB, GVS.

110 परित्यज्य : MMS.

111 दिव्ये : AMS.

मम वा दोषो 'भवीति'^{१२२} भावः ॥२२॥

Ṭikā: “Is there anything wrong with discarding worn-out clothes in order to put on new ones? Similarly when Bhīṣma leaves aside his present worn-out body and obtains a new divine body, how can you or I be at all blameworthy?” ❀

टीका- न च युद्धे त्वया प्रयुक्तेभ्यः शस्त्रास्त्रेभ्यः काप्यात्मनो व्यथा सम्भवेदित्याह ।

Ṭikā: Then Kṛṣṇa says to Arjuna, “Nor can the soul be troubled at all by the weapons which you fire in warfare...

2.23

नैनं छिन्दन्ति शस्त्राणि नैनं दहति पावकः ।
न चैनं क्लेदयन्त्यापो न शोषयति मारुतः ॥२३॥

It cannot be pierced by any weapon, nor burnt by fire, dissolved by water, nor dried out by the wind.

टीका- नैनमिति । शस्त्राणि खड्गादीनि । पावक आग्नेयास्त्रमपि युष्मदादिप्रयुक्तम् । आपः पार्जन्यास्त्रमपि मारुतो वायव्यमस्त्रम् ॥२३॥

Ṭikā: Here the word “śastrāṇi” refers to a weapon like a sword, and “pāvakaḥ” refers to fire-weapon, which people like you can fire. “Āpo” refers to a water-weapon, and “mārutah” refers to a wind-weapon.” ❀

टीका- तस्मादात्मायमेवमुच्यत इत्याह ।

Ṭikā: Therefore the soul can be described in these terms:

2.24

अच्छेद्यो ऽयमदाह्यो ऽयमक्लेद्यो ऽशोष्य एव च ।
नित्यः सर्वगतः स्थाणुरचलो ऽयं सनातनः ॥२४॥

2.25

अव्यक्तो ऽयमचिन्त्यो ऽयमविकार्यो ऽयमुच्यते ।

तस्मादेवं विदित्वैनं नानुशोचितुमर्हसि ॥२५॥

It cannot be pierced, burnt, soaked or parched. It is eternal, ubiquitous, stable, unmoving, and perpetual. It is said to be non-manifest, inconceivable, and unchangeable. So when you understand it in this way, there is no need for you to lament.

टीका- अच्छेद्य इति । अत्र प्रकरणे जीवात्मनो नित्यत्वस्य शब्दतो ऽर्थतश्च पौनरुक्त्यं 'निर्धारणप्रयोजनकं'^{११३} सन्दिग्धधीषु ज्ञेयम् । यथा कलावस्मिन् धर्मो ऽस्ति 'धर्मो ऽस्ति'^{११४} धर्मो ऽस्तीति 'त्रिचतुर्धाप्रयोगाद्'^{११५} धर्मो ऽस्त्येवेति 'निःसंशयो'^{११६} प्रतीतिः स्यादिति ज्ञेयम् । सर्वगतः स्वकर्मचशाद् देवमनुष्यतिर्यगादिसर्वदेहगतः । स्थाणुरचल इति पौनरुक्त्यं स्थैर्यनिर्धारणार्थम् । अति सुक्ष्मत्वादव्यक्तस्तदपि देहव्यापिचैतन्यत्वादचिन्त्यो ऽतर्क्यः । जन्मादिषड्विकारानर्हत्वादविकार्यः ॥२४-२५॥

Ṭikā: In this section there is a fair amount of repetition of both words and ideas concerning the eternity of the soul. The repetition is to emphasise this message to sceptics. For example someone might say, “In this Kali-yuga there is a religious duty, there is a religious duty, there is a religious duty...” And repeating it thus several times will give a very firm and unambiguous understanding that there really is religious duty in Kali-yuga.

Here the soul is described as “*sarva-gata*” (literally “going everywhere”). This means that by the re-action of its own previous activities, the soul goes into all species of bodies amongst gods, men, and animals.

The words “*sthāṇu*” (stable) and “*acala*” (unmoving) are really a repetition to emphasise the fixedness of the soul. Because the soul is very subtle it is called “*avyakta*” (non-manifest). And yet the soul is spread throughout the body as consciousness, therefore it is called “*acintya*” (inconceivable). The soul is also known as “*avikārya*” (unchanging). This is because the soul is not prone to the six transformations of temporary objects (birth, growth, etc.). ❀

113 निर्धारणप्रयोजकं : printed.

114 ø : printed.

115 त्रिचतुर्धाप्रयोगाद् : printed. त्रिचतुर्धाप्रयोगाद् : AMS, MMS.

116 निःसंशयो : AMS.

टीका- तदेवं 'शास्त्रीयतत्त्वदृष्ट्या'^{११७} त्वामहं 'प्रबोधयम्'^{११८} । व्यावहारिकतत्त्व'दृष्ट्यापि'^{११९}
प्रबोधयाम्यवधेहीत्याह ।

Ṭīkā: Now he says, “Thus far I have been instructing you from the point of view of the scriptures. Now listen attentively as I instruct you from a practical point of view...

2.26

अथ चैनं नित्यजातं नित्यं वा मन्यसे मृतम् ।
तथापि त्वं महाबाहो 'नैनं'^{१२०} शोचितुमर्हसि ॥२६॥

And, mighty-armed Arjuna, even if you think it is forever born or forever dead, there is still no reason to lament.

टीका- अथेति । नित्यजातं देहे जाते सत्येव नित्यं नियतं जातं मन्यसे । तथा देह एव मृते मृतं नित्यं 'नियतं'^{१२१} मन्यसे । महाबाहो इति पराक्रमवतः क्षत्रियस्य तव तदपि युद्धमावश्यकं स्वधर्मः । यदुक्तम् - क्षत्रियाणामयं धर्मः प्रजापतिचिनिर्मितः । भ्रातापि भ्रातरं हन्याद् येन 'घोरतरस्ततः'^{१२२} ॥ इति भावः ॥२६॥

Ṭīkā: If you think that the soul is forever born, that is to say, once the body is born the soul remains alive always, still there is no need to lament. Or even if you think the soul is forever dead, that is to say, once the body is dead the soul also stays that way forever, still there is no reason to lament.

“You are “*mahā-bāhu*”, a mighty-armed warrior capable of defeating your enemies. As a member of the warrior order, battle is by necessity your religious duty. Therefore it is said, “Brahma has established for the warrior order a most gruesome religious duty according to which a brother may even have to kill his own brother.”¹²³

117 शास्त्रीयतत्त्वदृष्टौ : MMS, AMS.

118 प्रबोधयम् : MMS.

119 दृष्टादपि : MMS.

120 नैनं : BGP, KDB.

121 ∅ : BGP, KDB, GVS.

122 घोरतरस्ततः : AMS.

123 BP 10.54.40

2.27

जातस्य हि ध्रुवो मृत्युर्ध्रुवं जन्म मृतस्य च ।
तस्मादपरिहार्ये ऽर्थे न त्वं शोचितुमर्हसि ॥२७॥

Anyone who is born will definitely die, and anyone who dies will definitely be re-born. Therefore there is no need to lament for something which is inevitable.

टीका- हि यस्मात्तस्य स्यारम्भककर्मक्षये मृत्युर्ध्रुवो निश्चितः । मृतस्य तदेहकृतेन कर्मणा जन्मापि ध्रुवमेव । अपरिहार्ये ऽर्थे इति मृत्युर्जन्म च परिहर्तुमशक्यमेवेत्यर्थः ॥२७॥

Ṭīkā: This body is a result of good and bad activities performed in previous lives. When they are spent, death is certain (“*dhruvo*”). And re-birth is just as certain, as a result of activities performed in this life.

The word “*hi*” is here used to mean “because”. Because birth and death are certain, therefore there is no reason to lament for something which is inevitable; it is impossible to avoid either birth or death. ❀

टीका- तदेवं जीवपक्षे न जायते म्रियते इत्यादिना देहपक्षे च जातस्य हि ध्रुवो मृत्युः इत्यनेन शोकविषयं 'निराकृत्येदानीमुभयपक्षे'^{१२४} ऽपि निराकरोति ।

Ṭīkā: Verse twenty (*na jāyate mriyate....*) argues that there is no need to lament for the soul, and verse twenty seven (*jātasya hi dhruvo mṛtyur...*) does the same with regard to the body. Now Kṛṣṇa deals with both ideas together:

2.28

अव्यक्तादीनि भूतानि व्यक्तमध्यानि भारत ।
अव्यक्तनिधनान्येच तत्र का परिदेवना ॥२८॥

Arjuna, son of the Bharata dynasty, all beings start off as non-manifest, become manifest for a time, and then end up non-manifest again. Why cry over this?

टीका- अव्यक्तेति । भूतानि देवमनुष्यतिर्यगादीनि अव्यक्तानि न 'व्यक्त'^{१२५} व्यक्तिरादौ जन्मपूर्वकाले

124 निराकृत्येदानीमुभये पक्षे : UMS.

125 ø : BGP, GVS.

येषाम् । किन्तु तदानीमपि लिङ्गदेहः स्थूलदेहश्च स्वारम्भकपृथिव्यादिद्रव्यसत्त्वात् कारणात्मना वर्तमानो ऽस्यष्टमासीदेवेत्यर्थः । व्यक्तं व्यक्तिर्मध्ये येषां तानि । न व्यक्तिर्निधनादनन्तरं येषां तानि । 'महाप्रलये'^{१२६} ऽपि 'कर्ममायादीनां'^{१२७} सत्त्वात् सूक्ष्मरूपेण भूतानि सन्त्येव । तस्मात् 'सर्वभूतान्याद्यन्तरयोरव्यक्तानि'^{१२८} मध्ये व्यक्तानीत्यर्थः । यदुक्तं श्रुतिभिः । स्थिरचरजातयः स्युरजयोत्थनिमित्तयुजः इति । का परिदेवना कः शोकनिमित्तो विलापः । तथा चोक्तं नारदेन । यन्मन्यसे ध्रुवं लोकमध्रुवं 'वा न चोभयम्'^{१२९} । सर्वथा हि न शोच्यास्ते स्नेहादन्यत्र मोहजात् ॥ इति ॥२८॥

Tīkā: The word *bhūtāni* in this verse refers to all beings: gods, men, and beasts. All these beings are “*avyakta-ādini*”, or “non-manifest to begin with”, that is to say, “non-manifest before their birth”. But even then, because the body’s constitutive material elements (earth, water, etc) exist, both the subtle body and the gross body exist, but only as a causal seeds; they are not directly manifest.

Then in the interim these beings become clearly manifest (*vyakta-madhyāni*), and then after their destruction they become non-manifest again (*avyakta-nidhāni*). At the time of complete destruction of this world, both *karma* (the results of previously performed actions) and *māyā* (illusion) still exist. Thus all living beings exist in a subtle form [awaiting the next creation].

So at the beginning and at the end of creation, the living beings are unmanifest; only in the interim are they manifest.

This has been confirmed by the *śrutis*: “All the moving and non-moving beings come into being when the material energy arouses all the latent causes for their activity”.¹³⁰

Therefore Kṛṣṇa says, “*kā paridevanā?*” “What is this grief? What is the reason for such lamentation?”. This idea is confirmed by Nārada: “Whether you believe a person to be eternal or not or both or neither, still in any case there is no need for you to lament for people: such lamentation just comes from an affection based on illusion.”¹³¹ ❀

126 BGP: महाप्रलय

127 कर्ममायादीनां : printed.

128 सर्वभूतान्याद्यन्तरयोरव्यक्तानि : printed.

129 चोभयम् : UMS. वा न चोभयम् : JMS.

130 BhP 10.87.29: “*sthira-cara-jātayah syur ajayottha-nimitta-yujah...*”

This is not a quote from the *śruti* texts but rather a quote from the prayers of the *śrutis* in the Bhāgavata-purāṇa.

131 BhP 1.13.44: “*yan manyase dhruvaṁ lokam adhruvaṁ vā...*”

टीका- ननु किमिदं आश्चर्यं ब्रूषे । किञ्चैतदप्याश्चर्यम् 'यदेव'^{१३२} प्रबोध्यमानस्याप्यचिवेको नापयातीति तत्र 'सत्यमेवमेवेत्याह'^{१३३} ।

Ṭīkā: “What a wonderful thing you are describing Kṛṣṇa! And the really wonderful thing is this: even when it is explained to me, still my misconceptions remain.”

“Yes, Arjuna, that is exactly how it is...

2.29

आश्चर्यवत्पश्यति कश्चिदेनमाश्चर्यवद्ब्रूति तथैव चान्यः ।
आश्चर्यवच्चैनमन्यः शृणोति श्रुत्याप्येनं चेद न चैव कश्चित् ॥२९॥

Some behold it with wonder and others speak of it with wonder. Others hear of it with wonder, and yet others cannot grasp it even after hearing about it.

टीका- आश्चर्यवदिति । एनम् आत्मानं देहञ्च तदुभयरूपं 'सर्वलोकञ्च'^{१३४} ॥२९॥

Ṭīkā: This wonderful thing is the soul. It is also the body, and also the whole world which is made up of the two. ~~॥२९॥~~

टीका- तर्हि निश्चित्य ब्रूहि किमहं 'कुर्या किंवा न'^{१३५} कुर्यामिति तत्र शोकं मा कुरु युद्धं तु कुर्वित्याह देहीति द्वाभ्याम् ॥३०॥

Ṭīkā: “Alright then”, says Arjuna, “tell me clearly what I should do and what I should not”.

As a reply, in the next two verses Kṛṣṇa says “Don't lament, but rather fight...

2.30

देही नित्यमवध्यो ऽयं देहे सर्घस्य भारत ।
तस्मात्सर्वाणि भूतानि न त्वं शोचिनुमर्हसि ॥३०॥

132 यदेव : printed.

133 सत्यमेवमेवेत्याह : AMS, MMS.

134 सर्वलोकम् : printed, AMS, MMS.

135 ∅ : AMS, MMS.

Arjuna, son of the Bhārata dynasty, there is in every single body an embodied soul which can never be destroyed. Therefore there is no need for you to lament for any living being.



2.31

स्वधर्ममपि चावेक्ष्य न विकम्पितुमर्हसि ।
धर्म्याद्धि युद्धाच्छ्रेयो ऽन्यत्क्षत्रियस्य न विद्यते ॥३१॥

And if you also take into account your sacred duty as a warrior, there is no reason for you to be worried. Nothing is more auspicious for a member of the warrior order than fighting to defend religious principles.

टीका- आत्मानो नशाभावादेव यथाद्विकम्पितुं 'भेतुं'^{३६} नार्हसि स्वधर्ममपि चावेक्ष्य न विकम्पितुमर्हसीति सम्बन्धः ॥३१॥

Ṭikā: Since the soul cannot be destroyed, there is no reason to be afraid of being killed. Moreover if you also take into account your own sacred duty as a warrior there is again no reason to be worried. This is how this verse connects to the previous one.

टीका- किञ्च जेतृभ्यः सकाशादपि 'न्याययुद्धे'^{३७} मृतानामधिकं सुखमतो भीष्मादीन् हत्वा तान् प्रत्युत स्वतो ऽप्यधिकसुखिनः^{३८} कुर्वित्याह ।

Ṭikā: What's more, Arjuna, in a just war the person who dies is happier than those who are victorious. Therefore, kill Bhīṣma and the others and make them happier than yourself.

2.32

यदृच्छया चोपपन्नं स्वर्गद्वारमपावृतम् ।
सुखिनः क्षत्रियाः पार्थ लभन्ते युद्धमीदृशम् ॥३२॥

136 ø : AMS. भेतुं : MMS.

137 न्याययुद्ध : AMS, MMS.

138 सुखिनः : AMS, MMS.

This kind of war is an open door which leads automatically to heaven. *Kṣatriyas* are happy to get the chance to fight such a war.

टीका- यदृच्छयेति स्वर्गसाधनं कर्मयोगमकृत्वापीत्यर्थः । 'अपावृतमपगतावरणम्'¹³⁹ ॥३२॥

Ṭīkā: This war is an open, unobstructed doorway which leads automatically (“*yadr̥cchayā*”) to heaven. That is to say, it is a way to go to the heavenly realms without even practising *karma-yoga* [which is normally the only means of going there]. ❀

टीका- विपक्षे दोषानाह अथेति चतुर्भिः ॥३३॥

Ṭīkā: In the next four verses Kṛṣṇa outlines the flaws of the opposing case:

2.33

अथ चेत्त्वमिमं धर्म्य संग्रामं न करिष्यसि ।
ततः स्वधर्म कीर्तिं च हित्वा पापमवाप्स्यसि ॥३३॥

But if you refuse to fight this war to defend religious principles, then you will be neglecting your own religious duty as a warrior, you will be ruining your reputation, and you will be implicated in sin.



2.34

अकीर्तिं चापि भूतानि कथयिष्यन्ति ते ऽव्ययाम् ।
संभावितस्य चाकीर्तिर्मरणादतिरिच्यते ॥३४॥

People will forever talk about your disgrace, and for one who has known glory disgrace is worse than death.

टीका- अव्ययामनश्चराम् । सम्भावितस्याति'प्रतिष्ठितस्य'¹⁴⁰ ॥३४॥

¹³⁹ आपावृतमपगतावरणम् : JMS. आपावृतमपगतावरणम् : AMS.

¹⁴⁰ प्रतिष्ठितस्य : AMS (corrected in MMS).

Ṭīkā: The word “*avyayām*” means that the disgrace will be unending, eternal. The word “*sambhavitasya*” means a very well respected person. [For such a person disgrace is worse than death.] ❀

2.35

भयाद्रणादुपरतं मंस्यन्ते त्वां महारथाः ।
येषां च त्वं बहुमतो भूत्वा यास्यसि लाघवम् ॥३५॥

Mighty warriors who once held you in high esteem will think that you have quit the battle-field out of fear, and thus you will be disgraced .

टीका- येषां त्वं 'बहुमतो'^{१४१} ऽस्मच्छत्रुर्जुनस्तु महाशूर इति 'बहु'^{१४२} सम्मानविषयो भूत्वा सम्प्रति युद्धादुपरमे सति लाघवं यास्यसि ते दुर्योधनादयो महारथास्त्वां भयादेव रणादुपरतं मंस्यन्त इत्यन्वयः । क्षत्रियाणां हि भयं विना युद्धोपरतिहेतुर्बन्धुस्नेहादिको नोपपद्यत इति मत्वेति भावः ॥३५॥

Ṭīkā: You used to be an object of great respect. People would think, “This enemy of ours, Arjuna, is a great hero.” But now if you quit the battlefield you will be disgraced and those same great warriors like Duryodhana will think that you quit the battle field simply out of fear. They will think that family affection does not make a member of the warrior order quit the battlefield unless there is also some fear.

2.36

अवाच्यवादांश्च वहन्वदिष्यन्ति तवाहिताः ।
निन्दन्तस्तव सामर्थ्यं ततो दुःखतरं नु किम् ॥३६॥

Your enemies will say unmentionable things about you, ridiculing your prowess. What could be more painful than that?

टीका- अवाच्यवादान् - 'क्लीब'^{१४३} इत्यादि कटूक्तीः॥३६॥

Ṭīkā: They will say unmentionable things about you, such as “Cowardly sissy!”. ❀

141 चहुमतो : UMS.

142 ∅ : AMS, MMS.

143 क्रीब : UMS.

टीका- ननु युद्धे मम जय एव भावीत्यपि नास्ति निश्चयस्ततश्च कथं युद्धे 'प्रवर्तितव्यमित्यत'¹⁴⁴ आह हत इति ॥३७॥

Tīkā: “But Kṛṣṇa, I can’t even be certain that I will win the war, so how am I supposed to engage in it?”

Kṛṣṇa replies...

2.37

हतो वा प्राप्स्यसि स्वर्गं जित्वा वा भोक्ष्यसे महीम्
तस्मादुत्तिष्ठ कौन्तेय युद्धाय कृतनिश्चयः ॥३७॥

Either you will lose and go to heaven, or win and enjoy this earth. Therefore, son of Kunti, arise, determined to fight.



टीका- तस्मात्तत्र सर्वथा युद्धमेव धर्मस्तदपि 'यदीद'¹⁴⁴ पापकारणमाशङ्क्यसे तर्हि मत्तः 'पापानुत्पत्ति'¹⁴⁵ प्रकारं शिक्षित्वा 'युद्धयस्वेत्याह'¹⁴⁶ ।

Tīkā: Now he says, “Arjuna, this war is in all respects a religious duty for you, but if you suspect that it might also be a cause of sin for you, then just learn from me the art of acting without incurring sin, and then engage in the battle...”

2.38

सुखदुःखे समे कृत्वा लाभालाभौ जयाजयौ ।
ततो युद्धाय युज्यस्व नैवं पापमवाप्स्यसि ॥३८॥

Look upon happiness and distress equally; the same applies for gain and loss as well as for victory and defeat. Take part in the war in this manner and you will incur no sin.

¹⁴⁴ प्रवर्तितव्यमित्यत : AMS.

¹⁴⁵ यदीदं : printed. यदिदं : MMS. UMS corrected.

¹⁴⁶ पापानुत्पत्ति : UMS.

¹⁴⁷ युद्धयस्वेत्याह : BGP, GVS. युध्यस्वेत्याह : BDM, BVT, KDB.

टीका- सुखदुःखे समे कृत्वा तद्धेतू^{१४८} लाभालाभौ राज्यलाभ'राज्यच्युती अपि^{१४९} । 'तद्धेतू^{१५०}
जयाजयावपि समौ कृत्वा विचेकेन तुल्यौ विभाच्येत्यर्थः । ततश्चैवम्भूतसाम्य'लक्षण^{१५१} ज्ञानवत्तस्य पापं
नैव भवेत् । यद्द्रक्ष्यते लिप्यते न स पापेन पद्मपत्रमिवाम्भसा इति ॥३८॥

Ṭikā: “Look upon happiness and distress equally. The cause of your happiness and distress is gain and loss of the kingdom. Also look equally upon gain and loss. And the cause of your gaining or losing the kingdom is winning or losing this battle, so also look equally upon victory and defeat. That is to say, through analysis come to regard them as the same.

There is no question of sin for you if you have this knowledge of equanimity. This will be explained later in the verse “*lipyate na sa pāpena padma-patramivāmbhasā*” “Such a person is not touched by sin, just as a lotus is not touched by water.”¹⁵²

टीका- उपदिष्टं ज्ञानयोगमुपसंहरति ।

Ṭikā: And now he brings his teachings on *jñāna-yoga* to an end:

2.39

एषा ते ऽभिहिता सांख्ये बुद्धिर्योगे त्विमां शृणु
चुद्धया युक्तो यया पार्थ कर्मबन्धं प्रहास्यसि ॥३९॥

I have thus far explained this frame of mind¹⁵³ to you in theory. Now

¹⁴⁸ तद्धेतुः : BDM, BVT,GVS, AMS, MMS.

¹⁴⁹ राज्यच्युतौ अपि : BDM, BVT, GVS. राज्यच्युतीत्यपि : AMS, MMS (added in margin).

¹⁵⁰ तद्धेतुः : BDM, BVT,GVS, AMS, MMS.

¹⁵¹ लक्षणे : printed.

¹⁵² Verse 5.10

¹⁵³ “*buddhi*”. Minor (1982 76) notes that the word “*buddhi*” is used in the *Gītā* with two senses: the “intellect” and “the ideal stance of that intellect: non-attachment to the non-self”. In this chapter I have translated the first sense as “mind” (2.41 etc.) and the second sense as “this frame of mind” or “mental attitude” (here, 2.49, etc.). The more conventional rendition would be “intellect” and “intellectual attitude”. However “intellect” is an unusual and ungraceful word which is difficult to combine in the myriad
(continued...)

listen as I explain it in practice. By adopting this frame of mind you can escape the bondage of *karma*.

टीका- एषेति । सम्यक् ख्यायते प्रकाशयते 'चेस्तुतत्वमनेनेति'^{१५४} सांख्यं सम्यक् ज्ञानम् । तस्मिन् 'करणीयाबुद्धिरेषा'^{१५५} कथिता । अधुना योगे भक्तियोगे 'तु'^{१५६} इमां वक्ष्यमाणां बुद्धिं करणीयां शृणु । यया भक्तिविषयिण्या बुद्ध्या युक्तः सहितः । कर्मबन्धं संसारम् ॥३९॥

Tīkā: The word “*sāṅkhya*” refers to a complete description (*samyak-khyāyate*). That complete knowledge which thoroughly describes and reveals the truth of things is known as “*sāṅkhya*”. I have thus far explained within that *sāṅkhya* school of thought how to adopt this frame of mind. Now listen as I explain it within the school of *yoga*, that is to say within the school of *bhakti-yoga*. By adopting this devotional frame of mind you will escape the bondage of *karma*, i.e., you will escape the cycle of death and re-birth. ❀

टीका- अत्र योगो द्विविधः श्रवणकीर्तनादिभक्तिरूपः श्रीभगवदर्पितनिष्कामकर्मरूपश्च । तत्र 'कर्मण्येवाधिकारः'^{१५७} इत्यतः प्राग् भक्तियोग एव निरूप्यते । निस्त्रैगुण्यो भवार्जुन 'इत्युक्तेः । भक्तेरेव'^{१५८} त्रिगुणातीतत्वात् 'तथैव'^{१५९} पुरुषो निस्त्रैगुण्यो भवतीत्येकादशस्कन्धे प्रसिद्धेः । ज्ञानकर्मणोस्तु 'सात्त्विकत्वरजसत्वाभ्यां'^{१६०} निस्त्रैगुण्यत्वानुपपत्तेः । 'भगवदर्पितत्वलक्षणा'^{१६१} भक्तिस्तु कर्मणो वैफल्याभावमात्रं प्रतिपादयति । न तु स्वस्य भक्तिव्यपदेशं प्राधान्याभावादेव । यदि च भगवदर्पितं कर्मापि भक्तिरेवेति मतम् तदा कर्म किं स्यात् । यद्भगवदनर्पितं कर्म तदेव कर्मेति 'चेन्न'^{१६२} । नैष्कर्म्यमप्यच्युतभाववर्जितं न शोभते ज्ञानमलं निरञ्जनम् । कुतः पुनः शश्वदभद्रमीश्वरे नचार्पितं

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(...continued)

of contexts in which “*buddhi*” occurs , and “intellectual attitude” to my mind connotes in current English a more theoretical position than is intended in the context of the yoga taught in the *Gītā*. Edgerton (1952) also uses “mental attitude”.

154 चेस्तुतत्वमनेनेति : UMS.

155 करणीयाबुद्धिरेषा : UMS.

156 ∅ : printed.

157 कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते : MMS.

158 इत्युक्तः । भक्तेरेव : UMS.

159 तथैव : JMS.

160 सात्त्विकत्वरजसत्वाभ्यां : AMS, MMS.

161 भगवदर्पितत्वलक्षणा : printed.

भगवदर्पित(कर्म)त्वलक्षणा : MMS.

162 चेत्त(र्हि) : AMS.

कर्म यदप्यकारणम् ॥ इति नारदोक्त्या तस्य वैयर्थ्यप्रतिपादनात् । तस्माद्भगवच्चरणमाधुर्यप्राप्तिसाधनीभूता केवलश्रवणकीर्तनादिलक्षणैव भक्तिर्निरूप्यते । 'तथा'^{१६३} निष्कामकर्मयोगो ऽपि निरूपयितव्यः । उभावप्येतौ बुद्धियोगशब्दवाच्यौ ज्ञेयौ ददामि बुद्धियोगं तं येन मामुपयान्ति ते इति दूरेण ह्यवरं कर्म बुद्धियोगाद् धनञ्जय इति 'चोक्तेः'^{१६४} । अथ निर्गुणश्रवणकीर्तनादिभक्तियोगस्य माहात्म्यमाह ।

Ṭīkā: The “*yoga*” referred to in verse 39 is of two kinds: the first being *bhakti-yoga*, consisting of hearing, chanting, etc., and the second *niṣkāma-karma-yoga*, or selfless performance of religious rites and duties. In this section until verse forty-seven (“*karmany evādhikāras te...*”), only *bhakti yoga* is described. [Then *niṣkāma-karma-yoga* will be described.]

