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THE DEVOTIONAL POETRY OF SVĀMĪ HARIDĀS:  
A STUDY OF EARLY BRAJ BHĀṢĀ VERSE

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## ABSTRACT

The 16th-century North Indian *bhakta*, poet and musician, Svāmī Haridās, composed lyrics in Braj Bhāṣā, devoted to the divine couple Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. 128 of them were later compiled in two anthologies: the didactic *Aṣṭādaś siddhānta* and the rapturous *Kelimāl*, and became the theological basis of the Haridāsī *sampradāya*, a sect, which still flourishes in Vrindaban, U.P. Neither of these important works has hitherto been edited, properly translated or studied academically.

For this reason the focus of this dissertation is the text of Haridās's poetry: its transmission, edition and interpretation. The chapter on textual criticism assesses sixteen 18th-19th century manuscripts which were collected during a field-trip in Vrindaban, and discusses the editorial procedure. The manuscript material is analysed with the help of computer programmes originally employed in taxonomy. The *apparatus criticus* is followed by an annotated English translation in which readings are assessed, points of linguistic interest discussed and commentarial glosses analysed. The language of Haridās's text is examined in detail in chapter III.

Chapters I, VI and VII put Haridās's lyrics into a larger context. The introductory chapter discusses the theological views of the Haridāsī *sampradāya* against the background of *bhakti*, analyses the sources of information about Haridās, and attempts to reconstruct his life. Chapter VI examines some musical characteristics of Haridās's lyrics: the *rāga* distribution of his *padas*, the structure of the *chāpa* and the association of Svāmī Haridās with the musical style of *dhrupada*. Chapter VII describes the main commentaries and analyses the sectarian concerns they reflect and metaphorical mechanisms they use.

The general conclusions are followed by a comprehensive etymological glossary, a discussion and listing of extra verses attributed to Haridās, extracts from the main commentaries, and a list of *chāpa* in Haridās's works.

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## Note on transcription, references, dates and abbreviations

The standard method for transliterating *Devanāgarī* has been adopted throughout the text. The font used is Normyn. The inherent vowel is written in Braj texts: Haridās's poetry and its old Braj commentaries (NC, PC, RC), and in all technical terms, names of images and sects. It is omitted in modern Braj (HE, TC) and Hindi (BC, SMC) commentaries, in the names of NIA poets and their works and in Hindi words kept in the translation which are not technical terms. (However, an exception to this rule are the cases where the inherent -a follows a conjunct or when the name of a Sanskrit work is cited.) In this way I have tried to find a compromise between unifying the NIA and Sanskrit spelling of terms, and following the generally accepted model of McGregor 1984. Names of places have been anglicized. Names of places and epithets in the translation are sanskritized. Vrindaban is anglicized when referring to the geographical place and sanskritized (=Vṛndāvana) when referring to the theological concept and in the English translation of Braj works. All Indian and other non-English terms, which are not widely accepted in English, are italicized. Throughout the text the *Devanāgarī* graph z is transcribed as ṣ, regardless of its representation of etymological ṣ or kh. Vowel nasalisation is indicated with a tilde above the vowel, consonant nasalisation with the relevant nasal.

References give author's name, year of publication and page number. References to McGregors's *The language of Indrajit of Orchā* give paragraph numbers rather than page numbers. Full publication details are found in the bibliography. Dictionaries are referred to by the abbreviations listed below. Crossreferences give chapter number and paragraph number (III 6.1: chapter III, paragraph 6.1).

All dates are given according to the Gregorian calendar unless otherwise indicated. Where the CE date is missing, conversion of the date from the Hindu calendar in *Vikram Saṃvat* (VS) to CE has been done by subtracting 57 from the VS date.

### Abbreviations of works

AS	<i>Aṣṭādaś siddhānta</i>
BC	Buddhi Prakāś's commentary on KM
CP	<i>Caurāsī pad</i> of Hit Harivaṃśa
HE	Hargūlāl's edition
KM	<i>Kelimāl</i>
NC	Nāgaridās's commentary (used as a general term and when NCP and NCM agree in their readings)
NCP	Nāgaridās's commentary ( <i>pada</i> )

NCM	Nāgarīdās's commentary ( <i>mūla</i> )
PC	Pitāmbardās's commentary
PE	printed edition
RC	Rādhāśaraṇdās's commentary
SMC	Svāmī Śrī Haridās Saṅgīt Mahotsav's commentary
TC	Tulsīdās's commentary

Dictionaries and glossaries

BBhSK	<i>Braj Bhāṣā Sūr koś</i>
CDIAL	<i>A comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages</i>
COD	<i>Concise Oxford dictionary</i>
DEDR	<i>Dravidian Etymological Dictionary</i> (revised edn.)
Entwistle	<i>The Rāsa māna ke pada of Kevalarāma</i>
HŚS	<i>Hindī śabdāsāgar</i>
LMK	<i>Lokokti muhāvṛā koś</i>
Mathur	<i>Padmāvata: an etymological study</i>
McGregor	<i>The language of Indrajit of Orchā</i>
MTH	<i>Crossing the ocean of existence: Braj Bhāṣā religious poetry from Rajasthan</i>
MW	<i>A Sanskrit-English dictionary</i>
OHED	<i>Oxford Hindi-English dictionary</i>
Platts	<i>A dictionary of Urdū, classical Hindī and English</i>
RKK	<i>Rītikavya śabdakoś</i>
SBBhK	<i>Sāhityik Braj Bhāṣā koś</i>
SK	<i>Braj Bhāṣā Sūr koś</i>
Snell	<i>The Hindī classical tradition: A Braj Bhāṣā reader</i>
Smith	<i>The Viṣaḷadevarāsa: a restoration of the text</i>
SŚ	<i>Sūr śabdāsāgar</i>
TK	<i>Tulsī-śabdāsāgar</i>

Other abbreviations

A	Arabic	loc.	locative
abl.	ablative	m.	masculine
abs.	absolute	mis.	missing
acc.	accusative	MS	manuscript
Add <sup>2</sup>	Turner 1985	MSH	Modern standard Hindi
adj.	adjective, adjectival	n.	noun
adv.	adverb	na.	nasalised
agen.	agentive	neg.	negative
anal.	analogical	no.	number
Ap.	Apabhramśa	nom.	nominative
aux.	auxiliary	NomC	nominal complement
cat.	catalogue	num.	numeral
caus.	causative	Obj.	object
cf.	compare	obj.	objective
conj.	conjunction	obl.	oblique
conn.	connected with	p.	person
dat.	dative	part.	particle
DObj.	direct object	perf.	perfective
e.g.	for example	Pers.	Persian
emph.	emphatic	Pk	Prakrit
encl.	enclitic	pl.	plural
f.	feminine	ppn.	postposition
f.	(in 'Description of MSS') folio	pr.	pronoun
fr.	from	pref.	prefix
fut.	future	pres. cont.	present continuous
gen.	genitive	ptc.	participle
H	Hindi	r. f.	rhyme-form
hon.	honorific	S	sanskrit
imp.	imperative	sg.	singular
imperf.	imperfective	Sj.	subject
indef. pr.	indefinite pronoun	subj.-pres.	subjunctive-present
instr.	instrumental	subst.	substantive
interj.	interjection	vi.	intransitive verb
interr.	interrogative	voc.	vocative
KhB	Khaṛī Bolī	VS	<i>vikram samvat</i>
		vt	transitive verb
		w.	with

## Chapter I

Svāmī Haridās and the Haridāsī *sampradāya*

## 1. The Sectarian Background

1.1 The 16th century was a 'golden age' in the history of North Indian religious thought and literature. A rapturous style of devotion (*bhakti*) inspired a flowering of Vaiṣṇava vernacular poetry. Two principal varieties of *bhakti* had been established - the *nirguṇa* type, which perceived God as an impersonal and immutable Reality, and the *saguṇa* type, dedicated to God as the supreme Personality (Rāma and Kṛṣṇa in the Vaiṣṇava context). Many sectarian communities (*sampradāyas*) appeared; in Krishnaism they put the emphasis on one or other aspect of the devotional teachings of the *Bhāgavata purāṇa*. These differences were also seen in the light of the variant emotional approaches to Kṛṣṇa elaborated in the *bhakti-rasa* theory of Rūp Gosvāmī.

A theology based upon the desire either to participate in the divine love-play or to observe it from the intimate position of the milkmaids (*gopīs*) found its expression in the teachings of the *Sahajiyās*, the *Sakhī bhāvas* and the *Gauḍīya sampradāya*. They inherited the intensely emotional mode of devotion of the Tamil *Āḷvārs* (later popularised by the *Bhāgavata purāṇa*) the sensuality of the *Harivaṃśa* and the eroticism of Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*. These trends reached their apogee in the theology of the *rasikas*, aesthetes of the spirit, whose devotion was focused on the love-sports of the divine couple Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

Such *rasikas* were the Hari-triumvirate (Hari-trayī)<sup>1</sup>: Harirām Vyās, Hit Harivaṃśa, the founder of the Rādhāvallabha *sampradāya*, and Svāmī Haridās, whose two works, *Kelimāl* (KM) and *Aṣṭadaś siddhānta* (AS), form the theological basis of the Haridāsī *sampradāya* (HS).

1.2 In common with other *rasika* traditions the HS worships a joint form (*yugala svarūpa*) of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. It concentrates exclusively on the eternal amours (*nitya vihāra*) of Kṛṣṇa and his consort Rādhā. The HS claims that this single-minded dedication to the *nikuñja vihāra* is a major characteristic which distinguishes Haridās from other similar poets - Harivaṃśa for example. An analysis of the epithets of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa used in the canonized version of Haridās's poetry would support this claim: their names either refer to their love sports - Kuñjabihārī (one who sports in the grove)/Bihārīnī (one engaged in sports) or generally descriptive - Śyāma (dark one)/Śyāmā (consort of the dark one), whereas Harivaṃśa sometimes calls Kṛṣṇa

<sup>1</sup>Hari-trayī (*rasika trayī*) is a 20th century conceptualisation. The term does not occur in the hagiographies of the three poets; however, often they are either mentioned together or in successive verses. Pauwels (1995, p. 23) points out that this concept was probably invented by Vāsudev Gosvāmī by analogy to the *aṣṭa-chāpa*.

*nanda ke lāla* (son of Nanda) CP 13.1 (Snell 1991a, p. 124) and Rādhā *bṛṣbhāna kiśorī* (daughter of Vṛṣbhānu) CP 9.4 (Snell 1991a, p. 121), referring in this way to their childhood. However, some manuscript readings of KM show epithets which are not connected with Kṛṣṇa's and Rādhā's *nikuñja lilā* (see KM 52, note 9 and KM 100, note 5), and this suggests that the total concentration on the *nikuñja lilā* is probably a later development in the sect. The canonized version of Haridās's poetry<sup>2</sup> not only excludes other aspects of the Kṛṣṇa myth (e.g. Kṛṣṇa's childhood, Kṛṣṇa's dancing with the *gopīs*, Kṛṣṇa's adult life) but moreover, in its portrayal of the dalliance between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, it shows the union (*saṁyoga*) side of love only, and never mentions love in separation (*viyoga / viraha*), an important topic in the poetry of other *bhakti* poets like Sūrdās, Mīrā etc.<sup>3</sup> In the *padas* of the main poets of the sect the only time when the couple is separated are the moments in which Śyāmā displays her sulking (*māna*). Despite the eternal *saṁyoga*, the love of the divine couple is characterised by a constant craving and insatiable desire for each other. As Lalitkiśoridās writes: 'In their constant union there is extreme desire, having united they are restless to unite'<sup>4</sup>.

1.3 The HS adopts the *mādhurya bhāva* as its preferred devotional approach.<sup>5</sup>

The role of a *sakhī* in promoting (but not participating in) the *nikuñja vihāra* is to be emulated by the devotee whose highest aim is not liberation (*mokṣa*) but the obtaining of the vicarious delight of being an onlooker in the grove (*nikuñja*). An other-worldly (*alaukika*) Vṛndāvana is the setting for the *nitya vihāra*. It takes the place of other Vaiṣṇava concepts of paradise such as *Vaikuṇṭha* and *Goloka*<sup>6</sup>. Vṛndāvana, together with Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa and the *sakhīs* constitute the four forms of *prema* (cf. Śarmā 1978, p. 113). These components have the same essence - Bihārinidās calls Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa and the *sakhīs* 'three peas in a pod': *tīni canā ika cholikā aisau artha bicāra (rasa kī sākhi* 115, Hargülāl 1971, p. 112). The sameness or *abhinnatva* of the couple is further

<sup>2</sup>There are strong reasons for believing that Haridās's poetry has undergone a process of sectarian editing, with regard to the content of the accepted *padas* and perhaps to the actual verses recognised as genuinely Haridās's (see II 4. and the appendix on extra verses).

<sup>3</sup>The only poet of the HS who speaks of *viraha* is Narharidās. This motif might have been instigated by his exile from Vrindaban, caused by the religious persecution carried out by the emperor Aurangzeb.

<sup>4</sup>*milata, milata mē cāha ati mile milāi akulāhi.*

(*rasa kī sākhi* 207, Hargülāl 1971, p. 821).

<sup>5</sup>There are some examples of misnomer of the main *bhāva* adopted by the HS. In the terminology of Rūp Gosvāmī's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* the *rati* applicable to the HS is *madhura*. Since the meaning 'consortship' of *madhura rati* does not discriminate between Rādhā and the *gopīs*, some authors (e.g. Gupta 1974, p. 204) use the term *sakhī bhāva* when referring to the HS, and thus draw a line between Rādhā who participates in the love sports and the *sakhīs*, who only promote them. Other scholars (e.g. Haynes 1974, p. 216) interpret *sakhī-bhāva* as synonymous with *sakhya bhāva* and use this as the term relevant to the HS. *sakhya bhāva*, however, as defined by Rūp Gosvāmī, can be applied only to the male friends of Kṛṣṇa, not to the female companions of Rādhā (Bon Maharaj 1965, p. XXV).

<sup>6</sup>*Vaikuṇṭha* is great, *Goloka* is an abode beyond *Vaikuṇṭha*;  
All of them serve Vṛndāvana, where Śyāma and Śyāmā sport.

*baikunṭha mahā baikunṭha tāi goloka parāi hai dhāma;*  
*e saba sevata bṛndābanahī jahā biharāi syāmā syāma.*  
(Lalitkiśoridās, *siddhānta kī sākhi* 177, Hargülāl 1971, p. 678).

underlined by the non-existence of a separate image for Rādhā in the sect<sup>7</sup>. In his poetry Haridās stresses this identity of the divine lovers both lexically (in naming them Śyāma/Śyāmā) and in ingenious metaphors.

1.4 A distinction is maintained between *nikuñja līlā*, in which the sublimated passion of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa provides the focus of the devotee's attention, and *vraja līlā*, the generality of puranic Kṛṣṇa mythology<sup>8</sup>. The latter is considered inferior as a source of *rasa* since its diversity is detrimental to the experiencing of single-minded absorption (*ananya bhāva*) in the sport of the joint deity. Aimed at the accomplishment of specific tasks (e.g. the maintenance of *dharma*, the victory over tyrants) *vraja līlā* finishes when they are achieved; it is perceptible. In contrast with this, *nikuñja līlā* is eternal and imperceptible; its sole *raison d'être* is the *nitya vihāra*. None of the four components of the *nikuñja līlā* is identical to the corresponding component of *vraja līlā*. Kuñjabihārī is not an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. Bihārinidās writes: 'The king of Vraja was four-armed and six-armed, the peerless Kuñjabihārī is two-armed'<sup>9</sup>. Neither is Śyāmā the Rādhā of Braj, Vṛṣbhanu's daughter, Kṛṣṇa's wife (*svakīyā*) or lover (*parakīyā*):

'One makes dung-cakes, another carries water,  
yet another is the happily-married darling who is too languid even to speak.'<sup>10</sup>

Similarly the *gopīs* of Kṛṣṇa's *vraja līlā* are different from the *sakhīs* of Kuñjabihārī's *nikuñja līlā*. Their role shifts from that of 'co-wives' who are seeking selfish happiness (*svasukha*) in their personal union with Kṛṣṇa, to companions who promote the couple's love play, enjoying their happiness (*tatsukha*). The distinction between *vraja līlā* and *nikuñja līlā* is elaborated by later poets of the sect who see the *nikuñja vihāra* as the sole expression of divine reality, dismissing all sense of Kṛṣṇa as an *avatāra* or a mythological personage:

'Śrī Kuñjabihārī was manifested  
of matchless beauty, the limit of all qualities, source of all incarnations.'<sup>11</sup>

Not only Viṣṇu but the Braj Kṛṣṇa too is excluded from the *nitya vihāra*:

The husband of Lakṣmī longs for the sports of Śrī Bihāridāsa [sic];  
...[even] Rāma and Kṛṣṇa are not accommodated here.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup>Similarly, in the principle temple of another *rasika* sect, the Rādhāvallabha *sampradāya*, there is no image for Rādhā.

<sup>8</sup>A detailed discussion of this distinction can be found in Corcoran 1995, pp. 38-52.

<sup>9</sup>*catrabhuja chaibhuja bhaye brajabhūpā, kuñjabihārī dubhuja anūpā*.  
(*caubolā* 28, Hargūlāl 1971, p. 264)

<sup>10</sup>*koū gobara pāthanī koū dhauvai pāi;*  
*koū suhāgīna lāḍīlī bolata hū̃ alasāi.*  
(Bihārinidās, *siddhānta kī sākhī* 145, Hargūlāl 1971, p. 120).

<sup>11</sup>*pragaṭa bhaye śrī kuñjabihārī;*  
*rūpa anūpa sākala guṇa sīvā saba avatārina ke avatāi.*  
(Lalitkiśoridās, *siddhānta ke pada* 25, Hargūlāl 1971, p. 773).

<sup>12</sup>*sri bihāridāsa bihāra kaū lachamīpati lalacāi;*  
*... hyā rāmakṛṣṇa na samāi.*



1.5 Other ideas which the HS has developed are the elevation of Rādhā to a position which, for some members, is higher than Kṛṣṇa's<sup>13</sup>, and a concept of *prema* (cosmic love), which rules both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa and makes them powerless before their love for each other (cf. Haynes 1974, p. 259).

1.6 The precise theological views of Haridās are elusive. The essence of his poetry is *rasa*, not a theological doctrine. Thus Haridās does not claim a link to the 'classical' Vaiṣṇava *catuḥsampradāya*. However, later speculations have found expression in two different opinions on Svāmī Haridās's own sectarian affiliation. The *sādhus'* branch of HS maintains that Haridās was initiated in the Nimbārka *sampradāya*, while the *gosvāmīs'* branch insists he belonged to the Viṣṇusvāmī *sampradāya*. The view of the *sādhus* is adopted by a number of scholars, including McGregor (1984, p. 91), Tomar (1964, p. 230), Garg (1986, p. 212), Varmā (1963, p. 972). Pītāmbardās and his disciple Kiśordās (both 18th-century poets of the HS) were the first to develop the theory of the affiliation of the HS to the Nimbārka *sampradāya*. However, neither Haridās himself nor any of his contemporaries or followers during the two centuries before Kiśordās speaks of such a link. Harirām Vyās, the contemporary and apparent associate of Haridās, mentions his name a number of times in his poetry, but never in connection with any of the 'classical' Vaiṣṇava sects (cf. Prakāś 1979, p. 68). Haridās's contemporary and disciple Bihārinidās talks about Haridās as the founder of their tradition of worship: *hama ananya śrisvāmī haridāsa-bāsi (siddhānta ke kavitta-savaiya* 24, Hargülāl 1971, p. 289), not as a teacher of the Nimbārka *sampradāya*.

An argument given in favour of the affiliation of HS to the Nimbārka *sampradāya* is the existence of pictures in the Benares Hindu University and the Museum of the Maharajah of Kishangarh, in which Haridās is portrayed with the *tilaka* of the Nimbārka *sampradāya*. However, these pictures date from the 18th century, and thus cannot be used as conclusive evidence for the earlier history of the sect.

The argument about the affiliation of HS to the Viṣṇusvāmī *sampradāya* is similar. The testimony of pictures depicting Haridās with the *tilaka* of the Viṣṇusvāmī *sampradāya* should likewise be dismissed as inconclusive. The main evidence for the affiliation of the HS to the Viṣṇusvāmī *sampradāya* is *chappay* 48 of *Bhaktamāl*, which mentions the name of Haridās among other famous members of Viṣṇusvāmī *sampradāya*<sup>14</sup>. But to which Haridās is this poem referring? The name is

(Bihārinidās, *siddhānta kī sākhī* 236, Hargülāl 1971, p. 143).

<sup>13</sup>'The lord of all lords is Hari, the lord of this lord is his lordly wife.'  
*saba ṭhākura kau ṭhākura hari tā ṭhākura kau ṭhākura ṭhakurāini.*  
(Bihārinidās, *rasa ke savaiyā* 1, Hargülāl 1971, p. 478).

<sup>14</sup>*biṣṇusvāmī sampradāya dṛṣṭha jñānadeva gambhīramati;*  
*nāma tilocana śiṣya sūra śaśi sadṛśa ujāgara;*  
*gūrā gaṅga unahāri kābyaracanā premākara;*  
*ācāraja haridāsa atula bala ānandadāyana;*  
*tehi māraga ballabha bidita pṛthupadhati parāyana;*

commonplace<sup>15</sup>. Is Haridās (servant of Hari) here a name at all, or is it just an epithet to the other names quoted by this *pada*? In view of these questions *chappay* 48 cannot be considered conclusive either. The same doubt is raised by the records of the Viṣṇusvāmī *sampradāya*, which mention ‘Haridās’ among the line of preceptors.

Since a clear theological orientation appears in the history of the HS only in the 18th century, the most reasonable answer to the problem of its affiliation would be that originally it was an independent sect which claimed its autonomy as a *sampradāya* in its own right on the grounds that it followed a particular mode of *bhakti*, and maintained a distinct line of authority descending from Svāmī Haridās himself. If this is the case we are faced with the question: why did the 18th-century leaders feel the need to give up this autonomy and recognise the authority of one of the four main Vaiṣṇava sects (*catuḥsampradāya*)? The answer can be found in the history of the region. This was the time when Jai Singh, who became governor of Agra in 1722 (Burn 1937, p. 348), made an attempt to stop the proliferation of religious movements. He sanctioned four groups which possessed a commentary on the *Veda*: the Nimbārka *sampradāya*, the Viṣṇusvāmī *sampradāya*, the *Śrī Vaiṣṇavas* and the *Gauḍīya sampradāya*. The other sects were subjected to persecution<sup>16</sup>. The link of the HS to the Nimbārka *sampradāya* was not unanimously accepted even by the *sādhus* and this shows that it was not a common belief before Kiśordās’s time. Bhagavatrāsik, a contemporary of Kiśordās, openly expressed his disagreement with this affiliation:

‘Hari is not dualistic monism and not qualified monism  
he is not tied in doctrinal disputes, our lord is monism of desire.’<sup>17</sup>

By the same line of argument he established in further verses the autonomy of the HS, as a sect which had its own ‘instigator’, deity, mode of worship, *chāpa*, *mantra*, and even name:

‘Our preceptor is the *sakhī* Lalitā, our seal is *rasika*;  
We worship the eternal youth, we repeat the *mantra* of the couple;  
we repeat the *mantra* of the couple, our *Vedas* are the utterances of the *rasikas*;  
our abode is Śrī Vṛndāvana, we revere Śyāmā, the great queen.’<sup>18</sup>

‘May Rasik always remain near to the excellent *sakhī sampradāya*.’<sup>19</sup>

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*navadhā pradhāna sevā sudṛṣṭa mana baca krama haricarānarati;*  
*biṣṇusvāmī sampradāi dṛṣṭa jñānadeva gambhīramati*  
(Prasād 1962, p. 386).

<sup>15</sup>For example 16 different poets called Haridās are mentioned in the list of manuscripts of the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā (Agravāl 1964, pp. 621-624).

<sup>16</sup>About the activities of Jai Singh see Entwistle 1987, pp. 191-194 and Thiel-Hortsmann 1990, pp. 480-483.

<sup>17</sup>*nāhī dvaitādvaita hari nahī bisīṣṭādvaita;*  
*bādhē nahī mātabāda mē īśvara icchādvaita.*  
(*kuṇḍalī* 6, Śāstrī 1975, p. 72).

<sup>18</sup>*ācāraja lalitā sakhī rasika hamārī chāpa;*  
*nitya kisora upāsana jugala mantra kau jāpa.*  
*jugala mantra kau jāpa beda rasikana kī bānī;*  
*śrī vṛndāvana dhāma iṣṭa syāmā mahārānī .*  
(*kuṇḍalī* 6, Śāstrī 1975, p. 38).

The claims for affiliation of the HS to the Nimbārka *sampradāya* or the Viṣṇusvāmī *sampradāya* show that there are certain similarities between them. Close to the doctrines of the Nimbārka *sampradāya*, Haridās's *Kelīmāl* speaks of the worship of the *yugala svarūpa* and concentrates on the dalliance between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, giving much prominence to Rādhā. Similarly, Haridās's other work, *Aṣṭādaś siddhānta*, which promotes general *bhakti* ideas such as the omnipotence of Hari (in *Vaiṣṇava bhakti*), Hari's *māyā* (illusion), the transience of worldly things, Hari's grace and the importance of *bhakti* as the single path to salvation, inevitably has similarities with the doctrines of other *bhakti* sects, among them the Viṣṇusvāmī *sampradāya*. Haridās's concept of *māyā* as a positive force, which appears to have a degree of independence from Hari (AS 5), and of Hari's control of all one's actions (AS 1, 2 etc.) resemble the doctrines of *māyā* and *puṣṭi* in the Viṣṇusvāmī *sampradāya*.

1.7 Two branches of the sect were established in the time of the first generation of Haridās's followers. From Jagannāth (whom the *gosvāmīs* consider to have been Haridās's brother) descends the hereditary right to be a priest in the main temple of the sect. From Viṭhal Vipul stems the spiritual lineage of the *sādhus*. An unsuccessful attempt carried out by Halvar and Bhūdar (17-18th-century followers of the sect) to steal the image of Bāke Bihārī from the *gosvāmīs* and give it to the *sādhus* was the starting point of a long-lasting hostility between the two branches (Haynes 1974, p. 106-107).

1.8 The HS has three main centres of sectarian activity (all of them in Vrindaban): the Bāke Bihārī Mandir, the Nidhiban and the Ṭaṭṭī Asthān. The first two belong to the *gosvāmīs*, the latter to the *sādhus*. The 19th-century Bāke Bihārī Mandir is the principal shrine of the sect, and houses the image of Bāke Bihārī (originally worshipped by Haridās). The Nidhiban is a garden that contains *samādhis* of Svāmī Haridās (who is said to have lived in this grove) and other Haridāsī ascetics. A marble platform marks the spot where the deity of Bāke Bihārī appeared before Haridās. Ṭaṭṭī Asthān was founded by Lalitkiśorīdās in the 18th century. It derives its name from the bamboo fences which were put up when it was established. A big *samāja* is held there at the anniversaries of the birth of Svāmī Haridās (*rādhāṣṭmī*) and of the other most important *ācāryas* of the sect.

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<sup>19</sup>*rahe nirantara pāsa rasika bara sakhī sampradā.*  
(*kuṇḍalī* 9, Śastrī 1975, p. 41).

## Materials relating to the life of Svāmī Haridās

### 2. Summary of primary sources

- |                   |       |  |
|-------------------|-------|--|
| 16th century      | 2.1   | Note, allegedly written by Haridās.  |
|                   | 2.2   | Document about Haridās's, Jagannāth's and Govinda's visit to a temple in Mathura.  |
| 16th-17th century | 2.3   | <i>Mirāte Sikandarī va mirāte Akbarī?</i>  |
|                   | 2.4   | Eulogies:  |
|                   | 2.4.1 | Harirām Vyās links Haridās with Hit Harivaṃśa in his <i>padas</i> .  |
|                   | 2.4.2 | A verse by Govindasvāmī  |
|                   | 2.4.3 | Dhruvdās's <i>Bhaktanāmāvalī</i> .   |
|                   | 2.4.4 | A <i>kavitta</i> by Agradās  |
| 17th century      | 2.5   | Nābhādās's <i>Bhaktamāl</i> outlines the nature of Haridās's <i>bhakti</i> and mentions his musical prowess.   |
|                   | 2.6   | Uttamadās's <i>Hit caritra</i> sets a model for later partisan sectarian works and mentions an episode about perfume.  |
| 18th century      | 2.7   | Priyādās's <i>Bhaktaras bodhinī</i> refers to a story about philosopher's stone and elaborates the incident about the perfume.   |
|                   | 2.8   | Nāgaridās's <i>Pad prasaṅgamāl</i> gives an account of meeting between Akbar and Haridās.  |
|                   | 2.9   | Kiśordās writes <i>Nijmat siddhānta</i> , the <i>sādhus'</i> authoritative hagiography of Svāmī Haridās.   |
| 19th-20th century |       | Numerous rewritings of <i>Bhaktamāl</i> and sectarian works further develop Haridās's hagiography.<br>General acceptance of Haridās's hagiography in Indian academic writing (see Mital 1959; Gupta D. 1974; Śarmā G. 1959, Śarmā G. D. 1959; Caturvedī 1959, Saksenā 1990, Gosvāmī 1966 etc.) |

## 2. Primary sources

The first problem we face in discussing Svāmī Haridās is that there are many individuals called Haridās in the history of the Indian *bhakti* movement. Meaning simply 'servant of Viṣṇu', it is one of the commonest names adopted by Viṣṇu devotees. The number of devotees by the name of Haridās in works narrating the life of famous *bhaktas* prove this point: there are seven in Nābhādās's *Bhaktamāl*, four in Dhruvdās's *Bhaktanāmāvalī* (Gosvāmī 1971), and three in Gokulnāth's *Do sau bāvana vaiṣṇavana ki vārtā* (Śarmā 1951-53). There is also another Haridās in the lineage of Haridās's disciples<sup>20</sup>.

The second difficulty is the lack of reliable historical evidence. The hagiographic nature of all the data relating to Haridās's life precludes the possibility of writing an authoritative biography. Therefore the main aim of this section will be to collect the major references to Haridās's life and to trace the development of Haridās's hagiography.

The earliest references to Haridās are two 16th-century documents.

**2.1** The first one is a note allegedly written by Haridās, dated 1567, which is in the keeping of a priest of the Ujjain pilgrimage centre. It is said to be a souvenir brought back when one of the ancestors of the Ujjain priests visited Svāmī Haridās. Unfortunately, this text is very fragmentary, and if this document is of any importance it is because of its date<sup>21</sup>.

**2.2** An 1806 copy of a 16th-century document is kept among the records of the *Caube* Brahmans of Mathura. The transcription speaks of a visit by Haridās, Jagannāth and Govinda to the temples in Mathura in 1548 (Gosvāmī 1966, pp. 437-438).

**2.3** Sudarśansimha Cakra speaks in his article 'Svāmī jī kā jīvan caritra' (Cakra, *Śrī Kelimāl*, p. 20 in Mital 1961, p. 7) about the existence of a Persian book, called *Mirāte Sikandarī va mirāte Akbarī*, part of which was written in VS 1526 (AD 1469) and which was completed during the time of the emperor Akbar. It consisted of several parts and described contemporaneous events in great detail. Its sixth section gives information about Svāmī Haridās, his date and place of birth, his caste, father etc. According to this book Svāmī Haridās was born on the 13th day of the light fortnight of the month *pauṣa* (the 10th month in the Hindu calendar) VS 1569 (AD 1512).

<sup>20</sup> *śiṣya svāmī haridāsajī ke jehī; sī haridāsa bhakta haī tehi.*

(Kṛṣṇapriyācārya, *Sundarsāgar*, chapter 18 in Śarmā 1977, p. 101).

<sup>21</sup> A photograph of this note is published in Gosvāmī 1966, p. 437; its text is quoted and translated in Haynes 1974, p. 51. I have not seen the original of this text myself, and I have refrained from giving it on the basis of secondary sources, because both the transliteration and the translation of Haynes seem to be problematic.

Although this sounds very convincing, the problem is that *Mirāte Sikandarī va mirāte Akbarī* no longer exists (if it ever did). We do not even know if Cakra had seen it himself or was quoting somebody's description. There is a work called *Mirāte Sikandarī*, written by Fajalullā Lutafullā Farīdī, but it consists of only one part, and it does not mention Svāmī Haridās (Mital 1961, p. 8; Śarmā 1959, p. 46). Is *Mirāte Sikandarī* only the first section of *Mirāte Sikandarī va mirāte Akbarī*, whose other parts have been lost, or is it a work on its own? Like many of the questions concerned with Indian historical biography, this one remains unanswered.

Apart from these quasi-historical documents the earliest references to Svāmī Haridās are not biographical but eulogistic - salutations written by his contemporaries and followers.

**2.4.1** Harirām Vyās, a Braj Bhāṣā poet of the 16th century, wrote a number of eulogistic *padas* relating to Svāmī Haridās. The most famous among them is:

‘Śrī Svāmī Haridās is the king of single-mindedness;  
Who served Kuñjabihārī every moment without any other desire;  
Alert and knowledgeable in his service he sings every day in the *rāsa* dance beautifully;  
There has never been such a *rasika* before and will never be either on earth or in heaven;  
He transcended the corporeal state while alive, he forgot worldly enjoyments;  
Worshipping the earth of Vṛndāvana with his mind and his body, he abandons the desires of  
worldly propriety and scriptural injunctions;  
He established the ways of love with everyone, he did not attend [anybody] in a special way;  
Firm in his vow, he maintained it until the end, as long as there was breath in his body;  
The lord of gods and kings, gold, beautiful women were like a mere blade of grass to him;  
The ascetics of nowadays are like me, Vyās, and the world mocks us.’<sup>22</sup>

**2.4.2** Another 16th century Braj author who eulogizes Haridās is the *aṣṭa chāpa* poet Govindasvāmī<sup>23</sup>:

‘The path of the single-minded *rasikas* is devious;  
The path, to take which great ascetics close their eyes and hold their breath for ever;  
The path, the secret of which the Vedas regret not to have obtained, and remain dismayed;  
This path Haridās has obtained, he has fearlessly established the love of the way of *rasa* ;  
With banging and thundering drums, [says] Govinda, the path of the single-minded *rasikas* is  
devious.’<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup>*ananya nṛpati śrī svāmī haridāsa;*  
*śrī kuñjabihārī seye binu, jina china na karī kāhū kī āsa.*  
*sevā sāvadhāna ati jāna, sughara gāvata dina rāsa;*  
*aisau rasika bhayau nā hvaihai, bhuvamaṇḍala ākāsa.*  
*deha videha bhaye jivata hī, bisare visva-vilāsa;*  
*śrī brndāvana-raja tana-mana bhaji, taji loka-beda kī āsa.*  
*prīti-rīti kinī saba hī sō, kiye na khāsa khavāsa;*  
*apanau brata haṭhi ora nibāhyau, jaba lagi kaṇṭha usāsa.*  
*surapati bhūpati kañcana kāmīni, jīnakē bhāyāi ghāsa;*  
*aba ke sādhu vyāsa hama hū se, jagata karata upahāsa.*  
(Gosvāmī 1952, p. 193).

<sup>23</sup>For more information on Govindasvāmī see McGregor 1984, p. 87.

<sup>24</sup>*rasika ananyani kau patha bākau;*  
*jā patha ko patha leta mahāmuni, mūdāta nēna gahai nita nākau;*  
*jā patha kaū pachitāta hai beda, lahai nahī bheda rahai jakī jākau;*  
*so patha śrīharidāsa lahyau, rasa-rīti kī prīti calāi nisākau;*  
*nisānani bājata gājata govinda, rasika ananyani kau patha bākau.*  
(*Aṣṭācāryō kī vāṇī* MS, BI, f. 69).

2.4.3 Another text from the 16th-17th centuries referring to Haridās is the *Bhaktanāmāvalī* of the Rādhāvallabhī poet Dhruvdās. 42 short works and a collection of *padas* are attributed to Dhruvdās. Five of these texts are dated, defining a floruit of at least 48 years - VS 1650-1698 (AD 1593-1641). As Snell convincingly suggests: ‘since a floruit significantly longer than this already lengthy span would seem unlikely, the *Bhaktanāmāvalī* also may be reasonably allocated to this period’ (1991a, p. 8). *dohās* 12 to 14 (incl.) of *Bhaktanāmāvalī* are dedicated to Svāmī Haridās:

‘The single minded *rasika* Haridās sang about the eternal sports;  
In his service he removed the chain of precepts and prohibitions.  
He constantly lived in a thick forest, his love grew;  
Applying his love to Bihārī only, he abandoned the house of comforts.  
He did not care about anyone - pauper or king;  
He remained immersed in *rāsa* worship, having taken an earthen pot in his hand.’<sup>25</sup>

2.4.4 Agradās, teacher of Nābhādās, praises Svāmī Haridās, who was probably his contemporary, in one of his *kavittas*:

‘Salutation to Śrī Haridās, inhabitant of the forest of *ṽṇḍā*, the whole essence of whose life was the handsome Bāke Bihārī;  
*rasika* of the charming joint form of Śyāmā and Śyāma, incarnation of captivating love;  
Treasury of utmost asceticism, he lives in Nidhivana, always absorbed in emotions, [of which] he is a great expert;  
Wishgiving tree of all desires, remover of all unhappiness, benefactor of the confidante  
Agradās.’<sup>26</sup>

Śarmā (1977, p. 99) asserts that the imperfective participle in the third line suggests that Haridās was still alive when this *kavitta* was written; however, *vasata* may be construed as a historic present.

2.5 *Bhaktamāl* by Nābhādās, probably dating from the early years of the 17th century (Snell 1991a, p. 12), speaks of seven devotees by the name of Haridās: *chappaya* 98 lists 18 *bhaktas* of the *kaliyuga* and Haridās is 13th among them. Nothing in this list suggests which Haridās Nābhādās is talking about in this *pada*. Similar is the problem with *chappaya* 99, which gives a list of 27 devotees (Haridās being 19th), and with *chappaya* 179. Verse 103 mentions Haridās Miśra in a list of 21 *bhaktas*. *chappaya* 151 uses the name Haridās as an epithet for Hanumān. Stanza 156 is dedicated to the *santa* Haridāsji Baniye from Benares. Poem 91 describes Haridās *rasikajī*, the epithet Nābhādās uses for Svāmī Haridās:

<sup>25</sup>*rasika ananya haridāsa jū, gāyau nitya bihāra;*  
*sevā hū mē dūri kiye, bidhi niṣeda jañjāra.* (12)  
*saghana nikuñjani rahata dina, bādhyau adhika saneha;*  
*eka bihārī heta lagi, chāri diye sukha geha.* (13)  
*rañka chatrapati kāhu kī, dhārī na mana paravāha;*  
*rahe bhīji rāsa bhajana mē, line kara karavāha.* (14)  
(Gosvāmī 1971, pp. 27-28).

<sup>26</sup>*namo namo śrī haridāsa ṽṇḍāvīpina vāsa vara prāna sarvasa bākebihārī;*  
*syāmā syāma jugala rūpa mādhurya ke rasika riḅhavāra prema avatārī;*  
*parama vairāga nidhi vasata nidhivana sadā bhāvanā līna su pravīna bhārī;*  
*kāmanā kalpataru sakala santāpaharu agradāsa ali kalyānakārī.*  
(Hargülāl 1971, p. 1).

'Of the splendour of Āsadhīr, Haridās is *rasika* by *chāpa*;  
Bound by a vow to the name of the couple, he repeats Kuñjabihārī forever;  
He watches their play constantly, he has rights to happiness of the *sakhīs*;  
Singing with the skill of *gandharvas* he pleases Śyāma and Śyāmā;  
He offers them the daintiest food, he feeds peacocks, monkeys and fish;  
Kings stand by his door in the hope of seeing him;  
Of the splendour of Āsadhīr, Haridās is *rasika* by *chāpa*.'<sup>27</sup>

2.7 The most important commentary on *Bhaktamāl* is the *Bhaktiras bodhinī* written by Priyādās in VS 1769 (AD 1712) (see Gupta 1967, p. 24). *kavitta* 367 of *Bhaktiras bodhinī* adds two more references to Svāmī Haridās:

'Who can describe the mass of *rasa* of Svāmī Haridās, who, in repeating [the Lord's name] acquired the *chāpa* of being a *rasika*;  
Someone brought him perfume valued highly, he took it and threw it down on the bank; [the other thought it] wasted [anger] came into his heart;  
Knowing this the wise one said 'take and show him Lālapyaṛe', when the curtain was opened the clothes were drenched with perfume;  
He cast the philosopher's stone into the water, then made [him] a disciple; many songs like this are sung [of him].'<sup>28</sup>

2.6 A probable source for Priyādās's *Bhaktiras bodhinī* is a text of uncertain title attributed to Uttamdās. It usually follows Bhagvat Mudit's *Rasik ananya māl* in manuscripts, and has consequently been considered by some as a part of that work. *Rasik ananya māl* is dedicated almost entirely to accounts of the lives of Rādhāvallabhī devotees. It is undated, but Mudit's other work - a translation from the Sanskrit *Vṛndāvanamahimāmrta* of VS 1707 (AD 1650) - gives an indication of Bhagvat Mudit's floruit. Uttamdās's text was probably written to complement the *Rasik ananya māl* by adding the *caritra* of Harivaṃśa himself (Gosvāmī 1957, p. 22). The dates of Uttamdās are not known. Lalitā Caraṇ Gosvāmī claims that Uttamdās was a disciple of Gosvāmī Kuñjalāl, who was born in VS 1696 (AD 1639), and argues that his work must therefore date from VS 1740-45 (AD 1683-88) (Gosvāmī 1957, p. 24). The section about Haridās suggests his affiliation to the Rādhāvallabha *sampradāya*:

'One day, coming back from his bathing in the Yamunā, [Hit Harivaṃśa] heard that someone was singing beneath the bowers;  
[Hit Harivaṃśa] approached him to find out; [he said] 'you sing delightfully, your body is beautiful;  
but if you sing about the beautiful form, you will obtain extreme splendour in this forest;  
Listen, said Svāmī Haridās, my hope is in knowledge, asceticism and *śānta rasa*;

<sup>27</sup> *āsadhīra udyota kara rasika chāpa haridāsa kī.*  
*jugala nāma saū nema japata nita kuñjabihārī;*  
*avalokata rahaī keli sakhī sukha ke adhikārī.*  
*gāna kalā gandharva, syāma syāmā kō toṣaī;*  
*uttama bhoga lagāya, mora marakaṭa timi poṣaī.*  
*ṇpati dvāra thādhe rahaī, darasana āsā jāsa kī;*  
*āsadhīra udyota kara rasika chāpa haridāsa kī.*  
(Prasād 1962, pp. 601-602).

<sup>28</sup> *svāmī haridāsa rasarāsa ko bakhāna sakai, rasikatā chāpa joī jāpa madhi pāiyai;*  
*lyāyau koū covā, vākau ati mana bhovā vāmaī dāryo lai pulina yaha, khovā hiye āiyai;*  
*jānikai sujāna kahi lai dikhāvau lāla pyāre, naisuku ughāre paṭa sugādha burāiye;*  
*pārāsa pāṣāna kari jala daravāya diyau, kiyaṭa taba śiṣya aise nānā bidhi gāiyai.*  
(Prasād 1962, p. 602).



Hita sang about *śānta*, *dāsyā* and *sakhyā rasa* as well, but he said that *śṛṅgāra rasa* was the highest;  
 Knowing in his heart the Svāmī to be a wise man among the great [he said] abandon everything and sing of this *rasa*;  
 He acquired from Hita all the practices of service established by the ascetic;  
 He kept in his heart Hita's path to Śrī Kuñjabihārīnī and Bihārī;  
 The delicate-limbed one was seated on the throne, [sitting] on the bank [Haridās] constantly watches Bihārī;  
 With his song he pleases Śyāmā and Śyāma, he sings prankish melodies and prankish *padas*;  
 When a king comes near, seeing in him an obstruction, he does not look at him;  
 Śrī Haridās is endowed with many excellent stories;  
 He cast the perfume on the bank and the fragrance was in the abode of the couple.<sup>29</sup>

The standard hagiography of the Vallabh *sampradāya*, *Caurāsī vaiṣṇavan kī vārtā*, includes a reference to Haridās. The text is attributed to Gokulnāth (AD 1551-1716), but its present form has been created by Harirāy (AD 1591-1716) (Barz 1976, p. 102). The fifth *prasaṅga* of the *vārtā* of Kumbhandās describes how Haridās, Harivaṃśa and other saints from Vrindaban went to meet Kumbhandās at Govardhan in order to discuss with him the description of Śrī Svāminījī (Rādhā) in verses dedicated to her (Barz 1976, pp. 183-184).

**2.8** *Pad prasaṅgamālā* by Nāgarīdās (Sāvanta Siṃha, maharajah of Kishangarh), written around VS 1800 (AD 1743) elaborates Nābhādās's and Uttamdās's reference to king(s) coming to see Haridās:

'Once the emperor Akbar asked Tānsen: from whom did you learn singing? Can anyone sing even better than you? Then he answered: I do not count: in Vrindāvana there is a Vaiṣṇava called Haridās, I am a pupil of his in singing. Having heard this the emperor accompanied by Tānsen took a waterjar and went to Svāmī jī in Vṛndāvana. First Tānsen went, then he entreated Haridās to utter something. Then Haridās started the prelude of Malāra *rāga*. It was the month of *caita-baisākha* [March-May]. At this very moment thick clouds started to gather. Peacocks began to sing. Then he composed and sang a new *viṣṇupada*. At that very moment it started raining. This is the *pada*.'<sup>30</sup>

**2.9** The authoritative work on Haridās's life for the *sādhū* branch of the HS, *Nijmat siddhānta*, was written by Kiśordās probably around VS 1820 (AD 1763) (Mital 1961, p. 11). The arguments in the *Nijmat siddhānta* are of two sorts:

<sup>29</sup> *ika dina jamunā nhāyē āvata, sunyō kuñjatara koi ika gāvata. (1)*  
*nikata jāukē būjhī bāta, gāvata suṭhī tuma sundara gāta. (2)*  
*paī jau sundara rūpahi gāvau, tau yā vana mē ati chavi pāvau. (3)*  
*sunī bole svāmī haridāsa, gyāna birāga sānta rasa āsa. (4)*  
*hita jū sānta dāsyā saṣya laū gāyau, sarvopari śṛṅgāra batāyau. (5)*  
*svāmī baḍena jāni mana jāna, saba taji soī rasa kījai gāna. (6)*  
*hē birakta sevā padhārāi, so saba bidhi hita jī tē pāi. (7)*  
*śrī kuñjabihārāni saṅga bihārī hitajī kī paddhati ura dhārī. (8)*  
*gādī madhya thāpī sukavārī, sadana pulina mē laṣe bihārī. (9)*  
*syāmā syāmahi gāya rījhāvai, bānke sura bānke pada gāvai. (10)*  
*prathvīpati āvai taba nerē, antarāya laṣi tinihi na hērē. (11)*  
*uttama caritra aneka juta śrī svāmī haridāsa.*  
*covā ḍāryo pulina maī dampati bhavana subāsa. (12)*  
 (Uttamdās MS, 1760, fs. 14-15).

<sup>30</sup> *eka samāi akabara pātsāha tānsaina saū būjhī ju tāi kauna sō gāibo sikhyo, koū tohu tāi adhika gāvai haī. taba yānai kahī ju maī kauna ganatī maī hū. śrī bṛndābana maī haridāsa jī nāmaī vaiṣṇava haī, tinake gāyabe ko hū śisya hū. yaha sunī pātasāha tānasaina kai sanga jaladhari lai śrī vṛndāvana svāmī jū paī āyō. pahilāi tānasaina gayo, binatī kari mahārāja kachu boliye. taba śrī haridāsa jū ālāpacārī kari malāra rāga kī. caita baisākha ko mahinaū huto. taba tāhī bera ghaṭha [sic] ghumaṛī āi. mora bolani lage. taba nayo banāi biṣṇupada gāyo. taba tāhī bera baraṣā hauna lāgi. so vaha yaha pada (followed by KM 89) (Gupta 1965, pp. 385-6).*

1. Contradiction of the *gosvāmīs'* claim about the life and lineage of Haridās;

2. Establishing of the succession of the *sādhu* line, from leader to leader, since the time of Haridās. Therefore the most likely force behind its creation would be a growing consciousness on the part of the *sādhus* of their institutional identity *vis-à-vis* the *gosvāmīs*. The *Nijmat siddhānta* is probably a collection of the oral traditions of the *sādhus* of the eighteenth century, and it betrays its composite origin by great internal inconsistency. Its middle part (*madhya khaṇḍa*) is dedicated to a detailed account of the legends about Haridās. It says that Svāmī Haridās was born on the 8th day of the light fortnight of the month *bhādō* (the 6th month of the Hindu calendar) VS 1537 (AD 1480), that he became an ascetic at the age of 25, after which he lived for 70 more years<sup>31</sup>.

*Nijmat siddhānta* states that Haridās had twelve disciples<sup>32</sup> (Kisordās 1915, p. 163). Four of them, Viṭhal Vipul, the younger brother of Āsudhīr, Kisordās, the son of Harirām Vyās, Dayāldās and Prakāśdās were his major disciples. Dayāldās, the third, is the acting figure in the story about the philosopher's stone mentioned in the *Bhaktiras bodhinī*. According to the *Nijmat siddhānta* Dayāldās was a *sārasvat* brahman from Jasarauta, a village in Punjab, and his real name was Dayārām (Kisordās 1915, p. 57). He obtained the philosopher's stone and gave it to Svāmī Haridās, who tossed it away into the water of the Yamuna. Then, seeing the giver's vexation, Haridās took him to the edge of the stream and asked him to pick up a handful of sand out of the water. When he had done so, each single grain became a replica of the stone that had been thrown away, and, when tested, was found to possess precisely the same power of alchemy. Thus he was made to understand that the saints stand in no need of gold or earthly riches, and he joined the number of Haridās's disciples (Kisordās 1915, pp. 76-77).

The *Nijmat siddhānta* develops not only the reference to the philosopher's stone, but the story of Tānsen and Akbar as well (Kisordās 1915, pp. 89-95). It narrates how the court-musician Tānsen was ordered to sing the *rāga* Dīpaka, famous for burning the person who performs it. Tānsen sang it and his body started burning. The only cure for this fever was the performance of *rāga* Malāra, causing rain. Tānsen went to an old woman, who sang for him *rāga* Malāra, but told him that the only person who could teach him how to perform it himself was Svāmī Haridās. Tānsen became Haridās's student. When the emperor Akbar heard his skilful performance, following his studentship under Haridās, he praised him as the best musician on the earth, but Tānsen corrected him that Haridās was superior to him. Akbar, accompanied by Tānsen and

<sup>31</sup> *saṃvata pandraha sai saītīsā, bhādaū śukla aṣṭamī dīsā.*  
*buddhbāra madhyānha bicāryao, śrī haridāsa pragaṭa tanu dhāryo.*  
*gīha mē varṣa pacīsa bitāye, phiri vairāga-tyāga upajāye.*  
*sattara varṣa kīnha banabāsā, gupta bhāva kīnhā parakāsā.*  
 (Kisordās 1915, p. 54).

<sup>32</sup> Since 12 is a sacred number, we often find that this is the figure quoted for the number of disciples of religious preceptors, e. g. Rāmānanda, Gorakhnāth etc. (see Burghart 1978, p. 16).

disguised as his servant, went to see Haridās. Tānsen sang in front of Haridās with deliberate mistakes in order to make Haridās perform the same *rāga* to point out his errors. In this way Akbar heard Haridās's singing. Impressed, he begged Haridās to let him be of some service. Haridās took him to the Bihārī *ghāṭa*, which appeared as if each one of its steps was a single precious stone set in a border of gold; and there showed him one step with a slight flaw in it and asked him to replace it by another. This was a work beyond the wealth even of Akbar. Then Haridās gave him the more realistic order to provide food for the monkeys and the peacocks, and to protect the trees in Vrindaban from any harm.

The middle part of the *Nijmat siddhānta* also tells stories about the manifestation of the image of Bāke Bihārī; the loss of Rādhā's braid, which was found thanks to Haridās's power to watch the divine *līlā*; the story of Kṛṣṇadās, which again exemplifies Haridās's superiority as a most accomplished *bhakta* etc.

2.10 The *Bhakta sindhu*, written in the mid-nineteenth century by Lakṣmandās (Haynes 1974, p. 55), follows in general the *Nijmat siddhānta*. Unfortunately, the provenance of the work and the background of Lakṣmandās are unknown; moreover it is preserved only in the translation made by Growse:

'Brahm-dhir, a Sanadh Brahman of a village now called Haridaspur, near Kol, had a son, Gyandhir, who entertained a special devotion for Krishna under his form of Giridhari - 'the mountain-supporter' - and thus made frequent pilgrimages to the holy hill of Gobardhan. On one such occasion he took himself a wife at Mathura, and she in due time bore him a son, whom he named Asdhir. The latter eventually married a daughter of Ganga-dhar, a Brahman of Rajpur - a small village adjoining Brinda-ban - who on the 8th of the dark fortnight of the month of Bhadon in the *sambat* year 1441 gave birth to Hari Das. From his earliest childhood he gave indications of his future sanctity, and instead of joining in play with other children was always engaged in prayer and religious meditation. In spite of his parents' entreaties he made a vow of celibacy, and at the age of 25 retired to a solitary hermitage by the Man Sarovar, a natural lake on the left bank of Jamuna, opposite Brinda-ban. He afterwards removed to the Nidh-ban in that town, and there formally received his first disciple, Bithal-Bipul, who was his own maternal uncle. His fame soon spread far and wide, and among his many visitors was one day a Khattri from Delhi, by name Dayal Das, who had by accident discovered the philosopher's stone, which transmuted into gold everything with which it was brought in contact.' [The rest of the story about the philosopher's stone is as narrated by the *Nijmat siddhānta*.]

'Some thieves, however, hearing that the sage had been presented with the philosopher's stone, one day when he was bathing, took the opportunity of stealing his *salagram*, which they thought might be it. On discovering it to be useless for their purpose, they threw it away under a bush, and as the saint in his search for it happened to pass by the spot, the stone itself found voice to tell him where it lay. From that time forth he received every morning by miraculous agency a gold coin, out of which he was to provide the temple offerings (*bhog*) and to spend whatever remained over in the purchase of grain wherewith to feed the fish in the Jamuna and the peacocks and monkeys on its banks.

One day a Kayath [sic] made him an offering of a bottle of *atar* worth Rs. 1,000, and was greatly mortified to see the Swami drop it carelessly on the ground, so that the bottle was broken and the precious essence all wasted. But on being taken to the temple he found that his gift had been accepted by the god, for the whole building was fragrant with its perfume.<sup>33</sup>

Again a minstrel at the court of the Delhi Emperor had an incorrigibly stupid son, who was thereupon expelled in disgrace. In his wanderings he happened to come to Brinda-ban, and there threw himself down on the road to sleep. In the early morning the Swami, going from the Nidh-

<sup>33</sup>*Nijmat siddhānta* explains the reason why Haridās threw the essence down: he was watching Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā playing Holī and Rādhā needed something to cast over Kṛṣṇa, so Haridās gave her the perfume; since the others did not have Haridās's power to see the divine *līlā*, they thought that he just poured the perfume onto the ground.

<sup>34</sup>The following account of the meeting between Haridās and Akbar is identical with the one of *Nijmat siddhānta*.

ban to bathe, stumbled over him, and after hearing his story gave him the name of Tan-sen, and by the mere exercise of his will converted him at once into a most accomplished musician. On his return to Delhi, the Emperor was astonished at the brilliancy of his performance, and determined himself to pay a visit to Brinda-ban and see the master under whom he studied'<sup>34</sup> (Growse 1883, pp. 219-220).

The 19th and 20th centuries are immensely rich in commentaries on *Bhaktamāl*. Most later versions derive from the earlier ones.

2.11 Jaydev's commentary on *Bhaktamāl*, dated VS 1861 (AD 1804), a copy of which is held in the Gorelāl Mandir (Vrindaban), quotes the episode of Akbar's meeting with Haridās, but finishes it with a dialogue between Akbar and Tānsen, in which the former asks the latter why he cannot sing as beautifully as Haridās. Tānsen's answer is that Haridās sings for God and he sings for Akbar.<sup>35</sup>

2.12 On a MS of *Bhaktamāl* kept in the library of Rādhācaraṇ (Śarmā 1977, p. 93) there are a few sentences written in Braj prose. Their author has supplied his name - Nārāyaṇdās, and date - VS 1901 (AD 1844). The text says that Āsudhīr was a brahman, living in Marvar (Rajasthan) and that the place of birth of Haridās was Rājpur.<sup>36</sup>

2.13 A *Bhaktamāl* in Urdū, written by Tulsīrām in VS 1911 (AD 1854), narrates the stories of Nābhādās's *Bhaktamāl* and Priyādās's *Bhaktīras bodhinī* in great detail. It offers a slight variation of the episode about Haridās and Akbar. At the end of their meeting Haridās gives Akbar a third order - never to come again (Kālicaraṇ 1874, pp. 341-342)<sup>37</sup>. *Bhakta kalpadrup* (Kālicaraṇ 1874) by Rājā Pratāpsimha, written in VS 1923 (AD 1866) is a literal Khaṛī Bolī Hindi translation of Tulsīrām's *Bhaktamāl*.

2.14 *Bhaktamāl Rāmrāsikāvalī* was written by Raghurāj Simha in VS 1914 (AD 1857) and published by Veṅkaṭeśvar Press in VS 1917 (AD 1860). Its version of Haridās's life claims that he renounced the world in his childhood (rather than at the age of 25) and that he lived in Ṭaṭṭī Asthān<sup>38</sup> (a statement obviously incompatible with the historical facts: the Ṭaṭṭī Asthān was established by Lalitkiśorīdās and became a centre of sectarian activity for the HS only in the 18th century).

The *Rāmrāsikāvalī* adds some new stories to Haridās's myth.

The first among them narrates an episode in which Haridās, engrossed in mental vision of the *rāsa* dance, saw Rādhā's anklet breaking during her dance. He immediately tore off his sacred thread and tied her anklet. Everyone was very surprised by his action

<sup>35</sup> *tānsēna cūki kai pada gāyau uhi; taba kahī vai prabhu muṣa deṣi. māi āpakau muṣa deṣi iha bheda.* (Śarmā 1977, p. 93).

<sup>36</sup> *āsadhīra brāhmaṇa māravāra deṣa ke rahanevāle... haridāsa janma sthāna rājapura* (Śarmā 1977, p. 93).

<sup>37</sup> This ending resembles that of Sūrdās's *vārtā* where Sūrdās gives Akbar the order that he should not summon or see him again (Snell 1991b, p. 73).

<sup>38</sup> *sīharināma dāsa haridāsā, bālahī te tyāgo jaga āsā. tajyo viṣaya jaga miṭhī khaṭṭī, vṛndāvana sthāna suṭaṭṭī.* (Śarmā 1977, p. 94).

but the mystery was revealed when they went to the temple and saw that Rādhā's anklet was fixed with Haridās's sacred thread.<sup>39</sup>

The second story describes a musical competition between Tānsen and Baiju Bāvarā. After many miracles performed through the power of their singing, Tānsen finally won. He answered Akbar's praises with the retort that his teacher, Svāmī Haridās, sang better than he. This story is followed by that of Akbar's meeting with Haridās.

There are also two episodes about Haridās's deity, Bāke Bihārī.

Once Akbar invited Haridās to Delhi and organised dances to be performed for him. Haridās, very pleased with the skills of one of the dancers, asked Akbar for permission to take her with him. Back at Vrindaban she performed in front of the image of Bāke Bihārī, and afterwards remained still, staring at him. When a priest came to scold her for her misbehaviour he discovered that she was dead. Haridās's reaction to this was : 'Oh Lāla, you cannot be patient even for a moment'<sup>40</sup>.

The other incident accounts how a beautiful woman went with her mother-in-law to have *darśana* of Bāke Bihārī. When she turned to leave the temple, the idol turned as well in his wish to see the young beauty (Śarmā 1977, pp. 94-97).

2.15 The Sanskrit *Bhaktamāla* of Candradatta (VS 1959, AD 1902) and *Bhaktanāmamālikā* by Vanamālidās Śāstrī (VS 2007, AD 1950) assert that Haridās was Āsudhīr's son<sup>41</sup>.

2.16 *Bhaktisudhāsvādatilaka* by Sītārāmśaraṇ provides the traditional gloss for the stories mentioned in the Nābhādās's *Bhaktamāl* and Priyādās's commentary. It interprets in a literal way Priyādās's line *rasikatā chāpa joi jāpa madhi paiyai*:

'Once, while [he] was repeating the name of the couple, God said: people will call you *rasika* and name you so.'<sup>42</sup>

When referring to the meeting between Akbar and Haridās, this commentary specifies the time-span in which it probably took place:

'The emperor Akbar came disguised with Tānsen and was gratified to see Svāmijī. This happened some time between VS 1611 [AD 1554] and VS 1662 [AD 1605].'<sup>43,44</sup>

<sup>39</sup>The same episode, but referring to Harirām Vyās, is described in Nabhādās's *Bhaktamāl*. The motif of conflict between *dharma* and *bhakti* exemplified by this story is one of the major topoi in the hagiographies of famous *bhaktas* (see Pauwels 1994a, pp. 5-6 of chapter 2).

<sup>40</sup>The miraculous power of images is a typical hagiographic topos. The incident described here depicts the intimacy between the *bhakta* and his deity, which allows the former to scold the latter as he would a naughty child (see Pauwels 1994a, pp. 8-9 of chapter 2).

<sup>41</sup>*āsādhireti nāmnāsīdvipro gujjarasambhavaḥ;*  
*tasya putroti vikhyāto haridāsa īti srutaḥ.*  
(Śarmā 1977, p. 97).

*śrīāsudhīratānayo haridāsavaryaḥ* (Śarmā 1977, p. 104).

<sup>42</sup>*ek samay yugal mantra ka jāp kar rahe the, usī ke madhya śrībhagvat kā vacanāsṛt huā ki tumko rasik kahkar log nām liyā karēge* (Prasād 1962, p. 603).

Texts in the genre *guru paramparā* - lists of the preceptors of the tradition - are among the sectarian works which speak of Svāmī Haridās.

The 17th-century *Guru paramparās* written by Narharidās and Rasikdās and the 17th-18th-century *Guru praṇālī* of Pītāmbardās are the earliest examples of this genre in HS (Śarmā 1977, p. 83).

2.17 Sahcariśaraṇ's *Guru praṇālikā* enumerates the preceptors of the Nimbārka *sampradāya* to Lalitkiśorīdās. About Svāmī Haridās it says that he was a *sanādhya* brahman, and an ascetic for 70 years.<sup>45</sup>

2.18 Sahcariśaraṇ's *Ācāryotsav sūcnā* speaks of the preceptors of the HS, starting from Haridās and finishing with Lalitmohinīdās. It gives information about the major dates of Svāmī Haridās's life:

'On the pure and beautiful eighth day of the light fortnight of the month *bhādaū*, Wednesday, *saṃvat* 1537, the good friend appeared.  
Delighted, he graced the earth until the good age of 95;  
He completed 25 years of dwelling in his house, being the joy of everyone.  
From 1562 for 70 years, I know.  
He dwelled in Vṛndāvana as an ascetic, his mind and body immersed in joy.  
The idol of joy, the ocean of beauty, Bihārī, the benefactor of *rasikas*,  
became manifested on the 5th day of the light fortnight of the month *mārgaśīrṣa*.  
Which year? Let me describe this, listen, oh wise ones:  
In 1567 it is said, the treasury of love was obtained.  
Śrī Svāmī passed away on the full moon of the month *kvāra*;  
in *saṃvat* 1632; having understood may you obtain the one dear to the mind.'<sup>46</sup>

2.19 *Lalit prakāś*, Sahcariśaraṇ's third work, consists of two parts. The first is a detailed account of Haridās's life, the second is concerned with the line of preceptors

<sup>43</sup> *bādsāh akbar tānsen ke sāth veṣ chipākar āyā tathā svāmī jī ke darśanō se kṛtārtha huā. saṃvat* 1611 *se* 1662 *ke madhya kisī samay kī yah ghaṭnā hai* (Prasād 1962, p. 603).

<sup>44</sup> Two more commentaries are worth mentioning: Jvālāprasād Mīśra's commentary on *Bhaktamāl*, published by Lakṣmī Venkaṭeśvar Press in VS 1956 (AD 1899), which narrates the stories about the perfume, the philosopher's stone and Akbar's meeting with Haridās, and Malūkdās's commentary on *Bhaktamāl*, MS No 176 of VS 1962 (AD 1905), held by the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā (see Śarmā 1977, pp. 92-93).

<sup>45</sup> *śrī svāmī haridāsa rasika siramaura anihā;*  
*dvija sanādhya siratāja sujasa kahi sakata na jihā.*  
*guru anukampā milyau lalita nidhibana tamāla ke;*  
*sattara laū taru baiṭhi gane guna priyā-lāla ke.*  
(Mītal 1961, p. 12).

<sup>46</sup> *bhādaū śukla aṣṭamī manahara, puni budhavāra punitā;*  
*sambata pandrahasai sāitisa kau, tā bica udita sumitā.*  
*mudita birāje rahe mahī para, varṣa pāca nava nīke;*  
*gahe vāsa paccisa varṣa bhari, bhayau moda saba hī ke.*  
*pandrahasai bāsaṭha saū laikai hāyana sattara jānaū;*  
*basa birāga yuta byndābana mē tanu mana sukha sō sānaū.*  
*pragaṭa bhayau ānanāda kau vīgraha, sukhamā-sindhu bihārī;*  
*māragasīra śukla su pañcamī, rasikana kaū hitakarī.*  
*sambata kauna tāhi maī baranaū, jo suni lehu sujānā;*  
*pandraha sai saṣaṭha kau kahiyai, lahiyai prema nidānā.*  
*śrī svāmī āśvina sudī pūnau, tākaū mahala padhāre;*  
*solaha sai battisa kau sambata, samajhi lehu mana pyāre.*  
(Mītal 1961, pp. 12-13.)

after him. Sahcarīśaraṇ speaks of Haridās and his disciples as followers of the Nimbārka *sampradāya* (Mital 1961, p. 13).

2.20 A late variation of this genre is Gopāl Kavi's *Vṛndāvan dhāmānurāgāvalī*. Written in VS 1900 (AD 1843), it is a detailed description of the Nidhiban, Rasikbihārī and Gorelāl sub-branches of the *sādhu* tradition of the HS. Svāmī Haridās is listed among the *mahantas* of the Nidhiban sub-branch. Uṣarāyau is given as his birth-place and 1537 as the date of Haridās's initiation<sup>47</sup>:

'I know that in 1537, on the 8th day of the light fortnight of the month of *bhādaū*, was Śrī Svāmī's initiation, this is told in the books;  
He remained for 25 years in his home, then he took the shelter of his *guru*;  
For 70 years he lived in Nidhivana in Vṛndāvana;  
After 95 years he expanded the unexpressed emotion;  
Having the form of a *sakhī*, he maintained with the *sakhīs* the happiness of the realm of the bower.'<sup>48</sup>

According to this part of the *Vṛndāvan dhāmānurāgāvalī* Hāridās's year of birth was VS 1512. But in the description of the Rasikbihārī tradition it is replaced by VS 1509:

'In 1509 on the 8th day of the light fortnight of the month of *bhādaū*, at the time of sunrise Svāmī Haridās took incarnation'.<sup>49</sup>

*Haridās vaṃśānucaritra* by Navanīt Kavi (Mathura, VS 1957 (AD 1900), Amolakrām's *Ācāryotsavamālā* (Ṭaṭṭī Asthān, VS 1984 (AD 1927) and *Vaṃśavṛkṣa* (Ṭaṭṭī Asthān, VS 1985 (AD 1928) give the lineage of the *mahantas* of HS (Śarmā 1977, pp. 86, 80, 84).

A number of partisan works mention Svāmī Haridās, claiming with a sectarian zeal that he was a member of one or another *sampradāya*.

2.21 Naurāṅgasvāmī's *Matmārgabhed* (VS 1760, AD 1703), Rādhācaraṇ's *Śrī Caitanya caritra sār* (VS 1945, AD 1888), *Cāri sampradāy vaiṣṇav vandnā*<sup>50</sup> (Śarmā 1977, pp. 100, 102, 103), and *Nimbārka madhurī* (Bihārīśaraṇ 1940) list Svāmī Haridās among the poets of the Nimbārka *sampradāya*.

The Sanskrit *Sampradāya bhāskara* written by Gosvāmī Gaṅgāprasād asserts that the HS is a subsect of the Viṣṇusvāmī *sampradāya* (Śarmā 1977, p. 103).

<sup>47</sup> uṣarāyau gaṅgā tata gāma susvāmijī kau jānāū.... (Śarmā 1977, p. 86).

