

# The Gujarati Lyrics of Kavi Dayārāmbhāī

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## ABSTRACT

Kavi Dayārāmbhāi or Dayārām (1777-1852), considered to be one of the three greatest poets of Gujarati, brought to an end not only the age of the great *bhakta*-poets, but also the age of Gujarati medieval literature. After Dayārām, a new age of Gujarati literature and language began, influenced by Western education and thinking.

The three chapters of Part I of the thesis look at the ways of approaching North Indian devotional literature which have informed all subsequent readings of Dayārām in the hundred and fifty years since his death. Chapter 1 is concerned with the treatment by Indologists of the Kṛṣṇaite literature in Braj Bhāṣā, which forms a significant part of Dayārām's literary antecedents. Chapter 2 then considers studies of Dayārām by Gujarati scholars which tend to focus on him as a devotee of Kṛṣṇa and a member of the Puṣṭimārga. It also looks at literary criticism of his writings in the context of the Gujarati literary world. Chapter 3 discusses Dayārām's lyrics from an Indological perspective, concentrating on form and language.

Part II puts forward a new approach to a study of Dayārām's lyrics. Chapter 4 argues that these texts deserve treatment as literary texts in their own right and suggests a reading informed by the thought of Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975). Chapter 5 discusses Dayārām's lyrics in the light of Bakhtin's concept of the carnivalesque, Chapter 6 looks at the functions of chronotopic features in the lyrics.

Part III is a selection of Dayārām's lyrics. The Gujarati texts are given in Roman transliteration, followed by literal translations into English. A full bibliography of primary and secondary sources consulted is included.

The thesis introduces a poet scarcely known to western scholars and makes a selection of his work available to those who do not know Gujarati. It examines a number of approaches which have conventionally been brought to bear on literature of this kind. It finds much which is valuable in them but highlights some of their limitations for a study of this poet; a new critical approach from literary theory, using the ideas of Bakhtin (in particular those of the carnivalesque and the chronotope) allows the thesis to re-examine the position of Dayārām in the history of Gujarati literature.



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Thanks to my family and friends, in particular, to my husband, Michael Dwyer, and to my parents, Tom and Vivian Jackson. This thesis is dedicated to my dear father.

**Thomas Jackson**

(1925-1994)

They that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters;

These see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep.

Psalm 107:23-4.

## STYLE NOTES

### A Transliteration

- 1 Italicised words in strict transcription as Sanskrit with inherent -a throughout:
  - i All texts and quotes from Dayārām's lyrics;
  - ii Terminology of sect with translation in inverted commas in brackets:  
e.g. *anugraha* ('favour');
  - iii Technical terms:  
e.g. *chāpa*, *garabī*, *garabo*, *pada*, *ṭeka*.
  
- 2 Personal names in roman:
  - i Gods' names as Sanskrit (i.e. as 1 above):  
e.g. Kṛṣṇa, Rāma;
  - ii From the time of Vallabhācārya onwards as Hindi (i.e. without inherent -a except after conjuncts):  
e.g. Dayārām, Sūrdās, Viṭṭhalnāth, also Śrīnāthjī (-jī otherwise omitted);
  - iii Muslim names with macrons but otherwise as roman:  
e.g. Shāh Jahān;
  - iv When authors have used roman spellings of their own names these are used:  
e.g. Kavi Narmad, K.M. Munshi, Narasinhrao;  
This may result in some initial confusion when an author may appear with two different spellings of his name according to whether the book was written in Gujarati or in English:  
e.g. Tripāṭhī 1957, Tripathi 1958;
  - v English spellings elsewhere:  
e.g. Shivaji, Gaekwad.
  
- 3 Place names:
  - i Conventional English spellings without diacritics, using spellings of Muthiah 1991:  
e.g. Bombay, Dabhoi, Gokul, Gujarat, Hanuman Ghat, Mathura, Mewar, Mount Govardhan, Nathdwara, Rajasthan, Vadodara, Varanasi, Vrindavan, Yamuna;
  - ii The Hindified spelling is used if more usual:  
e.g. Braj.

- 4 Other names:
- i Names of texts with capitals and italics, with transliteration appropriate to the language (i.e. inherent -a for Sanskrit etc.):  
e.g. *Bhāgavata Pūrāṇa*, *Caurāsī vaiṣṇavan kī vārtā*, *Bṛhat kāvyadohan*;
- ii Names of sects with a capital:  
e.g. Puṣṭimārga (with inherent -a by 1 above), Svāminārāyaṇ;
- iii Names of the *līlās*, in italics in Braj spelling:  
e.g. *bāllīlā*, *dānlīlā*, *mākhancorīlīlā*. *Brajlīlā*;
- iv Others:  
e.g. *aṣṭachāp*, *Havelī saṃgīt*, *Holī*.
- 5 English words are used elsewhere:  
e.g. Bania, Brahmin, Maharana, Maharaja, Rajput.
- 6 Perso-Arabic words:  
The transcription of words from Urdu, Persian and Arabic follows the conventions given by Shackle 1989a:v:  
e.g. *ghulām*, *be-ḥal*, *maṣlaḥat*, *ma'shūq*.

These conventions do not apply to the transliterations in Chapter 7 where strict transcription as Sanskrit with inherent -a is used throughout. The translations use the transliterated form of names etc. as given in the text. Kṛṣṇa's epithets are translated only in the *chāpa*.

## B References to Dayārām's lyrics

These are according to the numbers and titles in Rāval 1953. When referring to the whole lyric the title is given in transliteration beginning with a capital. The titles are given without capitals in Chapter 7.

## C Metrical conventions

- 1 In 'strict' songs<sup>1</sup> :  
^ looks metrically short but scans long;

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<sup>1</sup>See 3.3 below.

- ✓ looks metrically long but scans short;
- ⤴ scans for four mātrās or more.

2 In 'free' songs numbers are used to count beats.

## D Dates

Dates refer to the Christian era unless otherwise specified.

## INTRODUCTION

Kavi Dayārāmbhāi (1777-1852) lived during a time of great change throughout India. Gujarat,<sup>1</sup> which had been ruled as a *sūba* of the Mughal empire from 1573-1707, began to suffer Maratha raids from the mid-seventeenth century when Shivaji invaded Surat in 1664. The Maratha Gaekwad of Vadodara came to be the greatest power in Gujarat and Saurashtra, and the Marathas and Mughals ruled Ahmadabad jointly from 1738 to 1753, when the Mughals relinquished any claim to Gujarat.

The British East India Company had been active in southern Gujarat since establishing their factory in Surat in 1612, gaining political power there in 1759. As the Maratha confederacy declined rapidly after the battle of Panipat (1761), the Maratha rulers began to ally themselves to the British. In Gujarat, the Gaekwad of Vadodara accepted British protection after declaring his independence in 1782. The British later annexed Bharuch (1803) and Ahmadabad (1817). After the defeat of the last Peshwa at the battle of Kirkee (1818), the British established the Bombay Presidency in order to administer much of western India. British power in the region was consolidated in 1858 when the crown took over the East India Company. Only five Gujarati districts were British: Surat, Bharuch, Panch Mahals, Kheda and Ahmadabad. The rest of Gujarat was mostly ruled as princely states, the only significant power belonging to the Gaekwad of Vadodara who also ruled Amreli and Dwarka in the Kathiawar peninsula.

This period sees the rise in significance of the city of Bombay, as a commercial and cultural centre for Gujaratis. In 1687, the East India Company had transferred its Western headquarters from Surat to Bombay and the shipping and trade moved there as a consequence. There was large-scale migration from Gujarat: shippers, merchants and middlemen from Surat, Bharuch and Khambhat, bankers

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<sup>1</sup>Gujarat is used to refer to the area covered by the modern state of Gujarat established in 1960.



and commission agents from Ahmadabad; traders from Saurashtra and Kachchh. The opening of the Suez Canal, steam navigation and the cotton trade of the nineteenth century helped to boost Bombay's fortunes. It became the capital of the Bombay Presidency from 1818.

The extension of British influence led to changes in the formations of states and social groups during the eighteenth century, marking the beginning of the social order of modern India. In the cultural sphere, there was a creative period in Hinduism and Islam at popular and at formal levels.<sup>2</sup> One of the greatest cultural changes was in the sphere of education. Bentinck's English Education Act (1835) marked the victory of Anglicism over Orientalism<sup>3</sup> in the separation of the study of English and indigenous languages. Western-style education in English was given in Bombay's Elphinstone Institution (founded 1834) which became Elphinstone College on the founding of Bombay University (1857). A new indigenous intellectual elite was created, whose influence was felt through the learned societies they formed and through the new print culture in newspapers, magazines, pamphlets and, of course, literary publications. Many of the creative and critical writers in Gujarati in the second half of the nineteenth century were graduates of Elphinstone and it was through them that English literature was to have its far-reaching impact on Gujarati literature and literary studies.

These writers introduced new literary forms into Gujarati, including the novel and the short story, and western poetical forms such as the sonnet. They wrote on topics which had not been considered appropriate to literature, such as social reform and nationalism. Instructed in the values of English literature, they brought these to their new critical studies of Gujarati literature. The sphere of production also changed as they no longer sought patrons but printed and sold their

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<sup>2</sup>Bayly 1988:39-44.

<sup>3</sup>Viswanathan 1989:22-44.

work, often while pursuing professional careers in the British administration for which their education had prepared them.

While these writers and critics were actively developing new literary forms and criticism, they also began to reinterpret Gujarat's past. The two first poets of modern Gujarati literature, Kavi Dalpat and Kavi Narmad<sup>4</sup> were active collectors of pre-modern Gujarati poetry and they edited the earliest printed volumes of Gujarati poetry. Dalpat's was a selection of Gujarati verse published at the request of the Director of Public Education<sup>5</sup> while Narmad's was the first edition of the lyrics of Dayārām.<sup>6</sup> Undoubtedly this early publication contributed to Dayārām's canonical status as one of the greatest poets of Gujarat.

Nearly every article on Dayārām mentions his canonical status as the last poet of medieval Gujarat. In many respects this status is unquestionable. Although he travelled widely in India, his work contains no references to the changes that were occurring as British power spread in Gujarat and its administrative systems and personnel were established.<sup>7</sup> Unlike his somewhat junior contemporaries, mentioned above, Dayārām belongs to the pre-British world of Gujarat, and indeed of India. Everything about his life, his activities, his work, fixes him in this world, and his death brings to an end the creative period of a whole tradition of devotional poetry, with roots in the whole of North India and in the Gujarati folk tradition.

This status raises a number of questions. Firstly, 1852 seems a very late date indeed for the term 'medieval', by any definition. In Europe the medieval period is usually taken as ending with the Renaissance, that is several centuries earlier. This terminology, used also for other Indian literatures in the pre-British

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<sup>4</sup>See below Chapter 2.2.

<sup>5</sup>Dayabhai 1865.

<sup>6</sup>Lālaśaṃkara 1909 (4th ed.).

<sup>7</sup>Dabhoi, where Dayārām spent most of his adult life, had been the headquarters of the Bombay army until 1783 when it was ceded to the Marathas as a condition of a peace treaty between the Government of Bengal and the Peshwa. Along with the rest of the Peshwa's territories, Dabhoi became a British Dependency after 1818.

period,<sup>8</sup> has been questioned by Das<sup>9</sup> who argues that the term 'medieval' is an imposition because it suggests a 'dark age' of literature for a period which was one of India's most creative. There may be two justifications for the use of this term. The first is that if the Indian renaissance of the nineteenth century is equated with the European renaissance, by analogy the preceding period may be termed medieval. The second, which follows from this, is that the pre-renaissance period was obscure and 'dark.'

Secondly, in the opening line of the first biography of Dayārām,<sup>10</sup> Narmad calls him the last poet of the four hundred year old tradition of sung poetry. However, the sharpness of this division between the pre- and the post-British eras in Gujarati literature must be examined. The differences between the two in form, subject matter, production and consumption suggest that this boundary was wide. However, the fact that Dayārām remained an important figure in Gujarati literature and that he was the topic of the new literary criticism, makes this break seem less sharp. Furthermore, it is likely that elements of future literary developments may be found in Dayārām's own work. Does Dayārām's oeuvre contain elements which could be reinterpreted by the modern tradition or was it a dead end? Might there be connections with the emotionalism of *bhakti* and that of the Romantics? While changes in form may be clear, what other features in the text mark a break between Dayārām and the new poets?

Lastly, on what grounds was Dayārām considered to be a great writer by critics who had been trained in western literary criticism? Was he evaluated in the terms of his own age or those of the age which followed him? How much does the biography of Dayārām the *bhakta* have in common with the Byronic hero? And are the qualities of sweetness and love identified by the critics qualities of *bhakti* emotionalism or Romanticism?

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<sup>8</sup>Islam and Russell 1991:1-4 discuss the sense of 'medieval' in the context of three eighteenth-century Urdu poets.

<sup>9</sup>Das 1991:333.

<sup>10</sup>Narmadāśaṃkar Lālśaṃkar 1912: 476.

It is important to remember that most cultures, and those of India in particular, are not monocultural and most people move between several cultures. For example, one could be a scientist with a Hawkinian view of time while also believing in divine time. The implication for this thesis is that the traditional or devotional views of Dayārām's lyrics are not incompatible with other literary critical views but may indeed be held simultaneously.

Given that Dayārām's lyrics have already raised a wide number of issues, it became necessary to search for approaches towards an understanding of them. It is clear that this requires not only a survey of existing studies of Dayārām but also an examination of intellectual approaches to literature which may be appropriate in the context of this thesis. Thus the first possible approach to Dayārām to be considered had to be that of the western academic tradition of textual analysis known as Indology.

The study of India (i.e. British India, the area now called South Asia) was known as 'Indology', an intellectual discipline which has concentrated on the texts and artefacts of a past, glorious civilisation, rather than the study of a living culture. The term has come to acquire a pejorative meaning,<sup>11</sup> namely the approach of westerners who pursue an Orientalist<sup>12</sup> study of India. These senses are not intended here, where the word 'Indologist' is used simply to refer to those who make India and *res indica* the objects of their academic study. It is not restricted to westerners, although the majority of such studies are written in European languages by westerners. The definition used here of an Indological approach to Indian literatures is primarily the study of these literatures as objects of scholastic study rather than as literary texts.

The distinction between literary scholarship and literary criticism must also be clarified. Literary criticism normally includes aspects of scholarship, and will be

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<sup>11</sup>For example, in Devy 1992.

<sup>12</sup>In all three senses of Said's definition: Said 1978:2-3.

taken to do so, except where it seems important (as here) to make a distinction between the two, as do Jefferson and Robey:

...in common usage criticism generally stands for discussions of literary works that focus on the experience of reading.<sup>13</sup> It is concerned with describing, interpreting and evaluating the meaning and effect that literary works have for competent but not necessarily academic readers. Scholarship, on the other hand, stops short of, or goes beyond the experience of reading, in that its concern is with factors in one way or another external to this experience: the genesis of the work, its textual transmission, or elements within it that the non-specialist reader need not necessarily take an interest in. Criticism is not exclusively academic, and often may be personal and subjective, though it is of course capable of a detachment and rigour of its own: scholarship is a specialist activity which aims for the same detachment and rigour that characterize other academic disciplines.<sup>14</sup>

Most Indological studies are works of scholarship, rather than of literary criticism, in that the authors are concerned with historical background, with establishing a text by editing manuscripts, with studying its textual transmission and authorship or with non-literary facts contained within it, notably of a religious nature. Several of the studies include literary statements about the texts, usually concerning themes and motifs, forms of literature, performance aspects, historical origins of a genre and so on. McGregor,<sup>15</sup> in particular, makes a number of judgements about the literary nature of the works he is concerned about, but these are usually confined to brief summaries in which he has presented extra-textual information.

Since Gujarati is barely studied in universities outside Gujarat and Bombay, it is not surprising that there has been very little Indological research on Dayārām or on Gujarati Vaiṣṇava literature in general. However, over the last few decades there has been a considerable amount of Indological research in western academia on Braj Kṛṣṇaite literature. Dayārām is connected to this tradition, not so much for his Braj

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<sup>13</sup>Although 'and listening' is not written, it is understood that oral literature is included here also. While it is obvious that it is not possible to have a 'close listening' as one may have a 'close reading', where the reader has sole control over the experience, this problem is not discussed here. There has been much work on the scholarship of oral performance, but little on the criticism of it. The Braj Kṛṣṇaite verse is mostly sung and a critical discussion would have to include the use of repetition in performance, the fact that the verses are heard repeatedly and are learnt and performed in other contexts by the audience etc.

<sup>14</sup>Jefferson and Robey 1986:8.

<sup>15</sup>E.g. McGregor 1984 in his survey of early Hindi literature.

poetry (for he is not well known in this tradition, his fame deriving almost entirely from his Gujarati lyrics) but more because he was a member of the Puṣṭimārga, a Vaiṣṇava sect which practises Braj *bhakti*. A survey of these studies would provide methodological examples of approaches to such literature as well as furnishing a large amount of necessary background information, but this is not the aim of this thesis.

In order to examine Indological strategies for an approach to the lyrics of Dayārām, this thesis begins by looking at specific works of Indologists on Gujarati literature, the majority of these being the work of Françoise Mallison, before going on to examine in some detail the considerable corpus of Indologist writings on Kṛṣṇaite Braj literature.

The survey is limited to a study of those texts written in European languages and so does not deal with Indological approaches made by Indian scholars. It finds here the scholastic apparatus necessary for the initial study of the texts as literature, but a lack of engagement with literary criticism.

The second source of possible approaches to be considered is that used in the existing studies of Dayārām, mentioned above. Although there is a tradition of Indological scholarship in Gujarati (practised notably by H.C. Bhayani), the studies considered here belong to a different intellectual tradition. They do not engage with the rigorous textual study typical of the Indological tradition but are mostly non-scholastic, being concerned with matters of religious tradition or literary criticism.

Since these studies of Dayārām are nearly all written by Gujaratis, mostly in Gujarati (any discussion of his work in English being mostly restricted to inclusions in histories of religion or literature dating from over fifty years ago) they have been labelled 'Gujarati', but it must be emphasised that this is not intended as an essentialist term. A non-Gujarati could write a 'Gujarati study' of Dayārām while a Gujarati could make an Indological study of Dayārām.

It is important to remember that the changes in literary studies which were emanating from Bombay did not replace all pre-existing literary traditions. Dayārām's *akṣaradeha* ('immortal body', i.e. his corpus), has survived to the present through two traditions, that of his own world and that of the modern world. On the one hand, Dayārām's pupils, their descendants and his followers in Dabhoi have kept his poetry alive, and on the other, his works were among the earliest Gujarati literature to be published and have been the object of literary criticism.

These two traditions, while overlapping in many respects, have significant differences. While both groups praise his lyrics for their sweetness and *prema* ('love, affection') for Kṛṣṇa and describe the poet's life at length, his followers concentrate on the religious aspects of his work, while the readers of his work as literature try to find value in his work drawing on the modern tradition of literary criticism which began after his death. An exploration of these various receptions of his work seemed likely to illuminate attitudes to literature and to the world in general. Dayārām's lyrics are also used in daily worship in people's homes, but such matters lie beyond the scope of this thesis.

Although a distinction is made here between the two disciplines of scholarship and literary criticism, this does not imply any desire to elevate one at the expense of another. It should be clear that the scholastic approach is not being denigrated. For example, in this thesis, although its central portion in Part II is a study of the lyrics of Dayārām as 'literature', it has been found necessary first to include a large amount of information which would count as 'scholarship' (see in particular Chapters 2 and 3). In fact, the situation is quite complicated. The two disciplines are often mutually dependent: sometimes the editing of a text can contribute to the literary study of it, for example, where the text is distorted through textual transmission. Typical of this approach is Hawley 1984, a fascinating study of the process of accretion in a text, in which the distinguishing of successive layers shows that the original Sūrdās was quite different from the Sūrdās of modern India.

Now there is (or, rather, will be, when the text is published) an *Ur-Sūrsāgar* and a number of verses which will be discarded as later accretions. The difference between these strata is clear from Hawley's work, and scholastic work may now establish new information about Sūrdās' language, religious beliefs, sectarian affiliation etc. which can then contribute to other areas of study. It could also be argued that the later versions of the *Sūrsāgar* have a greater validity, because it is these versions which are read and loved today, and it is the later poems, such as the *bāllilā* group, which are the most loved and best known verses of Sūrdās. From the point of view of criticism, the poems may be assessed in the performance (i.e. their sung form) for which they were intended as well as in written form, as a play may be studied both from its script and from its performance. Like a play, these poems may no longer have a true oral performance, but are becoming fixed as they acquire written standard forms through popular editions.

Traditional approaches to literature have been mostly analyses of form and content and hence could not provide answers to questions raised in the study as to the literary nature of the text, the historical context of the lyrics, an understanding of subsequent interpretations of Dayārām, the nature of the break between Dayārām and Dalpat and Narmad, and the problems of reading the lyrics in the present context. These questions have been raised elsewhere in literary studies, through the considerations of literary theory. The selection of theoretical models to examine this critical question was the next step to be considered.

Literary theory has become a component of literature degrees throughout the world in the last three decades. A common complaint about theory is that it is difficult, but while some of the texts are certainly opaque, the difficulty is not extreme in comparison with the theoretical texts of some other disciplines. Opinions about the value of such studies tend to be polarised, ranging from the view that literary theory is pseudo-philosophy or pseudo-aesthetics or that it



impedes an informed reading of literature and therefore must be opposed, to the opposite extreme, where it is seen as a complete new system of thought, calling the whole nature of literature into question and making previous studies redundant. It is impossible to read without taking a theoretical position, however neutral one may claim to be, and some awareness of the ways in which one reads texts, or in other words of the theory which underlies one's reading, must be of some significance. This thesis is concerned more with the reading of texts than with a study of theory, but does aim to show how an understanding of literary theory can inform and enrich critical practice.

Jefferson and Robey 1986 sum up the questions that a theory of literature must ask: What is literariness? What is the relation of the author to the text? What is the relation of the reader to the text? What is the relation of the text to reality? What is the status of the medium of the text (language)? The theory should then be examined to see how it would allow for a theory of literary history, and what its critical practice could be.

For this study, the first step was to examine the available theories for one which was based on a theory of language, the medium of literature, and which tied the text closely to historical reality. This immediately ruled out Indian poetics and nearly every western theory.<sup>16</sup> One of the first to be rejected was post-structuralism (including deconstruction), which with its ahistorical approach, its loss of the subject, lack of truth and its abstract 'philosophy', allows for no interpretation of divinity and enforces a removal of ethics and responsibility. Phenomenology, hermeneutics and reader-reception theory seemed more involved with describing one's activities as a critic than with providing an all-round theory of literature. Psychoanalytic criticism was attractive, not least for its operating entirely through the medium of language, but apart from the considerable cross-cultural implications

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<sup>16</sup>See Jefferson and Robey 1986; Eagleton 1983 for an outline of the major theories.

involved in such a study,<sup>17</sup> there are serious reservations about the thinking that underpins the 'science' (with hypothetical mental constructs such as the id-ego-superego, its biologist essence and its concentration on the individual rather than on society), let alone the implications involved in using it to study literature. Gender-based theory<sup>18</sup> was a possibility and while interesting readings of Indian literature have been made from a feminist perspective,<sup>19</sup> a study of the construction of femininity in Dayārām would, however rewarding, fail to fulfil the initial criteria. The approaches of disciplines which have been profoundly affected by theory, notably those of comparative literature and of cultural studies, would provide further insights. These include translation studies, reception studies, the thought of Foucault, especially as developed by Said in his study of Orientalism, and the work of Bhabha on hybridity.

Many studies of theory now tend towards the eclectic rather than the exclusive - notably feminist theory which has been incorporated into many other systems.<sup>20</sup> This study will however be informed by the writings of one theorist, Mikhail Bakhtin, whose language-based Marxist model provides challenging answers to the questions that must be asked of any literary theory, and whose concerns allow many points of departure for suggestive readings of Dayārām's lyrics. His works on philosophy, linguistics and literary theory have as their central concerns the relation of self to other, of mind to world and of the individual to society. Underlying all his work is the assumption that everything 'means'. He does not hold, along with deconstructionists and others, that no one has meaning, nor does he think that meaning belongs to the humanistic self; rather he sees meaning as belonging to the community—that is, it is shared and it is multiple. His theory allows one to analyse texts in ways which are neither subjective, nor mechanically impersonal. Dialogue underlines his view of truth and of the world in

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<sup>17</sup>See Kakar 1981 for possible psychoanalytic approaches to Indian culture.

<sup>18</sup>See Moi 1985.

<sup>19</sup>For example, Spivak 1987 combines feminist and deconstructive approaches.

<sup>20</sup>Such as deconstruction (Spivak) and Marxism (Eagleton).

his epistemology of 'dialogism',<sup>21</sup> in his 'translinguistics' (study of language and discourse), and in his central concepts on which he bases his study of genre, namely, 'heteroglossia' (plurality of languages), 'polyphony' (the position of the author in the text), the 'chronotope' (time and space and the values attached to them) and the carnivalesque (folk influence, humour and the aesthetic of the grotesque), all topics which appear immediately relevant to a study of Dayārām.

It should be clear, however, that this is just one approach out of the many which could be taken. Bakhtin himself writes:

'It should be emphasized here that literature is too complex and multifaceted a phenomenon and literary scholarship is still too young for it to be possible to speak of any one single 'redeeming' method in literary scholarship. Various approaches are justified and are even quite necessary as long as they are serious and reveal something new in the literary phenomenon being studied, as long as they promote a deeper understanding of it.'<sup>22</sup>

Bakhtin's theory is not systematic, but suggestive, about opening the text to a variety of understandings. A close application of his thought to the text substantiates his points, but the real interest lies in the further analysis of this reading which produces an understanding of the text and its context. Bakhtin's theories do not allow for a close reading of the text, an analysis of rhetorical and poetic devices and other systematic, mechanical readings of literature.

The object of this thesis is not a testing of Bakhtin's theory but a search for ways in which his theory can aid a critical study of Dayārām. Nor does this work aim to be comprehensive in drawing on all Bakhtin's wide-ranging ideas about literature. For example, Bakhtin's writing on language does not feature strongly in this thesis. There are clearly future possibilities for such a study of Dayārām's lyrics. For example, a study of heteroglossia in his work would discuss the historical implications of the introduction of vernaculars as literary languages and Dayārām's use of Braj and Gujarati in his works. The meaning of the combination

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<sup>21</sup>'Dialogism may well become the basis of our time's intellectual structure' Kristeva 1980:89.

<sup>22</sup>Bakhtin 1986:3.

of vocabulary from three languages (Braj, Sanskrit and Gujarati) within the lyrics could be examined to see how they relate to one another, perhaps reflecting an awareness of the old and the new or showing sources in the specialised vocabulary of the Kṛṣṇa cult, the Puṣṭimārga sect and Gujarati folk literature. However, such aspects lie beyond the scope of the present study. Nor has any attempt been made to use others of Bakhtin's theoretical concepts which focus on more novelistic qualities in the texts. Here only two of his main concepts have been used, the carnival and the chronotope.

These two forces are not purely literary, but exist in the world outside literature as social and historical forces. Carnival is a range of activities and cultural forms which may be seen as centrifugal forces. They enter writing in the west with the novel, in particular in the work of Rabelais. The chronotope is a term Bakhtin adopted from natural science, an understanding of space and time and the relationship between them as a way of perceiving the world. Both of these concepts are key elements of Bakhtin's concern with the theory of genre, which, as in all his other work, shows linguistic, social and historical concerns.

Just as Bakhtin's study of language is a study of speech genres, so much of his work on literature is on a study of its genres. Genre is important not only as a category of literature, but also as a way of seeing reality and as a category of speech. It is not formal or abstract but concrete. His study of genre makes his work one of the few theories of literature to try to understand how a history of literature may be possible. He is explicit about this aspect of his work, giving his essay on the chronotope the subtitle 'Notes towards a historical poetics.'<sup>23</sup> In this essay he traces the roots of the novel to antiquity and to folklore, further back than is normally the case. Eschewing the approach of textualism, Bakhtin looks instead at the dialogue between the texts, between the texts and their critics. Bakhtin argues

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<sup>23</sup>Bakhtin 1981.

that all texts must be seen in context; they have to be placed in their historical reality. They are dependent on what was said/written before and what comes after.

In this study by Bakhtin, the genre changes are gradual and take place over centuries. In nineteenth-century Gujarati literature, as mentioned above, the emergence of new genres was revolutionary. In Bakhtin's thought, transformations in the chronotope, which is a way of perceiving the world, reflect actual historical transformations.<sup>24</sup> For example, one of the most successful genres to emerge in nineteenth-century India was the novel which has now become one of the main genres of Indian literature. The rise of the novel in India has been linked to the emergence of the bourgeoisie,<sup>25</sup> as it has been in the west.<sup>26</sup>

Bakhtin's writing is not just about the encounter of an individual person with an individual text but about understanding literature in wider terms, a social and historical force requiring a study of institutional factors and their mechanisms (the publication and distribution of books, criticism and the distinction of 'high' and 'popular' literature). His discussion of problems in the relationships between authorial authority, textual meaning and reception allow the various approaches to Dayārām to be accommodated in a historical perspective. Indology, a formal analysis, is concerned with textual meaning but also reveals important features needed for the study of the text: Gujarati reception, often a thematic analysis, concentrates either on the author or on the personal experience of the text, but it carries meanings which have become inscribed on interpretations of the text.

Bakhtin's process of 'creative understanding' means that the meaning of a work can never be located in just the author's intention or the reader's interpretation.

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<sup>24</sup>Anderson 1991 argues that a change in the concept of time from 'simultaneity' to 'meanwhile' is a necessary condition for the creation of nationalism. The examples he draws from literature to illustrate this claim suggest strong links between the change in the concept of time, and the emergence of the novel and the idea of nationalism. However these are not explored at length. A comparative study of Anderson's 'meanwhile' and Bakhtin's 'fullness of time' may be a fruitful project.

<sup>25</sup>Mukherjee 1985.

<sup>26</sup>Watt 1957.

Works grow in meaning over time as historical and future meanings emerge as changes occur in understandings of the nature of literature, literary meaning and through changes in aesthetic values. Historical readings themselves are important to present meanings as the meaning of a text results from these active dialogues, which are never final.<sup>27</sup> An historical understanding of the Gujarati critics' approaches to Dayārām becomes an important part of the present meanings of his lyrics.

For example, the concentration on the life of Dayārām may be linked to Vaiṣṇava hagiography as well as to the Romantic view of the poet as Byronic hero. The reason Dayārām's lyrics are never seen as independent but always as closely connected parts of a corpus may be because of the Kṛṣṇa myth or because of nineteenth-century views on narrative.

Bakhtin's theory also accommodates the present reading of Dayārām. The question of time has already been allowed for in his historical attitude, but for him, the outsideness of the reader can be an asset rather than an automatic problem. In the present context it may be hoped that it allows a fresh perspective on the lyrics of Dayārām.

Bakhtin uses carnival as a generic concept for dealing with laughter in literature. The social and historical forces of carnival show how the interaction of high and low cultures is part of the dynamic of *bhakti*, the Kṛṣṇa cult and of Dayārām's lyrics. Early *bhakti* was a social and religious force, a popular, non-Brahminical movement. It was here that carnival found an entry into literature as *bhakti* inspired the growth of vernacular literatures throughout India. However it was reduced by Vallabha whose sect, the Puṣṭimārga, was Brahminical. He wrote in Sanskrit and the cult became associated with the temple and with ritual. By contrast, Dayārām shows more carnivalesque features. Even though in literature carnival can become an object of representation rather than participation, perhaps in

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<sup>27</sup>Shepherd 1989.

Dayārām, the singing and dancing of the lyrics and the assumption of roles allows for more active participation than expected in literature. After Dayārām, carnival is reduced in Gujarati literature as changes in the concepts of high and low, and private and public take place in the nineteenth century.

The implication of carnival and the chronotope are relevant not just for Dayārām but for all *bhakti* literature. However, it is possible that they may also be interpreted as theories of modernism. A change in genre is a symptom of a change not just in literature but in society as a whole. Dayārām shows this most clearly as he is positioned on the edge of the 'medieval' and the modern. There are clear implications for creating the possibility of future interactions with Western and Indian literature and the introduction of new genres to India, notably the novel and the short story.

The question of approaches to the study of Indian literatures has also been discussed in G.N. Devy's award-winning book, *After amnesia: tradition and change in Indian literary criticism*.<sup>28</sup> He argues that literatures in the *bhāṣās* (i.e. New Indo-Aryan languages) need to be criticised through their own traditions. He argues that there has been

'...cultural amnesia, which makes the average Indian intellectual incapable of tracing his tradition backwards beyond the mid-nineteenth century.'<sup>29</sup>

In order to recover from this amnesia he argues that there is a need to re-examine the British impact on Indian literary traditions and to formulate a pragmatic literary historiography for *bhāṣā* literatures.<sup>30</sup> While these two aims are similar in many ways to the goals of this thesis, Devy does not achieve the former and falls into more serious problems with the latter. Unable to find any critical document or

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<sup>28</sup>Devy 1992.

<sup>29</sup>Devy 1992:10.

<sup>30</sup>Devy 1992:56.

any 'self-conscious intellectual discourse of criticism'<sup>31</sup> in the *bhāṣās*, he advocates Nemade's 'nativism.' This is a system of classification rather than a theoretical approach or even a critical approach.<sup>32</sup> Devy's blanket anti-theorism (he never specifies which theory he is attacking), often at the level of polemic,<sup>33</sup> makes him fail to see that he is often arguing against formalism rather than theory itself. I suggest that an extension of the application of Bakhtin's approaches would resolve many of the issues raised by Devy and others in a study of Indian literatures within a theoretical and coherent framework.

In spite of his canonical status, Dayārām's poetry is scarcely known outside of Gujarat. This is unremarkable in that probably only two other medieval Gujarati poets are known elsewhere in India, Narasiṃha Mahetā (1414-1481) and Mīrām (1403-1470). However, the latter is best known outside Gujarat through the Hindi versions of her songs,<sup>34</sup> which makes Narasiṃha the only known Gujarati medieval poet. The specific reason for Narasiṃha's fame seems to be that Gandhi included some of his songs in his prayer meetings. Part of the reason for Dayārām's obscurity may be that little or none of Dayārām's work has been translated from Gujarati - again, an unremarkable fact since very little Gujarati literature has been translated. Most of the translations from Gujarati into other Indian languages are of early novels (Munshi and Govardhanram) into Hindi.<sup>35</sup> While some medieval South Asian literature has become known in India and overseas through its English translations (notably that of Tukārām, and collections of south Indian *bhakti* poetry, collections of Hindi saints<sup>36</sup>), the only translations of medieval Gujarati poetry are those of Narasiṃha in French and in English (see below Chapter 1.1 for a

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<sup>31</sup>Devy 1992:90.

<sup>32</sup>Nemade 1986.

<sup>33</sup>For example, 'by inducing Indian critics to undertake an imitative activity of mindless theorizing, it [theory] has created a set of literary premises and critical frameworks into which *bhāṣā* literature is coercively being fitted.' Devy 1992:111.

<sup>34</sup>See 2.2 below.

<sup>35</sup>Govardhanram's *Sarasvatīcandra* has not been translated into English, despite its continued canonical status as the greatest Gujarati novel. See 2.2 below.

<sup>36</sup>Chitre 1991, Ramamujan 1973, Hawley and Juergensmeyer 1988.



discussion of these works). Recently the *jñānamārgī*, Akho (c. 1615-1674) has been translated into English.<sup>37</sup> This meant that the introduction of a great figure of Gujarati literature to a wider, if only academic audience was timely.

There is the possibility in a study of Dayārām for more than just a study of one of the great Gujarati poets barely known outside Gujarat. It may also allow us to look more closely at the changes that happened to literature at this time and how this was connected with changes in the world and in the perceptions of the world.

This thesis has its own context as another reading of Dayārām. It resists the desire for absolute conclusions, but offers instead a new point of departure for reading the lyrics of Dayārām.

The thesis is divided into three parts. Part I looks at the four principal influences discernible in Dayārām's lyrics: his religious background, earlier Gujarati literature, the Gujarati folk tradition and the literature of his sect, mostly written in Braj Bhāṣā. It discusses these four topics in the context of understandings of North Indian devotional verse.

Chapter 1 is concerned with the treatment by Indologists of the Kṛṣṇaite literature in Braj Bhāṣā. Chapter 2 then considers studies of Dayārām by Gujarati scholars in the religious as well as the literary Gujarati tradition. Chapter 3 is a very brief Indological study of the Gujarati lyrics of Dayārām. It describes the transmission of the Gujarati texts and examines their place in a history of the Gujarati lyric. It then looks at the forms, content and language of Dayārām's Gujarati lyrics.

Part II proposes a new approach to a study of Dayārām's lyrics. Chapter 4 introduces the thought of Mikhail Bakhtin. Chapter 5 discusses Dayārām's lyrics in the light of Bakhtin's concept of the carnivalesque; Chapter 6 looks at the functions of chronotopic features in the lyrics.

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<sup>37</sup>Krishnaditya 1993.

## Introduction

Part III is a selection of lyrics, drawing on the established canon and on verses referred to elsewhere in the thesis. They are given in transliteration to make the texts accessible to those who know other north Indian languages, thinking in particular of those who know Braj Bhāṣā. The translations are intended as working tools for reading the thesis and no literary considerations of translation have been made.<sup>38</sup> There is no commentary on these lyrics since this would necessitate a further interpretation and possible restriction of their potential meanings.

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<sup>38</sup>It is surprising that Bakhtin does not raise the issue of translation in any of his work given his study of language.

## PART I

### CHAPTER 1: THE INDOLOGISTS' APPROACHES TO KṚṢṆAITE LITERATURE

There has been no study of Dayārām in any European language and very little research has been done on Gujarati Vaiṣṇava literature in general by non-Gujaratis. In order to examine strategies for an approach to the lyrics of Dayārām, this thesis begins by looking at specific works of Indologists on Gujarati literature, the majority of these being the work of Françoise Mallison, before going on to examine in some detail the considerable corpus of Indologist writings on Kṛṣṇaite Braj literature.

This chapter does not review these studies, but instead outlines the strategies and structures followed by Western scholars in their approaches to Kṛṣṇaite literature. It analyses their central concerns and their methods rather than assessing their scholastic merits, editing techniques, accuracy of information or comprehensiveness etc. This survey is limited to Kṛṣṇaite literature in the Gujarati and Braj Bhāṣā languages. It does not look at Kṛṣṇaite literature in Sanskrit (e.g. Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*) or devotional texts which show *nirguṇa* attitudes. The translations have not been checked against the originals, since here the concern is more with the results of the translation, whether it is literal, literary, in verse, or colloquial, and how it deals with Indian concepts. For these purposes, monographs, several of which are reworkings of doctoral theses, provide the most useful data. There follows a summary of strategies which may be relevant to a neo-Indologist approach to Gujarati Kṛṣṇaite literature in the literary study of the lyrics of Dayārām (see Chapter 3).

### 1.1 Indologist writing on Gujarati Vaiṣṇava literature

This section surveys Mallison's published work on Gujarati Vaiṣṇavism, mentioning her other work on Islam and Islamic writing in Gujarat (e.g. Mallison 1991b) only when it is relevant to this study, and then summarises points of particular interest to a study of Dayārām. It then mentions briefly other studies of Gujarati literature by Westerners and the study of the genre of *bārahmāsa*.

Mallison 1974a discusses the sect of Svāminārāyaṇ, examining, among a broad range of sources, the earliest literature of the movement. She draws attention to the *Vacanāmṛtam*, a collection of philosophical sermons given by Svāminārāyaṇ to his disciples, which were collected by his principal devotees. This work provides the philosophical basis for the sect, and is significant for being the first work in modern Gujarati prose. Mallison also mentions the early poets of the sect<sup>1</sup> who wrote of their devotion to Kṛṣṇa, in the context of the Svāminārāyaṇ sect. She writes that these poets:

écrivent un langage simple et clair. Ils furent les premiers à laisser de côté les genres littéraires du vieux *gujarātī*, sans être encore, à proprement parler, des écrivains modernes. Pour cette raison ils occupent une place de premier plan dans la littérature du Gujarāt.<sup>2</sup>

However, she has little more to say about literature, the main preoccupations of the paper being with historico-religious aspects of the sect. Other works on this sect<sup>3</sup> are concerned with religious, philosophical, and social aspects and the literary works are discussed only as sources for these topics.

Mallison 1979 follows the story of Sudāmā, one of the greatest Vaiṣṇava bhaktas, from his anonymous mention in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, through various medieval Gujarati versions, concentrating on the still popular *ākhyānas* of Narasiṃha Mahetā (1414-80?<sup>4</sup>) and Premānanda (1636-1734). The central focus of this paper is the development of the religious themes and of the storyline; thus there

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<sup>1</sup> See 3.1 below.

<sup>2</sup> Mallison 1974a:439.

<sup>3</sup> Williams 1984, Dwyer 1994.

<sup>4</sup> See 3.1 below on the dates of Narasiṃha.

is no detailed discussion of the literary merits of the works, only rather general judgements which reflect those widely held among Gujarati critics:

The poem reflects in a vivid manner Gujarati society at the end of seventeenth century and Premānanda proves himself a good observer of the human mind. His monologues and dialogues are well turned whereas his descriptions remain conventional.<sup>5</sup>

and

Premānanda's genius lies in his capability of bringing out in a vivid manner the moral and the spiritual lesson of the old tale, while enlivening it and entertaining his readers all through with his witty dialogues and racy description. The character of Sudāmā has reached its point of perfection in Premānanda's story, a great classic of Gujarati literature.<sup>6</sup>

The second part of the study (Mallison 1980a) examines the evolution of the worship of Sudāmā in Porbandar (also called Sudāmāpurī). By comparing texts such as the *māhātmya* of the town, given in the *Skanda Purāṇa* (in Sanskrit), with archaeological evidence and current practice, she shows how the Kṛṣṇa cult has grown on the foundation of a Śiva-Devī cult, the process of Viṣṇuisation being marked by the adoption of the Vallabhite liturgy and the conversion of the Bāvā priests. Using similar sources, she finds evidence of this process of Kṛṣṇaisation in two major and two minor temples of Gujarat (Dwarka, Dakor, Shamalaji and Tulsishyam) where Viṣṇu-Trikrama-Raṅchoḍ worship has been replaced by that of Kṛṣṇa-Gopāla (Mallison 1983), and in Dakor (which, after Dwarka, is the largest pilgrimage centre in modern Gujarat), where a Śaivite centre has been taken over by the worship of Kṛṣṇa (Mallison 1991a).

Mallison 1980b is concerned with the problems of establishing and interpreting Gujarati texts for the purposes of studying modern *bhakti*. Texts were transmitted orally until the time of Dayārām and of the early poets of the Svāminārāyaṇ sect, when manuscript transmission begins. The earliest extant manuscripts from Gujarat were preserved in Jain *bhaṅḍāras*, and so tend to be mainly of interest for Jain studies, while the earliest extant Kṛṣṇaite manuscripts are very late, e.g. for Narasiṃha from as late as the seventeenth century. Because the

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<sup>5</sup>Mallison 1979:97.

<sup>6</sup>Mallison 1979:98.

scribal tradition is very poor from the eighteenth century onwards, there is only a very short period during which reliable manuscripts were written, many of which are uncatalogued and untended. Printed editions begin to appear by the mid-nineteenth century, but these were uncritical, often based on only one or two manuscripts, with no attempts to correct errata. The most famous of these printed editions is I.S. Desai's *Bṛhatkāvyaḍohan* 1890-1913, which is still the standard edition of medieval verse. Mallison claims that due to the weakness of the manuscript tradition it would be futile to employ a purely philological method to study texts like Narasiṃha's and so one must also consult the present living traditions.

She then focuses on the manuscript tradition of Narasiṃha, the earliest of the *bhakti* poets. Many of his *padas* have been published although they are printed without commentary and without critical editing. There are traditionally three groupings of his songs - the *bhakti-jñāna* type (poems with a generally austere tone, prayers and meditations, showing a tendency towards Upanishadic monism), the *bāllīlā* (poems celebrating the childhood exploits of Kṛṣṇa) and the *śṛṅgārbhakti* (erotic) type. The eroto-mystical hymns seem to show the influence of the Vallabhite sect, but because Narasiṃha lived before the foundation of the sect, and because they are hardly known in Gujarat, their authenticity must be questioned. Eroto-mystical poetry eventually become the dominant form within Gujarati Kṛṣṇaism, with even the puritanical Svāminārāyaṇ movement generating poetry of this kind.

A serious problem in studying medieval Gujarati literature is that of defining terms.<sup>7</sup> A notable case in point here is the *prabhātiyaṃ*, the form for which Narasiṃha is most famous. Mallison shows how this term cannot be defined precisely, but that one can make certain observations about them - they are prayers sung only in the morning, with no fixed theme, although likely to be of *bhakti-jñāna*

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<sup>7</sup>See 3.3 below.

or *bāllilā* type, mainly in *jhūlaṇa* metre and sung to a *deśī* ('folk') tune. Concluding the paper, she asks why Narasiṃha's well-known and well-loved *prabhātiyām* were transmitted so carelessly. She suggests this is because they did not belong to a large community, and have never been part of personal devotion.

Further problems in trying to define forms are discussed by Mallison 1986b and 1989 concerning the *dhoḷa*, a religious song (*pada*), usually Vaiṣṇava, sung almost always by women to a *deśī* tune:

The form of the *dhoḷ* is not fixed and it may be a tale, a song of praise or a dialogue. Each type has its own set tune, popular and easy to learn. Metrical considerations do not arise...The themes of *dhoḷ* are Puranic or epic, most often drawn from the *Rāmāyaṇ*..However much one tries, they remain a species hard to define, halfway between literature, folklore and hymnology. In this respect the *dhoḷ* are rather representative of the medieval short texts composed in the vernaculars, difficult to equate either with their classical sources or with their present-day folk forms.<sup>8</sup>

She distinguishes three types of *dhoḷa*. The first, being the folk type, is sung in housework, and on auspicious occasions etc. The second type is a non-sectarian Vaiṣṇava *dhoḷa*, whose subject-matter is exclusively Vaiṣṇava, and which is becoming rare. The third, the Vallabhite *dhoḷa*, is part of a thriving tradition and like the second is sung only at *satsaṅg*. This third type is defined in distinction to a *kīrtana* (*Havelī saṅgīt*) which is sung in the *havelī*, always in Braj, composed by the *aṣṭachāpa* and sung by official musicians (*kīrtanakāra*) during the eight periods of *sevā* in the *havelī*. Mallison claims that the *dhoḷa*, composed by mostly obscure persons (with the notable exception of Dayārām), in a simple vernacular and sung by the ordinary devotee, is at the core of the Vallabhite literature in Gujarati. The oral tradition is now being replaced by printed texts which are widely used by the devotees. The standard edition was first published in Ahmadabad in 1916, with many subsequent reprintings. In it the Braj liturgy is intermingled with the Gujarati *dhoḷa*.

Mallison 1986b concentrates on a performance she attended of a Vallabhite *satsaṅg* where nine songs were performed, including three by Dayārām (*Vaiṣṇava*

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<sup>8</sup>Mallison 1989:88-9.

*nathī thayo tum re, Śrīnāthajīnuṃ vadanakamaḷa joyuṃ* and *Je koī prema-aṃśa avatare*) and one by Narasiṃha (*Kukāne pagale padhāro vhalā*, the only one of his songs used by Vallabhites, and that only in Surat). Dayārām's songs are distinguished by having more complicated tunes than the usual *dhoḷa*. Mallison points out that in singing *Premaaṃśa* (which is a *pada*), the chorus join in only for the refrain, whereas in others they repeat what the leader sings. She mentions musical instruments and *rāgas* but gives little information on music. The distinction between *dhoḷa* and *pada* would not, however, appear very marked from Mallison's data, although it seems that *padas* have *mātrāchanda* metres and are set to *rāgas*, whereas *dhoḷas* have *tāla* type metres and are set to *deśī* tunes.

Interesting aspects of this paper include the de-oralising of the texts used in worship, the narrowing of the definition of a folk-song to an exclusively religious setting in one sect, and the transition of this form from a folk to a classical tradition through refinement by trained musicians. She contrasts this with the *garabo* which has entered popular culture, and whose current forms are likely to be ephemeral in the absence of trained connoisseurs as artists and audience.

Important for the study of Dayārām is her definition of a *garabī* which is given in an article on the *garabīs* of Pir Shams (Mallison 1991b),<sup>9</sup> and her brief discussion of Rāje Bhagat<sup>10</sup> as a precursor of Dayārām.<sup>11</sup>

Mallison discussed Narasiṃha Mahetā in several of her papers above. One of the earliest of these (1974a) deals with his biography and is later incorporated into the first chapter of her book on Narasiṃha (1986a). It is the only substantial academic monograph on Gujarati literature by a Western scholar. Its structure and approach may be summarised as follows. The first chapter is the life of Narasiṃha Mahetā, subtitled 'The history of a hagiography'. This chapter has a number of subtitles covering his autobiography (five poems which cover central episodes of

<sup>9</sup>See 3.3 below.

<sup>10</sup>Mallison 1992:95-6.

<sup>11</sup>See 3.1 below.



his life), his legendary life (from hagiographies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), his personal testimony (mentions of his religious experience in his *bhakti-jñāna pada*), his present following (in the *Narasimha Mahetāno Coro* in Junagadh), controversies surrounding his biography (his dates, the diversity of his inspiration), his sectarian connections (the difficulty of any link with the Puṣṭimārga), historical references to him elsewhere (of which there is only one), Narasimha beyond Gujarat (references to him in other works), and a conclusion.

The second chapter deals with the works of Narasimha with special reference to the *prabhātiyām*. It includes notes on the transmission and the editions of his works, and goes on to define the *prabhātiyām* with ample notes on prosody, then discusses how to assemble a corpus of *prabhātiyām*. Narasimha's religious affiliations are discussed in the third chapter, with special reference to vedantic monism, and the worship of Kṛṣṇa-Gopāla, while the fourth chapter contains introductory notes to the edited texts and their arrangement.

In the central section of the work, the fifty-one poems are arranged thematically, the edited text in Gujarati script is given with alternative readings in the footnotes and the French translation, again with footnotes, is given on the opposite page. Appendices include a list of errors in the Gujarati text; an index of first lines; lists of common and proper nouns, names of places and titles of works; and an index of rare words or expressions, unusual or traditional, mentioned in the notes to the translations. There is an extensive bibliography.

Mallison (no date) is concerned with the definition of a Vaiṣṇava as seen in the most famous of all Gujarati Vaiṣṇava songs, Narasimha's *Vaiṣṇavajana to tene kahīe*. She analyses the definition, then discusses the authorship of the song (which has been thought to have been composed by Dayārām), Vallabhite attitudes to Narasimha, possible sources of this song in Old Gujarati, and finishes with Dayārām's definition of a Vaiṣṇava, which is actually a definition of what a Vaiṣṇava is not.

The implications of Mallison's pioneering work for this study of Dayārām may now be summarised. Of particular note are her excellent bibliographies compiled from a vast number of sources used in her definition of genres, and her work on the rise of Kṛṣṇaism in Gujarat and Gujarati Vaiṣṇavaism prior to the rise of Vallabhism. In conjunction with her work on living traditions and on popular Sanskrit, her studies of the Kṛṣṇaisation of Gujarat and her familiarity with archaeological remains shows the extent of her fieldwork in Gujarat and her familiarity with the work of Gujarati scholars. She neatly unravels tangled data in her studies of *māhātmyas* while her work on Narasiṃha shows the same clarity and precision, with a solid, scholastic treatment clearly and logically bringing out the nature of the poet's oeuvre.

Mallison's study of the development of Kṛṣṇa-Gopāla worship as a superstratum on the substrata of the worship of Viṣṇu or of Śiva-Devī<sup>12</sup> and of the huge impact of Vallabhite *bhakti* on non-sectarian traditions has literary implications which are not developed at length. One might wish to look for a synthesis of local or folk poetry concerned with the worship of those deities whose cult has been replaced by Braj-Kṛṣṇaism. This is borne out clearly in the accretion of the erotic poetry to Narasiṃha Mahetā (1980b). It would be interesting to see not just how but why this happened and to what extent the change was completed, following her remarks in 1980a, which show that she thinks that the Vallabhisation of the ritual represents the completion of the process.

Her remarks on the problems of oral transmission (Mallison 1980b) are not relevant to Dayārām, but her remarks in this paper and in Mallison 1986b on the wide acceptance of a printed volume as a standard validate the decision here to work on a popular printed version of Dayārām. Although there are a number of printed volumes of Dayārām's verse,<sup>13</sup> this is the one used most frequently when studying his work for literary or ritual purposes, along with a smaller number of his *dhoḷas*

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<sup>12</sup>Mallison 1980a, 1983, 1991a.

<sup>13</sup>See 3.2 below.

and *padas* taken from ritual texts (see Mallison 1986b). Mallison 1986b also mentions briefly the performance of Dayārām's verses in modern times in this context. Questions remain as to whether they are ever danced as *garabīs* and as to whether only the *bhakti-jñāna* type are used in *satsaṅgs*, although *garabīs* are found in some prayer books.<sup>14</sup> Recordings of the erotic *garabīs* are still made occasionally in India, although they seem to lack the popularity of those of Narasiṃha Mahetā. It remains unclear if they are ever used in worship or still danced as *garabīs*.

Of particular help for this study is her work on defining terms,<sup>15</sup> the most obvious being that on the *garabī* (Mallison 1991b) which provides a foundation from which to discuss further definitions. So too will her work of 1986a, where she also untangles strands of conflicting evidence, sifting through hagiography and historical information etc. The structure of the book, as outlined above, is of great interest and although this thesis differs in its approach to Dayārām's work from that which she has employed for Narasiṃha Mahetā, it seems that there is much to be learnt here for structuring the initial chapters.

Mallison's work shows her strengths as a historian, Indologist and scholar of religion rather than as a literary scholar. Little of her work has focused on literary studies *per se*, such as literary criticism, for she is far more interested in such scholastic problems as the origins of the work, its transmission, the editing of texts, the study of literature as a scholarly source (on religion etc.), and problems of form such as genres and metrics. For example, in her work on metre, she never looks at how the metres are actually used to contribute to the poetic effect of the works. Nevertheless, Mallison's work provides a sound foundation for any western scholar of Gujarati literature.

The core of Mahadevananda 1985 is his translations of selections of Narasiṃha Mahetā's lyrics. The introduction consists of a brief note on *bhakti*,

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<sup>14</sup>E.g. Desāi 1986.

<sup>15</sup>Mallison 1980b, 1986a, 1986b, 1991b, discussed in 3.3 below.

followed by the life or hagiography of Narasiṃha. The list of Narasiṃha's works does not consider the possibility of an oral tradition. There follows an account of the Kṛṣṇa story and a very brief note on language, which mentions that the transmission has resulted in the modernising of the language and that the texts may well have been changed by the Puṣṭimārga in an attempt to claim him as a poet of their sect. The translations are based on the standard edition of Narasiṃha, that is Deśāi 1886-1913, with each *pada* identified by the corresponding number. This selection consists mostly of the erotic *padas*, which are not well known in Gujarat, unlike his *bhakti-jñāna* verses. The bibliography is all pre-1968, and does not include any reference to Mallison's work. This reasonably cheap book is found all over India, where it seems to be well known.

Mīrām (Mīrā, Mīrā Bāī) is claimed by Gujarati, Braj and Rajasthani literature. There is no definitive text of her work, but a large number of poems bearing her signature are found in Gujarati, Braj and Rajasthani traditions, some shared by all three. There are certainly arguments for including her in the survey of Braj literature, but here she is discussed in the context of Gujarati literature.<sup>16</sup>

Goetz 1966 is concerned with the life of Mīrām and seems to have unravelled an enormous amount of historical facts about her disputed biography. Although he does not quote his sources in his text, he gives a reasonable bibliography. A historian, he claims to have written the book out of his deep admiration for her. However, it seem to be the historical person in whom his interest lies, for there is scarcely any reference to her work, religious thought or why he thinks that she is to be ranked along with Jesus Christ as one of the two greatest persons to have ever lived .

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<sup>16</sup>See also 3.1 below.

Nilsson 1969 gives a standard coverage of the life and works of Mīrām.<sup>17</sup> She outlines Mīrām's religious background and discusses her *bhāva* and how she follows all nine steps of *bhakti*.<sup>18</sup> Nilsson divides the poems into two types, those of entreaty or love; lists the emotions Mīrām describes (hope, attraction, longing, disappointment, jealousy, anger and joy in union); and mentions her use of forms such as the *bārahmāsā*. She gives little information on the poetic forms or the language, and does not consider the question of the composition and transmission of Mīrām's poems in the three languages. Her literary analysis is very general, mentioning that her poems have a limited range of expression, that her imagery was strong and that her merits were the result of the spontaneous overflowing of emotion:

Mira Bai did not create her songs as literary compositions as Jayadeva and Vidyapati did. Even Sur Das, who, like Mira Bai, was primarily a bhakta, used many literary devices. Almost each and every pada of Sur Das could be scanned in traditional metres. The literary quality in Mira Bai's songs is inherent, and it does not obscure the aesthetic enjoyment by irksome and clever contrivances.<sup>19</sup>

Alston 1980 is primarily a selection of Mīrām's poems, although the introduction provides information on Mīrām's life, the *bhakti* movement and her position within it and some information on the oeuvre and the religious content of the poems. The translations are arranged thematically, with notes given at the back, including some information on variant readings and problems of interpretation.

## 1.2 Indologist writing on Braj literature

The review of European scholarship on Gujarati Vaiṣṇava literature in 1.1 has shown that this is essentially the work of one individual, whose interests have not been concentrated on the literary value of the corpus. In order to examine Indologist methodologies and critical approaches to Kṛṣṇaite literature, this section

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<sup>17</sup>The volume on Dayārām by Sandesara 1981, in the same national Sahitya Akademi series, is discussed not here but in the context of studies of Dayārām in Chapter 2, below.

<sup>18</sup>See 2.2 below.

<sup>19</sup>Nilsson 1969:34.

will therefore survey writings in European languages on similar literature written in Braj Bhāṣā.

Kṛṣṇaism throughout northern India has been dominated by Braj *bhakti* since the sixteenth century. The continuing significance of this region and its culture is well covered by Entwistle 1987.<sup>20</sup> Mallison's work has shown that all Kṛṣṇaism in Gujarat has been dominated by Braj Kṛṣṇaism, in particular that of the Puṣṭimārga, although she has not focused on its impact in literature beyond suggesting that the emphasis on *śṛṅgāra rasa* can be seen in the accretion of erotic poems to the corpus of Narasiṃha Mahetā. Braj influences in Gujarati Vaiṣṇava literature are likely to have grown as this Braj Vaiṣṇavism became the norm in Gujarati Vaiṣṇavism. For this reason alone it would seem essential to survey Braj Kṛṣṇaite literature.

The relations of Dayārām to the Braj Vaiṣṇava sect of the Puṣṭimārga are examined further in 2.2 below. It might be expected that its influence would be particularly strong in his work since he was a follower of this *sampradāya*. The influence of 'Brajvāsi' groups at Nathdwara and of the Braj liturgy (*Havelī saṃgīt*), would have been sure to have had an affect on any poet of the sect. As mentioned in 2.1, Dayārām himself wrote in Braj Bhāṣā (e.g. the *Satasaiyā*), but this work has not been discussed by European writers. However, it is likely that it is on account of these works that many Gujaratis believe that he was a reincarnation of one of the most famous Braj poets, Nanddās, one of the *aṣṭachāp* (the eight poets whose works form the *Havelī saṃgīt*). Although an identification with a Braj poet is not altogether surprising, it might be interesting to know why it was Nanddās, rather than any other poet, who was seen to be closest to Dayārām. There does not seem to be any particularly close connection between the lyrics of Dayārām and those which are attributed to Nanddās<sup>21</sup> but it may be that the similarities with works of

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<sup>20</sup>See also a brief but useful summary by Snell 1991b:30-2.

<sup>21</sup>See McGregor 1992 on the *padas* attributed to Nanddās.

Nanddās<sup>22</sup> lie in the other writings of Dayārām. However, these links have not been researched.

At the time of the great flowering of Braj *bhakti*, Braj Bhāṣā (or Braj) came to be used as the appropriate vernacular for this culture since it is the language which devotees assume that Kṛṣṇa himself, as a resident of Braj, would have spoken. It soon achieved a high status as a language of culture:

A l'époque d'Akbar, la langue braj apparaît comme la plus affinée des langues de l'Inde septentrionale, et la langue poétique et musicale par excellence. 'Si une langue indo-aryenne dans l'Inde du Nord pouvait être appelée "langue royale", dit S.K. Chatterji, ce fut certainement la langue braj.'<sup>23</sup>

Braj soon came to be used all over north India for the worship of Kṛṣṇa-Gopāla: 'c'est vraiment la langue du cœur pour tous les pieux krishnaïtes, du Goujarāt au Bengale,'<sup>24</sup> although in Bengal, a Brajified variety of Bengali called Brajbūlī soon emerged.

Although the first leaders of the Puṣṭimārga, Vallabhācārya, Viṭṭhalnāth and Gopināth, wrote exclusively in Sanskrit, Braj came to be the dominant language of the sect by the time of Harirāy in the seventeenth century. Although Gujarati is now the second language of the sect, it is not as highly regarded as Braj or Sanskrit. For example, speaking any language other than Braj or Sanskrit in the *havelī*, makes the priests ritually impure.<sup>25</sup> The Vallabhite liturgy performed in the *havelīs* (the *Havelī saṁgīt*) is performed exclusively in the Braj language using the *padas* of the *aṣṭachāp*. Braj (or an approximation to it) is also used by Gujaratis in domestic *sevā* when talking directly to Ṭhākorjī, who is believed to speak Braj, but Gujarati is also used, notably in songs, such as the lyrics of Dayārām.

This section surveys a large selection of Indologist writings on the Kṛṣṇaite Braj literature (including related performance arts) before going on to look in more

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<sup>22</sup>Cf. McGregor 1971, 1973, 1984 and 1986.

<sup>23</sup>Vaudeville 1971:16.

<sup>24</sup>Vaudeville 1971:16.

<sup>25</sup>Jindel 1976:59.

detail at works which examine the works from the point of literary criticism, in particular Bryant 1978. It then summarises the points of interest of these works to a study of Dayārām before a final brief discussion of the styles of translation used in these works along with those in the above section on Gujarati. It does not discuss the most important form of Kṛṣṇaite poetry, namely the *pada* which is discussed below in 3.3. Nor does it examine studies of the performance of musicology of any of these traditions<sup>26</sup> since this lies beyond the scope of this study of Dayārām.

For reasons mostly of space, much material which could have been discussed has not been covered. There has been no attempt to include writings on similar forms or themes in other languages such as Sanskrit, Marathi, Brajbūli, or Avadhī, because these would have had less significance than Braj to Dayārām, as a follower of Braj *bhakti* and a Braj poet. There has been no mention of the literature of the sants such as Dādū, for the same reason. Even much other Braj verse which does have a strong Kṛṣṇaite element such as that of Raskhān, Rahīm etc. has not been covered, mostly because there has been little Indological writing on their work. The Vallabhite prose of the *Caurāsī/Do sau bāvan vaiṣṇavan kī vārtā* is not included since these hagiographies are written in a quite different literary style.

#### Texts and translations (multiple authors), anthologies, histories of literature

An excellent account of the development of Braj literature is given by McGregor 1974, which also includes a history of literature in Avadhī and in Khaṛī Bolī. McGregor gives an account of the lives and works of the authors, makes succinct analyses of the literary merits of these works and gives a vast amount of bibliographical information. Snell<sup>27</sup> provides an interesting overview of principal trends in the literature in the introduction to his Braj Bhāṣā reader.

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<sup>26</sup>Such as those of Schlenker-Sonnenschmidt 1980, Manuel 1989, Delvoye 1991 and Gaston [1995].

<sup>27</sup>1991b:32-6.



Hawley and Juergensmeyer 1988 give elegant translations of the poems of six of the most famous poets of medieval India - Ravidās, Kabīr, Nānak, Sūrdās, Tulsīdās and Mīrābāī. Each poet is introduced with his/her pseudo-history and hagiography and the present use of their works. No information at all is given on literary aspects of the poems, the notes being concerned more with the religious background than with the works as literature. Notes, a glossary and an index follow the translations.

The second part of Barz 1986 contains translations of four *vārtās* of four of the *aṣṭachāp* poets (Sūrdās, Paramānanddās, Kumbhandās and Kṛṣṇadās), given by Gokulnāth (1552-1641) with the commentary of Harirāy (1591-1711), the *Bhāvaprakāśa*. Again, the central concern is with religious material, as would be expected from the title of the work, namely '*The bhakti sect of Vallabhācārya*.' Indeed, the first part of the book is solely about the Puṣṭimārga and the foundation of the sect, the hagiographic accounts of its founders Vallabhācārya and his son Viṭṭhalnāth, containing an account on the philosophy and theology as set out by them both, and the importance of the *bhakti-bhāvas* and the role of Rādāhā (Śrī Svāminīji). It provides the best account available in a European language of the early years of the sect, when the *aṣṭachāp* poets flourished. Once more, there is no literary discussion of the texts. However, Barz points out in the introduction the need for a different aesthetic, saying he could not enjoy Sūrdās' poetry until he understood the concept of *alaukika* feeling.

There are two Braj readers available, Thiel-Horstmann 1983 and Snell 1991b. Thiel- Horstmann is not concerned with Braj-based Kṛṣṇaite material but with three seventeenth-century *nirguṇa* authors of Rājasthānī Braj, Dādū, Jangopāl and Sundardās. The introduction covers the life or hagiography of the authors, a list of their works and the textual transmission and is followed by a section on the language of the texts. The texts comprise three very different genres - devotional poetry, hagiography and poetical, theological treatises. These are followed by

English translations (not parallel texts) and the book ends with a glossary and a short bibliography.

Snell's work contains Braj literature from outside its homeland (Mīrā, Lallūlāl etc.), and non-Kṛṣṇaite material (by Rahīm, Jasvant Siṃh etc.) as well as works falling within the scope of this chapter. He gives an account of the grammar of the Braj language, a detailed and clear analysis of the prosody, a history of the literature and cultural significance of the Braj region, then a list of the poets and textual sources, and an up-to-date bibliography. The texts are given in Devanagari, with footnotes in the case of the Braj prose and with parallel translation with footnotes for the verse. There is an index of epithets and motifs and a complete glossary. The translations are close but readable. This book is of great use to students of the Braj language, but because of its nature as a textual anthology there is no direct criticism of the literature. However, the section on principal trends in the literature serves as a good introduction to Kṛṣṇaite literature in general.

Study of a single poet's corpus: text and translation or themes

McGregor has written a number of works on Nanddās. McGregor 1973 looks at two long poems, the *Rāspancādhyāyī* and the *Bhramargīt*. The highly informative introductory chapters give the historical and religious background to the works, with special reference to the growth of Kṛṣṇaism and the Puṣṭimārga. The second section covers what we know of Nanddās, his life and works, then introductions are given to each of the poems, and on the texts, the metres and the translations. The translations are in verse, and although the texts are not given, an appendix has tables whereby the line references in the translations may be checked against the published Braj edition. Extensive footnotes are given after the texts and there is a useful index.

McGregor 1971 and 1986 are concerned with Nanddās' Braj version of the Sanskrit allegorical drama *Prabodhacandrodaya* (c.1040), a text which has been very important to the Vallabhite tradition. The earlier article lists and describes five

manuscripts of the text, giving reasons which indicate that the author of this version is the same Nanddās of the *aṣṭachāp*. In the later paper, he mentions three points of interest in this work from the religious viewpoint. These are the acceptance of an *advaita* work by a follower of *śuddhādvaita*, how Nanddās' handling of the text shows his attitudes and those of Kṛṣṇa *bhakti* in general, and the historical importance of the text.

Vaudeville 1971 is among the earliest of the many studies of Sūrdās by Westerners. The introduction contains much valuable information in a short space introducing the historical background with a brief summary of the major expansion of Kṛṣṇaism at this time, with details of Vallabhācārya and Caitanya. She then evaluates hagiographic and historical accounts from Hindu and Muslim sources for Sūrdās' life before discussing the form and contents of the *Sūrsāgar*, in the context of the Kṛṣṇaite tradition. She examines the pastorals and the prayers of Sūrdās, outlining the main themes of the pastorals and discussing the prayers in the text. The main part of the book is divided into two sections. The first part contains translations of the pastorals, which she assigns to four main themes - childhood, the flute, the dance and separation. The second part contains the prayers, the *vinaya* songs. There is a short but useful glossary and a table from which the originals in the Nāgarī Pracārini Sabhā edition may be traced.

Vaudeville argues that Kṛṣṇa *bhakti* in north India was not a Hindu revival against Muslim dominance, and points out that in the sixteenth century the Muslim rulers were particularly tolerant and were renowned as patrons of Braj poetry, and that there is much Sufi influence discernible in *bhakti* poetry. She argues that Sūrdās was a poet in Akbar's court who retired in his old age to the Braj region, where he sang *vinaya* hymns. However, these ideas are presented very briefly and further discussion is lacking.

Her work contains no information on the literary qualities of Sūrdās' verse or the devices prized by the tradition of courtly poetry, nor its use in the *havelīs* or in the *rāslīlās*. The translations do not aim to be poetic, making no attempt to be

either good French poetry nor to reproduce the originals. She has tried to avoid using too many Indian words, however, and produces very readable translations. Her setting of the *sthāyā* is innovative.

Hawley 1984 is an unusual and ambitious work on the poet Sūrdās. It is not a systematic study of his work, but reconsiders most of the traditions concerning the poet's life and works before rejecting them as false assumptions. In the first chapter, Hawley reconsiders the biographical tradition surrounding Sūrdās as given in the *Caurāsī vaiṣṇavan kī vārtā*, then argues that Sūrdās was probably not blind,<sup>28</sup> and that beyond the hagiography written by a leader of the sect, there is no evidence for any links with the Puṣṭimārga.

The second chapter deals with the growth of the text to the traditional number of one and a quarter lakh *padas*, of which 5,000 are found in the standard edition (NPS). Hawley and Bryant are currently working on a critical edition of the *Sūrsāgar*, to discover a core of verses dating from before the end of the seventeenth century, which will be classed as the oldest stratum of Sūrdās' work. Hawley has discovered that only the later manuscripts arrange the text according to the divisions of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and that this must have been due to the Vallabhite sect's desire to appropriate the poet. Hawley also rejects the traditional view of the sect that Sūrdās' main theme is that of the *bāllilā*, by showing that in the 'older Sūrdās', the dominant themes are poems of *viraha* (yearning) and *vinaya* (pleading), which the sect claims that Vallabhācārya himself stopped him from singing.

Modern critics have praised Sūrdās for his comprehensive view of Rādhā, but Hawley argues in chapter three that this is part of the later additions, as her status is elevated in all Braj Vaiṣṇavism, whereas in the older portions Rādhā is hardly mentioned at all. He discusses some of the older poems to show that Sūrdās' originality lies in shifting perspectives in the narratives, and by setting the scene in such a way as to require the audience to use its imagination, rather than invading the

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<sup>28</sup>Hawley 1984:22.

privacy of the lovers. The early texts do not define Rādhā as *svakīyā* or *parakīya*, rather her status remains ambiguous, whereas the late texts give long accounts of the wedding of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. He expands on the themes of *viraha* in the early poems and the contrast of the simple love (*prema*) of the Gopīs with the learning (*jñāna*) of Uddhava. Hawley shows that the terms *nirguṇa* and *saguṇa* are not discrete as the traditional taxonomy suggests and that there are many *sant* motifs in these poems, although he does not say whether these decrease in the later poems. The last chapter is the viewpoint of the poet on the act of singing and of singing as a way to salvation.

It seems somewhat strange to publish a book about the findings of editing a text before publishing a fully edited text. This leaves the reader very much in the position of having to accept what Hawley says without being able to cross-check it. His information on the transmission of the text of the *Sūrsāgar*, the growth in the corpus, in particular the accretion of the Vallabhite tradition to this non-sectarian poet and on questions of authorship are fascinating and provide many rich findings, but when, eight years after this book was published, the edited text is still not available, one may wonder what stage the latter was at when this information was originally collected.

#### Themes in *Kṛṣṇabhakti* in different media

Hawley 1983 represents a reworking of Hawley's 1977 PhD thesis on the butter thief, Kṛṣṇa as *Navanītapriya*, in which he adds evidence from art and religion to that from literature, in particular from Sūrdās. The first part of the book compares evidence about the butter thief from Sanskrit and Tamil texts of the first millenium A.D. with that from sculptures dating from 500 to 1500 A.D. He finds that the butter thief occurs more frequently in vernacular and non-Brahminical texts, with an increasing occurrence in sculpture up to the twelfth century. He finds further that the depiction of the closely related *dānlīlā* appears in sculpture more than

a millenium before the first mention in extant literature. It seems that its origins lie in non-Purāṇic sources and probably with the Tamil Ālvārs.

In the second part, he looks at the portrayal of the butter thief in the *Sūrsāgar* where he indicates that these poems announce the dominant themes in his work, i.e. vision (*darśana*) and complaint (*urahana*). He draws on his work in distinguishing different strata in the *Sūrsāgar*<sup>29</sup> to show that it is only in the later poems that the theft of butter is linked to the theft of hearts. He emphasises the roles of the sentiments of *vātsalya* and *mādhurya*, which overlap in these contexts. However, there is not yet an edited version of the text showing these layers.

Part three deals with the the butter thief in certain *rāslilās* of Braj, where the parallels between these two thefts are emphasised. Here, the verse of Sūrdās is woven into the plays. The concluding chapter gives an interpretation of the myth and an account of its symbolism by the leaders of *rāsmāṇḍals* and then follows it with his own opinion, using many techniques of psychoanalysis, and draws comparisons with the mythology of Śiva. There are useful and large appendices on sculpture, and a glossary.

#### Performance: text and translation

Hein 1972 is the result of fieldwork from 1949/1950 which the author carried out in Braj. He found five traditional dramas, the *jhāṅkī* (a tableau of living 'deities', with songs and dramatic dialogue), the *kathak* (symbolic gesture which illustrate the words of narrative songs), the plays of a troupe called the Bhaktamāl Nāṭak Maṇḍalī (which dramatise favourite stories of Vaiṣṇava saints from the *Bhaktamāla* of Nābhādās), the *Rāmlilā* (a dramatisation of the epic, based on the text of Tulsidās), and the *Rāslilā* (which includes the central Kṛṣṇa myth in dance, with a semi-operatic performance of a story from the Kṛṣṇa cycle). (He did not see any

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<sup>29</sup>Hawley 1979 and 1984.



*naṭamkī*,<sup>30</sup> *svāṃg* or *bhagat* performances.) After a survey of other works on the subject and an account of the cultural life and history of the Mathura district, his work concentrates on the *Rāslīlā*, which is unique to this area. Although standard Hindi prose is used for the dialogues, there are sung verses in Braj, taken from the major medieval poets such as Sūrdās and Nanddās. He raises the interesting question: 'One would naturally like to know to what extent these Braj poets created their poetry with the needs of the Kṛishṇaite stage as their direct impetus.'<sup>31</sup>

Hein's work shows a combination of Indological and anthropological techniques and must stand as the starting point for anyone looking at dramatic performances in India. He traces the history of the forms, gives taxonomies of the types of performance and themes, provides a description of the performances and their structures - who are the performers, the trainers and the writers, the sources, the media, the religious nature of the performances. He then gives parallel versions of the Hindi text and an English translation. There are photographs, a glossary and an extensive index. Bibliography is given in the footnotes although no final bibliography is included.

Hawley 1981 looks at four of the Braj *līlās*. He claims that this work is intended for beginners in the study of Kṛṣṇa<sup>32</sup> and that its concern is with the comparison of religions and the nature of pilgrimage to Vrindaban. In the opening chapter he gives a lively account of the setting of the plays and relates the drama to the religious and emotional world of the viewers and of the performers. His descriptions are precise and well-written in enthusiastic, if self-conscious prose.

The four plays are set during Kṛṣṇa's sojourn in Braj. Their topics are the birth of Kṛṣṇa, the theft of the flute, the great circle dance and the coming of Akrūr. He gives a substantial introduction to each play which sets it in its legendary and ritual context. He gives stage directions and a number of photographs. He thanks

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<sup>30</sup>See Hansen 1992.

<sup>31</sup>Hein 1972:157.

<sup>32</sup>Hawley 1981:79.

Murāri Lāla Varmā for transliterating the texts and Śrīvatsa Gosvāmī for translating them, but he does not give the text, which is not to be had from any other source, since this is a transcription of an oral performance. The translations are into very colloquial American English which looks strange to the non-American reader.

Hawley 1991 is concerned with a *rāslīlā* about Mount Govardhan. He picks out certain folk elements such as the mention of superstitions, colloquialisms, ribald jests and general boisterousness. As Toomey 1992, Hawley suggests that the appetite of Kṛṣṇa is part of the folk element of Braj culture. However, unlike Vaudeville 1976 and 1980, he argues that it is hard to establish a definitive separation between 'folk' aspects of Hinduism and its 'high' or 'great' traditions. He argues that the mythology of Kṛṣṇa's sojourn in Braj is particularly populist in tone and points out that Brahmins from elsewhere in India (e.g. Caitanya from Bengal, Vallabhācārya from Andhra) reinvented a folk religion for Braj.

Hawley does not develop this idea (of the Brahminical elite reinventing a folk religion) and rejects an idea of a pastoral genre in Braj.<sup>33</sup> However, it seems that this attitude of an elite to rural life is very similar to traditions of pastoralism discussed by Entwistle 1991 (see below).

### Critical editions of texts

Snell 1991a is an edition and translation of the *Caurāsī pada* of Hita Harivaṃśa, the text which forms the theological basis of the Braj-based Rādhāvallabha *saṃpradāya*. The first chapter covers the sectarian background, sources for the hagiography and life of Hita Harivaṃśa and areas of dispute, with a brief mention of other texts attributed to him. The second chapter is concerned with the manuscript tradition while the third is concerned with linguistic matters. The fourth chapter gives the edited text (in Devanagari) and variants, while the translation follows in chapter 5. The sixth chapter analyses the metres of the text in

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<sup>33</sup>Hawley 1981:48-9.



some considerable detail, along with the rhythmic schemes (*tāla*) used in musical performances and the last chapter deals with the composition and the sectarian interpretation of the themes of the text. Appendices give examples of the commentaries, a list of corresponding stanzas in the *Sūrsāgar*, and a list of additional stanzas bearing the name of Hita Harivaṃśa. A substantial bibliography and tables listing concordances, metres, rāgas etc. are followed by an index.

Entwistle 1983 is an edition and translation of the *Rāsa māna ke pada*, a compilation of Braj lyrics, describing the love of Kṛṣṇa and of Rādhā, attributed to Kevalrām, a seventeenth-century Gosvāmi of the Eighth Gaddī ('seat') of the Puṣṭimārga. The eight chapters cover the sources for the study of the Eighth Gaddī and the works of Kevalrām; the historical and biographical data relating to Kevalrām and the Eighth Gaddī; works attributed to Kevalrām; manuscripts of the text; metre; language; observations on the poems and on their translation; and the edition of the Hīndī text with a parallel, literal translation into English. An index provides etymologies, glosses and cross-references for all words occurring in the text. The bibliography includes detailed descriptions of all manuscripts consulted.

This volume provides the first account in a European language of the author and his sectarian background, so Entwistle has provided a lengthy account of these. This work does not concentrate only on the religious background to the text, but also on the linguistic aspects and the transmission of the text. By examining the orthography and the meter, looking at archaisms and *tadbhava* forms, he claims that 'Conclusions reached concerning the presumed archetypal language of the text and principles formulated for dealing with variant spellings have wider implications for the editorial treatment of early Hīndī texts in general.'<sup>34</sup>

It is not surprising then, that these books contain no literary criticism, being concerned with treating the texts from a philological viewpoint, studying closely the language and metre of the texts in order to make restored editions from corrupt

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<sup>34</sup>Entwistle 1983:3.

manuscript traditions, while providing a good deal of material on metre (Snell 1991a) or historical and religious information (Entwistle 1983).

### Literary studies

There are two works in this selection of studies of Braj Kṛṣṇaite literature which focus very much on literary aspects of the work. These are Entwistle 1991 and Bryant 1978. As mentioned above, McGregor has always included literary judgements in his work, but these are given in small summaries only, without showing the processes by which he reaches his conclusions. The selections chosen and the quality of the translations often indicated that there was careful consideration of literary factors, but there is little discussion of these processes.

Entwistle 1991 is included here, not because it is a close reading, but because it is a discussion of the genre of pastoralism, beginning with European poetry. He then discusses the possibility of considering the Kṛṣṇa poetry as pastoral and goes on to look at the work of Nāgarīdās (1699-1764) in this context. In the classical European pastoral, rural life was idealised as simple and peaceful, although by the Renaissance the pastoral became a more complicated form, often using Biblical allusions to convey a more serious message as well as being used for satire. The pastoral is an essentially lyric form, whose main themes are romantic affairs with simple girls, the seductive power of music and the joy of natural beauty. He draws on Empson 1935, who took pastoral to mean any kind of poetry which contrasts the simple with the complex.

The late Renaissance type is that closest to the Indian pastoral, whose protagonist is Kṛṣṇa-Gopāla, the crafty and urbane (*nāgara*) young man who seduces country girls. The pastoral perfection and joys of Braj are associated with the childhood of Kṛṣṇa, who leaves for the city as he grows older. This is highlighted in the Uddhava episode, where a man from the city who has followed the path of knowledge (*jñāna*) is defeated by the simple peasant girls. Entwistle points out that Braj never developed the elegiac strain of the European pastoral,

although it has the theme of love in separation (*viraha*), and this absence is felt by the devotee as he/she contemplates the loss of perfection in the land of Braj.

He then looks at pastoral themes in Nāgarīdās' poetry, in particular comparisons between Braj and Vaikuṅṭh, where Braj is seen as a pastoral paradise, and at the descriptions of Holī, a rural festival. Entwistle's view of the pastoralisation of devotional poetry helps to provide a way of understanding the sentiment behind much of Braj poetry. The significance of this work is discussed further in Chapters 5 and 6 below.

Bryant 1978 is the only monograph which uses a literary critical approach to Braj poetry. He opens the book with a statement of his intent that, using mainly the standard (rather than critical) edition of Sūrdās, that of the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā of Varanasi, he is going to make a study of the style, structure and 'strategies' of around three hundred poems. These are 'epiphanies,' poems which reveal the child as god, with ironic contrast.

The introduction outlines the life of Sūrdās, the background to the Braj renaissance, the growth of *bhakti*, and the relation with Vallabhācārya, who is said to have asked Sūrdās to sing the *bāllīlā*. It is from this section of Sūrdās' work that Bryant has chosen his poem. This is of particular interest since it is on this section that Sūrdās' fame rests:

While he composed strong, well-crafted verse on Kṛṣṇa's other *līlās*, his enduring stature as a poet rests almost entirely on those thousand poems that portray the childhood of Kṛṣṇa. They return constantly to a single irony, inherent in the figure of the child-god: a child who never stops growing, beyond manhood and into godhood, glimpsing but seldom the still more awesome truth: that he is, has always been, source and substance of the universe.<sup>35</sup>

Bryant then gives an account of the life of Kṛṣṇa and explains the importance of poetry in experiencing Kṛṣṇa:

Poetry is a means to this end. Through singing, or hearing, verses that depict episodes from the *līlā*, the devotee seeks to transform his own, private passion for Kṛṣṇa into the infinitely greater passion experienced by one of those

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<sup>35</sup>Bryant 1978:6.

whom the Lord most favored. Through the love felt for Kṛṣṇa by Kṛṣṇa's parents, companions, or lover, the devotee aspires to realize himself as the parent, companion, or lover of God.<sup>36</sup>

Sūrdās' favourite character was that of Yaśodā, in whose role lies the irony that she is the woman who treats God like a child and Kṛṣṇa is the god who chooses to obey and rebel like any other boy. Bryant points out that Sūrdās' characters are portrayed as very human, rather than figures of great seriousness, and he perceives that jest is at the core of Sūrdās' poetry.<sup>37</sup>

In Part One of the book proper, Bryant analyses structures and strategies in the poetry of Sūrdās. He argues that the traditional Indian analysis of the verse in terms of *rasa* and *bhāva* does not address some of the complexities of Sūrdās' verse, under consideration here. Using the ideas of Fish and Joyce's theory of epiphany, he sets out to show that earlier critics had missed the point in their criticisms. To do this, he selects two poems which have been commented on by a number of critics (*Jasumati mana abhilāṣa karai* and *Calata dekhi Jasumati sukha pāvai*) and shows that the critics had focused on only the *vātsalya bhāva* of the poems, ignoring the epiphany at the end. He argues that Sūrdās had aroused this *bhāva* in order to distract them from Kṛṣṇa's divinity, which he then reveals suddenly.

Bryant makes his assumptions clear. These are that:

- 1 The poem is a message from a given poet to a given audience, who need to share a specialised language of poetic convention, which would here include the Kṛṣṇa-mythos.
- 2 A poem, like any verbal message is an event occurring in time and that time therefore plays a major role in the structuring of the poetry in the senses of duration and sequence.
- 3 The short lyric poem contains a unitary message.

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<sup>36</sup>Bryant 1978:12.

<sup>37</sup>Bryant 1978:18.

In the second chapter, he deals with narrative structure, quoting Said on beginnings, Queary on contract and Smith on closure,<sup>38</sup> showing how these elements are skilfully manipulated by Sūrdās. He argues that the richness of Indian mythology provided an abundant source of material for Sūrdās, who then could introduce epiphany only by deceiving his audience into thinking he was opening and making a contract with some other purpose. For example, a poem can initially seem to be a *māna/śṛṅgāra* type of poem, then turn out to be a *nakhaśikha*; or Sūr can use alliteration to establish patterns of expectation which are then frustrated. In these poems, closure is usually marked by the metrical patterns, such as changing the rhyming scheme or the word boundary used for the rhyme.

The next chapter looks at icons (taking the term from Wimsatt and Beardsley, although using it in a wider sense) and how they are contrasted and compared in the poetry. Sūrdās' major and most unusual rhetorical device is simile along with pseudo-simile (a term coined by Fish to describe Milton's similes where the scale is different, or 'what is offered as an analogy is perceived finally as an identity.')<sup>39</sup> Often what is initially perceived as metaphor becomes metonymy (i.e. Kṛṣṇa is not like that to which he is being compared, he is that) and what is perceived as simile becomes synecdoche.

The use of rhetorical devices is marked in the prosody, for example he argues that Sūrdās' simile never extends beyond the couplet:

This perfect congruence of couplet and figure appears to be the legacy of an oral tradition, one in which composition was a modular process. Framed by a couplet, a simile or any figure becomes a self-contained, and hence portable unit. For the medieval poets, a well-made couplet was public property. It might reappear, with minor tailoring, in the works of several poets; it might be shifted from poem to poem, or from point to point within a single poem, to suit the needs of an individual performance; or it might be matched with others of its kind, strung together like beads of uniform shape.<sup>40</sup>

Bryant relates these devices to the structures of the whole poems, to show that the ordering is not sequential, but paratactic. He suggests that this is associated

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<sup>38</sup>Bryant 1978:42-4.