We know that only *bhakti-yoga* is being described here because in verse forty-five Arjuna is told to transcend material influence (*nistraiguṇyo bhavārjuna*). Now only *bhakti* is transcendent, and therefore only by *bhakti* can one become transcendent. This has been established in the eleventh *skandha* [of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa].¹⁶⁵

On the other hand, *karma-yoga* is under the influence of *rajas* (passion) and *jñāna-yoga* is under the influence of *sattva* (goodness), and thus neither of them can give transcendence.

The rituals of *karma* are certainly offered to the Lord, but that devotional component simply prevents the ritual practices of *karma* from being ineffectual. That devotional component does not mean that such ritual practices should be called *bhakti*, because *bhakti* is not the main component.

Besides, if such *karma-yoga* rituals and duties which are offered to the Lord are to be considered as *bhakti*, then what will the word *karma* refer to? Of course you might say that *karma* could then refer to any ritual activity or duty which is not offered to the Lord. But that does not make any sense because the rites and activities of *karma-yoga* are completely useless without *bhakti*. They must always be offered to the Lord. This has been confirmed by Śrī Nārada:

“The state of desirelessness is not very attractive if it is devoid of a sense of God; neither is pure speculative knowledge. The same applies even more so to ritual activities which are not offered to the Lord, for they are always troublesome even

¹⁶³ यथा : printed, AMS, MMS.

¹⁶⁴ चोक्तः : AMS.

¹⁶⁵ E.g., BhP 11.25.23.

if they are performed without personal desire.”¹⁶⁶

Therefore this current section (v. 40-46) can only apply to *bhakti-yoga*, the transcendental yoga which consists only of the pure devotional activities such as hearing, chanting, and so on and which is the means for attaining the nectar of the feet of the Lord. The material *niṣkāma-karma-yoga* will also be described later.

The word “*buddhi-yoga*” thus has two meanings: “*bhakti-yoga*” and “*niṣkāma-karma-yoga*”. This is apparent in other places. For example, in verse ten of chapter ten [where “*buddhi-yoga*” means *bhakti*]: “*dadāmi buddhi-yogaṁ taṁ yena māṁ upayānti te*” (“I give them the *buddhi-yoga*, the wisdom by which they can approach me”). And then in verse forty-nine of this chapter [where “*buddhi-yoga*” means *niṣkāma-karma-yoga*]: “*dūreṇa hy avaram karmā buddhi-yogād dhanañjaya*” (“Ordinary actions are far inferior to *buddhi-yoga* [selfless religious actions offered to the Lord].”)

For now Kṛṣṇa extols *bhakti-yoga*, the transcendental yoga which consists of the devotional activities of chanting and hearing...

2.40

नेहाभिक्रमनाशो ऽस्ति प्रत्यचायो न विद्यते ।
स्वल्पमप्यस्य धर्मस्य त्रायते महतो भयात् ॥४०॥

No steps taken in this yoga are ever lost or reversed. Even a little of this practice can free one from the greatest fear.

टीका- नेहेति । इह भक्तियोगे 'ऽभिक्रमे आरम्भमात्रे कृते ऽप्यस्य भक्तियोगस्य'^{१६७} नाशो नास्ति ततः प्रत्यचायश्च न स्यात् । यथा कर्मयोगे आरम्भं कृत्वा कर्माननुष्ठितवतः कर्मनाशप्रत्यचायौ स्यातामिति भावः । ननु तर्हि तस्य 'भक्त्यनुष्ठातुकामस्य'^{१६८} समुचितभक्त्यकरणात् भक्तिफलं तु नैव स्यात् तत्राह स्वल्पमिति । अस्य धर्मस्य स्वल्पमपि । आरम्भसमये या किञ्चिन्मात्री भक्तिरभूत् सापीत्यर्थः । महतो भयात् संसारात् 'तु'^{१६९} 'त्रायते'^{१७०} एव । 'यन्नामसकृच्चवणात्'^{१७१} 'पुक्कशो'^{१७२} ऽपि विमुच्यते

¹⁶⁶ BhP 12.12.53 and 1.5.12.
¹⁶⁷ ऽभिक्रम आरम्भस्तस्य : UMS (JMS corrected).
¹⁶⁸ भक्त्यनुष्ठातुः कामस्य : BVT, BDM, GVS.
¹⁶⁹ ∅ : printed.
¹⁷⁰ शयते : AMS.
¹⁷¹ यन्नामसकृच्चवणात् : AMS.
¹⁷² पुक्कसो : JMS. पुक्कशो : AMS. पुक्कशो : MMS.

संसारत् इत्यादिश्रवणात्¹⁷³ अजामिलादौ तथा दर्शनाच्च । न ह्यङ्गोपक्रमे ध्वंसो मद्गर्मस्योद्धवाण्वपि ।
मया व्यवसितः सम्यङ् निर्गुणत्वादनाशिषः ॥ इति भगवतो वाक्येन सहास्य वाक्यस्यैकार्थमेव दृश्यते ।
किन्तु तत्र निर्गुणत्वान्न हि गुणातीतं वस्तु कदाचित् ध्वस्तं भवतीति हेतुरुपन्यस्तः । स चेहापि द्रष्टव्यः ।
न च निष्कामकर्मणो ऽपि 'भगवदर्पणमहिम्ना'¹⁷⁴ निर्गुणत्वमेवेति वाच्यम् । मदर्पणं 'निष्फलं'¹⁷⁵ वा
सात्त्विकं निजकर्म तत् इतिवाक्येन तस्य 'सात्त्विकत्वोक्तेरिति'¹⁷⁶ ॥४०॥

Ṭīkā: “Even if one only just begins this *bhakti-yoga*, that *bhakti* is never lost. And therefore there is also no reversal of that *bhakti* as there would be in *karma-yoga*. In the duties and rituals of *karma-yoga* if something is only started but not completed, then that effort is lost and may even give the opposite reaction. Not so in *bhakti*.”

Arjuna may object, “A person may well want to perform *bhakti-yoga*, but surely he can not reap the rewards of *bhakti* unless he performs it fully and adequately?”

To this Kṛṣṇa replies, “*svalpam api...*”. “Whatever little bit of *bhakti* has been performed even at the beginning of the process, that will be enough to free one from the greatest fear, i.e., from the cycle of death and re-birth. This is confirmed in the example of Ajāmila as well as by statements in the scriptures, such as:

“By hearing that name just once, even the tribal Pukkaśa people can be freed from this cycle of death and re-birth.”¹⁷⁷

This present verse (*nehābhikramo...*) is supported by another statement made by the Lord:

“O Uddhava, there is not the slightest destruction of any small start made to this religion of mine because it is completely transcendental when performed without any personal desire. This is my firm opinion.”¹⁷⁸

The reason for this fact is mentioned in that verse: “*nirguṇatvāt*” “because

¹⁷³ संसारादिश्रवणात् : UMS (commentary on this verse ends here in UMS and begins again at the next verse with किञ्च सर्वाभ्यो ...). Only the quote न ह्यङ्गोपक्रमे... appears in full in the margin in another pen, introduced by the phrase यदुक्तमेकदशे, but this has all been subsequently crossed out. In JMS the last line of this section (भगवदर्पणमहिम्ना निर्गुणत्वमेवेति वाच्यम् मदर्पणं निष्फलं वा सात्त्विकं निजकर्म तत् इतिवाक्येन तस्य सात्त्विकत्वोक्तेरिति) appears in the margin.

¹⁷⁴ भगवदर्पणमहिम्ना : AMS. भगवदर्पणमहिम्ना : MMS

¹⁷⁵ निष्फलं : AMS.

¹⁷⁶ सात्त्विकत्वोक्तेः : prited. सात्त्विकोक्तेरि (ति) : AMS. सात्त्विक(त्वो)क्तेरिति : MMS.

¹⁷⁷ BhP 6.16.44.

¹⁷⁸ BhP 11.29.20.

it is completely transcendental” and transcendental things can never be destroyed. The same applies here in this verse, too. [Therefore this verse cannot apply to *niṣkāma karma-yoga*, since that yoga is not transcendental.]

Nor can one say that *niṣkāma-karma-yoga* becomes transcendental when offered to the Lord, because there is a statement of the Lord to the effect that it is “*sattvika*”, or within the realm of the material quality of Goodness. He says, “The performance of one’s particular religious duties, either selflessly or as an offering to Me, is considered to be under the influence of the material quality of *sattva*, or Goodness.”¹⁷⁹ ❀

टीका- किञ्च सर्वाभ्यो ऽपि बुद्धिभ्यो भक्तियोगविषयिण्येव बुद्धिरुत्कृष्टेत्याह ।

Tīkā: Then he says, “And the finest of all mental attitudes is that which is centred on *bhakti-yoga*, the path of devotion...

2.41

व्यवसायात्मिका बुद्धिरेकेह कुरुनन्दन ।
बहुशाखा ह्यनन्ताश्च बुद्धयो ऽव्यवसायिनाम् ॥४१॥

O son of the Kuru dynasty, in this yoga a resolute and settled mind¹⁸⁰ can be completely focused, but if one lacks resolve, the mind branches out in endless ways.

टीका- व्यवसायेति । इह भक्तियोगे व्यवसायात्मिका 'निश्चयात्मिका'^{१८१} बुद्धिरेकैव । मम श्रीमद्गुरुरूपदिष्टं भगवत्कीर्तनस्मरणचरणपरिचरणादिकमेतदेव मम साधनमेतदेव मम साध्यमेतदेव मम जीवातुः साधनसाध्यदशायोरस्त्यक्तमशक्यमेतदेव मे काम्यमेतदेव मे कार्यमेतदन्यन्न मे कार्य नाप्यभिलाषणीयं स्वप्ने ऽपीत्यत्र सुखमस्तु दुःखं वास्तु संसारो नश्यतु वा न नश्यतु 'वा'^{१८२} तत्र मम 'न कापि'^{१८३} क्षतिरित्येवं निश्चयात्मिका 'बुद्धिरेकैव भक्तावेव'^{१८४} सम्भवेत् । 'यदुक्तम्'^{१८५} । ततो भजेत मां

¹⁷⁹ BhP 11.25.23.

¹⁸⁰ “*buddhi*”, see footnote to verse 2.39.

¹⁸¹ ∅ : printed.

¹⁸² ∅ : printed.

¹⁸³ कापि न : printed.

¹⁸⁴ बुद्धिरैकैवभक्तावेव : printed.

¹⁸⁵ तदुक्तम् : BGP, KDB. (यदुक्तम् : GVS).

'प्रीतः^{१८६} श्रद्धालुर्दृढनिश्चयः इति । ततो ऽन्यत्र नैव बुद्धिरेकेत्याह बभूविति । 'बह्व्यः^{१८७} शाखा यासां
'ताः^{१८८} । तथा हि कर्मयोगे कामानामानन्त्याद् 'बुद्धयो ऽप्यनन्ताः^{१८९} । तत्साधनानां कर्मणामानन्त्यात्
तच्छाखा अप्यनन्ताः । तथैव ज्ञानयोगे प्रथममन्तःकरणशुद्धयर्थं 'निष्कामकर्मणि^{१९०} बुद्धिस्ततस्तस्मिन् शुद्धे
सति कर्मसंन्यासे बुद्धिः । तदा ज्ञाने बुद्धिः ज्ञानवैफल्याभावार्थं भक्तौ बुद्धिः । ज्ञानञ्च मयि संन्यासेत्
इति भगवदुक्तेर्ज्ञानसंन्यासे च ^{१९१} बुद्धिरिति बुद्धयो ऽनन्ताः । कर्मज्ञानभक्तीनामवश्यानुष्ठेयत्वात्
तत्तच्छाखा 'अप्यनन्ता इति^{१९२} ॥४१॥

Tīkā: In this yoga, *bhakti-yoga*, a resolute and determined mind can be one-pointed. That frame of mind is like this: “My venerable guru has instructed me to perform devotional activities such as glorifying the Lord, remembering him, and serving his lotus feet. These devotional activities are my means of advancement (*sādhana*) as well as my end goal (*sādhya*). They are my very sustenance, which I can never give up either in the stage of practice or in the stage of perfection. They are my duty as well as my own choice. There is nothing else I have to do, and there is nothing else I want to do - even in my dreams. Thus, it does not matter whether I am in happiness or distress, or even whether the whole universe is destroyed or not; it won't affect me in the slightest.”

Such focus of a resolute and settled mind is possible only in *bhakti*. This is confirmed in the scriptures: “Thus one should worship Me with faith, love, and firm determination...”¹⁹³

Then in the second part of this verse (*bahu-śākhā...*) Kṛṣṇa explains that such single-mindedness is not possible in other paths: if one lacks resolve, then the mind is *bahu-śākhā*, or “many-branched”. For example in *karma-yoga* there is no limit to the number of desires, and thus the intentions of *karmis* are endless. And the ritualistic means of attaining all these desires are endless, so the procedures and branches are also endless.

So too in *jñāna-yoga*; in the beginning one must turn one's attention to *niškāma-karma-yoga* in order to purify the mind. And then when the mind is

186 भक्त्या : printed.

187 बह्व्यः : BGP, KDB, GVS.

188 ताः : AMS, MMS.

189 बुद्धयो ऽनन्ताः : printed, AMS, MMS.

190 निष्कामकर्मणि : AMS, MMS.

191 भक्तौ : BGP, KDB.

192 अप्यनन्ताः : printed.

193 BP 11.20.28.

purified, one's attention must be turned to giving up those religious and ritual activities. And then one must set about developing *jñāna*. And then to ensure that the path of *jñāna* actually produces its result, one must turn one's attention to *bhakti*. And then, according to the statement, "One should surrender the path of *jñāna* to Me"¹⁹⁴, one must turn one's attention to giving up *jñāna*.

Thus there are endless mental stances (*buddhi*) required in the path of *jñāna*. The *jñānis* are obliged to follow *karma*, *jñāna* and *bhakti*, and thus they branch out into endless paths. ❀

टीका- तस्मादव्यवसायिनः सकामकर्मिणस्त्वतिमन्दा इत्याह ।

Tīkā: And therefore the irresolute *sakāma-karmis* (who perform religious rituals and activities for personal gain) are very foolish:

2.42

यामिमां पुष्पितां वाचां प्रवदन्त्यविपश्चितः ।
वेदवादरताः पार्थ नान्यदस्तीति वादिनः ॥४२॥

2.43

कामात्मानः स्वर्गपरा जन्मकर्मफलप्रदाम् ।
क्रियाविशेषबहुलां भोगैश्वर्यगतिं प्रति ॥४३॥

Foolish and greedy men, whose only motivation is to enjoy heavenly pleasures, speak flowery words full of special rituals for obtaining wealth and enjoyment. These flowery words offer higher birth as a reward for ritual action. O son of Prthā, such men who delight in the words of the Veda proclaim that there is nothing else but this.

टीका- यामिमामिति । 'पुष्पितां 'वाचं पुष्पितां'^{१९५} विषलतामिवापाततो रमणीयां प्रवदन्ति प्रकर्षण सर्वतः प्रकृष्टा इयमेव वेदवागिति ये वदन्ति तेषां तथा वाचा अपहतचेतसांश्च व्यवसायात्मिका बुद्धिर्न विधीयते इति तृतीयेनान्वयः । तेषु तस्या असम्भवात् सा तेषु नोपदिश्यत इत्यर्थः । किमिति ते तथा वदन्ति । यतः अविपश्चितो मुखास्तत्र हेतुः । वेदेषु ये ऽर्थवादाः अक्षय्यं वै चानुर्मास्ययाजिनः सुकृतं

¹⁹⁴ BP 11.19.1 *jñānam ca mayi samnyaset* "And then *jñāna* should be committed to me".

¹⁹⁵ वाचं पुष्पितां : UMS.

भवति । अपाम सोमममृता अभूम इत्याद्याः । अन्यदीश्वरतत्त्वं नास्तीति प्रजल्पिनः ॥४२॥ ते कीदृशीं वाचं प्रवदन्ति । जन्मकर्मफलप्रदायिनीं । भोगैश्वर्यगतिं प्रति ये क्रियाविशेषास्तान् बहु यथा स्यात् तथा लाति ददाति प्रतिपादयतीति ताम् ॥४२-४३॥

Ṭikā: They speak flowery words which like a poisonous flowering vine give some immediate pleasure. They propound (*pra-vadanti*) this message saying that the words of the Veda are the ultimate.

The word "yām" here links these verses up to verse 44 (...*tayāpahṛta-cetasām*....). The people who speak these flowery words as well as those who are seduced by these flowery words are never blessed with a firm resolve of mind. That is to say, because such firm resolve is impossible for them, this teaching is not meant for them.

"Why do they propound these flowery words?"

"Because they are fools (*avipaścitaḥ*). They are fooled by the embellished statements of the Vedas, such as, "One who follows the vow of *cātur-māsyā* accrues eternal piety."¹⁹⁶ Or, "We have drunk the *soma-rasa* and have become immortal."¹⁹⁷ They frivolously say that there is nothing else, that there is not another reality, no controller beyond all that."

"What are these flowery words like?"

"They are "*janma-karma-phala-pradām*", words which offer higher birth as a reward for ritual action. They are also "*kriyāviśeṣa-bahu-lām*" words which explain the multitude of special rituals meant for attaining opulence and enjoyment."

❧

2.44

भोगैश्वर्यप्रसक्तानां तयापहतचेतसाम्
व्यवसायात्मिका बुद्धिः समाधौ न विधीयते ॥४४॥

And those who are seduced by that flowery language and attached to indulgence and opulence never experience that firm determination of mind¹⁹⁸ to remain in complete spiritual absorption.

¹⁹⁶ Śata-patha-brāhmaṇa: 2.6.3.1.

¹⁹⁷ RĠ-veda-saṁhitā: 6.4.11.

¹⁹⁸ "*buddhi*", see footnote to verse 2.39.

टीका- ततश्च भोगैश्चर्ययोः प्रसक्तानां तथा पुष्पितया वाचापहतमाकृष्टं चेतो येषां 'ते तथा'¹⁹⁹ तेषां समाधिश्चित्तैकाग्र्यं 'परमेश्वरैकोन्मुखत्वं'²⁰⁰ तस्मिन् निश्चयात्मिका बुद्धिर्न विधीयते । कर्मकर्तारि प्रयोगः ।²⁰¹ नोपपद्यते²⁰² इति स्यामिचरणाः ॥४४॥

Tīkā: Therefore those attached to indulgence and opulence and whose minds are attracted by that flowery language never attain the firm determination of mind to remain in *samādhi*. *Samādhi* is one-pointedness of the mind, that is to say, turning oneself toward the one supreme Lord. These people never attain that state.

The verb form in this verse is “*karma-kartari*”²⁰³. Thus Śrīdhara Swami remarks that *samādhi* simply does not occur for these people. ❀

टीका- त्वं तु चतुर्गसाधनेभ्यो विरज्य केवलं भक्तियोगमेवाश्रयस्येत्याह ।

Tīkā: Then Kṛṣṇa says, “But as for you, Arjuna, don’t be attached to these different methods for attaining the fourfold goal of life [*dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, and *mokṣa*]. Just take shelter of *bhakti-yoga* alone...”

2.45

त्रैगुण्यविषया चेदा निस्त्रैगुण्यो भवार्जुन ।
निर्द्वन्द्वो नित्यसत्त्वस्थो निर्योगक्षेम आत्मवान् ॥४५॥

The subject matter of the Vedas is material, remaining within the realm of the three material qualities. But Arjuna, you should transcend these three material qualities and be free from all duality. Remain in the company of your own type of people, be self controlled, and do not be concerned about acquisition and maintenance.

¹⁹⁹ ∅ : UMS. ते (तथा) : JMS.

²⁰⁰ परमेश्वरैकोन्मुखत्वं : UMS. परमेश्वरैक (ते) मुखत्वं : JMS.

²⁰¹ सा : BVT.

²⁰² कर्मकर्तारिप्रयोगो नोपपद्यते - BGP, KDB, BDM.

²⁰³ *Karma-kartari-prayoga* is a type of reflexive passive in which the subject is also logically the object and which denotes an action which happens all by itself.

टीका- त्रैगुण्येति । त्रैगुण्यास्त्रिगुणात्मिकाः कर्मज्ञानाद्याः प्रकाश्यन्त्येन 'विषया'²⁰⁴ येषां ते त्रैगुण्यविषया वेदाः स्वार्थे ष्यञ् एतच्च भूमा व्यपदेशा भवन्ति इति न्यायेनोक्तम् । किन्तु भक्तिरेवैनं नयति इति यस्य 'देवे'²⁰⁴ परा भक्तिर्यथा देवे तथा गुरौ इत्यादि श्रुतयः पञ्चरात्रादिस्मृतयश्च गीतोपनिषद् गोपालतापन्यासपनिषदश्च²⁰⁵ 'भक्तिं निर्गुणामपि'²⁰⁶ 'विषयीकुर्वन्त्येव'²⁰⁷ वेदोक्तत्वाभावे 'भक्तेरप्रामाण्यमेव'²⁰⁸ स्यात् । ततश्च वेदोक्ता ये त्रिगुणमया 'ज्ञानकर्मविधयस्तेभ्यः'²⁰⁹ एव निर्गतो भव । तान् 'नानुतिष्ठ'²¹⁰ । ये तु वेदोक्ता भक्तिविधयस्तास्तु 'सर्वथैवानुतिष्ठ'²¹¹ । 'तदननुष्ठाने'²¹² श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणादिपञ्चरात्रविधिं बिना । ऐकान्तिकी हरेर्भक्तिरुत्पातयैव कल्प्यते ॥ इति दोषो दुर्वार एव । तेन 'सगुणानां'²¹³ गुणातीतानामपि वेदानां विषयास्त्रैगुण्या निस्त्रैगुण्याश्च । तत्र त्वं तु निस्त्रैगुण्यो भव । निर्गुणया मद्भक्त्यैव त्रिगुणात्मकेभ्यस्तेभ्यो निष्क्रान्तो भव । तत एव निर्द्वन्द्वो 'गुणमयमानापमानादिरहितः'²¹⁴ । 'अतएव'²¹⁵ नित्यैः सत्यैः प्राणिभिर्मद्भक्तैरेव सह तिष्ठतीति तथा सः । नित्यं सत्त्वगुणस्थो भवेति व्याख्यायां निस्त्रैगुण्यो 'भवेत्यर्थासङ्गतिः'²¹⁶ । अलब्धलाभो योगः लब्धस्य रक्षणं क्षेमस्तद्रहितः । 'मद्भक्तिरसास्वादावेशादेव'²¹⁷ तयोरननुसन्धानात् 'योगक्षेमं वहाम्यहम्' इति भक्तवत्सलेन मयैव तद्धारयहनात्²¹⁸ । आत्मवान् मद्भक्तबुद्धियुक्तः । अत्र निस्त्रैगुण्यत्रैगुण्ययोर्विवेचनम्²¹⁹ यदुक्तमेकादशे ।

204 विषया : printed.

205 देवो : AMS.

206 गोपालतापन्यासपनिषदश्च : printed, AMS, MMS.

207 निर्गुणां भक्तिमपि : printed, AMS, MMS. भक्तिं निर्गुणामपि : UMS.

208 विषयीकुर्वन्त्येव : AMS.

209 शुद्धः : AMS, MMS.

210 भक्ते प्रामाण्यमेव : AMS. भक्ते (र)प्रामाण्यमेव : MMS.

211 ज्ञानकर्मविधयस्तेभ्यः : UMS.

212 न कुरु : printed, AMS, MMS.

213 सर्वथैवानुष्ठितः : BGP.

214 तदननुष्ठाने : printed, AMS.

215 सगुणानां : printed.

216 गुणमयमानादिरहितः : AMS.

217 अतएव : printed.

218 भवेति व्याख्यायां विरोधः स्यात् : printed. भवेति विरोधः स्यात् : BDM इत्यनेन विरोधः स्यात् : MMS, AMS.

219 मद्भक्तिरसास्वादावेशादेव : printed. मद्भक्तिरसास्वादावेशादेव : AMS.

220 ∅ : UMS (JMS added in margin).

221 त्रैगुण्ययोर्विवेचनम् : UMS.

मदर्पणं 'निष्कलं'²²² वा सात्त्विकं निजकर्म तत् । राजसं फलसंकल्पं हिंसाप्रायादि तामसम् ॥
 'निष्कलं वेति नैमित्तिकं निजकर्म फलाकाङ्क्षारहितमित्यर्थः ।²²³
 कैवल्यं सात्त्विकं ज्ञानं रजो वैकल्पितं तु²²⁴ यत् । प्राकृतं तामसं ज्ञानं मन्निष्ठं निर्गुणं स्मृतम् ॥
 वनन्तु सात्त्विको वासो ग्रामो राजस उच्यते । तामसं द्यूतसदनं मन्निकेतन्तु निर्गुणम् ॥ सात्त्विकः
 कारको ऽसङ्गी रागान्धो राजसः स्मृतः । तामसः स्मृतिविभ्रष्टो निर्गुणो मदपाश्रयः ॥
 'सात्त्विक्याध्यात्मिकी'²²⁵ श्रद्धा कर्मश्रद्धा तु राजसी । तामस्यधर्मे या श्रद्धा मत्सेवायान्तु निर्गुणा ॥
 पथं पूतमनायस्तमाहार्यं सात्त्विकं स्मृतम् । राजसं चेन्द्रियप्रेष्ठं तामसं चार्तिदाशुचि ॥
 चकारान्मन्निवेदितन्तु निर्गुणम् इति श्रीस्वामिचरणानां व्याख्यानम् ।
 सात्त्विकं सुखमात्मोत्थं विषयोत्थन्तु राजसम् । तामसं मोहदैन्योत्थं निर्गुणं मदपाश्रयम् ॥ इत्यन्तेन
 ग्रन्थेन 'त्रैगुण्यवस्तूनि निस्त्रैगुण्यवस्तून्यपि'²²⁶ प्रदर्श्य निर्गुणस्य 'स्वभक्तस्य'²²⁷ सम्पद्
 निस्त्रैगुण्यतासिद्धयर्थं निर्गुण्यैव²²⁸ भक्त्या स्वस्मिन् कथञ्चित् 'स्थितस्य'²²⁹ त्रैगुण्यस्य निर्जयो
 ऽप्युक्तस्तदनन्तरमेव यथा -
 द्रव्यं देशः फलं²³⁰ कालो 'ज्ञानं'²³¹ कर्म च कारकः । श्रद्धावस्था कृतिर्निष्ठा त्रैगुण्यः सर्व एव हि ॥
 'सर्वे'²³² गुणमया भावाः पुरुषाव्यक्तधिष्ठिताः । दृष्टं 'श्रुतमनुध्यातं'²³³ बुद्ध्या वा पुरुषर्षभ ॥
 एताः संसृतयः पुंसो गुणकर्मनिबन्धनाः । येनेमे निर्जिताः सौम्य गुणा जीवेन चित्तजाः ।
 भक्तियोगेन मन्निष्ठो मद्भावाय प्रपद्यते ॥ इति
 तस्माद् भक्त्येव निर्गुणया त्रैगुण्यजयो नान्यथा । अत्राप्यग्रे - कथं चैतास्त्रीन् गुणानतिवर्तते इति प्रश्ने
 वक्ष्यते माञ्च यो व्यभिचारेण भक्तियोगेन सेवते स गुणान् 'समतीत्येतान्'²³⁴ ब्रह्मभूयाय कल्पते ॥
 इति । श्रीस्वामिचरणानां व्याख्या च । चकारो ऽत्रावधारणार्थः मामेव परमेश्वरमव्यभिचारेण
 भक्तियोगेन यः सेवते इत्येषा ॥

222 निष्कलं : AMS.

223 ∅ : UMS (JMS added in margin).