<sup>48</sup> pandraha sai saītisa sāla bhādaū sudi āṭhaī jānāū;  
śrīsvāmī jū kau saranotsava granthana māṅha bakhānāū;  
barasa pacīsa greha mē rahi puni guru kau saranau liyau;  
sattari barasa vāsa nidhivana madhi vṛndāvana mē kīyau;  
picyanavaī varāsa pāchē avyakta bhāva vistāryau;  
sakhīrūpa dhari kuṅja bhavana sukha sakhīyana sahita nihāryau.  
(Ibid., p. 87).

<sup>49</sup> pandrai sai ke ūpara pragaṭa naū kī sāla bhādaū sudi tithi āṭhaī arunodaya samai prakāsa;  
...dhārana karyāū hai avatāra svāmī haridāsa.  
(Gopal Kavi MS, f. 20).

<sup>50</sup> The dates and authorship of this work are unknown.

### 3. Secondary sources

3.1 In his *Mathurā: a district memoir* Growse quotes the accounts of Nābhādās and Priyadās and augments them with the material from the *Bhakta sindhu*. He also gives the text of Haridās's shorter work, the *Aṣṭādaś siddhānta* and translates it. Growse does not accept the dates of Haridās's life suggested by *Bhakta sindhu* and tries to establish more reasonable dates<sup>51</sup>:

'I have by me a small *pothi* of 680 leaves, which gives a complete list of all the Mahants and their writings from the founder down to the date of the MS, which is *Sambat* 1825. The list is as follows: Swami Hari Das, Bithal Bipul, Biharini Das, Nagari Das, Saras Das, Naval Das, Narhar Das, Rasik Das, and Lalit Kishori, otherwise called Lalit Mohani Das. Allowing 20 years for each incumbency, which is rather a high average, since only an elderly man would be elected for the post, the date of Hari Das's death is thrown back only as far as *Sambat* 1665. His writings, moreover, are not more archaic in style than the poems of Tulsi Das, who died in *Sambat* 1680; and therefore on all grounds we may fairly conclude as an established fact that he flourished at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century AD, in the reigns of the Emperors Akbar and Jahangir.' (Growse 1883, p. 221).

3.2 Drake-Brockman's *Muttra: a gazetteer* does not give much additional information to Growse's *District memoir*. It claims that the number of the followers of Svāmī Haridās in 1901 was 1630. The centre of the sect was a large temple, where the deity worshipped was Bihārī jī. About Haridās it reports:

It is said that the founder of this sect was a *sanādhya* brahmin, born in Rājpur, a village near Vrindaban in VS 1441. He spent most of his life in Vrindaban and its surroundings. He was a follower of the teachings of Caitanya. It is doubtful that he was born in VS 1441. More probably he lived at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries. Haridās wrote only two short works: *Sādhāraṇ siddhānta* and *Ras ke pad*. His disciples created an extensive literature, but there is very little difference between its philosophy and that of the *Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas* (Śarmā 1977, p. 90).

Much of the critical literature in Hindi merely reiterates data taken from Growse and others, or remains on the level of narration of the myth. There are, however, some exceptions to this. Śarmā's book *Svāmī Haridāsjī kā sampradāy aur uskā vāṇī-sāhitya* is a valuable source of information about the HS. Prabhudayāl Mītal's *Svāmī Haridāsjī jīvanī aur vāṇī* is remarkable for its analytical approach to the collected material.

The only detailed study of the HS in a European language is Haynes's PhD dissertation 'Svāmī Haridās and the Haridāsī sampradāy'. Though useful as an anthropological study of the interaction between church and sect, its translation of Haridās's poetry is of a very poor quality.

<sup>51</sup>The line of pupillary succession is an important source of information about chronology. This is the basis, for example, on which R. Gombrich (1992) manages to date the Buddha.



#### 4. Areas of dispute in the hagiography of Svāmī Haridās

##### 4.1 The dates of Haridās's birth and death

The most common opinion about Haridās's date of birth is that he was born on the eighth day of the light fortnight of the month *bhādō* (the sixth month of the Hindu calendar). This is the date on which both branches of the HS celebrate Haridās's birthday. The only two works which do not accept this date are Cakra's preface to *Kelimāl* (Śarmā 1977, p. 57) and *Bhakta sindhu*, quoted by Growse (1883, pp. 219-220). Cakra claims that Haridās's birthday was the 13th day of the light half of the month *pauṣa* (the tenth month of the Hindu calendar), since this was the date suggested by the *Mirāte Sikandarī va mirāte Akbarī*. *Bhakta sindhu* asserts that Haridās's date of birth was the eighth day of the dark half of the month *bhādō*. However, Haridās *jayantī* rather suspiciously coincides with another auspicious date, *Rādhāṣṭamī*, the birthday of Rādhā. Indeed such a correlation between the *ācāryas'* dates of birth and general festivals seems to be a common trend in the HS (see Saksenā 1990, pp. 174-175), and suggests that the tradition has filled the gaps of historical dates with auspicious ones.

More complicated is the dispute about Haridās's year of birth. The *sādhus* are almost unanimous that Haridās was born in VS 1537 (AD 1480)<sup>52</sup>. Sahcarīśaraṇ deviates from this opinion in his *Guru praṇālikā*, suggesting VS 1535 (AD 1478) as Haridās's year of birth (Upādhyāy 1983, p. 48). This hypothesis is later supported by Śaraṇ Bihārī Gosvāmī (1966, p. 440). *Bhakta sindhu* chooses VS 1441 (AD 1384).

The *gosvāmīs* hold different opinions: Baldev Kavi claims that Haridās was born in VS 1515 (AD 1458); Rāmnāth Śāstrī suggests VS 1584 (AD 1527) (see Śarmā 1977, p. 112); Gopāl Kavi's *Vṛndāvan dhāmānurāgāvalī* is inconsistent, giving different years in different *prasaṅgas*: VS 1509 (AD 1452) and VS 1512 (AD 1455) (see above, 2.20). Cakra, on the basis of *Mirāte Sikandarī va mirāte Akbarī* asserts that the right year is VS 1569 (AD 1512) (Mital 1961, p. 7).

Śarmā (1977, pp. 114-116) selects VS 1537 (AD 1480) (from the point of view of the *sādhus*) and VS 1569 (VS 1512) (from the point of view of the *gosvāmīs*) as major among all these suggestions and takes the side of the *sādhus* for the following reasons: 1. If Haridās were born in VS 1569, Tānsen (born in VS 1577) would have been only 8 years younger than he, and it is assumed that Haridās, the musical teacher of Tānsen, was significantly older. 2. Vyās (born in VS 1567) would have been two years older than Haridās, and therefore would not speak of him with such respect. Vyās went to Vrindaban for the first time in VS 1591 and wrote eulogies about Haridās; if Haridās were born in VS 1569 he would have gone to Vrindaban in VS 1594 (both sub-

<sup>52</sup>Cf. *Nijmat siddhānta* (cf. above, 2.9), *Ācāryotsav sūcnā* (see above, 2.18) and Amalokrām's *Ācāryotsav mālā* (Śarmā 1977, p. 80).

branches of the sect agree that Haridās went to Vrindaban at the age of 25), so how could Vyās praise him in VS 1591? 3. Mīrā went to Vrindaban in VS 1595, and saw the image of Bāke Bihārī. If Haridās were born in VS 1569, the manifestation of the image would have been in VS 1599 (five years after Haridās’s arrival in Vrindaban). On the basis of these arguments Śarmā concludes that Haridās could not have been born in VS 1569; it must have been in VS 1537. To strengthen his case he adds that even the works which do not recognise VS 1537 as the year of birth of Svāmī Haridās recognise it as an important year of his life, and gives the example of *Bhakta sindhu*, which quotes VS 1537 as the year of Haridās’s death<sup>53</sup> and of *Vṛndāvan dhāmānurāgāvalī* where VS 1537 is the year of Haridās’s initiation.

The problem with all these arguments is that they are based on assumptions and not on established historical facts. As we will see later in this chapter, the question whether Haridās was really Tānsen’s teacher has not been convincingly answered; moreover the facts are on the whole against it. The year of Vyās’s going to Vrindaban is uncertain and so are Mīrā’s years. Moreover, as Śarmā (1977, p. 116) himself points out, the claim of the *sādhus* that Haridās was born on the 8th day of the light fortnight of the month *bhādō*, Wednesday, cannot be true, because this date in that particular year was not a Wednesday but a Monday.

Mītal (1979, p. 87) holds the opposite view to Śarmā and takes the side of the *gosvāmīs*, since in his opinion this year is more in congruence with the historical facts: if Haridās were born in VS 1537 he would have gone to Vrindaban in VS 1562 and started the *sevā* to Bāke Bihārī in VS 1567, when Vrindaban was still a very wild and abandoned place, not offering any conditions for the proper performance of *sevā* (due to the efforts of the *Gauḍīya gosvāmīs* Vrindaban flourished as a religious centre after VS 1590). Moreover, this was the time of Sikandar Lodī, famous for his religious intolerance, so that image-worship would have been very difficult.

Vedprakāś Sārasvat (1979) disputes Mītal’s arguments, saying that not only were the physical conditions of Vrindaban good enough for worship, but despite Sikandar Lodī’s religious fanaticism worship was indeed done, and gives the example of the worship of Govardhannāth in the Vallabha *sampradāya*. His further reasoning resembles Śarmā’s: on the basis of an assumption that as his teacher Haridās should be at least 15 years older than Tānsen (who in this case is claimed to have been born in VS 1550), and the *padas* by Vyās and Mīrā, he asserts that not VS 1569 but VS 1535 was the year of birth of Haridās, and supports this statement with the fact that the *gosvāmīs* have now accepted VS 1535 as Haridās’s year of birth.

The argument of Vyās’s *padas* is used again by Chailbihārī Upādhyāy (1983, pp. 58-59). He builds his case on two further considerations: 1. The fact that Haridās must have created his lyric verses after the establishing of *dhruvada* as a musical form in

<sup>53</sup> *Bhakta sindhu* in (Growse’s translation) gives only Haridās’s year of birth, 1441; accordingly, if we accept that Haridās’s life-span was 95 years, the year of his death would be 1536).

Braj; 2. The connection between Haridās and his second successor Bihārinidās. Since *dhrupada* was supposedly established in Braj by Rājā Mānsiṃha Tomar, who reigned from AD 1486 to AD 1516, Haridās could not have been born in VS 1441 (AD 1384), VS 1509 (AD 1452) or VS 1515 (AD 1458). Bihārinidās was a minister at Akbar's court and probably took part in his war against Bihar and Bengal. The legend says that shaken by the cruelty of this war he cut his arm and went to Vrindaban. This war was probably in VS 1633 (AD 1576), therefore he must have gone to Vrindaban after that year. If Haridās were born in VS 1535 (AD 1478) or VS 1537 (AD 1480) he would have been 98 or 96 in VS 1633, and since the sect unanimously accepts that Haridās's span of life was 95 years, he would not have known Bihārinidās. On the basis of this he draws the conclusion that Haridās was born in VS 1569 or VS 1565.

However, Bṛhaspati and Srivastava [sic] have shown that *dhrupada* has its origin in the ancient musical style of *prabandha* (Srivastava 1980, pp. 16-19; Delvoye 1983, p. 88). As far as the second argument is concerned one must keep in mind that both the date of Bihārinidās's coming to Vrindaban<sup>54</sup> and the assumption that he knew Haridās personally are unproved. There is no statement in Bihārinidās's poetry that he ever saw Haridās alive. According to the tradition he was a disciple of Viṭhal Vipul, who died within a week of Haridās; therefore it is believed that he knew Haridās personally.

The two sub-branches of the sect agree that Haridās died aged 95 on the full moon of the light fortnight of the month *āśvin* (the seventh month of the Hindu calendar). Therefore the year of death would depend on the accepted year of birth. Generally the *sādhus* believe that Haridās died in VS 1632 (AD 1575), and the *gosvāmīs* (who adopt VS 1569 as Haridās's year of birth) in VS 1664 (AD 1607). Growse suggests VS 1665 (AD 1608) (see above, 3.1), the *Bhakta sindhu*, quoted by him VS 1536 (AD 1480) (see above, 2.10).

All these arguments used in favour of one or another year of birth or death are unreliable, based on assumptions and hagiographic legends. Harirām Vyās's poetry, in which there are many verses mentioning Haridās, and among them a number of passages presumably expressing longing for Haridās and Harivaṃśa in the supra-mundane Vṛndāvana (Haynes 1974, pp. 53-54; Pauwels 1994a, p. 4 of chapter 4), might take us closer to the truth. Since these references suggest that Harirām Vyās was a contemporary of Haridās, but outlived his fellow-*bhakta*, this might help us establish Haridās's floruit and a *terminus ante quem* for the date of Haridās's death. A firm *terminus ante quem* for Vyās's death is 1618, when his *samādhi* was built by Vīrsiṃha, then king of Orchā (Pauwels 1995, p. 18); therefore Haridās's date of death must have preceded 1618. As Haynes (1974, p. 68) rightly observes, the active period of

<sup>54</sup>Haynes suggests that Bihārinidās renounced the world in 1590 when he took part in Mān Singh's campaign to subdue Orissa, Bengal and Bihar (1974, p. 95).

Haridās's life would seem to have spanned the first three quarters of the sixteenth century.

#### 4.2 Haridās's parentage and caste

The question of Haridās's father, *guru* and caste is the source of bitter arguments between the *gosvāmīs* and the *sādhus*, since on its answer depends the position of the *gosvāmīs* as custodians of the image of Bāke Bihārī. Most of the materials referring to Haridās connect his name with that of Āsudhīr, starting from the *Bhaktamāl* with its obscure expression *āsudhīra udyotkara* (of the splendour of Āsudhīr). The extremely ambiguous *udyotkara* is open to different interpretations: the *gosvāmīs* claim that Āsudhīr was Haridās's father and *guru*, that he was a *sārasvat* brahman, and that the establisher of their branch, Jagannāth, Āsudhīr's second son, was Haridās's brother. They also assert that Haridās handed over the service of Bāke Bihārī to Jagannāth before his death. The *sādhus*, on the other hand, claim that Āsudhīr, a *sārasvat* brahman, was Haridās's *guru*. His father, however, was a *sanādhyā* brahman called Gaṅgādhar. Because Bihārīnidās was so engrossed in his mental vision of the divine *līlā* that he could not attend to the image, he handed over the service of Bāke Bihārī to Jagannāth. The argument between the two branches of the sect over the right to the image has been longlasting and even violent. The *Nijmat siddhānta* narrates an attempt by the *gosvāmīs* to kill Bihārīnidās (Kisordās 1967, p. 98). Halvar and Bhūdar tried to steal the image from the *gosvāmīs* and hand it over to the *sādhus* (Haynes 1974, pp. 106-107). During the time of Lalitmohinīdās there was a slaughter in Nidhiban - two *gosvāmīs* were killed and as a result of this the *sādhus* were expelled from Nidhiban (Śarmā 1977, p. 117).

All the sources we have about Haridās support either the position of the *gosvāmīs* or that of the *sādhus*, according to the commitment of their writers. The works of the *sādhus*: *Nijmat siddhānta*<sup>55</sup>, the *Guru paramparās* by Rasikdās (Śarmā 1977, p. 119), Sahcari Śaraṇ (Ibid., p. 122), Amlokarām (Ibid., p. 122) are unanimous that Haridās was Āsudhīr's disciple but not his son. However, *Nijmat siddhānta*, a work of great inconsistency, contains in its *avasān khaṇḍa* a few lines which are opposed to the *sādhus'* beliefs presented earlier in the *madhya khaṇḍa*:

‘Āsudhīr had two sons, Haridās was the elder;  
First he married, then he left and became an ascetic;  
He manifested Bāke Bihārī and served him with affection;  
Jagannāth was his younger brother, the service was handed over to him;

<sup>55</sup> *grāma rājapura śrībana pāsā, tahā dvija gaṅgādharā ko bāsā  
citrātāsu bāma ko nāmā...  
tīna mitra gaṅgādharā kere, nīśī dīna rahata sakala milī nere  
biṭhala pitā cāri hvai mītā, āsadhīra ke śīśua punītā.*  
(Kisordās 1915, p. 39).

Then he had three sons, we too are of this lineage.<sup>56</sup>

*Bhakta sindhu* presents an interesting mixture of the *sādhus'* and the *gosvāmīs'* claims: according to it Haridās's father was Āsudhīr, a *sanāḍhya* brahman from Haridāspur, who married the daughter of Gaṅgādhar from Rājpur (see above, 2.10). Brockman's *Muttra: a Gazetteer* makes Haridās a *sanāḍhya* brahman as well, but names Rājpur as his birth-place (see above 3.2).

On the other side of the scales are works of or influenced by the *gosvāmīs'*: their *Vaṃśavṛkṣa* (Śarmā 1977, p. 49), a document in possession of Cīte Caube (Ibid., p. 50), the *Padāvalī* written by Baīdās in VS 1879 (AD 1822) (Ibid., p. 47) and Baldev Kavi's *Vaṃśāvalī* (Ibid., p. 48).

Unfortunately, there are no reliable arguments which could help us assess the validity of the two opinions.

Upādhyāy (1983, p. 80) claims that according to the *śāstras* a father cannot initiate his own son, so Āsudhīr cannot be Haridās's *guru* and father. However, he himself shows that this rule is not of general validity.

Because of the lack of any reliable historical documents, the questions about Haridās's father and lineage will have to remain unanswered.

#### 4.3 Haridās's *guru*

Both the *sādhus* and the *gosvāmīs* hold the opinion that Haridās's *guru* was Āsudhīr. This has been rejected only by partisan works of other sects, attempting to prove that Haridās was a member of their *sampradāya*. Examples of such writings are Uttamdās's *Hīt caritra* (cf. above, 2.6), claiming that Haridās was a disciple of Hit Harivaṃśa; Nauraṅgasvāmī's *Matmārgabhed* and Rādhācaraṇ's *Śrī Caitanya caritra sār* (cf. above, 2.21), insisting on his affiliation to the Nimbārka *sampradāya*; Gaṅgaprasād's *Sampradāya bhāskara* (cf. above, 2.21), asserting that he was connected with the Viṣṇusvāmī *sampradāya*.

As discussed in the first part of this chapter, the Haridāsī *sampradāya* is an independent sect, which has a particular mode of worship. Therefore all claims that Haridās's *guru* was the leader of one or another sect have no other ground than sectarian bias and can be dismissed. There is no reason not to believe that Haridās's *guru* was Āsudhīr.

<sup>56</sup> *āśadhīra jū ke suta doī, śrī haridāsa putra bara hoī;*  
*prathama byāha karake taṅjo, phiri kīnhō bairāga;*  
*baṅka bīhārī praṅṅa kari seye yuta anurāga.*  
*jaṅannātha tīnake laghubhāī, tāke śira sevā padharāī;*  
*tīna tava putra tīna upajāe, tāsu vaṃśa hama hū cali āe.*  
(Kīśordās 1967, pp. 101-102)

#### 4.4 Haridās's place of birth

Four locations compete for the honour to be considered Haridās's place of birth. As shown in the section on materials, *Vṛndāvan dhāmānurāgāvalī* names Uṣarāyau, a village which cannot be identified, as Haridās's home. Govindarām Pāṭhak writes in his article in *Sārasvat* that according to *Mirāte Sikandarī va mirāte Akbarī* Haridās's place of birth was Multan (Śarmā 1977, pp. 54-55). The two locations which are mentioned by most sources as Haridās's place of birth are Haridāspur, suggested by the *gosvāmīs*, and Rājpur, named by the *sādhus*. According to Śarmā (1977, p. 124) there are no descendants of Haridās's lineage in Rājpur. Exactly the same argument but this time against Haridāspur is given in *Mithyāvād vidhunān*, whose author claims that there have never been *sārasvat* brahmans in Haridāspur, and that the village (which is actually called Hardāspur) is named not after Svāmī Haridās but after an old temple of Hara (Śiva) situated there.

One could assume that since both Haridāspur and Rājpur are mentioned in the tales about Svāmī Haridās, both of them were connected in some way to the history of his lineage. Therefore Haynes's support of *Bhakta sindhu's* compromise that Haridās was born in Rājpur and his father in Haridāspur (Haynes, 1974, p. 58) seems an acceptable hypothesis.

#### 4.5 Haridās's marriage

The question of Haridās's marriage is again a subject of disagreement between the *gosvāmīs* and the *sādhus*. The former claim that he was married, but did not have any children, and after the premature death of his wife he renounced the world; the latter insist that Haridās was always a *brahmacārī* and never married. A few sources mention Haridās's marriage: the *pada* from the *avasān khaṇḍa* of *Nijmat siddhānta*, which has already been quoted in connection with Haridās's parentage (cf. above, 4.2), says that he was first married and then renounced the world. Rāmnāth Śāstrī's *Kuñjabihārī sarvasva* gives the name of Haridās's wife as Vijayā, without explaining the source of this information (Śarmā 1977, p. 53). In Cakra's preface to *Kelimāl* Haridās's wife is called Harimatī (Śarmā 1977, p. 57). The legend narrates that when Haridās decided to renounce the world his wife became very unhappy and by throwing herself in the *yogāgni* abandoned her physical body. However, the early hagiographies do not mention this story. Though it is dangerous to argue *ex silentio*, the lack of references to this narrative in the early hagiographies may offer some corroboration. To the similar story of Karamaitī Bāī, for example, Priyādās dedicates eight of his *kavittas*.

As happens in many cases when scholars try to draw conclusions from the very scarce hagiographical sources, one and the same *pada* by Harirām Vyās is used to prove both Haridās's marriage and his celibacy. The verse under consideration was cited in

the section about materials relating to the life of Svāmī Haridās. The relevant line here is: *surapati bhūpati kañcana kāmīni jinake bhāyaī ghāsa* ('The lord of gods and kings, gold, beautiful women were like a mere blade of grass to him'). In his article 'Svāmī Haridāsji kā jīvan-vṛtta' Lalitbihārī Gosvāmī argues that to be able to abandon something one must first obtain it (p. 47), whereas for Śarmā (1977, p. 127) this *pada* is a proof that Haridās was a *brahmacārī* all his life.

Another argument Lalitbihārī Gosvāmī (1979, p. 47) uses in his support for the *gosvāmīs'* position is that since Haridās spent the first 25 years of his life in his parental house (which is almost unanimously accepted), he must have been married, because in the Indian tradition men usually marry much earlier than 25.

All these arguments are mere speculations and cannot be conclusive. The reason this question was given so much importance is obvious: both the *gosvāmīs* and the *sādhus* want to prove the authenticity of their own practices through Haridās's being a *gṛhastha* or a *brahmacārī*. The story about Haridās's marriage might have crept into the later hagiographies as an example of the typical topos about the conflict between asceticism (*vairāgya*) and worldly responsibilities (*gṛhasthātā*) (see Pauwels 1994a, p. 4 of chapter 2). Since the early independent sources are silent about Haridās's marriage, it is more likely that he was a *brahmacārī* than a householder.

#### 4.6 Haridās's renunciation

Both the *sādhus* and the *gosvāmīs* agree that Haridās renounced the world and went to Vrindaban when he was 25. However, the different sources disagree about the year in which this happened: *Nijmat siddhānta* posits VS 1562 as the year of Haridās's arrival in Vrindaban (born in 1537 he came at the age of 25)(see above, 2.9). Sahcarīśaraṇ's *Ācāryotsav sūcnā* follows the *Nijmat siddhānta* (see above, 2.18) and adds a story about the reasons for Haridās's renunciation. According to this narration Haridās used to come on a horse close to Nidhiban. Āsudhīr suffered much because of the harshness of the horse hoofs hitting the sacred earth of Vrindaban. When Haridās realised this, he begged Āsudhīr for forgiveness and renounced the world (Śarma 1977, p. 135). Since the different sections of *Vṛndāvan dhāmānurāgāvalī* are not consistent regarding Haridās's year of birth, the year of his renunciation varies accordingly - from VS 1534 to VS 1537 (see above, 2.20). *Bhakta sindhu* asserts that Haridās became a *vairagī* in VS 1466, since he was born in VS 1441 (see above, 2.10). Govindarām Paṭhak, Cakra and Rāmnāth agree that Haridās renounced the world after the death of his wife. Pāṭhak's article in *Sārasvat* names VS 1607 as Haridās's year of renunciation (Śarmā 1977, pp. 54-56), Cakra's preface to *Kelimāl* posits VS 1595 (Śarmā 1977, p. 57) and Rāmnāth's *Kuñjabihārī sarvasva* VS 1602 (Śarmā 1977, pp. 52-54).

Since the sources are unanimous that Haridās renounced the world at the age of 25 this may be true. The exact year of renunciation will then depend on Haridās's year of

birth. As we saw in the discussion about Haridās's dates the precise year in which Haridās was born cannot be established because of the lack of historical evidence.

### 7. Haridās and Tānsen

The most popular legend about Haridās is that he was the music teacher of Tānsen. However, no source contemporary to Haridās speaks of him as Tānsen's music *guru*. Most of the early eulogies in the 16th and 17th centuries (apart from Agradās and Govindasvāmī) mention Haridās's talent for singing: 'he sings...beautifully (Vyās), 'Haridās sang about the eternal sports' (Dhruvdās), 'singing with the skill of *gandharvas*' (Nābhādās), 'you sing delightfully' (Uttamdās) (cf. above, 2.4.1, 2.4.3, 2.5, 2.6). The lack of any reference in the early sources to Haridās as a teacher of Tānsen, strongly suggests that this legend did not exist in the 16th and 17th centuries.

For the first time Tānsen's training under Haridās is narrated in Nāgarīdās's *Pad prasaṅgamālā* (see above, 2.8). However, according to Upādhyāy (1983, pp. 12-13), *Pad prasaṅgamālā*'s evidence cannot be conclusive since it is non-historical, and more than 30 percent of this work is later accretions. *Nijmat siddhānta* elaborates the story about Haridās and Tānsen (cf. above, 2.9), but being a partisan work of great inconsistency, it cannot be used as historical evidence. Today the early eulogistic references to Haridās's musical gift have snowballed to elaborate stories of his being the music teacher of Baijū, Gopāl Lāl, Madanrāy, Rāmdās, Divākar Paṇḍit, Somnāth Paṇḍit, Tānsen and Rājā Saurasen (Caturvedī 1959, p. 36).

One of the strongest arguments in favour of Haridās's teaching Tānsen are Tānsen's own alleged *padas*, in which he speaks of Haridās as his *guru*:

*pāi vidyā maī parama puni pāi hai aura alakha māi hai guru haridāsa carana nistārau hai...  
āja janama suphala bhayau tānasena bābā haridāsa hātha pakaryau śrī rāga sikhāyau pahale  
pahala.*  
(Mital 1961, p. 27).

There are two problems concerning these *padas*. First, there is no conclusive evidence that they were written by Tānsen. Mital (1961, p. 27) claims on the basis of their style that they are spurious. Moreover, we are faced again with the question as to which Haridās is referred to in these *padas*. In the popular legends another famous *dhrupada* musician, Haridās Ḍāgur, competes with Svāmī Haridās for the role of Tānsen's musical teacher. Mital asserts in his book *Saṅgīt samrāt Tānsen jīvanī aur racnāē*: 'The study of Tānsen's *padas* shows that from the point of view of language, emotions and subject-matter, they are closer to the works of Haridās Ḍāgur than to those of Svāmī Haridās' (Upādhyāy 1983, p. 18).

Another *pada*, allegedly composed by Tānsen, which praises Bāke Bihārī is again used as evidence in favour of the connection between Haridās and Tānsen:

*antakāla kṛpā karo;*



*hiā para thārho hari kāvala-naina, kāval pati, muralī adhara,  
lalita madhura baṅkima bhai baṅka bihārī..*  
(M. B. Gosvāmī 1979, p. 76).

However the problem about the authorship of this *pada* vitiates in this case as well. Even if this is a genuine Tānsen verse, the fact that he praises Bāke Bihārī among many other deities still does not prove that he was Haridās's disciple in music.

Ācārya Bṛhaspati introduces an argument against the theory about the connection between Haridās and Tānsen in his book *Musalmān aur Bhārtīy saṅgīt*:

'No contemporary writer mentions that Haridās has ever given musical tuition to anybody, and he could not have given any, because music was for him only means to please Śyāma and Śyāmā and to describe the *nikūñja līlā*. It has never been the case that an ascetic would train a musician to give pleasure to kings and emperors...' (Upādhyāy 1983, p. 19).

In the same line of thought Mital compares the subject-matter and language of Haridās's and Tānsen's *padas*:

'Haridās's sect has only one deity - Śrī Bihārījī, in Tānsen's *padas* there are praises of different gods and goddesses, sages and saints. In his verses there is neither Haridās's influence as far as vocabulary is concerned, nor the spark of Haridās's devotion' (Mital 1961, p. 28).

Mital also quotes a *pada* created by Raṅgalāl, which speaks of 16 singers of *dhrupapada*. Among them Tānsen is no. 10 and Haridās Ḍāgur no. 14, but Svāmī Haridās is not mentioned at all<sup>57</sup>. Although this stanza cannot be conclusive, it is worth asking whether one would not expect that if Haridās had been the musical teacher of Tānsen their names would have been connected in such a work.

A famous picture showing Haridās, Tānsen and Akbar is often cited as evidence that Haridās was Tānsen's musical *guru*. The miniature painting, produced in Kishangarh about 1760, is exhibited in the National Museum in Delhi (No 48-14/61). However, not only is it two centuries later than Haridās, but it evidently distorts the historical facts: it rather improbably depicts Akbar as the oldest among the three<sup>58</sup>.

The examination of the secular records of the time, carried out by Bṛhaspati and Sumitrākumārī in order to determine whether there was any corroboration of the relationship between Svāmī Haridās and Tānsen, led to the conclusion that it was extremely unlikely that Haridās was Tānsen's teacher, for Svāmī Haridās was never mentioned in any of the non-sectarian sources (Haynes 1974, p. 60). Neither Abulfazl's *Akbarnāmā*, nor Abdul Kādir Badāyūnī's *Muttukh buttvārikh* quotes the name of Svāmī Haridās. In contrast to the absence of any mention of Svāmī Haridās, various other teachers of Tānsen are named. Bṛhaspati cites in his *Musalmān aur Bhāratīy saṅgīt*

<sup>57</sup> *sarvakalā sampūrana matī apāra vistāra nāda ko nāyaka baijū gopāla;  
tā pāche baksū bihāsi basa kīnho, mahamū mahi maṅḍala māi;  
udota cahū cakabharo ḍīra vidyā nidhāna, sarasa dhara karana ḍīdha tāla;  
bhagavanta surabhāna rāmadāsa jasa pāyo, tānasena jagata guru kahāyo.  
dhodhī bānī rasāla;  
suratī vilāsa haridāsa ḍāgura jagannātha kavirāya, tinake pada parasave ko śyāma rāma raṅgalāla.*  
(Upādhyāy 1983, p. 19).

<sup>58</sup> See illustration 1.

Mullā Abdul Kādir Badayunī's *Muttukh buttvārikh*, in which it is said that Tānsen considers Muhammad Ādilśāh as his musical teacher (Upādhyāy 1983, p. 20). Sulocnā Yajurvedī and Bṛhaspati claim in *Amīr Khuśro Tānsen tathā anya kalākār* that Tānsen's teacher was Baksū (Upādhyāy 1983, p. 21). Upādhyāy (1983, p. 21) draws the conclusion that Tānsen was musically trained by Baksū, but when he was at the court of Muḥammad Śāh Ādil he started considering Ādil his musical teacher as well.

Despite its wide circulation, the story that Haridās was the musical teacher of Tānsen is doubtful, and probably was inspired by sectarian zeal. However, as Haynes (1974, p. 61) suggests: 'it seems to indicate that much of Haridās's appeal for his contemporaries was as a singer of great skill'.

### 8. Haridās and Akbar

Another very popular motif from Haridās's hagiography is the tale of his meeting with Akbar. The early eulogies refer to Haridās's detachment from worldly enjoyments and power, mentioning kings as an example of the latter: 'The lord of gods, kings, gold, beautiful women were like a mere blade of grass to him' (Vyās), 'He did not care about anyone - pauper or king' (Dhruvdās). A century later this aloofness is actually tested by kings (notice the unspecified use of *nṛpati* and *prathavīpati* see above, 2.5 and 2.6) coming to meet Haridās: 'Kings stand by his door in the hope of seeing him'<sup>59</sup> (Nābhādās); 'When a king comes near, seeing in him an obstruction, he does not look at him' (Uttamdās).

There is no mention of an encounter between Haridās and Akbar in Priyādās's commentary on *Bhaktamāl*. The absence of an allusion to the encounter between Akbar and Svāmī Haridās in the early materials suggests that this legend was not extant in the 16th and 17th centuries. The first reference to such a meeting is found again in Nāgaridās's *Pad prasaṅgamālā* (cf. above, 2.8). The story is then elaborated in Kiśordās's *Nijmat siddhānta* (cf. above, 2.9) and Lakṣmanadās's *Bhakta sindhu* (cf. above, 2.10). Upādhyāy (1983, pp. 42-43) argues against the reliability of these narrations, saying that if Akbar wanted to meet Haridās he would have summoned him to his court instead of going to Vrindaban and that Akbar would not have given money to feed the animals, but would have granted Haridās land, and there would certainly be a *farmān* for this donation (Ibid., p. 46).

The notion that Akbar went to Vrindaban is accepted by many authors<sup>60</sup>. However, this would still leave the question: if Akbar visited Vrindaban, did he meet Svāmī Haridās? Bṛhaspati and Sumitrākumārī tried to find mention of Svāmī Haridās in the

<sup>59</sup>Upādhyāy (1983, p. 23) argues that if *Bhaktamāl* referred to Akbar, the word used for him would have been *śāha*, *pātaśāha* or *samarāṭa*, rather than *nṛpati*.

<sup>60</sup>Govinda Śarmā *Siddhānt ratnākar* (Upādhyāy 1983, p. 27), Growse (1883, p. 221), Smith (1902, p. 445), M. B. Gosvāmī (1979, p. 79).

copious records of Akbar's peregrinations but without any success (Haynes 1974, p. 61). Bṛhaspati writes in his book *Khusro, Tānsen tatha anya kalākār* that no historian of Akbar's court refers to Svāmī Haridās whereas Abulfazal speaks in the first part of *Āine Akbarī* (pp. 537-547) of Madhu Sarasvatī, Madhusūdan, Nārāyaṇ Miśra, Harijī Sūr, Yadurūp, Nārāyaṇ, Madhu Bhaṭṭa, Gopīnāth, Bhāgīrāth, Bhattācārya and other Hindu saints (Upādhyāy, p. 44).

One of the arguments given in favour of the encounter between Svāmī Haridās and Akbar is the *padas* written by Bihārinidās, a disciple and probably a contemporary of Haridās, in which he speaks of Akbar: e.g. *dharmarūpa akabara prakāṣa tahā na kachu durāva bāhara bhītara hī lahai naṭa nāgara kau bhāva* (Upādhyāy 1983, p. 36). But the existence of such *sākhīs* does not prove anything because Akbar was famous for his religious tolerance, and because Bihārinidās himself is said to have been a minister at Akbar's court and therefore would have had observations on Akbar whether or not he met Svāmī Haridās. Another *pada*, this time allegedly composed by Tānsen, is again used as a proof of Haridās's and Akbar's meeting: *āyau āyau re brajamaṇḍala sāha chatrapatī akabara...* (M. B. Gosvāmī 1979, p. 79). This verse, however, could at most show that Akbar went to Braj, not that he met Svāmī Haridās there. The pictures presenting Akbar, Tānsen and Svāmī Haridās are used as testimonia for the encounter between Haridās and Akbar as well. However, as was shown in the previous subsection, they are probably of later date and their reliability is in question.

The meeting between Haridās and Akbar seems doubtful because both the historians at Akbar's court and the contemporary Hindu poets are silent about it<sup>61</sup>. Moreover the visit of a king to a holy man is an old, popular hagiographic motif (e.g. Sūrdās's *vārtā*, see Snell 1991b, pp. 70-73). Such motifs often tell us more about what is expected of a saint's biography than what is true of the saint's life<sup>62</sup>. As Delvoye (1992, p. 35) argues:

'The most unlikely meeting between the three [Haridās, Tānsen and Akbar] seems to stand as one more multi-faceted illustration of the traditional archetypal visit kings pay to saints, here under the impulse of some mystical verses sung in wonderful music, with all its stylised context: precipitate travel, unusual disguise, and fabulous imperial rewards rejected by the saint or even provoking angry reactions, which only holy men can afford to display in front of mighty rulers!'

## 5. Conclusions

The lack of reliable historical evidence, paired with the abundance of hagiographies characterised by imaginativeness, elusiveness and partisan zeal, makes a 'reconstruction' of the personality and life of Svāmī Haridās impossible. As is the case with many other such figures, the received hagiography (though followed by most authorities and

<sup>61</sup>About the image of Haridās in 19th-century Hindi texts on music, and pseudo-scholarly articles asserting his political role as a major influence on the emperor Akbar, see Delvoye 1992, pp. 30-33.

<sup>62</sup>Indeed the conflict between spiritual and mundane power is a typical topos in the hagiographies of *bhaktas* (see Pauwels 1994a, pp. 3-4 of chapter 2).

forming part of the accepted 'history' of Hindi literature) finds little corroboration in the available sources.

A possible hypothetical sketch of Haridās's life would read as follows: The active period of Haridās's life spanned the first three quarters of the sixteenth century. He was probably born in Rājpur; his *guru* was Āsudhīr. Being single (or widowed), Haridās came to Vrindaban at the age of 25 and started living as an ascetic. He was a skilful singer who composed *padas* in praise of his deities, Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī. Haridās probably had a number of disciples, among them his successor Viṭhal Vipul.

Illustration 1

The meeting of Akbar and Tānsen with Svāmī Haridās



## Chapter II

## Textual criticism

Manuscripts of the *Kelīmāl* and the *Aṣṭādaś siddhānta*

Before giving a detailed description of the MSS used, it is necessary to mention a few practical matters. References to *padas* in the MSS are according to 'serial number' - an assigned number based on uninterrupted numbering rather than the actual 'scribal number'. 'Standard number' applies to the serial number. Names of *rāgas* are not unified, but given in the spelling used in the MS discussed. The sigla of the manuscripts which are not from the collection of the Vrindaban Research Institute, and of the MSS which bear commentaries are abbreviations referring to some characteristics of these MSS or their provenance:

BR stands for the initials of Bābā Ratandās who kindly provided me with this MS;

PH is an abbreviation of 'photocopy', since I have seen only a photocopy of this MS;

NC stands for Nāgaridās's commentary; NCP for Nāgaridās's commentary *pada*, and NCM for Nāgaridās's commentary *mūla*;

RC stands for Rādhāśaraṇdās's commentary.

BI is an abbreviation of the name of the Bhaṇḍārkar Institute, Poona which is the provenance of this MS.

## 1. Manuscripts collated for the scholarly edition

## MS A

Vrindaban Research Institute, Vrindaban; Hindi MS 4060 [Cat. no. 1250 for 4060 A (AS) and 477 for 4060 B (KM)].

Folios: 38.  
 Size: 18.5 by 13.8 cm.  
 Lines: 9 per page.  
 Date: VS 1969 (AD 1912).  
 Scribe: Brajbāsinidās.  
 Place: -

The MS is complete and is written in black ink, with purple/ brown ink for *daṇḍas*, headings and the colophon. The text is enclosed by double purple margins. The folios have been sewn together as a book. The MS is in a relatively good condition, less so its second part. There are several emendments to the text in the margins, both of primary

and secondary origin. The MS contains AS and KM. After the traditional 18 *padas* of AS, MS A includes one more stanza, stating explicitly that this it is outside the corpus of the AS. The *pada* begins<sup>1</sup>:

[f. 5<sup>r</sup>] *gaho mana saba rasa ko rasa sāra.*

It is followed by a *dohā*:

*sama kisora jorī nata naī pragaṭa bhaī suṣa sāra;  
janama karama jina kau nahī sahaja vihāra ahāra.*

After this *dohā* the text of KM starts.

The stanzas are given in standard order. The *rāga* allocations correspond to those used in the majority of manuscripts. The numbering of the *padas* continues throughout the text, regardless of their grouping under different *rāga* headings. KM 85 is numbered 84 by scribal mistake.

The text begins:

[f. i<sup>r</sup>] *śrī guru caraṇa kamalebhyo namaḥ. śloka, aniruhusamārambhām sanakādika  
madhyamām. śrī nāradayutām śuddhām nimbārka parivṛaṃhitām. asmadācārya  
paryanṭām vande guru paramparām.*

This is followed by a *pada* dedicated to Āsudhīr, after which AS starts.

The text ends:

[f. 38<sup>v</sup>] *itī śrī rasika rājarājesvara ananya paramāvatara nitya kuṅjabihāra mūrti mahā  
madhura rasa pṛvartaka (?) ācārya śrī svāmī haridāsa jū kī mahā madhura rasa sānī bānī  
sāmpūrṇa. ślokana kī saṅkhyā 400. padasaṅkhyā 128. tāmē siddhānta ke pada 18  
rahasya ke pada 110. yā uparanta (?) jo hoyā to bhēta ke samajhanā.*

This is followed by the colophon:

*s. 1969 mi. cai. va. 30 ravau brajabāsiniidāsena [sic] liṣitam śubham.*

### Orthographic peculiarities

The MS prefers *-a* terminations to *-u* terminations for masculine nouns and *-a* theme to *-i* theme for verbal stems. The scribe of A has a partiality for using the monophthongs *e* and *o* rather than the correspondent diphthongs, but this is not followed consistently. There are a number of examples in which the diphthongs are used: *alaukika* (KM 2.2), *kau* (KM 5.2), *kidhau* (KM 6.1), *jauvata* (KM 15.1), *kedārau* (KM 32.3), *hrdai* (KM 57.1), *mārai* (KM 64.1), *nainani* (KM 74.2) etc.

Nasalisation is very rare in A. In a few cases A indicates nasalisation of vowels in a nasal consonantal environment: *prāṇa* (KM 63.3), *prēma* (KM 72.4), *jāna* (KM 74.3), *nācata* (KM 96.1). The tendency not to indicate nasalisation in A is so strong that sometimes it is omitted in words which are normally nasalised in Braj: *jyau* (KM 62.2, 78.4), *duhū* (KM 63.1); *dhūdhata* (KM 68.4), *lau* (KM 83.3), *kaudhau* (KM 92.4), *sācī* (KM 95.1), *hasī* (KM 105.2).

<sup>1</sup>For the text of the whole stanza see appendix II.

The MS is inconsistent over the use of *b* and *v*. In all cases but one *bāni* (KM 14.4) the scribe uses the graph *v*. In 15 occasions a dotted *v* is used to indicate the semivowel: *cirajīvo* (AS 11.4), *mavāsa* (KM 8.3), *subhāva* (KM 9.2, 76.1), *pīvata* (KM 9.2), *vārōgī* (KM 44.4), *bhāvarau* (KM 44.4), *juvatī* (KM 52.3), *va* (KM 53.2), *kubhāva* (KM 76.2), *dubhāva* (KM 76.3), *bhāva* (KM 76.4), *jāva* (KM 83.4), *palava* (KM 85.3), *vāri* (KM 86.4), *nava* (KM 94.1).

The MS distinguishes between *kh* and *ṣ* using different graphs for them. Only in five cases *kh* is written with *ṣ*: *bhāṣiye* (AS 2.2), *ṣaṭāta* (KM 24.3), *anaṣa* (KM 37.2), *kanaṣa* (KM 37.3) and *canaṣa* (KM 37.4). Most probably the use of *ṣ* in the last three cases is influenced by the fact that they constitute the final rhyme together with *dhanaṣa* (KM 37.1).

The scribe of A has reconstructed *tatsama ś* as opposed to *s* except for the following occurrences: *yasa* (AS 8.4), *syāma* (AS 16.3, KM 10.2, 16.2, 19.4), *syāmā* (KM 11.4), *śasi* (KM 29.3, 33.5), *prakāsa* (KM 30.2), *sobhā* (KM 41.2, 58.1, 103.2, 110.2), *sikha* (KM 77.3), *satarāñja* (KM 81.1), *asva* (KM 81.2), *sithila* (KM 87.2), *siṅgāra* (KM 103.3).

The MS shows a high degree of sanskritisation both in orthography and choice of *tatsama* forms. In some cases it shows *tatsama y* rather than *tadbhava j*: *yūtha* (KM 12.2), *yakṣa* (KM 42.2), *yāma* (KM 87.2). The scribe often uses retroflex *ṇ* rather than its dental counterpart: *prā(°ā)ṇa* (KM 40.4, 63.3, 64.3), *carāṇa* (KM 57.4), *kaṇa* (KM 58.1), *bihāriṇi* (KM 61.1), *śiromaṇi* (KM 72.3), *aruṇa* (KM 87.2) etc. The scribe of A opts for the *tatsama nṛtya* (KM 2.2), *janma* (KM 41.3), *śṛṅgāra* (KM 56.2) rather than the *tadbhava nirta*, *janama*, *siṅgāra*.

## MS B

Vrindaban Research Institute, Vrindaban; Hindi MS 11958 [Cat. no. 2707 for A (*Siddhānta ke pad*) and 1935 for B (KM)].

Folios: 8.  
Size: 16.5 by 25.3 cm.  
Lines: 20 per page.  
Date: -  
Scribe: -  
Place: -

This is an incomplete MS, which has been bound as a book, but does not have a cover. The writing is not very tidy, the lines are not straight, the size of letters changes a number of times. The text in the first folio is framed by a double lined rectangle, on the 2nd and 3rd folios there are only inner margins, and on folios 4, 5 and 6 there are no margins at all. The text is written in black and purple ink, occasionally red colour is put over the *daṇḍas*. There are marginalia and interlinear corrections.

The MS contains AS and KM, but only the first 38 *padas* of KM are preserved.

The text starts:

[f. 1] *śrīmannitya kuñjavihāriṇe namaḥ. atha ananya nrapati śrī śvāmī jī mahārāje kī bānī  
siddhānta ke pada likhyate.*

The last extant folio, 8<sup>v</sup>, finishes with KM 38.

After the 18 'standard' *padas* of AS there is the formula:

*iti śrī ananya nrapati śrī śvāmī jī mahārāja kī bānī siddhānta [sic] ke pada sampūranam.  
atha pada bheta [sic] ko.*

This is followed by *gaho mana...*, the extra stanza included also in MSS A, E, G and D. Then the text of KM starts immediately, without any heading. The *rāga* allocations follow the 'standard' when they are specified: in AS only the *rāgas* Vibhāsa and Kalyāna are indicated. The first *rāga*, Kānharau, of KM is not named either. The numbering of the available *padas* of KM continues throughout in the first two *rāga* groups.

### Orthographic peculiarities

The scribe of B has a preference for the diphthongs *ai* and *au* rather than the correspondent monophthongs. Spellings without the semivowels *v* and *y* are favoured: *bhāṣiai* (AS 2.2), *liai* (AS 3.3). There are only two occurrences of *-u* termination: *mīcu* (AS 4.4) and *karatu* (AS 10.1). *ī* is often written as a combination of the modern *devanāgarī* character for *i* and the non-initial diacritic for *ī*.

Nasalisation in MS B is rare. There are very few cases of conditioned nasalisation, e.g.: *kāma* (AS 3.3), *lāvānya* (AS 3.3), *māni* (AS 4.1). When the scribe has the choice between nasalised and unnasalised alternatives, he usually opts for the latter: *te* (AS 3.1, 14.3), *hī* (AS 1.1) etc. The scribe does not distinguish between *b* and *v*, using the graph *v* in all contexts. In most cases differentiation is made between etymological *kh* and *ṣ* and the correspondent graphs are used for them. There are two exceptions to this: *bhāṣiai* (AS 2.2), for which one would expect *kh* since the verb is a *tadbhava* rather than a *tatsama* form, and *manukhya* (AS 9.1) for which the opposite is true.

It seems that the scribe was under Bengali influence since he consistently chooses to use *ś* rather than *s*, even in the cases of etymological *s*. The graph *s* appears in all occurrences of *syāmā* and *haridāsa*, and the following instances: *sukha* (AS 2.3, 3.1), *so* (AS 2.3, 5.1, 7.1, 12.1, 2, 3, 4, 16.2), *sahmārana* (AS 5.1), *saba* (AS 7.1, 13.1), *sādha* (AS 7.2), *jaiso* (AS 7.3), *śaṃsāra* (AS 7.3), *saṃsāra* (AS 9.1), *kasūbha* (AS 7.3), *rasa* (AS 8.2), *siva* (AS 8.3), *samudra* (AS 9.1), *phandasa* (AS 9.2), *hasī* (AS 10.3), *sutani* (AS 12.3), *sira* (AS 12.4), *aisoī* (AS 13.1), *śācī* (AS 14.1), *sara* (AS 18.3), *sūdhau* (AS 18.3).



## MS C

Vrindaban Research Institute, Vrindaban; Hindi MS 4058 [Cat. no.1249 for 4058 A (*Siddhānta ke pad*) and 1935 for 4058 B (*Ras ke pad*)].

Folios: 73.  
 Size: 10.8 by 7.8 cm.  
 Lines: 5 per page.  
 Date: -  
 Scribe: -  
 Place: -

This is an incomplete MS written in black ink. Red ink is used for *daṇḍas* and headings. The first ten folios, folios 57, 72, 73, and the end of the MS, bearing part of KM (the stanzas after KM 95), are missing. The paper is badly worn. The folios have been sewn together. There are corrections in the text in black, red and purple ink.

The MS contains AS (only 7 *padas*) and KM (incomplete). It begins with the second line of *māi dhani* (an extra verse of AS, quoted also by MSS F, BR and BI) on folio 10<sup>r</sup> and finishes with KM 95 on folio 86<sup>v</sup>. The MS must have included two extra *padas* in this part of the corpus of AS, but only the last three lines of the second stanza are preserved. The basis for this assumption is the fact that the MS renumbers the AS stanzas from AS 13 onwards. In MS C, AS 13 bears the number 15 and comes after *māi dhani*. The sequence continues with the standard AS 14 which is not numbered. AS 15 to AS 18 are here AS 16 to AS 19. The text of AS finishes with another extra *pada*, which bears the number 20<sup>2</sup>. Its first line is as follows:

[f. 14<sup>r</sup>] *ita paravata palava ita muṣa muralī ita gopī sau rati.*

As in MS BR the extra *padas* are included before the formula *iti śrī siddhānta kai pada sampūrṇa*. The total number (20) of AS verses in MC BR and MS C is the same as well.

The sequence and *rāga* allocation of the KM stanzas is as in most of the manuscripts. The numbering of the *padas* is continuous rather than being separate for the different *rāga* groups.

#### Orthographic peculiarities

The scribe of C typically writes *haradāsa* for *haridāsa*; final *-i* of *i*-stem f. nouns is also often changed to *-a*: *dr̥ṣṭa* (KM 9.1); *pratīta* (KM 25.3); *mūrata* (KM 53.2); *sukānta* (KM 94.1) etc. Other peculiarities of the vowel treatment in C are the substitution of final *-a* of m. *-a* stem nouns with *-u* in direct case (see III 5.1.7); the approximation of -

<sup>2</sup>For the text of the entire stanza see appendix II.

*u* and *-ū*: *dūti* (KM 34.2); *catūra* (KM 81.2); *ātūratā* (KM 81.3), and the partiality for triphthongs: *taūū* (KM 40.1); *sauū* (KM 43.2); *bhauī* (KM 47.2); *tesaūī* (KM 50.3) etc.

There are a few examples of conditioned nasalisation in MS C: *nāñā* (KM 9.4), *māña* (KM 10.1), *mahimā* (KM 26.1) etc. There are a number of cases in which nasalisation is not noted in forms which are usually nasalised: *raga* (KM 2.3), *āṣini* (KM 6.1), *mūdi* (KM 6.2), *sācī* (KM 6.3), *paka* (KM 7.1), *sīca* (KM 55.3), *taraga* (KM 57.2), *asa* (KM 68.3), *sāti* (KM 78.4), *gujāra* (KM 85.2), *regani* (KM 89.3) etc. The scribe has a partiality for nasalising oblique and objective forms of the personal pronouns, and possessive pronouns: *maū* (KM 6.3, 17.2), *maūhi* (KM 10.3), *teraū* (KM 5.2, 7.1, 8.2, 15.1, 57.3, 58.1); *mairāū* (KM 44.1), *hamāraū* (KM 62.1). However, the former instances could be explained with conditioned nasalisation, and the latter with spontaneous nasalisation of peripheral vowels. In fact spontaneous nasalisation is very common in MS C. There are also numerous occurrences of nasalisation of peripheral vowels: *kedāraū* (KM 32.3), *sāvaraū* (KM 44.1), *gāvaraū* (KM 44.2), *jāvaraū* (KM 44.3), *ekaū* (KM 53.2), *jāḍaū* (KM 80.1) etc. Equally frequent is the nasalisation of long vowels, very often in the vicinity of a sibilant, *r* (*l*) or a palatal: *saūbhā* (KM 21.2), *saūila* (KM 46.2), *saūye* (KM 86.2); *bhaūri* (KM 33.2), *aūra* (KM 40.3, 53.3, 55.1, 82.3), *saraūvara* (KM 57.1), *ḍaūla* (KM 48.1), *silasilaū* (KM 49.2), *baūlani* (KM 85.1); *jaūri* (KM 31.1), *caūpara* (KM 82.4) etc. Nasalisation of postpositions, especially *kau* and its plural form is also a distinctive feature of this MS: *kaū* (KM 5.2, 4, 12.3, 4, 20.1); *kaī* (KM 8.2, 4, 47.4) etc.

The scribe has a partiality for using retroflex *ṛ*: *bharaṇa* (KM 4.2), *baraṇa* (KM 4.3), *carana* (KM 18.2, 49.4), *baraṇī* (KM 29.1), *ṛṇa* (KM 33.7), *guṇa* (KM 40.1), *pūraṇa*<sup>o</sup> (KM 49.2) etc.

Most often the scribe does not distinguish between *b* and *v* and uses the graph *v* generally. In 23 cases only he uses dotted *v* to differentiate *v* from *b*: *palava* (KM 3.3), *māvāsa* (KM 8.3), *pīvata* (KM 9.2), *bhāvate* (KM 11.3), *gāvata* (KM 12.1, 19.1), *ūpajāvata* (KM 12.2), *lajāvata* (KM 12.3), *ve* (KM 13.2), *bajāvata* (KM 14.2, 19.1), *jauva* (KM 15.1), *pāvata* (KM 28.2), *ṣavāvata* (KM 32.2, 53.2), *jīvata* (KM 35.2), *sāvaraū* (KM 44.1), *gāvaraū* (KM 44.2), *pāva* (KM 45.3), *jagāvata* (KM 47.2), *va* (KM 47.3, 53.2) and *dhurāvata* (KM 53.2).

The scribe uses the graph *ṣ* for both etymological *ṣ* and *kh*. In only 3 cases he employs the graph *kh*: *rākhyāū* (KM 9.1) and *mukha* (KM 11.4, 33.2). Twice the dental sibilant occurs instead of its retroflex counterpart: *bhāsā* (KM 33.4) and *nīrasī* (KM 50.3).

Etymological *ś* has in most instances been replaced by *s*, apart from the conjunct *śr* and the following exceptions: *kiśora* (KM 3.2, 33.1, 52.3), *kiśaura* (KM 56.2, 65.4), *kiśaurī* (KM 19.2), *kiśorī* (KM 33.1) and *daśana* (KM 36.2).

## MS D

Vrindaban Research Institute, Vrindaban; Hindi MS 4402 (Cat. no. 815).

Folios: 171 (40+4+13+4+104+6).

Size: 21.5 by 16 cm.

Lines: 15-16 per page.

Date: -

Scribe: -

Place: -

The MS is complete. The text is written in a beautiful and clear hand, in black ink; red ink is used for *daṇḍas* and headings. The left and right margins of the text are delineated by a double line. The folios are sewn together and bound in a yellow and red striped cloth. The first three folios are blank, followed by a folio listing content. There are very few interlinear corrections or marginalia.

The MS bears six texts: *Nāgaridās jī kī bāṇī*, *Rasik nāmāvalī Uttamdās*, *Harilāl Vyās kari ek kavitta*, *Svāmī Haridās jī kī bāṇī*, *Viṭṭhal Vipul jī kī bāṇī*, *Bihārinidās jī kī bāṇī* and *Canda Lāl Gusāī kī bāṇī*.

The text of *Svāmī Haridās jī kī bāṇī* begins:

[f. i<sup>r</sup>] *śrī kuñjabihārana kuñjabihārī jayati. atha śrī svamī [sic] haradāsa jī kī bāṇī liṣyate.*

Ends:

[f. 13<sup>v</sup>] *iti śrī svamī haridāsa jī kī bāṇī sampūraṇam.*

The MS includes the 'standard' 18 *padas* of AS in their usual sequence and *rāga* allocation. They are followed by verse no. 19, which is identical with the extra *pada* quoted by MSS A, G and E, but unlike them, MS D includes it in the corpus of AS. The order and *rāga* allocations of the *padas* of KM in MS D are as in the majority of manuscripts. There is no separate numbering sequence for the verses of AS and KM, so the numbering starts with AS and reaches the figure 129 at the end of KM.

### Orthographic peculiarities

The scribe has a partiality for *-a* terminations rather than *-i* terminations in feminine nouns: *dāmina* (KM 1.1), *dr̥ṣṭa* (KM 4.2), *prīta* (KM 5.2), *prakṛta* (KM 5.3), *surata* (KM 21.4), *sānta* (KM 34.4); for *-a* theme rather than *-i* theme in verbal stems and absolutes: *chāḍa* (KM 25.3), *sāja* (KM 26.3), *uṭhaṅga* (KM 31.4), *ghura* (KM 32.3), *liṣa* (KM 36.2), *mila* (KM 66.2), *badala* (KM 73.1), *uṭha* (KM 80.3), *mora* (KM 105.3); and for *-ta* termination rather than *-ti* termination in the feminine imperfective participles: *upajata* (KM 45.2), *hota* (KM 75.1) etc.

There is one occurrence of *i* written as a combination of the character for *i* and the non-initial diacritic, *ihī* (KM 4.2).



Nasalisation is not very common in MS D. It occurs most often with adverbs: *jaisāi* (KM 1.1, 13.3, 29.2), *aisāi* (KM 3.1, 7.4), *haraī* (KM 20.4) etc. There are a few cases of conditioned nasalisation: *syāma* (KM 1.1), *tānaū* (KM 3.3), *prāna* (KM 10.3) etc. Unlike MS C, spontaneous nasalisation in D is an exception rather than the rule: *thāūra* (KM 6.3), *atarāūṭā* (KM 21.3). There are a number of words in which nasalisation is not marked in forms where it is expected: *mūda* (KM 6.2), *pījarā* (KM 9.1), *sigāra* (KM 13.1), *ḍhūḍhata* (KM 15.4), *agiyā* (KM 21.3), *lau* (KM 78.4), *kaudhi* (KM 96.3), *hasata* (KM 108.3) etc.

The scribe of D does not differentiate between *b* and *v* and uses the graph *v* in all contexts. There are only two exceptions to this: *bacana* (KM 5.3), where the graph *b* is employed, and *bhavara* (KM 86.3), where dotted *v* obviously designates the semivowel as opposed to the labial.

The scribe uses the graph *ṣ* for etymological *ṣ*, and *ṣ* and *kh* for etymological *kh*. The latter two are used in a haphazard way: *mukha* (KM 21.3) and *muṣa* (KM 98.2); *dekhata* (KM 75.2) and *deṣata* (KM 98.3); *sukha* (KM 28.2) and *suṣa* (KM 32.1); *sakhī* (KM 63.3) and *saṣī* (KM 100.3); *dikhāvata* (KM 66.1) and *diṣāvata* (KM 96.3) etc.

Etymological *ś* has been replaced by *s* apart from the conjunct *śr* and the following: *śiva* (AS 8.3), *kiśaurai* (KM 3.2), *kiśora* (KM 19.2, 56.2, 72.1, 89.4, 110.1), *kiśorī* (KM 19.2, 33.1), *śasi* (KM 29.3, 33.5, 77.2), *śobhā* (KM 41.2), *baṁśī* (KM 57.4), *sudeśa* (KM 77.1, 2, rhyming with *sudesa* 77.3, 4), *śiṣa* (KM 77.3) and *vaṁśī* (KM 99.3).

## MS F

Vrindaban Research Institute, Vrindaban; Hindi MS 17136 (Cat. no. 2400).

Folios: 139 (12+1+10+2+2+1+45+6+9+2+49).

Size: 22.5 by 29.5 cm.

Lines: 27 per page.

Date: -

Scribe: Rām (?)

Place: -

This MS is incomplete. It is in poor condition, the paper is badly damaged by insects. It is bound as a book, covered with green cloth. The text is enclosed by double red margins. It is written in black ink, the headings are in red. There are many corrections and emendments both in the margins and within the text.

It contains 11 works: *Vairāgya sār* by Nāgarīdās, *Vaṁśāvalī brajrāj evaṁ priyā jū kī*, *Svāmī Haridās jī ke pad*, *Vīṭhal Vipul ke pad*, *Rādhā supratāp* and *Dharma vicār* by Svāmī Caturbhuj, *Bhāgavata daśam skandha* and *Rās pañcādhyāy* by Nandadās, *Pad prasaṅga mālā* and *Bhakti sār* by Nāgarīdās, and *Vinay patrika* by Tulsīdās.

There is a colophon after Nandadās's *Rās pañcādhyāyī*:

[f. 67<sup>r</sup>] *iti śrī nandadāsa kṛta pañcādhyāyī sampūrṇa samāpta. liṣyate rāma.*

*Svāmī Haridās jī ke pad* contains both KM and AS. Like MS BR, F includes two more stanzas after AS 13: *māi dhanya ...* and *lāla merā...*The *rāga* distribution of the KM *padas* and their order follow the 'standard' with a few exceptions:

1. KM 105 is included twice: as *pada* no. 25 among the stanzas in *rāga* Kānharau and as *pada* no. 8 within the group of *rāga* Gaurī.
2. KM 109 is in F *pada* 6 in Vilāvali group.
3. Vibhāsa is substituted here by *rāga* Vilāvali.
4. KM 87 and KM 96 are omitted.
5. Two *padas*, KM 25 and KM 26, are numbered 26 in *rāga* Kānharau.

The numbering within the different *rāga* groups is separate.

### Orthographic peculiarities

MS F shows partiality for -u ending of -a stem m. nouns direct (see III 5.1.7) and -*tī* ending for the feminine form of the imperfective participles: *cāhati* (KM 18.3), *deti* (KM 39.1), *karati* (KM 39.1, 43.3, 51.3), *nacāvati* (KM 60.1), *kahati* (KM 66.3), *bolati* (KM 76.1), *rahati* (KM 93.3), *ṣelati* (KM 104.2) etc.

Nasalisation is not common in MS F: there are few occurrences of conditioned or spontaneous nasalisation. Nasals are omitted in a number of words where they are usually included: *āṣani* (KM 5.1), *acarā* (KM 20.3), *kujabihārī* (KM 84.1) etc.

The scribe distinguishes between *b* and *v*, using the graph *v* for the labial, and dotted *v* for the semivowel. This is done consistently, with very few exceptions where *v* has not been marked with a dot: *gāvata* (KM 32.4), *bhuva* (KM 42.2), *harive* (KM 77.3) etc.

The graph *ṣ* is employed both for etymological *ṣ* and *kh*.

Etymological *ś* is consistently substituted with *s*. The only exceptions to this are: the occurrences of the conjunct *śr* and the following: *kiśora* (KM 3.2, 19.2, 52.3, 56.2, 65.4, 72.1, 110.1), *kiśorī* (KM 19.2, 33.1), *kiśorani* (KM 89.4), *daśana* (KM 36.2) and *aśva* (KM 81.2).

### **MS G**

Vrindaban Research Institute, Vrindaban, Hindi MS 12574 (Cat. no. 2398).

Folios: 390.

Size: 15.6 by 22.5 cm.

Lines: 20 per page.

Date: VS 1812 (AD 1755).  
 Scribe: Rāmkrṣṇa.  
 Place: Vrindaban.

This is the oldest dated MS among the available manuscripts of Svāmī Haridās's works. Because of the extremely poor condition of the paper it has undergone repair and as a result of this it is not any longer sewn as a book, but consists of separate folios. It is written in a beautiful and clear hand and the text is framed by a five-lined rectangle consisting of: one black line, a thick golden line, two narrow black lines and one red line. The first folio has second margins in the same pattern. There are both marginalia and interlinear corrections. The MS contains *Aṣṭācāryō kī bāṇī* of which Svāmī Haridās's *padas* comprise the first 19 folios.

The text starts in a similar way to the text of MS E:

[f. 1<sup>v</sup>] *śrī kuñjabihāriṇe namaḥ. śrī kuñjabihārī bihārini jū jayati.*

This is followed by the *śloka* describing the *guru paramparā* of the Nimbārka *sampradāya* and the *sākhī* dedicated to Āsudhīr, which are quoted also in MS E.

The text of Svāmī Haridās's *padas* ends:

*ti śrī svāmī haridāsa kī bāṇī sampūrna. śloka kī saṅkhyā 400. ...128. tāmē  
 siddhānta ke 18 rahasi ke 110....hoi siddhānta ko tathā rahasi ko pada..bheṭa ko  
 jāniye. śrī muṣa bacana parapāṭī sō liṣi pada. dohā. samē samē ke pada kahe a  
 vasyā...bicāri. taba niraṣo muṣa madhurī je karata .... bihāra.*

The colophon is as below:

[f. 390<sup>v</sup>] *saṁvata 1815 tatra māgha māse śukla pakṣe... bāsare śrī bṛndābana  
 madhye...rāmākṣṇena. saba pothī kī saṅkhyā 7730.<sup>3</sup>*

The order of the stanzas and *rāga* allocations is as in the majority of manuscripts. MS G, like MS A and E, includes *gaho mana...* after the standard corpus of the AS. MS G follows exactly the numbering system of MS E with only one exception, KM 110 is no. 8 in E, but no. 1 in G.

### Orthographic peculiarities

The verbal stem has the theme *-i* more often than *-a*, the masculine noun the termination *-a* more often than *-u* and the pl. suffix is *-ni* rather than *-na*.

The scribe often shows conditioned nasalisation, especially with regard to *ā* where the nasalisation is marked by a very distinctive *candrabindu* turned upside down<sup>4</sup>. The nasalisation of *ī* is noted by an *anusvāra* before the *akṣara* rather than after it.

The scribe is consistent in distinguishing between *b* and *v* by using a dotted character when it stands for the semivowel rather than the labial. (There are very few

<sup>3</sup>Because of the poor condition of the paper parts of the colophon are unreadable, designated here by [...].

<sup>4</sup>See illustration 2.

exceptions to this: *janābara* (AS 1.4), *uṭhāibe* (KM 62.3), *jubatī* (KM 75.3), *uṭhibe* (KM 86.1), *nabīna* (KM 91.1) and *pabitra* (KM 91.4). A dot is never written when the semivowel is the second member of a conjunct: *svāmī*, *asva*, *sarvada*. The use of dotted *y* is not so consistent. Both the letters for the semivowel *y* and its palatal counterpart *j* are used, but the scribe sometimes marks the etymological *y* with a dot as well. This is not done consistently, there are only 51 occurrences of dotted *y* in the whole MS. Most often the dot is supplied in the forms of the demonstrative pronoun, in perfective participles and passives.

The scribe consistently uses *ṣ* for both *kh* and *tatsama ṣ*, and *s* for both *s* and *tatsama ś*, except for words in which *ś* is the first component of a conjunct (there *ś* is used consistently): *śrī*, *śrama*, *śruti*, *śradhā*. The graphs for *jh*, and for *u* following *dh* are characteristic<sup>5</sup>; initial *ai* is written as a combination of the character for *a* and the non-initial diacritic for *ai*.

## MS H

Vrindaban Research Institute, Vrindaban; Hindi MS 17504 (Cat. no. 2401).

Folios: 211 (130+19+5+55).

Size: 16 by 21.4 cm.

Lines: 16-17 per page.

Date: -

Scribe: -

Place: -

This is a complete MS, bound in a cloth with floral pattern which is badly dilapidated and frayed. The paper is damaged by insects. The MS is written in black ink, with red for *rāga* names. The text is enclosed by double red lines. The MS has a large number of marginalia and interlinear corrections both *pr. m.* and *sec. m.* The latter contribute to the importance of this MS, because of their apparent sectarian nature. The 'editor' has overwritten all passages which contradict in any manner the later development of the theology of the sect. This is one of the two manuscripts (the other one being F) which has the largest number of readings not shared by any other MS.

The MS bears four texts: *Biharinidās jī kī bāṇī*, *Svāmī Haridās jī ke pad*, *Vīṭhal Vipul jī ke pad* and *Bihārindās jī ke pad*.

*Svāmī Haridās jī ke pad* starts:

[f. 130<sup>r</sup>] *śrī svāmī haridāsa jaya.*

Ends:

[f. 149<sup>v</sup>] *itī bihāra rasa pūraṇa. dohā. śrī svāmī haridāsa kī bāṇī adbhuta sindhu. paḍhai sunai hita pīti saṅī lahai saṅī suṣa bandhu.*

<sup>5</sup>See illustrations 2 and 3.