<sup>39</sup>Bryant 1978:79.

<sup>40</sup>Bryant 1978:91-2.

with oral poetry and any poetry intended to be sung,<sup>41</sup> where verses may be added and subtracted or rearranged without affecting the thematic coherence of the song. Bryant goes so far as to argue that parataxis is the structural principle most characteristic of the North Indian *bhakti* lyric,<sup>42</sup> and that even when Sūrdās is not using it, he may well give the allusion that he is. The chapter finishes with a section on the use of irony, when Bryant argues that in all the poems, the only one who is aware of Kṛṣṇa's true nature is Balarāma, the all-knowing narrator, and that Kṛṣṇa himself falls victim to his own *līlā*, when his brother knows who he really is.<sup>43</sup>

The last of the core chapters concentrates on two features bound to the language of the poems, the use of a syntactic device (the relative clause) and the prosody. He shows how similes are often contained within relative clauses, the relative clause containing the image of god, the correlative containing the child. The section on prosody shows how Sūrdās uses parallel metrical patterns. However, Bryant argues that too little is known about the *pada* and that it must have had a statistical norm which requires the gathering of a large amount of data. He argues that there is a need to look at:

the relationship between *chanda* and *tāla* - between, that is, meter as dictated by the syllables of the poem and rhythm as interpreted by an individual style of performance. In the realm of prosody, perhaps more than anywhere else, the student of literature and the musicologist must eventually join forces. In short, what is needed is nothing less than a major reappraisal of medieval North Indian metrics, one that goes beyond classification to an examination of the *rhetoric* of prosody. While the classical tradition may not provide us with such a tool, it most certainly encourages us in the search. Indian poetics has long regarded poetry as the union of sound and sense; one day we must take that definition seriously, and begin to examine, with all the rigor of the *ālaṃkārika*, just how it is that Sūr and his fellow poets effect that union.<sup>44</sup>

In his summing up of this first part of the book, he quotes Sontag,<sup>45</sup> agreeing with her call for a description of form and the need to show how the poem succeeds. He argues that 'there is uncommon care apparent in the ordering of Sūr's

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<sup>41</sup>Bryant 1978:93.

<sup>42</sup>Bryant 1978:94.

<sup>43</sup>Bryant 1978:107.

<sup>44</sup>Bryant 1978:133.

<sup>45</sup>Bryant 1978:134.

words',<sup>46</sup> whereas others have claimed the work is more simple. Vaudeville<sup>47</sup> says that his verse was 'chansons tombées des lèvres d'un improvisateur de génie' and others, such as van Buitenen and Dimock,<sup>48</sup> have also claimed a general lack of sophistication in *bhakti* literature. He claims that there is much more to Sūrdās' work than meets the eye on first acquaintance and that in any case, one should judge a poet by the quality of his successes rather than the quantity of his failures.

The second part of the book consists of translations of Sūrdās' poems from a wider range of subjects than those studied in the first part of the book. Bryant says that for this, one needs the omniscient audience (i.e. one should keep in mind the outline of the tale), sequential perception (i.e. one must read them slowly, for they were meant to be sung and repeated) and lastly one must remember that they are devotional, requiring a complex of emotions concerning God. The poems have been arranged in sections according to the underlying myth and aspects of the tale. Each poem has a brief set of notes which are listed together by section and poem number at the end of Part Two. He has not made it clear whether he has selected his text from the NPS version or from Jawāharlāl Caturvedī's edition. There is also a glossary and an index at the end.

As in the coverage of all the other works in this section, there is no intention to criticise this book for its findings (which are not of great relevance to this study of Dayārām), or to assess his technical competence; but his approach must be examined in some detail.

Although Bryant cites a number of prominent theorists,<sup>49</sup> he does not make any explicit statement on the theoretical approach he has adopted, beyond citing a few examples from these writers, who follow a number of different, and often mutually exclusive, literary theories. These are names better known in the United States, where they are key figures in American literary theory, at a time when

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<sup>46</sup>Bryant 1978:135.

<sup>47</sup>Vaudeville 1971:46.

<sup>48</sup>Quoted by Bryant 1978:135.

<sup>49</sup>E.g. Wimsatt, Beardsley, Welleck, Warren, Frye, Fish, Said.

Europe was more interested in Structuralist, Deconstructionist and Marxist literary theories. The formalist approach of the American New Critics dominated American literary theory for many years of the twentieth century. Although they have fallen from favour since the late 1950s, their key works and theories have continued heavily to influence literary studies. Frye's *Anatomy of criticism* (1957) made an attempt at a more systematic and 'scientific' approach to literature, which has been described as 'structuralist' (not to be confused with structuralism proper, or with European structuralism). Fish was an American proponent of reception theory. This focuses on reader response to and interpretation of the text, but has been heavily criticised for its relativist approach to literature. Although Bryant uses the work of the younger American theorists<sup>50</sup> such as Said, a European reader is surprised to see no reference to any of the European theories or theorists in a work which does not dismiss them from the beginning by claiming any exclusive ideological viewpoint. In sum, he seems to have collected concepts and ideas from a variety of theories without ever making clear what his overall approach is, although it seems to follow that of Fish most closely.

Although Bryant gives a brief mention of Joyce's theory of epiphany in *Stephen Hero*, and his later rejection of the theory,<sup>51</sup> he does not discuss Frye's claims that this is similar to the rhetorical device of anagoge as seen in Yeats and Dylan Thomas, although his quotes from these poets would suggest that he had read this work. It is also surprising that he has not discussed T.S. Eliot's term 'objective correlative', a term much used by the New Critics, which has a number of similarities to the concept of epiphany.

There are some problems inherent in the use of English literature for drawing parallels to Sūrdās. For example, Donne's 'Temple'<sup>52</sup> has the important similarity of wonder at God the Absolute as God the child, and Dylan Thomas' 'The

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<sup>50</sup>The term 'American' is used to denote academics working in North America. Of course, Frye was Canadian and Said is of Palestinian origin.

<sup>51</sup>Bryant 1978:24-5.

<sup>52</sup>Bryant 1978:57-8.



force that' shows striking parallelisms in epiphany,<sup>53</sup> it is now always clear how close these parallels actually are.

In spite of these criticisms, this book is of great interest to anyone studying similar types of literature as literature rather than as religious or historical texts. Bryant is certainly highly competent in Western rhetorical theory and at applying it to a text in order to elucidate a closer and fresher meaning. While one may have reservations about his methodology, his was a pioneering and interesting approach to the art of Sūrdās. Certainly, others have found that his approach has opened new ways of reading Kṛṣṇaite literature, in particular Hawley, who looks at seemingly dull lists in Sūrdās and finds instead a technique of creative enumeration in which the poet distances himself from and then draws closer to his audience.<sup>54</sup>

#### Utility of these works to a study of Dayārām

Many of the studies discussed above have provided strong arguments in favour of an Indological basis as the introduction to a study of Dayārām's lyrics, and have, of course, furnished concrete information, in particular in the case of Mallison's pioneering work on Gujarati literature.

It is clear that such scholastic work is required for a study of Dayārām. Details of forms (in particular the *garabo/garabī*) and prosody are essential. A study of the language of the texts is important although problematic, especially in view of the lack of data about other Gujarati writers with whom one could compare his language. A study of his sources and his handling of themes and motifs drawn from the Puṣṭimārga, from Braj and Gujarati poetry would also be beneficial.

The important task of editing the texts is less crucial with Dayārām than with some of the Braj authors, since they were written down as he composed them, and many were even printed within a few years of his death. This task is being

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<sup>53</sup>Bryant 1978:121-4.

<sup>54</sup>Hawley 1992.

carried out by his followers in Gujarat and the editions are beginning to appear, as is discussed in Chapter 3.

A preliminary Indological study is undertaken in Chapter 3, while the next chapter looks at the reception of Dayārām's works in the Gujarati critical tradition.

## CHAPTER 2: GUJARATI ATTITUDES TO DAYĀRĀM

This chapter looks at the reception of Dayārām's work in Gujarat. All Gujarati works on Dayārām concentrate heavily on his life and his connections with the Puṣṭimārga. These topics are discussed in sections 2.1 and 2.2 respectively while 2.3 gives an overview of the Gujarati critical tradition and contextualises attitudes to his work in the Gujarati literary sphere.

### 2.1 Life of Dayārām

At the end of Dayārām's longer texts he gives the names of his parents, his own name, his *aṭak* ('sub-caste'), his caste, place of birth and place of residence etc.

For example, at the end of the *Rasikavallabha* (109:vii-viii):

*Śrīnarmadātaṭa Caṃdīpurī Śrīśeṣaśāi-nivāsa*  
*Tyhāṃno nivāsī kavijana, Śrīkṛṣṇa kero dāsa*  
*Śrīvaṃṭa Bhaṭa Sāṭhodarā dvija jñāti Nāgara-vaṃśa,*  
*Prabhurāma-suta kavi Dayāśaṃkara nāma, Śrīhari-aṃśa.*

The dwelling of the poet, the slave of Kṛṣṇa  
Is in Chandod, the abode of Viṣṇu, on the banks of the Narmada.  
Surname Bhaṭ, Sāṭhodarā Brahmin of the Nāgar class,  
Son of Prabhurām, the poet is Dayāśaṃkar<sup>1</sup> a particle of Kṛṣṇa.

In other texts he attests other important events in his life, such as meeting his *guru*, going on pilgrimage, the most detailed information being given in his Braj text *Anubhavamaṃjarī*. In addition, Dayārām left a will, the text of which is given in Appendix 7 of Rāvaḷ 1920. This provides further information about his financial matters, his personal relationships, religious views etc.

These are the only primary sources used here, this section being based mostly on secondary sources in English and in Gujarati.<sup>2</sup> These do not give their

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<sup>1</sup> See n.7 below.

<sup>2</sup> For this chapter the major English sources used are Munshi 1935, Jhaveri 1914, Thoothi 1935, Sandesara 1981. In Gujarati: Dabhoivāsī 1926, Dalāl sam. 1980, Darjī 1978, Dave 1967, Kaṃthāriyā 1924, Modī 1918, Narmadāśaṃkar 1912, Paṃḍyā 1976, Patela 1967, Rāvaḷ 1920, Śeṭh 1899, Telivāḷā 1930, Tripāṭhī 1909 and 1957.

primary sources, but seem to be based on a mixture of references in his own works, early hagiography and eyewitness accounts and earlier published accounts. The first life of the poet was that by Kavi Narmad, published soon after Dayārām's death.<sup>3</sup> This is based on interviews with his disciples and with Ratanbāī which Narmad made from 1859 onwards in Dabhoi, Vadodara and Bombay. Many other works soon followed.<sup>4</sup> There are few disputes over the major events of his life, and since these are covered in great detail in the secondary sources, only a brief outline is given here.

The life of Dayārām is not given in what may be classed as a biographical style, but is in the style of a hagiography. This means that there are episodes showing the struggles of the author in accomplishing his goals, miracles are presented as everyday facts, Good and Bad are clearly demarcated, and the stirring stories lead to the reader's identifying with the hero.

Dayārām, a Sāṭhodrā Nāgar Brahmin was born in Chanod (Cāṃṇod)<sup>5</sup> on the banks of the River Narmada in the Vadodara district, on Vāmanadvādasī (Bhādrapada sudi 12), saṃvat 1833 (i.e. 16 August 1777).<sup>6</sup> It is said that his original name was Dayāśaṃkar, which he changed to a Vaiṣṇava name on joining the Puṣṭimārga.<sup>7</sup> He was betrothed at eight, but the girl died two years later and he never married. He was orphaned by the age of twelve and then went to live with an aunt until her death when he went to Dabhoi.<sup>8</sup>

He was known in Chanod as a teaser of women, and when he was pursued by a goldsmith, to whose wife he had made overtures, he had to flee. In Karnali (Karnālī), near Chanod, he met a *sādhu*, Keśavānaṃd, and wanted to become his

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<sup>3</sup>Narmadāśaṃkar 1912:476-490.

<sup>4</sup>Dave 1970:18-23 surveys the 'lives' of Dayārām. Some felt these were unfair to the poet and so a life of one of his devotees, Śrī Nāthjibhāī (Choṭālāl) Girijāśaṃkarabhāī Jośī, was published to counter the *gaṃdā pracār* ('dirty propaganda') about Dayārām. Śāh 1955.

<sup>5</sup>Some say he was born in Dabhoi, his mother's native place.

<sup>6</sup>Munshi 1935:231 gives the date as 1767.

<sup>7</sup>Dave 1967:6 argues that he was called Dayārām from birth on the grounds that his father's name also ended in 'Rām'. This would be plausible were it not for the fact he uses the name Dayāśaṃkar in his *chāpa*. See above his *chāpa* in the *Rasikavallabha*.

<sup>8</sup>Sandesara says that he went to live with an aunt in Dabhoi when his parents died.

disciple. Keśavānaṃd rejected him so Dayārām composed satirical verses about him. However, two months later Keśavānaṃd accepted him as a disciple. He showed Dayārām Kṛṣṇa in bodily form and so converted him to his worship.

He was instructed in the teachings of the Puṣṭimārga by a Vallabhite pandit, Icchārām Bhaṭṭ, when he was 14 years old. Icchārām was from Petlad, but had settled in Dakor. He encouraged Dayārām to go on pilgrimage to Braj where he received *brahmasaṃbandha* at the hands of a Gosvāmi, Vallabhājī. He spent 12 years making three pilgrimages round India before he was 26, visiting sacred places such as Rameswaram, Puri, Badrinath etc.

After he settled as a devotee and poet in Dabhoi, he travelled occasionally to Vadodara and to Dakor. He was surrounded by a large group of disciples from a number of castes which included Brahmins, Baniyas, Patidars and Sonis. Although he is often said to have been poor and to have lived on what his disciples could provide, Dayārām left Rs 518 in his will, not an inconsiderable amount of money in those days.<sup>9</sup>

Dayārām followed a daily routine: he rose early and then worshipped for four hours. At eleven he cooked and at noon he ate his only meal. After resting, he wrote until the evening when he sang his compositions. He was said to have a beautiful voice and to have been a skilled musician. A story of his musical contest with a *bāvā* ('ascetic') in Vadodara is frequently told: one of Dayārām's pupils made a mistake when performing on the *narghum* (a kind of hand-drum). When a *bāvā* pointed out this error, Dayārām acknowledged it, but said that it was not important. The *bāvā* said that a true master never made a mistake and challenged Dayārām to a contest. This lasted all night and the *bāvā* eventually made a mistake and had to accept defeat. Dayārām praised him and gave him his gold necklace.

Many legendary encounters with Kṛṣṇa have sprung up around Dayārām. In Varanasi, Kāśī Viśvanāth, whom Dayārām saw as both Hari and Hara, gave

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<sup>9</sup>Dave 1970:17.

Dayārām his gift of poetry. In Rameswaram, Dayārām had an argument with a *sādhu* as to whether Śiva or Kṛṣṇa was the greater. After exchanging insults, the *sādhu* attacked Dayārām, but Kṛṣṇa intervened and held his stave. This forced the *sādhu* to acknowledge that Śiva and Kṛṣṇa were the same. On another occasion Kṛṣṇa paid off Dayārām's debts when he bought some things on his way to Dwarka.

Dayārām was said to have been handsome<sup>10</sup> and to have worn refined and extravagant dress such as fancy turbans from Nadiad, dhotis from Nagpur and *aṃgarkhumṣ* of embroidered Dacca muslin. He had many liaisons with women, which he justified by saying that Kṛṣṇa had had relationships with many women. From when he was forty-six until his death, he lived with Ratanbāī, a goldsmith's widow. He claimed she had been his wife in a previous birth, but she had treated him badly in her former birth and was now being punished for her behaviour. They seem to have lived like a normal couple, with a fairly stormy relationship, and she looked after him all his life although he cooked for both of them since she was of a lower caste. Although he tried to make provision for her after his death, she was not looked after by his relatives and died in poverty. Most writers are insistent that their friendship was not sexual, and that Dayārām remained celibate throughout his life.

Dayārām suffered from ill health for the last twelve years of his life. In great pain, he died on saṃvat 1908 Māgha vadi 5 (9 February 1852<sup>11</sup>). Over two hundred men accompanied his body to the burning ground.

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<sup>10</sup>See Kavi Narmad's description quoted by Jhaveri 1914:220.

<sup>11</sup>There are two dates given for Dayārām's death. There is no dispute as to the calendrical day, which is always Māgha vadi 5. However, there is some dispute as to the saṃvat year and to the corresponding date in the Western calendar. The saṃvat year is usually given as 1909, whose equivalent Anno Domini date is 1852. Dave 1970:53 n.2 avoids the problem by saying that two dates are indicated. He gives 31 January 1852, which is not possible - this was Māgha sudi 10 in 1852 and pūrṇimādi Māgha vadi 7 in 1853 (saṃvat 1909). However, Dayārām's first biographer and near contemporary, Narmadāśamkar 1912:482, gives saṃvat 1908 Māgha vadi 5 for which he calculates the Gregorian date as 9 February 1852. When checked against calendars, this is plausible and so has been adopted here as a provisional date.

## 2.2 Dayārām and the Puṣṭimārga

Dayārām was the most sectarian of all the poets of medieval Gujarat. Whereas Narasiṃha, Mīrām, Dhīro etc. were not members of any particular sect, and have remained non-sectarian, Dayārām was a keen member of the Puṣṭimārga and a believer in *śuddhādvaita*. Dayārām's sectarian connections are always emphasised in the Gujarati tradition. This section accordingly introduces the basic theological and philosophical concepts of the sect which are necessary for a reading of the lyrics of Dayārām and which he expounds in his philosophical writings. It concludes with some sectarian traditions about Dayārām transmitted by Gujarati scholars working on or influenced by Puṣṭimārgī traditions.

One of the most important developments in North Indian Hinduism during the sixteenth century was the rise of devotional *bhakti* movements within a strongly Vaiṣṇava framework. Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* (worship of an *avatār* of Viṣṇu, most often Kṛṣṇa or Rāmacandra) had spread all over India from the south, where the Āḷvārs (sixth to eighth century) had followed the *bhakti* of Nārāyaṇa. In the early years of Muslim rule, Hindu society appeared to turn in on itself with stricter caste rules and family organisation,<sup>12</sup> but the relaxation of anti-Hindu policies in the sixteenth century was of great significance to the development of devotional poetry. Hinduism was stimulated by the monotheism of Islam, while two of the most important figures of devotional Hinduism emerged at this time: the Bengali Kṛṣṇa Caitanya (1485-1533) whose teachings had a profound influence throughout north and east India, and the Telugu Brahmin Vallabhācārya (1479-1531), who attracted a substantial following in north India and in Gujarat.

It seems that Vallabhācārya led an unusual life for the leader of a religious sect. He was neither celibate nor monastic. He did not practise austerities or fasts but rather was a prolific writer and lived as a householder. However, legends about

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<sup>12</sup>See McGregor 1973:8, especially n.8.

him soon sprang up and these are detailed elsewhere in accounts of his life.<sup>13</sup> Here, we shall look at only those events of crucial importance to his founding of the sect.

Between 1493 and 1512, Vallabhācārya made three separate pilgrimages on foot, covering the length and breadth of India. There are traditionally eighty-four places where he stopped either to visit shrines or to make readings from the *Bhāgavata*, *Rāmāyāna*, or the Vedas for three to seven days at places near rivers or tanks. These are known as *baiṭhakas* ('seats') and now have monuments to Vallabhācārya. The most significant events in his life took place on his travels.

In 1493, on his first pilgrimage, when Vallabhācārya was in South India, Kṛṣṇa appeared to him in a dream. He commanded him to go to Mount Govardhan near Mathura and to locate his divine *svarūpa* ('self-image') and reveal it as a deity. The image Vallabhācārya found had previously been worshipped locally as a snake god. After removing the stone figure from the ground, Vallabhācārya demonstrated that it was Kṛṣṇa holding up Mount Govardhan to protect the Braj cowherdsmen from the wrath of Indra, i.e. Kṛṣṇa as Giridharanātha or Govardhananātha. This image is regarded as a *svarūpa* (a 'true form') of Kṛṣṇa, not a *mūrti* ('statue, image'). According to tradition, this is why Vallabhācārya did not house the *svarūpa* in a *maṇḍira* ('temple') but in a *havelī*, much like the house of a well-to-do landowner or merchant.

The following night (at midnight on the eleventh of the light half of the month of Śrāvaṇa in AD 1494, now celebrated as *pavitra ekādaśī*) Kṛṣṇa appeared to Vallabhācārya at Govinda Ghat, Gokul, and revealed to him how *jīvas* ('souls') might be cleansed of their faults. This marks the foundation of the *saṃpradāya* ('sect'). Kṛṣṇa spoke to Vallabhācārya through the agency of the *svarūpa*, and initiated Vallabhācārya in a ceremony known as the *brahmasaṃbandha* ('the state of being joined together with *brahman*'). This mantra of initiation, the

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<sup>13</sup>E.g. Barz 1976.



*brahmasambandha* mantra, was to be used by Vallabhācārya and the leaders of the sect to initiate all the followers. The first initiate was Vallabhācārya's closest disciple, Dāmodardās Harasānī.

On the second pilgrimage, at some time between 1501 and 1503 when Vallabhācārya was at the Vaiṣṇava shrine of Viṭṭhaleśvara at Pandharpur, Maharashtra, he received an order from the deity to marry and produce descendants to maintain the doctrines of the sect. Some say it was because the deity wanted to be incarnated as Vallabhācārya's son. This is a departure from the traditional Hindu precept that a *guru* should lead a life of celibacy and asceticism.<sup>14</sup> It put Vallabhācārya into the same *āśrama* ('life stage') as his disciples, i.e. *gṛhasthāśrama* ('married householdership'). In this sect there were to be no monks nor *maṭhas* ('monasteries') and no importance was given to *sannyāsa* ('renunciation'). This encouraged lay people to follow *svadharma* ('inherited role or duty') and to live in this world within the grace of Kṛṣṇa. However some sectarian sources mention that Vallabhācārya took *sannyāsadīkṣā* ('initiation as an ascetic') one month before his death. World-rejection was the final stage and end result of his teachings but not a means to that state. Ascetic regimes were viewed as too self-centred, and the right course of action was to overcome the egoism that stands between oneself and God. He married Mahālakṣmī in 1502 or 1504 but she did not come to live with him for another eight years. They had two houses, one at Adel (near Allahabad) and one at Caraṇāṭa, near Varanasi, but did not settle in Braj.

After his death in 1531, Vallabhācārya was succeeded by his elder son Gopīnāth (1512-1533), who left a twelve-year old son Puruṣottam. Vallabhācārya's younger son, Viṭṭhalnāth (1516-48) took over the leadership of the sect as regent. However, when Puruṣottam was eighteen, Viṭṭhalnāth refused to hand over the leadership and Puruṣottam, supported by Vallabhācārya's disciple, Kṛṣṇadās, took

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<sup>14</sup>E.g. Kṛṣṇa Caitanya (AD 1485-1533), who established his sect of devotees in Vrindavan at the same time as Vallabhācārya was establishing the cult of Śrī Nāthjī, and who required leaders of his sect to take a vow of celibacy.

over and banned his uncle from entering the temple of Śrī Nāthjī. In 1550, Puruṣottam died suddenly and Viṭṭhalnāth took over the leadership and, after imprisoning Kṛṣṇadās for a while in Mathura, put him in charge of the temple.<sup>15</sup>

Viṭṭhalnāth (1516-48) is regarded as having made a contribution second only to Vallabhācārya in the development of the Puṣṭimārga. His only major contribution to the theology of the sect was the introduction of Rādhā as an important figure worthy of worship in her own right.<sup>16</sup> His major contributions were to the institutionalisation of the cult and to the organisation of its leadership. He brought the sect firmly under family control as a result of his teaching that Puṣṭimārgīs should take Vallabhācārya's male descendants as their gurus. Viṭṭhalnāth married twice, and six of his sons by his first wife and one by his second survived him. After his death the leadership of the movement was divided between them, and each of them became the founder of one of the seven major branches, known as *gaddī* ('thrones'). These are still occupied by male descendants of Vallabhācārya, who are known as Maharajas.

The most able of Viṭṭhalnāth's successors was his fourth son, Gokulnāth (1552-1641), who made a significant contribution to the literature of the sect and left a large collection of aphorisms which deftly and often wittily sum up the essentials of his grandfather's teaching in a form that was easily comprehensible to the laity. He was the first to switch from writing in Sanskrit to the vernacular, Braj Bhāṣā, the other sacred language of the Puṣṭimārga,<sup>17</sup> and is the reputed author of the lives of the saints of the sect in Braj prose, *Caurāsī vaiṣṇavan kī vārtā* and the *Do sau bāvan vaiṣṇavan kī vartā*, lives of the 84 initiated followers of Vallabhācārya and the 252 of Viṭṭhalnāth respectively. It seems that these were probably compiled from largely oral traditions by a great-grandson of Viṭṭhalnāth's

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<sup>15</sup>See Barz 1987.

<sup>16</sup>It is usually accepted that he did this under the influence of the Caitanya sect, whether as a result of his visit to Puri or when he was living in Braj. It is also possible that he was influenced by the Rādhāvallabhī sect of Harivaṃśa which was important in Braj in the sixteenth century. See McGregor 1973:24.

<sup>17</sup>Vaudeville 1971:16.

called Harirāy (1591-1711?). While compiling the text Harirāy intercalated his own commentary entitled *Bhāvaprakāśa*.<sup>18</sup> Goluknāth's younger brother Gopeśvarī wrote the *Śikṣāpatra*, a collection of Sanskrit verse with a Braj prose commentary which is the most widely read doctrinal text of the Puṣṭimārga.

After this there was no theologian equal to Vallabhācārya and Viṭṭhalnāth. The liturgy of the sect was composed in Braj by the *aṣṭachāp*, but thereafter some suggest there were no further significant writers in the sect until Dayārām.<sup>19</sup> Although Dayārām wrote in Braj, it is however for his Gujarati lyrics that he is best known, and these are the only writings in Gujarati that are of any great importance in the sect.

Vallabhācārya accepted the leadership of the philosophical school founded by Viṣṇusvāmin,<sup>20</sup> but the sect believes that the teachings were not created by Vallabhācārya, but revealed to him by Kṛṣṇa himself.<sup>21</sup> The philosophical basis of his teaching is called *śuddhādvaita vedānta*, 'the Vedānta of pure non-dualism.' Vallabhācārya expounded the doctrine of *śuddhādvaita* in his *Ṣoḍaśagrantha* ('Sixteen books') written in Sanskrit. Since the philosophy and theology of the sect are expounded in detail elsewhere,<sup>22</sup> the following paragraphs will introduce only those concepts necessary to a reading of Dayārām.

The basic doctrine is that there is nothing other than Parabrahman Śrī Kṛṣṇa who is *saccidānanda*, i.e. he consists of *sat* ('existence'), *cit* ('consciousness') and *ānanda* ('joy'). Differences arise in the universe only when these qualities are

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<sup>18</sup>See Snell 1989:30.

<sup>19</sup>McGregor 1973:27.

<sup>20</sup>It is unclear as to whether Viṣṇusvāmin ever existed (Bennett 1983:80-1, 107-12), and even if he did exist, whether there was any genuine connection with Vallabhācārya (Dasgupta 1949:382-3). It has been suggested (Richardson 1979:23-4) that this link was made to elevate the new sect by connecting it with an old and established sect.

<sup>21</sup>Barz 1976:56.

<sup>22</sup>See Barz 1976; Dasgupta 1949:320-383; Marfatia 1967. For a detailed discussion of Vallabhācārya's theology see Redington 1983 and Bhandarkar 1913: 76-82.

revealed (*āvirbhūta*) or concealed (*tirobhūta*). Nothing comes into being and nothing is destroyed.

Within this unitarian universe, there are three levels of manifestation of the original unity. These are *ādhibhautika* ('material'), *ādhyātmika* ('spiritual'), and *ādhidāivika* ('divine'). Of these, the first is *laukika* ('worldly') and the other two are *alaukika* ('unworldly').<sup>23</sup> Kṛṣṇa himself is revealed at these three levels. At the *ādhibhautika* level he appears as the *jagat* ('world'); at the *ādhyātmika* he is revealed as the *antaryāmin* ('the self within all beings') and as *akṣara* Brahman<sup>24</sup> ('the source of the universe and the foundation on which it rests'), while at the *ādhidāivika* level there is the full revelation of Kṛṣṇa. Paradise is also at these three levels: Vaikuṅṭha (where there is the heavenly Vṛndāvana), Vyāpi-Vaikuṅṭha and Goloka.

Kṛṣṇa performs his *līlā* ('play') eternally for his own amusement. Its only function is to enable Kṛṣṇa to enjoy his own existence. The term *līlā* covers all of Kṛṣṇa's play, whether his eternal *līlā*, manifesting and concealing parts of himself to give the illusion of change, or his *Brajlīlā* when he appeared on earth in his true form, or specific *līlās* or acts, as when one talks about his *bāllīlā* (his exploits in childhood) or his *rāslīlā* (when he performs the *rāsa* dance).

As the *jagat* is the manifestation of the *sat* of Brahman, so are the *jīvas* ('souls') the manifestation of the *sat* and *cit* of Brahman. The *ānanda* of Brahman is concealed so the *jīvas* do not feel the divine joy of Brahman. They are *aṃśa* ('parts or fragments') of Brahman and they are to Brahman as sparks are to fire. They are separated from Brahman because of *doṣa* ('impurities') arising from egoism caused by *avidyā* ('ignorance'). The *saṃsāra* ('whole existence') which is formed by this *avidyā* of the *jīva* is absolutely unreal.

Only by Kṛṣṇa's *anugraha* ('favour'), which is subject to his *icchā* ('wish'), does *uddhāra* (the lifting of the *jīva* out of *saṃsāra*) take place. All the *jīvas* are

<sup>23</sup>The division between *laukika* and *alaukika* 'can probably never be explained or even described fully' (Barz 1976:9).

<sup>24</sup>Brahman with only part of the infinite *ānanda* manifest; the abode or foundation where the world is manifested.

equal, except that some have a different potential for liberation.<sup>25</sup> There are three categories (*puṣṭipravāhamaryādābhedaḥ*), of which *puṣṭijīvas* and *māryādājīvas* are known as *daiva jīvas* ('divine souls') which alone have the potential for *uddhāra*.

The sect teaches the path of devotion (*bhaktimārga*) rather than knowledge (*jñānamārga*), following the nine forms of devotional worship or *bhakti* as described in the *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* of Rūpa Gosvāmi, the sixteenth-century follower of Caitanya. The major difference in the treatment of *bhakti* in the Puṣṭimārga is that Vallabhācārya makes the last step of *ātmanivedana* ('the giving of oneself to Kṛṣṇa) into the first step, taken when saying the *mantra* of initiation into the sect.

Like other sects of the *bhaktimārga*, Vallabhācārya accepted the division of *bhaktibhāva* ('sentiments of devotion') into four: *dāsya bhāva* (the adoption of the servant's attitude to his master), *sakhya bhāva* (acting as if Kṛṣṇa was one's equal in age and status); *vātsalya bhāva* (acting with devotion as if one were the deity's parent), the approach favoured by Vallabhācārya and followed by most members of the sect; and, lastly, *madhura bhāva* (imagining oneself as one of the Gopīs), the approach favoured by Viṭṭhalnāth and later by Dayārām.

One unusual feature of the Puṣṭimārga is that there is little room for contemplation and meditation. Knowledge has a role, even though subordinated to *bhakti*, but it has not played an important part in the sect. Kṛṣṇa is real, *saguṇa*, an *avatāra* in this world, everything in the world is real and the divine is viewed as an extension of this world. This is reflected in worship of the guru and the tending of the image (*sevā*), which need to be viewed in *alaukika* terms.

The Puṣṭimārga has always been patronised by the urban rich, mostly from the mercantile communities of Gujarat and Rajasthan.<sup>26</sup> Therefore its followers are found mostly in these areas and in the areas to which members of these castes have

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<sup>25</sup>See Barz 1976 for a detailed account of these differences and their significance.

<sup>26</sup>See Dwyer 1994 for the underlying factors.

subsequently migrated, with a small following in Braj. This connection with north-west India is reinforced by the location in 1669 of the main image of the sect in Nathdwara in Rajasthan, near the border with Gujarat. While the dominant culture of Nathdwara is that of Braj which has been transported to Rajasthan, its leaders are South Indians while the *sevakas* ('worshippers') are from different parts of the country, although they are mostly Gujaratis.

In his will, Dayārām left Rs 80 to continue the *sevā* of his personal *svarūp* of Madanamohana. A number of his works expound the tenets of the sect and refute the teachings of other sects, in particular that of Śaṅkara. Even his short lyrics contain a number of references which are specific to the Puṣṭimārga.

A story is told of his *ananyabhakti* (total devotion to Kṛṣṇa): Gopālrāv Mairāl of Vadodara had built a ghat on the Narmada at Sinor and two temples to Gaṇeśa, one at Sinor and one at Vadodara. He asked Dayārām to compose verses to Gaṇapati, but Dayārām refused and is said to have composed his lyric: *Eka varyo Gopījanavallabha*.

However, he was known to have had several disputes with the Maharajas of the sect, including one with his own Maharaja, Puruṣottamajī of Bundi Kota. The Maharaja banned him from the temple in Dabhoi on account of some rumours and so Dayārām composed some verses attacking him. The Maharaja then went to meet Dayārām, but Dayārām threw at him his *kaṃṭhī* (initiation necklace given by the Maharaja). The Maharaja apologised and Dayārām accepted the necklace back. A similar episode occurred when another Maharaja came to Dabhoi and Dayārām refused to take a seat inferior to his.

Dayārām is known to have met the most celebrated poet of the sect of Svaminārāyaṇ, Premānand Svāmī (1784-1855). The two refused on religious grounds to visit each other, but were said to have met in Dabhoi by chance and to have had a long conversation. As a result of this encounter the lyric: *Rūḍā dīso cho Rājendra, maṃdira māra āvatā re* was composed, but it is disputed as to whether it was by Dayārām or by Premānand.

### 2.3 The reception of Dayārām's works in Gujarat

Dayārām is generally reckoned to be one of the great lyricists of medieval Gujarat, but even his name is barely known outside Gujarat.<sup>27</sup> In Gujarat, it seems that his work is well known only to members of the Puṣṭimārga and to scholars. His lyrics are used in domestic worship by Puṣṭimārgīs. For example, one of the most widely used hymnals, *Vaiṣṇavonā nitya niyamnā pāṭh*<sup>28</sup> has a section called 'garabī' in which all the songs, in Gujarati and in Braj, are lyrics by Dayārām (including many of the Gujarati lyrics given in Chapter 7). Dayārām's disciples have maintained a centre in Dabhoi (*Bhakta Kaviśrī Dayārām Smārak Samiti, Dabhoi*), and groups which his followers founded, notably the *Śrījoṣījīnī Bhagavad Maṃḍalī*, still meet in Dabhoi and publish works,<sup>29</sup> but the role of these organisations in spreading the popularity of the songs seems unclear.

No attempt has been made here to look at the reception of Dayārām's lyrics among *bhaktas* and non-academic circles; instead the focus is entirely on the reception of Dayārām's works in the literary critical tradition of Gujarat. The rest of this section looks at the background to this tradition before examining Dayārām's place in the history of Gujarati literature and then discussing studies of Dayārām's work.

Dayārām marks the end the age of the great *bhakta*-poets.<sup>30</sup> After Dayārām, Kavi Dalpat<sup>31</sup> (1820-1898) is usually seen as bridging the era between the medieval

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<sup>27</sup>His Braj works have not joined the canon of Braj texts perhaps because of their relatively late date. For a survey of Dayārām's writings in Braj see Cauhān 1988.

<sup>28</sup>Desāi 1986.

<sup>29</sup>See 3.2 below.

<sup>30</sup>See 3.1 below for a survey of the Gujarati religious lyric before Dayārām.

<sup>31</sup>Dalpatrām Dahyabhāi Travādi. All the personal names of this period have more or less standardised English spellings, which are given in the text. Transliterations of the Gujarati names are given as footnotes.

and the modern while Kavi Narmad<sup>32</sup> (1833-1886) is the first of the moderns, beginning a new age of Gujarati literature and language.

This divide is significant, not only for a history of Gujarati literature, but also for an understanding of how Dayārām's work has been read in a changed intellectual and literary climate in the century and a half or so since his death. Thus few critics have based their work on traditional Indian literary theory but most have assessed his work in the light of new ideas and values resulting from contact with English literature and the Romantic movement. In fact, the earliest criticism of Dayārām that we have from non-hagiographic accounts is that of Kavi Narmad.

Dayārām is very much a medieval poet in the tradition of medieval Braj and Gujarati poetry as regards subject matter, form, life as a poet etc. and he seems to have been untouched by the British presence. However, because of his position as the last of the medieval writers, criticism of his work has always been informed by modern thought. Dayārām's work was received initially by critics who were influenced by English Romanticism and it is that viewpoint which dominates the reception of his work in literary circles. The implications of the dominance of Romantic ideals in Gujarati literature for subsequent understandings of Dayārām need to be examined in this section, including the ways in which such encounters with English literature affected Gujarati literature in the nineteenth century. This was the time when the most dramatic changes occurred and was the period in which Gujarati literary criticism developed. Little mention needs to be made of twentieth-century literary trends, for although the subject matter of literature changed somewhat, the high value placed on lyricism and Romanticism prevailed in the criticism of this period also. Most of Dayārām's critics are profoundly influenced by this critical tradition. The modernist and postmodernist movements have attracted interest in a few intellectual centres, such as at the M.S. University of Baroda (Vadodara), or among intellectuals in Bombay, but these critics have not

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<sup>32</sup>Narmadāśaṅkar Lāḷśaṅkar Dave.



used these approaches to read Dayārām's lyrics. They have directed them at twentieth-century writers rather than trying to reclaim Dayārām from the Victorian critics.

During Dayārām's life, European-style education was being introduced to western India. Western-style vernacular school education began in 1820 in Bombay and soon spread all over the province. In 1825 the first English school opened in Bombay, and 1834 saw the founding of the Elphinstone Institution for teaching English and the arts, sciences and literatures of Europe. In 1856 it was divided into Elphinstone High School and Elphinstone College, with degrees awarded by Bombay University. Bombay University had only three colleges when it was founded in 1857, but by 1903-4 it had sixteen of which Gujarat had four, including Gujarat College, Ahmadabad, founded in 1856. Elementary arts colleges were opened in the princely states, including Vadodara (Baroda College, 1882) and Bhavnagar (Shamaldas College, 1885). Since the medium of education was English, and given that the literature, politics and history of Europe were the major subjects, and the teaching heavily criticised Indian life and society, this education undoubtedly had an impact on the students.

As was the case with other South Asian languages, the products of this new education filtered the literary canon. The new standards for literature were based partly on the literary texts which they read at college. At Bombay University, where Gujarati was not on the syllabus until 1921 (although Sanskrit was taught), the set book for English poetry was Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*, whose fourth section on the English lyric had the greatest impact on the aspiring poets. The poets included in this section were Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, Byron, Tennyson, Browning and Dante Rossetti. Although influence is a complex process,<sup>33</sup> these poets may be isolated as having had the greatest influence, not only through traces

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<sup>33</sup>The process of influence is discussed by Bloom 1975, but the theoretical implications and actual mechanisms lie beyond the scope of this thesis.

of their works in the Gujarati poets, but also in translation, rewritings, and mentions in extra-literary works. The golden age of Romanticism was on the decline in England when poets like Narasinhrao<sup>34</sup> (1859-1937) were students, but this movement may have appealed to them more than the modern poets,<sup>35</sup> because the English lyric is the type which is most similar to Gujarati poetry, which has been mainly lyrical, even actually sung and accompanied by dance. However, the differences between English Romantic poetry and the original Gujarati lyric and the extent to which Gujarati Romantic poetry was an offshoot of English Romanticism on the one hand and of Gujarati lyricism on the other remain to be explored.

Dalpat was the first of the Gujarati poets to have his works printed soon after they were written. Previously, poems had been transmitted orally with manuscripts being written later (e.g. those of Narasimha), or written down immediately by the author or his disciples (e.g. those of Dayārām), but not available for the general public. The poet no longer lived on donations from his audience or from a patron, but either tried to make a living through the publication of his poetry, usually without success, or else worked as a teacher or in public service, writing poetry in his spare time. The work was published either in periodicals or in monographs. The first anthologies of Gujarati literature appeared at this time, the most enduring being Iccharam Suryaram's<sup>36</sup> *Bṛhatkāvyaḍohan*, whose ten volumes appeared between 1886 and 1913. The impact of printing on Gujarati literature seems to be an unexplored topic.

A change in language was to have been expected at this time, at least in part as a symptom of printing. The Gujarati lyric had always been written in a clear and simple style and since English Romantic poetry was usually written in a colloquial form of language, there was no pressure to change the style. However, there seems

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<sup>34</sup>Narasimhrāv Bhoḷānāth Divaṭiyā.

<sup>35</sup> After the deaths of Tennyson, Matthew Arnold and Browning, this was a relatively fallow period in English poetry until the emergence of Hardy and the poetry of the First World War. It would seem unlikely that the poetry of the 1890s, e.g. that of Oscar Wilde or Gerald Manley Hopkins, would have appealed to the Gujarati poets.

<sup>36</sup>Icchārām Sūryarām Desāi.

to be evidence of attempts to Sanskritise the language. Many of the poets, such as Narmad, wrote grammatical and lexicographical works and attempted to Sanskritise the language by replacing *tadbhava* and *deśya* words with *tatsama* words, using English for things which had been introduced by the British, and a Sanskrit equivalent for western abstract ideas. Sometimes English phrases and idioms were translated almost literally and even syntax showed the influence of English. Attempts were made to remove Perso-Arabic words. Even in the *ghazal*, a Persian verse-form, very few Persian words were used. This tendency is seen to a marked degree in Klant's<sup>37</sup> (1859-98) translations of Hāfiz.

The major tendency of this new poetry was the shift from the religious to the secular, to the idea of man as being at the centre of the universe, accompanied by a move from the general to the subjective. The subjective is found in the *bhakti* poets, but the difference between this and the new subjectivity can be illustrated from nature poems by contrasting the descriptions in the *bāramāsī* ('description of love through the twelve months of the year') with Wordsworthian nature poetry where it is the affect of nature on the individual that is so important. The subjective in Dalpat became the autobiographical in Kalāpi<sup>38</sup> (1874-1900) and Kānt<sup>39</sup> (1867-1923), until Thakore<sup>40</sup> (1869-1951) advocated the Arnoldian impersonal, in a backlash against Romanticism. The growing trend towards Romantic melancholy first seen in Narmad was rejected by Thakore and Nhanalal<sup>41</sup> (1877-1946), who instead brought joy and playfulness into their writing.

New subjects for poetry were introduced. Topical poetry began with Dalpat's *Hunnarkhānī caḍhāī* 'The invasion of Lord Industry' and poems about love, nature and patriotism were written with vigour and intensity. Even when forms were taken from non-European traditions, the Romantic spirit prevailed. For

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<sup>37</sup>Klānt, pen-name of Bālsamkar Ullāsrām Kamthariyā.

<sup>38</sup>Kalāpi, pen-name of Sursimhji Takhtasimhji Gohel.

<sup>39</sup>Kānt, pen-name of Maṇisamkar Ratnaji Bhatt.

<sup>40</sup>Balvantrāy Kalyānrāy Thakor.

<sup>41</sup>Nhānālāl Dalpatrām Kavi.

example, the *ghazals* of Klant and of Kalapi show Sufi *masī* ('intoxication') but this itself is very much in keeping with the Romantic spirit.

Twentieth-century criticism of Gujarati literature has been based on the principles of Gandhism and other social movements and more recently modern Western literary theories have had some impact in major cultural centres. However, these views do not seem to have affected on criticism of Dayārām, although they may have led to his writing being viewed as 'irrelevant' in the modern world.

The establishing of a canon of Gujarati literature was given further impetus by the study of the western canon and the advent of printing. It was achieved partly through the compiling of anthologies and through the writing of literary histories of Gujarati literature. Pre-eminent among the anthologies of pre-modern poetry is Iccharam Suryaram's ten-volume *Bṛhat kāvyadohan*, which appeared between 1886-1913. Narasiṃha Mahetā, Premānand, and Śāmaḷ Bhaṭṭ are given pride of place, but there are large selections from many other poets. While some poets are found in several volumes, Dayārām's lyrics appear only in Volume 6,<sup>42</sup> where only nine *padas* are given, taking four pages, whereas the more obscure Devīdās (c.1600) is allocated thirty-seven pages.<sup>43</sup>

By the time of Taraporewala's anthology of classical Gujarati poetry Dayārām's status was assured by his allocation of 110 pages in Volume III (1936), fewer than Narasiṃha's 247 in Volume I (1924), but many more than the 40 given to Mīrām. The reason for this shift in emphasis may be due to the Victorian sensibilities about possible lewdness reinforced by the 1862 Maharaja Libel Case,<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Deśāi 1909:821-5.

<sup>43</sup>Deśāi 1909:415-52. Only volumes 1-3, 6-8 have been available to me.

<sup>44</sup>Mulji (Karsandās Mūlji), a Gujarati Kapor Bania and follower of the Puṣṭimārga, educated at Elphinstone, wrote an article in his magazine *Satya Prakāś*, October 1860, 'The Primitive Religion of the Hindus'. This attacked the Maharajas for licentiousness and in particular for adultery with the wives and daughters of the devotees. Yadunātha Brijratanju, the Maharaja of Surat filed a libel action against Mulji. The case lasted for forty days, during which many witnesses were called and questions ranging from theological truth to the divinity of the Maharajas were raised, with the evidence centring on the immorality of the doctrines and the Maharajas. Finally the legal victory went to Mulji. See Mulji 1865 for an account of these events.

but this remains open to discussion. However, it is clear that from being regarded as a minor figure, Dayārām rose to becoming a canonical figure.

The main histories of Gujarati literature are by the leading intellectuals of their day, Jhaveri (1914 and 1956), Munshi (1935), and Joṣī (1973 and 1976).<sup>45</sup> All these works accept the division of Gujarati literature into medieval (ending with Dayārām) and modern (beginning with Dalpat and the influence of European literature). It is clear that by the time of Jhaveri's book (1914), Dayārām had achieved his canonical status as the last and one of the greatest poets of medieval Gujarati. This view was supported by Narasinhrao, who began a second career in 1921 as the first lecturer in Gujarati at Elphinstone College. He published his Wilson lectures of 1915-6 as *Gujarātī language and literature* in two volumes (Divatia 1921 and 1932). Here he describes Dayārām as 'unquestionably the most brilliant star in the firmament of Gujarātī poetry.'<sup>46</sup>

Munshi and Jhaveri's books are very much in the spirit of Victorian Romanticism, although they also show the influence of Gandhian thought. The tensions that these conflicting value systems produced can be seen in all Munshi's summaries of a poet's qualities throughout his 1935 book.

Joṣī (1973 and 1976) is author-oriented in its approach, although it has introductory sections and one on metre and form. Paṁḍyā's essay on Dayārām gives lists of his works, refers to other works, and has a more analytical approach but still fails to position Dayārām clearly in a history of literature. Dayārām is only ever located at the end of the medieval tradition and no attempts are ever made to link him into the subsequent period.

Other works which take a history of literature as their basis are the *Sāhityakoś*,<sup>47</sup> which is useful as a reference tool mainly for names of works and

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<sup>45</sup>Since this thesis does not assume a knowledge of Gujarati by the reader, the quotations from the critics given in the following pages will all be from sources written in English, although there are references given to the Gujarati texts.

<sup>46</sup>Divatia 1932:264.

<sup>47</sup>Koṭhārī and Gāḍī 1989, and Ṭopīvālā 1990.

dates, and Deepak Mehta's short survey of the history of Gujarati literature (1991), which is a useful summary of the traditional view.

There is no theoretical basis for the history of Gujarati literature apart from simple historicism. No one has discussed such basic problems as the historical dimensions of literature itself, or the issue of influence. These histories suffer from their lack of scholarly apparatus, such as bibliographic information, and much vagueness as to manuscript traditions, information about their biographical sources, prosodic analysis, literary forms, use of language etc. Even so, they do provide a useful starting point for understanding the Gujarati critical tradition.<sup>48</sup>

Thoothi's account of the history of Vaiṣṇava literature in his book on the Vaiṣṇavas of Gujarat<sup>49</sup> is one of the few which is aware of the importance of non-Gujarati influences in Dayārām's work:

Dayārām's works bear testimony to the great influence the *Ashta-sakhā* had on his thought and sentiment. Though Narmadāśankar says that Dayārām believed himself to be an incarnation of Narsinha Mehtā, we have the testimony of Dayārām himself that he believed himself to be the incarnation of one of the *Ashta-sakhā* called Nandadāsji. And there are ample proofs in his poems to justify this latter contention of Dayārām. His descriptions of love and courtships are so live, sparkling and realistic; yet they are considerably restrained and subtle when we compare them with those of Narasinha Mehtā. Even then they seem strong and unbecoming to some sensitive persons of our own times, due essentially to erotic suggestion and imagery.<sup>50</sup>

The critical evaluation of Dayārām began soon after his death. Kavi Narmad, besides being Dayārām's first editor, also played a major role in shaping Gujarati literary criticism, but it seems that he never reconciled the tensions he felt between his adoration of a Byronic ideal and the new puritanism.<sup>51</sup> He actively supported Mulji in the 1862 Maharaja Libel Case which brought the sect into disrepute. Whether this case was a symptom or a cause of the hostility of the new puritans towards the sect remains unclear. It is undoubted that the issue of the immorality of

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<sup>48</sup>It has to be hoped that the forthcoming volume by Mallison in the Harrassowitz series (cf. McGregor 1974 and 1984, and Gacffke 1978) will be available before much longer.

<sup>49</sup>Thoothi 1935.

<sup>50</sup>Thoothi 1935:257-8.

<sup>51</sup>Sanjana 1950 discusses in a satirical manner the contradictions in Narmad's life and work.

the sect extended to the condemnation of the eroticism of Dayārām's lyrics, even though this is very mild indeed in comparison with Sanskrit erotic poetry. This view can be seen in the influential opinion of Tripathi which extended into most assessments of Dayārām.

Tripathi's Gujarati monograph on Dayārām<sup>52</sup> discusses him in the context of the Puṣṭimārga, looking mostly at his *Rasikavallabha*, but in his English work<sup>53</sup> he also warns of sexual explicitness. This assessment of Dayārām is of great importance. Written in English, it reflects the opinion of Dayārām often known outside Gujarati literary circles. The Gujarati equivalent to Bengali's Bankimcandra, Tripathi<sup>54</sup> (1855-1907) was an eminent critic as well as being (as he remains) the most highly esteemed Gujarati prose writer, the author of a four-volume novel *Sarasvatīcandra* (1887-1901). This is the first great novel of real life in Gujarati. It exemplifies the literary values that dominated creative writing at the end of the nineteenth century and informed literary criticism. It is highly Romantic, combining intensity, lyrical beauty and subjectiveness with a strongly Sanskritic prose tradition. However, its characters are all good or all bad, it has no humour, uses an exaggeratedly Sanskritic form of language, and is full of dull dialogues and moral reflections. This combination of puritanism and romanticism, so different from Dayārām's values, is seen in his assessment of Dayārām:

His poems of Krishna and the maids of Gokul are a stream of burning lava of realistic passion and love, and if lewdness of writings do not take away from the merits of a poet, he is a very great poet indeed. He has a weird and fascinating way of bodying forth a host of over-fondled spirits of uncontrollable will in a language which is not only at once popular and poetical but drags society after him to adopt, as popular, the language he creates for them anew. He introduces the men and women of his country to luxuriance of metres, whose wild music makes them bear with the flame of his sentiments, and there is a subtle naivete in everything that comes out from him. He, too, no doubt, philosophises and rises to the beautiful and sublime of the Bhakti Marga with equal power, but he is also an open advocate of Vallabha at times, and even the greatest master of advocacy needs must fail in a hopeless cause.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup>Tripāthī 1909.

<sup>53</sup>Tripathi 1958.

<sup>54</sup>Govardhanrām Mādhavrām Tripāthī.

<sup>55</sup>Tripathi 1958:53.

This passage shows the direct link between the prevailing view of the Puṣṭimārga as immoral and the condemnation of Dayārām's poetry as lewd. The language of Tripathi's assessment emphasises this in its references to primitive, wild and uncontrollable forces, rather than making any suggestion of an air of lightness and play. This opinion of Dayārām had reached the British. In the 'Annual report on native publications for the year 1899', page 4, a certain Mr. Giles alleges that Dayārām's

natural talent was frequently prostituted in lewd and lascivious writings. The influence of his works has not been altogether wholesome, ...[yet].. his poetic talent was undeniably great...<sup>56</sup>

The Victorian puritanism inspiring this assessment seems to have begun to ease during the 1930s. The emphasis on the condemnation of his supposed immorality diminished although the Gandhian principles and the social concerns of literature and criticism which prevailed at this time kept Dayārām's works marginal.

Dayārām is admired mostly for his short lyrics,<sup>57</sup> in particular the *garabo/garabī* form, rather than his *padas*.<sup>58</sup> Munshi's assessment of Dayārām's corpus has become standard:

Dayārāma's genius was lyrical and found a suitable vehicle in the garabī. Though used for the main purpose of providing popular songs for the garaba dance, it was a great vehicle for lyrical expression. ...he invested the form, as a whole, with a charm and a rhythm of his own. He made use of popular melodies. His language was the most perfect used so far by any poet of Gujarāta; and his words were so arranged that sense and sound and meaning blended in harmony to express one brief experience with perfect art.<sup>59</sup>

Thoothi, in his work of the same date, concentrates on Dayārām's descriptive powers and musical ability:

...in his famous *garbis* he vividly portrays with great depth of feeling, rich pictures and idylls connected with the early life of Krishna as depicted in the *Bhāgvat* lore; and he wrote many *Kirtans* (hymns) of great lyrical value, rich in depth of thought and emotion, attuned to the self-surrender and the dedication of the devotee...no longer sung in these temples, but they have been stirring the very heart-strings of Vaishnava men and women who recite them with ardour and devotion before their domestic altars.

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<sup>56</sup>Quoted in Śeṭh 1899:iii.

<sup>57</sup>E.g. Jhaveri 1914:244, Sandesara 1981:57-8, Thoothi 1935:257-8.

<sup>58</sup>See Munshi 1935:271.

<sup>59</sup>Munshi 1935:221.



Moreover, Dayārām was a master musician, he had a rich voice, and he could play efficiently on musical instruments. This enabled him to enhance the use and popularity of his poems considerably.<sup>60</sup>

Some critics try to avoid engaging with the texts by saying that the sound rather than the content of the lyrics is important:

Dayārām's strength is his language. It is simple, chaste, classical and expressive. His songs are superior to those of others, both on account of their language and their rhythm. To appreciate their lilt, they must be heard, when ladies well-known in his line lead the garba-circles of Surat or Baroda.<sup>61</sup>

Other critics attempt to validate Dayārām for their own time. For example, critics such as Munshi argue that Dayārām had to write about Kṛṣṇa because of his times, but that his real subject was human love.<sup>62</sup> This is clearly untrue, but the post-Victorian critical tradition has allowed the religious element to reappear.<sup>63</sup> Applying standards of their own time, critics such as Navalrām (1836-1888), cited by Jhaveri, find Dayārām lacking:

... his poems are defective in so far as they do not 'paint pictures'. 'One third of them consists of pure emotion, and the rest is superficial embellishment, which to the experienced eye of the real poet appears to be tawdry and useless.' 'he is inferior to Premānand even in Śringār...' Dayārām fails to be considered a master poet in Navalrām's eyes, in spite of his immense popularity, the reason of which, he thinks, is the subject matter of his poems, namely, the life and loves of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.<sup>64</sup>

Later poets such as Nhanalal (1877-1946), Harindra Dave (1930-) and Suresh Dalal (1932-), have acknowledged his influence on their work and Dayārām's status as one of the greatest poets of Gujarat is still unquestioned, his place in the Gujarati literary canon assured.<sup>65</sup> There have, however, been few critical assessments of the oeuvre of Dayārām whether in histories of literature, or studies of his corpus or detailed studies of individual works.

There are few studies of Dayārām's corpus.<sup>66</sup> Those which exist have a low circulation, and most lack scholarly vigour, an understanding of western literary

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<sup>60</sup>Thoothi 1935:257-8.

<sup>61</sup>Jhaveri 1914:247-8.

<sup>62</sup>Madhyakāṇḍo sāhityappravāh' p. 389, quoted by Paṃḍyā 1976:n.19.

<sup>63</sup>See, e.g., Dave 1967:26. who argues that Kṛṣṇa is the only subject of Dayārām's lyrics.

<sup>64</sup>Jhaveri 1914:249-50.

<sup>65</sup>For example, his lyrics form part of the literary curriculum in Gujarati schools.

<sup>66</sup>See n.2 above for the works used in this section.

criticism or a firm grasp of Indian literary theory. They tend to give Dayārām's hagiography, then divide his works into several categories, then list them by name. The focus is on *bhaktakavi* Dayārāmbhāi, i.e. Dayārām as a religious poet and the way in which his religious belief in the teachings of the Puṣṭimārga is seen to be expressed in his poetry. The emotion of *bhakti* which he so vividly portrays is seen as the strength of his work, with little attention paid to literary critical topics.

There are very few examples of analyses of individual poems of Dayārām, the major source being the volume edited by Śāh (1990). In this work, modern Gujarati writers have each selected a poem of Dayārām which is printed along with two or three pages of comments. In the introduction, Shah makes it clear that the purpose of this volume is not to produce a critical analysis of Dayārām's works, but an appreciation. The essays on the poems are diverse and are indeed appreciations rather than scholarly or literary critical studies.

While this critical tradition is to be admired for its pioneering attempts to reconcile the values of such different traditions, its serious omissions must be noted. No one has examined formal aspects of Dayārām's texts - genre, form, metre, and music. There is no discussion of his influences, in particular his combination of non-Gujarati influences with Gujarati folk forms. Not one of these critics has attempted to analyse his language to show its distinctive features and poetic devices. No one has analysed the personae of the texts and their roles, nor looked at Dayārām's position within the text. His powers of description have been discussed, but no one has shown how they work and how his dramatic dialogues are made to come to life through their language or literary devices.

The filling of each of these various lacunae in the study of Dayārām would itself be a major study and lies beyond the scope of this thesis, although there is a brief discussion of some of these topics in Chapter 3. However, before going on to this chapter, there are a number of features which emerge in this critical tradition which are mentioned here before being reexamined at the end of the thesis.

One of these is the concentration on the biography of Dayārām. A notable trend may be identified, which tries to try to show how every lyric was composed at an appropriate moment in his life.<sup>67</sup> For example, Dayārām is said to have composed the lyric: *Eka varyo Gopījanavallabha* when asked to compose a hymn to Gaṇapati. This feature may be a residue of the hagiographic tradition, where great importance is given to the lives of the *bhaktas*. These accounts serve a number of purposes, such as the creation of role models and the reinforcement of the power of the *satsaṅg*, the company of the good. However, this does not seem to be the case with the presentation of the life of Dayārām. Dayārām often challenged the norms of good behaviour by his quarrels, his vanity, and in particular, by his relationship with the goldsmith's widow, Ratanbāī. It may be that two strands may be identified. One is from the sectarian tradition, making Dayārām seem to be one of the *bhaktakavis* and to create a hagiographic account of his life. The other is from the world of humanistic, Romantic criticism, an attempt to link the mythological world of his poetry with the real, human world.

A closer reading of these critical texts reveals key words and phrases, notably those associated with sweetness (the forms are all connected with *mīṭhum*). Although not explored by the critics, this theme of sweetness occurs frequently in Dayārām's own life and his works. For example, he rejects the term *kaḍavum* for the verse form used in his *ākhyānas*, since its homonym means 'bitter', and he calls it *mīṭhum* 'sweet' instead.<sup>68</sup> His own appearance and his voice were said to be 'sweet' and in the texts there are constant references to sweetness although these are not explored by the critics. This sweetness seems to be linked to sexuality, femininity,<sup>69</sup> and to playfulness. It stands opposed to the virtues of puritanism, *śaurya* 'heroism, masculinity', and seriousness espoused by Kavi Narmad and his

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<sup>67</sup>See in particular Dave 1967.

<sup>68</sup>Dave 1970:146-7.

<sup>69</sup>Although Divatia 1932:264 is quick to assure the reader that Dayārām's style is 'lucid, charming without being effeminate, and on occasions, possesses vigour and power'.

successors. Since these ideas are latent but not developed in the critical texts, they will not be discussed further here. In Chapters 5 and 6, however, the question will be raised of ways in which these qualities of sweetness, femininity and playfulness may be recovered for a study of Dayārām.

## CHAPTER 3: DAYĀRĀM'S LYRICS

The previous two chapters looked at the approaches of two traditions, that of the Indologists and that of the Gujarati literary sphere. This chapter discusses Dayārām's work by concentrating on the transmission of the Gujarati texts and on earlier Gujarati lyrical poetry, then the forms, content and language of Dayārām's Gujarati poems.

### 3.1 The Gujarati religious lyric before Dayārām

The primary authoritative text of Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* is the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (c. 9th or 10th century AD), and its first major literary work was the *Gītagovinda*, composed in Sanskrit in the twelfth century by Jayadeva. The combination of eroticism and mysticism<sup>1</sup> of the latter was to become the classical model for much of the later *bhakti* literature. In Maharashtra, the movement was connected with an ascetic tradition, but in Bengal the passionate love songs of Caṇḍīdās and the ecstatic worship of Kṛṣṇa by Caitanya changed the nature of Vaiṣṇavism. Caitanya made Braj the active centre of the *bhakti* cult. In Gujarat, although Kṛṣṇa poems in the forms of *phāgu* and *rāsa* existed, there was no *bhakti* poetry until the sixteenth century, when it was probably given a powerful impulse by Caitanya.

Indisputably, the greatest Gujarati poet is Narasiṃha Mahetā.<sup>2</sup> His dates are uncertain; the traditional dates of 1414-1480, formerly discredited in favour of 1500-1580,<sup>3</sup> now seem more plausible.<sup>4</sup> In addition to the biographical details he gives in his own writings, he has been the subject of numerous hagiographies, the first being by Viśvanāth Jānī, composed in 1652. He was born in the village of

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<sup>1</sup> See Siegel 1990.

<sup>2</sup> Jhaveri 1914:39; Tripathi 1957:52.

<sup>3</sup> Munshi 1935:149.

<sup>4</sup> Mallison 1986:32.

Talaja near Bhavnagar. A Vaḍanagarā Nāgar Brahmin, he was a practitioner of *Kṛṣṇabhakti*. Regarded as so unorthodox that his first engagement was broken, he eventually married Maṇekabāī, with whom he had a daughter, Kumṇvarabāī, and a son, Śāmala. He had a difficult family life, largely because of disputes with his brother's wife. Eventually he went to Gopnath on the coast and prayed to Mahādeva, who granted him the boon of seeing Kṛṣṇa's *rāslīlā*. After this, he left his brother's house and set up in on his own in Junagadh. His house, now known as Narasiṃha Mahetāno Coro has since been maintained. He sang his devotional verses to Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, and his philosophical and ethical *padas*, while playing his small cymbals (*karatālas*). Many mythical stories surround his life, the most famous of which are the story of his daughter's *māmeruṇ*, the ritual giving of gifts by parents in the seventh month of a daughter's first pregnancy. When Narasiṃha could not afford to give the necessary gifts, Kṛṣṇa appeared and gave them himself. Equally famous is the story about the time when he was excommunicated by the Nāgars for eating with the Dheds, which resulted in a Dhed appearing between every Brahmin at a Nāgar feast.

The major source for his life is his own *Śāmaḷaśāno vivāha*, a poem about his son's wedding to the daughter of a rich merchant. Traditionally he is said to have composed one and a quarter lakh *padas*,<sup>5</sup> comprising poems on *śṛṅgāra* ('love'), poems on the life of Kṛṣṇa (mostly from incidents in the tenth book of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*), *ākhyānas* and *padamāḷās*.<sup>6</sup> The best known are his *padas* of *bhakti* and *jñāna* ('knowledge'). Transmitted orally, the text of his poems has been corrupted.

The following *pada* is the most loved of all his verses. It draws on Jain traditions in the description of the true religious person, and has become widely known outside Gujarat through having been a personal favourite of Gandhi. It is probably the best known Gujarati lyric and, since it is non-sectarian, being a

<sup>5</sup>Jhaveri 1914:41. This is the standard number for long anthologies. Cf. the *Sūrsāgar*.

<sup>6</sup>'Garland of *padas*', a special literary form for a collection of verses; see Mahetā 1976:22-3.

description of a Vaiṣṇava, it is used by all Vaiṣṇava groups in Gujarat including the followers of Svāminārāyaṇ.<sup>7</sup>

### Vaiṣṇavajana to tene kahīe<sup>8</sup>

*vaiṣṇavajana to tene kahīe, je pīḍa parāī jāṇe re  
paraduḥkhe upakāra kare, ne mana abhimāna na āṇe re. vaiṣṇava..  
sakaḷa lokamāṃ sahune vaṃde, niṃdā na kare kenī re  
vācakāchamana niścala rākhe, dhanya dhanya jananī tenī re. vaiṣṇava..  
samadṛṣṭi ne tṛṣṇā tyāgī, parastrī jene māta re  
jihvā thakī asatya na bole, paradravya na jhāle hātha re. vaiṣṇava..  
mohamāyā lepe nahi tene, dṛḍha vairāgya tenā manamāṃ re  
rāmanāmaṣuṃ tālī lāgī, sakaḷa tīratha tenā tanamāṃ re. vaiṣṇava..  
vaṇalobhī ne kapātarahita che, kāmakrodha jeṇe māryā re  
bhaṇe narasaiṃyo tenuṃ darśana kartāṃ kuḷa ekotera tāryāṃ re.  
vaiṣṇava..*

The true Vaiṣṇava is the one who feels another's sufferings as his own.

Even if he helps the sufferer, he does not feel proud.

He praises everything in the whole world, he does not speak ill of anything,

In speech, action and thought he is steady, his mother is extremely blessed.

He looks on everything dispassionately, he has abandoned desire, another's wife is like his mother.

He does not speak any untruth, he does not lay his hand on another's wealth.

Delusion and ignorance do not enter him, detachment is firm in his mind.

He sings along with God's name, all holy places are in his body.

He is without greed, and bereft of deceit, he has turned away from lust and anger.

Narasaiṃyo says at the sight of him, the family is saved for seventy-one generations.

<sup>7</sup>See Anon. *Kīrtan muktāvalī*: 370.

<sup>8</sup>Jesalpurā 1989:289. My translation, as throughout below, unless otherwise mentioned.

Narasimha's poems are mostly *padas* but he is most famous for his *prabhātiyām*.<sup>9</sup> The *prabhātiyūṃ* is a special kind of *pada*, which is sung at daybreak. It is usually in the *jhūlaṇā* metre, set to a variety of *deśī* melody, *deśī prabhāti*. One of the most popular is the following, which evokes *vātsalya bhāva* in its listeners:

**Jasodājī jamavāne teḍe**<sup>10</sup>

*jasodājī jamavāne teḍe, nācaṃtā hari āve re*  
*bole mīṭhā bolaḍiyā ne aṃgoaṃga nacāve re. jaśodā...*  
*mukhanī śobhā śī kahuṃ, jaṇe pūnamacaṃda birāje re*  
*netrakamaḷanā cālā joīne manmatha manamāṃ lāje re. jaśodā...*  
*aṃjana beu nayaṇe māryāṃ, ura laḷake gajamotī re*  
*tilaka taṇī rekhā ati suṃdara mātā harakhe jotī re. jaśodā...*  
*sneha jaṇāvī putra taṇo hari āvī koṭe vaḷagyo re*  
*lāḍakaḍo ati lāḍ karaṃto, kṣaṇu na thāye aḷago re. jaśodā...*  
*khoḷe besī bhojana karatāṃ mātā ānaṃda pāmī re*  
*bhaktavatsala bhūdharājī maḷiyo narasaiyāco svāmī re. jaśodā...*

Jasodā calls him to eat, Hari comes dancing.

He says sweet little words and makes his limbs dance.

In what way can I describe the loveliness of his face? It looks beautiful like the full moon.

Looking at the movements of his lotus eyes, Manmatha's mind is put to shame.

She puts *kājal* on his eyes, a large pearl dangles on his breast.

The line of his *tilak* is very beautiful, his mother rejoices as she looks.

To show her love she pats him, he hugs her round the neck.

The little darling really hugs her, he does not become separate for even a minute.

Seating him in her lap, she feeds him, she feels maternal joy.

She has found the lord of the world who is compassionate to his devotees, the lord of Narasaiyo.

The impact of Narasimha on Gujarati literature is summarised by Munshi:

<sup>9</sup>Mallison 1986:38-42.

<sup>10</sup>Jesalpurā 1989:102.



The legacy of a rich and varied vocabulary and language of great power and beauty which he left, exercised great influence on literature. His *padas*, cast into slow-moving and elastic *prabhātiā* metre generally reserved for early morning prayers, moulded the language and sentiments of succeeding generations. His taste is often loud and vulgar. He lacks the delicacy of *Mīrāñ*, the intensity of *Sūradāsa*, the classic dignity of *Tulsīdāsa*. His language is too rhetorical to permit of that light, lingering touch which makes for great poetry. But he broke away from the lifeless literary tradition of his days. He changed Gujarātī poetry from an impersonal to a personal art. Poet, *bhakta*, apostle of Aryan culture - *Narasiñha* was, and is, unique in Gujarāta.<sup>11</sup>

One of the most popular *bhakti* poets of western India is *Mīrām* (c. 1500-1547). Much of her life story is given in her poems, but there are conflicting versions of her biography. She was the granddaughter of *Rāo Dudājī*, a devout *Vaiṣṇava* and chief of *Medta* (*Meḍtā*), a small principality in Rajasthan. According to older sources, she was queen of *Kumbhā Rāñā* of Chittor, grandfather of *Rāñā Saṃgo*, which places her between 1403 and 1470.<sup>12</sup> More recent versions of her life based on Rajput genealogies<sup>13</sup> say that she married *Bhojrāj*, the son of *Rāñā Saṃgo* of Chittor, who died young. In 1532, his younger son *Vikram*, who disapproved of her eccentric behaviour in her religious practices, came to the throne. She claims that attempts were made on her life, so she fled to *Dwarka*. Some say that it was her husband who tried to poison her.<sup>14</sup> She was merged into *Kṛṣṇa* when Brahmins went on a fast to persuade her to return to Rajasthan.

It was mentioned above that *Mīrām* has been claimed by the literary traditions of Gujarat, Rajasthan and Braj. Her poems have been preserved orally and they vary between Gujarati, Rajasthani and Hindi versions. Therefore, it is difficult to reconstruct the original texts. In her poems, mostly *padas*, often called *bhajans*, she imagines herself as one of the *Gopīs* in Braj.

She has only one thing to say, and, in consequence, her range is limited. Her poems have elegance and delicacy rather than variety. Her heart is capable of deep feeling, but its expression is limited by her comparative ignorance. *Mīrāñ* is not ego-centric, only intense: not voluptuous, nor profound.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup>Munshi 1935:148.

<sup>12</sup>Jhaveri 1914:29 and Tripathi 1958:14-5.

<sup>13</sup>Maheshwari 1980:149-50.

<sup>14</sup>Jhaveri 1914:31 and Tripathi 1958:16.

<sup>15</sup>Quote from L. Munshi *Mīrāñbāī ek dr̥ṣṭ*. Quoted in Munshi 1935:134.

But passion, grace, delicacy, melody - Mīrām has all these gifts. Her longing is exquisite; it seizes all hearts, penetrates all souls. Her poetic skill possesses the supreme art of being artless. Sometimes she brings natural beauty to aid sense and sound in producing harmony.<sup>16</sup>

The following poem is one of Mīrām's most famous stanzas in the Gujarati recension. It contains much biographical information, shows her devotion to God and the *bhaktas* and her lack of interest in the mundane world. Its language is straightforward and the rhyme scheme is simple:

**Govimdo prāṇa amāro<sup>17</sup>**

*govimdo prāṇa amāro re, mane jaga lāgyo khāro re.  
mane māro rāmji bhāve re, bījo mārī najare na āve re.  
mīrābāinā mahelamām re, harisaṃtanano vāsa;  
kapaṭhī hari dūra vase, mārā saṃtana kerī pāsa. govimdo...  
rāṇojī kāgaḷa mokale re, deḷo mīrāmne hātha;  
sādhunī saṃgata choḍī dyo tame, vasone amāre sātha. govimdo...  
mīrāmbāi kāgaḷa mokale re, deḷo rāṇojīne hātha;  
rājapāṭa tame choḍī rāṇājī, vaso re sādhunī sātha. govimdo...  
viṣano pyālo rāṇe mokalyo re, deḷo mīrāmne hātha;  
amṛta jānī mīrām pī gayām, jene sahāya śrīviśvano nātha. govimdo...  
sāṃdhavālā sāṃdha saṃagāraje re, jāvuṃ so so re kosa;  
rāṇājīnā deśamām māre, jaḷa re pīdhāno doṣa. govimdo...  
ḍābo melyo mevāḍa re mīrām gaī paścimamāmya;  
sarava choḍī mīrām nisaryām, jenuṃ māyāmām manaḍuṃ na kāmya.  
govimdo...  
sāsu amārī suṣumaṇā re, sasaro prema-saṃtoṣa;  
jeṭha jagajīvan jagatmām re, māro nāvaliyo nirdoṣa. govimdo...  
cūṃḍaḍī oḍhuṃ tyāre raṃga cūe re, raṃga beramḡī hoyā;  
oḍhuṃ huṃ kāḷo kāmaḷo, dūjo ḍāgha na lāge koya. govimdo...  
mīrām harinī lāḍaṇī re; rahetī saṃta hajūra;  
sādhu saṃgāthe sneha ghaṇo, pelā kapaṭhī dīla dūra. govimdo...*

Govimda is my life-breath, the world seems bitter to me  
I love my Rāma, nothing else appeals to me.  
Hari's sants live in Mīrābāi's palace

<sup>16</sup>Munshi 1935:134.

<sup>17</sup>Trivedi 1986:3-4.

grace, delicacy, melody - Mīrān has all these gifts. Her longing  
t seizes all hearts, penetrates all souls. Her poetic skill possesses  
art of being artless. Sometimes she brings natural beauty to aid  
and in producing harmony.<sup>16</sup>

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nd her lack of interest in the mundane world. Its language is  
d the rhyme scheme is simple:

**amāro**<sup>17</sup>

*īṇa amāro re, mane jaga lāgyo khāro re.*  
*ām̄jī bhāve re, bījo mārī najare na āve re.*  
*ahelamām̄ re, harisaṃtanano vāsa;*  
*ī dūra vase, mārā saṃtana kerī pāsa. govīṃdo...*  
*ī mokale re, deḷo mīrām̄ne hātha;*  
*gata choḍī dyo tame, vasone amāre sātha. govīṃdo...*  
*gaḷa mokale re, deḷo rāṇojīne hātha;*  
*e choḍī rāṇājī, vaso re sādhunī sātha. govīṃdo...*  
*ī rāṇe mokalyo re, deḷo mīrām̄ne hātha;*  
*īrām̄ pī gayām̄, jene sahāya śrīviśvano nātha. govīṃdo...*  
*sām̄dha śaṇagāraje re, jāvuṃ so so re kosa;*  
*imāṇī māre, jaḷa re pīdhāno doṣa. govīṃdo...*  
*nevāḍa re mīrām̄ gaī paścimamāmya;*  
*ī mīrām̄ nīsaryām̄, jenuṃ māyāmām̄ manaḍuṃ na kāmya.*

*īṣumaṇā re, sasaro prema-saṃtoṣa;*  
*im jagatmām̄ re, māro nāvaliyo nirdoṣa. govīṃdo...*  
*uṃ tyāre raṅga cūe re, raṅga beram̄gī hoyā;*  
*kāḷo kāmaḷo, dūjo ḍāgha na lāge koya. govīṃdo...*  
*ī lāḍaṇī re; rahetī saṃta hajūra;*  
*īthe sneha ghaṇo, pelā kapaṭīthī dila dūra. govīṃdo...*

ny life-breath, the world seems bitter to me  
ma, nothing else appeals to me.  
ive in Mīrābāī's palace

Hari lives far from that fraud, near my saints.  
The king sent a letter, saying, put it in Mīrām's hand:  
Give up the company of saints and come to live with me!  
Mīrām sent a letter, saying, put it in the king's hand:  
Give up the royal palace and come to live with the sādhus!  
The king sent a cup of poison, saying, put it in Mīrām's hand.  
Regarding it was nectar, Mīrām drank it, her helper is the Lord of all.  
O camel driver, saddle me a camel, I'm going a hundred miles.  
In the land of the king, even drinking the water is a sin!  
Putting Mewar on the left, Mīrām went west.  
Mīrām gave up everything and left, her mind not at all in *māyā*.  
'My mother-in-law is beauty, my father-in-law is the satisfaction of  
love;  
My elder brother-in-law is the Life of the World in the world, my  
bridegroom is faultless.  
When I put on my veil, the colour runs, the colour becomes dull,<sup>18</sup>  
So I put on a black blanket (of a sufi), no other stain may show.'  
Mīrām is Hari's beloved, she lives with a thousand saints;  
In the company of saints there is much love, their hearts are far from  
that fraud.

Akho, or Akhā Bhagat (c. 1615-1674), was a goldsmith of Ahmadabad, originally from the nearby village of Jetalpur. He was head of the royal mint, but false charges of dishonesty made him bitter, and he left his work to seek knowledge. He travelled to Gokul where he joined the Puṣṭimārga, but was rapidly disillusioned with the sect. He went to Varanasi where he heard about the teachings of Śaṅkara, which suited his belief in *vairāgya* ('detachment') and his search for *jñāna* ('knowledge'), which are the topics of all his writings. He wrote in Gujarati and also in Hindi, on philosophy in his *Akhegītā*, but he is famous for his epigrammatic stanzas on life, in his sixty *padās* and his seven hundred or more *chappās*.

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<sup>18</sup>Pun on the two senses of *raṅga* as affection/love.

His Chhappās are not the Chhappās recognised by prosody but are another name for Chopāis, rounded off with six instead of four lines (cho(four) pāis - lines).<sup>19</sup>

Munshi sums them up:

In these small poems, he fights the accepted formulae of life, bitterly, brutally, making all kinds of ugly comparisons to bring his point home. But the fight is not for a vigorous and full life, but for an arid detachment....He was, however, very poorly equipped for literary work. The words which he used were very often inappropriate. His knowledge of prosody, grammar and syntax was meagre. His meaning was often shrouded in obscurity.<sup>20</sup>

Although the references may be obscure, these verses show a simple, clear and colloquial form of Gujarati which is well suited to the sharpness of their tone.

#### Four Chappās

*bhāṣāne śuṃ valage bhūra? je raṇamām jīte te śūra;  
saṃskṛta bole te śuṃ thayuṃ? kāṇī prākṛtamāṃthī nāsī gayuṃ?  
bāvanano sargaḷo vistāra, akhā! trepanamo jaṇe pāra.*

Why is the fool attached to language? The one who conquers in battle is the hero.

What is the use of speaking Sanskrit? Was anything lost because of Prakrit?

The whole expanse of the fifty-two syllables, Akho! The fifty-third [OM] is what matters.

*tilaka karatām trepana vāhyāṇ, japamālānāṇ nākāṇ gayāṇ;  
tīratha pharī pharī thākyā carṇa, toya na pahotā harine śarāna;  
kathā suṇī suṇī phūtyā kāna, akhā! toy nā'vyuṃ brahmajñāna.*

Doing his tilak, fifty-three years have passed, he has worn out his rosary.

Going from holy place to holy place, his feet are tired, even then he has not taken refuge in Hari.

He has heard so many kathās that his ears have burst. Akho! Even then, knowledge of Brahma has not come.

*ek mūrakhane evī ṭeva, paththara eṭalā pūje deva;  
pāṇī dekhī kare snāna, tulasī dekhī toḍe pāna;  
e to akhā! bahu utpāta, ghaṇā parameśvara e kyāṃnī vāta?*

A fool has the habit of worshipping every stone as a god.

Seeing water, he bathes, seeing tulsi he pulls off a leaf.

Akho! it is a waste of time, why do they say that there are many gods?

<sup>19</sup>Jhaveri 1914:63.

<sup>20</sup>Munshi 1935:180.

*sūraja tyama sāco vairāga, tapate na jue jāgakujāga;  
sahune teja kare te sahī, paṇa parachāyo potāmāṇ nahīṇ;  
jyām ūpaje sāco nirveda, nohe akhā tyāṇ bhedābheda.*

True detachment is like the sun, when it shines it does not see good or bad places.  
It is agreed that its splendour is for all, there is no shadow in itself.  
When true detachment arises, Akho, there are no distinctions.

Premānand (late seventeenth century) rivals Narasiṃha Mahetā for the title of the greatest poet of Gujarat.<sup>21</sup> A Brahmin from Vadodara, he was orphaned young, and in the company of a *sannyāsin*, Rāmcaraṇ, toured north India learning Sanskrit and Hindi. Like many other poets he saw Hindi as the appropriate language in which to write Kṛṣṇaite poetry, but he changed to writing in Gujarati at his guru's behest. He began his career in Surat as a *gāgariyo bhaṭa*, a Brahmin who recites purāṇic stories while playing a metal pot. A popular poet, he divided his time between Vadodara, Surat and Nandarbar.

Even today many people know by heart some of his fifty-seven works of varying length. He composed *ākhyānas* on episodes from the *Mahābhārata*, from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, from the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* and from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. He also continued the tradition of composing *ākhyānas* on the life of Narasiṃha,<sup>22</sup> as well as following the practice of reworking the compositions of previous poets. In Munshi's words:

His command over the resources of the language was unequalled; and, so was his knowledge of contemporary life. He was a profound observer; no detail escaped him. He depicted passion, situation and character in a vivid style. He was a master of the art of gaining broad effects; and could play upon an emotion to the point of saturation. He excelled in making an old plot, however jejune, throb with new life. Among the literary artists of the period, he alone was truly a creative artist, and could give a glimpse of actual life.<sup>23</sup>

Premānanda took the old *rāsa* form of the *ākhyāna* as he found it - a long, poetic composition divided into *kaṭāvāṇs* in *deśī* and rounded by two lines of *valaṇa*. But he used it with freedom and vigour. In his best works, the story was a rapid and interesting narrative; but he broke it up at frequent intervals to make room for long descriptions instinct with real life, or *padas* or *garabīs* infused with feeling, homely but rich. He used his art so skilfully that the

<sup>21</sup>Tripathi 1957:30.

<sup>22</sup>Cf. *Hārāmālā* (1645) anon., and Viśvanāth Jānī (1625-75) *Mośālācaritra*, Kṛṣṇadās *Hāracaritra* (1655) and *Huṇḍī* (1657).

<sup>23</sup>Munshi 1935:189.

ākhyāna became, like the modern novel, an elastic medium for all literary purposes.<sup>24</sup>

He wrote with vitality and humour, in folk-metres (*deśī*) rather than classical metres (*chand*). Several plays are attributed to him, although their authorship has been discredited by Narasinhrao. He left around thirty-seven followers,<sup>25</sup> including his own sons, who wrote works of a limited quality. His followers still continue his tradition, and his own compositions were reworked by later writers, including Dayārām.

The following example is from his narrative of an episode in Narasiṃha Mahetā's life, based on Mahetā's own *ākhyāna*. This selection shows Premānand's characteristic humour and lightness, his vivid thumbnail sketches, and his shifting perspective on Mahetā and his followers. They are depicted as the objects of humour they would have appeared as to outsiders, eccentric religious figures who have to improvise a simple cart and yet have all the accoutrements of *sevā* to hand. These are what they take to the *mosālūṃ*, the gift-giving ceremony by maternal relatives to a girl in her first pregnancy, rather than gifts appropriate for Kuṃvarabāī, who is overlooked in favour of God. This work is again in the tradition of describing the life of the *bhaktas* who are themselves seen as objects of devotion. As in the other examples we have seen, the language is in a simple and colloquial style:

From *Kuṃvarbāīnuṃ māmeruṃ*<sup>26</sup>

*narasiṃha mahete ghera teḍvāyāṃ sagāṃ te vaiṣṇava saṃta jī,*  
*mosālūṃ laī āpaṇe jāvuṃ bāīnuṃ che sīmaṃta jī.*  
*jūnī vahela ne ghūṃsarī vāṃkī sāṃgī thaḍāmāṃ bhāṃgī jī.*  
*konā taḷāvā ne konī pīṃjaṇīo baḷada āṇyā be māgī jī.*  
*mahetājī māmere cālyā samaryā śrījagadīśajī;*  
*traṇa sakhīo saṃghāte cālī verāgī daśavīśa jī.*  
*saṃpuṭa trāṃbānī ḍābalīno temāṃ bāḷamukuṃḍa jī.*

<sup>24</sup>Munshi 1935:190.

<sup>25</sup>Jhaveri 1914:132-8.

<sup>26</sup>Desāi 1964:15-7.

*kaṃṭhe hāra karīne rākhyā dāmodara naṃdānaṃda jī.*  
*vahelanī pūṃṭhe kothaḷo bāṃdhyo māṃhī bharyāṃ vājīṃtra jī;*  
*gāṃṭhaḍī gopīcaṃdanānī che tulasīkāṣṭha pavitra jī;*  
*mosālānī sāmagrīmāṃ chāpāṃ tilaka ne tāḷa jī.*  
*narasaiṃyānuṃ nibharya mana che je bhogavaśe gopāḷa jī.*  
*baḷahīṇa baḷado ṣuṃ hīṃḍe thele vaiṣṇava sātha jī;*  
*sora pāḍe ne ḍhāḷa caḍāve jaya jaya vaikuṃṭhanātha jī.*  
*eka baḷada gaḷiyo thaī bese eka ekalo tāṇī jāya jī.*  
*paḍyāne pūṃcha grahī uṭhāḍe kautuk koṭī thāya jī.*  
*sālesāla jūjvāṃ dīse vahela thāya che vakra jī;*  
*sāṃgīno bahu śabda ja uṭhe cūcave che bahu cakra jī.*  
*caḍe bese ne vaḷī ūtare le rāmakṛṣṇanuṃ nāma jī.*  
*madhyāhne mahetājī pahomṭyā jovā mēlyuṃ sau gāma jī.*

Narasimha Mahetā invited all his relatives to his house - they were Vaiṣṇava sants.

'Let's go with the *mosāḷuṃ* - it's time for my daughter's *sīmaṃt*.'

The cart was old and the yoke was bent, the axle was bust,  
The shafts were borrowed from one person, the mudguards from  
another, the pair of bullocks was borrowed from someone else.

Mehtājī went to the *māmeruṃ*, he remembered Śrī Jagadīśa.