224 वैकल्पिकञ्च : BGP, KDB GVS. वैकल्पिकं तु : BDM. वैकल्पिकञ्च : BVT.

225 सात्त्विकाध्यात्मिकी : AMS.

226 त्रैगुण्यवस्तून्यपि : printed, AMS, MMS.

227 ∅ : printed.

228 तथा : AMS, MMS.

229 स्थितस्य : MMS.

230 देशस्तथा : printed. देशं फलं : AMS, MMS.

231 ज्ञान : JMS.

232 सर्वे : JMS.

233 श्रुतमनुध्यातं : JMS (UMS unclear).

234 समतीत्येतान् : AMS.

Ṭīkā: The word “*traiguṇya*” has been formed from the word *tri-guṇa* but it retains the original meaning of related to the three *guṇas*.²³⁵ The apparent subject matter of the Vedas (*karma*, *jñāna*, etc.) remains within the realm of the three material qualities, the three *guṇas*. . When we say this we mean that the Vedas deal mostly with material subjects because a thing is always described by its majority. But of course there are also descriptions of *bhakti* in the Vedas. For example in the *śruti* it is said: “Only *bhakti* leads one to Him”.²³⁶ Also, “One should have supreme devotion for God, and equal devotion for the guru”.²³⁷ *Smṛti* scripture such as the *Pañcarātra* as well as *Upaniṣads* such as the *Gītōpaniṣad* and the *Gopāla-tāpānya* all deal only with transcendental *bhakti*. In fact *bhakti* can not be authorised unless it is mentioned in the Vedas. Therefore ignore only those rules in the Veda which prescribe the material (*traiguṇya*) processes of *jñāna* and *karma*. Do not follow them. But as for the rules in the Veda which prescribe the processes of *bhakti*, those injunctions should absolutely be followed.”

If one does not follow those injunctions then it will be difficult to avoid the following transgression: “Devotional activities, even if performed with complete focus of mind, are simply a nuisance if they are not performed according to the injunctions of the *śruti*, *smṛti*, and the *pañcarātra* scriptures.”²³⁸

Therefore even though the Vedas are transcendental they deal with both material and transcendental topics. There are *saguṇa* Vedas and *guṇātīta* Vedas. The *saguṇa* Vedas deal with the three material qualities (*guṇas*) and the *guṇātīta* Vedas deal with that which is beyond the *guṇas*. But you should be transcendental. You should go beyond these three material qualities by practising *bhakti-yoga* which is itself transcendental to the three material qualities. And then you will be beyond the dualities of this world, such as honour and dishonour, which are simply products of the three *guṇas*.

Therefore you should also keep company of your own people (*nitya-sattva-stho*). That is to say keep company with My devotees.

In this regard, the word “*sattva*” means “living beings”. So the phrase

²³⁵ The rationale given (*svārthye śyañ*) seems to be a reference to the Vārttika on P. 5.1.24.

²³⁶ “*bhaktir evainam nayati*”.

²³⁷ Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad 6.3: “*yasya deve parā bhaktir yatha deve tathā gurau...*”

²³⁸ Brahma-yamala (quoted in the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* 1.2.101): *śruti-smṛti-purāṇādi-pañcarātra-vidhim vinā aikantikī harer bhaktir utpātāyaiva kalpyate.*

“*nitya-sattva-stho*” means “someone who stays with his own people”, or in other words “someone who remains in the company of My devotees”.

One might want to interpret the phrase “*nitya-sattva-stha*” as meaning “perpetually situated in *sattva-guṇa*”, but that meaning would not fit with the statement in the previous line: “*nistraiguṇyo bhavārjuna*”, “Be transcendental to the three material qualities, the three *guṇas*.”

Obtaining something which one does not have is called “*yoga*”, and protecting what one has obtained is called “*kṣema*”. The phrase “*nir-yoga-kṣema*” means to be free from anxiety for both of these. Because my devotees are completely absorbed in relishing the sweetness of my devotional service, they make no effort for either acquisition or maintenance (*yoga-kṣema*). And also I am worried about the welfare of my devotees so I take their load. Just as I have said, “I bring what they need and protect what they have”.²³⁹

“Become master of yourself (*ātmavān*).” In other words: “Take up this wisdom that I have given you.”

In this regard there is in the eleventh *skandha* [of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa] an analysis of material (*traiguṇya*) and transcendental (*nistraiguṇya*):

One’s prescribed duties come under the sphere of Goodness (*sattva-guṇa*), if offered to Me or performed selflessly. If performed with self-interest for the results, they come under the influence of Passion (*rajas*). If they are for the most part injurious to others, then they come under the influence of Darkness (*tamas*).²⁴⁰

The word “selflessly” (*niṣphala*) in this verse refers to periodic rituals and duties (*naimittika-karma*)²⁴¹ performed without desire for any resultant reward. The eleventh *skandha* [of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa] continues:

Knowledge of oneness comes under the influence of Goodness, whereas knowledge of difference is in Passion. Materialistic knowledge is under the influence of Darkness. But knowledge of Me is *nirguṇa*, or transcendental to these three material influences. Living in the forest is considered to be in Goodness, whilst living in a town is said to be in Passion, and living in a gambling-house

²³⁹ *yoga-kṣema vahāmyaham* 9.22.

²⁴⁰ BP: 11.25.23 ff.

²⁴¹ See note to verse 2.49.

Darkness. But living in My temple is transcendental.

Acting without attachment is said to be under the influence of Goodness, whereas acting blinded by desire is said to be in Passion, and acting without any discretion is known as Darkness. But acting whilst taking full shelter of Me is transcendental.

Faith in self-realisation is under the influence of Goodness, whereas faith in ritual activities is in Passion, and faith in irreligious practices comes under Darkness. But faith in Me is transcendental.

Wholesome, pure, healthy food is considered to display the quality of Goodness, whereas food which is meant simply for instant gratification of the senses is in Passion, and impure food which causes pain is food in Darkness.

[No mention is made here of transcendental food, but] according to Śrīdhara Swami the word “*ca*” in the last line implies, “and food which has been offered to Me is transcendental.”²⁴²

The eleventh *skandha* [of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa] continues,

Happiness in Goodness comes from one’s self, whereas happiness in Passion comes from sensual objects, and happiness in Darkness comes from delusion and wretchedness. But happiness that comes from Me is transcendental.

In these verses (BP 11.25.23-29) Kṛṣṇa has given examples of material objects (within the three *guṇas*) and transcendental objects (without the three *guṇas*). Now Kṛṣṇa would like to establish that his devotees are beyond matter. With that in mind, in the subsequent verses (BP 11.25.30-32) Kṛṣṇa explains how, by practising transcendental *bhakti-yoga*, his devotees can overcome those material qualities (*traiguṇya*), if these somehow happen to influence them:

Substances, place, the results of action, the time, knowledge, the activity, the performer of the activity, faith, the circumstance, species, as well as the conclusion are all governed by these three material qualities.

O greatest of men, all states of being in this world, whether directly seen, heard about or just mentally conceived of, all are made up of these three material qualities according to the contact of the living

²⁴² “*ca-kārān man-niveditam tu nirguṇam*” - comment on BP: 11.25.28

being with the material elements.

Good sir, all the successive states of existence of a person are dependent on previously performed actions and the influence of the three *guṇas*. These material influences are born of the mind, and the living being who overcomes them, fixes himself in Me through *bhakti-yoga*, and attains My state of existence.

Therefore, one can overcome the influence of the three material qualities only by this transcendental *bhakti-yoga* and by no other means.

In this regard, further on in the Bhagavad-gita Arjuna asks Kṛṣṇa how to transcend these three material qualities²⁴³, and Kṛṣṇa replies,

Whoever serves me with unwavering *bhakti-yoga*, transcends these material qualities, the *guṇas*, and comes to the spiritual platform.²⁴⁴

Śrīdhara Swami comments that in that verse the word “me” is stressed by the use of the word “ca” after it (*mām ca yo vyabhicāreṇa...*). In other words the meaning is, “Whoever serves me, the supreme Lord, and only me, with unwavering *bhakti-yoga...*” ❀

टीका- हन्त किं वक्तव्यं निष्कामस्य 'निर्गुणस्य भक्तियोगस्य'^{२४३} माहात्म्यं यस्यैवारम्भणमात्रे ऽपि नाशप्रत्यवायौ ऽपि न स्तः । स्वल्पमात्रेणापि 'कृतार्थतेत्येकादशे'^{२४४} ऽप्युद्धवायापि वक्ष्यते । न ह्यङ्गोपक्रमे ध्वंसो मद्धर्मस्योद्धवाण्वपि । मया व्यवसितः सम्यङ् निर्गुणत्वादनाशिषः ॥ इति । किन्तु सकामो भक्तियोगो ऽपि 'व्यवसायात्मिकबुद्धिशब्देनोच्यते'^{२४७} इति दृष्टान्तेन साधयति ।

Ṭikā: Yes indeed, what more can one say in praise of this selfless, transcendental *bhakti-yoga*? Even in the beginning stages of such pure *bhakti-yoga*, nothing is ever lost nor reversed. And in the eleventh *skandha* [of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa], it is stated how success is achieved by even a little progress along this path: “O Uddhava, there is not the slightest destruction of any small start made to this religion of Mine because it is completely transcendental when performed without any personal desire.

²⁴³ Verse 14.22.

²⁴⁴ Verse 14.26.

²⁴⁵ निर्गुणभक्तियोगस्य : MMS.

²⁴⁶ कृतार्थतेत्येकादशो : BGP. कृतार्थ ॥ तेत्येकादशो : AMS.

²⁴⁷ व्यवसायात्मिका बुद्धि शब्देनोच्यते : printed. व्यवसायात्मिकबुद्धिशब्देनोच्यते : KDB.

This is my firm opinion.”²⁴⁸

But even if *bhakti-yoga* is not selfless, even if it is performed with a desire to achieve some personal benefit (*sakāma-bhakti*), still it can be included in the category of “*vyavasāyātmika-buddhi*”, the stage of a resolute and settled mind. This is now explained with a metaphoric example...

2.46

यावानर्थ उदपाने सर्वतः संप्लुतोदके ।

तावान् सर्वेषु वेदेषु ब्राह्मणस्य विजानतः ॥४६॥

Whatever functions a well may perform are also fully performed by a lake; [similarly anything and everything that can be obtained] through the various Vedic rituals [is fully obtained] by a wise person who really understands the Vedas.

टीका- 'यावानिति'^{२४८} । उदपान इति जात्या एकवचनम् । उदपानेषु कूपेषु यावानर्थ इति कश्चित् कूपः शौचकर्मार्थकः कश्चिद् दन्तधावनार्थकः । 'कश्चिद्वस्त्रधावनार्थकः'^{२५०} कश्चित् केशादिमार्जनार्थकः । कश्चित् स्नानार्थकः कश्चित् पानार्थक इत्येवं सर्वतः सर्वेषु उदपानेषु यावानर्थः यावन्ति प्रयोजनानीत्यर्थः । संप्लुतोदके महाजलाशये सरोवरे ऽपि तावानेवार्थः तस्मिन् एकस्मिन्नेव 'शौचादिसर्वकर्मसिद्धेः'^{२५१} । किञ्च तत्तत्कूपेषु पृथक् पृथक् '^{२५२}परिभ्रमणश्रमेण सरोवरे तु तं विनैव तथा कूपेषु विरस्य जलेन सरोवरे तु सुरसजलेनैवेत्यपि विशेषो द्रष्टव्यः । एवं सर्वेषु वेदेषु तत्तदेवताराधनेन यावन्तो ऽर्थास्तावन्त एकस्य भगवदाराधनेन विजानतो विज्ञस्य । ब्राह्मणस्येति (ब्रह्म वेदं वेत्तीति 'ब्राह्मणस्तस्य'^{२५३} । विजानतः वेदज्ञत्वे ऽपि वेदतात्पर्यं 'भक्तिः'^{२५४} विशेषतो जानतः ।^{२५५} यथा द्वितीयस्कन्धे । ब्रह्मवर्चसकामस्तु यजेत ब्रह्मणस्पतिम् । इन्द्रमिन्द्रियकामस्तु 'प्रजाकामः'^{२५६} प्रजापतीन् ॥ 'दैवी'^{२५७} मायान्तु श्रीकामः

248 BP 11.29.20

249 यावानेति : AMS, MMS.

250 कश्चिद्वस्त्रधावनार्थकः : printed. कश्चिद्वस्त्रप्रक्षालनार्थकः : AMS, MMS.

251 शौचादिकर्मसिद्धेः : printed.

252 परि : AMS.

253 ब्राह्मणस्त : AMS.

254 भक्ति : AMS, MMS.

255 ø : UMS.

256 ø : AMS, UMS (added in margin).

257 देवी : printed AMS, MMS.

इत्याद्युक्त्या - अकामः सर्वकामो वा मोक्षकाम उदारधीः²⁵⁸ । तीव्रेण भक्तियोगेन यजेत पुरुषं परम् ॥
इति । मेघाद्यमिश्रस्य सौरकिरणस्य तीव्रत्वमिव भक्तियोगस्य 'ज्ञानकर्माद्यमिश्रत्वं'²⁵⁹ तीव्रत्वं ज्ञेयम् । अत्र
बहुभ्यो 'देवेभ्यो'²⁶⁰ बहुकामसिद्धिरिति सर्वथा बहुबुद्धित्वमेव । एकास्मद् भगवत एव
'सर्व'²⁶¹ कामसिद्धिरित्यंशेनैकबुद्धित्वादेकबुद्धित्वमेव विषयसादुण्याज् ज्ञेयम् ॥४६॥

Ṭikā: The word “*udapāne*” is grammatically singular and literally means “in a well”. Here however the singular is understood to represent generically all types of wells. So Krishna is saying “Whatever usefulness there is in wells...” For example there might be one well used for ablutions, another well used for brushing teeth, another for washing clothes, one for washing hair, one for bathing, and yet another for drinking.

Whatever services all these different types of wells provide can also be provided by a big lake. One can perform all these different activities (ablutions, brushing teeth, etc.) in the one place. But there are advantages which need to be noted: doing each activity at a different well involves a great deal of hard work because one must move about to each and every well, whereas all these activities can be done at the lake without any such inconvenience. Also well water can be salty whereas water from a big lake is sweet.

Similarly whatever can be obtained in all the Vedas through all the worship of different demi-gods can also be obtained by a wise person by simply worshipping the one supreme Lord. Such a person is here called “*brāhmaṇa*”. Another name for the Vedas is *brahma*, and one who knows the Vedas (*brahma*) is called a *brāhmaṇa*. But this *brāhmaṇa* is also called “*vijānataḥ*” because he not only knows the Vedas, but he has a special understanding (*vi-jānataḥ*) that *bhakti* is the conclusion of the Vedas.

For example, in the second *skandha* [of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa] it is said, “If one wants to obtain sacred knowledge, one should worship Bṛhaspati, and if one wants sensual development, one should worship Indra. If one desires offspring, he should worship the Prajāpatīs, and if one wants to acquire opulence, he should worship Māyā devī, Durgā.”²⁶²

But just after that, the Bhāgavata continues, “Whether one has no desires, all desires, or even the desire for liberation, a wise person should worship the supreme

²⁵⁸ उदारधीः : UMS.

²⁵⁹ ग्यानकर्माद्यमिश्रत्वं : AMS.

²⁶⁰ ∅ : printed.

²⁶¹ ∅ : UMS.

²⁶² BP: 2.3.2-3.

Lord with intense *bhakti-yoga*.²⁶³

Bhakti-yoga is said to be intense when it is not mixed with *karma* and *yoga*, just as the rays of the sun are intense when they are not mixed with clouds, etc..

If one tries to have one's many wishes fulfilled through many different *devas*, then one's mind²⁶⁴ will surely be many-branched. But if one is convinced one can get everything one desires simply from the Lord (Bhagavān), then one can be single-minded, because there is only one focus. That focus is possible because of the excellent qualities of the subject upon which one remains focused (i.e. Bhagavān).



टीका- एवमेकमेवार्जुनं स्वप्रियसखं 'लक्ष्मीकृत्य'^{२६५} ज्ञानभक्तिकर्मयोगान् आचिख्यासुर्भगवान्
'ज्ञानभक्तियोगो प्रोच्य'^{२६६} (तयोरर्जुनस्यानधिकारं 'विमृष्य'^{२६७२६८} निष्कामकर्मयोगमाह ।

Ṭikā: And thus now the Lord singles out Arjuna and wants to choose between the paths of *karma*, *jñāna* and *bhakti* for his dear friend. Kṛṣṇa had already explained the paths of *jñāna* and *bhakti* in the previous verses, but upon reflection considered Arjuna to be unqualified to follow either of those paths. So now Kṛṣṇa recommends *niṣkāma-karma-yoga*...

2.47

कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचन ।
मा कर्मफलहेतुर्भूर्मा ते सङ्गो ऽस्त्वकर्मणि ॥४७॥

It is fit and proper for you to perform your prescribed activities, but you have no claim over the results of those activities. Do not become liable for the result of your actions, and do not be fond of not doing your duty.

टीका- कर्मणीति । मा फलेष्विति । फलाकाङ्क्षिणो ऽप्यत्यन्ताशुद्धचित्ता भवन्ति त्वन्तु प्रायः शुद्धचित्त

²⁶³ BP: 2.3.10.

²⁶⁴ “*buddhi*”, see footnote to verse 2.39.

²⁶⁵ लक्ष्यं कृत्य : BGP. लक्ष्मीकृत्य : printed, UMS.

²⁶⁶ ज्ञानभक्तियोगावुक्त्वा : UMS (something deleted and emended in margin of JMS).

²⁶⁷ विमृश्य : printed.

²⁶⁸ ∅ : UMS (JMS added in the margin).

इति मया 'ज्ञात्वैवोच्यस'^{२६९} इति भावः । ननु कर्मणि कृते फलमवश्यं भविष्यत्येवेति तत्राह ।
 माकर्मफलहेतुर्भूः फलकामनया हि 'कर्म'^{२७०} कुर्वन् फलस्य हेतुरुत्पादको भवति त्वन्तु तादृशो मा
 भूरित्याशीर्मया दीयत इत्यर्थः । अकर्मणि स्वधर्माकरणे 'विकर्मणि'^{२७१} पापे वा 'सङ्ग आसक्तिस्तव'^{२७२}
 मास्तु किन्तु द्वेष एवास्त्विति पुनरप्याशीर्दीयत इति । 'अत्राग्निमाध्याये'^{२७३} - व्यामिश्रेणैव वाक्येन बुद्धिं
 मोहयसीव मे इत्यर्जुनोक्तिदर्शनादत्राध्याये 'पूर्वोत्तरवाक्यानाम् अवतारिकाभिर्नातीव'^{२७४} सङ्गतिः
 विधित्सिता इति ज्ञेयम् । किन्तु 'त्वदाज्ञायां'^{२७५} सारथ्यादौ यथाहं तिष्ठामि तथा 'त्वमपि'^{२७६} मदाज्ञायां
 तिष्ठेति कृष्णार्जुनयोर्मनोऽनुलापो ऽयमत्र 'दृष्टव्यः'^{२७७} ॥४७॥

Tīkā: “Those who desire the fruits of their labour have impure minds, but I know that you have quite a pure mind, Arjuna, so I am telling you that you have no claim over the fruits of your activities.”

“But, Kṛṣṇa, isn't there invariably always a result to every action?”

“Yes, but that is why I say to you, “*mā karma-phala-hetur bhūr*”, “Do not become the cause of the result of your actions.” When one acts only out of a desire for the results of an activity, one becomes the cause or initiator of the result of that act [and thus liable for it]. But I am blessing you, “Do not become like that”.

“Don't ever be attached or fond of *akarma*. *Akarma* has two meanings: “not performing one's own prescribed duty” or “performing sinful forbidden activities (*vikarma*)”. So again I am blessing you, but I am not just blessing you to be “not fond” of such *akarma* but actually I am blessing you to be totally opposed to it.”

In the next chapter Arjuna says, “You are bewildering me with statements that are all mixed up.” From this it should be understood that there was no desire to lay out a logical flow of arguments in this chapter. But what is significant is the exchange between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna: “Arjuna, just as I am here ready to drive your chariot or do whatever you bid, so too you should you just be ready to do whatever I bid.” ❀

269 ज्ञात्वैवोच्यस : UMS.

270 ∅ : AMS, MMS.

271 ∅ : JMS. Deleted from UMS!

272 सङ्गस्तव : printed, AMS, MMS.

273 अत्राग्निमाध्यायो : UMS.

274 पूर्वोत्तरवाक्यानामावतारिकाभिर्नातीव : BGP.

275 त्वदी(या)ज्ञायां : AMS.

276 त्वमपि : UMS.

277 दृष्टव्यः : AMS, MMS.

टीका- निष्कामकर्मणः प्रकारं शिक्षयति ।

Ṭīkā: And now Kṛṣṇa instructs Arjuna on the ways of *niṣkāma-karma-yoga*:

2.48

योगस्थः कुरु कर्माणि सङ्गं त्यक्त्वा 'धनञ्जय'^{२७८} ।
सिद्ध्यासिद्धयोः समो भूत्वा समन्तं योग उच्यते ॥४८॥

Firmly in yoga, oconqueror of wealth, perform your actions without attachment and be balanced in success and failure. Such equanimity is called yoga.

टीका- योगस्थ इति । तेन जयाजययोस्तुल्यबुद्धिः सन् संग्राममेव स्वधर्मं 'त्वं'^{२७९} कुर्विति भावः । अयं 'निष्कामकर्मयोग'^{२८०} एव ज्ञानयोगत्वेन परिणमतीति । ज्ञानयोगो 'ऽप्येवं'^{२८१} पूर्वोत्तरग्रन्थार्थतात्पर्यतो ज्ञेयः ॥४८॥

Ṭīkā: “By that practice, develop the same mental attitude to both victory and defeat, and perform your specific duty which is to fight this battle.”

Such selflessly performed religious action (*niṣkāma-karma-yoga*) is transformed into activities of knowledge, (*jñāna-yoga*). Thus the path of knowledge, *jñāna-yoga*, is to be understood in the light of this and other verses throughout this work. ❀

टीका- सकामकर्म निन्दति ।

Ṭīkā: Then he condemns *sakāma-karma*, or self-interested action:

2.49

दूरेण ह्यवरं कर्म बुद्धियोगाद्धनञ्जय ।
बुद्धौ शरणमन्विच्छ कृपणाः फलहेतवः ॥४९॥

278 धनञ्जयः : JMS.

279 ∅ : printed.

280 निष्कामकर्मयोग : MMS.

281 ऽप्येवं : printed.

For mere action (*karma*) is far inferior to this *buddhi-yoga*, the yoga of mental attitude²⁸². O Dhananjaya. Aspire for full shelter in this state of mind; people who work only for the fruit of their labour are miserable.

टीका- दूरेणेति । अवरमतिनिकृष्टं काम्यं कर्म बुद्धियोगात् परमेश्वरार्पितनिष्कामकर्मयोगात् । बुद्धौ निष्कामकर्मण्येव^{२८३} २८४ ॥४९॥

Ṭikā: The word “*karma*” in this verse stands for *kāmya-karma*, or self-interested ritual activity.²⁸⁵ Such *kāmya-karma* is far inferior to *buddhi-yoga*. Here *buddhi-yoga* means selfless ritual duties offered to the supreme Lord (*niṣkāma-karma-yoga*). In this verse the phrase “take shelter in this state of mind (*buddhi*)” means “take shelter in selfless ritual activity (*niṣkāma-karma*)”. ❧

2.50

बुद्धियुक्तो जहातीह उभे सुकृतदुष्कृते ।
तस्माद् योगाय युज्यस्य योगः कर्मसु कौशलम् ॥५०॥

Disciplined in this mental attitude²⁸⁶, one rids oneself of both pious and impious activities in this world. Therefore engage in this yoga, for it is the real skill in acting.

टीका- 'बुद्धियुक्तो निष्कामकर्मयोगी^{२८७} । योगाय उक्तलक्षणाय युज्यस्य घटस्य यतः कर्मसु

²⁸² “*buddhi*”, see footnote to verse 2.39

²⁸³ निष्कामकर्मयोगे : AMS, MMS.

²⁸⁴ बुद्धियोगो निष्कामकर्मयोगः : printed.

²⁸⁵ There are two categories of rituals: optional and compulsory. Optional rituals are called *kāmya-karmas* and they are performed to achieve a specific result in the future. Compulsory rituals are of two types: *nitya* and *naimittika*. *Nitya-karmas* are regular (daily) duties (such as the five types of daily *yajña*). *Naimittika-karmas* are periodic rituals performed on specific occasions (such as those performed at the birth of a child). *Nitya* and *naimittika karma* are compulsory duties and can thus be performed as a duty, without personal desire. *Kāmya-karma* is always performed out of self-interest.

²⁸⁶ “*buddhi*”, see footnote to verse 2.39

²⁸⁷ ∅ : printed.

सकामनिष्कामेषु मध्ये योग एवोदासीनत्वेन कर्मकरणमेव । कौशलं नैपुण्यमित्यर्थः ॥५०॥

Ṭikā: The person who “adopts this frame of mind” (*buddhi-yukto*) is a “*niṣkāma-karma-yogi*”. Intently engage in the above mentioned yoga, because in the performance of all *karma*, whether self-interested or selfless, yoga means simply performing the activity with neutrality. This yoga is “*kauśalam*”, or the “expertise” or “skill” in actions. ❀

2.51

कर्मजं बुद्धियुक्ता हि फलं त्यक्त्वा मनीषिणः ।
जन्मबन्धविनिर्मुक्ताः पदं गच्छन्त्यनामयम् ॥५१॥

The wise, disciplined in this mental attitude, renounce the results obtained through their actions. Thus they are liberated from the bondage of rebirth in this world and go to that place which is free from all ills.



टीका- एवं परमेश्वरार्पितनिष्कामकर्माभ्यासात् तव योगो भविष्यतीत्याह ।

Ṭikā: Kṛṣṇa says, by practising *niṣkāma-karma-yoga* and offering it to the supreme Lord you will attain yoga...

2.52

यदा ते मोहकलिलं बुद्धिर्व्यतितरिष्यति ।
तदा गन्तासि निर्वेदं श्रोतव्यस्य श्रुतस्य च ॥५२॥

And when your intellect comes out of the jungle of delusion, then you will become completely indifferent to all that is to be heard and all that you have heard [in the Veda].

टीका- यदेति । 'तव' बुद्धिरन्तःकरणं मोहकलिलं 'मोहरूपं गहनं' विशेषतो ऽतिशयेन तरिष्यति ।

288 ते (तव) : MMS.

289 मोहो ऽज्ञानमेव कलिलं गहनं : UMS.

तदा श्रोतव्यस्य श्रोतव्येष्वर्थेषु श्रुतस्य 'श्रुतेष्वप्यर्थेषु'^{२९०} निर्वेदं प्राप्स्यसि ।
असम्भावनाविपरीतभावनयोर्नष्टत्वात् किं मे शास्त्रोपदेशवाक्यश्रवणेन । साम्प्रतं मे साधनेष्वेव
प्रतिक्षणमभ्यासः सर्वथोचित इति मंस्यस इति भावः ॥५२॥

Tīkā: Here the word “*buddhi*” refers to the internal faculty, the intellect. Kṛṣṇa says, “When your intellect comes well and truly out of the jungle or thick forest of delusion then you will be indifferent to all the statements that are to be heard [in the Veda] and all the statements that you have heard [in the Veda]. You will say to yourself, “Since my doubts and objections have been removed, what is the use of me listening to all these statements from the scriptures. It is much better for me to spend every second of my time simply performing my *sādhana*, my activities of spiritual practice.” ❀

2.53

श्रुतिविप्रतिपन्ना ते यदा स्थास्यति निश्चला ।
समाधावचला बुद्धिस्तदा योगमवाप्स्यसि ॥५३॥

When your mind rejects the Vedas and remains still and settled in complete spiritual absorption (*samādhi*), then you will have attained the state of yoga.