*Svāmī Haridās jī ke pad* includes the text of KM only. It adds two more stanzas<sup>6</sup> to the standard 110 *padas*, inserting them in the corpus of the text:

KM 59 *surata raṅga hiṅḍorē jhūlata prītama pyārī;*

KM 11 *pyārī kaṅkana bādhyau bhale lāla hau tau ṣoli.*

The order of stanzas here differs from that found elsewhere, as does the order of *rāgas*. The groupings of *padas* under *rāga* headings is maintained with the following exceptions: KM 109, which is usually in *rāga* Gaurī (or *rāga* Naṭa), is here in *rāga* Vibhāsa, and KM 96 is here in *rāga* Malāra rather than Gauṛa malāra.

### Orthographic peculiarities

MS H shows a tendency for writing *-a* for *-i* in f. *-i* stem nouns: *dr̥ṣṭa* (KM 9.1), *prakṛta* (KM 14.3), *surata* (KM 21.4), *sukānta* (KM 94.1); for substituting medial *-a-* with *-u-*: *samujhāi* (KM 51.2), *paluva* (KM 85.3), and especially for writing m. *a*-stem nouns in direct case with final *-u* (see III 5.1.7). Often H reads *-ti* for f. imperf. ptcs.: *deti* (KM 21.2); *bolati* (KM 37.4); *karati* (KM 51.3, 75.3); *diṣāvati* (KM 66.1); *naṭati* (KM 94.2) etc.

The scribe of MS H does not show any special partiality for nasalisation. There are occasional occurrences of nasalisation of pronouns: *tū̃* (KM 43.3), *merī̃* (KM 70.1), *terē̃* (KM 97.1); nasalisation of postpositions: *kē̃* (KM 61.2, 89.4), *kī̃* (KM 67.4); conditioned nasalisation: *sēna* (KM 80.1), *māni* (KM 80.4), *naīna* (KM 87.2) and spontaneous nasalisation: *caūpa* (KM 81.3), *kārī̃* (KM 96.3).

The scribe of H distinguishes between *b* and *v* in a more or less consistent manner, using the graph *v* for *b* and dotted *v* for *v*. However, he does not differentiate between etymological *ṣ* and *kh*, but employs the graph *ṣ* for both of them. Etymological *ś* is almost completely replaced by *s*, apart from the occurrences of the conjunct *śr* (except *sramita*, KM 40.3) and the following lexical items: *kiśora* (KM 3.2, 19.2, 52.3, 56.2, 65.4, 110.1), *kiśorī* (KM 19.2, 33.1, 89.4), *kiśorani* (KM 89.4) and *baṁśī* (KM 99.3).

### MS I

Vrindaban Research Institute, Vrindaban; Hindi MS 17733 [Cat. no. 1936 for A (KM) and 2707 for B (AS)].

Folios: 36.

Size: 20 by 10 cm.

Lines: 7 per page.

Date: VS 1942 (AD 1885).

Scribe: Gopāldās Śarmā.

<sup>6</sup>For the whole text of the stanzas see appendix II



Place: -

This MS is complete and well preserved. The folios have been sewn together. It is written in a very clear hand, in black ink. From folio 31 red colour is occasionally put over the numbers of *padas* and *rāga* headings.

There are corrections both within the text and in the margins. A later hand has underlined some passages with a pen.

The MS contains both KM and AS. Unlike all other manuscripts it starts with KM rather than AS.

The text begins:

[f. 1<sup>v</sup>] *śrī kuñjabihāri bihārani jī. atha ananya nīpati śrī svāmī haridāsa jī ke pada parama ujvala siṅgāra rasa ke likhyate.*

Finishes:

[f. 36<sup>r</sup>] *iti siddhānta ke pada sampūrṇam yā uparānta hoi so bheṭa kau jāniyē śrī hastākṣara gopāladāsa śarmā mitī śrāvāṇa sudī 15 maṅgalavāra saṃ. 1942.*

The order of stanzas and *rāga* distribution follow the standard except for KM 109 which, as in BR, is allocated to *rāga* Naṭa rather than *rāga* Gaurī. There are no extra *padas* added to the standard corpus of 110+18. The numbering of stanzas in KM is consistently separate within the different *rāga* groups, whereby the last *pada* of each group is followed by both its number in the group and the corresponding number within the entire corpus of KM.

### Orthographic peculiarities

MS I shows a tendency of substituting final *-i* of f. *-i* stem nouns with *-a*: *bāna* (KM 14.4); *surata* (KM 21.4); *bhūma* (KM 89.3); *sukānta* (KM 94.1), and for writing *-ti* rather than *-ta* for f. imperf. ptcs.: *sidhārati* (KM 5.2); *alāpati* (KM 14.1); *deti* (KM 39.1, 76.3); *jāgati* (KM 47.2); *nacāvati* (KM 60.1); *chipāvati* (KM 97.2); *upajati* (KM 110.3) etc.

Nasalisation is not very persistent in MS I. Conditioned nasalisation is quite common: *syāmā* (KM 2.4, 3.4, 4.4, 11.4, 13.4, 24.4 etc.), *unamāna* (KM 14.3), *jōnha* (KM 21.2), *baīnī* (KM 29.2) etc. There are some cases of spontaneous nasalisation as well: *sōhanī* (AS 12.1), *jhūṭhī* (AS 14.1, KM 65.3), *bāhu* (KM 11.4), *gāṭhōdha* (KM 25.3) etc.

The scribe uses the graph *v* for *b*, and dotted *v* for *v*, more or less consistently. He does not distinguish between etymological *ṣ* and *kh*, employing the graph *ṣ* for both. There are two exceptions to this, in which the graph *kh* is used: *mukha* (KM 11.4 and 63.2).

Etymological *ś* is replaced by *s* in all cases, apart from the occurrences of the conjunct *śr* and the following lexes: *śiva* (AS 8.3), *kiśora* (KM 3.2, 19.2, 52.3, 56.2,

65.4, 72.1, 89.4, 110.1), *kiśorī* (KM 19.2, 33.1), *kiśorani* (KM 89.4), *prakāśa* (KM 30.2) and *aśva* (KM 81.2).

## MS J

Vrindaban Research Institute, Vrindaban; Hindi MS 20914 (not yet catalogued).

Folios: 46 (33+9+1+3).

Size: 17.5 by 13.5 cm.

Lines: 10 per page.

Date: *śāka saṃvata* 1780 (AD 1858).

Scribe: Bhāndās.

Place: -

This MS has been sewn as a book. The first folio is blank. The text is enclosed by double red margins. It is written in black, the headings are in alternating red and black letters, the *daṇḍas* are in red. The paper is badly damaged in the upper right corner. There are some marginalia and interlinear corrections.

The MS bears five works: Svāmī Haridās's KM and AS, *Vīṭhal Vipuljī kī bāṇī*, and Bihārinidās's *Haridās nām mālā* and *Maṅgal pad*.

Svāmī Haridās's *padas* occupy the first 33 folios of the MS.

The text starts:

[f. 1<sup>v</sup>] *śrī kuñjabihārī bihārani jī atha ananya nīpati śrī svāmī haridāsa kī bāṇī prathama siddhānta ke pada liṣyate.*

Ends:

[f. 46<sup>r</sup>] *iti śrī maṅgala samāptoyam. śrī śubhamastu saṃvat 19. śāke 1780 śrāvaṇa badi 6 guruvāsare liṣatam bhānadāsa.*

The order of the *padas* and their allocation to *rāga* groups is as in the majority of manuscripts. J follows BR and I in classifying KM 109 among the stanzas of *rāga* Naṭa rather than *rāga* Gaurī. The numbering of the verses continues consistently throughout the entire text until *pada* 100 inclusive. From stanza 101 it starts anew.

### Orthographic peculiarities

Nasalisation is moderate in MS J. There are a number of examples of conditioned nasalisation: *svāmī* (KM 3.4, 8.4 etc), *jōnha* (KM 21.2), *kaḥānī* (KM 46.3), *laṭapaṭāṇī* (KM 55.4), *syāmā* (KM 67.4), *raīnī* (KM 86.2), *bīnā* (KM 106.1). The *anusvāra*, showing the nasalisation of *i/ī* is written sometimes before and sometimes after the vowel.

The scribe of J differentiates between *v* and *b*, and uses the graph *v* for *b* and dotted *v* for *v* relatively consistently. In three cases only a similar rule is followed to

distinguish between *j* and *y*: in *bhāṣiyai* (AS 2.2), *piya* (KM 104.3) and *chiyā* (KM 109.1) dotted *y* is used to differentiate the semivowel from the palatal.

The graph *ṣ* is used for both etymological *ṣ* and *kh*.

Etymological *ś* is almost completely replaced by *s* with the exception of the conjunct *śr* and the forms of *kiśora*: *kiśore* (KM 3.2), *kiśora* (KM 19.2, 52.3, 56.2, 65.4, 89.4), *kiśorī* (KM 19.2, 33.1), *kiśaura* (KM 72.1, 110.1) and *kiśorani* (KM 89.4). The opposite substitution, *ś* for *s*, occurs in KM 1.4 and KM 2 (which are written in the margins, maybe by another hand): *śama baiśa baiśe*; *raśa ke śamudra* and *śvāmī*.

## MS BR

Haridāsī Sevā Samsthān, Haridās Nagar, Vrindaban.

Folios: 325.

Size: 19 by 29 cm.

Lines: 16 per page.

Date: VS 1881 (AD 1824).

Scribe: -

Place: -

The manuscript is complete and is written in black ink with red ink for *daṇḍas*, name of *rāgas* and other headings. The first folio is ornamented. The text is enclosed by double red margins. The folios have been sewn together as a book. The MS is in good condition, though some of the pages are slightly insect-damaged. Several corrections of the text have been made in the margin by the scribe and by a later hand.

The MS contains *Aṣṭācāryō kī bāñī* of which Haridās's works take the first fifteen folios. Both AS and KM are included. The order of stanzas is that followed by most sources. Two more verses<sup>7</sup> are added between the 'standard' stanzas thirteen and fourteen of the AS and this makes its length twenty instead of eighteen *padas*. The stanzas begin:

AS 14 *dhanya ve gāi vaccha veī je vaṃśa rasa pīvata;*

AS 15 *lāla mere dūdha kī dohanī.*

Like MS A, MS BR gives the text of the AS under the heading *Jīv siksā ke pad*. The *rāga* headings of KM and AS are in agreement with the majority of sources, except for the last five stanzas of AS, which are under the heading *rāga Varārī* (?), instead of Kalyāna, and KM 109 which here is in *rāga Naṭa* rather than Gaurī. The sequence of the *padas* within the different *rāga* groups is as the 'standard'. The numbering of the stanzas of KM is separate for every *rāga* unit.

The MS begins:

[f. i<sup>r</sup>] *śrī matritya [sic] kuñjabihārī rādhā kṣṇai vijyate mām. śrī haridāso*

<sup>7</sup>For the whole text of the stanzas see appendix II.

*jayati*

The KM ends on f. 15<sup>v</sup>:

*iti śrī svāmī haridāsa jī ke pada jīva sikṣā vā ujvala śṛṅgāra rasa ke sampūrṇa. dhruva  
130.*

This is followed by a *kavitta* enumerating the *rāgas* used in KM. After quoting stanzas composed by the *aṣṭācāryas* in praise of Svāmī Haridās, the MS then continues with the poetry of Viṭhal Vipul.

The MS finishes with a colophon on f. 325<sup>r</sup>:

*iti śrī lalitakiśoridāsa jī ko janama divasādi sampūrṇam śrī svāmī jū ādi anta (?) aura  
sarva bānī sampūrṇam sampvata 1881 āṣāḍha badi 30 ravivāra śubham.*

### Orthographic peculiarities

The MS typically reads *haridāsi* for *haridāsa*. The scribe has a definite partiality for the monophthong *o* rather than the diphthong *au* where the two are alternatives.

Nasalisation is moderate in MS J. There are very few occurrences of conditioned nasalisation: *ghāna* (KM 1.1), *syāmā* (KM 7.4) etc. Spontaneous nasalisation is not common either: *hāṭa* (AS 18.3), *pūchi* (KM 25.2), *pyāri* (KM 35.1) etc. There are a few examples of nasalisation of pronouns, especially of the personal pronoun *tū*: *tū* (KM 5.1, 10.2, 16.1, 17.1, 40.4, 43.4, 79.3 etc). Most of the adverbs are not nasalised: *jaise* (KM 6.1), *aise* (KM 10.3), *nike* (KM 12.1), *hare* (KM 20.4), *āge* (AS 4.3, KM 46.1, 106.1). In some cases nasalisation is omitted in lexes in which it is usually expected: *bādhe* (KM 14.2), *ḍhūḍhata* (KM 15.4), *kaudhai* (KM 21.3), *hasata* (KM 32.1, 108.3), *bhātina* (KM 32.2), *ākḥina* (KM 35.2), *bhohana* (KM 39.3), *bhāvati* (KM 102.2) etc.

There are only three occurrences of retroflex *ṇ* in the MS: *caraṇa* (AS 9.4, 11.2) and *prāṇa* (KM 22.2). The scribe is not consistent in his usage of *tatsama y* or *tadbhava j*: both *yamunā* (KM 33.7) and *sundarjatā* (KM 42.3) are to be seen.

The scribe writes *ḍh* and *ṭh* in the same way<sup>8</sup>.

The scribe of BR distinguishes between *b* and *v* by using the graph *v* for the labial, and *v* with a dot for the semivowel. However this distinction is not consistent. Difference is made between etymological *kh* and *ṣ* as well. The former is written with the graph *kh* and the latter with the graph *ṣ*. There are only a few exceptions to this rule: in *ṣaṭāta* (KM 24.3) and *niraṣi* (KM 106.3) *kh* is written with the graph *ṣ*. The same applies to *anaṣa* (KM 37.2), *kanaṣa* (KM 37.3) and *canaṣa* (KM 37.4), probably because of their rhyming with *dhanuṣa* (37.1), which has an etymological *ṣ*.

On the whole *tatsama ś* is replaced by *s*. Apart from the occurrences of the conjunct *śr*, the following are deviations from this pattern: *śiva* (AS 8.3), *kiśora* (KM 3.2, 19.2, 52.3, 56.2, 65.4, 72.1, 89.4, 110.1), *kiśorī* (KM 19.2), *kiśorani* (KM 89.4), *śānti* (KM

<sup>8</sup>See illustration 4.

34.4), *baṃśī* ‘fishing line’ (KM 57.4), *aṃśa* (KM 68.3), *baṃśī* ‘flute’ (KM 99.3), *daśa* (KM 106.2) and *daśana* (KM 106.3).

## MS PH

Haridāsī Sevā Saṃsthān, Vrindaban.

Folios: 271.

Size: -

Lines: 21 per page.

Date: VS 1823 (AD 1766).

Scribe: Nāgarīdās.

Place: Vrindaban.

Only a photocopy of a photocopy of this MS was made available to me, for which reason I cannot give a description of its appearance. Since the bad quality of this photocopy made reading the MS very difficult, the correctness of its transcription in the *apparatus criticus* cannot be guaranteed. The MS contains *Aṣṭācāryō kī bāṇī*, of which Haridās’s verses take the first seventeen folios.

The order of stanzas and *rāga* allocations here agree with the majority of manuscripts. The only difference is that instead of *rāga* Kalyāna, *rāga* Kānharau is introduced from AS 14 to AS 18. The numbering of the stanzas is very close to the model of MS G and MS E: from *pada* 1 to 52 throughout the text, from verse 52 separate for the different *rāga* groups (except for the two *padas* in *rāga* Vilāvala). Unlike manuscripts G and E, MS PH gives for the last *pada* of every *rāga* unit also the correspondent number within the entire corpus of KM.

The beginning of the text is unreadable.

The MS ends:

[f. 271] *iti śrī bāṇī ananya nṛpati śrī svāmī haridāsa śrī vipula bihāranidāsa jī śrī nāgarīdāsa jī sarasadāsa jī kṛṣṇadāsa jī navaladāsa jī śrī naraharīdāsa jī śrī rasikadāsa jī śrī kisorīdāsa jī kī sampūrana.*

This is followed by the colophon:

*saṃvata 1823 mīti phagaṇa sudi 2 likhatam śrī bṛndābana madhye dāsana dāsa nāgarīdāsa śrī svāmī. [sic] dāsa jī paṭhanārtha jo yā bāṇī ko paḍhaī sunē bicārē tina kō bāram bāram daṇḍavata.*

## Orthographic peculiarities

The MS shows a tendency for employing the monophthong *o* rather than the diphthong *au*. In verbal forms a preferred termination for the first person singular is *(h)ũ*, rather than *(h)aũ* or *(h)õ*.

The scribe of PH has a partiality for nasalisation, especially for conditioned nasalisation: *nēna* (KM 7.1), *unamāna* (KM 14.3), *bañī* (KM 29.2), *rasanā* (KM 40.1), *kūmakūma* (KM 56.2), *gūna* (KM 63.1, 90.3) etc. Conditioned nasalisation of *ā* can be

seen in most of the occurrences of *svāmī* and *syāma/syāmā* as well. The adverbs are usually nasalised. There are some cases of spontaneous nasalisation too: *kahā̃* (form of the verb *kah-*) (KM 11.2), *merē* (KM 22.3), *oraĩ* (KM 54.2) etc.

Distinction is made between the labial *b* and the semivowel *v*. The former is designated by the graph *v*, the latter by dotted *v*. This discrimination is carried through quite consistently.

The scribe does not differentiate between *kh* and *ṣ*, and denotes both with the graph *ṣ*. The only exception to this is *dekhata* (KM 6.1).

Etymological *ś* is replaced by *s* more rigidly than in the rest of the MSS. The graph *ś* occurs only in the conjunct *śr*, and in *kiśora* (KM 19.2) and *kiśorani* (KM 89.4).

## MS NC

Haridāsī Sevā Saṁsthan, Vrindaban.

Folios: 509.

Size: 23 by 15 cm.

Lines: 9 per page.

Date: VS 2020 (AD 1963).

Scribe: Rasikdās.

Place: Vrindaban.

This is a complete MS, written in black ink. The folios are separate. The MS is in very good condition. There are a few interlinear corrections.

The MS contains KM and Nāgarīdās's commentary. The text of KM is given at least twice: every *pada* is quoted in its entirety (NCP), then line by line (NCM), whereby every line is followed by the relevant part of the commentary. There are cases in which NCP and NCM disagree in important readings. Some *padas* are given more than one interpretation, and so the text of the verse as a whole, or line by line, is repeated again after the usual NCP and NCM: in the commentary of KM 1 both the *pada* and the *mūla* are cited a second time. The *mūla* of KM 14, 28, 38, 71, 72, 76, 83, 95, 104, 108 is given twice, and the *mūla* of KM 83 - three times, since the verse is interpreted in three different ways<sup>9</sup>. The second or third reading of the *pada/mūla* is not always identical to the first. As part of the commentary the MS includes appropriate verses by Bihārīnidās, Viṭṭhal Vipul, Narharīdās and other of the *aṣṭācāryas*.

The MS starts:

[f. i] *śrī svāmī śrī haridāsa jū kṛta kelimāla saṅka prārambha.*

Ends:

[f. 509] *itī śrī pītāmbaradeva jū ke kṛpāpātra śrī nāgarīdāsa jū kṛta śrī svāmī jī kelimāla kī bhāvartha dīpikā ṭikā samāpta. jai jai śrī lalitā avatāri śrī haridāsī jū kī saraṇam.*

<sup>9</sup>NCM always refers to the text of the first *mūla*.

This is followed by the colophon:

*saṃvata 2020 sāvāna sudī 8 aṣṭmī vāra itavāra (ravivāra) sāna 1963 mahīnā jalāī tā 18 vāra ravivāra. hastākṣā [sic] śrī dāsānu dāsa haridāsī saraṇāgata (rasikadāsa) śrī haridāsī caraṇa reṇa. itī.*

The MS includes then a further *pada*, identical with one of the two extra stanzas in MS H: *pyārī kara kaṅkana bādhyau*.

This is followed by the formula: *itī śrī śraṅgāra pada samāpta*.

The order of *padas* in MS NC is as in the majority of manuscripts. MS NC includes as KM 89 the second extra stanza quoted by MS H:

[f. 415] *suratī hiṇḍorē jhūlata prītama pyārī*.

Consequently all the following verses increase their number with one and the number of *padas* incorporated in the body of KM (before the colophon) becomes 111. This is the only MS which does not give *rāga* allocations.

### Orthographic peculiarities

The scribe of NC has a partiality for lengthening *-i*: NCP: *bīcitra* (KM 4.1), *sīdhārata* (KM 5.1), etc.; NCM: *balī* (KM 6.3), *nīhārī* (KM 11.4), *suratī* (KM 14.3), *cīhārī* (KM 15.3), *sātī* (KM 78.4), *dr̥ṣṭī* (KM 105.4) etc.; NC: *rādhikā* (KM 18.3), *bhūmī* (KM 89.3). NC shows also a tendency of writing *-a* for final *-i* of f. *-i* stem nouns: *bāna* (KM 14.4:NCP), *pota* (KM 20.1), *pratīta* (KM 25.3), *sukānta* (KM 94.1) etc., and for approximating *-u* and *-ū*: *kasturī* (KM 26.3), *hūte* (KM 24.3:NCP); *ājū* (KM 30.3:NCP).

In both NCP and NCM spontaneous nasalisation is prevalent. There are numerous examples for this: NCP: *alaūkika* (KM 2.1), *kācha* (KM 14.2), *rāga* (KM 19.3), *chātī* (KM 56.4), *ghērā* (KM 75.3), *bhījāna* (KM 93.1) etc.; NCM: *adhaūṭī* (KM 61.2), *pēca* (KM 77.2), *ōcaka* (KM 104.3) etc.

Retroflex *ṇ* occurs more often in NCP than in NCM, but it is not common in either of them: NCP: *prāṇa* (KM 11.2), *prāṇanī* (KM 17.3), *carāṇa* (KM 18.2:NC), *guṇa* (KM 63.1) and *lāvāṇya* (KM 98.3); NCM: *prāṇa* (KM 40.4) and *maṇina* (KM 52.2).

The scribe of NC does not differentiate between *b* and *v*. The graph *v* is used for both the labial and the semivowel. Only in a few cases the graph *b* is employed: NCP: *bolata* (KM 14.1), *baṅka* (KM 18.2) and *bulāya* (KM 36.4); NCM: *bahuta* (KM 27.2), *chabi* (KM 29.1) and *saba* (KM 43.3).

In both NCP and NCM there are occurrences of the consonant *r* doubled by syllabic *r*: *pr̥ṛṅṅṭī* (KM 14.3), *tr̥ṇu* (KM 30.3), *ṇṛtata* [sic] (KM 52.3) etc.

Etymological *kh* and *ṣ* are denoted with the correspondent graphs. In both NCP and NCM there are a limited number of examples where *ṣ* is used for *kh*: NC: *anaṣa* (KM

37.2), *kanaṣa* (KM 37.3), *canaṣa* (KM 37.4), *niraṣi* (KM 63.3, 106.3) and *saṣi* (KM 63.3, 69.3, 87.3); NCP: *saṣi* (KM 104.1) and *saṣi* (KM 83.3); NCM *saṣi* (KM 83.3).

On the whole *tatsama ś* is replaced by *s* apart from the occurrences of the conjunct *śr*. In both NCP and NCM, though, there are many examples where *ś* is retained: NC: *śyāmā* (KM 1.4), *śyāma* (KM 16.3, 56.2), *śaṣi* (KM 29.3), *śasi* (KM 33.5, 40.3, 77.2), *prakāśa* (KM 30.2), *kiśorī* (KM 33.1), *kiśora* (KM 56.2, 65.4, 89.4, 110.1), *kiśoranī* (KM 89.4) and *niśi* (KM 93.3); NCP: *śyāma* (KM 1.1, 10.2, 19.4, 56.1, 92.4), *śyāmā* (KM 5.4), *kiśora* (KM 19.2, 52.3, 72.1), *kiśorī* (KM 19.2), *śuddha* (KM 23.3), *śobhā* (KM 41.2) and *niśi* (KM 94.3, 96.3); NCM: *kiśora* (KM 3.2), *śira* (KM 8.2), *śyāmatā* (KM 29.2), *śyāma* (KM 1.4, 64.2, 69.2, 78.4, 96.1, 104.4), *kuśama* (KM 68.2), *aṃśa* (KM 68.3), *niśi* (KM 72.2) and *aśva* (KM 81.2).

An interesting peculiarity of NC is that the masculine form of the perfective participle is usually written not with a conjunct of the previous consonant and *y*, but with two whole graphs: *mohayau*/<sup>o</sup> (KM 44.1), *rahayau* (KM 57.3:NCM, 61.1:NCP), *parayau* (KM 66.3), *kahayau* (KM 76.1:NCM) etc.

## MS RC1

Vrindaban Research Institute, Vrindaban, Hindi MS 20966 (not yet catalogued).

Folios: 56.  
Size: 29.5 by 16.7 cm.  
Lines: 13 per page.  
Date: -  
Scribe: -  
Place: -

This MS consists of separate folios which have not been sewn together. The paper is badly damaged. Folios 56 is numbered 57, there being no folio 56. The text is written in black ink, the headings are with alternating black and red *akṣaras*.

The MS contains KM *mūla* and two commentaries: Pītāmbardās's *Gūṛh ābhās ṭikā* and Rādhāśaraṇdās's *Vastu darśanī ṭikā*.

The text starts:

[f. 1<sup>v</sup>] *śrī mannitya nikuñjavihārīvihārīṇau jayati. śrī svāmī haridāsyā namaḥ.*

This is followed by verses which explain the background of the two *ṭikās* and enumerate the Nimbārkīs *guru paramparā*.

Ends:

[f. 58<sup>v</sup>] *caupaī. pada aṣṭottara śata kī mālā. raci haridāsī vipula rasālā. śrī guru deva sarasa rasa bhīnā [sic] śrī narahari rasika kṛpā sukha dinā. iti śrī svāmī pītāmbaradeva jū mahārāja kṛta śrī matkelimāla ke aṣṭottara śata padani kī ṭikā samāpta. śrī mahata rādhā śaran [sic] jū kṛta ṭikā vastu darśanī tākī samāptā.*



This is followed by a *dohā* - eulogy of Svāmī Haridās and Lalit Mohanīdās, and then by another formula:

*iti śrī mahanta rādhā śarana ju kṛta ṭikā bhāvārtha eka sau dasa padani kī vastu darśani  
nāma samāpta.*

A *kavitta* (identical with that of MS BR), which enumerates all the *rāgas* in KM, is given. The final formula is:

*svāmī haridāsa ju bilāsa rāsa rasa hī kai bhāva dekhī lai dikhāi rīta ati nyari jū. padhai  
sūnai bicāre bhāva sāgara mai dabi marajiyā paiṭha lāvai bihāra pyāri jū. aura koū pada  
hoi tāhi bheṭa [sic] jāni linai.*

The order of stanzas and *rāga* allocations follow the 'standard' with the exception of the first 30 *padas* which are under the heading *rāga* Kādārau instead of Kānharau. This, however, is probably only a scribal mistake because after *pada* 30 there is again a heading *rāga* Kedārau as it is in the rest of manuscripts. There is no *rāga* heading for the *rāgas* Vibhāsa and Naṭa but it is apparent that a *rāga* change is implied since the numbering is separate. KM 82 is omitted.

#### Orthographic peculiarities

RC1 shows a tendency for replacing final *-i* of f. *-i* stem nouns with *-a*: *prīta* (KM 5.2); *prakṛta* (KM 14.3); *surata* (KM 14.3); *pota* (KM 20.1); *rīta* (KM 107.3) etc., for substituting medial *-a-* with *-u-*: *samujhāi* (KM 51.2); *buhuta* (KM 51.3, 90.3); *vuha* (KM 73.3) etc., and for writing the suffix *-ti* rather than *-ta* of f. imperf. ptes.: *poṣati* (KM 17.3); *camacamāti* (KM 32.2); *kahati* (KM 45.1); *gāvati* (KM 66.2); *naṭati* (KM 94.2) etc.

There is an average representation of conditioned nasalisation in RC1: most of the occurrences of *śyāmā* in the *chāpa* are nasalised. The same applies to examples like: *nāñā* (KM 9.4), *nācāta* (KM 60.1) etc. Adverbs are usually not nasalised: *aisai* (KM 3.1, 10.3), *jaisai* (KM 6.1), *nikai* (KM 12.1), *harai* (KM 20.4), *āgai* (KM 23.1, 30.2) etc. Spontaneous nasalisation is very common, especially nasalisation of the vowel preceding *l* or *r*: *lāla* (KM 6.2), *pyāri* (KM 26.1), *cāli* (KM 46.1), *phūla* (KM 48.4), *tāra* (KM 67.1), *kāri* (KM 71.1), *paraspāra* (KM 101.3) etc.

The scribe of RC1 distinguishes between *b* and *v* by using the graph *v* for *b* and dotted *v* for *v*. This distinction is not carried through consistently, dotted *v* is employed in 54 cases only. The differentiation of *s* and *ś* is also rather sporadic. All occurrences of *śyāma/śyāmā* (except KM 7.4 and 70.4) and the forms of *kiśora* are written with *ś*. But *niśa* (KM 72.2) alternates with *nisa* (KM 96.3), and *śobhā* (KM 21.2), *śuddhā* (KM 23.3), *śāti* (KM 34.4), *aśva* (KM 81.2), *śithala* (KM 87.2), *diśa* (KM 110.2) etc. appear next to *prakāsa* (KM 30.2), *sasi* (KM 33.5, 77.2), *kesa* (KM 103.2), *siṅgāra* (KM 103.3) etc.

The scribe is more consistent in differentiating between etymological *kh* and *ṣ*. Throughout the MS he uses the correspondent graph, with only three exceptions:

*dhanukha* (KM 37.1) (probably because it is rhyming with *anakha*, *kanakha* and *canakha*), *reṣa* (KM 23.3) and *riṣa* (a variant of *rekha*) (KM 65.3).

## 2. MSS not collated for the scholarly edition

### MS E

Vrindaban Research Institute, Vrindaban; Hindi MS 17503 (Cat. no. 2399).

Folios: 253 (97+28+88+16).

Size: 12.5 by 8 cm.

Lines: 5 per page.

Date: VS 1838 (AD 1781).

Scribe: Rām Prasād.

Place: -

This MS is written in black ink, with red ink for *daṇḍas* and headings. The text is enclosed by double red margins. The MS is bound as a book, which is now covered with cardboard rather than cloth. Probably the original cover was made of cloth because there are still patches of cloth on the first and last folios. The MS is incomplete, and the paper is in poor condition. There are corrections both in the text and in the margins.

The MS contains: *Svāmī Haridās jī kī bāñī*, *Vīthāl Vipuljī ke pad*, *Biharinadevjī kī bāñī* and *Badhāī pad*.

The text starts with the following invocation to the titular deities:

[f. 1<sup>r</sup>] *śrī kuñjabihāriṇe namaḥ. śrī kuñjabihārī jū jayati.*

This is followed by the *guru paramparā* of the Nimbārka *sampradāya* and three *sākhīs* dedicated to Āsudhīr. The text of *Svāmī Haridās jī kī bāñī* begins on folio 2<sup>r</sup> and finishes on folio 99<sup>r</sup>. Folios 32 and 39 are missing.

The colophon comes not after *Svāmī Haridās jī kī bāñī* or at the end of the text, but after *Vīthāl Vipul jī ke pad*:

[f. 128<sup>r</sup>] *saṁvata 1838 mārga sudi 1 śukre. liḥ. rāma prasāda. śrī kuñjabihārī jī athavā śrī vīthala vipula jī siṣya śrī bihārinidās jī tinakī bāñī sañchepa mātra liṣyate.*

The first part of the MS, *Svāmī Haridās jī kī bāñī* contains both KM and AS. The sequence and *rāga* allocations of the AS stanzas follow the norm. After *pada* 18 there is the formula:

*iti jīva sichā ke pada sampūrṇa. yā upara hoyā to bhete [sic] kau jāniye.*

This is followed by the extra *pada* given by MSS A, D and G. After the model of MSS A and G, here the stanza is included outside the corpus of AS. After this *pada* MS E includes the same *dohā* as MS A. The order and *rāga* distribution of the *padas* of KM is as in the majority of manuscripts. The numbering sequence is uninterrupted until

*pada* 52. Then it is separate for the different *rāga* groups except for the following ones: Vilāvala, Gauṛa and Naṭa.

### MS RC2

Haridāsī Sevā Saṁsthān, Vrindaban.

Folios: 59.  
Size: 26 by 17 cm.  
Lines: 8 per page.  
Date: -  
Scribe: -  
Place: -

The MS is complete and consists of separate folios. It is in very good condition. The text is written in black ink and enclosed by double ruled margins from all sides. The text of the *mūla* is situated in the middle of the page and enclosed in the same manner. There are some marginalia and interlinear corrections.

The MS bears the *mūla* of KM and the commentaries by Pitāmbardās and Rādhāśaraṇḍās.

The MS starts exactly as RC1:

[f. 1] *śrī mannitya nikuṅjavihārīvihārīṇau jayati, śrī svāmī haridāsyā namaḥ.*

This invocation of the deities is followed by the same stanzas, which are quoted in MS RC1.

The text ends on folio 59 with the *mūla* and the commentaries on the last *pada* of KM.

The order of stanzas and *rāga* allocations are as in the majority manuscripts. The numbering of *padas* is separate for the different *rāga* units and follows exactly the model of RC1.

### MS BI

Number 674 of 1899-1915 in the collection of the Bhaṇḍārkar Institute, Poona, India

Folios: -  
Size: -  
Lines: 8 per page.  
Date: VS 1816 (AD 1759).  
Scribe: Nāgarīdās.  
Place: Vrindaban.

My information about MS BI is limited, because I have seen only a photocopy of the pages relevant to Svāmī Haridās. The MS is presumably a MS of *Aṣṭācāryō kī vāṇī*,

since the praises of Svāmī Haridās (see below) are followed by the poetry of Viṭhal Vipul. The MS is copied by the same scribe who later copied MS PH.

Folios 3-15 give a *śṛṅkhalā* of KM which ends:

[f. 15] *śrī svāmī haridāsajī ke nita bihāra ke pada ika sata bāraiha aru chai bhaye. jā bhāva kari mana mohana saṣī ke hradai prakāsa kara kahe so rasa bacana nyāre nyāre kahe.*

*itī śrī rasa ke pada sampūrṇa. atha...ke pada...ke pada bīsa ora eka.*

This is followed by *śṛṅkhalā* of AS after which comes praise of Haridās [fs. 17<sup>v</sup> - 19], and then:

[f. 20<sup>r</sup>] *saṣī śrī mohanadāsi kaī hradai prakasa kiyo śrī haridasī. nitya bihāra kī saṅsalā saṅvata 1816 āsoja sukala pacha pūrnamasī.*

The text of AS takes folios 6-14 (new numbering sequence), KM follows it on folios 15 to 66 (f. 25 is missing). Fs. 67<sup>r</sup>-71<sup>r</sup> give *padas* by Bihārinidās, Nābhādās, Vyās, Govinda Svāmī, Lāl Svāmī, Dhruvdās and Agradās in praise of Haridās.

Unfortunately, the extract of the MS, I was given does not have a colophon. However, Haynes (1974, p. 261) quotes the colophon of this MS:

*saṅvata 1816 mīti śravaṇa vadi 2 liṣatam śrīmatta bṛndābana madhye dāsanadāsa nāgaridāsa śrī svāmī dāsa jī paṭhanārtha. jo yā bānī kō paṭhai sunē bicāre tina kō bāraṅ bāraṅ ḍaṇḍavata.*

MS BI contains 11 extra *padas*<sup>10</sup>. The 3 AS *padas* among them: AS 14 (*māi dhanī*), AS 15 (*lāla mere dūdha*) and AS 21 (*kāma krodha*) are not marked *bhēṭa*; however, the formula before the AS *śṛṅkhalā*, *bīsa ora eka*, (see above) and the fact that, unlike AS 14 and 15, AS 21 occurs in no other MS may suggest that AS 21 was considered *bhēṭa*.

Most of the extra *padas* of KM are marked *bhēṭa* in the margin immediately after or before the *pada*. The six *bhēṭa padas* have Mohinidās's name in the *chāpa* and are last verses in their *rāga* units: KM 12 (*śrī bṛndābana niju kuñja*), *rāga* Vibhāsa, f. 20; KM 12 (*jovana madamātī laḍa gahai*), *rāga* Saraṅga, fs. 28-29; KM 9 (*calo mili baiṭhē kuñja*), *rāga* Mallara, fs. 32-33; KM 7 (*āju saṣī rī mē būjhata*), *rāga* Gorī, f. 36; KM 13 (*pyārī jū chabi niraṣi hū*), *rāga* Kalyāṇa, f. 43; KM 31 (*jugala carana rāsaū*), *rāga* Kānaro, f. 56. Two of the extra *padas* in KM are not marked *bhēṭa*: KM 1 (*surati hidorē jhūlata*), f. 43 is the only verse in the *rāga* group Aḍāṇau; it follows a *bhēṭa pada* which is marked; KM 18 (*pyārī kaṅkana bādhyau*), f. 63-64, is in the middle of the *rāga* group Kedāro. Both of these *padas* are also given by MSS NC and H, whereas the Mohinidās's *padas* are not quoted in any other extant MS.

<sup>10</sup>For the text of the extra *padas* see appendix II.

Table 1  
Summary of the manuscript material used for the edition

Siglum	VS date	Place of deposit and library number	Content (relevant to the edition)	Extra <i>padas</i>
A	1969	Vrindaban Research Institute(V.R.I.), 4060	AS + KM	<i>gaho mana...</i> (as <i>bhēṭa pada</i> )
B	-	V.R.I., 11958	AS + KM	<i>gaho mana...</i> (as <i>bhēṭa pada</i> )
C	-	V.R.I., 4058	AS + KM	<i>lāla mera...</i> (AS 14), <i>ita paravata...</i> (AS 20)
D	-	V.R.I., 4402	AS + KM	<i>gaho mana...</i> (AS 19)
F	-	V.R.I., 17136	AS + KM	<i>māi dhanya...</i> (AS 14), <i>lāla merā...</i> (AS 15)
G	1815	V.R.I., 12574	AS + KM	<i>gaho mana...</i> (as <i>bhēṭa pada</i> )
H	-	V.R.I., 17504	KM	<i>surata raṅga...</i> (KM 59), <i>pyāri kaṅkana...</i> (KM 11)
I	1942	V.R.I., 17733	KM + AS	
J	1915	V.R.I., 20914	AS + KM	
BR	1881	Haridāsi Sevā Samsthān (H.S.S.)	AS + KM	<i>māi dhanya...</i> (AS 14), <i>lāla mera...</i> (AS 15)
PH	1823	H.S.S.	AS + KM	
NC	2020	H.S.S.	KM & Nāgaridās's <i>ṭikā</i>	<i>surata raṅga...</i> (KM 89), <i>pyāri kaṅkana...</i> (after the colophon)
RC1	-	V.R.I., 20966	KM & Rādhāśaraṇḍās's and Pitāmbardās's <i>ṭikās</i>	

## Textual analysis of the devotional poetry of Svāmī Haridās

### 3. Existent editions of Haridās's *padas*

Before we begin to discuss the textual criticism of Haridās's two works, it would be useful to survey their existent editions. There are several printed editions of Haridās's *padas* in India, complemented by a foreign edition made by the American scholar R. Haynes. The most 'authoritative' Indian editions are those of *Aṣṭācāryō kī vāṇī* published by Hargūlāl (Vrindaban, VS 2018 (AD 1961) and VS 2028 (AD 1971). Another sectarian edition was prepared by a *gosvāmī* of the Haridāsī *sampradāya*, Ācārya Avināś (Vrindaban: Śrī Bāke Bihārī Rasopāsnā Saṅgha, AD 1990). An edition was also assembled by Rājendra Rañjan (Mathura: Svāmī Śrī Haridās Saṅgīt Samiti, VS 2025 (AD 1968). None of these editions appears to have been made according to any scholarly principles. The MS material used is not specified, and no variant readings are provided. In fact none of these editions admits the existence of such readings or recognises the need for a critical recension. My research strongly suggests that the readings selected by these editions have been taken at random.

The unpublished edition prepared by Haynes is also of poor quality. It is based on the text of the 'authoritative' printed edition of 1961, which according to the information he was given had been 'proof-read' against one of the earliest known MSS of Haridās's poetry, the Ṭaṭṭī Asthān MS of 1758 AD. Haynes has created a hybrid between the text of this and that of another early MS, a MS of 1759 (MS BI in our edition), quoting *supra lineam* the reading from whichever of the two MSS he finds easier to interpret, and giving the alternative variant in the footnotes. Haynes (1974, p. 261) asserts that the edition of 1961 follows the MS of 1758 exactly and that the 1766 MS (MS PH in our edition) 'agrees nearly perfectly with the 1758 MS'. He continues: 'since the printed edition was not based on this MS, the close agreement between this MS and the printed edition indicates that the printed edition is an accurate representation of the 1758 MS' (Ibid., p. 263). A comparison between PH and the printed edition proves this wrong. Only a few examples: in KM 11.3 the printed edition (PE) interpolates *bahuta*, the MS does not; the variant *koṭī jatana* in PE (KM 51.2) has the alternative *kyō hū* in PH; the reading *mana mili* in PE (KM 52.3) is opposed to *śruti ghuri* in PH. These instances show clearly that PE and MS PH disagree on significant readings, and that Haynes's data cannot be regarded as reliable.

#### 4. Editorial procedure

A good starting point for our discussion would be the exposition of the aims of textual criticism, given by Katre (1941, p. 30): ‘the interpretation and controlling of the evidence contained within the mss of a text or in documents so that we can reach as far back as possible and try to recover the authentic text or to determine as nearly as possible the words written by the author himself’.

This definition raises two major problems in regard to editing Haridās’s lyrical verses:

1. Who is the author of the text which is to be restored?

Not only there were a number of authors named Haridās<sup>1</sup> in the history of Indian *bhakti* movement, there were also many followers of Svāmī Haridās who enthusiastically recited and sang his lyrical verses, changing them, creating new songs in the same ‘haridāsī’ style.

2. What is the text to be restored?

Even the sect does not claim that there was an autograph of AS or KM. Svāmī Haridās was a *vāggeyakāra* (Delvoye 1983, p. 91), a poet and composer<sup>2</sup>. His verses were created to be sung rather than to be written. Most probably they were initially just separate songs performed in connection with the service of the titular deities. Even after KM and AS had started to be conceived as two works rather than as a loose anthology of *padas*, and had been committed to writing, their structure and titles remained rather indefinite. Most MSS speak of *Svāmī Haridās kī vāṇī* (or *pada*) rather than of AS and KM<sup>3</sup>. The prevalent names for AS and KM in the early MSS are *Siddhānta ke pad* (or *Jiv śikṣā ke pad*) and *Ras ke pad*. The names *Aṣṭādaś siddhānta*<sup>4</sup> and *Kelimāl* are relatively new and their grounds are obvious: the standard number of *padas* in AS is 18 (*aṣṭādaśa*), and KM is a garland (*mālā*) of verses dedicated to the love-play (*keli*) of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Meaning simply ‘servant of Viṣṇu’, Haridās is one of the commonest names adopted by Viṣṇu devotees (cf. I 2.). Moreover, ‘haridās’ was the name used for professional *bhajan* singers (Callewaert & Lath 1989, p. 61).

<sup>2</sup> The extensive use of musical terminology in Haridās’s poetry corroborates his association with music (see VI 3.2).

<sup>3</sup>The same is true also of the work of another contemporary of Haridās, Hit Harivaṃśa: early references to his verses speak of the text only in general terms as *vāṇī*, *girā*. The title *Caurāsī pad*, which appears in the early MSS of Harivaṃśa’s works, is later replaced by the more fully formalised title *Hit caurāsī* (Snell 1991a, p. 306).

<sup>4</sup>I owe to R. Snell an interesting observation about the manner of invention of formal titles, which displace simple descriptive labels. AS is a good example of this process: where the title *Aṣṭādaś siddhānta* locks into a grid of high-registered meanings, sanskritic and therefore prestigious, and parallel to other such text titles.

<sup>5</sup> The first reference to *mālā* that I have seen is a *pada* traditionally included at the end of Pītāmbardās’s commentary, written in the late 17th or early 18th century: *aṣṭotara sata kī mālā racī haridāsī vipula rasāla...*; see above, description of RCI.

Not only the title but also the number of stanzas included in KM and AS is rather indefinite. The length of *Svāmī Haridās kī vāṇī* in the MSS I have seen varies between 118 and 124 *padas*.<sup>6</sup> Most of the later MSS agree on incorporating 110 stanzas in KM and 18 in AS but this may be connected with sectarian 'editing' of the texts<sup>7</sup>.

The structure of the text is rather loose as well. The *padas* are grouped in *rāga* units. The allocation of *rāgas* remains the same (with a few exceptions)<sup>8</sup> but the *rāga* sequence and the order of the stanzas within the *rāga* units differ dramatically in MS H and MS BI compared to the remaining MSS<sup>9</sup>. This may suggest the existence of at least two loosely defined musical compilations, or in the terminology of textual criticism, recensions of the text: recension 1, represented by MSS H, BI and F (?) and recension 2, represented by the rest of the MSS.

The connection of the *padas* with a *rāga*<sup>10</sup>, the inclusion of a *bhaṇitā*<sup>11</sup> and the lack of any apparent metrical structure (typical of the musical style of *dhrupada*)<sup>12</sup> suggest that Haridās's *padas* were affiliated with a singing tradition (Callewaert & Lath 1989, pp. 55-56). Apart from 'readings of secondary origin' (West 1973, p. 32) due to the process of copying, the MSS disclose features which could be interpreted as *geyavikāras*, 'changes brought about by a singer' (Callewaert & Lath 1989, p. 63):

1. Adding of short words of no meaning in the context, such as *re, ju, ho*;
2. Changing the order of phrases in a line: KM 33.1:H; KM 38.1:H; KM 50.3:H; KM 62.1:J; KM 60.1:C, H; KM 63.3:PH; KM 81.1:A, F, H; KM 90.1:NC; KM 95.1:F, H;
3. Changing the order of lines (*antarās*): KM 24.2, 3:H; KM 36.2, 3:NC;
4. Dropping *antarās*: AS 15.2:A; KM 15.2:BR; KM 60.2:C; KM 84.2:C; KM 99.3:A; KM 100.2:F; KM 109.2:D (cf. Lath 1983, pp. 231-233).

It is impossible to establish when Haridās's songs were first written down. Haynes speculates that one of the two earliest extant MSS, the Ṭaṭṭī Asthān MS of 1758, may have been the first MS. In his opinion the appearance of the first commentary on KM (Pitāmbardās's *ṭikā*) and the transcription of three copies of Haridās's poetry within an eight-year span (1758, 1759 and 1766 MSS) suggest an effort to consolidate a

<sup>6</sup> My search in *pada* collections showed 20 stanzas with Haridās's *chāpa* which are not included in the standard version of AS or KM but are treated as spurious *padas*. (cf. appendix on extra *padas*). But in view of the fact that KM and AS are later developments of *sphuṭa vāṇī*, the secondary character of these verses is arguable.

<sup>7</sup> Since the sect claims its uniqueness on the basis of its single-minded dedication to Rādhā's and Kṛṣṇa's *nikuṅja līlā*, *padas* with other subject-matter tend to be excluded from the canonized version. A similar process has taken place in another *rasika sampradāya*, the Rādhāvallabhī sect, which has canonized 84 of the compositions of Hit Harivaṃśa.

<sup>8</sup> See VI 1.

<sup>9</sup> See tables 7 and 9.

<sup>10</sup> In Callewaert's formulation 'a *rāga* is like an identity card for the earliest period of the oral tradition' (Callewaert & Lath 1989, p. 5).

<sup>11</sup> About the connection of *bhaṇitā* with the musical tradition see Lath 1983, pp. 226-227.

<sup>12</sup> See VI 3.4.



deteriorating tradition (Haynes 1974, p. 267). He connects the need for such an endeavour with the reorganisation of the sect which was occurring at that time. During Rasikdās's leadership (late 17th early 18th century) the sect underwent schism, breaking into three parts. Pītāmbardās, the foremost disciple of Rasikdās, remained with him and wrote a commentary on KM. Lalitkiśorīdās, the chief rebel, founded the Ṭaṭṭī Asthān ('a place enclosed with a bamboo fence'), which became the main centre for religious practice of the *sādhus* of the sect. Govindadev, another disciple of Rasikdās, established the temple of Gorelāl but later reasserted his ties with the parent group. Haynes presumes that the 1758 MS was commissioned by Lalitkiśorīdās, since it is still kept in the Ṭaṭṭī Asthān. Maybe it is not a mere coincidence that the 1766 MS was written in the year when Lalitkiśorīdās died. We can continue these speculations with a further hypothesis: MS G, the other MS of 1758, may have been commissioned by the leader of the parent group, Pītāmbardās or his disciple, (and the author of *Nijmat siddhānta*) Kiśordās. The process of schism might explain the abundance of MSS in such a short span of time: two MSS of 1758, a MS of 1759 (=BI), a MS of 1761, a MS of 1766 (=PH). The sudden need for a scriptal fixation may also have been a reaction to the measures against religious proliferation taken by Savai Jai Singh, the Governor of Agra, who summoned representatives of all the Vaiṣṇava sects in his district and requested them to prove the authenticity of their *sampradāyas* (see Entwistle 1987, pp. 188-194). The hypothesis that 1758 was the dividing line between the exclusively oral transmission of the text and its scriptal fixation seems unlikely, but we must be aware of the fact that the former might have antedated the latter by two centuries.

The supposed oral transmission of the text makes the very existence of an Ur-text questionable and the concept of *constitutio textus* inapplicable. As Pauwels argues (1994a, p. 3 of chapter 5): 'When it comes to the *recensio* and *emendatio* of an (at least partly) orally transmitted text, there is a real danger that instead of reconstructing, we may be creating a text according to implicit prejudices'. The manuscript material shows an abundance of variations in orthography, grammatical forms and wording, and when the editor tries to create order in this chaos of variants by applying the basic rule of textual criticism, namely 'errors arising in the course of transcription are of decisive significance in the study of interrelationships of manuscripts' (Maas 1958, p. 42), the problem emerges of finding a solid ground for distinguishing errors from true readings. In the majority of instances none of the main criteria for errors in classical textual criticism can be applied to KM or AS. The editor cannot base decisions on meaning, because the text is extremely obscure and in most cases different readings are possible from a semantic point of view. Grammar cannot be a solid ground either, because the text abounds in examples of poetic liberty, where the rules of Braj grammar (which are anyway quite relaxed) are not followed. Equally unjustified is the search for

criteria in the requirements of metre because Haridās's lyrical verses are closely associated with the musical style of *dhrupada* and hence free of the restrictions of literary metrical systems<sup>13</sup>. Of course, grammar, metre and sense are not infallible criteria in classical texts either; neither do they always fail in Haridās's verses (as it will be shown in exegesis and recensio). But the 'grey field' of readings which we cannot assess by using these criteria is much larger in this text than in a typical classical text; the instances in which they work are the exception rather than the rule.

Because of the problems outlined here - the oral transmission of Haridās's *padas* and the problems of reconstructing authorial intent - the safest path which the editor can take is to diverge from the 'authorial' orientation, and to settle for a 'historical' perspective<sup>14</sup>, not to strive to reconstruct any best text, but to present the different versions available. However, on the basis of *variantes coniunctivi*<sup>15</sup>, and with the help of computer programmes, we can analyse the material and try to group the MSS in order to answer two important questions: What is a plausible vulgate? Are the two recensions, suggested on the basis of external grounds, also corroborated by internal evidence?

## 5. Heuristics

The 16 MSS used for this edition of Haridās's *padas* are probably only a small proportion of the extant MSS. I managed to locate a number of additional MSS of KM and AS which unfortunately I was not allowed to use. The biggest collection of MSS of the Haridāsī *sampradāya* is allegedly in Ṭaṭṭi Asthān but the *mahantas* there, in their anxiety to preserve the mystery of the divine couple's *nikuñja līlā* from mundane influence, do not permit anybody to see these MSS (indeed there is a belief in Vrindaban that they have even buried the MSS). Like Haynes I was given a photograph of the first two and the last folios of one of the earliest MSS held there, the 1758 MS. I was shown 4 MSS of Haridās's *vāñī* kept in the house of Śyām Bihārī Gosvāmī, a *gosvāmī* of the Haridāsī *sampradāya*, which were not dated, but on the basis of the paper and the style of writing could with reasonable certainty be assigned to the 18th century. Unfortunately I was not allowed to use these MSS for the collation. It is possible that there are many more undiscovered MSS in Vrindaban or the whole of Braj. I acquired a photocopy of MS BI from the collection of the Bhaṇḍārkar Institute in Poona only at a very late stage of my work when the *apparatus* had been prepared, therefore I did not use it for the collation but only for the last revision of the translation.

<sup>13</sup>See VI 3.4.

<sup>14</sup>Shillingburg, P. L., 1986: *Scholarly editing in the computer age: theory and practice* (Athens: University of Georgia Press) quoted in Pauwels 1994a, p. 3 of chapter 5.

<sup>15</sup>This is a term suggested by Pauwels (1994a, p. 34 of chapter 5). In the context of oral transmission this might be a more accurate term than its counterpart in classical textual criticism, *errores coniunctivi*.

MS B is only partially used for the edition: it bears only the first 38 verses of KM, therefore it has been taken into consideration only in the exegesis based on AS. The MS of 1761 has been excluded from the collation, because it is a copy of MS G. The MS of 1761 is dated VS 1818, MS G is dated VS 1815; they are written in the same hand and give identical readings. An example for the evidence proving the status of the MS of 1761 as a transcript from MS G is the haplography of *rī* in KM 85.3 (*rī* of *rījha* is omitted because of preceding *tumhārī*) which occurs in G and is copied in the MS of 1761.

The basic information about the manuscript material, used for the collation is summarised in table 1.

The collation of the manuscripts was done on the basis of external material (comparison of the *padas* included, their sequence and numbering system, and the *rāga* distribution) and internal evidence (*variantes coniunctivī*). The preliminary collation was based on the entire text of AS and 21 randomly selected verses of KM: KM 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 51, 52, 80, 81, 85, 88, 89, 90, 91, 95, 100. Four different types of variants were taken into consideration: omissions, interpolations, peculiar readings (differences in grammatical forms as well as use of different lexical items) and transpositions. A note of caution should be inserted here: as discussed earlier in most cases the main criteria of classical textual criticism fail in Haridās's text, therefore labelling a variant as an 'omission' or an 'interpolation' is in most instances purely accidental.

## 6. Exegesis on the basis of KM

The analysis of KM showed that in almost 50% of the cases the variants are *lectio singularum*: 29 of 44 interpolations; 52 of 99 peculiar readings; 11 of 23 transpositions; 42 of 86 omissions. The two MSS which have the largest number of *lectio singularum* are H and F.

There are a few instances where it is evident that the readings of F are corruptions. It gives inferior readings:

1. From the point of view of grammar:

51.3 *hai* for *hau*.

2. With regard to semantic plausibility (parentheses show other manuscript variants):

10.3 *bikala* for *ba kala* in *mohi (a)ba kala kaisē hoi*;

11.3 *suṣa* for *śrama (duṣa)* in *bhāvate kī prakṛti dekhaī jo srama bhayau*;

85.2 *uḍāi na sakata* for *guñjara karata* in *bhaṃvara guñjara karata*;

88.3 *chabi* for *añcala (cañcala)* in *pītāmbara añcala (cañcala) calata*.

In most of the cases when H suggests *lectio singularum* it has been corrected *secunda manu* to the ‘standard reading’. Some of these emendments are obvious cases of ‘irenic hypercorrections’<sup>16</sup>:

52.4 *gopāla* is changed to *pyāro lāla*;

98.4 *prabhu* is substituted by *mili*;

100.3 *saṣī saṣā* is corrected to *sahita saṣī* (in this case H’s original reading is shared by F as well; these three readings are also shared by MS BI).

Both the epithets *gopāla* and *prabhu*, and the mentioning of the *sakhās* in the context of *nikuñja*, are against the present doctrine of the sect, which is focused on the *mādhurya rasa* of Rādhā’s and Kṛṣṇa’s *nikuñja lilā*: *gopāla* is an epithet connected with *braja lilā*, *prabhu* speaks of *aiśvarya* rather than *mādhurya rasa*, and there is no place for the *sakhās* in the *rahasya* of the bower.

F and H share *variantes coniunctivi*, as opposed to the rest of the MSS, and therefore constitute a subgroup:

Lacunae: 95.1 *hamārī upamā dehi*, 95.2 *jina jina*, 100.4 *prema paraspara*;

Interpolations: 88.1 *ba*, 100.4 *kuñjabihā (°biārī)*

Transpositions: 85.1 *chuṭī-ṭuṭī*, 95.1 the first half of the line;

Peculiar readings: 15.4 *syāma* for *syāmā*.

This is corroborated by external evidence as well:

1. Both F and H transpose KM 109 and change its *rāga* allocation. It becomes KM 6 in the Vilāvala group in F and again no. 6 in the correspondent Vibhāsa group in H;

2. Both F and H omit KM 87.

MS C shares *variantes coniunctivi* with MSS F and H, but has also *variantes separativi*<sup>17</sup>. It is the third MS with a large number of *lectio singularum*. As is the case with MS F, most of these readings are inferior:

13.2 *paraspapara* for *paraspara*;

14.2 *mauha* for *mora* in *jahā mora kācha*;

15.3 *bihārī* for *cihārī* in *arabarāi uṭhī cihārī*;

51.2 *jagata* for *jatana* in *maī koṭī jatana samajhāi hai*;

91.1 *vegha* for *megha* in *navīna megha saṅga bijurī*.

MSS F, H and C share further readings with MSS I, J and BR:

Lacunae: C, F, H, I, J, BR: 13.3 *nīke*, 89.3 *nīkī*; F, H, I, BR: 13.4 *kuñjabihārī*; C, F, H, BR 89.4 *mili* (+NC);

<sup>16</sup>This is a term suggested by Pauwels (1994a, p. 48 of chapter 5).

<sup>17</sup>I have coined this term on the basis of *errores separativi*, and by analogy with *variantes coniunctivi*.

Peculiar readings: C, F, H, I, J, BR: 51.2 *koṭi jatana* (+RC1, 2) (*kyō hū* in rest), 80.3 *cāhiye* (+D) (*dhāiye* in rest); C, F, H, I, J: 14.2 *paṣāvaja* (+RC1, 2) (*mṛdaṅga* in rest); C, F, H, J, BR: 80.4 *laṭapaṭā-* (+NCM) (*lapaṭā-* in rest);

C, H, I, J, BR: 10.4 *chāḍi* (+A, RC) (*chāḍe/°ai* in rest); C, H, I, J: 12.3 *deṣata* (+RC 1, 2) (*deṣe/°ai* in rest).

RC1 and 2 agree on most of their readings and are obviously copies of the same *hyparchetypus*<sup>18</sup>. There is some external evidence for this as well: they start in the same way, with the same invocation to the deities and background to the commentaries and follow the same numbering system which is peculiar to them. In most cases RC1 and 2 share readings with MSS A, D, E, G and PH (or combinations of them) but sometimes they have *variantes coniunctivi* with MSS C, F, H, I, J and BR.

Conjunctive readings of RC1, 2 with A, D, E, G and PH:

Lacunae: 91.4 *kuñjabihārī* (without D), 100.3 *jahā* (without A);

Interpolations: 91.3 *koṁ pyārī tū*;

Peculiar readings: 80.3 *dhāiye* instead of *cāhiye* (without D), 95.2 *upamā* instead of *paṭatara*.

Conjunctive readings of RC1, 2 and C, F, H, I, J and BR:

Lacunae: 9.2 *mukha*;

Interpolations: 9.4 (without C, H) and 10.4 *śrī*;

Peculiar readings: 14.2 *paṣāvaja* instead of *mṛdaṅga*.

NCM (*mūla*) and NCP (*pada*) are actually one MS, which quotes the text of *Kelīmāl* twice: as a whole *pada* (NCP) and line by line (NCM), followed by the relevant commentary. In a number of cases NCM and NCP agree, and share readings with A, D, E, G and PH; however sometimes NCP and NCM differ, and NCM joins the group of C, F, H, I, J and BR.

*Variantes coniunctivi* of NC (P) and A, D, E, G and PH:

Interpolations: 10.2 *rī* (without A), 80.4 *gahi* (NCP), 88.4 *śrī* (NCP), 91.3 *koṁ pyārī tū* (NCP).

Transpositions: 11.2 *tana-praṇa* (NCP), 51.2 *tuma-īta* (NCP);

Peculiar readings: 9.2 *śravata* instead of *śrava*, 12.3 *deṣē* instead of *deṣata*, 14.2 *mṛdaṅga* instead of *paṣāvaja*.

Conjunctive readings of NC(M) and C, F, H, I, J and BR:

Lacunae: 89.3 *nīkī*, 95.2 *hamārī*, 100.3 *saṅga*;

Interpolations: 95.2 *loganī*;

<sup>18</sup>Katre (1941, p. 94) defines *hyparchetypus* as 'the hypothetical source of extant manuscripts lower down in the transmission of the text than the archetype'.

Peculiar readings: 52.3 *mana mili* as a variant of *śruti ghuri*, 95.2 *paṭatara* as a variant of *upamā*, 95.2 *diyo* as a variant of *dīnī*.

MSS G and E are either copied from the same *hyparchetypus* or E is a transcript of G (the date of G is VS 1815 and of E is VS 1838). The external evidence reinforces the assumption about their affinity as well. They both include the same extra *pada* outside the corpus of the AS and they have an identical numbering system, which is peculiar to them.

G and E share readings with PH as opposed to the other MSS:

Lacunae: 11.3 *bahuta*; 51.2 *jatana* (+ D);

Transpositions: 17.3 *suniyata tere bacana-tere bacana sunata*;

Peculiar readings: 88.3 *cañcala* for *añcala*.

Examples of conjunctive readings of members of the group A, D, E, G, PH, NC, RC1, 2:

Lacunae: D, E, G, PH, NCM, RC1, 2: 100.3 *jahā*; A, E, G, PH, RC1, 2: 91.4 *kuñjabihārī*; A, D, E, G, PH: 52.4 *āju*;

Interpolations: A, D, E, G, PH, NCP, RC1, 2: 91.3 *koū pyārī tū*; A, D, E, G, NCP: 80.4 *gahi* (+I), 88.4 *śrī*;

Transpositions: A, D, E, G, PH, NCP: 11.2 *tana-praṇa*; A, D, E, G, PH: 89.4 *jamyau-rāga*; A, D, G, PH, NCP: 51.2 *tuma-īta*;

Peculiar readings: A, D, E, G, PH, NCP, RC1, 2: 95.2 (+I, J) *upamā* instead of *paṭatara*, 95.2 *dīnī* (+I) (*diyo* in rest); A, D, E, G, PH, NC: 51.2 *kyo hū* (*koṭi jatana* in rest), 14.2 *mṛdaṅga* (+BR) (*paṣāvaja* in rest); A, E, G, PH, RC1, 2: 91.4 *kuñjabihārani* (*bihārani* in rest); A, E, G, PH, NCP: 52.3 *śruti ghuri* (*mana mili* in rest).

## 7. Exegesis on the basis of AS

The analysis of AS is based on nine MSS: MSS H, RC 1 and 2, and NC do not give the text of AS. MSS C and E are not collated either, because most of the folios of AS are missing in C, and unreadable in E. In so far as the same manuscript material is used, the analysis of AS supports the observations made on the basis of KM. Again MS F shows the highest number of *lectio singularum*. The rough division of the MSS in two groups (F, BR, I, J, and G, PH, D, A and B) is similar.

It is evident from the analysis that MSS F and BR share a number of *variantes coniunctivi*:

Omissions: 4.1 *hari bhaji*; 12.2 *hātha*;

Interpolations: 7.3 *jaisau*; 8.4 *na*;

Peculiar readings: 4.4 *hvaihai* for *hai*; 5.3 *tuma* for *tumhārī*; 5.4 *haryo* for *hare*; 14.2 *jāi* for *jāta*;

4.2 *jini* for *mata*; 15.4 *sunī* for *kahi*.

The grouping of F and BR is supported by external evidence as well: they include the same two extra *padas* within the corpus of AS, and give them the same numbers 14 and 15.

F and BR share further *variantes coniunctivi* with MS J:

Omissions: 7.3 *raṅga*;

Interpolations: 1.4 *ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī*;

Peculiar readings: 10.4 *kachū* for *ekau*; 16.1 *mati* for *jina*; 17.3 *dhana* for *māyā*.

MSS F, BR and J display further *variantes coniunctivi* with I and B, and sometimes with A and D:

Omissions: D, F, J, BR: 11.4 *jaba*, A, B, D, F, I, J, BR: 8.2 *jyō*;

Interpolations: A, B, D, F, I, J, BR: 1.3 *sako jo tuma*, 12.4 *sau citta*; B, F, I, J, BR: 1.4 *śrī*; A, F, J, BR: 5.3 *pasarī*; A, B, F, J, BR: 15.2 *deṣ*;

Transpositions: A, D, F, I, J, BR: 1.3 *kiyo cāhō* (after rather than before *mana bhāyo*);

Peculiar readings: A, F, I, J, BR: 1.3 *kaisai* instead of *kyō*; A, B, D, F, I, J, BR: 1.4 *laū* instead of *jyaū*; 1.4 *taṛapharāi* for *phaṭaphaṭāya*; A, I, J, BR: 5.3 *muni* for *sunī*; B, F, I, J, BR: 8.2 *bhāvai* for *cāhai*.

It is evident from this analysis that MSS F, BR, J and I form a group, often joined by B, and that MSS G and PH are at the other end of the spectrum. MSS A and D are again closer to the group of G and PH but also frequently share *variantes coniunctivi* with the other group.

As one can see from the examples above there is a large number of shared variants between manuscripts of different groups, which in classical textual criticism would be conceived as *contaminatio*, but which has probably at least partly been caused by the interaction of the oral and written transmission of the text.

## 8. Computer analysis

In order to analyse the data 250 indicative variants (omissions, interpolations, transpositions and peculiar readings) from the selected verses of KM, and 98 variants from the AS were fed into computer. Programmes designed to analyse data for classification of species in biology, but with a much wider application range, were used. In order to do this the information was turned into ones and noughts, whereby one was noted for every witness containing the variant (omission...) and nought for the MSS

which did not show this character. Presented in this way the data underwent cladistic and phenetic analysis.

The cladistic method has its name from the Greek word *klados* 'branch'. The cladistic analysis has a general validity, being applicable to all studies of historical interrelationships based on ancestor-descendent sequences. The stemmatic method of 'classical' textual criticism is nothing else but a cladistic analysis. The fundamental concept behind the cladistic method is that historical interrelationships can be demonstrated by the presence of shared innovations (in our case *variantes coniunctivi*). The final result of the cladistic analysis is a cladogram (*stemma codicum*) which indicates the hierarchical relationships between objects (MSS).

Cladistic relationships are inferred using the shared characters of the objects to be classified (in the case of MSS shared *variantes coniunctivi*). The programme employed for our analysis is called PAUP (Phylogenetic analysis using parsimony). According to the number of the objects (MSS) the computer draws all possible trees and assesses which one would require the smallest number of evolutionary character changes. This most 'parsimonious' tree is then given.

Similarly to the classical stemmatics this analysis produces a *stemma codicum* (cladogram) in which the MSS are grouped according to shared derived characters (*variantes coniunctivi*). So for example in the analysis of KM MSS F and H are grouped together, followed by MSS C, BR, I and J (fig. 1a). At the other end of the spectrum MSS G, PH and E are classified together, joined by MSS A and D. The two commentaries NC and RC are in the middle, sharing variants with each of the two groups. Similarly in the analysis of AS F, BR, J and I are grouped together, and so are G, PH and A and D. B and sometimes A and D have an intermediate position, sometimes joining the former and sometimes the latter group (fig. 1b).

Unlike the *stemma codicum* the tree produced by this analysis is unrooted - it specifies the branching relationships among the taxa (MSS), but not the direction of evolution. To root the tree we need to be able to distinguish between primary characters (true readings in so far as they can be considered to be original readings) and secondary characters (errors). The MS which has the highest number of original readings would be at the root. Unfortunately, as discussed above, in most instances there are no reliable criteria which would allow us to differentiate errors from true readings in this text. In our case the tree is rooted at MS G, because this is the MS chosen for the text *supra lineam* (see below). Therefore, the cladistic method is of limited applicability to texts, which lack the linguistic and stylistic unambiguity of classical texts, and which due to their oral transmission have undergone vigorous contamination.

The phenetic method classifies objects according to overall similarity. Any physical measurable phenotypic property can be used, in our case these are the ones and noughts of having/not having the indicative variant. If we imagine co-ordinates where every axis



represents one of our indicative readings, each of the witnesses would be designated by a point in a multi-dimensional space, and the aggregate distance between the MSS could be measured by the distance between the MSS' points. The more characters (readings) we include, the more likely it is that peculiar individual characters will be averaged out, and the better founded the classification will be.