Three female sants were in the crowd, there were a dozen renouncers.

His Bāḷamukuṃda was in a casket made of a copper box.

At his throat he'd made a necklace where he kept Dāmodara  
Naṃdānaṃda.

At the back of the cart he'd tied a bag, full of musical instruments;

A bag of sacred clay, and the sacred tulsī wood;

Stamps, tilaks and cymbals made up this *mosāḷuṃ* !

Narasaiṃya's mind was free from fear, thinking that God will enjoy  
them.

The weak bullocks could barely move so the company of Vaiṣṇavas  
pushed.

They shouted as they went up the hill, 'Praise Vaikuṃṭhanātha!'

One bullock weakened and sat down, and the other pulled on its own.

They pulled the tail of the fallen one to make it get up. Many such  
incidents happened.

Every joint on the cart was loose, the cart was crooked

The body of the cart groaned, the wheels grated



They got in, sat down and got out again, saying, 'He Rāma!' and 'He Kṛṣṇa!'.

At midday Mehtājī arrived, and the whole town came to see.

Śāmaḷ Bhaṭṭ (born c. 1700<sup>27</sup>) was a Śrīgoḍ Mālvi Brahmin of Venganpur, now Gomtipur, a suburb of Ahmadabad. At one time he was regarded as a great writer of original fiction and a peer of Premānand, but now it is clear that he also took his stories from old Gujarati fiction as is usual in oral traditions. His works were mainly narrative and didactic, *Madan Mohanā* being the best-known narrative and *Ratnamālā* the best-known didactic work. The latter sets out merits and demerits of classes of people, while the former tells of a Rajput princess's love for a Baniā minister, their marriage and adventures, with the use of stories within stories found in folk narratives.

Although not in the *bhakti* tradition, and although he left no followers, Śāmaḷ's works are of interest here because he is the first Gujarati writer to use a large admixture of Persian words. Persian was the language of the Ahmadabad Sultanate and of the later Mughal court, but Persian, Arabic and Urdu were used mainly by the ruling elite,<sup>28</sup> for whom some authors from Gujarat wrote in Persian.<sup>29</sup> Persian was used also by Parsis for writing mythological and historical narratives, although they also composed in their own dialect of Gujarati.<sup>30</sup> Some Sufis wrote in Persian, while on the other hand, a Bohra woman, Ratanbāi, composed Gujarati songs (*garabīs* and *padas*) in honour of Kāyam-dīn Pīr, and other Muslim sects, such as the Khoja Ismaili followers of the Aga Khan,<sup>31</sup> also used Gujarati for their work.

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<sup>27</sup>Jhaveri 1914:95 gives the dates c. 1640-1730.

<sup>28</sup>It is not clear at what date Gujarati Muslims started their current tradition of knowing (some) Urdu.

<sup>29</sup>Two histories of Muslim rule in Gujarat were written: the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, by a Gujarati convert to Islam from Mehmabad; while Alī Mahmūd Khān Bahādur, the superintendent of customs who had suppressed riots in Ahmadabad in 1730, wrote *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī* (1761-5). Ranchoḍjī Dīvān (1786-1841), a Nāgar Brahmin of Saurashtra, wrote a history of the peninsula, the *Tārikh-i-sorat*.

<sup>30</sup>Munshi 1935:211-2.

<sup>31</sup>See Shackle and Moir 1992.

While the Gujarati lexis was being influenced by Persian, literary forms were being drawn from Gujarati folk sources rather than borrowed from Braj and Sanskritic traditions. From this period, we find the first written examples of the *garabo* folk song, the *garabos* of Vallabh Bhaṭ addressed to the mother goddess, Mātā. These are chronicles of the major seats of the goddess in Gujarat at Arasur, Chunval and Pavagadh, and can be dated from his descriptions of the famine of 1731. The most famous of these *garabos* are the laments of a young woman married to an old man.

A number of *bhagats*<sup>32</sup> were active during this period, and their work shows the continuing enrichments made on the Gujarati language from Persian. Dhīra (1753-1825), a Brahmabhaṭa from Gothda in Vadodara district, was a henpecked husband. When he used to wander outside the house, he wrote a specific kind of *pada* called *kāfi*<sup>33</sup> on bamboo which he floated on the River Mahi. His best known work is the *Svarūpnī kāfi* which shows his 'clear, homely and telling style, and [has] the sentiments of Akhā without his lashing bitterness.'<sup>34</sup> Minor writers include Nirānta Bhagat (1770-1846) of Dethana, near Vadodara, a Patidar whose philosophical verse in simple and charming language was very popular. His language is also notable for using more Urdu than any of his contemporaries, so much so that it was alleged that he had a Muslim teacher.<sup>35</sup> Bāpu Sheb Gāikwār (1779-1843), a disciple of Dhīro, wrote a number of Gujarati *bhajans* although he was a Maratha Sirdar, belonging to a well-connected family in Vadodara. Bhojo Bhagat (1785-1850), an illiterate Patidar from Saurashtra, composed many *padas* of which the most important collection is *Cābkhā* ('Lashes'), in which he attacked social vice with great bitterness. He died at Virpur and left a large number of followers, who worship his footprints. Rāje Bhagat (early

<sup>32</sup>Although *bhagat* is a *tadbhava* form (Prakritic) of *bhakta* it has the specific meaning of *jñāna-mārgī-kavi* rather than *bhakta*. In this sense it is used more frequently to describe a group of eighteenth century Gujarati poets (see below). Cf. Mallison 1992:94.

<sup>33</sup>See Shackle 1972 and Shackle 1989b:85.

<sup>34</sup>Munshi 1935:212.

<sup>35</sup>Jhaveri 1914:175.

eighteenth century), was a Garāsīā Molesalām, a member of a group whose practices are both Hindu and Muslim, although they call themselves Muslim. He wrote *saguṇa* Kṛṣṇaite poetry.<sup>36</sup> Although very popular in Gujarat, he is not mentioned in most histories of Gujarati literature and his connections with Dayārām have never been explored. This omission is significant. Not only do the histories of Gujarati literature contain almost no information on the literatures of the various Gujarati Muslim communities, but it seems that the writings of a Muslim author are not included even when they are on the subject of *Kṛṣṇabhakti*.<sup>37</sup>

The most celebrated of Dayārām's contemporaries were followers of Svāminārāyaṇ, who had recently established a sect in Gujarat in which he introduced Gujarati as an official language at an early date,<sup>38</sup> unlike the Puṣṭimārga where Sanskrit and Braj are the only official languages. The major poets of the sect<sup>39</sup> were Muktānand (1761-1824); Brahmānand (d. 1849), a Bhāṭā who also wrote in Hindi; and the most popular of all, Premānand Sakhī (1779-1845) of Gadhada in Saurashtra. All these poets composed *padas* or *garabīs* in praise of Kṛṣṇa or of Svāminārāyaṇ. Brahmānand is renowned for his skilful use of language, thought to be better than all his contemporaries except Dayārām; but Premānand is considered to be a better poet, and wrote verse full of intense feeling in which he imagined himself to be the lover of Svāminārāyaṇ. Most of these poets are known only by followers of the sect, the bulk of whose hymnal is formed by their work.<sup>40</sup> In fact, the only other poets included in this hymnal are Kabīr, Mīrām and Narasiṃha Mahetā. Dayārām is not included.

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<sup>36</sup>See Mallison 1992:95-6.

<sup>37</sup>Cf. Snell 1989 on Raskhān, a Muslim devotee of Śrī Nāthjī.

<sup>38</sup>See Dwyer 1994.

<sup>39</sup>See also Mallison 1974a:440.

<sup>40</sup>See Anon. 1989: *Kīrtan muktāvalī*.

### 3.2 Dayārām's corpus: texts and transmission

Although best known for his lyric poems, 89 other works by Dayārām are identified by Dave<sup>41</sup> and there may be further works in manuscript collections. His corpus has been divided into various categories, the most rigorous division being that of Dave 1970, who divides the corpus into *dārśanika kṛtīo* (philosophical works), *nāmasaṃkīrtanātmaka ane upadeśātmaka kṛtīo* (the names of Kṛṣṇa; and didactic works), *ākhyāna ane padamālā* (narrative works), *anudita kṛtīo* (translations), *pada-garabī-garabo* (lyrics), *gadyakṛtīo* (prose works) and *prakīrṇa kṛtīo* (miscellaneous works). This section looks briefly at the major works in these sections other than the lyrics, which are to be examined in closer detail from 3.3 onwards.

#### Philosophical works

Events in Dayārām's life showed him to be a critic of the practices of the Puṣṭimārga, but his philosophical works adhere closely to the doctrine of *śuddhādvaita* as expounded in the *Śoḍaśagrantha*, written in Sanskrit by Vallabhācārya. The best known and most important of this part of Dayārām's work is undoubtedly the *Rasikavallabha* 'The beloved of connoisseurs' (1838). Its 109 verses in a variety of metres are written in Gujarati in the form of a dialogue between a teacher and his pupil. It expounds the major doctrines of the Puṣṭimārga (the nature of Brahma, *jīva*, *jagat*, *māyā*, *mokṣa*, and the importance of *bhakti*) while refuting the *kevalādvaita* philosophy of Śaṅkara. It uses simple terms, with many allusions to puranic myths.<sup>42</sup>

Two more of Dayārām's philosophical works also explain the doctrines of the sect in simple and clear terms. The *Puṣṭipatharahasya* 'The secret of the Puṣṭimārga', is written in Gujarati in 183 *dūhā* and *rasāvalā* verses and advocates devotion to the sect, in particular to its founders, Vallabhācārya and Viṭṭhalnāth,

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<sup>41</sup>Dave 1970:287-90.

<sup>42</sup>A detailed account of the contents is given in Sandesara 1981:34-8.

their descendants and the great Vaiṣṇava *bhaktas*. The *Bhaktipoṣaṇa* 'The nourishment of *bhakti*', composed in 101 *candrāvalā* verses in Braj, seems to be a shorter and earlier version of the *Rasikavallabha*.<sup>43</sup>

Dayārām's other philosophical works all deal with philosophical topics relating to the sect (e.g. in Braj: the *Rasikaraṃjana* 'The delight of the rasikas', a shorter work in 17 *prakaraṇas* in a variety of metres), the *Siddhāntasāra* 'The essence of doctrine' and the *Bhaktividhāna* 'The establishment of *bhakti*.'

The names of Kṛṣṇa and didactic works

A large number of Dayārām's works are concerned with the form of *bhakti* known as *nāmasmarāṇa* (reciting the name), and are mostly written in Gujarati in a variety of metres. They include *Śrīkṛṣṇanāma ciṃtāmaṇi*, *Śrīvallabha-aṣṭotaraśatanāma*, *Śrīviṭṭhala-aṣṭotaraśatanāma*, *Śrīpuruṣottama-aṣṭotaraśatanāma*, *Śrīrādhā-aṣṭotaraśatanāma*. The didactic verses include the *Ciṃtācūrṇikā* 'The crushing of care', 61 verses of instruction for removing *ciṃtā* ('care') by submitting to Kṛṣṇa's will, and the *Prabodhabāvanī* '52 verses on enlightenment' written in the *kumḍaliyā* metre, with every verse beginning and ending with the same proverb. Also included here are the poems describing the lives of the great Vaiṣṇava *bhaktas*, such as the *Vaiṣṇavanuṃ dhoḷa* (in Gujarati) and the *Puṣṭibhaktarūpamālikā* (in Braj), and dramatic dialogues between *bhaktas*, such as the *Brāhmaṇabhaktavivāda nāṭaka* consisting of 70 *kaḍīs* in the *duvaiyā* metre in the form of a verbal contest between two Brahmins, one a devotee of Viṣṇu and one of Śiva, who conclude that an 'untouchable' *bhakta* is better than a Brahmin averse to *bhakti*; the *Hanumān Garuḍa saṃvāda*, a quarrel between Rāma's *bhakta* and Viṣṇu's vehicle which ends when they realise the unity of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa; and the *Manamati saṃvāda nāṭaka*, a debate between the mind and the intellect as to their roles in devotion.

<sup>43</sup>Dave 1970:88.

Narrative works: *ākhyāna* and *padamālā*

Dayārām's *ākhyānas* ('narrative poems') draw on the *Purāṇas* or describe an episode in the life of a great *bhakta*, historical or legendary. Dayārām built on the style developed by Bhālaṇa (fl. c. 1450) and Premānand (c.1634-1700), but he is generally considered to have composed rather poor *ākhyānas* in comparison with these two masters.<sup>44</sup> Many of these draw on themes from *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, such as *Rukmiṇīvivāha*, *Rukmiṇīsīmanta*, *Satyabhāmāvivāha*, *Okhāharaṇa*, *Nāgnajitīvivāha*, *Ajāmilākhyāna*, *Vṛtrāsuraākhyāna*, while others describe episodes in the lives of the great Gujarati *bhaktas*, such as *Kuṃvarabāīnuṃ māmeruṃ*, based on an episode in the life of Narasiṃha Mahetā. He writes of Mīrām's life in the *Mīrāmcaritra*.

The *padamālās* are groups of poems which may stand individually but which narrate in a less integrated manner than an *ākhyāna* an episode in the Kṛṣṇalīlā. Dayārām wrote poems on eight *līlās*: *Patralīlā* (the *līlā* of the letter), *Muralīlīlā* (the *līlā* of the flute), *Rūpalīlā* (the *līlā* of the form of Kṛṣṇa), *Premarasagītā* (the song of love), *Bālalīlā* (the *līlā* of childhood), *Ṣaḍṛtuvarṇana* (the description of the six seasons), *Kṛṣṇaviyogavirahanā dvādaśamāsa* (the *līlā* of the separation through the twelve months of the year), and *Kamaḷalīlā* (the *līlā* of the lotus).

#### Translations

The authenticity of Dayārām's translated works has been questioned in the absence of autograph manuscripts,<sup>45</sup> but they are widely accepted as his by other scholars. Dayārām wrote Gujarati translations of the *Bhagavadgītā*, a core text of the sect from Sanskrit, and two of the works of Sūrdās, the primary poet of the sect, the *Sūrasārāvalī* and the *Kamalalīlā*, from Braj.

<sup>44</sup>See Dave 1970 and Tripāthī 1957.

<sup>45</sup>Notably by K.K. Shastri (Dave 1970:178).

### Prose works

Dayārām's prose works are also strongly sectarian and are written in the form of questions and answers on matters relating to the sect (*Praśnottaramālikā*, *Praśnottaravicāra*, *Praśnottaramāḷā*), or on the importance of texts (*Bhagavadgītā māhātmya*), or on forms of god (*Hariharādi svarūpa tāratmya*); or else they are prose commentaries on texts (*Satasaiyānī gadya ṭikā*). These early examples of modern Gujarati prose are given in the form of dialogues and so represent attempts to write spoken forms of the language rather than to create a specifically prose style.

### Miscellaneous works

Dayārām's miscellaneous works include his *Satasaiyā* of 1816, a verse work in Braj of more than 700 *dūhā* verses with a Gujarati gloss on every verse, blending didactic and erotic verses and combining elements of sectarian devotion with treatises on poetics. The other works in this residual category are technical, a *Piṅgalasāra* (on metrics), a *Rāgamāḷā* (on music) and *Tālamāḷā* (on rhythm) while his *Vastuvṛṃdadīpikā* (1818) in Braj is a list of items or particulars from 1 to 108, given in ascending order.

Overall, therefore, Dayārām's non-lyric works are seen to be strongly sectarian and to use a variety of traditional Gujarati and Braj forms. They contain little of literary interest and are not widely known even in Gujarat. His philosophical works are the best-known, probably because they explain the doctrines of the sect in simple and straightforward terms to the followers of the sect, to whom the Sanskrit texts are available only through *kathā* performances which offer vernacular commentary. Some of his other works seem to have been rather mediocre or inferior and have been neglected in favour of the superior handling of such genres by others, notably in the case of his *ākhyānas* which are inferior to those of Premānand.

Descendants of Dayārām's followers have some handwritten copies of his works including one of the *Rasikavallabha*. It is not clear whether these were written by Dayārām himself or by his disciples. Sandesara describes the way he composed:

Dayārām's hand-writing was neat and shapely and he was an excellent orthographer, as is evident from the extant manuscripts written or copied down by him. First copies of many of his works were, presumably, prepared by himself. But he had developed an alternative method of writing, especially for the composition of his lyrics. He kept by his seat a wooden board coloured with chalk and sprinkled with Gulāl (slightly fragrant reddish powder). There were always one or two Vataṛaṇās (wooden pens or small thin sticks for writing on the board) nearby. Whenever he was in a creative mood he spoke the words aloud and a person sitting by his side wrote down his words on that board; Dayārām heard the writing once or twice, and corrected, amended and revised the same. Then finally he asked that it be written down on paper. Even before dictating anything he used to murmur, as if thinking somewhat aloud or conversing with himself and his lips would be quivering, as if measuring the power and propriety or words in the poem under composition.<sup>46</sup>

It is not clear what happened to these manuscripts after his death. It seems that they remained in the hands of his pupils, and Taraporewala<sup>47</sup> believed that a considerable number of his poems (perhaps the greater part) are still unpublished. His disciples regard them as too sacred to be disseminated in print amongst those who might scoff at them. However, some of them have been given to scholars of Dayārām's work<sup>48</sup> and his pupils (like Jośī) and their descendants have produced printed editions of Dayārām's works based on several manuscripts in their possession. This tradition of personal connection with Dayārām is of great importance, and many of the scholars who have studied Dayārām are also his castemen from Dabhoi, like Subhash Dave and Suman Shah.

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<sup>46</sup>Sandesara 1981 27-8.

<sup>47</sup>Taraporewala 1936:438.

<sup>48</sup>E.g. Śāstrī 1961 is based on a manuscript said to be written by Dayārām himself. A page of the manuscript is given (see xerox following). The handwriting is in an angular Devanagari script with the top line, quite unlike the rounder Gujarati script. It is clearly written, with few amendments.



Sample of handwritten manuscript, said to have been written by Dayārām: the opening verse of the *Rasikavallabha*.

(From Śāstrī and Joṣī 1980:xii)

श्रीगुरुगोपीजनवल्लभायनमः  
 अथरसिकवल्लभग्रंथविरच्य  
 ते॥छंदः ॥रागसामेरी॥  
 प्रथमजत्रणमूश्रीगुरुपायेजी॥  
 बाहाल्येवंदूश्रीत्रजरायेजी॥१॥  
 अथेसखाबंदूदरिरूपजी॥२॥  
 धिकशिरोमणिकविकुलचूप  
 जी॥३॥मुजनैजाणीसुकुनिजदा  
 सजी॥मुजरुदयामांपूरोवास  
 जी॥४॥मुजनैभासेनिजप्रमुपथ  
 जी॥५॥रचूरविकवल्लभमशुभग्रंथ  
 जी॥६॥० गळःग्रंथरचचनाकस्त  
 छं गुरुशिष्यसंबादेकरी॥खंडन  
 मायाबादशुधाद्वैतप्रतिपादन  
 चरी॥७॥जेयकीसुकुसंधेरले  
 सिधांतसूधनासे॥पडेप्रतिवि  
 परवतत्रायनिश्चैन्नमणजाती  
 नासे॥८॥होयप्रकटभक्तीप्रेम  
 श्रीगिरेधरवसेउरमादे॥  
 निजकरीकरुसाडुष्टिनाळ  
 सहजका लेबासे॥९॥एदेव

श्री. दयारामभाभिता उस्ताक्षर : रसिकवल्लभ

The first edition of Dayārām's work, *Dayārāmkr̥t kāvyaśaṃgraha*, was made by Kavi Narmad, and first published in 1860. Narmad describes<sup>49</sup> how he collected this material in the decade after Dayārām's death. He went to Dabhoi and Vadodara where he met Dayārām's disciple Raṅchoḍ Jośī. When Jośī later came to Bombay Narmad persuaded him to narrate Dayārām's story, which he interspersed with some of Dayārām's songs. Raṅchoḍ did not write anything down for Narmad, but Narmad's pupils wrote down the verses which Raṅchoḍ sang. I have been able to obtain a copy of volume of Volume One only and it is not clear if other volumes were ever published. The 577-paged volume is divided into several sections. The first, which is unnamed, contains some of his longer texts: religio-philosophical, *ākhyānas*, and longer lyrics, such as *padas*, *dhoḷas*, and *garabos*. The second section, of 116 lyrics, consists mostly of *garabīs* but contains a few *padas*. The third section is of *nīti-bhakti dhoḷas*. The fourth section gives three 'Hindustani' texts, then there are three more sections in Hindustani: *śṛṅgāra padas*, *bhakti padas* and five *nīti-vairāgya padas*. The book ends with two *padas* in Marathi.

Many editions were subsequently produced by Dayārām's *śiṣyaputras* ('disciples equal to sons'). For example, Choṭālāl (Śrī Nāthjībhāī) Girijāśaṃkara Jośī (with V.H. Śāstrī) edited *Dayārāmkr̥ta kāvyaśaṃgraha* (1900-), which contains most of Dayārām's extant works. Subsequent editions include various selections of his lyrical works and may also contain some of his religio-philosophical works.<sup>50</sup> Later editions include 'popular' editions such as those published by the Sastuṃ Sāhitya Vardhak Kāryālaya.<sup>51</sup> This book is called *Dayārāmnām bhajano* and although the *Bhaktipoṣaṇ* forms a large part of the volume, the book includes a large number of *padas* and very few *garabos* and *garabīs*. In view of the fact that the manuscripts are kept in private collections, it is

<sup>49</sup>Narmadāśaṃkar 1912:n. 476-77.

<sup>50</sup>See 2.3 above for selections in anthologies of Gujarati literature.

<sup>51</sup>Ṭhakar 1987.

likely that these later editions are probably not based on manuscript sources, but on previous printed editions.

The best known of all the collections of Dayārām's lyrics is that of Rāval (1943 and subsequent editions). It is even mentioned as an outstanding work of literary editing in the *Gujarātī sāhityano itihās*.<sup>52</sup> This edition has become standard among scholars and *Kṛṣṇabhaktas* alike. Many of the Dabhoivāsīs who keep Dayārām's tradition alive have a copy of this volume in their homes. It is used as the basis for the selection of texts and translations of Chapter 7.

However, in recent years, a well-known scholar of the Puṣṭimārga, Prof. Shastri, has collaborated with the son of one of Dayārām's disciples (Jivanlāl Chaganlāl Jośī, son of Dayārām's disciple Chaganlāl) to produce a series of Dayārām's texts.<sup>53</sup> Unfortunately, the lyric poems are not yet available in this series, apart from a few *garabos* and *dhoḷas*.

Dayārām wrote his own Gujarati commentary to his Braj *Satasaiyā* but otherwise no lengthy commentaries have been made, except that of Śāstri 1961 on *Rasikavallabha*. Translations of single works appear in some of the histories of literature,<sup>54</sup> and in Thoothi 1935. There seems to be only one volume of translations of his work (by C. Shukla) of which I have not been able to locate a copy.

While the majority of Dayārām's works have been published by mainstream Gujarati publishers such as the Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmadabad and the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay, others have been published by his followers. For example the Śrījoṣjīnī Bhagavad Maṇḍaḷī published a thousand copies of the life of Dayārām's disciple Nāthjībhāi Girijāśaṅkarbhāi Jośī in 1955. Publication of Dayārām's work was also carried out by the Bhakta Kavi Śrī Dayārām Sāhitya Prakāśak, Bombay and by descendants of his disciples (such as Nārāyaṇdās

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<sup>52</sup>Paṛikh 1981:229.

<sup>53</sup>Śāstri and Jośī 1973-.

<sup>54</sup>Munshi 1935, Jhaveri 1914.

Pramānaṃddās Śāh, Dabhoivālā). These books are distributed through major Gujarati bookshops and through sectarian centres such as the Naḍīādñā Śrīpuṣṭimārgīy Pustakālaynī Ḍipo and through the Bhakta Kaviśrī Dayārām Smārak Samiti, Dabhoi.

### 3.3 Dayārām's lyrics

Dayārām makes no specific references to his sources, but his religio-philosophical works show that he had some knowledge, whether direct or indirect, of the *Prasthāna catuṣṭaya*, the four core Sanskrit texts of the Puṣṭimārga. These are the Vedas, the *Bhagavadgītā*, Vyāsa's *Brahmasūtras* and the ultimate authority, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. His religio-philosophical works demonstrate his detailed knowledge of the writings of Vallabhācārya, and he certainly would have known the Braj writings of the *aṣṭachāp* through hearing the *Havelīsaṃgīt* ('the temple songs'), the songs of eight Braj poets used in the liturgy of the Puṣṭimārga.

The sources for the lyrics are likely to have been Book 10 (*Daśama skandha*) of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*, the writings of the *aṣṭachāp*, the works of Narasiṃha Mahetā, and the folk literature of Gujarat. It is therefore not surprising that many of the features shared by most Kṛṣṇaite poetry are found in his lyrics: the personae are the same (Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā, the Gopīs, Uddhava), as are the locations (Braj, Gokul, Vrindavan and the River Yamuna), and the themes<sup>55</sup> (Kṛṣṇa's *bāllilā*, *muralīlīlā*, *rāslīlā*, *dānlīlā*, *viraha* and reunion, Kṛṣṇa's tricks and the Gopīs' displeasure). As with the Braj lyrics, they draw on the shared range of reference of the poet and his audience rather than being in a narrative sequence.<sup>56</sup>

Dayārām's *padas* are thus very similar in their structure and contents to those of the Braj Kṛṣṇaite poets. They usually consist of between five and fifteen

<sup>55</sup>See Vaudeville 1971, Hawley 1984; Bhayani and Yagnik 1991 etc.

<sup>56</sup>See Bryant 1978 for a discussion of possible implications of this situation.

verses, spoken as if authored by the poet himself. The *chāpa* is of the form *Dayā!* 'Dayā!' or *Dayo kahe...* 'Dayo says...'. While sharing the same themes as Dayārām's *garabo/garabīs* (to be discussed below), his *padas* include a number of prayer-type lyrics (e.g. 184 *Eka vinaṃti*) and more 'philosophical' topics (e.g. 142 *Prema*, 163 *Mārum dhaṇakatuṃ dhora*, 164 *Niścayanā mahelamām*) and the definition of a true Vaiṣṇava (175 *Vaiṣṇava nathī thayo tuṃ re!*), a theme seen in the work of other Gujarati poets.<sup>57</sup>

As each of his predecessors was famed for one verse form (Narasimha for his *prabhātiyām*, Mīrām for her *padas*, Akho for his *chappā*), Dayārām's reputation as one of the greatest poets of Gujarat is for his Gujarati lyrics, especially his *garabo/garabīs*, rather than his philosophical writings or *ākhyānas*, or his writings in Braj and in other Indian languages. There are many, often conflicting, definitions of the verse forms he used. This section looks at definitions of *pada*, *garabo* and *garabī* then attempts to define these terms in the the context of Dayārām's lyrics.

The *pada* verse form is used by all the poet-saints of North India. In Gujarat it emerged in the fifteenth century as a popular form favoured by Narasimha. The primary meaning of the word *pada* in Sanskrit is 'step, pace, stride; footstep, trace' but it means 'a portion of a verse, quarter or line of a stanza' as early as the Ṛgveda and 'word or an inflected word or the stem of a noun' by the time of Pāṇini. In the vernaculars *pada* came to mean a fairly free verse form. The contents and the performance are seen as being among its defining qualities:

Pada is a brief poem expressing powerful emotion but having some description or narration and, at times, some didactic element also. It was meant to be sung and the particular melody in which it is to be sung is generally indicated in the manuscripts, though one and the same Pada was, at times, played or set to different tunes, as is clear from references to the same pada in different manuscripts.<sup>58</sup>

The *pada* uses a restricted range of metres,<sup>59</sup> of which the most popular in Gujarati *padas* seem to be the *dūhā*, the *copāī* and the *jhūlaṇā*. Many *pada* metres

<sup>57</sup>See for example Narasimha Mahetā's *Vaiṣṇavajana* in section 3.1 above.

<sup>58</sup>Sandesara 1981:58-9.

<sup>59</sup>See, e.g., Snell 1991b:24-6.

have a sixteen-*mātrā* base and can be set to the sixteen-beat *tīntāl*, the most common *tāla*.<sup>60</sup> The *pada*:

...customarily contains an even number of lines - most often six to ten, but occasionally as few as four or as many as a hundred - of which all lines but the first, the *ṭeka*, are of equal length. Two common rhyme schemes are employed: couplet-rhyme, and a single rhyme sustained throughout the *pada*. The metrical basis is quantitative; the unit of quantity is the *mātrā* (mora).<sup>61</sup>

The *ṭeka* is the:

'prop' - the half-line which usually begins a *pada*, and which is, in most styles of performance, repeated several times during the course of the poem (usually at the end of every couplet). The rhetorical function of the *ṭeka* in the performance of a *pada* has been described by Gaurīśaṅkar Miśra, who in turn cites his debt to Brajeśvar Varmā: 'By presenting the central mood of the entire *pada* in a few concise and well-constructed words in the form of a *ṭek*, the poet produces a particular charm in his *pada*.'<sup>62</sup>

A further feature of the *pada* is that the final or penultimate line normally includes the signature (*chāpa*) of the composer. For example 206 *Vediyo vaiyākaraṇīya*:

*nija nābhimāṃ kasturī paṇa harṣa na pāme haraṇī,*  
*Dayo kahe, dhana daṭayunṇ ghaṇunṇ, jyama dhanavaṃta kahāve*  
*nirdhaṇī.*  
There is musk in its own navel, but the deer does not experience  
delight,  
Dayo says, he buries much wealth, and so the rich man is called poor.

The *garabo* and *garabī* forms are unique to Gujarat. Although the terms are used for lyrics, they were originally used for dances performed on auspicious occasions, where men but more often women, move in a circle, singing to rhythmical hand-clapping. The terms derive from the *garabo*, an earthen lamp which is either placed in the circle or carried by the dancers. There are many definitions of these two terms,<sup>63</sup> with some critics despairing of finding a definition:

Garabī is, in fact, almost a synonym of the literary form of Pad developed in Old Gujarati literature with a slightly specialized connotation.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>60</sup>See Snell 1991b:24-5 for an example of a *pada* set to *tīntāl*.

<sup>61</sup>Bryant 1978:125.

<sup>62</sup>Bryant 1978:33.

<sup>63</sup>See, e.g., Jhaveri 1914:35; Thoothi 1935:298; Majumdar 1964:300.

<sup>64</sup>Sandesara 1981:58.

However Sandesara does not explain what these connotations are. It seems that several forms have become confused over time:

In fact, the Gujarati poet and singer cannot quite see the specific distance and dissimilarities between the *garabo* and the *garbi*, and had been employing his wits, knowingly and unknowingly, to fuse the two by imparting *rāsa* characteristics to the *garabo*, and *garabo* elements to the *garbi* which is really a Gujarati daughter of the *rāsa*.<sup>65</sup>

Mallison<sup>66</sup> unravels the various forms historically by looking at their performance, noting a distinction between the *garabo* and *garabī* in the worship of the goddess and then demonstrating that there is a secondary type of *garabī* which has its origins in the Kṛṣṇaite *rāsa* dance. The following is an abbreviated translation of these definitions:

The *garabo* and the *garabī* are ritual circular dances in honour of the goddess, specific to Gujarat which are sung to *dhālas*<sup>67</sup> rather than *rāgas*. In the *garabo*, the deity is signified by an oil lamp placed in a pot, which is placed either in the middle of the dancers, or on the heads of the dancers. The *garabī* has a *māṇḍvī* where millet or rice have been sprouted before the celebration and where there are images of the deity. Again, this representation of the deity may be placed in the middle of the circle or on the heads of the dancers.

The term *garabī* may be used also when the *garabo* is danced by men. Apart from in Saurashtra, the *garabo* is usually danced by women and is performed by men only for festivals in honour of the Devī, never for domestic rituals. Men and women never dance together (apart from married couples occasionally). *Garabos* are danced during Navratrī, marriages, *simants* etc.

It seems that the *garabo/garabī* were originally connected to the cult of Kālikā Mātā<sup>68</sup> at Pāvāgaḍh (cf. 'The Fall of Pāvāgaḍh' by Sāmaḷa Bhaṭṭa, composed in the eighteenth century<sup>69</sup>). The first author whose work is extant is Bhāṇadāsa (17th century). Vallabha Bhaṭṭa (c. 1700) was a devotee of Bahucarājī, but he also sang of the exploits of Kṛṣṇa and of social events. Other writers after this were Nātha Bhavāna (1681-1800), Miṭhu (1738-1791) and Raṇachoḍa Divāna (1768-1851).

The *rāsa* (distinguished from the *rāsābaṇḍha* 'heroic poem') is danced on any occasion and is mostly Kṛṣṇaite. It has origins in the *Mahārāsa* of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, similar to the *garabo*, may use *daṇḍas* to mark time (*dāṇḍiā rāsa*), and is danced by mixed groups of men and women.

There is another sense of *garabī* which is that of short poems sung about the loves of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs, lyric poems which may be danced. They originate in the *rāsa* although homonymous with *garabī-garabo*. The confusion has arisen because of the *garabos* being about the exploits of Kṛṣṇa.

<sup>65</sup>Thoothi 1935:332-3.

<sup>66</sup>Mallison 1991b:122-5.

<sup>67</sup>See below.

<sup>68</sup>Mātā, Ambājī, Becarājī, Kālī or Durgā.

<sup>69</sup>Dave 1954.

Only the Kṛṣṇaite *garabī* is relevant to this study of Dayārām. (A discussion of the use of the term *garabo* for some of Dayārām's lyrics is taken up at the end of this section. To avoid confusion with the *śākta-garabī/garabo*, the term *garabī* will be used here to cover both groups.) In fact, the Kṛṣṇaite *garabī* is so closely associated with Dayārām that it has even been suggested that he was its creator.<sup>70</sup> However, the form seems to predate him by several centuries. Among the Ismaili *gināns* are included a number of *garabīs* attributed to Pīr Shams (c. 14th century).<sup>71</sup> If these *garabīs* had been composed by Pīr Shams, then they would be the earliest extant *garabīs*. However, they can be dated from their language to the seventeenth or eighteenth century<sup>72</sup> and so are no earlier than the extant Hindu *garabīs*.

The *garabī* has been used successfully by a number of other writers, both before and after Dayārām. For example, it was used by his predecessors to sing the glory of Kṛṣṇa (Narasimha, Dhīro, Dvārkādās<sup>73</sup>), the *dānlilā* of Kṛṣṇa (Pṛitamdās), descriptions of the Gopīs' *viraha* (Raghunāthdās), songs based on the hope of *vairāgya* (mostly by followers of Svāminārāyaṇ) and by his successors, such as Dalpatrām's son, Nhānālāl (1877-1946), who wrote Kṛṣṇaite *garabīs* and also used the form for the theme of secular romantic love. It is claimed he wrote some modern versions of Dayārām's *garabīs*,<sup>74</sup> but I have found no evidence for this in his works. Rāvaḷ<sup>75</sup> also thinks this claim is unlikely since Nhānālāl is too influenced by the new Puritanism of the late nineteenth century to write erotic verses in the mode of Narasimha Mahetā or of Dayārām.

It was mentioned above that the definition of the *garabī* has not been made clear. However, using Mallison's untangling of the *garabo/garabī* and the Kṛṣṇaite *garabī*, the rest of this section is concerned with establishing a firmer definition of

<sup>70</sup>Divatia 1932:280.

<sup>71</sup>See Shackle and Moir 1992:128-33 for an example.

<sup>72</sup>Mallison 1991b:127.

<sup>73</sup>Dvārkādās wrote the first Puṣṭimārgī *garabīs*.

<sup>74</sup>Munshi 1935:292-305.

<sup>75</sup>Rāvaḷ 1981:41.



this form and with contrasting it with the *pada*. It elaborates the basic definition of the Kṛṣṇaite *garabī*: it is short, usually four to eight lines, although occasionally fifteen to eighteen, and deals with a single episode, passion or situation drawing mostly on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*. It does this by looking at formal features, mostly metre, musical performance and narrative voice.

It was stated above that the *pada* form uses traditional *mātrika* metres set to *tāla* cycles for performance. The *varṇika* or *mātrika* metres are however not used in the *garabī* type, which instead use *tāla*-style *deśī* metres. These consist of patterns of beats, with no fixed *mātrās* or syllables which fit into these *tāla* cycles. Although some of the metres in Dayārām's *garabī* lyrics have traces of *mātrika*-metres, none fits a *mātrika* metre entirely. Therefore the *garabī* can be distinguished from the *pada* on metrical grounds.

Dayārām's *garabīs* always have a *ṭeka* ('refrain'), which may be the whole of the first verse, or a *pāda* ('section, foot') from the first verse. A line may consist of one or two *pādas*. The verses are sometimes single lines (with an *aa* rhyme throughout, e.g. 18 *Śyāma raṅga*<sup>76</sup>), but are more often couplets (with *aa* rhymes, e.g. no 1 *Ūbhā raho to kaḥuṃ*), less frequently triplets (with *aaa* rhymes, e.g. 8 *Vāmsalaḍīne śabde*), still more rarely quatrains (with *bb* rhymes, e.g. 32 *Eṭaluṃ kahejo*). Further variations are rare. The *pada* does not use the triplet form which suggests that its origins may lie in the dance rhythms of Gujarat.

Most *pādas*, whose ends are marked by a *yati* ('caesura'), are an *āvartana* ('cycle') of four (sometimes three) *caraṇas* ('feet'). The foot usually has eight time units, which may be grouped in any combination. It is never monosyllabic and nearly always ends with a word break. These rhythmical patterns can be set to 4:8 time, which fits the commonest *tāla*, the sixteen-beat *tīntāl*, which is used for the circular dances.

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<sup>76</sup>The numbers preceding titles of Dayārām's lyrics are those of Rāval 1953. See also the selections in Chapter 7.

All these dances have special *ḍhāḷas* ('folk tunes') each of which has its own rise and fall in a scale of musical notes, based not on classical *rāgas* but on their folk equivalent, called *deśīs*. Thoothi<sup>77</sup> says there are only four *ḍhāḷas* for the *garabī*, which he lists as the titles of the following four *garabīs*. He calls these 'classical'; they are all titles of *garabīs* composed by Dayārām.

- 1 *Odhavaji, samdešo kahejo Śyāma ne*
- 2 *Śyāma raṅga samīpe na jāvuṃ*
- 3 *Āṃkha bharo mā alabeladā re*
- 4 *Śikha sāsuji de che re*

However, it seems that there are many more types than this even for Dayārām's *garabīs*: 62 various *ḍhāḷas* are listed for the selection printed in Rāval 1953, many of them new and composed by Dayārām himself. Bhayani and Yagnik do not mention specific *ḍhāḷas* but their definition of *deśī* would seem to include *ḍhāḷas* within the category of *deśī*. They trace the listing of *deśīs* to Jain songs, whose authors:

had the practice of indicating at the beginning of every text-section of the poems the particular *Deśī* (i.e. one of the then current popular melodies or tunes) in which the poem was to be sung. For that purpose, either the initial words, line, stanza, etc., of that popular song, or its name which was based on its theme or the character described etc. were given.<sup>78</sup>

Bhayani and Yagnik then point out that they have collected over two hundred lines which 'give a rare and valuable glimpse into the Kṛṣṇaite songs that were in popular vogue during the period covering the fifteenth to the eighteenth century.'<sup>79</sup> Unfortunately, this list and any recordings of the songs are not yet available.

Some critics see it as being unrefined:

...a *garabī* is not the same thing as the songs accepted in the art of music. The musical flourishes known to these songs are not easily workable in *garabīs* which, so far, are of limited musical power and generally do not fully develop

<sup>77</sup>Thoothi 1935:329.

<sup>78</sup>Bhayani and Yagnik 1991:43.

<sup>79</sup>Bhayani and Yagnik 1991:43.

any individual *rāga* as known to music, but mostly contain elements of different *rāgas* in stray forms, though artistically combined.<sup>80</sup>

It would certainly be inappropriate to judge folk music by the terms of classical music, but of course it is impossible to assess this claim in the absence of further information.

The only recording available to me of Dayārām's lyrics<sup>81</sup> is performed in a general light North Indian classical style rather than in a distinctive Gujarati folk style. It is on this recording that the following remarks are based. It is clear that there are two totally distinct styles of fitting the words to the tunes.<sup>82</sup> These styles of word-fitting may be called 'strict' and 'free,' according to the extent to which the singer is permitted to distort natural word rhythm in order to fit the words to music. Songs in strict forms may have refrains that are free. This is the case with 184 *Eka vināṃti* on the cassette.

In a 'strict' song, the detailed rhythm of the tune is not determined 'in advance' but is constituted by the rhythms of the words sung to it, rhythms which may well change from stanza to stanza. This is very much along the lines of the Sanskrit *Āryā* metre and related later metres. Most of the examples of 'strict' songs on the tape use *caturmātrā* or similar four-square divisions of syllable, but there are also some *trimātrā* examples, corresponding to a musical metre of 3:8. Ignoring quirks,<sup>83</sup> each syllable will be sung to its natural length, i.e. one or two *mātrās* as appropriate (*e* and *o* may of course be short, as may *ī* and *ū*.) No syllable will be extended beyond two *mātrās*, no 'rest' will occur, and there will be no forcible lengthening or shortening of syllables.

184 *Eka vināṃti*, as most of the 'strict' songs follows a *caturmātrā* underlying pattern. It is in fact simply a *caupāī*, with a free refrain *mujane mūkaśo*

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<sup>80</sup>Divatia 1932:281.

<sup>81</sup>*Dayārām - ek jhāṃkhī. Bāṃsībolnā kavi Dayārāmnī bhāvāhī kṛtīno anupam saṃgītamaya samgraha - pustikamāṃ tippaṇ sāthc.* Music director: Kaumudī Munśī. Academic advisor: Jīvanlāl Ch. Jośī. (Note that the advisor seems to be the son of Dayārām's disciple Chaganlāl, currently co-editing Dayārām's collected works. See 3.2 above.)

<sup>82</sup>For this section I am heavily indebted to Dr. J.D.Smith.

<sup>83</sup>Where, for example, a vocative is inserted, requiring unusual shortening of long syllables to 'make up time' as occurs with 'Hari!' in 184.3.

mā added to the first line and a free refrain *avasara cūkaśo mā* added to the second line:

- R     māre|aṃtasamaya|Alabelā! [mujane mūkaśo mā!]  
        mārā|Madanam|ghanajī!|chelā! [avasara cūkaśo mā!]<sup>84</sup>
- 1     Hari! hūm|jjevo|ēvo|tāmāro! [mujane mūkaśo mā]  
        Śrīguru|śompyo|graha|karo|māro,<sup>85</sup> [avasara cūkaśo mā]
- 2     mārā|doṣak|ṣa|saṃbhārī [mujane mūkaśo mā]  
        śaraṇā|gatava|sala|Giri|dhārī! [avasara cūkaśo mā]
- 3     Hari!<sup>86</sup> māre|dharma|nathī|koī|śādhana, [mujane mūkaśo mā]  
        nathī|saṃsaṃga,|smāraṇa,|śrādhana, [avasara cūkaśo mā]

Some strict songs follow a *trimātrā* pattern. For example, 140 *Sauthī para* is a strict song based on *trimātrā* rhythm:

- R     sevāni|Śrī|ṛṣṇa|rasika|Rādhi|kāpāṭi||Rādhi|kāpāṭi,|Govinda|Gopi|kāpāṭi.  
 5     lalita|chabi,|trī|bhaṃgī|Lāla||Madana|mohana,|atik|pāla,  
        jehane|nīrakhī|trīpti|Dayā|he|nathī|thātī.

In 'free' songs, the singer takes the opposite course and gives up natural word rhythm whenever convenient. All the restrictions drop away: there are three-*mātrā* syllables as a matter of course, there are 'rests', and syllables are arbitrarily shortened and lengthened. For example 18 *Śyāma raṅga* is a free song in 3:8 time:

- 1     2 1 | 2 1 | 1 2 | 2 1 | 2 1 | 1 2 | 2 1 | 1 2 |  
        śyāma|raṅga|samīpe|na|jāvum, māre|ājā|thakī|śyāma|raṅga|samīpe|na  
        jāvum.

<sup>84</sup>See Style Notes C above for an explanation of the metrical conventions used.

<sup>85</sup>Rāval 1953: 160 has *saṃbhaṃdha vicāro*.

<sup>86</sup>See n. 83 above.

2     3 2 | 2 1 3 3   2 1 2 1 3   1 1 1 2   1 2 / 1 2 2 1  
 jemām kālāśa te sau<sup>87</sup> ekasarakhuṃ, sakāvamām kapāṭa haśe āvuṃ.  
 3     3 3 3 3   3 2 | 2   1 3   2 1 2 2 / 2 1 2 1  
 kastūrīnī<sup>88</sup> biṃdī<sup>89</sup> karuṃ nahim, kājaḷa nā āṃkhamām aṃjāvūṃ.  
 4     3 3 3 3 2 1 2   1 2   2 1 2 1 1 1 2   1 2 1  
 kokiḷāno śabda sūṇuṃ nahim,<sup>90</sup> kāgavāṇī śakunamām na lāvūṃ.  
 5     2 2 1 1 3 3 2 1 2 1   3 3   1 1 2 2 2 1 2 1 2 1  
 nīlaṃbara kālī kaṃcukī na pehruṃ,<sup>91</sup> jamanānām nīramām na nhāvūṃ.

This song contains numerous examples of different ways of shortening and lengthening syllables:

- i     Line 2 contains a one-beat rest after *te* (the singer does not sing the *to* in line 2 or 3).
- ii    Line 3 (sung as *kastūrīnī biṃdī...*) begins with five consecutive syllables sung to three beats each; Line 4 does the same (note that the second syllable 'ought' to be short - though *i* is admittedly an *i*, so easily lengthened).
- iii   Numerous forced metrical adjustments are made, e.g. *māre* (line 1), *kālāśa*, *ekasarakhuṃ*, *kapāṭa* (line 2) etc.
- iv    The adjustments are not necessarily consistent. Line 5 begins *nīlaṃbara kālī*; the singer has to spread the six syllables out over 12 beats. The first time, the beats are assigned as 2-2-1-1-3-3; the second as 3-3-1-2-1-2.

The differences between these styles of singing are not reflected in the official titles of the songs, so *padas*, *garabīs* and *garabos* may be free or strict. However, when the style of singing is checked against the information provided about each song,<sup>92</sup> a pattern emerges in that free songs seem to be set to a fixed *dhāḷa*, whereas strict ones are more likely to have information on *rāga*.<sup>93</sup> This makes sense because free songs are sung to pre-existing tunes with their own

<sup>87</sup>Rāval 1953: 17 *te to sau*.

<sup>88</sup>Rāval 1953: 17 has *kasturikerī*.

<sup>89</sup>Rāval 1953: 17 has *to karuṃ*.

<sup>90</sup>Rāval 1953: 17 has *huṃ sūṇuṃ nahim kāne*.

<sup>91</sup>Rāval 1953: 17 has *paheruṃ*.

<sup>92</sup>Rāval 1953: v-xvi.

<sup>93</sup>I am grateful to Dr. D.R. Widdess for this suggestion.

rhythmic patterns, whereas strict songs are sung to 'potential' tunes whose mode and musical metre are what need to be specified.

Dayārām's *garabī* lyrics are *pātralakṣī ūrmikāvyo*<sup>94</sup> ('dramatic lyrics'), where the poem voices personal feelings through the persona of a woman, one of the Gopīs, often Rādhā. Many of the *garabīs* are in the form of monologues, but the addressee is usually specified. The vast majority are composed as being the words of a Gopī addressing Kṛṣṇa, followed by her addressing her female friend and lastly by her addressing Uddhava. Nearly all those in dialogue form have a Gopī and Kṛṣṇa as the speakers. No other male is allowed to speak and Dayārām himself appears only in the *chāpa*, even then usually only indirectly as he turns the emphasis onto Kṛṣṇa, calling him 'the Beloved of Dayā' (*Dayānā Pṛītama* etc.). Since this dramatic form is also found in some of his *padas*, its presence does not define them as an exclusive category although the absence of this feature is not possible in the generic form of *garabo/garabī*.

The theme of the lyric is always introduced in the refrain given at the beginning. For example, the refrain from 8 *Vāṃsalaḍīne śabde*:

*māruṃ mana mohyuṃ vāṃsalaḍīne śabde Kānaḍa! kālā,  
huṃ to gheḷī thāī, mārā gharamām nathī gamatuṃ mārā Vhālā!*  
The sound of the flute enchanted my mind, O dark Kānaḍa!  
I became mad, I don't like it at home, my Vhālā! (R)

It may be structurally the same as the subsequent verses (as this example above), or may be a single line. For example, 9 *Mujane aḍaśo mā!*:

*mujane aḍaśo mā! āghā raho Alabelā Chelā! aḍaśo mā!*  
'Don't touch me, stay away, Alabelā Chelā! Do not touch me! (R)

*aṃka bharyānā sama khāo to, adharataṇo rasa pāuṃ;  
Kahānakumvara! kālā cho, aḍatāṇ huṃ kālī thāī jāuṃ!*  
Sit in my lap, take an oath, then I shall give you the nectar of my lips  
to drink  
O Kahānakumvara! you are black, touching you I shall become black!  
(1)

<sup>94</sup>Pamḍyā 1976:657.

The refrain is then repeated after each verse, sometimes in its entirety, sometimes just a key phrase. The whole refrain is often repeated at the end of the lyric. Each line is a complete syntactic unit and very rarely runs over to the next line. In a dialogue, the usual speech unit is one verse. For example in 14 *Mahīārīo*, the dialogue between Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs alternates between verses.

The last verse almost always contains the poet's *chāpa* and usually returns to the narrator's voice for this last verse after a dialogue. For example, 15 *Kahānagopī* has six verses of dialogue between Kṛṣṇa and the Gopī then ends:

*sūṇī evī vāṇī rijhyāṃ Rādhikā,  
managamatuṃ gorasa Goviṃdane pāyumu jo.  
balihārī Dayā! e jugalasvarūpanī;  
parama pavitra caritra meṃ Priyanuṃ gāyumu jo.  
Having heard such a speech, Rādhikā was delighted,  
She gave Goviṃda milk to his heart's content,  
I am blessed by the true form of this couple, says Dayā,  
I sang about the ultimate, pure deeds of the Beloved.*

The *padas* and the *garabīs* often show a difference in the narrative voice. Although some of the *padas* are similar to that of the *garabī* type in that they are dramatised monologues, there is a distinct group of religio-philosophical *padas* where the narrator is no longer one of the Gopīs but is Dayārām himself (appearing in the *chāpa* as 'Dayā', sometimes a vocative, sometimes the subject or object of the sentence). For example, 184 *Eka vinaṃti* ends with:

*samartha karuṇāsimdhu Śrījī! Dayāne mūkaśo mā!  
māre otha nathī koī bijī! avasara cūkaśo mā!  
Powerful ocean of compassion, Śrījī! do not leave Dayā!  
I have no other support, do not miss the time!*

A *garabī* will however always end by referring to Kṛṣṇa as Dayārām's beloved. For example, 18 *Śyāma raṃga* ends with the Gopī saying:

*Dayānā Pṛītama sāthe mukhe nīma līdho, mana kahe je 'palaka na  
nibhāvumu!'  
My mouth makes this vow about Dayā's beloved, but my mind says it  
won't last a minute!*

Mallison distinguished the Kṛṣṇaite *garabī* from the *śākta garabī/garabo* not only in terms of the deity addressed but also in performance context and in historical origins. They also differ in that the *śākta*-type has a long, diffuse

narrative, often more in the character of a bardic epic, while she points out that the Kṛṣṇaite *garabī* is always short. She does not mention a Kṛṣṇaite *garabo*. However, a number of Dayārām's lyrics are labelled *garabo*. There is no clear difference between these lyrics and those labelled *garabī*, whether in metrical structure, length, personae, performance or in content. However, the *garabo* tends to have a strongly narrative form and a longer length than the *garabī*: This distinction between the two forms has been made elsewhere:

I make a distinction between *garabo* and *garabī*. The former is a lengthy piece, heavy, and regardless of compactness of subject matter, while *garabī* is a delicate and refined formation of mould and compact, concise in its subject matter...the term *garabo* signifying the performance itself is again another sense of the word.<sup>95</sup>

The use of the term *garabo* may have been used for these longer lyrics for two reasons. It may be because of their narrative being longer in the style of the *śākta garabī/garabo*, rather than going around a central point like the *garabīs*. Or, it may be simply because it is a feature of the Gujarati language, that some nouns have masculine and feminine forms which contrast large or coarse (masculine) with small or fine (feminine). E.g. *copḍo* 'ledger'; *copḍī* 'book'. Hence a *garabo* is just a longer *garabī*.

### 3.4 The language of Dayārām's lyrics

It is surprising that many of the studies surveyed in Chapter 1 give little information about the language of the texts under study. Some of the studies give full accounts of the grammar of the text<sup>96</sup> but something closer to McGregor's brief notes on the language of the *Rāmāyaṇ-kathā* of Viṣṇudās<sup>97</sup> is appropriate to this study.

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<sup>95</sup>Divatia 1932:281.

<sup>96</sup>E.g. Snell 1991a:92-113.

<sup>97</sup>McGregor 1991:184-5.



The language of the text is similar to that of New Standard Gujarati (NSG). This section will note only the major variants from this standard rather than attempting to describe fully the grammar of Dayārām's lyrics.

Nouns and adjectives have regular forms, with nouns having frequent occurrences of the suffix *-ḍuṃ*, which is a western Indian lyric feature (e.g. *vātaḍī*, *jātaḍī*, *māragaḍo*, *lokaḍiyāṃ*, *mukhaḍo* etc.).<sup>98</sup> While clitics in *-nuṃ* (genitives) are frequent as in NSG, variants are found in *taṇuṃ* and *keruṃ*. The clitic *-ṣuṃ* (ablative) is used where NSG uses *-thī*.

Plural pronouns are used with singular reference throughout the lyrics. The only male voices in the texts (Kṛṣṇa and Dayārām) do not use plurals to refer to themselves, whereas the female voices use singular and plural forms interchangeably even within a single line. Four stems of the first and second singular pronouns are used (*huṃ*, *ma-/mu-*, *mār-/mor-*, *muj-*; *tuṃ*, *ta-/tu-*, *tār-/tor-*, *tuj-*), while the first and second singular plurals which, as in NSG, have two stems (i.e. *am-*, *amār-*; *tam-*, *tamār-*), use both endings before clitics (e.g. *amathī*, cf. NSG *amārathī*), while *koṇa* uses a stem in *ke-* in the agential form *keṇe* (cf. NSG *koṇe*).

The pronominal adjectives and adverbs show the same forms as those of NSG, but with variant spellings (*kyama* for *kem*; *kyahuṃ*, *kyahāṃ*; and *kahīṃ* for *kyāṃ* as interrogatives, with corresponding forms in relatives, correlatives etc.). The interrogative adjectival pronoun *ṣuṃ* almost always shows regular agreements, whereas in NSG it has become semi-invariable, rarely changing for gender although it takes indirect endings before clitics (cf. NSG *śā māṭe?*, but *ṣuṃ khabar che?*, not *\*śī khabar che?*).

The preferred tenses for verbs are the indefinite present (or subjunctive) and the simple past (perfective, mostly without auxiliaries used as a narrative tense). The verb *dekhvuṃ* 'to see' is used where NSG would prefer *jovvuṃ*. In the same way *sūṇvuṃ* 'to hear' is used for *sāṃbhaḷvuṃ*. These two verbs are Gujarati

<sup>98</sup>Cf. Shackle 1972.

shibboleths in North India and the use of the more distinctively Hindi form is a marked feature when occurring in Gujarati poetry.

The substantive verb has non-standard spellings in the imperfective (*hutum* for *hatum*), and has a future form *hoṣe* (cf. NSG *haṣe*) when needed to rhyme with *joṣe*. The negatives are as NSG, with the occasional use of *nava*, and regular use of *mā* with imperatives. Besides NSG *nathī*, non-standard forms such as *che nahīm* are found on the Hindi pattern.

The future tense shows first person singular forms in *-eśa* for NSG *īśa* (e.g. *mūkeśa*, *deśa*). It uses these forms also for the second person singular, a frequent feature of the Charotarī dialect (e.g. *tum jiti kareśa*). First person plurals in *-sum* are also found for NSG *-īsum* (e.g. *dekhasum*, NSG *joīsum*).

Imperfective forms are rarely used, apart from invariable forms of the participle to show action concurrent with the main verb (e.g. *jotām*). Perfective forms are almost all in *-yum*, standard in NSG, with only one or two occurrences of perfectives in *-elum* (e.g. *bharelī*). Other forms are as NSG: infinitives in *-vā* are used mostly for purpose, while gerunds in *-ī(ne)* and gerundives in *-vānum* are rare.

The reasons for the use of these various forms are not clear. They may be archaisms, they may be dialectal, or features from Braj, or they may be simply chosen for metrical reasons. The last reason is however unlikely in the verses where the freer *tāla* metres are used.

The vocabulary shows a mixture of *tadbhava*, *tatsama* and semi-*tatsama* forms, which is not in itself very remarkable. *Tatsama* forms dominate, although they are sometimes compounded with *tadbhava* words (e.g. *dadhīmākhaṇa*), or used side by side with them (e.g. *khaṭa māse*).

More significant is the extent to which Dayārām uses Perso-Arabic vocabulary. This has already been noted as a feature of eighteenth-century Gujarati verse which did not survive into later nineteenth-century literature, although it continued in other domains. There are some morphological changes, such as *-a* for expected *-ī* in *behāla*, *masata*, and *-ī* for expected *-a* in *gulābī*. In the following lists,

the meaning in the original language is provided where different from that in Gujarati.

<i>ajabagulamaherī</i> ('N. of mythical bird')	< (A) ' <i>ajab</i> 'wonder(ful)' + (P) <i>gul</i> flower'
<i>adalavadala</i> ('exchange')	< (A) <i>badal</i> '(ex)change'
<i>abīla</i> ('perfume')	< (A) ' <i>abīr</i> 'saffron, Holi powder'
<i>araja</i> ('request')	(A) ' <i>arz</i>
<i>āśaka</i> ('lover')	(A) ' <i>āshiq</i>
<i>kamāna</i> ('rainbow')	(P) <i>kamān</i> 'bow'
<i>kasaba</i> ('gold thread')	(A) <i>kasb</i> 'embroidery'
<i>kasara</i> ('problem')	(A) <i>kasr</i> 'trouble'
<i>killo</i> ('fort')	(A) <i>qil'a</i>
<i>khavās</i> ('valet')	(A) <i>khavās</i>
<i>khāsa</i> ('special')	(A) <i>khās</i>
<i>gajabī</i> ('oppressive')	< (A) <i>ghazab</i> 'oppression'
<i>garaja</i> ('need')	(A) <i>gharaz</i>
<i>garda</i> ('dust')	(P) <i>gard</i>
<i>gunāha</i> ('sin')	(P) <i>gunāh</i>
<i>gulābī</i> ('rose')	(P) <i>gulāb</i> 'rose'/ <i>gulābī</i> 'rosy, pink'
<i>gulāma</i> ('slave')	(A) <i>ghulām</i>
<i>gulāla</i> ('red powder')	(P) <i>gul-lāla</i>
<i>jakhmī</i> ('wounded')	(P) <i>zakhmī</i>
<i>jara</i> ('brocade')	(P) <i>zar</i> 'gold'
<i>jarakasa</i> ('with gold thread')	(P) <i>zar-kash</i>
<i>jāduvālūṃ</i> ('magical')	< (P) <i>jādū</i> 'magic'
<i>jāmo</i> ('robe')	(P) <i>jāma</i>
<i>jāharī</i> ('public')	(A) <i>zāhirī</i>
<i>julamī</i> ('oppressive')	(A) <i>zulmī</i>
<i>jora</i> ('strength')	(P) <i>zor</i>

<i>tamāma</i> ('all')	(A) <i>tamām</i>
<i>dago</i> ('deceit')	(P) <i>dagḥā</i>
<i>darda</i> ('pain')	(P) <i>dard</i>
<i>dasta</i> ('power')	(P) <i>dast</i> (lit. 'hand')
<i>dāvo</i> ('claim')	(A) <i>da'va</i>
<i>dila</i> ('heart')	(P) <i>dil</i>
<i>diladāra</i> ('lover')	(P) <i>dildar</i>
<i>nājuka</i> ('tender')	(P) <i>nāzuk</i>
<i>nobata</i> ('drum')	(A) <i>nauba</i>
<i>pejāra</i> ('slipper')	(P) <i>paizār</i>
<i>phuvāro</i> ('fountain')	(A) <i>favvāra</i>
<i>behāla</i> ('confusion')	(P) <i>be-ḥal</i> 'confused'/ <i>be-ḥālī</i> 'confusion'
<i>matlaba</i> ('purpose')	(A) <i>maṭlab</i>
<i>manasūbo</i> ('design, consideration')	(A) <i>manṣūba</i>
<i>maphata</i> ('free')	(P) <i>muft</i>
<i>marajī</i> ('favour, wish')	(A) <i>marzī</i>
<i>malama</i> ('ointment')	(P) <i>marham</i>
<i>masalata</i> ('consultation, scheming')	(A) <i>maṣlaḥat</i>
<i>masta</i> ('intoxication')	(P) <i>mast</i> 'intoxicated'
<i>mālūma</i> ('known')	(A) <i>ma'lūm</i>
<i>māśuka</i> ('beloved')	(A) <i>ma'shūq</i>
<i>musāphara</i> ('traveller')	(A) <i>musāfir</i>
<i>mūlka</i> ('country')	(A) <i>mulk</i>
<i>moja</i> ('pleasure')	(A) <i>mauj</i>
<i>mhera</i> ('kindness')	(P) <i>mihir</i>
<i>mhola</i> ('palace')	(A) <i>maḥall</i>
<i>vāyado</i> ('promise')	(A) <i>va'da</i>
<i>śirpeca</i> ('turban')	(P) <i>sar-pech</i>
<i>śetāna</i> ('devil')	(A) <i>shaiṭān</i>

<i>sāheba</i> ('sir')	(A) <i>ṣāhib</i>
<i>hada</i> ('end')	(A) <i>ḥadd</i>
<i>hadada</i> ('limit')	< (A) <i>ḥadd</i> 'limit, end'
<i>havasa</i> ('zeal')	(A) <i>havas</i> 'desire, lust'

Some of Dayārām's verses are written in so-called 'Hindustani.' For example the following:

**Eka khūbasurata gabaru<sup>99</sup>**

*eka khūbasurata gabaru gulājhāra sāṃvarā*  
*tārīpha kyā karuṃ hai saba bhāṃta se bhalā. (teka.)*  
*īsa bagarakī ḍagara meṃ merā cita curā calā*  
*kehetīhī saba ālamā yehe na naṃda ke lalā. eka....*  
*dekhī mujhe nīghā bhara tabaso e duḥkha phelā*  
*cītavana meṃ kucha ṭonā kī kachu kalā. eka....*  
*anaṃga āga lagī ve tana jāta ha jalā*  
*jīya jāyagā jāṛūra saiyā sajana na milā. eka....*  
*būjhatī jo aisā darda bīraha hai balā*  
*to maim usī palaka jāya pakaḍatī palā. eka....*  
*milāo koī mehebhūba dusarī na hai salā*  
*Dayā ke prītama bina marūṃgī kāṭake galā. eka....*

A beautiful youth, winsome and dark —  
 How could I describe him, he's fine in every way.  
 He stole my heart as he strolled down this road to the cattle-pen  
 The whole world says, 'Is thisnot the darling son of Nanda?'  
 Since he cast a glance at me this pain pervaded [me] —  
 In his look there's some charm or spell.  
 Anaṃga's fire's lit and burns in my body  
 My life is sure to go - I didn't get my lover, my darling.  
 If, considering such pain, my misfortune is great  
 Then I catch the moment as the instant goes. [??]  
 If he meets some other beloved, there is no pain - [??]  
 Without Dayā's beloved I shall die, cutting my throat.

<sup>99</sup>Lālaṣaṃkara 1909:540.

The Hindustani features here include phonologically distinctive forms: *bina* for (NSG *vinā*), *saba* (NSG *sau*), *milnā* (NSG *maḷvuṃ*); in postpositions: *kā* (for NSG *-nuṃ*), *se* (NSG *-thī*); in pronouns and pronominal adjectives: *merā* (NSG *māruṃ*), *maiṃ* (NSG *huṃ*); in verbs: *hai* (NSG *che*), *marūṃgī* (NSG *marīś*) and in numerals *dusarī* (NSG *bījuṃ*). There is a predictably high incidence of Perso-Arabic vocabulary items, which have been underlined.

## PART II

### CHAPTER 4: MIKHAIL BAKHTIN

Part I examined studies of Kṛṣṇaite poetry and of Dayārām then showed how some approaches of the scholastic Indological tradition are essential to an understanding of Dayārām's lyrics. It was clear, however, that these critical traditions have not used approaches to literature practised in contemporary literary studies, whether of western literature or of 'post-colonial' literatures.<sup>1</sup> This section suggests that these contemporary ways of reading can be extended fruitfully to other forms of literature, such as 'pre-colonial' literatures. At the end of this chapter, these readings will be extended to the critical literature, the problems of which were discussed at the end of 2.3.

#### 4.1 Mikhail Bakhtin

The life and times of Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin (1895-1975) have been covered in extensive detail by Clark and Holquist 1984, who have skilfully interwoven his biography, his work and his thought, while a useful summary of the main events in his life is presented by Morson and Emerson.<sup>2</sup> Due to political circumstances, including persecution by Stalin, Bakhtin lived most of his life outside the intellectual centres of Moscow and Leningrad, and he was an obscure figure with few published works (at least under his own name). After his rehabilitation in the 1960s, his works were published and he enjoyed a period of rising fame, which has flourished after his death. Bakhtin first emerged in the west

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<sup>1</sup>This problematic term here includes so-called 'Commonwealth literature' and refers to the discipline of comparative literature. For a discussion of these terms see Bassnett 1993.

<sup>2</sup>Morson and Emerson 1990:xiii-xv.

in the late 1960s in two different contexts. In the USA, the translation of *Rabelais and his world*<sup>3</sup> gave him fame as a critic of popular culture, while in France, two Bulgarian cultural critics, Kristeva and Todorov, interpreted his work at a time when intellectuals were exploring Marxism and high structuralism. His popularity spread rapidly as critical works began to appear in the 1980s and the 'Bakhtin industry'<sup>4</sup> began, as his theories are seen as providing an alternative to the current dominant discourses of humanism, relativism and religious fundamentalism.<sup>5</sup>

Few of Bakhtin's writings were published before his rehabilitation in the 1960s, due to political circumstances. However, there is an ongoing dispute about the role he played in the writing of the works of his friends, most importantly the books by V. Voloshinov and P.N. Medvedev, including Voloshinov's critique of Freud,<sup>6</sup> and Medvedev's polemic against Formalism based on an assertion of the essentially social nature of language,<sup>7</sup> a theme developed further by Voloshinov.<sup>8</sup> Clark and Holquist<sup>9</sup> believe that these works were authored by Bakhtin, but published under the names of friends who were acceptable to the censors, whereas Morson and Emerson<sup>10</sup> argue that they were written not by him but by the authors named. Clearly this issue is important to an assessment of Bakhtin's thought, but in the absence of any clear resolution, and given that much of their content underlines his thought, they will be included in a discussion of his ideas, even if they were not written by him directly and even if they contain some un-Bakhtinian attitudes.

Bakhtin's major works are his two monographs. The first, *Problems in the work of Dostoevsky*, was first published in 1929, later revised and expanded and re-published in 1963 as *Problems of Dostoevsky's poetics*. This book can either be

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<sup>3</sup>Bakhtin 1968.

<sup>4</sup>Morson 1986c.

<sup>5</sup>See Gellner 1992 for a lively discussion of the dominance of these three discourses in the late twentieth century.

<sup>6</sup>Voloshinov 1976.

<sup>7</sup>Medvedev 1978.

<sup>8</sup>Voloshinov 1973.

<sup>9</sup>1984: Chapter 6.

<sup>10</sup>1990: Chapter 3.



taken as a reading of Dostoevsky or as a theory of the novel, in which he introduces his concept of 'polyphony' and of the novel's origins in carnival. The second is *Rabelais and his world*, which was written as a doctoral thesis but not published until more than a decade later in 1965 because of political problems. In this book he develops his theory of carnival and here again the text is both a reading of the text and a theoretical approach. He is best known in the west for his essays on the theory of the novel published in the volume, *The Dialogic imagination*.<sup>11</sup> His other writings are being translated into English and published by the University of Texas, whence three volumes have appeared to date.<sup>12</sup> The secondary literature on Bakhtin is enormous and still growing, and is covered in detail in a bibliographic essay by Hirschkop,<sup>13</sup> supplemented by Holquist's analytical bibliography.<sup>14</sup>

Although Bakhtin coined a number of neologisms, translations of his writings are remarkably free from jargon and are lucid and pleasant to read. However, several factors make the study of Bakhtin's work particularly difficult. The central problem is trying to distinguish between the various Bakhtins that arise in his own writings and from the readings of the various authors. Although the problem has been exacerbated by his difficult life and the resulting difficulties with the publication of his works, the root of the problem may be that his work is concerned with becoming and process rather than being and stasis. He believed that nothing was final and there was no last word on any matter. Over his long life, his interests included philosophy, linguistics, psychology, Marxism, historical poetics and the evolution of the novel, social theory and the philosophy of language; his works use different ideological languages (notably those of neo-Kantianism, Marxism and Stalinism), perhaps as the result of his changing ideas, perhaps for political expediency; and his writings show intertextual and intratextual contradictions. These problems are complicated further because Bakhtin does not

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<sup>11</sup>Bakhtin 1981.

<sup>12</sup>Bakhtin 1981, 1986 and 1990.

<sup>13</sup>Hirschkop 1989.

<sup>14</sup>Holquist 1990.

define his terms, and hence his elusive definitions of even key terms have been interpreted differently by his critics.

As a result, it seems that one can find whatever ideology one is looking for in Bakhtin, whether neo-Kantian and Christian (Clark and Holquist 1984, Holquist 1990), apolitical and semiotic (Danow 1991, who links Bakhtin with the Prague School and the Moscow-Tartu School), Structuralist (Kristeva 1986), postmodernist (Carroll 1983 compares his work with that of Lyotard), Marxist (Williams 1983), feminist (Wills 1989), humanist (Lodge 1990), or as a materialist alternative to deconstruction (Eagleton 1982, Lodge 1990). This trend is highlighted by Hirschkop,<sup>15</sup> who argues that one cannot make an 'arbitrary appropriation' of Bakhtin's work, although he himself has been accused of making such an approach.<sup>16</sup>

## 4.2 Mikhail Bakhtin's thought

The problems raised in the above section require one to take an overview of Bakhtin's thought. The most comprehensive published overviews<sup>17</sup> are those of Clark and Holquist 1984 and of Morson and Emerson 1990. These clearly show the different ideological approaches and methodologies of the authors. The former uses a biological model and weaves together Bakhtin's life, times and work, whereas the latter separates the strands of his thought and deals in various ways with his basic or key concepts, periods of his thought, and his central theories. In Part One of their study, Morson and Emerson introduce his three key concepts ('prosaics',<sup>18</sup> unfinalisability and dialogue<sup>19</sup>), then divide his thought into four major periods according to his major concerns; in Part Two, 'Problems of authorship',

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<sup>15</sup>Hirschkop 1989:3.

<sup>16</sup>Morson 1986a.

<sup>17</sup>Holquist 1990 concentrates on the dialogical thought underlying Bakhtin's work.

<sup>18</sup>A neologism of Morson and Emerson 1990.

<sup>19</sup>In their third sense of the word, i.e. as the global concern underlying dialogism.

they discuss his metalinguistics, views on psychology, and his new concept of 'polyphony'; in Part Three, 'Theories of the novel', they introduce his theory of genres, prosaics, the chronotope and laughter and the carnivalesque. These two works provide a point of departure from which to read Bakhtin's work.

Since such excellent introductions to Bakhtin's theories and key concepts are generally available, these will not be discussed in detail here, although this study is informed by an understanding of Bakhtin's central concepts of dialogism,<sup>20</sup> unfinalisability<sup>21</sup> and prosaics,<sup>22</sup> and a partial acceptance of his psychology.<sup>23</sup> Instead, the focus is on concepts underlying Bakhtin's theory of genre, namely discourse, polyphony, the chronotope and the carnivalesque, before going on to study them in the lyrics of Dayārām in Chapters 5 and 6.

Bakhtin uses the term 'dialogue' as a global concept in his view of truth and the world, hence his theory has been called 'dialogism'.<sup>24</sup> He also uses the term in two other ways<sup>25</sup> in his study of language, called 'translinguistics'.<sup>26</sup> In the first meaning, every utterance is dialogic by definition. He uses the term in another meaning in his discourse typology to refer to some dialogues which may be dialogic or monologic according to their tasks. It is this latter use of the term which is relevant to the presentation of dialogue in the text that is important here.

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<sup>20</sup>Holquist 1990; with the important qualifications of Morson 1986b. See also de Man 1989 who sees dialogism as having two basic spheres - metalinguistics and alterity.

<sup>21</sup>Morson and Emerson 1990:32-43.

<sup>22</sup>Morson and Emerson 1990:1-31.

<sup>23</sup>In the psycholinguistics of Vygotsky 1962. For Vygotsky's relations with the Bakhtin circle see Morson and Emerson 1990:484.

<sup>24</sup>As can be seen in the titles of studies of Bakhtin, e.g. *Dialogism* (Holquist 1990) and *The dialogic imagination* (Bakhtin 1981).

<sup>25</sup>Morson and Emerson 1990:131-2 make this essential point.

<sup>26</sup>In Bakhtin's work the study of linguistics is displaced by the study of communication and discourse, hence his views are better called metalinguistics or rather translinguistics. Bakhtin's term 'metalinguistics' is confusing because of the accepted use of this term in linguistic terminology, hence 'translinguistics.' The term is Kristeva's (Kristeva 1986:37).

Within a world dominated by the characteristic epistemological mode of dialogism, Bakhtin's master trope is heteroglossia.<sup>27</sup> It is important to distinguish two senses of the term. The first is social diversity of speech types where creative tension results from the interaction of centripetal and centrifugal forces within a language as a consequence of historical and social factors seen in relations between the dominant literary language and extra-literary, oral, everyday languages. The second meaning, dialogised heteroglossia, is that of each language having its own view on the world and that of the relations between this and other varieties of language.

Bakhtin<sup>28</sup> suggests two main categories of discourse, the first type being monologic in his second sense of monologic/dialogic:

- 1 Single-voiced words
  - A Words of the first type: direct, unmediated discourse
  - B Words of the second type: objectified discourse (of a represented person)
- 2 Double-voiced words: words of the third type
  - A Passive double-voiced words
    - i unidirectional
    - ii varidirectional
  - B Active double-voiced words<sup>29</sup>

The concept of polyphony<sup>30</sup> is concerned with the author's position in the text, when he allows the characters to speak above him. It is essential to Bakhtin's

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<sup>27</sup>See Bakhtin 1981: 263, Danow 1991:25 and Morson and Emerson 1990:139-45.

<sup>28</sup>Bakhtin 1984:199.

<sup>29</sup>The words of the narrator in Dostoevsky's 'Notes from the underground' show this tendency to such a degree that his words may be said to be triply-oriented or to present a further type of discourse, 'the word with a loophole', where one uses the inner experience of oneself in the act to escape from the givenness of nature. Untranslated work of Bakhtin, quoted by Morson and Emerson 1990:160.

<sup>30</sup>Bakhtin introduced this term in Bakhtin 1984. Morson and Emerson 1990:231-68 give a thorough exposition.

theory of authorship and creativity. Polyphony<sup>31</sup> does not imply any sense of relativism, nor does it mean that the author fails to express his ideas and values, which he can do through the ideologies of the characters or through the ideology of the work itself. While many literary works are heteroglot, very few are polyphonic. Bakhtin holds Dostoevsky's novels to be the supreme examples of polyphonic literature, whereas Tolstoy's are thoroughly monologic.

In a monologic work, only the author has the power to express a truth directly, while the characters are given words of the second type (see translinguistics above). The authorial ideology dominates the work and creates its unity, even if the author's position is given in a certain character or dispersed in a variety of characters, while nonauthorial truths are represented as mere characterological traits which do not 'mean directly'.

In a polyphonic work, the consciousnesses of the characters<sup>32</sup> and of the author meet as equals<sup>33</sup> and engage in dialogue that is, in principle, unfinalisable. The characters are 'not only objects of authorial discourse but also subjects of their own directly signifying discourse'.<sup>34</sup>

Thus polyphony emerges as a theory of the creative process<sup>35</sup> and leads to a reevaluation of the status of the plot which it subsumes to dialogue and allows the reader to participate in rather than to objectify each event according to some monologic category (thematically, lyrically or cognitively). It allows the text to remain open:

To detect a structure is to read a work essentially synchronically: the plot, symbols, and resonances are already in place and may properly be contemplated at a single moment. These elements are regarded as elements of a structure that unfolds in time but is not essentially *constituted* by time in all its unfinalizability. Novels read this way become essentially similar to lyric poems as, let us say, Roman Jakobson reads them. The richness of the novel, like the richness of a poem, lies in the density of a network with ever finer interconnections. The plan of the whole overdetermines all incidents, symbols, and words as they interweave with other incidents, symbols, and

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<sup>31</sup>See Morson and Emerson 1990:485.

<sup>32</sup>This does not imply in any way a Bradleian view of the characters as real people.

<sup>33</sup>The author must negotiate the 'surplus'. See Morson and Emerson 1990:241-3.

<sup>34</sup>Bakhtin quoted in Morson and Emerson 1990:239.

<sup>35</sup>Morson and Emerson 1990:243-46.

words. The more complex the weave, the better the plan; and the better the plan, the better the work.<sup>36</sup>

Bakhtin accepts that this model is suitable for reading certain kinds of works, such as lyric poems and monologic narratives, but denies its appropriateness for polyphonic works.

The chronotope is one of Bakhtin's most ill-defined terms.<sup>37</sup>

Literally, 'time-space.' A unit of analysis for studying texts according to the ration and nature of the temporal and spatial categories represented. The distinctiveness of this concept as opposed to most other uses of time and space in literary analysis lies in the fact that neither category is privileged; they are utterly interdependent. The chronotope is an optic for reading texts as x-rays of the forces at work in the culture system from which they spring.<sup>38</sup>

It is concerned with time and space and the relationship between them. While Kant saw time and space as forms of cognition, Bakhtin argues that they are forms of immediate reality and that, rather than being neutral abstractions, they have meaning. This allows evaluation, and thus the chronotope defines parameters of value.

Although Bakhtin himself does not make the following distinction clearly, it is necessary to see that he has three major types of chronotope: the chronotope of genre, the chronotopic motif and the chronotope of the author and of the reader. The significance of these chronotopes will be explored in Chapter 6 by looking at specific examples, discussing their relevance to a study of Dayārām, and exploring the chronotopes of his work.

Bakhtin sees the chronotope as a defining feature of genre, which marks the parameters of events, although it does not uniquely specify particular events. In each chronotope:

Time, as it were, thickens, takes on flesh, becomes artistically visible; likewise, space becomes charged and responsive to the movement of time, plot and history.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Morson and Emerson 1990:250.

<sup>37</sup>See Bakhtin 1981. For further exposition see Holquist 1990:108-15 and Morson and Emerson 1990:366-432.

<sup>38</sup>Emerson and Holquist in Bakhtin 1981:425-6.

<sup>39</sup>Bakhtin 1981:84.

Bakhtin gives nine generic chronotopes in this essay, showing how they are essential to the existence of the plot, as places where the 'knots of narrative are tied and untied'<sup>40</sup> rather than being part of the plot themselves. The treatment of time and space in texts and their function in human lives give an insight into the relations between art and reality. This has a significant implication for the possibilities of an historical poetics, in that these relations are, to some extent, historically determined, so different societies and times will have consequently different chronotopes. However, there still exist the transhistorical chronotopes, such as that of adventure time,<sup>41</sup> found in ancient romances and in modern comics and films.

In the later section of this essay, 'Concluding remarks',<sup>42</sup> Bakhtin introduces the chronotopic motif, which is often an echo of the generic whole. Such motifs are often found within generic chronotopes, but with different scopes and values. The example he gives of the chronotope of the road<sup>43</sup> as a public place for encounter and for movement in time, occurs in a variety of generic chronotopes with differing significances.

In this later addition, Bakhtin introduces the concept of the chronotopes of the author and of the reader. This section has important implications for the activity of authorship and creativity, in his discussion of the biographical author and the 'image' (rather, activity) of the author as creator. No less significant are the implications for the creative process of reading, as the potentials of the genres are exploited by authors to create potential meanings which may be unavailable to the author. These meanings may be explored by later readings, which create a dialogue between the work's potentials and the interpreter's unforeseeable and unique perspective. This view takes into account the creative processes of reading and writing, and the presentness of these activities, along with the interrelations of the

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<sup>40</sup>Bakhtin 1984:250.

<sup>41</sup>Holquist 1990:111-3.

<sup>42</sup>Bakhtin 1973, whereas the original essay was written in 1937.

<sup>43</sup>Bakhtin 1981:243-5.

real and the represented worlds (unlike many other literary theories),<sup>44</sup> and has useful implications for the reading of texts from other ages and cultures.

Bakhtin has been best known in the West, or at least in the English-speaking West, for his monograph, *Rabelais and his world*,<sup>45</sup> perhaps because it was the first of his works to be published in English, but also, perhaps, because it suited the spirit of the late 1960s, with its somewhat utopian approach to society and its praise of the collective and of the common people, and the power of folk laughter to overcome the serious and the restrictive. However, in many ways, this monograph is not typical of his work and indeed contradicts much of his other writing.<sup>46</sup>

Bakhtin discusses laughter in three of his essays, 'Epic and novel', 'From the prehistory of novelistic discourse' and 'Forms of time and chronotope in the novel'.<sup>47</sup> His central work on the concept of the carnivalesque is in *Rabelais and his world*, with further developments in his second edition of the Dostoevsky book, *Problems of Dostoevsky's poetics*.<sup>48</sup>

In his exploration of the folk culture of laughter informed by the aesthetic of the grotesque,<sup>49</sup> Bakhtin's key argument is that the novel is a 'carnivalised' genre, with its roots in the spirit of carnival, with its laughing truth, its imagery of the body and its themes of openness, incompleteness, mockery, uncrowning and inversion. There are many serious flaws in this book,<sup>50</sup> notably that in this antichronotopic world, time and space become valueless, and unfinalisability is taken to such extremes that it can be interpreted as pure loophole.<sup>51</sup> However, the points it raises

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<sup>44</sup>Notably, reader reception theory (Holquist 1990:140-1).

<sup>45</sup>Bakhtin 1968.

<sup>46</sup>Morson and Emerson 1990:90-6.

<sup>47</sup>Bakhtin 1981.

<sup>48</sup>Bakhtin 1984.

<sup>49</sup>Bakhtin 1968.

<sup>50</sup>Morson and Emerson 1990:433-70.

<sup>51</sup>See n.29 above.



merit further exploration and it is not to be dismissed merely as a political allegory of Stalinism as it has by some scholars.<sup>52</sup>

### 4.3 Towards a Bakhtinian reading of Dayārām

Several problems and contradictions in Bakhtin's thought were outlined above. However, the major problem is to define a critical practice informed by Bakhtin's theory. Bakhtin himself provides us with very few readings of texts: in his monographs he uses the texts of Dostoevsky and of Rabelais to illustrate his theoretical points, rather than giving close readings of the texts. Holquist gives readings of various literary texts,<sup>53</sup> but the only example of the reading of a poem is that of Pushkin's 'Parting'.<sup>54</sup>

Three main applications of Bakhtin's theory are clear:

- 1 A theory of literary work
- 2 A procedure for analysing discourse
- 3 A theory of literature as practice

It is the third application that is the subject of the next two chapters, since the first two lie outside the scope of this thesis.

One of the most striking paradoxes involved in the analysis of Dayārām's lyrics is that Bakhtin's work was concerned with the novel and so his literary theory can be called a 'prosaics' of literature rather than a 'poetics.' However, 'prosaics' can be applied to certain types of poetry to provide a fuller reading. It is unfortunate that Bakhtin never discussed drama, which would have supplemented this reading of dramatic lyrics. Taking Dayārām's short lyrics as a corpus has made this analysis easier and has allowed us an enriched reading of the poems as part of a

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<sup>52</sup>Berrong 1986.

<sup>53</sup>Holquist 1990, *passim*.

<sup>54</sup>Morson and Emerson 1989:24-8.

larger text. This reading supplements any reading of the text according to traditional (e.g. Aristotelian or Indian) rhetorical analysis.

It is a matter of theology as to the dialogic relations between Kṛṣṇa and his universe and its portrayal in the works of Dayārām, but it is clear that Kṛṣṇa performs his *līlā* to enter into dialogue with the *jīvas* and in Dayārām's works, the *bhaktas* can enter into an actual dialogue with Kṛṣṇa himself. Also beyond the scope of this literary study is the concept of unfinalisability, but the creation theory of revelation and concealment, the performance of the *līlā*, and the reincarnation of the soul would seem to suggest this as a possible area of study.

Bakhtin's theory of prosaics, which looks on literature as a verbal art, centring on language and the everyday, opens further possibilities of analysis. Questions must be asked about the creativity of the author, God as the superaddressee,<sup>55</sup> the implications of polyphony in authoring God, who always has a surplus of seeing<sup>56</sup> over the author, intertextuality<sup>57</sup> and heteroglossia in Dayārām's taking up a Kṛṣṇaite discourse in Braj and using Gujarati, his use of a Gujarati literary form (the *garabī*), his presentation of meaning in the form of dialogue and modes of representing male and female speech, his emphasis on creative understanding<sup>58</sup> and an opening up of potential meaning latent in the texts by a reader from another culture, and lastly, the dialogue of criticism in this thesis between Indology, Gujarati studies and Bakhtin.

The focus of the next two chapters is an analysis of genre, and so although some mention will be made of discourse in the lyrics it will not be discussed at length. Although discourse may be a feature of the *garabī* genre, it is not central to the analysis offered here. Instead, the concentration will be on the chronotope and the carnivalesque as ways of defining the genre of Kṛṣṇaite *bhakti* literature and of reading the lyrics of Dayārām.

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<sup>55</sup>Morson and Emerson 1990:135-6.

<sup>56</sup>Holquist 1990:35-7.

<sup>57</sup>See Todorov 1984:60-74.

<sup>58</sup>In a study not translated from Russian. See Morson and Emerson 1990:284-90.