टीका- ततश्च श्रुतिषु 'नानालौकिकवैदिकार्थश्रवणेषु'^{२९१} विप्रतिपन्नासम्मता विरक्तेति यावत् । तत्र हेतुः
निश्चला तेषु नेष्वर्थेषु चलितुं विमुखीभूतेत्यर्थः । किन्तु समाधौ षष्ठे ऽध्याये वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणे ऽचला
स्थैर्यवती । तदा योगमपरोक्षानुभवप्राप्त्या 'जीवन्मुक्तत्वम्'^{२९२} इत्यर्थः ॥५३॥

Tīkā: Then your mind will not agree with the various statements you hear in the Vedic and traditional injunctions, and your mind will become detached from them. The reason for this is that it will be *niścalā*: it will remain “still”. It will have no interest in seeking out those various statements. Rather your mind will remain settled and firm in *samādhi*, as described in Chapter Six [of this book]. Then you will attain yoga; in other words, by direct transcendental experience you will attain the state of “*jivan-mukta*”, or liberation in this world. ❀

²⁹⁰ श्रुते ऽप्यर्थेषु : printed. श्रुतेष्वर्थेषु : AMS, MMS.

²⁹¹ नानालौकिकवैदिककर्मश्रवणेषु : AMS (MMS corrected).

²⁹² जीवन्मुक्त : printed.

टीका- समाधावचला बुद्धिरिति श्रुत्या 'तद्वतो'^{२९३} योगिनो लक्षणं पृच्छति ।

Ṭikā: In the previous verse Kṛṣṇa has talked about the intellect being firmly established in *samādhi* (“*samādhāvacalā buddhis*”). After hearing this, Arjuna asks about the distinguishing characteristics of such a yogi...

2.54

श्री^{२९४} अर्जुन उवाच

स्थितप्रज्ञस्य का भाषा समाधिस्थस्य केशव ।

स्थितधीः किं प्रभाषेत किमासीत् ब्रजेत किम् ॥५४॥

O Keśava , what are the telling characteristics of one who has firm intelligence and is situated in complete spiritual absorption? How does such a person speak, how do they sit and how are they active?

टीका- स्थितप्रज्ञस्येति । स्थिता स्थिरा अचला प्रज्ञा बुद्धिर्यस्येति । का भाषा - भाष्यते ऽनयेति भाषा लक्षणं किं लक्षणमित्यर्थः । कीदृशस्य समाधिस्थस्येति समाधौ 'स्थस्यतीत्यस्यार्थः' ।^{२९५} एवञ्च स्थितप्रज्ञ इति समाधिस्थ इति जीवन्मुक्तस्य संज्ञाद्वयम् । 'किं प्रभाषेतेति'^{२९६} 'सुखदुःखयोर्मानापमानयोः'^{२९७} स्तुतिनिन्दयोः स्नेहद्वेषयोर्वा समुपस्थितयोः किं प्रभाषेत । स्पष्टं स्वगतं वा किं वदेदित्यर्थः । किमासीत् - तदिन्द्रियाणां बाह्यविषयेषु चलनाभावः कीदृशः । ब्रजेत किम् - तेषु चलनं वा कीदृशमिति ॥५४॥

Ṭikā: Arjuna asks “*kā bhāṣā?* (What is his *bhāṣā?*)” In this context “*bhāṣā*” means a characteristic or “that by which something can be described (*bhāṣyate*)”.

So Arjuna is asking, “What are the characteristics of a “*sthita-prajña*”, or a person whose intelligence is firm?”

Someone queries: “What kind of person is this *sthita-prajña*?”

Arjuna adds, “One who is also “*samādhi-stha*”, or fixed in *samādhi*.”

These two terms (*sthita-prajña* and *samādhi-stha*) are two different ways of referring to a person who is liberated even in this world.

²⁹³ तद्वतो : printed.

²⁹⁴ ∅ : printed.

²⁹⁵ स्थस्यतीति । अस्यार्थः : printed. स्थस्यतीति तस्य । अस्यार्थः : BDM.

²⁹⁶ किं प्रभाषेतेति : UMS.

²⁹⁷ सुखदुःखयोर्मानापमानयो : JMS, UMS, MMS.

Then Arjuna asks, “How does such a person speak? In happiness or in sadness, in honour or in disrepute, in glory or in scorn, in fondness or in hatred, how does he speak? What kind of things does he say? What does he say out loud and what does he say to himself?”

Then Arjuna asks, “How does he sit? That is to say, how is he when his senses are not involved in the external sensual objects? And how does he walk? That is to say, how is he when his senses are thus involved?” ❀

टीका- चतुर्णां प्रश्नानां क्रमेणोत्तरमाह । प्रजहातीति यावदध्यायसमाप्ति^{२९८} ।

Ṭikā: From this point onwards until the end of the chapter, Kṛṣṇa answers Arjuna’s four questions in the order that they were asked.

2.55

श्री भगवान् उवाच

प्रजहाति यदा कामान् सर्वान् पार्थ मनोगतान् ।
आत्मन्येवात्मना तुष्टः स्थितप्रज्ञस्तदोच्यते ॥५५॥

When one gives up all worldly desires in the mind, one becomes self-satisfied within the self and is called a “*sthita-prajña*”, or a person of firm intelligence.

टीका- सर्वानिति कस्मिन्नप्यर्थे यस्य किञ्चिन्मात्रो ऽपि नाभिलाष इत्यर्थः । मनोगतानिति कामानामनात्मधर्मत्वेन परित्यागे योग्यता दर्शिता । यदि ते 'ह्यात्मधर्माः^{२९९} स्युस्तदा 'तांस्त्यक्तुं न शक्येरन्^{३००} 'चह्नेरौष्ण्यवदिति^{३०१} भावः । तत्र हेतुः - आत्मनि प्रत्याहते मनसि प्राप्तो य 'आत्मा आनन्दरूपस्तेन^{३०२} तुष्टः । तथा च श्रुतिः - यदा सर्वे प्रमुच्यन्ते कामा ये ऽस्य हृदि स्थिताः । अथ मर्त्यो ऽमृतो भवत्यत्र ब्रह्म समश्नुते ॥५५॥

Ṭikā: Kṛṣṇa says, “When one gives up *all* worldly desires.....” (*sarvān kāmān*). This means that there should be no desire whatsoever for anything at all. When it

298 यावदध्यायसमाप्तिः : printed, AMS.

299 ह्यात्मधर्माः : JMS.

300 तांस्त्यक्तुमशक्येरन् : printed.

301 चह्नेरौष्ण्यवदिति : printed. चह्नौष्ण्यवदिति : UMS.

302 आत्मानन्दरूपस्तेन : printed, JMS.

is said that these worldly desires are “in the mind”, this is to show that they are not an inherent part of the self, and thus they can be given up. If indeed these worldly desires were inherent to the self then they could not be given up, just as heat cannot be separated from fire.

It is said “one becomes self-satisfied within the self”. That is to say, within the restrained mind one is satisfied by the self which is formed of pure bliss. Thus one can give up all worldly desires.

A similar verse is to be found in the *śruti* scriptures: “When the heart is freed from all the worldly desires residing there, then the mortal living being becomes immortal, and experiences the supreme.”³⁰³

टीका- किं प्रभाषेतेत्यस्य उत्तरमाह । दुःखेष्विति द्वयाभ्याम् ।

Tīkā: In the next two verses Kṛṣṇa answers the question, “How does such a person of fixed intelligence speak?”³⁰⁴

2.56

दुःखेष्वनुद्विग्नमनाः सुखेषु विगतस्पृहः ।
वीनरागभयक्रोधः स्थितधीर्मुनिरुच्यते ॥५६॥

One whose mind is not disturbed by distress nor excited by happiness, who is not affected by attachment, fear, or anger - such a person is called a *sthita-dhī-muni*, or “a sage of firm intelligence”.

टीका- दुःखेषु क्षुत्पिपासज्वरशिरोरोगादिष्वध्यात्मिकेषु सर्पव्याघ्राद्युत्थेषु³⁰⁵-

धिभौतिकेष्वतिवातवृष्ट्याद्युत्थेषु³⁰⁶ धिदैविकेषूपस्थितेष्वनुद्विग्नमनाः प्रारब्धं दुःखमिदं मयाचश्यं भोक्तव्यमिति स्यगतं केनचित् पृष्टः सन् स्पष्टञ्च ब्रुवन् न 'दुःखेभ्य उद्विगत'³⁰⁷ इत्यर्थः । तस्य

³⁰³ KaU: 6.14.

³⁰⁴ Verse 2.54 “...*kim prabhāseta...*”.

³⁰⁵ द्युत्थितेषु : printed. दु(द्यु)त्थितेषु : UMS. द्युत्थितेषु : AMS.

³⁰⁶ द्युत्थितेषु : printed. (द्यु)त्थितेषु : UMS, MMS. दुत्थितेषु : AMS.

³⁰⁷ दुःखेषुद्विगत : BGP, KDB, GVS. दुःखे उद्विगत : BDM. दुःखेषु अनुद्विगत : AMS, MMS.

तादृशमुखविक्रियाभाव एवानुद्वेगलिङ्गं सुधिया गम्यम् । 'कृत्रिमानुद्वेगलिङ्गवांस्तु'³⁰⁸ कपटी सुधिया परिचितो भ्रष्ट एवोच्यत इति भावः । एवं सुखेष्वप्युपस्थितेषु विगतस्पृह इति प्रारब्धमिदमवश्यभोग्यमेवेति (स्वगतं स्पष्टं च 'ब्रुवाणस्य'³⁰⁹ 'तस्य'³¹⁰ सुखस्पृहाराहित्यलिङ्गं सुधिया गम्यमेवेति'³¹¹ भावः । तत्तल्लिङ्गमेव स्पष्टीकृत्य दर्शयति वीतो विगतो रागो ऽनुरागः सुखेषु वीतं भयं स्वभोक्तृभ्यो व्याघ्रादिभ्यः वीतः क्रोधः स्वहन्तृषु 'बन्धुजनेषु'³¹² यस्य सः । यथैवादिभरतस्य 'देव्याः'³¹³ पार्श्वं प्रापितस्य 'स्वच्छेदं चिकीर्षोर्वृषलराजान्न'³¹⁴ भयं नापि तत्रक्रोधो ऽभूदिति ॥५६॥

Tīkā: His mind is not disturbed when faced with all the three types of miseries: firstly, bodily sufferings (*adhyātmika*), such as hunger, thirst, fever, or headache; secondly, problems caused by other creatures (*adhibautika*), such as tigers and snakes; and thirdly, natural disturbances (*adhidaivika*) such as violent storms.

In all such circumstances his mind is not at all agitated, and he thinks to himself, 'This suffering is [a result of my] previously performed activities, I just have to experience it.' Such are his inner thoughts, and if people ask him, then he will also explicitly say it to them. In this way he is not disturbed by any distress.

And from the calm expression on his face the wise can tell that such a person is not disturbed. And the wise can also recognise when someone is cheating with artificial symptoms of calmness. Such a person is called "fallen" (*bhraṣṭa*).

Similarly when it is said that the person of firm spiritual intelligence is not over-excited by happiness, it means that he thinks and says things like, "I have to experience this happiness because of my previously performed activities." And the wise can also recognise the signs of his calmness in happiness.

In the second line (*vīta-rāga...*) Kṛṣṇa clarifies and demonstrates the different characteristics of a *sthita-dhī-muni*: it is someone who has no attachment (e.g., to pleasure), who has no fear (e.g., of things that might eat you, like a tiger), and who has no anger (e.g., towards a relative who might kill you).

For example when Ādi Bharata was placed before the goddess Kālī to be sacrificed by the king of Vṛṣala, he was neither afraid of nor angry at the king. ❀

308 कृत्रिमानुद्वेगलिङ्गवांस्तु : AMS.

309 ब्रुवाणस्य : AMS.

310 ∅ : AMS, MMS.

311 ∅ : printed.

312 ∅ : AMS, MMS.

313 देव्या : AMS, MMS.

314 स्वच्छेदचिकीर्षोर्वृषलराजान्न : printed. स्वशिरःच्छेदचिकीर्षोर्वृषलराजान्न : MMS.

2.57

यः सर्वत्रानभिस्नेहस्तत्तत् प्राप्य शुभाशुभम् ।
नाभिनन्दति न द्वेष्टि तस्य प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठिता ॥५७॥

When confronted with various types of agreeable and disagreeable situations, if one remains free from all affection and expresses neither pleasure nor displeasure, then one's wisdom has become firmly established.

टीका- अनभिस्नेहः 'सोपाधिस्नेहशून्यः'^{३१५} दयालुत्वान्निरुपाधिरीषन्मात्रस्नेहस्तु तिष्ठेदेव । तत्तत्प्रसिद्धं 'सम्मानभोजनादिस्यपरिचरणं'^{३१६} शुभं 'प्राप्याशुभमनादरं'^{३१७} मुष्टिप्रहारादिकञ्च प्राप्य क्रमेण नाभिनन्दति न प्रशंसति त्वं धार्मिकः परमहंससेवी सुखी भवेति न 'चूते'^{३१८} । न द्वेष्टि - त्वं पापात्मा नरके पतेति नाभिःशपति 'च'^{३१९} । तस्य प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठिता समाधिं प्रति स्थिता 'सुस्थितप्रज्ञा'^{३२०} उच्यते इत्यर्थः ॥५७॥

Tīkā: Here Kṛṣṇa mentions being “*anabhisneha*”, or “devoid of affection for anything”. That means he has no false affection, i.e., affection based on a false material identity (*upādhi*). Because he is merciful, there is always a certain amount of affection, but that affection is not based on false material identity (*nirupādhi*).

When he gets something good he does not show pleasure. For example when people serve him in the conventional ways, such as by offering him food and worship, he does not praise or flatter them by saying, “You are so pious, you are the servant of great souls, may you be always happy!”

Nor when he gets something bad does he show displeasure. For example he does not show hatred to those who are unpleasant to him, who disrespect him or punch him. He does not curse them saying, “You sinful wretch! Fall down to hell!”

The wisdom of such a person is firmly established, or situated firmly within *samādhi* (complete spiritual absorption). This is called *su-sthita-prajñā* “well established intelligence”. ❀

टीका- किमासीतेत्यस्योत्तरमाह ।

315 सोपाधिस्नेहशून्यः : AMS.

316 सम्मानभोजनादिस्यपरिचरणं : printed. सम्मानभोजनादिस्यपरिचरणं : AMS.

317 प्राप्याशुभमनादरणं : printed.

318 चूते : BGP.

319 ø : printed, AMS, MMS.

320 संस्थितप्रज्ञा : MMS. संस्थित : AMS.

Ṭikā: Now Kṛṣṇa replies to Arjuna's question: "How does such a person sit?"³²¹

2.58

यदा संहरते चायं कूर्मो ऽङ्गानीच सर्वशः ।
इन्द्रियाणीन्द्रियार्थेभ्यस्तस्य प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठिता ॥५८॥

When one can withdraw one's senses from the sensual objects just as a tortoise retracts its limbs, then one's wisdom has become firmly established.

टीका- यदेति । इन्द्रियार्थेभ्यः शब्दादिभ्यः इन्द्रियाणि श्रोत्रादीनि संहरते । स्वाधीनानामिन्द्रियाणां बाह्यविषयेषु चलनं 'निसिध्यान्तरेच'^{३२२} निश्चलतया स्थापनं स्थितप्रज्ञस्यासनमित्यर्थः । 'अत्र'^{३२३} दृष्टान्तः कूर्मो ऽङ्गानि मुखनेत्रादीनि यथा स्वान्तरेच 'स्वेच्छया'^{३२४} स्थापयति ॥५८॥

Ṭikā: The idea is this: one withdraws the senses (e.g., the ears) from the sensual objects (e.g., sound). One simply controls one's senses and forbids them to go towards the sensual objects. The senses are not allowed to move and are made to remain within. This is how a person of steady wisdom sits still. A good example of this is the tortoise: it retracts its limbs (eyes and mouth, etc.), and of its own volition contains them all within itself. ❀

टीका- ननु मूढस्याप्युपवासतो रोगादिवशाद्वेन्द्रियाणां विषयेष्वचलनं सम्भवेत्तत्राह ।

Ṭikā: On hearing this Arjuna may object, "But it is possible even for a fool to stop his senses from contacting the sensual objects if he has to fast or if he is sick. [So is he also "a person whose wisdom has become firmly established ?"]"

In reply Kṛṣṇa says,

2.59

विषया विनिवर्तन्ते निराहारस्य देहिनः ।
रसचर्जं रसो ऽप्यस्य परं दृष्ट्वा निवर्तते ॥५९॥

³²¹ 2.54 "...kimāsīta...".

³²² निसिध्यान्तरेच : AMS.

³²³ तत्र : printed.

³²⁴ स्वेच्छया : AMS, MMS.

A living being who is fasting rids himself of the sensory objects but not of the taste for those objects. However, one who has experienced something higher, even loses that taste.

टीका- विषया इति । रसवर्जं रसो रागो 'ऽभिलाषस्तु^{३२५} चर्जयित्वा । अभिलाषस्तु 'विषयेषु^{३२६} न निवर्तत ईत्यर्थः । अस्य स्थितप्रज्ञस्य तु परं परमात्मानं दृष्ट्वा विषयेष्वभिलाषो निवर्तत इति न लक्षणव्यभिचारः । 'आत्मसाक्षात्कारसमर्थस्य^{३२७} तु साधकत्वमेव न तु सिद्धत्वमिति भावः ॥५९॥

Ṭīkā: Someone who is fasting rids himself of the sensory objects but not of the *rasa*, the taste, or the desire and attachment for those objects (“*rasa-varjam*”). That is to say the desire for sensory objects does not go away.

But the *sthita-prajña*, the person of firm wisdom, even loses the desire for those sensory objects once he experiences something higher (*param*), i.e. the supreme soul (*paramātmā*). Thus there is nothing lacking in this definition of a *sthita-prajña*. However, if one is unable to realise the self, then one is only a *sādhaka*, a spiritual aspirant, but not a *siddha*, a perfected soul. ❀

टीका- साधकावस्थायान्तु यत्र एव महान् न त्विन्द्रियाणि परावर्तयितुं सर्वथा शक्तिरित्याह ।

Ṭīkā: Kṛṣṇa now says that at the stage of *sādhana* (spiritual practice) one may not have the power to completely overcome the senses despite great efforts in that direction.

2.60

यततो ह्यपि कौन्तेय पुरुषस्य विपश्चितः ।
इन्द्रियाणि प्रमाथीनि हरन्ति प्रसभं मनः ॥६०॥

O Arjuna, son of Kunti, the maddening senses can forcefully carry off the mind of a sage despite all his efforts:

325 ऽभिलाषस्तु : printed.

326 विषयेषु : UMS.

327 आत्मसाक्षात्कारसमर्थस्य : printed.

टीका- यतत इति । प्रमाथीनि 'प्रमथनशीलानि'^{३२८} 'क्षोभकाणीत्यर्थः'^{३२९} ॥६०॥

Ṭīkā: The senses are here described as “*pramāthīni*”, meaning “maddening”, or “agitating”. ❀

2.61

तानि सर्वाणि संयम्य युक्त आसीत मत्परः ।
वशे हि यस्येन्द्रियाणि तस्य प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठिता ॥६१॥

But one should control these senses, and in the discipline of yoga one should sit fully absorbed in me. For when one controls the senses, then one's wisdom becomes firmly established.

टीका- मत्परो मद्भक्त इति मद्भक्तिं विना 'नैवेन्द्रियजय'^{३३०} 'इत्यग्निग्रंथे'^{३३१} ऽपि सर्वत्र द्रष्टव्यम् ।
यदुक्तमुद्धवेन प्रायशः पुण्डरीकाक्ष युञ्जन्तो योगिनो मनः । विषीदन्त्यसमाधानान्मनोनिग्रहकर्षिताः ॥
अथात आनन्ददुग्धं पदाम्बुजं हंसाः श्रयेरन् इति । वशे हीति स्थितप्रज्ञस्येन्द्रियाणि वशीभूताणि भवन्तीति
साधकाद्विशेष उक्तः ॥६१॥

Ṭīkā: The word “*mat-para*” (“fully intent on me”) is referring to “my devotee”. By this Kṛṣṇa is saying, “Without devotion for me there is no possibility of conquering the senses.” This point will be made in many subsequent verses, and it is also confirmed by Uddhava :

Mostly yogis who are trying to discipline the mind in yoga struggle to gain control over the mind and become dejected because they can not become fully absorbed. Therefore swan-like sages should take shelter of your blissful lotus feet.³³²

The last line of the current verse (*vaśe hi...*) explains the difference between a *sādhaka* (an aspiring spiritualist) and someone who is firmly established in wisdom: the latter has the senses fully under control. ❀

³²⁸ प्रमथशीलानि : AMS. प्रमथ(न)शीलानि : MMS. प्रमथनशीलानि : UMS.

³²⁹ क्षोभकराणीत्यर्थः : printed. क्षोभकानीत्यर्थः : AMS, MMS.

³³⁰ नैवेन्द्रियजय : AMS.

³³¹ इत्यग्निग्रंथे : AMS.

³³² BP 11.29.2-3.

टीका- स्थितप्रज्ञस्य मनोवशीकार एव 'बाह्येन्द्रियवशीकारे कारणम् । सर्वथा³³³ मनोवशीकाराभावे तु यत्स्यात्तत् शृण्वित्याह ।

Ṭikā: Kṛṣṇa says, “A person of firm intelligence (*stitha-prajña*) controls his mind and that is why he can control his external senses. Now let me tell you what happens when someone has no control over their own mind...”

2.62

ध्ययतो विषयान् पुंसः सङ्गस्तेषूपजायते ।
सङ्गात्संजायते कामः कामात् क्रोधो ऽभिजायते ॥६२॥

By meditating on the sensory objects one becomes attached to them. From such attachment worldly desire develops, and from those desires anger arises.

टीका- ध्यायत इति । संग आसक्तिः आसक्त्या च तेष्वधिकः कामो ऽभिलाषः कामाच्च केनचित् 'प्रतिहतात्³³⁴ क्रोधः³³⁵ ॥६२॥

Ṭikā: Here the word “*saṅga*” means attachment (*āsakti*). By meditating on the sensory objects attachment grows. And by that attachment an even stronger desire or lust for those objects arises. And when that strong desire is somehow frustrated then anger arises. ❀

2.63

क्रोधाद् भवति सम्मोहः सम्मोहात् स्मृतिविभ्रमः ।
स्मृतिभ्रंशाद् बुद्धिनाशो बुद्धिनाशात्प्रणश्यति ॥६३॥

Anger produces delusion, and from delusion comes loss of memory, which in turn destroys intelligence. And when intelligence is destroyed one is

³³³ 'बाह्येन्द्रियवशीकारकारणं सर्वथा : printed. 'बाह्येन्द्रियवशीकारे (कार)णं सर्वथा : MMS.

³³⁴ प्रतिहतात् : AMS.

³³⁵ क्रोधः : UMS.

completely lost.

टीका- क्रोधात् संमोहः कार्याकार्यविवेकाभावः । तस्माच्च 'शास्त्रोपदिष्टस्वार्थस्य'³³⁶ स्मृतिनाशः
तस्माच्च बुद्धेः सद्ब्रह्मवसायस्य नाशः । 'ततः'³³⁷ प्रणश्यति 'पुनः'³³⁸ संसारकूपे पतति ॥६३॥

Ṭikā: From anger comes delusion, the inability to distinguish what should be done and what should not. From that comes loss of memory. “Loss of memory” means one cannot remember the teachings of the scriptures. From that comes ruination of wisdom, which means the end of good behaviour. When that happens, one is completely lost, that is to say, one falls down into the deep well of the cycle of death and re-birth. ❀

टीका- मानसविषयग्रहणाभावे सति स्ववश्यैरिन्द्रियैर्विषयग्रहणे ऽपि न दोष इति वदन् स्थितप्रज्ञो व्रजेत
किमित्यस्योत्तरमाह ॥६५

Ṭikā: Now Kṛṣṇa answers the question “How is the person of firm intelligence active?”³³⁹ Kṛṣṇa says, “There is nothing wrong if the controlled senses contact their respective sensory objects, so long as the mind does not dwell upon those sensory objects...

2.64

'रागद्वेषवियुक्तैस्तु'³⁴⁰ विषयानिन्द्रियैश्चरन् ।
आत्मवश्यैर्विधेयात्मा प्रसादमधिगच्छति ॥६४॥

On the other hand, one who is self-controlled becomes serene even while his senses interact with the sensory objects. For his senses are fully controlled by the self, and are free from attraction and aversion.

टीका- रागेति । विधेयो 'वचने स्थित आत्मा मनो यस्य सः । विधेयो विनयग्राही वचने स्थित

³³⁶ शास्त्रोपदिष्टस्वार्थस्य : printed.

³³⁷ ततः : AMS.

³³⁸ ∅ : printed.

³³⁹ Verse 2.54 “...vrajeta kim”

³⁴⁰ रागद्वेषविमुक्तस्तु : GVS.

आश्रवः^{३४२} ॥ इत्यमरः । प्रसादमधिगच्छतीत्येतादृशस्याधिकारिणो विषयग्रहणमपि न दोष इति किं वक्तव्यं प्रत्युत गुण एवेति स्थितप्रज्ञस्य विषयत्यागस्वीकाराद्येव आसनव्रजने 'ते'^{३४३} उभे अपि तस्य भद्रे इति भावः ॥६४॥

Ṭikā: According to the Amara dictionary, the word “*vidheya*” means “meek”, “obedient”, and “compliant”. Here it means “obedient”. So the phrase *vidheyātma* means “one whose self (i.e. mind) is obedient”.

One who is thus qualified becomes completely peaceful even in contact with the sensory objects. So there is nothing wrong with him coming in contact with these sensory objects. What to speak of there being nothing wrong, actually it is quite a good thing.

Whether renouncing the objects of sense or accepting them, that is to say whether sitting quietly or moving about actively, both states are auspicious for the person of firm intelligence. ❀

2.65

प्रसादे सर्वदुःखानां हानिरस्योपजायते ।
प्रसन्नचेतसो ह्याशु बुद्धिः पर्यवतिष्ठते ॥६५॥

Being thus peaceful, one becomes free from all distress. When the mind is peaceful, then one's mental attitude quickly becomes stable.

टीका- बुद्धिः पर्यवतिष्ठते सर्वतोभावेन स्याभीष्टं प्रति 'स्थिरीभवतीति'^{३४४} विषयग्रहाणाभावादपि समुचितविषयग्रहणं तस्य सुखमिति भावः । प्रसन्नचेतसः इति चित्तप्रसादो भक्त्यैवेति ज्ञेयम् तथा विना तु न चित्तप्रसाद इति प्रथमस्कन्ध एव प्रपञ्चितम् । कृतवेदान्तशास्त्रस्यापि व्यासस्याप्रसन्नचित्तस्य 'श्रीनारदोपदिष्ट्या'^{३४५} भक्त्यैव चित्तप्रसाददृष्टेः ॥६५॥

Ṭikā: Here it is said that “one's mental attitude becomes stable”. This means that one's intellect becomes completely and utterly fixed upon one's object of love. This indicates that one is happier with appropriate sensual engagement than with no such

341 वशेवर्त्ती आत्मा मनो यस्य सः : UMS.

342 । वश्यः प्रणयो निभृतविनीतप्रश्रिताः समाः : printed.

343 ∅ : JMS.

344 स्थिरा भवतीति : BGP, KDB.

345 श्रीनारदोपदिष्ट्या : BGP, KDB.

engagement at all.

One should note that the peace of mind mentioned in this verse is only possible through the devotional activities of *bhakti*. Without such devotional activities peace of mind is not possible. This is clear from the example of Vyāsa in the first *skandha* [of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa]. After Vyāsa had finished compiling the Vedānta scriptures, he was still not peaceful, but his mind became peaceful only through the devotional activities which Śrī Nārada recommended to him. ॐ

टीका- उक्तमर्थं व्यतिरेकमुखेन 'दृढयति'^{३४६} ।

Ṭikā: Now Kṛṣṇa reinforces through negative reasoning what he has just said:

2.66

नास्ति बुद्धिरयुक्तस्य न चायुक्तस्य भावना ।
न चाभावयतः शान्तिरशान्तस्य कुतः सुखम् ॥६६॥

Such a mental attitude is not possible without being engaged in this yoga. And without this yoga there is also no possibility of inner contemplation, without which there is no question of peacefulness. And without peacefulness how can there possibly be happiness?