The programme used for the phenetic analysis is called UPGMA (Unweighted pair-group method using arithmetic averages) in the R package. It provides us with graphs (fig. 2 a, b) showing the distance between the MSS of KM and AS respectively, with co-ordinates, which represent simplified hyper-space. The programme produces a distance matrix as well (fig. 3 a, b), which displays the pairwise distances between the taxa (the MSS). This supplies us with actual figures representing the closeness of the MSS; for example we can see that in our case the greatest closeness is between MSS G and E, where the number given is 14; they are very similar also to MS PH (G-PH 19, E-PG 20). The same is true of MSS RC1 and RC2, where the number shown is 18.

Because of the extreme similarity of MS E and MS RC2 to MSS G and RC1 respectively, they were then eliminated from the *apparatus criticus*. The primacy of G compared to E is clear from their dates. The choice between RC1 and 2 was more complicated and to some degree arbitrary. Both RC1 and 2 are undated and neither of them shows any clear superiority from the point of view of errors or selection of variants. Still a comparison between RC1 and 2 proved that the former is freer (but not free) of obvious errors. In KM 44, for example, RC2 manages to make two mistakes in two lines: *lāḍi* instead of *lāḍilī* (KM 44.3) and *śyā* instead of *śyāmā* (KM 44.4). Almost every verse offers such errors, which sometimes have been corrected *propria* or *secunda manu*: *bhū* emended to *bhai* (KM 18.4), *jāca* instead of *jācaka* (KM 45.4), *kuñjabihī* added and crossed out (KM 46.4), *koī* emended to *bhoī* (KM 47.2), *bata* instead of *gata* (KM 85.4), *balā* emended to *balanā* (KM 88.2), *kalā nā* emended to *kala nā* (KM 88.3) etc.

The high number which the distance matrix shows for MSS F and H paired with any MS is due to the very high number of *lectio singularum*. The next very big number, 79, is the distance between MSS BR and G, which definitely belong to different groups. In this way the phenetic analysis provides us with information about the similarity of MSS which, supported by external evidence, helps us in grouping the MSS. Therefore, the phenetic analysis can be an useful tool for making hypotheses with regard to both recensions and vulgate. It also helps to assess individual readings: clearly variants, which are supported by distant MSS, will more likely be akin to the original than readings supported only by close MSS.

However, phenetic classification is non-evolutionary. The information we obtain says nothing about the historical interrelationships of these MSS. Maybe this is the reason previous attempts to introduce phenetic methods derived from systematics into

textual analysis, such as Griffiths's work in stemmatics, have met with little enthusiasm. On the other hand it is worth noticing that precisely by showing only the synchronic interrelationships of the MSS, phenetic methodology sidesteps the problem of contamination.

## 9. Recensio

As was made clear in the previous sections, because of the oral transmission of the text and the inapplicability of 'authorial' approach to it, no attempt at reconstructing an archetype will be made, but one MS will consistently be given *supra lineam* and the variants will be noted in the *apparatus criticus*. The text which will serve for the readings *supra lineam* is MS G. It is the oldest MS but since age cannot be a reliable criterion in textual criticism there are necessarily other grounds for this choice as well.

The most significant question which arises in this connection is that of the stage of the development of the text that we want to establish. From the available material it seems that there were two important periods in the evolution of the text: before its canonization, glimpses of which period show through in MSS H (F? and BI) (this span probably partly coincides with the oral stage of the transmission); and after the canonization of the text; the period presented more or less faithfully by the rest of the MSS. As was demonstrated, there are important differences between H (F? and BI) and the remaining MSS, which are to some degree a result of 'irenical hypercorrections'. H, BI (and to a certain degree F) represent a recension different from that of the rest of the MSS; the latter serves as a vulgate. However tempting the ambition to restore the text before its canonization might be, one has to take into consideration the problems connected with the oral transmission and the limitations of the scarce material, and admit the impossibility of such an enterprise. Therefore it was decided to aim at the sectarian text and MS H was rejected as a possible candidate for the readings *supra lineam*. The next MSS to be eliminated were F and C because of their general untrustworthiness (see above, exegesis on the basis of KM). MSS NC and RC1 were excluded as well since they show the highest proportion of contamination, followed by MSS A and D. MSS I and J were rejected for their relatively young age and higher proportion of mistakes compared to MS BR. The two 'pure' representatives of their groups with least degree of contamination (as manifested by the distance matrix) proved to be MSS BR and G. MS BR had two disadvantages in comparison to G: age and a degree of affiliation to H, the most non-sectarian MS. But the major reason for choosing G rather than BR was the fact that in a number of cases G gives recognizably better readings than BR:

2.4 G *raṅgu*, BR *rasa* in *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī pai raṅgu*  
*rahyau rasa hī mē pāge;*

6.2 G *rahaũ*, BR *raho* in *haũ to to sũ kahõ pyãre ãši mũdi rahaũ*;

7.3 G *ãhi*, BR *ãi* in *bahuta upãi ãhi rĩ pyãrĩ*;

9.4 and 10.4 BR interpolates the honorific particle *srĩ* in front of Haridã's name and G does not;

9.4 G *na hãrĩ*, BR *nihãrĩ* in *deṣata hĩ deṣata pyãrĩ jũ na hãrĩ*;

11.1 G *kahĩ*, BR *kahi* in *bãta to kahata kahĩ gaĩ*;

20.1 G *jina*, BR *jani* in *netra dṛṣṭi lãgau jina merĩ*;

21.3 G *bhũlĩ*, BR *jhũlĩ* in *sambhrama bhũlĩ*;

25.3 G *gathõda*, BR *gathaudha* in *tohi gathõda na pratĩti*;

44.2 G *suṣa*, BR *nava* in *nava nikuñja suṣa puñja*;

45.4 G *jãcaka*, BR *jãciga* in *jãcaka kaũ dãna dai*;

67.4 G *aṅga aṅgahãra*, BR *aṅga aṅga ahãra* in *je je aṅga kĩ gati leta ati nipuna aṅga aṅgahãra*.

However, there are a few cases in which BR suggests better readings than G:

69.4 BR *bhavara*, G *bharama* in *tina kĩ subãsa sakala bhavara kala mata*;

72.2 BR *ahanisa*, G *aranisa* in *aha(ra)nisa soca udherã bũna rĩ*.

Since G shows a smaller number of identifiable errors compared to BR, it has been selected for the reading *supra lineam*.

## 10. Conclusions

The 'classical' textual criticism creates many frustrating problems when the text under consideration has gone through a stage of oral transmission and shows no solid grammatical or metrical structure. Haridã's poetry presents both these difficulties: connected with a musical tradition it was transmitted orally for possibly two centuries; it is composed in the grammatically flexible dialect of Braj and metrically elastic style of *dhrupada*.

Two computer programmes were used to analyse the data presented by the MSS of Haridã's verses. The cladistic method shows the hierarchical relationships between objects (MSS), but not the direction of evolution. It therefore stumbles at both above-mentioned difficulties: oral transmission (i.e. high degree of contamination), and lack of criteria on the basis of which primitive characters can be established and the cladogram can be rooted.

The phenetic method classifies objects according to overall similarity: its non-evolutionary character sidesteps the problem of contamination. On the basis of the internal evidence assessed with the help of phenetic analysis (and corroborated by external evidence) the existence of at least two recensions of Haridã's verses was

asserted. The recension, represented by MSS H and BI (and partly MS F), may offer a glimpse of the pre-canonical period of oral transmission. The recension of the rest of the MSS presents more or less faithfully the vulgate.

Because of the long oral transmission of Haridās's verses which makes their pre-canonical version irretrievable, and because of their lack of fixed linguistic and prosodic structures, it was decided that instead of attempting a reconstruction of the archetype, one MS should be given as the text *supra lineam* and all variants should be noted in the *apparatus criticus*. On the basis of its relative trustworthiness, faithfulness to the canonized version, and age, MS G was selected to serve as the text *supra lineam*.

Illustration 2  
Sample of the graph jh and ā, MS G

श्री-  
स्वा-  
३

सकेस्वामीस्वामीकुंजविहारीज्योतिरपरदोह  
नी॥१२ हरिकौशेसोईसवसे  
ल॥मृगतस्मोजगव्यापिरसोहेकद्विजोरो  
नवेत्त॥धनमदजोवनमदगजमदज्योपंचि  
नमेंजेत्त॥कहिहरिदासयहेजियजानौतीर  
थकेसोमल॥१३॥ जूठीवात  
पुंकीकादिवावतहोहरिनागर निसिदि

Illustration 3  
Sample of the graph u, MS G

नितहारियुस्तोककहैक  
रिदासकेस्वामीस्वामिकुंजविहारी ॥१२॥ कदुनरी  
नेभाइल्यावति॥यारस्यग  
किंजरीमदगसासी तीर ॥१३॥ तमेत  
नधरधरयदुपद ॥१४॥ अनवधा

Illustration 4  
Sample of the graph dh, MS BR

कुंजविहारीयारंसहीवसभयेहरेहरेसरकनिनेरी॥२०॥ जोवन  
रंगरंगीलिसोनेसेगातठारनेनाकंठपोतिमरकतली॥अंगअंग  
अनेमभ्रुकसोहतकाननवीरेसोभादेतदेवतहीवनेजोदुमें  
नीहरे ॥११॥  
जोदुसीफुली॥तनसुखसारीलाहीअंगियाअतलसअदरोटा

Fig. 1a  
Cladogram, KM

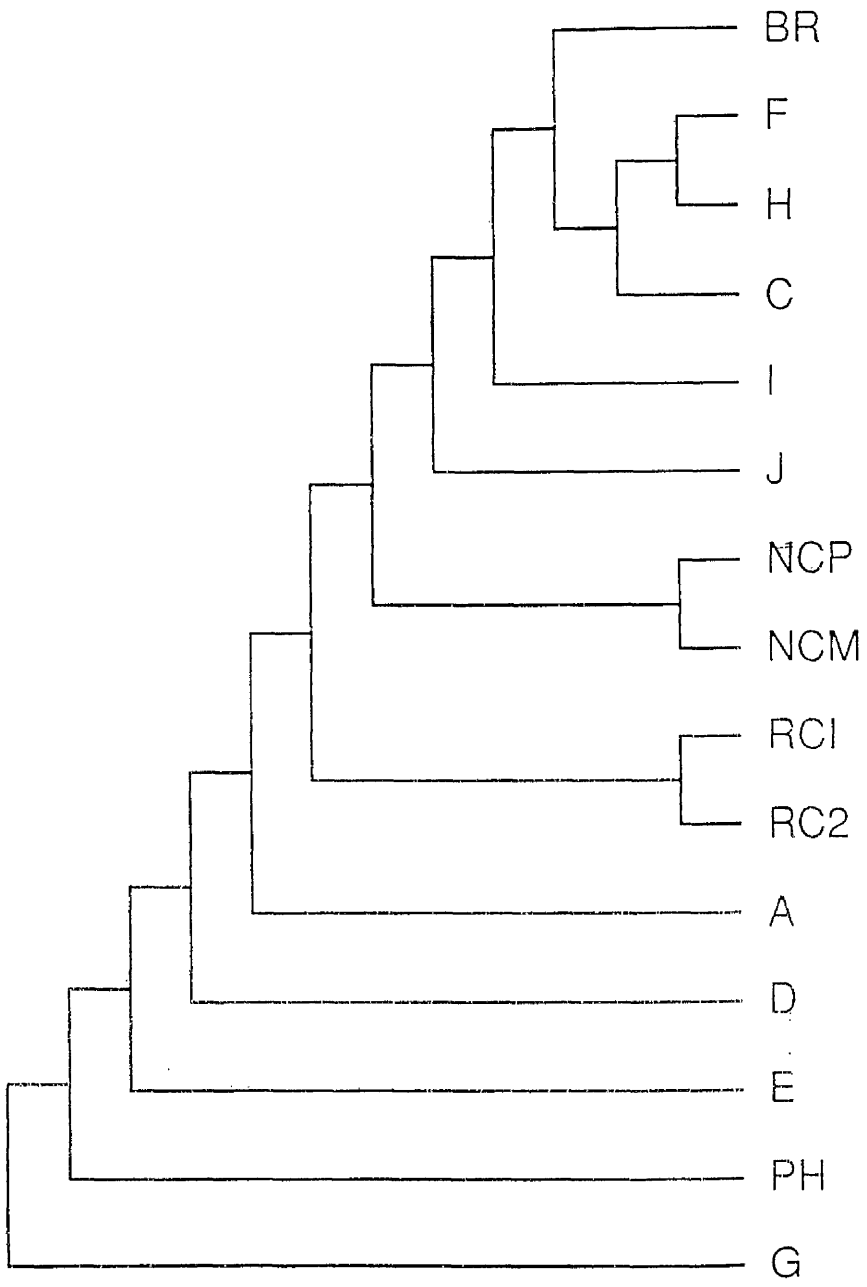


Fig. 1b

Cladogram, AS

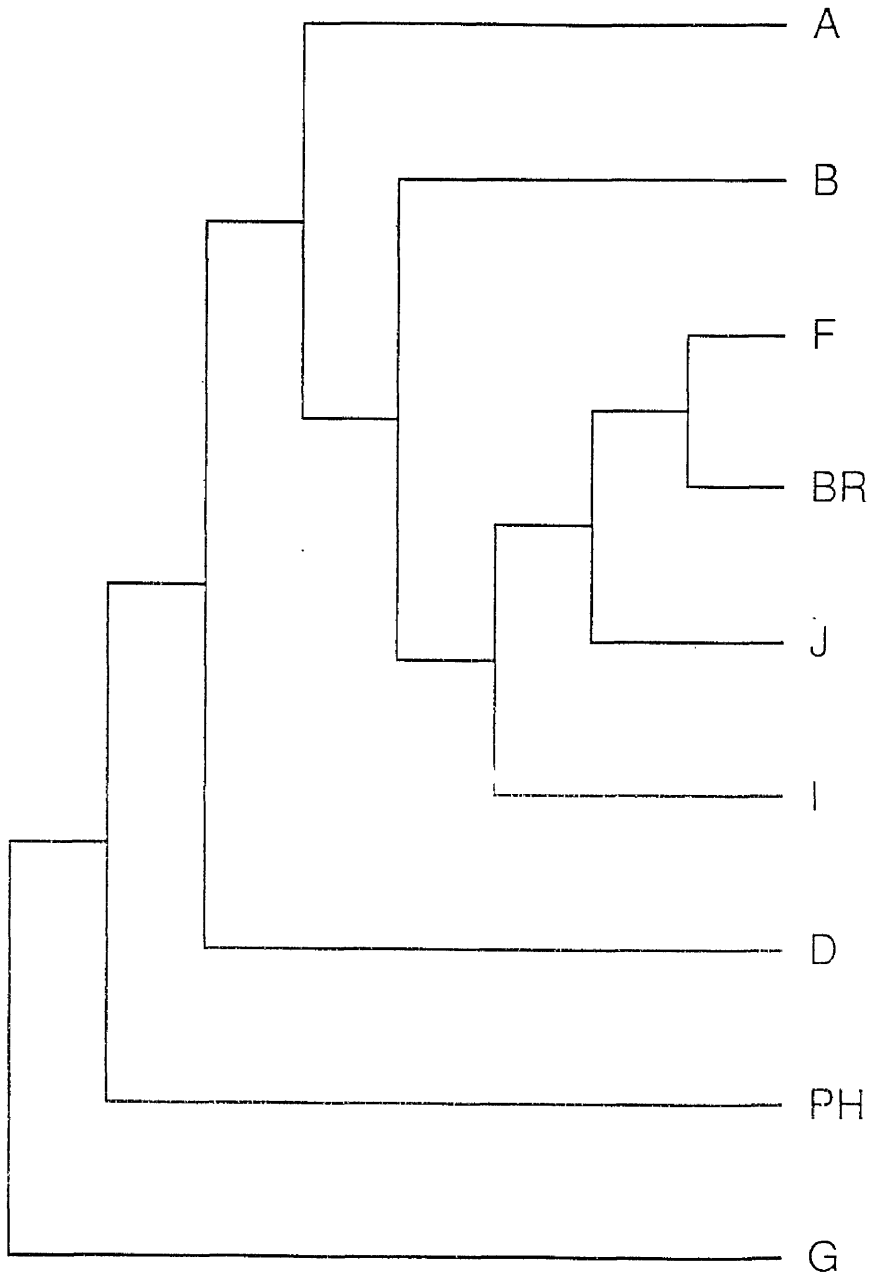
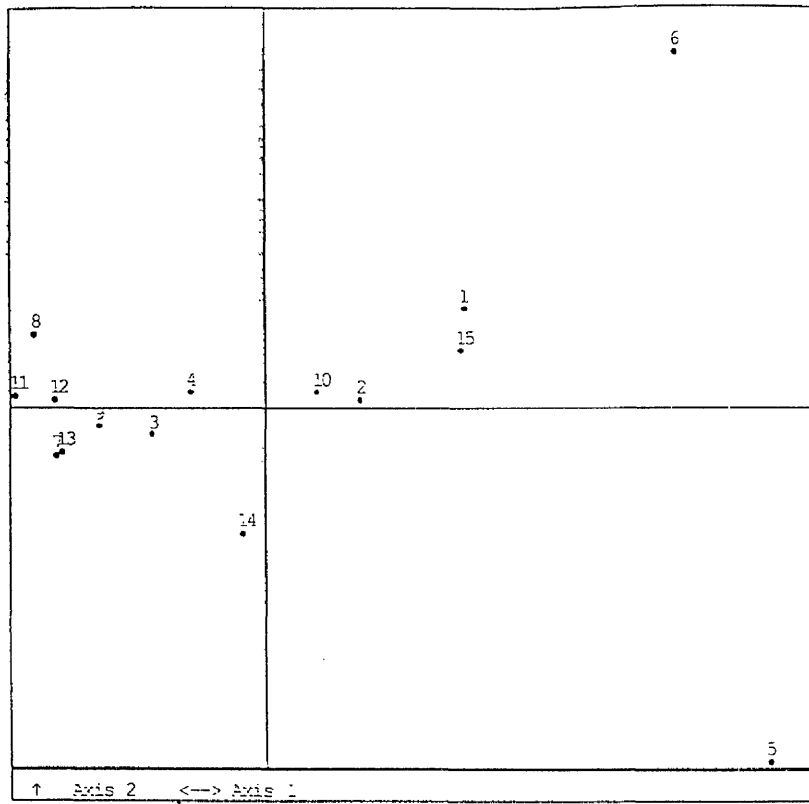


Fig. 2a

Principal coordinates

KM

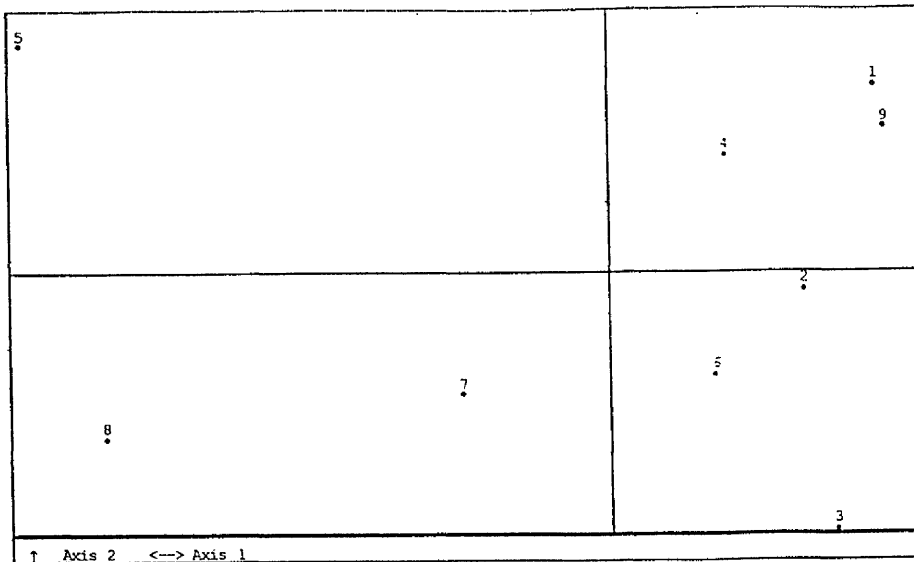


No	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
MS	BR	1	RC	RC	F	H	PC	A	D	J	G	E	NC	NC	C
			1	2									P	M	

Fig. 2b

Principal coordinates

AS



No	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
MSS	G	A	B	D	F	I	J	BR	PH



Figure 3a

## Distance matrix, KM

	BR	I	RC1	RC2	F	H	PC	A	D	J	G	E	NC	NC	C	
													P	M		
BR	0															
I	37	0														
RC1	63	45	0													
RC2	60	41	18	0												
F	91	81	102	100	0											
H	76	76	99	90	98	0										
PC	77	53	45	47	105	100	0									
A	75	58	50	50	117	103	45	0								
D	70	45	56	52	105	98	39	48	0							
J	39	32	42	42	89	82	53	58	53	0						
G	79	57	52	52	113	102	19	41	35	56	0					
E	74	57	49	49	108	97	20	43	27	54	14	0				
NC	72	52	54	49	113	105	44	56	51	51	51	48	0			
P																
NC	55	49	55	50	91	98	52	66	50	43	59	54	35	0		
M																
C	50	49	72	67	91	84	76	77	75	49	77	73	82	59	0	

Fig. 3b

## Distance matrix, AS

	G	A	B	D	F	I	J	BR	PH
G	0	22	36	21	63	28	41	62	3
A	22	0	26	23	61	22	33	54	19
B	36	26	0	33	69	24	39	56	33
D	21	23	33	0	53	19	32	52	18
F	63	61	69	53	0	57	45	34	64
I	28	22	24	19	57	0	23	48	27
J	41	33	39	32	45	23	0	33	40
BR	62	54	56	52	34	48	33	0	61
PH	3	19	33	18	64	27	40	61	0

## Chapter III

**The language of *Aṣṭādaś siddhānta and Kelimāl***

This chapter is not an attempt to give an integral picture of Braj grammar as exemplified by KM and AS. Since the linguistic features of Braj Bhāṣā are already extensively described<sup>1</sup> my aim has been to note the most interesting and salient characteristics of Haridās's language and to see to what extent it conforms to the general features of Braj as established in the aforementioned grammars. Especially in the section on phonology I have drawn information from the entire bulk of manuscript material rather than concentrating only on the readings of MS G. In instances where I have felt that phonetic variations are of no significance to the morphological or syntactic features of Haridās's language I have limited my examples to MS G, whose sigla is then not quoted.

It is worth keeping in mind that details of the morphology, syntax and semantics of this text are subject to various interpretations; this is especially true with regard to the more obscure verses. In other words, apparent differences of, for example, morphology may reflect different interpretations of the material by the various scribes. A particular context in which this becomes important is gender, being dependant on various interpretations of the dramatic persona of the specific narrative of the verses.

There are four peculiarities of Haridās's language which are extremely conspicuous: a strong liking for relative-correlative constructions and their pleonastic use; the coinage of special rhyme-forms which include both ungrammatical forms and major alterings of common forms, extensive use of words of Perso-Arabic origin and repetitions. The first four sections are dedicated to these features, and are then followed by observations on the phonology, morphology and syntax of Haridās's language.

**1 RELATIVE-CORRELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS****1.1 PROBLEMATIC AND SALIENT USAGES****1.1.1 *tais-***

KM and AS present two main problems with regard to *tais-*: lack or looseness of connection with relative clause, and ambiguity of adj. and adv. usage. The former is exemplified by *taisāi* KM 1.2 which is not associated with a relative clause, and *taisīyai taisī milī jorī* KM 12.3, presumably related to the previous clause, but connected very loosely. Whereas *taisoī (lahāga)* KM 49.2 is probably used as an adj., followed by a qualifying clause, *taisoī (nēnani sohai kājara)* KM 50.3 is presumably used adverbially.

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<sup>1</sup>See McGregor 1968, Snell 1991 a, b; Entwistle 1983.

*taisīyai* (*naī ṭhakurāī hai*) KM 51.3 is used either as an adj., following a qualifying sentence: ‘...such is the one of new authority’, or adverbially, preceding an implied relative word: ‘...in that way (as) one who has a new authority’. *taisīye* (*kokilā alāpata*)...*taisoī* (*megha garaji*)...*taisīye* (*syāma ghaṭā*)...*taisīyai* (*dāmini kaūdhi*) KM 96.2, 3 can be both adj. and adv. forms cf. for example: ‘such is the dense cloud that it is black like night’ and ‘just so the dark cloud is black like night’; here the adverbial interpretation is more likely, but then there will be no connection with a relative clause.

### 1.1.2

KM 66.4 presents a relative clause which is not associated with any principal clause: *je je bhāī lyāvati*, unless one interprets it as correlating in general sense with the second *pāda* of previous line: *kachu kahata na āvati*.

### 1.1.3 Correlation

*aisai-vaisai* KM 1.3, 4 an unusual case of correlation between two demonstrative pronominal adverbs.

*trinuka jyaū...asa* AS 8.1-3 is an example of a principal and relative sentence being far apart, divided by the second line.

## 1.2 PLEONASTIC USE OF *jo*

*jo* (etc.) is often used as a filler: KM 11.3, 36.2, 3; *ju* KM 30.4, 61.3, 101.3 etc.

## 1.3 *ais-/jais-*

### 1.3.1 Used adverbially

*aisē* (*jāu jini koū*) AS 15.3; *aisai hī* (*deṣata rahaū*) KM 3.1; *aisai hī* (*rahaī hvai*) KM 7.4; *aisē* (*mada pijai*) KM 74.1; *aisē hī* (*rahau*) KM 78.3;

(*ghana dāmini*) *jaisai* KM 1.1; *jaisai* (*bādara baraṣata*) KM 37.2; *jaise* etc./*mānō* (*pīta colī*) KM 97.1; *jaise* (*sita asita bainī*) KM 29.2; *jaisē* (*gyō/taisē*) (*pāñī mē pāñī narīca*) KM 55.4.

### 1.3.2 Used adjectively

Referent expressed: *aisoī* (*saba ṣela*) AS 13.1; *aiso hī* (*subhāva*) KM 5.2; *aisoī* (*dāva*) KM 5.3; *aisī* (*nitya bihārini*) KM 21.4; *aiso* (*bhrama*) KM 34.2; *aiso* (*rūpa*) KM 72.2; *aisī* (*joti*) KM 75.3; *aisoī* (*subhāva*) KM 76.1; *aisī* (*ritu*) KM 89.1; *aise* (*rasika*) KM 98.4; *aisau* (*suṣa*) KM 102.4;

Referent implied: *aisī* (*bhāti*) KM 31.1; *aisī* (*jorī*) KM 31.2; *aisī* (*bāta*) KM 39.3, 95.3;

Correlation assumed: *jaisī ba jā kē* KM 107.2.

## 1.4 UNABRIDGED RELATIVE-CORRELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

The relative clause preceding the principal clause: *jaisaĩ ... (haũ apanapau deṣata haũ) aisaĩ/taisaĩ (tuma deṣata hau) KM 6.1; jaise (nīke āju bane) aise (kabahũ na banẽ) KM 13.3; joĩ joĩ (karai) soĩ (chājai) KM 43.1; (aura sēgha karai) jo (terĩ) soĩ (lājai) KM 43.2; jaisīyai (kahai kauũ) taisīyai (karaũ) KM 53.3; jyaũ hĩ jaũ hĩ (tuma rāṣata hau) tyaũ hĩ tyaũ hĩ (rahiyatu hai) AS 1.1; (mīca) jyaũ (āvai) tyaũ (dhana hai) AS 4.4; jyaũ jyaũ (cāhai) tyaũ tyaũ (uḍai) AS 8.2; jyaũ jyaũ (to kau gaharu) tyaũ tyaũ (mo kau bithā) KM 17.2; jyaũ jyaũ (suṣa pāvata nāhĩ) tyaũ tyaũ (duṣa bhayo) KM 28.2; jyaũ jyaũ (jagāvata) tyõ (nahĩ jāgata) KM 47.2; jahã (phulavāri) tahã (suṣavata) KM 103.1.*

The principal clause preceding the relative clause: *(hari kau hitu) aísau jaiso (raṅga majiṭha) AS 7.3; aisĩ (jiya hota) jo KM 35.1; (muṣa) aiso (lāgata) jyaũ KM 55.3; aísau (māna implied) jyaũ kiyẽ KM 68.2; aiso (ko mana) jā (ko) KM 110.4.*

## 2 RHYME-FORMS

### 2.1 CHANGED MEDIAL AND/OR FINAL VOWEL

*pãhĩ (pã+hĩ?) KM 6.3, kãhĩ (<kahã) KM 6.4; bhvai (<bhuã?) KM 7.2, svai (form of vaha?) 7.3; noi (<nav-?) KM 13.4; janyaũ (<jãn-?) KM 14.3; janẽ (<jãn-) KM 79.2; cihãri (<cihar-/cihãra) KM 15.3; dihãri (<dehari?) KM 15.4; yãha (<yaha?) KM 24.3; dhanaṣa (<dhanuṣa) KM 37.1; itaneta (<itanau?) KM 39.3; rameta (<ramita?) KM 39.4; gãvarau (<gãvãra?) KM 44.2; sũlahu (<sulaha?) KM 48.2; ghũnarĩ (<ghunna) KM 49.3; pyãrani (<pyãrina) KM 64.2; bihãrani (<bihãrini) KM 64.4; nipũna (<nipuna) KM 72.3; sũnarĩ (<sundari) KM 72.4; kãmẽhi, yã mẽhi, nãmehi KM 82.2, 3, 4; phũnarĩ (<phuãra) KM 92.3;*

The original final vowel is suggested in square brackets: *kãrani [°a] AS 2.3; ãdhe [°a] AS 10.4; tãõ [°ã?] KM 3.3; leha [°u] KM 27.2, be ha [°u] 27.4; raurĩ [°a] KM 33.2; jãvarau [°a] KM 44.3; arãari [°i] KM 71.2, ðarãðari [°i] 71.3; bari [°a] KM 73.2; panẽ [°a] KM 79.4; (kã) gata [°i] KM 85.4; tuṅgi [°a] KM 94.2.*

### 2.2 NASALITY LOST OR GAINED

(MS sigla supplied when the reading quoted differs from that of MS G)

*adhalã AS 6.3; sīca KM 55.3:C, D, H, I, J, BR, RC; sãcĩ KM 95.1:A, NCM;*

*ghãti KM 78.3; kãcĩ KM 95.2:BR, NC, rãcĩ 95.3; lasãta, nasãta, hasãta KM 98.2, 3, 4; gãvatĩ, capãvatĩ, rãvatĩ KM 104.2, 3, 4; ārambhaṭi (?) KM 106.4.*

### 2.3 LOSS OF GEMINATE

*mata (<matta) KM 69.4.*

## 2.4 SUFFIXATION

*ādhārani* AS 2.4; *bandasi*, *phandasi*, *ṣandasi*, *nandasi* AS 9.1, 2, 3, 4; *dhūpara* KM 8.4; *soila*, *joila*, *bhoila* KM 46.2, 3, 4; *phūla hu* (?) KM 48.4; *balanā*, *abacalanā* KM 88.2, 4.

## 2.5 GRAMMATICALLY INCORRECT FORMS

An explanation of the incorrectness of the form is given in square brackets: *nerī* [should be an adv.] KM 20.4; *thorī* [should be m./adv.] KM 33.3, 5; *torī* [*ratipati*, m., Sj., *trana*, m., Obj.] KM 33.7; *agādhe* [*śrī sobhā*, f., Sj.] KM 41.2; *rahyau* [connected with *janiyata*, should be stem] KM 61.3;

Abs. lengthened: (*rahai*)...*nihārī* KM 9.2, 11.4; *bhoī* (abs. or m. pl. perf.) KM 13.2; *herī* KM 20.2; *naī* (?) KM 30.3; *morī* KM 33.2; *dāri* KM 84.2.

## 3 PERSO-ARABIC VOCABULARY

### 3.1 WORDS OF PERSIAN ORIGIN

*aragajā* KM 55.2, 61.2  
*kāgata* KM 34.2  
*jaṅgālī* KM 73.2  
*janābara* AS 1.4  
*jora* KM 107.2  
*dara* AS 6.3, 10.3  
*dārū* KM 74.2  
*payāde* KM 81.3  
*palakāi* KM 103.4  
*pidara* AS 6.3

*peca* KM 77.2  
*pyālau* KM 74.2  
*pharajī* KM 81.3  
*phiriyādi* AS 17.4  
*phīla* KM 81.3  
*banda* AS 9.1, KM 38.2  
*bande* AS 6.1  
*bagala* KM 92.2  
*bagicā* KM 98.2  
*badī* AS 5.2

*barābari* KM 71.1, 81.2  
*bājī* AS 5.3  
*yārani* KM 64.3  
*ruṣa* AS 3.3, KM 81.2  
*lāla*<sup>2</sup> KM 73.3  
*lāla*<sup>3</sup> KM 28.1, 73.2  
*sādā* KM 20.1, 75.4  
*surāhi* KM 74.2  
*suhabati* KM 74.4

### 3.2 WORDS OF ARABIC ORIGIN

*atalasa* KM 21.3  
*abīra* KM 48.2, 84.2  
*aṣatīyāra* AS 6.1  
*asara* KM 74.4  
*javādi* KM 26.3  
*javāhara* AS 10.3

*jaiba* KM 21.3, 29.3, 71.2  
 71.2  
*badana* KM 7.1, 19.2, 97.2  
*badal-* KM 73.1  
*bisāti* KM 81.1

*mahala* AS 10.4, KM 44.2,  
 87.1  
*moja* KM 91.2  
*rabāba* KM 48.3  
*sadake* KM 80.3  
*silasilau* KM 49.2

### 3.3 HYBRIDS

*caupahalū* KM 20.2  
*bekājai* KM 43.3  
*bekāryaū* AS 18.2

## 4 REPETITIONS

Repetitions are very common in Haridās's poetry and enhance its spontaneous, colloquial ring. Most often their function is emphatic.

#### 4.1 REPETITIONS WITH EMPHATIC FORCE

Repetitions of vocatives and verbs in imperative or subjunctive enforce the entreaty or the imperative force of the action: *hari bhaji hari bhaji* AS 4.1; *mata bañchai mata bañchai* AS 4.2; *chāḍai ba chāḍai* KM 10.4; *rādhe rādhe* KM 17.1 (r. f.); *sunī sunī* KM 25.1; *raho raho* KM 102.1;

Similarly most repetitions of other parts of the speech have a general emphatic force: repetition of adjectives and nouns stresses the thoroughness of quality; of numerals the increase of the number; repetition of some temporal adverbs yields the sense 'every' etc.:

*tilu tilu* AS 4.2; *pana pana* KM 102.2; *ghana ghana* 110.2;

*ādhe ādhe* KM 17.3 (r. f.); *amola mola nāhi* KM 27.2; *thorī thorī* KM 33.3, 5 (r. f.); *nayo nayo* KM 34.1; *nita nita* KM 43.4; *nava nava* KM 44.3; *nyāre nyāre* KM 55.4; *mīṭhe mīṭhe* KM 80.2; *ragamāge ragamāge* KM 87.1; *harī harī* KM 89.3; *aṭala aṭala* KM 95.4;

*harē harē* KM 20.4;

*canaṣa canaṣa* KM 37.4 (r. f.); *rījhi rījhi* KM 106.3.

*nāhī nāhī* KM 44.3; *kyaū hū kyaū hū* KM 51.1;

*chini chinu* KM 46.3; *palu palu* KM 46.3, 78.2; *gharī gharī* KM 80.2;

*koṭi koṭi* KM 86.4.

#### 4.2 REPETITIONS WITH REITERATIVE FORCE

Repetition of verbal forms (most often absolutes and participles) or nouns/adjectives connected with them stresses the continuous/repetitive character or thoroughness of the action: *sādhe sādhe* KM 17.2 (r. f.), 41.3; *bādhe bādhe* KM 17.4 (r. f.); *deṣi deṣi* KM 30.1, 42.1 (r. f.), 63.2; *naye naye rāgata* KM 34.3; *leṣi leṣi* KM 42.2 (r. f.); *pareṣi pareṣi* KM 42.4 (r. f.).

#### 4.3 REPETITIONS WITH DISTRIBUTIVE FORCE

Repetition of numerals often shows that the quality is shared by all the members of the group; here the bracelets are on both hands: *(hāthani/karani) cāri cāri cūrī* KM 20.2, 21.3, 50.1; *(kara kaṅkana) ekai ekai* KM 63.1.

## 5 PHONOLOGY

### 5.1 FINAL SHORT VOWELS

#### -i

##### 5.1.1 Feminine -i stem nouns

The weakening of final -i is shown in the -a spelling of f. -i stem nouns in a number of instances, especially in the undated MS D: *ruca* KM 2.1:D; *ḍṛṣṭa* KM 4.2:D; 9.1:C, H; *prīta* KM 5.2:D, RC; *prakṛta* KM 14.3:D, H, RC; *surata* KM 14.3:D, RC; 21.4:D, F, H, I, NC, RC; *bāna* KM 14.4:I, NCP; *pota* KM 20.1:D, NC, RC; *pratīta* KM 25.3:C, D, NC, RC; *candrāgata* KM 33.3:RC; *mūrata* KM 53.2:C, D; *bhūma* KM 89.3:I; *sukānta* KM 94.1:C, D, H, I, NC; *rīta* KM 107.3:D, RC.

The weakened pronunciation of final -i is deducible also from the following mixed rhyme-patterns: *lāgata, kāgati, rāgata jāgata* KM 34:C; *diṣāvata, gāvata, āvati, lyāvati* KM 66:G.

##### 5.1.2 Masculine-i stem nouns

Again D substitutes the final -i of *°pati* with -a: AS 15.2.

##### 5.1.3 Final -i as a feminine gender marker

MS BR typically reads *haridāsi*; the final -i here alludes to the poetic convention in which the male poet sees himself as an honorary *sakhī*. The majority of MSS (except for D, NC and RC) give the variant *musakani* of the f. noun *musakana* KM 33.2. Presumably the readings *°rāti* KM 32.3 (all MSS except for D, H, NC, RC); *rāti birāti* KM 62.3 (all MSS apart from D, NCP, RC); *°nisi* KM 34.4 (all MSS apart from A, D, I and RC); 72.2:NC; 93.3:A, I, BR, NC; 94.3 (all MSS apart from A, D, I, RC); 96.3 (except for D) are connected with the f. gender of these nouns. Yet another possible explanation would be to see -i as a loc. marker in these examples; this hypothesis is supported by the form *dini* of the m. noun *dina* KM 34.4:C and *aji* KM 22.3 (however, *aji* is a rhyme-form, see also McGregor 1968: 3.15).

##### 5.1.4 Historic -ī>-i(>-a)

*bihārini* KM 21.4 (-ī in NC only); *nāgari* KM 51.3 (all MSS), 108.2:(all MSS except for A, D, I); *juvati* KM 52.3:C, D, F, J, BR, RC, 105.1:NCP, RC; *ghari* KM 90.2:G; *rasavati* KM 94.2:F, NCM; *dāmini* KM 95.1 (all MSS except for F, H, I, NCM); *sundari* KM 104.2:F, J, BR, PH, NC, RC.

Examples like *dāmīna* KM 1.1:D; *tarana* KM 48.3:C; *rāgīna* KM 65.2:D can be interpreted as a further stage of this process.

##### 5.1.5 Final -i as a locative marker

There are a few examples in which final -i is definitely a loc. termination (in two of them pleonastically followed by the ppn. *mē*: *bani maī* KM 13.1:C; *rahasi mē* KM 36.1 (all MSS); *hāthi* KM 66.2:G and *ḍāri* KM 71.2:D, F, H, NCP.

Loc. *-i* also occurs with nouns used as ppns.: *basī* KM 35.3:G and *bīci* KM 69.4:C, F, J, PH; 70.2:J, PH; 97.4:J.

### 5.1.6 Final *-i* in numerals

Entwistle (1983, p. 148) points out that the final *-i* of *cāri* is probably a remnant of the Ap. neuter form. There are three occurrences of *cāri* in Haridās's text: AS 9.3 (all MSS apart from B, D, J, BR); AS 17.2 (all MSS except for D); KM 50.1 (all MSS except for D, RC and NC), and one of *gyārahi* KM 26.3:PH.

## *-u*

### 5.1.7 Final *-u* as a direct case marker

In the great majority of instances final *-u* occurs with sg. nouns when they are sentence subject (Sj.), nominal complement (NomC) or direct object (DObj.): *suṣu* (Sj.) AS 3.1:F; KM 109.4:H; *duṣu* (DObj.) AS 3.2:F; *tilu* (DObj.) AS 4.2:F, G, PH; *mīcu* (Sj.) AS 4.4:B, F; *dhanu* (Sj.) AS 4.4:J; *ṭhāṭhu* (DObj.) AS 14.3:F, G, BR; *raṅgu* (Sj.) KM 2.3:C, F, G, PH; 19.3:PH; 61.2:PH; 84.4:G, PH; 101.4:PH; (DObj.) KM 16.4:C, PH; *palu* (Sj.) KM 3.3:A, D, G, PH; *cītu* (Sj.) KM 7.2:I, BR; (DObj.) AS 6.2:F, BR; *cepu* (Sj.) KM 9.1:C, I, BR; *māni* (NomC) KM 10.1:F, H; 39.1:H; 43.3:F; 59.1:C, F; 90.1:F, G, H, J; *rāgu* (Sj.) KM 14.1:C; 19.3:C, G, I, RC; 61.1:G, PH; 89.4:H; *rasu* (DObj.) KM 16.3:F; 33.8:H; 74.3:F, H; *tranu* (Sj.) KM 18.1:NCP; 30.3:NC; 69.2:F, H, NC; (DObj.) 82.3:C, G; *dānu* (DObj.) KM 22.3:NCP; 62.1:C; *bhuvāṅgamu* (Sj.) KM 29.2:H; *sāju* (Sj.) KM 35.3:H; *chalu* (NomC) KM 39.4:G, I, PH; *magu* (DObj.) KM 46.3:C; *dūlahu* (Sj.) KM 48.1 (all MSS); 88.1:H, J, BR, PH; *haṭhu* (NomC) KM 51.3:H; *śramu* (Sj.) KM 55.2:G, PH; *meru* (Sj.) KM 60.4 (all MSS except F, H, RC); 85.2:C, D, J, BR; *ṣelu* (Sj.) KM 61.3:G; 82.4:H; *pagu* (Sj.) KM 61.3:C, G, J, PH; *manu* (Sj.) AS 9.2:F; (DObj.) AS 12.1:F; KM 63.2:J; 85.4:H; 105.2:J; *kaṭāku* (Sj.) KM 71.3:F; *ḍaru* (Sj.) KM 78.1:H, NCP; *utaru* (DObj.) KM 83.2:A, C; *acirīju* (Sj.) KM 91.1:H; *kanu* (Sj.) KM 95.3:C, G; *hāru* (Sj.) KM 97.4:C, D, F, G, I; *misu* (NomC) KM 102.2:A, F, I; *phāgu* (DObj.) KM 105.1:A, F, BR, NC, RC; *bhoru* (Sj.) KM 109.1:H.

However, the approximation of *-u* and *-a* is evidenced by the fact that *-u* also occurs in oblique case: *rāgu* (followed by *mē*) KM 2.3:C, G, PH; *tanu* (loc.) KM 59.3:C; *suṣu* (gen.) KM 44.2:D; *hitu* (gen.) KM 69.3:H, J; (followed by *āgaī*) AS 7.1:G, PH, BR; *subāsu* (instr.) KM 69.4:H, and in the collocations *palu* (*lāgata*) *palu* (*kaū*) AS 4.3:D, G; *chinu chinu* KM 19.1:NCM; 46.3:G, F; *palu palu* KM 46.3:G, F; 78.2:C, D, F, G, H, BR, PH. The free variations in the seven occurrences of *hitu*/<sup>o</sup>*a* in AS 7 (in direct and oblique cases) is further evidence of the approximation of final *-a* and *-u* in m. *a*-stem nouns.



There are a few instances of inverted application of the *-a>-u* rule: *-u* stem nouns are written with *-a* when in obl. case: *sādha* (gen. of *sādhu*) AS 7.2:B, D, G, PH; *tara* (loc. of *taru*) KM 68.1 (all MSS); *saca* (gen. of *sacu*) KM 82.2:D, F, H, BR, PH, NC; 90.1:A, F, H, BR, RC.

## 5.2 MEDIAL SHORT VOWELS

Unstressed medial *-a-*, *-i-* and *-u-* occur in the text of the MSS in free variation.

### 5.2.1 *-a->-i-*

*pira* AS 5.2: G, BR; *apunipau* KM 6.1:RC; *musikani* KM 33.2:C; *bithikita* KM 33.7:D, J; *gahibara* KM 46.1:PH; *aginata* KM 66.3:PH; *cūnirī* KM 72.1:D; *piyāde* KM 81.3:BR; *kiroani* KM 89.3:A, C, G; *nāgiri* KM 94.2:D; *atina* KM 106.4:D. In two examples the replacement is determined by palatal consonantal environment: *jācik*(<sup>o</sup>*g*<sup>o</sup>)*a* KM 45.4:J, PH, NCM, BR and *aciraja* KM 91.1 (all MSS except for A, D, BR and RC).

### 5.2.2 *-i->-a-*

*pañjara* AS 9.3:F; *rāganī* KM 2.2:RC; *haradāsa* (typical spelling in C); *bihārani* KM 21.4:I, J, BR, PH; *bānaka* KM 29.1:C; *kaṇṭhasarī* KM 50.2:J. Two instances show inverted substitution of *-i-* with *-a-* in palatal environment: *rucara* KM 46.2:I and *ducate* KM 101.2:G.

### 5.2.3 *-a-/-i-* in ptcs.

In some examples the interchange of *-a-* and *-i-* in ptcs. is determined by a confusion of the *tadbhava* imperf. ptcs. and the *tatsama* perf. ptcs.: *cāhita* KM 15.2:PH; *śramata* KM 40.3:J; *upajita* KM 45.2:PH; *raṅgata* KM 72.1:F, H; *bañchita* KM 78.2:A, D, I, J, NCP; *nadata* KM 94.1:RC.

### 5.2.4 *a->-u-*

Unetymological *-u-* occurs usually either in labial environment or in the penultimate syllable (see Entwistle 1993, p. 103): *gumāvani* AS 11.2:BR; *samuḥhāi* KM 51.2:H, RC; *buhuta* KM 51.3:RC; 53.2:RC; 90.3:RC; *sahubata* (<*suhabati*) KM 74.4:D; *tinukā* AS 8.1 (all MSS except for A); *rasunā* KM 40.1:C; *taruna* (<*taraṇi*) KM 48.3:A, D, F, G, J; *vuha* KM 73.3:RC; *paluva* KM 85.3:H.

### 5.2.5 *-u->-a-*

Again in most instances non-historical *-a-* occurs either in labial environment and/or in the penultimate syllable: *puraṣa* AS 14.3:D; *bikaca* KM 7.2:D, H, NC; *dhanaṣa* KM 37.1:G, H; *kala*(<*kula*) KM 69.4:A, D, G, I; *sakha* KM 80.4:D; *sukamāra* KM 19.2:BR; *tama* KM 30.3:BR; *pahupani* KM 33.7:A, D, F, G, I, BR, PH; *puhapa* KM 75.1:G, PH; *pahupa* KM 75.1:D, F, I, J; *nu*(<sup>o</sup>*ū*<sup>o</sup>)*para* KM 8.1:A, RC; *ambaja* KM 55.3:J; *bhaja* KM 57.4:RC; *kusama* KM 68.2:C, I, J, PH, NC. The only two exceptions

*jagala* KM 52.3:RC and *javatini* KM 85.3:F show unetymological *-a-* in identical environment: in the initial syllable following palatal *j-*.

The approximation of *-u-* and *-a-* is demonstrated by the rhyme-pattern of KM 8 (all MSS except for A and RC): *nūpura, ūpara, dū para, dhūpara*.

### 5.3 STRESSED VOWELS

#### 5.3.1 *-a->-e-*

McGregor (1968: 2.13) gives examples of ‘fronting and raising’ *-a-* when followed by *-h-* in *kah-*. Apart from an analogous instance involving *kah-*, *kehata* KM 25.1:C, there is one more occurrence of this phenomenon in KM: *lēhagā* KM 49.2:C.

#### 5.3.2 Approximation of *-ū-* and *-u-*

*-ū->-u-*: *kasturī* KM 26.3:F, NC; 56.1:NC

*-u->-ū-*: *hūte* KM 24.3:NCP; *ājū* KM 30.3:NCP; *dūtī* KM 34.2:C; *jhūka/°i* KM 76.3:D, BR; *catūra* KM 81.2:C; *ātūratā* KM 81.3:C; *anūpama* KM 81.3 (all MSS except for C). The approximation of *-u-* and *-ū-* is conspicuous in MSS C and NC.

### 5.4 *r*

Etymological *r* is most often realised as *ri* or *ra*: *krapā* AS 2.1:B, I; *mragatraṣṇā(°snā)* AS 13.2:B, F, J; *trana* KM 18.1:C, D, G, H, I, BR, NCM; 82.3:A, I, J; *ritu* KM 89.1 (all MSS except for A, D, J); *graha* KM 106.1 (all MSS except for D and NC). *r* before *ṣṭ* is sometimes realised as *i*: *diṣṭi* KM 4.2:G; *diṣṭa* 58.2:H; *biṣṭa* KM 75.1:H. The approximation of *r* and *ri/ra* can be seen in the inverted spelling of etymological *ri/ra* as *r* as well: *ṭṛguna* KM 82.4:J, RC; *ṭṛbhaṅgī* KM 94.1:D, RC; *gr* (<*agra*) KM 94.2:H.

### 5.5 *ai/e* and *au/o*

The rhyming pattern often suggests that the scribes did not consider the diphthongs to be substantially different from the monophthongs.

*tē* and *taī* KM 24; *nīkaī, pī kaī, jī kaī, phīke* KM 60; *banē, janē, sanaī, panē* KM 79; *sēna, baīna, mēna, caīna* KM 80.

*hoḍa, choḍa, kauḍa, tauḍa* AS 5; *mānō, jānō, tānō, rānaū* KM 3; *horī, kisaurī, ṣorī, thorī* KM 19; *kisaurī, raurī, thorī, caurī, thaurī, jorī, torī, kau rī* KM 33; *karaū, ṭaraū, bharau, larō* KM 59; *siramaura, ghora, daura, kisora* KM 65; *morani, ghorani, kiraurani, kisorani* KM 89; *colī, bolī, ṣolī, aulī* KM 97.

## 5.6 NASALITY

### 5.6.1 Nasalisation

The observations about nasalisation in the text of *Rās mān ke pad* (Entwistle 1993, pp. 106-110) are valid here as well. The spread of spontaneous nasalisation is more extensive than in *Rās mān ke pad*, and includes nasalisation of long vowels in the vicinity not only of palatals, sibilants, *r(l)*, but also of retroflex consonants and labials (?): *hāṭa* AS 18.3:BR; *adhaūṭi* KM 61.2:NCM; *baīṭhi* KM 98.3:I; *bhītara* KM 46.1:J; *būṅkā* KM 102.1:NC. There are a number of instances of spontaneous nasalisation of short vowels, again in the environment described: palatals: *bācana* KM 36.1:RC; *r. paraspāra* KM 101.3:RC. Nasalisation of the vowel of initial syllable preceding -*g* seems to be common as well: *āgalā* AS 6.2:B; *pāga* KM 61.3:NCP; *kāgahi* KM 70.3:H.

### 5.6.2 Loss of nasality

There is a strong tendency of omission of both vowel nasality and homorganic nasal consonants, especially in the vicinity of velars and palatals:

Followed by a velar: *āṣi* KM 6.2:C, F, BR; *uṭhagi* KM 31.4:NCP; *lahagā* KM 49.2:D, F, I, J, BR, NCP; *ragi(ta)* KM 72.1:C; D; *agiyā* KM 74.1:I, J; *ākō/°aū* KM 74.2:F, H; *re/(°ai)gani* KM 89.3:C, RC;

*paka* KM 7.1:C; *sigāra*<sup>2</sup> KM 13.1:D, NCP; 103.3:H; *bhuvagama* KM 29.2:C; *taraga* KM 57.2:C; *mṛdaga* KM 61.2:RC; *aga* KM 66.1:C; 72.3:C; *duraga* KM 73.3:C; *agurina/°ini* KM 77.2:D; F, H;

Followed by a palatal: *sāci* AS 14.1:J; KM 6.3:C, J, BR; 95.1:A, NCM; *pahucani* etc. KM 21.3:D; F, I, G; J, RC; BR; *sīca* KM 55.3:C, D, H, I, J, BR, RC; *māci* KM 95.4:A, D;

*p(h)ijarā* AS 1.4:D; KM 9.1:D, H; RC; *pachī* KM 14.1:F, NCM; *puja* KM 16.3:RC; 44.2:RC; *acarā* KM 20.3:A, D, F, H, NCM, RC; *kuja* KM 44.2:C; *kujabihārī* KM 84.1:F; *gujāra* KM 85.2:C, RC; *acala* KM 88.3:I; *acarā* KM 93.2:A, D, F, H, I, NC, RC;

Dental *n* following *ā*: *ekāta* KM 13.1:C; *sāta* KM 34.4:C; *sāti* KM 78.4:C; *sukāti* KM 94.1:RC;

*m*: *pītibara* KM 29.3:C; *pītābara* 72.1:C; *ṣubhī* KM 56.2 (all MSS except for C and H); *capai* KM 71.2:C; *gabhīra* KM 110.3:RC.

Others: *bādhe* KM 17.4:C, H; *badhāna* KM 67.2:C, D; 90.3:C, F; *bāha* KM 24.2:J, PH; *hasata* KM 32.1:A, D, F, H, J, BR; *hasi* KM 96.4:D, I, BR; *bhātina/°ini* KM 32.2:BR, NCM; I, J; *bhāti* KM 77.1:I; *jahā* KM 46.1:C, BR; *tahā* KM 46.2:J, 57.2:C; *ḍhū(°u°)ḍhata* KM 68.4:A, J; C; *gūtha/°i* KM 70.1:C; D, F, RC; *unīdī* KM 76.1:A, D,

<sup>2</sup>In some of the instances quoted here and below in 'dental *n* following *ā*' the loss of homorganic nasal has been a two-stage process: the homorganic nasal has been reduced to vowel nasalisation which has then been lost, e.g. *siṅgāra*>*sīgāra*>*sigāra*.

F, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC; *jabhāti/ °āti/ °āta* KM 77.1:D; F, BR; H; *būdaī/ °ai* KM 92.1:C, J; *ḍhāpi* KM 98.1:RC.

### 5.7 h

There are two occurrences of *visarga*, both in MS C and both unetymological: *dehuḥ* KM 39.3 (imp. of *de-*) and *puñjaḥ* KM 44.2. They are probably scribal mistakes.

### 5.8 VOICED/VOICELESS CONSONANTS

MSS BR, C and A show a few instances of substitution of voiced/voiceless consonants with their voiceless/voiced counterparts:

*k>g*: *jāciga* KM 45.4:BR; *kāgahi* KM 70.3:H; I; *gī* KM 86.1:C (for an identical process see Entwistle 1983, p. 162);

*b>p*: *puḍakī* KM 83.4:BR; *pochāri* (<*bauchāra*) KM 92.3:A;

*d>t*: *rasata* KM 94.3:C.

### 5.9 kṣ>ch

The Sanskrit phoneme *kṣ* is often represented as *ch* in semi-*tatsamas*: *jaccha* I, *jacha* C, D, H, BR, *jachi* G (KM 42.2); *kaṭāchi* KM 87.4:C, F, G, H, J, PH. The inversion of this rule evident in the spelling *akṣī* of *acchī* in KM 77.1:H might be further proof for the realisation of *kṣ* as *ch*.

### 5.10 m

A number of instances show a clear tendency of approximation of the bilabial nasal with the semivowel *v*. This applies both to examples where etymological *m* is realised as *v* and *vice versa*:

*gamāvani* A, B, D, J, *gavāvani* G (AS 11.2); *sukumāra* A, D, H, NC, RC, *sukūvāra* G, *sukuvāra* F, I, PH (KM 19.2); *sāmarau* A, *sāvarau* G, *sāvarau* J (KM 44.1); *gāmarau* A, *gāvarau* G, *gāvarau* H, RC (KM 44.2); *camara* A, *cāvara* J, *cōra* G, *cavara* F, I (KM 53.2); *bhamara* A, *bhāvara* PH, NC, *bhaūra* H, *bhavara* D, F, I, J, BR (KM 69.4); *kamaniya* H, *kavīni* G, *kavaniya* NCP (KM 110.1);

*sabārana* G, *sābārana* D, I, PH, *savārana* F, J, BR, *sahmārana* A, B (AS 5.1); *sāvārī* G, *savārī* D, F, H, J, BR, NC, *sahmārī* A (KM 46.2); *sāvārata* G, *sahmārana* A (KM 70.3); *suhāvāni* G, *suhāvāni* C, F, J, PH, NC, *suhāmanī* A (KM 92.1); *gāvati* G, *gāvati* RC, *gāmatī* A (KM 104.2).

In a couple of examples *m* is reduced to *anusvāra*: *kuṅkūma* KM 26.3:D, G, BR; *rō/ °aū* KM 32.3:C, F, H, G, BR, PH.

### 5.11 ś

Etymological ś has been retained in all instances of the conjunct *śr:* *śrī* (see glossary); *śravata* KM 9.2; *śrama* KM 11.3, 19.2, 55.2; *śramita* KM 40.3; *śruti* KM 32.3, 52.3. The only exception to this is *śradhā* AS 16.4 where ś is replaced by *s* in MSS I and J: *sardhā* I, *saradhā* J; however in both variants the conjunct is simplified as well.

The reading *nihacala* (<*niśacala*) in KM 8.4:D, G, J, BR, PH, NC; RC might reflect a reversing of the *sandhi* rule for *visarga* followed by voiceless palatals.

### 5.12 ṣ

Etymological ṣ is represented as *k* in *dhanaka* KM 37.1:H; 89.2:C, H, BR. Possibly this reading could be explained with de-aspiration of *kh* which is unetymologically assumed here to be the equivalent of ṣ. A further proof to this speculation is the fact that *dhanaṣa/°ka* in KM 37 rhymes with *anaṣa*, *kanaṣa* and *canaṣa*, which shows that historic ṣ and *kh* were approximated, and the reading *sukava(ta/°ti)* for *suṣavata* KM 103.1:D; H; F, J, BR, which creates a precedent for de-aspiration of *kh*.

### 5.13 h

A number of instances exemplify the tendency of *h* weakening or disappearing between vowels, noted by McGregor (1968: 2.30): *saja* KM 1.2:C; *cāi/°i* KM 19.3:C; G; *aranisa* KM 72.2:G; *surāi* KM 74.2:A, *subati* 74.4:H; *pharāta* KM 88.3:F; *kuñjabiārī* KM 100.4:H; *kata* (<*kahata*) KM 105.1:RC.

A similar tendency is observed when a nasal and *h* constitute a conjunct: *jōna* KM 21.2:H; *tumārī* KM 72.4:D.

### 5.14 ASPIRATES

There are a few examples of both gain and loss of aspiration. The overwhelming number of instances of gain of aspiration involve voiced consonants, whereas usually voiceless sounds lose original aspiration.

#### 5.14.1 Gain of aspiration

*g>gh*: *ghaṭī* KM 24.2:C, G, H; *praghaṭa* KM 28.3:A, 110.2:A; *ghata* KM 107.2:D, F, H, I, J, BR;

*d>dh*: *dhauśa* (<*dyausa*) AS 17.2:B; *gāṭhōdha* I, *gaṭhaūdha* J, *gaṭhaudha* BR, RC (KM 25.3);

*p>ph*: *phijarā* KM 9.1:RC; *phūnarī* KM 49.2:F; *phelata* KM 81.3:F (Since two of the three occurrences of a voiceless consonant gaining aspiration appear in MS F, they might merely be due to scribal habit);

*b>bh*: *subhāsa* KM 69.4:A.

#### 5.14.2 Loss of aspiration

*kh>k*: *sukava* D, *sukavati* F, J, BR, *sukavata* H (KM 103.1);

*th>t*: *thāṭa* AS 14.3:A; *haṭa* KM 51.3:C; *jhūṭe* KM 95.1:NC; *thaṭi* KM 106.1 (all MSS except for D, BR);

*th>t*: *hāta* KM 61.2:C; *madhista* KM 82.3:H;

*ph>p*: *pūnarī* KM 92.3:A.

#### 5.15 GEMINATES

Often the combination of etymological consonant and the semi-vowel *-y* is represented as a *tadbhava* geminate. The examples are exclusively of the dentals *-t* and *-d*: *yadyapi>jaddapi* AS 1.3:G; *nṛtya>nṛtti* KM 2.2:G. The inverted process is described by Entwistle (1993, p. 115), where a *tatsama -tt-* is realised as *-ty-*: *uttama>utyama* (notice that the example is again of a dental *-t*).

There are also a few instances of simplified geminates in Haridās's text: *praphullita>praphulita* KM 52.2:G; *pannā>panā/°ā* KM 73.3:C, G; *uttara>u°ūtara* KM 83.2:C; G; H.

#### 5.16 CLUSTERS

The overwhelming majority of instances where a conjunct is realised as two separate consonants with an epenthetic vowel involves *-r*, most often as the first member of a cluster (see McGregor 1968: 2.3): *padāratha* AS 9.3 (all MSS); *karapūra* KM 26.3:G; *pūrana* KM 33.5 (all MSS); *mūrati* KM 53.2 (all MSS except for NC); however sometimes *-r* is the second member of a cluster: *parapañca* AS 14.2:B; *saradhā* AS 16.4:J; *paratīti* KM 25.3:J; *daraba/°i* KM 36.3:C, F, H (it is interesting that most of these instances present simplification of consonant clusters in initial position).

There are a number of examples of non-historical clusters, all of them including *-r*: *murlī* KM 18.2:NC; *biprīti* KM 27.3:A; *manortha* KM 57.2:NC, RC; *argajā* KM 61.2:I. It is worth noticing that these instances of 'inverted' clusters appear in relatively recent MSS, where there are most probably attempts at sanskritization.

The rise of epenthetic vowel is quite common between two nasals as well: most MSS read *janama* with an epenthetic vowel: AS 11.2 (except for A and BR); AS 15.3 (except for I and BR); KM 3.1 (apart from BR and RC); KM 41.3 (except for A, H, I, BR and RC). Again all MSS (except for BR, NCM and RC) read *unamatta* KM 93.3.

## 6 MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

### 6.1 NOUNS

#### 6.1.1 Direct case

About the use of *-u* with unextended masculine *-a* stem nouns, sg. see above 5.1.7.

Two suffixes: *-e/-ē/-ai/-aī* and (*m̄*) occur respectively with f. *a-* and *ā* stem nouns: *bīraī* KM 21.2; *āṣaī* KM 35.2; *bhohaī* KM 64.2; *būnde* KM 92.1; *alakaī* KM 103.1; *lalanā* KM 88.1.

#### 6.1.2 Obl. case, pl.

Obl. pl. nouns take the suffix *-na/-ni/(-nu)*: *prānani* (*ke ādhārani*) AS 2.4; *logani* (*kī lāvani*) AS 11.1; *pañchina* (*maī*) AS 13.3; *janamani* (*ke dina*) AS 15.3; *aurana* (*sō rati*) AS 16.2; *dārani* (*mē*) AS 16.2; *pitarani* (*kaū*) AS 16.4; *bātani* KM 19.3; *motīna* (*kī*) KM 20.1; *hāthani* KM 20.2; *urasani* KM 20.3; *kānani* (*°na* in most MSS) KM 21.2; *bhedani* (*ke bheda*) KM 23.2; *āṣina* (*suṣa*) KM 32.1; (*bahu*) *bhātini* KM 32.2, 91.2; (*bahuta*) *bhātina* AS 3.2, KM 53.3; *phūlani* KM 33.5; *pahupani* (*baraṣā*) KM 33.7; *bhōhani* (*tāṭī*) KM 39.3; *patrana* (*kī saiyā*) KM 46.2; (*cūrī*) *karani* KM 50.1; (*dularī*) *hīrani* (*kī*) KM 50.2; *manani* (*ṣacyau*) KM 52.2; *netrani* (*diyē syāma*) KM 56.2; *prānani* (*kaū*) KM 58.3; *rātini* KM 62.2; *ārani* KM 64.1; *gunani* (*rāi*) KM 65.1; *lāgani* (*mē*) KM 65.4; *chabina* (*kau saṅgraha*) KM 66.1; *aṅgani aṅga* KM 72.3; *nēnani* (*kau pyālau*) KM 74.2; *adharani* KM 74.3; *maurani* KM 82.1; *juvatini* (*ke jūtha*) KM 85.3; *dalani* (*para*) KM 86.3; *morani?* KM 89.1; *meghani* (*kī ghorani*) KM 89.2; *būḍhani* (*kī rēgani*) KM 89.3; *jatanani* (*kari*) KM 90.3; *logani/°na* (*agen.*) KM 95.2:C, BR; NCM; *morana* (*saṅga*) KM 96.1; *juvatini* (*mili*) KM 99.2; *aṅgana* (*māhi*) KM 99.3; *āṣina* (*me*) KM 102.1; *saṣiyana* (*kī drṣṭi*) KM 105.4; *dasanani* KM 106.3; *rāginīna* (*jūtha*) KM 107.3.

There are only two occurrences of the suffix *-nu*: *loganu* (*kī lāvani*) AS 11.1:F and *bithinu* (*dījai sohanī*) AS 12.1:F. Whereas the former clearly has gen. sense (cf. Snell 1991a, p. 99), the latter does not.

In some instances obl. pl. is used with direct object to mark plurality of an ‘indefinite’ object: *jatanani kari* KM 90.3, or to identify a definite object: *pratibimbana* (*deṣata*) KM 13.2; *sāvarata bārani* KM 70.3 (see McGregor 1968: 4.36-37).

#### 6.1.3 Generic Sg.

Generic sg. is often used instead of pl.: *rāga rāginī ke jūtha* KM 12.2; *dvai kara saū* KM 15.3; *bhōha* KM 37.1; *tīna hū sura ke* KM 67.2; *tīna kī nāri* KM 75.2; *rāga ke saṅga* KM 85.2; *raga rāginī ke* KM 101.3.

#### 6.1.4 Obl. case, sg.

*-e (ē)/-ai (aī)* are the obl. case endings used with m. *-au* (?) roots: *kādhe* AS 10.2; *sōne* KM 21.1; *māthaī* KM 22.3; *bāse* KM 39.2.

-*hi* functions not only as a direct object marker: *citahi* KM 91.3; *syāmāhi* KM 96.1; *premahi* KM 99.4, but also as obl. marker for other cases: *syāmahī* KM 82.1; *kāmahi* KM 82.2:C, D, F, J, BR, PH, NCM. In most occurrences it alternates with *-e(ē)/-ai(aī)*: *śyāme* A, *syāmai* H, I, RC (KM 82.1); *kāmē* A, *kāmai* H, I, RC (KM 81.2); *citai* KM 91.3:BR; *premē* A, I, *premaī* J, RC (KM 99.4).

### 6.1.5 Vocative

There are a few occurrences of the vocative suffix *-e* (<sup>o</sup>*ai* in C) with m. and f. *-ā* stem nouns: *bande* AS 6.1; *pyāre* KM 6.2, 29.1, 73.1; *rādhe* KM 14.1, 17.1, 22.1, 23.1, 25.1:H, 41.1, 56.1, 82.3. However this suffix is optional (cf. for example *rādhikā* KM 18.3).

There is one instance of vocative of f. *-ī* noun, where the final *-i* is shortened: *saṣī* KM 104.1:F, H.

Two examples show the suffix *-e* with m./f. *-ā* nouns without vocative (or obl. case) context: *chabile* KM 69.1:G; *rādhe* KM 94.2:H, 96.4 (all MSS).

### 6.1.6 Locative

Loc. is often designated by *e(ē)/-ai(aī)* or *-i*, sometimes pleonastically followed by a loc. ppn.: *hiṇḍoraī* KM 21.4, 88.1; *dvarē* KM 21.4:F, H; *māthaī* KM 22.3; *tamālai* KM 31.4; *garaī* /<sup>o</sup>*ē* KM 39.4, 47.4, 63.2, 83.4; *hr̥de* KM 57.1; *ṭhaure/ai/ē* KM 86.2 (all MSS except for D, G, I and NCP).

For *-i* see phonetics, 5.1.5.

*kūlahu* (a rhyme-form) KM 48.3 has locative sense, but Snell (1991a, p. 240) points out that this form can represent only Ap. gen./abl.

### 6.1.7 m. noun for f. referent

Often a m. n. is used for a f. referent: *gunani rāi* KM 65.1 (see note 1 to translation); *eka kuñja ke saṣā* KM 79.1; *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* (see VI 2).

## 6.2 PRONOUNS

### 6.2.1

The pl. personal and demonstrative pronouns are often used with singular reference: *hama* AS 5.4, KM 79.1; *hamār-* KM 62.1, 82.3; *ye* KM 54.4:BR; *ina* KM 29.2, 3; *tina* KM 69.4, 98.4 etc.