## CHAPTER 5: THE CARNIVALESQUE

Entwistle 1991<sup>1</sup> argues that the cult of Kṛṣṇa-Gopāl may be regarded as a version of pastoral. He sees the major differences from western pastoral in the emotional approach (*bhāva*), and in the nobility of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā which occur because this is not a Golden Age, but 'out of space and time altogether', in the paradise of Goloka. He suggests the term 'pastoralisation' for the process of adopting 'folk' elements into the Kṛṣṇa cult. This chapter looks at carnivalesque features in the earlier literature of the Kṛṣṇa cult (5.1), then in the Puṣṭimārga and modern Braj Vaiṣṇavism (5.2) and, at greater length, in the poetry of Dayārām (5.3) and then 5.4 shows why 'carnivalisation' may be a more appropriate term than 'pastoralisation' to describe this process. Chapter 6 argues that pastoralism is central to the lyrics of Dayārām, but is better analysed through the chronotope. It will be seen that carnival and chronotope are essential to a generic understanding of Dayārām in particular and Kṛṣṇaite poetry in general.

### 5.1 The carnivalesque in the Kṛṣṇa cult

Limitations of space and the existence of previous studies<sup>2</sup> mean that a survey of the development of the Kṛṣṇa cult is not required here. Ingalls<sup>3</sup> distinguishes three Kṛṣṇas in the early texts,<sup>4</sup> Kṛṣṇa the lover, Kṛṣṇa the hero and Kṛṣṇa the god. The songs of Dayārām used in this study are concerned only with

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<sup>1</sup>See 1.2 above.

<sup>2</sup>Archer 1957, Dallapiccola 1982, Kinsley 1979, Preciado-Solis 1984, Sheth 1984 et al. See Kakar 1981: 140-53 for a psychoanalytic view of the *Kṛṣṇalīlā*.

<sup>3</sup>Ingalls 1966:v.

<sup>4</sup>See Siegel 1978 on Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* (late twelfth century) For early developments in the vernaculars see Hardy 1983 on the Ājvārs and Archer 1963 on the poetry of Vidyāpati (b.1352) in the Maithili language.

the first form, that of Kṛṣṇa the lover, Kṛṣṇa-Gopāl. This aspect of Kṛṣṇa is often considered by scholars to be a folk deity grafted on to the other Kṛṣṇas.<sup>5</sup>

Bakhtin argues that, with some exaggeration, one may view the movement of St Francis of Assisi as carnivalised Catholicism, because of his

peculiar world outlook, his "spiritual joy" (*laetitia spiritualis*), his blessing of the material bodily principle, and its typically Franciscan degradations and profanation.<sup>6</sup>

Carnavalesque elements can be seen in the cult of Kṛṣṇa-Gopāl, the God who laughs, dances, jokes and steals in his (dis)guise as a child. While humour has its place in classical Indian religion,<sup>7</sup> this form of Kṛṣṇa has his own specific type of humour, as an infant, in his play, in sex and in love. He is surrounded by the emotion of joy, which is reflected in his devotees as the spirit of *bhakti*. *Bhakti* itself may be viewed as a carnivalesque form of religion, which at least in origin<sup>8</sup> was the 'unofficial' religion of the people with its rejection of the orthodox and its removal of social barriers (and even human and divine barriers) through its spirit of joy.<sup>9</sup> Thus it may be seen as a true form of carnivalesque, where everything is comic and associated with freedom and with unofficial truth and is opposed to intolerant, dogmatic seriousness, rather than as other forms of humour such as irony, sarcasm etc. which Bakhtin calls 'reduced laughter.'<sup>10</sup>

Siegel sees the humour of Kṛṣṇa as based on incongruity and paradoxes, shown by his inappropriate behaviour:

trickery or tickling (he tricks the cowherds and teases [teasing being a nontactile mode of tickling] their wives and daughters); seeing deformities (he taunts the hunchback Kubjā for her crooked form); excessive desire and audacity (he rapaciously makes love to sixteen-thousand women); wearing inappropriate clothes or ornaments (he dresses in women's clothes to gain secret access to Rādhā); lying prattle and declaring faults (he steals butter and curds, outlandishly lies about it, and blames others for the havoc his pranks create).<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Vaudeville 1980.

<sup>6</sup>Bakhtin 1968:57.

<sup>7</sup>Siegel 1987.

<sup>8</sup>Hardy 1983.

<sup>9</sup>See Toomey 1992:136-8.

<sup>10</sup>Bakhtin 1968:120.

<sup>11</sup>Siegel 1987: 340 the section 'Benny Hill in Vṛndāvan'.

Siegel sees this as humour, and shows how the humour works on both sacred and profane levels. There is much of value in his discussion of the laughter of the child and his demonstration of how the heroic exploits, mostly demon-slaying, can be incorporated into the humour of the child. When discussing the sexual exploits of Kṛṣṇa, he demonstrates the point he had made earlier that 'everything to do with sex is funny'.<sup>12</sup> Although he explains the actual mechanisms of humour and links this humour with devotion to the divine (as suits the purpose of his book), an approach through the spirit of carnival would put this in a deeper historical perspective.

One aspect of the Kṛṣṇalīlā which shows many items of the carnivalesque is the motif of milk and milk products. This motif occurs mainly in two *līlās*, that of *mākhancorī* (butter-stealing) and that of the *dānlīlā* (Kṛṣṇa's demand for a tax of yoghurt from the Gopīs). The first has been described exhaustively by Hawley 1983 in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Tamil works and in the sculptural traditions, in contemporary *rāslīlās* and in the poetry of Sūrdās (traditionally regarded as a member of the Puṣṭimārga). The butterthief dominates in Sūr's poetry whereas in Dayārām Kṛṣṇa's tax on milk products occurs more frequently.

While O'Flaherty<sup>13</sup> demonstrates symbolic sexual links between milk products and sexual fluids in her analysis of Vedic and Puranic texts, milk is a function and archetypal symbol of maternity and so may be seen in the context of the Kṛṣṇalīlā as a metaphor of love, as indeed are other forms of food in other aspects of this cult.<sup>14</sup> As a concentrated form of milk, butter may thus be seen to be a more concentrated form of love. Hawley<sup>15</sup> explores interpretations of the motif of butter, the motivation for Kṛṣṇa's stealing, the complaints made by the Gopīs, his excuses and how these link to *vātsalya bhāva* and *mādhurya bhāva*. He argues that a god who steals provides an image of inversion and becomes one who transgresses boundaries, while the accusations and excuses form a 'dialect of the

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<sup>12</sup>Siegel 1979:355.

<sup>13</sup>O'Flaherty 1980: 17-61.

<sup>14</sup>Toomey 1990 and 1992.

<sup>15</sup>Hawley 1983 Part IV.

language of love.<sup>16</sup> Hawley explores the connections made by O'Flaherty between sexual and maternal aspects in the symbolism of milk and finds that the boundary between the two *bhāvas* becomes even fuzzier. It seems that the elements of the *mākhancorilīlā* are found again in the *dānlīlā* in a more overtly sexual form, with greater emphasis on the sexual symbolism of the milk products and the breaking of pots than in his childhood escapades.<sup>17</sup> This symbol of milk is also seen in the story of Putānā,<sup>18</sup> the demoness who tried to kill Kṛṣṇa by offering him her breast, but was sucked dry by him and so achieved release. She is a killer mother, but she is still a mother and by offering milk or love she goes to heaven.<sup>19</sup>

Thus in the symbol of milk are found many key features of the carnivalesque: the image of the child, the orality and excessive appetite of Kṛṣṇa, images of death and regeneration, or rather, salvation, the abundance of food and its connection with sexuality, the inversion of authority as the child demands a tax on milk and hence on love, and the joy produced both by this abundance of milk and by the child's activities.

Many further elements of the carnival are found in the *Kṛṣṇalīlā* as depicted in the Sanskrit texts. Kṛṣṇa himself appears as all three stock comic characters of carnival (the fool, the clown and the rogue), the narratives describe popular festive forms, uncrownings and inversions, images of food, of the body etc. Limitations of space preclude a study of these elements in the earlier texts, but these elements are discussed in detail as they occur in Dayārām's poetry (see 5.3 below).

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<sup>16</sup>Hawley 1983:278.

<sup>17</sup>Kakar 1981:140-53, using a psychoanalytic approach, sees the two *līlās* as different representations of the desire of the mother for her son.

<sup>18</sup>It is significant that this is the only one of Kṛṣṇa's demon-slaying exploits to occur in Dayārām's poetry.

<sup>19</sup>See Kakar 1981: 146-51 for a psychoanalytic interpretation of this myth. He sees it as being a condensation of the son's desire to kill the 'bad mother'.

## 5.2 Developments of carnivalesque elements in the Puṣṭimārga

The *bhakti* movement was originally a folk movement, but it was soon dominated by the upper castes. The Puṣṭimārga seems to have marginalised or rejected many of the unofficial aspects of Kṛṣṇa *bhakti*. The official aspects of the sect are its leadership (hereditary and Brahminical), its observance of caste,<sup>20</sup> its philosophy (orthodox in that it accepts the Vedas), its official languages of Sanskrit and Braj, the sophistication of the arts (its music, painting etc. are 'high' rather than folk forms), and the expense and elaboration of ritual and its food restrictions.

However, there are aspects of the sect which suggest a form of worship which may be open to elements of carnival such as the centrality of the aesthetic of pleasure and the lack of emphasis on asceticism, sin and suffering. The major *bhāvas* for approaching Kṛṣṇa are *mādhurya bhāva* and *vātsalya bhāva* and their encouragement of enjoyment in the pleasures of arts and of food. Viewing God as an undisciplined child would immediately suggest carnivalesque possibilities in the physicality of children, their orality, their narcissism and delight in the body and its functions, their lack of discipline and their ability to turn all values upside down. The parental relationship, in its idealised Indian form, which so largely emphasises the maternal, gives rise to pleasure and joy in the love and care of a child and can never approach a strict or official form (the paternal). Possibilities of inversion are also seen in the relationship of lovers, where the obsession with the body of the loved one, the emphasis on beauty and the physical relationship between the bodies, along with the possibly adulterous nature of this relationship, are likely to involve a rejection of the restrictions imposed by society.

There is clear evidence for the survival or intrusion of folk elements. The most important of these concerns the central image of the sect, that of Śrī Nāthjī. This image is of Kṛṣṇa as Giridhara, the holder of Mount Govardhan. This exploit of Kṛṣṇa's is linked with his overthrow of the official worship of Indra and the

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<sup>20</sup>Burger 1992.

establishment of the worship of the mountain of Vraja and of a pastoral religion.<sup>21</sup> This can be seen to show how a folk or popular religion came to overthrow an official or established religion and how it was then incorporated into a mainstream tradition. Vaudeville 1980 argued that Mount Govardhan was a theriomorphic divinity associated with bulls and snakes. She later identified the divinity with Bhairava himself,<sup>22</sup> although Entwistle<sup>23</sup> has argued that the mountain god is connected with Skanda and his peacock rather than Śiva and his bull. Further folk elements, such as Nāga worship, are attached to the discovery of the image of Śrī Nāthjī<sup>24</sup> on Mount Govardhan, and specifically carnivalesque elements are seen in the images of food and the low caste characters involved.

These carnivalesque elements are further reinforced by a major festival of the Puṣṭimārga, associated with Mount Govardhan, that of *annakūṭa* 'mountain of food' or *Govardhana pūjā*. Here Kṛṣṇa (as God-*Gopa*) is also identified with the food and with Mount Govardhan itself. Toomey 1992 shows that this festival is a 'reversal ritual', which shows an inversion of high and low, and of pure and impure, as is seen clearly in the downplaying of the role of the *pūjārī*, the ritual stealing of food performed by tribals and the use of *kaccā* food as an offering. He mentions Bakhtin 1963 in the context of food hyperbole and Kṛṣṇa's limitless appetite, but draws more on Auerbach's breakdown of separate styles,<sup>25</sup> rather than on the notion of the carnivalesque, as his model of analysis. However, this festival may be analysed as carnivalesque because of the folk history, the excess and elaboration of food, the linking of food with the seasons through its being a harvest festival, the association of food and emotion, the image of a crack in the mountain as Kṛṣṇa's mouth (*mukhāravinda*) and as an entrance to another world, the cowdung images of Kṛṣṇa and the fact of reversal ritual.

<sup>21</sup>Vaudeville 1976. Kakar 1981:151-2 sees it as an expression of the Oedipal myth.

<sup>22</sup>Vaudeville 1989.

<sup>23</sup>Entwistle 1987:280-2.

<sup>24</sup>See Vaudeville 1980.

<sup>25</sup>See Auerbach 1968.



Other festivals of the Puṣṭimārga are also reversal rituals, notably Holī, a popular festival in all modern forms of Braj Vaiṣṇavism. Marriot 1966 gives an account of this festival which shows many carnivalesque elements in the inversion of hierarchies (caste, young and old, male and female, servant and master), the burning of the demoness Holikā, the lighting of the bonfire by the village fool, the 'King of Holī' riding backwards on a donkey, the traditional debasing and fertility gestures of mud, the urine and dung flinging, the use of colours symbolising fertility, the wearing of necklaces of dung and of shoes, the language of abuse,<sup>26</sup> the taking of intoxicants, and its occurrence as a spring and new year festival, symbolising destruction of the old and the welcoming of the new with an emphasis on love. He writes:

I began to see the Pandemonium of Holi falling into an extraordinarily regular social ordering. But this was an order precisely inverse to the social and ritual principles of routine life. Each riotous act at Holī implied some opposite, positive rule or fact of everyday social organization in the village.<sup>27</sup>

The *rāslīlās*<sup>28</sup> are not true forms of carnival since they are organised spectacles, in which there is a clear separation of performers and audience. However, they all have traces of 'folksy' forms of worship of Kṛṣṇa, such as the emphasis on humour, on inversion and on the limitless appetite of Kṛṣṇa. Other folk elements have also clearly penetrated the sect, such as the prevalence of inexpensive and popular chromo-lithographs rather than the traditional elaborate and costly paintings (which themselves are likely to be influenced by chromo-lithographs) now found mostly in *havelīs*. One area where there has been clear influence from the non-official is in the area of language, many Gujaratis using their own tongue rather than official Sanskrit or Braj in all but official *havelī*-rituals. The songs of the *aṣṭachāp*,<sup>29</sup> which were in the vernacular of their own time, are still

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<sup>26</sup>This and the inversion of hierarchies are also seen at other rituals such as at Gujarati weddings, where women sing *phaṭaṇāṇī* ('songs of abuse') referring to the other family.

<sup>27</sup>Marriot 1966:210

<sup>28</sup>See Hein 1972, Hawley 1981, 1983 and 1991.

<sup>29</sup>See 1.2 above.

used in the liturgy, but Gujarati has entered popular songs, most famously in the works of Dayārām, which are also in the form of folk dances.

### 5.3 Carnavalesque features in the lyrics of Dayārām

This section examines closely carnivalesque elements in the poetry of Dayārām and looks at the aesthetic of the grotesque.<sup>30</sup>

The spiritual joy of the Kṛṣṇa cult pervades Dayārām's poetry and is its characteristic mode, often manifesting itself as humour.<sup>31</sup> Humour is usually centred on Kṛṣṇa himself who takes the forms of the three archetypal figures of carnival, the fool, the clown and the rogue.<sup>32</sup> These public characters have a metaphorical significance as symbols of non-coincidence and cannot be taken literally. They are all Others and so can exploit any position they can get, wearing their own masks and fulfilling their function of ripping off everyone's masks. The fool and the clown are laughed at and they laugh at themselves as a means of externalising a person. These two characters can be seen as epicene, whereas the rogue or the trickster is priapic.<sup>33</sup>

With Kṛṣṇa, all these characters combine to some extent and the change in relationships is an exchange expressed in dialogue. Kṛṣṇa plays the fool, whose function is to provide amusement by failing to understand and thus to expose the sexual desire of others. Kṛṣṇa fills this role as a small boy when he pretends not to understand the sexual feelings of others and thereby exposes them. For example, in 34 *Joīne cālo* he excuses his behaviour by claiming he is a child and is playing innocently with the Gopīs.

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<sup>30</sup>It should be clear that 'grotesque' is used here in the sense given by Bakhtin 1968:30-6 and in no way implies a sense of revulsion (see the Concise OED for support for this separation of meanings).

<sup>31</sup>See for example 14, 15, 18, 42 etc.

<sup>32</sup>See Bakhtin 1981: 158-167 on the functions of the rogue, clown and fool in the novel.

<sup>33</sup>Siegel 1987:325.

He takes on the role of the clown, who mocks others, making everyone laugh through his actions, in particular his stealing and smashing pots. The laughter involved with this character is always naive and devoid of anger, although anger is often feigned (as in 63 *Gopīnī phariyāda*).

As the rogue, Kṛṣṇa is the witty and cheerful deceiver, *caturaśiromaṇi* ('the prince of tricksters'), who brings truthfulness and authenticity by exposing what is false. He puts on this mask when he appears as a merry liar, a cheat, a molester of girls etc.<sup>34</sup> In this role, Kṛṣṇa is associated with the chronotope of the road, as will be seen in 6.4 below. Kṛṣṇa is always unmasked and revealed as divine in the *bhaṇita* and everyone is amused when they find that once again they have been deceived and they are invited to join in his laughter at his own exposure.

Kṛṣṇa's disguises cause further humour, such as Kṛṣṇa and the Gopī's swapping of clothes (102 *Mārā rāja!*). Similar humour is seen when the dishevelled appearance of the Gopī reveals that she has returned from lovemaking with Kṛṣṇa, despite her feeble excuses (31 *Samdeśo*). In 53 *Pyārīne manāvā*, where Kṛṣṇa appears in disguise as a woman, the Gopī fears 'she' will be a rival so tricks her into taking an oath, only to find that once again Kṛṣṇa has got the better of her, to the great delight of both. However, Mahādeva is deflated by sexual humour of a farcical kind when the great ascetic becomes sexually aroused by Kṛṣṇa in the guise of Mohinī and is thus humiliated (130 *Mohinīsvarūpano garabo*).

Further humour is seen in the disguise of the fool in the poems where Kṛṣṇa pretends to be a child who has slept through the night, although the marks of sexual activity are clear on his body (e.g. 41 *Konī samge?*); of the clown when the Gopīs are angry with him for breaking the pots; and of the rogue, when the Gopīs berate him for obstructing the road (15 *Kahānagopī*). Anger is used to humorous effect in numerous poems when the Gopīs display indignation<sup>35</sup> (*māna*), such as the Gopī's anger with the colour black (18 *Śyāma raṅga*), with the flute (26 *Mānītī*

<sup>34</sup>See for example 9,6,12,15,39.

<sup>35</sup>Siegl 1987:103.

*vāṃsalaḍīne*), and with Kṛṣṇa himself when he has compared her face to the blemished moon (52 *Haṭhīlīnī haṭha*).

Festive forms are a major component of the carnivalesque, hardly surprising considering its origins in the festive form itself. An essential feature of these festivities is that they have no spectators, for the whole crowd has to participate.<sup>36</sup> Dayārām's poetry contains many mentions of festive forms. Holī, the most carnivalesque of all Indian festivals, is mentioned several times as a day on which Kṛṣṇa can spread his rule over all others, the Gopīs in particular. For example, 107 *Gulāle mār āṃkha bhari!*, 123 *Hoḷīne ṭāṇe*, 138 *kyama bhariye re jaḷajamanānām nīra?* and also 9.5. Other festivities mentioned include weddings (10 *Rādhānām vakhāṇa*, 125 *Rādhānuṃ mithyālagna*), the dancing of the *rāslīlā* (11 *Rāsamaṇḍalane darśane*, 128 *Rāsanṛtya*) and the performance of the Kātyāyanīvrata (113 *Kātyāyanīvrata*). Kṛṣṇa takes the leading role in all these festivities, much to the delight of the Gopīs.

Bakhtin suggests that one of the essential features of carnival is that it uses everyday forms of vernacular language. The presentation of Dayārām's poems as dramatic dialogue or monologue draws attention away from a feeling of divine origin, and in many of these verses he uses colloquial vocabulary rather than Sanskritic or Brajified forms. Language is perceived as being unreliable; sight is privileged over all other forms of experience (see below on the eye and sight in Dayārām). Words cannot express the emotions and experience of the Gopīs towards Kṛṣṇa:

*kahyāsamajhyāmām na āvc c vastu, jāṇe jene hoyā vītatī vaḷī. Odhavajī!*  
This thing can't be obtained by speaking and understanding, only one who has undergone it realises what it is. Odhavajī! (17.5)

<sup>36</sup>Bakhtin 1968:257.

The words of others are usually regarded as evil but the Gopīs are willing to ignore criticism over their behaviour with Kṛṣṇa:

*kahenārā kaheṣe paṇa cho tame dhaṇī Bihārīlāla!*  
*Dayānā Pritama! hum dāsī tamataṇī Bihārīlāla!*  
 Chatterers will chatter, but you are the Lord, Bihārīlāla!  
 Beloved of Dayā, I am your servant, Bihārīlāla! (2.17)

Praise and abuse are characteristic of carnivalesque language. Kṛṣṇa is frequently abused by the Gopīs (see 15 *Kahānagopī*), and he enjoys this abuse (35.1), but he never abuses them verbally. Abuse requires dialogue (for reported speech can abuse only in the third person) and although the abuse is not overt, there is some fairly strong teasing and any mention of Holī would bring to mind images of ritual abuse. The words of people other than the Gopīs and Kṛṣṇa are seen as abusive. 39 *Samo samajho* is concerned with the need to avoid being seen and heard by others, whether people in the street or the Gopī's in-laws. If they are heard, then the Gopī will be abused.

Praise of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs is frequent and there are lengthy descriptions, often of the *nakhśikh* type, of the perfect beauty of Kṛṣṇa (19 *Mohanamāṇ mohini*) and of Rādhā (10 *Rādhānām vakhāṇa*). Also characteristic are riddles and puns. These feature throughout the corpus (e.g. 4 *Panaghata para*), as does innuendo, such as in 15 *Kahānagopī* and 127 *Sācuṃ bolo jī*. Lists are a feature of the carnivalesque used to show excess and the heaping up of plenty<sup>37</sup> such as in 14 *Mahīārīo*.

Carnivalesque language includes images of regeneration, fertility and renewal. This is seen in the milk motif discussed in 5.1 above and in the presentation of Kṛṣṇa as a child, the greatest symbol of these features. Kṛṣṇa is the archetypal male child, who in Dayārām's verse has no male companions and seems to be the only child of his age in Vraja.<sup>38</sup> The Gopīs do not seem to have any children so Kṛṣṇa is the sole focus of their maternal and sexual love.

<sup>37</sup>See Hawley 1992 for an interpretation of the function of lists in devotional poetry.

<sup>38</sup>The only exception is in his childhood butter stealing. See 63.8.

Dayārām's poetic imagery does not differ widely from that of the Braj Kṛṣṇaite poets, nor is it very extensive, poetic imagery being unsuited to the naturalistic dialogue. In addition to a few mentions of traditional images of beauty, such as the lotus (7.6), and the moon (24.7), the main images are of carnival and of fertility. The most frequently recurring images are of milk (already described in 5.1 above), colour (black as the colour of Kṛṣṇa, e.g. 9 *Mujane aḍaśo mā!*; colours of Holī in 107 *Gulāle mārī āṅkha bhārī!*; and red specifically associated with sexuality in 15 *Kahānagopī*), and the ocean of joy (which usually boils up in passion, for example in 25.11). The sado-masochistic language of love associated with images of penetration, cutting and entering into the bodies of the Gopīs is found throughout. The weapons of love are the eyes (*bāṅsarikhī* 8.2; *nenakaṭārī* 10.8; *nenataṅā...bhālā* 12.1; *aṅiyāḷī āṅkha kāḷajakora* 24.1) and the flute. Kṛṣṇa is a hunter who lays traps (12.1), oppresses the Gopīs with his power (*julamī jora* 24.3) and whose absence burns them with the fire of *viraha* (1.3).

Although Dayārām's poetry does not refer to the Annakūṭa festival, nor does it contain any *thāḷas* (poems describing food offered to Kṛṣṇa<sup>39</sup>), the poems abound in oral imagery with constant reference to food, drink and swallowing. The carnivalesque links food with the body and procreation and uses it to show the unfinished nature of the body. In Dayārām as elsewhere, sadness and food are incompatible, and food is abandoned in *viraha* and in unfulfilled desire (8.3)

The imagery of food is central. In addition to references to milk (see above) there are mentions of honey (58.14), *pān* (15.3) and sugar (39.4). Gruel is mentioned as an image of inferior love, contrasted with milk which symbolises true love (13.2). Love is drunk (13 *Pāo premarasa*), often as lip-nectar (9.1), and can be exchanged as a commodity for yoghurt (15 *Kahānagopī*). Poison, sent from the eyes, is drunk, being preferable to the Gopī than separation from Kṛṣṇa (3.5).

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<sup>39</sup>See Mallison 1986a:43.

In 2.3 above, it was seen that Dayārām's lyrics were most highly praised for their quality of sweetness. This oral image is found throughout the lyrics themselves. Sweetness pervades the Gopīs (51.3) and Kṛṣṇa. His words are always sweet:

*Rasiyā, rūpālā cho re Naṭavara Naṃdakiśora!*  
*sadguṇasāgara cho re mīhaḍābolā cittanā cora.*  
 Rasiyā, you are beautiful, Naṭavara Naṃdakiśora!  
 You are the ocean of good qualities, sweet-talking, the thief of my  
 mind. (3.3)

Sweetness is associated with Kṛṣṇa and his love (see in particular, 146 *Premasaṃtoṣa*, 147 *Jāo, jāo jūṭha!*, 148 *Tamāro!* and 149 *Ghuṃghaṭaḍāmāṃthī!*):

*Vhālā! vhālasarikhuṃ nathī kāṃī mīṭhuṃ,*  
*amṛta paṇa evuṃ nava dīṭhuṃ,*  
*heta svārathanuṃ te to ajīṭhuṃ!*  
 Beloved! there is nothing as sweet as the beloved,  
 I have not seen even nectar like it,  
 Selfish love is left-over food. (146.1)

Once this sweetness of *saguṇa* Kṛṣṇa has been tasted, other approaches to God are tasteless like gruel (13.1), or likened to salt (58.14) when one wants sugar. The imagery of sugar is used in likening flirting in public to eating sugar in the market-square:

*goḷa potāne khūṇe khāīe, karīe dīṭho adīṭho jī;*  
*pragaṭa karī bajāre beṭhāṃ ṣuṃ lāge che atī mīṭho?*  
 Eat jaggery in your own corner, act seen and unseen;  
 Doing it openly, sitting in the market-place, does it seem sweeter?  
 (39.4)

Sweetness is also associated with the flute (55.2), whose close connection to Kṛṣṇa's mouth is often deplored by the Gopīs (26 *Mānītī vāṃsalaḍīne*, 27 *Vāṃsalaḍīno vāṃka*), but this sweetness is a disguise for the poison of *viraha* (55.3):

*sudhāthakī re svāda emāṃ che ghaṇo,*  
*mune sākara karatāṃ lāge che ghaṇī gaḷī, ho jī re!*  
 It is far more delicious than nectar,  
 I think its sweetness is greater than sugar.

*catako lāgyo re jherī damkhathī nā ūtare,*  
*jherī jhājhī che te karatāṃ vaḷī, ho jī re!*  
 Once it has stung, the venom doesn't leave the sting,  
 It is much stronger than poison. (55.2-3)

This is the paradox of the flute whose sound marks the absence of the sight of Kṛṣṇa, leading to *viraha*, but it also marks his unseen presence.<sup>40</sup>

The grotesque body is one of the strongest images of carnival. It is a collective body, with emphasis given to its sensual, material and profane images. It emphasises its corporeality through eating and sex, whose status as the primary pleasurable functions of the body is seen in their rejection by ascetics. In Dayārām's lyrics, Kṛṣṇa is a loving and beautiful child, the child being the greatest symbol of renewed life and also one which revels in its own physicality, delights in the body, has little control over the body and needs nurture, having an unlimited appetite. The need for Kṛṣṇa's bodily presence seen throughout the Kṛṣṇa cult is emphasised in these lyrics whose central theme is the love of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs. This is a characteristic form of *saguṇa* imagery.

There is a strong sense of the collective body throughout the lyrics. The Gopīs seem to be one body in poems such as the description of the *rāsa* (11 *Rāsamaṇḍalane darśane*), and Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are one as the *yugalarūpa* (143 *Vṛṇḍāvanamāṇ*), and she is always with him in the form of his clothing and jewellery (51 *Sācuṇ mānaje*). This unity is emphasised in *nakhśikh* descriptions, where Dayārām presents archetypes of male and female bodies, with hyperbolic perfection of a type not given to individual bodies (10 *Rādhānāṇ vakhāṇa*, 62 *Harinī bāḷalilā*; also 1.13, 19.70), whether of Rādhā (129 *Śrīnāthajī!*), Kṛṣṇa as Mohinī (130 *Mohinīsvarūpano garabo*) or Kṛṣṇa himself (19 *Mohanamāṇ mohinī*). All of these bodies are of extreme beauty with little imagery of ugliness, even in the Gopīs' mentions of Kubjā. The only reference to ugliness is 11.16, where a Gopī says her friend is ugly, but this is only a ruse to dissuade Kṛṣṇa from dancing with her.

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<sup>40</sup>See 6.4 below on the chronotopic motif of the flute.



The carnivalesque is concerned with boundaries of the body and their transgression, in particular with its apertures, notably the mouth, nose, anus etc. In these lyrics, the only two apertures which feature extensively are the mouth and the eyes, whose main function is to win the beloved through words, through playing or hearing the flute, through seeing the beloved or being seen by the beloved. Bakhtin argues that the eyes are non-carnavalesque since they are features of the individualised body. However, it seems that in the contexts outlined below the eyes do have a carnivalesque function (see below). Images of food and their function were discussed above and so here the focus is on sex, love and courtship.

In Dayārām's lyrics, the mouth is a central image though not only for eating but also for the purposes of lovemaking such as talking, kissing, smiling and Kṛṣṇa playing his flute.<sup>41</sup> Here it must be reiterated that language is seen as being unreliable in love, especially when used by Kṛṣṇa, and 'body language', which must be verified by sight is seen as more reliable.

Kṛṣṇa's smile, usually accompanied by darts from his eyes (43.6), is gentle yet dangerous to the Gopīs:

*tārī hasaṇī maṃdanā phaṃdamāṃ gherī, māryā nenetaṇā teṃ bhālā re.*  
Your smile overcame us in a gentle trap, you fired the darts of your eyes (12.1)

*sakhī! enuṃ hasavun che maṃda julamī jora re.*  
O friend! his gentle smiling has oppressive power. (24.3)

His mouth is red (11.7) from eating betel which he rubs onto the Gopīs' clothes (15.3), the established link of red and fertility here being associated with bodily secretions. Kṛṣṇa offers the Gopīs *pān* then invites them to make his face red, that is to kiss him:

*ā le tuṃ khā bīḍī pyārī! pānanī,*  
*sāte māre mukhaḍe raṃga lagāda jo.*  
Take this roll of *pān* and eat it, my lovely,  
In exchange, colour my face with it. (15.4)

<sup>41</sup>Talking was discussed above in the context of carnivalesque language while food and orality were discussed in the context of images of food in this section.

Further images of kissing, often called the 'drinking of lip-nectar' (43.4), are found throughout the lyrics. For example:

*sukha tyāre thaṣe re jyāre ūra lapaṭāvī lapaṭāīśa;  
jīvyuṃ sapaḥaḥa thaṣe re jyāre huṃ adharāmṛta pī pāīśa.*  
Happiness will arise, when I embrace you as you have embraced me to  
your breast,  
My life will be fulfilled when I drink your lip-nectar and am given it to  
drink. (30.7)

The images of food in Dayārām's lyrics (mentioned above) are, of course, associated with the carnivalesque mouth. Food features as a way of allowing *rasa*, mostly that of love, or milk as a symbol of love, to enter the body through the mouth.

*eṇe haiḍānām to hīra līdhām,  
Kānuḍe to kāmaṇa kīdhām  
gheraghera dadhīmākhaṇa pīdhām.*  
He took the love of our hearts,  
Kānuḍa worked his enchantment,  
He drank yoghurt and butter in every house. (6.3)

The drinking of these milk products is taken as a bond between Kṛṣṇa and the Gopī (14 *Mahīārīo* and 15 *Kahānagopī*), and when Kṛṣṇa drinks it, he sells himself to the Gopīs:

*mahī pītāmām Mohana! thāśo māhyarā,  
karīśa game tema rākhiśa māre mahela jo.*  
In drinking this yoghurt, Mohana, you will become mine,  
I shall do what I want and keep you in my house.(15.7)

In 13 *Pāo premarasa*, the drinking of the *rasa* of love is seen as the only valid way of approaching Kṛṣṇa, other ways such as knowledge being seen as inadequate. Eating is enjoyed at moments of happiness (6.3, 6.6), but when suffering from the pain of *viraha*, the Gopīs do not eat (8.3).

It was mentioned above that Bakhtin has argued that the eye is a non-carnivalesque part of the body, seen as representing the individual rather than the collective. However, since the Gopīs, as worshippers of Kṛṣṇa, may be seen as a collective body, the epitome of woman, and since Kṛṣṇa is Puruṣottama, the ultimate male, it could be argued that the eye here is not a marker of individuality, but a collective eye. The pleasure of sight is universal, and the importance of the

glance in specifically Indian contexts, particularly in religious situations, such as *darśana*, has been discussed elsewhere.<sup>42</sup> In Dayārām's lyrics, where it is one of the most frequently mentioned parts of the body, the eye is the most privileged organ. Seeing Kṛṣṇa is essential (64.6); the eye sees Kṛṣṇa and leads to love; words fail where the eye succeeds (41 *Konī saṃge?*); words may be false (87.3), but the eye is true (unless Kṛṣṇa is in disguise). The validity of sight and of bodily experience over other forms of knowledge and learning is shown in 89 *Jhaghaḍo locana manano*, where the issue is the relative importance of sight and emotion in falling in love with Kṛṣṇa.

Kṛṣṇa's eyes are the archetypal eyes of the lover. They are enchanting (68 *Āṃkhanām kāmaṇa*) and mischievous (6.4), and make secret invitations to the Gopīs (94.4):

*premakatākṣe karī sahu kāmanī sāmum ŚrīKṛṣṇe joyum re;*  
*loṭapoṭa thāī gai sahu lalanā, pritamamām mana proyuṃ.*  
 Kṛṣṇa looked at all of them and with eye movements of love he made  
 them all enchanted,  
 All the women became confused, he pierced their minds in affection.

*sāmāsāmī locana maḷatām karī samaśyā chānī re;*  
*sarave kahyuṃ, 'āvajo māre maṃdīra,' Mohane līdhum te mānī.*  
 Meeting their eyes head on, having made secret suggestions;  
 Everyone said, 'Come to my house.' and Mohana agreed. (63.23-24)

There is pleasure in being looked at by Kṛṣṇa, since this leads to love:

*hum śum jāṇum je Vhāle mujamām śum dīthum?*  
*vārevāre sāmum bhāle, mukha lāge mīthum!*  
 I do not know what Vhālā sees in me.  
 He constantly looks at me, my face seems sweet! (21.R)

However, Kṛṣṇa's eyes are dangerous weapons, whether because they are pointed (24.R), or because they send forth arrows (*locananām bāṇa*, 34.2), daggers (*katākṣakatārī*, 1.14; *nenakatārī*, 10.8), or darts (*nenataṇā...bhālā*, 12.1) which pierce the hearts of the Gopīs. Sometimes these looks are accompanied with words and smiles:

*āṃkha aṇāḷī tāri ura saḷake, kāḷajaḍum korāyumu vacanane bhalake,*  
*sukhada ati madhura tārum mukha malake.*

<sup>42</sup>Eck 1981.

Your pointed eyes pierce my chest, my heart is pierced with darts of words  
Your exceedingly sweet, pleasure-giving face smiles. (74.4)

The sight of Kṛṣṇa makes the Gopīs mad:

*prīṭalāḍī to karatām pahelī, Prabhu dekhīne thāi chuṃ ghelī*  
Before even making love, (just) having seen Prabhu, I have become mad. (7.2)

Yet it removes sorrow and pain:

*tāruṃ mukha dekhī sukha thāya che, duḥkhaḍām sau dūra paḷāya che.*  
I became happy when I saw your face, all my sorrows remain far away. (84.3)

It is the addictive nature of this vision (24.7) which makes them long to see him again and again as in 119 *Darśana donī re!*. Seeing Kṛṣṇa leads to a loss of self-control as is clear in 130 where even Mahādev is overwhelmed by Kṛṣṇa's disguise as Mohinī. In 12 *Samuṃ jo!*, the Gopī requests Kṛṣṇa to look at her, to witness the affliction the sight of him has caused her:

*mārī āṃkhanā bhāvyā, mananā mānyā, mārā kālajaḍānī kora re! huṃ*  
*pīdanī mārī pokāruṃ Dayāprabhu, bijuṃ śuṃ māruṃ jora re?*  
He delighted my eyes, he pleased my mind, the darling of my heart!  
I proclaim my harassment, Dayā's Lord, what other power do I have?  
(12.5)

Rādhā's eyes are beautiful:

*Rādhe! rūpālī rasilī tāri āṃkhaḍī jo;*  
*joḍī Kṛṣṇasamāna chabi phāṃkaḍī jo.*  
Rādhā! your eyes are beautiful and full of rasa;  
Joined with Kṛṣṇa, your beauty is lovely.

*upamāe adhika nahi tuṃthī mṛgalocanī jo,*  
*vinā aṃjana manaramjana bhavamocanī jo.*  
There is nothing excessive in comparing deer's eyes to yours,  
Without kajal they are delighting and give mukti to the world. (49.R,  
1)

The Gopīs' glances are dangerous to Kṛṣṇa, and strike his heart like arrows:

*ghāyala cho jī, nenabāṇa keīnāṃ vāgyāṃ?*  
You are wounded, what arrows of eyes struck you? (41.R)

The sight of the Gopīs in the *rāsa* dances give pleasure to all who see them, as does the description of the dance, as in 11 *Rāsamaṇḍaḷane darśane*. However, the main function of the Gopīs' eyes is seeing Kṛṣṇa, as discussed above.

The eye can convey other emotions such as *rīsa*, the anger of the Gopī with Kṛṣṇa:

*rīsani bhareḷī tāri āṁkhaḍī dekhīne prāṇa muja daḍī jāya jhole.*  
Having seen your eyes, full of anger, my life-breath dangles on a  
thread. (86.4)

Mention has been made already of Kṛṣṇa's deceiving the gaze of others through his disguises, but Kṛṣṇa also blinds the Gopī by throwing red powder in her eyes (107 *Gulāle māri āṁkha bhari!*, 123 *Hoḷīne ṭāne*). When she has lost her power of sight, Kṛṣṇa kisses her in public. She fears the gaze of others who will blame her, while he disregards the gaze of others. He has the most powerful gaze of all.

A poem which illustrates many aspects of the eye and of gaze is 68 *Āṁkhamāṁ kāmāṇa* 'Enchantment in his eyes'. Here the Gopī describes Kṛṣṇa's eyes as containing enchantment, she is pierced by his glances, yet she derives great pleasure from looking at him and from being looked at. Once again, words are seen to be treacherous. They support the eyes as tools of attraction, but they fail to express emotion or to describe the visual pleasure:

*kāmāṇa dīse che Alabelā! tāri āṁkhamāṁ re!*  
*bhoḷuṁ bhākha mā re! kāmāṇa dīse che Alabelā!*  
Alabelā, enchantment is seen in your eyes!  
Do not speak ingenuously! Enchantment is seen, Alabelā!

*maṁda hasīne cittaduṁ coryuṁ, kuṭila kaṭākṣe kāḷaja koryuṁ;*  
*adapadiyāḷī āṁkhe jhīṇuṁ jhāṁkha mā re, bhoḷuṁ bhākha.*  
Smiling gently you stole my mind, your crooked sidelong glances  
have pierced my heart;  
Peeking minutely with your half-closed eyes, - do not speak  
ingenuously. .

*nakhaśikharūpa ghanuṁ raḍhiyāḷuṁ, laṭakuṁ saghaluṁ kāmāṇagārum;*  
*chānāṁ khaṁjana rākhe paṁkaja pāṁkhamāṁ re, bhoḷuṁ bhākha.*  
Your top to toe beauty is very lovely, all your flirting is enchanting;  
Keep your dimples hidden, a lotus in the mud, speak simply.

*vhālabhari rasavaraṇī vāṇī, tāruṇīnuṁ mana le che tāṇī;*  
*bhūrūkuṭimāṁ maṭakāvī bhūrakī nāṁkha mā re, bhoḷuṁ bhākha.*  
Your voice, full of love sprinkles *ras*, it carries off the minds of  
women;  
Winking in the bending of your eyebrows, you make charms. Do not  
speak ingenuously.

*Dayāprītama nirakhye je thāye te meṁ mukhaḍe nava kahevāye;*  
*ā vinatī āturatā āvaḍuṁ sām̐kha mā re, bhoḷuṁ bhākha.*  
When Dayā's beloved looks at me I could not say with my mouth what  
happens  
This is my request: forgive such eagerness. Do not speak ingenuously.

Since these lyrics are songs set to music, praised for their sweetness, the singing of which inspires love for Kṛṣṇa, and since Kṛṣṇa himself is known as a flute-player, it is surprising that references to sound do not feature largely in the lyrics themselves. The most frequently mentioned sound is that of the flute, whose connection with Kṛṣṇa's mouth was mentioned above, but which is also a way of arousing *bhāva* in the devotees:

*veṇugīte bhāva prakāśyo, Śrīvallabhanī vāṇī,  
Śrīgurumukhathī śravaṇa karīne amtaramāṇhe āṇī.*  
Emotion appeared in the sound of the flute, the voice of Śrīvallabha,  
Having listened to it from the mouth of Śrīguru, it was brought to the  
heart. (11.23)

The sound of the flute summons the Gopīs to dance (11 *Rāsamaṇḍalane darśane*) and to lovemaking (14 *Mahīāro*, 29 *Veṇa mā vāso māre āṅgaṇe!*). 8 *Vāṁsalaḍīne śabde* describes the effect the flute has on a Gopī. It makes her mad and arouses jealousy as its sound pervades the whole of Vraja. She neglects her milking and her food, but her pain is relieved by the sight of Kṛṣṇa. Again, the eye is privileged over the other senses.

Music is mentioned in the context of swinging in the garden (5.14), the round dance (11 *Rāsamaṇḍalane darśane* and 25 *Garabe ramavāne*), along with the noise of ornaments. In a description of Kṛṣṇa's regal beauty, he sings to enchant the Gopī:

*kanakachaḍī suṁdara kara laīne, gajagati cālo haḷavā rahīne,  
cittaḍuṁ corī mīthumīthum gāvātā re.*  
Holding a beautiful gold stick, you move swaying with an elephant's  
gait,  
Singing softly, you have stolen my mind. (70.3)

The only other instances of hearing which are mentioned are waiting for the sound of Kṛṣṇa's footsteps (1.7), and of course, hearing the talk of others (see section on language).

The other senses of the body barely feature. Touch is mentioned in embracing, catching limbs or to insist that Kṛṣṇa should stay away (9 *Mujane aḍaśo mā!*, 14 *Mahīārīo*, 15 *Kahānagopī*). Smell is barely mentioned apart from two

references to musk (18.2 and 127.13-14), but the former occurrence is in connection with its black colour rather than its smell. The nose is mentioned only in connection with pearl ornaments (11.16 etc.)

There are no direct references to the genitals, apart from the symbolic connections of the flute or the pots of yoghurt, mentioned above, but sexual relations are mentioned usually obliquely or through innuendo, but sometimes explicitly, mostly in references to the bower (*nikuṃja*) such as in 25.10. Other parts of the body of less interest than those specified above are mentioned only in *nakhśikh* descriptions as parts of the whole body. Passing references are made to the feet in the context of total submission (the Gopī to Kṛṣṇa, 5.4), (Kṛṣṇa to the Gopī 21.4); and when Kṛṣṇa insults the Gopī:

*tujasarakhī govāṇī re lola, te to mārā paganī pejāra.*  
A milkmaid like you is the slipper on my foot. (4.2)

or contributing to the total beauty of the person with their lotus-like form (11.12). Hands and arms are mentioned once in the lifting of Mount Govardhan (6.7), otherwise mostly in the context of Kṛṣṇa's harassing the Gopīs on the road (14. 15) or taking the hand of the Gopī in reconciliation, to drag one up to *uddhāra* ('liberation')

*garaḥasavādī nā thaīe mārā Vhālā!*  
*śaraṇāgatakara grahiye mārā Vhālā!*  
My Beloved, do not be selfish,  
Take the hand of the one who has come for refuge. Do not be selfish!  
(156.R)

As we would expect in the Puṣṭimārga, there is little mention of *tapas* or other forms of asceticism. The only time *tapas* is mentioned it is performed by the flute as a stick of bamboo in the jungle, which mocks the whole idea of the ascetic performing *tapas* in the wild (28 *Vaṃsalaḍīno uttara*). The only serious way in which the body is seen to suffer is in love, mostly through *viraha* but also while under attack from Kṛṣṇa. Pain and love are closely associated in both the presence

and the absence of Kṛṣṇa (see 16 *Premanī pīḍā*). In fact it is said that there is no real love without pain

*pīḍānī bhareli prīta to ye kare paṇḍita, duḥkha pāme to ya chāya nā ghaṭi.*  
The pandits say it is love only if it is full of pain, only if there is sorrow then is the love is not deficient. (17.3)

The supreme pain of love (1.16) comes, as it were, to replace *tapas* as a way of suffering to obtain God.

This pain of love is extended to images of violence, pain and death. Violent love-making leaves visible marks (41 *Konī samge?*) and love itself causes metaphorical wounds:

*alabeli āṁkhanī aṅīe prāṇa proyā, kīdhī ghāyala ghāḍī!*  
The points of his lovely eyes have pierced my soul, they have made dense wounds! (155.2)

often through jealousy:

*dājhyā upara lūṇa dīdhuṁ e Dāmodare;*  
*pelī śoklaḍī sūṇīe kālaje dahiye re.*  
Dāmodara applied salt to our wounds,  
Having heard about our co-wife, we burn in our hearts. (16.5)

It is torture:

*ākhi rātanī ūjāgarī rākhi! māruṁ tanamana śīdane saṁtāpyuṁ re?*  
*dājhayā upara lūṇa devāne mune ā darśana śīda āpyuṁ re?*  
All night you kept me sleepless! Why do you torture my body and mind?  
Why did you give me this *darśana* to allow salt on the burn? (147.1)

and it may kill (12.2, 16.7, 16), but it is worse than death itself:

*śatruthī saṁtāpa ghaṇo snehathī maḷe paṇa te ja māṁhīm sau mare maṭi.*  
Torments from enemies are much better than love, in that everyone recovers or dies. (17.4)

The Gopīs view Kṛṣṇa as a hunter (59.6). Rādhā's mother also complains:

*phaṇḍāmāṁ nāṁkhīne eṇe phāṁsī re dīdhī,*  
*pāradhīnī pere dhīravīne jīva līdho re!*  
Having engaged in an affair, he gave her a noose,  
She trusted him, then he took her life as if he were a hunter. (157.1)

There is a recurring image of his outer sweetness and his deceptive nature:

*huṁ śuṁ jāṇuṁ je moḍhe mīthā, haiye jūṭhā? jāṇe je hoyā manamelāḍī.*  
*Chabīlā!*  
What can I know (about you) who are sweet by mouth, false in your heart? Only the cunning can know. Chabīlā! (72.2)



There is much imagery of illness, usually afflicted by the fever of love which only Kṛṣṇa can cure:

*eṇe tapanī sādhanā kidhī che, Kṛṣṇe kṛpāsādhya kari didhī che,  
māṭe Dayāpṛītame kara lidhī che .  
He made a remedy for this fever, Kṛṣṇa performed an act of mercy,  
For Dayā's beloved took her hand. (8.4)*

This image of the doctor is a common image of carnival, the healer, the person who participates in the struggle between life and death:<sup>43</sup>

*vaidā Vhālājī! mārā roḡano tuṃ che, kone dekhāduṃ nāḍī?  
Vhālājī! You are the doctor of my illness, to whom shall I show my  
pulse? (155.4)*

Death is mentioned directly with references to Pūtanā (11.13) and to Kāṃsa. The war of love is a recurring theme through the lyrics, and there are occasional references to poison. Kṛṣṇa's leaving Vrindavan and the outpourings of *viraha* clearly have some parallels with death and with mourning, but these are not overt. Even in these poems, there is no clear mention of fear, as the world is torn apart, but a concentration on physical and psychological feelings of separation. Scatology and other features of the lower stratum<sup>44</sup> are barely mentioned. There are a number of reasons for the omission of these ideal themes for regeneration and renewal, of which the most plausible is the wish to avoid linking the divine body too closely with the earth.

The Gopīs' minds are deranged by Kṛṣṇa, sometimes madness, sometimes infatuation for him (12.R) and sometimes sleeplessness (12.3). The imagery of madness appears throughout these lyrics. Again, Kṛṣṇa can act as the doctor who can cure this madness, as is seen in lyric 145 *Rasiye vajāḍī raṃgavāsaḷī!*

*Rasiye vajāḍī raṃgavāṃsaḷī! pāṃsaḷī māṛī proī!  
vikāḷa kari mune Vhālame vāṃkī ḍṛṣṭe re joī! Rasiye.  
Rasiyā played his lovely flute! He pierced my heart!  
Vhālama made me confused, he looked with a sidelong glance!*

<sup>43</sup>Bakhtin 1968:179-80.

<sup>44</sup>Bakhtin 1968:Chapter 6.

*sakhī Panaghaṭa upara huṃ paḍī, māri kāyā re kāṃpe!  
bheda na samajhe ko bhāminī! leī leī hṛdiyāśuṃ cāṃpe!*  
Friend, I met him on the water ghat, my body trembles!  
Lovely woman, he doesn't understand any division, he takes hold of  
me and presses me to his heart!

*koī kahe, 'akhetara to adyūṃ!' koī kahe, 'kāle re karaḍī!  
eka sakhī samajhī gai - 'Lālahere re maraḍī!*  
Some say, 'Witchcraft touched her!', others say, 'Yesterday she was  
bitten!'  
One friend understood, 'Waves of pleasure of Lāla overpowered her!'

*teṇe kahyūṃ, 'sarako sahu! eka maṃtra huṃ pāse,  
saṃbhaḷāvūṃ enā śravaṇamāṃ, vīkha ūtarī jāśe,'*  
She said, 'Go away, all of you! I have a mantra,  
I'll whisper it in your ear, the poison will go,'

*teṇe kahyūṃ mārā kānamāṃ, 'huṃ chuṃ Śyāmanī saṃgī,  
niśce huṃ tene meḷavūṃ,' - sūnī ūṭhī umamgī.*  
She said in my ear, 'I am the friend of Śyāma,  
I'll certainly arrange for you to meet him.' Hearing this, he was  
delighted.

*sarve vakhāṇī te triyā, 'vīkhaḍuṃ teṃ vālyūṃ!  
Dayānā Pritama teṇe meḷavyā! māruṃ vrehaduḥkha ṭālyūṃ!*  
These three words are everything, 'You neutralised poison!'  
She was made to meet Dayā's Beloved, my sorrow at separation was  
removed!

This madness is not viewed in an altogether negative way, because Kṛṣṇa himself steals the Gopīs' minds, while they obtain true sight and knowledge through loving him, without needing reason or knowledge. This is seen clearly in their debates with Uddhava.

The unity of mind and body (12.5) is demonstrated in the physical manifestations of emotional states, notably in *viraha*. Emotions are seen to have clear locations within the body. In 1 *Ūbhā raho to kahūṃ*, the Gopī describes how her emotions are sited and manifested throughout her entire body.

Lastly, mentions of dress feature in many lyrics. These may be in *nakhśikh* descriptions, but may also be about masquerade in the exchange of costumes between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā (102 *Mārā rāja!*), Kṛṣṇa's female form as Mohinī (130 *Mohinīsvarūpano garabo*), and Rādhā's manifestation in Kṛṣṇa's dress and ornaments (51 *Sacuṃ mānaje*). Clothing and ornaments are used to add to the pleasure of seeing (70 *Rūḍa dīso cho Rājeśvara!*), to allow exchange and renegotiated roles, and often to introduce humour, such as the lyric where the Gopī

is clearly returning from love-making with Kṛṣṇa, but pretends she has not seen him (127 *Sācuṃ bolo jī!*).

Hierarchies are inverted as the official is mocked and defeated by Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs. King Kaṃsa is mocked by Kṛṣṇa in the *dānlīlā* (14.15) and is later uncrowned and thrashed, like any carnival king. The Gopī as daughter-in-law gets the better of her in-laws (22 *Sāsujīnī śikha* and 23 *Vahūjīno javāba*), managing to meet Kṛṣṇa despite strenuous efforts to prevent her from doing so. The child Kṛṣṇa defeats the Gopīs whether in the *dānlīlā* or the *mākhancorīlīlā*. Uddhava, the representative of non-carnivalesque religion (*jñānamārga*), is defeated in debate by the rustic Gopīs who preach *bhakti*. The god who appears as a child, steals butter, clothes and hearts (in the refrain to 21: Kṛṣṇa is called '*māruṃ citta coraṇavālā*') is a true image of inversion. Inversion is a common theme of Dayārām's poems as Kṛṣṇa steals, plays the flute, defeats the older Gopīs in verbal battles, gets the better of his mother and her friends, dresses as a woman and does as he pleases and laughs aloud to make others laugh at him.

In the carnivalesque, the important features of the earth are its cavities and heights.<sup>45</sup> These feature little in Dayārām's poetry. The only entrances to the netherworld are that of Govardhan, which is known to be the mouth of Kṛṣṇa (see 5.1 above), and through the river, rather than a cavity, which the Kaliya legend shows to be an entrance to the netherworld. (See also 7.1 above.)

The spirit of the carnivalesque is not necessary for creating the *bhāva* appropriate to appreciating Dayārām's poetry, for this may be achieved in many other ways, as in Braj Kṛṣṇaite poetry. However, the carnivalesque presentation of the Kṛṣṇalīlā by Dayārām allows one a new mode of relationship between the

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<sup>45</sup>Bakhtin 1968:399.

human and the divine. The essence of the carnival is that one must participate, one cannot be a spectator. In Dayārām's poetry, this is achieved through the features outlined in this section and also through the presentation of the poetry as dialogue, or as strophic poems with refrains giving a great immediacy and a clear opportunity for identification with the characters. It is important to remember that *garabīs* are not to be read in private, but are to be performed, that music and dance are essential to them, and that their performance is by the people, not by professional performers. This clearly gives an intrinsic frame to the carnivalesque elements of the poetry.

A characteristic of Kṛṣṇa worship, already seen above in this chapter, is the transgression of boundaries, especially those of gender, with the adoption of a female role being necessary to approaching god. These may be symbolic in the exchange of clothes and the donning of disguise, or material in food and sex. The carnivalesque allows one to adopt masks and so men can adopt the mask of women and participate with no gender distinction. Kṛṣṇa himself has a specifically female form, Mohinī (130 *Mohinīsvārūpano garabo*), as well as adopting a female disguise elsewhere (53 *Pyārīne manāvā*), which is removed by the revelation of love to the Gopīs. Kṛṣṇa transgresses the divide of the generations in that the older women want to mother him, the younger women want to have sex with him. Kṛṣṇa refuses to accept anyone as the archetypal mother or as the archetypal lover, but he can love all in his role as the archetypal child, with his love which transgresses the divide of maternal and erotic love, as exemplified in the milk motif and in the *mākhancorī* and *dānlīlās*.

Women have a primary role in this sect in the social context also. This is one of the non-carnivalesque features of the sect, and of the Kṛṣṇa cult in general and of Dayārām's poems in particular. Carnival has at least an ambivalent attitude to women,<sup>46</sup> if not a clearly degrading view.<sup>47</sup> Although there is no obscenity, there is a fair amount of innuendo and spicy dialogue in the poems, almost all of it of a

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<sup>46</sup>Bakhtin 1968:239-44

<sup>47</sup>Booth 1986.

sexual nature. In Dayārām's poems, the Gopīs do indeed have positive roles, but Kṛṣṇa transgresses their boundaries as women—they are entered, pierced, groped, teased, and even attacked. Some justification for this may lie in that the Gopīs symbolise the soul which is entered by God whether the soul wants it or not and also that in Vrindavan there is only one man, all other people are women with no further gender distinction:

*jyām puruṣa eka Puruṣottama re, bākī sarave Vrajanārī.*  
Where the one man is Puruṣottama, the rest are all the women of  
Vraja. (143.6)

Dayārām himself seems to take the role of a woman in his most frequent *chāpa*, where he calls Kṛṣṇa *Dayānā Pritama*, 'Dayā's Beloved'.

Although Bakhtin is writing about carnival it is interesting to see how the features he sees as essential can easily apply to the spirit of Dayārām.

Popular-festive forms look into the future. They present the victory of this future, of the golden age, over the past. This is the victory of all the people's material abundance, freedom, equality, brotherhood. The victory of the future is ensured by the people's immortality. The birth of the new, of the greater and the better, is as indispensable and as inevitable as the death of the old. The one is transferred to the other, the better turns the worse into ridicule and kills it. In the whole of the world and of the people there is no room for fear. For fear can only enter a part that has been separated from the whole, the dying link torn from the link that is born. The whole of the people and of the world is triumphantly gay and fearless. This whole speaks in all carnival images; it reigns in the very atmosphere of this feast, making everyone participate in this awareness.<sup>48</sup>

He quotes Goethe:

'[carnival's] crown is love. Only through love can we draw near to it. It has placed abysses between creatures, and all creatures long to merge in the universal embrace.'<sup>49</sup>

Bakhtin defines the main elements of carnival from finding in Goethe's description of carnival:

the peculiar festive character without any piousness, complete liberation from seriousness, the atmosphere of equality, freedom, and familiarity, the symbolic meaning of indecencies, the clownish crownings and uncrownings, the merry wars and beatings, the mock disputes, the knifings related to childbirth, the abuses that are affirmations.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>Bakhtin 1968:256.

<sup>49</sup>Bakhtin 1968:256.

<sup>50</sup>Bakhtin 1968:254-5.

Thus it is clear that the major attributes of the carnivalesque are present in the lyrics of Dayārām. Of course, many aspects appear in Dayārām's lyrics in a diluted form. It was noted above that the aesthetic of grotesque realism appears in a somewhat refined form, but is undoubtedly present in the emphasis on the material and collective body, and the body's transgression of its boundaries to link it with other bodies or things. The challenge of traditional social roles, the combination of the sacred and the profane and the centrality of laughter are undoubtedly core features of Bakhtin's mode of the carnivalesque.

#### 5.4 Carnavalesque and popular culture

In taking the popular festive form of carnival as a means of approaching literature, Bakhtin not only analysed a literary genre but also opened up the study of popular culture. While exercising a necessary caution in drawing parallels between such disparate cultures as those of medieval Europe and early nineteenth-century India, both times may be seen as the period in which medievalism gave way to a more secular humanist society. Bakhtin outlines some of the dramatic linguistic and ideological transformations which resulted from this situation.<sup>51</sup> One of the most important of these is undoubtedly the change in relations between popular and high cultures, with forms from the popular being adopted by the new high culture.

Care must also be exercised in suggesting domains for 'high' and 'low'. High and low are not polar opposites, but traditions in dialogue with one another,<sup>52</sup> whose boundaries are often ritually transgressed in carnival. These permeable boundaries are seen throughout the history of Kṛṣṇaism and of the *bhakti* movements.

Moreover, it is not known what would have constituted the nature of 'high' and 'low' culture in Dayārām's time and what was the interaction between them. It

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<sup>51</sup>See Bakhtin 1968: 465-73 on the emergence of vernacular literatures in Europe.

<sup>52</sup>See Ginzburg 1980:xii.

may be assumed that the high culture was Brahminical or Banian throughout Gujarat with a courtly culture in the princely states. However, the major courts, that is those of Ahmadabad and of Baroda, were seats not of Gujarati culture, but of Persian and Marathi-Sanskrit culture respectively.

A further problem is that there is no study of popular culture in the time of Dayārām. Historical work on this period in Gujarat is mostly the old-fashioned type of political-economic gazetteer-type history<sup>53</sup> rather than modern social history which would look at the Braudelian 'longue durée', and at the history of 'the people'. Although some social history of the time is available,<sup>54</sup> there is no information of the popular history of this period which does not assume a timeless continuation of the life of the people.

There are great problems in recovering a study of popular culture. One of the most basic is that the people cannot speak for themselves—being illiterate they do not have their own documents. Two main approaches can be followed. One is that of the Annales historians who recover the life of the people from official documents. The other is that of Bakhtin which is to use a 'high' text, such as that of Rabelais. Bakhtin justifies his study of carnival by asserting that through looking at Rabelais alone, he has been able:

to show the oneness and meaning of folk humor, its general ideological, philosophical and aesthetic essence. The problem can be solved best of all with the help of concrete material in which folk tradition is collected, concentrated, and artistically rendered at its highest level...In his [Rabelais's] creative world the inner oneness of all the heterogenous elements emerges with extraordinary clarity.<sup>55</sup>

Ginzburg applauds this approach of Bakhtin's in his

...lively and fundamental book on the relations between Rabelais and the popular culture of his day. Here it is suggested that *Gargantua or Pantagruel*, books that perhaps no peasant ever read, teach us more about peasant culture than the *Almanach des bergers*, which must have circulated widely in the French countryside.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>As in the gazetteers themselves, Elphinstone, Forbes, Commissariat, Kamerkar. Majumdar's work is not a scholarly history.

<sup>54</sup>Williams 1984 describes social conditions at the time of Svāminārāyaṇ.

<sup>55</sup>Bakhtin 1968:58.

<sup>56</sup>Ginzburg 1980:xvi.

However, he suggests that this approach be used with great caution:

But the principal failing in Bakhtin's fine book is probably something else. The protagonists of popular culture whom he has tried to describe, the peasants and the artisans, speak to us almost exclusively through the works of Rabelais. The very wealth of research possibilities indicated by Bakhtin makes us wish for a direct study of lower-class society free of intermediaries. But for reasons already mentioned, it is extremely difficult in this area of scholarship to find a direct rather than an indirect method of approach.<sup>57</sup>

Dayārām himself was an educated and well-travelled Brahmin and a confirmed member of the elite Puṣṭimārga sect. In Dayārām's lifetime, Dabhoi was a frontier town secured against mountain bandits and a resting place for pilgrims on their way to Chandod on the Narmada. It was ruled by the Maratha Gaekwad from the early eighteenth century, although the British became paramount in the area in the later part of the century. James Forbes,<sup>58</sup> the Collector there from 1780-3, described the town in his memoirs. Forbes still features in modern Gujarati literature as a lover of Gujarati culture and his name must have been well-known in Dayārām's time. However, the impact of the British on Dabhoi in Dayārām's time has never been studied and there is no record of a meeting between Dayārām and Forbes.

It is interesting then that Dayārām's hagiography<sup>59</sup> has many carnivalesque features, such as his use of laughter against the official, the spirit of joy and delight in the body etc. This tension makes him out to be a liminal person, high caste yet living with a low-caste woman; on intimate terms with leaders of the sect, yet known as a rebel; neither rich nor poor. One cannot help but notice broad similarities with Rabelais himself: a scholar-monk with a doctorate in medicine who wrote 'popular' works.

Dayārām's poems are closely linked to Braj Kṛṣṇaite literature, in contents and in form (at least with the *padās*). However, it is clear that his poems are also closely connected to a specifically Gujarati form of literature, that of the *garabī* and

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<sup>57</sup>Ginzburg 1980:xvii.

<sup>58</sup>To be distinguished from Alexander Kinloch Forbes, founder of the Gujarat Vernacular Society.

<sup>59</sup>See 2.1 above.



*garabo*. There is no full history of these forms, but in 3.3 above their origins in a folk genre were traced. More significant is Dayārām's use of the Gujarati language in writing his lyrics. It is likely that the Gujarati language had low status in the sect then as now, with Braj and Sanskrit being the official languages. Dayārām himself sometimes used Braj for his other texts and his Gujarati texts even now have a marginal position in the sect.

After Dayārām, Gujarati literature entered a new form of romantic, private literature,<sup>60</sup> and folk forms were excluded from the new high art. Poetry saw a revival of Sanskritic metrical forms and the Gujarati vocabulary was heavily and deliberately Sanskritised. In some public spheres the 'high' form of Brahminical religion was dislodged by the 'high' form of a more secular humanism, with rationalism and neo-classicism being emphasised. This new serious 'high' world was privatised and individualised, with life's basic functions (sex, eating, drinking defecation etc.) transferred to private and psychological levels, while the folk world became marginalised. Cultural changes in Gujarat in the nineteenth century led to a further separation of high and low cultures, so there could never be another poet like Dayārām who could blend the two successfully. The carnivalesque taken out of its popular context becomes trivial. This may be why the term 'sweet' becomes over-used by the Gujarati critical tradition in its appreciation of Dayārām (see 2.3 above), as it fails to find a new way of describing the virtues of his lyrics.

Although laughter is universal it is also determined by specific factors such as history, and culture. Just as madness is always culturally specific, not only in the definition of what it is, but also in the behaviour of the mad, so in carnival the rules which are inverted are the rules of that culture and so care must be taken when applying a western, historically specific model to another culture and another

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<sup>60</sup>See 2.3 above.

history. There is no study of humour in Gujarati literature, but it seems that none of Dayārām's predecessors used the carnivalesque mode; Akho used bitter satire and Premānand tends towards parody and burlesque. Although Siegel 1987 makes an excellent study of humour in Sanskrit literature, this is the 'highest' form of literature in pre-colonial India and he makes very limited use of non-high forms in vernacular literature.

This chapter has raised a number of issues which need to be examined in order to illuminate further Dayārām's lyrics, such as a study of high and low culture, and of folk humour. Taking Bakhtin as a starting point this chapter has attempted to put Dayārām's lyrics into a theoretical framework, to identify the meeting point of literary traditions and to show that by continuing to exploit the tension between high and low in the worship of Kṛṣṇa, Dayārām has voiced the ideology, the philosophy and the aesthetics of the cult of Kṛṣṇa. Bakhtin's concept of the carnivalesque allows the playfulness, laughter and sweetness (providers of eroticism) in Dayārām's poetry to be revealed.<sup>61</sup> These elements have been lost to the critical tradition of Gujarat (except in the life of Dayārām which was allowed to retain some of these features) and was not of interest to the Indologists.

The aims of future readings of Dayārām would be as follows if one were to substitute 'Dayārām' for 'Rabelais':

However, while using Rabelais' work for the understanding of this culture, we do not wish to transform him merely into a means for attaining a goal outside the sphere of his writings. On the contrary, we are convinced that only thanks to this method of research can we discover the true Rabelais, to show, as it were, Rabelais within Rabelais. Up to now he had been merely modernized: he has been read through the eyes of the new age, and mostly through the eyes of the nineteenth century which were the most shortsighted in this respect. Only that part of his work was read which was the least important for him and for his contemporaries and which, objectively speaking, was the least essential. Rabelais's exceptional charm, which we all feel, remains unexplained to date. To explain it, it is first of all necessary to understand his peculiar language, that is, the language of the culture of folk humor.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Siegel 1987:171-7 studies the function of play in the Kṛṣṇa cult.

<sup>62</sup> Bakhtin 1968:58.

## CHAPTER 6: THE CHRONOTOPE

Accepting Entwistle's argument that there are many elements of the pastoral in the Kṛṣṇa cult, one may expect that out of the various chronotopes outlined by Bakhtin, the chronotope of Dayārām's lyrics would be closest to the idyllic chronotope.<sup>1</sup> Bakhtin distinguishes several sub-types of this chronotope, including those of the love idyll and the family idyll, and within these types he outlines further variations based on the predominance of realistic or of metaphorical treatment of motifs, on the emphasis on pure narration, and so on. The three distinctive features of this chronotope are unity of place, unity of human life with nature and certain limited themes (love, birth, death, marriage, work, food and drink). These are usually presented in a sublimated form, especially in the case of sexuality.

Dayārām's lyrics<sup>2</sup> show the three essential characteristics of the idyllic chronotope, although with some qualifications. There is unity of place in that all the lyrics are located firmly in the sacred land of Braj, with little mention of the outside world, except in the lyrics of the sufferings caused by *viraha* which arise after Kṛṣṇa's departure for Mathura. The Gopīs and Gopas are closely tied to this land through residence and labour, and this tie is reinforced by the frequent use of place in epithets, such as *Vrajanārī*, *Vrajarāya* etc. Human life is linked closely with nature as is seen clearly in the images and themes, and this is seen at its strongest in the *māsa* and *tithi* lyrics. The themes of these lyrics are limited to life's essential realities, with love, especially sexual love, as the dominant theme. Death is the only one of Bakhtin's main categories which is found only marginally<sup>3</sup> unless one interprets *viraha* as a sublimation of death.

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<sup>1</sup>Bakhtin 1981: 224-36.

<sup>2</sup>As in the previous chapter, the discussion focuses on the *garabo/garabī* type.

<sup>3</sup>See the discussion of death above in 5.3.

Traces of other types of idyll outlined by Bakhtin are also present, such as the family idyll, seen in the *bāllilā* lyrics. When Kṛṣṇa leaves for Mathura, he shatters this self-contained idyllic world, but the audience knows that he will again experience family life when he is reunited with his natural parents in Mathura, and that he will later experience love, marriage and children as king of Dwarka. There are also traces of the agricultural idyll. Although the labour itself is barely mentioned, the products of this labour are of great importance here as elsewhere in the Kṛṣṇa cult, notably as milk and milk products and the offerings made at the *annakūṭa* festival.

### 6.1 The 'generic' chronotope

Bakhtin argues that literary genres should be seen not as a hierarchy of devices but formed from a cluster of features which include the chronotope, heteroglossia, polyphony and carnival. Of these, the chronotope is the central concept within the literary genre.<sup>4</sup> Genre is a formal entity, a complex of themes, forms and interpretive conventions, and also a sociohistorical entity, a way of visualising the world.<sup>5</sup> It is a building block with its own meanings, potential and memory. Bakhtin argues that genres do not wear out, but are made obsolete by new ways of seeing the world.

The generic chronotope of Dayārām's lyric is quasi-idyllic, and is permeated with the spirit of the carnival. In Dayārām's lyrics, the whole space is the land of Braj which has religious significance and is irreplaceable as the location for the action. The utopian aspects of the idyll require that it is remote in either place or time, hence Dayārām enters the world of Braj rather than bring Kṛṣṇa into his world. Place is strictly delimited to the sacred world of Braj, outside of which none

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<sup>4</sup>Todorov 1984:83.

<sup>5</sup>Todorov 1984:80-93.

of this divine *līlā* may occur. The domains of the private, semi-private and public are locations for specific forms of action: the cosmic is reduced to the human; ultimate union takes place in the most private and enclosed spaces of all. Meetings with God take place in the public spaces of the road and the ghats of the river and are associated with motifs of food and drink, the milk products and water described above in Chapter 5.

In Dayārām's lyrics, time is non-historical and biographical time is limited to youth. There is no sense of evolution, but a focus on coexistence and interaction, encounters and discussion. The characters do not develop, they are only revealed in a truer form; and dialogue is aimed not at communicating but at revealing truths. This is rather like the Vaiṣṇava view of the world,<sup>6</sup> where nothing is created or destroyed, but change occurs due to certain qualities being manifested (*āvirbhūta*) or concealed (*tirobhūta*). Indeed, chronotope in Dayārām replaces the plot. Kṛṣṇa is who he is for all time, he is not made by a plot nor defined by his role in the lyrics in the way that a novelistic hero is. Instead, he is depicted as playing his eternal *līlā* in the sacred land of Braj.

An important issue to be considered in discussing the chronotopes of Dayārām's lyrics is the Puṣṭimārgī distinction between two main divisions of existence, the *laukika* ('worldly'), and the *alaukika* ('non-worldly'). This means that devotees believe that the historical view of Braj, i.e. that Kṛṣṇa's *līlās* took place in Braj in historical or mythological time, is *laukika*, whereas the *alaukika* view is that the *līlā* is actually still taking place there, being eternal and outside of time. In addition to this basic distinction, the Puṣṭimārgī philosophy argues that there are three attitudes underlying any observation of the universe. These are seeing things as *ādhibhautika* ('material') - a *laukika* view, or as *ādhyātmika* ('spiritual') or *ādhidaivika* ('divine'), both of which are *alaukika* attitudes.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup>See 2.2 above.

<sup>7</sup>See Barz 1976:10-5 for detailed discussion of these terms.

Hierarchy is removed by the idyllic chronotope through the spirit of the carnival, and the audience is brought into the world of Kṛṣṇa through laughter and familiarity and the dramatic presentation of the dialogue. The human person is seen as subservient to God, but human and divine exist in a relationship of mutual dependency within the idyllic world, while only God may exist outside it. The lyrics refer to everyday human activities (milking, going to market) and there are few references to Kṛṣṇa's miracles, but Kṛṣṇa's activities allow no one to remain in the mundane world. Not always invited, he intrudes on everyone's life and removes choice. The irony is that Kṛṣṇa himself remains beyond chronotopic analysis. But since reading is a chronotopic activity, for us twentieth-century academics, he must pass through 'the gates of the chronotope.'

## 6.2 Space and place

A striking feature of Dayārām's lyrics is the explicit locating of the dramatic action. Nearly every lyric contains references to place and it is clear that these spaces are associated with specific values, actions and people.

Braj is the sacred land of Kṛṣṇa and it is within Braj that all the action takes place. Entwistle 1987 explores exhaustively the geography and history of Braj and its significance in the Kṛṣṇa cult, in myth and as a place of pilgrimage. In mythological and historical time, this area is important in the life of Kṛṣṇa as the place where he spent his childhood, between his birth in Mathura and his later return to this town. It was in Braj that he lived as the pastoral Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa-Gopāla, his most popular devotional form, hence it is the major location for the dramatic action of the lyrics. In the *alaukika* view, Braj is the site of the eternal *līlā*, and is a paradise superior to any other.

Dayārām describes Braj at some length in 131 *Vrajamahimā*, 143 *Vṛṇḍāvanamāṇ*, and 162 *Vraja vahāluṃ re!* Although Braj is self-contained, Mathura is heard about secondhand, mostly in the lyrics of *viraha*; also the road on

which the *dānlilā* occurs seems to be the road from Braj to Mathura.<sup>8</sup> Within Braj there seems to be little contrast between the settled areas (Gokul, Barasana) and the wild areas (the forest, the river), the important division being that between private and public spaces. Public space includes the forest of Vrindavan, the river and its ghats, and the road. Private space may be in the settled area, mainly within the Gopīs' houses, which may in turn be subdivided into semi-private space (the courtyard) and fully private space (the Gopīs' inner rooms), or in the open areas, notably the bowers of the forest.

The images and activities that occur in Braj create a rural and pastoral atmosphere. The Gopīs are *gamāra* 'rustic' (2.1) and their recollection of their time with Kṛṣṇa suggests an idyllic and innocent happiness:

*ame Śāmaḷiyānī saṃge ramatāṃ,*  
*Vrajanavanamāṃ pūṃṭhaḷa bhamatāṃ,*  
*amo bheḷāṃ besīne bhōjana jamatāṃ.*  
 We used to play with Śāmaḷiyo,  
 We wandered along behind him in every forest of Vraja,  
 We used to sit together and eat. (6.6)

The close association between the Gopīs and the land is shown in their epithets, *Vrajanārī* etc. Kṛṣṇa is also associated with the land through his epithets (*Vrajarāya* etc.), but this is just the major disguise that he adopts throughout the lyrics, for he belongs to the royal family of Mathura and is the future king of Dwarka. There is no sense of his being an outsider, for any such acknowledgement would disturb the idyllic atmosphere. Real outsiders from Mathura, such as Akṛūra and Uddhava, are seen as disruptive to this world. This is typical of Bakhtin's chronotope: 'In the idyll, as a rule, there were no heroes alien to the idyllic world.'<sup>9</sup> Even within Braj, Kṛṣṇa to some extent maintains his royal status in that his adoptive family is also royal. Yaśodā is *Vrajarānī* and Kṛṣṇa continues to follow a royal lifestyle in Braj, wandering at leisure and dressed in royal garments.<sup>10</sup> This is

<sup>8</sup>Hawley 1983b:281.

<sup>9</sup>Bakhtin 1981:231.

<sup>10</sup>See Entwistle 1991:87-8.

made explicit in 70 *Rūḍā dīso cho rājeśvara* where Kṛṣṇa is described as dressed in gold and garlanded with roses, in keeping with his role within the Puṣṭimārga where he has royal status (see 2.2 above). After his return to Mathura, when he removes his mask and is revealed as royal, the Gopīs do not make any comment about his change in status, but only indicate that they are inferior to the kind of woman he may meet in Mathura:

*Vhālājīne kahejo rākhe ḍara rakhe, Gokuḷa gamāra gopanī sṛṣṭi,  
rañjīne ojhalā paḍade āṃhe rākhiśa jema nahi lāge drṣṭa. mukhuḍum.*  
Tell Vhālā lest he is afraid, that Gokuḷa is the world of the rustic  
Gopas,  
I shall keep the harem in purdah for the queen, so that no one's glance  
shall fall on her. (2.1)

As this verse points out, this is the world of the cowherd. There is irony in the fact that the *dramatis personae* of these lyrics are limited in such a way as to make the cowherds insignificant. The major division between the characters in these lyrics is between those who have voices and those who do not. The only male character who has a voice in Braj is Kṛṣṇa himself. Although Dayārām includes himself in the last verse, he does this in the position of a woman, where he calls Kṛṣṇa 'Dayā's beloved,' etc. Kṛṣṇa never speaks to any male character, although the Gopīs address Uddhava and Akrūra. These two men are conquered verbally by the Gopīs; the only other male character who appears other than in an epithet (as do the fathers of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā) is Kaṃsa, who is conquered physically by Kṛṣṇa. The Gopīs themselves have already been conquered by the glances and words of Kṛṣṇa. It appears that the female gender must be adopted as a means of being approached by Kṛṣṇa.

All the women in Braj are Gopīs, only four of whom have any separate identity. Yaśodā as his mother is an ideal of motherhood, Rādhā as his lover is an ideal of beauty and Lalitā as his go-between has a rather strange role in seeming to be a *māśī* ('auntie') figure, who loves Kṛṣṇa in a maternal way (see 91 *Premasamādhi* and 92 *Laḍalī lāvum*), although there is no indication of her age in



the lyrics. Pūtanā is mentioned once in passing (11.13), where she is called *māsī mārī Pūtanā* 'my auntie Pūtanā', with no reference to her being a demoness.

Mathura appears only offstage, mostly in poems of *viraha*. The values associated with it are nearly all negative, and the people associated with it (Kāṁsa, Uddhava, Akṛūra, Kubjā) are not allowed to speak. These negative attitudes do not derive entirely from its urban nature (for the contrast between rural and urban is not simply polarised into good and bad, as is seen in Kṛṣṇa's epithet *nāgara* 'urbane' and the fact that he is really from Mathura), but because it lies outside the idyllic world. This world is taken as being complete and self-sufficient. Departure from the land means leaving the whole culture and, although Kṛṣṇa is still alive, he is as if dead to the Gopīs and their idyllic world.

The settled areas of Braj, usually Gokul, Kṛṣṇa's village, are mentioned only when referring to the community.

*ghelī tharī chuṁ sau gāmamāṁ,*  
*citta coṁtatuṁ nathī gharakāmamāṁ.*  
 I am viewed as mad in the whole village,  
 My thoughts don't stay on household chores. (1.5)

Barasana, Rādhā's village, is mentioned only in connection with her 'marriage' to Kṛṣṇa (10 *Rādhānāṁ vakhāṇa*), when it is essential that the bride and groom come from different villages. Govardhan hill is mentioned infrequently: it is mentioned in praise of Vrindavan (143.2), otherwise (e.g. 11.6) only in the context of Kṛṣṇa's going there to play the flute. No connection is drawn with his heroic exploit of lifting the mountain, although his epithets relating to this are found frequently (such as *Girivaradhārī* in 126 *Kāmaṇagārī tāri vāṁsalī!* etc.). This area is the scene for the overthrow of Indra's power, whereas Kṛṣṇa establishes his authority over other deities in Vrindavan, namely Devī (113 *Kātyāyanīvrata*) and Śiva (130 *Mohinīsvarūpano garabo*).

There is some dispute as to the precise extent of Vrindavan.<sup>11</sup> The classic notions of the area are of the forest, river, and hill rather than the specific village where Nanda's encampment moved after leaving Gokul. In Dayārām's lyrics, it seems that the encampment was still in Gokul and that Vrindavan is used to refer to the forest area.

In classical Indian literature the forest is seen as a place for austerities, notably in the third of the four *āśramas* ('stages of life'), the *vānaprastha āśrama* (lit. 'the forest-dwelling stage of life'). It is important in Vedic texts such as the *Āraṇyakas* (lit. 'forest books') as a place for living outside human habitation, usually for practising religious austerities. In the *Kṛṣṇalīlā* the main importance of the forest is as the place for romantic encounters:

*je dahāḍe maḷyā'tā Vṛṇḍāvanamāṇ,*  
*te dahādānī tālavēlī tanamāṇ.*  
 The day that we met in Vṛṇḍāvana,  
 The impatience of that day is in my body. (1.2)

and for dance (94.5) in particular the autumnal *rāsa* (11 *Rāsamaṇḍalane darśane*, 61 *Rāsālīlā*). Perhaps the mention of the forest brings to mind the idea of *tapas* which is made irrelevant in the Kṛṣṇa cult as a means of approaching God, being surpassed by devotion arising from the play of Kṛṣṇa.<sup>12</sup>

The river Yamuna is of special importance in the Puṣṭimārga as a goddess in her own right and she is depicted on paintings as one of the *tīn ratna* ('three jewels') of the sect, along with Vallabhācārya and Śrī Nāthjī. As it runs through the forest, the river is associated with love and romance;

*ā jone, bhenī! Jamunājīne ghāṭe, Mohana meṃ dīṭhā hatā madharāte,*  
*mīṭhī morālī vagāḍī Dīnanāthe.*  
 Just look, dear sister! On the banks of the Yamunā, I saw Mohana at  
 midnight,  
 Dīnanātha played the flute sweetly. (78.7)

So too is the Baṃsībaṭa, the tree on the bank where Kṛṣṇa summons the Gopīs to the *rāsa* at twilight (43 *Bamsībaṭane coka*, 99 *Kahuṃ eka vāta*, 108 *Mīṭho*

<sup>11</sup>See Snell [1996].

<sup>12</sup>See Siegel 1990:203.

*mohanavara*). However, a visit to the ghat to collect water is associated with encounter, confrontation and mischief:

*panaghata upara pālava sāhe che e te kyāṁno nyā?*  
At the place for getting water he catches the skirts, what sort of  
behaviour is that? (11.2)

as is the road<sup>13</sup> where Kṛṣṇa makes the Gopīs play the *dānlilā* (15 *Kahānagopī*, 65 *Mahiyārīne* etc.).

Private space is subdivided into domestic and into external private space. In the *bāllilā*, Yaśodā's house is secure, an abode of joy, full of maternal love with the father figure absent (61 *Rāsālilā*, 62 *Harinī bāḷalilā*, 115 *Pāraṇam*), while the other Gopīs' houses are locations for Kṛṣṇa's butter stealing (62 *Harinī bāḷalilā*). When Kṛṣṇa is older, the other Gopīs' houses are mentioned as scenes of conflict, whether internal (1.8) or with their in-laws:

*sāsarāmām sāsujī ṭhapako āle, naṇadī māri bolebole ghaṇum bāḷe,*  
*māre māra Prabhujī vinā nava cāle!*  
In my in-laws' place, my mother-in-law tells me off, my husband's  
sister inflames me greatly with her talk,  
Everything is wrong without my Prabhu! (78.5)

The inner private space of the Gopīs' own rooms is the scene for nocturnal lovemaking with Kṛṣṇa (40 *Āvonī māre ghera māṇava*, 57 *Mahole padhāro*):

*āvoni māre ghera māṇavā ho jī Rāja! āvo māre ghera māṇavā.*  
Come to my house to enjoy yourself, O Rāja!  
  
*premarasa pyālo te pīvāne pāvā, jobanatūrīne palāṇavā.*  
To be given the cup of the rasa of love to drink, to mount the steed of  
youth.  
  
*paḍatī rāte padhārajo Pritama! koī nathī beṭhum jāṇavā.*  
Come as night is falling, Pritama! No one will be there to know.  
(40.R-2)

The other great scene for the romantic encounter is the bower (*nikumja*),<sup>14</sup> an area into which the audience never enters, but which remains 'offstage'. It is mentioned mainly in the closing verses as the area to which the divine couple go for lovemaking:

<sup>13</sup>See 6.4 below.

<sup>14</sup>See Snell [1996] for an examination of the bower motif in other Kṛṣṇaite sects.

*Lalitāe laī meḷavyāṃ nikuṃjamāṃ re lola,  
rasabharyāṃ ramādyāṃ ratiramṅga.*  
Lalitā took them and joined them in a bower,  
They enjoyed lovesports full of rasa. (25.10)

### 6.3 Time

The idyll usually shows a weakened sense of folkloric time. In Kṛṣṇaite poetry, one may expect that time would be further weakened by the lack of any historical dimension and by the brief duration of many of the lyrics. However, an analysis of Dayārām's lyrics shows the situation to be rather complicated. Aspects of time include:

- 1 cosmic time
- 2 cyclical time
- 3 biographical time

Each of these may show

- i points of time
- ii sequence
- iii duration
- iv speed

Kṛṣṇa's *līlā* is eternal and constant. This is achieved in part through the texts as a corpus. Within the corpus, there is little sequence of events, although cyclical and cosmic time must remain within their bounds. The emphasis is on repeated time, as throughout the corpus events happen again and again although there is no reference to the repetition. The poems may be given in any order, because the audience is expected to know the narrative events in advance of these presentations of the events. This is rather like the performance of an episode from epic, which may begin or end at any point in the narrative for the same reason, unlike a 'new' story, where the audience has no prior knowledge. However, the repetition of similar themes gives a sense of duration across the corpus.

The traditional Indian view of time is cyclical, with a regular descent in four ages from the *satya yuga* to the *kali yuga*. As the supreme deity, Kṛṣṇa stands outside time, but he appears in this specific *avatāra* at the end of the third period (*dvāpara yuga*).

This cosmic time is barely described in these lyrics, but may be represented in Dayārām's lyrics as 'human' time, in the cycles of the years and day and night. Cyclicity is particularly marked in the lyrics of *viraha* which measure time in either *tithis* of the lunar month (58 *Tithio: agama premapamtha*, 59 *Tithio: madhupadūta*) or months in the lunar year (60 *Māsa: Rādhāviraha*, 114 *Māsa: pūro āśa!*). Specific dates of the lunar calendar are mentioned, such as Holī (9 *Mujane aḍaśo mā!*, 123 *Hoḷīne tṛaṇe*) for carnivalesque merrymaking, *śaradpūrṇimā* for the *rāsa*, and the day of the *Kātyāyanī vrata* for the *vastraharaṅlīlā*. Times of day feature, with the action frequently occurring at the liminal time of twilight (108 *Mītho mohanavara*), the time when Kṛṣṇa summons the Gopīs to dance and to make love. Lovemaking in the Gopīs' rooms always takes place at night, but this is usually only referred to rather than described.