टीका- नास्तीति । 'अयुक्तस्य अवशीकृतमनसः'^{३४७} । बुद्धिः आत्मविषयिणी प्रज्ञा नास्ति । अयुक्तस्य तादृशप्रज्ञारहितस्य भावना 'परमेश्वरध्यानञ्च'^{३४८} । अभावयतः अकृतध्यानस्य 'शान्तिर्विषयोपशमो'^{३४९} नास्ति । अशान्तस्य सुखमात्मानन्दो न ॥६६॥

Ṭikā: A person not engaged in yoga, (i.e., one who has not controlled his mind) does not attain *buddhi*, this [proper] mental attitude. That mental attitude consists of a sound intelligence focused on the self. The non-yogi, thus devoid of such a sound intelligence, also does not achieve *bhāvanā*. “*Bhāvanā*” means inner contemplation or meditation on the supreme Lord. Without thus meditating one cannot attain *sānti*, or peacefulness. Peacefulness means abandonment of sensual pleasures. And without this peacefulness there can be no happiness, no bliss from

³⁴⁶ दृढयति : KDB, BVT, GVS.

³⁴⁷ अयुक्तस्यावशीकृतमनसः : UMS.

³⁴⁸ परमेश्वरध्यानं न : UMS. परमेश्वरध्यानं (च) : AMS.

³⁴⁹ शान्तिर्विषयोपशमो : JMS.

within the soul. ❀

2.67

इन्द्रियाणां हि चरतां यन्मनो ऽनुविधीयते ।
तदस्य हरति प्रज्ञां वायुर्नाचमिवाम्भसि ॥६७॥

When the mind yields to the roaming senses, it carries off a person's good judgment with it, just as the wind carries away a boat on water.

टीका- अयुक्तस्य बुद्धिर्नास्तीत्युपपादयति । इन्द्रियाणां स्वस्वविषयेषु चरतां मध्ये यन्मन एकमिन्द्रियमनुविधीयते पुंसा 'सर्वेन्द्रियानुवर्ति'^{३५०} क्रियते 'तदेव'^{३५१} मनः अस्य प्रज्ञां बुद्धिं हरति यथाम्भसि नीयमानां 'नाचं'^{३५२} प्रतिकूलो वायुः ॥६७॥

Ṭikā: In this verse Kṛṣṇa validates his previous statement, “Such a mental attitude is not possible without being engaged in this yoga”.³⁵³ The senses roam after their respective sensual objects. The mind is one of those senses and if it yields (i.e., if a person lets the mind pursue all these senses) then that mind will carry off with it all a person's good judgement and wisdom, just as an unfavourable wind drags away a boat sailing on the water.

2.68

तस्माद् यस्य महाबाहो निगृहीतानि सर्वशः ।
इन्द्रियाणीन्द्रियार्थेभ्यस्तस्य प्रज्ञा प्रतिष्ठिता ॥६८॥

Therefore, O mighty-armed one, if a person stops his senses from contacting their respective sensual objects, then his wisdom becomes firmly established.

टीका- यस्य 'निगृहीतमनसः'^{३५४} हे महाबाहो इति यथा शत्रून् 'निगृह्णासि'^{३५५} तथा मनो ऽपि निगृहाणेति

350 सर्वेन्द्रियानुवर्ति : printed.

351 तदेव : UMS.

352 नाचं : MMS.

353 Verse 2.66.

354 निगृहीतमनसः : AMS, MMS.

355 निगृह्णासि : UMS.

भाष्यः ॥६८॥

Ṭikā: This is a person who restrains the mind. When Kṛṣṇa addresses Arjuna as “*mahā-bāho*”, or “mighty-armed one”, he is saying that Arjuna should subdue his senses in the same way that he subdues his enemies. ❀

टीका- स्थितप्रज्ञस्य तु स्वतःसिद्ध एव सर्वेन्द्रियनिग्रह इत्याह ।

Ṭikā: On the other hand, a person of firm intelligence (a *sthita-prajña*) automatically controls all the senses.

2.69

या निशा सर्वभूतानां तस्यां जागर्ति संयमी ।
यस्यां जाग्रति भूतानि सा निशा पश्यतो मुनेः ॥६९॥

The night-time of all beings is a time of wakefulness for the ascetic. And the time of wakefulness for everyone else is night-time for that watchful sage.

टीका- येति । बुद्धिर्हि द्विविधा भवति आत्मप्रवणा विषयप्रवणा च । तत्र या आत्मप्रवणा बुद्धिः सा सर्वभूतानां निशा । निशायां किं किं स्यादिति तस्यां 'स्वपन्तो'^{३५६} जना यथा न जानन्ति 'तथैवात्मप्रवणबुद्धौ'^{३५७} प्राप्यमाणं वस्तु सर्वभूतानि न जानन्ति । किन्तु तस्यां संयमी स्थितप्रज्ञो जागर्ति न तु 'स्वपिति'^{३५८} । अतः 'आत्मबुद्धिनिष्ठमानन्द'^{३५९} साक्षादनुभवति । यस्यां विषयप्रवणायां बुद्धौ भूतानि जाग्रति तन्निष्ठं विषयसुखशोकमोहादिकं साक्षादनुभवन्ति 'न तु तत्र स्वपन्ति'^{३६०} । सा मुनेः स्थितप्रज्ञस्य निशा । 'स'^{३६१} तन्निष्ठं किमपि नानुभवतीत्यर्थः । किन्तु पश्यतः सांसारिकाणां सुखदुःखप्रदान् विषयान् 'तत्रौदासीन्येनावलोकयतः'^{३६२} स्वभोग्यान् विषयानपि यथोचितं निर्लेपमाददानस्येत्यर्थः ॥६९॥

Ṭikā: Intelligence (*buddhi*) is of two types: *ātmapravaṇā*, intelligence directed towards the soul and *viṣaya-pravaṇā*, intelligence directed towards the sensual

356 स्वपतो : UMS.

357 तथैवात्मप्रवणबुद्धौ : VMS, AMS. तथैवात्मप्रवण(त)बुद्धौ : MMS.

358 स्वपिति : printed (except KDB).

359 आत्मबुद्धिनिष्ठमानन्दः : AMS, MMS, VMS.

360 ∅ : JMS.

361 ∅ : printed, MMS, AMS, VMS.

362 तत्रौदासीन्ये(ना)वलोकयतः : JMS, UMS.

objects.

Intelligence directed towards the soul is like night-time for all living beings. People who are asleep are oblivious to what happens at night-time. In the same way all the living entities are oblivious to that which is obtained when intelligence is directed towards the soul. But the ascetic, the *sthita-prajña*, is wide-awake to that reality, he is not asleep. Therefore he directly experiences the bliss which comes from directing the intelligence towards the soul.

And when intelligence is directed towards the sensual objects, the living beings are all awake, fully aware; they directly experience the sensual pleasure, the lamentation, and delusion which come from directing the intelligence towards the sensual objects. They are not asleep. But that is the night-time for the sage: he does experience any of that.

Such a sage is called *paśyataḥ*, or “watchful”. That means that he observes with neutrality the sensual objects and how they give pain and pleasure to the worldly people. And thus as far as sensual objects for his own enjoyment are concerned, he also accepts them, but in a pure way and only as far as it is appropriately necessary. ❀

टीका- 'विषयग्रहणे'³⁶³ क्षोभराहित्यमेव निर्लेपतेत्याह ।

Ṭikā: Now Kṛṣṇa defines that purity as “*viṣaya-grahane kṣobha-rāhityam*”, or “not getting agitated when in contact with sensual objects”:

2.70

आपूर्यमाणमचलप्रतिष्ठं समुद्रमापः प्रविशन्ति यद्वत् ।
तद्वत्कामा यं प्रविशन्ति सर्वे स शान्तिमाप्नोति न कामकामी ॥७०॥

Rivers of water pour into the ocean, and yet its level remains unchanged despite its being constantly filled. If objects of desire come to a person, and yet he remains unmoved like the ocean, then such a person attains internal peace - not the person who always desires to satisfy his desires.

टीका- आपूर्यमाणमिति । यथा 'वर्षास्वितस्ततो'³⁶⁴ नादेया आपः समुद्रं प्रविशन्ति । कीदृशम् ? आ

363 विषयग्रहण : AMS, MMS, VMS.

364 वर्षास्वितस्ततो : JMS.

ईषदपि आपूर्यमाणं तावतीभिरप्यद्भिः 'पूरयितुमशक्यम्'^{३६५} । अचलप्रतिष्ठमनतिक्रान्तमर्यादं तद्वदेव कामा विषया यं प्रविशन्ति भोग्यन्तेनायान्ति । यथा अपां प्रवेशे अप्रवेशे वा समुद्रो न कमपि विशेषमापद्यते एवमेव यः कामानां भोगे अभोगे च क्षोभरहित एव स्यात् । स स्थितप्रज्ञः शान्तिं ज्ञानम् ॥७०॥

Ṭikā: In the rainy season river water from flows from everywhere into the ocean. Then what happens to the ocean? The verse says it is “*āpūryamāṇam*”, “it is only ever so slightly filled”. Here the prefix “*ā-*” conveys the meaning of “only slightly”. This means that all that water is unable to fill the ocean. The ocean remains “*acala-pratiṣṭham*”, i.e., it does not overflow beyond its ordinary level.

The word *kāma* (“desires”) refers here to the various sensual objects. If a person is unmoved when those objects come to him to be enjoyed, just as the ocean is unmoved when the rivers come into it, then that person is a *sthita-prajña*, a person of firm intelligence. In the same way that it makes no difference to the ocean whether water pours into it or not, so too it makes no difference at all to this person whether he enjoys sensual objects or whether he does not.

This is a *sthita-prajña*, and it is said here that such a person attains *sānti*, or peace. This means that he attains knowledge. ❀

टीका- कश्चित्तु 'कामेष्वविश्वसन्'^{३६६} नैव तान् भुङ्क्त इत्याह ।

Ṭikā: But now Kṛṣṇa explains that certain people do not depend on those objects of desire and will not even taste those pleasures:

2.71

विहाय कामान् यः सर्वान्पुमांश्चरति 'निस्पृहः'^{३६७} ।

निर्ममो निरहंकारः स शान्तिमधिगच्छति ॥७१॥

The person who gives up all those objects of desire, who is active yet disinterested, who is free from possessiveness and false self-conceptions, such a person attains internal peace.

टीका- विहायेति । निरहङ्कारो निर्मम इति देहदैहिकेष्वहंताममताशुन्यः ॥७१॥

³⁶⁵ पूरयितुं न शक्यम् : printed. पूरयितु न शक्यम् : AMS, MMS (subsequently emended)VMS.

³⁶⁶ कामेष्वविशन् : AMS, MMS. कामेष्ववि(श)न् : VMS .

³⁶⁷ निस्पृहः : BGP, KDB.

Ṭikā: The words “*nirahamkāra*” and “*nirmama*” describe someone who does not identify with or feel possessive about the body or anything related to the body. ❀

टीका- उपसंहरति ।

Ṭikā: Kṛṣṇa sums up:

2.72

एषा ब्राह्मी स्थितिः पार्थ नैनां प्राप्य विमुह्यति ।
स्थित्वास्यामन्नकाले ऽपि ब्रह्मनिर्वाणमृच्छति ॥७२॥

This is the spiritual position. If one reaches this position, one is never again subject to illusion. Even if one comes to this stage only in the final moments of one’s life, one can attain spiritual emancipation.

टीका- एषेति । ब्राह्मी ब्रह्मप्रापिका । अन्तकाले मृत्युसमये ऽपि किं पुनराबाल्यम् ॥७२॥

Ṭikā: This is the spiritual position, or the position which leads one to spirit. Even if one reaches this platform just at the time of death, one still attains *brahma-nirvāṇa*, spiritual emancipation, what to speak of the person who starts from childhood. ❀

इति श्री^{३६८} भगवद्गीतासूपनिषत्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे श्री^{३६९} कृष्णार्जुनसंवादे सांख्ययोगो नाम द्वितीयो
ऽध्यायः ॥

Thus ends “Sāṅkhya-yoga”, the second chapter of the conversation between Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna known as the Bhagavad-gītā Upaniṣad, the scripture of yoga, which deals with spiritual knowledge.

368 इति श्रीमहाभारते शतसाहस्र्यां संहितायां वैयासिक्यां भीष्मपर्वणि श्रीमद् : BVT, KDB. इति श्रीमद्
: BGP.

369 Ø : BDM.

टीका-

ज्ञानं कर्म च विस्पष्टमस्पष्टं भक्तिमुक्तवान् ।
 'अतएवायमध्यायः³⁷⁰ श्रीगीतासूत्रमुच्यते ॥
 'इति सारार्थवर्षिण्यां हर्षिण्यां भक्तचेतसाम् ।
 श्रीगीतासु द्वितीयो ऽयं सङ्गतः सङ्गतः सताम्³⁷¹ ॥

Ṭīkā:

*Openly Kṛṣṇa has spoken of jñāna and karma, and indirectly of bhakti,
 Therefore this chapter is also known as Śrī Gītā Sūtra, "The Gīta in a Nutshell".*

*Thus I have completed with the approval of saintly sages
 the second chapter of this Sārārtha-varṣiṇī commentary on the Bhagavad-gītā,
 meant simply to bring joy to the hearts of devotees.*



370 अतएवायेमेध्यायः : UMS.

371 श्रीभगवद्गीतासूपनिषत्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे द्वितीयो ऽध्यायः संगतः संगतः सताम् :
 MMS.

CHAPTER THREE

Karma-yoga

टीका-

निष्काममर्षितं कर्म तृतीये 'त्र' प्रपञ्चयते ।
कामक्रोधजिगीषायां चिवेको ऽपि प्रदर्शयते ॥

पूर्ववाक्येषु ज्ञानयोगान्निष्कामकर्मयोगाच्च निस्त्रैगुण्यप्रापकस्य गुणातीतभक्तियोगस्योत्कर्षमाकलय्य तत्रैव स्वौत्सुक्यमभिव्यञ्जयन् स्वधर्मे संग्रामे प्रवर्तकं भगवन्तं सख्यभावेनोपालभते ।

Tīkā:

In this third chapter Kṛṣṇa speaks of selfless action [niṣkāma-karma] offered to the Lord.

He also explains the spiritual discernment necessary for those desiring to conquer lust and anger.

Arjuna understood from the previous chapter the ascendancy of transcendental, spiritual *bhakti-yoga* over both *jñāna* and *niṣkāma-karma yogas*. Therefore Arjuna reprimands Kṛṣṇa in a friendly way for urging him to continue to perform his religious duty of warfare. Thus Arjuna reveals his own preference:

¹ तु : printed.

3.1

श्री^२ अर्जुन उवाच

ज्यायसी चेत्कर्मणस्ते मता बुद्धिर्जनार्दन ।
तत्किं कर्मणि घोरे मां नियोजयसि केशव ॥१॥

Arjuna said: O Janārdana, if you consider the path of mental attitude (*buddhi*) to be superior to the path of religious action (*karma*), then why, Keśava, are you urging me to take part in this gruesome action?

टीका- 'ज्यायसी श्रेष्ठा । बुद्धिर्व्यवसायात्मिका गुणातीता भक्तिरित्यर्थः^३ । घोरे युद्धरूपे कर्मणि 'किं नियोजयसि^४ प्रवर्तयसि । हे जनार्दन जनान् स्वजनान् स्वाज्ञया पीडयसीत्यर्थः । न च तवाज्ञा केनाप्यन्यथा कर्तुं शक्यत इत्याह हे केशव को ब्रह्म ईशो महादेवः तावपि वयसे वशीकरोषि ॥१॥

Tīkā: Here “*vyāyasī*” is used here in the sense of “better”. Arjuna is saying, “If you think that *buddhi* (determined transcendental *bhakti*) is better, then why do you urge me to engage in this terrible activity of war? You are called “Janārdana”. Does that mean, “the one who torments (*ardana*) his own people (*jana*) by his orders”?

“And yet no-one can violate this order of yours, since you are called “Keśava” or “the one who controls both Brahma and Śiva”. The word “Keśava” consists of three syllables: “*ka*”, which signifies Brahma, “*śa*”, which signifies Śiva, and “*va*”, which is the root of the verb meaning “to control”.” ❀

टीका- भो वयस्य अर्जुन । सत्यं गुणातीता भक्तिः सर्वोत्कृष्टैव किन्तु सा यादृच्छिकमदैकान्तिकमहाभक्तकृपेकलभ्यत्वात् पुरुषोद्यमसाध्या न भवति । अत एव निस्त्रैगुण्यो भव गुणातीतया मद्भक्त्या त्वं निस्त्रैगुण्यो भूया इत्यशीर्वाद^५ एव दत्तः । स च यदा फलिष्यति तदा तादृशयादृच्छिकैकान्तिकभक्तकृपा प्राप्ता तामपि^६ लप्स्यसे । साम्प्रतन्तु कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते इति मयोक्तमेवेति चेत् सत्यम् तर्हि कर्मैव निश्चित्य कथं न ब्रूषे । किमिति सन्देहसिन्धौ मां क्षिपसीत्याह ।

² ∅ : printed.

³ ज्यायसो चेदिति : AMS, MMS, VMS. ज्यायसी श्रेष्ठा । बुद्धिर्व्यवसायात्मिका गुणातीता भक्तिरित्यर्थः : UMS.

⁴ योजयसि : JMS. किं योजयसि : UMS.

⁵ भूया (र) इत्यशीर्वाद : JMS.

⁶ कृपया प्राप्तामपि : printed. कृपया प्राप्ता तामपि : AMS, VMS. कृप(स) प्राप्ता तामपि : MMS.

Ṭikā: Kṛṣṇa might retort: “Listen, Arjuna, my friend. It is true that transcendental *bhakti* is superior to everything. That *bhakti*, however, can only be obtained through the causeless mercy of my exalted pure devotees; it cannot be obtained through human efforts. Therefore I have given you this blessing, “Become transcendental by practicing my transcendental *bhakti*”.⁷ When that blessing comes to fruition, then you will automatically attain that *bhakti* by the causeless mercy of my pure devotees. But for now I have said to you, “It is fit and proper for you to perform your prescribed duties...”.⁸

To that Arjuna says, “If that is what you think, fine. But then why don’t you make up your mind about the path of *karma*, and then clearly say so. Why are you are plunging me into an ocean of uncertainty...

3.2

‘व्यामिश्रेणैव’ वाक्येन बुद्धिं मोहयसीव मे ।
तदेकं वद निश्चित्य येन श्रेयो ऽहमाप्नुयाम् ॥२॥

It is almost as if you are trying to confuse my intelligence with your mixed-up statements. Please therefore make up your mind and tell me the one thing which will lead to my ultimate benefit.

टीका- व्यामिश्रेणेति । विशेषतः आ सम्यक्तया मिश्रणं नानाविधार्थमिलनं यत्र तेन वाक्येन मे बुद्धिं मोहयसि । तथा हि कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते... । ‘इत्युक्त्वापि’¹⁰ ‘बुद्धियुक्तो जहातीह उभे सुकृतदुष्कृते तस्माद् योगाय युज्यस्व योगः कर्मसु कौशलम् ॥ इति सिद्धयसिद्धयोः समो भूत्वा समत्वं योग उच्यते ।’¹¹ ‘¹² योगशब्दवाच्यं ज्ञानमपि ब्रवीषि । यदा ते मोहकलिलम् इत्यनेन ज्ञानं केवलमपि ब्रवीषि । किञ्चात्र इवशब्देन त्वद्वाक्यस्य वस्तुतो नास्ति नानार्थमिश्रितत्वम् नापि कृपालोस्तव मन्मोहनेच्छा । नापि मम तत्तदर्थानभिज्ञानत्वम् किन्तु स्पष्टीकृत्यैव ‘तव कथनमुचितमिति’¹³ भावः । अयं गूढो ऽभिप्रायः । राजसात् कर्मणः सकाशात् सात्त्विकं कर्म श्रेष्ठम् । तस्मादपि ज्ञानं श्रेष्ठम् तच्च सात्त्विकमेव ।

⁷ Verse 2.45 “*nistraiguṇyo bhavārjuna*”.

⁸ Verse 2.47 “*karmaṇy evādhikāras te*”.

⁹ व्यामिश्रेणैव : all mss, BGP, BDM, BVT.

¹⁰ इत्युक्त्वापि : BVT, AMS. ∅ : BGP, KDB.

¹¹ सिद्धयसिद्धयोः समो भूत्वा समत्वं योग उच्यते । बुद्धियुक्तो जहातीह उभे सुकृतदुष्कृते तस्माद् योगाय युज्यस्व योगः कर्मसु कौशलम् ॥ : printed.

¹² इति : printed, UMS.

¹³ तव कथनमुचितमिति : printed. तव कथितं तवोचितमिति : MMS.

'निर्गुणभक्तिस्तु'^{१४} तस्मादतिश्रेष्ठैव । तत्र सा यदि मयि न सम्भवेदिति ब्रूषे तदा सात्त्विकं ज्ञानमेवैकं मामुपदिश । तत एव दुःखमयात् संसारबन्धनान्मुक्तो भवेयमिति ॥२॥

Ṭikā: The word “*vyāmiśreṇaiva*” means particularly (*vi-*) and totally (*-ā-*) mixed up (*miśra*). “You are confusing my intelligence with your statements which contain many different types of meanings all mixed up together.

“First you say to me, ‘It is fit and proper for you to perform your prescribed duties (*karma*)...’¹⁵ But then despite that, you use the word “yoga” to speak of knowledge (*jñāna*). For example, you say, ‘Be balanced in success and failure. Yoga is this equanimity.’¹⁶ Also you say, ‘Engaged thus in *buddhi-yoga* in this world, one is aloof from both pious and impious activities. Therefore strive for this yoga, for it is the real skill in acting.’¹⁷

“And then you speak of the path of pure knowledge saying things like, ‘And when your intellect comes out of the abyss of delusion...’¹⁸

But from the word “*iva*” (“as if”) the implication is: “In actual fact Kṛṣṇa, you are very merciful and your statements are not all mixed up, nor are you really trying to confuse me, nor do I really have any trouble in understanding your intentions. But it would be better if you could just clarify your statements.”

This is the deeper significance: “Kṛṣṇa, you say that activities (the path of *karma*), when performed under the influence of Passion (*rajas*), are inferior to those performed in Goodness (*sattva*). Better than that, however, is the path of *jñāna*, but that too is only in the sphere of Goodness. The path of *bhakti*, being transcendental, is still superior. Now if you hold that such *bhakti* is not possible for me, then why don’t you just teach me one thing: the path of knowledge (*jñāna*), which is in Goodness. At least by that I might be freed from imprisonment in this miserable world.” ❀

टीका- अत्रोत्तरम् । यदि मया परस्परनिरपेक्षावेव मोक्षसाधनत्वेन कर्मयोगज्ञानयोगाचुक्तौ स्याताम् तदा तदेकं वद निश्चित्येति त्वत्प्रश्नो घटते । मया तु कर्मनिष्ठाज्ञाननिष्ठावत्त्वेन यद् द्वैविध्यमुक्तम् तत्खलु

¹⁴ निर्गुणभक्तिश्च : printed.

¹⁵ Verse 2.47 “*karmany evādhikāras te*”

¹⁶ Verse 2.48, “*siddhy-asiddhyoḥ samo bhūtvā samatvaṁ yoga ucyate.*”

¹⁷ Verse 2.50, “*buddhi-yukto jahātīha ubhe sukṛta-duṣkṛte, tasmād yogāya yujyasva yogaḥ karmasu kauśalam.*”

¹⁸ 2 Verse .52 “*yadā te moha-kalilam...*”

पूर्वोत्तरदशाभेदादेव न तु वस्तुतो मोक्षं 'प्रत्यधिकारिद्वैतमित्याह'¹⁹ ।

Ṭikā: Here is the answer to the question. Kṛṣṇa says, “If I had spoken of *karma-yoga* and *jñāna-yoga* as two mutually independent processes for attaining spiritual liberation, then you would have been right to ask me to make up my mind and tell you just one thing. However when I spoke to you of the dichotomy between those who follow *karma* and those who follow *jñāna*, that was only a division between those at the preliminary and final stages of the same practice, not a division of two different types of person who can attain liberation...

3.3

श्री भगवानुवाच

लोके ऽस्मिन् द्विविधा निष्ठा पुरा प्रोक्ता मया न च ।
ज्ञानयोगेन सांख्यानां कर्मयोगेन योगिनाम् ॥३॥

The Lord said: O sinless Arjuna, I have already explained to you that there are two positions in this world: the position of the intellectuals with their *jñāna-yoga*, and the position of the yogis with their *karma-yoga*.

टीका- लोके इति द्वाभ्याम् । द्विविधा 'द्विप्रकारा'²⁰ निष्ठा नितरां स्थितिमयदित्यर्थः । पुरा प्रोक्ता पूर्वाध्यये कथिना नामेवाह । सांख्यानां सांख्यं ज्ञानं तद्वताम् 'अर्श आद्यच्'²¹ । तेषां शुद्धान्तःकरणत्वेन ज्ञानभूमिकामधिरुदामसर्म्थानां ज्ञानयोगेन निष्ठा तेनैव मर्यादा स्थापिता । अत्र लोके ते ज्ञानित्वेनैव ख्यापिता इत्यर्थः । तानि सर्वाणि संयम्य युक्त आसीत मत्परः इत्यादिना । तथा शुद्धान्तःकरणत्वाभावेन 'ज्ञानभूमिकामधिरुदामसर्म्थानां'²² योगिनां तदारोहणार्थमुपायवतां कर्मयोगेन मदर्पितनिष्कामकर्मणा निष्ठा मर्यादा स्थापिता । ते खलु कर्मित्वेनैव ख्यापितेत्यर्थः । 'धर्माद्वि'²³ युद्धाच्छ्रेयो ऽन्यत् क्षत्रियस्य न विद्यते इत्यादिना । तेन कर्मिणः ज्ञानिनः इति नाममात्रेणैव द्वैविध्यम् । वस्तुतस्तु कर्मिण एव कर्मभिः शुद्धचित्ता ज्ञानिनो भवन्ति । ज्ञानिन एव भक्त्या मुच्यन्ते इति मद्राक्समुदायार्थ इति भावः ॥३॥

Ṭikā: Here the word *dvi-vidhā* (literally “two-fold”) is used in the sense of “two types”. And the word “*ni-ṣṭhā*” means a “completely marked position” or a “well-defined limit”. So there are two sorts of positions (*niṣṭhā*) in this world. These two

¹⁹ प्रत्यधिकारिद्वैतमित्याह : printed.

²⁰ द्विप्रकारा : AMS, MMS, VMS.

²¹ अर्शश्चाद्यच : UMS. ø : printed.

²² ज्ञानभूमिकामधिरुदामसर्म्थानां : BGP, KDB. ज्ञानभूमिकामधिरुदामसर्म्थानां : BDM, GVS.