### 6.2.2 The use of *tū*, *tuma*

*tū* (etc.) is most often used in the context of Kṛṣṇa addressing Rādhā; *tuma* (etc.) prevails in the verses where a *sakhī* is speaking to Rādhā, and especially in AS where a devotee is addressing Hari. However, this distinction between *tū* and *tuma* is not maintained throughout the text: there are examples of Kṛṣṇa addressing Rādhā with



*tuma* (KM 6.1, 79.1, 109.1, 4), and a *sakhī* invoking her with the 2nd p. sg. pronoun: KM 43.1, 45.2, 68.1. There are a number of instances where *tuma* is used together with the 2nd p. sg. possessive pronoun (*tuma + terī* KM 6.1; *tumahī + tihārī* KM 109.1) which shows that *tū* and *tuma* might have been interchangeable to some extent. KM 29.1 presents an interesting case in which a *sakhī* addresses both Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, choosing 2nd p. sg. for the former and 2nd p. pl. for the latter. This might reflect the primacy of Rādhā in the theology of the sect, or simply indicate the interchangeability of the two pronouns.

### 6.2.3 Salient forms and usages

To be noted are the use of: *kaū/kō* as indef. pr. AS 5.1; *haū/hō* as agen. KM 38.4; *tohi* as obl. KM 69.2; all these usages are rare but have been attested in SŚ. The form *svai* KM 7.3 of the demonstrative pr., distant reference, and the rhyme-forms *yāha* KM 24.3; *eha, be (ha)* KM 27.3, 4, and *jāhī* KM 53.3 are among the peculiar features of the pronominal system in Haridās's corpus.

### 6.2.4 Table

1) All variants of the pronouns occurring in KM or AS (incl. emphatic forms and m./f./pl. forms) are recorded.

2) The first reading is usually taken from MS G. The backslash mark designates alternative variant, suggested by other MSS.

3) ? marks forms which are either not recorded or rare in this usage. In these instances a reference to the relevant verse is also given. Number alone designates KM, the verse number of AS is preceded by AS.

Table 2  
Demonstrative pronouns

	Proximate Sg.	Proximate Pl.	Remote Sg.	Remote Pl.
Dir.	<i>eha</i> (r. f.) <i>yaha/iha/ihi</i> ( <sup>o</sup> i) <i>yahu</i> <i>yahai/yāhī/</i> <i>yahihai</i>	<i>ye/e</i> <i>be ha</i> (r. f.) <i>yei/(y)e(h)ī</i>	<i>svai</i> <i>vaha/vahu</i>	<i>ve/°aī</i>
Obl.	<i>yā/ihī</i> <i>yāha/yāha</i> (r. f.)	<i>ina/°i</i>		<i>una/°i</i>
Agen.		<i>ini/°a</i>		

Table 3  
Relative and correlative pronouns

	Relative Sg.	Relative Pl.	Cor. Sg.	Cor. Pl.
Dir.	<i>jau</i> <sup>°o</sup> / <i>°u</i> / <i>°yau</i> <i>joī</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>so</i> ( <sup>°ō</sup> )/ <i>°u</i> / <i>°au</i> <i>soī</i>	<i>te</i> <i>teī</i>
Obl.	<i>ji</i> ( <sup>°i</sup> )/ <i>hi</i> ( <sup>°i</sup> )/ <i>jiha</i> <i>jāhi</i> ? (r. f.) 53.3 <i>jā</i>	<i>jina</i> <sup>°i</sup>	<i>tā</i>	<i>tina</i> <sup>°i</sup>
Obj.	<i>jāhi</i> / <i>jāha</i>			
Agen.		<i>jini</i> <sup>°a</sup>		

Table 4  
Personal pronouns

	1st p. sg.	1st p. pl.	2nd p. sg.	2nd p. pl.
Dir.	<i>hau</i> ( <sup>°aū</sup> )/ <i>ho</i> ( <sup>°ō</sup> )		<i>tū</i> ( <sup>°ū</sup> )	<i>tuma</i>
Obl.	<i>mo</i> ( <sup>°ō</sup> )/ <i>mau</i> ( <sup>°aū</sup> )		<i>to</i> ( <sup>°ō</sup> )/ <i>tau</i> ( <sup>°aū</sup> ) <i>tohi</i> ? 69.2	<i>tuma</i>
Obj.	<i>mohi</i> / <i>mauhi</i> <i>haū</i> / <i>hō</i> ? AS 1.3	<i>hame</i> ( <sup>°ē</sup> )/ <i>°ai</i> ( <sup>°aī</sup> ) <i>hamahi</i>	<i>tohi</i>	<i>tumhai</i> <sup>°ē</sup> / <i>tuhmai</i> <i>tumahi</i>
Gen.	<i>merau</i> <sup>°o</sup> <i>merī</i> <i>merai</i>	<i>hamārau</i> <i>hamāī</i> <i>hamāre</i> <sup>°ai</sup>	<i>terau</i> <sup>°o</sup> <i>terī</i> <i>tere</i> <i>tuva</i> / <i>tua</i> <i>to</i> <i>tihāre</i> / <i>terīyai</i> / <i>terēī</i> <i>tihāī</i>	<i>tuhmarau</i> <sup>°o</sup> / <i>tumā</i> ( <sup>°ā</sup> )/ <i>rau</i> / <i>tumhāro</i> <sup>°au</sup> , <i>tuhmāī</i> / <i>tumhāī</i> <i>tuma</i> ( <sup>°ā</sup> )/ <i>re</i> / <i>tuhmāre</i> / <i>tumhāre</i>
Agen.	<i>me</i> ( <sup>°ē</sup> )/ <i>°ai</i> ( <sup>°aī</sup> ) <i>hau</i> ( <sup>°aū</sup> )/ <i>ho</i> ( <sup>°ō</sup> )? 38.4		<i>te</i> ( <sup>°ē</sup> )/ <i>tai</i> ( <sup>°aī</sup> )	<i>tuma</i>

Table 5  
Indefinite and interrogative pronouns

	Interrogative animate/inanimate	Interrogative inanimate	Indefinite animate	Indefinite inanimate/animate
Dir.	<i>kau</i> ( <sup>°aū</sup> )/ <i>ko</i> ( <sup>°ō</sup> ) <i>ko</i> ( <sup>°ō</sup> )/ <i>i</i> / <i>koi</i> / <i>kauī</i> ? 13.3 <i>kaūna</i> / <i>kōna</i> / <i>kōnu</i>	<i>kahā</i> ( <sup>°ā</sup> ) <i>kā</i>	<i>kou</i> <sup>°ū</sup> / <i>°ī</i> <i>kau</i> ( <sup>°aū</sup> )/ <i>ko</i> ( <sup>°ō</sup> )? AS 5.1	<i>kachu</i> <sup>°ū</sup> <i>koū</i> <sup>°u</sup> / <i>kauū</i>
Obl.	<i>kā</i> <i>kaūna</i> / <i>kōna</i>			
Obj.	<i>kāhi</i> <sup>°he</sup> / <i>°hai</i> ? 12.4		<i>kāhū</i>	
Agen.	<i>kaune</i> ( <sup>°ē</sup> )/ <i>°ai</i> ( <sup>°aī</sup> )		<i>kāhū</i> ( <sup>°ū</sup> )	

**Reflexive:** *apanapau; apanō°au; apanai; āpa°u°e; āpuna/ āpana*

### 6.3 VERBS

#### 6.3.1 The substantive verb

##### 6.3.1.1

Of special interest are the following forms of the substantive verb used independently:

*hova* KM 3.3, has variant readings *ho(°ō°)hu*, *hou*, and is presumably an imperative form;

*āhi* KM 7.3 (*āi* BR) occurs only once, independently, and not in negative context (unlike its appearance in Indrajit, McGregor 1968: 3.113, 116(d), 219 (f), 220 (a)), clearly as a synonym of *hai*;

The imperf. past forms *hute* KM 24.3; *hutī* KM 25.2, 73.2, 3 are used only independently.

##### 6.3.1.2 Use of auxiliary

The auxiliary is more often absent than not. In the majority of examples it is used with the imperf. ptc. in general pres., and in these instances it seems to appear more often in the opening line of a verse rather than in the next three lines<sup>3</sup>; this might be connected with some requirements of the performing practice: *rāṣata hau*, *rahiyatu hai* AS 1.1; *karata hai* AS 10.1; *phirata (rahata) hai* AS 10.2; *gherata hai* AS 11.3; *deṣata hai*, *deṣata hau* KM 6.1; *gāvata hau* KM 12.1; *cāhata ho* KM 18.3; *lāgata hai* KM 26.2; *ṭūṭata hai* KM 30.3; *āvata he* KM 38.3; *nikasati hai* KM 62.3; *bolata hai* KM 68.1; *hota hai* KM 68.2; *ṭūṭata hai* KM 69.2; *āvata hai* KM 78.1; *lāgatu hai* KM 80.1; *melata ho* KM 102.1.

In a large number of these instances (KM 26.2, 30.3, 68.1, 2, 78.1, 80.1) the auxiliary verb is followed by another type of *geyavikāras*, the vocative particle, which again might point to the musical tradition.

However, none of the above mentioned observations seems to apply to the use of the auxiliary in other tenses or moods, presumably because unlike the present tense where the auxiliary does not affect the tense, and is thus a pure *geyavikāra*, in other tenses and moods it serves as a temporal or modal marker: *rahyau hai* AS 13.2; *jāgata hoi* KM 47.3; *āi hai* KM 51.1, *ṣāi hai* 51.4; *lāgī hai* KM 71.2; *bhayaū hai* KM 90.3; *baiṭhī hai* KM 98.2.

<sup>3</sup>For analogous observation about the appearance of the gen. ppn. in the first line of a stanza see Snell 1991a, p. 109). There it is explained with the difference between the introductory character of the first line where a *pada* is being 'labelled' and the more descriptive context in the following lines.

### 6.3.2 Subjunctive-present

#### 6.3.2.1 Subj.-pres./Indicative pres.

Subj.-pres. is used when the context requires subjunctive force and as a functional synonym of indicative present. The functional overlap of subj.-pres. and indicative pres. is demonstrated by examples in which they constitute alternative readings: *lāgai* B, I, J, BR, D, F, *lāgata* (remaining MSS) AS 4.3; *jānai* I, *jānata* (rest of MSS) AS 10.2; *jāi* F, BR, *jāta* (all other MSS) AS 14.2; *parata* A, I, *parai* (rest of MSS) AS 18.3; *rahai* F, *rahata* (all other MSS) KM 9.3; *tūte* C, *tūtata* (rest of MSS) KM 30.3; *bajata* H, *bajai* (all other MSS) KM 33.3; *jāta* F, *jāya/°i* (all other MSS) KM 35.3; *rahata* H, *rahaũ/°õ/au* (remaining MSS) KM 39.2; *birājata* H, *birājai/°e* (remaining MSS) KM 41.1; *upajai* C, F, H, I, J, BR, NCM, *upajati/°ta* G; D, NCP KM 45.2; *upajai* NCM, *upajati/°ta* (remaining MSS) KM 60.3; *jāta* D, I, *jāi/°ya* (rest of MSS) KM 80.2; *jhūlai* F, *jhūlata* (rest of MSS) KM 84.1; *lagai* RC, *lāgati/°ta* (remaining MSS) KM 92.1; *deṣai/°e* I, BR, *deṣata* (rest of MSS) KM 98.3; *upajai* H, *upajata* (rest of MSS) KM 102.3; *khelai* RC, *ṣelata* (rest of MSS) KM 105.2.

#### 6.3.2.2 Subj.-pres./Imp.

Since sometimes only nasalisation distinguishes the forms of subj.-pres. and imp. there are many instances in which the two seem to be alternative readings: *jāno/°ā/°au/°aũ* KM 3.2, 5.2; *kaho/°õ/°au/°aũ* KM 6.3; *karo/°õ/°au/°aũ* KM 10.2; *deṣau/°aũ/°o* KM 32.1; *rahaũ/°au/°õ* KM 39.2 etc.

#### 6.3.2.3 Peculiar forms

There are two examples of -y- added to the root before the subj. termination: *deṣyaũ* KM 34.1:C and KM 35.1:A. In both instances the forms are alternatives to more common subj.-pres. forms and the context is present rather than past.

The form *lēva* KM 80.3 is either 1st p. subj.-pr. or imp. (cf. *hova* 6.3.1.1).

### 6.3.3 Future

#### 6.3.3.1 Indicative future

Both -h- forms and extended -g- forms occur in KM and AS, showing future force: *āvaigau* AS 4.3; *leigau* AS 17.2; *raihai*, *ṭarhai* KM 1.2; *hvaihai* KM 54.3; *lehũ* KM 73.3; *daihaũ* KM 83.2; *karihaũ* KM 90.1; *vārõgĩ/°augĩ/aũgĩ* alternatives to *vārõ* KM 44.4:A, F; C, BR, RC; H; I, J, NCM; *māñēgĩ* KM 49.3; *dēũgĩ* KM 74.2; *deṣaigĩ* KM 101.3; *upajaigau* KM 101.3.

#### 6.3.3.2 Subj.-future

There are also a few examples of subj.-fut.; whereas the force of *jāñĩ/°i* KM 6.2, 99.1 is distinctively subj.-future, that of *jāñĩ* KM 53.2; *dehi* KM 95.1 and *chuvāhi* KM 99.4 is present-indicative.

### 6.3.4 Passive

#### 6.3.4.1 Synthetic passive

*rahiyatu* AS 1.1; *janiyata* KM 61.3; *pāiyata* KM 72.4, 102.4; *deṣiyata* KM 97.1, 109.2; *suniyata* KM 99.3.

The use of passive in *suniyata* KM 17.3 and *deṣiyata* KM 36.1 is not required by the context and the passive form is not supported by all MSS (see variant 25, KM 17 and variant 4, KM 36).

There are two examples of explicitly passive force expressed with active verbs: *aisī kahū deṣī*, *sunīya* (most MSS read *sunī/°i*) *na bhanī* KM 31.2; and *yaha aciraja deṣyau na sunyaū kahū* KM 91.1.

#### 6.3.4.2 Periphrastic passive

There are three types of periphrastic passive in KM and AS:

1) formed by combination of the perf. ptc. and the auxiliary *jā-*: *kahī gaī* KM 11.1; *baranī na jāi* KM 26.1, 29.1, 4, 41.2, 86.1; *na jāi sahā* KM 35.3; *na baṣānē jāta* KM 40.1; *kahī na jāi* KM 69.2.

2) imperf. ptc. + *ā-*: *kahata na āvati* KM 66.3.

It is interesting that all examples of this and the previous type (apart from KM 11.1 where *kahī gaī* may be a compound since *kahī* alternates with *kahi*, see variant 2) appear in negative context. (The same is true of the examples quoted by Pauwels 1995, p. 91 McGregor 1968: 3.143, Entwistle 1983, p. 198.)

3) imperf. ptc./verbal noun? + *ban-*: *deṣata hī banē* KM 21.2; *rūṭhe kyaū banē* KM 79.1; *rūsane kyaū banē* KM 90.2.

#### 6.3.4.3 Subj.-pres. forms in the passive

The *-īe/īye* forms in KM and AS have mainly imperative rather than passive force (the opposite is noted with regard to the language of Indrajit (McGregor 1968: 3.144-146) and Harirām Vyās (Pauwels 1995, p. 91):

AS: *kījai* 7.1, 2, 12.1 and *dījai* 12.1.

In most examples of KM *sakhī* or Kṛṣṇa addresses Rādhā:

*sakhī*: *kījai* KM 16.1, 2; *jījai* KM 16.2, *pījai* 16.3, *lījai* 16.4; *suniyē* KM 45.1; *caliye* KM 69.1;

Kṛṣṇa: *caliye* KM 56.3 (said by Rādhā in the disguise of Kṛṣṇa); *boliye* KM 59.1, 90.1; *kījiye* KM 80.1, *dhāīye* 80.3;

*caliye* KM 49.3 is addressed by a *sakhī* to Kṛṣṇa and *pījai* KM 74.1 by Rādhā to Kṛṣṇa.

*bhāṣiyai* AS 2.2; *dījai* KM 95.3 and *pāiye* (which alternates with *pāiyata*) KM 101.2 have clearly passive sense.

### 6.3.5 Imperf. ptcs.

#### 6.3.5.1 Morphological features

Most often the imperf. ptcs. in Haridās's corpus are formed with the ending *-ta* for both m. and f. gender. Some MSS (e.g. F, I, H, RC) are fairly consistent in substituting the ending *-ti* when the ptc. occurs with f. subjects. In other MSS (G, C, PH) *-ta* is typically used for both genders. There are three instances of ptcs. ending in *tī*, all of them are rhyme-forms: *gāvatī*, *capāvatī* and *rāvatī* KM 104.2, 3, 4. AS 3.2 includes the extended form *pāvatau/°o*. *-tu* endings are very rare, always connected with m. sg. subjects (except for KM 97.4), and are often followed by the substantive verb: *rahiyatu (hai)* AS 1.1 (all MSS except for B, J, PH); *karatu (hai)* AS 10.1:B; *rāhatu (hai)* AS 10.2:I; *tūṭatu (hai)* KM 18.1:I; 69.2:F, H; *jātu* KM 57.3:C; *pragaṭatu* KM 76.4:C, D, G, PH; *āvatu* KM 78.1:H; *bañchatu (hō)* KM 78.2:G, H; *kahatu* KM 78.4:H; *lāgatu (hai)* KM 80.1:G, H, PH, NC; *militu* KM 97.4:G; *pāiyatu (hai)* KM 102.4:A, PH.

#### 6.3.5.2 Syntactic features

Most often imperf. ptcs. function as the main verb of a sentence or as the first member of a composite tense construction.

Imperf. ptcs. occur also in constructions with *hī*: *deṣata hī deṣata* KM 9.4; *parata hī* KM 58.2, and in combination with *rah-*, *ban-(?)* and *jā-* (see below, 6.3.8.4)

Occasionally imperf. ptcs. function as nouns: *kahāvata* AS 18.2; *deṣata* KM 12.4; *(kaī) gāvata* KM 32.4; 89.4 (cf. McGregor 1968: 3.171); *(jīvata ko) lahā* KM 35.2; *citavata* KM 91.3; *gāvata ṣelata* KM 102.3.

### 6.3.6 Perf. ptcs.

#### 6.3.6.1 Uncommon forms

Rhyme-forms: *sahā* KM 35.3, *dahā* 35.4.

*n-* forms: *baṣānē* KM 40.1; *lapaṭānē* KM 49.4; *lapaṭānaū(?)* KM 97.1 (see note 2 to translation).

Others: *bhayā* AS 6.4:J; *kari (?)* AS 16.3 (see note 6 to translation); *linē* KM 63.4; *kiyā* AS 6.4 (all MSS except for F).

#### 6.3.6.2 Syntactic features

Perf. ptcs. often function as the main verb of a sentence or as component of composite tenses.

There are a number of occurrences of adverbial non-finite constructions with the obl. sg. perf. ptc. in *-e* in KM and AS. Most often they are nasalised. In many instances

they are functionally indistinguishable from absolute construction as demonstrated by the alternative usage of adverbial perf. ptc. and abs. constructions (cf. McGregor 1968: 4.40-45 and Entwistle 1983, p. 196): (*saba suša*) *liyē* (*rahata*) AS 3.3; *sādhe phirata* AS 10.1 (r. f., nas. in B, D, I, J, PH); *bhūlai bhūlai* KM 10.1 (equivalent to MSH abs. construction *bhūlkar bhī*); (*kācha*) *bādhē* (*ṛṭya karata*) KM 14.2; *arabarāiē* (*pragaṭa bhāi*) KM 28.3; *liyē* (*rahaū*) KM 39.2; *bicārata hī gaye sādhe* (r. f.) KM 41.3; (*mardana*) *kiyē* KM 56.1, (*muralī*) *dharē* 56.1, (*pītambara*) *auḍhē* 56.1; (*siṅgāra*) *kiye* 56.2 (nas. in A, F, H, J, PH; I, NC), *diyē* (*syāma*) 56.2; *grasē liyē* KM 57.3; *kiyē* (*māna*) KM 59.3; (*tāla*) *dharē* KM 60.2; (*ḍāḍī*) *chāḍai* KM 61.3 (nas. in D; F, PH; J); (*aisau*) *kiyē* KM 68.2; *ṭekai* KM 77.2 (*ṭeka* BR, *ṭeki* NCM); *rāṣē* (*ṣelata*) KM 81.4; (*saṅga*) *liyē* (*rāgati*) KM 85.2; (*nyāre*) *kiye* (*vāri*) KM 86.4 (nas. in C); *sōdhe* (*nhāi baiṭhi*) KM 103.1 (nas. in A, F, H, J, PH, NC); *liyē* (*āgai ṭhāḍhi*) KM 103.3.

There are a few occurrences in which the adv. perf. ptc. alternates<sup>4</sup> not only with the abs., but with the imperf. ptc. (all recorded examples are with the verb *deṣ-*): (*bhāvate kī prakṛti*) *deṣai* KM 11.3 (*deṣa* D, *deṣata* C, F, H, I, J, NCM, RC); (*muṣa*) *deṣē* (*canda lajāvata*) KM 12.3 (*deṣi* F, *deṣata* C, H, I, J, NC, RC); (*badana canda*) *deṣē* KM 57.1 (*deṣata* F). These readings might be due to confusing the adverbial use of the perf. part. with 3rd p. subj.-pres., which is often functionally synonymous with general present.

Perf. ptc. are also used:

1) in constructions with *bina*: *bina deṣai* KM 16.2; *tere deṣē bina* KM 76.2;

2) in idiomatic collocation with imperf. ptc. of the correspondent vi. (see Snell & Weightman 1992, p. 213): *chuḍāye na chūṭata* KM 57.3 (see note 8 to translation); *chipāyē na chipata* KM 97.2; *rāṣe na rahati* KM 108.3;

3) in compound verbs with *cāh-*, *kar-* and *rah-* (see 6.3.8.3).

There are a few instances of perf. ptc. functioning as adjectives: *anamāgyau* AS 4.3; *rādhī* (*ṣira*) KM 51.4; *ṭūṭi* (*lara*), *chūṭi* (*poti*) KM 85.1.

### 6.3.7 Absolutes

The most common form is the verb stem, represented by *-i/-a*: *hili mili* KM 18.4; *jaki* KM 24.4; weak final *-i* is occasionally represented by *-ya*, typically after *ā*: *milāya* KM 11.4:G.

There are a few occurrences of the extended abs. form as well: *uṭhikē/°kai* KM 47.4:A, NC; RC; *hāsikai* KM 105.2. The abs. of *kar-* is *kari* or *ke/°ē/kai/°ai*: (*suphala*) *kari*, *kara* KM 3.1:C, NCM; (*krama krama*) *kari* KM 41.4, *kara*, *kaī* KM 68.4:D, H; (*jatanani*) *kari* KM 90.3; (*misi*) *kaī* I, J, NCM, *kē* PH, *kari* RC, KM 102.2.

<sup>4</sup>It is important to notice that this 'alternation' is between scribes/MSS, not between similar occurrences within a single MS.

Absolutives are often followed by *rah-* to express continuous action or state: *phaṭaphaṭāya rahyau* AS 1.4; *gahi rahe* AS 9.4; *byāpi rahyau* AS 13.2 (cf. McGregor 1968: 3.161); *mūdi rahaū* KM 6.2; *rahaī hvai* KM 7.4; *nihārī rahai* KM 9.2, *nihārī rahe* KM 11.4 (see above 2.5); *jaki rahe* KM 24.4; *lapaṭāi rahe* KM 25.4, 92.3; *laṭapatāi rahe* KM 57.4, 80.4; *rami rahyau* KM 61.1; *mari rahī* KM 68.2; *rahī bhari* KM 73.4. They also appear in the idiomatic phrases *lai jāhī* KM 53.2 and *lai calī* KM 69.3.

There are a number of instances where the final vowel of the abs. has been lengthened in order to accommodate the rhyme (see 2.5).

### 6.3.8 Verbal nouns

Verbal nouns are attested throughout KM and AS: *sarakani* KM 20.4; *dharani* KM 33.3; *cāhani* (?) KM 37.3 (see note 6 to translation); *lapaṭāni* KM 55.4; *morani* (?) KM 67.3 (see note 12 to translation); *āni* (?) KM 71.3 (see note 9 to translation); *rūsanē* KM 80.2; *ḍolani*, *bolani* KM 85.1; *bihārani* (?) KM 88.4 (see note 9 to translation); *rēgani* KM 89.3.

Some occur as rhyme-forms: *dharani*, *ḍarani*, *parani* KM 50.2, 3, 4; *ghorani* KM 89.2, *hārini* AS 2.2; *lāvani* (?), *gavāvani*, *bhāvani*, *citāvani* AS 11 (see note 2 to translation); *pōhanī*, *jōhanī* AS 12.2, 3.

They are regularly used in purpose clauses as well: *uḍive kaū* AS 1.4; *harana kaū*, *bharana kaū*, *ṭarana kaū* KM 4.1, 2, 4; *kāḍhana kaū* KM 7.2; *harive kaū* KM 77.3; *deṣive kaū* KM 91.3; *bharana (āī)* KM 98.4; *deṣana (jāhi)* KM 99.1; *avalokana kaū* KM 102.1.

The *-bau* forms are often part of gen. construction: *nikasive kaū ṭhaura* KM 6.3; *uṭhāibe kī bātē* KM 62.3; *uṭhībe kī chabi* KM 86.1.

There are two examples of verbal nouns functioning as verbal agent: *bigārana* and *sabārana* AS 5.1.

Verbal nouns are also used as first member in compounds with *lāg-*, *ban-* (?), *pa-* and *de-* (see 6.3.8.2).

### 6.3.8 Verbal compositions

#### 6.3.8.1 Forms based on verbal stems

The forms based on dependent auxiliary verbs have the same meaning as in MSH: *par-* expresses suddenness or conclusiveness of the action; *le-* has reflexive force and *jā-* is a process-marker.

*par-*: *hārī par-* KM 23.4, 66.3; *badali parī* KM 73.1; *cōki parī* KM 83.4; *āi parī* KM 104.3.



*le-*: *uḍāi lai* AS 8.2; *kari lina/°ē* KM 26.4, 63.4; *samāya lyaū* KM 35.1; *rāṣi lai* KM 35.4; *bola bulāya liyo* KM 36.4; *gahi lai* KM 56.3; *hari leta* KM 58.2; *cuvāi le* KM 74.3.

*jā-*: *soi gaī* KM 47.1; *bhoi gaī* KM 47.2; *boi gaī* KM 47.3, *noi gaī* 47.4 (r. f.); *kari jāti* KM 78.1; *hvai jāta* KM 109.1, 2, *mari jāta* 109.3.

*jān-* ‘to know (how to)’: *gūnṭhi jānē* KM 70.1, but *rahyau janiyata* KM 61.3 (r. f.).

*sak-* ‘to be able to’: *kari sakai* KM 70.2; *kari sak-* AS 1.3:A, B, D, F, I, J, BR.

#### 6.3.8.2 Forms based on verbal nouns

*lāg-* ‘to begin to’: *ṣelana lāge* KM 2.1; *ṣelana lāgī* KM 83.3; *bhijana lāge* KM 93.1.

*pā-* ‘to manage to’: *jāna (jāni) na pavaī* KM 62.2.

*de-* ‘to allow to’: *na jāna de* KM 74.3.

#### 6.3.8.3 Forms based on perf. ptes.

*cāh-* ‘to wish to’: *kiyau cāhaū* AS 1.3; *deṣyau cāhata* KM 6.4; *cāhata nihārī* KM 15.2 (r. f.); *bhayo cāhata* KM 18.3; *milyau cāhati* KM 102.2.

*kar-* (iterative character of the action): *rahyau kijai* KM 16.1.

*rah-* (continuity of situation): *caḍhyau rahata* AS 10.2:B, D; I; *mili rahaī* KM 35.2; *jhūlī rahyau* (or r. f. of abs., see note 10 to translation) KM 57.3.

#### 6.3.8.4 Forms based on imperf. ptes.

*rah-* (continuous character of the action): *deṣata rahaū*, AS 3.4, KM 3.1; *raṭata rahata* KM 9.3.

*jā-* (progressive character of the action): *bunata udherata jāta* AS 14.2; *manāvata jāi* KM 80.2.

*ban-* ‘to manage to?’: *deṣata hī banē* KM 21.2; but *rūṭhe kyaū banē* KM 79.1; *rūsane kyaū banē* KM 90.2. The first example and the example quoted by Pauwels (1995, p. 91) suggest that the auxiliary *ban-* is used with imperf. ptes., however its further two occurrences do not support this observation.

*phira-* (progressive marker?): *karata phirata* KM 53.1 (see note 1 to translation).

### **6.3.9 Conjunct verbs**

The conjunct verbs in KM and AS are mainly based on *kar-* and *ho-*: *sudāha kari* KM 31.3; *māna karata* KM 39.1; *chalu kaī* KM 39.4; *krama krama kari* KM 41.4; *mardana kiyē* KM 56.1, *siṅgāra kiye* 56.2; *guñjāra karata* KM 85.2; *karata nṛtya* KM 105.3 etc.

#### 6.4 NUMERALS

**6.4.1 Cardinals:** *duṭīya* AS 7.3; *dvai* KM 7.1; *dū* KM 8.3; *eka* KM 13.1; *cāri* KM 20.2; *dasa* KM 106.2; *koṭi* KM 29.4, 86.4; *kīraurani* KM 89.3.

Cardinals used not in literal sense: *sāḍhe gyāraha* KM 26.3; *nabasata* KM 26.3.

**6.4.2 Ordinals:** *dūsarī* AS 16.3, *dūjai* KM 26.3.

**6.4.3 Aggregatives:** *doū* KM 2.3, 25.4, 71.4; *doī* KM 13.1; *duhūna* KM 49.4; *duhū* KM 63.1; *tīna hū* KM 59.2, 67.2; *cāraū* KM 87.2; *cahū* KM 89.2.

**6.4.4 Forms in which the first component is a numeral:** *ikasāra*, *caupahalū* KM 20.2; *duraṅga* KM 73.3; *ekānta* KM 84.1.

#### 6.5 POSTPOSITIONS

Worth noticing are the following salient forms and usages of ppns.: *para* KM 18.2 (rhyme, see note 4 to translation); the rhyme-form *mēhi* KM 82.3 of the loc. ppn.; the variant *saha* (*sāha*) of *sō* KM 81.4; the collocation (*sarovara*) *taī* KM 57.1 where *taī* seems to be used as a synonym of *maī* (for a similar unusual usage of *taī* see McGregor 1968: 3.176).

## Chapter IV

**Apparatus****Notes on the conventions used in the *apparatus criticus***

1. The text given *supra lineam* is the text of MS G without any changes. There are only two exceptions to this: the haplography of *rī-* in *rījha* (KM 85.3), and the omission of *-sa* in *haridāsa* (AS 2.4) are corrected.

2. The *apparatus criticus* includes the variants of 12 MSS. Eight MSS are collated for the text of AS: A, B, D, F, I, J, BR and PH. Since 13 of the 18 verses are missing in C, it is not used in the collation for AS. MSS H, NC and RC, which give the text of KM only, are obviously excluded as well. 11 MSS are collated for the text of KM: A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PC, NC and RC1. B is eliminated because only 37 verses of KM are preserved in it, the rest is missing.

3. The arrangement of MSS in the collation is: MSS from VRI (except commentaries) in alphabetical order; MSS from the Haridāsī Sevā Saṁsthān (except commentaries) in alphabetical order; MSS of commentaries in alphabetical order. The alphabetical order follows the Latin. For the sigla of the MSS see the chapter on description of MSS.

Since NC cites the verses of KM at least twice, there are separate sigla denoting the two texts: NCP (NC *pada*, verse quoted as a whole) and NCM (NC *mūla*, verse quoted line by line, each line followed by the relevant commentary). When NCP and NCM agree on a reading, the siglum used is NC. The order of NCP and NCM is not alphabetical, but as they appear in the MS, NCP preceding NCM.

Throughout the *apparatus* RC stands for RC1, except in KM 82, where the variants are taken from RC2, since the verse is missing in RC1.

4. A single *daṇḍa* is shown by a semi-colon, a double *daṇḍa* by a full stop.

5. *rāga* headings are not shown here, but are discussed in the chapter on *rāgas* in AS and KM.

6. A few more standardisations have been adopted in order to reduce the bulk of the *apparatus*:

When variants disagree only on the inclusion of undoubtedly conditioned nasalisation, or on certain orthographic peculiarities (use of *ṣ* or *kh*; *ś* or *s*) these differences are not shown in the *apparatus*. The form used is the one which occurs in the first of the quoted MSS. For example KM 41, note 19 A, C, F...*śyāmā* (as an alternative to *syāma* in G) means that these MSS agree on the feminine form *śyāmā*, though they might disagree on any of the above-mentioned peculiarities (in this case on

the use of *tatsama ś* or *s*, and on nasalising the long *ā*). The form quoted is *śyāmā* because this is the form in the first of the listed MSS - A - but in the rest it might be *syāmā* or *syāmā*. A detailed analysis of the orthographic peculiarities of each MS is given in the description of MSS in the chapter on textual analysis.

Conditioned nasalisation (as a single difference) is marked only when the form is in a final rhyme, or where there might be ambiguity about the type of nasalisation. This includes: nasalisation of pronominal forms such as *kaunē*; of *mānō* and its variants; of verbal forms, where a termination is nasalised and in a nasal environment, *ganāī*, *banāū*; and the forms of the negative particle *nahī*.

With regard to the use of *b* and *v*, the text *sup. lin.* consistently follows MS G. Variants are shown in the rest of the MSS only when G does not specify *v* and another MS does. The opposite (when G marks *v* and another MS does not) is not indicated, since G is more consistent about differentiating *b* and *v* than the other MSS.

7. In the transliteration of the MSS, *~* is used when there is vowel nasality, and the graph for the relevant nasal, when there is a nasal consonant. In rare cases *ṁ* is employed as well: to show nasalisation of the consonant in sibilant environment, and generally nasalisation when it is not clear if an *anusvāra* stands for *anusvāra* or *candrabindu*, or when one needs to distinguish between a conjunct of a nasal and a consonant, and the combination of an *anusvāra* and a consonant: *kinnarī* as distinct from *kiṁnarī*.

8. The following signs have been employed in the text *sup. lin.*:

[ ] the text which is enclosed between square brackets is taken from MS L (a transcript of MS G) because it is unreadable in G;

[...] text unreadable in both MSS G and L;

( )<sup>mg</sup> the lexes enclosed by brackets are omitted from the main text and added in the margin;

< > these brackets designate the two emendments of the text in G.

9. A few signs are used in the *apparatus* as well:

? A question mark is written after uncertain forms or uncertain procedures, e.g. KM 58, note 26 (PH omitted, deleted?), the word (*kahata*) is not included in PH, but there is a seemingly empty space where it is supposed to be, which could mean that *kahata* was originally added, and later deleted.

[X...Y] from X to Y

{ } These brackets enclose the sigla of MSS for which a certain addition applies when the note includes MSS with other changes as well, cf. KM 1, note 4.

10. Abbreviations in the *apparatus*:

cnt. continued

<i>inf. lin.</i>	infra lineam
<i>marg.</i>	margin
<i>p.c.</i>	post correcturam
<i>pr. m.</i>	propria manu
<i>sec. m.</i>	secunda manu
<i>sup. lin.</i>	supra lineam
<i>unr.</i>	unreadable

## AS 1

[jyaũ<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>2</sup>] jaũ<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>4</sup> tuma rāṣata hau<sup>5</sup> tyaũ<sup>6</sup> hi<sup>7</sup> tyaũ<sup>8</sup> hi<sup>9</sup> rahiyatu<sup>10</sup> hai<sup>11</sup> hau<sup>12</sup> hari;  
 aura tau<sup>13</sup> acarace pāya<sup>14</sup> dharaũ<sup>15</sup> su<sup>16</sup> tau<sup>17,18</sup> kaũna<sup>19</sup> kau<sup>20</sup> paiḍa<sup>21</sup> bhari;  
 jaddapi<sup>22,23</sup> kiyau<sup>24</sup> cāhaũ<sup>25,26</sup> apano<sup>27</sup> mana<sup>28</sup> bhāyo<sup>29,30</sup> so<sup>31</sup> to<sup>32</sup> kyaũ<sup>33</sup> kari<sup>34,35</sup> rāṣaũ<sup>36</sup>  
 haũ<sup>37</sup> pakari;  
 kahi<sup>38,39</sup> haridāsa<sup>40</sup> piñjarā<sup>41</sup> ke janābara<sup>42</sup> jyaũ<sup>43</sup> phaṭaphaṭāya<sup>44</sup> rahyau<sup>45</sup> uḍive<sup>46</sup> kaũ<sup>47</sup>  
 kitoũ<sup>48</sup> kari.

<sup>1</sup>A, BR jyō<sup>2</sup>B, F, I, BR, PH hī<sup>3</sup>A, BR jyō; B jyau; D, F, I, J jyaũ<sup>4</sup>B, F, I, BR, PH hī<sup>5</sup>A, BR, PH ho<sup>6</sup>A, BR tyō; B tyo<sup>7</sup>B, D, F, I, BR, PH hī<sup>8</sup>A, BR tyō; B tyo; D omitted<sup>9</sup>D omitted; F, I, BR, PH hī<sup>10</sup>B, J, PH rahiyata; I rahiyatu; BR rahayatu<sup>11</sup>A he<sup>12</sup>A, B, D, F, I, BR, PH ho<sup>13</sup>A, PH to; B, F, J, BR omitted<sup>14</sup>A pāya; B, F, I, BR, PH pāi<sup>15</sup>A, J, BR dharō; F dharau<sup>16</sup>B, I so<sup>17</sup>A, I, PH to; BR unr.<sup>18</sup>Added: A, BR, PH kaho; B, D, F, I, J kahau<sup>19</sup>A, F kōna<sup>20</sup>A, B, F, I, J, BR, PH ke; D kai<sup>21</sup>A, F pēḍa; D, I, J, PH paiḍa<sup>22</sup>A yadyapi; B, PH jadapi; D jadyapi; BR jaddipa<sup>23</sup>Added: B ho; D, I, J haũ; F hau; BR hō<sup>24</sup>A, D, F, I, J, BR omitted; B, PH kiyo<sup>25</sup>A, D, F, I, J, BR omitted; B cāho; PH cāhō<sup>26</sup>A hō added<sup>27</sup>A, B, D, F, I, J apanau<sup>28</sup>D, F, BR omitted<sup>29</sup>F, I, J bhāyau<sup>30</sup>Added: A kiyo cāhō; D kiyo cāhaũ; F kiyau cāhau; I, J kiyau cāhaũ; BR kiyo cāhō<sup>31</sup>A, D su; B śau; F, BR omitted; J sō<sup>32</sup>B, D, F, I, J, BR omitted<sup>33</sup>A kesē; B kyo; F kaisē; I kaisai; J kēsaĩ; BR kaise; PH kyō<sup>34</sup>A kara<sup>35</sup>Added: A sakō jo tuma; B śaka jo tuma; D sakau jo tuma; F sakō jyaũ tuma; I, BR sakaũ jo tuma; J

sakaũ jau tuma

<sup>36</sup>A, B, BR rākho; D, F, I, J rāṣau<sup>37</sup>A, B, D, F, I, J, BR omitted; PH hō<sup>38</sup>A kahi; B kahe; D kahaĩ; F, J, BR omitted<sup>39</sup>B, F, I, J, BR śrī added<sup>40</sup>F, J, BR ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī added<sup>41</sup>A piñjarā; D pijarā<sup>42</sup>PH jināra emended to jinābara<sup>43</sup>A lō; B lo; D, F, I, J, BR laũ<sup>44</sup>A taḍaphaḍāi; B, F, I tarapharāi; D, J tarapharāya; BR tapharāi<sup>45</sup>A, BR rahyo<sup>46</sup>A uḍivai; D uḍave<sup>47</sup>A, F, BR kō; B ko<sup>48</sup>A kitaũ; D kitauka; F kitauku; J kitau; BR kitoka

## AS 2

kāhū ko<sup>1</sup> basa<sup>2</sup> nāhi<sup>3</sup> tuhmāri<sup>4</sup> kṛpā<sup>5</sup> tē<sup>6</sup> saba hoyā<sup>7</sup> bihāri bihāri<sup>8</sup>;  
 aura<sup>9,10</sup> mithyā prapañca kāhe<sup>11</sup> kau<sup>12</sup> bhāṣiyai<sup>13</sup> su<sup>14</sup> tau<sup>15</sup> hai<sup>16</sup> hāri<sup>17</sup>;  
 jāhi tuma sō<sup>18</sup> hitu<sup>19</sup> tā sō<sup>20</sup> tuma hita<sup>21</sup> [karau]<sup>22</sup> saba suṣa kārani<sup>23</sup>;  
 śri haridā<sa> ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihāri prānani<sup>24</sup> ke ādhārani<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>D, J kau; F omitted; I omitted, added in marg., *pr. m.*

<sup>2</sup>F basu

<sup>3</sup>B, I, J nāhi; D nāhī; F nāhi; BR nāhī

<sup>4</sup>D tumāri; F, I, J, BR tumhāri

<sup>5</sup>B, I krapā

<sup>6</sup>D, J tai; I saū; BR te

<sup>7</sup>B, F, I, BR, PH hoi

<sup>8</sup>B, D, I, J, BR, PH bihārani

<sup>9</sup>B ora

<sup>10</sup>D tau added

<sup>11</sup>PH kohe

<sup>12</sup>A, F kau; B, BR ko; PH kō

<sup>13</sup>A, BR, PH bhāṣiye; B bhaṣiai; I bhāṣiye

<sup>14</sup>A, B, I, J so

<sup>15</sup>A, B, PH to

<sup>16</sup>A, B, J, PH he

<sup>17</sup>B hārana; D, F, I, J, BR, PH hārani

<sup>18</sup>D, I, J saū

<sup>19</sup>A, B, D, F, I, J, PH hita

<sup>20</sup>D, F, I, J saū; B, BR so

<sup>21</sup>F hitu

<sup>22</sup>A, BR karo

<sup>23</sup>A kāriṇi, B kārana

<sup>24</sup>A prānana

<sup>25</sup>B ādhārana

## AS 3

kabahū<sup>1</sup> kabahū<sup>2</sup> mana ita uta jāta yā tē<sup>3</sup> ba<sup>4</sup> kaūna<sup>5,6</sup> adhika<sup>7</sup> su(ṣa)<sup>mg. 8</sup>;  
 bahuta<sup>9</sup> bhātina<sup>10,11</sup> ghata<sup>12</sup> āni<sup>13</sup> rāṣau<sup>14</sup> nāhi<sup>15</sup> tau<sup>16</sup> [pā]vatau<sup>17</sup> duṣa<sup>18</sup>;  
 koṭi kāma lāvan[ya<sup>19</sup> bihā]rī tā<sup>20</sup> ke<sup>21</sup> mūhācuhi<sup>22</sup> saba suṣa liyē<sup>23</sup> ra[hata ruṣa<sup>24</sup>;  
 śrī] haridāsa<sup>25</sup> ke svāmī syām[ā kuñjabihārī kau<sup>26</sup> di]na<sup>27</sup> deṣata<sup>28</sup> rahaū<sup>29</sup> bicitra muṣa.

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<sup>1</sup>F °hu; J °hū

<sup>2</sup>F °hu; J °hū

<sup>3</sup>A, B, F te; D, J tai

<sup>4</sup>BR aba

<sup>5</sup>A, PH kōna; F kōnu

<sup>6</sup>F, J, BR hai added

<sup>7</sup>F adhiku

<sup>8</sup>F suṣu; J susuṣa emended to suṣa

<sup>9</sup>A bahu, B bauhauta

<sup>10</sup>B bhātini; D bātana; F bhāti; I, J, PH bhātini; BR bhātina

<sup>11</sup>F tē added

<sup>12</sup>A, B ghati

<sup>13</sup>I āna

<sup>14</sup>A, B, F, I, J, PH rākhyau; BR rākhyo

<sup>15</sup>B, I nāhi; D nāhi; PH nāhi

<sup>16</sup>A, BR, PH to

<sup>17</sup>A, B, BR, PH pāvato; F omitted

<sup>18</sup>F duṣu

<sup>19</sup>A, D, F lāvanya; J lāvani

<sup>20</sup>I jā

<sup>21</sup>F, BR tē; J tai

<sup>22</sup>A, J muhā°; B muhācahē; D, F muhācuhi; I, PH muhācuhi; BR muhā°

<sup>23</sup>A, F, BR liye; B liai; I liyai; J liyai

<sup>24</sup>F ruṣu

<sup>25</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>26</sup>A, PH ko; F, BR omitted

<sup>27</sup>A dina added

<sup>28</sup>A -ta omitted, added *inf. lin.*

<sup>29</sup>A, BR, PH rahō; B raho; F rahau



## AS 4

[hari bhaji<sup>1</sup> hari<sup>2</sup>] bhaji<sup>3</sup> chāḍi<sup>4</sup> na [māni<sup>5</sup> nara<sup>6</sup> tana<sup>7</sup> kau<sup>8</sup>;  
mata<sup>9</sup> bañchai<sup>10,11</sup> mata<sup>12</sup>] bañchai<sup>13</sup> re<sup>14</sup> tilu<sup>15</sup> tilu<sup>16</sup> dha[na kau<sup>17</sup>;  
anamāgyau<sup>18</sup> āgai<sup>19</sup>] āvaigau<sup>20</sup> jyaū<sup>21</sup> palu<sup>22</sup> lā[gata]<sup>23,24</sup> palu<sup>25</sup> kau<sup>26</sup>;  
kahi<sup>27,28</sup> haridāsa mīca<sup>29</sup> jyaū<sup>30</sup> āvai<sup>31</sup> [tyaū]<sup>32,33</sup> dhana<sup>34</sup> hai<sup>35</sup> āpana<sup>36</sup> kau<sup>37</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>D bhaja; F bhati

<sup>2</sup>F, BR omitted

<sup>3</sup>D bhaja; F, BR omitted

<sup>4</sup>A chāḍi; D chāḍa; BR chāḍi

<sup>5</sup>A, D, F, I, J, BR māna

<sup>6</sup>B nira; F rata; J ra

<sup>7</sup>F omitted, see above

<sup>8</sup>A, F, I kau; B ko; BR kō

<sup>9</sup>B mati; F, BR jini

<sup>10</sup>A bañche; F bache

<sup>11</sup>B, BR re added

<sup>12</sup>B, J mati; F omitted; BR jini

<sup>13</sup>A bañche; F omitted

<sup>14</sup>A, B, BR omitted

<sup>15</sup>A, B, D, I, J, BR tila

<sup>16</sup>A, B, D, I, J, BR tila

<sup>17</sup>A, B, F kau; BR kō

<sup>18</sup>A anamāgyo; B, PH anamāgyau; D, F amamāgai; J anamāgaū; BR anamāge

<sup>19</sup>A āgē; B, BR āge; F omitted, āgē added in marg.

<sup>20</sup>A āvego; D, BR, PH āvaigo; F āvaigau; J āvaigaū

<sup>21</sup>A, BR jyō; B jyai; F jyo

<sup>22</sup>A, B, F, I, J, BR, PH pala

<sup>23</sup>B, I, J, BR lāgai; D lāgai; F lāge

<sup>24</sup>F na added

<sup>25</sup>A, B, F, I, J, BR, PH pala

<sup>26</sup>A, F kau; BR kō

<sup>27</sup>A kahī; B kahe; D kahaī

<sup>28</sup>B, I, J, BR śri added

<sup>29</sup>B mīcu; F micu

<sup>30</sup>A jyō; B jyau; F kyau; BR kyō

<sup>31</sup>A āve

<sup>32</sup>A, F, BR tyō; B tyau

<sup>33</sup>A he added

<sup>34</sup>J dhanu

<sup>35</sup>A omitted; B he; F, BR hvaihai

<sup>36</sup>I, BR, PH āpuna

<sup>37</sup>A, B, F kau; BR ko

## AS 5

e<sup>1</sup> hari mau<sup>2</sup> so<sup>3</sup> na<sup>4</sup> bigārana kau<sup>5</sup> to<sup>6</sup> so<sup>7</sup> na sabārana<sup>8</sup> kau<sup>9</sup> mohi<sup>10</sup> tohi<sup>11</sup> parī hoḍa<sup>12</sup>;  
kaūna<sup>13</sup> dhaū<sup>14</sup> jītai<sup>15</sup> kaūna<sup>16</sup> dhaū<sup>17</sup> hārai<sup>18</sup> pira<sup>19</sup> bādī<sup>20</sup> na choḍa<sup>21</sup>;  
tuhmārī<sup>22</sup> māyā bājī<sup>23</sup> bicitra<sup>24</sup> mohe<sup>25</sup> suni<sup>26</sup> kāke bhūle<sup>27</sup> kauḍa<sup>28</sup>;  
kahi<sup>29,30</sup> haridāsa hama<sup>31</sup> jītyau<sup>32,33</sup> hāre<sup>34</sup> tuma taū<sup>35</sup> na<sup>36</sup> tauḍa<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>D ai<sup>2</sup>A, B, D, F, I, J, BR, PH mo<sup>3</sup>D saū; F sau<sup>4</sup>BR omitted<sup>5</sup>A, BR ko; B, F, PH kō<sup>6</sup>A, B tuma<sup>7</sup>D, F, J sau<sup>8</sup>A, B sahmārana; D, I, PH sārana; F, J, BR savārana<sup>9</sup>A, BR ko; B, PH kō; I kau<sup>10</sup>B mauhi<sup>11</sup>I tōhi<sup>12</sup>B haḍa<sup>13</sup>A, PH kōna<sup>14</sup>A, PH dhō; B dho; J dhau<sup>15</sup>A, B, I jīte<sup>16</sup>A, B, F, PH kōna<sup>17</sup>A, B, F, PH dhō<sup>18</sup>A hāre; F harai<sup>19</sup>A, D, I para; B, J pari; F parir; BR pira emended to para; PH piri<sup>20</sup>F bādī<sup>21</sup>B chaūḍi<sup>22</sup>A, I, J tumhārī; D tumārī; F, BR tuma<sup>23</sup>F, J, BR pasārī added<sup>24</sup>A pasārī added<sup>25</sup>B mohi<sup>26</sup>A, I, J, BR muni; B, D śuna<sup>27</sup>D bhūlau; F bhūlyau; BR bhūlyo<sup>28</sup>A, B, D, F, I, J, BR, PH koḍa<sup>29</sup>B kahe<sup>30</sup>B, I, J, BR śrī added<sup>31</sup>D omitted<sup>32</sup>A, B, D, I, J, PH jīte; BR jītyo<sup>33</sup>D hama added<sup>34</sup>F hāryau; BR hāryo<sup>35</sup>F omitted; I tauū; J toū<sup>36</sup>F omitted<sup>37</sup>A, D, F, I, J, BR, PH toḍa

## AS 6

bande aṣatīyāra<sup>1</sup> bhalā<sup>2</sup>;  
 cita<sup>3</sup> na ḍulāva<sup>4</sup> āva<sup>5</sup> samādhi<sup>6</sup> bhītara<sup>7</sup> na hohu<sup>8</sup> agalā<sup>9</sup>;  
 na phiri<sup>10</sup> dara dara pidara<sup>11</sup> dara<sup>12</sup> na hohu<sup>13</sup> adhalā<sup>14</sup>,  
 kahi<sup>15,16</sup> haridāsa karatā kiyā<sup>17</sup> su<sup>18</sup> huvā<sup>19</sup> sumera<sup>20</sup> acala calā.

<sup>1</sup>A, B, I akhatīyāra; F aṣatīyāra; BR akhitīyāra emended to akhatīyāra

<sup>2</sup>B bhālā

<sup>3</sup>F, BR citu

<sup>4</sup>B ḍulāu; F ḍulāvata

<sup>5</sup>A omitted, added *sup. lin.*; B āu

<sup>6</sup>A samādhi<sup>5</sup> emended to samādhi; D samādha

<sup>7</sup>J bhītara

<sup>8</sup>B hauhu; I hou

<sup>9</sup>B āgalā

<sup>10</sup>A, D, F, I, J, BR phira

<sup>11</sup>J padara

<sup>12</sup>F dara added

<sup>13</sup>B hauhu; I hou

<sup>14</sup>B, I, J, BR, PH andhalā

<sup>15</sup>A kaha emended to kahi; B kahe

<sup>16</sup>B, I, J, BR śrī added

<sup>17</sup>F karī; I kīyā

<sup>18</sup>A, B, I so

<sup>19</sup>B huā; F bhāi; J bhayā

<sup>20</sup>B śumeru

## AS 7

hitu<sup>1</sup> to<sup>2</sup> kijai kamala<sup>3</sup> nēna<sup>4</sup> sō<sup>5</sup> jā hitu<sup>6</sup> ke<sup>7</sup> āgai<sup>8</sup> aura<sup>9</sup> hitu<sup>10</sup> lāgai<sup>11</sup> saba<sup>12</sup> phikau<sup>13</sup>;  
 kai<sup>14</sup> hitu<sup>15</sup> [kījai<sup>16</sup> sādha<sup>17</sup>] saṅgati<sup>18</sup> sō<sup>19</sup> jyaū<sup>20</sup> kilibiṣa<sup>21</sup> jā<sup>22</sup> saba<sup>23</sup> jī kau<sup>24</sup>];  
 hari kau<sup>25</sup> hitu<sup>26</sup> aisau<sup>27</sup> jaiso<sup>28</sup> raṅga [majītha<sup>29</sup> saṃsāra<sup>30</sup> hita<sup>31</sup>] <sup>32</sup> raṅga<sup>33</sup> kasūmbha<sup>34</sup>  
 dina dutiya<sup>35</sup> [kau<sup>36</sup>];  
 kahi<sup>37,38</sup> haridāsa] hitu<sup>39</sup> kījai<sup>40</sup> śrī<sup>41</sup> bihārī<sup>42</sup> sō<sup>43</sup> [aura<sup>44</sup> nibāhū jāni<sup>45</sup> jī kau<sup>46</sup>].

<sup>1</sup>A, B, D, I hita<sup>2</sup>B, D, F, I, J, BR tau<sup>3</sup>I kavala<sup>4</sup>A, D, I, J, BR naina<sup>5</sup>B so; D, I, J saū; F sau<sup>6</sup>A, B, D, F, I, J hita<sup>7</sup>D kai<sup>8</sup>A, BR āge; I āgai<sup>9</sup>D saba added<sup>10</sup>A, B, I, J, BR hita<sup>11</sup>A lāge<sup>12</sup>D, F, J, BR omitted<sup>13</sup>A, F phiko; BR phīko<sup>14</sup>A, J ke<sup>15</sup>A, B, D, J hita<sup>16</sup>A kīje<sup>17</sup>A, F, I, J, BR sādhu<sup>18</sup>A, D saṅgata<sup>19</sup>D, F, I, J saū<sup>20</sup>A jyō; BR jyo<sup>21</sup>A, PH kilibiṣa; B kalimakha; D, I, J, BR kalamaṣa; F kalibiṣa<sup>22</sup>A jāu; D, J jāya; F, I jāhi<sup>23</sup>I, J, BR omitted<sup>24</sup>A, BR ko; F ke<sup>25</sup>A ko<sup>26</sup>B, D, I, J hita<sup>27</sup>A aiso emended to eso; B, BR aišo; J esau<sup>28</sup>A jau emended to jaisau; D, F, I, J jaisau<sup>29</sup>F kau added<sup>30</sup>Added: F kau; BR ko<sup>31</sup>F, BR hitu<sup>32</sup>Added: F aisau jaisau; BR jaiso<sup>33</sup>F, J, BR omitted<sup>34</sup>A, BR kasumbha; B, F kasubha; I, J kasūbha<sup>35</sup>A dvitiya; B, F, I, J, BR, PH duti; D duti<sup>36</sup>A, BR ko<sup>37</sup>A kaha emended to kahi; B kahe; D kahaī<sup>38</sup>B, I, J, BR śrī added<sup>39</sup>A, B, D, I, J hita<sup>40</sup>A kīje; B, D, F, I, J, BR kijai<sup>41</sup>D, F, I, BR omitted<sup>42</sup>Added: A ju; B jū; I, J jī<sup>43</sup>D, F, I, J saū<sup>44</sup>A aura emended to ora; F, I, BR ora<sup>45</sup>D jāna; F jā- omitted, added in marg.<sup>46</sup>A, BR ko

## AS 8

tinukā<sup>1</sup> jyaū<sup>2</sup> ba[yāri<sup>3</sup> ke<sup>4</sup> basa;  
 jyaū<sup>5</sup> jyaū<sup>6</sup> cāhai<sup>7</sup>] tyaū<sup>8</sup> tyaū<sup>9</sup> uḍāi<sup>10</sup> lai<sup>11</sup> ḍārai<sup>12</sup> apanai<sup>13</sup> rasa;  
 [brahmaloka] sivaloka<sup>14</sup> aura loka<sup>15</sup> asa;  
 kahi<sup>16,17</sup> haridāsa bicāri<sup>18,19</sup> dīṭhau<sup>20</sup> binā<sup>21</sup> bihārī nāhi<sup>22</sup> jasa<sup>23</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>A tinakā

<sup>2</sup>A jyō; B, F, I omitted; J jyaū; BR omitted jo added *sup. lin., sec. m.*

<sup>3</sup>A beyāri; B byāri; D, J, BR bayāra

<sup>4</sup>J kāi

<sup>5</sup>A jyō; B, J, BR jyaū

<sup>6</sup>A, B, D, F, I, J, BR omitted

<sup>7</sup>A cāhe; B, F, I, J, BR bhāvai

<sup>8</sup>A, BR, PH tyō; B tyau

<sup>9</sup>A, B, F, I, J, BR omitted; PH tyō

<sup>10</sup>D, J uḍāya

<sup>11</sup>A, B, PH le

<sup>12</sup>A, I ḍāre; B, F, BR jāi; J jāya

<sup>13</sup>A, B, F, I, BR, PH apane

<sup>14</sup>B °lauka

<sup>15</sup>A omitted, added *sup. lin., sec. m.*

<sup>16</sup>A kaha emended to kahi; B kahe; D kahī

<sup>17</sup>B, I, J, BR śrī added

<sup>18</sup>A, D, I, BR, PH bicāra; F bicārihyō?

<sup>19</sup>F na; BR rahyo na

<sup>20</sup>A dekhō; B, D, I dekhau; F, J deṣyau; BR dekyho; PH dīṭho

<sup>21</sup>BR omitted

<sup>22</sup>A nāhi; B nāhi; D, I nāhi; F, BR omitted; J nāhī; PH nāhī

<sup>23</sup>A yasa

## AS 9

samsāra samudra manuṣya<sup>1</sup> mīna nakra<sup>2</sup> magara<sup>3</sup> aura<sup>4</sup> jīva bahu bandasi<sup>5</sup>;  
 mana<sup>6</sup> bayāri<sup>7</sup> prere<sup>8</sup> sneha<sup>9,10</sup> phandasi<sup>11</sup>;  
 lobha piñjara<sup>12</sup> lobhī marajivā<sup>13</sup> padāratha cāri<sup>14</sup> ṣaṃ<sup>15</sup> ṣandasi<sup>16</sup>;  
 kahi<sup>17,18</sup> haridāsa tei jīva<sup>19</sup> pāra bhaye<sup>20</sup> je gahi<sup>21</sup> rahe carana<sup>22</sup> ānanda<sup>23</sup> nandasi<sup>24</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>J manuṣa

<sup>2</sup>B omitted

<sup>3</sup>B omitted; I makara

<sup>4</sup>B ora

<sup>5</sup>B, D bandaśa

<sup>6</sup>F manu

<sup>7</sup>B byāri; D, J, BR bayāra

<sup>8</sup>PH prerai

<sup>9</sup>B, I, J, BR śaneha; PH snehū

<sup>10</sup>A, B phanda added

<sup>11</sup>B phandasa

<sup>12</sup>A piñjarā; F pañjara

<sup>13</sup>A, D, F, I, PH marajiyā; B, J, BR marajiyā

<sup>14</sup>B, J, BR cāra; D cyāra

<sup>15</sup>A, B, J, BR, PH khandā; I ṣa

<sup>16</sup>B khandāśa

<sup>17</sup>A kaha emended to kahi; B kahe

<sup>18</sup>B, I, BR śrī added

<sup>19</sup>F jīu

<sup>20</sup>B, BR bhac

<sup>21</sup>D gaha

<sup>22</sup>A, D, F, BR carana

<sup>23</sup>F nanda

<sup>24</sup>B nandaśa

## AS 10

hari ke nāma kaū<sup>1</sup> ālasa kata<sup>2</sup> karata<sup>3</sup> hai<sup>4</sup> re kāla phirata sara<sup>5</sup> sādhe<sup>6</sup>;  
 bera kubera<sup>7</sup> kachū nahi<sup>8</sup> jānata<sup>9</sup> caḍhyau<sup>10</sup> phirata<sup>11</sup> hai<sup>12</sup> kādhe<sup>13</sup>;  
 hīrā bahuta<sup>14</sup> [javā]hara<sup>15</sup> sañce<sup>16</sup> kahā<sup>17</sup> bhayo<sup>18</sup> hasti dara bādhe<sup>19</sup>;  
 kahi<sup>20,21</sup> haridāsa mahala<sup>22</sup> mē<sup>23</sup> banitā<sup>24</sup> bani ṭhāḍhi<sup>25</sup> bhai<sup>26</sup> yekau<sup>27</sup> na calata jaba āvata<sup>28</sup>  
 anta<sup>29</sup> kī ādhe<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>A, BR ko; B kō; D, I kau

<sup>2</sup>A kasa; B, I kita

<sup>3</sup>B karatu; J kara

<sup>4</sup>A, J he

<sup>5</sup>A -ra omitted, added *sup. lin.*; F rasara

<sup>6</sup>B, D, I, J śādhai; PH sādhe

<sup>7</sup>PH kubera added

<sup>8</sup>A, B, BR nahi; D nahī; F na; J, PH nahī

<sup>9</sup>I jānai

<sup>10</sup>A, BR caḍhyo

<sup>11</sup>B, D rahata; I rāhatu; PH phirata emended to rahata

<sup>12</sup>B nita; F sara

<sup>13</sup>B kādhai; D, I, J kādhai; F sādhe; PH kādhe

<sup>14</sup>B bohauta

<sup>15</sup>BR javāhira

<sup>16</sup>A sañcēya emended to sañce; B śāce; J cañce?

<sup>17</sup>B kāhā emended to kahā

<sup>18</sup>D, F, I, J, PH bhayau

<sup>19</sup>D bādhai; F bādhe; I, J bādhai

<sup>20</sup>A kaha emended to kahi; B kahe

<sup>21</sup>B, I, J, BR śrī added

<sup>22</sup>D -ha- omitted, added *inf. lin.*

<sup>23</sup>B me; D, J māi

<sup>24</sup>B banatā; PH omitted, added in marg.

<sup>25</sup>A, I ṭhāḍi

<sup>26</sup>F, BR omitted

<sup>27</sup>A yeko; B, D ekau; F kachu; J, BR kachū

<sup>28</sup>B āvati

<sup>29</sup>F āta

<sup>30</sup>D, I, J ādhai; F, PH ādhe

## AS 11

deṣau<sup>1</sup> ina<sup>2</sup> logani<sup>3</sup> kī<sup>4</sup> lāvani;

būjhata nā[hi<sup>5</sup> ha]ri carana<sup>6</sup> kamala kau<sup>7</sup> mithyā<sup>8</sup> janama<sup>9</sup> [gavāvani<sup>10</sup>;

jaba jama<sup>11</sup> dūta<sup>12</sup>] āi<sup>13</sup> gherata hai<sup>14</sup> taba<sup>15</sup> [karata āpa<sup>16</sup> mana<sup>17</sup> bhāvani<sup>18</sup>;

kahi]<sup>19,20</sup> haridāsa<sup>21</sup> taba<sup>22</sup> hi<sup>23</sup> cirajīvau<sup>24</sup> jaba<sup>25</sup> kuñjabihārī citāvani<sup>26</sup>].

<sup>1</sup>A, B, BR dekho; J deṣau

<sup>2</sup>F, J, PH ini

<sup>3</sup>A, B, BR logana; F loganu

<sup>4</sup>A lī added, deleted

<sup>5</sup>A nāhi emended to nahi; B, D nahi; J nāhi; BR, PH nāhi

<sup>6</sup>A, BR caraṇa

<sup>7</sup>A, BR, PH kō; B kau

<sup>8</sup>B mithyā

<sup>9</sup>A, BR janma

<sup>10</sup>A, B, D, J gamāvani; BR gumāvani

<sup>11</sup>A yama; F jaba

<sup>12</sup>F dū

<sup>13</sup>A āi emended to āi; D āya; I, J āni

<sup>14</sup>A, B, I omitted

<sup>15</sup>D, F, BR omitted

<sup>16</sup>A āpa emended to āpana *sec. m.*; D, F, BR āpanī; I āpu

<sup>17</sup>D, F, BR omitted; J mani

<sup>18</sup>D bhāvani

<sup>19</sup>A kaha emended to kahi; B kahe

<sup>20</sup>B, I, J śrī added

<sup>21</sup>BR ridāsa

<sup>22</sup>J tuba?

<sup>23</sup>A, F, I, J hī; B, D, BR hī

<sup>24</sup>A cirajīvo; B, I cirujīvai; F cirajīvai; J cirajīvaū; BR cirajīvai

<sup>25</sup>D, F, J, BR omitted

<sup>26</sup>F cintāvani



## AS 12

mana<sup>1</sup> lagāya<sup>2</sup> prīti [kījai<sup>3</sup> kara karavā<sup>4</sup> sō<sup>5</sup>] braja bīthina<sup>6</sup> dījai<sup>7</sup> sōhani<sup>8</sup>;  
 [bṛndābana<sup>9</sup> sō<sup>10</sup> bana<sup>11</sup>] <sup>12</sup> upavana sō<sup>13</sup> (bana)<sup>mg, 14</sup> guñjamāla hā[tha<sup>15</sup> pōhani<sup>16</sup>];  
 gau<sup>17</sup> gau<sup>18</sup> sutana<sup>19</sup> sō<sup>20,21</sup> mṛgī<sup>22,23</sup> sutana<sup>24</sup> sō<sup>25</sup> [aura] tana naīku<sup>26</sup> na jōhani<sup>27</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>28</sup> ke svāmī<sup>29</sup> syāmā<sup>29</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>30,31</sup> jyaū<sup>32</sup> sira para dōhani<sup>33</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>F manu

<sup>2</sup>A, B, F, I, J, BR, PH lagāi

<sup>3</sup>A kūje emended to kīje; B kīje; J kījai

<sup>4</sup>D karuvā

<sup>5</sup>A, B so; D, F saū; J saūh

<sup>6</sup>B, D, J bīthini; F bīthinu; I bīthana

<sup>7</sup>A dīje; J dījai

<sup>8</sup>A sohani emended to sohani; B sōhāni; D saūhani emended to saūhani; F, J, BR, PH sohani; I sōhani

<sup>9</sup>B brandābana; F bṛndā

<sup>10</sup>A, B so; D, F, J saū; I sau

<sup>11</sup>A nahī written over bana; J omitted; BR omitted, added *sup. lin., sec. m.*

<sup>12</sup>F saū added

<sup>13</sup>A, B so; D, F, I, J, PH saū

<sup>14</sup>B, F, BR omitted

<sup>15</sup>A hātha; F, BR omitted

<sup>16</sup>A, F, BR, PH pohani; D paūhani; I pauhani

<sup>17</sup>A, D, F, I, J, BR go

<sup>18</sup>A, D, F, I, J, BR go

<sup>19</sup>B, F sutani

<sup>20</sup>B so; D, F, I, J saū

<sup>21</sup>A mṛga added *sup. lin., sec. m.*

<sup>22</sup>F omitted

<sup>23</sup>I, J, BR mṛga added

<sup>24</sup>F tana

<sup>25</sup>B so; D, I, J saū; F omitted

<sup>26</sup>A, F, PH nēku; B, BR neka; D naīka

<sup>27</sup>A, I jōhani; B jauhāni; D jaūhani; F johini; J jīhani; BR, PH johani

<sup>28</sup>J haridāsi

<sup>29</sup>F syāma

<sup>30</sup>F omitted

<sup>31</sup>Added: A, F, BR sō cita; B so cita; D, J saū cita; I saū citta

<sup>32</sup>A, BR, PH jyō; B jyau

<sup>33</sup>A, B, F, J, BR, PH dohani; D daūhani

## AS 13

hari kau<sup>1</sup> aisoi<sup>2</sup> saba ŧela;  
 mṛgatrṣṇā<sup>3</sup> jaga byāpi<sup>4</sup> rahyau<sup>5</sup> hai<sup>6</sup> kahū<sup>7</sup> bijaurau<sup>8</sup> na vela<sup>9</sup>;  
 dhana mada jobana<sup>10</sup> mada rāja<sup>11</sup> mada jyaū<sup>12</sup> pañchina<sup>13</sup> maĩ<sup>14</sup> ḍela;  
 kahi<sup>15,16</sup> haridāsa yahai<sup>17</sup> jiya<sup>18</sup> jānaū<sup>19</sup> tīratha kai<sup>20</sup> sau<sup>21</sup> mela.