Biographical time features largely, although in an incomplete and frozen form. 'Time is suspended, the moment of the wedding is eternal and the bride and groom are forever young.'<sup>15</sup> Biographical time is separated into four main areas, the baby Kṛṣṇa, the infant Kṛṣṇa, the child-man Kṛṣṇa and the pubescent Kṛṣṇa whose departure for Mathura is also an important spatial marker. Kṛṣṇa is portrayed as a child in the few *bāllīlā* lyrics (62 *Harinī bāḷalīlā*, 63 *Gopīonī phariyāda*, 115 *Pāraṇam*), but is seen mostly on the threshold between childhood and puberty (e.g. 34 *Joīne cālo*). The ages of Kṛṣṇa are associated with particular emotions. The love of the child brings happiness in the form of *vātsalya bhāva*; the love of Kṛṣṇa the child-man brings a range of emotions, from jealousy and anger to erotic love, joy, longing and pain. His leaving this idyllic world for Mathura suggests a rite of

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<sup>15</sup>Entwistle 1991:87.

passage at the achievement of puberty, when the boy-man(-God) may no longer move freely in this world of women.

Within a poem, time is depicted in a variety of ways. Apart from the counting of the days or months during *viraha*, where time is extended, the moment is brief. The dramatic presentation of the dialogue brings a strong sense of present time, and there are many references to the past and to the future. The closing verse, which is often narrative, rather than dramatic, brings the event into human rather than eternal time, with the mention of the author's name. The tenses used are mostly the simple present and the present indefinite with some use of the simple past.

#### 6.4 Chronotopic motifs

In 4.3 above it was seen that although Bakhtin's study of the chronotope focuses on the generic chronotope, he also introduces a different group of chronotopes. For the sake of clarity these may here be called chronotopic motifs, although a distinction between the types of chronotope is not made by Bakhtin himself. Several chronotopic motifs are recurrent in Dayārām and this section will focus on two, those of the road and Kṛṣṇa's flute.

With the chronotopic motif of the road,<sup>16</sup> spatial and temporal elements congeal. Time and space mix together and move down the road. The road crosses familiar territory, but the encounters on the road put everything in a different light. In Dayārām's lyrics, this chronotopic motif usually involves chance encounters between Kṛṣṇa and a Gopī. Usually, she is carrying out her work when Kṛṣṇa appears to demand a bogus tax on her milk products (the *dānlilā*), as in 14 *Mahīārīo*. She then tells Kṛṣṇa to get out of her way, but he then teases her (106 *Ḍahapaṇa rākho jī*). When the Gopī meets Kṛṣṇa on the road, and he invites her to

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<sup>16</sup>See Bakhtin 1981:243-5.

Vrindavan, the only way she can go is under the pretext of selling yoghurt (94 *Naṃdakuṃvaraśuṃ neha*).

The road is also used to symbolise Kṛṣṇa's finding of the Gopī. For example in 21 *Mārāmām śuṃ dīṭhuṃ?*, Kṛṣṇa follows the Gopī wherever she goes in public. She says:

*jyāmjyām jāti jāṇe tyāṃtyām e āḍo āvī dhūṃke;  
 bahenī! dayāno prītama mārī keḍa nava mūke.  
 Wherever I go he has turned up on my path;  
 O sister! The beloved of Dayā does not get out of my way. (21.5)*

Since the road is a public space, the Gopī may implore Kṛṣṇa not to make trouble on the road, while encouraging private meetings (82 *Chamakaluṃ nava kije*).

Similar encounters are seen on the ghat when the Gopīs go to collect water (104 *Gheli mune kīdhī*, 105 *Pāñīḍām kema bharie?*):

*gheli mune kīdhī Śrīnaṃdajinā Naṃda! gheli mune kīdhī.  
 ŚrīNaṃda's Naṃda has made me crazy, he has made me crazy.*

*sakhī re! huṃ to Jamanāji gaī hatī pāñī  
 tyām meṃ Nāṃdakuṃvara dīṭho ne lobhāñī,  
 e paṇa mārā aṃṭaranī vāta gayo jāñī.  
 My friend, when I had gone to the Jamanā for water,  
 I saw Naṃdakuṃvara and I desired him,  
 But he realised my inner feeling.*

*Vhālāji huṃpeṃ vāṃkī najaravaḍe joyuṃ,  
 sāheli! maruṃ tyāre to adhika mana mohyuṃ,  
 kālāja māruṃ kuṭīla kaṭākṣe proyuṃ.  
 When Vhālāji looked at me with a sideways glance,  
 My friend, my mind was excessively deluded,  
 He pierced my heart with his crooked sideways glances (104.R-2)*

They usually involve persecution of the Gopīs by Kṛṣṇa although sometimes he may help them by carrying their water pots, an inversion of roles as God performs the role of the servant and as the man performs the woman's chore (21 *Mārāmām śuṃ dīṭhuṃ?*). The symbolism of milk is weakened, as is his claim to tax on milk-products, but the strong association with liquid remains.

This chronotopic motif involves a high degree of the carnivalesque: riddles and puns in the dialogue, the disregard for the rule of Kāṃsa, the removal of barriers between men and women, and the association with milk and milk products. The religious implications are clear: the chance encounter on the road is a symbol

for the soul's encounter with the divine through the favour of God,<sup>17</sup> while the carnivalesque elements reinforce the Kṛṣṇa cult. Another image of the road as the way to the divine is found in 164 *Niścayanā mahelamām*, where the soul journeys through a city looking for Kṛṣṇa. In one of the mystical *padās* (185 *Manajī musāpharane*), the journey is used as a metaphor for life whose destination is death. In this context Kṛṣṇa is mentioned as the collector of road tax, the only non-carnivalesque occurrence of this image.

The chronotopic motif of the flute is concerned with presence and absence. In the strongly *saguṇa* worship of the Puṣṭimārga it represents either Kṛṣṇa's invitation to the Gopīs:

*veṇa mā vāso māre āṅgaṇe, vāruṃ chuṃ Vhālama! vaḷivaḷi ho jī re!*  
*veṇa mā vāso māre āṅgaṇe.*  
*māri sāsu kahe che, 'jāo vahū! veṇa vāgī,'*  
*ane derāñjethāñi vāmkuṃ bhaṇe. ho jī re!*  
 Don't play your flute in my courtyard, I prohibit it, Vhālama, again and again!  
 Don't play your flute in my courtyard.  
 My mother-in-law says, 'Go, girl, the flute sounded,'  
 And my younger and older sisters-in-law speak crookedly. (29.R)

Or it signals that Kṛṣṇa is absent and so evokes *viraha*:

*e vanamām jyāre vāge che, mune bāṇasarīkhī lāge che,*  
*mune vrehāñi vedanā jāge che.*  
 When it sounds in the woods, it strikes me like arrows,  
 It awakens the pain of *viraha* in me. (8.2)

The flute is heard mostly at twilight, and calls the Gopīs to Kṛṣṇa for a *rāsa* dance (61 *Rāsalīlā*) or for a private encounter. The flute symbolises Kṛṣṇa's aesthetic qualities, with emphasis on his magic and power:

*pahelavaheli prīta amaśuṃ kīdhī*  
*moralīmām eṇe vaśa karī lidhī,*  
*gopī saune vihvaḷa karī didhī.*  
 First of all he made love with us,  
 He ensnared us in his flute,  
 He made all the Gopīs delirious. (6.1)

Here there is also a strong typical emphasis on sexual elements, reinforced perhaps by the shape of the flute or by its strong oral associations.

<sup>17</sup>Kṛṣṇa's *anugraha*, see 2.2.



The flute is almost antichronotopic in that it is not confined to place or time.

It sounds night and day:

*sakhī! mune vikaḷa karī che enī vāmsaḷīe re;  
khūbī enī khasatī nathī niśabhora re.*  
Friend! his flute has made me distracted,  
It does not go very far away day or night. (24.6)

When Kṛṣṇa calls the Gopīs to the *rāslīlā*, time stops altogether:

*Jamanānīra cāle nahīṃ re, mṛgane mana moha thāya;  
paṃkhī māḷāmāṃ mahāle nahīṃ re, nāda sūnī na rahevāya! vāge.*  
The water of the Jamanā does not move, the deer's minds are  
enchanted;  
The birds do not move in their nests, hearing the sound, no one can  
contain himself. (61.3)

Although the flute sits on the lip of Kṛṣṇa, it reaches the Gopīs' hearts and it  
resounds in the sky:

*tuja adhara upara e vāje che  
sūnī aṃtara māruṃ dājhe che,  
eno śabda gaganamāṃ gāje che.*  
It sounds on your lower lip,  
Having heard it my inside burns with jealousy,  
Its sound resounds in the sky. (8.1)

On hearing it, everyone is enchanted and unable to concentrate on anything else. In  
61 *Rāslīlā*, the Gopīs abandon their children, Śiva gives up his meditation and  
everything in nature stands still. The sound reaches the Gopīs wherever they are,  
often in their own homes engaged in mundane domestic tasks, which they abandon  
in their excitement. This ultimately leads to their breaking the normal rules of  
society as they run out to find Kṛṣṇa. Not only does it pervade the private space of  
their homes, but it also reaches into their bodies, piercing their hearts. It also  
removes differences between the individual Gopīs:

*eka samaya vanamāṃ gayā Hāri, Mohana vāi vaṃśa,  
veṇe viṃdhī govāḷaṇī, eṇe harīne līdhā aṃśa.*  
Once Hāri went to the woods, Mohana played the flute,  
Its sound pierced the Gopīs, it took away their parts (i.e. they became  
as one with Kṛṣṇa). (11.1)

When the flute is personified as Muralī (26 *Mānītī vāṃsalaḍīne*, 27  
*Vāṃsalaḍīnā vāṃka*, 28 *Vāṃsalaḍīno uttara*), she is the only woman who has  
performed *tapas*, as a result of which she has reached a position of staying with  
Kṛṣṇa at all times and being touched by his lips. However, she cannot achieve the

total union that the Gopīs have, although, unlike her, they have to suffer separation from Kṛṣṇa.

A dominant theme of these two chronotopic motifs is that of transgression. Transgression is a major feature of all Dayārām's lyrics. All boundaries, apart from time and place, are at risk. It is not clear who is divine and who is human; whether Kṛṣṇa is a child or is sexually mature; whether he is a cowherd or a prince. In particular, gender is questioned: Kṛṣṇa himself dresses as a woman (53 *Pyārīne manāvā*, 102 *Mārā rāja*, 130 *Mohinīsvarūpano garabo*), and throughout the lyrics Dayārām seems to appear in the *chāpa* as female. The reason for this transgression is that Kṛṣṇa cannot be confined within any boundary. Just as he is beyond space and time as ways of understanding reality, so he is beyond any means of understanding other than the approach followed by the Gopīs. Within these chronotopic motifs, as in the attitude of the Gopīs, elements enter into dialogic relations to leave a state not of *either/or*, but *both/and*.

### 6.5 The chronotopes of the author and of the reader

Works have inner chronotopes (the generic chronotope and the chronotopic motifs), but they also have external chronotopes which concern the author and the reader, both of whose activities occur in a specific time and place. Bakhtin himself wrote little about these,<sup>18</sup> although he discusses the problem of creativity at some length.<sup>19</sup>

There are two major issues to consider in the chronotope of the author. The first is the distinction between the constructed image of author as creator (who exists only while producing the text) and the image of author as person. The meaning of a text does not lie with the author as a person who is already outside the

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<sup>18</sup>Bakhtin 1981: 252-7, in the 1973 supplement to his essay on the chronotope.

<sup>19</sup>Bakhtin 1990.

text. The narrated event is completed, but the telling is not. There can be no identification between the created world which can be finalised, and the world of the author which cannot. In Dayārām's case this problem is further complicated since it involves the depiction of an eternal and divine world. This world is outside reality by virtue of its divinity, and so is beyond the author's world.

The second issue is the author's position in the text. This concerns issues of polyphony and of translanguistics.<sup>20</sup> Dayārām does not stand in relation to the characters of his texts as a novelist to his characters, because here the hero is God and his actions are known. Here the author is subservient to his hero, and he seeks to identify himself in the *chāpa* with his heroines, the Gopīs. The implications of these relationships are important, but are beyond the scope of the present analysis.

In recent years the role of the 'reader'<sup>21</sup> has been reevaluated in theories of literature. Two ways of 'reading' Kṛṣṇaite literature, the Indian approaches to Dayārām outlined in Chapter 2 and the Indologists' approach described in Chapter 1, do not question the issues involved.

Bakhtin warns against falling into the traps of naive biographism by trying to give up one's outsideness through attempting to identify with the author and his contemporaries, or of naive reader reception by trying to modernise and distort the meanings of the texts by reducing the author's activities and seeing one's own chronotope. These are fruitless and impossible tasks. Instead he argues that a process of 'creative reading'<sup>22</sup> should be deployed in reading texts.

Creative reading means that works must be situated in time. In his 'Response to a question from *Novy Mir*',<sup>23</sup> Bakhtin argues that literature must be incorporated into an understanding of time. He argues that 'great time' is necessary for creating the right situation for the work to be produced and for allowing its life

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<sup>20</sup>See 4.3 above.

<sup>21</sup>Here it is 'oral literature' that is under discussion.

<sup>22</sup>Morson and Emerson 1990:427-9.

<sup>23</sup>Bakhtin 1986:1-9.

in subsequent centuries to become more rich than in its own lifetime. 'Everything that belongs only to the present dies along with the present'. Texts grow in meaning through the realisation of inherent potential meanings.

Dayārām draws on previous genres and literary trends to achieve his own writings. As with all writers, he created new potential meanings even if he was unaware of them himself. In the critical traditions of the nineteenth century his works were either discarded as medieval, or modernised and distorted through the attempt to view them through the Romantic prism. It is now clear that his lyrics contained meanings beyond these interpretations, that they represent a world view which has become marginalised, but which can be not only restored but also developed, as the ideas of the nineteenth century are themselves questioned as we stand on the verge of the twenty-first century.

It was noted above that Bakhtin was aware that perceptions of an author's works change in time (just as today's Shakespeare is not the Elizabethan Shakespeare) and in place (the Indian Shakespeare is different from the English Shakespeare). Texts are always in production and the reader must enter into dialogue with them. Great works contain potentials whose meanings may not have been open to the author or his contemporaries, but may become clear in the chronotope of later readers. However, there are more complex issues of reading texts remote in time and place, given transformations of *mentalité* in time and in the post-colonial situation. Bakhtin did not see this as a problem, although he understood the complexities, but viewed it rather as a positive advantage:

*Creative understanding* does not renounce itself, its own place in time, its own culture; and it forgets nothing. In order to understand, it is immensely important for the person who understands to be *located outside* the object of his or her creative understanding - in time, in space, in culture. ...

In the realm of culture, outsidership is a most powerful factor in understanding. It is only in the eyes of *another* culture that foreign culture reveals itself fully and profoundly (but not maximally fully, because there will be cultures that see and understand even more). A meaning only reveals its depths once it has encountered and come into contact with another, foreign meaning: they engage in a kind of dialogue, which surmounts the closedness and one-sidedness of these particular meanings, these cultures. We raise new questions for a foreign culture, ones that it did not raise itself; we seek

answers to our own questions in it; and the foreign culture responds to us by revealing to us its new aspects and new semantic depths. Without *one's own* questions one cannot creatively understand anything other or foreign (but, of course, the questions must be serious and sincere). Such a dialogic encounter of two cultures does not result in merging or mixing. Each retains its own unity and *open* totality, but they are mutually enriched.<sup>24</sup>

The chronotopes of the Gujarati critical approaches to Dayārām outlined above in Chapter 2 need to be examined. Within this criticism the biographical image is accorded great importance. Many biographies show something similar to adventure chronotopes as Dayārām moves through space with little emphasis on time. A Romantic view of creativity is also presented, in that Dayārām is seen to have written his lyrics spontaneously as reactions to specific events in his life. Great emphasis is given to Dayārām's individuality and eccentric behaviour. Throughout these critical works there is total identification of the author as creator with the author as person, an identification which is reinforced by Dayārām's own positioning of himself within his lyrics where Kṛṣṇa is identified as 'Dayā's beloved' etc.

Some of the criticism<sup>25</sup> links the lyrics into an overarching prose narrative which repeats the narratives of the *Kṛṣṇalīlā*. This may be the result of the European privileging of narrative in the nineteenth century which has led to the imposition of a superstructure of linear narrative on these pre-modern short lyrics.

## 6.6 Concluding remarks

In the above sections, it has been shown that Dayārām's poetry may be seen as having a quasi-idyllic chronotope, sharing many dominant features with Bakhtin's idyllic chronotope and hence including many elements of pastoral, but it is seen to differ in its incorporation of elements of the carnivalesque and, more importantly, in its divine implications.

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<sup>24</sup>Bakhtin 1986:7.

<sup>25</sup>E.g. that of Dave 1967.

Bakhtin's work on genre was directed towards defining his favourite genre, the novel. This study has looked at Dayārām's poetry as a corpus and at subsequent interpretations of his work and found prenovelistic forms of carnival and prenovelistic chronotopes without which the Gujarati novel might never have been written. It was shown that this spirit of carnival had its roots in the Kṛṣṇa cult. In the Puṣṭimārga itself, although refinements have occurred, it has not lost its power. The chronotope of the *Kṛṣṇalīlā* cannot change.

This chronotopic analysis shows how the sacred land of Braj and the eternal *līlā* of Kṛṣṇa are presented in literary texts, and gives a means of understanding the values and worldviews of the genre. It has allowed an impersonal rather than subjective way of looking at the texts, while avoiding the extremes of mechanical, formalistic and depersonalised analysis on the one hand, and of the transcendental, inspirational Romantic model on the other. It has looked briefly at issues of intertextuality, focussing on the whole genre of Kṛṣṇaite poetry discussed in Chapter 1, and has touched briefly on heteroglossia, particularly the use of Gujarati in Kṛṣṇaite devotion.

Bakhtin's chronotope is purely historical, biographical and social, but here religious aspects have been examined as have the ways in which the non-chronotopic (i.e. the divine) may be depicted in literature and how a chronotopic analysis of this literature shows the world view of the Vaiṣṇava. Steps have been made towards a generic description of Kṛṣṇaite poetry; and the deployment of certain motifs, notably those of the road and of the flute, has been shown to be characteristic of Dayārām's lyrics. Dayārām's relation to the texts has been examined and he and the reader have been sited within the meaning of these texts.

After the 'longue durée' of Vaiṣṇavism, then the *bhakti* movements, then Braj Kṛṣṇaite literature and the subsequent slow evolution of Gujarati literature there was an abrupt change in the mid-nineteenth century. This is not just a question of literary influences, but also of extra-literary factors in a shift in the whole way of seeing the world by a new elite class of intellectuals. Dayārām stands

at the end of an era, on the edge of a change in literary forms. It has become clear that his chronotopic view of the world has led to problems in subsequent understandings of his work. He is also liminal in his use of Gujarati, itself also marginal in the Kṛṣṇaite context. Bakhtin points out:

the most intense and productive life of culture takes place on the boundaries of its individual areas and not in places where these areas have become enclosed in their own specificity.<sup>26</sup>

One of the issues that has been brought forward here is that the reader must not seek to return to Dayārām's own world to understand him (an impossibility in any case), nor to modernise and distort, but to see the potentials that are already there in his work. It has attempted to show the *bhakti* spirit in literature in the direct experience of God through humour, merging etc., while keeping the historical context. This may allow the reader to understand playfulness as part of the *Kṛṣṇalīlā*, to understand the later critics' Romantic view of sweetness and to celebrate the corporeality of Kṛṣṇaism.

This incomplete application of Bakhtin's ideas about carnival and the chronotope has much purchase towards giving a view of Dayārām in the history of Gujarati and of Kṛṣṇaite literature. The basis for analysis still has to be the scholastic approach, including the collection of extra-textual information and the analysis of the formal aspects of the texts, such as form, metre, language. Future studies of Dayārām will demand a lengthy exploration of language, possibly using Bakhtin's translanguistics. There is also a great need for a study of the poetics of the text, through Indian and/or western poetics. As Bakhtin says, nothing is ever finalised, and possibilities for understanding the lyrics will always remain open:

There is neither a first nor a last word and there are no limits to the dialogic context (it extends into the boundless past and the boundless future). Even *past* meanings, that is, those born in the dialogue of past centuries, can never be stable (finalized, ended once and for all) - they will always change (be renewed) in the process of subsequent, future development of the dialogue. At any moment in the development of the dialogue there are immense, boundless masses of forgotten contextual meanings, but at certain moments of the dialogue's subsequent development along the way they are recalled and

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<sup>26</sup>Bakhtin 1986:2.

## Chapter 6: The chronotope

invigorated in renewed form (in a new context). Nothing is absolutely dead: every meaning will have its homecoming festival.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Bakhtin 1986:170.



## PART III

### CHAPTER 7: SELECTION OF LYRICS

This chapter is a selection of Dayārām's lyrics. The Gujarati texts, taken from Rāval 1953, are given in Roman transliteration, with inclusion of inherent *a*. Rāval's practice of giving a word or phrase at the end of each verse to show that the refrain is repeated is followed as is his numbering of the texts and the titles he has given. The numbering of the verses has been added.

The translations into English are literal and some obscurities have been noted. As mentioned in the style notes, the translations use strict transcription as Sanskrit with inherent *-a* throughout. The words or phrases which mark that the refrain is to be repeated have not been translated. Honorifics are omitted and the names of Kṛṣṇa are not translated except in the *chāpa*. There is no commentary on the verses.

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<sup>1</sup>Rāval 1953 labels this and the next lyric 131.

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1 ūbhā raho to kahuṃ

1

*ūbhā raho to kahuṃ vātaḍī Bihārīlāla!*

*tama māṭe gāī che meṃ jātaḍī Bihārīlāla!*

If you stand (still) then I'll tell you something, Bihārīlāla!

For you I have wasted my self, Bihārīlāla!

2

*je dahāḍe maḷyā'tā Vṛṇḍāvanamāṃ Bihārīlāla!*

*te dahādānī tālavelī tanamāṃ Bihārīlāla!*

The day on which we met in Vṛṇḍāvana, -

The impatience of that day is in my body.

3

*vedanā virahanī te kyāṃ bhākhiye Bihārīlāla?*

*bhītarano bhaḍako te kyāṃ dākhiye Bihārīlāla?*

Where can I speak of the pain of separation,

Where can I speak of the blaze in my heart?

4

*phaṭakārīsarakhī huṃ pharuṃ vanamāṃ Bihārīlāla!*

*kaḷa nā paḍe rajanīdanamāṃ Bihārīlāla!*

I wander like a madwoman in the forest,

There is no relief day or night.

5

*ghelī ṭharī chuṃ sau gāmamāṃ Bihārīlāla!*

*citta coṃtatuṃ nathī gharakāmamāṃ Bihārīlāla!*

I am reckoned as mad in the whole village,  
My thoughts don't stay on household chores.

6

*kema kahevāya jevuṃ duḥkha manamāṃ Bihārīlāla!*  
*tālāvelī lāgī mārā tanamāṃ Bihārīlāla!*

How can I say what sorrow is in my mind?  
Restlessness has struck my body.

7

*kṣaṇekṣaṇe bhaṇakārā paḍe kānamāṃ Bihārīlāla!*  
*prāṇa provāyo tamārā tānamāṃ Bihārīlāla!*

At every moment I hear footsteps coming,  
My soul is sewn to your body.

8

*vikaḷatānī vāta kahe nā baṇe Bihārīlāla!*  
*gharamāṃ jāuṃ ne āvuṃ āmgaṇe Bihārīlāla!*

It's no good to say a word about this restlessness,  
I go into the house and then I come in the courtyard.

9

*āturatā evī te kyāṃ lagī sahuṃ Bihārīlāla?*  
*cho caturaśiromaṇi to śuṃ kahuṃ Bihārīlāla?*

How long can I bear such anxiety?  
You are the prince of tricksters so what can I say?

10

*prītaḍī kīdhī to have pāḷie Bihārīlāla!*

*ātura śaraṇa āvyāne na tājīe Bihārīlāla!*

You loved me, so now keep your word,  
Don't reject me when anxious I have taken refuge in you.

11

*tamāre huṃ sarakhī hajāro haśe Bihārīlāla!*

*mārā to prāṇa tama vinā jaśe Bihārīlāla!*

You must have thousands like me,  
But my soul will depart without you.

12

*bolyuṃ paṇ bījānuṃ game nahīṃ Bihārīlāla!*

*lālaca lāgyāṃ nayaṇāṃ to jaīe kahīṃ Bihārīlāla?*

I don't like even speaking of others,  
My eyes have become greedy so where can I go? [i.e. I can't escape]

13

*nakhaśikha lagī cho surūpa, guṇabharyā Bihārīlāla!*

*āvaḍā rūpālā te koṇe karyā Bihārīlāla?*

You are beautiful from head to toe, full of qualities,  
Who made you so beautiful?

14

*haso cho madhura vāṃkuṃ joīne Bihārīlāla!*

*kaṭākṣakaṭārīe nāṃkhyāṃ proīne Bihārīlāla!*

You smile sweetly and look sideways,  
You pierce me with the daggers of your eyes.

15

*vāṃsaḷī vadhāre che temāṃ vrehē Bihārīlāla!*

*abaḷāno jotāṃ viveka kema rahe Bihārīlāla?*

In separation, your flute makes it worse,  
Seeing you, how can a woman's judgement remain?

16

*dardī hoyā te jāṇe e dardamāṃ Bihārīlāla!*

*avara duḥkha enī āgaḷa gardamāṃ Bihārīlāla!*

Those who are in pain, they know this in pain,  
Before it, other sorrows are in the dust.

17

*kahenārā kaheṣe paṇa cho tame dhaṇī Bihārīlāla!*

*Dayānā Pritama! huṃ dāsī tamataṇī Bihārīlāla!*

Talkers will talk, but you are the Lord,  
Dayā's Beloved, I am your servant.

## 2 Vraja padhāro re ekāvāra

R

*Vhālājīne kahejo Madhuvrata! mārā sama che, Vraja padhāro re ekāvāra,  
mukhaḍuṃ nīrakhīe ho lāla!*

*Vhālājīne gamaṣe nahi ekalaḍāṃ, kahejo lāve saṃga Kubajānāra, nīorakhīe  
harakhīe ho lāla! mukhuḍuṃ.*

Bee, tell Vhālājī, on my oath, come to Vraja once, let us see your face!

Vhālājī will not like just one woman, tell him, let Kubjā bring him along, when we  
see you, we will rejoice!



1

*Vhālājīne kahejo rākhe ḍara rakhe, Gokuḷa gamāra gopanī sṣṣṭī,  
rañjīne ojhalā paḍade āṃhe rākhīśa jema nahi lāge ḍṣṣṭa. mukhuḍuṃ.*

Tell Vhālājī lest he is afraid, that Gokuḷa is the world of the rustic Gopas,  
I shall keep the harem in purdah for the queen, so that no glance shall fall on her.

2

*Vhālā! tamo guṇanidhi surūpasāgara, mohyā joī Kubjāguṇaamga,  
Vhālājīre! tenī jhāṃkhī amane karāvo, thāye janma saphaḷa saṃga. mukhuḍuṃ.*

Vhālā! You are the treasury of qualities, the ocean of beauty, having seen the body  
of the qualities of Kubjā you were infatuated,

Vhālājī! Give use a glimpse of her, that we may get union with the fruit of our  
births.

3

*Vhālājī re! mānītīnī marajī joī amo karaśuṃ āpanī ṭahela;  
Vhālā! mana ūṭhe to Madhupura jājo re, raheśo to nyārā karaviśuṃ mahela.  
mukhuḍuṃ.*

Vhālājī! Having seen the wish of the proud woman, we will beg of you [??] -

Vhālā! If you have lost interest, then go to Madhupura; if you stay then we shall  
make you a new home.

4

*Vhālājī re! ghara dahaḍethī jānyuṃ nahi te thayo atīse anartha;  
Vhālājī re! hāvāṃ kharakharo tyāṃ śo? vītyā Vrajavasyā dina vyartha.  
mukhuḍuṃ.*

Vhālājī! You have not known your house for days, it has become deserted,

Vhālājī! Now why this regret there? The days of living in Vraja have passed without purpose.

5

*Madhukara! Kubajāne paṇa kahejo, piyune ghaṇā laḍāve lāḍa;*

*alī! e ratnane jeṭluṃ jatna karīśa te ame mānīśuṃ pāḍa. mukhuḍuṃ.*

Bee! Tell Kubajā also, indulge our beloved greatly,

Friend! we shall make as much effort for you as we shall make for this jewel

(Kṛṣṇa).

6

*Madhukara! Dayāpṛitamane kahejo, e sukha sūṇī harakha na māya;*

*paṇa amo alpabhāgya āhīraṇī, ghaṇuṃ sukha jovā nahi avāya. mukhuḍuṃ.*

Bee, tell Dayā's Beloved, having heard this happiness, joy cannot be contained,

But we Āhīrs are unfortunate, it does not happen that we see great happiness.

### 3 mārā jīvanaprāṇajīvana!

R

*Mohanalālajī re! mārā jīvanaprāṇajīvana, huṃ balihārī rāja! ghaṇī khammā!*

*dāsī tamataṇī re, tamane soṃpyuṃ tanamanadhana, huṃ balihārī rāja!*

O Mohanalālajī, my life dear as life, I am very lucky, may you be happy!

I am your servant, I entrusted my mind, body and wealth to you.

1

*mananā mānyā cho re, jīvuṃ chum huṃ Śrī mukha joi;*

*piyarasāsare re vhāluṃ tamasarīkhuṃ nathī koī. huṃ balihārī rāja!*

You have pleased my mind I live having seen Śrī mukha,

There is nothing as dear as you in my parents' or my in-laws' place.

2

*cakora Caṁdrane re icche tyama tamane muja neṇa;*

*kevā vḥālā cho re, kahetāṁ āvaḍatum nathī veṇa, huṁ balihārī rāja!*

As the cakora wants the moon, so my eyes want you;

Words don't know how to say how dear you are.

3

*Rasiyā, rūpālā cho re Naṭavara Naṁdakiśora!*

*sadguṇasāgara cho re mīṭhaḍābolā cittanā cora. huṁ balihārī rāja!*

Rasiyā, you are beautiful, Naṭavara Naṁdakiśora!

You are the ocean of good qualities, sweet-talking, the thief of my mind.

4

*ekovidhī ochā raho re to kāmīeka vāḷuṁ mana;*

*pūraṇa sau vāte re, kaho kema chūṭe Lāla! lagana? huṁ balihārī rāja!*

If you alone are there, then I shan't be worried;

You are perfect in everything, tell me Lāla, how does this attachment become free?

5

*sūno huṁ dekhūṁ re Piyujī! tama vaṇa sau saṁsāra;*

*pyālo jherano re pāo to ye tamathī na khase pyāra. huṁ balihārī rāja!*

Piyujī without you I see the whole world as empty;

If you give me a cup of poison even then my love does not move away from you.

6

*harakhuṁ chuṁ ghaṇī re, māro Harajī! jhālo hātha;*

*prīta nibhāvajo re nitya, na māguṁ bījuṁ nātha! huṁ balihārī rāja!*

I delight greatly, my Harajī! take my hand (to help me);  
Always support our love, I do not ask for another lord.

7

*ṭāḍhaka aṃṭaranī re mārā Prāṇajīvana ādhāra!*  
*Prītama! Dayātaṇā re mārā locananā śaṇagāra! huṃ balihārī rāja!*  
Tranquillity of the heart, my Prāṇajīvana, my support!  
Dayā's Beloved, ornament of my eyes!

#### 4 panaghaṭa para

1

*āṭha kūvā ne nava vāvaḍī re lola, soḷaseṃ panihārīnī hāra,*  
*mārā Vhālājī ho! hāvāṃ nahi jāuṃ mahī vecavā re lola.*  
*sonā te keruṃ mārūṃ beḍaluṃ re lola ūḍheṇī ratnajaḍāva mārā.*  
*keḍa maraḍīne ghaḍo meṃ bharyo re lola, tūṭyo māro navasara hāra. mārā.*  
*kāṃṭhe te ūbho Kahānajī re lola, 'bhāī, mane ghaḍūlo caḍāva.' mārā.*  
Eight wells and nine step-wells, a line of 1600 women carrying water,  
My Vhālājī! now I shall not go to sell yoghurt.  
My water-pitcher is made of gold, the balancing ring on my head is studded with  
gems.  
Bending my waist, I filled my pot, my nine-stringed necklace broke.  
One the edge stood Kahānajī, 'Brother, lift my pitcher.'

2

*'huṃ tunne ghaḍūlo caḍāvūṃ re lola, thāya mārā gharakerī nāra.' mārā.*  
*'tujasarakhā govāliyā re lola, te to mārā bāpanā gulāma.' mārā.*  
*'tujasarakhī govālaṇī re lola, te to mārā paganī pejāra.' mārā.*

*Dayānā Pritama Prabhu pātaḷā re lola, te to mārā prāṇanā ādhāra. mārā.*

'I lift the pitcher for you, there is a woman in my house.' ['If I lift your pitcher, you will become my wife']

'A cowherd like you is my father's slave.'

'A milkmaid like you is the slipper on my foot.'

Slim Dayā's Beloved, Prabhu, is the support of my life.

## 6 Visārī melyāṃ!

R

*o Uddhavajī! Vhāle to visārī amane melyāṃ!*

*amo śuṃ kahiye? rāsa ramāḍī teḍine tarachoḍyāṃ!*

O Uddhavajī, Vhālā has forgotten us!

What shall we say? having amused us with the rāsa he invited us and then cast us aside.

1

*pahelavahelī prīta amaśuṃ kīdhī,*

*moralīmāṃ eṇe vaśa karī līdhī,*

*gopī saune vihvaḷa karī dīdhī. O.*

First of all he made love with us,

He ensnared us in his flute,

He made all the Gopīs delirious.

2

*prītaḷāḍī to karatāṃ pahelī,*

*Prabhu dekhīne thaī chuṃ ghelī*

*maḷo Mohana! amane mana melī. O.*

Before even making love,  
Having seen Prabhu, I have become mad,  
Openheartedly meet us, Mohana!

3

*eṇe haiḍānāṃ to hīra līdhāṃ,*  
*Kānuḍe to kāmaṇa kīdhāṃ*  
*gheraḡhera dadhīmākhaṇa pīdhāṃ. O.*  
He took the love of our hearts,  
Kānuḍo worked his enchantment,  
He drank yoghurt and butter in every house.

4

*e Kānuḍo kāmaṇagāro,*  
*eṇī āṃkhaḍalīno che cāḷo,*  
*prītavaṃtaśuṃ prītithī nihāḷo. O.*  
That Kānuḍo is bewitching,  
His eyes have mischief,  
Observe with love with the lovers [??].

5

*pelī Kubajā to kāmaṇagārī,*  
*tenī sāthe lāḡī bahu tāḷī,*  
*eṇe vaśa kīdhā che Vanamāḷī, O.*  
That Kubajā is bewitching,  
He is completely absorbed in her,  
She has ensnared Vanamāḷī.

6

*ame Śāmaḷiyānī saṃge ramatām,*

*Vrajanavanamām pūṃṭhaḷa bhamatām,*

*amo bheḷām besīne bhojana jamatām. O*

We used to play with Śāmaḷiyā,

We wandered behind him in every forest of Vraja,

We used to sit together and eat.

7

*Mathurāmām jaī eṇe Kaṃsa roḷyo,*

*eka āṃgaḷīe Govardhana toḷyo,*

*satyavācī anyokti boḷyo. O.*

Having gone to Mathurā, he crushed Kaṃsa,

With one finger he balanced Govardhana,

The true speaker spoke obliquely.

8

*Dayārāmanā Svāmīne kahejo,*

*Mathurā mūkī daī Gokula rahejo,*

*sau gopikāne darśana dejo. O.*

Tell Dayārāma's Master,

'Leave Mathurā and live in Gokula,

Give all the Gopīs your *darśana*.'

## 7 mananī vātaḍī

R

*mārā Mohanalāla! āvo to kahuṃ mārā mananī vātaḍī,*

*mārā Prāṇapyārā! tama māte meṃ to gālī che jātaḍī.*

My Mohanalāla!, if you come, I'll tell you the story of my mind,

My Prāṇapyārā!, for your sake I've wasted my self.

1

*jāṇuṃ chuṃ je jagamāṃ cho ḍāhyā,*

*evuṃ jāṇīne joḍī māyā,*

*have muja upara kaṃī āṇo dayā, mārā.*

I know that you are skilled in the world,

Knowing this, I fell in love,

Now give me some compassion.

2

*Vhālā! rūpa tamāruṃ joīne,*

*māruṃ manaḍuṃ rahyuṃ che mohīne,*

*kāṃī nisadina jāye che roīne, mārā.*

Vhālā!, having seen your beauty,

My mind has remained infatuated,

Day and night, go in weeping.

3

*meṃ to tanamana soṃpyuṃ che tamane,*

*koīnī na bīka dharaśo manapeṃ,*

*have mahera karo Mohana! amane. mārā.*

I have entrusted my body and mind to you,

You will not fear anyone in your mind

Now be kind to us, Mohana!



4

*Prabhu! prīta juone tapāsī.*

*Kubajā to Kaṃsataṇī dāsī,*

*tenī to cālī jagamāṃ hāṃsī. mārā.*

Prabhu!, Having investigated love,

Kubajā is the servant of Kamsa,

This is the current joke of the world.

5

*Hari! āvaḍā haṭhīlā nā thaīe,*

*Naṃdalāla! namero nā rahīe,*

*sukhaduḥkha amo kone kahīe? mārā.*

Hari! do not be so obstinate,

Naṃdalāla!, do not remain merciless,

Who may we tell of our happiness and sorrow?

6

*māre sāsusasarānī bīka kaśī?*

*mārā hṛdayakamaḷamāṃ rahyā cho vasī,*

*Dayānā Svāmī viṇa bījāthī dūra khasī. mārā.*

What fear do I have of my mother-in-law and my father-in-law?

You have made your dwelling in the lotus of my heart,

[I] have moved far away from all others except Dayā's Lord.

## 8 vāṃsalaḍīne śabde

R

*māruṃ mana mohyuṃ vāṃsalaḍīne śabde Kānaḍa! kālā,*

*huṃ to ghelī thāī, mārā gharamām nathī gamatuṃ mārā Vhālā!*

The sound of the flute enchanted my mind, O dark Kānaḍa!

I became mad, I don't like it at home, my Vhālā!

1

*tuja adhara upara e vāje che,*

*sūnī aṃtara mārūṃ dājhe che,*

*eno śabda gaganamām gāje che. mārūṃ.*

It sounds on your lower lip,

Having heard it my inside burns with jealousy,

Its sound resounds in the sky.

2

*e vanamām jyāre vāge che,*

*mune bāṇasarīkhī lāge che,*

*mune vrehani vedanā jāge che. mārūṃ.*

When it sounds in the woods,

It strikes me like an arrow.

It awakens the pain of *viraha* in me.

3

*huṃ to do'tām domṇī bhūlī chuṃ,*

*vaḷī jamatām adhūrī jhūlī chuṃ,*

*tārūṃ mukha joījoī huṃ phūlī chuṃ. mārūṃ.*

When milking I forget my earthen pot,

Then when eating, I leave it incomplete,

Seeing your face, I am overcome with joy.

4

*ene tapanī sādhanā kīdhī che,*  
*Kṛṣṇe kṛpāsādhya karī dīdhī che,*  
*māte Dayāprītame kara līdhī che. māruṃ.*  
He made a remedy for this fever,  
Kṛṣṇa performed an act of mercy,  
For Dayā's Beloved took her hand.<sup>2</sup>

## 9 mujane aḍaśo mā!

R

*'mujane aḍaśo mā! āghā raho Alabelā Chelā! aḍaśo mā!*  
'Don't touch me, stay away, Alabelā Chelā!

1

*aṃka bharyānā sama khāo to, adharataṇo rasa pāuṃ;*  
*Kahānakumvara! kālā cho, aḍatāṃ huṃ kālī thāi jāuṃ!' mujane.*  
Sit in my lap, take an oath, then I shall give you the *rasa* of my lips to drink  
O Kahānakumvara! You are black, touching you I shall become black!

2

*'tuṃ mujane aḍatāṃ śyāma thāis to huṃ kyama nahi thāuṃ goro?*  
*pharī maḷatāṃ raṃga adalābadalī. muja moro, tuja toro!' mujane.*  
'If by touching me, you become black, then why shan't I become fair?  
Meeting again, the colours are exchanged, me mine, you yours!'

---

<sup>2</sup>*kara* as a feminine means 'action, unlucky day etc.' Here it could mean 'He took action.'

3

*'kālī thayānuṃ kāma nathī, paṇa lagna lokamāṃ tharaśe;*

*laghu vayamāṃ lāṃchana lāgyāthī vījo vara kyama varaśe?' mujane.*

'Becoming black is no use, but our marriage will be fixed in the eyes of the world,

At a young age, what other man will marry me with such a defect?'

4

*'tāre bījā varanuṃ kāma śuṃ che? huṃ vara, tuṃ vahū dhanya!*

*jenuṃ lāṃchana tene variye to to māna maḷe ananya.' mujane.*

'What use is another husband to you? I am the groom, you are the bride - excellent!

Marry him who has the defect, then you will get respect as no other.'

5

*sūṇī ema Harivadanī hasī bhetyāṃ, pratiuttara nā dīdho;*

*hoḷīnī hāṃsīmīśe Dayāprītama bee ānaṃdarasa līdho. mujane.*

Hearing this, the moon-faced woman smiled and they embraced, she gave no reply;

Under the pretence of Hoḷī, both of Dayā's Beloveds partook of the sentiment of joy.

## 10 Rādhānāṃ vakhāṇa

1

*tame ūbhā rahonī Alabelā ho lāla!*

*sūṇo jobanamadanā chakelā ho lāla!*

Stand still Alabelā!

Listen to the excesses [??] of the love of youth.

2

*eka vāta kahum̐ ati miṭhī re lāla!*

*caḍe āja ke kāḷa aṃge piṭhī re lāla!*

I'll tell you a very sweet thing,

Today or tomorrow the turmeric paste is on her body!

3

*tame te dahāḍe je nihāḷī re lāla!*

*mune kahyum̐ ghaṇī e che rūpāḷī re lāla!*

The girl who you saw that day,

(You) said to me that she was very beautiful.

4

*hum̐ to te ja divasanī jāṇum̐ re lāla!*

*tamārum̐ mana temāṃ lobhāṇum̐ re lāla!*

I know that from that very day,

Your mind is attracted to her.

5

*te vāta paḍī che ṭhekāṇe re lāla!*

*hum̐ āja gaī'ti Barasāṇe re lāla!*

That word reached its proper destination,

Today I had gone to Barasāṇa.

6

*niśce kīdhum̐ Vṛṣabhānadulārī re lāla!*

*nathī paraṇī, haju che kumārī re lāla!*

Certainly Vṛṣābhāna's daughter has not married,

Until now she is still single.

7

*guṇarūpa meṃ joyuṃ che agādha ho lāla!*

*pūchyuṃ nāma che tenuṃ ŚrīRādhā ho lāla!*

I saw her profound beauty and qualities,

I asked her name, it is ŚrīRādhā!

8

*tene paṇa tamārī raḍha lāgī ho lāla!*

*jotāṃ nenakaṭārī ura lāgī re lāla!*

She is also attached to you,

Seeing your eye-daggers, her heart was pierced.

9

*teṇe avara vāryānī līdhī bādhā re lāla!*

*tamane varavā eṇe sēcā sama khādhā re lāla!*

She took a vow of choosing her own husband,

She took a solemn oath of marrying you.

10

*evuṃ lāḍalīnuṃ mana jāṇī re lāla!*

*tenī sakhī sau bolī evī vāṇī re lāla!*

Having realised that such is the mind of a beloved daughter,

All her friends say this speech.

11

*kāle Vṛṇḍāvanamāhīṃ jāśuṃ ho lāla!*

*niśce Naṃḍakuṃvara bheḷāṃ thāśuṃ ho lāla!*

Tomorrow we shall go to Vṛṇḍāvana,

Certainly we shall meet Namdakumvara.

12

*teśum tuṃne paraṇāvīśum chānī re lāla!*

*evum sūnī Śyāmī harakhī, vāta mānī re lāla!*

We shall marry you with him in secret,

Hearing this Śyāmī rejoiced, she agreed to this!

13

*kharī khabara che, joīne huṃ āvī re lāla!*

*kahetām Lālajīe hrde lapatāvī re lāla!*

This is the true information, I came when I saw it.

Saying this, Lālajī embraced her to his heart.

14

*āpyo hāra haiyāno ūtārī ho lāla!*

*bolyā, tuṃ muṃne prāṇathakī pyārī re lāla!*

He took off his garland and gave it to her,

He said: you are dearer to me than life.

15

*bīje divase thayuṃ te ja rīte ho lāla!*

*RādhāKṛṣṇa paraṇyām beu prīte ho lāla!*

The next day this happened in this way,

Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa were married, both in love.

16

*saune ānaṃda ura nā samāye ho lāla!*

*teno Dāsadayo yaśa gāye ho lāla!*

Everyone's joy brimmed over their hearts,  
The servant Dayā sings its praise.

## 11 rāsamaṇḍaḷane darśane

R

*govā rāsamaṇḍaḷa māre hoyā re ānaṇḍa,*  
*premaparākramaṇḍaḷa baḷa bhāre, ūbhare pramānaṇḍa. govā rāsamaṇḍaḷa.*  
It is joy for me to see the *rāsamaṇḍaḷa*,  
The great strength of the prowess of love, the ultimate joy overflows.

1

*eka samaya vanamāṇḍaḷa gayā Hāri, Mohana vāi vaṇṣa,*  
*veṇe vīṇḍhī govāḷaṇī, eṇe harīne līdhā aṇṣa. govā rāsamaṇḍaḷa.*  
Once Hari went to the woods, Mohana played the flute.  
Its sound pierced the gopīs, it took away bits of them [i.e. they became as one with Kṛṣṇa].

2

*je jyama te tyama nīsaryāṇḍaḷa re gharakāraja chāṇḍī,*  
*koḍa pūravā Kahānaḷaḷaḷa ramataḷaḷa māṇḍī. govā rāsamaṇḍaḷa.*  
Whoever they were, wherever they were, they came out and left their household tasks,  
Kahānaḷaḷaḷa began the play to fill their desire.

3

*pīṭambara pharake Prabhune, pāye ghugharaḷaḷa ghamake,*  
*cunḍaḷaḷa caḷake nāraṣuṇḍaḷa, pāye nepūriyāṇḍaḷa ṭhamake. govā rāsamaṇḍaḷa.*



Prabhu's *pītāṃbara* flutters, little bells sound on his feet,  
The veils of the women glitter, the bells on their feet tinkle.

4

*be pāse be suṃdarī ne vacamāṃ Vanamāḷī,*  
*nācekhūṃde nehaśuṃ paḍachamde le tāḷī, jovā rāsamaṃḍala.*

The women dance in pairs, with Vanamāḷī in the middle,  
They dance and step the *garabo* with love, they clap with one another.

5

*ekanī chūṭī veṇa, chabilī amboḍāvāḷī,*  
*ekane āḍī āmkha karī nācatāṃ nihāḷī. jovā rāsamaṃḍala.*

The plait of one of the women was loosened, the beautiful woman with the bun,  
Dancing, he looked sideways intensely at one woman.

6

*ekane nakha de Nāthajī re avaḷe moḍhe aṅga,*  
*chāśapyārī prītaḍī eṇe sārā kīdhā ḍhamga, jovā rāsamaṃḍala.*

Nāthajī digs his nail in one, with his face turned towards his body,  
The lover of butter milk obliged the loving women in this way.

7

*rāte dāṃṭe hase ghaṇuṃ re, hāra haiye laḷake,*  
*phare pharatāṃ phūdaḍī kāne jharamariyāṃ jhaḷake. jovā rāsamaṃḍala.*

He smiles often with his red teeth, a necklace shines on his chest,  
Turning he moves in circles, jewellery shines on his ears.

8

*eka lasaḍatī khāṃdhe vaḷagī, śīta vaḷyāṃ gāle,*

*mukhaḍuṃ lūe Māvajī, ene heta karyāṃ vahāle. jovā rāsamaṇḍaḷa.*

He embraced one pulling her to his shoulder, her cheek seemed cold,  
Māvajī rubs her face, Vahālā makes her love him.

9

*eka ṭhamakatī āvine beṭhī moḍhuṃ macakoḍī,  
sama khāye to sām̐bhale, ene ramavā uṭhāḍī. jovā rāsamaṇḍaḷa.*

One came walking elegantly, she sits with a haughty expression,  
If he takes an oath she listens, he raises her to play.

10

*cāru caṃdrikā śobhatī re, karenaphula kāne,  
seṃtho pūrī jhaghamaghe. enā saṃgītane tāne. jovā rāsamaṇḍaḷa.*

The lovely moonlight shines, oleander flowers in ears,  
Hair ornament shine fully, they are absorbed in his music.

11

*eka āvī harṣabharī re, huṃ hārabharī heruṃ,  
nepūra gayāṃ re jyāre nīsarī huṃ vālīne paheruṃ. jovā rāsamaṇḍaḷa.*

One comes full of joy, I am used to being defeated [??],  
My ankets fell off when I came out, I shall tie them on and wear them.

12

*eka āvī āratabhari re e varase che nānī,  
Naṭavara nāce premasuṃ, kara komaḷa, paga pānī, jovā rāsamaṇḍaḷa.*

One came full of longing, this little one showers love,  
Naṭavara dances with love. her hand, her foot, her heel are like lotuses.

13

*eka kahe, ene alpa āhāra ne āvaḍuṃ baḷa kyāmthī?*

*māsī mārī Pūtanā, eṇe janma dharyo tyāmthī. jovā rāsamaṇḍaḷa.*

One says, he has had little food so where does he get such strength?

From taking the life of my Aunt Pūtanā!

14

*eka kahe, nāmīe Jīvaṇajī! jhājhum,*

*cīra amārāṃ khasī jaśe, huṃ sahiyaramāṃ lājum. jovā rāsamaṇḍaḷa.*

One says, (if) we bend towards him, Jīvaṇajī, very much,

He will pull off our silken clothes. I'll be ashamed among my friends.

15

*eka kahe, ūṭho Alabelā! Jamunāne āre,*

*āpaṇa beu jaṇa jhūmie temāṃ koṇa jite ne hāre? jovā rāsamaṇḍaḷa.*

One says, get up Alabelā, on the shore of the Jamunā,

We are both eager, so who wins and who loses?

16

*eka kahe, ūbhā raho to koī tamane varaśe,*

*e sahiyaranuṃ aṃga bhāre tyām dhīmacadām dhaśe, jovā rāsamaṇḍaḷa.*

One says, if you stand still someone will marry you,

That girl's body is heavy there the fat girl will fall over [??].

17

*manmathamanmatha Naṭavarajī para phūlaḍiyāṃ varakhe,*

*nāke motī Nāthajī te joījoī mana harakhe. jovā rāsamaṇḍaḷa.*

Manmatha showers flowers on Naṭavarajī,

Nāthajī, seeing the pearl on her nose, rejoices in his mind.

18

*Giridharagopī ekarūpa che Haritādātmya vicārī,*  
*viśuddha Harirasa aṃtara ṭharatāṃ bhāvaprīta balihārī! jovā rāsamaṃḍaḷa.*  
Giridhara and the Gopī are of the same form, consider the oneness of Hari,  
Blessed is the beloved through emotion settling in the pure rasa of Hari! [??]

19

*bhaktamanoratha pūraṇa karavā Harie līdho avatāra,*  
*janmakarma sau divyapaṇāmām Gītāmām niradhāra. jovā rāsamaṃḍaḷa.*  
Hari took his incarnation to fulfil the desire of his devotees  
This is laid down in the Gītā, in this divinity are all births and karma.

20

*dhanya Vṛṃdāvanavelaḍī re! dhanya Yamunātraṭa sāra!*  
*dhanya kanyā āhīrī! dhanya Kṛṣṇataṇo avatāra! jovā rāsamaṃḍaḷa.*  
Blessed are the creepers of Vṛṃdāvana, blessed the banks of the Yamunā,  
Blessed are the Āhīr girls. blessed the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa.

21

*rasa pragāṭe che rasika hṛdemām. rasika mana āmaṃḍa.*  
*rasātamaka rasarūpa thayethī pragāṭe pūraṇānaṃḍa. jovā rāsamaṃḍaḷa.*  
Rasa appears in the hearts of the *rasikas*, joy in the mind of the *rasikas*,  
Total joy appears from becoming the form of *rasa* in the souls of *rasa*. [??]

22

*rasanuṃ dāna kare che Vhālo Śrīvṛṃdāvanacaṃḍa,*  
*eka ja, bahu rūpo te dhāre rasasāgara Goviṃḍa. jovā rāsamaṃḍaḷa.*  
Vhālo makes a gift of rasa in the moonlight of ŚrīVṛṃdāvana

Goviṁḍa, the ocean of *rasa* the many forms he takes are only one.

23

*veṇugīte bhāva prakāśyo, Śrīvallabhānī vāṇī,  
Śrīgurumukhathī śravaṇa karīne amtaramāmhe āṇī. jovā rāsamaṁḍaḷa.*

Emotion appeared in the sound of the flute, the voice of Śrīvallabha,  
Having listened to it from the mouth of Śrīguru, it was led to the heart.

24

*bahuvīdhi gopīe pūravamāṁ meḷaviyāṁ varadāna,  
te sau pūraṇa siddha ja karavā pragatīyā Bhagavāna. jovā rāsamaṁḍaḷa.*

The Gopīs got boons in many ways from former births,  
Bhagavāna became manifest to fulfil totally all this.

25

*GopīGovīṁḍanī gata nyārī, pūrṇa alaukika rīta,  
sadānaṁḍa rasarūpapaṇānī pūraṇa jhaḷakī prīta. jovā rāsamaṁḍaḷa.*

The way of the Gopī and Goviṁḍa is different, in a full alaukika way,  
The full love of the formness of *rasa* all joyful shone forth. [??]

26

*rāsamaṁḍaḷano garabo je ko prema dharīne gāśe,  
sūṇaśe, bhanaśe, aṁtara dharaśe, Hariraṁge raṁgāśe. jovā rāsamaṁḍaḷa.*

Whoever sings the *garabo* of the *rāsamaṁḍaḷa*, bearing love,  
Or listens or speaks or keeps it in his heart, he will delight in the love of Hari.

27

*rasika rūpe rasabhāva māṇatāṁ āmaṁdahelī thāśe,  
Dāsadayo kahe, vaṇaśrama te jana Paramānaṁḍapade jāśe. jovā rāsamaṁḍaḷa.*

Enjoying the emotion of *rasa* in the form of a *rasika*, he will become full of joy,  
The servant Dayā says, he will reach the state of complete bliss without effort.

## 12 sāmum jo!

R

*sāmum jo Naṃdanā chogālā! mārum citta coraṇavālā.*

*Naṃdanā chogālā kāmaṇagārā! mohum teṃ bālāvṛṇḍa re. Vhālama! sāmum.*

Look at me, Naṃda's dandy! stealer of my mind.

Naṃda's bewitching dandy! you have infatuated the whole group of women.

Vhālama!

1

*tārī hasaṇī maṃdanā phaṃdamām gherī, māryā nenetaṇā teṃ bhālā re. Vhālama!*

*Dīnadayāla Purāṇo pukāre, pelā purāṇī thālā re. Vhālama! sāmum.*

Your smile overcame us in a gentle trap, you fired the darts of your eyes,

The Purāṇas proclaim him as Dīnadayāla, those Purāṇic people are useless.

2

*mune jakhamī karīne jhūlatī melī, na jāṇyum je jīvaśe kyama re? Vhālama!*

*mārī to mukha dekhādato jā, tumne mārā gaḷānā sama re. Vhālama! sāmum.*

Having wounded me, you left me dangling, you did not know if I would live.

Having killed me, show your face, on oath to me.

3

*māro Caṃdra te cotho jāmpato nahīm, vaṇa joye mukha Caṃdra re. Vhālama!*

*cena nahi kyahum. bhāve nā bhojana, rena na nenemām niṃda re. Vhālama!*

*sāmum.*

My moon does not rest on the fourth<sup>3</sup>, without seeing the face of the moon [Kṛṣṇa].  
Where there is no rest. I don't like food, no sleep comes at night to my eyes.

4

*mārā kāḷajānuṃ duḥkha koī na jāṇe, jāṇe jene vītatuṃ hoyā re. Vhālama!*  
*jaṇāvethī jaṃjāḷa vadhe, pata jāya, ko pīḍā na khoya re. Vhālama! sāmum.*

Noone knows the sorrow of my heart, only one who has experienced this knows,  
Entanglements increase from getting to know him, respect goes, these afflictions do  
not disappear.

5

*mārī aṃkhanā bhāvyā. mananā mānyā, mārā kāḷajaḍānī kora re! Vhālama!*  
*huṃ pīdanī mārī pokāruṃ Dayāprabhu, bijuṃ śuṃ māruṃ jora re? Vhālama!*  
*sāmum.*

He delighted my eyes. he pleased my mind, the darling of my heart!  
I proclaim my harassment. Dayā's Lord, what other power do I have?

### 13 pāo premarasa

1

*pāo premarasa prāṇajīvana re! dīna thāī jācuṃ re;*  
*muktimārgīne āpjo jñāna re. huṃ to nava rācuṃ re.*

Give me the *rasa* of love to drink, Prāṇajīvana! Having become humble I ask this,  
I shall not be pleased if you give me knowledge of the path of liberation.

2

---

<sup>3</sup>The fourth *sthāna* in astrology is the heart.

*rījhe rābaḍīthakī to garība loka re, bhogīne nā bhāve re;*  
*amo Rājanām khāsām khavāsa re, mukti mana nā've re.*

Poor people are pleased with gruel, the gourmets do not like it;  
We are special servants of the king, liberation does not appeal to our minds.

3

*nitya nīrakhīe Naṭavararūpa re, hoṃsa manamāṃthī re;*  
*manamānyuṃ maḷe sau sukha re, ekatāmām kyāmthī re?*

Let us see constantly the form of Naṭavara, longing from in our minds  
All happiness is got in an agreeable way, what is the comparison with unity?

4

*duṣṭa jīvane to kahe che Brahma re, Brahma jīva lekhe re;*  
*chate Svāmīe saubhāgyanuṃ sukha re svapne na dekhe re.*

Evil people say that the soul is Brahma, in their estimate, Brahma is the soul,  
Even so they do not even dream of the great happiness in Svāmī.

5

*divyarūpa cho sadā sākāra re ānaṃdanā rāśī re!*  
*bole anucita māyika mugdha re te narakanivāsī re.*

You are divinely beautiful, always with form, a heap of joy!  
Those dwellers in hell say what is improper, full of delusion and foolish.

6

*āpa Svāmī, sadā huṃ dāsa re, nāto e nibhāvo re;*  
*ruce āpane karāvo tevī kṛti re. anya rakhe lāvo re.*

You are the Lord, I am always your servant, let this relationship endure;  
Let it please you to happen as is your way, take away any other.



7

*vinā lālacanuṃ Lāla! mune v̄hāla re acalita āpo re;*  
*viṣayavāsanā prapaṃcanī prīta re Śrīkṛṣṇa! māri kāpo re.*

Lāla, give me unchanging love without avarice,  
Cut off my love of the worldly desire of the senses.

8

*ananya sevā, akhaṃḍa satsaṃga re Manohara! māguṃ re;*  
*Dayāprītamajī! āpo mune eha re, pāye laḷi lāguṃ re.*

I ask for *sevā* to you and no other, unbroken *satsaṃga*, Manohara!  
Dayā's Beloved, give me this, I touch your feet with longing.

## 14 mahīārīo

R

*mahīārī maḷi cālī mahī vecavā. madhya Śrīrādhā rūpataṇo bhaṃḍāra jo;*  
*gopījana koṇakoṇa saṃge hatām? tenām kaṃīeka nāma karuṃ uccāra jo. mahīārī.*

The milkmaids gathered and went to sell yoghurt, among them was ŚrīRādhā, the  
treasury of beauty,

Who were the Gopīs who were in this group? I shall enounce the names of several  
of them.

1

*Lalitājī, Caṃdrabhāgā. Caṃdrāvaḷi, Caṃpakalatā. Viśākhā, Virajā, Vṛṃdā jo;*  
*Ratnaprabhā, Vimalā ne Vrajamaṃgaḷā, Nṛtyakaḷā, Ratnā, Nāgarī ne Naṃdā jo.*  
*mahīārī.*

Lalitājī, Caṃdrabhāgā, Caṃdrāvaḷi, Caṃpakalatā, Viśākhā, Virajā, Vṛṃdā;  
Ratnaprabhā, Vimalā and Vrajamaṃgaḷā, Nṛtyakaḷā, Ratnā, Nāgarī and Naṃdā.

2

*Ratikaḷā, Rasikā, Rasalīnā, Ramā, Bhadrā, Śyāmā, Kāverī ne Hīrā jo.*

*Chabidhāmā, Kalahaṃsā, Madhumādhavi, Mālatī, Mohanī, Ketakī ne Ratidhīrā jo.*  
*mahīārī.*

Ratikaḷā, Rasikā, Rasalīnā, Ramā, Bhadrā, Śyāmā, Kāverī and Hīrā;

Chabidhāmā, Kalahaṃsā, Madhumādhavi, Mālatī, Mohanī, Ketakī and Ratidhīrā.  
mahīārī.

3

*Sucaritā, Kṛṣṇā, Kamalā. Saurabhā, Ciṃtāmaṇī, Kuṃḍalā, Suṃdarī, Raṃgā jo;*

*Kumudinī, Haṃsā. Lilā. Manoramā, Madhurekṣaṇā, Praviṇā, Premadā, Gaṃgā jo.*  
*mahīārī.*

Sucaritā, Kṛṣṇā, Kamalā. Saurabhā, Ciṃtāmaṇī, Kuṃḍalā, Suṃdarī, Raṃgā;

Kumudinī, Haṃsā. Lilā. Manoramā, Madhurekṣaṇā, Praviṇā, Premadā, Gaṃgā.

4

*- e ādi sakhī cālī sau samajhaṇī, manamām Mohana maḷavātāṇo vicāra jo;*

*ho sajanī! kyama karavum? kyahām cālavum? kaho, āja kyām maḷaśe*  
*Naṃdakumāra jo? mahīārī.*

- These friends and others went all of one mind, in their mind was the thought of meeting Mohana.

'O friend, what do you want to do, where do you want to go? Say, today when will you meet Naṃdakumāra?'

5

*koī kahe, dāṇaghātīmām dekhaśum, koī kahe, kadamakhaḍīmām bheḷām thaiśum jo;*

*koī kahe, Śyāmaghāta haśe Śāmaḷo, koī kahe Baṃsibatāmām jaiśum jo. mahīārī.*

Someone says, 'We shall see him on the toll-ghat.' Someone says, 'We shall gather in the clumps of kadambas.'

Someone says, 'Śāmaḷo must be at Śyāma ghat.' Someone says, 'Let's go to Baṃsibaṭa.'

6

*evāmām Śrīgovaradhananī taḷeṭīmām Aṃtarajāmīe kīdho moralīnāda jo;*

*gāyamiṣe giri caḍī Gopāḷajī samajhaṇa paḍavā lāṃbo kīdho sāda jo. mahīārī.*

Meanwhile, the Aṃtaryāmin made the sound of the flute at the foot of Mt. Govardhana,

Gopāḷajī had climbed the mountain under the pretext of (looking for) a cow, he made a long noise so that they would understand.

7

*dūrathakī sūṇī Vhālamanī vāmsaḷī, lāgī tālāvelī, ṭalyuṃ sau bhāna jo;*

*sarva sakhī namī re Govardhana bhaṇī, manamām āturatā ne pragatyuṃ gumāna jo. mahīārī.*

Hearing the sound of Vhālama's flute from far away, agitation came upon them, everyone lost her senses.

All the friends turned towards Govardhana. there was anxiety and pride in their minds.

8

*āvī tyām jyām Alabelojī hatā. sāmāsāmī maḷyām nehanām neṇa jo;*

*maṇḍa hase, mana mohyuṃ baṃnetaṇuṃ, rasa vadhavāne bolyām vāṃkām veṇa jo. mahīārī.*

They came to where Alabelojī was, their eyes met together,

He smiles gently, the mind of both of them was infatuated, he spoke crooked words to increase *rasa*.

9

*Prabhu bolyā: sām̐bhaḷajo sau Gopikā! sām̐bhaḷa Śrīvṛkhabhānasutā! alabelī jo;  
raho ūbhī dāṇa lāge ahim̐ dadhītaṇuṃ, jāo ghasī śuṃ jobanamade chakelī jo?  
mahīārī.*

Prabhu spoke: 'Listen all Gopīs! Listen darling daughter of Śrīvṛkhabhāna!  
Stay where you are, here there is a tax on yoghurt, how do you go by in the insolent  
intoxication of youth?'

10

*ema suṇīne lalanā bolī Lālaśuṃ, gumāne galyā cheka chakyā śuṃ cālo jo?  
vāta karo āghā rahī Alabelaḍā! pāse āvī pālavaḍo mā jhālo jo. mahīārī.*

Having heard this, the beautiful woman spoke with Lāla, 'Why do you carry on  
having surpassed all limits with your pride?  
O Alabelaḍā, keep your distance then speak, do not come near me and pull my sari-  
end.'

11

*Kahāna kahe, tuṃ sāhā māro cheḍalo, huṃ mūkuṃ to ye tuṃ nā mūkeśa jo;  
huṃ aḍakyo, sāte aḍa tuṃ mujane, huṃ hāryo Rādhā! tuṃ jītī ṭharaśa jo. mahīārī.*

Kahāna says, 'You seize my garments, if I let go even then you will not let go,  
I touched you, in return you touch me, I am defeated, Rādhā, you will be certainly  
victorious.'

12

*marmataṇī vāṇī sūṇī kahe Svāminī, bhalī batāvī hārajitanī cāla jo;  
bahu bhoḷā! kahīne nena nacāvīyāṃ, adhara ḍasīne coṃṭī dīdhī gāla jo. mahīārī.*

Svāminī having heard these words which had hidden meanings, says, 'You showed  
the good practice of the conquered,

Saying you are very innocent, you make your eyes dance, biting my lower lip, you pinch my cheek.'

13

*Hari hasīne kara sāhyo śyāmātaṇo, āpa dāṇa, mahī vece to le mūlya jo;*

*gopa lahī pāya maphata jo mānuni! to ā Vrajamām nahīm koī tuja tulya jo. mahīārī.*

Hari smiled and took the hand of the woman, 'Give the tax, if you sell the yoghurt then take this price,

If you give it free to every cowherd, proud woman, there is no one in Vraja equal to you.'

14

*kahe Rādhā: kara mūko kaḥuṃ kyāranī, vanamām strī roko e khoṭuṃ kāja jo!*

*thāo ḍāhyā, Lāla! have moṭā thayā, nathī lahetā tamo kaparuṃ kaṃsanuṃ rāja jo. mahīārī.*

Rādhā says, 'Let go of my hand when I tell you, you stop a woman in the forest - that is a wicked thing,

You are becoming clever. Lāla, now you have become grown up, you do not recognise the merciless rule of Kaṃsa.'

15

*Kṛṣṇa kahe: Kaṃsanuṃ ahām śuṃ ūpaje? Vṛṇḍāvanamām rājā Madananareśa jo;*

*raho ūbhām, āṇa tamone tetaṇī, riḡhavaśo mujane to jāvā deśa jo. mahīārī.*

Kṛṣṇa says, 'What is there to say here about Kaṃsa? in Vṛṇḍāvana the king is Lord Madana,

Stop where you are, this is an order to you, if you please me then I'll let you go.'

16

*ema karī chaḍī āḍī dharī Chelaḍe, rasto roki ūbhā Naṭavaranāgara jo;*

*Rādhājī hāvāṃ to uttara āpaśe, sūṇaśe Pritama Dayārāma sukhasāgara jo. mahīārī.*

Having done this, Chelaḍo held his staff in front of her, Naṭavaranāgara blocked the path and stood there.

Now Rādhājī will give her answer. Dayārāma's Beloved, the ocean of happiness, will listen.'

## 15 Kahānagopī

1 Gopī: *'māragado mūko re Mohanalālajī!*  
*āghā raho. Alabelā! na karo āla jo,*  
*vāruṃ chuṃ huṃ sakhaṇā rahejo Śāmaḷā!*  
*nahitara mārā mukhanī khāśo gāḷa jo.' māragado.*  
Get out of my way, Mohanalālajī,  
Keep your distance. Alabelā, do not play pranks,  
I forbid you, stop this mischief,  
Otherwise you will get abuse from me.

2 Kahāna: *Hari bolyā: 'abaḷā! thā mā ākalī,*  
*cākhamtāmāṃ camakī śuṃ thāya lāla jo?*  
*bola kharuṃ tuṃ gorasanuṃ śuṃ thāya che?*  
*mūla āpīne leīśuṃ tāro māla jo.' Hari bolyā.*  
Hari said, 'Woman, do not be hot-tempered,  
Why do you become so red when I am just tasting it?  
You speak truly, what happens to the gorasa?  
Having given a price, I shall take your goods.'

3 Gopī: *'chānā rahone śāṇapaṇuṃ samajhuṃ sau,*  
*kāḷajadāmāṃ kapaṭavacana to ṭhika jo.*

*kahone, s̄āne mukha lohyuṃ muja chedale?*  
*juo, lāgī raṃga taṃboḷanī pīka jo.' māragado.*  
Stay silent, I understand all your cleverness,  
This double-talk in your heart is alright,  
Say, why do you wipe your face with my garments?  
Look, your spittle coloured with betel is on it.

4 Kahāna: *'sūṇa Śyāmā! se'je raṃga lāgyo haṣe,*  
*kapata amāruṃ emāṃ suṃ dekhāya jo?*  
*ā le tuṃ khā bīdī pyārī! pānanī,*  
*sāte māre mukhaḍe raṃga lagāḍa jo.' Hari bolyā.*  
Listen, Śyāmā, this colour must have stuck easily,  
What trick of mine is seen in that?  
Take this roll of *pān* and eat it, my lovely,  
In exchange, colour my face with it.'

5 Gopī: *ema sūnīne Rādhā bolyāṃ rīsamāṃ,*  
*bhrakuṭīmāṃ ruci hāsya madhuruṃ bhāse jo.*  
*'āghā raho. āḍaṣo mā muja uramāḷane,*  
*mūko maṭūkī mahī māruṃ dhoḷāṣe jo.' māragado.*  
Having heard this, Rādhā spoke angrily,  
In her crossed brow was the sweet appearance of smiling,  
'Keep your distance, do not touch the garland on my breast,  
Let go of my pot or my yoghurt will spill.'

6 Kahāna: *Kahāna kahe che: 'dadhī moṃghuṃ te keṭaluṃ?*  
*mukhaḍe māgīśa etaluṃ āpuṃ dhana jo,*  
*ke mujane le bādho mahīmūlamāṃ,*  
*paṇa gorasa para lalacāyumuṃ muja mana jo.' Hari bolyā.*

Kahāna says, 'How expensive is your yoghurt?  
If you ask me to my face I'll give you that much money,  
Or take me as the whole deposit for the price of the yoghurt,  
But the *gorasa* has tempted my mind.'

7 Gopī: *ema sūñine laṭake bolyāṃ lāḍaṇī,*  
*'Vhālājī! vecāvum che nahim sahela jo.*  
*mahī pitāmāṃ Mohana! thāśo māhyarā,*  
*kariśa game tema rākhīśa māre mahela jo.'* *māragaḍo.*  
Hearing this the woman spoke flirtatiously,  
'Vhālājī, it is not easy to sell this,  
In drinking this yoghurt, Mohana, you will become mine,  
I shall do what I want and keep you in my house.'

8 Kahāna: *Hari bolya: 'sākhī Vrajamaṇḍala sau,*  
*godhaṇanā sama hum tāro. sūṇa dārā! jo.'* *Hari bolyā.*  
Hari said, 'All friends in the whole of Vraja,  
On the oath of all the cattle, I am yours, hear me women!'

9  
*sūñī evī vāñī riḅhyāṃ Rādhikā.*  
*managamatum gorasa Goviṃdane pāyum jo.*  
*balihārī Dayā! e jugalasvarūpanī:*  
*parama pavitra caritra meṃ Priyanum gāyum jo. māragaḍo.*  
Having heard such a speech, Rādhikā was delighted,  
She gave Goviṃda *gorasa* to his heart's content,  
'I am devoted to the form of this couple,' says Dayā,  
'I sang about the ultimately pure deeds of Priya.'



16 premanī piḍā

R

*premanī piḍā te kone kahiye re ho madhukara? premanī piḍā.*

To whom may we tell of the afflictions of love, O honey-bee? The afflictions of love.

1

*thātāṃ na jānī prīta, jātāṃ prāṇa jāye;*

*hāthanāṃ karyāṃ te vāgyā haiye re. ho madhukara!*

I knew not love when he was here, now he has gone, my life goes,  
My actions now pain my heart.

2

*jene kahiye te to sarve kahe mūrakha;*

*pastāvo pāmīne sahī rahiye re. ho madhukara!*

If we tell it to someone they will all call us fools;  
Having felt regret, we must now endure it.

3

*dhikīe ḍhāṃkyāṃ rātadivasa amtaramāṃ*

*bhūkha nidrāmāṃ nava lahiye re. ho madhukara!*

We smoulder away in our hearts day and night,  
We shall not get our longing even in sleep.

4

*huṃ ahīṃ duḥkhī ne Vhālo sukha māṃhe mahāḷe;*

*paṇa samovaḍe kāṃī ṭāḍhāṃ thaīe re. ho madhukara!*

I am sorrowing here and Vhālo is happy in a palace,

But we shall breakdown in our rivalry.

5

*dājhyā upara lūṇa dīdhuṃ e Damodare;*

*pelī śoklaḍī sūṇīne kālaje dahiye re. ho madhukara!*

Damodara applied salt to our burns,

Having heard about our co-wife, we burn in our hearts.

6

*abaḷāno avatāra te parādhīna;*

*raṅka kalpīe paṇa kyāṃ jāīe re! ho madhukara!*

The incarnation as a woman is always dependent,

We think ourselves poor, but where can we go?

7

*snehano dajhāḍa ghaṇo maraṇathakī māṭho;*

*śuṃ kariye? vāḍhyāṃ tene vahiye re. ho madhukara!*

The burning of love is much worse than death,

What shall we say? when we are killed we shall endure it.

8

*Dayāprabhu āve to to sadya sukha thāye;*

*mune duḥkha dīdhuṃ e Naṃdajīne chaiye re. ho madhukara!*

If Dayā's Lord comes then happiness will arise instantly,

This boy of Naṃdajī's gave me great sorrow.

17 prīṭalaḍīnī rīta

R

*prīṭalaḍīnī rīta ati aṭapaṭī, Odhavajī! che prīṭaḍīnī rīta ati aṭapaṭī.*

O Odhavajī, the ways of love are very confusing, the ways of love are very confusing.

1

*thāvāno upāya paṇa jāvāno jaḍe nahīm, vajrarahēṇe jaḍī te jaḍī. Odhavajī!*

There is a remedy for being in it, but there is no way out, it has adamantine bonds.

2

*prīta nā kahevāya te to svāratha samajhavo, cāra divasa pragaṭīne maṭī. Odhavajī!*

If it has self-interest then it can't be called love, it comes and goes in a few days.

3

*pīḍānī bharelī prīta to ye kare paṇḍita, duḥkha pāme to ya chāya nā ghaṭī.*

*Odhavajī!*

The pandits say it is love only if it is full of pain, only if there is sorrow then it is not deficient.

4

*śatruthī saṃtāpa ghaṇo snehathī maḷe paṇa te ja māṃhīm sau mare maṭī. Odhavajī!*

Torments from enemies are much better than love, but only in that everyone dies.

5

*kahyāsamajhyāmām na āve e vastu, jāṇe jene hoyā vītati vaṭī. Odhavajī!*

This thing can't be obtained by speaking and understanding, only one who has experienced it realises what it is.

6

*Dayānā Pritama vinā prīta te ja piḍā, dharmalāja khoīne mare khaṭī. Odhavajī!*

Without Dayā's Beloved, love is only pain, losing the restrictions of duty one dies.

## 18 śyāma raṅga

1

*śyāma raṅga samīpe na jāvuṃ, māre ājathakī śyāma raṅga samīpe na jāvuṃ.*

I'm not going near the colour black. From today, I'm not going near the colour black.

2

*jemāṃ kālāśa te to sau ekasarakhuṃ, sarvamāṃ kapaṭa haṣe āvuṃ. māre.*

All black things are the same. There must be trickery in all of them.

3

*kasturikerī bimḍī to karuṃ nahīṃ, kājaḷa nā āṃkhamāṃ aṃjāvuṃ. māre.*

I shan't wear a musk bindi, I shan't put kajal in my eyes.

4

*kokilāno śabda huṃ sūṇuṃ nahīṃ kāne, kāgavāṇī śakunamāṃ na lāvuṃ. māre.*

I shan't listen to the voice of the cuckoo, I shan't take the crow's voice as a good omen.

5

*nīlaṃbara kālī kaṃcukī na pacheruṃ, jamanānāṃ nīramāṃ na nhāvuṃ. māre.*

I shan't wear a cloud-blue bodice, I shan't bathe in the Jamanā's water.

6

*marakaṭamaṇi ne megha dṛṣṭe nā jovā, jāmbuvaṃṭyāka nā khāvum. māre.*

I shan't see black emeralds and clouds, I shan't eat rose-apples and aubergines.

7

*Dayānā Pritama sāthe mukhe nīma līdho, mana kahe je 'palaka na nibhāvum!' māre.*

My mouth makes this vow about Dayā's Beloved, but my mind says it won't last a minute!

## 19 Mohanamām mohinī

R

*kiye thāme mohanī na jāṇī re Mohanaḥīmām kiye thāme mohanī na jāṇī?*

In what place was enchantment not known, in what place was enchantment not known in Mohanaḥī?

1

*bhrūkuṭīnī maṭakamām ke bhāḷavānī laṭakamām ke śuṃ mohanībhareḷī vāṇī re?  
Mohanaḥīmām.*

In moving of his eyebrows, in his flirting looks, or in his voice filled with enchantment?

2

*khīṭaḷiyālā keśamām ke Madanamohana veśamām ke moralī Mohanaḥī pīchāṇī re?  
Mohanaḥīmām.*

In his curly hair, in his clothing which enralls Madanamohana, or in the recognition of Mohana's flute?

3

*śuṃ mukāraṇḍamāṃ ke maṇḍahāsyaphaṇḍamāṃ ke kaṭākṣe mohānī vakhānī re  
Mohanajīmāṃ.*

In his lotus face or in the snare of his gentle smile or in the depiction of love in his  
sidelong glances?

4

*ke śuṃ amgeaṃgaṃmāṃ ke lalita tribhaṃgamāṃ ke śuṃ aṃga ghelī kare śānī re?  
Mohanajīmāṃ.*

Or is it in his whole body or his *lalita tribhaṃga* pose, - how does his body make  
the wise woman mad?

5

*capaḷarasika nenamāṃ ke chānī chānī senamāṃ ke jobananuṃ rūpa kare pānī re?  
Mohanajīmāṃ.*

In his eyes with their elegant movements or in his hidden flirting - how does the  
beauty of his youth engulf me?

6

*Dayānā Prītama pote Mohānīsvārūpa che, tanamanadhane huṃ lūṭānī re!  
Mohanajīmāṃ.*

Dayā's Beloved himself is Mohānīsvārūpa [the incarnation of enchantment], I am  
ravished in my mind, body and wealth.

20 Śyāmanī śobhā

R

*śobhā salūṇā Śyāmanī tuṃ jone sakhī! śobhā salūṇā Śyāmanī.*

The beauty of lovely Śyāma! Just look, friend, the beauty of lovely Śyāma!

1

*koṭī kaṃdarpane lajāve eṇuṃ mukhaḍuṃ, phikkī paḍe che kaḷā kāmanī. tuṃ jone.*

His dear face shames a crore of Kaṃdarpas, the art of love becomes pale.

2

*sadguṇasāgara naṭavarānāgara! balihārī huṃ eṇā nāmnī! tuṃ jone.*

The ocean of good qualities, the refined actor! I am devoted to his name!

3

*koṭī ābhūṣaṇaṇuṃ e re bhūṣaṇa, sīmā tuṃ che e abhirāmanī. tuṃ jone.*

He is the ornament of crores of adornments, you are the boundary of the handsome.

4

*je oḷakhe tene to che sāra sarvano, bijī vastu nathī kāmanī. tuṃ jone.*

He who recognises that he is the essence of everything, has no other matter of desire.

5

*anupama e alabelo rasiyo jīvanamūḷī dayārāmanī. tuṃ jone.*

The peerless one, the fun-lover, aesthete, the root of the life of Dayārāma.

21 mārāmāṃ śuṃ dīṭhuṃ?

R

*huṃ śuṃ jāṇuṃ je Vhāle mujamāṃ śuṃ dīṭhuṃ?*

*vārevāre sāmum bhāle, mukha lāge mīṭhuṃ! huṃ śuṃ jāṇuṃ je.*

I do not know what Vhālā sees in me.

He constantly looks at me, my face seems sweet!

1

*huṃ jāuṃ jaḷa bharavā tyāṃ pūṃṭhepūṃṭhe āve;*

*vagara bolāvyo vhalo beḍaluṃ caḍāve. huṃ śuṃ jāṇuṃ je.*

When I go to fetch water he follows me;

Unasked, my beloved lifts the pair of pots.

2

*vaḍhuṃ ne tarachoduṃ to ye rīsa na lāve;*

*kāṃṅikāṃṅi miṣe māre ghera āvī bolāve. huṃ śuṃ jāṇuṃ je.*

Even if I scold him or scorn him, he does not get angry;

On some pretext or other he comes and calls at my house.

3

*dūrathī dekhīne mane doḍayo āve doṭe;*

*potānī māḷā kāḍhī paḥerāve māri koṭe. huṃ śuṃ jāṇuṃ je.*

Seeing me from far away he comes running at speed;

He takes off his own garland and puts it on my neck.

4

*ekalaḍī dekhe tyāṃ mune pāvāle re lāge;*

*raṃka thāine kāṃṅikāṃṅi māri pāse māge. huṃ śuṃ jāṇuṃ je.*



When he sees me alone, he touches my feet;  
He humbly asks me for anything.

5

*ĵyāṃĵyāṃ ĵātī ĵāṇe tyāṃtyāṃ e āḍo āvī dhūṃke;*  
*bahenī! dayāno pṛitama mārī keḍa nava mūke. huṃ śuṃ ĵāṇuṃ je.*

Wherever I go he has turned up on my path;  
O sister! Dayā's Beloved does not get out of my way.

## 22 sāsujīnī śikha

1

*śikha sāsujī de che re, 'vahūjī! raho dhamge;*  
*āvaḍo ḍo āsaṃgo re śyāmaḷiyānī saṃge?*  
The mother-in-law gives a lesson, 'Daughter-in-law! behave properly;  
Why do you have so much desire for the company of Śyāmaḷiyo?

2

*vāṭe ne ghāṭe re vaḷago cho vāṭe;*  
*kahyuṃ koīnuṃ na mānyuṃ re, diṭhuṃ mārī jāte.*  
On the road and on the ghat you are engaged in chat;  
I didn't believe anyone else's speech, I saw it myself.

3

*vahūārumāṇasa re! dāhyāṃ bahu thāśo mā;*  
*jaḷa bharvā ekalaḍāṃ re āj pachī jāśo mā.*  
You are a newly-married daughter-in-law! You won't become too clever;  
After today you won't go alone to fetch water.

4

*alabelo ā śerīe re āve vahū! tama māte;*

*tamo tene kāje re jāo jamanāghāṭe.*

The beauty comes to this street for you, Vahū!

You go to the Jamanā ghat for him.

5

*caturāṅgo tamārī re sarve huṃ jāṇuṃ chuṃ;*

*ko dahāḍo nathī kahetī re āja mukhe āṇuṃ chuṃ.*

I know all about your tricks.

I haven't said anything for days, today I must.

6

*sāsariyāmāṃ rahevum re tyāre ema nava karīe;*

*tamo to thayām nirlajja re, amo lājī marie.*

We do not do these things when we have to stay with our in-laws.

You have become shameless: we shall die of shame.

7

*huṃ to mukha para kahum chuṃ re, loko pūṃṭhaḷa kahe che;*

*āḍosī ne pāḍosī re mase meṇām de che.*

I say this to your face, people say it behind your back.

The neighbours taunt me.

8

*vivekavāta karatām re vahūjī! duḥkha nava dharaśo;*

*dayānā prabhukerī re saṃgata hāvām nava karaśo.*

Behaving well will not hurt you, Vahū

From now on you won't see Dayā's lord.'

## 23 vahūjīno javāba

1

- *evāṃ vacana sūṇīne re vadyāṃ vaḷatāṃ vahūjī:*

'*Gaṃgājaḷasarakhāṃ re sām̃bhaḷo sāsujī!*

Hearing this speech, the daughter-in-law replied,

'Listen, mother-in-law, (pure) like Ganges water!

2

*jenā manamāṃ jevuṃ re tevuṃ te sau dekhe;*

*sārāṃnaratāṃ saune re potāsarakhāṃ pekhe.*

You see everything as it is in your own mind;

Everyone has good and bad, you see according to yourself.

3

*kaho cho tevāṃ hoṣo re tyāre ema sūjhe che;*

*doṣa Prabhuno ṣo dīṭho re jene jaga pūje che?*

You say that you may be thus, then I think this,

What fault of Prabhu's was seen, he whom the world worships?

4

*hāvāṃ vāṃka nahi māro re, kaḥuṃ chuṃ kaḥyā pūṃṭhī;*

*emāṃ kāṃṇī nathī sācuṃ re, e jugatī sarave jūṭhī.*

Now the fault is not mine, I reply to you,

In this there is nothing true, this idea is altogether false.

5

*jema khūṁdyāṁ khamuṁ chuṁ re, nacāvī nācuṁ chuṁ;*

*to ye pūṁṭha nā melī re tyāre jāo, sācuṁ che.*

I shall bear whatever miseries you give me, if you make me dance, I'll dance;

I'll follow behind you, wherever you go, this is true.

6

*hāvāṁ to nitya jāisum re Śyāmaḷiyānī saṁge;*

*Vṛṁdāvanaghāte re sadā ramīsum raṁge.*

Now I shall always go with Śyāmaḷiyā

I shall always play in pleasure on the ghats of Vṛṁdāvana.

7

*mana bhāve te bolajo re, sahevāye to sahejo;*

*cāle te karajo re, game tevuṁ kahejo.*

Say what you like, bear what can be borne,

Do what happens, say what you like.

8

*tamārā kahyā upara re hāvāṁ māre e karavum;*

*Dayāno Prabhu bhajavo re, koīthī nava ḍaravum.'*

About what you have said, now I want to do this,

Praise Dayā's Lord, don't be afraid of anyone.