²³ धर्माद्वि : AMS, MMS, VMS, UMS.

positions were already explained (“*purā proktā*”) in the previous chapter, and now he speaks of them again:

“The first position is for the *sāṅkhyas*, i.e. those who possess *saṅkhyā*, or knowledge (this is a somewhat archaic usage²⁴). Because they have a purified mind, they have risen to the platform of knowledge. Thus their position is defined through *jñāna-yoga*. That is to say the boundaries of their behaviour are established by the path of *jñāna-yoga*. This means that such people are identified in this world by the very fact that they are knowledgeable, as in the passage that begins: “But one should control these senses, and in the discipline of yoga one should sit fully absorbed in Me...”²⁵

“The other position is for those whose mind is not pure and who therefore cannot come up to the platform of knowledge. But, they are following the process for rising to the platform of knowledge. Such *yogis* are positioned in *karma-yoga*. That is to say that the boundaries of their behaviour are established by the path of *karma-yoga*. By “*karma yoga*” we mean “*niṣkāma-karma-yoga*”, or desireless religious activities, the result of which is offered to Me. Such people are identified in this world by the very fact that they perform such activities. It is just such a *karmi* who is described in the statement, “For a member of the warrior order nothing is more auspicious than fighting to defend religious principles...”²⁶

“Thus in name only is there a dichotomy between the “*karmi*” and the “*jñāni*”. Actually by practicing *karma-yoga* the *karmi* becomes pure of mind and thus he becomes a *jñāni*. And then the *jñāni*, by following the path of *bhakti* attains liberation from this world.”

“This is the complete meaning of My statement.” ❀

टीका- चित्तशुद्धयभावे ज्ञानानुत्पत्तिमाह ।

Ṭikā: And now Kṛṣṇa explains that when the mind is not purified, knowledge does not come about:

²⁴ The rule referred to here is “*ārṣa ādyac*”. Normally the -ya suffix will be accompanied by *vr̥ddhi* of the first syllable only with patronymics and neuter abstracts. Here, however, *vr̥ddhi* of the first syllable is found yet the sense is simply that of an adjective “relating to” or “possessed of”. Such usage was not common, but was condoned by the very fact that it was used by the Ṛṣis.

²⁵ Verse 2.61: “*tāni sarvāṇi saṁyamya...*”

²⁶ Verse 2.31: “*dharmyād dhi yudhāc chreyo....*”

3.4

न कर्मणामनारम्भान्नेष्कर्म्यं पुरुषो ऽश्रुते ।
न च संन्यसनादेव सिद्धिं समधिगच्छति ॥४॥

The state of *naiṣkarmya*, or non-action, is not attained by not performing one's prescribed activities. Nor can one attain perfection simply by renunciation.

टीका- नेति । 'शास्त्रीय'^{२७} 'कर्मणामनारम्भादननुष्ठानान्नेष्कर्म्यं'^{२८} ज्ञानं न प्राप्नोति न चाशुद्धचित्तः संन्यसनात् शास्त्रीयकर्मत्यागात् ॥४॥

Ṭikā: The phrase “*karmaṇām anārambhād*” literally means “by not starting activities”. Here it means “by not performing those activities prescribed in the scriptures”. It is not by failing to perform such scriptural activities that one can attain the state of *naiṣkarmya*, i.e., the state of non-action or the state of knowledge. Nor can someone of impure mind attain perfection simply by giving up activities prescribed in the scriptures. ❀

टीका- किन्त्वशुद्धचित्तः कृतसंन्यासः शास्त्रीयं कर्म परित्यज्य व्यवहारिके कर्मणि निमज्जतीत्याह ।

Ṭikā: Now Kṛṣṇa says that if a person of impure mind takes up the life of renunciation (*sannyāsa*) and gives up the ritual activities prescribed in the scriptures, then such a person will nevertheless become absorbed in some practical day-to-day activities:

3.5

न हि कश्चित्क्षणमपि जातु तिष्ठत्यकर्मकृत् ।
कार्यते ह्यवशः कर्म सर्वः प्रकृतिजैर्गुणैः ॥५॥

Nor can anyone really remain inactive even for a second. All living entities are influenced by their own innate material qualities (*guṇas*) and are thus helplessly made to perform some action.

²⁷ शास्त्राय : AMS.

²⁸ कर्मणामनारम्भादननुष्ठानान्नेष्कर्म्यं : AMS.

टीका- नहीति । ननु संन्यास एव तस्य 'वैदिकलौकिककर्म'²⁹ 'प्रवृत्ति'विरोधी तत्राह³⁰ । कार्यत इति ।
अवशः अस्यतंत्रः ॥५॥

Ṭikā: Someone may object to this line of argument by saying that a life of renunciation (*sannyāsa*) is inherently opposed to a person being engaged in both scriptural and mundane activities. So Kṛṣṇa counters that argument in the second half of this verse by saying that everyone is helplessly forced to act, no one is independent. ❀

टीका- ननु तादृशो ऽपि संन्यासी कश्चित् 'कश्चिद्'³¹ इन्द्रियव्यापारशून्यो मुद्रिताक्षो दृश्यते । तत्राह ।

Ṭikā: “But surely, Kṛṣṇa, we do see some *sannyāsis* like that, who sit there, eyes closed, without performing any sensory activities?”

Kṛṣṇa replies:

3.6

कर्मेन्द्रियाणि संयम्य य आस्ते मनसा स्मरन्
इन्द्रियार्थान् विमूढात्मा मिथ्याचारः स उच्यते ॥६॥

It is a foolish person indeed who controls his body³² but continues to contemplate sensory objects in his mind; such a person is called a fraud.

टीका- कर्मेन्द्रियाणि वाक्पाण्यादीनि निगृह्य यो मनसा 'ध्यानच्छलेन'³³ विषयान् स्मरन्नास्ते स मिथ्याचारो दाम्भिकः ॥६॥

Ṭikā: “If someone restrains his bodily organs of action (such as the voice and the hands), but simply sits there pretending to meditate and really just thinks of the sensual objects in his mind, then such a person is just a hypocrite and a fraud.” ❀

²⁹ वैदिकलौकिककर्म : AMS.

³⁰ विरोधात्त्राह : AMS, MMS, VMS.

³¹ ∅ : AMS, MMS.

³² “*karmendriya*” - literally “organs of action” (hands, feet, larynx, genitals, and anus).

³³ ध्यामनच्छलेन : AMS.

टीका- एतद्विपरीतः 'शास्त्रीय'³⁴कर्मकर्ता गृहस्थस्तु श्रेष्ठ इत्याह ।

Tīkā: And now Kṛṣṇa says, “However, the best position is that of a householder (*grhastha*), who in contrast to the *sannyāsi*, performs all the activities prescribed in the scriptures...

3.7

यस्त्विन्द्रियाणि मनसा नियम्यारभते ऽर्जुन ।

कर्मेन्द्रियैः कर्मयोगमसक्तः स विशिष्यते ॥७॥

Much better is the person who controls the senses with the mind and, in a spirit of detachment, engages those bodily organs of action in *karma-yoga*, the path of action.

टीका- यस्त्विति । कर्मयोगं शास्त्रचिहितम् । असक्तो ऽफलाकांक्षी । विशिष्यते असम्भवितप्रमादत्वेन ज्ञाननिष्ठादपि 'पुरुषाद्विशिष्ट'³⁵ इति 'श्रीरामानुजाचार्यचरणाः'³⁶ ॥७॥

Tīkā: Here the phrase *karma-yoga* refers to scriptural activities. But while performing those activities one should be *asakta*, i.e., one should not aspire for the fruits of the activity. Such a person is better. According to Śrī Rāmānujācārya this means that such a person is superior even to the person situated on the path of knowledge (*jñāna*) because at least in the path of action (*karma*) there is no chance of him becoming negligent and wantonly careless. ❀

3.8

नियतं करु कर्म त्वं कर्म ज्यायो ह्यकर्मणः ।

शरीरयत्रापि च ते न प्रसिद्धयेदकर्मणः ॥८॥

Perform your prescribed activities (*karma*), because such activities are better than inaction. If you were totally inactive, you would not even be able to sustain your body.

³⁴ शास्त्राय : AMS.

³⁵ पुरुषाद्विशिष्ट : UMS.

³⁶ श्रीरामानुजाचार्यचरणाः : AMS, VMS. श्रीरामानुजाचार्य (†)चरणाः : MMS (corrected).

टीका- तस्मात्त्वं नियतं नित्यं सन्ध्योपासनादि । अकर्मणः कर्मसंन्यासात्सकाशाज्ज्यायः श्रेष्ठम् ।
संन्यस्तसर्वकर्मणस्तव शरीरनिर्वाहो ऽपि न सिद्ध्येत् ॥८॥

Ṭikā: In this context the word *niyatam* means *nityam*, thus Kṛṣṇa is talking of *nitya-karma*, or regular ritual activities.³⁷ “Therefore you should perform those regular ritual activities (*nitya-karmas* such as twilight prayers), for they are better than inaction, better than giving up activities altogether. If you gave up all activities you wouldn’t even be able to maintain your body” ❧

टीका- ननु तर्हि कर्मणा बध्यते जन्तुरिति स्मृतेः कर्मणि कृते बन्धः स्यादिति चेन्न । परमेश्वरार्पितं
'निष्कामं' कर्म 'न' बन्धकमित्याह ।

Ṭikā: At this point someone might object: “The scriptures say, ‘Living beings are bound by the reactions to their actions’⁴⁰ So [if I follow your instructions and follow this path of action] will I not be bound by the reactions to my actions (*karma*)?”

Kṛṣṇa says to Arjuna, “If that is what you are thinking, you’re wrong. You are not bound by any action which is offered to the supreme Lord...

3.9

यज्ञार्थात्कर्मणो ऽन्यत्र लोको ऽयं कर्मबन्धनः ।

तदर्थं कर्म कौन्तेय मुक्तसङ्गः समाचर ॥९॥

This world is shackled by the chains of activity - but not by sacrificial activity. Therefore you should, free from attachment, act for that purpose alone.

टीका- यज्ञार्थादिति । चिष्णवर्षितो 'निष्कामो' धर्म एव यज्ञ उच्यते । तदर्थं यत् कर्म ततो ऽन्यत्रैवायं
लोकः कर्मबन्धनः कर्मणा बध्यमानो भवति । 'तस्मात्' त्वं तदर्थं तादृशधर्मसिद्धयर्थं कर्म समाचर । ननु

³⁷ See note to verse 2.49

³⁸ ∅ : printed.

³⁹ ∅ : AMS. (न) : VMS.

⁴⁰ Mbh: 12.241.7: “*karmanā badhyate jantuh*”

⁴¹ निष्कामो : printed.

⁴² तस्मात् : AMS, MMS, VMS.

विष्णवर्षितो ऽपि धर्मः कामनामुद्दिश्य कृतश्रेद् बन्धको 'भवत्येव'⁴³ । मुक्तसङ्गः फलाकाङ्क्षारहितः ।
 एवमेवोद्भवं प्रत्यपि 'श्रीभगवतोक्तम्'⁴⁴ - स्वधर्मस्थो यजन् यज्ञैरनाशीः काम उद्भव । न याति स्वर्गनरको
 'यद्यन्यन्'⁴⁵ न समाचरेत् ॥ अस्मिँल्लोके वर्तमानः स्वधर्मस्थो ऽनघः शुचि । ज्ञानं विशुद्धमाप्नोति । इति
 ॥९॥

Tīkā: The word “*yajña*” (sacrifice) signifies “religious practices (*dharma*) offered to Viṣṇu.” Except for such activity done for sacrificial purpose, all other activity binds one to this world.⁴⁶

“Therefore you should act for that purpose (*tadartham*), i.e., you should act in order to perform such prescribed religious activities.”

“But Kṛṣṇa, if such religious activities are done to fulfill one’s own desires, won’t they be binding, even if they are offered to Viṣṇu?”

“Quite right. That is why I say that you should also be “*mukta-saṅga*”, or “free from all attachment”, i.e., “free from the desire for the fruits of your action”.

The Lord said the same thing to Uddhava in the Bhāgavata: “O dear Uddhava, being properly situated in one’s prescribed religious duties and performing sacrificial works without desire for the rewards, one will neither go to heaven nor to hell, provided, of course, that he does not perform any other forbidden activities. Even in this life the pure and sinless person who is properly situated in his prescribed religious duty can attain pure knowledge.”⁴⁷ ❀

टीका- 'तदेवमशुद्धचित्तो'⁴⁸ निष्कामं कर्मैव कुर्यात् न तु संन्यासमित्युक्तम् । इदानीं यदि च निष्कामो ऽपि भवितुं न शक्नुयात् तदा सकाममपि धर्मं विष्णवर्षितं कुर्यात् न तु 'धर्मत्यागमित्याह'⁴⁹ सहेति सप्तभिः ।

Tīkā: “Therefore I have said that someone whose mind is not yet purified should not opt for *sannyāsa* (renunciation) but should perform *niṣkāma-karma*, desireless

⁴³ भवत्येवेत्याह : printed.

⁴⁴ श्रीभगवतोक्तम् : printed.

⁴⁵ यद्यन्यं : JMS, UMS, MMS, AMS, VMS.

⁴⁶ Literally: “This whole world is ‘work-bound’ (“*karma-bandhana*”). That is to say the world is bound by all activities other than those performed for sacrificial purposes.”

⁴⁷ BP 11.20.10-11.

⁴⁸ तदेवाशुद्धचित्तो : printed.

⁴⁹ कर्मत्यागमित्याह : printed.

religious activities. Now if becoming desireless is not possible, then you should not just give up your religious duties altogether. You should still perform your religious duties and offer them to Viṣṇu, even if you perform such activities with some personal desire.” This is what Kṛṣṇa is saying in the next seven verses:

3.10

सहयज्ञाः प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा पुरोवाच प्रजापतिः ।
अनेन प्रसविष्यध्वमेष वो ऽस्त्विष्टकामधुक् ॥१०॥

Long ago the Lord of creation created beings along with sacrificial activities, and said, “By performing these sacrifices you will flourish. May they fulfil all your desires.”

टीका- यज्ञेन सहिताः सहयज्ञाः वोपसर्जनस्य इति ^{५०} 'सहस्य' ^{५१} सादेशाभावः । पुरा विष्ववर्पितधर्मकारिणीः प्रजाः सृष्ट्वा ब्रह्मोवाच अनेन धर्मेण प्रसविष्यध्वं 'प्रसूयध्वम्' ^{५२} °प्रसवो 'वृद्धिरुत्तरोत्तरमतिवृद्धि' ^{५३} लभध्वमित्यर्थः । तासां सकामत्वमभिलक्ष्याह । एष यज्ञो च इष्टकामधुक् 'अभीष्टभोगप्रदो' ^{५४} ऽस्त्विष्टकामधुक् ॥१०॥

Ṭikā: The word “*saha-yajña*” means “along with sacrifices”.⁵⁵ Here this means that long ago the Lord of creation, Brahma, created beings to perform religious duties and offer them to Viṣṇu. Then he said, “By these religious duties you should increase and attain more and more prosperity.”

Considering the fact that the people of this world are full of desires he said, “May this process of sacrifice give you all the things you wish to enjoy.” ❀

टीका- कथमिष्टकामप्रदो यज्ञो भवेत्तत्राह ।

Ṭikā: Then he explains how sacrifice fulfils all desires:

⁵⁰ सहस्येति : AMS, MMS, VMS.

⁵¹ सह : BGP.

⁵² ∅ : printed, AMS, MMS, VMS.

⁵³ वृद्धिरुत्तरोत्तरमतिवृद्धि : printed.

⁵⁴ अभीष्टे भोगप्रदो : UMS.

⁵⁵ Viśvanātha Cakravarti quotes the grammatical rule, “*vopasarjanasya*” (P. 6.3.82) to explain why “*saha-*” has not been replaced by “*sa-*” (i.e., why we have “*saha-yajña*” here instead of “*sa-yajña*”).

3.11

देवान्भावयतानेन ते देवा भावयन्तु वः ।
परस्परं भावयन्तः श्रेयः परमवाप्स्यथ ॥११॥

Sustain the gods by your sacrifices and let them in turn sustain you. By this mutual sustenance you will all attain the highest good.

टीका- देवानिति । अनेन यज्ञेन देवान् भावयत भावयतः कुरुत । भावः प्रीतिस्तद्युक्तान् कुरुत प्रीणयतेत्यर्थः । ते देवा अपि वः प्रीणयन्तु ॥११॥

Ṭikā: The word *bhāvayata* means to make someone full of *bhāva*, i.e., to make them full of delight and affection. So Kṛṣṇa is saying, “*devān bhāvayata...* Please the gods by your sacrifices, and they will please you too.” ❀

टीका- एतदेव स्पष्टीकुर्वन् कर्माकरणे दोषमाह ।

Ṭikā: Now Kṛṣṇa clarifies that very point by explaining the defect with not performing ritual activities:

3.12

इष्टान्भोगान् हि वो देवा दास्यन्ते यज्ञभाचिताः ।
तैर्दत्तान्प्रदायैभ्यो यो भुङ्क्ते स्तेन एव सः ॥१२॥

Thus satisfied by your sacrifices, the gods will bestow upon you all the enjoyments you desire. But if someone enjoys what the gods give, but does not make offerings to them in return, he is certainly a thief.

टीका- इष्टानिति । तैर्दत्तान् वृष्ट्यादिद्वारेणान्नादीनुत्पाद्येत्यर्थः । एभ्यो देवेभ्यः । पञ्चमहायज्ञादिभिरदत्त्वा यो भुङ्क्ते स तु चौर एव ॥१२॥

Ṭikā: These objects of worldly enjoyment are given by the gods in the sense that, for example, the gods produce food grains by sending forth rain. If one enjoys all this, and yet does not offer it all back to the gods through sacrifices like the *pañca-*

*mahā-yajña*⁵⁶, then he is just a thief. ❀

3.13

यज्ञशिष्टाशिनः सन्तो मुच्यन्ते सर्वकिल्बिषैः ।

'भुञ्जते ते त्वघं पापा'⁵⁷ ये पचन्त्यात्मकारणात् ॥१३॥

Good men eat food which has been offered in sacrifice, and thus they are not guilty of any crime. On the other hand those who prepare food simply for themselves are actually eating sin.

टीका- वैश्वदेवादियज्ञावशिष्टमन्नं ये ऽश्नन्ति ते पंचसूनाकृतैः सर्वैः पापैर्मुच्यन्ते । पच्यसूनाश्च स्मृत्युक्ताः । 'कण्डनी'⁵⁸ पेषणी चुल्ली उदकुम्भी च मार्जनी । पंच'सूना'⁵⁹ गृहस्थस्य ताभिः स्वर्गं न विन्दति ॥ इति ॥१३॥

Tīkā: Those who eat the remnant foodstuffs from sacrificial rituals such as the *vaiśvadeva-yajña* are absolved from all sins which they may have accidentally committed with the *pañca-sūnā*. The *pañca-sūnā* are five objects with which a householder might accidentally kill animals and insects. These *pañca-sūnā* are listed in the scriptures: “The wooden threshing board, the grinding stone, the fire-place, water receptacles and the broom; these are the *pañca-sūnā* which stop a householder from going to heaven.”⁶⁰ ❀

टीका- जगच्चक्रप्रवृत्तिहेतुत्वादिपि यज्ञं कुर्यादित्याह ।

Tīkā: And then he says, “One should also perform *yajña* simply because it makes the natural cycle of the universe go round...

⁵⁶ The *pañca-mahā-yajña* are the “five great sacrificial acts”, namely: 1) *brahma-yajña* (study of the Vedas), 2) *pitṛ yajña* (oblations to the ancestors) 3) *deva-yajña* (worshipping the gods), 4) *bhūta-yajña* (serving all living entities e.g., by feeding cows) 5) *nṛ-yajña* (serving humanity e.g., by greeting guests).

⁵⁷ ते त्वघं भुञ्जते पापा : JMS, UMS.

⁵⁸ कण्डनी : UMS, AMS, MMS.

⁵⁹ सूना : UMS.

⁶⁰ Source unclear. A similar found is found in Manu (3.68).

3.14

अन्नाद् भवन्ति भूतानि पर्जन्यादन्नसंभवः ।
यज्ञाद् भवति पर्जन्यो यज्ञः कर्मसमुद्भवः ॥१४॥

The living beings subsist on food grains and food grains are produced by rain. Rain is a result of sacrifice (yajña), and sacrifice is produced through ritual action (karma).

टीका- अन्नाद् भूतानि प्राणिनो भवन्तीति भूतानां हेतुरन्नम् अन्नादेव शुक्रशोणितरूपेण 'परिणतात्'^{६१} प्राणिशरीरसिद्धेः । 'तस्यान्नस्य'^{६२} हेतुः पर्जन्यः 'पर्जन्य'^{६३} घृष्टिभिरेवान्नसिद्धेः । तस्यपर्जन्यस्य हेतुर्यज्ञः लोकैः कृतेन यज्ञेनैव समुदितघृष्टिप्रदमेघसिद्धेः । तस्य यज्ञस्य हेतुः कर्म ऋत्विग्यजमान'व्यापारात्मकात्'^{६४} कर्मण एव यज्ञसिद्धेः ॥१४॥

Ṭīkā: “The living beings subsist on grains”; that is to say the cause of living beings is food grains because the bodies of the living beings are produced from food grains transformed into blood, semen, etc..

Those food grains are caused by rain because grains can only be produced with rainfall. That rainfall is caused by *yajña* because rain bearing clouds are produced simply from people's performance of *yajña*.

And that *yajña* is caused by *karma* (ritual activities) because the very nature of *yajña* requires all sorts of ritual activities such as those ritual activities prescribed for the priests (*ṛtvik*) and for the patron of the *yajña* (*yajamāna*).

3.15

कर्म ब्रह्मोद्भवं विद्धि ब्रह्माक्षरसमुद्भवम् ।
तस्मात्सर्वगतं ब्रह्म नित्यं यज्ञे प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥१५॥

Ritual action (karma) comes from the Vedas and the Vedas come from the Supreme. Therefore the omnipresent Supreme is eternally present in sacrificial acts.

टीका- तस्य कर्मणो हेतुर्ब्रह्म वेदः वेदोक्तविधिवाक्यश्रवणादेव यज्ञं प्रति व्यापारोत्पत्तेः । तस्य वेदस्य

⁶¹ परिणतात् : JMS.

⁶² तस्मादन्नस्य : AMS, MMS, VMS.

⁶³ Ø : AMS, MMS, VMS.

⁶⁴ व्यापारात्मकत्वात् : printed.

हेतुरक्षरं ब्रह्म ब्रह्मत एव वेदोत्पत्तेः । तथा च श्रुतिः अस्य महतो भूतस्य निःश्वसितमेतद्ग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदो 'ऽथर्वाङ्गिरसः'⁶⁵ इति । तस्मात्सर्वगतं सर्वव्यापकं ब्रह्म यज्ञे प्रतिष्ठितमिति यज्ञेन ब्रह्मापि प्राप्यत इति भावः । अत्र यद्यपि कार्यकारणभावेनान्नाद्या ब्रह्मपर्यन्ताः पदार्था उक्तास्तदपि तेषु मध्ये यज्ञ एव 'विधेयत्वेन'⁶⁶ शास्त्रेणोच्यत इति स एव प्रस्तुतः । अग्नौ प्रास्ताहुतिः 'सम्यगादित्यायोपतिष्ठते'⁶⁷ । आदित्याज्जायते वृष्टिर्वृष्टेरन्नं ततः प्रजाः ॥ इति स्मृतेः ॥१५॥

Ṭikā: The cause of that *karma* (ritual action) is *brahma* (the Vedas) because the impetus to engage in sacrificial activities comes from hearing the directives for such activities in the Vedas. And the cause of the Vedas is *akṣara*, or the Supreme Spirit, since the Vedas come forth from that Supreme. This is confirmed in the *śruti* scriptures, “The four Vedas, Ṛg, Yajur, Sāma, and Atharva, are the breath of the Supreme Being.”⁶⁸

Therefore the omnipresent, all-pervading Supreme is present in sacrificial activities (*yajña*). This means that by performing *yajña* one attains the Supreme.

In this passage many objects have been mentioned in a long chain of cause and effect starting from food grains leading all the way back to the Supreme. However of all things mentioned, only *yajña* is mentioned in the scriptures as compulsory. Therefore, *yajña* is thus the principal topic of the passage.

The *smṛti* scriptures also say, “The oblations offered into the fire go to Āditya. From Āditya comes rain, from rain comes grains, and from grains come the living creatures.”⁶⁹ ❀

टीका- एतदननुष्ठाने प्रत्यवायमाह ।

Ṭikā: Kṛṣṇa explains the adverse reaction which ensues when one fails to perform *yajña*:

⁶⁵ ऽथर्वाङ्गिरसः : KDB, BVT. ऽथर्वाङ्गिरसः : UMS.

⁶⁶ विधेय(स्ते)न : JMS.

⁶⁷ सम्यगादित्यमुपतिष्ठते : printed.

⁶⁸ BrU 4.5.11: *asya mahato bhūtasya niḥśvasitam etad ṛg-vedo yajur-vedaḥ sāma-vedo 'tharvāṅgirasah.*

⁶⁹ Manu 3.76: *agnau prāstāhutih samyag ādityam upatiṣṭate, ādityāj jayate vṛṣṭir vṛṣṭer annam tataḥ prajāḥ.*

3.16

एवं प्रवर्तितं चक्रं नानुवर्तयतीह यः ।
अघायुरिन्द्रियारामो मोघं पार्थ स जीवति ॥१६॥

O son of Pṛthā, the sensual enjoyer who does not contribute to this established cycle is indeed a sinful wretch who lives in vain.

टीका- एवमिति चक्रं 'पूर्वपश्चाद्भागेन'^{७०} प्रवर्तितम् । यज्ञात् पर्जन्यः पर्जन्यादन्नम् अन्नात् पुरुषः पुरुषात् पुनर्यज्ञो यज्ञात् पर्जन्य इत्येवं चक्रं यो नानुवर्तयति 'यज्ञाननुष्ठानेन'^{७१} न परिवर्तयति स अघायुः 'पापव्याप्तयुष्को'^{७२} नरके निमङ्क्ष्यतीति'^{७३} भावः ॥१६॥

Tīkā: This “cycle” has been set in motion where each successive step leads on to the next. That is to say that from *yajña* comes rain, and from rain comes food grains, and from food grains come men. From men again we get *yajña* from which we again get rain and so on. If one does not contribute to this cycle, if one does not perpetuate the cycle by performing *yajña*, then he is sinful. He is *aghāyuh*, living sinfully; his life is full of sin, and as a result he sinks down into hell. ❀

टीका- तदेवं निष्कामत्वात्सामर्थ्ये सकामो ऽपि कर्म कुयदिवेत्युक्तम् । यस्तु 'शुद्धान्तःकरणत्वात्'^{७४} ज्ञानभूमिकामारूढः स तु नित्यं काम्यञ्च न करोतीत्याह यस्त्विति द्वाभ्याम् ।

Tīkā: Kṛṣṇa has thus explained that even a person full of desires should still perform ritual activities even though incapable of performing such ritual activities without personal desire. On the other hand, a person of purified mind who comes to the platform of knowledge (*jñāna*) does not have to perform any ritual activity whether it be regular daily rituals (*nitya-karma*) or rituals performed for some specific purpose (*kāmya-karma*). That is what Kṛṣṇa says in the next two verses:

⁷⁰ पूर्वपश्चाद्भागेन : printed.

⁷¹ यज्ञानुष्ठानेन : printed.

⁷² पापव्याप्तयुः । को : printed.

⁷³ न मङ्क्ष्यतीति : printed.

⁷⁴ शुद्धान्तःकरणत्वात् : MMS. (this reading is corrected in the margin of AMS and VMS.)

3.17

यस्त्वात्मरतिरेव स्यादात्मतृप्तश्च मानवः ।
आत्मन्येव च संतुष्टस्तस्य कार्यं न विद्यते ॥१७॥

On the other hand, the person who takes pleasure within the self, who finds contentment within the self, and who is satisfied only within the self - such a person has no duties to perform.

टीका- आत्मरतिरात्मारामः यत आत्मतृप्त आत्मानन्दानुभवेन निर्वृतः । 'नन्यात्मनि'^{७५} निर्वृतो बहिर्घिषयभोगे ऽपि किञ्चिन्निर्वृतो भवतु । तत्र नैवेत्याह आत्मन्येव न तु 'बहिर्घिषयभोगे'^{७६} । तस्य कार्यं कर्तव्यत्वेन कर्म नास्ति ॥१७॥

Ṭikā: The word “*ātma-rati*” means one who finds pleasure within the self. As a result, such a person is also “*ātma-trpta*”, or happy with the bliss that he experiences in the self.