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<sup>1</sup>A, BR ko; J kaū

<sup>2</sup>D aisauhī; F aisāi; I aisauī; J esoi

<sup>3</sup>A °na; B, F mragatraṣṇā; J °trasnā

<sup>4</sup>D, I byāpa

<sup>5</sup>A, BR rahyo

<sup>6</sup>A he; F omitted

<sup>7</sup>A, J kahū; BR kāhū

<sup>8</sup>A, I, J bijoro; D, BR bijaurā; PH bijouro

<sup>9</sup>J, BR veli

<sup>10</sup>B jaubana

<sup>11</sup>BR rāji

<sup>12</sup>B, J, BR jyau

<sup>13</sup>F pañchini; PH pachina

<sup>14</sup>A, BR me; B, F, PH mẽ

<sup>15</sup>A kaha emended to kahi; B kahai

<sup>16</sup>B, I, J, BR śrī added

<sup>17</sup>B jyahī

<sup>18</sup>B, I jiya

<sup>19</sup>A jāno; B, F jānaū; BR, PH jānō

<sup>20</sup>A, BR, PH ko; B, D kau; J kē

<sup>21</sup>A, B, J, BR, PH so

## AS 14

jhūṭhī<sup>1</sup> bāta sācī<sup>2</sup> kari diṣāvata<sup>3</sup> ho<sup>4,5</sup> hari nāgara<sup>6</sup>;  
 nisi<sup>7</sup> dina bunata<sup>8</sup> udherata<sup>9</sup> jāta<sup>10</sup> prapañca<sup>11</sup> kau<sup>12</sup> sāgara;  
 ṭhāṭhu<sup>13</sup> banāi<sup>14</sup> dharyau<sup>15</sup> mihari<sup>16</sup> kau<sup>17</sup> hai<sup>18</sup> puruṣa<sup>19</sup> tē<sup>20</sup> āgara<sup>21</sup>;  
 suni<sup>22,23</sup> haridāsa yahai<sup>24</sup> jiya<sup>25</sup> jānāu<sup>26</sup> supanē<sup>27</sup> kau<sup>28</sup> so<sup>29</sup> jāgara<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>B, I jhūṭhi

<sup>2</sup>J sācī

<sup>3</sup>B hau added

<sup>4</sup>D, BR hau

<sup>5</sup>B hau added

<sup>6</sup>B nāgari

<sup>7</sup>D nisa

<sup>8</sup>A -ta omitted, added *inf. lin.*; D buna; J butata

<sup>9</sup>F, J, BR hī added

<sup>10</sup>A, B, D, I, J, PH jāta; F, BR jāi

<sup>11</sup>B parapañca

<sup>12</sup>A, BR, PH ko; J kaū

<sup>13</sup>A ṭhāṭa; B, D, I, J, PH ṭhāṭha

<sup>14</sup>B banāi; D banāya

<sup>15</sup>A, BR dharyo; D dharau

<sup>16</sup>A mihari emended to mihari; B maihairi; D, PH mahari

<sup>17</sup>A, BR ko; D kaū; F nāu

<sup>18</sup>B he; J nāma

<sup>19</sup>D puruṣa

<sup>20</sup>A omitted, added *inf. lin., sec. m.*; B, BR te; D, I, J tāi

<sup>21</sup>PH āgara emended to āgara

<sup>22</sup>A suna; B kahe; D, I, J kahi

<sup>23</sup>B, I, J, BR śrī added

<sup>24</sup>B jyahi; I yehai

<sup>25</sup>B, I jiya

<sup>26</sup>A, B jāno; F, PH jānō; BR jānau

<sup>27</sup>A supana; D, I, J supanaī

<sup>28</sup>A, I, J kai; B, BR ko; F ke

<sup>29</sup>D, I, J sau; F saū

<sup>30</sup>F jā- omitted, added in marg.

## AS 15

jagata<sup>1</sup> prīti<sup>2</sup> kari deṣi nāhinē<sup>3</sup> gaṭī<sup>4</sup> kau<sup>5</sup> koū<sup>6</sup>;  
<sup>7</sup>chatrapatī<sup>8</sup> raṅka laū<sup>9</sup>,<sup>10</sup> prakṛti<sup>11</sup> biraudha<sup>12,13</sup> banyaū<sup>14</sup> nahi<sup>15</sup> koū<sup>16</sup>;  
dina<sup>17</sup> jo<sup>18</sup> ga[e<sup>19</sup> bahuta<sup>20</sup> janamani<sup>21</sup>] ke aisē<sup>22</sup> jāu<sup>23</sup> jini<sup>24</sup> koū;  
kahi<sup>25,26</sup> [haridāsa mīta bhale<sup>27</sup>] pāye<sup>28,29</sup> bihārī<sup>30</sup> aisē<sup>31</sup> [pāvau<sup>32</sup> saba<sup>33</sup> koū<sup>34</sup>].

<sup>1</sup>A -ta omitted, added *inf. lin.*

<sup>2</sup>D prīta

<sup>3</sup>A, D nāhina; B, I, J nāhi; F nāhinē; BR nāhine

<sup>4</sup>F garī

<sup>5</sup>A ko emended to kau; BR, PH ko

<sup>6</sup>A ke emended to koū; B kou; F koī; BR kōū

<sup>7</sup>A line omitted, added in marg., *sec. m.*

<sup>8</sup>D °pata

<sup>9</sup>A, F, BR lō; B, J lo

<sup>10</sup>Added: A dekhē; B dekha; F, J, BR deṣe

<sup>11</sup>A prakrati; D prakṛta

<sup>12</sup>A, B, I, J, BR, PH birodha; D, F biruddha

<sup>13</sup>D, F, I, J, BR na added

<sup>14</sup>A, B, BR, PH banyo; F banō

<sup>15</sup>D, F, I, J, BR omitted

<sup>16</sup>B kou

<sup>17</sup>F dini

<sup>18</sup>F, J, BR ju

<sup>19</sup>A, F, I, J gaye; D gaai

<sup>20</sup>B bohauta; F bahu

<sup>21</sup>A, D, J janamana; I, BR janmani

<sup>22</sup>B, F, I, BR aise; D aisai; J aīsaī

<sup>23</sup>A, D, J jāhu; I jāha

<sup>24</sup>A, D, F jina; BR jani

<sup>25</sup>A kaha emended to kahi; B kahe; F, BR suni

<sup>26</sup>B, I, J, BR śrī added

<sup>27</sup>D, F bhalau; BR bhalo

<sup>28</sup>B, PH pāe; D, F pāyau; BR pāyo

<sup>29</sup>B śrī thākura added

<sup>30</sup>A bihari added, deleted

<sup>31</sup>A ese; B, I, J aise; D, F aisau; BR aiso

<sup>32</sup>A pāvō; B pāu; F pāvai; BR, PH pāvo

<sup>33</sup>A sa; B śabu

<sup>34</sup>PH kauū

## AS 16

[loga] to<sup>2</sup> bhūlai<sup>3</sup> bhalaī<sup>4</sup> bhūlai<sup>5</sup> tuma jini<sup>6</sup> bhūlau<sup>7</sup> mālādhārī;  
 apanō<sup>8</sup> pati chāḍi<sup>9</sup> aurana<sup>10</sup> sō<sup>11</sup> rati jyaū<sup>12</sup> dārani<sup>13</sup> mē<sup>14</sup> dārī;  
 syāma kahata te<sup>15</sup> jīva maū<sup>16</sup> te<sup>17</sup> bimuṣa bha[ye<sup>18</sup> so]ū<sup>19</sup> kaūna<sup>20</sup> jini<sup>21</sup> dūsari<sup>22</sup> kari<sup>23</sup> dārī;  
 kahi<sup>24,25</sup> haridāsa yajña<sup>26</sup> devatā pitarani<sup>27</sup> kaū<sup>28</sup> śradhā<sup>29</sup> bhārī.

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<sup>1</sup>B bihārī e added

<sup>2</sup>A, D, F, I, J tau

<sup>3</sup>A bhūlē; B, I, J bhūle; D bhūlau; F bhūlyau; BR bhūlyo

<sup>4</sup>A, F bhalē; B, BR bhale; I bhalai

<sup>5</sup>A, B, I, J bhūle; D bhūlau; F bhūlyau; BR bhūlyo

<sup>6</sup>A jīna emended to jina; D, I jina; F, J, BR mati

<sup>7</sup>BR, PH bhūlo

<sup>8</sup>D, I, J apanaū

<sup>9</sup>A, F, J, BR, PH chāḍi

<sup>10</sup>B, F, I aurani; PH orani

<sup>11</sup>B so; D, F, I saū

<sup>12</sup>A, BR jyō; B jyau

<sup>13</sup>A dārīna emended to dārīna; B dārana; J dārīna

<sup>14</sup>B me; D, I, J, PH māi

<sup>15</sup>B tei; D, BR je

<sup>16</sup>A, B, D, F, I, J, BR, PH mo

<sup>17</sup>D, I, J tai; BR, PH tē

<sup>18</sup>B bhae; F, J, BR omitted

<sup>19</sup>D so; F, BR ju; J su tau

<sup>20</sup>B, F, PH kona

<sup>21</sup>A jana emended to jina; B, D, BR jina

<sup>22</sup>D dūjī

<sup>23</sup>A kara

<sup>24</sup>A kaha emended to kahi; B kahe

<sup>25</sup>B, I, J, BR śrī added

<sup>26</sup>B, I, BR jagya; D, J, PH jajña

<sup>27</sup>A, D, J, PH pitarana; BR pitṛni

<sup>28</sup>A, B ko; F kau; BR, PH kō

<sup>29</sup>A, D, BR śradhā; I sardhā; J saradhā

## AS 17

jau<sup>1</sup> laũ<sup>2</sup> jīvai<sup>3</sup> tau<sup>4</sup> laũ<sup>5</sup> hari bhaji<sup>6</sup> re mana aura bāta saba<sup>7</sup> bādi<sup>8</sup>;  
 dyausa<sup>9</sup> cāri<sup>10</sup> ke halā bhalā<sup>11</sup> tū<sup>12</sup> kahā<sup>13</sup> leigau<sup>14</sup> lādi<sup>15</sup>;  
 māyā<sup>16</sup> mada guna<sup>17</sup> mada<sup>18</sup> jobana<sup>19</sup> mada bhūlyau<sup>20</sup> nagara bidādi<sup>21</sup>;  
 kahi<sup>22,23</sup> haridāsa lobha carapaṭa bhayo<sup>24</sup> kāhe<sup>25</sup> kī lagai<sup>26</sup> phiriyādi<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>A jaũ; B, PH jo

<sup>2</sup>A, B lo; PH lō

<sup>3</sup>A jīvō; B jīve

<sup>4</sup>A, B, PH to

<sup>5</sup>A, B lo; PH lō

<sup>6</sup>A, BR bhaja

<sup>7</sup>F sa

<sup>8</sup>A bādi emended to bādi; D bāda

<sup>9</sup>A, PH dyosa; B dhausa

<sup>10</sup>A cari; D cyāra; J cyāri

<sup>11</sup>Added: B, J me; I maĩ

<sup>12</sup>A tu emended to tū; BR tū

<sup>13</sup>F kaha

<sup>14</sup>A, PH leigo; D leyagau; I lehagau; BR lehigo

<sup>15</sup>A lādi emended to lādi; D lāda

<sup>16</sup>F, J, BR dhana

<sup>17</sup>A guṇa; F omitted; J, BR jobana

<sup>18</sup>F omitted

<sup>19</sup>A jaubana; J, BR rāja

<sup>20</sup>B, BR bhūlyo

<sup>21</sup>A, J, PH bibādi; D, F, BR bibāda

<sup>22</sup>A kaha emended to kahi; B kahe

<sup>23</sup>B, I, J, BR śrī added

<sup>24</sup>D tāi; F yau; I bhayau; J bhayaũ; BR yo

<sup>25</sup>D kāhai

<sup>26</sup>F lagau; J lage

<sup>27</sup>A °yādi emended to °yādi; B, I, J, BR, PH phirādi; D phirāda; F °yāda

## AS 18

<sup>1</sup>prema samudra rūpa rasa gahirai<sup>2</sup> kaisai<sup>3</sup> lāgai<sup>4</sup> ghāṭa;  
 bekāryaū<sup>5</sup> dai<sup>6</sup> jāna<sup>7</sup> kahāvata<sup>8</sup> jānīpanyaū<sup>9</sup> kī (kahā)<sup>mg, 10</sup> pari<sup>11</sup> bāṭa.  
 kāhū<sup>12</sup> kau<sup>13</sup> sara sūdhō<sup>14</sup> na<sup>15</sup> parai<sup>16</sup> mārata gāla galī<sup>17</sup> hāṭa<sup>18</sup>;  
 kahi<sup>19, 20</sup> haridāsa jāni<sup>21</sup> ṭhākura bihārī takata<sup>22</sup> auṭa<sup>23</sup> pāṭa.

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<sup>1</sup>In F first line omitted

<sup>2</sup>A, BR gahire; B gaihero; D, J gaharai; I gahare; PH gahirē

<sup>3</sup>A kaise; B kese; J kesai; BR, PH kaisē

<sup>4</sup>A lage

<sup>5</sup>A, BR bekāryo; B bekārau; D, J, PH bekāryau; F bākaryau

<sup>6</sup>B de

<sup>7</sup>D omitted; F jā omitted, added *pr. m.*; J jāni

<sup>8</sup>B kahāvati; D omitted; F kahyacata

<sup>9</sup>A jānīpanyo; B jānapane; D jānapanai; I jānapanyau; BR, PH jānapanyo

<sup>10</sup>A kāhā

<sup>11</sup>A pari emended to parī

<sup>12</sup>A kāhū emended to kāhu; F kahū

<sup>13</sup>A, B, J, BR ko

<sup>14</sup>B, D, I, J sūdhau; F sudhyau

<sup>15</sup>A na emended to nā

<sup>16</sup>A, I parata

<sup>17</sup>Added: A gala; B, J galī

<sup>18</sup>A -ṭa omitted, added; BR hāṭa

<sup>19</sup>A kaha emended to kahi; B kahe

<sup>20</sup>B, I, J, BR śrī added

<sup>21</sup>D jāna

<sup>22</sup>J na added

<sup>23</sup>A, D, F, BR oṭa

## KM 1

māi rī<sup>1</sup> sahaja<sup>2</sup> jorī<sup>3</sup> pragaṭa bhaī<sup>4</sup> raṅga kī gaura<sup>5</sup> syāma<sup>6</sup> ghana dāmini<sup>7</sup> jaisai<sup>8</sup>;  
 prathama hū<sup>9</sup> hutī<sup>10</sup> aba hū<sup>11</sup> āgai<sup>12</sup> hū<sup>13</sup> rahihai<sup>14</sup> na ṭarīhai<sup>15</sup> taisai<sup>16</sup>;  
 aṅga aṅga kī ujarāi<sup>17</sup> sugharāi<sup>18</sup> caturāi<sup>19</sup> sundaratā<sup>20,21</sup> aisai<sup>22</sup>;  
<sup>23</sup>sri haridāsa<sup>24</sup> ke svāmi<sup>25</sup> syāmā<sup>26</sup> kuñjabihārī sama<sup>27</sup> vaisa<sup>28</sup> vaisai<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>A, C, F, H, I, J, NC, RC omitted; PH omitted, added in marg.

<sup>2</sup>C saja

<sup>3</sup>RC jaurī

<sup>4</sup>Added: {F, H jo; I, BR, RC ju; J ra jō, ra deleted}; PH unr.

<sup>5</sup>RC -ra omitted, added *sup. līn.*

<sup>6</sup>NCM omitted, added *inf. līn., pr. m.*

<sup>7</sup>D dāmina; NCM dāmīni

<sup>8</sup>A, RC jaisai; F, PH, NC jaisē; BR jaise

<sup>9</sup>A, RC hu; C hutī emended to hu; D, J omitted; F hū

<sup>10</sup>C hūti; F hutē

<sup>11</sup>A, C hū; D, J hū; RC hu

<sup>12</sup>A, BR, NC āge; C, D, H, J āgai; F, PH āgē

<sup>13</sup>C, D, J, RC hū

<sup>14</sup>C, H, NCP rahihai

<sup>15</sup>C tarihe; H, NC ṭarīhai

<sup>16</sup>A, BR taisē; F, NC taisē; H jaisē emended to taisē; RC tasai

<sup>17</sup>NCM ujarai

<sup>18</sup>NCM deleted

<sup>19</sup>F, J, PH omitted; H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>20</sup>NCP sundaratāi

<sup>21</sup>F ju added

<sup>22</sup>A, BR aise; F, H, PH, NC aisē

<sup>23</sup>J the fourth line is written in marg.

<sup>24</sup>BR, PH haridāsi

<sup>25</sup>J -mī to the end of line omitted, added in marg., see 2.1; NCM svāmi

<sup>26</sup>NCM aru śyāma added in brackets

<sup>27</sup>C sama? emended to samvai

<sup>28</sup>C omitted; NC vesa

<sup>29</sup>A, J, BR vaise; C, F, PH, NCP vaisē; NCM vesai; RC vasai



## KM 2

<sup>1</sup>ruci<sup>2</sup> ke prakāsa<sup>3</sup> paraspara<sup>4</sup> ṣelana<sup>5</sup> lāge;  
 rāga rāgini<sup>6</sup> alokika<sup>7</sup> upajata<sup>8</sup> nṛtti<sup>9</sup> saṅgīta alaga lāga<sup>10</sup> lāge<sup>11</sup>;  
 rāgu<sup>12</sup> hī mai<sup>13</sup> raṅgu<sup>14</sup> rahyau<sup>15</sup> raṅga<sup>16,17</sup> samudra<sup>18</sup> mē<sup>19,20</sup> doū<sup>21</sup> jhāge<sup>22</sup>;  
 sṛī haridāsa ke svāmi<sup>23</sup> syāmā<sup>24</sup> kuñjabihārī [pai<sup>25,26</sup> raṅgu<sup>27</sup> rahyau<sup>28,29</sup> rasa] hī<sup>30</sup> mē<sup>31</sup>  
 pāge<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>In J this verse is written in marg. (svā- (1.4) end of line and page, cnt. with -mī... of 2.4)

<sup>2</sup>D ruca

<sup>3</sup>J unr.

<sup>4</sup>J unr.

<sup>5</sup>A khe- omitted, added *pr. m.*

<sup>6</sup>C rāgini; NCM rāgini; RC rāgani

<sup>7</sup>A, C, D, F, I, J, RC alaukika; NCP alaūkika; NCM omitted

<sup>8</sup>NCM alokika added

<sup>9</sup>A, D, F, I, BR, PH, NC, RC nṛtya; C nyāta; H nṛta; J nirta

<sup>10</sup>H laga emended to lāga

<sup>11</sup>C lāgai

<sup>12</sup>A, D, F, I, J, BR, NC, RC rāga; H raṅga emended to rāga

<sup>13</sup>A, C me; F, I, J, BR, PH, NC mē

<sup>14</sup>A, D, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC raṅga

<sup>15</sup>A, BR rahyo; NCP racaū; NCM raho; RC rahyaū

<sup>16</sup>C raga; J raśa

<sup>17</sup>Added: A, C, D, I, J, BR ke; H ke, in marg.

<sup>18</sup>NCM ke added, deleted

<sup>19</sup>A me; C, D mai; H mahi; RC mai

<sup>20</sup>H, J, RC e added

<sup>21</sup>J do; NC doū

<sup>22</sup>C jhagāi

<sup>23</sup>NCM svāmi

<sup>24</sup>H syāma emended to syāmā

<sup>25</sup>A pe; C, F, I, BR omitted

<sup>26</sup>H rasa added, emended to raṅga

<sup>27</sup>A, D, J, NC, RC raṅga; C, F, I, BR rasa; H deleted

<sup>28</sup>A, BR rahyo; C rahyaū; NCP rahayau

<sup>29</sup>F, H, I, BR pai added

<sup>30</sup>F omitted

<sup>31</sup>A me; C, J mai; D mai; H mai emended to saū; I sō; BR so; RC saū

<sup>32</sup>C pāgai; J pāgai

## KM 3

aisai<sup>1</sup> hī<sup>2</sup> deṣata [rahaũ<sup>3,4</sup> janama<sup>5</sup> suphala<sup>6</sup> ka]ri<sup>7</sup> mānō<sup>8</sup>;  
 pyāre kī<sup>9</sup> bhāvati<sup>10</sup> [bhāvati<sup>11</sup> ke pyāre jugala<sup>12</sup>] kisora<sup>13,14</sup> jānō<sup>15</sup>;  
<sup>16</sup>china<sup>17</sup> na ṭarau<sup>18,19</sup> [palu<sup>20</sup> na<sup>21</sup> hova<sup>22,23</sup> ita<sup>24</sup> uta<sup>25</sup> raho<sup>26</sup>] eka<sup>27,28</sup> tãnō<sup>29</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>30</sup> ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī<sup>31</sup> mana rānaũ<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>A, H, PH aisē; C, J, RC aisai; F, BR aise; NCP aisē; NCM aīsaī

<sup>2</sup>C, D, I, BR, NC hī

<sup>3</sup>A rahō emended to raho; F, J, BR, NC rahō; PH rahū

<sup>4</sup>H tau added

<sup>5</sup>C jana; BR, RC janma

<sup>6</sup>A -la omitted, added *pr. m.*; RC saphala

<sup>7</sup>C, NCM kara; NCP karī

<sup>8</sup>A, I, BR māno; C, NCM, RC mānaũ; D, H mānaũ

<sup>9</sup>A ke emended to kī

<sup>10</sup>C, H, J bhāvati; NC bhāmatī

<sup>11</sup>C, H, RC bhāvati; NC bhāmatī

<sup>12</sup>NCP jūgala

<sup>13</sup>A kisorē; D kiśaurai; J kiśore; BR kiśora emended to kiśorahi *sec. m.*; NCP, RC kiśorai

<sup>14</sup>NCM hī added (maybe intended as dative)

<sup>15</sup>A, BR jāno; C, D, H, J, NCM, RC jānaũ; NCP jānaũ

<sup>16</sup>In H the third line is written again in marg. in a corrected version: china na ṭarau pala na hohu ita uta...

<sup>17</sup>C, I, BR palava; F, H, J, NCM, RC pala; NCP chinu

<sup>18</sup>A, I, J, BR, PH taro; C calarau emended to ṭarau; NCP ṭaraũ; NCM ṭarō

<sup>19</sup>The original wordorder in BR (palu...uta) is emended with figures to this in G.

<sup>20</sup>C, F, I, J, BR, RC china; H mana emended to chana; NCM chinī

<sup>21</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC omitted

<sup>22</sup>A, D, J hohu; C haũ; F, H, I, BR, NCM omitted; PH, NCP hou; RC hōhu

<sup>23</sup>A, J, NCP, RC na added

<sup>24</sup>J itva

<sup>25</sup>Added: F hou; H na (in text), hou (in marg.); I, BR na hohu; NCM na hoũ

<sup>26</sup>C, D, F, H, J, RC rahau; NCP rahaũ

<sup>27</sup>J ika

<sup>28</sup>A hī; D, NCM hī; BR hi, *sup. lin.*; NCP hī

<sup>29</sup>A, BR, NCM tãno; C, H tãnyaũ; D, J tãnaũ; F tãnō; NCP, RC tãnaũ

<sup>30</sup>C haradāsa; BR, PH haridāsi

<sup>31</sup>NC °bihārī

<sup>32</sup>A, BR, NCP rāno; F, H, I, PH rānō; NCM, RC rānaũ

## KM 4

<sup>1</sup>jorī<sup>2</sup> bicitra<sup>3</sup> banā[ī rī<sup>4</sup> māi<sup>5</sup> kā]hū<sup>6,7</sup> mana<sup>8,9</sup> harana<sup>10</sup> kau<sup>11</sup>;  
 citavata<sup>12</sup> diṣṭi<sup>13</sup> ṭarata<sup>14</sup> na<sup>15</sup> ita uta mana<sup>16</sup> baca krama<sup>17</sup> yāhi<sup>18</sup> saṅga bharana<sup>19</sup> kau<sup>20</sup>;  
 jyaū<sup>21</sup> ghana dāmini<sup>22</sup> saṅga rahata nitya<sup>23</sup> bichurata<sup>24</sup> nāhina<sup>25</sup> aura barana<sup>26</sup> kau<sup>27</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>28</sup> ke svāmi<sup>29</sup> syāmā kuñjabihārī<sup>30</sup> na ṭarana kau<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>H deṣau māi added, deleted with yellow paste

<sup>2</sup>C jaurī

<sup>3</sup>A bitri emended to bicitra; NCP bicitra

<sup>4</sup>F omitted; H omitted, added in marg

<sup>5</sup>H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>6</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC kāhū

<sup>7</sup>A ko added, deleted; F ke added; H ke added, deleted

<sup>8</sup>C na

<sup>9</sup>Added: A ke, *sec. m.*; C, D, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC ke, *pr. m.*

<sup>10</sup>C -ra- omitted, added *sup. lin.*

<sup>11</sup>A, F, I, BR, NCM kō

<sup>12</sup>RC citavati

<sup>13</sup>A, J draṣṭi; C, F, I, BR, NCP dṛṣṭi; D dṛṣṭa; H dṛṣṭa emended to dṛṣṭi; NCM dṛṣṭi; RC draei?

<sup>14</sup>C, F, I, BR ṭarai

<sup>15</sup>F, H nahi; J, NCM nahī; NCP nāhī

<sup>16</sup>RC namū

<sup>17</sup>A karma

<sup>18</sup>D ihī

<sup>19</sup>C bharāṇa

<sup>20</sup>A, F, I, BR, PH kō; NCP ko; RC kau

<sup>21</sup>A jyo; C jau; I, BR, NC jyō

<sup>22</sup>C, I dāmina; NC dāmini

<sup>23</sup>A, C, D, F, H, J, BR, NC, RC nita

<sup>24</sup>C bichūrata

<sup>25</sup>C māhina; D nahī; BR, PH nāhina; NCP nāhina; RC nāhina

<sup>26</sup>C barāṇa; D bārana

<sup>27</sup>A, I, BR kō; NCM kau

<sup>28</sup>C haradāsa; BR haridāsi

<sup>29</sup>NCM svāmi

<sup>30</sup>NCP °bihārī

<sup>31</sup>A ko; F, I, BR kō; RC kau

## KM 5

ita<sup>1</sup> uta kāhe<sup>2</sup> kau<sup>3,4</sup> sidhārata<sup>5,6</sup> āṣina<sup>7</sup> āgai<sup>8</sup> hī<sup>9,10</sup> āva<sup>11</sup>;  
 prīti<sup>12</sup> ko<sup>13</sup> hitu<sup>14</sup> hū<sup>15</sup> to<sup>16</sup> terau<sup>17,18</sup> jānaū<sup>19,20</sup> aiso<sup>21</sup> hī<sup>22</sup> rāṣi<sup>23</sup> subhāva<sup>24</sup>;  
 amṛta se<sup>25</sup> bacana jiya<sup>26</sup> kī<sup>27</sup> prakṛti<sup>28</sup> sō<sup>29</sup> milai<sup>30</sup> aisoī<sup>31</sup> dai<sup>32</sup> dāva<sup>33</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>34</sup> ke svāmi<sup>35</sup> syāma<sup>36,37</sup> kahata<sup>38</sup> rī<sup>39</sup> pyāri<sup>40,41</sup> prīti<sup>42</sup> kau<sup>43</sup> maṅgala gāva<sup>44</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>A ita...kau unr.

<sup>2</sup>C kāhai

<sup>3</sup>F omitted; I, BR, PH kō; NCP kau; NCM ko

<sup>4</sup>Added: C si; D tū

<sup>5</sup>A, F, I, BR sidhārati; NCP sīdhārata; NCM sidhārati

<sup>6</sup>J, NC merī added

<sup>7</sup>A ākhī emended to ākhina; C, D āṣina; F āṣani; H, J āṣini; PH āṣini; NC ākhina

<sup>8</sup>A, F, H āgē; BR, NC āge; RC āgai

<sup>9</sup>C, H, I, J, PH, NCP, RC hī; F omitted

<sup>10</sup>A, C, D, F, I, J, PH tū; H tuma emended to tū; NCM tū

<sup>11</sup>C, H, I, BR āu

<sup>12</sup>D, RC prīta; NCP prīti

<sup>13</sup>A, D, F, H, J, PH, NC, RC kau; C kau

<sup>14</sup>C, D, F, I, J hita

<sup>15</sup>A, J, RC hau; C, BR haū; D hū; F omitted; H, I hō; NC hu

<sup>16</sup>A, NCP, RC tau; C tō; D, F, H omitted

<sup>17</sup>A, H, I, BR, PH, NCM tero; C, NCP teraū

<sup>18</sup>F hō added

<sup>19</sup>A, BR jāno; C, NCP, RC jānaū; F, H, I, PH jānō

<sup>20</sup>A, J tū added; NCP tū; RC tū

<sup>21</sup>A aisāū; D, RC aisau; F aisē; H, NCM eso

<sup>22</sup>C i; H, I, J, BR, NC, RC i

<sup>23</sup>A rākha emended to rākhi; D rākha; NC rākhi

<sup>24</sup>C subhāi; F, H, I, BR subhāu

<sup>25</sup>C sau

<sup>26</sup>H, BR, PH, NC jīya

<sup>27</sup>PH ke emended to kī

<sup>28</sup>D, RC prakṛta; NCM prakṛti

<sup>29</sup>A so; C, D, F, H, J, PH saū; RC sau

<sup>30</sup>A, J, RC mili; F, I milai; H mile emended to mili; BR mila; NCP milai emended to mili; NCM milai

<sup>31</sup>D, J aisauhi; F aisau; NCM aisōi; RC aisauī

<sup>32</sup>A daii; J, NCP de

<sup>33</sup>C hāū emended to dāū; F, H, I, BR dāu

<sup>34</sup>C haradāsa; BR haridāsi; NCP haridāsa

<sup>35</sup>NCP svāmi

<sup>36</sup>A, C, F, RC syāmā; H omitted, syāmā added in marg.; I syāmā emended to syāmā

<sup>37</sup>Added: A, C, NCM kuñjabihāri; H kuñjabihāri, in marg.; NCP kuñjabihāri

<sup>38</sup>C omitted

<sup>39</sup>C, F omitted

<sup>40</sup>D omitted; H prema? emended to pyāri

<sup>41</sup>RC tū added

<sup>42</sup>D, RC prīta

<sup>43</sup>A, J, BR, PH ko; C kau; F kai

<sup>44</sup>C gāū; F, H, I, BR gāu

## KM 6

pyāri<sup>1</sup> jū<sup>2</sup> jaisai<sup>3</sup> teri āṣina<sup>4</sup> mai<sup>5</sup> haū<sup>6</sup> apanapau<sup>7</sup> deṣata<sup>8</sup> haū<sup>9</sup> aisai<sup>10</sup> tuma deṣata<sup>11</sup> hau<sup>12</sup>  
 kidhō<sup>13</sup> nāhi<sup>14</sup>;  
 haū<sup>15</sup> to<sup>16</sup> to<sup>17</sup> [s]ō<sup>18</sup> kahō<sup>19</sup> pyāre<sup>20</sup> āṣi<sup>21</sup> mūdi<sup>22</sup> rahaū<sup>23</sup> to<sup>24</sup> lāla<sup>25</sup> nikasi<sup>26</sup> kaha<sup>27</sup> jāhi<sup>28</sup>;  
 mo<sup>29</sup> kō<sup>30</sup> nikasive<sup>31</sup> kaū<sup>32</sup> ṭhaura<sup>33</sup> batāvau<sup>34,35</sup> sāci<sup>36</sup> kahaū<sup>37</sup> bali<sup>38</sup> jāū<sup>39</sup> lāgau<sup>40</sup> pāhi<sup>41</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>42</sup> ke<sup>43</sup> svāmī syāmā<sup>44,45</sup> tumhai<sup>46</sup> deṣyau<sup>47</sup> cāhata<sup>48,49</sup> aura<sup>50</sup> suṣa<sup>51</sup> [lāgata<sup>52</sup>  
 kāhi<sup>53</sup>].

<sup>1</sup>H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>2</sup>C, F, H, I, BR omitted

<sup>3</sup>A, D, F, H, PH jaisē; C unr.; BR jaise; NC omitted; RC jaisai

<sup>4</sup>C, F āṣini; H, J, PH āṣini; NC ākhīna

<sup>5</sup>A omitted, added *pr. m.*; F, I, J, NC mē; BR me; RC mai

<sup>6</sup>C, RC hau; F, I, NC hō; H omitted, hō added in marg.

<sup>7</sup>A apunapau; C apanapaū; I, BR, PH apanapo; RC apunipau

<sup>8</sup>F -ta omitted, added in marg.

<sup>9</sup>F, NCP hō; H deleted; I, BR omitted; PH hū; NCM ho; RC hau

<sup>10</sup>A aise; C tesaī; D taisaī; F, H, I taisē; J, RC taisai; BR taisē; PH, NC aisē

<sup>11</sup>F deṣati

<sup>12</sup>A, C, NCM haū; I, BR, PH ho

<sup>13</sup>A, RC kidhau; C kidho; D, J, BR, NC kidhaū

<sup>14</sup>A nāhi emended to nāhi; C nahi; D, PH, RC nāhi; F, NCP nāhi; H, I, J, BR, NCM nāhi

<sup>15</sup>A, RC hau; F, H, I hō; J ho

<sup>16</sup>C, I, J, BR, PH omitted; D, F tau; H deleted; NCP, RC tō; NCM taū

<sup>17</sup>C tau; PH tō

<sup>18</sup>A sau; C, D, RC saū; J so

<sup>19</sup>C, D, J, NCM kahaū; F kaho; H kahū; RC kahau

<sup>20</sup>F pyāri

<sup>21</sup>C, F, BR āṣi; D, I ākha; NCM ākhi

<sup>22</sup>C, F, J, NC mūdi; D mūda; H mūda emended to mūdi; RC mūda

<sup>23</sup>A rahi; D, NCP, RC rahau; F, PH rahō; I rahū; BR rahō

<sup>24</sup>C, D, H, I, J, BR, RC omitted; PH omitted, tau added in marg.; NC tau

<sup>25</sup>RC lāla

<sup>26</sup>D, NCP nikasa

<sup>27</sup>H kahā

<sup>28</sup>A jāho emended to jāhi; C, H, NC jāhi; F, I, RC jāhi; J, BR jāhi

<sup>29</sup>C maū; H mau; BR mō

<sup>30</sup>C, D, J, NCM kaū; BR hi; NCP ko; RC kau

<sup>31</sup>C nikakasivai; D, NCP nikasave; NCM nikasavai

<sup>32</sup>A, BR, NC ko; I, PH kō; RC kau

<sup>33</sup>D thaūra; I ṭhōra

<sup>34</sup>A, I batāvō; C batāvaū; H batāvahu; BR batāvo; RC batāau

<sup>35</sup>H hō tau ho added, deleted

<sup>36</sup>C, J, BR sāci

<sup>37</sup>A, NCP kaho; C, D, J, RC kahau; F, I, BR, PH kahō

<sup>38</sup>D bala; NCM balī; RC bāli

<sup>39</sup>A, F, I, BR, PH jāū; C jāu; D jāū; H omitted, jāū added in marg.; J jāū; NC jāva; RC jāhu

<sup>40</sup>A lāgo; F, I, BR, PH lāgō; J, RC lāgau

<sup>41</sup>A, C pāhi; H, I, J, BR, NC pāhi

<sup>42</sup>C haradāsa; BR haridāsi; PH omitted added in marg.; NCP haridāsa

<sup>43</sup>C kai; PH omitted, added in marg.

<sup>44</sup>H syāma emended to syāmā?

<sup>45</sup>Added: A, F, NC kuñjabihāri; H kahata, deleted

<sup>46</sup>A, C, H, J tumahi; F tuma; I tumahi; BR, RC tumahi; NCP tumhai emended to tumhāri?; NCM tumhē

<sup>47</sup>A, I, J, BR, PH, NCP dekhyo; D dekhau; NCP dekhata

<sup>48</sup>NCP cahataḥ

<sup>49</sup>Added: F hau; NCM haū

<sup>50</sup>C aūra

<sup>51</sup>RC omitted

<sup>52</sup>H lāgai emended to lāgata

<sup>53</sup>A, NCP, RC kāhi; C kāri; H kāhi; I, J kāhi

## KM 7

pyārī tero<sup>1</sup> badana amṛta kī pañka<sup>2</sup> tā [maĩ<sup>3</sup> bīdhe<sup>4</sup> nē]na<sup>5</sup> dvai<sup>6</sup>;  
 cita<sup>7</sup> calyau<sup>8</sup> kāḍhana<sup>9</sup> kau<sup>10</sup> bikuca<sup>11</sup> sandhi<sup>12</sup> [samputa maĩ<sup>13</sup>] rahe<sup>14</sup> bhvai<sup>15</sup>;  
<sup>16</sup>bahuta upāi<sup>17</sup> āhi<sup>18</sup> rī<sup>19</sup> pyārī pai<sup>20</sup> [na ka]rata<sup>21</sup> svai<sup>22</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>23</sup> ke svāmi<sup>24</sup> syāma<sup>25</sup> kuñjabihārī kahata<sup>26</sup> aisai<sup>27</sup> hī<sup>28</sup> rahai<sup>29</sup> hvai.

<sup>1</sup>C teraũ; D, F, H, J, NCP, RC terau

<sup>2</sup>C paka

<sup>3</sup>A me; F, I, BR, PH, NC mẽ; H mahi

<sup>4</sup>C bīdhai; NCM bīdhē

<sup>5</sup>A, C, D, J, BR, RC naina

<sup>6</sup>C, NCM dvaĩ; RC hai

<sup>7</sup>C, D citta; I, BR citu

<sup>8</sup>A, BR, PH, NCP calyo; C calyau; RC valyau

<sup>9</sup>F kāḍhani; NCP kāḍhana; RC kāḍhanũ

<sup>10</sup>A, F, I, BR, PH, NCM kō; NCP, RC kau

<sup>11</sup>C kikaca emended to bikaca; D, H, NC bikaca; F bibikuca; BR bikuci; RC bikucā

<sup>12</sup>NC sandhī

<sup>13</sup>A me; D, BR omitted; F, I, PH, NC mẽ; RC mai

<sup>14</sup>A, BR rahyo; C, D, F, H, I, J, PH, RC rahyau; NCP rahayo; NCM rahayau

<sup>15</sup>A bhvai emended to hvai; C bhvai; D hvai

<sup>16</sup>NCM cīta calyau added, deleted

<sup>17</sup>A, D, J, NC upāya; C upāi

<sup>18</sup>A āhau emended to āhi; BR āi; NCM āhī

<sup>19</sup>A omitted, added *pr. m.*

<sup>20</sup>C paĩ; D pa

<sup>21</sup>H -ta omitted, added *sup. lin.*

<sup>22</sup>C svai

<sup>23</sup>C haradāsa; BR haridāsi

<sup>24</sup>NCP svāmi

<sup>25</sup>A, C, D, F, I, J, NC, RC śyāmā

<sup>26</sup>C, D, F, I, J, RC omitted; PH original reading [kahata]? deleted

<sup>27</sup>A aiso; D aisai; F, H, I, PH, NC aisē; J, BR aise

<sup>28</sup>A omitted, added *sec. m.*; D, J hī

<sup>29</sup>A, I, BR, RC raho; C rahaũ; D, J, NC rahau; F rahyau; H rahī; PH rahai

## KM 8

āvata<sup>1</sup> jāta<sup>2</sup> bajāvata<sup>3</sup> nūpura<sup>4</sup>;  
 merau<sup>5</sup> terau<sup>6</sup> nyāva<sup>7</sup> dai<sup>8</sup> kai<sup>9</sup> āgai<sup>10</sup> jau<sup>11</sup> kachu<sup>12</sup> karai<sup>13</sup> so<sup>14</sup> kari<sup>15</sup> hamāre<sup>16</sup> sira ūpara;  
<sup>17</sup>pyārī<sup>18</sup> jū<sup>19</sup> nipaṭa<sup>20</sup> nikaṭa<sup>21</sup> mavāsa<sup>22</sup> bhai<sup>23,24,25</sup> paīḍa<sup>26</sup> dū<sup>27</sup> para<sup>28</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>29</sup> ke<sup>30</sup> svāmī syāmā<sup>31</sup> kuñjabihārī bilasata<sup>31</sup> nihacala<sup>32</sup> dhūpara<sup>33</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>F āvati

<sup>2</sup>F jāti

<sup>3</sup>A jāvāvata emended to bajāvata; F bajāvati

<sup>4</sup>A nupara; C nūpūra; RC nūpara

<sup>5</sup>A, I, BR, PH, NCM mero

<sup>6</sup>A, I, BR, PH tero; C teraū

<sup>7</sup>C, F, BR, PH nyāu; H nyāi

<sup>8</sup>NCM dai

<sup>9</sup>A, D, I, J, BR, NC, RC ke; C kai; F, H kē

<sup>10</sup>A, BR, NCM āge; D, PH, RC āgai; F, H, NCP āgē

<sup>11</sup>A, D, F, I, J, BR, NCM, RC jo; C jyau; H ju

<sup>12</sup>C, D, F, I, J, PH kachū

<sup>13</sup>A kare; C hoī; D, H, J, RC karau; F kahau; I, BR karo; PH kari; NCP karai emended to karī; NCM karaū

<sup>14</sup>C omitted; H su deleted; I, J, PH, RC su; NCP sau; NCM sō

<sup>15</sup>A, C, D, F, I, J, BR, NCP, RC omitted

<sup>16</sup>D omitted; F mere; NCP hamarai

<sup>17</sup>In the margin of F the first part of the third line is written in a corrected version: pyārī nipaṭa nikaṭa mavāsa bhai.

<sup>18</sup>C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NCM, RC omitted

<sup>19</sup>C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC omitted

<sup>20</sup>C, D, H, I, J, BR omitted

<sup>21</sup>F omitted

<sup>22</sup>C māvāsa; D mavā; I mēvāsa; J mivāsa

<sup>23</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC hvai; C hve

<sup>24</sup>Added: A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NCM, RC rahī; NCP rahī, bhai (in brackets)

<sup>25</sup>Added: C, D, F, I, J, BR NCM pyārī; H ho pyārī; RC pyārī jū

<sup>26</sup>A, F, H, NCP pēḍa; H, BR paīḍa

<sup>27</sup>C, I, J, BR dvai; NCP du; NCM dai

<sup>28</sup>RC pāra

<sup>29</sup>BR haridāsi; NCP haridāsa

<sup>30</sup>C kai

<sup>31</sup>C bilasaū; H bilase emended to bilasata; I, J, BR, NCM, RC bilasau

<sup>32</sup>A, I niścala; C, F, H omitted; RC nahacala

<sup>33</sup>C dvāva?°; D dhura°; I dhuva°; BR dhruva°; PH °pura; NCM dhu°; RC dhū°

## KM 9

dṛṣṭi<sup>1</sup> cēpa<sup>2</sup> bara<sup>3</sup> phandā mana piñjarā<sup>4</sup> rāṣyau<sup>5</sup> lai<sup>6</sup> pañchi<sup>7,8</sup> bihārī<sup>9</sup>;  
 cunō<sup>10</sup> subhāva prema jala aṅga<sup>11</sup> śravata<sup>12</sup> pīvata<sup>13</sup> na<sup>14</sup> aghāta<sup>15</sup> rahai<sup>16</sup> muṣa<sup>17</sup> nihārī<sup>18</sup>;  
 pyārī pyārī raṭata rahata<sup>19</sup> china<sup>20,21</sup> china<sup>22</sup> yā<sup>23</sup> kai<sup>24</sup> nāhinaī<sup>25,26</sup> aura<sup>27,28</sup> kachū<sup>29</sup> hiyā<sup>30</sup>  
 rī;  
 suni<sup>31,32</sup> haridāsa<sup>33</sup> pañchi<sup>34</sup> nānā raṅga deṣata<sup>35</sup> hi<sup>36</sup> deṣata<sup>37</sup> pyārī jū na hārī<sup>38</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>C, H dṛṣṭa; NCP dṛṣṭī; RC dṛei?

<sup>2</sup>C caīpu; D, J, RC cepa; I, BR cepu; NC caīpa

<sup>3</sup>A ba- omitted, added *sup. lin.*

<sup>4</sup>D, H pijarā; RC phijarā

<sup>5</sup>A rakhyo; C omitted; NCP rākhyau

<sup>6</sup>A le; C omitted

<sup>7</sup>F pakṣi

<sup>8</sup>C le rākhyau added

<sup>9</sup>NCP bihāri

<sup>10</sup>C, D, J, RC cunaū

<sup>11</sup>F aṅga added

<sup>12</sup>C, H, I śrava

<sup>13</sup>F piyata

<sup>14</sup>F nēna; H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>15</sup>C āghāta

<sup>16</sup>A, D, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC rahe; C rahaī

<sup>17</sup>C, F, I, BR, RC omitted; H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>18</sup>NCP nihāri

<sup>19</sup>F rahai

<sup>20</sup>F nisi; NC china; RC omitted

<sup>21</sup>Added: C, I, NC hī; D, H, J, BR hī

<sup>22</sup>F bāsara; NC china; RC omitted

<sup>23</sup>H vā emended to yā

<sup>24</sup>A, D, BR, NCP ke; C kaū; F, H, PH kē; I kai

<sup>25</sup>A nāhina; C, F, H, I, J, NC, RC omitted; D nāhi; PH omitted nāhi added in marg.

<sup>26</sup>Added: D kachū; H kachu, word order emended with numbers to aura kachu

<sup>27</sup>A ora

<sup>28</sup>C, F, H, I, J, BR, NC na added

<sup>29</sup>A kucha; D omitted; F, NC kachu

<sup>30</sup>A, NC hiyā

<sup>31</sup>A suna; NCM sunī

<sup>32</sup>I, J, BR, NCP, RC śrī added

<sup>33</sup>BR, RC haridāsi

<sup>34</sup>C pañchi; F pakṣi

<sup>35</sup>F deṣa

<sup>36</sup>A, D, I, J, BR, PH, NCM, RC hī; NCP omitted

<sup>37</sup>D from deṣata to deṣata in KM 10.1 *homeoracta*; PH deṣa emended to deṣata; NCP omitted

<sup>38</sup>A nihāri emended to na hārī; H na hārī emended to nihāri; BR nihāri for na hārī



## KM 10

bhūlai<sup>1</sup> bhūlai<sup>2</sup> hū<sup>3</sup> māna<sup>4</sup> na<sup>5</sup> kari<sup>6</sup> rī<sup>7,8</sup> pyārī<sup>9</sup> terī bhaūhai<sup>10</sup> mailī<sup>11</sup> deṣata prāna na<sup>12</sup>  
 rahata<sup>13</sup> tana<sup>14</sup>;  
 jyaū<sup>15</sup> nyaūchāvari<sup>16</sup> karō<sup>17</sup> pyārī<sup>18</sup> [rī<sup>19</sup> to<sup>20</sup>] para<sup>21</sup> kāhe<sup>22</sup> tē<sup>23</sup> tū<sup>24</sup> mūki<sup>25</sup> kahata<sup>26</sup>  
 syāma<sup>27</sup> ghana;  
<sup>28</sup>tohi<sup>29</sup> aisai<sup>30</sup> deṣata<sup>31</sup> mohi<sup>32</sup> ba<sup>33</sup> kala kaisē<sup>34</sup> hoi<sup>35</sup> jū<sup>36</sup> prāna<sup>37</sup> dhana;  
 suni<sup>38,39</sup> haridāsa<sup>40</sup> kāhe na kahata<sup>41</sup> yā<sup>42</sup> saū<sup>43</sup> chāḍai<sup>44</sup> ba<sup>45,46</sup> chāḍai<sup>47</sup> apanō<sup>48</sup> pana.

<sup>1</sup>A, I, NCM bhulē; C bhūlyai; F, H bhūlē; J, RC bhūlai; BR bhūle

<sup>2</sup>A, I, NCM bhulē; F, H bhūlē; BR bhūle; RC bhūlai

<sup>3</sup>A hu emended to hū; C, RC hū; PH omitted, added in marg.

<sup>4</sup>F, H mānu

<sup>5</sup>A, C omitted, added *sup. lin.*

<sup>6</sup>C, F, H, I, BR karahi; NC, RC kara

<sup>7</sup>A omitted; H omitted, added

<sup>8</sup>RC hī added

<sup>9</sup>H rādhe emended to pyārī

<sup>10</sup>A bhaūhe; C bhōhai; F bhōha; H original bhōha emended to mailī, and bhohau added in marg.; I bhōhai; J bhauhai; BR bhauha; PH bhohai; NC bhōhē; RC bhauhai

<sup>11</sup>H omitted, bhōha emended to mailī; I, PH, NCM melī

<sup>12</sup>H omitted, ra- (of rahata) emended to na, new ra- added in marg.

<sup>13</sup>A -ta omitted, added

<sup>14</sup>H na emended to tana

<sup>15</sup>A jyō; D jau; F, RC jyau; H jau emended to jyau; I, BR, PH jyo; NCP jiyā; NCM jiya

<sup>16</sup>D, NCM, RC nyaūchāvara; I nochāvari; J nauchāvari; BR, PH nyochāvari; NCP nichāvara

<sup>17</sup>A karo; C, J, NCM karaū; D karū; NCP, RC karau

<sup>18</sup>H, PH omitted, added in marg.

<sup>19</sup>A, C, F, H, I, J, BR, RC omitted

<sup>20</sup>C tau

<sup>21</sup>H bara emended to para

<sup>22</sup>C kāhai; D kahi

<sup>23</sup>C tau; D tai; J, RC tai; BR te

<sup>24</sup>H, BR tū; NCM tu

<sup>25</sup>F mukī; J moki

<sup>26</sup>NCM kahatī

<sup>27</sup>BR syama emended to syāma

<sup>28</sup>J pyārī added

<sup>29</sup>A <sup>o</sup>hī emended to hi; H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>30</sup>A, BR aise; F, I, PH, NC aisē; H omitted, deṣata emended to aisai, new deṣata added in marg.; J, RC aisai

<sup>31</sup>C rahaū added, deleted

<sup>32</sup>C maūhi; F mo; NCP mohī

<sup>33</sup>A, J, NC aba; F bi

<sup>34</sup>A kaise; C kaisai; D, J kaisai; RC kaisai

<sup>35</sup>A hota; C hoī; NCM hoyā

<sup>36</sup>C, H, BR ju

<sup>37</sup>RC prāṇa

<sup>38</sup>A suna; NCM sunī

<sup>39</sup>I, J, BR, NC, RC śrī added

<sup>40</sup>F, H, BR haridāsi

<sup>41</sup>F, H kahatī

<sup>42</sup>NCP yā; NCM omitted, added *sup. lin.*

<sup>43</sup>A, BR so; F, I, PH sō; NCM omitted, added *sup. lin.*

<sup>44</sup>A, H, BR chāḍi; C, I, J, RC chāḍi; D chāḍai; F chāḍe; NCP chāḍi; NCM chāḍa

<sup>45</sup>H omitted, added in marg.; NCM bai

<sup>46</sup>C [...i] added

<sup>47</sup>A, H, BR chāḍi; C, I, J, RC chāḍi; D chāḍai; F chāḍe; NCP chāḍi; NCM chāḍe

<sup>48</sup>C, D, J, RC apanāū

## KM 11

bāta to<sup>1</sup> kahata kahi<sup>2</sup> gaī aba kaṭhani<sup>3</sup> pari<sup>4</sup> bihārī;  
 tana<sup>5</sup> to<sup>6</sup> nāhi<sup>7</sup> prāna<sup>8</sup> asta<sup>9</sup> bista<sup>10</sup> bhaye<sup>11</sup> kahai<sup>12,13</sup> kahā<sup>14</sup> pyārī;  
 bhāvate<sup>15</sup> kī<sup>16</sup> prakṛti<sup>17</sup> deṣai<sup>18</sup> jo<sup>19</sup> śrama<sup>20</sup> [bhayau]<sup>21,22</sup> hiyā<sup>23</sup> rī;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>24</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>25,26</sup> bāhu<sup>27</sup> sō<sup>28</sup> bāhu<sup>29</sup> milāya<sup>30</sup> rahe muṣa nihārī<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>D, F, H, J, BR, NC, RC tau; PH tō

<sup>2</sup>A, J, BR, RC kahi; NC kaha

<sup>3</sup>A kaṭhi emended to kaṭhina; C, D, F, J, BR, RC kaṭhina; NC kaṭhina

<sup>4</sup>C pari; H bhāi? emended to pari

<sup>5</sup>C, F, H, I, J, BR, RC prāna; NCM prāṇa

<sup>6</sup>C, F, H, J, NC, RC tau

<sup>7</sup>A nāhina; C nāhīnē; D nāhi; F hi emended to nāhi *pr. m.*; H, NC nāhi; I, BR nāhine; J nāhinaī; PH nāhi;  
 RC nāhinai

<sup>8</sup>C, F, H, I, J, BR, NCM, RC tana; NCP prāṇa

<sup>9</sup>A asata

<sup>10</sup>C bis[...]ra; F, H, RC vyasta

<sup>11</sup>A, F bhae; C bhayaī; RC bhayē

<sup>12</sup>A kahe; C, D kahai; F, H kahē; PH kahā; NCP kaho; NCM kahaū

<sup>13</sup>NC na added

<sup>14</sup>BR omitted, added *sup. lin., sec m.*

<sup>15</sup>C, D, F, BR bhāvate; NCM bhāmate

<sup>16</sup>F omitted

<sup>17</sup>D, H, RC prakṛta; NCM prakṛti

<sup>18</sup>A dekho emended to dekhe; C, F, I, J, NCM, RC deṣata; D deṣa; H deṣē emended to deṣata; BR dekhe;  
 PH deṣē; NCP dēkhē

<sup>19</sup>A, C, F; D jau; H omitted, added; I, BR, RC ju; J ju emended to jū

<sup>20</sup>F suṣa; H duṣa emended to śrama

<sup>21</sup>A, I, BR, PH, NCP bhayo

<sup>22</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC bahuta added

<sup>23</sup>NCP hiyā

<sup>24</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>25</sup>H, NCM syāma emended to syāmā

<sup>26</sup>D kuñjabihārī added

<sup>27</sup>A, I bāhu; NCM bāhū

<sup>28</sup>C, D, H, J, NCM, RC saū; BR so

<sup>29</sup>A, I bāhu; C bahu; NCM bāhū

<sup>30</sup>A milā emended to milāi *pr.m.*; C milāi; F, H, I, BR, PH, RC milāi

<sup>31</sup>NCM nihārī

## KM 12

kuñjabihārī<sup>1</sup> haū<sup>2</sup> terī balāi<sup>3</sup> laiū<sup>4</sup> [nikē]<sup>5</sup> hau<sup>6</sup> gāvata;  
 rāga rāgini<sup>7</sup> ke jūtha<sup>8</sup> upajāvata<sup>9</sup>;  
 taisīyai<sup>10</sup> taisī<sup>11</sup> mili<sup>12</sup> jorī<sup>13</sup> priyā<sup>14</sup> jū kau<sup>15</sup> muṣa<sup>16</sup> deṣē<sup>17,18</sup> canda<sup>19</sup> lajāvata;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>20</sup> ke svāmī<sup>21</sup> syāmā<sup>22</sup> kau<sup>23</sup> ṛṭa<sup>24,25</sup> deṣata<sup>26</sup> kāhe<sup>27</sup> na<sup>28</sup> bhāvata<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>NCM °bihārī

<sup>2</sup>A, F, I ho; H omitted, added; J, BR hō; RC hau

<sup>3</sup>C, NC balāi; D balaiyā; J balāya

<sup>4</sup>A leū; C, J lyaū; D, F lēu; I, BR lyō; NC leū; RC laihu

<sup>5</sup>D, J, PH nikai; I ni; BR, NC nīke; RC nīkai

<sup>6</sup>A, D, I, BR, NC, RC ho; C haū; PH hō

<sup>7</sup>D, RC rāganī; F rāginīni; I rāginina; NCM rāginīna

<sup>8</sup>A, I, NCP yūtha

<sup>9</sup>C ūpajāvata

<sup>10</sup>A taisīe; C tesī hō; D taisīya; I, BR, NCP taisīye; J tesīye; RC taisīyai

<sup>11</sup>C tesī; D taisīya; F omitted; H taisī

<sup>12</sup>A mili emended to milī; F omitted

<sup>13</sup>F milī added

<sup>14</sup>H pyārī

<sup>15</sup>A, I, J, BR ko; C kaū; F omitted

<sup>16</sup>C mūṣa

<sup>17</sup>C, H, I, J, RC deṣata; D dekhāi; F deṣi; BR ta emended to deṣata *sec. m.*; NC dekhata emended to dekhē

<sup>18</sup>NCP mukha added, deleted

<sup>19</sup>A, C candra

<sup>20</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>21</sup>NCM svamī

<sup>22</sup>F, H, J kuñjabihārī added

<sup>23</sup>A, F, I, BR ko; C, J kaū

<sup>24</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC ṛṭya

<sup>25</sup>A ko added, deleted

<sup>26</sup>C dedeṣata emended to deṣata

<sup>27</sup>A, D, H, I, J, BR, RC kāhi; C kāhaī; NC kāhī

<sup>28</sup>F mana added

<sup>29</sup>RC bhāvātū

## KM 13

eka<sup>1</sup> samē<sup>2</sup> ekānta<sup>3</sup> bana<sup>4</sup> mē<sup>5</sup> karata siṅgāra<sup>6</sup> paraspara doī<sup>7</sup>;  
 ve<sup>8</sup> una<sup>9</sup> ke ve<sup>10</sup> una<sup>11</sup> ke<sup>12</sup> pratibimbana<sup>13</sup> deṣata<sup>14</sup> rahata paraspara<sup>15</sup> bhoī;  
 16; jaise<sup>17</sup> nīke<sup>18</sup> āju<sup>19</sup> bane<sup>20,21</sup> aise<sup>22</sup> kabahū<sup>23</sup> na banē<sup>24</sup> ārasī<sup>25</sup> saba<sup>26</sup> jhūṭhi<sup>27</sup> pari<sup>28</sup>  
 kaisīyo<sup>29</sup> ba<sup>30</sup> koī<sup>31</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>32</sup> ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī<sup>33</sup> rījhi<sup>34</sup> paraspara<sup>35</sup> prīti<sup>36</sup> noī.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>1</sup>C aīka<sup>2</sup>A samaya; D, H, I, BR, NCM, RC samaī<sup>3</sup>C ekāta<sup>4</sup>C bani<sup>5</sup>C, D, J maī; RC mai<sup>6</sup>A śṅgāra; D, NCP sigāra<sup>7</sup>C, D, F doū<sup>8</sup>C ye; RC vē<sup>9</sup>C ūna; F, J uni; NCM ina<sup>10</sup>RC vē<sup>11</sup>C ūna; F, J uni<sup>12</sup>C chabi added<sup>13</sup>A pratibibani; C pratibibini; F, H, J, BR, RC pratibimbani; NCP pratibimba<sup>14</sup>F deṣi<sup>15</sup>C paraspapara; F omitted<sup>16</sup>In H the first part of the third line is written in the marg. in a corrected version: jaise nīke āja banai aise kabahū na banai<sup>17</sup>C aīsaī; D jaisaī; F, H, I, J, BR aise; NCM jaisē<sup>18</sup>C, F, H, I, J, BR omitted; D nikaī<sup>19</sup>C, F, H, I, BR omitted; D, NCP, RC āja<sup>20</sup>C, RC banai; D, J banaī; F, H, PH, NCP banē<sup>21</sup>D hau added<sup>22</sup>C jaīsaī; F, H, I, J, BR jaise; NCM aisaī<sup>23</sup>A, C<sup>o</sup>hū; D, F<sup>o</sup>hu; BR, NC<sup>o</sup>hū<sup>24</sup>A, I, BR, NC bane; J banaī; RC banaī<sup>25</sup>A āra emended to ārasī<sup>26</sup>H omitted<sup>27</sup>A jhuṭhi emended to jhūṭhi<sup>28</sup>NCM pari<sup>29</sup>A kasi; D, H kaisīyau; F kaisēyō; J kaisīye; BR kaisīyai; NCP kaisī; NCM kaise; RC kasiyau<sup>30</sup>NC aura<sup>31</sup>C kaū; J kauī; NCM koi<sup>32</sup>C haradāsa; BR haridāsi<sup>33</sup>F, H, I, BR omitted; NCM kuja<sup>o</sup><sup>34</sup>NCM rījhi; RC rījha<sup>35</sup>PH omitted, added in marg.<sup>36</sup>C prīti; RC prīta<sup>37</sup>F bhoī

## KM 14

rādhe cali<sup>1</sup> rī hari bolata<sup>2</sup> kaukilā<sup>3</sup> alāpata<sup>4</sup> sura deta pañchi<sup>5</sup> rāga<sup>6</sup> banyaū<sup>7</sup>;  
jahā<sup>8</sup> mora<sup>9</sup> kācha<sup>10</sup> bādhe<sup>11</sup> nr̥tya<sup>12</sup> karata megha mṛdaṅga<sup>13</sup> bajāvata<sup>14</sup> bandhāna<sup>15</sup>  
ganyaū<sup>16</sup>;  
prakṛti<sup>17</sup> kī kou<sup>18,19</sup> nāhi<sup>20</sup> yā<sup>21</sup> tai<sup>22,23</sup> surati<sup>24</sup> [ke<sup>25,26</sup> una]māna<sup>27</sup> gahi<sup>28</sup> haū<sup>29</sup> āi<sup>30</sup> mē<sup>31,32</sup>  
janyaū<sup>33</sup>;  
śrī haridāsa<sup>34</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>35</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>36</sup> kī aṭapaṭī bāni<sup>37,38</sup> aurai<sup>39</sup> kahata kachū<sup>40</sup>  
aurai<sup>41</sup> bhanyaū<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>A calo emended to cali; C, NCM calī

<sup>2</sup>A bola emended to bolata

<sup>3</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC kokilā; C kaukilā

<sup>4</sup>C, I alāpati

<sup>5</sup>F pakṣī; F, NCM pachī

<sup>6</sup>C rāgu

<sup>7</sup>A, BR banyo; D, F, PH, NC banyau; H banē emended to banyō; I banyō

<sup>8</sup>A jahā; F jāhā

<sup>9</sup>C mauha

<sup>10</sup>NC kācha

<sup>11</sup>A, C, H, I, NC bādhe; D bādhai; F bādhi; J bādhai; BR bādhe; RC bādhai

<sup>12</sup>F nirtta

<sup>13</sup>C, F, H, I, J, RC paṣāvaja; NCM mṛdana emended to mṛdaṅga

<sup>14</sup>F bajāi

<sup>15</sup>A -na omitted, added; C bandhānya; F badhāna

<sup>16</sup>A, BR, NCM ganyo; D ganaū; F, NCP ganyau; H ganē emended to ganyō; I, PH ganyō

<sup>17</sup>D, H, RC prakṛta; NCM pr̥kṛtī

<sup>18</sup>I kou

<sup>19</sup>A sth. added in margins, deleted

<sup>20</sup>A nāhi emended to nāhi; C, F nāhi; D, BR nāhi; H, J, NC nāhi; PH nāhi

<sup>21</sup>H tā

<sup>22</sup>A, C, BR, NCM te; D, F, H, I, PH, NCP tē; J, RC tai

<sup>23</sup>H terī added, deleted

<sup>24</sup>D, RC surata; H surate? emended to surati; NCM surati

<sup>25</sup>C omitted; D ko; F kai

<sup>26</sup>H rī yātē haraye added, deleted

<sup>27</sup>C ūnamāna; NCP, RC anumāna; NCM anūmāna

<sup>28</sup>C, NCM gahī

<sup>29</sup>A, F, H, I, PH, NC hō; C, RC ho

<sup>30</sup>H āi

<sup>31</sup>A me; C, D, BR, NCM maī; J, RC mai

<sup>32</sup>NCP na added, underlined (maybe with intention to be deleted)

<sup>33</sup>A janyo; H janē emended to janyō; I, BR janyō; NCP janyau

<sup>34</sup>J haridasa; BR haridāsi

<sup>35</sup>H, BR omitted, added in marg.

<sup>36</sup>H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>37</sup>A bāni emended to bāni; C, F, BR omitted; H jāni emended to bāni; I, NCP bāna

<sup>38</sup>H na janata added, deleted

<sup>39</sup>C, D, J, NCM aurai; H aura; BR aure; NCP aurē

<sup>40</sup>A, BR, NC, RC kachu

<sup>41</sup>C aurai; D, RC aura; BR aure

<sup>42</sup>A, BR bhanyo; C, NCP bhanyau; H bhanē; I, PH bhanyō; NCM bhanaū

## KM 15

tero<sup>1</sup> maga jovata<sup>2</sup> lāla bihārī<sup>3</sup>;  
<sup>4</sup>terī samādhi<sup>5</sup> aja<sup>6</sup> hū<sup>7</sup> nahi<sup>8</sup> chūṭata<sup>9,10</sup> cā[hata<sup>11</sup> nā]hinē<sup>12</sup> nēku<sup>13</sup> nihārī;  
aucaka<sup>14</sup> āi<sup>15</sup> dvai<sup>16</sup> kara [saū<sup>17</sup> mūde<sup>18</sup>] nēna<sup>19</sup> arabarāi<sup>20,21</sup> uṭhe<sup>22</sup> cihārī<sup>23</sup>;  
śrī haridāsa<sup>24</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>25</sup> ḍhūḍhata<sup>26</sup> bana me<sup>27</sup> pā[i priyā<sup>28,29</sup> dihārī<sup>30</sup>].

<sup>1</sup>C teraū; D, F, H, J, PH, NC, RC terau

<sup>2</sup>A jauvata; C jauva

<sup>3</sup>C bihāri

<sup>4</sup>The second line is omitted in BR and added *sup. lin.*

<sup>5</sup>NC samādhi

<sup>6</sup>H omitted, added in marg.; J aju

<sup>7</sup>A, NCP hū; C, F, J hū; H omitted, added in marg.; RC ha

<sup>8</sup>A nahī; C, F, I, BR, NCP na; H omitted, na added in marg.; J, NCM nahī

<sup>9</sup>A, F, I chuṭati; H, NC chuṭata

<sup>10</sup>H nāhī kahu added, deleted

<sup>11</sup>PH cāhita

<sup>12</sup>C nāhīna; D nāhinaī; F, I, J, BR nāhina; H omitted, nāhina added in marg.; PH nāhinē; NCP nāhīnai; NCM, RC nāhīnai

<sup>13</sup>D, NCM, RC naika; J naiku; NCP neka

<sup>14</sup>C, PH ocaka; F aucakā; NC aucakāya

<sup>15</sup>C āi; D, J, NC āya; F āe

<sup>16</sup>C doū; RC dvai

<sup>17</sup>A, F, I, BR, PH, NCM sō; RC sau

<sup>18</sup>A, F mude; C, D, J, RC mūde; NCP mūdē

<sup>19</sup>A, D, J, BR, NC, RC naina

<sup>20</sup>C, F, NCP arabarāi; D, J arabarāya

<sup>21</sup>H kē added

<sup>22</sup>A, J uṭhe emended to uṭhī; I, BR, RC uṭhī

<sup>23</sup>C bihārī; NCM cihārī

<sup>24</sup>C haradāsa; J, BR haridāsi

<sup>25</sup>F, H syāma

<sup>26</sup>A, F ḍhūḍhata; C, D, J, BR, RC ḍhūḍhata; NC ḍhūḍhata

<sup>27</sup>A, BR me; C, D, I, J, RC māi; H mahi

<sup>28</sup>A piyā

<sup>29</sup>F tvī added

<sup>30</sup>A, C bihārī; F dahārī

## KM 16

<sup>1</sup>māni<sup>2,3</sup> aba<sup>4,5</sup> cali<sup>6</sup> rī<sup>7</sup> eka [saṅga rahyau<sup>8</sup> kijai<sup>9</sup>];  
tau<sup>10</sup> kijai<sup>11</sup> jau<sup>12</sup> bina<sup>13</sup> deṣāi<sup>14</sup> jījai<sup>15</sup>;  
[ye<sup>16,17</sup> syāma] ghana<sup>18</sup> tuma<sup>19</sup> dāmini<sup>20</sup> prema puñja<sup>21</sup> baraṣā<sup>22</sup> rasa<sup>23</sup> pījai<sup>24</sup>;  
śrī haridāsa<sup>25</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>26</sup> kuñjabihārī sō<sup>27</sup> hili<sup>28</sup> mili<sup>29</sup> raṅga<sup>30</sup> lījai<sup>31</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>H e added, deleted

<sup>2</sup>H, NCM māna; NCP mānī

<sup>3</sup>Added: C, F, H, I, J, RC tū; BR, NCM tū

<sup>4</sup>C omitted, added in marg.