## 24 Naṃdano Naṃdana

R

*Naṃdano Naṃdana Chabīlo Chogāḷo re!*  
*sakhī re! enī aṇiyāḷī āṃkha kāḷajakora re! Nāṃdano.*

Naṃdano Naṃdana Chabīlo Chogāḷo re!  
My friend! his pointed eyes are the piercers of my heart.

1

*māruṃ mana mohyuṃ che e Alabele re,*  
*huṃ balihārī khaṃmā jī, khaṃmā jī khaṃmā!*

This Alabelā has infatuated my mind,  
I am very lucky, may you be happy!

2

*vārī tuṃne khaṃmā jī, khaṃmā jī, khaṃmā!*  
*citta māruṃ coryuṃ che e Pāṭaḷie, re, e Śyāmaḷie re Naṃdano.*

Good fortune was warded off you,  
This Pāṭaḷiā, Śyāmaḷiā has stolen my mind.

3

*Naṭavarānāgara salūṇo Śyāmaḷiyo re;*  
*sakhī! enuṃ hasavuṃ che maṃda julamī jora re. Naṃdano.*

Naṭavarānāgara tasty Śyāmaḷiyo;  
O friend! his gentle smiling has oppressive power.

4

*aṃgoaṃga mādhurī manohara Mohanamāṃ re;*  
*kahenī, kema vīsare e Naṃdano kiśora re? Naṃdano.*

There is charming sweetness in every limb in Mohana,  
Tell me how may one forget Naṁda's boy?

5

*Vrajapati vñālo nathī e je janane re;*  
*sakhī! tenuṁ vajra thakī kāḷajuṁ kathora re. Naṁdano.*

The people to whom Vrajapati is not dear,  
My friend! Those people's hearts are harder than adamantine.

6

*sakhī! mune vikaḷa karī che enī vāṁsaḷīe re;*  
*khūbī enī khasatī nathī niśabhora re. Naṁdano.*

Friend! his flute has made me distracted,  
It does not go very far away day or night.

7

*āvaḍo rūpāḷo sakhī! ene koṇe kīdho haṣe re?*  
*neṅāṁ māṛāṁ enā mukhacaṁdranāṁ cakora re. Naṁdano.*

Friend, who may have made him so beautiful?  
My eyes are like a cakora to the moon of his face.

8

*nehano nibhāvaṇa e Prītama pāṭaḷīyo re;*  
*huṁ to ene jāṇuṁ chuṁ jīvananī dora re. Naṁdano.*

The support of love is this slender Prītama;  
I know he is the thread of my life.

9

*Dayāno Prītama have akhaṇḍa māre kālaje caḍyo re;  
sakhī! e to caturānā citaḍāno cora re? Naṇḍano.*

Dayā's Beloved has now climbed into my whole heart,  
Friend! Is he the thief of the mind of the clever?

## 25 garabe ramavāne

R

*garabe ramavāne gorī nīsaryāṇ re lola!  
Rādhikā raṅgīlī jenuṇ nāma abhirāma, Vrajavāsaṇī! re lola!  
tālī detāṇ vāge jhāṇjharajhūmakhā re lola!  
saṅge sāhelī bijī che ghaṇī re lola!  
kāṇīeka huṇ kahuṇ tenāṇ nāma, Vrajavāsaṇī! re lola!  
tālī detāṇ vāge jhāṇjharajhūmakhā re lola!  
giḍa giḍa toma chuma chuma chuma vāje ghūgharā re lola. tālī.*

The fair girls set out to dance in the *garaba*,  
Lovely Rādhā whose name is delightful, the women of Vraja.  
Marking the beat, the jingling sounds,  
There are many other friends with her,  
I'll give the names of some of those women of Vraja  
Giving the beat, the jingling sounds [lit. cluster, earrings, tassel]  
The bells ring out.

1

*Caṇḍrabhāgā ne Caṇḍrāvalī re lola,  
Caṇḍpakalatā che cārurūpa. Vraja. tālī.*

Caṁdrabhāgā and Caṁdrāvalī,  
Caṁpakalatā are lovely in form.

2

*Lalitā, Viśākhā, Vrajamaṅgalā re lola,*  
*Mādhavī ne Mālatī anupa. Vraja. tālī.*  
Lalitā, Viśākhā, Vrajamaṅgalā  
Mādhavī and Mālatī are unsurpassed.

3

*Manmathamodā ne Manaāturi re lola,*  
*Haṁsā, Harṣā, ne Hirā nāma. Vraja. tālī.*  
Manmathamodā and Manaāturi  
Haṁsā, Harṣā and Hirā are the names.

4

*Ketakī, Pragalbhā, Premamaṅjarī re lola,*  
*- e āde sakhī sau sukhadhāma. Vraja. tālī.*  
Ketakī, Pragalbhā, Premamaṅjarī;  
- These and the other friends are all abodes of happiness.

5

*vividhanāṁ vājiṁtra vāje chaṁdamāṁ re lola.*  
*tālasvare maḷī kare gāna, Vraja. tālī.*  
They play various instruments in their frolics,  
They sing, meeting on the beat and pitch.

6

*'lola' kahetāṁ aruṇa adhara opatā re lola,*



*laṭake namī meḷave sahu tāna. Vraja. tālī.*

Saying, 'lola' their tawny lips shine,  
Bending in a graceful way they meet on the tune.

7

*khela macyo te Vṛṇḍāvanamāṅ re lola,*

*Baṃsībaṭacoka rasarūpa. Vraja. tālī.*

The play swelled in Vṛṇḍāvana,  
Baṃsībaṭacoka, the form of *rasa*.

8

*garabo jovāne Giradhara āviyā re lola,*

*mohyā joī Śyāmānum svarūpa. Vraja. tālī.*

Giradhara came to see the *garabo*,  
Seeing it he was infatuated with the form of Śyāmā.

9

*te pramāṇe mohyāṅ Śyāmā Śyāmane re lola,*

*vyāpo beu aṅgamāṅ anaṅga. Vraja. tālī.*

Accordingly, Śyāmā and Śyāma were infatuated,  
Anaṅga pervaded both their bodies.

10

*Lalitāe laī meḷavyāṅ nikumjamāṅ re lola,*

*rasabharyāṅ ramādyāṅ ratiramṅga. Vraja. tālī.*

Lalitā took them and joined them in a bower,  
They enjoyed lovegames full of *rasa*.

11

*ānaṃdasāgara tyahāṃ ūchalyo re lola,  
maganathayāṃ Lāḍalī ne Lāla. Vraja. tālī.*

Then the ocean of joy boiled up,  
Lāḍalī and Lāla sank into it.

12

*paramapavitra e cāritrane re lola,  
Dāsadayo gāi thayo nyāla. Vraja. tālī.*

About these most sacred acts,  
The servant Dayo sang and became happy.

## 26 mānītī vāṃsalaḍīne

li

*mānītī tuṃ che mohanataṅī ho vāṃsalaḍī!  
ho jī tune vḥālama kare che ghaṇuṃ vḥāla re ho vāṃsalaḍī!*

R

*mīṭho āvaḍo śo śora? mohyo naṃdano kiśora,  
tāruṃ āvaḍuṃ śuṃ jora? bhūṃḍī! kāḷajuṃ mā kora re ho vāṃsalaḍī!*

1ii

*pīe adharāmṛta piyutaṇuṃ tuṃ vāṃsalaḍī!  
āmāre śokyasarīkhuṃ tuṃ sāla re ho vāṃsalaḍī! mīṭho.*

You are Mohana's darling, O little flute!  
Oh yes, the lover loves you very much!  
What sound is so sweet? The son of Naṃda is enchanted.  
What great strength is yours, wicked one? Don't pierce my heart,  
You drink the nectar of the beloved's lip,

You pain us like a co-wife.

2

*vājīvājī ne vikaḷa karyāṃ ho vāṃsalaḍī!*  
*tuṃ to pīḍe amārā prāṇa re ho vāṃsalaḍī!*  
*sūṇatāṃ paḍe che hṛde soṃsarāṃ ho vāṃsalaḍī!*  
*tārā ṭaukārāthī mohabāṇa re ho vāṃsalaḍī! mīṭho.*

You have made us distracted with your sound,  
You torment our life,  
When we hear your call,  
Darts of love pierce our hearts.

3

*jhera ghaṇuṃ che tārī jhapaṭamāṃ ho vāṃsalaḍī!*  
*bhalāṃ tuṃthī bhālātalavāra re ho vāṃsalaḍī!*  
*ekivāre ja tuṃ haṇī nāṃkhanī ho vāṃsalaḍī!*  
*o bhūṃḍī! thoḍethoḍe mā māra re ho vāṃsalaḍī! mīṭho.*

Your attack is full of poison,  
Spears and swords are better than you,  
Kill me outright,  
O wicked one! Do not kill me slowly.

4

*pativratānāṃ paṇa teṃ mukāviyāṃ ho vāṃsalaḍī!*  
*teṃ to choḍāvyāṃ satīnāṃ satya re ho vāṃsalaḍī!*  
*vanavana kuṃjekuṃje pheravyāṃ teṃ ho vāṃsalaḍī!*  
*teṃ to saunī karī che evī gatyā re ho vāṃsalaḍī! mīṭho.*

You have destroyed virtuous wives,  
You have made good women break their vows,

You have led them around the woods and bowers,  
You have done this to all of them.

5

*garaje gumānabharī āvaḍī śuṃ ho vāṃsalaḍī!*  
*tuṃ to jonī vicārī tāri jāta re ho vāṃsalaḍī!*  
*jotām tuṃ to kāṣṭakero karakaḍo ho vāṃsalaḍī!*  
*tuṃne āja maḷi che ṭhakarāta re ho vāṃsalaḍī! miṭho.*

Why do you sound forth, full of such pride?  
Think about your origins,  
To look at, you are just a stick of wood,  
Only now you have power.

6

*teṃ to nāka ghasāvyām sau naranām ho vāṃsalaḍī!*  
*teṃ to lagādyuṃ lālaśuṃ lagana re ho vāṃsalaḍī!*  
*coranī saṃge śikhī tuṃ coravā ho vāṃsalaḍī!*  
*vhāle mākhana coryuṃ ne teṃ to mana re ho vāṃsalaḍī! miṭho.*

You have rubbed all women's noses (in the dust),  
You have got married to Lāla,  
In the company of that thief you have learnt to steal,  
The beloved stole butter and you are stealing minds.

7

*māna na rākhyuṃ mānanītaṇuṃ teṃ ho vāṃsalaḍī!*  
*teṃ to saune karyām pāyanāma re ho vāṃsalaḍī!*  
*dayānā prabhunī dūtī tuṃ khari ho vāṃsalaḍī!*  
*saune teḍe tuṃ beṭhī ṭhāma re ho vāṃsalaḍī! miṭho.*

You have not preserved the honour of the adoring women,

You have trampled over them all,  
You are only the servant of Dayā's Lord,  
You are just the medium through which he calls everyone.

## 27 vāmsalaḍīnā vāṃka

R

*o vāmsalaḍī! verāṇa thaī lāgī re Vrajanī nārane;  
śuṃ śora kare? jāṭalaḍī tāri tuṃ mana vicārane.*

O little flute, the women of Vraja have become hostile,  
Why do you make a noise? Think about your origins.

1

*tuṃ jaṃgalakāṣṭataṇo kaṭako,  
Raṃgarasiye kīdho raṃgacatako,  
alī! te para āvaḍo śo laṭako? o vāmsalaḍī!*

You are a piece of a jungle stick,  
Raṃgarasiyā did good things to you,  
Friend, what is this great flirting with him?

2

*tane Kahānavara to karamāṃ rākhe,  
tuṃ adharataṇo rasa nitya cākhe,  
tuṃ to amane duḥkhaḍām bahu dākhe. o vāmsalaḍī!*

Kahānavara keeps you in his hand,  
You always taste the nectar of his lips,  
You show us many sorrows.

3

*tuṃ Mohananā mukha para mhāle,  
tuja vinā Nāthane nava cāle,  
tuṃ to śokya thāi amane sāle. o vāmsalaḍī!*

You make merry on Mohana's mouth,  
Nātha won't go anywhere without you,  
You have become our co-wife and you pain us.

4

*tuṃne Harie hātha grahī līdhī,  
tuṃne saumāṃ śiromaṇi kīdhī,  
kṣaṇuṃ mukhathī nava mūkī vhlī. o vāmsalaḍī!*

Hari took you in his hand,  
He made you the crest-jewel of all,  
He didn't take you from his mouth for a moment, his beloved.

5

*huṃ tujane āvī nava jāṇatī,  
nahi to tuja para mhera na āṇitī,  
tārāṃ ḍāḷa sāhīne mūḷa tāṇatī. o vāmsalaḍī!*

I do not know you were like this,  
Otherwise I would have not shown kindness to you,  
I would have seized your branches and pulled out your roots.

6

*Dayāprītamane pūraṇa pyārī,  
tuṃne alagī na mūke Mūrārī,  
tārā bhedaguṇa dīse bhārī! o vāmsalaḍī!*

Utterly beloved by Dayā's Beloved,

Mūrāri doesn't put you aside,  
Your special qualities seem great!

## 28 vamsalaḍīno uttara

R

*o Vrajanārī! śā māṭe tuṃ amane āḷa caḍāve?*

*punya pūravataṇām, tethī Pāṭaḷiyo amane lāḍa laḍāve.*

O women of Vraja, why do you raise such false charges against me?

I have merits from former births, therefore Pāṭaḷiyo cherishes me.

1

*meṃ pūrāṇa tapa sādhyām vanamām,*

*meṃ ṭaḍhataḍakā veṭhyām tanamām,*

*tyāre Mohane mhera āṇī manamām. O Vrajanārī!*

I did penance for ages in the forest,

I suffered cold and pain on my body,

Then Mohana brought his kindness to my mind.

2

*huṃ comāse cācara rahetī,*

*ghaṇī meghajhaḍī śarīre sahetī,*

*sukhaduḷkha kāṃṇī dilamām nava lhetī. O Vrajanārī!*

I used to stay at the crossroads in the rainy season,

I used to suffer many showers of rain on my body,

I used not to feel any sorrow or happiness in my heart.

3

*māre aṃge vāḍha vaḍhāvīyā,*  
*vaḷī te saṃghāḍe caḍāvīyā,*  
*te upara cheda paḍāvīyā. O Vrajanārī!*  
Blades cut into my body,  
Then I was worked on a lathe,  
Then I had holes put into me.

4

*tyāre Hariē hātha karī līdhī,*  
*saukomāṃ siromaṇi kīdhī,*  
*deha arpī ardha aṃge dīdhī. O Vrajanārī!*  
Then Hari took me in his hand,  
He made me the crest-jewel of all,  
Having entrusted my body he gave me his upper body.

5

*māte Dayāpritamane chuṃ pyārī,*  
*nitya mukhathī vagāḍe Mūrārī,*  
*mārā bhedaguṇa dīse bhārī! O Vrajanārī!*  
Therefore I am the beloved of Dayā's Beloved  
He always plays me with his mouth,  
My special qualities appear great!



29 veṇa mā vāśo māre āṃgaṇe!

R

*veṇa mā vāśo māre āṃgaṇe, vāruṃ chuṃ Vhālama! vaḷivaḷi ho jī re!*

*veṇa mā vāśo māre āṃgaṇe.*

*mārī sāsu kahe che, 'jāo vahū! veṇa vāgī,'*

*ane derāñijethāñi vāṃkuṃ bhaṇe. ho jī re! veṇa.*

Don't play your flute in my courtyard, I prohibit it, Vhālama, again and again!

My mother-in-law says, 'Go, vahū, the flute sounded,'

And my younger and older sisters-in-law blame me.

1

*nirlajja hoyā tene lāja nava lāge,*

*paṇa mujane to loka gheḷāmāṃ gaṇe. ho jī re! veṇa.*

The one who doesn't feel shame is shameless,

But people reckon that I am among the mad.

2

*khījave che sarva mune 'Kā'na āvyo' kahī,*

*māro bhāra gayo saṃga tamataṇe. ho jī re! veṇa.*

Everyone gets angry with me, saying, 'Kahāna has come',

My burden went in your company.

3

*Dāsadayānā Pritama! pṛita che tamāre māre,*

*ema karo tyāre to te kema baṇe? ho jī re! veṇa.*

Beloved of the servant Dayā, you and I have love,

When you do this then what happens?

30 sāne samajhāvyā

1

*vaḷatāṃ vḥālamāṃ re nacāvyāṃ lalacāvyāṃ locana!*

*parakhī āmkhaḍī re haju Hari malavānuṃ che mana.*

Turning towards Vhālā, my eyes were made to dance and were enticed!

Looking at his eyes, now my intention is to meet Hari.

2

*nayaṇe notaryā re, sāne samajhāvyā sau pera;*

*ramīsuṃ rātaḍī re, āvajo, Alabelāji! ghera.*

My eyes invited him, by a sign I explained to him the whole plan;

We shall play this night, come to my house, Alabelāji!

3

*kahejo mātane re, 'gāya eka khovāṇī che āja;*

*jāuṃ chuṃ śodhavā re, 'bāṃdhajo pāṇī pahelāṃ pāja.*

Tell your mother, 'Today a cow has strayed,

I am going to look for it,' first tie it up and give it water.

4

*sāsariyāthakī re māro avāsa che ekārṃta;*

*saṃcarajo sukhe re, rakhe kaṃṇī bhaya dharatā Bhagavaṃta!*

My abode is separate from my in-laws,

Walk around at ease, if you have any fear, Bhagavaṃta!

5

*vahelā padhārajo re, beṭhī joīśa tamāro paṁtha;  
rakhe kaṁī aṭakatā re mārā kāmaṇagārā kaṁtha!*

Come early, I shall sit waiting for you,  
Lest anyone stops you, my bewitching lover!

6

*rākhīśa dīvaḍo re, māñīśuṁ manamāñī moja;  
jāśe jīvaḍo re Jīvaṇa ! jūṭhā paḍaśo to ja.*

I shall place little lights, we shall experience pleasure as we please,  
Lover, my life will go if you are false.

7

*sukha tyāre thaśe re jyāre ūra lapaṭāṁvī lapaṭāīśa;  
jīvyuṁ saphaḷa thaśe re jyāre huṁ adharāmṛta pī pāīśa,*

Happiness will happen, when I embrace you as you have embraced me to your  
breast,  
Life will become successful when I drink and am given to drink your lip-nectar.

8

*- ema kaḥī kāmañī re harakhī āṁvī potāne dhāma;  
Pṛītama Dayātaṇā re āja mane maḷiyā pūraṇakāma!*

Having spoken thus, the lover rejoiced and went to her own home,  
Today Dayā's Beloved met me and my desires were fulfilled!

31 saṃdeśo

R

*Uddhava! Naṃdano choro te namero thayo jo;*  
*mune ekalī mūkīne Mathurā gayo jo. Uddhava!*  
O Uddhava, Naṃda's boy has become cruel,  
He has left me alone and gone to Mathura.

1

*ene mūkī jātāṃ dayā nava ūpanī jo,*  
*mune bhrāṃti paḍī che enā rūpanī jo. Uddhava!*  
As he was leaving, no mercy arises,  
Confusion has fallen on me because of his beauty.

2

*koīe kāmaṇa karyuṃ ke phatakāryo phare jo;*  
*kema dila enuṃ muja upara nā ṭhare jo? Uddhava!*  
Someone has performed witchcraft or he wanders demented,  
Why does his heart not fix on me?

3

*Uddhava! saṃdeśo kahīne vahelā āvajo jo;*  
*sāthe Dayānā Pritamane teḍī lāvajo. Uddhava!*  
O Uddhava, having told him this message, come back soon,  
Invite Dayā's Beloved, bring him with you.

32 eṭalum kahejo

R

*Uddhavajī! Mādhavane kahejo eṭalum;  
śā māṭe tamo pāḍo cho vijoga jo?  
nidrā re divasa eke nathī āvatī,  
Gopījanane pragatyo che kāṃṇī roga jo. Uddhavajī!*

O Uddhavajī, say this much to Mādhava:  
Why have you afflicted us with separation?  
Sleep does not come to us on any day at all,  
Some fever has appeared among the Gopīs.

1

*Jamunānī tīre re nhāvā ame gayāṃ,  
ociṃtā tyāṃ āvyā Śyāmaśarīra jo,  
vastra vegaḷāṃ mūkī amo nhātāṃ hutāṃ,  
chānāṃmānāṃ corī līdhāṃ cīra jo. Uddhavajī!*  
We went to bathe on the banks of the Jamunā,  
Suddenly (it was as if) Śyāma's body appeared,  
We used to bathe with our clothes far away,  
He secretly stole our garments.

2

*valavalavā lāgī re sau gopāṅganā,  
kadamakhaṃḍīmāṃ saṃtāyā Śrīnātha jo.  
Śāmaḷiyo śodhyo re amane jaḍyo nahīṃ,  
rudana karī joḍāvyā eṇe hātha jo. Uddhavajī!*  
Agitation struck all the bodies of the milkmaids,  
Śrīnātha was hidden in a clump of kadambas,

We sought Śāmaḷiyo but we didn't find him,  
Having made us weep, he made us beg.

3

*kaḥīe, nānapaṇānā divasa bhūlī gayā,  
tarachoḍo cho śāne Śrījadurāya! jo?  
amo abaḷā āśāe vaḷagī rahyām,  
jora amāruṃ jobaniyānuṃ jāta jo. Uddhavaḷi!*

Tell him: have you forgotten the days of our childhood,  
Why have you abandoned us, Śrījadurāya?  
We women have clung to our hope,  
The strength of our youth is fading.

4

*mārā sama Mohanane tamo jāine kaho,  
eka vāra to āvo Gokuḷagāma jo.  
Kāmagni lāgyo āvine holavo  
vahelā vaḷajo. Dayāpritamanā Śyāma jo. Uddhavaḷi!*

On my oath, having gone to Mohana tell him  
Come to Gokuḷagāma once again.  
Come and extinguish the fire of Kāmadeva which has struck us,  
Come soon. Dayā's Beloved, Śyāma.

### 34 joīne cālo

R

*'vāṃkā re vāṃkā śuṃ re hīṃḍo cho? āvaḍuṃ śuṃ re gumāna jī?  
paranārīnī saṃge ramatām nathī vaḷī kāṃī sāna, joīne cālo jī.'*

Why act wrongly? Why such great pride?

You should not play with another man's wife, come to your senses, just look and then go on your way.'

1

*'tuṃ tārā manamāṃ vimaḷa che, huṃ chuṃ nānuṃ bāḷa jo,  
kema karī mune moṭo jāṇe? jūṭhāṃ śīda caḍāve āḷa?' joīne.*

'You are pure in your mind, I am a little child,

Why do you take me for a grown-up? Why do you accuse me wrongly?'

2

*'nānā cho paṇa guṇa moṭānā, nārī vinā koṇa jāṇe jī?  
aṃgoāṃgathī vihvāḷa kīdhāṃ, māryāṃ locananāṃ bāṇa.' joīne.*

'You are small but you have the qualities of a grown-up, who but a woman knows this?

You have caused anxiety in all our bodies, you have struck us with the arrows of your eyes.'

3

*'nārī to puruṣathī aḷagī, aḷagī vaḷagī cāle jī;  
Dayārāmanā Pritama hasīne bolyā: 'have maḷīśuṃ kāle.' joīne.*

'A woman is different from a man, sometimes separate and sometimes together they walk along.

Dayārāma's Beloved smiled and said, 'Now we'll meet tomorrow.'

35 Rādhāvaśa Prabhu

R

*Rādhe! tuṃ pyārī ja, bijuṃ avara na koī,*  
*jene jagata mohyuṃ te to tuṃne rahyo mohī. Rādhe!*  
Rādhā, only you are dear, there is no one else,  
The one who has infatuated the world, is infatuated with you.

1

*Gokulanī gorī sau enī pūṃṭhe bhame che,*  
*te re Vhālāne tāri gāḷo game che. Rādhe!*  
All the women of Gokula chase after him,  
Vhālā likes your abuse.

2

*Vrajavāmā saune e nāka ghasāve,*  
*te re Vhālo tāre ghera vaṇatedyo āve. Rādhe!*  
He rubs the noses of all the women of Vraja in the dust,  
Vhālo turns up at your house uninvited.

3

*huṃ paṇa jāṇuṃ enuṃ maḷavuṃ kyāṃṭhī?*  
*kṣaṇuṃ eka alago na thāya tāre tyāṃṭhī. Rādhe!*  
How may I also know how to meet him?  
He doesn't become separated from you for one minute.

4

*teṃ vaśa kīdho Rādhe! Dayāno Prabhuḷī,*  
*huṃ nava jāṇuṃ teṃ te keī gora pūḷī? Rādhe!*



You have control of Dayā's Beloved, Rādhā,  
I do not know - what religious custom did you observe?

### 39 samo samajho

R

*samo samo tamo samajho nahim ne karata himdo ala ji;*  
*loka sum jane je teva padhi che? muke mathe gala. pera na jano ji.*

Understand the appropriate time and don't go around pretending you're hurt;  
Why should people know about this habit? They put curses on one's head. You do  
not know the (right) way.

1

*sasu amari sambhajatam mune sida karo cho sada ji?*  
*apana bene bolatam dehi mero paranyo kare che vakhada. pera na jano ji.*

Why do you call aloud to me when my mother-in-law is listening?  
When we are both speaking, my husband sees us and then quarrels with me.

2

*marā amganalā samum avine kale sane kidhi sana ji?*  
*marī nanadi marmanam vacana boli, 'bhābhī! jāo teḍe che Kahāna!' pera na jano ji.*

Why did you come right into my courtyard yesterday and wink at me?  
My husband's sister spoke meaningful words, 'Sister-in-law, go, Kahāna calls you.'

3

*atura jana to ditha ati pana tamathi ado amka ji;*  
*kahevā sarakhum apāna kariye tyāre drijanano so vāṅka ? pera na jano ji.*

Eager people saw you, you can defeat all of them;

If we do what can be talked about, then what fault lies with evil people?

4

*goḷa potāne khūṇe khāē, karīe dīṭho adīṭho jī;*

*pragaṭa karī bajāre beṭhām ṣuṃ lāge che ati mīṭho? pera na jāṇo jī.*

Eat jaggery in your own corner, do this seen and unseen;

Doing it openly, sitting in the market-place, does it seem sweeter?

5

*je dahāḍāthī prīta baṃdhāṇī te dahāḍānī caraṇe vaḷagī jī;*

*Dāsadayānā Prabhu! manamām ṣamajho huṃ nathī tamathī aḷagī. pera na jāṇo jī.*

I embraced your feet since that day when love was bonded;

Lord of the servant Dayā! Understand in your mind that I am not separate from  
you.

#### 40 āvonī māre ghera māṇavā

R

*āvonī māre ghera māṇavā ho jī Rāja! āvo māre ghera māṇavā.*

Come to my house to enjoy yourself, O king!

1

*premarasa pyālo te pīvāne pāvā, jobanatūrīne palāṇavā. hojī Rāja!*

To give the cup of the *rasa* of love to drink, to mount the steed of youth.

2

*paḍatī rāte padhārajo Prītama! koī nathī beṭhuṃ jāṇavā. hojī Rāja!*

Come as night is falling, Prītama! Noone will be there to know.

3

*māri śerīne che saṃtasādhu, parani na vāta bese chāṇavā. hojī Rāja!*

There are *sants* and *sādhus* in my street. They do not sit around investigating other people's business.

4

*prabhāte jātāṃ koī pūchaśe to kahiśuṃ, teḍyā'tā valoṇuṃ tāṇavā. hojī Rāja!*

When going at dawn, if anyone asks then we shall say, he was invited to pull the churning vessel.

5

*sarva taje paṇa samo saṃbhāḷe rasiyā te paramāṇavā. hojī Rāja!*

Leave everything, but keep the time, to understand this pleasure.

6

*Rājanī rūpāḷī chabe citta māruṃ coryuṃ, samaraṇa nathī vakhāṇavā. hojī Rāja!*

The lovely beauty of the king stole my mind, remembering cannot describe it.

## 41 konī saṃge?

R

*rātalaḍī konī saṃge jāgyā? ghāyala cho jī, nenabāṇa keīnāṃ vāgyāṃ?*

Who were you awake with last night? You are wounded, what eye-arrows struck you?

1

*vāṃkalaḍuṃ tama samuṃ kaīe joyuṃ?*

*mohana cho, keī mohinīe mana mohyuṃ?*

*keī praṇapyārī karī citta proyūṃ?*

Did someone cast sidelong glances at you?

You are the infatuator, did some deluding woman infatuate your mind?

Did someone dear as life fill your thoughts?

2

*bhalā Bhagavata! vacananā sācā,*

*kahonī kāle kevī vadhyā'tā vācā?*

*turatanā turata dekhāyā kācā! rāṭalaḍī.*

Well done, Bhagavata! your words are true,

Tell me, what about the words you said yesterday?

Immediately, your untruth is seen!

3

*jūṭhāśuṃ taṃta na karavo jhājho,*

*bola bolī śaktā nathī kāṃī sājo,*

*jūṭhā sama khātāṃ lagāra na lājo. rāṭalaḍī.*

Do not quarrel more about what's false,

You cannot say a word that's entirely sound,

Don't waste time in swearing false promises!

4

*hāranāṃ cihna de che ūra dekhā,*

*adhara para dīse che aṃjanarekhā,*

*maḷīmaḷī jāya che netranī mekhā. rāṭalaḍī.*

Marks of a necklace are seen on your breast,

Lines of kajal are seen on your lip,

The lines around your eyes meet again and again.

5

*jeśuṃ ramyā rajanī lāgī te amolī,  
bhūle tenuṃ nāma javāya che bolī,  
tenā sama tamane, kaho dila kholī. rātalaḍī.*

The one with whom you played at night was precious,  
By mistake you said her name,  
Swear by her, tell me freely.

6

*śramita cho āvo lagāreka poḍho,  
paḷoṭuṃ pāye, maṭe śrama poḍho,  
āṃgaṇale ūbhā āḷasa śīda moḍo? rātalaḍī.*

You are tired, come, lie down for a moment,  
I'll massage your feet, your weariness will go, lie down,  
Standing in the courtyard, how will you dispel lethargy?

7

*rākhyuṃ mukha prasanna hṛdemāṃ dādhi,  
jaśe khasī vastu amūlika lādhi,  
samajhaṇī śyāmā lidhuṃ kāma sādhi. rātalaḍī.*

She kept her face happy, (although she) burnt in her heart,  
(Thinking,) 'Having found this priceless thing he will go away.'  
The understanding and good woman accomplished love.

8

*sāmāsāmī nena nehanāṃ maḷiyāṃ,  
chūṭyuṃ māna, sukhasiṃdhumāṃ maḷiyāṃ,  
Dayānā prītama beu palaṃge ḍhaḷiyāṃ.*

Their eyes met together in love,  
Her haughtiness went, they met in a river of happiness  
The pair of Dayā's Beloveds lay down on a bed.

## 42 have huṃ nahīṃ boluṃ

R

*hāvāṃ huṃ sakhī! nahīṃ boluṃ re Naṃdakuṃvaranī saṃge;  
mune 'Śaśīvanī' kahī che re tyāranī dājha lāgī che aṃge. hāvāṃ.*

My friend, now I shall not speak to Naṃdakuṃvara.  
He has called me 'moon face,' and so anger has struck my body.

1

*Caṃdrabiṃbamāṃ lāṃchana che, vaḷī Rāhu gaḷe khaṭa māse re;  
pakṣe vadhe ne pakṣe ghaṭe, kaḷāpūraṇa nitya te nava prakāṣe. hāvāṃ.*

There is a stain on the disk of the moon, then Rāhu eats it every six months,  
In the lunar fortnights, it waxes and wanes, it does not shine constantly as a full  
circle.

2

*te karatāṃ 'Caṃdravadanī' kahī to karyāṃ huṃ ne Caṃdra eka rāse re;  
tyāre muja mukha pākhe śuṃ aṭakyuṃ che? joṣe Caṃdra ākāṣe. hāvāṃ.*

Doing that, having called me 'moonface', you made the moon and me the equal in  
the rāsa dance.

Then if he sees my face, why should he stay? He will see the moon in the sky.

3

*nahīṃ to Śīvane samīpa rākhaṣe ne bhāle Caṃdra dekhāṣe re;*

*prasanna thāi pāse rahese, nahi to kahevāya nahim nija dāse. hāvām.*

Otherwise, he will stay near Śiva and he will see the moon on his forehead,  
Becoming pleased, he will stay with him, otherwise, he cannot be called his own  
slave.

4

*evaśo śrama paṇa śīda kare? juo, Caṃdra potānī pāse re;  
vāma caraṇamām Imḍu acaḷa che, śīda rahe anyanī āśe? hāvām.*

Why take so much trouble? Look, the moon is near to him;  
The moon on his left foot does not move, why remain in hope of another?

5

*Dayānā Pṛitamane kahe sakhī, juo, Śaśīmukha sarakhuṃ sukha pāse re;  
koṭi prakāre huṃ nahim āvuṃ evā puruṣanī aḍāse. hāvām.*

Friend, tell Dayā's Beloved, look, happiness like the face of the moon is here,  
There is no way I shall go near such a man.

### 43 Baṃsībaṭane coka

R

*Vṛndāvanamām re Baṃsībaṭane coka mananā mānyā Rāja mune maḷyā dūrathī  
dekhī re,*

*baḷavā lāgī śokya. mana.*

In Vṛndāvana on Baṃsībaṭa square, the king who is agreeable to my mind met me.  
Having seen me from far off, my co-wife began to burn.

1

*saṃga koī na hotuṃ re, āsapāsa nahīṃ koī, bharajobanamām re*  
*Jivaṇe mujane joī. mana.*

There was noone with him, there was no-one around, in the vigour of youth,  
Jivaṇā saw me.

2

*mujane pūchyuṃ re, 'ekalaḍī kem āja?' hum nava bolī re*  
*kerī ghūṃghaṭa dhari lāja. mana.*

He asked me, 'Why are you alone today?' I did not reply,  
I covered my face with my veil.

3

*haṭhīle hasīne re jhālyo māro hātha, 'nā, nā,' kahetām re*  
*baḷīe bhīḍī bātha. mana,*

The stubborn one smiled and seized my hand, (as I was) saying 'No, no,'  
The strong one embraced me.

4

*cuṃbana karīne re karyuṃ adharāmṛtapāna, thaī huṃ paravaśa re*  
*gaī māri sudha ne sāna. mana.*

Having kissed me he drank my lip-nectar, I lost my self-control,  
My intelligence and sense disappeared.

5

*rasika rūpālā re Naṭavara Naṃdakumāra, miṭhuṃ bolī re,*  
*ghaṇo dekhāḍyo pyāra. mana.*

Naṭavara Naṃdakumāra is a beautiful *rasika*, having spoken sweetly,  
He showed me lots of love.



6

*maṇḍa hasīne re māryāṃ locanabāṇa, te samānuṃ re  
sukhaduḥkha prīche prāṇa. mana.*

Having smiled gently, he struck me with the arrows of his eyes,  
Life understands the sorrow and happiness of that moment.

7

*nakhaśīkha vāpyo re Manmatha, kaṃpe kāya, mukhaḍe nā kahūṃ re  
mana to maḷavā chāya. mana.*

Manmatha pervaded me from head to toe, my body trembled, I can't put it into  
words,  
My mind desires to meet him.

8

*'hā, nā' karatāṃ re bhari Alabele aṃka, addhara ūṭhāvī re  
lāvyā kuṃja niḥsaṃka. mana*

(As I was) saying 'Yes, no,' Alabelā embraced me, he lifted me as I had no support,  
He took me to a bower without hesitation [??].

9

*kuvalayadalani re siddha hatī paryaṃka, te huṃ pāmī re  
jema riddhi pāme raṃka. mana.*

A bed was ready with leaves of blue-lotuses, I experienced it,  
As a poor man experiences wealth.

10

*suṃdara varanī re saṃge ramī tyāṃ raṃga, bahu sukha pāmī re  
jityo ajita Anaṃga. mana.*

In company with the beautiful man, I enjoyed delight, I felt a lot of pleasure,  
Anamga conquered the unconquerable.

11

*prathama samāgama re Prāṇajīvananī sātha, tana ghera āvyuṃ re  
mana rahyuṃ Mohana sātha, mana.*

That was my first meeting was with Prāṇajīvana, my body came home,  
My mind stayed with Mohana.

12

*teha divasathī re kālaja koryuṃ Kahāna, Dayāpṛitamane re  
maḷavā niśadina dhyāna. mana.*

From that day Kahāna pierced my heart, day and night my intention is to meet  
Dayā's Beloved.

#### 45 kema rīsāī?

R

*Śyāmā! tuṃ to śīda rīsāvī re? kāṃī eka kāraṇa mujane kahenī.  
śīda mauna grahīne rahī che re? uttarano pratiuttara denī. Śyāmā!*

Śyāmā, why are you angry? Give me one reason.

Why do you remain silent? Answer to my question.

1

*rīse netra thayāṃ che rātām ne adhara ḍase che daṃta re;  
bhrūkuṭī damānasamāna karī che krodha dharīne anaṃta. Śyāmā!*

Your eyes have become red in anger, and your teeth bite your lip,  
Your knitted eyebrow has become like a bow, as you bear unending anger.

2

*ke kāmī vāṅkuṃ veṇa kahyuṃ? ke kāmī kīdhī samovaḍa tāri re?*

*āvaḍo roṣa dharī śīda beṭhī? satya kahenī sakhī! māri. Śyāmā!*

Has someone said some crooked words to you or has someone become your rival?

Why do you sit bearing such anger? Tell me the truth my friend!

3

*śuṃ Vhāle tujathī vhāla ūtāryuṃ? ke prīta avaraśuṃ kīdhī re?*

*ke kāmī tāruṃ vacana ūthāpyuṃ je āvaḍī haṭha teṃ lidhī? Śyāmā!*

Did Vhālā take away his love from you, or did he make love with another?

Or did he disobey your word that you have become so obstinate?

4

*pāṇa joḍī paraṇāma karīne kahāvryuṃ che tāre kaṃthe re.*

*jo tamo duḥkhe amāre dājho to paga dharajo ā paṃthe. Śyāmā!*

Having joined his hands and bowed to you, your lover has informed you,

If you burn in sorrow with him, then step out on this path.

5

*nayaṇe nīra bhare che Naṭavara, mukhe jape Rādhājāpa re;*

*Dayānā Prītamane maḷanī mānanī! śamaśe sau paritāpa. Śyāmā!*

Naṭavara fills his eyes with tears, his mouth mutters the prayer of the name of

Rādhā,

Meet Dayā's Beloved, proud woman, he will allay all your grief.

49 rūpālī Rādhe!

R

*Rādhe! rūpālī rasilī tārī āṁkhaḍī jo;*  
*joḍī Kṛṣṇasamāna chabi phāṁkhaḍī jo. Rādhe! rūpālī.*  
Rādhā! your eyes are beautiful and full of *rasa*;  
Joined with Kṛṣṇa your beauty is great!

1

*upamāe adhika nahi tuṁthī mṛgalocanī jo,*  
*vinā aṁjana manaraṁjana bhavamocanī jo. Rādhe! rūpālī.*  
There is nothing excessive in comparing deer's eyes to yours,  
Without kajal they are delighting and give *mukti* to the world.

2

*tāruṁ Caṁdravadana kahetāṁ lājuṁ tāruṁī! jo*  
*eka to kalaṁkī viṣabimḍu vāruṁī jo. Rādhe! rūpālī.*  
I am ashamed to call you moonface  
For it is spoilt by a drop of poison.

3

*veṇa Vāsukī, jaḍitraratnarākhaḍī jo;*  
*tane jotāṁ bijuṁ jovānī thāya ākhaḍī jo. Rādhe! rūpālī.*  
Your plait is like Vāsukī, it has threads studded with jewels,  
Seeing you, I seem to see its double.

4

*Rati rūpataṇo garva mūkīne khasī jo;*  
*Rasikarāyanā hr̥demāṁ tuṁ sadā vasī jo. Rādhe! rūpālī.*

Rati puts away pride in her beauty,  
You are always settled in the heart of Rasikarāyanā.

5

*Madanamohanam mana hara tuṃ Manamohanī! jo;  
nathī Viramcie racī tuja chabi sohanī jo. Rādhe! rūpāḷī.*

Manamohanī, you steal the mind of Madanamohana,  
Viramci [the Creator] has not made your beauty.

6

*sakaḷa bhūpamāṃ jotāṃ tuṃ lādhyo Śrīhari jo;  
Umā, Ramā ne Sāvitrī Śrīpuraṃdarī jo. Rādhe! rūpāḷī.*

Looking in the whole king [seeing all queens in you??], Hari found you,  
Umā, Ramā and Sāvitrī and Śrīpuraṃdarī.

7

*tārī upamāsarakhuṃ bījuṃ koī nathī jo;  
thākyā uttama kavi vedasmṛtine mathī jo. Rādhe! rūpāḷī.*

There is no one else comparable to you,  
The greatest poet became tired churning the Vedas and the Smṛti.

8

*rasikarūpa Jugala! vaso hṛdemāṃ tharī jo;  
Dāsadayāne sukhadātā eka tuṃ Hari! jo. Rādhe! rūpāḷī.*

Pair of forms of *rasikas*! live in my heart,  
Hari, you are the only giver of happiness to the servant Dayā.

51 s̄acum̄ mānaje

R

*s̄acum̄ mānaje rūpāḷīśī Rādhikā! jo,  
sakaḷa sadguṇanum̄ dhāma! rahita bādhikā jo. s̄acum̄.*

Believe this is true, beautiful Rādhā,  
You are the abode of all good qualities, you are without blemish.

1

*tārā kahyā pachī kahum̄ chum̄ mananī vātaḍī jo,  
māre ṭharavāno eka ṭhāma tārī jātaḍī jo. s̄acum̄.*

After you have spoken, I am telling you the thoughts of my mind,  
I want to settle in a place in your body.

2

*mārī rasanā Rādhāraṭaṇa mūkatī mathī jo,  
tāre rūpe mārūm̄ manaḍum̄ līdhum̄ che mathī jo. s̄acum̄.*

The repetition of 'Rādhā' does not stop giving enjoyment,  
Your beauty has taken my mind. [??]

3

*tārum̄ sarva mīṭhum̄ lāge mane mānanī! jo,  
Jagajīvananum̄ jīvana sutā Bṛkhubhānanī jo. s̄acum̄.*

Everything about you seems sweet to my mind,  
You are the life of Jagajīvana, daughter of Bṛkhubhāna.

4

*pīta varaṇa tāro māṭe pītāmbara dharum̄ ho.  
śyāma te māṭe tuja aṃjananum̄ ciṃtana karum̄ jo. s̄acum̄.*

I wear the *pītāṃbara* for your golden skin,  
I think of your *kajal* and that's why I'm black.

5

*kamaḷa dhāruṃ tāruṃ mukhaḍuṃ thavā dhyānane jo,*  
*rākhuṃ vāṃsālī tārā karavā guṇagānane jo. sācuṃ.*

I carry a lotus so I remember your face,  
I have my flute to sing your praises.

6

*netra samajhe tuṃne nīrakhavānā sukhane jo,*  
*paṇa mukha nenane na, nena nathī mukhane jo. sācuṃ.*

My eyes know happiness is looking at you,  
But my eyes do not have a mouth, my mouth does not have eyes. [??]

7

*makarakuṃḍala capaḷa kāṃṇīeka tārāṃ netraśāṃ jo,*  
*śaṃkhacakraḡadākāṃja kaṃkaṇa kara jasāṃ jo. sācuṃ.*

My flashing earrings are somewhat like your eyes,  
The conch, the discus, the club and the lotus are like your bracelets.

8

*'kevi vhaḷī che tuṃ!' kahetāṃ āvaḡatuṃ nathī jo,*  
*vāṇī kāḷajaḡāne hoyā to te kahe kathī jo. sācuṃ.*

I don't understand why I am saying, 'How dear you are!',  
If the heart has a voice then it says this.

9

*sarva vastu dhanya prāṇapriya! māharī jo,*

*e je icchā mune hela karuṃ tāharī jo. sācuṃ.*

All things are blessed my beloved,

Only this is my wish that I may have your love. [??]

10

*evo durlabha chuṃ maḷato nathī koīne jo,*

*te huṃ chuṃ tāre ādhīna jīvuṃ joīne jo. sācuṃ.*

I am so hard to get that I don't meet anyone,

I live considering my dependence on you.

11

*Madanamohara huṃ, muja citta tuṃ cora che jo,*

*locana tārā vadanacaṃdranāṃ cakora che jo. sācuṃ.*

I am Madanamohana, you steal my mind,

Your eyes are the moon face (to my) cakora.

12

*'tuṃ te huṃ' ne 'huṃ te tuṃ,' - emāṃ saṃdeha nahīṃ jo,*

*agnijvālā be jema ekavastutā sahī jo. sācuṃ.*

'You are me and I am you' - in this there is no doubt,

As the fire and the flame are two, so we are of one substance. [??]

13

*tāromāro be maḷīne eka prāṇa che jo,*

*jūṭhuṃ kaheto nathī vedamāṃ pramāṇa che jo. sācuṃ.*

Your and my lives met as two now are one,

I am not saying this falsely - it is said in the Vedas.



14

*bhūṣaṇa jagatanuṃ huṃ, māro tuṃ śaṇagāra che jo,*

*āpaṇa beno Dāsadayāne ādhāra che jo. sācuṃ.*

I am the ornament of the world, you are my decoration,

The servant Dayā has us two as his support.

## 52 haṭhīlīnī haṭha

R

*Lalitā kahe, 'suṇo Svāmī re! haṭhīlī haṭh nā taje, huṃ hārī!*

*kaḥyuṃ e to koīnuṃ na māne re, āp manāvo potānī pyārī. lalitā.*

Lalitā says: Listen Svāmī! The stubborn one doesn't give up her stubbornness, I am defeated.

She doesn't accept what anyone says, conciliate your beloved.

1

*sāmadānavidhibheda Vhālā! meṃ vividha prakāranā kīdhā re;*

*eke vidhī mārī nava cālī tyāre paga pāchā meṃ dīdhā. Lalitā.*

O Vhālā! I've carried out the many kinds of diplomacy,

When even one of my methods did not work, then I came back.

2

*huṃ pāya paḍī tṛṇā daṃta dharīne, 'Hari hāryā,' kaḥyuṃ meṃ jyāre re*

*vāṃkuṃ vadana karī vāmāe vacana kaḥyuṃ eka tyāre. Lalitā.*

I fell at her feet, with my head on the ground and when I said, 'Hari is defeated.'

Turning her face away, the beautiful woman said these words:

3

*'Caṃdramukhī mune śīda kahī? kema Caṃdrasamovaḍa jāṇī re?*

*jo jāṇī to śīda jhūro cho? Caṃdrathī lo sukha māṇī.'* Lalitā.

'Why did you call me 'Moon-face'? Why did you say I'm equal to the moon?

If you think this then why are you anxious? Enjoy yourself, get your happiness from the moon.'

4

*'Kahetāmāṃ kāraṇa meṃ jāṇyūṃ, mānana marma ja eha re;*

*Caturaśiromaṇi! enī upara karīe ghaṭe kaṃī jeha. Lalitā*

I realised the reason for her speech, this is the inner meaning of her pride,

Caturaśiromaṇi! Let us do for her what is fitting.

5

*kahyūṃ koīnuṃ e nahīṃ māne hāvāṃ koṭi prakāre re*

*Dayānā Pritama! mane ema sūjhe che - thāśe kāraj āpa padhārye.'* Lalitā

She doesn't accept what anyone tells her now in any way,

Dayā's Beloved, my idea is this - When you come to her this matter will end.

### 53 pyārīne manāvā

R

*Pyārīne manāvāne kāraṇa re Mohane manamāṃ mata vicārī.*

*Prabhujī pote padhāryā re suṃdara rūpa suṃdarīnuṃ dhārī. Pyārīne.*

Mohana turned over in his mind a way to conciliate the Beloved.

Prabhujī himself went to her, taking the beautiful form of a beautiful woman.

1

*navasapta varasanāṃ nautamajobana svarūpaṇo bhaṃḍāra re  
aṅgaṅga prati amita mādhuri, śuṃ varṇuṃ śaṅagār? Pyārīne*

The treasury of beauty, the beauty of youth of sixteen years,  
Measureless sweetness in each of her limbs - how may I describe her adornment?

2

*pīlī paṭoḷī paḥerī premadā, māṃhya kaṃcukī kālī re  
munijanane mana moha upajāve evī āṃjī āṃkha āṇiyāḷī. Pyārīne*

Wearing a delightful yellow *paṭola* cloth, under which was a black bodice,  
The kajal in her pointed eyes would give rise to love in the heart of sages.

3

*nakhaśikha śobhā kyāṃlagī varṇuṃ? ābharaṇano ahīṃ aṃta re  
anupamanī upamā śī āpuṃ? pāra na pāme anaṃta. Pyārīne.*

How may I describe her tip to toe beauty? There is a limit to ornaments.  
How may I compare the incomparable? The endless never reaches an end.

4

*eve adbhuta veśe rāmā Rādhā samīpe āvyāṃ re  
cakita thāī Bṛkhubhānanaṃdinī bhāva sahita bolāvyāṃ. Pyārīne*

In such wonderful clothes, the beautiful woman came to Rādhā.  
Bṛkhubhānanaṃdinī was astonished and made inquiries with feeling.

5

*'kyāṃ raho cho? sakhī! kyāṃ jāvuṃ che? śuṃ che tamāruṃ nāma re?  
bhūlyāṃsarikhāṃ śuṃ śodho cho? kaho, konuṃ che kāma?' Pyārīne.*

'Where do you live? Where are you going? What are you called?  
What are you seeking as if lost? Tell me, with whom is your business?'

6

*Śyāmaḷi sakhī! che nāma amāruṃ, vasiye ame Naṃdagāma re;  
jovāne arthe jāśuṃ amo Naṭavara Suṃdaraśyāma.*

'My dear friend, my name is Śyāmaḷi, I live in Naṃdagāma,  
I am going with the purpose of seeing Naṭavara Suṃdaraśyāma.'

7

*kāmanī kahe 'kāṃī kapaṭe huṃ khāluṃ nahīṃ to e niśce jāśe re  
muja karatāṃ rūpe che rūḍī, dekhātāṃ Lāla lobhāśe.*

The beautiful woman says, 'If I don't prevent her with some trick, then she'll  
certainly go.

She is more beautiful than me, when he sees her Lāla will desire her.'

8

*śyāmā kahe, sakhī! e kāraja tamo bhūle kadāpī na karaśo re  
maḷatāṃ Mohana bhūrakī nāṃkhaśe te pūṃṭhepūṃṭhe pharaśo*

The lovely woman says, 'My friend, you must never do this task in error,  
Meeting Mohana, he will charm you and you will run after him.

9

*āpaṇa sāco sneha kījiye, lījiye paraspara kola re  
tamo kaho te amo karuṃ, tamo pāḷo amāro bola*

'Let's feel true affection, let's make each other a promise,  
I'll do what you say: you keep my word.'

10

*pharī bolyānā sama khādhā ne vacana paraspara līdhuṃ re  
potapotānāṃ manamāṃ phūle je 'caturapaṇuṃ meṃ kīdhuṃ!'*

After speaking again, they swore an oath and made each other make a promise.

In each of their minds they were overcome with joy thinking that they had been clever.

11

*Rādhā kahe, 'sakhī! māguṃ - tamo Śyāma samīpe na jāśo re*

*sakhī kahe, 'huṃ paṇa e māguṃ - tamo te upara mā rīsāśo.*

Rādhā says, 'Friend, I ask you - please don't go near Śyāma.'

Her friend says, 'And I ask you this, you don't be angry with him any more.'

*pharī bolyānā sama khādhā ne pālyāṃ vacana thāi rājī re*

*vaḷatī Vhāle nija rūpa prakāśyūṃ! jotāṃ juvatī lājī!*

After speaking again, they swore an oath and fulfilling their word, they became happy.

Then Vhālā showed his true form - seeing him, the young woman was shy.

12

*Prabhue premadā prasanna karīne preme āliṅgana dīdhuṃ re*

*viyogatāpa ṭālyā, adharāmṛta banne paraspara pīdhuṃ*

Prabhu made the woman happy and delighted, hugged her with love,

The pain of separation went away, they drank the nectar of each other's kisses.

13

*chūtyūṃ māna, ekarasa thāi poḍhyāṃ, ānaṃda ura na samāya re*

*e dāmpatīnī dāsī thāvāne Dāsadayo guṇa gāya.*

Her anger vanished, being of one sentiment, they lay down, their joy could not be contained in their hearts!

The servant Dayo sings their praises in order to become the servant of this couple.

54 vāṃkuṃ mā jāśo!

R

*vāṃkuṃ mā jāśo Varaṇāgiyā! jotāṃ kālajaḍāmāṃ kāṃṅikāṃṅi thāya che!*  
*ho jī re! vāṃkuṃ.*

Do not cast sidelong glances, Varaṇāgiyā! When I see you something happens in my heart!

1

*aṅiyāṅi āṅkhe Vhālama! prāṅa māṅā proyā che;*  
*mohan mukhaḍuṃ joī mana māruṃ mohāya che, ho jī re! vāṃkuṃ.*

Your pointed eyes sew my life to yours, Vhālama;  
Seeing your charming dear face, my mind is entranced.

2

*maṅdamīṅhī hasaṅi te to mohanīno phaṅda che;*  
*temāṅ paḍyā pachī keṅe nīkaḷāya che? ho jī re! vāṃkuṃ.*

Your gentle and sweet smile is a snare for a beautiful woman,  
Who has come out of it once they have fallen in?

3

*nakhaśikha rūpa rasika, madhura, manohara;*  
*jyāṅ jouṅ tyāṅ āṅkha ṅharī jāya che! ho jī re! vāṃkuṃ.*

From head to toe your beauty is lovely, sweet, captivating.  
When I see it, my eyes are transfixed.

4

*nāsikānuṃ motī jhūmī rahyuṃ che adhara para;*

*tema mana mārurṃ hām re jholā khāya che! ho jī re! vāṃkuṃ.*

As the pearl dangles from your nose above your lip

So my mind sways about.

5

*abaḷājana mohāya temāṃ kātaka kahevāya nahīṃ;*

*moṭā Kāmajevā phūṭaḍā vhevāya che! ho jī re! vāṃkuṃ.*

Women are enchanted, what is surprising in that?

You are as beautiful as great Kāma.

6

*āturatā āge aṃtara doṣa darda che;*

*te para ādhīna thakī sahevāya che, ho jī re! vāṃkuṃ.*

More than anxiety, the inner fault is pain

They suffer from their dependence on another.

7

*Naṭavara Nāgara Rasika Mugaṭamaṇi;*

*Jagamohana rūpa śāstra gāya che, ho jī re! vāṃkuṃ.*

Naṭavara Nāgara Rasika Mugaṭamaṇi;

Jagamohana - the śāstras sing your beauty.

8

*Dayānā Pritamanī mīṭhī morālī sūṇī jeṇe,*

*te to vaṇamūle sarva vecāya che! ho jī re! vāṃkuṃ.*

The one who has heard the sweet flute of Dayā's Beloved

He is able to sell everything as valueless.

55 vaśakaraṇī vāṃsaḷī

R

*vaśakaraṇī che tāri vāṃsaḷī, jotāṃ vaśa kari che Vrajnārane,  
ho jī re! vaśakaraṇī.*

Your flute is enchanting, [just] seeing it enchants the women of Vraja.

1

*svara sūṇīne huṃ to śuddhabuddha vīsari,  
daradamāṃ garada gaī che maḷī, ho jī re! vaśakaraṇī.*

When I hear its sound then I swoon,

I fall into deep pain.

2

*sudhāthakī re svāda emāṃ che ghaṇo,  
mune sākara karatāṃ lāge che ghaṇī gaḷī, ho jī re! vaśakaraṇī.*

It is far more delicious than nectar

I think its sweetness is greater than sugar

3

*caṭako lāgyo re jherī ḍaṃkhathī nā ūtare,  
jherī jhājhi che te karatāṃ valī, ho jī re! vaśakaraṇī.*

Once it has stung, the venom doesn't leave the sting,

It is much greater than poison.

4

*dharakerāṃ kāmakāja kāmī nava sūjhe,  
have loka kahe e to cittathakī caḷī, ho jī re! vaśakaraṇī.*

I can't think of any means of satisfaction



Now people say that I am out of my mind.

5

*dāśadayāno prītama premano payodhi maḷyo,  
prīṭalaḍī pūrvataṇī e phaḷī, ho jī re! vaśakaraṇī.*

The beloved of the servant Dayā found an ocean of love

This is the fruit of former loves.

### 57 mahole padhāro

R

*mhole padhāro mārā Rāja! Māṇīgara! mhole padhāro;  
vhāla vadhāro Vrajarāja! Māṇīgara! mhole padhāro.*

Come to my palace, my Rāja, Māṇīgara, come to my palace!

Increase my love, King of Vraja! Māṇīgara, come to my palace.

1

*kari rākhī che ekaṭhī ghaṇā divasanī goṭha;*

*Rāja maḷe to kījīe, āvī rahī che māre oṭha. Māṇīgara!*

The secret (sweet) talk of many days is gathered together and saved,

Rāja, if you meet me, then we'll do it, it has come to my lips.

2

*huṃ paṇa dāsī rāvarī, bāṃhya grahyānī lāja;*

*jobana lhere jāy che, māṇone mārā Rāja! Māṇīgara!*

I am also the servant, the shame of taking my forearm [keep your promise];

Youth goes in waves [my youth is ebbing??], enjoy yourself, my Rāja!

3

*huṃsarakhī bahu āpane, māre to eka āpa;*

*rahevātuṃ nathī Rāja vaṇa, kone kaḥuṃ paritāpa? Māṇīgara!*

For you there are many like me, for me there is only one you;

There is no way of living without the Rāja, to whom shall I tell my suffering?

4

*seja samārī phūlaḍe, ānaṃda ura na māya;*

*Prāṇajīvana! tyahāṃ poḍhaśo, huṃ to taḷāṃsīśa pāya. Māṇīgara!*

I have adorned your bed with flowers, joy cannot be contained in my heart;

Prāṇajīvana! If you sleep there, I shall massage your feet.

5

*Prītama! DāsaDayātaṇā Śrīvrajarājakumāra!*

*ghaṇā divasanī hoṃsa che, pūro prāṇaādhāra! Māṇīgara!*

Beloved! Śrīvrajarājakumāra, of the servant of Dayā!

I have the eagerness of many days, satisfy your lover!

## 58 tithio: agama premapaṃtha

1

*suṇo Odhavajī! premataṇo paṃtha agama tamo suṃ jāṇō?*

*snehasāgaranuṃ nathī pīdhuṃ paya tyāṃ lagī joga vakhāṇo.*

Listen, Odhavajī! What do you know of the incomprehensible path of love?

You will praise yoga until you have drunk a drink from the ocean of love.

2

*juo pratipada yaśa jeno mīṭho, te puruṣa ame māṅyo ne dīṭho;*

*kyāṃ yoga ṭhare te ura beṭho? suṇo Odhavajī!*

See the first day, the one whose fame is sweet, we enjoyed and saw that man;

How can yoga satisfy when he dwells in one's heart?

3

*bija vāvyuṃ snehanuṃ sukha che jāñī, ūgyuṃ ānaṃdavṛkṣa siṃcyē vrehapāñī;*

*phaḷyuṃ tyāre laṅyuṃ Kubjārāñī! suṇo Odhavajī!*

On the second day , knowing this seed is the happiness of love we sowed it, a tree of joy grew, watered with our tears of separation,

When it bore fruit, Kubjā Rāñī harvested it!

4

*trīja gata mārī tanathī evī, e kapaṭī kaṃthe kīdhī jevī;*

*maḷī kiṃkarī Kaṃsatañī tevī. suṇo Odhavajī!*

The third (day) - the state of my body was such that my lover played a trick

Whereby it became like that of Kaṃsa's maid-servant [i.e. I looked ugly].

5

*caturthī catura huṃ ene lahetī, nāma sughaḍa jeha sarve kahetī;*

*Prabhu te caturāī melī vahetī. suṇo Odhavajī!*

The fourth day, I thought he was clever, I was saying all good things about him,

Prabhu made those clever things known to others.

6

*paṃca mīthyā nava kahe āja lahyuṃ, prīta nā kariye kyahuṃ sarve kahyuṃ;*

*amo nā māṅyuṃ te duḥkha sahyuṃ. suṇo Odhavajī!*

The fifth day, the wise do not speak falsely, today I understood, they all said do not love;

We did not believe them and so we bore that sorrow.

7

*ṣaṣṭī sahune sukhamām so'vum, amāre bhāgye āvyum rovuṃ;*

*śokyane vāṭe patisukha hovum. suṇo Odhavajī!*

On the sixth day, everyone else enjoys happiness, weeping has come in our fate.

The co-wife gets the delight of her husband.

8

*sapta mithyā Harinā āje lahuṃ, tamane taji kyuhuṃ nahi jaīe kahum;*

*emanuṃ kahyuṃ emanī pāsa rahyuṃ. suṇo Odhavajī!*

On the seventh, I know today the falseness of Hari, who said he would never leave us,

His word remained with him. [He doesn't keep his word.]

9

*aṣṭa milāpa hāvām nathī thāvo, dāsīnā saṃgīthī śo dāvo?*

*bhaluṃ amane duḥkha! ene lhāvo! suṇo Odhavajī!*

On the eighth day, now there shall not be a meeting, what claim do I have on the companion of a slave-girl?

Sorrow is suited to us! Let him be happy!

10

*nāme te neha nathī ene, amo snehavāḷām paḍyām vaśa vrehane;*

*nahi jāṇīye viyoga pīḍe śene? suṇo Odhavajī!*

On the ninth day, he doesn't have love, we loving ones have fallen under the control of separation.

Do you not know why separation causes pain?

11

*dasamī amo jāñī sarasa sādhi, tenuṃ phaḷa ā vrehanī pīḍa lādhi;*  
*tenī jhāle niśadīna deha dādhi. suṇo Odhavajī!*

On the tenth (day) we knew we had done something good, this affliction of separation got its fruit;

Our bodies burnt day and night in its flame.

12

*ekādaśī Śrīkṛṣṇa amo sevum, anya kothakī nathī levumdevum;*  
*amane niśce sūjhe evum. suṇo Odhavajī!*

On the eleventh day, I serve ŚrīKṛṣṇa, I do not have any connection with anyone else

This is my resolve.

13

*dvādaśe māsa sukha dīdhum Śrījī, temām śaradartunī gata bījī;*  
*ratirasamām bhīmjavī ne bhīmjī. suṇo Odhavajī!*

On the twelfth Śrījī gave me happiness for a month, in that he gave me the opposite condition of the season of autumn [i.e. rains??].

In the rasa of love, I drenched and was drenched.

14

*teraśa hāvām amo kyām maḷiye? kṣaṇumkṣaṇum sukha sām̐bhare ne baḷiye;*  
*khādhi sākara, lūṇa kaho kyama gaḷiye? suṇo Odhavajī!*

On the thirteenth, now where can we meet? At every moment remembering happiness we burn.

We have eaten sugar, why, tell me, shall we eat salt?

15

*caudaśa jenuṃ jyāṃ citta bhame, te yoga sādhye te śānuṃ śame?  
amāruṃ mana sadā Śrīharimāṃ rame. suṇo Odhavajī!*

On the fourteenth, one whose mind wanders everywhere, how can it accomplish  
yoga and how can it be calm?

Our mind always delights in ŚrīHari.

16

*punye meṃ kīdhuṃ paṇa nahi pūruṃ, maḷyūṃ ratna amūlya gayuṃ dūruṃ;  
paheluṃ sukha pāmī hāvāṃ jhūruṃ. suṇo Odhavajī!*

I acted in merit but not completely, the priceless gem was obtained but went  
faraway.

I experienced the first happiness and now I pine.

17

*emāṃ sarve tithi soḷe āvī, vrehe viyogarasa bhārī nitya gāvī;  
tethī Dayāno Pritama vase ura āvī. suṇo Odhavajī!*

In this the whole sixteen days have come (and gone), one should always sing the  
*rasa* of *viyoga* in separation

So the Beloved of Dayā may come to dwell in my heart.

## 59 tithīo: madhupadūta

1

*paḍave Prāṇajīvana pākhe  
ke dhīraja nava rahe rākhye;  
anubhavī lahe na baṇe bhākhye,  
Madhupa! ŚrīMādhavane kahejo.*

On the first day of the fortnight,  
It is owing to the absence of the Prāṇajīvana that patience cannot be kept,  
The one who has experience may understand, but it can't be described.  
O Bee, please tell Mādhava.

2

*bije sahu Brijānī bāḷī*  
*talakhe Tribhaṃgalalite ṭāḷī;*  
*prīta karī dīdhī pāḷī, Madhupa! ŚrīMādhavane kahejo.*

On the second day, all the girls of Brijā  
Are filled with longing without Tribhaṃgalalita;  
Lovingly, we waited our turn.

3

*trīje tāpa ghaṇo tanamām,*  
*vrehajvālā pragaṭī manamām;*  
*kaḷa na paḍe rajanīdanamām, Madhupa! ŚrīMādhavane kahejo.*

On the third day, there was much heat in our bodies,  
The blaze of separation appeared in our minds,  
Comfort doesn't come, day or night.

4

*cothe citta bhūdharamāṃhīṃ bhame,*  
*anyanuṃ bolyuṃ paṇa na game;*  
*e duḥkha oṣaḍathī na śame, Madhupa! ŚrīMādhavane kahejo.*

On the fourth day, the mind wanders on Bhūdhara,  
We don't like even speaking of another,  
This pain is not soothed by medicine.

5

*pañcamī pera na sūjhe kaśī,  
jherī te Naṭavaranāge dasī;  
lahera Madana romaroma vasī, Madhupa! ŚrīMādhavane kahejo.*

On the fifth day, no plan suggests itself,  
Naṭavara, the poisonous snake, bit us;  
Waves of love have settled in every pore.

6

*chathṭhe chaḷa chabīle kīdho,  
matalaba sādhi dago dīdho;  
pāradhīnī prere prāṇa līdho, Madhupa! ŚrīMādhavane kahejo.*

On the sixth, the Beautiful one played a trick,  
Having achieved his purpose he deceived us,  
Like a hunter he took our lives.

7

*sātme śokyalaḍī saṃge  
nitye rame Rasiyo raṃge;  
te agni lāge aṃge, Madhupa! ŚrīMādhavane kahejo.*

On the seventh in the company of co-wives  
Rasiyo always sports amorously,  
That fire burns our bodies.

8

*aṣṭamī aṃtara duḥkha sāle,  
konuṃ dhana? koī sukha mahāle;  
rahiye baḷī! kāṃī nava cāle, Madhupa! ŚrīMādhavane kahejo.*

On the eighth day, the inner pain aches,



Whose is the reward? Someone (else) enjoys pleasure.

We are burning! There is no way out.

9

*nome Naṃdakuṃvara nā'vyā,*

*joganā saṃdeśā kahāvyā;*

*bhoga to Kubjāne bhāvyā, Madhupa! ŚrīMādhavane kahejo.*

On the ninth day, Naṃdakuṃvara didn't come,

He sent messages of yoga;

Kubjā enjoyed pleasure.

10

*daśame dāvānaḷa praḡaṡyo,*

*vāyadākero dina vaṡyo;*

*nā āvyo e Lāla laṡyo, Madhupa! ŚrīMādhavane kahejo.*

On the tenth day the conflagration appeared,

The day of the promise passed away;

That Lāla did not come - he was entangled.

11

*ekādaśī eka dina hatī,*

*pāse hatā jyāre Prāṇapati;*

*kyama praḡaṡa karuṃ gūḡha gati? Madhupa! ŚrīMādhavane kahejo.*

The eleventh day was the one day

When Prāṇapati was at hand

How do I make my confused state of mind clear?

12

*dvādaśa sūrajataṇo taḡako,*

*te vrehatāpataṇo kaḍako;*

*tethī adhika muja ura bhaḍako, Madhupa! ŚrīMādhavane kahejo.*

On the twelfth day, the heat of the sun,  
It is a portion of the heat of separation;  
The blaze of my heart is greater than that.

13

*teraśa rīta kyahāṃ hāvāṃ,*

*kuṃja saṃketa karī jāvāṃ?*

*kyāṃ te adharāmṛta pāvāṃ? Madhupa! ŚrīMādhavane kahejo.*

On the thirteenth, now what way is there,  
When shall I go to an assignation in the bowers?  
When shall I be made to drink his lip-nectar?

14

*caudaśa sukha no'tuṃ lekhuṃ,*

*te te diśā duḥkhaḍuṃ dekhuṃ;*

*kāraṇa? e piyu nava pekhuṃ, Madhupa! ŚrīMādhavane kahejo.*

On the fourteenth, I don't care for happiness,  
In all directions I see misery;  
The reason? I do not see my beloved.

15

*śaradapūnama āvī sukharāśi,*

*vhelā āvonī ghera Vrajavāsī!*

*rāsa ramo saṃga laī dāsī, Madhupa! ŚrīMādhavane kahejo.*

The Autumnal full moon was a heap of happiness,  
Come, Vhelā, to the house of the Vrajavāsīs!  
Play the rāsa taking along the slavegirls.

16

*e paṇḍara tīthi te varaṇī Prīte,*

*snehasaṇḍeśānī rīte;*

*Dāsadaye gāi te gīte, Madhupa! ŚrīMādhavane kahejo.*

The fifteen days, that one the Beloved girl described,

In the manner of a message of love;

The servant Dayā has sung in that song.

## 60 māsā: Rādhāviraha

*Kārtakamāse mūkī gayā Kaṇṭha re sakhī! mune,*

*huṃ to jouṃ chuṃ Piyujīno paṇṭha re paḷepaḷe*

*vreha vādhe gātāṃ guṇagraṇṭha re Rādhā kahe,*

*sahiyara! māri re, Vhālamajī ghera nā āvyā jī. sakhī!*

Kaṇṭha left me in the month of Kārtaka,

I wait for Piyujī at every minute

My separation grows, as I sing of the volumes of his qualities,

My friend! Vhālama did not come to my house.

*Māgasaramāse maṇḍira khāvā dhāya re sakhī! mune,*

*mune kyuhuṃye kaṣuṃ na sohāya re vhālā vinā,*

*māre palaka kalpasama thāya re, kone kaḥuṃ? sakhī!*

In the month of Māgasara, my friend, my household threatened me,

Nothing at all appeals to me without Vhālā,

For me every moment seems to be an age, who can I tell ?

*Poṣamāse Piyujī paradeśa re, sakhī! mārā,*

*huṃ to ekaḷaḍī kyama raheśa re ā ratamāṃ?*

*māruṃ jobana bāle veśa re phūlyuṃ jonī sakhī!*

In the month of Poṣa, Piyujī is away

How will I stay alone at this time?

See, my youth blossomed in my costume as a child.

*Māhe mana maḷavā akaḷāya re Alabelāne,*

*dhāṃkyuṃ dhikhe kāḷaja, nā kahevāya re duḥkha koīne,*

*māre rātaḍivasa rotāṃ jāya re Vhālā vinā sakhī!*

In Māha, my mind was anxious to meet Alabelā,

My hidden heart burns, this sorrow can't be told to anyone,

I pass day and night in weeping, without Vhālā.

*Phāgaṇa abīlagulāle raṃgarolī re kesara ūḍe,*

*Śāmaḷiyā vinā sūnī paḍī ṭolī re sāhelinī,*

*māre haiye pragaṭī che hoḷī re vrehe agninī. sakhī!*

In Phāgaṇa, the saffron fades in perfume and colour,

Without Śāmaḷiyā the crowd of girlfriends seems empty,

The Hoḷī bonfire of the fire in separation appears in my heart.

*Caitra Caṃdracaṃdrikā phūlī re Vṛndāvanamāṃ,*

*velavṛkṣalatā rahī jhūlī re Jamunājīmāṃ,*

*māre jovānuṃ sukh gayuṃ ūlī re Pṛītama pākhe. sakhī!*

In Caitra the light of the moon grows in Vṛndāvana,

The vines of trees and creepers bend over the Jamunā;

My joy in seeing this passes away in the absence of Pṛītama.

*Vaiśākhe vraj sūnuṃ sau lāge re Vhālama vinā,*

*mune vrehanāṃ bāṇa ura vāge re, kone kahuṃ?*

*māruṃ e duḥkha koīthī na bhāge re Kṛṣṇa vinā. sakhī!*

In Vaiśāka the whole of Vraja seems empty without Vhālama,

The arrows of separation strike my breast, whom shall I tell?

This sorrow of mine can't be shared with anyone other than Kṛṣṇa.

*Jeṭhamāse jvālā ghaṇī lāgī re kālājaḍāmāṃ,*

*Vhālājīe śokya karī che subhagī re sūṇatāṃ sakhī!*

*āpaṇe sarva ṭharyāṃ nirbhāgī re Naṭavara vinā. sakhī!*

In the month of Jeṭha many flames blaze in my heart,

Hearing that the Vhālājī has made the co-wife his true wife.

We have all become appointed as widows without Naṭavara.

*Āṣāḍamāse gagane ghana gāje re sakhī! sūṇo,*

*Mohana pākhe māruṃ mana dājhe re, kone kaḥuṃ?*

*huṃ pīḍāuṃ Prabhu nava lāje re, varṣārtu. sakhī!*

In the month of Āṣāḍa, the clouds thunder in the sky.

Without Mohana my heart burns, but whom shall I tell?

I am pained that Prabhu is not ashamed, this is the rainy season.

*Śrāvaṇamāsa saravaḍe varase re, sakhī! māruṃ*

*mana maḷavāne ghaṇuṃ tarase re Mohanajīne,*

*dodaśa nyāluṃ, kyahuṃ nava darase re Dāmodarajī sakhī!*

The month of Śrāvaṇa it rains all around, my mind

Thirsts much for meeting Mohana.

It searches all around but Dāmodara never appears.

*Bhādarave bhalī vijaḷī caḷake re, sakhī! jenī,*

*śobhā jotāṃ āṃkhe āṃsuḍāṃ ḍhaḷake re, kālaja dhīkhe,*

*jāṇe Prabhunūṃ pītāṃbara jhaḷake re evuṃ dīse! sakhī!*

In Bhādarava great lightning flashes, seeing  
Whose beauty tears fall from my eyes, my heart burns.  
It seems to shine like Prabhu's *pītāmbāra*.

*Āśvinamāse to ramavāne rāsa re Vhālo āvyā,*  
*Vhāle pūrī sahu premadānī āśa re, ānaṃda vadhyo,*  
*guṇa gāya Dayo Kṛṣṇano dāsa re joḍī kara,*  
*sahiyara! māri re Vhālamajī ghera āvyā jī! sakhī!*  
In the month of Āśvina Vhālo came to play the *rāsa*.  
Vhālā fulfilled the hopes of the girls, he increased joy.  
Singing his praises, Dayā, the servant of Kṛṣṇa, joins his hands.  
My friend, Vhālamajī came to my house!

## 61 rāsalīlā

1

*vāge Vṛndāvanamāṃ vāṃsaḷī re, ūbhōūbho vagāḍe Kahāna;*  
*nāde vedhī munivarapāṃsaḷī re, nava rahī kone sāna. vāge.*  
The flute sounds in Vṛndāvana, Kahāna plays it standing up;  
At its sound the great sages' wits are affected, no one's sense remains.

2

*tarunī śākhāo jhūmī rahī re caraṇe namavāne kāja;*  
*velī vṛkṣa sāthe jhūmī re, bhāgya amārāṃ āja. vāge.*  
The slender branches bent down, in order to bow at his feet;  
The small creepers bent down with the tree, today is our lucky day.

3

*Jamanānīra cāle nahīṃ re, mṛgane mana moha thāya;  
paṃkhī māḷāmāṃ mahāle nahīṃ re, nāda sūṇī na rahevāya! vāge.*

The water of the Jamanā does not move, the deer's minds are enchanted;  
The birds do not move in their nests, hearing the sound, no one can contain himself.

4

*vācharuṃ kāna daīne sām̐bhaḷe re, kare nahīṃ payapāna,  
gāyo gālā toḍī tyahāṃ paḷe re nāda sūṇavāne kāna. vāge.*

The calf gives ear and listens, it doesn't drink milk  
The cows break their ties and run to hear the sound in their ears.

5

*phūlyāṃ kamaḷa, jaḷa ṭāṭaḍī re, dīse ūḍiyo che Bhāṇa!  
Śaṃkara samādha melī rahyā re, thayuṃ jagatane jāṇa. vāge.*

The lotuses blossomed, the water shivered, it seemed that the sun was risen,  
Śaṃkara gave up his meditation, the whole world took notice.

6

*kāne paḍiyo te vrajanī nārane re Vhālājīno re nāda;  
tāruṃ pada pāme nija dhāmane re, dhāī gayāṃ sau sāda. vāge.*

The sound of the beloved reached the ears of the women of Vraja;  
They experience your presence in their own houses - they all rushed off at the  
sound.

7

*eke nepūra kāne ghāliyuṃ re, caraṇe paheṛī che jhāla,  
eke kaṃkaṇa māthe ghāliyuṃ re, evī thāī che behāl. vāge.*

One put an anklet on her ear, or put an earring on her foot,

One has put a bangle on her head, such is their confusion.

8

*eke kumakuma kājaḷa roḷiyuṃ, ṭapakuṃ kīdhuṃ che gāḷa,  
eke khāvumuṃ ghālyuṃ aṃcaḷe re jovā Dīnadayāḷa. vāge.*

One crushed kajal for kumkum, she made her tilak on her cheeks,

One tied her food in the end of her garment, to see Dīnadayāḷa.

9

*ekanā karamāṃ koḷiyo re, pītī cālī eka nīra;  
eka choruṃ raḍatāṃ melī gaī re cālī Jamanāne tīra. vāge.*

In one's hand was a small quantity of food, one went drinking water

One put aside a crying child and went to the banks of the Jamanā.

10

*ekanā svāmīne mana āmaḷo re, jāvā dīdhī nahīṃ nāra;  
kara joḍī kahe che kāmanī re, 'mane jāvā do niradhāra.' vāge.*

One's husband was jealous, he would not let his wife go;

Folding her hands the woman says, 'Please let me go.'

11

*saṃgamāṃnī po'tī sarve bhāmanī re, pachī beṭho ghasavā hātha;  
rīsa tajīne rīsāḷave re dīna thaī Dīnānātha. vāge.*

All the women arrived at once, he sat rubbing his hands;

Giving up anger, Dīnānātha became sad and sensitive [??].

12

*sarve pahelī jāī te maḷī re, tenī deha paḍī gharamāṃhya;  
Mohanajīnā aṃgamāṃ jāī maḷī re, thāya acaraja sahu tyāṃhya. vāge.*



All the first met him, their bodies remained in their houses;  
They met him in Mohanajī's body, there everyone became astonished.

13

*kuḷano dharma nathī o nārīo! jāo potāne thāma,  
dhanya! dhanya! tamārī rītane re, melyām gharanām te kāma! vāge.*

O women, this is not the way of well-brought up people! Go to your own places.  
Well done! Well done! You have abandoned your household duties for your carry-  
on.

14

*āpaṇā gharanām te kāja na mūkie re, āvī karīsum kāla;  
vacana Vhālājīnum sām̐bhaḷī re gopī bolyām sahu vhāla. vāge.*

We haven't abandoned our household duties, we will return and do them tomorrow,  
Hearing the words of Vhālā, the Gopīs all spoke with love.

15

*'hāvām kema jāie maṁdira pharī re? ame tajīsum tana;'  
dekhī gopījananī prītaṣum re harakhyā Śrībhagavāna. vāge.*

Now how shall we go again to our homes. We will leave our bodies.'  
Seeing the love of the Gopīs, Śrībhagavāna was delighted.

16

*hāvām āvo āpaṇa sahu maḷī re ramīe rūḍero rāsa,  
ekaeka gopī vacce Nāthane re nīrakhe rūḍī pere pāsa. vāge.*

Now come, we shall all meet and play the excellent rāsa.  
Each Gopī saw Nātha in between them, very closeby.

17

*māṃhomāṃhe bharāvī bāthane re kaho, 'kema jaīe ghera?'*

*vacamāṃ līdhā vaḷī Nāthane re, rūpa jue rūḍī pera.*

Taking hold of their hands, you say 'How can we go home?'

They danced with Nātha in the centre, they see his beauty very closeby.

18

*vimāse Śyāma ne Śyāmanī re uranī trūṭī che māḷa.*

*vādhī śaradapūnamanī rātaḍī re kīdhī Śrī re Gopāḷa. vāge.*

Śyāma was gloomy and the garland on Śyāmanī's breast is broken [??],

Śrīgopāḷa increased the night of the autumn full moon.

19

*līlā dekhī kuṃjadhāmanī re pavana thayo gatibhaṃga.*

*devatā vṛṣṭī kare prasanna thaī re dekhī Vrajano ūmaṃga. vāge.*

Seeing the *līlā* of the bower, the wind lost its power

The gods were delighted and made rain, seeing the joy of Vraja.

20

*Brahmādika jāṇe joīe jaī re līlā Gokūlacāṃda.*

*jema abhra viṣe opāī che re tārā vacce jema Iṃdu. vāge.*

Brahmā and the other gods went to see the *līlā* at Gokūlacāṃda.

It was as if the sky brightened and the moon were among the stars.

21

*- e Rāsālīlā je gāye ne sām̐bhaḷe re te pāme nijadhāma.*

*pātaka sarve śamāvajo re kahe Janadayārāma. vāge.*

Who sings this *rāsālīlā* and hears it, he experiences his true abode.

May you pacify all your sins, so says Jana-Dayārāma.

62 Harinī bālalīlā

1

*sajjana! sām̐bhaḷo re, Harinī bālalīlā kām̐ gāśuṃ,  
koṭika kalpanā re patitapaṇāthī pāvana thāśuṃ.*

Friend, listen! I shall sing some of the *bālalīlā* of Hari,  
I shall become the purifier of crores of ideas from the state of being fallen. [??]

2

*Īsvara akhilataṇā re, jenuṃ kare ŚeṣaŚiva vaṃdana,  
bhaktavatsala Prabhu re māte thayā Naṃdanā Naṃdana.*

He is the lord of everything, whose praise ŚeṣaŚiva make,  
Prabhu became Naṃdanā Naṃdana for the sake of his devotee's parental devotion.

3

*Gokuḷagāmamām̐ re nitya Yaśomatīghera ānaṃdahelī,  
kālāṃtotalām̐ re sutanām̐ vacana sūṇī thāya ghelī.*

There is a constant flood of joy in the home of Mother Yaśomatī in Gokuḷagāma,  
Hearing the lisping words of her child, she becomes mad.

4

*Mohana mūrati re saheje dīṭhethī moha lāge,  
te Hari haṭha karī re, 'mā! mā!' kahīne mākhaṇa māge.*

Infatuation happens automatically when one has seen the form of Mohana,  
This Hari is obstinate, saying, 'Mā, Mā', he asks for butter.

5

*pāge laṅgarī re, chamachama karato Chabilo cāle,*

*laṭake lāḍako re raṅgata lākaḍalī kara jhāle.*

There are small anklets on his feet, as Chabilo walks he makes jingles,

The darling totters on his coloured wooden stick and catches her hand.

6

*kaṭi kaṁdoraḍo re caraṇa dharaṁtāṁ khamakhama bole,*

*laṭake phūmatuṁ re, śobhā nahi koī tenī tole.*

His waist has a waistband, his feet jingle as he walks,

His tassles dangle, there is no other beauty in comparison with his.

7

*poṁcāṁsāṁkaḷāṁ re karamāṁ kaṁdanakaṁkaṇa śobhe,*

*poṁcī baherakhāṁ re bājubaṁdhe bahu mana lobhe.*

There are chains for his wrists and gold bangles shine on his arm,

Many minds desire his bracelets, armllets and bracelets.

8

*ura para sāṅgaluṁ re, siṁhanakha śobhe sovraṇamaḍhiyo,*

*maṇimuktātaṇī re mālāo jaī nābhi caḍīo.*

There is an amulet necklace on his breast, the lion-claws look good with their gold casing,

His necklaces with jewels and pearls reach to his navel.

9

*mohana mukhaḍuṁ re śaradapūnamaśaśīthakī bahu sāruṁ,*

*nirmaḷa nāsikā re motī laḷake, mohyuṁ mana māruṁ.*

His face is much lovelier than the full autumnal moon,

A pearl dangles on his unblemished nose, it infatuated my mind.

10

*lilavaṭa Lālanuṃ re śobhe kumakumabiṃdu dīdhuṃ.*

*āṃjī āṃkhaḍī re mājī gāḷananjariyuṃ kīdhuṃ.*

The forehead of Lāla looks good - his mother gave it a spot of kumkum,  
And put kajal in his eyes and made a black dot on his cheek.

11

*kuṃḍaḷa kānamāṃ re, paḍyāṃ pratibiṃba kapoḷe jhaḷake,*

*jhūmaṇaveḷiyuṃ re motībhariyuṃ laṭake laḷake.*

There are earrings in his ears, the reflection falls on his cheek as they swing,  
Tinkling ornaments with thin gold wire and full of pearls swing and shine.

12

*mukha para jhūmatā re Harine khiṭaliyālā keśa,*

*chabi ghanaśyāṃ che re, manamohana Prabhu bāḷakaveśa.*

On Hari's face, his curly hair dangles,  
His complexion is very dark, Prabhu is charming in his child's clothes.

13

*mukha dadhī lepiyuṃ re, nīrakhe ura bhari āve vhaḷa,*

*parama ānaṃdano re sāgara Śrīnavanītapriya Naṃdalāla.*

There is yoghurt smeared on his mouth, when she sees it love fills her heart,  
Śrīnavanītapriya Naṃdalāla is the ocean of the ultimate joy.

14

*evo lāḍilo re ṭhamaḷe cāla ṭhamakatī cāle,*

*mahīḍuṃ valovatāṃ re Goviṃḍa goḷī ne ravi jhāle.*

Such a darling walks jingling along,  
When the yoghurt is being churned, Goviṇḍa seizes the churning pot .

15

*bole totaluṃ re, ṭhaṇaṭhaṇato Kānaḍa thāya kālo,  
'māḍī! dhavaḍāvanī re,' haṭha karī kahetām lāge vḥālo.*

He stammers, Kānaḍa becomes childlike, chiming -  
'Mother give me some milk' he insists. As he says this he seems dear.

16

*pāno ūbharyo re, kokā daīne kaṃṭha lapaṭāve,  
śira suṃghī karī re laīne ūchaṃge dhavarāve.*

Her milk overflows, giving him a kiss, she embraces his neck,  
She smells his head and taking him on her lap she gives him milk.

17

*Goviṇḍa ghūṃtaḍe re dūḍha pīe, Jasodā mukha joya,  
pucakārī karī re janunī āṃkhanā āṃsu lhoya.*

Goviṇḍa drinks her milk in gulps, Jasodā looks at his face,  
Making clucking noises, his mother wipes the tears from his eyes.