Someone might object, “Well surely being satisfied in the self means also deriving some happiness from material objects of sensory enjoyment.”

Kṛṣṇa replies, “No, *ātmany eva*, I am talking about a person who finds happiness only in the self and not in the external objects of sensual enjoyment. Such a person has no obligation to perform any ritual activity (*karma*).” ❀

3.18

नैव तस्य कृतेनार्थो नाकृतेनेह कश्चन ।
न चास्य सर्वभूतेषु कश्चिदर्थव्यपाश्रयः ॥१८॥

He has no reason in the world to perform action and no reason not to. Nor is there any reason for him to depend on any other being for the attainment of his purpose.

टीका- कृतेनानुष्ठितेन कर्मणा नार्थो न फलम् । अकृतेन कश्चन प्रत्यवायो ऽपि न । यस्मादस्य

⁷⁵ न स्यात्मनि : printed. JMS is emended in the margin.

⁷⁶ बहिर्घिषयभोगेन : BGP.

सर्वभूतेषु 'ब्रह्मान्तस्थाचरादिषु'⁷⁷ मध्ये 'कश्चिदप्यर्थाय'⁷⁸ स्वप्रयोजनार्थं व्यपाश्रय 'आश्रयणीयो'⁷⁹ न भवति । पुराणादिषु व्यपाश्रयशब्देन तथैवोच्यते । यथा वासुदेवे भगवति भक्तिमुद्ब्रह्मतां नृणाम् । ज्ञानवैराग्यवीर्याणां नेह कश्चिद्व्यपाश्रयः ॥ इति । तथा 'यदपाश्रयाश्रयाः'⁸⁰ शुद्ध्यन्ति इति । संस्था हेतुरपाश्रयः 'इत्यादावप्यपेत्युपसर्गस्यानधिकार्थत्वं'⁸¹ दृष्टम् ॥१८॥

Ṭīkā: There is no reason for him to perform the [ritual] actions; for him there is no result from performing action. And there is no bad reaction for him if he does not perform those ritual actions.

Therefore for the fulfilment of his plans he doesn't need to depend on any other being whether it be Brahma or the immobile creatures. In the phrase “*artha-vyapaśraya*”, the word “*artha*” means “for some purpose”, and “*vyapāśraya*” means “to be depended upon”. This sense of *vyapāśraya* is found in many places in the Purāṇas and other scriptures, e.g.:

*vāsudeve bhagavati bhaktim udvahatām nṛṇām,
jñāna-vairāgya-vīryāṇām neha kaścīd vyapāśrayaḥ.*⁸²

Also: “...*yadapāśrayāśrayāḥ śuddhyanti...*”⁸³

Also: “*saṁsthā hetur apāśrayaḥ*”⁸⁴.

In these passages we can see that the prefix *-apa-* [when added to “*āśraya*”] does not add any new meaning. ❀

77 ब्रह्माण्डस्थाचरादिषु : printed.

78 कश्चिदप्यर्थायं : AMS.

79 आश्रयणीयो : AMS, emended in MMS, VMS.

80 यदुपाश्रयाश्रयाः : printed (not BDM). यदपाश्रयाश्रयाः : AMS, MMS. यदपाश्रय()श्रयाः : VMS. यदपाश्रयाः : UMS.

81 इत्यादावप्यपेत्युपसर्गस्यानधिकार्थत्वं : printed. इत्यादावप्यपेत्यस्यानधिकार्थत्वं : AMS, MMS.

इत्यादावप्यपेत्यु (क्) स्यानधिकार्थत्वं : VMS

82 BP 6.17.31

83 BP 2.4.18

84 BP 12.7.9

टीका- तस्मात्तव ज्ञानभूमिकारोहणे नास्ति योग्यता । काम्यकर्मणि तु सद्विवेकवतस्तव 'नैवास्त्यधिकारः' । तस्मान्निष्कामकर्मैव कुर्वित्याह ।

Ṭikā: “Thus you are not qualified to rise to the level of *jñāna* (knowledge), and yet a discerning person like you is also not suited to *kāmya-karma*, or ritual actions performed for self-interest. Therefore you should perform *niškāma-karma* (selfless religious actions)...

3.19

तस्मादसक्तः सततं कार्यं कर्म समाचर ।
असक्तो ह्याचरन्कर्म परमाप्नोति पूरुषः ॥१९॥

Therefore, in a detached frame of mind constantly perform your allotted activities, because by following the path of action in a detached way a person can attain the Supreme.

टीका- तस्मादिति । कार्यमवश्यकर्तव्यत्वेन विहितं । परं मोक्षम् ॥१९॥

Ṭikā: You should do those actions which are designated [in the scriptures] as obligatory (“*kāryam*”). Thus you will attain the Supreme, that is to say, you will achieve *mokṣa*, spiritual liberation. ❀

टीका- अत्र सदाचारं प्रमाणयति ।

Ṭikā: In this regard Kṛṣṇa uses as evidence the example of the behaviour of respectable men:

3.20

कर्मणैव हि संसिद्धिमास्थिता जनकादयः ।
लोकसंग्रहमेवापि संपश्यन् कर्तुमर्हसि ॥२०॥

For people like Janaka have attained perfection simply by this path of action (*karma*). Even just for the welfare of people in general, you should follow this path of action.

टीका- कर्मणेति । यदि वा त्वमात्मानं ज्ञानाधिकारिणं मन्यसे तदपि 'लोके'^६ शिक्षाग्राहणार्थं^७ कर्मैव कुर्वित्याह । लोकेति ॥२०॥

Ṭikā: And then he says, “And even if you think that you are qualified to follow the path of *jñāna* (knowledge), still you should follow the path of *karma* just to educate the people in this world (*loka-saṅgraham...*).” ❀

टीका- लोकसंग्रहप्रकारमेवाह । यद्यदिति ॥२१॥

Ṭikā: Now Kṛṣṇa explains just how such action will benefit the people of this world:

3.21

यद् यदाचरति श्रेष्ठस्तत्तदेवेतरो जनः ।
स यत्प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकस्तदनुवर्तते ॥२१॥

Whatever a great person does, other people will also do. They will follow the example he sets.

❀

टीका- अत्राहमेव दृष्टान्त इत्याह त्रिभिः ^८ ॥२२॥

Ṭikā: In the next three verses Kṛṣṇa is saying, “I am myself an example of this”:

3.22

न मे पार्थास्ति कर्तव्यं त्रिषु लोकेषु किञ्चन ।
नानवाप्तमवाप्तव्यं वर्त एव च कर्मणि ॥२२॥

O Son of Pṛthā, I don't have to do anything; in the three worlds there is nothing I don't have and nothing I need to obtain. Yet still I am engaged in actions (*karma*).

⁸⁶ लोके : AMS, MMS, VMS.

⁸⁷ शिक्षाग्राहणार्थः : printed.

⁸⁸ (न म इति) : MMS (margin).

3.23

यदि ह्यहं न वर्तेयं जातु कर्मण्यतन्द्रितः ।
मम वर्त्मानुवर्तन्ते मनुष्याः पार्थ सर्वशः ॥२३॥

Because if I was not always engaged in action tirelessly, people everywhere would follow in my footsteps.

टीका- अनुवर्तन्ते ऽनुवर्तेरन्नित्यर्थः ॥२३॥

Ṭikā: The [present indicative] verb form “*anuvartante*” is used here instead of the [optative] form “*anuvarteran*”. ❀

3.24

उत्सीदेयुरिमे लोका न कुर्या कर्म चेदहम् ।
संकरस्य च कर्ता स्यामुपहन्यामिमाः प्रजाः ॥२४॥

The whole world would fall into ruin if I did not perform action (*karma*). Thus I would cause confusion and ruin the living beings.

टीका- उत्सीदेयुर्मा हृष्टान्तीकृत्य धर्ममकुर्वाणा 'भ्रश्येयुः'⁸⁹ । ततश्च वर्णसङ्करो भवेत् तस्याप्यहमेव कर्ता स्याम् । एवमहमेव प्रजा हन्याम् 'मलिनाः'⁹⁰ कुर्याम् ॥२४॥

Ṭikā: The whole world would fall into ruin, that is to say, they would follow my example and not perform their religious duties, and thus they would become degraded. Confusion of the caste system (*varṇa*) would ensue, and I would be the cause of it. In this way I would ruin the living beings by making them impure. ❀

टीका- तस्मात् प्रतिष्ठितेन ज्ञानिनापि कर्म कर्तव्यमित्युपसंहरति । सक्ता इति ॥२५॥

Ṭikā: Now he sums up by saying, “Therefore even an established *jñānī* should still

⁸⁹ भ्रश्येयुः : printed (not BDM).

⁹⁰ मलिनीः : AMS, MMS, VMS.

follow the path of *karma*...

3.25

सक्ताः कर्मण्यविद्वांसो यथा कुर्वन्ति भारत ।
कुर्याद्विद्वांस्तथासक्तश्चिकीर्षुर्लोकसंग्रहम् ॥२५॥

Desiring the welfare of the world, the wise should follow the path of actions (*karma*) just as the ignorant do; but the wise should do so in a completely detached frame of mind, unlike the ignorant who perform their actions attached to the results.

3.26

न बुद्धिभेदं जनयेदज्ञानां कर्मसङ्गिनाम् ।
जोषयेत्सर्वकर्माणि विद्वान्युक्तः समाचरन् ॥२६॥

One should not try to create doubts in the minds of the ignorant who are attached to the path of actions. Rather a wise person should with discipline engage fully in all such [ritual and religious] activities and thus get other people to appreciate them.

टीका- अलं कर्मजडिम्ना त्वं कर्मसंन्यासं कृत्वा ज्ञानाभ्यासेनाहमिव कृतार्थी भव इति बुद्धिभेदं न जनयेत् 'कर्मसङ्गिनामशुद्धान्तःकरणत्वेन'^{९१} कर्मस्येवासक्तिमताम् । किन्तु त्वं कृतार्थी भविष्यन् निष्कामकर्मैव कुरु इति 'कर्माण्येव जोषयेत् कारयेत्'^{९२} । 'अत्र'^{९३} कर्माणि समाचरन् स्वयमेव दृष्टान्तीभवेत् । ननु स्वयं निःश्रेयसं विद्वान्न वक्तव्यज्ञाय कर्म हि । न राति रोगिणो ऽपथ्यं वाञ्छतो ऽपि भिषक्तमः ॥ इत्यजितवाक्येनैतद्विरुध्यते । सत्यम् । तत् खलु 'भक्त्युपदेष्टृविषयमिदन्तु ज्ञानोपदेष्टृविषयमित्यविरोधः'^{९४} । ज्ञानस्यान्तःकरणशुद्धयधीनत्वात् तच्छुद्धेस्तु निष्कामकर्माधीनत्वात् भक्तेस्तु 'स्वतःप्राबल्यादन्तःकरणशुद्धिपर्यन्तानपेक्षकत्वात्'^{९५} । यदि भक्तौ श्रद्धामुत्पादयितुं शक्नुयात् तदा कर्मिणां बुद्धिभेदमपि जनयेत् । भक्तौ श्रद्धावतां कर्मानधिकारात् । तावत् कर्माणि कुर्वीत न

⁹¹ कर्मसङ्गिनामशुद्धान्तःकरण (ण) त्वेन : AMS, MMS, VMS.

⁹² कर्माण्येव योजयेत् कारयेत् : BGP KDB, BDM, GVS. कर्माण्येव योजयेत् जोषयेत् कारयेत् : BVT.

⁹³ तत्र : JMS. कारयेत्तत्र : UMS.

⁹⁴ भक्त्युपदेष्टृविषयमिदन्तु ज्ञानोपदेष्टृविषयमित्यविरोधः : BGP, KDB.

भक्त्युपदेष्टृविषयमिदन्तु ज्ञानोपदेष्टृविषयमित्यविरोधः : BVT, BDM, GVS.

⁹⁵ स्वतःप्राबल्यादन्तःकरणशुद्धिपर्यन्तानपेक्षत्वात् : printed.

निर्विद्येत यावता । मत्कथाश्रवणादौ वा श्रद्धा यावन्न जायत इति । धर्मान् संत्यज्य यः सर्वान् मां भजेत् स च सत्तम इति । सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रजेति । त्यक्त्वा स्वधर्मं चरणाम्बुजं हरेर्भजन्नपक्वो ऽथ पतेत्ततो यदि इत्यादि वचनेभ्य इति विवेचनीयम् ॥२६॥

Ṭikā: One should not try to create doubts in the minds of the ignorant who on account of their impure minds are attached to the path of ritual actions (*karma*). One should not say things like, “Enough of your silly *karma*! Why don’t you be like me and make a real success of your life by giving up this *karma* and performing the practices of *jñāna*?”

Rather one should encourage people to perform the ritual activities of the path of *karma* by saying things like, “While you are working towards success, just perform selfless ritual action (*niṣkāma-karma-yoga*).”

And at the same time one should become a living example by personally performing all those activities.

Arjuna might object, “But surely the following statement by the Indomitable Lord contradicts what you have just said: “A wise person who himself knows the highest good should not encourage the ignorant to engage in the path of ritual actions (*karma*), just as a good doctor does not encourage a sick patient to eat rubbish no matter how much the patient wants to.”⁹⁶

Kṛṣṇa would reply, “Yes, that is true. But actually that verse is meant for someone who is teaching *bhakti*, the path of devotion. Here I am talking about someone who is teaching *jñāna*. Therefore there is no contradiction because *jñāna*, the path of knowledge, requires a purified mind, and to purify the mind, one needs to keep performing *niṣkāma-karma*, selfless ritual activities.”

On the other hand, *bhakti* is independently powerful, and thus for the path of *bhakti* there is no such pre-requisite for a purified mind.

So if one is able to create in others a faith in the path of *bhakti*, then one is also allowed to create a doubt in their minds about the validity of the path of *karma* which they follow. For as soon as someone develops a firm faith in *bhakti*, he is no longer suited to the path of *karma*.

This is confirmed in many places in the scriptures. E.g.:

“One should only continue on the path of *karma*, until one develops either detachment from this world or faith in hearing and speaking subject matters concerned with Me.”⁹⁷

Also: “If one gives up all religious duties and simply worships Me, he is

⁹⁶ BP: 6.9.50.

⁹⁷ BP: 11.20.9.

certainly the topmost spiritualist.”⁹⁸

Also: “Give up all religious duties and simply take shelter in Me.”⁹⁹

Also: “If a person gives up his allotted religious duties in order to worship the Lord, and even if he then falls down from that devotional path through immaturity, still no harm is done.”¹⁰⁰

It is in the light of such statements that one should consider this verse. ॐ

टीका- ननु यदि विद्वानपि कर्म कुर्यात्तर्हि चिद्वदविदुषोः को विशेष इत्याशङ्क्य तयोर्विशेषं दर्शयति ।
प्रकृतेरिति द्वाभ्याम् ।

Ṭīkā: Arjuna might object, “But Kṛṣṇa, if a man of knowledge must also engage in the path of *karma*, then how does one tell the difference between a person who has knowledge and one who does not?”

Anticipating such an objection, Kṛṣṇa distinguishes between the two in the following couple of verses:

3.27

प्रकृतेः क्रियमाणानि गुणैः कर्माणि सर्वशः ।

अहंकारविमूढात्मा कर्ताहमिति मन्यते ॥२७॥

In all respects, activities are actually brought about by nature, with its three qualities. Yet people are baffled by their flawed self-conceptions, and they think, “I am doing it all”.

टीका- प्रकृतेर्गुणैः 'गुणकार्यैरिन्द्रियैः'^{१०१} सर्वशः सर्वप्रकारेण क्रियमाणानि यानि कर्माणि तान्यहमेव 'कर्ता'^{१०२} करोमीत्यविद्वान् मन्यते ॥२७॥

Ṭīkā: In this context the phrase “*prakṛter guṇair*” (“by the material qualities of nature”) refers to the modifications of those material *guṇas* such as the material body and the material senses. Foolish people think, “I am the only ‘doer’, I am the only one performing my actions. Actually action is in all respects performed by the

⁹⁸ BP:11.11.32.

⁹⁹ Verse 18.66.

¹⁰⁰ BP: 1.5.17 (translation of second half also supplied).

¹⁰¹ कार्यैरिन्द्रियैः : printed.

¹⁰² ∅ : BGP.

bodily senses which are simply modifications of the material *guṇas*. ❀

3.28

तत्त्वचित्तु महाबाहो गुणकर्मविभागयोः ।
गुणा गुणेषु वर्तन्त इति मत्वा न सज्जते ॥२८॥

On the other hand, mighty-armed one, if a person understands the principles behind the various types of action (*karma*) and material influences (*guṇa*), then such a person thinks, “The *guṇas* are simply interacting with the *guṇas*.” Thus he remains detached.

टीका- 'गुणकर्मणोर्यो विभागौ'¹⁰³ तयोस्तत्त्वं वेत्तीति सः । तत्र गुणविभागः सत्त्वरजस्तमांसि ।
कर्मविभागः 'सत्त्वादिकार्यभेदा'¹⁰⁴ 'देवतेन्द्रियविषयाः'¹⁰⁵ तयोस्तत्त्वं स्वरूपं तज्ज्ञास्तु'¹⁰⁶ 'गुणा
देवताप्रयोज्यानीन्द्रियाणि'¹⁰⁷ चक्षुरादीनि गुणेषु रूपादिषु विषयेषु वर्तन्ते । अहन्तु न गुणः नापि गुणकार्यः
को ऽपि । नापि गुणेषु गुणकार्येषु तेषु को ऽपि मे सम्बन्ध इति मत्वा चिद्वांस्तु न सज्जते ॥२८॥

Ṭīkā: This verse is talking about one who knows the principles behind the divisions of *guṇa* and *karma*. The divisions of the *guṇas* (material qualities) are three: Goodness, Passion, and Darkness. The divisions of *karma* (action) are different modifications of these three *guṇas*: the gods, the bodily senses, and the sensual objects. This verse talks of someone who understands the essential nature of these two.

[When performing action] such a person thinks that the *guṇas* are simply interacting with the *guṇas*. I.e., he thinks, “The *guṇas* in the form of the bodily senses (such as the eyes) are animated by the *devas* and are interacting with the *guṇas* in the form of the sensual objects (such as forms and colours).

“However I am neither *guṇa*, nor any modification of the *guṇas*. Nor do I have any connection with the *guṇas* or their modifications in this world.”

By thinking in this way a wise person remains detached. ❀

103 गुणकर्मणो यो विभागौ : AMS.

104 सत्त्वादिकार्यभेदो : UMS.

105 देवतेन्द्रियविषया : AMS.

106 तत्त्वचित् : printed.

107 गुणा देवताः प्रयोज्यानीन्द्रियाणि : printed.

टीका- ननु यदि जीवा गुणेभ्यो गुणकार्येभ्यश्च 'पृथग्भूतास्तदसम्बन्धास्तर्हि'¹⁰⁸ कथं ते विषयेषु सज्जन्तो दृश्यन्ते तत्राह ।

Ṭikā: At this point Arjuna might object, “But Kṛṣṇa, if the living beings are really separate from and have no connection with the *guṇas* and all the material modifications of the *guṇas*, then how is it that those very living beings seem so attached to the material sensual objects?”

Kṛṣṇa therefore now addresses that question...

3.29

प्रकृतेर्गुणसंमूढाः सज्जन्ते गुणकर्मसु ।
तानकृत्स्नविदो मन्दान्कृत्स्नचिन्न विचालयेत् ॥२९॥

Baffled by the material *guṇas* (the three material influences of Nature), people become attached to the material effects of those *guṇas*. Nevertheless a wise person, who fully understands what is going on, should not disturb those poor people who don't.

टीका- प्रकृतेर्गुणैः संमूढास्तदावेशात् प्राप्तसंमोहाः । यथा भूताविष्टो मनुष्य आत्मानं भूतमेव मन्यते तथैव प्रकृतिगुणाविष्टाः जीवाः 'स्यान्'¹⁰⁹ गुणानेव मन्यन्ते अतो गुणकर्मसु गुणकार्येषु विषयेषु 'सज्जन्ते'¹¹⁰ । तानकृत्स्नविदो मन्दमतीन् कृत्स्नवित् सर्वज्ञो न विचालयेत् । त्वं गुणेभ्यः पृथग्भूतो जीवः न तु गुणः इति विचारं प्रापयितुं न 'यतेत'¹¹¹ । किन्तु गुणावेशनिवर्तकं 'निष्कामकर्मैव'¹¹² कारयेत् । न हि भूताविष्टो मनुष्यस्त्वं न भूतः किन्तु मनुष्य एवेति शतकृत्वो ऽप्युपदेशेन स्वास्थ्यमापद्यते किन्तु 'तन्निवर्तकौषधमणिमन्त्रादिप्रयोगेनैवेति'¹¹³ भावः ॥२९॥

Ṭikā: The living beings are baffled by the *guṇas*, (the three material influences of Nature). The living beings are influenced by these *guṇas* and become thus bewildered just like a man who is possessed by a ghost. Under the influence of the ghost the man may think that he is that ghost. Similarly, a living being influenced

¹⁰⁸ पृथग्भूतास्तदसम्बन्धास्तर्हि : printed. पृथग्भूतास्तद ऽसम्बन्धास्तर्हि : AMS, MMS, VMS.

¹⁰⁹ स्यान् : JMS (unclear).

¹¹⁰ सज्जते : AMS, MMS, VMS.

¹¹¹ यतेत : printed.

¹¹² निष्कामकर्मैव : AMS, MMS. VMS emended.

¹¹³ तन्निवर्तकौषधमणिमन्त्रादिप्रयोगेनैवेति : AMS (aberration). तन्निवर्तकौषधमणिमन्त्रादिप्रयोगेनैवेति : MMS, VMS.

by these material *guṇas* may believe that he is also material, and thus he will become attached to the material sensual objects, which are products of these material *guṇas*.

A wise person need not disturb such ignorant dim-witted people. There is no need for the wise person to try and get them to change their minds by saying to them, “You are not material, you are the living being which is aloof from all these material influences.”

Rather the wise person should simply try to get the ignorant to perform *niṣkāma-karma* (selfless ritual actions) because such *niṣkāma-karma* is the way to remove the material influences from them.

When possessed by a ghost, a person cannot be exorcised simply by being told, “You are not the ghost, you are a human”. Even repeating this to the person hundreds of times will not return him to normal. Rather one should administer substances which can remove the influence of the ghost, such as herbs, gems and mantras. ❀

3.30

मयि सर्वाणि कर्माणि संन्यस्याध्यात्मचेतसा ।
निराशीर्निर्ममो भूत्वा युध्यस्व विगतज्वरः ॥३०॥

Dedicate all your activities to Me with your mind fully focused on the Supreme Spirit. Give up all personal desires and all sense of proprietorship. Thus you should fight this battle with an undisturbed mind.

टीका- तस्मात्त्वं 'मय्यध्यात्मचेतसा आत्मनीत्यर्थ एवाध्यात्ममव्ययीभावसमासात्' ^{११४} ततश्च आत्मनि 'यच्चेतस्तदध्यात्मचेतस्तेनात्मनिष्ठेनेव' ^{११५} चेतसा न तु विषयनिष्ठेनेत्यर्थः । मयि कर्माणि संन्यस्य समर्प्य निराशीर्निष्कामो निर्ममः सर्वत्र ममताशून्यो युध्यस्व ॥३०॥

Ṭikā: Here the word “*adhyātma*” is forming an indeclinable compound. The meaning is “concerning the Supreme Spirit”. “*Adhyātma-cetas*” means that the cognitive faculties are directed “towards the Supreme Spirit”. The gist of it is this: “Therefore you should fight and just keep the mind absorbed in the Supreme Spirit and not in the material sensory objects.”

“Give your activities up to Me, i.e., offer them to Me without any personal desire. And be “*nirmama*”, completely devoid of any sense of “mine”. In this state

114 मय्यध्यात्मचेतसात्मनीत्यर्थः । एवमध्यात्ममव्ययीभावसमासात् : printed.

115 यच्चेतस्तदध्यात्मचितस्तेनात्मनिष्ठेनेव : UMS.

of mind you should fight.” ❀

टीका- 'स्वकृतोपदेश'^{११६} प्रवर्तयितुमाह । ये म इति ॥३१॥

Ṭīkā: Kṛṣṇa then encourages people to follow the teachings that he has just enunciated:

3.31

ये मे मतमिदं नित्यमनुतिष्ठन्ति मानवाः ।
श्रद्धावन्तो ऽनसूयन्तो मुच्यन्ते ते ऽपि कर्मभिः ॥३१॥

Those faithful people who without protest always follow this message of Mine are freed from the reactions to their activities.



टीका- विपक्षे 'दोषमाह'^{११७} । ये त्विति ॥३२॥

Ṭīkā: And then with the next verse (*ye tu...*) Kṛṣṇa points out the shortcomings of the opposing view:

3.32

ये त्वेतदभ्यसूयन्तो नानुतिष्ठन्ति मे मतम् ।
सर्वज्ञानविमूढांस्तान्विद्धि नष्टानचेतसः ॥३२॥

On the other hand, those who protest and do not follow this message of mine, are certainly lost, irrational, and utterly confused by their own knowledge.



116 स्वकृतोपदेशे : printed, UMS, AMS, MMS, VMS.

117 महादोषमाह : BGP.

टीका- ननु राज इव ^{११८} तव परमेश्वरस्य 'मतमनुतिष्ठन्तो' ^{११९} राजकृतादिव त्वत्कृतान्निग्रहात् किं न विभ्यति । सत्यं ये खल्विन्द्रियाणि 'चारयन्त एव वर्तन्ते' ^{१२०} ते विवेकिनो ऽपि राजः परमेश्वरस्य 'च' ^{१२१} शासनं मन्तुं न शक्नुवन्ति । तथैव तेषां स्वभावो ऽभूदित्याह ।

Ṭīkā: At this point Arjuna might object, “But Kṛṣṇa, you are the Supreme Lord. Why do people not fear reprisals from you if they disobey these instructions of yours, just as they would fear reprisals from a king for disobeying his instructions?”

Kṛṣṇa would reply, “Quite true, Arjuna, but actually if people are in the habit of indulging their senses, they are incapable of accepting the authority of the king or the Supreme Lord. It has just become part of their nature. This applies even to a man of knowledge.”

Such are the thoughts Kṛṣṇa has in mind when he says:

3.33

सदृशं चेष्टते स्वस्याः प्रकृतेर्ज्ञानवानपि ।
प्रकृतिं यान्ति भूताणि निग्रहः किं करिष्यति ॥३३॥

Even a man of knowledge acts according to his own particular nature. All beings follow their nature. What can repression achieve?

टीका- सदृशमिति । ज्ञानवानप्येवं पापे कृते 'सत्येव' ^{१२२} नरको भविष्यत्येवं राजदण्डो 'भविष्यति एव' ^{१२३} दुर्यशश्च भविष्यतीति विवेकवानपि स्वास्याः प्रकृतेः चिरन्तनपापाभ्यासोत्थ'दुःस्वभावस्य ^{१२४} सदृशमनुरूपमेव चेष्टते । तस्मात् प्रकृतिं स्वभावं यान्ति अनुसरन्ति । तत्र 'निग्रहः शास्त्रद्वारा मत्कृतः' ^{१२५} राजकृतो वा ^{१२६} तेनाशुद्धचित्तानुकूलक्षणो निष्कामकर्मयोगः शुद्धचित्तान् ज्ञानयोगश्च संस्कर्तुं प्रबोधयितुं च शक्नोति न त्यत्यन्ताशुद्धचित्तान् । किन्तु तानपि पापिष्ठस्वभावान्

118 न : AMS.

119 मतमनुतिष्ठन्तो : BGP, KDB, GVS.

120 चारयन्तो वर्तन्ते : printed.

121 Ø : AMS.

122 सत्येव : UMS.

123 भविष्यदेवं : AMS, MMS, VMS.

124 दुःस्वभारस्य : printed (not BDM).