<sup>5</sup>H hī added; NCM eka added, deleted

<sup>6</sup>A cali emended to cali; H cale emended to cali; NC cali

<sup>7</sup>C, J, BR omitted; H deleted

<sup>8</sup>A, BR rahyo; C rahaū; H rahai emended to rahau; NCP rahi; NCM rahau

<sup>9</sup>A kijai emended to kijai; C, NCP kijai

<sup>10</sup>C tau; BR, PH, NCP to

<sup>11</sup>C kijai; F kiyē

<sup>12</sup>A, I, J, BR, PH, NCP jo; C jau; F, NCM omitted; H deleted

<sup>13</sup>J binu

<sup>14</sup>A, C, BR dekhe; F, I, PH deṣē; RC dekhai

<sup>15</sup>C, D, NC jījai

<sup>16</sup>A, F, H, I, BR, RC e; C yaī; H ve

<sup>17</sup>H tau added, deleted

<sup>18</sup>D saghana

<sup>19</sup>C, F, I tū; BR tū; PH tū emended to tuma

<sup>20</sup>C, BR dāmini; NCP dāmina; NCM dāmini

<sup>21</sup>RC puja

<sup>22</sup>A, NC barṣā; C barīṣā; F baraṣata; H, J, PH barīṣā

<sup>23</sup>F rasu

<sup>24</sup>C pījai

<sup>25</sup>C haradāsa; J, BR haridāsi

<sup>26</sup>H syāmā emended to syāma

<sup>27</sup>C, D, J saū; H omitted, added in marg.; RC sau

<sup>28</sup>A hila; C, NCM hili; NCP hīlī

<sup>29</sup>A mila; NC mili

<sup>30</sup>C, PH raṅgu; D lāhau; NCP rasa

<sup>31</sup>C, J lījai; F kijai

## KM 17

tū<sup>1</sup> risa<sup>2</sup> chāḍi<sup>3</sup> rī<sup>4</sup> rādhe rādhe<sup>5</sup>;  
 jyaũ<sup>6</sup> jyaũ<sup>7</sup> to<sup>8</sup> kaũ<sup>9</sup> gaharu<sup>10</sup> tyaũ<sup>11</sup> tyaũ<sup>12</sup> mo<sup>13</sup> kaũ<sup>14</sup> bithā<sup>15,16</sup> sādhe<sup>17</sup> sādhe<sup>18</sup>;  
 prānani<sup>19</sup> kaũ<sup>20</sup> poṣata<sup>21,22</sup> suniyata<sup>23</sup> tere<sup>24</sup> bacana<sup>25</sup> ādhe ādhe;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>26</sup> ke svāmī syāma<sup>27</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>28</sup> terī<sup>29</sup> prīti<sup>30</sup> bādhe<sup>31</sup> bādhe<sup>32</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>BR, PH tū; NC tū

<sup>2</sup>A rīsa emended to risa; C risi; H alisa emended to risa

<sup>3</sup>NC chāḍi

<sup>4</sup>C omitted

<sup>5</sup>C rādhai; F omitted

<sup>6</sup>I, BR, PH, NCP jyō

<sup>7</sup>I, BR, PH, NCP jyō; RC jyau

<sup>8</sup>NCM tau

<sup>9</sup>A ko; F, I, BR, PH, NCP kō; RC kau

<sup>10</sup>A gahaharu emended to gaharu; C, RC gahara

<sup>11</sup>I, BR, PH, NCP tyō; RC tyau

<sup>12</sup>I, BR, PH tyo; NCP tyō; RC tyau

<sup>13</sup>C maũ

<sup>14</sup>A ko; F, I, BR, NCP kō

<sup>15</sup>RC byathā

<sup>16</sup>Added: F, J, BR rī; H rī, in marg.

<sup>17</sup>F sadhe

<sup>18</sup>F omitted

<sup>19</sup>A, D, J, NCM prānana; NCP prānani

<sup>20</sup>A ko; F, I, BR, PH, NCP kō; J, RC kau

<sup>21</sup>C poṣa; F poṣati

<sup>22</sup>Added: A haĩ rī; C haũ re; F, BR hai; H, I, J haĩ; RC hai rī

<sup>23</sup>A, C, F, I, J, BR, NC, RC omitted

<sup>24</sup>F terau

<sup>25</sup>A, C, F, I, J, BR, NCM, RC sunata added; H kahata? emended to sunata

<sup>26</sup>C haradāsa; BR haridāsi

<sup>27</sup>A, C, D, F, I, J, PH, NC śyāmā; BR omitted

<sup>28</sup>NCP omitted

<sup>29</sup>F omitted

<sup>30</sup>NCP kuñjabihārī; RC prīta

<sup>31</sup>C, H bādhe

<sup>32</sup>C, H bādhe



## KM 18

āju<sup>1</sup> trana<sup>2</sup> tūṭata<sup>3</sup> hai<sup>4</sup> rī<sup>5</sup> lalita<sup>6</sup> trabhaṅgī<sup>7</sup> para<sup>8</sup>;  
 carana<sup>9</sup> carana<sup>10</sup> para muralī<sup>11</sup> adhara<sup>12</sup> dharai<sup>13,14</sup> citavani<sup>15,16</sup> baṅka chabīli bhuvā<sup>17</sup>  
 (para)<sup>mg</sup>;  
 calahu<sup>18</sup> na<sup>19</sup> begi<sup>20</sup> rādhikā<sup>21,22</sup> piya<sup>23</sup> pai<sup>24</sup> jo<sup>25</sup> bhayo<sup>26</sup> cāhata<sup>27</sup> ho<sup>28</sup> sarvopara<sup>29</sup>;  
<sup>30</sup>śrī haridāsa<sup>31</sup> ke svāmī<sup>32</sup> kau<sup>33</sup> samayo<sup>34</sup> aba<sup>35</sup> [nīko]<sup>36</sup> banyaū<sup>37,38</sup> hili<sup>39</sup> mili<sup>40</sup> keli<sup>41</sup>  
 aṭala<sup>42</sup> bhai<sup>43</sup> rati<sup>44,45</sup> dhūpara<sup>46</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>C, RC āja; NCM ājū

<sup>2</sup>A trina emended to trana; F trina; J, PH, RC tṛna; NCP tranu

<sup>3</sup>A tūṭata; D, PH tūṭata; I tūṭatu; NCM tūṭata

<sup>4</sup>C, J he

<sup>5</sup>RC rī

<sup>6</sup>A lalīta emended to lalita; NCM lalita

<sup>7</sup>A, C, D, NC tribhaṅgī; PH tṛbhaṅgī

<sup>8</sup>BR ūpara

<sup>9</sup>C, NC carana

<sup>10</sup>C, NC carana

<sup>11</sup>NC muralī

<sup>12</sup>BR a emended to adhara

<sup>13</sup>A dhare; C, RC dharai; F, H, I, PH, NCP dharē

<sup>14</sup>F lāla kī added

<sup>15</sup>NCM citavana

<sup>16</sup>NCM kū added, deleted

<sup>17</sup>C, NCP bhūva; D, J, BR, NCP, RC bhū

<sup>18</sup>H calahi emended to calahu

<sup>19</sup>NCP ne

<sup>20</sup>D bega; NCP omitted; NCM begi

<sup>21</sup>C rādhike; NC rādhikā

<sup>22</sup>NCP bega added

<sup>23</sup>A priya; NCP piya

<sup>24</sup>A, F para; H pahi; J, BR, PH, NCP, RC pai; NCM pē

<sup>25</sup>C jaū; D, F, H, J, RC jau

<sup>26</sup>C bhayaū; D, J, NCM, RC bhayau

<sup>27</sup>A, F cāhati; NCP cāhita

<sup>28</sup>A, C, D, F, I, J, NCP, RC hau

<sup>29</sup>RC saravūṣara

<sup>30</sup>A the whole line is written in a different hand and changed from śrī haridāsa ke svāmī śyāmā kuṅjabihārī kī hili mili keli aṭala bhai rati dhuva para to śrī haridāsa ke svāmī kau samayau aba nīkau banyau hili mili keli aṭala bhai dhū para

<sup>31</sup>C haradāsa; BR haridāsi

<sup>32</sup>C, NCM syāmā added

<sup>33</sup>C, J kaū; BR, PH ko

<sup>34</sup>C samayaū; D, F, H, J, NC, RC samayau

<sup>35</sup>F ba

<sup>36</sup>C nīkaū; D, F, H, I, J, PH, RC nīkau; NC nīkau

<sup>37</sup>C, D, H, I, BR omitted; J, NCP banau; PH banyō; RC omitted, added *pr. m.*

<sup>38</sup>F lāla kī added

<sup>39</sup>C hili; H, NCP, RC hila; NCM hili

<sup>40</sup>H, NCP, RC mila; NCM mili

<sup>41</sup>PH omitted, added in marg.; NC keli

<sup>42</sup>NCM omitted, added *sup. lin. pr. m.*

<sup>43</sup>F, J, PH, NC omitted

<sup>44</sup>C, D, H, I, BR, RC omitted

<sup>45</sup>F, J, NC, RC bhai added

<sup>46</sup>NCM dhu°

## KM 19

dina ḍapha<sup>1</sup> tāla<sup>2</sup> bajāvata gāvata bharata paraspara<sup>3</sup> china<sup>4</sup> china<sup>5</sup> horī;  
 atī<sup>6</sup> sukūvāra<sup>7</sup> badana śrama baraṣata<sup>8</sup> bhale mile rasika kisora kisaurī<sup>9</sup>;  
 bātani<sup>10</sup> [bata batāta] rāgu<sup>11</sup> raṅga<sup>12</sup> rami<sup>13</sup> rahyau<sup>14</sup> ita uta<sup>15</sup> cāi<sup>16</sup> cala[ta<sup>17</sup> taki<sup>18</sup> ṣo]rī<sup>19</sup>;  
 suni<sup>20,21</sup> haridāsa<sup>22</sup> tamāla syāma sō<sup>23</sup> latā [lāpaṭi<sup>24</sup> kañcana] kī thori.

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<sup>1</sup>A dhapa

<sup>2</sup>NCM tāra

<sup>3</sup>J paraspa; NCP omitted

<sup>4</sup>NCP china; NCM chinu

<sup>5</sup>NCP china; NCM chinu

<sup>6</sup>NCP atī

<sup>7</sup>A, D, H, NC, RC sukumāra; C sūkūmāra; F, I, PH sukuvāra; BR sukamāra

<sup>8</sup>A, BR barṣata

<sup>9</sup>A, D, F, H, J, BR, PH, NC, RC kiśorī

<sup>10</sup>C bāni; BR bātana; NC bātani

<sup>11</sup>A, D, F, H, J, BR, PH rāga; NC rāga

<sup>12</sup>PH raṅgu

<sup>13</sup>NC rami

<sup>14</sup>A, C, BR rahyo; NC rahayau

<sup>15</sup>C ūta; F omitted, added in marg.

<sup>16</sup>A cāha; C cāi; D, J, BR, NC cāha; F, H, I, RC cāhi

<sup>17</sup>D cala; NCM calana

<sup>18</sup>D taka; F -ki omitted, added in marg.; NC taki

<sup>19</sup>C ṣaurī

<sup>20</sup>D kaḥa; J, NCM suna; NCP sunī

<sup>21</sup>I, J, BR, RC śrī added

<sup>22</sup>I, BR haridāsi

<sup>23</sup>A, C, D, F, H, J, RC saū

<sup>24</sup>A, H, I, J, BR, PH, RC lapaṭi; C, F, NC lapaṭi; D lapaṭa

## KM 20

dva<sup>1</sup> lara motīna<sup>2</sup> kī<sup>3</sup> eka [puñja<sup>4</sup> poti<sup>5</sup> kau<sup>6</sup>] sādā netra<sup>7</sup> dṛṣṭi<sup>8</sup> lāgau<sup>9</sup> jina<sup>10</sup> merī;  
 hā[thani<sup>11</sup> cāri<sup>12</sup>] cāri<sup>13</sup> cūri<sup>14</sup> pāini<sup>15</sup> ikasāra<sup>16</sup> cūrā<sup>17</sup> caupahalū<sup>18</sup> [ikaṭaka]<sup>19</sup> rahe<sup>20</sup> hari  
 herī;  
 eka<sup>21,22</sup> maragajī sārī tana tē<sup>23</sup> kañcukī<sup>24</sup> nyārī ara<sup>25</sup> añcarā<sup>26</sup> kī<sup>27</sup> bāi<sup>28</sup> ḍhiga<sup>29</sup> mora<sup>30,31</sup>  
 urasani<sup>32</sup> pherī;  
 śri haridāsa<sup>33</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>34</sup> kuñjabihārī yā rasa<sup>35</sup> basa bhaye<sup>36</sup> harē<sup>37</sup> harē<sup>38</sup>  
 sarakani<sup>39</sup> nerī.

<sup>1</sup>C dvaī<sup>2</sup>A, F, H, I motini; NC, RC motina<sup>3</sup>C kī<sup>4</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, PH, NC, RC puñjā; C pūjā<sup>5</sup>C paūti; D, NC, RC pota<sup>6</sup>C, J kaū; BR, PH ko<sup>7</sup>A, PH, NCP, RC netrana; C, F, I, J netrani; BR naitrani; NCP naitrana<sup>8</sup>NCP draṣṭi; NCM omitted; RC draṣṭi<sup>9</sup>C, NCP lāgo; F lagai; I, BR lago<sup>10</sup>A, C, F, H, J, PH jini; BR jani; NCP jinū; NCM jina<sup>11</sup>C hāthina; NC hāthana<sup>12</sup>D cyāra; NCM, RC cāra<sup>13</sup>D cyāra; NCM, RC cāra<sup>14</sup>F cūri; NCP curi; NCM curī<sup>15</sup>A, F, PH pāini; C, H, BR, RC pāina; D, NCP pāyana; NCM pāyani<sup>16</sup>C ika°; NCP eka°<sup>17</sup>NC curā<sup>18</sup>F caupaharū; I copahalū; NC caupahalu<sup>19</sup>C ikaṭaka<sup>20</sup>C rahaī; NCM rahai<sup>21</sup>C, H, I, J, BR ika<sup>22</sup>RC tau added<sup>23</sup>C, BR te; D, J tai; RC tai<sup>24</sup>C kañcukī<sup>25</sup>A, C, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC aru; D aura<sup>26</sup>A, D, F, H, NCM, RC acarā<sup>27</sup>H gati added, wordorder corrected with numbers to bāi gati<sup>28</sup>J vāhī; BR, NCM bāi<sup>29</sup>H omitted; I, BR, RC gati; NC gati<sup>30</sup>A, C, F, I, J, PH, RC mori; H aura emended to pari; BR mo emended to mori<sup>31</sup>F ura added<sup>32</sup>C ūrasani; D, F, J, NCP urasana; NCM urasani<sup>33</sup>C haradāsa; I, BR haridāsi<sup>34</sup>H syāma<sup>35</sup>Added: A hī, *sup. lin.*; C hī; D, F, I, J, BR, NCM, RC hī; H hī, in marg.<sup>36</sup>A, F, H, RC bhae; C bhayaī<sup>37</sup>C, BR hare; D, J harai; RC harai<sup>38</sup>C, RC harai; D, J harai; BR hare<sup>39</sup>C sakani; D, NCP sarakana; NCM sarakani

## KM 21

jobana<sup>1</sup> raṅga rāgīlī<sup>2</sup> sōṅē<sup>3</sup> se<sup>4</sup> gāta dharāre<sup>5</sup> nēna<sup>6</sup> kaṅṭha pauti<sup>7</sup> maṣatūlī<sup>8</sup>;  
 aṅga aṅga anaṅga jhalaka<sup>9</sup> sohata<sup>10</sup> kānani<sup>11</sup> birai<sup>12</sup> sobhā<sup>13</sup> deta<sup>14</sup> deṣata<sup>15</sup> hī<sup>16</sup> banē<sup>17</sup> /  
 jōha<sup>18</sup> mē<sup>19</sup> jōna<sup>20</sup> sī phūlī;  
 tanasuṣa sārī lāhī<sup>21</sup> aṅgiyā<sup>22</sup> atalasa atarauṭā<sup>23</sup> chabi cāri<sup>24</sup> cāri<sup>25</sup> cūrī<sup>26</sup> pahucani<sup>27</sup>  
 pahuñci<sup>28</sup> ṣamaki<sup>29</sup> banī nakaphūla jaiba<sup>30</sup> muṣa birā caukā<sup>31</sup> kaūdhai<sup>32</sup> sambhrama  
 bhūlī<sup>33</sup>;  
 aisi<sup>34,35</sup> nitya bihārini<sup>36</sup> śrī bihārī lāla<sup>37</sup> saṅga ati ādhīna ātura laṭa[paṭāta]<sup>38</sup> jyaū<sup>39</sup> taru<sup>40</sup>  
 tamāla kuñja<sup>41</sup> mahala<sup>42</sup> śrī<sup>43</sup> haridāsī<sup>44</sup> [jorī] surati<sup>45</sup> hiṅḍoraī<sup>46</sup> jhūlī<sup>47</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>C jaūbana<sup>2</sup>C ragilī; D ragilī<sup>3</sup>C saūnē; D sonai; I, NCM, RC saūnai<sup>4</sup>RC sē<sup>5</sup>C dhadāre; F -re omitted, added in marg.<sup>6</sup>A nainā emended to naina; C, F, I, PH nēnā; D naīna; H nēna emended to nēnā; I, BR, NC naīnā; RC nainō<sup>7</sup>A, C, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, RC poti; D, NC pota<sup>8</sup>NC makhatulī<sup>9</sup>A jhalakai; D jhalakai; I jhalaka emended to jhalakata; J, NC, RC jhalakata<sup>10</sup>C saūhata<sup>11</sup>C, D, F, H, J, BR, PH, NCM kānana<sup>12</sup>C birī; F, H, I, PH, NCP birē; BR bire; RC birai<sup>13</sup>C saūbhā<sup>14</sup>H deti<sup>15</sup>C deṣana<sup>16</sup>H hī<sup>17</sup>A, D, J, NCM banai; C baje; BR, RC banai<sup>18</sup>A johū; C, D, RC jaūnha; F, I, J, BR, PH, NC jonha; H jōna<sup>19</sup>C omitted; D, H, J māi; RC<sup>20</sup>A johū; C omitted; D, H jauna; F, I, J, BR, PH, NC jonha; RC jaunha<sup>21</sup>NCP lāhī<sup>22</sup>C, NCM aṅgiyā; D agiyā; H āgiyā<sup>23</sup>C atoṭā; D, F, NCM atarauṭā; H aroṭā emended to ataroṭā *pr. m.*; I, J, BR, PH, RC ataroṭā<sup>24</sup>C cāri; D, NCM, RC cāra<sup>25</sup>D, NCM, RC cāra<sup>26</sup>NCP curī<sup>27</sup>A, C pahuñcina; D pahucini emended to pahucani; F, I pahuñci; J, RC puhacani; BR pahucana; NCP pahuñciani; NCM pahūcana<sup>28</sup>C pahuci; D, H, BR, PH, NCP pahuci; F, I pahucani; J, RC puhaci; NCM pahūci<sup>29</sup>C samaki; NCP khamaka<sup>30</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC jeba<sup>31</sup>C, NCM caūkā; PH cokā<sup>32</sup>C, D, J kaūdhai; F kōdhi; I, PH kōdhē; BR kaudhai; NCP kaūdhē; NCM, RC kaudhai<sup>33</sup>BR jhūlī<sup>34</sup>C esi; PH aise emended to aisi<sup>35</sup>NCP śrī added<sup>36</sup>C bihārini; I, J, BR, PH bihārani; NCP bihārini; NCM bihārini<sup>37</sup>J omitted<sup>38</sup>F, RC laṭapaṭāti; NCP laṭapaṭāya emended to laṭapaṭāta<sup>39</sup>A, BR, NCP jyō; C, RC jyaū<sup>40</sup>BR tara<sup>41</sup>D kuñjani emended to kuñja<sup>42</sup>F dvarē; H dvarē emended to mahalē; PH mahala? deleted, dvāra added in marg.<sup>43</sup>C, F, I omitted<sup>44</sup>C haridāsī; J haridāsī emended to haridāsī; NCP haridāsī; NCM haridāsa<sup>45</sup>D, F, H, I, NC, RC surata<sup>46</sup>A hiḍorai; C, BR hiḍore; F hiḍorē; H, I, PH hiḍorē; NCP hiḍore; NCM hiḍoraī; RC hiḍoraī<sup>47</sup>RC jhūlī

## KM 22

rādhe dulārī māna<sup>1</sup> taji<sup>2</sup>;  
 prāna<sup>3</sup> pāyo<sup>4</sup> jāta<sup>5</sup> merau<sup>6</sup> hai<sup>7</sup> rī<sup>8,9</sup> saji<sup>10</sup>;  
 apanō<sup>11</sup> hātha<sup>12</sup> merai<sup>13</sup> māthai<sup>14,15</sup> dhari<sup>16</sup> abhai<sup>17</sup> dāna<sup>18</sup> dai<sup>19,20</sup> aji<sup>21</sup>;  
 s̄rī haridāsa<sup>22</sup> ke svāmī syāma<sup>23</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>24</sup> kahata<sup>25,26</sup> pyārī<sup>27</sup> yō<sup>28</sup> bali<sup>29,30</sup> sō<sup>31</sup>  
 bhūle<sup>32,33</sup> ruci<sup>34</sup> sō<sup>35,36</sup> laji<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>NCP māni<sup>2</sup>NC taji<sup>3</sup>BR prāna<sup>4</sup>C pāyaū; D, F, H, J, NC, RC pāyau<sup>5</sup>RC jāti<sup>6</sup>A, BR, PH mero; C, F, J, NCP, RC omitted; H omitted, added in marg.<sup>7</sup>C he<sup>8</sup>H omitted, added in marg<sup>9</sup>Added: C mero; F, RC merau; NCP merau rī<sup>10</sup>D saja; NC saji<sup>11</sup>A, D, J, NCM, RC apanau<sup>12</sup>H dhara added, deleted<sup>13</sup>A, F, H, J, BR, NC, RC mere; C merau; PH merē<sup>14</sup>A, H, BR, NCM māthe; F, NCP māthē; PH māthai<sup>15</sup>NCM pai added<sup>16</sup>D dhara; H omitted, added in marg.; NCP dhari<sup>17</sup>H, NCP, RC abhaya<sup>18</sup>NCP dānu<sup>19</sup>A, C de<sup>20</sup>F, J, NCM rī added<sup>21</sup>D āja; H aja emended to aji<sup>22</sup>C haradāsa; BR haridāsi<sup>23</sup>A, C, F, I, J, NC, RC śyāmā; H syāma emended to syāmā<sup>24</sup>H omitted, added in marg.<sup>25</sup>F kata<sup>26</sup>NCP rī added<sup>27</sup>C, F, H, I, J, BR, NCM, RC omitted<sup>28</sup>C, H, I, J, BR, NCP, RC omitted; D, NCM yaū<sup>29</sup>C, F, H, I, J, NCM, RC omitted<sup>30</sup>NCP bali added<sup>31</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC omitted<sup>32</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC omitted<sup>33</sup>Added: A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NCP, RC raṅga; NCM raṅgi<sup>34</sup>NCP ruci<sup>35</sup>C, D, J, NCM, RC saū; H syaū; BR so<sup>36</sup>Added: C, F, I, J, NCM, RC bali; H bala, emended to bali<sup>37</sup>H laja emended to laji; NCP laji

## KM 23

guna ki<sup>1</sup> bāta rādhe<sup>2</sup> tere<sup>3</sup> [ā]gai<sup>4</sup> kau<sup>5</sup> jānē<sup>6</sup> jo<sup>7</sup> jānē<sup>8</sup> so<sup>9</sup> kachū<sup>10</sup> [unahāri<sup>11</sup>;  
 nr̥tya<sup>12</sup> gī]ta tāla bhedani<sup>13</sup> ke<sup>14</sup> bheda<sup>15,16</sup> na<sup>17</sup> j[ānē<sup>18</sup> kāhū<sup>19</sup> jite<sup>20</sup> kite<sup>21,22</sup> deṣe] jhāri<sup>23</sup>;  
 tatva<sup>24</sup> suddha<sup>25</sup> sarūpa<sup>26,27</sup> reṣa<sup>28</sup> [paramāna<sup>29,30</sup> je] bijña<sup>31</sup> sura<sup>32</sup> sughara<sup>33</sup> te<sup>34</sup> pace<sup>35</sup>  
 bhāri<sup>36</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>37</sup> ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihāri<sup>38</sup> nēku<sup>39</sup> tuhmāri<sup>40</sup> prakṛti<sup>41</sup> ke aṅga aṅga  
 aura<sup>42</sup> gunī<sup>43</sup> pare<sup>44</sup> hāri<sup>45</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>A omitted, added *sup. lin.*

<sup>2</sup>H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>3</sup>D terē

<sup>4</sup>A, BR, NC āge; F, H, I āgē; RC āgai

<sup>5</sup>A kauna emended to kau; C kaū; D, F, H, I, BR, PH, NC ko; RC kō

<sup>6</sup>A, J, BR, NCP, RC jānai; C jāne; D jānai

<sup>7</sup>C jāi

<sup>8</sup>A, D, BR, NCP, RC jānai; J, NCM jānai

<sup>9</sup>A [so...] line unr.; C saū; J sau

<sup>10</sup>D, H, BR, NC kachu

<sup>11</sup>C ūnahāri emended to unahāri; D unihāri; NCP unahāra; NCM unahāri; RC unihāra

<sup>12</sup>I nr̥ta

<sup>13</sup>C, H, J, PH, NCM bhedana; NCP bhedanī

<sup>14</sup>H kī emended to ke

<sup>15</sup>C kibheda emended to bibheda; F bibhedani; H bibidhi emended to bibheda; I, J, BR, RC bibheda;

NCM omitted

<sup>16</sup>A [na...dekhe] line unr.

<sup>17</sup>C, D, F, J, BR omitted

<sup>18</sup>D, J, NC, RC jānai; BR jāne

<sup>19</sup>C kuhu; D, I, NC kahū; F, J, BR omitted; RC kāhū

<sup>20</sup>C jite; H, J jete

<sup>21</sup>D, PH, NC tite; H tete emended to kite; J kete

<sup>22</sup>J, BR kahū added

<sup>23</sup>C garī; NC, RC jhāra

<sup>24</sup>C tāla; H tata emended to tatva

<sup>25</sup>C sudha; H sura dṛṣṭi emended to suddha

<sup>26</sup>A, I, RC svarūpa; D svara rūpa; NCP surupa; NCM svarupa

<sup>27</sup>A [reṣa...bijña] line unr.

<sup>28</sup>C omitted

<sup>29</sup>F, H, I, RC parimāna; BR parimānu

<sup>30</sup>C reṣa added; H jānē added, deleted

<sup>31</sup>I, BR bigya

<sup>32</sup>C, D, H, J, BR, NC, RC omitted; I, PH omitted, added in marg.

<sup>33</sup>F ghara

<sup>34</sup>C, D, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC omitted

<sup>35</sup>C pacai; I pacē

<sup>36</sup>C bhāri; NC, RC bhāra

<sup>37</sup>BR haridāsi; NCP haridāsa

<sup>38</sup>J omitted

<sup>39</sup>D, J, RC naika

<sup>40</sup>C, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC terī; D tumhāri; F terau

<sup>41</sup>D, H, RC prakṛta

<sup>42</sup>C, J ora; D ausara; H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>43</sup>NCP ganī

<sup>44</sup>C pace; H parai

<sup>45</sup>C hāri; D bhāri; NC, RC hāra

## KM 24

<sup>1</sup>sughara bhae<sup>2,3</sup> <sup>4</sup>bihārī<sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup>yāhī<sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup>chāha<sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup>taī<sup>7</sup>;

<sup>8</sup>je<sup>9</sup> je ghaṭī<sup>10</sup> sughara<sup>11,12</sup> <sup>13</sup>jānapanē<sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup>kī<sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup>te<sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup>te<sup>16</sup> <sup>17</sup>yāhī<sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup>bāha<sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup>taī<sup>19</sup>;

<sup>20</sup>hute<sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup>to<sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup>adhika<sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup>baḍe<sup>23</sup> <sup>24,25</sup>saba hī<sup>24,25</sup> <sup>26</sup>taī<sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup>pai<sup>27</sup> <sup>28,29</sup>ina<sup>28,29</sup> <sup>30</sup>kī<sup>30</sup> <sup>31</sup>kasa<sup>31</sup> <sup>32</sup>na<sup>32</sup> <sup>33</sup>ṣaṭāta<sup>33</sup> [y]āha<sup>34</sup> <sup>35</sup>taī<sup>35</sup>;

<sup>36</sup>srī haridāsa<sup>36</sup> ke <sup>37</sup>svāmī syāma<sup>37</sup> <sup>38</sup>kuñjabihārī <sup>39,40</sup>jaki<sup>38</sup> <sup>41</sup>rahe<sup>39,40</sup> <sup>42</sup>cāha<sup>41</sup> <sup>42</sup>tē<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>H āju tuma added, deleted

<sup>2</sup>C, D, H, I, J, BR, NC bhaye; RC bhaya

<sup>3</sup>Added: D hau; J ho; PH ho, in marg.; RC hai

<sup>4</sup>H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>5</sup>C yā ri; I yāhī

<sup>6</sup>C, D, F chāha; NCM -ha omitted, added *inf. lin.*

<sup>7</sup>A, C, F, NCM te; H, I, J, BR, PH, NCP tē; RC tai

<sup>8</sup>Second and third line are reversed in H, emended with numbers

<sup>9</sup>A jo emended to je; RC jē

<sup>10</sup>A, D, F, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC gaṭī

<sup>11</sup>H sugharasa? emended to sughara

<sup>12</sup>Added: D, F, I, J, BR, RC sura; H svāra; NC su

<sup>13</sup>C, H, BR jānapanyo; D, NCM jānapanaī; I jānipanyo; J jfānapanyaū; RC jānapanyau

<sup>14</sup>RC kī

<sup>15</sup>H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>16</sup>H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>17</sup>C yā rī?

<sup>18</sup>J, PH bāha; NCM bāhū

<sup>19</sup>A, C, F, H, NCP te; I, J, BR, PH, NCM tē

<sup>20</sup>C hate; H he emended to hute; NCP hūte

<sup>21</sup>A, D, F, I, NCM, RC tau

<sup>22</sup>D, H, NCP omitted

<sup>23</sup>Added: D adhika; H adhikaī; NCP adhika

<sup>24</sup>H omitted, added in marg.; BR, NCP hi

<sup>25</sup>BR na added

<sup>26</sup>A, C, I, BR, NCP te; D, H, PH, NCM tē; RC tai

<sup>27</sup>C pe

<sup>28</sup>F, I, PH ini

<sup>29</sup>C te added

<sup>30</sup>NCM omitted

<sup>31</sup>J ṣasa emended to kasa

<sup>32</sup>F, J, PH ni; BR nu

<sup>33</sup>F, RC ṣaṭāti; I ṣāṭa emended to ṣaṭāta

<sup>34</sup>C yāhī; D, F, NC yāhī; I yāhī emended to yāha; J, BR, PH, RC yāha

<sup>35</sup>A, C, F, NCM te; H, I, BR, PH, NCP tē; RC tai

<sup>36</sup>C haharidāsa; J, BR, PH haridāsi

<sup>37</sup>A, C, D, F, I, J, NC, RC śyāmā; BR omitted, syāmā added *sup. lin.*

<sup>38</sup>D, I jaka; H vaki emended to jaki; NCM jakī

<sup>39</sup>C rahaī

<sup>40</sup>H rahi gaye added, deleted

<sup>41</sup>C caha; D, F, I, J, BR, NCM, RC cāha; NCP cāhi

<sup>42</sup>A, F, BR, NCP te; C, J tāi; D, RC tai

## KM 25

<sup>1</sup>rādhā<sup>2</sup> rasika <sup>3</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>4,5</sup> kahata<sup>6</sup> ju<sup>7</sup> haū<sup>8</sup> na kahū<sup>9</sup> gayo<sup>10</sup> suni<sup>11</sup> suni<sup>12</sup> rādhe terī  
sō<sup>13</sup>;

[mo]hi<sup>14</sup> na patyāhu<sup>15</sup> tau<sup>16</sup> saṅga haridāsī<sup>17</sup> huṭī<sup>18,19</sup> pūchi<sup>20</sup> deṣi<sup>21</sup> [bhaṭū] kahi<sup>22</sup> dhō<sup>23</sup>  
kahā<sup>24</sup> bhayo<sup>25</sup> merī sō<sup>26</sup>;

pyārī<sup>27</sup> tohi<sup>28</sup> gaṭhō[da<sup>29</sup> na pra]tīti<sup>30</sup> chāḍī<sup>31</sup> chiyā<sup>32</sup> jāna<sup>33</sup> de<sup>34</sup> itani<sup>35</sup> ba<sup>36</sup> erī<sup>37</sup> sō<sup>38</sup>;

[gahi<sup>39,40</sup> la]paṭāi<sup>41</sup> rahe<sup>42</sup> doū<sup>43</sup> chaila<sup>44,45</sup> chāṭī<sup>46</sup> sō<sup>47</sup> chāṭī<sup>48</sup> lagāi<sup>49,50</sup> phera<sup>51</sup> pherī sō<sup>52</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>F śrī added

<sup>2</sup>H rādhe

<sup>3</sup>NCM śrī added

<sup>4</sup>BR omitted, added *inf. lin.*

<sup>5</sup>NCM jū added

<sup>6</sup>C kehata; BR hata emended to kahata

<sup>7</sup>A, C, D, I, BR, PH, NC, RC jū; H omitted

<sup>8</sup>A, F, H, I, PH hō; C kau; J ho

<sup>9</sup>C, J kahū; F kahau; NCP kahū; RC kaha

<sup>10</sup>D, F, J, PH, NC, RC gayau

<sup>11</sup>NC suni

<sup>12</sup>H deleted; I, NC omitted

<sup>13</sup>A, RC sau; C, D, NC saū

<sup>14</sup>NCM mohī

<sup>15</sup>A patiāhu; F patyāu; BR patiyāu; NCM patayātaḥu

<sup>16</sup>C, PH, NCP to; H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>17</sup>F omitted

<sup>18</sup>NCM hūṭī

<sup>19</sup>F haridāsī added

<sup>20</sup>H kahi emended to pūchi; J būjhi; BR pūchi; NCP puchi

<sup>21</sup>H omitted, added in marg.; PH de emended to deṣi; NCM dekhī

<sup>22</sup>NCM kahī

<sup>23</sup>C dho; D, NCP, RC dhau; J, BR, NCM dhaū

<sup>24</sup>H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>25</sup>D, F, I, J, NC, RC bhayau; H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>26</sup>A, D, H, J, NC, RC saū; C sau

<sup>27</sup>PH jū added

<sup>28</sup>A, BR tōhi

<sup>29</sup>A gaṭhoda; C nayaū dha; D gaṭhaūta; F gaḍanaudha; H gāḍhi emended to gaṭhoda; I gāṭhōdha; J gaṭhaūdha; BR, RC gaṭhaudha; NC gaṭhauda

<sup>30</sup>C, D, NC, RC pratīta; J paratīti

<sup>31</sup>A, H, BR, NCP chāḍī; D chāḍa; NCM chāḍī

<sup>32</sup>F chiya; H chāḍī? emended to chiyā; NCP chimā; NCM dhimā

<sup>33</sup>F, BR, PH, RC jāni

<sup>34</sup>D, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC dai; F omitted

<sup>35</sup>H itana emended to itani

<sup>36</sup>F omitted

<sup>37</sup>C, H, I, BR, NC, RC he°; F rī

<sup>38</sup>A, C, D, H, J, NCM, RC saū

<sup>39</sup>F gahe; NCM gahī

<sup>40</sup>H chaila added, deleted

<sup>41</sup>C lapaūpaṭāi?; D lapaṭaya; H laṭapaṭyē; J lapaṭāya; NC lapaṭāi

<sup>42</sup>C, D, F, H, I, BR, RC omitted

<sup>43</sup>C, F, H, I, J, BR omitted

<sup>44</sup>C, I chela; D, RC omitted; H bhaye? emended to chaila

<sup>45</sup>Added: C cha doū; F, H, I, J, BR doū

<sup>46</sup>C chā added

<sup>47</sup>C, D, H, J, NCP, RC saū; F omitted

<sup>48</sup>C tī; F omitted

<sup>49</sup>C, NC lagāi; D, J lagāya

<sup>50</sup>C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC rahe added

<sup>51</sup>H omitted, added in marg.; J, NC pherā

<sup>52</sup>A sau; C, D, H, J, NC, RC saū



## KM 26

pyāri<sup>1</sup> terī mahimā<sup>2</sup> baranī<sup>3</sup> na jā[i<sup>4,5</sup> jīhī<sup>6</sup>] ālasa<sup>7</sup> kāma basa kīna<sup>8</sup>;  
 tā ko<sup>9</sup> danḍa hamē<sup>10</sup> [lāgata] hai<sup>11</sup> rī<sup>12</sup> bhae<sup>13</sup> ādhīna<sup>14</sup>;  
 sādhe<sup>15</sup> gyāraha<sup>16</sup> jyaū<sup>17</sup> au[ṭi<sup>18</sup> dūjai<sup>19</sup>] nabasata<sup>20</sup> sāji<sup>21</sup> sahaja<sup>22</sup> hī<sup>23</sup> tā<sup>24</sup> mē<sup>25</sup> javādi<sup>26</sup>  
 karapūra<sup>27</sup> [kastū]rī<sup>28</sup> kuṅkūma<sup>29</sup> ke<sup>30</sup> raṅga<sup>31</sup> bhīna<sup>32</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>33</sup> ke svā[mī syāma<sup>34</sup> kuṅjabī]hārī<sup>35</sup> rasa basa kari<sup>36</sup> līna<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>RC pyāri<sup>2</sup>BR mo pai added<sup>3</sup>A kahi; F, H, I, J, BR, NC kahī; RC bāranī<sup>4</sup>C, D jāi; J, NC, RC jāya<sup>5</sup>Added: A, D, I, J, NCM mo pai; C maū pe; F mo pē; H mo paī; NCP mau pai<sup>6</sup>A, D, J, PH, NCM jīhī; C, F, H, I, BR jīhi; RC jiha<sup>7</sup>H hī<sup>8</sup>H kīnē; NC kina<sup>9</sup>C, D, I, J, NC, RC kau; F kō; H omitted, added in marg.<sup>10</sup>A, BR hamai; C hame; D, J, PH, RC hamaī ; F duhū; H hama hi emended to hamai<sup>11</sup>C, J he; H hai emended to hī<sup>12</sup>H, J omitted<sup>13</sup>C bhayaū; D, H, I, J, NC, RC bhaye; F bhai; BR bhayo<sup>14</sup>D adhīna; F bhīna; H ādhīnē; NCP ādhina<sup>15</sup>NCM sāde<sup>16</sup>D gyāraiha; PH gyārahi; NCM gyārāha<sup>17</sup>C jyo; D, J jyau; F jau; I, BR jyō<sup>18</sup>C, BR oṭi; D aūṭa; F ora; H oṭive emended to oṭi; NCM aṭi<sup>19</sup>A, BR dūje; D, PH, NCM dūjai; H omitted, dūje added in marg.; NCP dūjē<sup>20</sup>F, J nava<sup>o</sup>; H omitted, added in marg.<sup>21</sup>C, D, F, NCM sāja; H omitted, added in marg.; NCP omitted<sup>22</sup>H omitted, added in marg.<sup>23</sup>A, C, D, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC hī; H omitted, added in marg.<sup>24</sup>H omitted, added in marg.<sup>25</sup>C me; D, J, RC māi; H omitted, added in marg.<sup>26</sup>A javādi emended to jivādi; C jivā; F jevādi; H javāda emended to javādi; PH jivādi; NC javādi<sup>27</sup>C, D, F, H, NCP kapūra; PH, NCM, RC karpūra<sup>28</sup>F, NC kasturī<sup>29</sup>A, F, I, J, PH, NC kumakuma; C kūmakumā; H kuri? emended to kūmakuma<sup>30</sup>H kē; J kaī; NC kau<sup>31</sup>D rāga<sup>32</sup>H bhīnē<sup>33</sup>J haridā; BR, PH haridāsi; NCM haridāsa<sup>34</sup>A, C, F, I, J, BR, NC, RC śyāmā<sup>35</sup>C °bihāri; kuja<sup>o</sup><sup>36</sup>D, NC kara<sup>37</sup>H līnē

## KM 27

<sup>1</sup>śrama [jala kana nāhī<sup>2</sup>] hota<sup>3</sup> moti<sup>4</sup> mālā<sup>5</sup> kō<sup>6</sup> deha<sup>7</sup>;  
 deṣe<sup>8,9</sup> amo[la mola<sup>10</sup> nāhī<sup>11</sup>] tana<sup>12</sup> mana<sup>13</sup> dhana<sup>14</sup> nyaūchāvāri<sup>15</sup> leha<sup>16</sup>;  
 rati biparīti<sup>17</sup> prīti<sup>18</sup> kau<sup>19</sup> ālasa<sup>20</sup> nāhī<sup>21</sup> nāika<sup>22</sup> tere<sup>23</sup> madhya<sup>24,25</sup> eha<sup>26</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>27</sup> ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī<sup>28</sup> prīti<sup>29</sup> bara<sup>30</sup> malaye<sup>31</sup> be<sup>32</sup> ha<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>In J first line omitted, added in marg. *pr. m.*

<sup>2</sup>A, C, I, BR, PH, NCP nāhī ; F hī; J, NCP nāhī; RC nāhī

<sup>3</sup>C hōta

<sup>4</sup>NC moti

<sup>5</sup>F māla

<sup>6</sup>A, I ko; C, D, F, NC, RC kau; H, J kaū

<sup>7</sup>C, D, F, I, BR, NC, RC dehu; J deu

<sup>8</sup>C, I deṣai; NC dekha

<sup>9</sup>C, D, F, I, J, BR, NCM bahuta added; H maū emended to ba; RC buhuta

<sup>10</sup>D omitted

<sup>11</sup>C, F, I, J, BR, RC nahi; D, NCP nāhī; H nāhī emended to nahī; PH nahī emended to nāhī?; NCM nāhī

<sup>12</sup>C tū nava

<sup>13</sup>C omitted

<sup>14</sup>H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>15</sup>A, BR, PH nyochāvāri; D, NC nyauchāvāra; H nyōchāvāra; I, J nauchāvāri

<sup>16</sup>C, D, F, I, J, BR, NC, RC lehu

<sup>17</sup>A biprīti; C, D, NC, RC biparīta; H biparati

<sup>18</sup>D, RC prīta; H prīti emended to rīti; J, BR rīti

<sup>19</sup>A, I, J, BR, PH ko; C kaū; H nahi emended to ko

<sup>20</sup>C nāhī added

<sup>21</sup>F, H, I, J, BR omitted; PH, NC nāhī ; RC nāhī

<sup>22</sup>C nāikā; F, I, J, BR omitted; NC, RC nāyaka

<sup>23</sup>C re

<sup>24</sup>C, F, J, BR, NCP madhi

<sup>25</sup>Added: F, BR nāika; H nāhī, emended to nāika; I nāhī (*sup. lin., pr. m.*), nāiku (in main text); J nāhī nāyaka

<sup>26</sup>C, I, J, BR, NC, RC ehū; D yeha

<sup>27</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>28</sup>C kuñjabī

<sup>29</sup>C ti; RC prīta

<sup>30</sup>H baramā

<sup>31</sup>A, D, RC malai; C mālau; F māliye; H omitted; I, NC mileye; J mālai; BR mili emended to miliye

<sup>32</sup>J va

<sup>33</sup>C, F, I, J, BR, NC, RC hu

## KM 28

nīla lāla gaura<sup>1</sup> ke dhyāna baiṭhe<sup>2</sup> kuñjabihārī;  
 jyaū<sup>3</sup> jyaū<sup>4</sup> suṣa pāvata nāhī<sup>5</sup> tyaū<sup>6</sup> tyaū<sup>7</sup> duṣa<sup>8</sup> bhayo<sup>9</sup> bhārī;  
 arabarāiē<sup>10,11</sup> praghaṭa<sup>12</sup> bhai<sup>13,14</sup> suṣa bhayau<sup>15</sup> bahuta<sup>16</sup> hiyā rī;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>17</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>18</sup> kuñjabihārī kari<sup>19</sup> manuhārī.

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<sup>1</sup>NCP gora

<sup>2</sup>C beṭhe

<sup>3</sup>I, BR jyō

<sup>4</sup>A, I, BR jyō; C jyaū

<sup>5</sup>A, D nāhī; C, RC nāhī; F, H, I nāhī; J, BR, NC nāhī

<sup>6</sup>I, BR tyō

<sup>7</sup>I, BR tyō

<sup>8</sup>RC dūkha

<sup>9</sup>C bhaye; D, F, H, I, J, NC, RC bhayau

<sup>10</sup>A arabarāye; C, F, I āpa hī; D arabarāe; H āpe hi emended to arabarā; J aravarāya; BR āpu hī; PH, NCP arabarāyē; NCM arabarāi; RC arabarāi

<sup>11</sup>Added: C, F ju; H yē, deleted

<sup>12</sup>A praghaṭa

<sup>13</sup>D bhai

<sup>14</sup>Added: C, I, J, RC ju; H ju, in marg.; NCM jo

<sup>15</sup>A, I, BR bhayo; C bhayāi; F bhae

<sup>16</sup>BR originally after hiyā rī, the word order emended with numbers to bahuta hiyā

<sup>17</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>18</sup>H syāma

<sup>19</sup>D kara; H karata emended to kari; NCP kari; NCM karata

## KM 29

āju<sup>1</sup> kī bānika<sup>2</sup> pyāre<sup>3</sup> terī<sup>4,5</sup> tuhmārī<sup>6</sup> (pyārī)<sup>mg,7</sup> baranī<sup>8</sup> na jāi<sup>9,10</sup> chabi;  
 ina<sup>11</sup> kī syāmatā<sup>12</sup> tuhmārī<sup>13</sup> gauratā jaise<sup>14</sup> sita<sup>15</sup> asita<sup>16</sup> bainī<sup>17,18</sup> rahī<sup>19</sup> jyaū<sup>20</sup>  
 bhuvāṅgama<sup>21,22</sup> dabi;  
 ina<sup>23</sup> kau<sup>24</sup> pītambara<sup>25</sup> tuhmārau<sup>26</sup> nīla nicaula<sup>27</sup> jyaū<sup>28</sup> [sasi]<sup>29</sup> kundana jaiba<sup>30</sup> rabi;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>31</sup> ke<sup>32</sup> svāmī syāmā<sup>33</sup> kuñjabihārī kī sobhā<sup>33</sup> baranī<sup>34</sup> na jāi<sup>35</sup> jau<sup>36</sup> [milai]<sup>37</sup>  
 rasika<sup>38</sup> koṭī<sup>39,40</sup> kabi<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>D, RC āja<sup>2</sup>C bānaka<sup>3</sup>F, H pyārī<sup>4</sup>NCP tere; NCM omitted, added *inf. lin.*<sup>5</sup>Added: A, D, I, J, BR, PH, NCP, RC pyārī; F, H pyāre; NCM pyārī, *inf. lin.*<sup>6</sup>D tumārī; F, H, I, J, BR, NC tumhārī<sup>7</sup>A, C, D, F, H, J, BR, PH, RC omitted<sup>8</sup>C baranī<sup>9</sup>D, NCP jāi; J, NCM, RC jāya<sup>10</sup>Added: C jāi; NCP jāi<sup>11</sup>F, J, PH ini<sup>12</sup>A śyāma emended to śyāmatā; H syāmatāi<sup>13</sup>D, F, H, I, J, BR, NC tumhārī<sup>14</sup>C, D, J jaisai; F, PH, NCM jaisē; H omitted, added in marg; RC jaisai<sup>15</sup>H asita emended to sita<sup>16</sup>C atita; H sita emended to asita<sup>17</sup>C, F, H, BR, NCP beni<sup>18</sup>H bani added, deleted<sup>19</sup>J omitted<sup>20</sup>A jyō; C, F, H, I, J, BR, NCM, RC omitted<sup>21</sup>A bhujāṅgama; C bhuvagama; H bhuvāṅgamu; RC bhuvāṅgini<sup>22</sup>Added: C, F, NCM jyaū; H jyō, in marg.; I, BR jyō; J jyaū rahī; RC jyau<sup>23</sup>F, J ini<sup>24</sup>C kāū; BR ko<sup>25</sup>A, D, I, BR, NCP, RC pītāmbara; C pītibara<sup>26</sup>A tuhmāro; C tuhmāraū; D tumārau; F, J, NCM tumhārau; I, BR tumhāro<sup>27</sup>C nicaūla; D, F, I, BR, PH, NCM, RC nicola; NCP nilacola emended to nicola<sup>28</sup>A, I, BR, NC jyō; C, RC jyau; H omitted, added in marg.<sup>29</sup>C, H, I mani; NC śaśī<sup>30</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC jeba<sup>31</sup>J, BR haridāsi<sup>32</sup>J omitted<sup>33</sup>C saūbhā; J chabi<sup>34</sup>C baranī<sup>35</sup>C jāi; I, NC jāya<sup>36</sup>A jō; C jāū; I, J, BR, NCM jo<sup>37</sup>A, H, I, J, BR milai; D mili; F milē; NCP mila<sup>38</sup>H omitted<sup>39</sup>C kāūṭī; H koṭika emended to koṭī<sup>40</sup>H rasika added<sup>41</sup>NCP kabī

## KM 30

deṣi<sup>1</sup> deṣi<sup>2</sup> phūla<sup>3</sup> bhāi;

[prema ke] prakāsa prīti<sup>4</sup> ke<sup>5</sup> āgai<sup>6</sup> hoi<sup>7,8</sup> lai;

sunī<sup>9</sup> [rī<sup>10</sup> saṣi bā]gau<sup>11,12</sup> banyaū<sup>13</sup> āju<sup>14</sup> tuma<sup>15</sup> para trana<sup>16</sup> tūṭata<sup>17</sup> hai<sup>18</sup> ju<sup>19</sup> [nāi];

śrī haridāsa<sup>20</sup> ke svāmī syāmā [kuñjabihārī<sup>21</sup> saka]la guna<sup>22</sup> nipuna tātāthei<sup>23</sup> tātāthei<sup>24</sup>  
ga[ti ju<sup>25</sup> ṭhai].

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<sup>1</sup>NC dekhī

<sup>2</sup>NC dekhī

<sup>3</sup>D bhala added

<sup>4</sup>D, RC prīta

<sup>5</sup>PH omitted, added *inf. lin., pr. m.*

<sup>6</sup>C, RC āgai; F, NC āgē; BR āge

<sup>7</sup>NC, RC hvai

<sup>8</sup>Added: NC jū; RC ju

<sup>9</sup>NC suna

<sup>10</sup>F omitted

<sup>11</sup>A, I, BR, PH bāgo; C bāgaū

<sup>12</sup>NCP nīkaū; NCM nīkō

<sup>13</sup>A, I, BR banyō; NCP banaū; NCM bano

<sup>14</sup>A, RC āja; PH āju; NCP ājū

<sup>15</sup>BR tama

<sup>16</sup>A, I, PH, RC ṭṛna; NC ṭṛnu

<sup>17</sup>C tūṭe; D tūṭata; BR ṭṭata

<sup>18</sup>A he; D hai

<sup>19</sup>C, NCP jū; NCM jo

<sup>20</sup>C haradāsa; BR haridāsi

<sup>21</sup>C kujabihārani

<sup>22</sup>D omitted

<sup>23</sup>C tātāthai; I tatāthei

<sup>24</sup>A omitted; C tātāhai; H tātāthei emended to tāthei; I, J, BR, RC tāthei

<sup>25</sup>NCP jo

## KM 31

aisī<sup>1</sup> to<sup>2</sup> bicitra [jorī<sup>3</sup> banī<sup>4</sup>];

aisī<sup>5</sup> kahū<sup>6</sup> deṣī<sup>7</sup> sunīya<sup>8</sup> na bhanī<sup>9</sup>;

manahū<sup>10</sup> kanaka sudāha<sup>11</sup> kari<sup>12</sup> kari<sup>13</sup> deha adbhuta ṭhanī<sup>14</sup>;

śrī haridāsa<sup>15</sup> ke svāmī syāma<sup>16</sup> tamālai<sup>17,18</sup> uṭhaṅgi<sup>19</sup> baiṭhi<sup>20,21</sup> dhanī.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>1</sup>A esī

<sup>2</sup>D, F, NC, RC tau; J omitted

<sup>3</sup>C jaūrī

<sup>4</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NCP, RC banī; NCM bani

<sup>5</sup>A esī; C kausī

<sup>6</sup>C kahaū; H, RC kahū; NCM kahū

<sup>7</sup>C daiṣi

<sup>8</sup>A, D, I, NCP, RC sunī; C, J, BR suniya; NCM suni

<sup>9</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC bhanī

<sup>10</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, RC manahu; NCP mānahū

<sup>11</sup>H sudāhu

<sup>12</sup>D kara; NC karī

<sup>13</sup>NCP karī

<sup>14</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC ṭhanī

<sup>15</sup>C haradāsa; BR haridāsi

<sup>16</sup>C, F syāmā

<sup>17</sup>C tamāle; D, NCM tamālai; F tamāla; H tamāla hi

<sup>18</sup>F hai added

<sup>19</sup>D, H, J uṭhaṅga; F umagi; NCM uṭhaṅgi; NCP uṭhagi; RC uṭhāga

<sup>20</sup>C beṭhi

<sup>21</sup>C sth. unr. added, deleted

<sup>22</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC dhanī; C dharī

## KM 32

hāsata<sup>1</sup> ţelata bolata<sup>2</sup> milata deţau<sup>3</sup> meri āţina<sup>4</sup> suţa;

bīri paraspara leta<sup>5</sup> ţavāvata jyaū<sup>6</sup> dāmini<sup>7</sup> ghana<sup>8</sup> camacamāta<sup>9</sup> sobhā<sup>10</sup> bahu<sup>11</sup> bhātini<sup>12</sup>  
suţa;

ţruti ghuri<sup>13</sup> rāga kedārau<sup>14</sup> jamyāū<sup>15</sup> adharāti<sup>16</sup> nisā<sup>17</sup> rō<sup>18</sup> rō<sup>19,20</sup> suţa;

ţrī haridāsa<sup>21</sup> ke svā(mi)<sup>mg,22</sup> syāmā kuñjabihārī<sup>23</sup> kai<sup>24</sup> gāvata sura<sup>25</sup> deta<sup>26</sup> maura<sup>27</sup>  
bhayau<sup>28,29</sup> parama suţa.

<sup>1</sup>A, D, F, H, J, BR hasata

<sup>2</sup>C baūlata

<sup>3</sup>C, D deţaū; I, BR, PH deţo

<sup>4</sup>A ākhina; C, I āţini; F, PH āţini; NCP ākhina; NCM ākhani

<sup>5</sup>C lata; F ţata

<sup>6</sup>A, I, BR, NCM jyō; C, NCP jaū; RC jyau

<sup>7</sup>C dāmi; D dāmina; J omitted

<sup>8</sup>J dāmini added

<sup>9</sup>RC camacamāti

<sup>10</sup>C saūbhā

<sup>11</sup>A bahū; D bahuta; F omitted; H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>12</sup>A, C, D, NCP, RC bhātina; I, J bhātini; BR, NCM bhātina

<sup>13</sup>D, I ghura; F dhara; H dhara emended to ghuri

<sup>14</sup>C kedāraū; I, BR, PH kedāro

<sup>15</sup>J macyau; BR, PH jamyo

<sup>16</sup>D, H, NC adharāta; I adhirāti; RC adhirāta

<sup>17</sup>H suţa added, deleted

<sup>18</sup>A, J, NC roma; C raū; D, RC raūma; I ro

<sup>19</sup>A, J, NC roma; C omitted; D, RC raūma; I ro

<sup>20</sup>F rō added

<sup>21</sup>C haradāsa; BR haridāsi

<sup>22</sup>NCP ke svāmī added

<sup>23</sup>F, J, RC omitted; H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>24</sup>A, F, BR, NCM ke; H, NCP kē; I, RC kai; PH kaū

<sup>25</sup>H sura replaces original reading; NCP sukha

<sup>26</sup>H deta emended to deti

<sup>27</sup>A, D, F, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC mora; C bhaūra; H moda? emended to bhora

<sup>28</sup>A, I, BR, PH bhayo

<sup>29</sup>H rī added

## KM 33

- 1 <sup>1</sup>adbhuta gati upajati<sup>2</sup> ati nṛttata<sup>3</sup> doū<sup>4</sup> maṇḍala<sup>5</sup> kūvara<sup>6,7</sup> kisauri<sup>8</sup>;  
 2 [saka]lla sudhaṅga<sup>9</sup> aṅga bhari<sup>10</sup> bhauri<sup>11</sup> piya<sup>12</sup> nṛtata<sup>13</sup> musakani<sup>14</sup> muṣa mori<sup>15</sup>  
 parirambhana rasa rauri<sup>16</sup>;  
 3 tāla dharani<sup>17</sup> bani[tā]<sup>18</sup> mṛdaṅga candrāgati<sup>19</sup> ghāta bajai<sup>20</sup> thori<sup>21</sup> thori<sup>22</sup>;  
 4 sa[pta bhāi]<sup>23</sup> bhā]ṣā<sup>24</sup> bicitra lalitā gāina<sup>25</sup> cita cauri<sup>26</sup>;  
 5 [śrī<sup>27</sup> bṛndābana]<sup>28</sup> phūlani<sup>29</sup> phūlyau<sup>30</sup> pūrana<sup>31</sup> sasi tribidhi<sup>32</sup> [pavana] bahai<sup>33</sup> thori<sup>34</sup>;  
 6 gati bilāsa rasa hāsa<sup>35</sup> para[spara<sup>36</sup> bhūta]ta jori;  
 7 śrī jamunā<sup>37</sup> jala bitha[kita<sup>38</sup> pahupani<sup>39</sup>] baraṣā<sup>40</sup> ratipati dārata<sup>41</sup> trana<sup>42</sup> tori;  
 8 śrī haridāsa<sup>43</sup> ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī jū<sup>44</sup> kau<sup>45</sup> rasa<sup>46</sup> rasanā kahai<sup>47</sup> kau<sup>48</sup> rī.

<sup>1</sup>In H the second part of the line (from nācata) precedes the first

<sup>2</sup>D, F, H, I, J, BR, NC upajata

<sup>3</sup>A nirtati; C nācati; D nṛtyata; F, H, I, J, BR, NC nācata; RC nṛtyati

<sup>4</sup>NCM dou

<sup>5</sup>C maṇḍapala emended to maṇḍala

<sup>6</sup>A kumara; F kuvāri; I, J kuvara; PH kūvari

<sup>7</sup>C kiśora added

<sup>8</sup>A, C, D, F, H, J, BR, PH, NC, RC kiśori

<sup>9</sup>C sugadha; NC sugandha

<sup>10</sup>NCP bhari; NCM bhara

<sup>11</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC bhori; C bhaūri

<sup>12</sup>NC piya

<sup>13</sup>A, NC nirtata; C, D, J nṛtyata; F nirtati; H citavani? emended to nṛtata; BR, RC nṛtyati

<sup>14</sup>C musikani; D musakana; NC musakata; RC musikata

<sup>15</sup>C mauri

<sup>16</sup>A, C, D, F, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC rori

<sup>17</sup>C, F, H, I dharē; J, RC dharai; BR dhare; NC dharai

<sup>18</sup>A omitted, added *sup. lin., pr. m.*

<sup>19</sup>C, NCP candragati; RC candrāgata

<sup>20</sup>F bajē; H bajata; PH baje; NCP bājai

<sup>21</sup>C thaūri emended to thaūri

<sup>22</sup>C omitted

<sup>23</sup>D, J, NCP bhāya; NCM bhāi

<sup>24</sup>C bhāsā

<sup>25</sup>A, NC gāyana; C, BR gāina; F, I, J, PH gāini; H gaini emended to gāini; RC gāini

<sup>26</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC cori

<sup>27</sup>NCM omitted

<sup>28</sup>H ghana added

<sup>29</sup>C, D, NC phūlana

<sup>30</sup>BR phūlyo; NCM phūlau

<sup>31</sup>D pūrani

<sup>32</sup>NCM tribidha; RC tṛbidhi

<sup>33</sup>C bahai; F bahē; NCM bahe

<sup>34</sup>A, J, BR, PH, NC, RC thori; F, H, I omitted

<sup>35</sup>A, I, NCM hāsa; F, H, J hāsi

<sup>36</sup>C paspara emended to paraspara

<sup>37</sup>BR yamunā

<sup>38</sup>C bithakīta; D, J bithikita

<sup>39</sup>C puhupana; H, RC puhupani; J puhapani; NCP puhapani; NCM puhapana

<sup>40</sup>A, NCM barṣā; C, F, I bariṣā; H baraṣā emended to bariṣā

<sup>41</sup>D, J dārati

<sup>42</sup>A, I, RC tṛna; C tṛṇa; F trina; H tranu

<sup>43</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>44</sup>F omitted; H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>45</sup>A, I, BR ko; C, NCM kaū

<sup>46</sup>H rasu

<sup>47</sup>C, I, NCP kahe

<sup>48</sup>A, D, F, H, I, BR, NCP, RC ko; C kaū



## KM 34

pyārī<sup>1</sup> jū<sup>2</sup> jaba<sup>3</sup> jaba<sup>4</sup> deṣṣō<sup>5</sup> terau<sup>6</sup> muṣa<sup>7</sup> taba taba nayo<sup>8</sup> nayo<sup>9</sup> lāgata<sup>10</sup>;  
 aiso<sup>11</sup> bhrama<sup>12</sup> hota<sup>13</sup> mai<sup>14</sup> kabahū<sup>15,16</sup> deṣi<sup>17</sup> na<sup>18</sup> rī duti<sup>19</sup> kau<sup>20,21</sup> duti<sup>22</sup> leṣa[na<sup>23</sup> na<sup>24</sup>]  
 kāgata<sup>25</sup>;  
 koṭi<sup>26</sup> canda<sup>27,28</sup> tē<sup>29</sup> kahā<sup>30</sup> durāe<sup>31</sup> rī naye<sup>32</sup> naye<sup>33</sup> [rāgata]<sup>34</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>35</sup> ke svāmī syāma<sup>36,37</sup> kahata kāma kī<sup>38</sup> sānti<sup>39</sup> na<sup>40</sup> hoi<sup>41</sup> na<sup>42</sup> hoi<sup>43</sup> tripati<sup>44</sup>  
 rahañ<sup>45</sup> nisi<sup>46</sup> dina<sup>47</sup> [jāgata]<sup>48</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>2</sup>H omitted

<sup>3</sup>C jaya

<sup>4</sup>C jaya

<sup>5</sup>A, RC dekhau; C deṣyañ; D, H, J, NC deṣañ

<sup>6</sup>A, I, BR, PH tero; C terañ

<sup>7</sup>I te added

<sup>8</sup>D, F, J, NC, RC nayau; H navo

<sup>9</sup>A, F omitted; D, J, NC, RC nayau; H navo

<sup>10</sup>NCP lāgati; NCM lāgati emended to lāgata

<sup>11</sup>A eso; C aīsañ; D, F, H, NC, RC aisau

<sup>12</sup>RC bhṛma

<sup>13</sup>In H the original word order (mai...rī) is emended with numbers to the wordorder of G

<sup>14</sup>C, F, H, I, J, BR omitted; D, NCP mañ; PH omitted, mē added in marg. *pr. m.*

<sup>15</sup>C °hu; RC °hū

<sup>16</sup>Added: C me na; F na mē; H, I, J mē na; BR mañ na

<sup>17</sup>C deṣi

<sup>18</sup>C, F, H, I, J, BR omitted

<sup>19</sup>C dūti; NC duti

<sup>20</sup>A ko; D, NCM, RC kau; F, I, BR, NCP kō

<sup>21</sup>H ba added, deleted

<sup>22</sup>D dota; NCM dyuti

<sup>23</sup>A, H lekhañ emended to lekhanī; F, I, BR leṣani; NC, RC lekhanī

<sup>24</sup>C omitted; J ni

<sup>25</sup>C, NCP kāgati; F kāgata

<sup>26</sup>C kañti

<sup>27</sup>A, D, F, NC candra

<sup>28</sup>NC hñ added

<sup>29</sup>C, BR, NCM te; D, J, RC tañ

<sup>30</sup>C, D, NC kahā; RC kāhā

<sup>31</sup>C durāyē; D durāai; H, J, BR, NC durāye

<sup>32</sup>A, F, I, BR, RC nae; C nayañ

<sup>33</sup>A, F, I, BR, RC nae; C nayañ

<sup>34</sup>NCP rāgati

<sup>35</sup>C haradāsa; BR haridāsi

<sup>36</sup>C, J, NC, RC syāmā; H syāma emended to syāmā; I syāmā emended to syāma?

<sup>37</sup>H, NCP kuñjabihārī added

<sup>38</sup>NCP ki

<sup>39</sup>C sāta; D sānta; NCM, RC sāti

<sup>40</sup>NCP omitted

<sup>41</sup>C, D hoi; NCM hoyā

<sup>42</sup>F omitted

<sup>43</sup>D, J, NCM hoyā; F omitted; I, BR, RC hoi

<sup>44</sup>C tripiti; F tribiti; H, NCP trapita; I, BR trapati; J, RC ṭṛpta

<sup>45</sup>A, H, PH, NCP rahō; C, F, NCM, RC rahau; I rahū; BR rahñ

<sup>46</sup>A, D, I niśa; NCP nisi; RC nisa

<sup>47</sup>C dini

<sup>48</sup>NCP jāgati

## KM 35

aisī<sup>1</sup> jiya<sup>2</sup> hota<sup>3</sup> jo<sup>4</sup> jiya<sup>5</sup> sau<sup>6</sup> jiya<sup>7</sup> [mi]lai<sup>8</sup> [tana sō<sup>9</sup> tana] samāya<sup>10</sup> lyaū<sup>11</sup> tau<sup>12</sup> deṣaū<sup>13</sup>  
 kahā ho<sup>14</sup> [pyārī]<sup>15</sup>;  
 tohī<sup>16</sup> sō<sup>17</sup> hilagi<sup>18</sup> āṣina<sup>19</sup> sau<sup>20</sup> āṣai<sup>21,22</sup> milī<sup>23,24</sup> [rahaī]<sup>25</sup> jīvata<sup>26</sup> ko<sup>27</sup> yahai<sup>28</sup> lahā<sup>29</sup> ho<sup>30</sup>  
 pyārī<sup>31</sup>;  
 [mo<sup>32</sup> kau<sup>33</sup> ito<sup>34</sup> sāja<sup>35</sup>] kahā<sup>36</sup> rī<sup>37</sup> pyārī haū<sup>38</sup> ati dīna tuva<sup>39</sup> basi<sup>40</sup> [bhuva<sup>41</sup> chepa<sup>42</sup>] na<sup>43</sup>  
 jāi<sup>44,45</sup> sahā<sup>46</sup> hau<sup>47</sup> pyārī<sup>48</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>49</sup> ke svāmī syāma<sup>50,51</sup> kahata<sup>52</sup> rāṣi lai<sup>53</sup> bāha<sup>54</sup> bala<sup>55</sup> [haū<sup>56</sup> bapurā<sup>57</sup> kāma]  
 dahā<sup>58</sup> ho<sup>59</sup> pyārī<sup>60</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>A esi; C aīsī<sup>2</sup>H, J, NC jīya<sup>3</sup>F, H hoti<sup>4</sup>C jāū; D, F, H, RC jau; NCM omitted, added *inf. lin.*<sup>5</sup>NC jīya<sup>6</sup>A, F, I, PH, NC sō; C, RC sau; BR so<sup>7</sup>NC jīya; RC jīya<sup>8</sup>C, H mile; NCP milē; NCM milai<sup>9</sup>C sau; D, H, J, RC sau; BR so<sup>10</sup>A, F, H, I, BR, PH, RC samāi; C saūmāi emended to sāmāi; J samāhi; NCP samāi<sup>11</sup>A lyaū; F omitted; I, BR, NCP lyō; J leu; NCM leū; RC laiū<sup>12</sup>A, I, BR, NCP to; C tau<sup>13</sup>A dekhyāū; I, PH, NCP deṣō; BR dekho<sup>14</sup>C hau; D haū<sup>15</sup>BR pyārī<sup>16</sup>C tohi; BR tōhi emended to tohī<sup>17</sup>C, RC sau; D, H, NCP sau; BR so?<sup>18</sup>D, F, H, I, NC, RC hilaga; BR hilagi<sup>19</sup>C, D, BR āṣina; F āṣini; J āsini; RC ākhi<sup>20</sup>A, F, I, BR, PH, NCP sō; RC omitted<sup>21</sup>A, D, J, NC ākhaī; C omitted; F āṣē; I āṣai; BR ākhe; PH āṣē; RC ākhina<sup>22</sup>RC sau added<sup>23</sup>C mile; H omitted; J omitted, added in marg., *pr. m.*<sup>24</sup>H, J lagī added<sup>25</sup>A, C, I, BR, RC rahai; F, PH, NCP rahē<sup>26</sup>F, BR jiyata; I jiyata; NC jivana<sup>27</sup>C kau; D, F, H, I, J, PH, NC, RC kau<sup>28</sup>C yaha; J yahihai; RC yāhī<sup>29</sup>NCM lā<sup>30</sup>C, F, H omitted; I, BR omitted, added in marg.<sup>31</sup>C, F, H omitted; I, BR omitted, added in marg.<sup>32</sup>C maū; RC mau<sup>33</sup>A, C, NCP kau; F, PH kō; BR ko<sup>34</sup>C itau; D, F, H, I, J, NC, RC itau<sup>35</sup>F soca; H sāju<sup>36</sup>C, D, F, H, NCM kahā<sup>37</sup>D hau; RC ho<sup>38</sup>A, RC hau; C ho; F, H, I, J, BR, PH hō<sup>39</sup>A, H, NC tuma; C, F, I, J, BR tohi<sup>40</sup>A, C, D, F, H, J, BR, NC, RC basa<sup>41</sup>H bhū; NCM muva emended to bhuva<sup>42</sup>C cchepai; F kṣepa<sup>43</sup>C, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NCP omitted<sup>44</sup>F jāta; H jā; I, J, NC, RC jāya<sup>45</sup>C, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NCP na added<sup>46</sup>C sahāya<sup>47</sup>A, D, J, PH, NC, RC ho; C, F, H, BR omitted; I omitted, added in marg.<sup>48</sup>C, F, H, BR omitted; I omitted, added in marg.