18

*ṭṛpta thayā pache re māḗi vīvidha ramakaḍām āpe,  
khele āṃgaṇe re, gopījana laī hṛdayā cāṃpe.*

After he is satisfied, his mother gives him all kinds of toys,  
He plays in the courtyard, the Gopīs take him and press him to their hearts.

19

*bāḷakaveśa che re paṇa sukha chānuṃ saghaḷuṃ āpe,*

*koīne kahe nahīm re, abalā ati ānaṃda vyāpe.*

These are children's clothes, but he gives all secret happiness,  
Noone may describe the great joy fills that fills the women.

20

*letī bhānaṇām re nīrabhe śīśu māte mukha cūme,*  
*ghera javāya nahīm re, lalacyuṃ Lāla viṣe mana ghūme.*

Taking away the evil-eye for this reason they kiss the child's face [??]  
They will not go home, their minds are absorbed, attached to Lāla.

21

*ramatām āṃgaṇe re kardama vaḷagyo che Śrīaṃge,*  
*baheka barāsanī re jhājhī phelī che Harisaṃge.*

Playing in the courtyard, Śrīaṃga gets hold of mud.  
A great smell of camphor comes from Hari.

22

*- evā rajabharyā re vachanuṃ pūchumu grahī phare pūṃthe,*  
*paḍī javāya che re, gopī hasī paḍe vaḷī ūthe.*

So dusty, taking the tail of a calf, he runs after it,  
He falls down, the Gopīs laugh and he gets up again.

23

*Vrajanī suṃdarī re lālaca mākhanaṇaṇī batāve,*  
*āṃtara premathī re Prabhune theī theī thanaka nacāve!*

The women of Vraja offer him bribes of butter,  
With love in their hearts, they make Prabhu dance as they clap.

24

*bāḷacaritrano re ānaṃda evo Vrajajana māṇe,  
Vrajavāsitanā re bhāgyataṇo koī pāra na jāṇe.*

The people of Vraja enjoys such joy in his childish acts.  
They know no limit to the goodfortune of living in Vraja.

25

*'neti' Nigama kahe re, agama agocara sauthī aḷago,  
te Prabhu premathī re āhiraḍāṃne āvī vaḷagyo.*

The Lord of whom the Vedas say 'It is not', he is unknoweable and not to be  
reached by the senses and is separate from everything,  
The Āhīr women came and embraced that Prabhu.

26

*krīḍāavatāra ghaṇā re, śiromaṇi Vrajalīlā Vrajarāṇo;  
Dāsadayātāṇā re prāṇajīvanadhana e Prabhu jāṇo.*

There are many incarnations for sport, the crest jewel is the Vrajalīlā and the king of  
Vraja;  
Know that this Prabhu is the wealth of life and breath of the servant Dayā.

### 63 gopīnī phariyāda

R

*'kuṃvarane vāronī re Vrajarāṇī!'*  
Restrain the boy, Queen of Vraja!

1

*sahu Vrajanāra maḷīne āvī, Śrīyaśodāḷjīne dhāma re:*



*'lāḍakavāyo putra karyo kyama? vasiye Gokulaḡāma.'* kuṃvarane.

All the women of Vraja met together, in the home of ŚrīYaśodā,

'Why have you spoilt your son? We must live in Gokulaḡāma.'

2

*eka kahe, 'jaḡa bharavā jāuṃ tyāre gharamāṃ pese Giradhārī re;*

*mānaśo nahi, paṇa māḡī! kaḡuṃ, tame sām̄bhaḡone gati māri. kuṃvarane.*

One says, 'When I go to fetch water then Giradhārī enters my house,

You won't believe it, but Ma, I'll tell it, listen to my plight.

3

*sām̄cyuṃsaṃtādyuṃ hoyā je māruṃ te kṣaṇamāṃ e śodhī k-hāḡe re;*

*pahom̄ce nahi to piṃḡo māṃḡe ne te na pahom̄ce to pāḡe!' kuṃvarane.*

The (dairy products) which I have collected and hidden, he finds in a minute;

If he can't reach it, he makes a ball of clay and if that doesn't reach it then he knocks  
it down!'

4

*tyāre mātāḡī ema bolyāṃ, 'tame catura thāi kām̄ cūko re?*

*jyām̄ enī dr̄ṣṡe paḡe nahi vastu tyām̄ aṃdhāre mūko.'* kuṃvarane.

Then his mother speaks, 'Why not use your wits?

When he's not looking, put it in the dark (hide it).'

5

*eka kahe, 'meṃ e paṇa karī joyuṃ, mūkyuṃ aṃdhārām̄ḡe re;*

*ene śī ciṃtā? thāya ajavāḡuṃ jāi ūbho rahe jāṃḡe.'* kuṃvarane.

One says, 'I did this and watched, I put it away;

What does he care? He goes and stands where the new one is.'

6

*Kṛṣṇamāta tyāre eṇī pere bolyāṃ, 'tuṃ ghelī gopī! śīda śoce re?*  
*mahīmākhaṇa ūṃcuṃ śīke melo, tyāṃ e bālaka nahi pahorṃce.' kuṃvarane.*  
Then Kṛṣṇa's mother spoke to her, 'You are crazy, Gopī! Why trouble yourself?  
Put your yoghurt and butter high on a sling, then this child can't reach it.'

7

*tava bolī eka bālā, 'āvo huṃ śīkānī gata dekhāḍuṃ re;*  
*śāṇā sutanāṃ juo prarākrama, thāye aṃtara ṭāḍhuṃ. kuṃvarane.*  
Then a young girl spoke, 'Come, I'll show you how much use a sling is;  
Look at the prowess of your clever child, it makes your heart chill.

8

*lākaḍī leī caḍe anukhaḷa para, śīkethī laī sahu khāya re;*  
*sakhāne āpe ne tethī vadhe to mākalaḍāṃne pāya.' kuṃvarane.*  
'He takes a stick and he climbs on a wooden mortar, he takes from the sling and eats  
everything;  
He gives to his friends and what remains he gives to the red monkey to drink.'

9

*mātā kahe, 'anukhaḷathī na pahorṃce evuṃ ūṃcuṃ tame bāṃdho re;*  
*maṭūkītaṇuṃ mukha vastre vīṃṭīne soyadoraḍe laī sāṃdho.' kuṃvarane.*  
His mother says, 'Tie it so high that he can't reach from the mortar;  
Wrap the mouth of the pot with a cloth, sew it up with a needle and thread.'

10

*'haju tamo lakṣaṇa lāḍakavāyānāṃ na jāṇo mātā re!*  
*gharamāṃ garība ane bāraṇe bījo, vīte te jāṇe vāta. kuṃvarane.*  
'Now you do not know the behaviour of this spoilt child, mother,

He's polite in the house and outside he's different, know what happens.

11

*eka sakhānī khāmdhe caḍīne ati ūṃcuṃ paṇa cākhe re;*

*tethī na phāve to doṃṇī kare kāṇī, dhāra taḷe mukha rākhe. kuṃvarane.*

'Climbing on the shoulder of a friend, he tastes even the very high stuff,

If he is not satisfied with that then he makes a hole in the pot, and puts his mouth underneath the flow.'

12

*tyāre mājī kahe, 'e bāḷakane huṃ kaṃī rīte khāluṃ re!*

*mahīmākhaṇane majūsamāṃ melī donī triyā! tyahāṃ tāluṃ. ' kuṃvarane.*

Then the mother says, 'How can I stop this boy?

Put it in a chest for yoghurt and butter, my friends, then padlock it.'

13

*eka kahe, 'māḍī! ema kare to thāya che bamaṇuṃ jāna re;*

*khāvā nā pāme tyāṃ Khijī de gāḷo, bhāṃje pātra bahu Kahāna. ' kuṃvarane.*

One says, 'Mother, if we do this then we lose out twice;

When he doesn't get to eat then he gets angry and abuses us then Kahāna breaks many vessels.'

14

*kāṃī na cāle to choḍe vācharaḍāṃ, veḷā vinā dhavarāve re;*

*sūtāṃ bāḷakane jāine jagāḍe, coṃṭiyō deīne raḍāve. ' kuṃvarane.*

'If nothing works then he lets loose the calves, and they take milk at the wrong time,

He goes and wakes up the sleeping children, and pinches them and makes them cry.'

15

*evuṃ sām̐bhaḷīne kahe Rāñjī, 'deśa śikhāmaṇa bāi re!*

*maṃdiramāṃ peṭho tame dekho to lāvajo ene sāhī.' kuṃvarane.*

Having heard this the queen says, 'Teach him a lesson, friends!

If he enters your house and you see him, catch him and bring him (to me).'

16

*'are māta! meṃ eka dahāḍe saṃtāi āvto heryo re;*

*peśi sadanamāṃ khāvā vaḷuṃdhyo eṭale jāine meṃ dheryo. kuṃvarane.*

'Mother! One day I hid myself and I spied him coming;

He entered the house and when he was busy eating, then I came out and found him.

17

*meṃ kahyuṃ, cora! āvyo āja dāve, nahi jāvā dauṃ, graheśa re.'*

*marāḍī mūcha eṇe kahuṃ mujane, 'huṃ jāśa, tuṃ joīne raheśa.' kuṃvarane.*

I said, "Thief! today you're out of luck, I shan't let you go, I'll catch you."

He wiped his moustache and said to me, "I'll get away, you wait and see."

18

*karī kaḷā eka-mahī bharyuṃ mukhamāṃ eṭale jāine meṃ jhālyo re;*

*karyo kogaḷo māri āmkhamāṃ, huṃ coḷavā rahī, e cālyo!' kuṃvarane.*

'He was naughty - he filled his mouth with buttermilk when I went and seized him;

He spat a mouthful in my eye, while I stood rubbing it, he went off!

19

*eka kahe, 'meṃ jhālyo huto āja, topaṇa e nava gāṃṭhyo re;*

*troḍī muja muktāphaḷamālā, huṃ viṇavā rahī, Vhālo nāṭho!' kuṃvarane.*

One says, 'I caught him today, but I did not tie him up;

He broke my pearl necklace, and when I was threading it, Vhālo fled!'

20

*eṭalāmām eka abaḷāe āvi kahyuṃ, 'juo, lāvi chuṃ jhālī re;'*  
*chedo ūghāde to putra potāno! lajavāṇī, paḍī ṭhālī! kuṃvarane.*

Meanwhile one woman came and said, 'Look I caught him and brought him here'.  
When she opened her skirts it was her own son! She was embarrassed and knew  
she was wrong!

21

*evuṃ joī Jasodāji bolyām, 'āvām sēcām sahu hośo re;*  
*māro Lāla mārā bhavanamām poḍhyo, āvaśe jāgī to jośo.' kuṃvarane.*

Seeing this Jasodā said, 'You may all be right;  
My Lāla is now asleep in my house, when he has woken up he will come and you  
will see.'

22

*- evuṃ kahetām Prabhu āṃgaṇe āvyā nidrāmāṃthī ūṭhī re;*  
*Jasomatī kahe, 'juo ā māro bālaka, yuvatī! sarva tame jūṭhī!' kuṃvarane.*

As she was saying this, Prabhu came into the courtyard, having woken from his  
sleep;  
Jasomati says, 'Look this is my son, young women, all of you are lying!'

23

*premakaṭākṣe karī sahu kāmanī sāmum ŚrīKṛṣṇe joyuṃ re;*  
*lotapoṭa thāī gaī sahu lalanā, prītamamām mana proyuṃ. kuṃvarane.*

ŚrīKṛṣṇa looked at all of them and with eye movements of love he made them all  
enchanted,  
All the women became confused, he sewed their minds to him in affection.

24

*sāmāsāmī locana maḷatāṃ karī samaśyā chānī re;*

*sarave kahyuṃ, 'āvajo māre maṃdira,' Mohane līdhuṃ te mānī. kuṃvarane.*

Their eyes met together, having made secret suggestions;

Everyone said, 'Come to my house,' and Mohana agreed.

25

*GopīGovindataṇī gata nyārī! śuṃ jāṇe saṃsāra re?*

*haiye heta ne vadhe vadanathī, Koṇa lahe teno pāra? kuṃvarane.*

The state of the Gopīs and Govinda was wonderful - how can the world know this?

Love in their hearts and they quarrel with their mouth, who can experience this?

26

*śikhe, sām̐baḷe, gāya e garabo ŚrīKṛṣṇabāḷacaritra re;*

*kahe Dayo, 'Prabhu prasanna thāya tene, patita thāya pavitra.' kuṃvarane.*

Who studies, hears, or sings this *garabo* of the *bāḷlīlā* of Kṛṣṇa,

Dayo says: ' (If) Prabhu is pleased with him, the fallen person becomes pure.'

## 64 virahavilāsa

1

*Odhava! Alabelāne kahejo ke jyama amo kahāviye re lola!*

*hāvāṃ to hada thāi che Nātha! ke Gokuḷa āviye re lola!*

Odhava! Tell Alabelā to send us a message!

Now the limit has come, Nātha! come to Gokuḷa.

2

*koṭi kalpasamī paḷa jāya ke dina kevaḍo kaḥuṃ re lola?*

*māsavarasa ema vīte Vhālama! du:kha keṭaluṃ sahuṃ re lola?*

Should I say a moment goes like crores of ages or how long is the day?

Vhālama! Thus months and years go by, how much sorrow can I bear?

3

*hāvāṃ nathī rahevātumu Nātha! ke kaḥuṃ chuṃ karagarī re lola.*

*pāye paḍuṃ chuṃ Prāṇajīvana! ke pālava pātharī re lola.*

Now I cannot but beseech you Nātha,

I fall stretched at your feet, Prāṇajīvana, support me.

4

*tālāvelī lāgī tana ke mana tamamāṃ bhame re lola.*

*bolyuṃ veṇa bījā konuṃ paṇa amane nā game re lola.*

Our bodies are impatient and our minds wander in darkness.

We do not like it that the speech of someone else was said [by another].

5

*nathī mune khānapānanuṃ bhāna ke nidrā na maḷe re lola.*

*āthe pahora vicāre jaya ke kāḷajaḍuṃ baḷe re lola.*

I don't think about eating or drinking, I don't sleep

The eight periods of the day go in worry, my heart is ablaze.

6

*vyākuḷa thaī chuṃ Prītama pākhī ke kaḷa nā paḍe kṣaṇuṃ re lola.*

*e duḥkha koīne nā kahevāya ke akalāī e ghaṇuṃ re lola.*

I have become confused without seeing the Beloved, my pain doesn't ease for a moment.

This sorrow cannot be told to anyone. I am very distressed.

7

*anubhavī jāṇe e duḥkh, bākī sau gheḷāṃ kahe re lola;*

*pīḍā prītataṇī jyāṃ vyāpī ḍahāpaṇa nā rahe re lola.*

The experienced woman knows this sorrow, the others say we are all mad;

When the affliction of love pervades no sanity remains.

8

*Kānuḍa kālajaḍuṃ koryuṃ ke kāṃī sūjhe nahīṃ re lola;*

*premaḱaṭārīno ghā pāka caḍyo rūjhe nahīṃ re lola.*

Kānuḍa pierced my heart so that I can't think of anything;

The wound grew deeper, it does not heal.

9

*kṣaṇuṃkṣaṇuṃ vrehabāṇe chuṃdāya ke rūjha kaho, kyama vaḷe re lola?*

*malama maḷe jo Mohanameḷāpa ke duḥkha saghaḷāṃ ṭaḷe re lola.*

Every moment is crushed by the arrow of separation, so tell how should the healing  
happen?

If [there were] a meeting with Mohana I should get an ointment that would remove  
all pain.

10

*Odhava! nikuṃjanuṃ sukha saghaḷuṃ kyama śakīe kathī re lola?*

*paḷapaḷa līḷa praḡaṭa karī kāṃī ke kahevātī nathī re lola*

Odhava! How can we tell of the whole joy of the bower?

At every moment he made some *līḷa* appear which cannot be told.



11

*abaḷā aṃṭaranī abhilākhā nā've kaheṇamām re lola;*

*Piyujī pūraṇa karatā neha! śuṃ varaṇuṃ veṇamām re lola?*

The women's inner desire does not come in a message;

Piyujī makes their love fulfilled! What may I describe in a message?

12

*Odhava! snehataṇuṃ duḥkha sagapaṇathī adhikuṃ ghaṇuṃ re lola;*

*anubhavīnuṃ aṃṭara jāṇe ke mukhaḍuṃ śuṃ bhaṇuṃ re lola?*

Odhava! the sorrow of love is much greater than that of family [??];

The heart of the experienced knows what should I say with my mouth?

13

*aṇamaḷatām śuṃ ekāṃgī rati ke jokhama jīvanuṃ re lola;*

*kone kahiye? thayuṃ amāre karatava daivanuṃ re lola?*

Without meeting, what is one-sided pleasure or the fear of death?

To whom shall we say? Has something miraculous happened to us?

14

*Odhava! ā duḥkhatī ghaṇuṃ sāruṃ maraṇa āve baṇī re lola;*

*jīva to jāya tarata paṇa aṭake, āśa āvyā taṇī re lola.*

Odhava! If death - which is much better than this sorrow - happens,

Life goes quickly, but while we have any hope of his coming then it is delayed.

15

*āgaḷathī nava samajhyām ema je pīḍā prītamām re lola;*

*ā to sukha sāṭe udvega ke dīṭho ratirītamām re lola.*

Previously we did not understand that such are afflictions in love;

This agitation is the opposite of happiness, we see it in the ways of pleasure.

16

*nathī e kaṣṭataṇo upāya ke Vhālājī vinā re lola;*

*māṭe kahejo jyamatyama āve Hari bhūlī gunā re lola.*

There is no remedy for this affliction without Vhālājī;

Therefore tell him, let Hari come somehow, having forgotten (our) faults.

17

*abaḷājana amo avaguṇakhāṇa, śuṃ tamo nathī jāṇatā re lola?*

*guṇasāgara cho Giridharalāla! rakhe ura āṇatā re lola.*

We women are mines of defects, don't you know?

You, Giridharalāla are the ocean of virtue! perhaps you will clasp us to your breast.

18

*haiyānuṃ hārada samajho cho, śuṃ kaḥiye kathī re lola?*

*jāṇitā thāine duḥkha do cho e ghaṭatuṃ nathī re lola.*

You understand the love of the heart, how can we tell it?

If you were aware you give sorrow, this could not happen.

19

*prematāṇī pothīno pāra Uddhavajī! nā maḷe re lola.*

*māṭe karajo e ja upāya ke Vhālamajī vaḷe re lola.*

O Uddhavajī, we cannot get to the end of the book of love.

Therefore, carry out this very remedy by which Vhālāma may return.

20

*saṃdeśāmāṃ śī śī vāta kaho ame kahāviye re lola?*

*māṭe Dāsadayānā Pritama! nija ghera āviye re lola.*

Tell us what are the words in this message we send?

Therefore, Beloved of the Servant Dayā, come to your own home.

## 68 āṁkhamāṁ kāmāṇa

R

*kāmāṇa dīse che Alabelā! tāri āṁkhamāṁ re!*

*bhoḷuṁ bhākha mā re! kāmāṇa dīse che Alabelā!*

Alabelā, enchantment is seen in your eyes!

Do not speak ingenuously! Enchantment is seen, Alabelā!

1

*maṁḍa hasīne cittaḍuṁ coryuṁ, kuṭila kaṭākṣe kāḷaja koryuṁ;*

*adapaḍiyāḷi āṁkhe jhīṇuṁ jhāṁkha mā re, bhoḷuṁ bhākha.*

Smiling gently you stole my mind, your crooked sidelong glances have pierced my heart;

Peeking minutely with your half-closed eyes - do not speak ingenuously. .

2

*nakhaśikharūpa ghaṇuṁ raḍhiyāḷuṁ, laṭakuṁ saghaluṁ kāmāṇagārum;*

*chānāṁ khaṁjana rākhe paṁkaja pāṁkhamāṁ re, bhoḷuṁ bhākha.*

Your top to toe beauty is very lovely, all your flirting is enchanting;

Keep your dimples hidden, a lotus in the mud. Speak simply.

3

*vhālabharī rasavaraṇi vāṇi, tāruṇīnuṁ mana le che tāṇi;*

*bhrūkuṭimāṁ maṭakāvī bhūrakī nāṁkha mā re, bhoḷuṁ bhākha.*

Your voice full of love sprinkles *rasa*, it carries off the minds of women;

Winking in the bending of your eyebrows, you make charms. Do not speak ingenuously.

4

*Dayāprītama nirakhye je thāye te meṃ mukhaḍe nava kahevāye;  
ā vinatī āturatā āvaḍuṃ sām̐kha mā re, bhoḷuṃ bhākh.*

When Dayā's beloved looks at me I could not say with my mouth what happens

This is my request: forgive such eagerness. Do not speak ingenuously.

## 70 rūḍā dīso cho rājeśvara!

R

*rūḍā dīso cho Rājeśvara! maṃdira āvatā re. rūḍā.*

O Rājeśvara, you look beautiful, coming to my house.

1

*jarakasī jāmo suṃdara p/herī, māthe bāṃdhī pāgha sunerī,  
rūḍo reṃṭo oḍhī mana lalacāvatā re. rūḍā.*

Wearing a beautiful gold-embroidered tunic, having tied a golden turban on your head,

Wrapping a beautiful scarf, tempting my mind.

2

*haiye hāra gulābī phore, cittaḍuṃ roki rākhyuṃ core,  
gajarākājubāju muja mana bhāvtā re. rūḍā.*

The garland of roses on your breast gives off perfume, the thief detains my mind,

Flower-ornaments on both your hands are delighting my mind.

3

*kanakachaḍī sum̐dara kara laīne, gajagati cālo haḷavā rahīne,  
cittaḍuṃ corī mīṭhum̐mīṭhum̐ gāvata re. rūḍā.*

Holding a beautiful gold stick, you move swaying with an elephant's gait,  
Singing softly, you have stolen my mind.

4

*Dayāpṛītanā Nātha! vihārī jāuṃ vadanakamaḷa para vārī,  
hete śuṃ bolāvī tāpa śamāvata re. rūḍā.*

Nātha, Dayā's Beloved, I am devoted to your lotus face, which surpasses all others,  
You invited me with love, soothing my affliction.

## 71 kuṃjamāṃ vāya che vāṃsaḷī

1

*Vhālo māro kuṃjamāṃ vāya che vāṃsaḷī re lola! nāde vedhī che māri pāṃsaḷī re  
lola!*

Vhālo plays his flute in the bower! Its sounds pierced my heart!

2

*huṃ to sūṇatāṃ bhūlī sahu cāturī re lola! maḷavā thaī chuṃ ati āturī re lola!*

Hearing it I forgot all my cleverness, I became very eager to meet him!

3

*tālāvelī lāgī che mārā tanamāṃ re lola! goṭhatuṃ nathī kaṃī bhuvanamāṃ re lola!*

Agitation affects my body, there is no cure in the world!

4

*māruṃ citta coṃṭe nahīṃ gharakāmamāṃ re lola! peṭhuṃ che mana  
Ghanaśyāmamāṃ re lola!*

My thoughts do not stay on housework, my mind has settled on Ghanaśyāma!

5

*sakhī! mune Mohana lāge che ghaṇo mīṭhaḍo re lola! avara evo to nathī dīṭhaḍo re  
lola!*

O friend! Mohana seems very sweet to me, I've seen no one like him!

6

*sakhī! hāvāṃ to maḷī sukha mahālīe re lola! mahīḍuṃ vecyāne mase cālīe re lola!*

O friend, now having met, let us enjoy ourselves, let's go on the pretext of having sold our curds!

7

*dhanya dahāḍo te avatāra māre re lola! ramīe Śrīnaṃdakumāramāṃ re lola!*

Happy the day of my birth! Let us delight in Naṃdakumāra!

8

*Vhālo maḷatāṃ sahu sukha āpaśe re lola! saheje saṃtāpa sahu kāpaśe re lola!*

Meeting him, he will give us all pleasures! He will swiftly release our affliction!

9

*Śyāmaḷo sāgara ullāsano re lola! prāṇajīvana Dayādāsano re lola!*

Śyāmaḷo is an ocean of joy, the life-breath of the servant Dayā!

72 māne tamāruṃ te ghelaḍī!

R

*māne tamāruṃ te ghelaḍī Chabīlā! kahyuṃ māne tamāruṃ te ghelaḍī!*

The Gopī who believes what you have said is mad, Chabīlā, she is mad!

1

*śāne kāje mane kahāvyuṃ dūtī sāthe śodhavī hatī jyāre chelaḍī? Chabīlā!*

Why did you send a message to me with a female messenger when you chased another lovely woman?

2

*huṃ śuṃ jānuṃ je moḍhe mīṭhā, haiye jūṭhā? jāne je hoyā manamelaḍī. Chabīlā!*

What can I know (about you) who are sweet by mouth, false in your heart? Only the cunning can know.

3

*khare prabhāte māre dvāra śīda ūbhā? āghā raho to dekhaśe sāhelaḍī. Chabīlā!*

Why are you standing at my door in the early morning? If you stand back then you will see my friend.

4

*vaṇaja vinā jokhama śīda joīe? jāo jyām kīdhī raṃgarelaḍī! Chabīlā!*

Without profit why do you want a risk? Go (back) to where you had pleasure!

5

*adhaghaḍīno paṇa aṃtara paḍaśe, vaḷagāḍī lāvaśo na belaḍī. Chabīlā!*

There will be a distance between you for just half a moment, you will not bring another companion.

6

*simcavi no'ti tyāre ropī śīda Rasiyā! prathamathakī vhalavelaḍī? Chabīlā!*

When you have not watered the creeper of love then how will it grow?

7

*āja pachī kāṃī kahevuṃ nathī māre, sukhe karo kalolakelaḍī. Chabīlā!*

After today I don't want to say anything, have fun at your ease.

8

*Dayānā Pritama! ghaṇā kahāvo catura, paṇa parakho na eraṃḍo ke śelaḍī! Chabīlā!*

Dayā's Beloved! you are said to be very clever, but you do not examine (can't tell the difference between) the castor oil plant and sugarcane.

## 74 tāre preme huṃ mohyo!

R

*Mananī! tāre preme huṃ mohyo! tuja samo prema kahīṃ na meṃ joyo.*

Angry woman! I am infatuated by your love! I swear on you, never have I seen love.

1

*hetu vaṇa hetarasa tāro meṃ pīdho,*

*ajita chuṃ tadapi teṃ jīṭī līdho,*

*anya hatī paṇa artha kono na sīdhyo. Mānanī!*

For no reason I have drunk your essence of love (without self-interest),

I am unconquerable but now you have conquered me,

There were others but no one's aim was achieved.



2

*rūpa māruṃ jogīhr̥de nathī vasatuṃ,  
māruṃ citta tujamāṃthakī nathī khasatuṃ,  
moṭuṃ sukha dekhumuṃ vadana tāruṃ, hasatuṃ. Mānanī!*

My beauty does not live in the heart of the yogī,  
My mind is not drawn away from you,  
When I see your smiling face, there is great pleasure.

3

*kahyāmāṃ na āve rūpa pyāri! tāruṃ,  
jenā para koṭi ratirūpa vāruṃ,  
tāre rūpe lobhī rahyumuṃ mana māruṃ. Mānanī!*

Beloved, your beauty cannot be described,  
It is beautiful beyond crores of beauty of love [??]  
My mind is desirous of your beauty.

4

*āṃkha aṇīālī tārī ura saḷake,  
kāḷajaḍuṃ korāyumuṃ vacanane bhalake,  
sukhada ati madhura tāruṃ mukha malake. Mānanī!*

Your pointed eyes pierce my chest,  
My heart is pierced with darts of words  
Your exceedingly sweet, pleasure-giving face smiles.

5

*śocanā śane kare che tuṃ ṭhālī?  
gopī sau tāre saṃbaṃdhe vhalī,  
tāre mahele teḍyā vinā āvuṃ cālī. Mānanī!*

Why do you worry vainly?

All the Gopīs are dear to me because of their connection with you.

Without being asked, I come to your house.

6

*Anaṅgaviṣa muja tuja saṅga hare che,*

*locana mārāṃ tuja mukha dekhī ṭhare che,*

*smaraṇa tāruṃ mana mārūm na vīsare che. Mānani!*

In your company the poison of Anaṅga conquers me,

My eyes are fixed on your face,

My mind never forgets your memory.

7

*'Rādhe! Rādhe!' - acaḷa jape muja vāṇī,*

*āturatā aṃtarani na jāya vakhāṇī,*

*'kevi vḥālī che?' - kothī na jāya jāṇī. Mānani!*

'Rādhā! Rādhā!' - my voice chants firmly,

My eagerness of heart does not stop praising you,

'What is the beloved like?' - no one knows.

8

*'tuṃ te huṃ' ne 'huṃ te tuṃ' - vedamāṃ vāṇī,*

*moṭā bhāgyavālā śake koī jāṇī,*

*jugalachabī Dāsadaye ura āṇī. Mānani!*

'You, he, I' and 'I, he, you' [ I am you and you are me??] - the voice in the Vedas,

Some greatly fortunate people know,

The beauty of the pair entered the breast of the servant Dayā.

78 verana vāmsalaḍī

R

*vāmsalaḍī vāgī! ne juṃ to jāgī! sakhī! e veṇa verana thaī lāgī! vāmsalaḍī.*

He played the flute and I woke up! Friend, that flute has become vengeful!

1

*enā svare muja ura āvī vīmḍhyuṃ,*

*tajī lokalāja kāraja sarva sīdhyuṃ,*

*kāmaṇa mane Kānuḍāe kīdhuṃ! vāmsalaḍī.*

Its sound pierced my breast,

It has stopped regarding public opinion and has accomplished every task,

Kānuḍā has bewitched me!

2

*vāmsalaḍī to vāmsataṇo che kaṭako,*

*lāgyo mune aṃtara eno caṭako,*

*mohī huṃ to Mohanano joī laṭako! vāmsalaḍī.*

The flute is a piece of bamboo,

Its sting has struck my heart,

I am enchanted by seeing Mohana's elegance!

3

*mohī huṃ to Mohananuṃ mukha joī,*

*vhāluṃ re mune lāge na bījuṃ koī,*

*jīvuṃ huṃ to Jīvanajīne joī. vāmsalaḍī.*

I am enchanted by seeing Mohana's face,

No one else seems dear to me,

I live now I have seen Jīvanajī.

4

*gharamām mune kāma na sūjhe kāmī,*

*adekhā loka kare adekhāī,*

*Vhālā mārā Baḷibhadranā Bhāī. vāṃsalaḍī.*

I can't think of work at home,

Jealous people are jealous,

My Beloved is the brother of Baḷibhadra.

5

*sāsariāmām sāsujī ṭhapako āle,*

*naṇadī mārī bolebole ghaṇum bāle,*

*māre mārā Prabhujī vinā nava cāle! vāṃsalaḍī.*

In my in-laws' place, my mother-in-law tells me off,

My husband's sister inflames me greatly with her talk,

Everything is wrong without my Lord.

6

*maṇtra bhaṇī Mohane moralī vagāḍī,*

*Vhāle māre verinī garaja sārī,*

*ghelī karī saṃsāramāṇthakī kāḍhī. vāṃsalaḍī.*

Repeating a mantra, Mohana played the flute,

Vhālā accomplished my enemy's plan [the flute got to touch his lips??]

Making me mad, he lifted me out of worldly affairs.

7

*ā jone, bhenī! Jamunājīne ghāṭe,*

*Mohana meṇ dīṭhā hatā madharāte,*

*mīṭhī moralī vagāḍī Dīnanāthe. vāṃsalaḍī.*

Just look, dear sister! On the banks of the Jamunā,  
I saw Mohana at midnight,  
Dīnanātha played the flute sweetly.

8

*pīlāṃ pītāṃbara paheryāṃ Kahāne,*  
*kuṇḍaḷa kāmī jhaḷake Harine kāne,*  
*Bhūdharaḷī śobhe che bhīne vāne. vāṃsalaḷī.*  
Kahānā wore yellow *pītāṃbara*,  
An earring shone in Hari's ear,  
Bhūdharaḷī looks beautiful with his dark complexion.

9

*vāṃsalaḷī Dayānā Pritamanī pyārī,*  
*vāgī e to traṇa lokamāṃ nyārī,*  
*vyākūḷa karī dīdhī sakāḷa Vrajanārī. vāṃsalaḷī.*  
The flute is the darling of Dayā's Beloved,  
He played it, unique in the three worlds,  
It made all the women of Vraja confused.

10

*Vāṃsalaḷī to heta karī koī gāṣe,*  
*tenī to bhavanī bhāvaṭa bhāgī jāṣe,*  
*Dayānā Pritama āvye sukha thāṣe. vāṃsalaḷī.*  
If someone sings with love for the flute,  
Then the ill of the world will flee,  
At the coming of Dayā's Beloved, there will be happiness.

82 chamakaluṃ nava kīje!

R

*o Chabīlāji! chamakaluṃ nava kīje vāteghāte!*

*dina dohyalā che, Trikamaji! huṃ kahuṃ chuṃ eṭalā māte.*

O Chabīlāji! Please don't make mischief on the road and on the ghat!

The day is difficult, Tirkamaji! That's why I say this.

1

*kāṃī Vrajanārīnāṃ kahyāṃ karo,*

*kāṃī Vrajadāsī para mhera dharo,*

*kāṃī Bṛkhubhānakerī kuṃvarī varo. o Chabīlāji!*

Do what is ordered by some woman of Vraja,

Favour some servant woman of Vraja,

Marry some daughter of Bṛkhubhāna.

2

*Pāṭaliyā! prīte bolāvo,*

*kāṃī māragaḍāmāṃ samajhāvo,*

*nitya ṭhālī Kubjāne ghera jāo. o Chabīlāji!*

O Pāṭaliyā!, invite with love,

Convince her on the road,

Always go to the house of worthless Kubjā.

3

*kāṃī dāsī upara mhera karo,*

*eṭalo viveka haiyāmāṃ dharo,*

*ghaṇuṃ kahīe je Kubjāne vīsaro. o Chabīlāji!*

Grant a favour to a certain servant woman,

Keep this much discernment in your heart,  
Let us persuade you to forget Kubjā.

4

*Dayāpṛitamano Svāmī che rasiyo,*  
*mahī khāvāne āve dhasiyo,*  
*dhanya bhāgya amārāṃ je Vraja vasiyo! o Chabīlāji!*  
The Lord of Dayā's Beloved is a *rasiya*,  
He rushes to eat yoghurt,  
We who live in Vraja, our fates are blessed!

## 85 Akrūrajīne

R

*O Akrurajī! Gokulamāṃ tame sā kāraṇe āvyā?*  
*mārāṃ sukhaḍāṃ laī duḥkhanā dariyā śuṃ karavāne lāvyā?*  
O Akrūrajī! Why have you come to Gokula?  
Taking my sweet joys, why have you brought oceans of sorrow?

1

*tame mātapitā! kaḥuṃ te karaḷo,*  
*ā vacana amārāṃ hrde dharajo,*  
*mane mārīne ḍagalāṃ bharajo. O Akrurajī!*  
You are my parents! Please do as I say,  
Please bear these words of mine in your heart,  
When you have killed me, please proceed.

2

*ahīṃāṃ śuṃ kāma che tamāruṃ?*

*ghaṇuṃ citta kalape che amāruṃ,*

*ā NaṃdaJasodā kahe, 'sāruṃ.' O Akrurajī!*

What is your business here?

My thoughts grieve me greatly,

Naṃda and Jasodā say, 'Very well.'

3

*ā vinatī to kone kahīe?*

*haiyāmāṃ samajhīne rahīe,*

*ghaṇuṃ nirlajja karyāṃ Naṃdane chaiye! O Akrurajī!*

To whom may I make my entreaty?

I know in my heart

Naṃda's son has done much that is shameful.

4

*māre jhājhe hete haḷavuṃ che,*

*Kubjāne bhāgye bhaḷavuṃ che,*

*mārā māmājīne maḷavuṃ che. O Akrurajī!*

I am to know greater love,

Kubjā is to know good fortune,

I am to meet my uncle [Kaṃsa].

5

*tame kāraja karīne āvajo,*

*sukhe tene teḍī lāvajo,*

*tame Dayāsakhīne mana bhāvajo. O Akrurajī!*

Having done your task, please come,



Having taken him happily, please bring him back,  
Please delight the mind of Dayā's female friend.

## 87 haṭha mūkane

R

*mūkane mārā sama mānanī! havaṇāṃ haṭha mūkane, mārā sama mānanī!*

Let go, on my oath, angry woman! now let go of your anger, on my oath, angry woman!

1

*tuṃ māro prāṇa ne tuṃ māruṃ jīvana, sāṃbhaḷa Sutā! Vṛṣabhānanī. havaṇāṃ.*

You are my life-breath and you are my life, listen, daughter of Vṛṣabhāna!

2

*māguṃ kṛpā tāro jācaka thaīne, e ja icchā che mane dānanī. havaṇāṃ.*

I ask for mercy, having become your petitioner, I have only this wish for charity.

3

*te ja sācuṃ te tāri najare joṣe jūṭhī vāto je sūṇi kānanī. havaṇāṃ.*

You will see with your eyes that this is true, the false talk which you heard with your ears.

4

*Dayāno Prītama kahe, 'huṃ śaraṇe āvyo, tuṃ ja vastu che mārā dhyānanī.'*  
*havaṇāṃ.*

Dayā's beloved says, 'I have come for refuge, you are the only thing on my mind.'

89 jhaghaḍo locana manano

R

*locanamanano re! ke jhaghaḍo locanamanano!*

*rasiyā te janano re! ke jhaghaḍo locanamanano!*

Of the eye and the heart! The quarrel of the eye and the heart!

That enjoyer of the world! The quarrel of the eye and the heart!

1

*prīta prathama koṇe karī Naṃdakuṃvaranī sātha?*

*mana kahe, 'locana! teṃ karī,' locana kahe, 'tare hātha.' jhaghaḍo.*

Who first made love with Naṃdakuṃvara?

The mind says, 'Eye, you did.': The eye says, 'It was your doing.'

2

*Naṭavara nirakhyā nena! teṃ, sukha āvyuṃ tuja bhāga;*

*pachī baṃdhāvyuṃ mujane, lagana lagāḍī āga! jhaghaḍo.*

[Mind:] 'Eye! you saw Naṭavara, it was your lucky fate;

Then I was bound to him, the feeling of love in separation caught fire.

3

*sūṇa cakṣu! huṃ pāṃgaḷuṃ, tuṃ mārūṃ vāhana*

*nigamaagama kahyuṃ sām̐bhalyuṃ, dīṭhā vinā gayuṃ mana.' jhaghaḍo.*

[Mind:] 'Listen, eye! I am dependent, you are my vehicle,

I have heard what the Vedas and Śāstras said [that he is *nirguṇa*], without seeing him, the mind is useless.'

4

*'bhaluṃ, karāvyaṃ meṃ tane Suṃdaravarasaṃjoga.*

*mane taḷi tuṃ nita maḷe, huṃ raḥuṃ duḥkhavijoga!' jhaghaḍo.*

[Eye:] 'Well, I arranged your union with Suṃdaravara.

Abandoning me, you meet all the time, I remain suffering the grief of separation!'

5

*vanamāṃ Vhālāḷi kane huṃ ya vasuṃ chuṃ nena!*

*paṇa tuṃne nava meḷave, huṃ nava bhogavuṃ cena!' jhaghaḍo.*

[Mind:] 'I live in the forest with Vhālāḷi, O eye!

But if he does not meet with you, I do not have any pleasure!'

6

*'cena nathī mana! kyama tane bheṭaye Śyāmaśarīra?*

*duḥkha māruṃ jāṇe jagata, rātaḍivasa vahe nīra!' jhaghaḍo.*

[Eye:] 'Mind! (you) have no fun! How does the body of Śyāma embrace you?

The world knows my sorrow, day and night (my) water (tears) flows!'

7

*mana kahe, 'dhīkhuṃ hṛde, dhuma praḡaṭa tyāṃ hoyā.*

*te tujane lāḡe re nena! tehathakī tuṃ roya.' jhaghaḍo.*

The mind says, 'When I burn in my heart, smoke appears.

Eye, that affects you and therefore you weep.'

8

*e beu āvyāṃ buddhi kane, teṇe cūkavyo nyāya:*

*'mana! locanano prāṇa tuṃ, locana! tuṃ mana kāya. jhaghaḍo.*

They both went to the intellect, it gave the ruling:

'Mind! you are the soul of the eye. Eye! you are the body of the mind!'

9

*sukhathī sukha, duḥkha duḥkathī, manalocana! e rīta.*

*Dayāpṛītama Śrīkṛṣṇaśuṃ beu vaḍethī pṛīta. jhaghāḍo.*

If one is happy the other is happy, if one is sad then the other is sad, the mind and the eye! So it this way

They are both the beloveds of Dayā's Beloved, Kṛṣṇa

## 91 premasamādhi

R

*mānyo manano Mohanavara pāmiyāṃ jo re!*

*amo vedanā vrehenī sahu vāmīāṃ jo re! mānyo.*

We obtained Mohanavara, worshipped in our hearts,  
He abandoned all of us to the pain of separation.

1

*Raṃgarasiyo Chabīlo Chelaḍo re jo re!*

*nāgara Naṃdano Kiśora Alabelaḍo jo re! mānyo.*

Raṃgarasiyo Chabīlo Chelaḍo!

The sophisticated son of Naṃda, Alabelaḍo.

2

*jene jovā jogeśvara deha dame jo re!*

*re to amaśuṃ akhaṃḍa raṃga rame jo re! mānyo.*

The Lord of Yogīs restrained his body to see him who  
Played unbroken lovegames with us.

3

*jene nīrakhī Manmatha mūrchita thayo jo re!*

*Lāla te ama upara laṭṭū thāī rahyo jo re! mānyo.*

Manmatha fainted when he saw Lāla

Who was always dependent on us.

4

*anaṃṭa koṭi brahmāṃḍano je rājiyo jo re!*

*keśa kāmīnīna gūṃthatāṃ na lājiyo jo re! mānyo.*

The one who shone (in) endless thousands of worlds,

He was not shy to plait women's hair.

5

*vaśa Śeṣamaheśa jo nā'viyo jo re!*

*amo abaḷā te nāca nacāviyo jo re! mānyo.*

Who does not fall into the control of Śeṣa-Maheśa,

We women made him dance for us.

6

*jenuṃ darśana jñāna svapna nava lahyuṃ jo re!*

*'ṛnī chuṃ tamāro' amane kahyuṃ jo re? mānyo.*

Whose vision cannot be got even in a dream -

'I am indebted to you' he said to us.

7

*amāruṃ padako na pālyuṃ koṭilākhamaṃ jo re!*

*amāre ochuṃ rahyuṃ śuṃ abhilākhamaṃ jo re? mānyo.*

He did not protect our status in any way at all [??]

What did he find lacking in our desire?

8

*jīvana jaganuṃ ama pāse āpoāpa che jo re!*

*kevaḷa Premapuruṣanā pratāpa che jo re! mānyo.*

We personally have the soul of the world,

There is only the splendour of the Premapuruṣa.

9

*mūkī amane Odhava kyahuṃ jāya nā jo re!*

*bolyuṃ amāruṃ tamo parakhāya na jo re! mānyo.*

O Odhava! he cannot leave us and go away,

You cannot understand our speech.

10

*jene viyoge āṃsu pāḍiye jo re Odhava!*

*kaho to te puruṣa dekhāśīe jo re! mānyo.*

In separation from whom we have shed tears, Odhava,

Tell that man he should show himself!

11

*ghaḍī bemāṃ vāṃsalaḍī vāgaśe jo re!*

*Vhālo ama pase āvī kāṃṇī māgaśe jo re! mānyo.*

In two moments he will sound his flute,

Vhālo will come to us and ask us for something.

12

*-ema kahetāṃ sau mane magna thāi gaī jo re!*

*Uddhava jue che premasamādhi thāi gaī jo re! mānyo.*

While saying this, everything has become absorbed for me,

Uddhava sees they have reached the perfect state in love.

13

*mīthyā śīda huṃ phūluṃ chuṃ jñānagāthamāṃ jo re?*

*Hari dīse che haiyānā hāthamāṃ jo re! mānyo.*

Why do I search wrongly in verses of knowledge?

Hari is seen through the power of the heart.

14

*parama prema pyārī e Avināśanī jo re!*

*e che sarva Svaminīo Dayādāsanī jo re! mānyo*

This love of these women for Avināśa is the supreme love,

They are all the rulers of the servant Dayā.

## 92 Lāḍalī lāvum

1

*āṃkha bharo mā Alabelaḍā re! Lāḍalī lāvum.*

*eka muhūrta phelī Mahārāja! śīda saṃtāpa karo che? Lāḍalī lāvum.*

O Alabelaḍā, do not fill your eyes with tears, I shall bring your sweetheart,

Less than a minute before, Mahārāja, why do you cause her such pain?

2

*vāṃka tamāro hoy to ye Lāḍalī lāvum.*

*nahīṃ to nāma dharum na Lalitā ye, śīda saṃtāpa karo che? Lāḍalī lāvum.*

Even though the fault is yours - otherwise I am not called Lalitā.

3

*lāla locana śīdane bharo cho? Lāḍalī lāvum.*

*ūṃḍā nīsāsā mūkśo mā Nātha! śīda saṃtāpa karo che? Lāḍalī lāvum.*

Why do you make your eyes red? Lord, do not sigh deeply.

4

*eka vātaḍīmāṃ vihvala karīne Lāḍalī lāvum.*

*soṃpuṃ hātha tamāro ene hātha, śīda saṃtāpa karo che? Lāḍalī lāvum.*

In one little word, having made her confused, I shall join your hand in her hand.

5

*laṭṭu karī lagāḍum lata Lāḷajī re Lāḍalī lāvum.*

*eka buṭṭī suṃghāḍum buddhirūpa, śīda saṃtāpa karo che? Lāḍalī lāvum.*

Lāḷajī made her totally engrossed, he made her addicted,

I shall apply a cure, in the form of intellect.

6

*saghaḷo kājaḷa kāḍhī kāḷajataṇo re Lāḍalī lāvum.*

*evuṃ kāraja karuṃ chuṃ anupa, śīda saṃtāpa karo che? Lāḍalī lāvum.*

Removing all lampblack from your heart [made by the smoke of separation], so I do such an unparalleled task.

7

*marma mālūma che mune mānana re Lāḍalī lāvum.*

*vinā kahye sarva Vrajarāya! śīda saṃtāpa karo che? Lāḍalī lāvum.*

I know the inner meaning of her anger, all without saying anything, Vrajarāya!

8

*- ema kahīne sakhī saṃcarī re - Lāḍalī lāvum.*



- *lāgi Dayāprītamajīne pāya, sīda saṃtāpa karo che? Lāḍali lāvum.*

Having said this the friend went- after touching the feet of Dayā's Beloved.

## 94 Naṃdakumvaraśum neha!

1

*sūṇa sāhelaḍī re! māre Naṃdakumvaraśum neha!*

*jhājhum śum kahum re? māre prāñajīvanadhana teha!*

Listen, my friend! I have the love of Naṃdakumvara

What more shall I say? I have that wealth of the spirit and the soul!

2

*hāra haiyātaṇā re! mārā kāḷajaḍānī kora!*

*mastakanā maṇi re! mārā cittaḍākerā cora!*

The taker of my love! the breaker of my heart!

The jewel of my head, the thief of my mind!

3

*ura lapaṭāvīe re! e para āve evum vhāla!*

*sahiyara! śum karum re? moṭum sāsariyaṇum sāla!*

Let us embrace him! Such great love comes!

O friend! What shall I do? My in-laws give such great annoyance!

4

*āja mune ekalo re maraga jātām maḷiyo Kā'na.*

*mukha bolyo nahim re! kīdhī āṃkhalaḍīmām sāna!*

Today, as Kahāna was going alone along the road he met me.

He did not speak with his mouth but made a sign with his eye!

5

*huṃ samajhī gaī re! mune teḍi Vṛṇḍāvana*  
*kahe, sakhī! kema karuṃ re? tālāvelī lāgi tana!*

I understood, he invited me to Vṛṇḍāvana  
Say friend, what shall I do? My body is agitated!

6

*śā maśe saṃcaruṃ re? mujane sūjhe nahim kaṃī pera!*  
*jāuṃ jo vaṇakahe re āvī utara dauṃ śo ghera?*

Under what pretext shall I go? I can't think of any plan!  
If I go without saying anything then what reply shall I give when I return home?

7

*eka upāya che re jo tuṃ āve muja saṃga,*  
*jaīe mahī vecavā re, ramīe Rasiyajīśuṃ raṃga!*

There is one way, if you come with me,  
Let us go to sell yoghurt, we shall enjoy pleasure with Rasiyajī!

8

*ekabe anyonya maḷī re cālyāṃ sahiyarakere sātha,*  
*hoṃsa haiyāṇṭaṇī re pahoṃcī - maḷyā Dayānā Nātha!*

Having met one or two others, they went with their other friends  
The zeal of their hearts was achieved - Dayā's Lord met them!

96 *kālaja koryuṃ te kone kahīe?*

R

*kālaja koryuṃ te kone kahīe re Odhava! chelachabīlaḍe?*

Odhava, whom shall we tell that Chelachabīlaḍo broke our hearts?

1

*verī hoyā to vaḍhatāṃ re phāvīe, paṇa prāṇathī pyāro ene lahīe re! Odhava!*

If he were an enemy then fighting would have suited us, but we hold him dearer than life.

2

*dhīkhīe dhāṃkyāṃ te kahye nava śobhīe, dāhyāṃ śuṃ vahyāṃ nāne chaiye re! Odhava!*

We burn in private, when we say it we do not look good, this little boy carried us intelligent women away.

3

*soḍano ghāva māryo snehī Śyāmaḷiye! kiyā rājāne rāve jaīe re? Odhava!*

Loving Śyāmaḷiyo struck blows to our hearts, are we to go to the king with our complaint?

4

*kaḷa na paḍe kāṃṇi pera na sūjhe! rātadivasa ghelāṃ rahīe re! Odhava!*

There is not rest, we can't find a way, day and night we remain crazy.

5

*kāṃṇi vastumāṃ kṣaṇa citta na coṃṭe, Alabelo āvī beṭho haiye re! Odhava!*

Our thoughts do not stay on any matter for a moment, Alabelo dwells in our hearts.

6

*Dayānā Prītamajīne eṭluṃ kahejo: kyāṃ sudhī āvāṃ duḥkha sahīe re? Odhava!*

Say this much to Dayā's Beloved: How long are we to bear such sorrows?

### 100 pādhare paṃthe jā!

R

*'neṇa nacāvatā Naṃdanā kuṃvara! pādhare paṃthe jā!*

*suṃdarī sāmum̐ joī Viṭṭhala! vāṃsalaḍī mā vā! gumānī! pādhare paṃthe jā!*

'Naṃda Kuṃvara was moving his eyes, walk on by!

Viṭṭhala, do not play the flute, proud one, seeing the beautiful woman in front of you. Walk on by!

1

*Vhālā! tāruṃ nirlajja dhītamāṃ nāma paḍyum̐, tuṃ kāṃī ḍāhyo thā;*

*koṇa putrī paraṇāvaśe tārāṃ dekhī lakṣaṇa ā? gumānī!*

Vhālā! you have got a name for shameless boldness, you are quite clever;

Who will marry their daughter to you, seeing these traits of yours?

2

*panaghaṭa upara pālava sāhe che e te kyāṃno nyā?*

*kāmanīmāṃ suṃ kāma ājathī? aviveka te śā?' gumānī!*

He catches the skirts at the water ghat, what sort of behaviour is that?

From today what is his work among women? Why is he ill-mannered?'

3

*haḷavā rahī hasī bolyā, 'tāruṃ adharāmṛta pā*

*to mārūṃ mana māne Śyāmā! ekavāra kahe 'hā'. gumānī!*  
He laughed agreeably and said, 'Drinking your lip-nectar  
Śyāmā, it will delight my mind if you once say "Yes!"'

4

*'āva oro kea vāta kahūṃ tuṃne kānamām Kānuḍā!*  
*śīda haṭhilā! aṭake? huṃ to tāri chuṃ ja sadā. gumānī!*  
'Come near and I shall say one thing in your ear, Kānuḍā!  
'Why do you hesitate, stubborn one! I am yours forever!'

## 102 mārā Rāja!

1

*eka Vṛndāvanamāmhe nikuṃjanā mahelamām mārā Rājā!*  
*ho jī re! Jagalakiśoracaritra prema rasa gelamām mārā Rājā!*  
In a palace of a bower in Vṛndāvana, my Rāja!  
The activities of Jagalakiśora, love and *rasa*, in caresses, my Rāja!

2

*soḷa kaḷā Śaśī ūdiyo, phulī rahī jāmani mārā Rājā!*  
*ho jī re! joḍe rahī sakhī jue Lalitādika kāmani mārā Rājā!*  
The sixteen digit moon rose, the night blossomed  
The women friends, Lalitā etc. together see this.

3

*eka sajjāmām beu jaṇām raṃgabhara rājiyām mārā Rājā!*  
*ho jī re! śobhātaṇo nathī pāra, Kāmarati virājiyām mārā Rājā!*

In one bed, the two people, full of passion enjoy themselves,  
There is nothing more beautiful, they look like Kāma and Rati.

4

*karvā māmḍyā che śaṇagāra parasparapeṃ navā mārā Rājā!*  
*ho jī re! Rādhā thayā Nāṃdalāla, Mohanaḥī Rādhā thayāṃ mārā Rājā!*  
They have begun to make each other new ornaments,  
Nāṃdalāla became Rādhā, Rādhā became Mohanaḥī.

5

*sādīcoḷī paherī Śāmaḷe, te mana lobhīo mārā Rājā!*  
*ho jī re! paheryuṃ pītāṃbara pāga, Śyāmāśīrapecaśobhiyo mārā Rājā!*  
Śāmaḷa put on a sari and a bodice, the mind desired him,  
Śyāmā wore a pītāṃbara, and a turban jewel looked beautiful.

6

*seṃtho, āḍa, śīśaphula, Dāmodara dāmaṇī mārā Rājā!*  
*ho jī re! tilaka torāśīrapeca dhare bālā bahu baṇī mārā Rājā!*  
Dāmodara wears a hair-parting, an ornament in it, a śīśa flower, a forehead  
ornament,  
The woman wears a tilaka and head jewels.

7

*Naṭavara nathane ekatra jhūke rūpa goriyuṃ mārā Rājā!*  
*ho jī re! hemaṇī te hāṃsaḍī Harine hoṃse dharī mārā Rājā!*  
Naṭavara hangs together a nose-ring of pale silver,  
She wears Hari's golden necklace enthusiastically.

8

*nepūra aṇavaṭa viṃchuā Piyujīnā pāgamām mārā Rājā!*

*ho jī re! kaṭimekhalā veḷiyuṃ rāgamām mārā Rājā!*

On the Piyujī's feet, anklets, big-toe rings and toe-rings

She wears a belt, ear ornaments, in delight.

9

*adalabadala ityādika ābhūṣaṇa aṃbāra kīdhalā mārā Rājā!*

*ho jī re! vividha māṇyo rasa, āliṃgana dīdhalām mārā Rājā!*

They made an exchange of their ornaments and clothes,

They enjoyed various *rasas*, they embraced.

10

*Śrīrādhārūpe dharyuṃ māna, Mohana pāge lāgiyā mārā Rājā!*

*ho jī re! hasatām paraspara jāya, saṃdeha mananā bhāgīā mārā Rājā!*

In the form of ŚrīRādhā, he payed respect and she touched Mohana's feet

They laugh at each other, and break the mind's doubts.

11

*vīparīta ramaṇa rūḍī rīte mana bharī māṇiyām mārā Rājā!*

*ho jī re! āvyuṃ akekane sukha, hāśa vītyethī jāṇiyām mārā Rājā!*

They happily enjoyed themselves with her on top of him, their minds satisfied,

Each of them got pleasure, from experiencing this they felt satisfaction.

12

*preme bharyām beue poḍhiyām atiśe ānaṃda uramām thayo mārā Rājā!*

*ho jī re! guṇa gāi sukharūpa Dayo balihārī gayo mārā Rājā!*

Love filled them, they both went to bed and excessive joy arose in their hearts.

Singing praises of the beauty of happiness, Dayā became blessed!

106 ḍahāpaṇa rākho jī!

1

Gopī: 'Śyāma! salakṣaṇā raho kaḥuṃ chuṃ, śikhāmaṇa lo mānī jī;  
māraḡaḡe jātāṃ muja śravaṇe vāta rahi śīda chānī? ḍahāpaṇa rākho jī!'

Gopī: 'Śyāma! I tell you to be prudent, heed my advice;  
What secret talk came into my ear as I was going along the road? [i.e. what  
were you doing telling me secrets as I walked down the road?] Keep your  
wits about you!'

2

Kṛṣṇa: 'avaḷī re abaḷā! avaḷuṃ śuṃ bole jātāṃ sīdhī vāṭa jī?  
karaṇaphūla tāruṃ navīna dekhī saheja meṃ joyo ghāṭa. sūlaṭuṃ bhākho jī!'  
Kṛṣṇa: 'Lady, you're wrong. What is wrong in talking, going along a direct road?  
Having seen your new earring, I naturally saw an opportunity [its beauty].  
Speak plainly!'

3

Gopī: 'karaṇaphūla joyuṃ te śuṃ kaho cho? avara koī kyama māne jī?  
puruṣane śuṃ kāma strīaṃḡe? samajhāvo cho kone? ḍahāpaṇa rākho jī!'  
Gopī: Why do you say that you saw the flower behind my ear? Does anyone else  
believe you?  
What desire does a man have for a woman's body? Whom do you deceive?'

4

Kṛṣṇa: 'jenā manamāṃ kapaṭa hoyā te kapaṭataṇī gata jāṇe jī;  
jotāṃ jāna gayuṃ śuṃ tāruṃ je āvādī vāta vakhāṇe? sūlaṭuṃ bhākho jī!'



Kṛṣṇa: 'The person who has trickery at heart knows the way of trickery;

In looking, what do you lose [If I look, what does it matter to you?] that you say such things?

5

Gopī: '*chānā raho, sādhu cho huṃ jāṇuṃ, sācāṃ bolo cho veṇa jī;*

*sadhupaṇānī sākha pūre che nācamtām beu neṇa! ḍahāpaṇa rākho jī!*'

Gopī: 'Be quiet, I know you are virtuous, you speak true words;

Your two dancing eyes supply (complete) your reputation for virtue.

6

Kṛṣṇa: '*nācamtām ke vaṇanācamtām teṃ meṇuṃ śīda dīdhuṃ jī?*

*jevām che tevām ama pāse, kahe, tāruṃ śuṃ līdhuṃ? sūlaṭuṃ bhākho jī!*'

Kṛṣṇa: 'Dancing or not dancing, why did you reproach me?

However these things are with me, tell me, what did you lose?

7

Gopī: '*Vhālā! māruṃ to sarvasva līdhuṃ che, huṃ abaḷā kahetī lājūṃ jī;*

*tanamanadhana lūṃṭīne līdhuṃ! hāvām śuṃ leśo jhājhuṃ? ḍahāpaṇa rākho jī!*'

Gopī: 'Vhālā! My all was taken, I am ashamed saying this as a woman;

Mind, body and wealth were taken! Now what more will you take?

8

Kṛṣṇa: '*huṃ to bāḷaka! kāṃī na samajhuṃ kevuṃ hoyā tanamanadhana jī;*

*kyama kahyo teṃ mujane moṭo?' - ema bolyā Jagajīvana. sūlaṭuṃ.*

Kṛṣṇa: 'But I am a child! I don't understand at all what mind, body and wealth are;

Why did you call me an adult?' So Jagajīvana said.

9

Gopī: *'tamo Naṃdakuvara! nīrakhyā nānā! guṇa moṭā, gaṃbhīra jī!*  
*vaḍā bāṇathī vadhato pīḍe jema nāno nāyakavīra. ḍahāpaṇa rākho jī!'*

Gopī: 'Naṃdakuvara! you look small, but you have great and deep qualities;  
You inflict pain, increasing it with great arrows, like a little hero.'

10

Kṛṣṇa: *'kāyara thaī ema kaṃpe che ne vāta śūrānī vakhāṇe jī;*  
*nāyakabāṇataṇī gata nyārī, tuṃ to vaṇadīṭhe kema jāṇe? sūlaṭuṃ bhākho jī!'*

Kṛṣṇa: 'You have been defeated and tremble like this, yet you speak words of  
heroism;  
The skills of heroes and arrows are strange, how can you know without  
having seen them?'

11

Gopī: *'Dāsadayānā Prabhu! duḥkha rakhe dharatā, huṃ durijana māṭe kaḥuṃ*  
*chuṃ jī;*  
*e sukhaḍāṃne kāje Hari! huṃ bola lokanā saḥuṃ chuṃ. ḍahāpaṇa rākho jī!'*

Gopī: Lord of the servant Dayā! I speak for the sake of wicked people, lest you  
should suffer sorrow;  
Hari! I bear people's words for the sake of these pleasures.

107 gulāle māri āṃkha bhari!

R

*'sakhī! ā jonī, Gopāḷe gulāle māri āṃkha bhari!*

Friend, just look, Gopāḷa filled my eyes with red powder!

1

*āṃkha bhari meṃ nava jovāyumuṃ tyāre rahī huṃ ḍarīne;*

*manamānyumuṃ te kīdhuṃ eṇe, vaḷagyā jhūmī karīne. sakhī!*

With my eyes full I was not able to see and then I became afraid;

He did that which is delighting to the mind, he got his opportunity and embraced me.

2

*meṃ vāryā, Vhālame na mānyumuṃ, samajhī rasa na līdho;*

*eka divasamāṃ sau sukha sāmtyumuṃ jagatabhavāḍo kīdho. sakhī!*

I stopped him, Vhālama did not obey, I thought he was not pleased;

We concealed all pleasure for a day and had an argument in public.

3

*uramukha ḍāṃkyumuṃ kyāṃ lagī raheṣe? durijana, gurujana joṣe;*

*kāle ramavā nahīṃ javāya meṃ tyāre sī gati hoṣe?' sakhī!*

How long will my head and breast remain covered? Wicked people and the elders will see;

The next day I will not be able to go to play, then what will happen?'

4

*sakhī kahe, 'cīṃtā taja cittathī, āpaṇa niṣce jaīṣumuṃ;*

*kahenārāṃ kahīne ṣumuṃ kaheṣe? naphaṭanirlajja thāīṣumuṃ. sakhī!*

Her friend says, 'Banish worry from your thoughts, we shall certainly go;

What will talkers say when they talk? We shall be shameless and immodest.

5

*je sukhane padmā tarase che te tuṃ sheje pāmī;*

*jakha māre che jagata, māṇa tuṃ Dāsadayāno Svamī.' sakhī!*

The happiness for which Padmā thirsts, you will get effortlessly;  
The world suffers the consequences of its actions, you enjoy the Lord of the servant  
Dayā.'

## 108 mīṭho Mohanavara

R

*bolī ema Kīrtikumārī re, chānī eka vāta che mārī re. bolī.*

Kīrtikumārī spoke thus, 'I have a secret.'

1

*sāmbhaḷa Lalitā! sāhelī re! kaḥuṃ tuṃne lajjā melī re. bolī.*

Listen, my friend Lalitā, abandoning modesty I shall tell you.

2

*Baṃsībaṭacokamāṃ dīṭho re, Mohanavara lāgyo che mīṭho re. bolī.*

When I saw him in Baṃsībaṭacoka, Mohanavara seemed sweet.

3

*saṃdhyānā samayamāṃ beṭho re, jotāmāṃ kāḷajaḍāmāṃ peṭho re. bolī.*

Dusk had fallen, as I looked he entered my heart.

4

*rasika che raṃgīlo rūpāḷo re, citta mārūṃ coraṇavāḷo re. bolī.*

He is cultured, handsome and beautiful, he is the stealer of my mind.

5

*maṃda hasī muja sāmūṃ joyūṃ re, kaṭākṣathī kāḷaja proyuṃ re. bolī.*

Laughing gently he looked at me, he sewed my heart to him with his wink.

6

*tyārānī huṃṃ thāi chuṃṃ ghelī re, tene mune meḷava sāhelī re! bolī.*

Since then, I have become crazy, my friend get him to meet me!

7

*sahiyara! tāre pāge lāguṃṃ re, Mohanaḷinuṃṃ maḷavuṃṃ māguṃṃ re.' bolī.*

My friend, I touch your feet, I beg you to meet Mohanaḷi.'

8

*Lalitā kahe che, 'sūṇa sāhelī re! baṇīṭhaṇī tuṃṃ thā alabelī re. bolī.*

Lalitā says, 'Listen, friend, you become extravagant in droning on.

9

*cāla, ūṭha, tuṃṃ māri saṃge re, ramāḷuṃṃ rūpāḷāśuṃṃ raṃge re bolī.*

Come on, get up, (come) with me, I shall cause you to play in the delight with the beauty.

10

*Dayāprabhuśuṃṃ jāi maḷie re, banno sukhasiṃdhumāṃṃ bhaliye re! bolī.*

Let's go to meet with Dayā's Lord, may you both mix in the river of happiness!'

### 113 Kātyāyanīvrata

1

*jī re eka same Vraḷakanyakāḷjī mohī joī Kṛṣṇasvarūpa jī;*

*mana icchā sahune ūpanī jī - varavo vara e anupa jī.*

On one occasion, the young girls of Vraja saw Kṛṣṇa's true form and became enchanted;

The wish arose in all their minds - we want to marry this unique eligible man.

2

*kāmī sādhana sabaḷuṃ kijīe jī to e kaṃtha pamāya jī;*

*- kaḥī Kātyāyanīvrata ācaryuṃ jī varavā Śrīvrajarāya jī.*

If we make a powerful plan then the beloved can be obtained;

- saying this they performed a Kātyāyanī vow to marry Śrīvrajarāya.

3

*Mārgaśīrṣamāsa Pratipadā jī vrataāraṃbhano dīna jī;*

*sahu prātaḥkāḷa kumārikā jī ūṭhī, ānaṃda mana jī.*

The first day of the month of Mārgaśīrṣa was the day of the beginning of the vow;

All the girls got up at dawn, there was joy in their minds.

4

*sāmagrī pūjananī grahī jī, karatī Hariguṇagāna jī;*

*sakhī ṭoḷe maḷī sahu saṃcarī jī karavā Jamunāsnāna jī.*

They took the equipment for worship, they sang praises of Hari;

The friends met up in a crowd and went to bathe in the Jamunā.

5

*Śrīmahārāṅjīmāṃ nhāīne jī paheryāṃ pavitra paṭakuḷa jī;*

*karī veḷukānī devī pratimā jī Kālīṃdīne kūla jī.*

Having bathed in the great queen, they put on pure fine garments;

They built an image of sand of the goddess, (on the) bank of Kālīṃdī.

6

*jaḷa, kuṃkuma, abīla, gulāla jī puṣpamāḷa dharī mātha jī;*  
*dhūpa dīpa bhoga taṃboḷa arapiyāṃ jī, preme lāgyāṃ pāya jī.*

On her head, they put water, kuṃkum, perfume, red powder and garlands of flowers;

They offered incense, lights, food and betel, they lovingly touched her feet.

7

*kara joḍī kahe sahu kanyakā jī, 'sūṇo Kātyāyanīmāta! jī;*  
*Mahāyogeśvarī suta Naṃdanā jī muja pati karo sāksāta jī.'*

Joining their hands, all the maidens said, 'Listen mother Kātyāyanī!

Mahāyogeśvarī, make Naṃda's son my husband in bodily form.

8

*kare jāpa sarva e maṃtrano jī, vaḷatāṃ āve dhāma jī;*  
*haviṣyāṇna jame, avanī sūe jī, dhyāna sadā Ghanaśyāma jī.*

They all make this prayer of this mantra, they all come home again;

They eat the food [required by] fast days, they sleep on the ground, they always think of Ghanaśyāma.

9

*ema eka māsa pūro thayo jī, āvyo chello dina jī;*  
*rata phaḷa pāmyākerī thāī jī evuṃ jāṅyūṃ Jagajīvana jī.*

Thus one month has passed, the last day has come;

The time of experiencing the fruit, Jagajīvana knew this.

10

*gopasaṃge gāyo karī cālatī jī Prabhu āvyā Jamunātīra jī;*  
*jala krīḍā kare nagna kanyakā jī, Hari caḍyā kadama lai cira jī.*

Setting off in the company of the cowherds, Prabhu sneaked away and came to the banks of the Jamunā,

The naked girls played in the water, Hari took their clothes and climbed a kadamba tree.

11

*abaḷā aṃbara dīṭhāṃ nahi jī, camaki ūṃcuṃ bhālyuṃ jī;*

*dīṭhāṃ vastra vṛkṣaṇī dāḷamāṃ jī, pāśe Naṭvararūpa nihālyuṃ jī.*

The women did not see their garments, they became embarrassed and looked up,

They saw their clothes in the branches of a tree, and they saw the form of Naṭavara nearby.

12

*bāṃhe joḍī bāḷā karagare jī 'Prabhu! tāḍhe kaṃpe tana jī;*

*amo sarva tamārī kiṃkarī jī, paṭa āpo Prāṇajīvanajī!*

The women crossed their arms and implored him, 'Prabhu, our bodies tremble with cold;

We are all your servants, give us our clothes, Prāṇajīvanajī!'

13

*Śrīkṛṣṇa kahe, 'suṇo suṃdarī jī! tamo nirāvaraṇa kyama nhāyāṃ jī?*

*vrata bhaṃga thayuṃ, phaḷa śuṃ maḷe jī? ūlaṭāṃ doṣe bharāyāṃ jī.*

Śrīkṛṣṇa says, 'Listen my beauties! Why do you bathe without covering?

Your vow is broken, what fruit is obtained? On the contrary, fault has filled you.

14

*jo phaḷa iccho pāpa tāḷīne jī to āvo sarve bahāra jī;*

*sau lajjā mūkī do manathakī jī, karo sūryane namaskāra jī.'*

'If you want to get rid of sin and get the reward, then all come out;



All give up modesty from your minds, salute the sun.'

15

*jema Nāthe kahyuṃ tyama sahu karyuṃ jī phala pāmavānī āśe jī;*

*joī prema prasanna Prabhuji thayā jī, vara āpyo Kṛpānivāse jī.*

They all did what Nātha said in the hope of getting a reward;

Seeing their love, Prabhuji was pleased, Kṛpanivāsa gave them a boon.

16'

*jāo, rāsa ramaśo muja saṃgamāṃ jī, pati tamāro thāśa jī;*

*- ema kahī sahu aṃbara āpiyāṃ jī, pūrī abalānī āśa jī.'*

'Go, play the rāsa with me, you will get your husband.'

- Saying this, he gave them all their clothes, the hope of the women was fulfilled.

17

*- ema kahī Kṛṣṇa gau cāravā gayā jī, gopī āvī sahu ghera jī;*

*je gāya śīkhe ne sām̐bhaḷe jī tene Dayāno Pṛītama kare mhera jī.*

Saying this, Kṛṣṇa took the cows to graze, the Gopīs all came home;

Dayā's Beloved gives kindness to the person who sings, learns and listens.

## 115 pāraṇuṃ

1

*mātā Jasodā jhūlāve putra pāraṇe,*

*jhūle lāḍakaḍā Puruṣottama ānaṃdabhera;*

*harakhī nīrakhīne Gopījana jāye vāraṇe,*

*ati ānaṃda Śrīnaṃdājīne ghera. Mātā.*

Mother Jasodā swings her son in his cradle,

The darling Puruṣottama swings, full of joy;  
Seeing him the herders rejoice and they protect him,  
There is an excess of joy in Śrīnaṃdajī's house.

2

*Harinā mukhaḍā upara vāruṃ koṭika caṃdramā,  
paṃkajalocana surṃdara viśāḷa kapoḷa;  
dīpaka śikhāsarakhī dīpe nirmaḷa nāsikā,  
komaḷa adhara aruṇa che rātācoḷa. Mātā.*

Hari's face is better than crores of moons,  
His lotus-eyes are beautiful, his forehead is broad;  
His flawless nose shines like the tip of a flame,  
His tender lower lip is rosy and glowing.

3

*meghaśyāma krāṇṭi bhrūkuṭī che vāṃkaḍī,  
khīṭaliyāḷā bhāla upara jhūme keśa;  
hasatāṃ daṃtūḍī dīse beu hīrākaṇī,  
jotāṃ lāje koṭika Madana manohara veśa. Mātā.*

His eyebrows are curved (like) a line of black rain clouds,  
His curly hair sways on his forehead;  
As he laughs his two little diamond teeth are seen,  
Seeing his delightful clothes, crores of Madanas are put to shame.

4

*siṃhanakhe maḍheluṃ śobhe sovrāṇa sāṃgaluṃ,  
nājuka ābhraṇa saghaḷāṃ kaṃcana, motihāra;  
caraṇaamḡṭho dhāve Hari be hāthe grahī,  
koī bolāve to kare kilakāra. Mātā.*

His golden amulet looks lovely, overlaid with tigerclaws,  
All his fine ornaments are gold, his necklace is of pearls;  
Hari grasps his big toe with both hands and sucks it,  
If anyone calls him he gurgles.

5

*Lāle lalāṭe kīdho che kumakumacāṇḍalo*  
*śobhe jaḍitra jāṇe marakatamaṇīmāṇ lāla!*  
*jananī jugate āṇje aṇiyāḷī beu āṇkhaḍī;*  
*suṇḍara kājaḷakeruṇ ṭapakuṇ kīdhuṇ gāla. Mātā.*

Lāla has made a circle of kumkum on his head,  
It looks wonderful like a ruby inlaid in an emerald!  
His mother puts the customary kajal in both his pointed eyes;  
A dot of kajal has made his cheek beautiful.

6

*sāva sonānuṇ jaḍitra maṇimaya pāraṇuṇ,*  
*jhūlave jhaṇaṇaṇa bole ghūgharīno ghamakāra;*  
*mātā vividha vacane harakhe gāye hālaḍāṇ,*  
*kheṇce phumatiyāḷī reśamadorī sāra. Mātā.*

His cradle is all gold studded with gems,  
As he swings the jingling of his anklets tinkle;  
His mother sings him lullabies with diverse, joyful words,  
He pulls her tassled necklace with its silken thread.

7

*haṃsakāraṇḍava ne kokolapopata pāraṇe*  
*bapaiyā ne sārasacakoramenāmora.*  
*mūkyāṇ ramakaḍāṇ ramvā Śrīmohanalālāne,*

*ghamaghama ghūgharaḍo vajāḍe Naṃdakiśora. Mātā.*

She puts toys for Śrīmohanalāla to play with in his cradle -

Swans, ducks, cuckoos, parrots,

Koels, cranes, cakoras, mynahs and peacocks.

Naṃdakiśora sounds his anklets loudly.

8

*mārā Kahānāne samāṇi kanyā lāvaśum,*

*mārā Lālāne paraṇāvīśa moṭe ghera;*

*māro jāyo vararājā thaī ghoḍe besāse,*

*māro Kahāno karaśe sadā ya līlāhera. Mātā.*

I shall bring a girl equal to my Kahāno,

I shall marry my Lāla into a big house,

My son will become the best of kings, he will sit on a horse,

My Kahāno will always perform his lovely līlā.

9

*māro laḍakavāyo sakhā saṃga ramavā jāse,*

*sārī sukhalāḍī huṃ āpīśa Harine hātha;*

*jamavāveḷā rūmajhūma karato gharamām āvaśe,*

*huṃ to dhāine bhīḍīśa hṛdayā sātha. Mātā.*

My darling will play with his friends,

I shall put nice sweets in Hari's hand;

At mealtimes he will come into the house making jingling sounds,

I will feed him and hug him to my heart.

10

*jeno Śaṃkaraśeṣasarīkhā pāra pāme nahīm,*

*'neti, neti,' kahe che Nigama vāraṃvāra;*

*tene Naṁdarāṇī hularāvī gāye hālaḍāṁ,*

*nathī, nathī enā bhāgyataṇo kaṁī pāra! Mātā.*

The one of whom there is no limit like Śiva and Śeṣa,  
Of whom the Upaniṣads sometimes say, 'not this! not this!':  
Nanda's queen rocks him in her arms and sings him lullabies,  
There is no limit to her good fortune!

11

*Vrajavāsī sau sarvathī subhāgī ghaṇāṁ,*

*tethī NaṁdaJasodākeruṁ bhāgya viśeṣa;*

*te sarvethī Gopījananuṁ bhāgya atighaṇuṁ,*

*jenī kare praśamsā BrahmāŚiva ne Śeṣa. Mātā.*

All the people who live in Vraja are altogether fortunate,  
Naṁda and Jasodā's fortune is more special than theirs,  
More than all is the extreme good fortune of the Gopīs,  
Whom Brahmā, Śiva and Śeṣa praise.

12

*dhanya! dhanya Vrajavāsī Gopījana NaṁdaJasomatī!*

*dhanya! dhanya! Vṛndāvana Harikero jyāṁ che vāsa;*

*sadā Jugalakiśora jyahāṁ lilā kare,*

*sadā balihārī jāye Dayodāsa! Mātā.*

Lucky indeed are those who live in Vraja, the Gopīs, Naṁda and Jasodā!  
Lucky is Vṛndāvan where is Hari's dwelling;  
Where the young pair performs the lilā,  
The servant Dayā is always blessed by him!

119 darśana donī re!

R

*darśana donī re dāsane mārā guṇanidhi Giridharalāla!*

*Nātha! nivāro re trāsane, āpo āpa upara ativhāla. darśana.*

O Giridharalāla, my store of virtues, give your servant a sight of you!

O Nātha! remove my affliction, give me an excess of love.

1

*Śrīnaṭavara! Naṃdane re! Naṃdanā bhāve mune Madanamanoḥara rūpa;*

*citta nā coṃṭe re maharuṃ anubhavavyāpaka Brahma anupa. darsana.*

Śrīnaṭavara, Naṃda's son pleases me, his beauty is delightful like Madana's;

My mind doesn't concentrate, incomparable Brahma is pervading my understanding

[??].

2

*japuṃ nahīṃ ajapā re jāpane, na game sūṇavo anahada nāda;*

*yajñāsamādhi re nā game, na game svargamuktinā svāda. darśana.*

I do not do silent meditation, I do not like hearing continuous sound [saying OM??];

I do not like meditation or offerings, I do not like the taste of heaven or liberation.

3

*anya upāsanā re nā game vinā eka Pūrṇapurūṣottama;*

*phīkkāṃ lāge re sādhana sahu, paḍī mune premabhaktimāṃ gama. darśana.*

I do not like any worship other than that of Pūrṇapurūṣottama;

All methods of worship seem insipid, I came to like loving devotion.

4

*Śrīvallabhasuta re guru gamyā, sahu vidhi Śrīkṛṣṇajīsamāna;*

*jīvanām sādhana re nā jue, Vhālo nija baḷe kare nijānaṃdadāna. darśana.*

I came to like Śrīvallabha's son as my guru, in all ways he is like Śrīkṛṣṇa [??];

He does not see the methods of worship of the soul, Vhālo on his own makes a gift  
of his own bliss.

5

*sarva tapāsyuṃ re pharīpharī, kiṃcīta kyahuṃ nā dīṭho sāra;*

*sukha eka dīṭhuṃ re sarvathī - sevāsamarāṇa Naṃdakumāra. darśana.*

(I have) examined everything again and again, I did not see any essential thing;

I saw a single happiness out of everything - in remembrance and service of  
Naṃdakumāra.

6

*Śrīmahāprabhunī re kaheṇīthī muja para rījho Rādhānātha!*

*samūḷa avidyā re to ṭaḷe Harijī! jhālo jo muja hātha. darśana.*

O Rādhānātha! from the sayings of Śrīmahāprabhu, I got the greatest delight,

It will remove ignorance to its roots, O Harijī! if you help me.

7

*Śrīvṛṇḍāvananī re kuṃjamām jyām karo Jugalakīśora! vilāsa;*

*Dasadayānī re vinatī - dāsī karī rākho nija pāsa. darśana.*

In the bowers of Śrīvṛṇḍāvana when you make love, Young Couple;

The prayer of the servant Dayā is this: keep him as your female servant.

123 Hoḷīne ṭāṇe

R

*lokaḍiyāṃ dekhe che Lāla! āṃkhamāṃ ūḍe gulāla!*

*mukhaḍānī khāśo gāḷa, ā te śuṃ karyuṃ?*

Lāla! People are looking! Red powder flies up into the eyes!

You'll be abused by their mouths, why did you do this?

1

*āḍe dahāḍe jora na phāvyuṃ, āja Hoḷīnuṃ ṭāṇuṃ;*

*ghaṇā divasanī guṃja rīsanī āja ūkelo jāṇuṃ! Lāla!*

On a normal day, resistance did not succeed, today is Hoḷī festival,

Today I know the answer to your secret displeasure of many days!

2

*je kaheśo te 'hā' ja hāvāṃ, nava mānuṃ te cūkī;*

*- orā āvo, kahuṃ kānamāṃ, 'mārā sama do mūkī!' Lāla!*

Now I shall say only 'Yes' to whatever you say, I've given up disagreeing;

- Come nearer, I'll say in your ear, 'Release me from my promise!'

3

*śuṃ karuṃ? jo āvī sāṃkaḍe, māruṃ jora na phāvyuṃ;*

*Dayāprītama! mune kāyara karīne tobākhata lakhāvyuṃ! Lāla!*

What can I do? If I was in trouble, my resistance did not succeed (in saving me);

Beloved of Dayā! Having got me to confess, you got me to write a letter of apology

(i.e. having teased me, you made me swear under pressure).



125 Rādhānuṃ mithyālagna

1

*eka same Vrajakanyakā mārā Rāja! hojī re Śrīrādhājī che māṃhe.*

*- ke huṃ balihārī re mārā Rāja!*

*ramatāṃ āve Vṛndācanamāṃ mārā Rāja! ho jī re Śrīkṛṣṇa khele che tyāṃhe - ke huṃ.*

At one time, the maidens of Vraja, Śrīrādhājī is among them, my Rāja, I am blessed!

My Rāja comes playing in Vṛndāvana - Śrīkṛṣṇa plays there.

2

*Harie daḍūlo doṭāviyo mārā Rāja! ho jī re āvyo Rādhājīne hātha - ke huṃ.*

*māge Goviṃda, gopī nā kahe, mārā Rāja! pāmo jo ramo ama sātha - ke huṃ.*

Hari throws the ball, it comes to Rādhā's hand;

Goviṃda asks, the Gopīs don't speak, come play with us!

3

*bolī Lalitā Lālaśuṃ mārā Rāja! ho jī re ramiye ve'vāno khela - ke huṃ.*

*kanyā raṃgīlī Rādhikā, mārā Rāja! ho jī re vara thaī karo tamo kela - ke huṃ.*

Lalitā speaks with Lāla, let us play a game with us as mothers-in-law,

The bride is lovely Rādhā, you play the part of the groom.

4

*sūnatāṃ Mohanamana mānyuṃ mārā Rāja! ho jī re sarve thayāṃ rasarūpa - ke huṃ.*

*samajhī sakhā sarakī gayā mārā Rāja! ho jī re sakhīoe māṃḍī dhāmadhūma - ke huṃ.*

Hearing this, Mohan's mind believed this, they all became forms of rasa [??],

The friends understood this and slipped away, the friends began a pageant.

5

*manohara maṃḍapa bāṃdhiyo mārā Rāja! ho jī re racyo vevāino dhāma - ke huṃ.*

*koī Kīrata Vṛkhabhāna thaī mārā Rāja! ho jī re koī JasodāNaṃda nāma - ke huṃ.*

They built a delightful maṃḍap, they built a place for the fathers-in-law.

Somone became Kīrata, someone Vṛkhabhāna, someone acted as Jasodā and Naṃda.

6

*Gaṇeśagotrane besādiyāṃ mārā Rāja! ho jī re karī sau lagnanī rīta - ke huṃ.*

*keṭṭika to taruṇī jādaraṇī mārā Rāja! gīto gāye dharī prīta - ke huṃ.*

They begin the ceremony with the name of Gaṇeśa, they perform all the rites of a wedding,

Some of the girls are of the bridegroom's party, they feel love and sing songs.

7

*pīṭhī colī varakanyā mārā Rāja! ho jī re beune sajāvyā śaṇagāra - ke huṃ.*

*devakalūvo dārā kare mārā Rāja! ho jī re sāsue pomkhyā Morāra - ke huṃ.*

They rub *pīṭhī* (turmeric) on the bride and groom, they put ornaments on both of them,

Devakalūvo [??] makes the wife, the mother-in-law welcomed Morāra.

8

*varavahū padharāvyāṃ māṃhyarāmāṃhe mārā Rāja! ho jī re corī racī navaraṃga - ke huṃ.*

*Brāhmaṇa thaī bhāṇe phūlī mārā Rāja! ho jī re ānaṃda bahu sau aṃga - ke huṃ.*

The bride and groom welcomed each other inside, they made the wedding-enclosure attractive.

Becoming Brahmins, they speak having puffed themselves up with pride, everyone is very happy.

9

*śubha lagnaghaḍī muhūratasame mārā Rāja! ho jī re thayo jugalahastameḷāpa - ke huṃ.*

*maṃgaḷapherā daṃpata pharyāṃ mārā Rāja! ho jī re mītyā sarve paritāpa - ke huṃ.*

At the auspicious moment of the wedding, at the time of the *muhūrat*, the joining of hands took place.

The couple took the auspicious steps, all suffering vanished.

10

*RādhikāKṛṣṇa ārogiyāṃ mārā Rāja! ho jī re koḍe karī kaṃsāra - ke huṃ.*

*ritabhāte kīdho cāṃdalo mārā Rāja! ho jī re vāmā vadhāvāne cāra - ke huṃ.*

Rādhikā and Kṛṣṇa exchange food, lovely kaṃsar [a sweet],

They made the cash gifts, the women the four bridal gifts [??].

11

*lāḍī vaḷāvyāṃ sāsare mārā Rāja! ho jī re kīdhī ratirasakelī - ke huṃ.*

*ānaṃdasāgara ūchaḷyo mārā Rāja! ho jī re vaḷī che mahāraṃgareḷī - ke huṃ.*

The in-laws send the bride to her husband's, they had sexual enjoyment,

The ocean of joy brimmed, then they were flooded with extreme pleasure.

12

*haḷīmaḷī pūche sāhelīo mārā Rāja! 'ho jī re kahenī, gamyo vara eha?' - ke huṃ.*

*Śyāmā sūṇī nīcuṃ joī hasyāṃ mārā Rāja! ho jī re pragata kahye śuṃ upanyo neha?*  
- ke huṃ.

The friends ask about her, ' Tell us, do you like this husband?'

Śyāmā hears and looks down, smiling, what (is the point) in saying openly what her eyes reveal?

13

*kuḷanī rīte choḍyā doraḍā mārā Rāja! ho jī re gāyāṃ vāṃkām rasagīta - ke huṃ.*

*kṣaṇakṣaṇa heta haiye vase mārā Rāja! ho jī re core paraspara citta - ke huṃ.*

In the ways of the family they untied the string at the end of the ceremony, they sang a song of *rasa* with hidden meaning,

At every moment love stays in their heart, they stole each other's hearts.