125 निग्रहस्तच्छास्त्रद्वारा मत्कृतो : printed not (BDM).

126 Commentary on this verse ends here in UMS; the corresponding passage appears in the margin of JMS.

यादृच्छकमहत्कृपोत्थभक्तियोग^{१२७} एव उद्धर्तुं प्रभवेत् । यदुक्तं स्कन्दे । अहो धन्यो ऽसि देवर्षे कृपया यस्य ते क्षणात् । नीचो ऽप्युत्पुलको^{१२८} लेभे लुब्धको रतिमच्युत इति^{१२९} ॥३३॥

Ṭikā: “A man of knowledge (*jñānavān*), understands that when one commits sin one goes to hell, is punished by the king, and loses his reputation. Despite understanding this, he acts according to his nature (*prakṛter sadrśam*), or according to his lower nature produced by performing sinful activity since time immemorial. Thus all beings follow (*yānti*) their own nature (*prakṛtim*).

“I can try to force people [to do otherwise] through scriptural injunctions, and a king can try to do the same. By force *niṣkāma-karma*, selfless ritual action, can refine those who have impure minds, and *jñāna-yoga* can enlighten those of pure mind. But even by force these two processes cannot help people who have *very* impure minds.

Yet even such very sinful-natured people can be redeemed by *bhakti-yoga*, which they can receive by the causeless mercy of great saints. This is illustrated in the Skanda-purāṇa where it is said, “Blessed are you, o sage among the gods! By just a moment of mercy from you, even a lowly hunter has achieved love of God and in rapture the hairs on his body are standing on end.”¹³⁰ ❧

टीका- यस्माद्दुःस्वभावेषु लोकेषु विधिनिषेधशास्त्रं न प्रभवति तस्माद्यावत् पापाभ्यासोत्थो दुःस्वभावो^{१२७} नाभूतावद्यथेष्टमिन्द्रियाणि न चारयेदित्याह ।

Ṭikā: Then he says, “Rules and regulations do not really work for people who have a strong lower nature produced by sinful practices. Therefore, so long as that lower nature remains, one should not allow the senses to do whatever they like...

3.34

इन्द्रियस्येन्द्रियस्यार्थे रागद्वेषौ व्यवस्थितौ ।
तयोर्न चशमागच्छेत्तौ ह्यस्य परिपन्थिनौ ॥३४॥

People experience both attraction and repulsion for the various sensual

¹²⁷ मत्कृपोत्थभक्तियोग : printed.

¹²⁸ ऽप्युत्पुलकं : MMS. ऽप्युत्पुलका : AMS.

¹²⁹ ø : printed.

¹³⁰ “*aho dhanyo 'si devarṣe kṛpayā yasya te kṣaṇāt,...*”

¹³¹ पापाभ्यासोत्थदुःस्वभावो : printed.

objects which correspond to the various senses. But one should not let oneself be influenced by either attraction or repulsion, because they are both obstacles on the path of progress.

टीका- 'इन्द्रियस्येन्द्रियस्येति'^{१३२} । वीप्सा प्रत्येकं सर्वेन्द्रियाणामर्थे स्वस्वविषये 'परस्त्रीगात्रदर्शनस्पर्शनतत्परिचरणतत्सम्प्रदानकद्रव्यदानादौ'^{१३३} शास्त्रनिषिद्धे ऽपि रागस्तथा गुरुविप्रतीर्थातिथिदर्शनस्पर्शनपरिचरण'तत्सम्प्रदानक'^{१३४} धनवितरणादौ 'शास्त्रविहिते'^{१३५} ऽपि द्वेष इत्येतौ 'विशेषणावस्थितौ'^{१३६} वर्तेते । तयोर्वशमधीनत्वं 'न'^{१३७} प्राप्नुयात् । यद्वा इन्द्रियार्थे स्त्रीदर्शनादौ रागः । तत्प्रतिधाते केनचित् कृते सति 'तस्मिन्'^{१३८} द्वेष इति । अस्य पुरुषार्थसाधकस्य । 'क्वचित्तु'^{१३९} मनोऽनुकूले ऽर्थे सुरसस्निग्धान्नादौ रागो मनःप्रतिकूले ऽर्थे विरसरुक्षान्नादौ द्वेषस् 'तथा'^{१४०} 'स्वपुत्रादिदर्शनश्रवणादौ'^{१४१} रागः 'चैरिपुत्रादिदर्शनश्रवणादौ'^{१४२} द्वेषः तयोर्वशं न गच्छेदिति 'व्याचक्षते'^{१४३} ॥३४॥

Ṭīkā: The repetition in the phrase “*indriyasya indriyasya arthe*” expresses the idea that each and every sense has certain types of objects which stimulate it and each sense can experience attraction or repulsion towards those objects.

For example, people may feel attraction for illicitly touching and looking at the body of another man’s wife, as well as waiting upon her, offering her things as gifts even though such extra-marital connection with women is forbidden in the scriptures. And on the other hand people may feel a repulsion for seeing, touching, serving and offering gifts of money to elders, brahmins, holy places, and guests even though all these activities are prescribed in the scriptures.

132 इन्द्रियस्येति : AMS, MMS, VMS, UMS.

133 परस्त्रीगात्रदर्शनस्पर्शनतत्परिचरणतत्सम्प्रदानकद्रव्यदानादौ : printed.

परस्त्रीगात्रदर्शनतत्परिचरणतत्सम्प्रदानकद्रव्यदानादौ : JMS.

परस्त्रीगात्रस्पर्शनतत्परिचरणतत्सम्प्रदानकद्रव्यदानादौ : AMS, MMS, VMS.

परस्त्रीगात्रदर्शनस्पर्शनतत्परिचरणतत्सम्प्रदानकद्रव्यदानादौ : UMS.

134 तत्सम्प्रदान : AMS, MMS, VMS.

135 शास्त्रविहिते : AMS.

136 विशेषणावस्थितौ : AMS.

137 Ø : JMS (added in the margin).

138 Ø : printed.

139 क्वचित्तु : UMS. केचित्तु : AMS, MMS, VMS. JMS unclear.

140 Ø : AMS, MMS, VMS.

141 स्वपुत्रादिदर्शनादौ : AMS, MMS, VMS.

142 चैरिपुत्रादिदर्शनादौ : AMS, MMS, VMS.

143 व्याचक्षति : UMS.

This attraction and repulsion are experienced or are particularly present (*vyavasthitau*) in these sensual objects. But one should not come under the control or influence of that attraction or repulsion.

Or alternatively, one could say that people love looking at women, etc., and they hate anyone or anything which stops them from doing that. Or they love pleasant things like succulent food cooked with lots of ghee and hate unpleasant things such as bland, dry food. Or they love hearing and seeing their own children and hate hearing and seeing their enemy's children. But a person who is searching after the ultimate goals of life should not be influenced by this love and hate. ❀

टीका- ततश्च 'युद्धरूपस्वधर्मस्य'^{१४४} यथावद्रागद्वेषादिराहित्येन कर्तुमशक्यत्वात् परधर्मस्य चाहिंसादेः सुकरत्वाद् धर्मत्वाविशेषाच्च तत्र प्रवर्तितुमिच्छन्तं 'त'^{१४५} प्रत्याह ।

Tīkā: Arjuna starts to think that his own religious duty, fighting, would be impossible to perform properly without attraction and repulsion; on the other hand other people's religious duties like non-violence would be very easy to perform. Moreover there should be no real difference between the two since they are both *dharma*, or religious duties. When Kṛṣṇa thus sees Arjuna wanting to follow the duties of someone else, Kṛṣṇa says to him,

3.35

श्रेयान् स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात्स्वनुष्ठितात् ।

स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः ॥३५॥

Better to perform one's own religious duty badly than another's duty perfectly. To die in the course of one's own duty is auspicious, but to follow another's duty is fraught with danger.

टीका- श्रेयानिति । विगुणः किञ्चिद्दोषविशिष्टो ऽपि सम्यगनुष्ठातुमशक्यो ऽपि परधर्मात्स्वनुष्ठितात् 'साध्वेवानुष्ठातु'^{१४६} शक्यादपि सर्वगुणपूर्णादपि सकाशात् श्रेयान् । तत्र हेतुः स्वधर्म इत्यादि । विधर्मः परधर्मश्च आभास उपमा छलः । अधर्मशाखाः 'पञ्चमे'^{१४७} धर्मज्ञो ऽधर्मवत् त्यजेदिति सप्तमोक्तेः

144 युद्धरूपस्य धर्मस्य : printed.

145 Ø : printed.

146 साध्वेवानुष्ठातुं : AMS, MMS, VMS.

147 पञ्चमो : GVS.

॥३५॥

Ṭikā: ‘Performing one’s own duty badly’ means performing it with some faults or not being able to complete it. Even that is better than performing someone else’s duty, no matter how well performed or meritorious that duty may be. The reason for this is given in the second half of the verse: “To die in the course of one’s own duty is auspicious, but to follow another’s duty is fraught with danger.”

This is confirmed in the seventh *skandha* [of the Bhāgavata-purāṇa]¹⁴⁸ : “There are five types of irreligion: sinful acts (*vidharma*), the religious duty of someone else (*para-dharma*), pretending to perform religious duties (*ābhāsa*), performing acts that resemble religious duties (*upamā*), and deceitful religious duties (*chala*). A person who really understands the principles of religion should give all these up in exactly the same way as one should give up irreligion.” ❀

टीका- यदुक्तं रागद्वेषौ व्यग्रस्थितचित्त्यत्र शास्त्रनिषिद्धे ऽपीन्द्रियार्थे परस्त्रीसम्भोगादौ राग 'इति तत्र'^{१४८}
पृच्छति ।

Ṭikā: Now Arjuna reflects upon what Kṛṣṇa said about people feeling attraction and repulsion (“*rāga-dveṣau vyavasthitau...*”¹⁵⁰). He then asks Kṛṣṇa why people are attracted to sensual enjoyments like extramarital sexual relationships, even though these things are forbidden in the scriptures:

3.36

श्री^{१४९} अर्जुन उवाच

अथ केन प्रयुक्तो ऽयं पापं चरति पूरुषः ।

अनिच्छन्नपि चार्ष्णेय चलादिव नियोजितः ॥३६॥

Śrī Arjuna said: What is it, o descendant of Vṛṣṇi, that drives a person to sin, even unwillingly, as if compelled by force.

¹⁴⁸ BP., 7.15.12: “*vidharmaḥ paradharmaś ca...*”

¹⁴⁹ इत्यत्र : printed.

¹⁵⁰ Verse 3.34.

¹⁵¹ ø : AMS, MMS, VMS, printed.

टीका- अथेति । केन 'प्रयोजककर्त्रानिच्छन्नपि'¹⁵² विधिनिषेधशास्त्रार्थज्ञानवत्त्वात् पापे
'प्रवर्तितुमिच्छारहितो'¹⁵³ ऽपि । बलादियेति । प्रयोजकप्रेरणवशात् प्रयोज्यस्यापीच्छा सम्यगुत्पद्यत
'एवेति'¹⁵⁴ भावः ॥३६॥

Ṭikā: Knowing the rules and regulations in the scriptures, a person will not desire to act sinfully. What then is the driving force that causes him to do so against his will? It is as if he is compelled by some force, like a pawn controlled by some higher agent, which makes the sinful desires develop. ❀

3.37

श्री भगवानुवाच

काम एष क्रोध एष रजोगुणसमुद्भवः ।

महाशनो महापाप्मा विद्ध्येनमिह वैरिणम् ॥३७॥

The Lord said: It is lust, produced of the material quality Passion, and it is anger. You should know that this is the enemy here, wicked and all-devouring.

टीका- एष काम एव विषयाभिलाषात्मकः पुरुषं पापे प्रवर्तयति । तेनैव प्रयुक्तः पुरुषः पापं चरतीत्यर्थः ।
एष काम एव पृथक्त्वेन दृश्यमान एष प्रत्यक्षः क्रोधो भवति । काम एव केनचित् प्रतिहतो भूत्वा
क्रोधाकरेण परिणमतीत्यर्थः । 'कामो'¹⁵⁵ रजोगुणसमुद्भव इति राजस्यात् कामादेव तामसः क्रोधो जायत
इत्यर्थः । कामस्यापेक्षितपूरणेन निवृत्तिः स्यादिति चेन्नेत्याह । महाशनः महदशनं यस्य सः । यत्
पृथिव्यां व्रीहियं हिरण्यं पशवः स्त्रियः । नालमेकस्य तत्सर्वमिति मत्वा शमं व्रजेत् ॥ इति स्मृतेः
कामस्यापेक्षितं पूरयितुमशक्यमेव । ननु दानेन सन्धातुमशक्यश्चेत् सामभेदाभ्यां स
स्ववशीकर्तव्यस्तत्राह । महापाप्मात्युग्रः ॥३७॥

Ṭikā: It is only lust, in the form of desires for material objects which drives a man to sin. Impelled by it alone a man engages in sinful activities. It is this same lust which manifests itself differently as anger. This same lust, when frustrated, transforms itself into anger.

152 प्रयोजककर्त्रा अनिच्छन्नपि : JMS.

153 कर्तुमिच्छारहितो : AMS, MMS, VMS.

154 इति : AMS, MMS, VMS, printed.

155 कामा : UMS.

It is said here that lust is born of the material quality, Passion. And Dark anger is born of passionate lust.

At this point Arjuna might think, “If I try to satisfy the demands of lust, then perhaps lust will be appeased.”

So Kṛṣṇa says, “No, Arjuna. This lust is “*mahāśana*”, that is to say, it has a huge appetite. You can never satisfy all the demands of lust. The scriptures say, “All the food, gold, livestock, and women in the world will never be enough, even for one person. Understanding this, one should just be peaceful.”¹⁵⁶

“Alright Kṛṣṇa, you might not be able to pacify lust by giving it what it wants (*dāna*), but surely you could use some other methods of diplomacy to win it over: perhaps ‘negotiation’ (*sāma*) or ‘divide and rule’ (*bheda*).”¹⁵⁷

“No, Arjuna, this lust is also ‘*mahāpāpmā*’, or very sinful and savage.” ❀

टीका- न च कस्यचिदेवायं वैरी अपि तु सर्वस्यैवेति सदृष्टान्तमाह ।

Ṭikā: Now Kṛṣṇa says, “Moreover this lust is not just the enemy of one particular person; it is the enemy of everyone.” And he gives examples:

3.38

धूमेनाव्रियते वह्निर्यथादर्शो मलेन च ।
यथोल्बेनावृतो गर्भस्तथा तेनेदमावृतम् ॥३८॥

This whole world is covered over by that lust just as a flame is covered by smoke, a mirror is covered by dust, or an embryo by the womb.

टीका- धूमेनेति । कामस्यागाढत्ये 'गाढत्ये'^{१५६} ऽतिगाढत्ये च क्रमेण दृष्टान्ताः । धूमेनावृतो ऽपि मलिनो वह्निर्दाहादिलक्षणं स्वकार्यं तु करोति । मलेनावृतो दर्पणस्तु स्वच्छताधर्मतिरोधानाद् बिम्बग्रहणं स्वकार्यं न करोति । स्वरूपतस्तूपलभ्यते । उल्बेन जरायुणा आवृतो गर्भस्तु स्वकार्यं करचरणादिप्रसारणं न करोति न वा स्वरूपत उपलभ्यत इति । एवं कामस्यागाढत्ये परमार्थस्मरणं

¹⁵⁶ BP 9.19.13: *yat pṛthivyām vrīhi-yavaṁ hiraṇyāṁ paśavaḥ striyaḥ, nālam ekasya tat sarvaṁ iti matvā śamaṁ vrajet.*

¹⁵⁷ There are said to be four principal methods of diplomacy: *sāma* (pacifying through negotiation), *dāna* (giving gifts), *bheda* (divide and rule), *daṇḍa* (force).

¹⁵⁸ Ø : AMS, MMS, VMS. Added in the margin of UMS.

कर्तुं शक्नोति गाढन्ये न 'शक्नोति'¹⁵⁹ अतिगाढन्ये त्वचेतनमेव स्यात् । इदं जगदेव ॥३८॥

Tīkā: Here we have examples of the increasing thicknesses of lust which cover the creatures of this world: a light covering, a thick covering, and a very thick covering.

Even though a flame might be covered by smoke, it can nevertheless do its job; for example, it can still provide heat.

But a mirror covered by dust cannot do its job; it cannot reflect an image because its transparent qualities have been covered. And yet the mirror is still there in its natural form; it is just covered over.

An embryo covered by the membranes in the womb also cannot do its job; it cannot stretch out its arms and legs. Moreover it is not even manifest in its natural form.

Similarly when there is only a light covering of lust, one can still remember the ultimate goal of life. When there is a heavy covering of lust one cannot. And when there is a very heavy covering, no consciousness manifests itself at all.

Here the word “*idam*” (‘this’) refers to this whole world. ❀

टीका- 'काम एव'¹⁶⁰ जीवस्याविद्येत्याह ।

Tīkā: And now he says, “In fact, lust alone constitutes ignorance for the living being:

3.39

आवृतं ज्ञानमेतेन ज्ञानिनो नित्यवैरिणा ।
कामरूपेण कौन्तेय दुष्पूरेणानलेन च ॥३९॥

The knowledge of the sentient beings is thus covered by this eternal enemy, lust. O son of Kunti it is as insatiable as fire.

टीका- आवृतमिति । नित्यवैरिणेत्यतो ऽसौ 'सर्वप्रकारेण'¹⁶¹ हन्तव्य इति भावः । कामरूपेण कामाकारेणाज्ञानेनेत्यर्थः । चकार इकार्थे । अनलो यथा हविषा पूरयितुमशक्यस्तथा कामो ऽपि भोगेनेत्यर्थः । यदुक्तम् - न जातु कामः कामानामुपभोगेन शाम्यति । हविषा कृष्णवर्त्मव भूय

¹⁵⁹ शक्नोभि : AMS.

¹⁶⁰ काम एव हि : printed.

¹⁶¹ सर्वप्रकारेण : BGP, KDB.

एवाभिवर्द्धते^{१६२} ॥ इति ॥३९॥

Ṭikā: The phrase “the eternal enemy” implies that it should be slain by any means. This enemy is ignorance in the form of lust (*kāma-rūpeṇa*).

In this context the word “ca” means “like”. Just as a fire is not pacified by ghee, so too lust can never be pacified by indulgence. It is said: “Lust can never be pacified by trying to indulge one’s desires. A fire is only bolstered by feeding it ghee.”¹⁶³ ❀

टीका- 'क्वासौ'^{१६४} 'तिष्ठतीत्यत'^{१६५} आह ।

Ṭikā: “But, Kṛṣṇa, where does this enemy, lust, reside?”

Kṛṣṇa replies:

3.40

इन्द्रियाणि मनो बुद्धिरस्याधिष्ठानमुच्यते ।
एतैर्विमोहयत्येष ज्ञानमावृत्य देहिनम् ॥४०॥

The senses, the mind, and the intellect are said to be its dwelling place. By means of these, it obscures knowledge and thus confounds the embodied living being.

टीका- इन्द्रियाणीति । अस्य वैरिणः कामस्याधिष्ठानं महादुर्गराजधान्यः । शब्दादयो विषयास्तु तस्य राज्ञो देशा इति भावः । एतैरिन्द्रियादिभिर्देहिनं जीवम् ॥४०॥

Ṭikā: These are the dwelling places of this enemy lust; this is its capital, its fortified headquarters. If the senses are its capital city, then its kingdom is the sensual objects, like sound, form, etc.. Lust uses the senses, mind, and intelligence to confound the living being, who lives within the body (*dehinam*). ❀

¹⁶² एवाभिवर्द्धते : AMS, MMS, VMS.

¹⁶³ BP 9.19.14 : “na jātu kāmaḥ kāmānām....”

¹⁶⁴ क्वासौ : BGP.

¹⁶⁵ तिष्ठत्यत : printed.

टीका- वैरिणः 'खल्वाश्रये'^{१६६} जिते सति वैरी 'जीयत'^{१६७} इति नीतिरतः कामस्याश्रयेष्विन्द्रियादिषु यथोत्तरं दुर्जयन्वाधिक्यम् । अतः 'प्रथमप्राप्तानीन्द्रियाणि'^{१६८} दुर्जयान्यप्युत्तरापेक्षया सुजयानि 'प्रथमतो'^{१६९} 'जीयन्तामित्याह'^{१७०} ।

Tīkā: Political science says that if you conquer the strong-hold of your enemy, then your enemy will be conquered. The strong-holds of lust are the senses, mind, and intelligence which are each increasingly more difficult to conquer. Therefore Kṛṣṇa now says that the senses should be conquered first because, although they are difficult to conquer, they are still easier to conquer than the mind and intelligence...

3.41

तस्मान्त्वमिन्द्रियाण्यादौ नियम्य भरतर्षभ ।
पाप्मानं प्रजहि ह्येनं ज्ञानविज्ञाननाशनम् ॥४१॥

Therefore you should first of all control your bodily senses, o best of the Bharatas, and then just kill off this wicked one which destroys both knowledge and wisdom.

टीका- तस्मादिति । इन्द्रियाणि नियम्येति यद्यपि परस्त्रीपरद्रव्याद्यपहरणे दुर्निवारं मनो 'गच्छत्येव'^{१७१} तदपि तत्र तत्र नेत्रश्रोत्रकरचरणादीन्द्रियव्यापारस्थगनाद् इन्द्रियाणि^{१७२} न 'गमयेत्यर्थः'^{१७३} । पाप्मानमत्युग्रं कामं जहीतीन्द्रियव्यापारस्थगनाभ्यासे सति कालेन^{१७४} मनो ऽपि कामाद्विच्युतं भवतीति भावः ॥४१॥

166 खल्वाश्रय : UMS.

167 जीयंत : UMS.

168 अश्र (प्रथम)प्राप्तानीन्द्रियाणि : JMS. प्राप्तानीन्द्रियाणि : UMS. प्रथ(म)प्राप्तानीन्द्रियाणि : VMS.

169 प्रथमं ते : printed (not BDM). प्रथमं तानि : BDM. प्रथमतो जीयन्ति प्रथमतो : AMS.

170 जयन्तामित्याह : AMS. जीयन्तामित्याह : UMS.

171 गच्छत्येव : BGP.

172 स्थगनाद् इन्द्रियाणि : BGP, KDB, BVT.
स्थगनादीन्द्रियाणि : AMS, VMS (MMS emmended).

173 गमयत्यर्थः : UMS.

174 स्थगनमतिकालेन : BGP, KDB, BVT, GVS.
स्थगनमतिकालेन : BDM.

Ṭikā: The phrase, “control your senses”, means that although the irrepressible mind is inclined towards taking off with the money and women of other people, still one should simply not allow the senses be involved in such activities; one should restrain the sensual activity of the eyes, ears, hands, feet, and so forth.

“Just kill this wicked one, this savage lust.” The idea is that if one practices keeping the senses in check, eventually the mind will also become disinterested in those lusty desires. ❀

टीका- 'न च'^{१७५} प्रथममेव मनोबुद्धिजये यतनीयमशक्यत्वादित्याह ।

Ṭikā: Kṛṣṇa adds, “And you should not try to control the mind and intelligence first, because it is just not possible.”

3.42

इन्द्रियाणि पराण्याहुरिन्द्रियेभ्यः परं मनः ।
मनसस्तु परा बुद्धिर्यो बुद्धेः परतस्तु सः ॥४२॥

They say the senses are strong; but the mind is superior to the senses and superior to the mind is intellect; and beyond the intellect is the person.

टीका- इन्द्रियाणि पराणीति । दशदिग्विजयिभिरपि 'वीरैर्दुर्जयत्वादतिबलवत्त्वेन'^{१७६} श्रेष्ठानीत्यर्थः । इन्द्रियेभ्यः सकाशादपि प्रबलत्वान्मनः परम् । स्वप्ने खल्विन्द्रियेष्वपि नष्टेष्वनश्चरत्वादिति भावः । मनसः सकाशादपि परा प्रबला बुद्धिर्विज्ञानरूपा । सुषुप्तौ मनस्यपि नष्टे तस्याः सामान्याकाराया अनश्चरत्वादिति भावः । तस्या बुद्धेः सकाशादपि परतो बलाधिक्येन यो वर्तते तस्यामपि ज्ञानाभ्यासेन नष्टायां सत्यां यो विराजत इत्यर्थः । स तु प्रसिद्धो जीवात्मा कामस्य जेता । तेन वस्तुतः सर्वतो ऽप्यतिप्रबलेन जीवात्मना इन्द्रियादीन् विजित्य कामो विजेतुं शक्य एवेति नात्रासम्भावना कार्येति भावः ॥४२॥

The senses (*indriya*) are so strong that they cannot be defeated even by a world-champion. Therefore they are called superior. But superior to them in strength is the mind (*manas*) because even in dreams, when the bodily senses no longer function, the mind continues to function. Stronger than the mind is the intellect (*buddhi*) which has the form of knowledge; in deep sleep, when even the mind no longer functions, the intellect in its base form still functions. Yet stronger even than the

175 चेने : AMS.

176 वीरैर्दुर्जयत्वादतिबलवत्त्वेन : AMS, MMS, VMS (amended in UMS).

intellect is the person, because when the intellect is stopped by the practice of *jñāna-yoga*, the person still exists. That person is the celebrated soul, the living being. This is the one who will conquer lust. This soul, the living being, is really the most powerful of all; it can conquer the senses and thus is perfectly able to conquer lust. The gist of this verse is that one should not think the task impossible. ❀

टीका- उपसंहरति ।

Ṭikā: He sums up:

3.43

एवं बुद्धेः परं बुद्ध्या संस्तभ्यात्मानमात्मना ।
जहि शत्रुं महाबाहो कामरूपं दुरासदम् ॥४३॥

O Arjuna, mighty-armed one, thus understanding what is beyond the intellect and steady yourself by the self, slay your indomitable enemy, lust.

टीका- एवमिति । बुद्धेः परं जीवात्मानं 'बुद्ध्या'^{१७७} सर्वोपाधिभ्यः पृथग्भूतं ज्ञात्वा । आत्मना स्येनेव आत्मानं स्व्यं संस्तभ्य निश्चलं कृत्वा दुरासदं दुर्जयमपि कामं जहि नाशय ॥४३॥

Ṭikā: Understand that the soul, the living being, is beyond the intellect. Know it to be different from all false material identifications. Then by your own self (*ātmanā*) you should firmly establish your self (*ātmānam*) and kill this indomitable lust. In other words, destroy this lust, even though it is so hard to conquer. ❀

^{१७८}इति श्री^{१७९}भगवद्गीतासूपनिषत्सु ब्रह्मविद्यायां योगशास्त्रे श्री^{१८०}कृष्णार्जुनसंवादे कर्मयोगो नाम तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥

Thus ends "Karma-yoga", the third chapter of the conversation between Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna known as the Bhagavad-gītā Upaniṣad, the scripture of yoga, which deals with spiritual knowledge.

177 बु : AMS.

178 This whole passage from इति to तृतीयोऽध्यायः is missing in BGP.

179 इति श्रीमहाभारते शतसाहस्र्यां संहितायां वैयासिक्यां भीष्मपर्वणि श्रीमद् : BVT, KDB. इति श्रीमद् : BGP.

180 ø : BDM.

टीका-

अध्याये ऽस्मिन् साधनस्य निष्कामस्यैव कर्मणः ।
प्रधान्यमूचे तत्साध्यज्ञानस्य गुणतां वदन् ॥
'इति सारार्थवर्षिण्यां हर्षिण्यां भक्तचेतसाम् ।
तृतीयः खलु गीतासु सङ्गतः सङ्गतः सताम् ॥^{१८१}

Ṭīkā:

This chapter has described the primary importance of the spiritual process of niṣkāma-karma-yoga and the secondary nature of the end-goal of that process, jñāna (knowledge).

Thus I have completed with the approval of saintly sages the third chapter of this Sārārtha-varṣiṇī commentary on the Bhagavad-gītā, meant simply to bring joy to the hearts of devotees.