14

*- ema sadā Vṛndāvanamāṃ mārā Rāja! ho jī re khele jugalasvarūpa - ke huṃ.*

*e che Prāṇajīvana Dayādāsanā mārā Rāja! ho jī re ānaṃdamaṅgaḷarūpa - ke huṃ.*

Thus it is always in Vṛndāvana, the divine form of the couple,

This is the Life-breath of the servant Dayā, the auspicious form of bliss.

## 126 kāmaṇagārī tārī vāṃsaḷī!

R

*kāmaṇagārī tārī vāṃsaḷī, kāmaṇa kīdhuṃ che bhārī re! kāmaṇagārī.*

Your flute is bewitching, it has made great witchcraft.

1

*moralīne nāde mana mohī līdhuṃ che mārūṃ Girivaradhārī re!*

*gharadhaṇḍho gamato nathī, mune lhe lāgī che tārī re. kāmaṇagārī.*

The flute's sound confused my mind, Girivaradhārī!

I don't like my housework, I am attached to you.

2

*moramukuṭa śira śobhito, kuṃḍaḷanī chabi nyārī re,*

*caturā capaḷa cūkī, ghaṇuṃghaṇuṃ mohī Rādhepyārī re. kāmaṇagārī.*

The peacock crown decorates your head, the beauty of your earrings is unique,

The agile beautiful woman is deluded, lovely Rādhā is very confused.

3

*muralīnāda madhuro sūṇī cūkyā samādhi Tripurārī re,*

*suranaramunijana mohī rahyā! koṇa mātra Vrajanārī re? kāmaṇagārī.*

Hearing the sweet sound of the flute, Tripurārī abandoned his meditation,

The sages, men and gods were deluded! Who then are the women of Vraja?

4

*tanamanadhana arpaṇa karuṃ caraṇe Kuṃjabihārī re!*

*Dayānā Svāmī! tamo Śāmaḷā! jītyā ne amo hārī re! kāmaṇagārī.*

I entrust my mind, body and wealth at the feet of Kuṃjabihārī!

Lord of Dayā! You are Śāmaḷā! you have conquered and we are defeated!

## 127 sācuṃ bolo jī!

1

*'sāṃbhaḷa re tuṃ sajanī! māri, rajanī kyāṃ ramī āvi jī?*

*parasevo tane kyāṃ vaḷyo? tāri bhammara kyāṃ bhīmjanī? sacuṃ bolo jī.'*

'Listen to me, my friend, where do you come from, having played at night?

Why are you sweating? Why are your eyebrows wet? Tell me the truth!'

2

*'vanamāṃ huṃ to bhūlī paḍī ne atiśe mūṃjhāṇī jī;*

*parasevo mane tyāṃ māri bhammara tyāṃ bhīṃjāṇī. sām̐bhaḷa sajanī jī!*

'I got lost in the woods, and I was very uneasy,

Then I began to sweat, then my eyebrows got wet. Listen my friend!'

3

*'kāla meṃ tāri veṇa gūṃthitī' chūṭī kyāṃ vikharāṇī jī?*

*evaḍī utāvaḷa śī paḍī je jhūlaḍī nava baṃdhāṇī? sacuṃ bolo jī.'*

'Yesterday I tied your plait, why did you let it go?

Why were you in so much of a hurry that you didn't tie your garment?'

4

*'kāḷo te bhamaro śira para beṭho, urāḍatāṃ sera chūṭī jī,*

*jyamatyama karīne bāṃdhatāṃ vacamāṃthī nāḍī tūṭī. sām̐bhaḷa sajanī jī!*

'A black bee sat on my head, as it flew up it released the string,

As I tied it any old way, the ribbon broke from the middle.'

5

*'ā colī atalasanī paheṛī, sahiyare vakhāṇī jī,*

*colīnī kasa kyāṃ tūṭī? tuṃ āvaḍī kyāṃ colāṇī? sacuṃ bolo jī.'*

'You wore this bodice of silk, your friend praised it,

How did the tie of your bodice break? Why did you pull it so?'

6

*'haiyuṃ māruṃ duḥkhavā āvyuṃ, vāe karīne kāṃpyuṃ jī,*

*pīḍā ṭālavā kāraṇe meṃ kaḷe karīne dābyuṃ. sām̐bhaḷa sajanī jī!*

'My chest hurt, it was troubled by wind,

In order to remove the pain, I gave it a sharp tug.'

7

*'āvaḍāṃ puṣpa kyāṃthī vāṭe tujane koṇe āpyāṃ jī?*

*evo raṅgarasiyo koṇa maḷiyo? preme karīne thāpyāṃ. sacuṃ bolo jī.'*

'On which path did you get such flowers? Who gave them to you?

Who was the one fond of pleasure who met you? Which lover placed them there?'

8

*'sūrajakaḷāe huṃ jātī hutī, vāṭe maḷyā Vanamāḷi jī,*

*sama khāīne mune teṇe āpyāṃ, tenī pratijñā pālī. sām̐bhaḷa sajanī jī!'*

'At the time of the sun(-rise), I was going along and Vanamāḷi met me on the road,

Taking an oath, he gave them to me, he kept his promise.'

9

*'avaḷo caṇiyo kema paheryo che? jema tema vīm̐ṭī sādī jī,*

*sajaka thāīne suṃdarī! hāvāṃ vastra paheronī vālī. sacuṃ bolo jī.'*

'Why did you put your skirt on inside out? Your sari is tied any old how.

Beautiful one, wake up and put your clothes on (properly).'

10

*'sātha nā sahiyare kīdho, utāvaḷī vege cālī jī,*

*avaḷo caṇiyo paherī dīdho, have vastra paherīsuṃ vālī. sām̐bhaḷa sajanī jī!'*

'My friend gave me company, she went rushing off,

She let me wear my skirt inside out, now I shall put my clothes on (properly).'

11

*'nikālī hatī tuṃ sauthī pahelī sātha amāro melī jī,*

*pachavāḍethī kyāṃthī Aṃbikā! jāīne tuṃ beṭhī? sacuṃ bolo jī.'*

'After you met our group, you set off first of all,

Aṃbikā! from where have you come, where did you go?'

12

*'nīkaḷī hatī huṃ sauthī pahelī sātha sahirano melī jī,  
vāṭe huṃ bhūlī paḍī gaī, tyahāṃ jaī beṭhī vhelī. sām̐bhaḷa sajanī jī!'*

'I had set out first of all, having met the group of friends,  
On the way I got lost, I went and sat there early.'

13

*'kasturī aṃge vheke che, ā vanamāṃ koṇa āve jī?  
sarva śarīrae tāre vyāpī rahī che te kama jāye dhāṃkī? sacuṃ bolo jī.'*

'Musk smells on your body, who is coming to this forest?  
It pervades your whole body, why do you try to cover it?'

14

*'mṛgaśalyāe mṛgalo beṭho tene meṃ jaī jhālyo jī,  
tenī vāsanā mārā aṃtaramāṃ peṭhī, te nathī rahetī dhāṃkī. sām̐bhaḷa sajanī jī!'*

'A deer sat on a musk-stone, I went and caught it,  
Its perfume entered into me, I'm not covering it up.'

15

*'adhara daṃṭa beṭhā dīse che, chātīe nakha vāgyā jī,  
tāruṇī! tāṛā tanadāmāṃ pesī Kāmabāṇa kyāṃ vāgyāṃ? sacuṃ bolo jī.'*

'Teethmarks are seen on your lower lip, nails have made scratches on your breast,  
Young woman! When did Kāma's arrows strike your body?'

16

*'madhurāṃ vāyaka popaṭa bolyo, tene meṃ jaī jhālyo jī,  
caṃcaḷa cāṃca bharīne nāṭho, tatkaṣaṇa tyāṃṭhī chūtyo. sām̐bhaḷa sajanī jī!'*

'The parrot spoke sweet words, I caught it,



Having filled its impatient beak it escaped, at that moment it escaped from there.'

17

*'Śyāmasuṃdara tane maḷyā dīse che te aṃge tuṃ pasarāī jī,  
jeje pūchum tenā utara āpe e badhī tuja caturāī! sacum bolo jī.'*  
'It seems that Śyāmasuṃdara met you, you yielded to his body,  
Whatever I ask, you give an answer, this is all cunning!'

18

*'je vāṭe Hari maḷiyā hoye te vāṭe nava jāum jī,  
ā vāṭe Hari maḷiyā hoye to kaho tevā sama khāum. sām̐bhaḷa sajanī jī!'*  
'I shan't go on that road where Hari is met,  
If Hari is met on this road, then say, I'll take such an oath.' [??]

19

*'māre evī pratijñā je parapuraṣa bhaibāpa jī,  
dāsadayānā Svāmīne bhajatām bhavanī bhāvaṭa jāya. sām̐bhaḷa sajanī jī!'*  
'My promise is that a stranger is a brother and a father,  
Praising the Lord of the servant Dayā, the trouble of the world goes.'

## 128 rāsanṛtya

R

*hām re Vṛṇḍāvanamām thanakakāra thai thai!  
RādhāKṛṣṇa rame rāsa, Gopī lahī, lahī, lahī re!  
bijum nahīm, nahīm, nahīm, re! Vṛṇḍāvanamām.*  
O yes, in Vṛṇḍāvana the beat of the dance sounds, sounds,  
Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa play the rāsa, the Gopīs listen, listen, listen,

There is nothing, nothing else in Vṛṇḁdāvana.

1

*hāṃ re nūpura caraṇa kanakavarāṇa jhāṃjharajoḁo,*  
*hāṃ re ghugharīāḁo ope akko toḁo,*  
*hāṃ re moramukūṭa maṇi vāṃkaḁo aṃboḁo,*  
*hāṃ re kuṃḁala kāna, bhrūkuṭi bāna, tilaka tāna,*  
*nenabāna kaṃpamāna, phaphā pheī pheī pheī re! Vṛṇḁdāvanamāṃ.*

The anklets on the feet, the colour of gold, joined with bells,  
The bells on the legs shine, the anklets and the chains,  
The peacock crown, the jewels, foppish hairstyles,  
Earrings in the ear, darts of eyebrows, tilakas, tumult,  
Eye-arrows, trembling, stamping, gasping.

2

*hāṃ re vāge tāla te karatāla mṛdamga tāli,*  
*hāṃ re koī taṃburo ne koī mṛdamgavāli,*  
*hāṃ re soḁa sahasra gopikā che eka bāli,*  
*hāṃ re sūra saḁake, sūra saḁake, ghūgharī ghamake, nāce thanaka,*  
*thanaka bala bala bala Gopī lai, lai, lai, lai, re. Vṛṇḁdāvanamāṃ.*

The beat sounds, the handbells and the drum beats  
Some drone and some drum,  
The 16,000 young Gopīs are here  
The enthusiasm moves, the bells ring, they leap and dance,  
They leap, greatly, greatly, the Gopīs take, take.

3

*ke kara kaṭie dīdho che vaṃka vāli,*  
*Madanagāna mukhya gāya che Vanamāli,*

*ke bole bena, bole bena, amṛta cena, sudhāsena, mohananena,  
prakaṭa cena, thāke nahi hṛdaya daī daī daī re! Vṛṇḍāvanamāṇ.*

Hands on the hips their armlets, noserings,

Vanamāḷī mostly sings songs of Love,

The woman speaks, the woman speaks, nectar merriment, movements of nectar,  
enchanting eyes,

The merriment is clear, the heart doesn't tire, giving, giving.

4

*hām re mukuṭamāṇhe rūpa dīṭhum che Rādhāe,*

*hām re manamāṇ mānanī vimāsaṇa thāye,*

*hām re humthī chānī rākhī che mukuṭamāṇhe,*

*hām re te bahu vhalī, haṭha jhālī beṭhī bālī, ūṭhī cālī,*

*ghugharavālī, bhaṭa bhālī, Dayāprabhu je je je je re! Vṛṇḍāvanamāṇ.*

Rādhā has seen beauty in his crown,

In her mind, pride becomes gloom,

This is kept secret from me in his crown

I am very dear, the young girl became stubborn, she sat, she stands and goes,

Wearing anklets, Dayā's Lord sees her at once.

## 129 Śrīnāthajī!

1

*Mohana madhurākṛti Śrīnāthajī! Naṭavara! Naṇḍakumāra!*

*moha pāme saunī mati Śrīnāthajī! nijajana prāṇadhāra!*

Mohana, sweet-formed, Śrī Nāthajī, Naṭavara, Naṇḍakumāra,

Everyone's mind is deluded, life-support of your own people!

2

*moramugaṭa maṇie jaḍyo Śrīnāthajī! kumḍaḷa laḷake kāna,  
manohara motī vesarataṇuṃ Śrīnāthajī! śobhe che bhīne vāna.*

Your peacock-crown is studded with gems, earrings shine at your ears,  
A delightful pearl nose-ring, your darkness looks good.

3

*Manamohana madhurākṛti Śrīnāthajī! Naṭavara Naṃdakiśora,  
moha pāme saunī mati Śrīnāthajī! catura cittanā cora.*

Your form is sweet and charms the mind, Naṭavara Naṃdakiśora,  
Everyone's mind is deluded, skilful stealer of hearts.

4

*lalitatribhaṅgī chelaḍā Śrī Nāthjī! Madanamanohara rūpa,  
āmaṇḍaghana alabeladā Śrīnāthajī! akhila bhovanā bhūpa.*

The elegant thrice bent fop, the beauty, captivating Madana,  
The seductive one, a collection of joy, king of the whole world.

5

*jīvana Gopījanataṇuṃ Śrīnāthajī! rasiyā jananā rāya.  
nīrakhye sukha pāme ghaṇuṃ Śrīnāthajī! mana māruṃ lobhāya.*

The life of the Gopīs, the king of rasiya people,  
When I see you I feel great happiness, my mind is attracted.

6

*moramugaṭa maṇie jaḍyo Śrīnāthajī! prabhā lajāve haṃsa,  
ḍhaḷake kuṭila bhrūkuṭi, aḍyā Śrīnāthajī! muktāphala avataṃsa.*

Your peacock crown is studded with gems, the lustre shames a swan,  
Your arched eyebrow looks good, it touches your pearl earring.

7

*tilaka subhaga kesarataṇuṃ Śrīnāthajī! pādākṛti śobhe che bhāla,  
manohara moti vesarataṇuṃ Śrīnāthajī! suṃdara śirapeca lāla.*

Your lovely tilak of saffron, your forehead which is the shape of a foot, looks wonderful,

The pearl of your nosering is enchanting, your red turban ornament is beautiful.

8

*śobhā salūṇā vārijavadananī Śrīnāthajī! vāruṃ saradaśaśī koḍa,  
kāṃti lajāve koṭi Madananī Śrīnāthajī! nahi jugamāṃ koī joḍa.*

The beauty of your face like a fine lotus, I prefer it to the autumnal moon,

Your loveliness puts to shame crores of Madanas, there is no equal in the world.

9

*te upara laṭake laṭa alakanī Śrīnāthajī! mahāsaraja alibaḷa  
mohanī ghaṇī che madhura malakatī Śrīnāthajī! adhara aruṇa che rasāḷa.*

Above it hangs a curl of hair, like an army of bees on a great lotus,

Your sweet smiling is very attractive, your red lowerlip is attractive.

10

*bhrūkuṭī kamāna, bāṇa nena che Śrīnāthajī! moha pāme Ratirāja,  
kiṃvā sāraṅga rasa atya che Śrīnāthajī! pāme kamaḷadaḷa lāja.*

Your eyebrows are bows, your eyes are arrows, the king of Rati [Kāmadeva] is deluded,

Or else the shape of Viṣṇu's bow is excessive, the lotus petal is ashamed.

11

*nirmaḷa kāṃti kapoḷamāṃ Śrīnāthajī! kuṃḍalanāṃ pratibiṃba,*

*daśanavasana lālacoḷamāṃ Śrīnāthajī! aḍi banyuṃ muktāphaḷa biṃba.*

There is pure loveliness on your temples, the reflection of your earrings,  
Your lips are in bright red, they make the reflection of the pearl unadorned.

12

*kīracamaṃcusama nāsikā Śrīnāthajī! bhrame grahuṃ jāṇe bhakṣa!*

*hīrākaṇi cibukanī vāsikā Śrīnāthajī! uśanā ūdyo pratyakṣa.*

Your nose is like the beak of a parrot, I have the impression as if it mistakes its  
food,  
The diamond facets of the dimple in your chin are perfumed, Uśnā arises visibly.

13

*daṃtapaṃgata kuṃḍanī kaḷi Śrīnāthajī! tāṃbuḷa koī eka aruṇa,*

*kaṃṭha kaṃbuśi rekhāvaḷi Śrīnāthajī! citta caḷāvati nīpuṇa.*

Your row of teeth is a bud of a jasmine, in some red betel leaf,  
Your neck is like a line of conch, you lead my sharp mind astray.

14

*hasavuṃ maṃḍa madanaphaṃḍa che Śrīnāthajī! rasiyājanacittacora,*

*madhura vacana mohaphaṃḍa che Śrīnāthajī! hare mada dhīraja jora.*

Your slow laugh is like an addiction to love, it steals the mind of *rasiya* people,  
Your sweet words are like an addiction of delusion, intoxication takes my firmness  
and strength.

15

*kaṃṭhe kaustubhamaṇidyuti ghaṇi Śrīnāthajī! ura Bhṛgulāṃchana vāma,*

*kaṃcanamāḷa moti ati bani Śrīnāthajī! Vṛṇḍāvana abhirāma.*

On your neck, the lustre of the Kaustubha jewel is great, on your chest is the lovely  
mark of Bhṛgu,

The pearl and gold necklace has made Vṛṇḍāvana very lovely.

16

*pītaṃbara kaṭīmekhaḷa Śrīnāthajī! śobhā nahi koī tulya,  
valaya aṃgadamaṇi nirmaḷo Śrīnāthajī! mudrikā jaḍitra amūlya.*

Your yellow lower garment and your belt, nothing is equally lovely,  
Your armlet is a pure jewelled armlet, embossed, studded, invaluable.

17

*mohana moralī kara grahī Śrīnāthajī! nīla kamaḷa eka hasta,  
vrajavanitā mohāi rahī Śrīnāthajī! svarūpānaṃda manamasta.*

You hold your enchanting flute in your hand, in one hand is a blue lotus,  
The women of Vraj are deluded, the joy of the svarūpa is intoxicating to the mind.

18

*nepūra cāru capaḷa caraṇamāṃ Śrīnāthajī! ghūghrīno ghamakāra,  
lābha ghaṇo che enā śaraṇamāṃ Śrīnāthajī! paramānaṃda bhaṃḍāra.*

You have anklets on your lovely, agile feet, there is a jingling of bells,  
There is much profit in this refuge, the treasury of ultimate joy.

19

*khaṭadaśa cihna pāyataḷa vikhe Śrīnāthajī! praḡaṭa kaḥuṃ, sūṇo nāma,  
birāje citta nīramaḷa vikhe Śrīnāthajī! janamanapūraṇakāma.*

I shall make known about the sixteen marks on the sole of your foot, listen to the  
names,

Śrī Nāthjī shines in pure minds, they have their desire fulfilled.

20

*svasti aṣṭakoṇa jāmbu java pavi Śrīnāthajī! ūradharekhā dekhāya,*

*dhvaja aṃkuśa kamaḷa kavi kahe Śrīnāthajī! e nava dakṣiṇa pāya.*

The swastika, the octagon, the rose-apple, the grain of barley, the thunderbolt, the vertical line

The flag, the elephant goad, the lotus, the poet proclaims these nine are seen on your right foot.

21

*maccha trikoṇa dhanuṣya iṃdranuṃ Śrīnāthajī! kamaḷa ākāśa abhirāma,  
dhenupada biṃba caṃdranuṃ Śrīnāthajī! e sāte pada vāma.*

The fish, the triangle, Indra's bow, the lotus, the lovely sky,

The footprint of a cow, the reflection of the moon, these seven are on the left foot.

22

*jāmo jarī paṭako pāmarī Śrīnāthajī! ābharaṇa atianupa,  
pratīmaṅge atimādhurī ṭharī Śrīnāthajī! surūpataṇuṃ j surūpa.*

Your robe, your sash, your shawl are brocade, your ornaments are absolutely unique,

On every limb, excessive sweetness is fixed, the most beautiful of all.

23

*tevā vāmaṅge Bhānunaṃdinī Śrīnāthajī! Śrīrādhā śubha nāma,  
vastuta : Kṛṣṇa cāru caṃdanī Śrīnāthajī! sadguṇasvarūpanuṃ dhāma.*

On the left side of your body which is thus, is the daughter of Bhānu, the auspicious name of Śrīrādhā,

Indeed, she is the moonlight beloved of Kṛṣṇa, the abode of the true form of good qualities.

24

*vallabha Śrīvallabhataṇā Śrīnāthajī! Śrīviṭṭhalapriyaprāṇa,*



*Puṣṭiṣṭine priya ghaṇā Śrīnāthajī! jema Ratine Paṃcabāṇa.*

Beloved of Śrīvallabha, as dear as life to Śrīviṭṭhala,

Very dear to the creation of wellbeing, as Rati to Paṃcabāṇa.

25

*nitya kare mana nirmaḷa Śrīnāthajī! ciṃtana caṃdrikānuṃ gāna,*

*tene vināśrame paḷe Śrīnāthajī! sadā rahe ura dhyāna.*

Let my mind always remain pure, thinking and singing of the moonlight [??],

Let it go to him who is without refuge, let thought always remain in the breast.

26

*pāpaparitāpane prale kare Śrīnāthajī! pūrṇa kare manakāma,*

*akhīla amaṃgaḷane hare Śrīnāthajī! vasavā de nija dhāma.*

Let it make the pain of sin disappear, let it make the desire of the mind fulfilled,

Let it take away all inauspiciousness, let it give its own abode to dwell.

## 130 Mohinīsvarūpano garabo

1

*akaḷa kaḷā Śrīavināśanī re teno pāra na pāme ko ya,*

*Śivasarakhā jemām bhūlā paḍyā re, tethī koṇa vaḍeruṃ hoyā? akaḷa.*

The incomprehensible appearance of Śrīavināśa, it has no boundary,

In (comparison with) which Śiva etc. have become inadequate, therefore who is greater than him?

2

*eka same Śrīmahādevajī re āvyā Vaikuṃṭha Viṣṇunī pāsa,*

*darśana karī Harinām Hara boliyā re: 'eka caritra jovā cita āśa.' akaḷa.*

Once Śrīmahādeva came to Vaikuṁṭha, to Viṣṇu,  
Having had a *darśana* of Hari, Hara spoke: 'My mind hopes to see one of your  
feats.'

3

*vāta miśemiśe kāḍhī Mahārudraḥ re, 'Prabhu! samudra mathāvyo re vāra,  
tyāṁ tamo Mohanīrūpa, kaho, kyama dharyuṁ re? suraasura chaḷyā śe prakāra?  
akaḷa.*

Mahārudra opened the topic obliquely, 'Prabhu! At the time when the ocean was  
churned,

Why, tell me, did you take the form of Mohanī? In what ways did you deceive the  
gods and demons?

4

*e ja icchā che māre bahu dinanī re, mune dekhāḍone te svarūpa.' -  
evāṁ vacana Śivajītaṅṅāṁ sām̄bhaḷī re vaḷatā bolyā Tribhovanabhūpa; akaḷa.*

I have had this very wish for many days, please show me this true form.' -

Hearing these words of Śīva, Tribhovanabhūpa spoke in return;

5

*'sām̄bhaḷo, Śaṁkara! vāta vivekanī re, te che Mohinīmāyānuṁ aṁga,  
te nīrakhyānī icchā rakhe rākhatā re, te to dhyānadhīraja kare bhaṁga.'* akaḷa.

'Listen, Śaṁkara! This is a matter of discrimination, this is the body of the *māyā* of  
Mohinī,

Perhaps you have a desire to see it, but it breaks meditation and patience  
(levelheadedness).'

6

*tyāre Umādhave Mādhavane kahyuṁ re, 'nā, nā, huṁ nahīṁ caḷum lagāra,*

*jānuṃ chuṃ māṭe kadāpi nahi bhūluṃ re, dekhāśo, mune hoṃśa apāra. ' akaḷa.*

Then Umādhava said to Mādhava, 'No, no, (I will remain the same) I am not infatuated for a short time,

For I realise that I never make a mistake, show me, I have an endless urge.'

7

*evuṃ kahyuṃ Śive tyāre hasyā Hari re, 'bhaluṃ, dekhāśiśuṃ koī dina.'*

*ema paraspara beu jaṇā boltā re, trijuṃ rūpa dharyuṃ Mohana. akaḷa.*

Thus Śiva spoke, then Hari laughed, 'Alright, I'll show you some day.'

Thus the two people spoke to one another, Mohana took a third form.

8

*eka anupama puṣpanī vāṭikā re, tenī madhye dīṭhī eka nāra,*

*suṃdara soḷa varasanī suṃdari re, śyāmā svarūpataṇo bhaṃḍāra. akaḷa.*

There was a unique garden of flowers, in it a woman was seen,

She was a beautiful sixteen-year old beauty, the treasure-house of true forms of women.

9

*caṃpakavaraṇuṃ tana ne caḷa ghaṇī re, sāmudrika lakṣaṇa pūrṇa,*

*guṇagabhīra gorī garve bharī re, kare mahāmunināṃ mana cūrṇa. akaḷa.*

Her body was the colour of a campaka flower, very agile, with all auspicious marks,

With all deep qualities, the fair woman was full in pride, she crushed to dust the mind of the great muni.

10

*jarakasi korano suṃdara sālūḍo re, jeno jhīṇo kasuṃbala raṃga,*

*anupama rīte odhyo Alabelīe re, jemāṃ bhāse goruṃ sahu aṃga. akaḷa.*

Her beautiful sari had a gold-embroidered border, whose colour was of tender saffron,

Alabeli had put it on in a unique way, in which her whole body shone pale.

11

*veṇī lāmbī śīśa Śeṣasarikhaḍī re, pheṇamaṇi jāṇe śīśaphūla!*

*seṁtho simḍūre pūryo che sohāmaṇo re, upara dāmaṇi dīpe amūla. akaḷa.*

The long plait on her head was like the serpent Śeṣa, the flower in her hair was like the serpent's hood!

Sindur filled her beautiful parting, above it shone a priceless chain.

12

*motijaḍitra manohara coṭaṇuṁ re, mṛgamadanī ṭīlī cittacora,*

*suṁdara bhāla viśāḷa birājatu re, madamātīnuṁ jobanaḷora. akaḷa.*

Her charming pearl-stud, clinging tilak of musk was mind-stealing,

Her broad forehead looked beautiful, the power of youth is inflamed with lust.

13

*bhrūkuṭi kamānasamāna chabīlaḍī re, ratnāḷaṁ locana rasakūpa*

*dīrgha aṇiyāḷaṁ capaḷathī mana haryuṁ re, che kaṭākṣa kaṭārīnuṁ rūpa. akaḷa.*

Her eyebrows are like beautiful bows, her eyes are jewelled wells of *rasa*,

Thier long corners steal one's mind with their darting movements, her sidelong glances have the form of daggers.

14

*vāḷi jhūmaṇa jhūme jhūmakhe re, vesaramuktā che laṁbuṁ sūṁḍhāḷa.*

*aruṇa adharanī upara suṁdara laḷakatuṁ re jotāṁ jogī caḷe tatkāḷa. akaḷa.*

Her nose-ring hangs on a pendant from its ring, the pearl of the nose-ring is a long elephant's trunk,

On her red lowerlip is a beautiful glow, seeing it the yogi is infatuated.

15

*maṇḍa madhuramadhuruṃ hāsya kare re, jhalake dāḍamabījaśā daṃṭa,*  
*kuṃdanarekhā be daṃtamāṃ dīpatī re, caḷakārāmāṃ core caṃṭa. akaḷa.*

She smiles gently and very sweetly, her teeth shine like pomegranate seeds,  
Two lines of gold shine in her teeth, the lovely lady steals minds in her splendour.

16

*cāru cibuka madhye che haruṃ ṭabakaluṃ re, bījuṃ gāle, trijuṃ adabhāḷa.*  
*traṇa biṃḍunī śobhā śī kahuruṃ re? trājūḍuṃ trilokīmanajāḷa. akaḷa.*

There is a green mole in the middle of her lovely chin, another on her cheek, a third  
on her forehead;

What can I say of the beauty of the three drops? This tattoo is the snare of the mind  
of Trilokī.

17

*jhūla jugala maṇijaḍitra kanakataṇām re, karṇaphūla pāṃḍaḍiono jhūma,*  
*coṭalo gophaṇo gorīno ghamakato re, ghaṇo ghūgharīkero ghacūma. akaḷa.*

The pair of jewel-studded earrings hang down, there are flowers on her ears and  
clusters of leaves,

The hair ornament of the lovely woman is jingling, there is much crowding (i.e.  
many rows) of little bells.

18

*koṭi sūrajaśaśī vadane ovāriye re, sumdara mukhaḍuṃ svarūpanidhāna,*  
*alakanī laṭa jhūkī rahī guṃḍape re, madhuruṃmadhuruṃ karatī gāna. akaḷa.*

Her face wards off the evil eye from crores of suns and moons, the beautiful face,  
the receptacle of the true form,

The lock of a curl hangs on her temples, she sings sweetly.

19

*raṅga taṃboḷa comtyo mukhe coḷaśo re, mṛganeṇīno vāṃko moḍa,  
jārakasī butṭānī che kālī kaṃcukī re, kasakasatī paheṛī karī koḍa. akaḷa.*

The colour of betel has stained to her mouth deeply, the head of the doe-eyed woman is lowered,

Her black bodice is of gold-embroidered stitching, she has worn it tightly.

20

*tuśī tanamaniyāṃ kaṃṭhe hemahāṃsaḍī re, mādaḷiyāṃ arīso cinamāḷa,  
caṃpakaḷī caṃdanahāra coserano re, muktāphaḷamāḷā viśāḷa. akaḷa.*

On her throat she has a *tulsi* necklace and a gold necklace, ornaments of looking glass and gold beads,

Campa buds, a necklace of gold circles having four strings, a necklace of great pearls.

21

*kaṃkaṇa sahita kanaka kara cūḍalo re, managaṭha java te bajoṭhānī sātha,  
vāṃka viṃṭī bājubamḍha berakhā re, challārasī rahī sahī hātha. akaḷa.*

Bangles of gold on the hand with bracelets, a barley-bead ring, with armlets,

A curved ring, a bracelet, a wristlet, she wore a ring with bells and mirrors on her hand.

22

*siṃghasamāna kaṭie kaṭimekhaḷāre, pāye nepūrano jhaṇakāra,  
sāṃkaḷāṃ kallāṃ kāmbī aṇavaṭa viṃchiyā re, nahi nakhaśikha śobhāno pāra. akaḷa.*

On her waist like a panther's was a belt, on her feet was the tinkling of anklets,

Ankle-chains, gold anklets, silver anklets, foot ornaments, toe-rings, there was no end to her beauty from head to toe.

23

*Alabelī āṁkha āṁjī anupama banī re, puṣpahāra kaṁṭhe, gajrā pāṇa,  
bhāḷe gulāla baṁdo mahāvāra pāṇīe re, meṁdī marādī hatheḷimāṁ jāṇa. akaḷa.*

The lovely lady had put in kajal in her incomparable eyes, a flower necklace on her neck, a flower bracelet on her hand,  
On her forehead a pink *bindi*, on her heel lakh, having rubbed henna on her palms.

24

*krīḍākaṁḍūka kara kusumano kāmanī re grahī līlā kare tenī saṁga,  
jhāḷe ūchāḷe pūṁṭhe phare premadā re, tene miṣe nacāve che aṁga. akaḷa.*

The lovely woman had (in) her hand a toy ball of flowers and played the *līlā* with him,  
The beautiful woman catches and throws she follows, she makes her body dance on this pretext.

25

*maṁḍa sugaṁdhī samīra śīta vahe re, śaśī ūḍiyo, ravi pāmyo asta,  
te same Śivajīe dīṭhī e suṁdarī re, cālyā Harithī choḍāvīne hasta. akaḷa.*

A gentle, fragrant, cool breeze blows, the moon rose, the sun sets,  
Śiva saw this beautiful woman in front of him, he took his hand away from Hari and went (towards her).

26

*Mohanī jotāṁ mohyā Mahādevajī re, pūchyuṁ nahi Prabhune je che e kona,  
bhūlī gayā śuddhabudha śarīranī re, lāgyāṁ nenakaṭākṣa mohabāṇa. akaḷa.*

Seeing Mohanī, Mahādeva was deluded, he did not ask Prabhu who she was,

He forgot the consciousness of his body, arrows of love, her sidelong glances struck him.

27

*samajhyā nahīm je meṃ kahī te e mohani re evo vyāpyo che aṃga Anaṃga,  
puṣpanā bāgamāṃ peṭho baḷe kari re, lajjā mūki doḍyā karvā saṃga. akaḷa.*

He did not understand that I said that this is Mohanī, for Anaṃga had pervaded his whole body,

In a garden of flowers he entered with force, forgetting his modesty, he ran for union.

28

*evāmāṃ vāyu vāyo tyāṃ vege kari re, ūḍyūṃ vastra, diṭhum sahu śarīra,  
tyāre to ātura ati maḷavā thayā re rūpa jotāṃ rahī nahīm dhīra. akaḷa.*

Meanwhile, when the wind blew then it was strong, it lifted her clothes, her entire body was seen,

Then he became excessively eager to meet her, seeing her beauty he lost his control.

29

*doḍatāṃ aṃganuṃ aṃbara rahyuṃ kyahuṃ re, nathī topaṇa śarīranuṃ bhāna,  
ema vikala vrehavihvaḷa thāi gayā re, lāgyuṃ Mohani malavānuṃ tāna. akaḷa.*

While running the garment on his body fell off, there was no consciousness in his body,

He became so bewildered and confused by separation, he was obsessed with meeting Mohanī.

30

*jora kare to ye juvati jhalāya nahīm re, kahāḍe haḍi to ye āve na hātha,  
pāsa dekhe paṇa sparśa thato nathī re, bahu śramita thayā strīnī sātha. akala.*



He uses force, however the young woman can't be caught, he rushes but he doesn't get her hand (in agreement),

He sees from nearby, but there is no contact, the woman tired him out.

31

*evāmāṃ āvī gaī ghaṭā vṛkṣanī re, tevāmāṃ āvyo vaḷī pavana,*  
*vinatānāṃ vastra gayāṃ sahu nīsarī re, atilajjā pāmī strījana. akaḷa.*

Then as a clump of trees was reached, so the wind came again.

All clothes of modesty fell off, the woman became very embarrassed.

32

*vāmā tyāre vṛkṣaothe ūbhī rahī re, Śaṃkara samīpe āvyā bharavā bātha,*  
*bhāvaśuṃ bheṭatāṃ rūpa pragaṭa karyuṃ re, mukha joyuṃ to Vaikuṃṭhanātha!*  
*akaḷa.*

Then the woman stood in the shelter of a tree, Śaṃkara approached to embrace her,

As he embraced her with feeling [??], the form was made clear, he saw the face of Vaikuṃṭhanātha!

33

*Mādhava jāṇī Umāpati lājiyā re, Hari bolyā hasīne vacana:*  
*'Mohanīrūpa joyuṃ Mahādevajī re?' sūṇī Śive karyuṃ nīcuṃ vadana. akaḷa.*

Knowing it was Mādhava, Umāpati was ashamed, Hari laughed and said:

'Did Mahādeva see the form of Mohanī?' Hearing this, Śiva lowered his head.

34

*valatī to jñāna āṇī Bhoḷe bhālyuṃ re, 'Prabhu! māyā tamārī apāra,*  
*akaḷa gati tamārī te to tamo laho re, bākī koī na pāme pāra.' akaḷa.*

Then returning to his senses, Bhoḷa said, 'Prabhu! Your māyā is limitless,

You take your incomprehensible way, no one else reaches the other side.

35

*garabo e gāya, śīkhe ne sām̐bhaḷe re tene māyā na pīḍe ko vāra,*

*Vallabhī vaiṣṇavajana Dayāśam̐kare re gāyā jaśa Jagadīśanā sāra. akaḷa.*

Who sings this *garabo*, learns and listens, *māyā* never afflicts him at any time

Dayāśam̐kara, a Vallabhite Vaiṣṇava sang the fame of the essence of Jagadīśa.

### 131 Vrajamahimā<sup>4</sup>

1

*Vrajanī śobhā apāra, jāuṃ balihārī jo! che Iṃdrapurī āvāsa, śobhā sārī jo!*

The beauty of Vraja is unsurpassed, I am going there, I am blessed! Iṃdrapurī is a dwelling place, it's beauty is good!

2

*gheraghera āmaṃda apāra, utsava thāye jo, Gopī opī manamāṃhya guṇalā gāye jo.*

In everyhouse there is endless joy, a festival takes place, the Gopīs look wonderful and sing his merits in their minds.

3

*Damodara Dīnadayāḷa prakatyā jyāre jo, tyāṃ rahyuṃ na bākī kāṃya, jāuṃ balihāre jo!*

When Damodara Dīnadayāḷa appears, then nothing else matters. I'm going there, O yes!

---

<sup>4</sup>The first ten verses only.

4

*Imḍrapurīnī māṃhya nāce gaṇikā jo, kare Gopī theī theī kāra! vāje maṇikā jo!*

Courtesans dance in Imḍrapurī, the Gopīs make the noises of bells! Their jewels sound!

5

*Imḍrapurīnī māṃhya ṛṣio bese ho, Harināṃ karavā darśana muni maṭha pese jo.*

The ṛṣis are settled in Imḍrapurī, the munis enter monasteries to have a sight of Hari.

6

*Imḍrapurīnī māṃhya guṇiyala gāye jo, gāna kare che Gopa, sukhī bahu thaye jo.*

In Imḍrapurī, the virtuous sing, the Gopās sing, everyone becomes very happy.

7

*Imḍrapurīnī māṃhya vīṇā vāge jo, muralīnā thāye nāda, bhramaṇā bhāge jo.*

In Imḍrapurī, the veenas sound, the sound of the flute rises, delusions fly away.

8

*Imḍrapurīnī māṃhya nautama nārī jo, Gopikā saṅī śṛṅgāra beṭhī aṭārī jo.*

In Imḍrapurī, the women are beautiful, the Gopikās wearing their ornaments sit on the balconies.

9

*Imḍrapurīnī māṃhya Brāhmana bhaṇatā jo, karī vedaṛcāuccāra guṇa Hari gaṇatā jo.*

In Imḍrapurī the Brahmins recite, they pronounce the ṛks of the Veda, counting the qualities of Hari.

10

*Imdrapurīnī māṃhya che siṃhāsana jo, Vrajamāṃ teno che vilāsa Śyāmasukhāsana  
jo.*

In Imdrapurī is the throne, in Vraj it has beauty, the seat of happiness of Śyāma

**131<sup>5</sup> pūrvanī prīta  
pada: rāga: dhanāśrī**

1

*māro neha lāgyo re sakhī! Śāmaḷiyā sāthe!*

*māro neha lāgyo re e Pātaḷiyā sāthe!*

O friend, I am in love with Śāmaḷiyā!

O friend, I am in love with Pātaḷiyā!

2

*sāmbharī āve mane prīta pūrvanī, e anubhava āja jāgyo re Śāmaḷiyā sāthe, sakhī!*

I remember love of previous (births), this experience today has awoken with  
Śāmaḷiyā!

3

*manano mānyo, aṃtarano icchyo vara maḷiyō che mukhamāgyo re, e Śāmaḷiyā  
sāthe, sakhī!*

I have met the bridegroom agreeable to my mind, desired by my heart, asked for by  
my mouth, with Śāmaḷiyā.

---

<sup>5</sup>See n.1 above.

4

*Dayānā Prītamānī saṃge niśadina ramatāṃ ā bhavano te bhaya āja bhāgyo re, e  
Śāmaḷiyā sāthe, sakhī!*

Playing day and night in the company of Dayā's Beloved, today this fear of the world has broken, with Śāmaḷiyā.

**138 kyama bhariye re jaḷajamanānāṃ nīra?  
pada: rāga: vasaṃta**

R

*kyama bhariye re? kyama bhariye jaḷajamanānuṃ nīra? Naṃdakuṃvara keḍe  
paḍyo! kyama.*

Why do we go for water? Why do we go for the water of the River Jamanā?  
Naṃdakuṃvara turns up on the road!

1

*huṃ to othāṃ lai āghī raḥuṃ, sāmo āve,  
sāmo āve re - sāmo āve Naṃdājīno Lāla. Naṃdakuṃvara. kyama.*

I shall conceal myself and remain at a distance, he approaches,  
He approaches, he approaches, Naṃda's Lāla.

2

*hāṃ re Vhālo pākī māre pīcakārīo, āvī vāge - āvī vāge re -  
āvī vāge re - āvī vāge - māra tanaḍāmāṃ tīra! Naṃdakuṃvara. kyama.*

Oh yes, Vhālo squirts me, it hits me, it hits me,  
It hits me, it hits me, an arrow on my body!

3

*ke mune roḷicāḷi gulālamām, vaṇasāḍyām -*

*vaṇasāḍyām -- re vaṇasāḍyām mārām colī ne cīra! Naṃdakuṃvara. kyama.*

Or he throws me in red powder, he has spoiled,

He has spoiled, he has spoiled my bodice and silk garment!

4

*hāvām harāyā te dina Hoḷitaṇā, e harāyā -*

*e harāyā - re e harāyā Naṃdajīno re Lāla! Naṃdakuṃvara. kyama.*

Now he has won this day of Hoḷī, he has won,

He has won - he has won, Naṃdajī's Lāla!

5

*ke mune Dāsadayānā Svāmī malyā teṇe dīdhām -*

*teṇe dīdhām -re teṇe dīdhām mune dhāraṇadhīra. Naṃdakuṃvara. kyama.*

The servant Dayā's Lord met me and he gave me,

He gave me, he gave me, certainty and patience.

140 sauthī para  
pada: rāga: kalyāṇa

R

*sevanī Śrīkṛṣṇa rasika Rādhikāpati, Rādhikāpati Goviṃda, Gopikāpati. sevanī.*

Serve Śrīkṛṣṇa, Rādhikāpati, Rādhikāpati Goviṃda, Gopikāpati.

1

*mahāvākya 'tattvamasi', marmī tetaṇā munīṃdra,*

*līna jhamām svarūpa, tethī para ati. sevanī.*

The chief of the munis knows the inner meaning of the great expression, 'tat tvam asi',

That in which the *svarūpa* is absorbed is much greater than that. [??]

2

*BrahmāViṣṇuBhavaanamṛta amṛta nā lahe aciṃtya,*  
*arthasādhane na sādhyā, yogī na tuṃ yati. sevānī.*

Brahmā Viṣṇu Bhava and Anamṛta do not know this unthinkable truth,

To achieve this purpose, you [need] not be a *sādhu*, nor a *yogī* nor a *yati*.

3

*ātmārāma pūrṇakāma, dhāmadhāma vāmagrāma,*  
*śreyasādma, nāma Śyāma adbhutākṛti. sevānī.*

The one who delights in himself, who has his desire fulfilled, who in every place, in [??] village,

The seat of merit, called Śyāma, having a wonderful form.

4

*svayaṃbhū svataṃtra, grahī śake na koī maṃtrataṃtra -*  
*prāpta, śuddha prema, ananya bhakti, dīna mati. sevānī.*

Self-born, independent, whom no *maṃtra* or *taṃtra* can capture -

Obtained by pure love, exclusive devotion, humble mind.

5

*lalitachabi, tribhaṃgī Lāla, Madanamohana, atikṛpāla,*  
*jehane nīrakhī tṛpti Dayāne nathī thatī. sevānī.*

Elegant beauty, Tribhaṃgī Lāla, Madanamohana, exceedingly compassionate,

Having seen whom, Dayā cannot be satisfied.

141 eka varyo Gopījanavallabha!

R

*eka varyo Gopījanavallabha, nahīṃ svāmī bījo.*

I chose Gopījanavallabha alone, there is no other lord.

1

*nahīṃ svāmī bījo re, māre nahīṃ svāmī bījo.*

*avara koīnuṃ kāma na māre, rījho ke khījo!*

*Kṛṣṇa kare te pramāṇa, kāraja vaṇaso ke sījo!*

*prāṇa jāya paṇa anya kṛtimāṃ mana rakhe bhīṃjo. eka.*

There is no other Lord, I have no other Lord,

I have no love for another, be pleased or be angry!

What Kṛṣṇa does is the measure, whether he spoils his duty or does it well;

Even if my life goes let me not drench my mind in any other form.

2

*sukhīduḥkhī jema game tema rākhe, enā guṇa gāuṃ,*

*vināmūlano gharano gulāma vece tyāṃ vecāuṃ,*

*e ja gamyo, ethī mana mānyuṃ, bījo nava cāhuṃ,*

*enā ati avatāra, huṃ koīno dāsa na kahevāuṃ. eka.*

Let him keep me as happy or sad as he pleases, I shall sing his praises,

Where he sells me as a slave of a worthless house, there I shall be sold,

I liked only him, my mind agreed with him, I don't love anyone else,

This ultimate *avatāra* of his, I shall not be called anyone's slave.



3

*Kṛṣṇavinā śira avara name to chedanano daṁḍa,  
Naṁdakumvaravaṇa nāma jape to jīhvā karuṁ śatakhaṁḍa,  
avara devanī āśa karye agha bhaje, vaḷī Brahmāṁḍa  
anya amaradarśane doḍe paga to pādum piṁḍa. eka.*

If without Kṛṣṇa, my head bows to another, the punishment is of removal,  
If my tongue chants a name other than Naṁdakumvara, I shall cut my tongue into a  
hundred pieces,  
When (one) puts hope in another god, one worships sin, but [if] the world  
Runs on its feet at the *darśana* of other gods, then I shall make *piṁḍas* [i.e. die].

4

*huṁ cātaka, jaḷa Svāti Śrījī, huṁ jakha, Hari vāri,  
huṁ hārīla, kāṭhī Hari, dṛḍhavata dhārī te dhārī,  
ananya pativrata jene nahīṁ te kahīe vyabhicārī,  
Śrīgurudeva! nabhāvajo, kahe Dayo, sadā ṭeka mārī. eka.*

I am a *cātaka*, Śrījī is the *svāti* water, I am the fish, Hari is the water,  
I am the *Harīla*,<sup>6</sup> Hari is the stick, I keep it firmly with me.  
We do not call a faithful wife a loose woman,  
Śrīgurudeva! Dayo says support me, always be my prop [refrain].

142 prema  
pada

R

*je koī premaaṁśa avatare premarasa tenā uramāṁ ṭhare.*

<sup>6</sup>The *harīla* bird catches a piece of wood at its birth then keeps it with it all its life.

If a particle of love is born on earth, the sentiment of love is fixed in his breast.

1

*siṃhaṇakerūṃ dūdha hoyā te siṃhaṇasutane jare,  
kanakapātra pākhe sahu dhātu phoḍīne nīsare. premarasa.*

The milk of the lioness is digested only by a lion-cub,  
It splits all metals apart from a golden vessel, and flows away.

2

*sakkarakhoranuṃ sākara jīvāna, kharanā prāṇa ja hare,  
kṣāra sindhunuṃ māchalaḍuṃ jema mīṭhā jaḷamām mare. premarasa.*

Sugar is the life of a sweet-toothed person, it takes the very life of a donkey,  
Just as a fish of the salt sea dies in sweet water.

3

*somavelī rasapāna śuddha je brāhmaṇa hoyā te kare,  
vagaḷavaṃśīne vamaṇa karāve, vedavānī ūcare. premarasa.*

The juice of the soma plant is pure if a Brahmin drinks it,  
It causes vomiting to those of mixed caste, this is the word of the Vedas.

4

*uttama vastu adhikāraṇinā maḷe, tadapī artha nā sare,  
matsyabhogī bagalo muktāphaḷa dekhī caṃcu na bhare. premarasa.*

The very best thing, if obtained wrongly, will have no effect,  
The fish-eating crane, seeing a pearl, does not fill its beak.

5

*ema koṭī sādhanē premavinā Puruṣottama pūṃṭhe nā phare,  
Dayāprītama Śrīgovardhanadharavara premabhaktie vare. premarasa.*

Thus in a crore of ways, Puruṣottama does not chase after people who are without love.

Dayā's Beloved, Govardhanadharavara, chooses with loving devotion.

143 Vṛṣṇāvanamāṃ  
pada: garabī

1

*Śrīvṛṣṇāvana sukhakārī re! samarye nāse sahu pīḍā!*  
*jyāṃ Śrīrādhāgīridhārī re sadā kare che rasakrīḍā!*  
Śrīvṛṣṇāvana gives pleasure! When it is remembered, all afflictions flee!  
Where Śrīrādhā and Śrīgīridhārī always perform games of *rasa*!

2

*jyāṃ rasamaya Girigovardhana re, rasamaya Śrīyamunārāṇī,*  
*svarūpa vṛkṣa ne velo re, pṛthvī rasamaya lo jāṇī.*  
Where is wonderful Mount Govardhana, and wonderful Queen Yamunā,  
Know that the trees and creepers are true forms, the earth is pleasing.

3

*rasarūpa Caṃdramā acalīta re, rasamaya che divasareṇī,*  
*rasarūpa sarva sāmāgrī re Yugalarūpane sukhadeṇī.*  
The lovely moon is still, the day and night are pleasing,  
The whole collection is lovely, giving pleasure to the form of the Couple.

4

*jyāṃ khaṭarṭu sadā vase che re je mana icche te thāye,*  
*che sarva samaya Harisvādhīna re, divasa rāta paṇa thāi jāye,*  
Where the six seasons always live, what the mind desires happens,

All times are under Hari's control, even day and night happen [at his will].

5

*jyāṃ praveśa nahi koī parano re, nava cāle koīnī māyā,*

*Gopī paṇa te sahu Goviṃda re! jema kāṃī svarūpa ne chāyā,*

Where there is no entry of the other, no *māyā* operates,

But the Gopīs are all there and Goviṃda like some true form and shadows.

6

*jyāṃ puruṣa eka Puruṣottama re, bākī sarave Vrajanārī,*

*temāṃ Lalitāmukhya sakhī che re madhya beunī adhikārī.*

Where the one man is Puruṣottama, the rest are all Vraja women,

Among them are the female friends with Lalitā at their head, and, in the middle, the powerful of the pair [Rādhā].

7

*jyāṃ Jugalakiśora rame che re navarasalīlā nitya navī,*

*anubhavīnuṃ aṃtara jāṇe re, śake varṇavī kema kavi?*

Where the young Couple plays, there are always new *līlās* of the nine *rasas*,

The heart of the experienced knows this, how can a poet describe it?

8

*jñānīnī gati nava pahomce re, premarasa premīne ja jare,*

*jyama dūdha siṃhaṇikeruṃ re siṃhaṇasuta hoyā to ja thare.*

The way of the one who follows knowledge does not reach there, the *rasa* of love is digested only by the loving,

As a lioness' milk is (suitable) for a lioness' cub, so it settles only there.

9

*e prema parama āmaṃdarasa re! rakhe viṣayarasasama āṇe,  
emāṃ Śukamuni ne Śiva chākyā re! te śuṃ kāmījana jāṇe?*

This love is the supreme *rasa* of joy! equal to the *rasa* of sense objects (sexual pleasure?),

In it Śukamuni and Śiva were wrong! What do desirous people know of this?

10

*jeṇe kāmāne moha pamāḍyo re te Prabhu kāmavaśa kema thāye?  
Śrīkṛṣṇarasakriḍā gātāṃ re kāmaroga urathī jāye.*

How can one who has been made to experience infatuation for desire become overcome by desire for Prabhu?

Singing the play of the *rasa* of Kṛṣṇa, the fever of love goes from his breast.

11

*mahāadhamano uddhāra karavā re bhūtaḷa lilā karī Nāthe,  
jema ghrta viṣa javaravāḷāne re te ja amṛta oṣadha sāthe.*

Nātha performed his *lilā* on the earth to give *uddhāra* to the great and the lowly,  
As ghee is a poison to a person with fever, this is nectar with a healing herb.

12

*hoya jīvanī avaḷī buddhi re, māṭe e śikṣā bhākhī,  
samajhī anubhvatāṃ nirmaḷa re thāśo Śrībhāgavata sākhi,*

The soul has contrary wisdom, therefore he spoke this lesson,

Having understood it, experiencing it purely, you will become the female companion of Śrībhāgavata.

13

*e bhāve Harirasa gātāṃ re sūnatāṃ Hari Vhālā thāśe,*

*bhajo Dāsadayānā Prītama re, sahu sukha sheje thāi jāśe.*

Singing and hearing this rasa of Hari with this emotion, Hari will become Vhāla,  
Praise the Beloved of the servant Dayā, all happiness will happen spontaneously.

145 Rasiye vajādī raṅgavāsaḷī!  
pada: rāga: bilāvala

R

*Rasiye vajādī raṅgavāsaḷī! pāṃsaḷī māri proi!*

*vikaḷa kari mune Vhālame vāṃkī dṛṣṭe re joi! Rasiye.*

Rasiyā played his lovely flute! He pierced my heart!

Vhālama made me confused, he looked with a sidelong glance!

1

*sakhī Panaghata upara huṃ paḍī, māri kāyā re kāṃpe!*

*bheda na samajhe ko bhāminī! leī leī hṛdiyāśuṃ cāṃpe! Rasiye.*

Friend, I met him on the water ghat, my body trembles!

Lovely woman, he doesn't understand any division, taking, taking, he presses me to  
his heart!

2

*koī kahe, 'akhetara to aḍyūṃ!' koī kahe, 'kāḷe re karaḍī!'*

*eka sakhī samajhī gaī - 'Lālalhere re maraḍī!' Rasiye.*

Some say, 'Witchcraft touched her!', others say, 'Yesterday she was bitten!'

One friend understood, 'Waves of pleasure of Lāla overpowered her!'

3

*teṇe kahyūṃ, 'sarako sahu! eka maṃtra huṃ pāse,*

*sambhaḷāvum enā śravaṇamāṃ, vīkha ūtarī jāśe,' Rasiye.*

She said, 'Go away, all of you! I have a mantra,

I'll whisper it in your ear, the poison will go,'

4

*teṇe kahyum mārā kānamāṃ, 'hum chum Śyāmanī saṃgī,*

*nīśce hum tene meḷavum,' - sūṇī ūṭhī umaṃgī. Rasiye.*

She said in my ear, 'I am the friend of Śyāma,

I'll certainly arrange for you to meet him.' Hearing this, he was delighted.

5

*sarve vakhāṇī te triyā, 'vīkhaḍum teṃ vālyum!'*

*Dayānā Pritama teṇe meḷavyā! mārum vrehaduḥkha tālyum! Rasiye.*

These three words are everything, 'He neutralised the poison!'

She was made to meet Dayā's Beloved, my sorrow at separation was removed!

**146 premasaṃtoṣa  
pada: garabī**

R

*mārā Vhālā re! lāgo cho vhālā!*

*Piyu, Prāṇajīvana, Naṃdanā Lālā!*

*bījā vhālā te kahevānā ṭhālā! mārā.*

My Vhālā, you are dear,

Piyu, Prāṇajīvana, Naṃdanā Lālā!

Other dear ones are to be called useless!

1

*Vhālā! vhālasarīkhuṃ nathī kāṃī mīṭhuṃ,  
amṛta paṇa evuṃ nava dīṭhuṃ,  
heta svārathanuṃ te to ajīṭhuṃ! mārā.*

Vhālā there is nothing as sweet as the dear one,  
I have not seen even nectar like this,  
Selfish love is impure.

2

*mīṭhī vastu saghaḷī prema taḷe,  
tene bhogavyā pachī saṃtoṣa vaḷe,  
premarasa pītāṃ tṛṣṇā na taḷe. mārā.*

All sweet things are beneath love,  
After enjoying it, satisfaction arises,  
Drinking the rasa of love, thirst is not quenched.

3

*jñānādike tame vaśa na thāo.  
mokṣādike dehe aḷagā thāo,  
Vhālā! vhālathakī tame baṃdhāo! mārā.*

Do not fall under the power of learning etc.,  
Keep apart in your body from liberation etc.,  
Vhālā! you bind me with love!

4

*prītarītamāṃ paṃḍita śuṃ jāṇe?  
anubhavathī ajāṇyā avagūṇa āṇe,  
ene je jāṇe te nitya māṇe! mārā.*

What do pandits know of the ways of love?



Ignorant of its experience, they belittle it,  
Those who know it, enjoy it constantly.

5

*mukha dīṭhe mārī āṅkha ṭhare,*  
*te manaḍuṃ dhīraja nava dhare,*  
*ḍūbī jaḷa māchalāḍī tarase mare! mārā.*

When I see his face, my eyes settle there,  
my mind does not keep patience,  
A fish in water drowned, it dies of thirst!

6

*tana thāko, koī mana rakhe thāko,*  
*Nātha! sukhi karavā nitya citta tāko,*  
*nitya nīrakuṃ, paṇa ṭṛpti nahī āṅko! mārā.*

Let my body tire but do not let my mind tire,  
Nātha! Turn your mind to always making me happy,  
I look constantly, but my desire has no limits!

7

*māruṃ mana rahejo tamaśuṃ lāgyuṃ!*  
*māruṃ tanamana rahejo tama pāsa māguṃ,*  
*- Dayāprītamajī! deho e māguṃ! mārā.*

Keep my mind attached to you,  
Keep my body and mind near you, I implore you,  
Beloved of Dayā, grant my request!

147 jāo, jāo, jūṭhā!  
pada: rāga: khaṭa

R

*jāo jī! jāo jī! Jivaṇa! jūṭhā cho, mem jānyā, kāle śuṃ bolyā? ne śuṃ kīdhuṃ re? jāo.*  
Go, Go, Jivaṇa, you are false, I realised this, what did you say yesterday? and what did you do?

1

*ākḥī rātanī ūjāgarī rākḥī! māruṃ tanamana śīdane saṃtāpyuṃ re?*  
*dājhayā upara lūṇa devāne mune ā darśana śīda āpyuṃ re? jāo.*  
All night you kept me sleepless! Why do you torture my body and mind?  
Why did you give me this *darśana* to allow salt on the burn?

2

*āja paḷe māruṃ nāma nā leśo, jāo, mana māne tyāṃ mahālo re!*  
*moṭe re prabhāte māre dvāra śīda ūbhā? jāo, śo gorambho ṭhālo re? jāo.*  
Today you don't take my name at any moment [i.e. you'll ignore me], go, whenever you like and stroll about,  
So why are you standing at my door at the break of dawn? Go, what is this empty siege?

3

*vaṇajavinā jokhama śīda joīe? cālo, ūbhā nā raheśo māri pāse re!*  
*Dayānā Prītamavhālā! manamāṃ vicāro - jūṭhuṃ khāya te miṭhānī āśe re! jāo.*  
Why want risk without venture? come on, don't stand around near me!  
Dayā's Beloved, think on this in your mind, who eats leftovers, he is in hope of sweetness.

148 tamāro!  
pada

R

*'tamāro! tamāro Pyārī! mana māne te kahonī!*

*nathī cūkyo, paṇa a cūkyo chuṃ, munc daṃḍa game te donī! tamāro!*

'(I am) yours, yours, my beloved woman, my mind accepts what you say!

I haven't done wrong, but I have done wrong, give me any punishment you like!

1

*gunegāra jāñī mujane be bhujapāše bāṃdho re!*

*tethī adhika karo to muja para nenabāṇa be sām̐dho re!*

Knowing I am a wrongdoer, tie me with the fetters of your arms,

If you will do more than that, then do it with two arrows from your eyes!

2

*nāsī jāśa jāṇo to mujane urakkille caḍāvo re!*

*kaho to Dhījapatīja karuṃ, Śivapiṃḍī hātha dharāvo re! tamāro!*

If I run away, know this, then put me in the fortress of your heart,

If you say that then I shall convince you, I'll put my hand on a Śiva lingam.

3

*kaho to adharā sama khāuṃ, Pyārī! śīda karo saṃtāpa re?*

*sāco chauṃ, sāco chauṃ, jūṭhūṃ boluṃ to be bāpa re! tamāro!*

If you say so then I take an oath with my lips, beloved woman, why do you torture me?

I am true, I am true. If I speak falsely then I have two fathers.

4

- *ema sūṇī hasī bolyāṃ Śyāmā, 'āvaḍuṃ kyāṃ bhaṇī āvyā re?'*

- *heta dharī haiḍāsūṃ līdhā, maṇḍiramāṃ padharāvyā re, tamāro!*

Hearing this Śyāmā laughed and said, 'Where have you learnt so much?'

Bearing love, she took him to her heart, she welcomed him in her house.

5

*premasahita paryamke poḍhyāṃ, ūmaṅgyo ratirasa bhārī re,*

*e jugalarūpataṇī līlā para jāya Dayo balihārī re! tamāro!*

With love, they lay down on a bed, the *rasa* of sex rose fully,

The *līlā* of the form of the Couple becomes the ultimate, Dayo is blessed!

149 **ghuṃghaṭaḍāmāṃthī**  
**pada: rāga: rāmakalī**

R

*jala jātāṃ āja ghuṃghaṭaḍāmāṃ Mohananuṃ mukha diṭhuṃ re!*

*amṛtarasa paṇa ethakī phīkko bāī! evuṃ lāgyuṃ che mune miṭhuṃ re! jaḷa.*

Today when I was going for water in my veil, I saw Mohana's face!

Nectar is bland compared to it, sister! It seemed so sweet to me!

1

*ene paṇa kāṃṇī nathī re ajāṅyuṃ, mune māna karī samajhāvī re,*

*cāṃpī hṛde karī heta jaṅāvyuṃ mane sāmāṃ te nene nacāvī re! jaḷa.*

Nothing is unknown to him, he deceived my mind,

He pressed me to his heart and declared his love, he made his eyes dance in front of me.

2

*śuṃ kahuṃ sukhaduḥkha te ja samānuṃ? śara snehataṇām ura vāgyāṃ re!*

*manamāṃ āve tema mukhe kema kahevuṃ pelā durijana daityaśā lāgyā re! jaḷa.*

What can I say of all that sorrow and happiness? Arrows of love struck my breast!

How can my mouth say what comes in my mind? Those wicked people seemed monstrous!

3

*Rasiyo rūpāḷo catura ko evo nathī avara - meṃ niśce bhālyuṃ re.*

*dhanya bhāgye jeṇe Dayānā Pritama saṃga managamatuṃ sukha mahālyuṃ re! jaḷa.*

There is no one else as beautiful or as clever as Rasiyo - I certainly saw that.

The one who has enjoyed happiness to his heart's content in the company of Dayā's beloved is very fortunate!

**155 mune māyā lagāḍī  
pada: rāga: bihāga**

R

*ho Mohanā re mune māyā lagāḍī! mana mohyuṃ Girivaradhārī Lāla!*

Mohana's love has struck me, Girivaradhārī Lāla has bewitched my mind!

1

*mohanī moralīe citta corī lidhuṃ māruṃ, mune sūtī jagāḍī. mune.*

The flute of love has stolen my mind, it wakes me when I am sleeping.

2

*alabelī āṃkhanī aṇīe prāṇa proyā, kīdhī ghāyala ghāḍī! mune.*

The points of his lovely eyes have pierced my soul, they have made deep wounds!

3

*kāḷaja kāḍhī līdhuṃ kāmaṇagārā! nehanena dekhāḍī. mune.*

The bewitching one has taken away my heart, he showed eyes of love.

4

*vaida Vhālājī! mārā roḡano tuṃ che, kone dekhāḍuṃ nāḍī? mune*

Vhālājī, you are the doctor of my illness, whom shall I show my pulse?

5

*ḍhāṃī dhīkhuṃ chuṃ tārā virahanī āḡe! Prītama! pāḍanī ṭāḍhī! mune.*

I covered the fire of separation from you, Prītama! you put on the cold ashes.

6

*manamadhuḡara mārō mūḡto che nahīṃ tārā rūpanī vāḍī! mune.*

The bee of my mind, the garden of your beauty, does not leave me alone.

7

*Dayāprītama! mīṭhuṃ bolī, maṃḍa hasī Mohanā phaṃdamāṃ pāḍī! mune.*

Dayā's Beloved! Having spoken sweetly, laughing gently, he threw he down into a love affair (of love).

156 abolaḍā  
pada: rāḡa: rāmakalī

R

*garajasavāḍī nā thaīe mārā Vhālā! garajasavāḍī nā thaīe!*

*śaraṇāgatakara grahiye mārā Vhālā! garajasavāḍī nā thaīe!*

My Vhālā, do not be selfish,

Take the hand of the one who has come for refuge, do not be selfish!

1

*tama māte lāja tajī lokomāṃ gavānī, Vhālāṃ te verīdāṃ kīdhāṃ,  
tenuṃ sahyābhāḍuṃ sabaḷuṃ āpyuṃ re! vaṇavāṃke abolaḍā lidhā! mārā.*

For your sake I have abandoned shame and am censured among people, I made  
loved ones enemies,

I paid a high price for this, they ignored me though I was innocent!

2

*sagāṃ re saṃbaṃdhī mune perapera pīḍe, sabaḷa saṃtāpe piyuḍo māro,  
- te duḥkhaḍuṃ huṃ nā gaṇuṃ jo hoyā mīṭameḷāvo tamāro. mārā.*

Relations and family afflict me in all ways, my beloved hurts me greatly,

- I do not reckon this as sorrow if there is a meeting of the eyes with you.

3

*je tama māte meṃ sahukoī mūkyuṃ te ja tame mune mūkī!  
te agana adhīko māre aṃge! vhalavelaḍī sūkī! mārā.*

I, who have put everyone aside for your sake, am put aside by you!

This burning pain is too much for my body, it dried up the creeper of love!

4

*te kaṃṭo ura aṃtara saḷake che, dekhī mune cītavo cho āḍuṃ!  
Dayānā Prītama! huṃ kaṃṭi pera jīvuṃ? pelī śokyalāḍīnuṃ heta gāḍhuṃ! mārā.*

This thorns give a piercing pain in my breast, seeing me you ignore me ,

Beloved of Dayā! How am I to live? The love of that co-wife is strong

157 mātānī phariyāda  
pada: rāga: kāliṅgaḍo

R

*rāṃka mārī Rādhāne dago eṇe dīdho re! rāṃka.*

He cheated my poor Rādhā!

1

*phaṃdāmām nāṃkhīne eṇe phāṃsī re dīdhī,*

*pārādhīnī pere dhīravīne jīva līdho re! rāṃka.*

Having engaged in an affair, he strangled her,

She trusted him, then he took her life as if he were a hunter.

2

*maṃda hasīne Vhāle vaṃka vilokī,*

*prāṇa Pyārījīno potāne vaśa kīdho re. rāṃka.*

Gently smiling, Vhālā looked crookedly

He took control for himself of the soul of Pyārī.

3

*duḥkhe dāḍhām kahiye, enuṃ paṇa Rādhā locana -*

*- bāṇa bhavobhava kāḷajaḍuṃ viṃdho re! rāṃka.*

Let us say, we are burnt in sorrow, but the arrows of Rādhā's eyes

Also pierced his heart in many births.

4

*Dayānā Pritama! evā to evā rahejo re,*

*kaṇṭha karīne eṇe premarasa pīdho re! rāṃka.*

Beloved of Dayā, remain always so,



Having played some trick, he drank the *rasa* of love.

159 Mohanane eṭaluṃ kahejo!  
pada

R

*Madhuvrata! kahejo re Mohanane eṭaluṃ: 'sūṇyumu te divasano harakha na māya,  
bhāgya moṭuṃ kanyā pāmyā Kaṃsanī kiṃkarī, pūrṇa paṇyavinā evuṃ kone nava  
thāya. Madhuvrata!*

O bee, say this much to Mohana: We heard that the joy of that day cannot be contained,

The maid servant of Kaṃsa has been very lucky, this couldn't happen to anyone without full merits.

1

*re Mathurānāṃ vāsī bahu Kubajānā sagāṃ, kiṃkarīnuṃ kuḷa moṭuṃ kahevāya,  
paraṇyā pahelāṃ Dhobīe pāherāvī pāherāmaṇī, DarajīMālī phūlyā te saṃbaṃdhī enā  
thāya. Madhuvrata!*

Mathurā has many relatives of the inhabitant Kubjā , the family of the servant can be called great,

Before their wedding, the washerman presented her with her wedding gift, the tailor and the gardener looked pleased, they became her relations.

2

*benuṃ mana sānyuṃ tyāṃ to vedavidhi thāi re, sāsariye padhāryā re  
Suṃdaraśyāma,*

*Uddhavajī aṇavariyuṃ thāi pūṃthe re gayā, Rasiyojī rījhyā joi rūpanuṃ dhāma.  
Madhuvrata!*

The mind of both was mortgaged then the rites of the Veda took place,  
Suṃdaraśyāma entered his in-laws' place,  
Uddhavajī, acting as companion of the groom, went behind him, Rasiyo rejoiced  
seeing the abode of beauty.

3

*e śuṃ? Vhāle re amane na lakhī kaṃkotarī! re bhaluṃ eka gāma vasyāno vahevāra,  
DayāPrabhune karavo ghaṭe amāre cāṃdalo, te moklavāne prāṇa karyā che taiyāra!  
Madhuvrata!*

What is this? Vhālā did not write us an invitation! Is this conduct of a (co-)village  
dweller to be called good?

We want to make a suitable wedding gift for Dayā's Lord, we have made  
preparations to send our lives!

## 162 Vraja vhāluṃ re!

R

*Vraja vhāluṃ re! vaikuṃṭha nahi āvuṃ,  
mane na game caturbhujā thāvuṃ,  
tyāṃ Śrīnaṃdakuṃvara kyāṃthī lāvuṃ? vraja vhāluṃ re!  
O, Vraja is dear! I am not coming to Vaikuṃṭha,  
I do not want to become a god,  
How can I bring Naṃdakuṃvara there? O, Vraja is dear!*

1

*joīe Lalitatribhaṃgī māre Gīridhārī,  
saṃge joīe Śrīrādhe pyārī,  
te vinā nava āṃkha ṭhare mārī. vraja vhāluṃ re!*

What I want is Giridhārī Lalitatribhaṅgī,  
I want him in the company of his beloved Śrīrādhā,  
Without them, my eyes are not satisfied.

2

*tyāṃ Śrījamunā Girivara che nāhi,*  
*mune āsakti che ghaṇī e benī,*  
*te vinā māro prāṇa prasanna rahe nahi. vraja vhāluṃ re!*  
The Śrījamunā and Girivara are not there,  
I have a great desire for them both,  
Without them my soul is not content.

3

*tyāṃ Śrīṛṇḍāvanarāsa nathī,*  
*Vrajavanitā saṅga vilāsa nathī,*  
*Viṣṇu veṇu vāyāno abhyāsa nathī. vraja vhāluṃ re!*  
The rāsa of Śrīṛḍāvana is not there,  
The play with the ladies of Vraja is not there,  
The flute-practice of Viṣṇu is not there.

4

*jyāṃ vṛkṣevṛkṣe veṇunā dhārī,*  
*patrepatre che Hari bhujacārī,*  
*eka Vrajaraja comukṭi vārī. vraja vhāluṃ re!*  
Where, on every tree there is bearing of a flute,  
On every leaf there is four-armed Hari,  
One particle of Vraja's dust is better than fourfold liberation.

5

*jyām vasavāne Śiva sakhīrūpa thayām*

*Haju aja Vrajarajane tarasatā rahyā,*

*Uddhavasarakhā te tṛṇa Kṛṣṇa thayā. vraja vhāluṃ re!*

In order to live there Śiva took on the form of a female companion,

He is still thirsting for the dust of Vraja

Like Uddhava, a blade of grass, he became a Kṛṣṇa [OR: Uddhava became a blade of black grass ??].

6

*sukha svarganuṃ Kṛṣṇa vinā kaḍavuṃ,*

*mane na game Brahmasadana aḍavuṃ*

*dhika sukha! jene pāmī pāchumuṃ paḍavuṃ? vraja vhāluṃ re!*

The joy of heaven is ugly without Kṛṣṇa,

I do not like the strange palace of Brahman.

What sort of happiness is it, from which one must return?

7

*śuṃ karuṃ Śrījī! huṃ sāyujya pāmī?*

*ekatamām tamo nā raho Svāmī!*

*māre dāsapaṇamām rahe śī khāmī? vraja vhāluṃ re!*

Śrījī! What shall I do with total merging with god?

In unity you do not remain, Svāmī!

What is wrong with my remaining in servitude?

8

*Vrajajana Vaikuṃṭhasukha joī valyām,*

*nā gamyumuṃ tyāre Brahmānaṃdamām bhalyām,*

*ghera svarūpānaṃda sukha atiśe gaḷyām. vraja vhāluṃ re!*

The people of Vraja saw the joys of Vaikuṁṭha and returned,  
They did not enjoy being mixed in the bliss of Brahman,  
They took great pleasure in the joy of *svarūpas* at home.

9

*gurubaḷe Gokuḷavāsī thāśuṁ,*

*Śrīvallabhaśaraṇe nitya jāśuṁ,*

*Dayāprītama sevī rasajaśa gāśuṁ. vraja vḥāluṁ re!*

By the power of the Guru, I shall become a dweller in Gokuḷa,

I shall ever take refuge with Śrīvallabha,

Serving Dayā's Beloved, I shall sing the glory of his *rasa*.

163 mārūṁ ḍhaṇakatūṁ ḍhora  
pada:rāga: kedāro

R

*mārūṁ ḍhaṇakatūṁ ḍhora ḍhaṇake che sahu nagramāṁ, sīmakhetarakhaḷuṁ kāṁī  
na mūke,*

*nā jāvuṁ jāya tyāṁ, nā khāvūṁ khāya te, rakhaḍavuṁ nitya temāṁ na cūke.  
mārūṁ.*

My cow wanders about all over the town, no one puts it in a field or a barnyard,  
It goes where it shouldn't, it eats what it shouldn't, it doesn't wander where it should  
roam.

1

*vāḷī lāvūṁ ghera ne gātuṁ māṁḍuṁ galyuṁ, līluṁ nīruṁ cha paṇa te na sūṁdhe,  
kohyalāṁ rāḍāṁ, ghāsa, kyahuṁ kusakā, māra khāine paṇa te ja ṭhūṁge. mārūṁ.*

I turn it back for home and it goes slowly and unwillingly, but it won't go to greenery and water,

Rotten ears of corn, hay, bran - even suffering blows, it eats only these dry foods.

3

*heḍalo hoḍeraḍo moro mānyo nahim, thayuṃ harāyuṃ, hāvāṃ huṃ to hāryo!  
vaśa māre nathī tadapi māruṃ kahāvyuṃ, māṭe rahuṃ chuṃ bhayabhīta ciṃtāno  
māryo. māruṃ.*

The bullock pays no attention to the blow, it has become difficult, now I am defeated!

I have no control although it is known as mine, therefore I remain stricken with worry and afraid.

4

*heṃ Guru! Gopāḷa! meṃ arapyuṃ e āpane, vaśa karī rākho nija pāsa māguṃ,  
sādhupaṇuṃ śikhavi Vṛṇḍāvana cārajo, kleśa mārā ṭaḷe, pāya lāguṃ. māruṃ.*

O Guru, Gopāḷa! I entrust this to you, having taken it under control, I ask you to keep it with you,

It wants to learn saintliness, graze it in Vṛṇḍāvana, it removes my affliction, I touch your feet.

5

*he ṛṣikeśa! e kleśa muja manataṇā āpa ṭāḷo, karo śuddha sācuṃ,  
samarāṇasevana bane ahirniśa āpanuṃ, acaḷa ānaṇda māṇe eha jācuṃ. māruṃ.*

O Ṛṣikeśa! Remove this affliction of my mind, make it pure and true,

Let it perform the service of remembering you day and night, let it experience unmoving bliss, I ask this.

6

*manamati bagaḍatām sarva kāmī bagādiyuṃ, ḍaravuṃ bahu Nāthajī! Dayā āṇo,  
Janadayānā Pritama Śrīgovaradhanadharaṇa! karuṇa dṛṣṭe juo, nijano jāṇo. māruṃ.*  
Ruining the mind, everything has been ruined, you make Dayā very afraid, Nātha,  
Dayā's Beloved, Śrīgovardhanadhara, look with a compassionate glance, know  
your own person.

**164 niścayanā mahelamām vase māro Vhālamō!  
pada**

R

*niścayanā mahelamām vase māro Vhālamō, vase Vrajalāḍīlo re!  
je re jāye te jhām̐khī pāme jī re!  
bhūlā bhame te bījā sadanamām śodhe re, Hari nā maḷe eke thāme re!*  
My Vhālamō lives in the palace of certainty, Vrajalāḍīlo lives there,  
Those who go there see him!  
The misguided wander about, they seek him in another palace, they won't meet Hari  
anywhere.

1

*satsaṃgadeśamām bhaktinagara che re, premanī poḷa pūchī jojo re!  
virahatāpapoḷiāne maḷī mahole pesajo re, sevāsīḍī caḍī bheḷā thājo re!*  
In the country of *satsaṅga* is the city of *bhakti*, try asking at the gate of *prema*!  
Meet those who stay in the quarter of the pain of *viraha*, go into the street, go up the  
stairs of *sevā* and assemble there.

2

*dīnatāpātramām manamaṇi mūkīne bheṭa Bhagavaṃtajīne karajo re!*

*hum̐bhāvapum̐bhāva nochāvāra karīne re Śrīgiridharavara tamo varājo re!*

Put a jewel of the mind in the cup or humbleness and make it a gift for Bhagavaṁta!

Throw away egoism and choose Śrīgiridharavara!

3

*e re maṁḍāṇanuṁ mūḷa Hariicchā re, kṛpā vinā siddha na thāye re!*

*Śrīvallabhaśaraṇathakī sahu paḍe saheluṁ re, daivī jana prati Dayo gāye re!*

The desire for Hari is the root of a beginning, without his compassion it won't be fulfilled!

With refuge in Vallabha everything happens easily, Dayo sings for *daivī* people!

### 170 *pragaṭa maḷye sukha thāya!*

R

*pragaṭa maḷye sukha thāya, Śrīgiridhara pragaṭa maḷye sukha thāya!*

*aṁtaryāṁī akhīlamāṁ che tethī kaho, konuṁ duḥkha jāya? Śrīgiridhara.*

When he is manifest, happiness arises, when Śrīiridhara is manifest, happiness arises.

The *antaryāmin* is in the world, so tell me, how does that remove sorrow?

1

*tela vinā sphūṭa tīla pūryethī dīpaka kema pragaṭāya?*

*pragaṭa pāvaka vinā kāṣṭane bhetye śī pere śīta śamāya? Śrīgiridhara*

How is the lamp lit by filling it with broken sesame without sesame oil?

How can cold be appeased by rubbing sticks together without fire being present?

2

*pr̥thvī cāṭaye tṛṣā ṭaḷe nahi, aṁtarajaḷa śruti gāya,*



*dīvāsalīpāsāṅasparśathī ko kahe jvālā jaṇāī? Śrīgīridhara*

By eating the earth, thirst is not removed, the śruti sings in the inner water,  
Who says that fire is produced from touching a stone or a match?

3

*surabhipetaṃ paya, temāṃ ghṛta, tethī puṣṭi na pāme gāya,*

*dohīmathī mākhana tāvye sarpihakṣaṇa sukhadāya. Śrīgīridhara*

There is milk in the cow's stomach, and ghee in that, but the cow is not nourished  
by it,

When butter from yoghurt is melted, eating ghee gives pleasure.

4

*vyāpakathī vāto nava thāye, te vinā jīva akaḷāya,*

*rasiyājanamanaraṃjana Naṭavara! Dayāprītama! Vrajarāya! Śrīgīridhara*

These things don't happen from pervading (by his just being there nothing happens,  
I want personal experience), without him the soul is uneasy,  
Delighter of *rasika* people, Naṭavara! Dayā's Beloved! Vrajarāya! Śrīgīridhara!

## 175 Vaiṣṇava nathī thayo tuṃ re!

### pada

R

*vaiṣṇava nathī thayo tuṃ re harijana nathī thayo tuṃ re*

*śīda gumānamāṃ ghume?*

You have not become a Vaiṣṇava, you have not become a person of Hari, why are  
you puffed up with pride?

1

*harijanane joī haiyuṃ na harakhe, drave na hari guṇa gātāṃ*

*kāma dāma caṭakī nathī chaṭakī, krodhe locana rātāṃ*

Seeing a person of Hari, your heart does not rejoice, it does not melt while (he is) singing the merits of Hari,

The charm of lust and money has not slipped away, your eyes are red with anger,

2

*tuja saṃge koī vaiṣṇava thāye, to tuṃ vaiṣṇava sāco*

*tārā saṃgano raṃga na lāge, tyāṃ lagī tuṃ kāco*

If anyone becomes a Vaiṣṇava in your company, then you are a true Vaiṣṇava,

As long as there is no pleasure in your company, then you are a half-baked devotee.

3

*paraduḥkha dekhī hṛde na dāje, paranindā nathī ḍarato*

*vhāla nathī Viṭṭhalaśuṃ sācuṃ, haṭhe tuṃ huṃ huṃ karato*

Seeing other people's sorrow, your heart does not burn, you do not fear speaking ill of others,

You have not true love for Viṭṭhala, you are obstinate in your egoism.

4

*paropakāre prīta na tujane, svārtha chutyō che nahīṃ*

*kahenī tevī raheṇī na maḷe, kyāṃ lakhyuṃ ema kahenī*

You have no love for benevolence, your self-interest has not gone away.

Your actions do not match your words, asking for written authority?'

5

*bhajanā rūḍha nathī mana niśce, nathī harino viśvāsa*

*jagatataṇī āśā che jyāṃ lagī jagata guru, tuṃ dāsa*

Your mind is not settled, fixed on the *bhajana*, you have not faith in Hari,  
So long as you have hope in the world, the world is your guru, you are a slave.

6

*manataṇo guru mana kareśa, to sâcî vastu jaḍaśe*

*dayā duḥkha ke sukha māna, paṇa sâcuṃ kahevuṃ paḍaśe*

If you make your mind the guru of the mind, then you will get the real truth,

Dayā (says): Consider it happy or sad, but you must speak the truth.

**184 eka vinaṃti  
pada: rāga: sāraṃga**

R

*māre aṃtasamaya Alabelā! mujane mūkaśo mā!*

*mārā Madanamohanajī! chelā! avasara cūkaśo mā! māre!*

O Alabelā, it is the time of my death, do not leave me!

O my Madamohanajī Chelā, do not miss the chance!

1

*Hari! huṃ jevotervo tamāro! mujane mūkaśo mā!*

*Śrīgurusompyo saṃbaṃdha vicāro, avasara cūkaśo mā! māre!*

O Hari! I am yours in any way at all! do not leave me!

Think of the relationship entrusted by Śrīguru, do not miss the chance!

2

*mārā doṣakoṣa saṃbhārī mujane mūkaśo mā!*

*saraṇāgatavatsala Giridhārī! avasara cūkaśo mā! māre!*

Having remembered my treasury of faults do not leave me!

Giridhāri, loving to those who have come to you for refuge, do not miss the chance!

3

*Hari! māre dharma nathī koī sādhana, mujane mūkaśo mā!*

*nathī satsaṅga, smaraṇa, ārādhana, avasara cūkaśo mā! māre!*

Hari! I do not have any means in religion, do not leave me!

Nor in congregation, remembering or prayer, do not miss the chance!

4

*Śrīpati! Sarvātmnā! Sarvottama! mujane mūkaśo mā!*

*mārā Prāṇajīvana! Puruṣottama! avasara cūkaśo mā! māre!*

Śrīpati! Sarvātmnā! Sarvottama! do not leave me!

My Prāṇajīvana! Puruṣottama! do not miss the time!

5

*samartha karuṇāsimdhu Śrījī! Dayāne mūkaśo mā!*

*māre otha nathī koī bijī! avasara cūkaśo mā! māre!*

Powerful ocean of compassion, Śrījī! do not leave Dayā,

I have no other support, do not miss the time!

**185 manajīmusāpharane  
pada: rāga: kāphī**

R

*manajī! musāphara re! cālo nija deśa bhaṇī!*

*mūlaka ghaṇā joyā re! musāpharī thaī che ghaṇī!*

O mind! O traveller! go to your own country!

You saw many countries! There were many journeys!

1

*Svapura javāno paṁtha āvyo che, rakhe bhūlatā bhāi!*

*pharīne mārāga maḷavo che nahīm, evī to che avalāi,*

*samajhīne cālo sūdhā re! nā jāśo ḍābāke jamaṇī. manajī!*

The path for going to your own city has come, friend, (guard) lest you mistake it!

This path will not be found again, such is its difficulty,

Having understood this, go straight, do not go left or right.

2

*vacce phāṁsīā vāṭa mārāvāne beṭhā che becāra,*

*māṭe, vaḷāvā rākho betraṇeka tyāre teno nahīm bhāra,*

*maḷyo che eka bhedu re! batāvī gati sahu tetaṇī. manajī!*

Two or four obstacles are settled to kill in the middle of the path,

Therefore, keep two or three spies, then there is no burden in that,

A spy has been got! All paths of this have been shown.

3

*māla vahoro to vahoro Śeṭhanā nāmano, thāya nā kyahuṁ aṭakāva,*

*āpaṇo karatām jokhama āve ne phāve dāṇīno dāva,*

*eṭlā sāru re! nā thāvum vahoratanā dhaṇī. manajī!*

If you buy goods then buy in the name of a merchant, there is no prevention,

Doing this on our name, we have a risk and the scheme of the road-tax collector

[Kṛṣṇa] prevails,

Therefore, do not be the master of the purchase.

4

*jojo, jagatathakī jāvuṁ che, karaḷo saṁbhālīne kāma,*

*Dāsadayāne ema game che - hāvām jāie potāne dhāma,*

*sūjhe che hāvāṃ evuṃ re! avadha thaī che āpaṇī! manajī!*

See, go from the world, having taken care of your work, do it,

The servant Dayā likes this - now let us go to our own home,

Now this suggests itself to me, our end has come!

## 206 vediyo vaiyākaraṇīya

R

*śuṃ jāṇe vyākaraṇī? vastune śuṃ jāṇe vyākaraṇī?*

*mukha paryamta bharyuṃ ghrta tadapi svāda nā jāṇe baraṇī. vastune.*

What does the grammarian know? What does the grammarian know about the essence?

A jar filled up to the top with ghee even then does not know its taste.

1

*suṃdara rīte śāka vaghāryuṃ, bhoga na pāme bharaṇī,*

*aṃtaramāṃhe agni vase paṇa ānaṃda pāme na araṇī. vastune.*

Vegetables are spiced in a beautiful way but the cooking pot can't taste it,

Fire lives within it, but the kindling stick does not obtain joy.

2

*nija nābhimāṃ kasturī paṇa harṣa na pāme haraṇī,*

*Dayo kahe, dhana daṭayūṃ ghaṇuṃ, jyama dhanavaṃta kahāve nirdhaṇī. vastune.*

There is musk in its own navel, but the deer does not experience delight,

Dayo says, he buries much wealth, and so the rich man is called poor.

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