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<sup>49</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>50</sup>C, D, I, J, BR, NC, RC syāmā

<sup>51</sup>Added: I, BR, RC kuñjabihārī; C ṣe?

<sup>52</sup>C kollata

<sup>53</sup>C, BR le; H lehu; NCP laī

<sup>54</sup>C, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NCM bāhu; NCP bāhā; RC omitted

<sup>55</sup>RC omitted

<sup>56</sup>A, F, H, BR, PH, NCP hō; C, NCM ho; I, J hau

<sup>57</sup>NC bāpurā

<sup>58</sup>NCP dāhā

<sup>59</sup>A hō; C, F, H, BR omitted; D rī; I omitted, added in marg.

<sup>60</sup>C, F, H, BR omitted; I omitted, added in marg.

## KM 36

āju<sup>1</sup> ra[hasi<sup>2</sup> mai<sup>3</sup> deṣiyata<sup>4</sup> pyārī jū<sup>5</sup> eka bo]la<sup>6</sup> māgaū<sup>7</sup> [ jo<sup>8</sup> liṣi<sup>9</sup> dehu<sup>10</sup>;  
<sup>11</sup>sāṣi tere] nēna<sup>12</sup> dasana kaca [kuca kaṭi<sup>13</sup> nitamba jo<sup>14</sup> liṣi<sup>15</sup> dehu<sup>16</sup>;  
 prīti<sup>17</sup> dravya<sup>18</sup> ruci<sup>19</sup> byāja paraspara<sup>20</sup> mana baca krama<sup>21</sup> jo<sup>22</sup> liṣi<sup>23</sup> dehu<sup>24</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>25</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>26</sup>] pyārī<sup>27</sup> pai<sup>28</sup> bola [bulāya<sup>29</sup> liyo<sup>30</sup> liṣi<sup>31</sup> dehu<sup>32</sup>].

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<sup>1</sup>D, NC āja

<sup>2</sup>NCP rahasi

<sup>3</sup>A, F, I, PH, NC mē; C, BR me; RC mai

<sup>4</sup>C deṣata; F, H deṣati

<sup>5</sup>C, H omitted

<sup>6</sup>F bāta; RC bācana

<sup>7</sup>A, I māgo; C, D, RC māgaū; F, BR, PH māgō; H, NC māgau

<sup>8</sup>C jau; D, F, J jau

<sup>9</sup>H, NC, RC liṣa

<sup>10</sup>H dai

<sup>11</sup>In NC the second and third lines are reversed

<sup>12</sup>D, J, BR, NC, RC naīna

<sup>13</sup>A omitted, added in marg.

<sup>14</sup>C, F, RC omitted; J jau

<sup>15</sup>D, H, NC, RC liṣa

<sup>16</sup>H dai

<sup>17</sup>RC prīta

<sup>18</sup>C darabi; F, H daraba; I dṛvya

<sup>19</sup>C raci

<sup>20</sup>C paspara; J paraspara

<sup>21</sup>Added: A kari, in marg.; H, NCM kari; J kaī; NCP kari

<sup>22</sup>C ke; D, J jau; F omitted; I kē; BR kai

<sup>23</sup>C liṣi; H, NCM, RC liṣa; NCP likhi

<sup>24</sup>H dai

<sup>25</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>26</sup>F syāma; H syāma emended to syāmā

<sup>27</sup>C, F, I, BR omitted; RC kuñjabihārī

<sup>28</sup>C pe; D, F pai

<sup>29</sup>C bulāi; F, H, BR, PH, RC bulāi

<sup>30</sup>C liyaū; D, F, I, J, RC liyau; H layau; NCP liyau; NCM liye

<sup>31</sup>D, H, NCM, RC liṣa

<sup>32</sup>H dai

## KM 37

pyārī terī [bāṣhīni<sup>1</sup> bāna<sup>2</sup> sumāra lāge<sup>3</sup>] bhōha<sup>4</sup> jyaū<sup>5</sup> dhanaṣa<sup>6</sup>;  
 [eka hī<sup>7</sup>] bāra<sup>8</sup> yō<sup>9</sup> chūṭata<sup>10</sup> hai<sup>11</sup> jaisai<sup>12</sup> bādara<sup>13</sup> baraṣata<sup>14,15</sup> indra anaṣa<sup>16</sup>;  
 aura<sup>17</sup> hathiyāra<sup>18</sup> kau<sup>19,20</sup> ganē<sup>21</sup> rī<sup>22</sup> cāhani<sup>23</sup> kanaṣa;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>24</sup> ke svāmi<sup>25</sup> syāmā kuñjabihārī [sō<sup>26</sup> pyārī<sup>27</sup>] jaba<sup>28</sup> tū<sup>29</sup> bolata<sup>30</sup> canaṣa  
 canaṣa.

<sup>1</sup>A bāṣhīni; C bāṣhīni; D bāṣhīni; F, I bāṣhīni; H, BR, RC bāṣhīni; NC bāṣhīni

<sup>2</sup>C bāni

<sup>3</sup>A, D, RC lāgai; F, H, PH, NCM lāgē; NCP lāgai

<sup>4</sup>A, D, J bhōhai; C bhāyāi; F bhōhē; I, NCP bhohē; BR bhohai; PH, NCM bhōhai; RC bhauhē

<sup>5</sup>A, NC jyō; H omitted; I omitted, added in marg.; J jo; RC jyau

<sup>6</sup>A, C, D, F, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC dhanuṣa; H dhanaka

<sup>7</sup>H hī

<sup>8</sup>BR bera

<sup>9</sup>C, D, J, NCM yaū; RC yau

<sup>10</sup>NCP chūṭati

<sup>11</sup>A hē; F, H, I, J, BR, RC omitted; PH, NC hai

<sup>12</sup>A jēsai; C, F, I, RC jaisai; H, PH, NC jaisē; J jesai; BR jaise

<sup>13</sup>H bādala

<sup>14</sup>A, NC barṣata

<sup>15</sup>Added: F, I, BR, NCM hai; H hē

<sup>16</sup>F dhanaṣa

<sup>17</sup>C ora

<sup>18</sup>C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, RC hathiyāra; NCP hathiyāra

<sup>19</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, BR, RC ko; C kau

<sup>20</sup>BR ra kō added

<sup>21</sup>A, C, BR ganai; D, J, NCM, RC ganaī; I gane

<sup>22</sup>C, F, H, BR, RC omitted; I omitted, added in marg.

<sup>23</sup>A, D cāhani; C cāhana; I, J, BR, PH cāhina

<sup>24</sup>C haradāsa; BR haridāsi

<sup>25</sup>NCP svāmi

<sup>26</sup>C, RC sau; D, H, J, PH, NCM saū

<sup>27</sup>F omitted; H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>28</sup>NCM omitted

<sup>29</sup>A, C, D, F, I, J, PH, NCM, RC tū

<sup>30</sup>F, H bolati

## KM 38

<sup>1,2</sup>kāhe<sup>3</sup> tē<sup>4</sup> āju<sup>5</sup> aṭapaṭe<sup>6</sup> se<sup>7</sup> hari<sup>8</sup>;  
 laṭapaṭi<sup>9</sup> pāga aṭapa[te se<sup>10</sup> banda<sup>11</sup>] aṭapaṭi deta<sup>12</sup> āgai<sup>13</sup> sari<sup>14</sup>;  
 aṭapaṭe<sup>15</sup> pāi<sup>16</sup> [para]ta<sup>17</sup> mē<sup>18</sup> paraṣe<sup>19</sup> jaba<sup>20</sup> āvata he<sup>21</sup> ita<sup>22</sup> ḍhari<sup>23</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>24</sup> ke svāmi<sup>25</sup> syāma<sup>26</sup> jāni<sup>27</sup> haū<sup>28</sup> pā[e]<sup>29</sup> āju<sup>30</sup> lā[la aurai<sup>31</sup>] pari<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>In H the wordorder of the first line is emended with numbers to the wordorder in G

<sup>2</sup>Added: C, F, H, I, BR aṭapaṭe; J laṭapaṭe

<sup>3</sup>C, RC kāhai

<sup>4</sup>A, NC te; C tai; D, J, RC tai

<sup>5</sup>C ājū; D, RC āja

<sup>6</sup>C, F, H, I, J, BR omitted

<sup>7</sup>C, F, H, I, J, BR omitted

<sup>8</sup>H bihāri emended to hari; BR hāri

<sup>9</sup>C lavapaṭi; H aṭapaṭi emended to laṭapaṭi

<sup>10</sup>C, F, RC omitted

<sup>11</sup>C basa; J bande

<sup>12</sup>C deṣi; F deti; NCP deti

<sup>13</sup>A, H, NC āgē; C, F, BR āge; RC āgai

<sup>14</sup>C, NCM sarī; D sara

<sup>15</sup>C laṭapaṭe

<sup>16</sup>A pāi; C, J pāya; H pāva; NC pāya

<sup>17</sup>NCM omitted, added *inf. lin.*

<sup>18</sup>C, I me; D, BR, NC māi; RC mai

<sup>19</sup>C paraṣai

<sup>20</sup>RC āva added

<sup>21</sup>A hē; C hai; J omitted; PH haī; NCP hau; NCM ho

<sup>22</sup>I iti emended to ita

<sup>23</sup>D ṭhari; NCM ḍhari

<sup>24</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>25</sup>NCM svami

<sup>26</sup>C, NCM syāmā; F, BR omitted

<sup>27</sup>C jāni; D, H, I, NCM jāna; NCP jāni

<sup>28</sup>A, BR, PH hō; F, H hau; RC ho

<sup>29</sup>A, D, I, J, NC pāye; C pāyai

<sup>30</sup>RC āja

<sup>31</sup>A, BR, NCP aure; C aūre; D, J aurai; F, H aura; NCM aurē

<sup>32</sup>C, NC pari; D, F, J para

## KM 39

kāhe kō<sup>1</sup> māna<sup>2</sup> karata<sup>3</sup> [mohi]<sup>4</sup> ba kata<sup>5</sup> duṣa deta<sup>6</sup>;  
 [bāse]<sup>7</sup> ki<sup>8</sup> sī dṛṣṭi<sup>9</sup> liye<sup>10</sup> rah[au<sup>11</sup> terī jīvani<sup>12</sup> tohi<sup>13</sup> sameta<sup>14</sup>];  
 aba<sup>15</sup> kachū<sup>16</sup> [ai]sī<sup>17</sup> karau<sup>18,19</sup> bhōha[ni<sup>20</sup> tāṭi<sup>21</sup> jina<sup>22</sup> dehu<sup>23</sup>] kahata<sup>24</sup> itaneta<sup>25</sup>;  
<sup>26</sup>śrī haridāsa<sup>27</sup> [ke svāmī syāmā<sup>28</sup>] <sup>29</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>30,31</sup> chalu<sup>32</sup> kai<sup>33</sup> garai<sup>34</sup> la[gāi<sup>35</sup> bhāi<sup>36</sup>  
 rameta<sup>37</sup>].

<sup>1</sup>C, D, H, I, NC kau; BR ko; RC kau

<sup>2</sup>H mānu

<sup>3</sup>F, H, I, RC karati

<sup>4</sup>C māhi

<sup>5</sup>A, I kita; C kī

<sup>6</sup>F, H, I, BR, NC, RC deti

<sup>7</sup>A bāsai; NC, RC bāse

<sup>8</sup>A ke; I, NCP kai; NCP kī emended to ke

<sup>9</sup>C, H dṛṣṭa; NCP dṛṣṭi

<sup>10</sup>A, RC liyai; C liye; D, J liyai; I liyai; BR liye

<sup>11</sup>A, NCM, RC rahau; F, BR, PH rahō; H rahata emended to rahau

<sup>12</sup>A, C, D, I, BR, NC, RC jivana

<sup>13</sup>C to; NCP tohi

<sup>14</sup>F, H, I, BR, NCM sameti; NCP sametī

<sup>15</sup>C asi; F, J, BR aisi; H aisi, aba added in marg.

<sup>16</sup>A, F, BR kachu; J kaba

<sup>17</sup>A esi; C, F, J, BR omitted; H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>18</sup>C, F karaū; BR karo

<sup>19</sup>Added: C, F, J, BR, RC ju, *pr. m.*; H ju, *sec. m.*

<sup>20</sup>C, D bhāuhana; F, RC bhāuhani; H bhōha emended to bhōhana; J bhōhana; BR bhohana; NCP bhauhina; NCM bhauhina

<sup>21</sup>C daī added, deleted

<sup>22</sup>C, F, H, J, BR, PH jini; NCP jinī

<sup>23</sup>C dehuh

<sup>24</sup>C, F, J, BR omitted; H deleted, written again; RC kahati

<sup>25</sup>F, H, I, J, NC, RC itaneti; BR otameti

<sup>26</sup>C ka added, deleted

<sup>27</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>28</sup>H syāmā emended to syāma; BR syāma

<sup>29</sup>C ku added, deleted

<sup>30</sup>C, F, H, I, J, BR, NCM, RC omitted

<sup>31</sup>H gahi added

<sup>32</sup>A chali; D, J, BR, NC, RC chala; H chaila

<sup>33</sup>A, PH kē; C ke; F, I, BR kai; H omitted

<sup>34</sup>A, F, H, PH, NCP garē; C, BR gare; I garai

<sup>35</sup>H lagāi; J lagāya

<sup>36</sup>H bhae

<sup>37</sup>C ramet; F, I, J, BR, RC rameti; NC rametī

## KM 40

rōma rōma jo<sup>1</sup> rasanā<sup>2,3</sup> hotī<sup>4</sup> [toū<sup>5</sup> tere guna<sup>6</sup> na<sup>7</sup> baṣānē<sup>8,9</sup> jāta;  
 kahā<sup>10</sup> kahō<sup>11</sup> eka<sup>12</sup> jībha saṣi rī bāta kī bāta bāta<sup>13</sup>];  
 bhāna<sup>14</sup> śramita<sup>15</sup> [aura<sup>16</sup> sasi hū<sup>17</sup> śramita bhaye<sup>18</sup> aura<sup>19</sup>] juvatī<sup>20</sup> jāta;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>21</sup> ke svāmī syāma<sup>22,23</sup> kahata<sup>24</sup> rī<sup>25</sup> pyārī tū<sup>26</sup> rāṣata<sup>27</sup> prāna<sup>28</sup> jāta<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>C jāū; D, F jau; I, NC omitted

<sup>2</sup>C rasunā

<sup>3</sup>Added: I, J, NC jo; RC jau

<sup>4</sup>C hoti

<sup>5</sup>A, D, F, H, I, BR taū; C taūū; J, NCM, RC tauū

<sup>6</sup>C guṇa

<sup>7</sup>NCM omitted

<sup>8</sup>J baṣānāī

<sup>9</sup>NCM na added

<sup>10</sup>C, D, I, J, BR, NCM, RC kahā

<sup>11</sup>A, D, I kahū; C, J kahaū; BR kaho; RC kahau

<sup>12</sup>D ika

<sup>13</sup>C, F, J, BR, NCM omitted

<sup>14</sup>A bhānu

<sup>15</sup>J śramata

<sup>16</sup>C aūra; D, F, BR, NCM aru; H omitted, ara added in marg.; J, PH, RC ora

<sup>17</sup>C hu; D, I, NC, RC hū; F, J, BR ju; H jo

<sup>18</sup>A, F, BR, RC bhae; H omitted, added in marg.; J, PH bhāi; NCM bhayau

<sup>19</sup>C, F, H omitted

<sup>20</sup>J juvatī

<sup>21</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>22</sup>C, F, I, BR, NCM syāmā; H syāmā emended to syāma

<sup>23</sup>C, F, H, I, BR, NCM kuñjabihārī added

<sup>24</sup>RC kahatī

<sup>25</sup>C, F, H, BR omitted

<sup>26</sup>BR, NCM tū

<sup>27</sup>H, I rāṣatī

<sup>28</sup>A, NCM prāna

<sup>29</sup>H jāti; RC jātū



## KM 41

[tuva<sup>1</sup> jasa<sup>2</sup>] <sup>3</sup> koṭi<sup>4</sup> brahmāṇḍa<sup>5</sup> birājai<sup>6</sup> rādhe<sup>7</sup>;

[<sup>8</sup>śrī sobhā baranī na<sup>9</sup> jāi<sup>10</sup>] agādhe;

bahutaka<sup>11</sup> janama<sup>12</sup> bicārata hī<sup>13</sup> gaye<sup>14</sup> sādhe sādhe<sup>15</sup>;

śrī haridāsa<sup>16</sup> ke svāmī<sup>17,18</sup> syāma<sup>19</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>20</sup> (kahata<sup>21</sup> rī<sup>22</sup>)mg pyārī<sup>23,24</sup> e<sup>25</sup> dina <sup>26</sup>  
krama krama<sup>27</sup> (ka)mg ri<sup>28</sup> lādhe<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>A, C, NC tuma

<sup>2</sup>C jasi

<sup>3</sup>C jasi added

<sup>4</sup>C kaṭi; NCP koṭi

<sup>5</sup>H brahmāṇḍa; NCP brahmāḍa

<sup>6</sup>A -je omitted, added in marg.; D rājai; H birājata; NCM birāje

<sup>7</sup>C rādhai

<sup>8</sup>C line omitted

<sup>9</sup>D nā

<sup>10</sup>A, F, H, BR, PH jāi; D jāi; I jāti; J, NC, RC jāya

<sup>11</sup>J koṭika; RC buhatika

<sup>12</sup>A, H, I, BR, RC janma

<sup>13</sup>H hī

<sup>14</sup>A, F, PH, RC gae; C ja emended to gaja

<sup>15</sup>C sādhai; NCP omitted

<sup>16</sup>C haradāsa; BR haridāsi

<sup>17</sup>NCP svāmā

<sup>18</sup>I kaha added, deleted

<sup>19</sup>A, C, F, BR, NCM, RC śyāmā; H syāmā emended to syāma; NCP omitted

<sup>20</sup>I omitted

<sup>21</sup>C, F omitted; H, RC kahati; I kata (ka- end of page)

<sup>22</sup>C, F, H, J, BR omitted

<sup>23</sup>C, J, BR omitted

<sup>24</sup>H saū added

<sup>25</sup>D, H, I, J ye

<sup>26</sup>Added: C me; D, H, J, BR māi; F, I mē; RC mai

<sup>27</sup>RC omitted

<sup>28</sup>NCM kari

<sup>29</sup>C lādhai

## KM 42

<sup>1</sup>bhūli<sup>2</sup> saba saṣi<sup>3</sup> deṣi<sup>4</sup> deṣi<sup>5</sup>;

jachi<sup>6</sup> kinnara<sup>7</sup> nāga<sup>8</sup> loka deva<sup>9</sup> stri<sup>10</sup> riḥi<sup>11</sup> rahi<sup>12</sup> bhuvā<sup>13</sup> leṣi<sup>14</sup> leṣi<sup>15</sup>;

kahata<sup>16</sup> paraspara nāri<sup>17</sup> nāri<sup>18</sup> saū<sup>19</sup> yaha sundaryatā<sup>20</sup> abareṣi<sup>21</sup> reṣi<sup>22</sup>;

śrī haridāsa<sup>23</sup> ke<sup>24</sup> svāmi<sup>25</sup> syāma<sup>26,27</sup> ye<sup>28</sup> kaisai<sup>29</sup> hū<sup>30</sup> citaye<sup>31</sup> pai<sup>32</sup> pareṣi<sup>33</sup> pareṣi<sup>34</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>Added: F deṣi deṣi; H deṣi deṣi, deleted

<sup>2</sup>A, C, D, F, I, BR, RC bhūli; H, NC phūli

<sup>3</sup>H omitted, added; J, RC saṣi

<sup>4</sup>C, NC deṣi; D deṣa; F omitted

<sup>5</sup>C, NC deṣi; D deṣa; F omitted; H deṣe

<sup>6</sup>A yakṣa; C, D, H, BR jacha; F, NC jakṣa; I jaccha

<sup>7</sup>BR kiṃnara

<sup>8</sup>NCM nā- omitted, added *inf. lin.*

<sup>9</sup>C a added

<sup>10</sup>H si

<sup>11</sup>C riḥi

<sup>12</sup>C, D, BR, NC, RC rahi; H rahai

<sup>13</sup>H bhū

<sup>14</sup>D, H leṣa; NC lekhi

<sup>15</sup>D leṣa; F omitted; H leṣe; NC lekhi

<sup>16</sup>C kahati

<sup>17</sup>H nara; NCM nāri

<sup>18</sup>H, NCM nāri; RC omitted

<sup>19</sup>F, J, BR, PH, NC sō; RC sau

<sup>20</sup>C yasuyatā; D, J, NCM, RC sundaratā; F saundaryatā; H sundarjava emended to sundarjatā; I, BR sundarjatā; NCP saundaryyatā

<sup>21</sup>D abareṣa; H reṣa emended to abareṣa; BR avarekhi; NCM abarekhi

<sup>22</sup>C omitted; D reṣa; H reṣe; NCM rekhi

<sup>23</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>24</sup>J kai

<sup>25</sup>NCP svāmi

<sup>26</sup>C, F syāma; H syāma emended to syāmā

<sup>27</sup>Added: H, I, J kuṅjabihārī; NCM kuṅjabihārī, in brackets

<sup>28</sup>C yai; F, BR e; H i;

<sup>29</sup>A kēsē; C, H kaisāi; F, NCM kaisē; I, NCP, RC kaisai; BR kaise

<sup>30</sup>A, D, F, I, J, BR, PH, NC hū; C hu; H hī

<sup>31</sup>A citayē; D citaya; F, BR citae; H citavai; NCM cite emended to citaye

<sup>32</sup>A, D, NC, RC omitted; C, J pe; F paiu; H jāi

<sup>33</sup>C raiṣi; D pareṣa; F, BR reṣi; H pareṣe; NCP parekhi; NCM parekhe emended to parekhi

<sup>34</sup>C, H omitted; D pareṣa; F, J, BR, RC reṣi; NC parekhi

## KM 43

piya<sup>1</sup> sō<sup>2</sup> tū<sup>3,4</sup> joī<sup>5</sup> joī karai<sup>6</sup> soī<sup>7,8</sup> chājai<sup>9</sup>;  
 aura<sup>10</sup> sēgha<sup>11</sup> karai<sup>12</sup> [jo]<sup>13</sup> terī<sup>14</sup> soī<sup>15,16</sup> lājai<sup>17</sup>;  
 tū<sup>18</sup> surajñāna<sup>19</sup> saba<sup>20,21</sup> aṅga<sup>22</sup> saṣī rī māna<sup>23</sup> karata<sup>24,25</sup> bekājai<sup>26</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>27</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>28,29</sup> jiya<sup>30,31</sup> mai<sup>32</sup> basai<sup>33</sup> tū<sup>34</sup> nita<sup>35</sup> nita<sup>36</sup> birājai.

<sup>1</sup>H, PH, NC pīya<sup>2</sup>A, C, D, RC sau; H, J saū; BR so<sup>3</sup>C, D, F, I, J, BR, PH, RC tū<sup>4</sup>NCM karai added, deleted<sup>5</sup>C jaū; NCP jei<sup>6</sup>C karaī; NCM karē<sup>7</sup>C, F su; BR so<sup>8</sup>Added: A soī, in marg.; H soī, in text<sup>9</sup>C chājai<sup>10</sup>C, F, H, I, BR, NCM terī<sup>11</sup>C, H segha; D saṅgha; F sīgha?; I saīga; J saīgha; BR sogha emended to segha; NCM sīkha?; RC saigha<sup>12</sup>A, NCM karē<sup>13</sup>C, D jau; J joū; NCM originally before karē, wordorder emended with numbers<sup>14</sup>C kaūū; F, H, I, J, BR koū; NCM koī<sup>15</sup>C sauū; I, J, BR soū<sup>16</sup>NCP soī added<sup>17</sup>A, H lāje; C, J, NCP lājai<sup>18</sup>H, BR, NC tū; J omitted, added in marg., *pr. m.*<sup>19</sup>F °gāna; H °gyāna<sup>20</sup>C sa<sup>21</sup>Added: C, F hī; H hī<sup>22</sup>H aṅgani emended to aṅga<sup>23</sup>F mānu<sup>24</sup>F, I karati<sup>25</sup>Added: C rati; D, H kata; F te; PH kata, in marg.<sup>26</sup>C, D, F, J bekājai; BR baikājai<sup>27</sup>J haridā; BR haridāsi<sup>28</sup>A śyāma; H syāma emended to syāmā<sup>29</sup>H ko added in marg.<sup>30</sup>C jaū; F jyaū; H, I, J, RC jyau; BR jyo; NC jiya<sup>31</sup>Added: C taū; F, I, J, BR to; H to, deleted; RC tau<sup>32</sup>A omitted, me added *inf.lin.*; D mai; F, H, I, PH, NC mē; BR me<sup>33</sup>basai<sup>34</sup>H, BR, NC tū<sup>35</sup>C, F, I, J, BR, PH nitya; D niti<sup>36</sup>C, F, I, J, BR, PH nitya; D nitta

## KM 44

[soi<sup>1</sup> tau<sup>2</sup>] bacana mo<sup>3</sup> saũ<sup>4</sup> mǎni<sup>5</sup> tē<sup>6</sup> mero<sup>7</sup> lāla mohyau<sup>8</sup> rī [sǎ]varau<sup>9</sup>;  
 nava<sup>10,11</sup> nikuñja<sup>12</sup> suṣa<sup>13</sup> puñja<sup>14</sup> mahala<sup>15</sup> mai<sup>16</sup> subasa<sup>17</sup> basau<sup>18</sup> yaha gāvarau<sup>19</sup>;  
 nava nava lāḍa<sup>20</sup> laḍāva<sup>21</sup> lāḍilī<sup>22</sup> nāh[i<sup>23</sup> nāhi<sup>24</sup> ya]ha<sup>25</sup> braja jāvarau<sup>26</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>27</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>28</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>29</sup> pai<sup>30</sup> vārō<sup>31</sup> mālatī bhāvarau<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>C saũ; D soi

<sup>2</sup>A, J, BR, PH to

<sup>3</sup>C mau

<sup>4</sup>A, F, I, BR, PH sō; NCM, RC sau

<sup>5</sup>D, NC mǎna; H mānu

<sup>6</sup>C, D, I tai; J, BR, RC tai

<sup>7</sup>C mairāũ; D, F, H, I, J, PH, NC merau; RC mairau

<sup>8</sup>A, D, BR mohyo; C mauhyaũ; NCP mohayau; NCM mohayo

<sup>9</sup>A sǎmarau; C sǎvaraũ; J sǎvarau; BR sǎvaro

<sup>10</sup>C kuja; F, BR kuñja; RC navā

<sup>11</sup>NCM kuñja added *inf. lin.*

<sup>12</sup>C kuja; F kuñja

<sup>13</sup>D suṣu; F, BR nava; H nava emended to suṣa

<sup>14</sup>C puñjah; F pulina; H pulina emended to puñja; RC puja

<sup>15</sup>H manobara emended to mahala mai

<sup>16</sup>A, PH, NC mē; F bara; H omitted, added (see above); BR me; RC mai

<sup>17</sup>A sūbasa; J suvasa; NCM subaso emended to subasa

<sup>18</sup>A, BR, PH baso; C, D, I basāũ

<sup>19</sup>A gāmarau; C gāvaraũ; H, RC gāvarau; BR gāvaro

<sup>20</sup>A lāra

<sup>21</sup>C, I laḍāi; D, J, NCP laḍāya; F, H, BR laḍāi; PH laḍāva emended to laḍāi; NCM laḍāya emended to laḍāya; RC laḍāva

<sup>22</sup>A lārīlī; C lāḍilī

<sup>23</sup>A nahī emended to nahi; C, F, J, BR nāhi; D nāhi; H nahi; I, RC nahī; NCP nāhi; NCM nahī

<sup>24</sup>A nahī emended to nahi; C, F, J, BR nāhi; D omitted; H nahi; I, RC nahī; NCP nāhi; NCM nahī

<sup>25</sup>D, NCM ihī; F, NCP ihi; H omitted, added in marg.; BR iha

<sup>26</sup>C jāvaraũ; F, NC jāvarau; BR jāvaro

<sup>27</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>28</sup>H syāma

<sup>29</sup>C omitted

<sup>30</sup>F, J, BR para

<sup>31</sup>A, F vārōgī; C, BR, RC vāraugī; D vāraũ; H varaũgī; I, J, NCM vāraũgī; NCP vārau

<sup>32</sup>C, J bhāvaraũ; BR bhāvaro; NCM bhāmarau; RC bhāvāri

## KM 45

[jo<sup>1</sup> kachu<sup>2</sup>] kahata<sup>3</sup> lāḍilau<sup>4</sup> lāḍilī<sup>5</sup> jū [suniyē<sup>6</sup> kāna dai<sup>7</sup>];  
 jo<sup>8</sup> jiya<sup>9,10</sup> upajati<sup>11,12</sup> tihāre<sup>13</sup> heta<sup>14</sup> kī<sup>15</sup> [kahata<sup>16,17</sup> āna dai<sup>18</sup>];  
 jau<sup>19</sup> mohi<sup>20</sup> na patyāhu<sup>21</sup> tau<sup>22</sup> chātī<sup>23</sup> [ṭakaṭori<sup>24</sup> deṣau<sup>25,26</sup> pāna<sup>27</sup>] dai<sup>28</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>29</sup> ke svāmī<sup>30</sup> [syāma<sup>31</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>32</sup> j]ācaka<sup>33</sup> kau<sup>34</sup> dāna dai<sup>35</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>C jū; D, PH jau; H ju

<sup>2</sup>C, D, F, I, J, PH, NCM kachū

<sup>3</sup>RC kahati

<sup>4</sup>F, H lādile; BR, PH, NCP lādilo

<sup>5</sup>C lādili; I lādali

<sup>6</sup>C, D, J suniyaī; H, I, RC suniyai; BR, NC suniye

<sup>7</sup>C dai

<sup>8</sup>C, D jau; H omitted, added in marg.; NCP je

<sup>9</sup>C, I, NCP jiya

<sup>10</sup>H mai jo added, deleted

<sup>11</sup>A upajē; C, F, H, I, J, BR, NCM upajai; D, NCP upajata; PH upajita

<sup>12</sup>Added: C, J, RC su; I, BR, NCM so

<sup>13</sup>C, F teriyai; D tihārai; H teriyai; I, BR, RC tereī; J, NCM teriye

<sup>14</sup>C, F, H, J, BR ruci; I, PH, NCM, RC hita

<sup>15</sup>F kī

<sup>16</sup>F kahati; RC kahāti

<sup>17</sup>A: C, I hau; F yō; H hō, in marg.; J, BR, NCM haū

<sup>18</sup>C dai

<sup>19</sup>A, D, PH, NCP jo; C, F, I, BR, NCM, RC omitted; H deleted, written again

<sup>20</sup>C mauhi; J omitted; NCP mohi

<sup>21</sup>A patiāhu; F patyāyau; H patyāva; NC patayāti

<sup>22</sup>BR to

<sup>23</sup>F chatiyā

<sup>24</sup>C ṭakaṭaurī; D ṭaṭora; I ṭakaṭora; J ṭakaṭauri; NC ṭakaṭori

<sup>25</sup>C daiṣaū; H deṣi emended to deṣau; BR, PH dekho

<sup>26</sup>H rī added, deleted

<sup>27</sup>A, F, J pāni; C pāva; RC pana emended to pāna

<sup>28</sup>C dai

<sup>29</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>30</sup>RC śya added, deleted

<sup>31</sup>A, C, F, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC śyāmā

<sup>32</sup>C ha added after kuñja, deleted; F keñja<sup>o</sup> emended to kuñja<sup>o</sup>; H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>33</sup>J, PH, NCM jācika; BR jāciga

<sup>34</sup>A, H, PH, RC kau; F, BR kō

<sup>35</sup>C dai

## KM 46

<sup>1</sup>pyārī jū<sup>2</sup> āgai<sup>3</sup> cali<sup>4</sup> āgai<sup>5</sup> cali<sup>6</sup> gahabara<sup>7</sup> bana bhītara<sup>8</sup> jahā<sup>9</sup> baulai<sup>10</sup> koila<sup>11</sup> rī;  
 ati hī<sup>12</sup> bicitra phūla<sup>13</sup> patrana<sup>14</sup> kī sajyā<sup>15</sup> raci<sup>16</sup> rucira<sup>17</sup> sāvārī<sup>18</sup> tahā<sup>19</sup> tū<sup>20</sup> ba<sup>21</sup> soila<sup>22</sup> rī;  
 chinu<sup>23</sup> chinu<sup>24</sup> palu<sup>25</sup> palu<sup>26</sup> terīyai<sup>27</sup> kahānī tuva<sup>28</sup> maga<sup>29</sup> joila<sup>30</sup> rī;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>31</sup> ke svāmī syāma<sup>32,33</sup> kahata<sup>34</sup> chabilau<sup>35</sup> kāma rasa bhoila<sup>36</sup> rī.

<sup>1</sup>I, RC syāmā added

<sup>2</sup>F, H, I, RC omitted

<sup>3</sup>A, F, PH, NC āgē; C, I, RC āgai; BR āge

<sup>4</sup>C, NCP calī; I cala

<sup>5</sup>A, F, NC āgē; I, RC āgai; BR omitted

<sup>6</sup>C, NCP calī; F, BR omitted; I cala; RC cāli

<sup>7</sup>PH gahibara

<sup>8</sup>J bhītara

<sup>9</sup>C, BR jahā

<sup>10</sup>A, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NCM bolai; C baūle; D, NCP, RC bolai

<sup>11</sup>C kaūila; D koyala; NCP koyala emended to koila

<sup>12</sup>A, D, J, BR, PH, NCP, RC hī; C, F, H, NCM omitted

<sup>13</sup>J pahupa emended to phūla *pr. m.*

<sup>14</sup>C patra; F, H patrani; RC patrāni

<sup>15</sup>A saiyā; F, J, NC sejyā; H sejā; I sijyā; RC sajjya

<sup>16</sup>A raci emended to ruci; C, D, F, J, NCP raci

<sup>17</sup>C rucira; I rucara

<sup>18</sup>A sahmārī; D, F, H, J, BR, NC savārī; I savārī

<sup>19</sup>J tahā

<sup>20</sup>A tua; C tuma

<sup>21</sup>A, C, J, NC omitted

<sup>22</sup>C saūila

<sup>23</sup>A, C, D, F, I, BR, PH, NC, RC china

<sup>24</sup>A, C, D, I, BR, PH, NC, RC china

<sup>25</sup>A, D, F, I, BR, PH, NC, RC pala

<sup>26</sup>A, C, D, I, BR, PH, NC, RC pala

<sup>27</sup>A, NCP terīye; C yahai; D teriya; F, H, J, BR, NCM yahai; RC teriyai

<sup>28</sup>A tua; C tuma

<sup>29</sup>C magu

<sup>30</sup>C jaūila

<sup>31</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>32</sup>C, F, I, J, BR, NC, RC syāmā; H syāma emended to syāmā

<sup>33</sup>Added: C, F, J, BR kuñjabihārī; H kuñjabihārī, *sec. m.*; PH kuñjabihārī, deleted

<sup>34</sup>C, F, J, BR omitted; H deleted; PH omitted, kuñjabihārī emended to kahata?; RC kahati

<sup>35</sup>A chabīlo; C, BR omitted; F chabile; H chabīli; J pyārau

<sup>36</sup>C bhaūila

## KM 47

pyārī aba<sup>1</sup> soi<sup>2</sup> gaī<sup>3</sup>;

jyau<sup>4</sup> jyau<sup>5</sup> jagāvata<sup>6</sup> tyō<sup>7,8</sup> nahi<sup>9</sup> jāgata<sup>10</sup> [pre]ma<sup>11</sup> rasa<sup>12</sup> bāna<sup>13</sup> kari<sup>14</sup> bhoi<sup>15</sup> gaī<sup>16</sup>;

jāgata<sup>17</sup> hoi<sup>18</sup> to<sup>19</sup> jagāū<sup>20</sup> pyārī<sup>21</sup> tātē<sup>22</sup> ba<sup>23</sup> parama saca<sup>24,25</sup> rasa hi<sup>26</sup> rasika<sup>27</sup> rasa boi<sup>28</sup>  
[gaī];

<sup>29</sup>śrī haridāsa ke<sup>30</sup> svāmī syāmā<sup>31</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>32</sup> [uṭhi]<sup>33</sup> garē<sup>34</sup> lagāi<sup>35</sup> prema<sup>36</sup> prīti<sup>37</sup> saū<sup>38</sup>  
noi<sup>39</sup> gaī.

<sup>1</sup>C, F ba; BR ba emended to aba

<sup>2</sup>C saūīla; NCP soya; NCM soi

<sup>3</sup>C gīi

<sup>4</sup>A, BR, NC jyō; C jyau

<sup>5</sup>A, BR, NC jyō

<sup>6</sup>D jagāva

<sup>7</sup>C, D, F, I, J tyāū; RC tyau

<sup>8</sup>Added: A, BR, NC tyō; H tyō, in marg.; I, J, RC tyāū

<sup>9</sup>C, I, J nahī; D, BR nahī; F, RC nahi

<sup>10</sup>F, I, PH jāgati

<sup>11</sup>C praīma

<sup>12</sup>C, F, H, J, BR omitted

<sup>13</sup>A, BR, RC bāni; NCP pāna; NCM pāni

<sup>14</sup>D ka; NC kara

<sup>15</sup>C bhauī; D, NC bhoya

<sup>16</sup>RC sth. unr. added after ga-, deleted

<sup>17</sup>F, I jāgati

<sup>18</sup>C haūi; D, J, NC hoyā

<sup>19</sup>A, C, I, NC, RC tau; F, H, BR omitted

<sup>20</sup>C jagāaū; F jagāū; J, NC jagāū; NCM jagāva

<sup>21</sup>J pyāre

<sup>22</sup>A, F, BR °e; D, J, RC °aī; I °ai

<sup>23</sup>C va

<sup>24</sup>C, F, H, J, NC, RC sacu

<sup>25</sup>J pāi added

<sup>26</sup>A, C, D, J, BR, NC, RC hī

<sup>27</sup>H omitted, added in marg.; NCM -ki- added after ra, deleted

<sup>28</sup>C baūi; D, J boya; NCP boi

<sup>29</sup>BR last line omitted, added in marg., *sec. m.*

<sup>30</sup>C kaī

<sup>31</sup>C ma added

<sup>32</sup>C, I, J, RC omitted

<sup>33</sup>A, NC uṭhikē; BR uṭha; RC uṭhikai

<sup>34</sup>C, D, J, BR, NCP, RC garaī; I garaī; NCM gāraī emended to garaī

<sup>35</sup>F lagāi

<sup>36</sup>A, C, F, I, BR, NCM, RC navala; H navala; praīma added in marg.

<sup>37</sup>BR, RC prīta

<sup>38</sup>A, F, BR, PH, NC sō; J so

<sup>39</sup>C naūi; D, NCP noi; BR, NCM noya

## KM 48

ḍola<sup>1</sup> jhūlata<sup>2</sup> dulahini<sup>3</sup> dūlahu<sup>4</sup>;  
 uḍata<sup>5</sup> abīra<sup>6</sup> kumakumā<sup>7</sup> chirakata ṣela<sup>8</sup> paraspara<sup>9</sup> sūlahu;  
 bājata tāla ra[bāba aura<sup>10</sup>] bahuta<sup>11</sup> taruna<sup>12</sup> tanayā<sup>13</sup> kūlahu;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>14</sup> ke<sup>15</sup> svāmī syāmā<sup>16</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>17</sup> kau<sup>18</sup> anata<sup>19,20</sup> nāhi[nē<sup>21,22</sup> phūla<sup>23</sup> hu].

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<sup>1</sup>C ḍāūla; I omitted

<sup>2</sup>I ḍola added

<sup>3</sup>C, J, BR, PH, NCP, RC dulahani; NCM dulahina

<sup>4</sup>NCP dulahū

<sup>5</sup>NCM uḍata

<sup>6</sup>J gulāla

<sup>7</sup>BR kuñkumā; RC kūmā

<sup>8</sup>C ṣaīla; D, F khelata; RC kheli

<sup>9</sup>C paspara

<sup>10</sup>H, PH ora

<sup>11</sup>A, C, D, I, J, BR, PH bahu; H bahuta emended to bahu; NCP bahū; RC buha

<sup>12</sup>A taruna emended to teruni; C tarana; F, J taruni; H taranjā emended to tarani; I, BR, RC tarani; NC

tarani

<sup>13</sup>A, F, I, J, NC tanaiyā; H omitted, added (see above)

<sup>14</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>15</sup>C kaī

<sup>16</sup>H syāma

<sup>17</sup>A °bibihārī emended to °bihārī; C kuja°

<sup>18</sup>A, BR ko; C, F kaū; H ke emended to ko

<sup>19</sup>A, C, F, H, RC anataba; D, J, PH anta; I, BR antaba

<sup>20</sup>NCP hī added

<sup>21</sup>C, F, H nāhina; D, I, RC nāhinai; J nāhinaī; BR nāhine; NCP nāhīnē; NCM nahīna

<sup>22</sup>J aba added

<sup>23</sup>RC phūla



## KM 49

pyārī pahiraĩ<sup>1</sup> cūnari<sup>2</sup>;

taisoĩ<sup>3</sup> lahāgā<sup>4</sup> [banyaũ<sup>5</sup> silasilau<sup>6</sup>] pūranamāsi<sup>7</sup> kī<sup>8</sup> sī<sup>9</sup> pūnari<sup>10</sup>;

haũ<sup>11</sup> ju<sup>12</sup> [kahata<sup>13,14</sup> caliye<sup>15</sup>] manamōhana<sup>16</sup> mānēgi<sup>17</sup> na<sup>18</sup> ghūnari;

[śrī haridāsa<sup>19</sup> ke svā]mī syāma<sup>20,21</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>22</sup> carana<sup>23</sup> [lapaṭānē<sup>24</sup> duhūna<sup>25</sup> rī].

<sup>1</sup>A, C, BR pahire; D, RC paharai; F, H, PH, NC pahirē; I pahirai

<sup>2</sup>J cūnari

<sup>3</sup>C tesauĩ; F, J tesoi; NCM taisoi; RC taisauĩ

<sup>4</sup>C lēhagā; D, F, I, J, BR, NCP lahagā

<sup>5</sup>A, J, BR banyo; NCP banaũ; NCM banō

<sup>6</sup>C silasilaũ; BR, PH silasilo

<sup>7</sup>C pūraṇa<sup>o</sup>; PH pūrna<sup>o</sup>

<sup>8</sup>A, H, I, NC kai

<sup>9</sup>A kaisi added, deleted

<sup>10</sup>F phūnari; NCP punari

<sup>11</sup>A, H hō; J, RC ho

<sup>12</sup>C jaũ; RC jũ

<sup>13</sup>A, F, H, PH kahati; RC kahā, -ta... mānēgi omitted

<sup>14</sup>RC rī carana lapaṭānai duhūni ri added, see above

<sup>15</sup>C, D, F, I, NCP caliyai; NCM caliye

<sup>16</sup>C, D °maūhana

<sup>17</sup>C māgēgi; D, J mānaiḡi; BR mānaiḡi?

<sup>18</sup>C omitted

<sup>19</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>20</sup>A, D, F, I, J, BR, NCP, RC śyāmā; C syama; H syāmā emended to syāma

<sup>21</sup>RC cula added (probably because of caliye in previous line, see 13)

<sup>22</sup>C omitted; H omitted, added in marg.; RC bihārī

<sup>23</sup>C carana

<sup>24</sup>C, D, RC lapaṭānai; NCM lapaṭāye emended to lapaṭāne

<sup>25</sup>A, H, BR, NCP duhūna; C, I duhuna; J duhuni

## KM 50

bani<sup>1</sup> rī tere<sup>2,3</sup> cāri<sup>4</sup> cāri<sup>5</sup> cūrī<sup>6</sup> karani<sup>7</sup>;

kaṅṭhasiri<sup>8</sup> dularī<sup>9</sup> hīrani<sup>10</sup> kī nāsā muktā<sup>11</sup> ḍharani<sup>12</sup>;

<sup>13</sup>taisoī<sup>14</sup> nēnani<sup>15</sup> sohai<sup>16,17</sup> kajarā<sup>18</sup> niraṣi<sup>19,20</sup> kāma ḍharani<sup>21</sup>;

śrī haridāsa<sup>22</sup> ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī rījhi<sup>23</sup> piya<sup>24</sup> paga<sup>25</sup> parani<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>NC bani

<sup>2</sup>A, PH terē; C terī; F omitted; H omitted, terai added in marg.; I terai; NC, RC terai

<sup>3</sup>C terī added

<sup>4</sup>D, RC cāra; NC cāri

<sup>5</sup>D, RC cāra; NC cāri

<sup>6</sup>H curī

<sup>7</sup>C karaṇi; D, BR karana; NCP karani

<sup>8</sup>A last two syllables unr.; C °siri; F, H °poti; J °sari

<sup>9</sup>C omitted

<sup>10</sup>A hārana; C hirani; D, BR, NC hirana

<sup>11</sup>F motī; H motī emended to muktā

<sup>12</sup>A ḍharani emended to ḍharani; C ḍharani; D, BR ḍharana

<sup>13</sup>In H the third line is emended in marg. to: tesoī nainani kajarā sohai niraṣi ...

<sup>14</sup>C tesaūi; D taisaūi; F, RC taisauī; I taisauhī

<sup>15</sup>C naūna; D, I, J, RC nainani; F, H, BR, NC omitted

<sup>16</sup>C phanabi; D saūhaī; F, H, I, J, BR, NC omitted

<sup>17</sup>C rahyo added

<sup>18</sup>Added: F, H nēnani; I, J, RC phabi rahyau; BR nainani phabi rahyo; NCP nainani sohai; NCM nainani phabi rahau

<sup>19</sup>C niraṣi; D nirakha; F, H saṣi

<sup>20</sup>BR sakhī rī added

<sup>21</sup>A ḍhurani emended to ḍharani; C ḍarani; D durana; F, H, I, J, PH, NCP, RC ḍarani; BR, NCM ḍarana

<sup>22</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>23</sup>Added: A, C, I, J, BR, RC rījhi; H rījhi, in marg.; NC rījhī

<sup>24</sup>A, C, I, J, BR, NCP, RC omitted; F para; PH piya

<sup>25</sup>F pagani; H pare emended to paga; I, RC pāina; J pāyani; NCP pāyana

<sup>26</sup>F omitted; H pagani emended to parani; BR, NCM parana

## KM 51

pyārī aba<sup>1</sup> kyaū<sup>2</sup> hū<sup>3</sup> kyaū<sup>4</sup> hū<sup>5</sup> āi hai;

tuma<sup>6</sup> ita<sup>7,8</sup> śramita<sup>9</sup> adhika<sup>10,11</sup> manamōhana<sup>12</sup> mē<sup>13</sup> kyaū<sup>14</sup> hū<sup>15,16</sup> samajhāi<sup>17</sup> hai;

uta haṭha<sup>18</sup> karata<sup>19</sup> (*p.c.* karati) bahuta<sup>20</sup> nava nāgare<sup>21</sup> (*p.c.* nāgari) taisīyai<sup>22</sup> nāi  
ṭhakurāi<sup>23</sup> hai<sup>24</sup>;

śrī haridāsa<sup>25</sup> ke svāmī syāma<sup>26</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>27</sup> kara jori<sup>28</sup> mōna<sup>29</sup> hvai<sup>30,31</sup> dūbare<sup>32</sup> kī  
rādhi<sup>33</sup> śira kahau<sup>34</sup> kaūnē<sup>35</sup> śāi hai<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>C ba

<sup>2</sup>A, BR, NCP kyō; D kyau

<sup>3</sup>F, I, J, BR, NC hū; PH unr.

<sup>4</sup>A, BR, NCP kyō; D, RC kyau

<sup>5</sup>A, F, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC hū; C omitted

<sup>6</sup>C, F, H, J, BR, NCM, RC omitted

<sup>7</sup>D itā

<sup>8</sup>Added: C, F, H, J, BR, NCM, RC tuma; NCP bahuta

<sup>9</sup>C śramita; F omitted

<sup>10</sup>NCP omitted

<sup>11</sup>F śramita ma added

<sup>12</sup>C, RC °maūhana

<sup>13</sup>C, RC mai; D, BR, PH, NC māi

<sup>14</sup>A, NC kyō; C kauṭi; D kyau; F, H, I, J, BR, RC koṭi

<sup>15</sup>C, F, H, I, J, BR, RC omitted; D hū

<sup>16</sup>Added: A, F, H, I, J, BR, RC jatana; C jagata

<sup>17</sup>H, RC samujhāi

<sup>18</sup>C haṭa; H haṭhu

<sup>19</sup>A, D, F, H, I, PH, RC karati

<sup>20</sup>RC buhuta

<sup>21</sup>A, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, RC nāgari; C nāra; D nāgara; NC nāgarī

<sup>22</sup>A, I, BR, NC taisīye; C tesiyai; D taisiya; RC taisiyai

<sup>23</sup>C ṭhakutāni

<sup>24</sup>C haī; F hau

<sup>25</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>26</sup>A, C, D, F, I, BR, NC, RC śyāmā

<sup>27</sup>RC omitted

<sup>28</sup>C, RC jauri; D, I, NCP jora; NCM jori

<sup>29</sup>A, D, I, NC, RC mauna; C māna; F omitted; BR mavana

<sup>30</sup>D hvai; F omitted

<sup>31</sup>RC rahe added

<sup>32</sup>C dūrrarai emended to dūbarai; NCM dubare

<sup>33</sup>C sadhi; I rādhi

<sup>34</sup>C kahaū; PH kaho

<sup>35</sup>C, D, RC kaūnai; F, H, J kōnē; I, BR kaune; PH konē

<sup>36</sup>C haī

## KM 52

sunī<sup>1</sup> dhuni muralī bana<sup>2</sup> bājai<sup>3</sup> hari<sup>4</sup> rāsa racyau<sup>5</sup>;  
kuñja kuñja druma belī<sup>6</sup> praphulita<sup>7</sup> maṇḍala kanaka<sup>8</sup> manani<sup>9</sup> śacyau<sup>10</sup>;  
nṛtata<sup>11</sup> jugala<sup>12</sup> kisora juvatī<sup>13</sup> jana śruti<sup>14</sup> ghuri<sup>15</sup> rāga kedārau<sup>16</sup> macyau<sup>17</sup>;  
śrī haridāsa<sup>18</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>19</sup> kuñjabihārī nikē<sup>19,20</sup> py[ārau<sup>21</sup> lā]la<sup>22</sup> nacyau<sup>23</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>NCP sunī

<sup>2</sup>C kani emended to bani

<sup>3</sup>C bāji emended to bājai; D bājai

<sup>4</sup>A omitted

<sup>5</sup>C racyāu; BR racyo

<sup>6</sup>H belī emended to ballī *pr. m.*; NCM beli

<sup>7</sup>A praphullita; C praphūlita; NCM praphūlita

<sup>8</sup>A, C, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC kañcana; D kacana

<sup>9</sup>A, NCM mañina; C, I, BR, RC manina; H, NCP manini

<sup>10</sup>A, BR khacyo; C śacyāu

<sup>11</sup>A, F, BR, NCM nīrtata; C, D, H, J nṛtyata; NCP nṛtata; RC nṛtyati

<sup>12</sup>NCM yugala; RC jagala

<sup>13</sup>C, D, F, J, BR, RC juvatī; NCP jūvatī

<sup>14</sup>C, D, F, H, I, BR, RC mana; J, NCM manu

<sup>15</sup>C, F, H, I, J, BR, RC mili; D mila; NCP ghura; NCM milī

<sup>16</sup>A, J, PH, NCM kedāro; C kedāraū; BR kidārā

<sup>17</sup>C macyāu; BR macyo

<sup>18</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>19</sup>C nike; D nīkaī; I, J, RC nīkai; BR nīke; NCP nīkaī; NCP nīkau

<sup>20</sup>Added: C, I rī āju; F, J, BR, NC āju; H rī (*sec m.*), āju (*pr. m.*); RC rī āja

<sup>21</sup>A, C, D, BR, PH pyāro; F omitted; H gopāla emended to pyāro, see below

<sup>22</sup>F gupāla; H omitted, added

<sup>23</sup>I nacyau emended to nacyau?; BR nacyo

## KM 53

jahā<sup>1</sup> [jahā<sup>2</sup> carana<sup>3</sup>] parata<sup>4</sup> pyārī jū tere<sup>5</sup> tahā tahā [mana merau<sup>6</sup> karata] phirata  
parachāhi<sup>7</sup>;

bahuta<sup>8</sup> mūra[ti<sup>9</sup> merī cōra<sup>10</sup> ḍhurāvata<sup>11</sup>] kou<sup>12</sup> birī<sup>13,14</sup> ṣavāvata<sup>15</sup> eka<sup>16</sup> [ba<sup>17</sup> ārasī lai<sup>18</sup>  
jā]hi<sup>19</sup>;

aura<sup>20</sup> sevā<sup>21</sup> bahuta<sup>22</sup> bhāti[na<sup>23</sup> kī<sup>24</sup> jaisīyai<sup>25</sup>] kahai<sup>26</sup> kauū<sup>27</sup> taisīyai<sup>28</sup> karaū<sup>29</sup> jyau<sup>30</sup> ruci  
jānō<sup>31</sup> jāhi<sup>32</sup>;

śrī<sup>33</sup> haridāsa<sup>34</sup> ke svāmi<sup>35</sup> syāmā<sup>36</sup> kō<sup>36</sup> bhalai<sup>37</sup> manāvata<sup>38</sup> dāi<sup>39</sup> upāhi<sup>40</sup> .

<sup>1</sup>C jahō emended to jahā

<sup>2</sup>F jahā

<sup>3</sup>C carana

<sup>4</sup>RC parati

<sup>5</sup>C kaīrai emended to taīrai; I terau emended to tere?

<sup>6</sup>BR mero

<sup>7</sup>C parachāi; D pachāhi; F, BR, RC parachāhi; I, J parachāhi; PH parachāhi; NC parachāi

<sup>8</sup>RC buhuta

<sup>9</sup>C, D mūrata; NCP murti; NCM mūrti

<sup>10</sup>A camara; C cecara; D, H, NC caūra; F, I cavara; J cāvāra; RC caura

<sup>11</sup>H, RC ḍhurāvati

<sup>12</sup>A kou; C kaūu; NCM koi

<sup>13</sup>C birī; D birā

<sup>14</sup>A, RC le added

<sup>15</sup>A, D khāvata; I, RC ṣavāvati

<sup>16</sup>C ekaū; I yeka

<sup>17</sup>A, C va; D omitted

<sup>18</sup>A, C lē; D lai

<sup>19</sup>C jāhi; D, I, BR, PH, NCP, RC jāhi; NCM jāhi

<sup>20</sup>C aūra; F, H, RC aurau; J aurai

<sup>21</sup>C saivā

<sup>22</sup>A, C bahu; RC buhuta

<sup>23</sup>A bhātina; C bhātini; D bhāti; F, H, I, J bhātini

<sup>24</sup>H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>25</sup>A, I, BR, NC jaisīye; C jāisīyai; D jaisīya; RC jaisīyai

<sup>26</sup>A kahē; J kāhai emended to kahai; NCP omitted

<sup>27</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC kou; C kaūū

<sup>28</sup>A siye emended to taisīye; I, BR, NCP taisīye; C tesī; D taisīya; H, RC taisīyai; NCM tesīyai

<sup>29</sup>A, C, D, RC karau; F, BR, PH karō

<sup>30</sup>A, C, RC jyau; D jau; F hō; H yō/sō? emended to jyō; I, PH, NCM jo; BR jyō

<sup>31</sup>A, C, NCP jānaū; D, I, RC jānaū; BR jāno

<sup>32</sup>A, D, NCP, RC jāhi; PH, NCM jāhi

<sup>33</sup>C hā added, deleted

<sup>34</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>35</sup>RC śya added, deleted

<sup>36</sup>C, H, I, J kaū; D, RC kau

<sup>37</sup>A, C, BR bhale; F bhalē; I bhalai; RC malai

<sup>38</sup>C banāvata

<sup>39</sup>A, I, NC dāva; C dāi; D dāya

<sup>40</sup>A pāhi; C, D, J, NC upāhi; F, I, RC upāhi; H, PH upāhi

## KM 54

<sup>1</sup>yaha kaūna<sup>2</sup> bāta <sup>3</sup>ju<sup>4</sup> aba hī<sup>5</sup> aura aba hī<sup>6</sup> aura aba hī<sup>7</sup> aurai<sup>8</sup>;  
 deva nāri<sup>9</sup> nāga nāri<sup>10</sup> aura<sup>11</sup> nāri<sup>12</sup> te<sup>13</sup> na hōhi<sup>14</sup> aura kī aurai<sup>15</sup>;  
 pāchai<sup>16</sup> na suni<sup>17</sup> aisī<sup>18</sup> aba hū<sup>19,20</sup> āgai<sup>21</sup> hū<sup>22</sup> na hvaihai<sup>23,24</sup> yaha gati adbhuta<sup>25</sup> rūpa  
 kī<sup>26,27</sup> aura kī aurai<sup>28</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>29</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>30</sup> kuñjabihārī yā rasa hī<sup>31</sup> basa bhae<sup>32</sup> yaha<sup>33,34</sup> bhāi aura kī  
 aurai<sup>35</sup>.

Text missing in C

<sup>1</sup>F line reads: aba hī aura aba hī aura yaha kōna bāta

<sup>2</sup>BR omitted; H, PH, NC kōna

<sup>3</sup>BR kauna added

<sup>4</sup>A, I jo; J, BR, NC jū

<sup>5</sup>H, NC hī

<sup>6</sup>D, I, J, BR, PH, RC hī

<sup>7</sup>D, H, I, J, BR, PH, RC hī

<sup>8</sup>A, D, F, I, J, BR, RC aura; NCP aurai

<sup>9</sup>NCM nāri

<sup>10</sup>D nāgari; H omitted, added in marg.; NC nāri

<sup>11</sup>PH ora; NCP aurai

<sup>12</sup>NC nāri

<sup>13</sup>F e; I tē

<sup>14</sup>H hohi; I hoyā; J, NCM hoi; NCP hōhī; RC hauhi

<sup>15</sup>A, D, F, I, J, BR, RC aura; PH orai; NCP aurai

<sup>16</sup>A, F, H, PH pāchē; D, J, RC pāchai; BR, NCP pāche

<sup>17</sup>F, NCM suni

<sup>18</sup>A, D esī; F yēsī; H, J omitted

<sup>19</sup>F, I, J, RC hū; H hī

<sup>20</sup>F na added

<sup>21</sup>A, F, H, NCM āgē; D, J āgai; BR age emended to āge; NCP āge

<sup>22</sup>D, J hū; H omitted, added in marg.; I omitted

<sup>23</sup>A hvēhe; H hvaihai; BR hoihai

<sup>24</sup>J aisī added

<sup>25</sup>A, F, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC omitted

<sup>26</sup>F omitted

<sup>27</sup>A, F, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC adbhuta added

<sup>28</sup>A, D, F, J, BR, RC aura

<sup>29</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>30</sup>A śyāma

<sup>31</sup>H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>32</sup>H, I, J, NC, RC bhaye

<sup>33</sup>F aba; BR ye

<sup>34</sup>NCP na added

<sup>35</sup>A, D, F, I, J, BR, RC aura; NCP aurai

## KM 55

<sup>1</sup>māi rī<sup>2</sup> ye<sup>3</sup> basiṭha ina<sup>4</sup> ke ye<sup>5</sup> ina<sup>6</sup> ke<sup>7</sup> aura<sup>8</sup> ko<sup>9</sup> dhō<sup>10,11</sup> parai<sup>12</sup> [bīca];  
hāthāpāi<sup>13</sup> karata<sup>14</sup> ju<sup>15</sup> śramu<sup>16</sup> bhayo<sup>17</sup> aṅga aragajā<sup>18</sup> kī<sup>19</sup> kīca;  
pyārī jū<sup>20</sup> ke<sup>21</sup> muṣa<sup>22</sup> ambuja<sup>23</sup> ko<sup>24</sup> ḍahaḍahāṭa<sup>25</sup> aiso<sup>26</sup> lāgata<sup>27</sup> jyaū<sup>28</sup> adhara<sup>29</sup> amṛta<sup>30</sup>  
kī<sup>31,32</sup> siñca<sup>33</sup>;  
śrī haridāsa<sup>34</sup> ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī ke<sup>35</sup> [rāga raṅga]<sup>36</sup> lapaṭāni<sup>37</sup> ke<sup>38</sup> bheda<sup>39</sup>  
nyāre<sup>40,41</sup> nyāre jaisē<sup>42</sup> pā[nī mē<sup>43</sup> pāni<sup>44</sup> na]rīca<sup>45</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>C [... aura] text missing

<sup>2</sup>A, F, I, J, BR, RC omitted; H ina, deleted

<sup>3</sup>A, F, J e

<sup>4</sup>F, J ini

<sup>5</sup>A, F e

<sup>6</sup>F, J ini; H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>7</sup>H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>8</sup>C aūra

<sup>9</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NCP, RC omitted; NCM kau

<sup>10</sup>C, D, F, H, BR, NC dhaū; RC dhau

<sup>11</sup>Added: A, D, F, H, I, BR, NCP, RC ko; C kau; J kō

<sup>12</sup>C, J parai

<sup>13</sup>C, F hāthāpāi

<sup>14</sup>RC karati

<sup>15</sup>A, H, I, NCM jo; C, NCP jū

<sup>16</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC śrama

<sup>17</sup>C bhayaū; D, F, H, J, NC, RC bhayau

<sup>18</sup>C āragajā

<sup>19</sup>C, BR omitted

<sup>20</sup>F jī; H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>21</sup>I kau

<sup>22</sup>C mūṣa

<sup>23</sup>J ambaja

<sup>24</sup>A, F, H, I, J, PH, NC, RC kau; C, D kau

<sup>25</sup>D hahaḍahāṭa; F ḍahaḍahātu; H ḍahaḍahāṭa; NCM ḍahaḍahāṭa

<sup>26</sup>A eso; C esaū; D, F, NC, RC aisau; H, BR aisoi

<sup>27</sup>RC lāgati

<sup>28</sup>A, D jyau; C, F, BR omitted; H, J mānō; I mānau; PH, NC jyō; RC mānaū

<sup>29</sup>BR jyō added *sup. lin., sec. m.*

<sup>30</sup>A, D, H, I, RC adharāmṛta for adhara amṛta

<sup>31</sup>F, H kau; NCP ko

<sup>32</sup>F sau added

<sup>33</sup>C, D, H, I, J, BR, RC sīca

<sup>34</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>35</sup>C omitted; H kau; NCM kē

<sup>36</sup>Added: D, NCP ke; F ke bheda

<sup>37</sup>A lapakāni; C, F, I, J, BR, PH laṭapaṭāni; D lapaṭāne; H omitted, added in marg.; NC lapaṭāna

<sup>38</sup>F omitted; H kau emended to ke

<sup>39</sup>F omitted

<sup>40</sup>H nyārau emended to nyāre

<sup>41</sup>Added: I hī; RC ī

<sup>42</sup>C, RC jaisai; D jaisai; F taiṣē; H jyaū; I jyō; J jesē; BR jaise

<sup>43</sup>C, D mai; H omitted, added in marg.; RC mai

<sup>44</sup>H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>45</sup>NCP narica

## KM 56

kastūrī<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>2</sup> mardana<sup>3</sup> aṅga [mē<sup>4</sup> kiyē<sup>5</sup> murali<sup>6</sup>] <sup>7</sup>dharē<sup>8</sup> pītambara<sup>9</sup> auḍhē<sup>10,11</sup> kahati<sup>12</sup>  
 rādhe<sup>13</sup> [hō<sup>14</sup> hī<sup>15</sup> syāma;  
 ki]sora<sup>16</sup> kūmakūma<sup>17</sup> kau<sup>18</sup> siṅgāra<sup>19</sup> kiye<sup>20</sup> [sārī curī<sup>21</sup> ṣubhī<sup>22</sup>] netrāni<sup>23</sup> diyē<sup>24</sup> syāma;  
<sup>25</sup>bāha<sup>26</sup> gahi<sup>27</sup> lai<sup>28</sup> cale<sup>29</sup> [caliye<sup>30</sup> jū<sup>31</sup> kuñ]ja<sup>32</sup> mē<sup>33,34</sup> citai<sup>35</sup> muṣa<sup>36</sup> hāse<sup>37</sup> mānō<sup>38</sup> yei<sup>39,40</sup>  
 syāma;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>41</sup> ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī<sup>42</sup> chātī<sup>43</sup> sō<sup>44</sup> chātī<sup>45</sup> lagāye<sup>46</sup> gaura<sup>47</sup> syāma.

<sup>1</sup>NC kastūrī<sup>2</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, NC, RC kau<sup>3</sup>H marddana; BR madana; NCM mṛdana<sup>4</sup>C, D, RC mai; H mahu? emended to mai; BR me; NC omitted<sup>5</sup>A, J, BR kiye; C kiyaū; D, RC kiyāi; H kiyai; NCP kiyē; NCM kiye<sup>6</sup>H rādhe? emended to murali; NC murli<sup>7</sup>J adhara added<sup>8</sup>C, J, RC dharai; D, I dharai; H jū? emended to dhare; BR, NCP dhare<sup>9</sup>A, C, D, H, I, BR, PH, NC, RC pītāmbara; J pītāmvara<sup>10</sup>A oṛhē; C auḍhai; D oḍhai; F, H, BR oḍhē; , RCI oḍhai; PH voḍhe; NCP oḍhai; NCM auḍhai<sup>11</sup>H murali dharē added, deleted<sup>12</sup>C, D, H, I, J, BR, NC kahata<sup>13</sup>H omitted, added in marg.; NCM omitted<sup>14</sup>C, D, BR, NC haū; RC hau<sup>15</sup>A, C, D, F, I, BR, NC hī<sup>16</sup>C kiśaura<sup>17</sup>H, BR, RC kuñkuma; NC kūmakumā<sup>18</sup>D kaū; BR omitted<sup>19</sup>A śiṅgāra; RC sigāra<sup>20</sup>A, F, H, J, PH kiyē; C kiyaū; D, RC kiyai; I, NC kiyē<sup>21</sup>H, BR cūrī<sup>22</sup>C bhī; H ṣubhī<sup>23</sup>C, I netrāni; NC naitrāni<sup>24</sup>C, BR diyē; D diyai; H dīnō; NC dīyē; RC diyai<sup>25</sup>H taba added<sup>26</sup>C bāha; NCP bahā<sup>27</sup>D gaha; NC gahi<sup>28</sup>C le<sup>29</sup>NCM calai<sup>30</sup>A calie; F, I, RC caliyai; H omitted, added in marg.; NCP caliye<sup>31</sup>H omitted, added in marg.<sup>32</sup>F kuñjani<sup>33</sup>C, D, H, J mai; BR me; RC mai<sup>34</sup>J hase muṣa added, deleted<sup>35</sup>C cite; H bātē? emended to citai<sup>36</sup>H muha<sup>37</sup>A, D, F, J, PH hase; C hasai; I hāsai; NCM hāsai<sup>38</sup>A, C, D, I, RC mānau; F omitted; H mano; BR māno; NCM mānau<sup>39</sup>A ehi; C yai; H i emended to yei; I, J yehi; BR, RC ei; NCP yai<sup>40</sup>F māno added<sup>41</sup>BR haridāsi<sup>42</sup>C, D, BR omitted<sup>43</sup>NCM chātī<sup>44</sup>C, D, J saū; F, RC sau<sup>45</sup>NCP chātī<sup>46</sup>A, F, BR, RC lagāe; D, I, J lagāyai; H lagāi; PH lagāyē<sup>47</sup>C omitted, added *sup. lin., sec. m.*



## KM 57

pyārī terau<sup>1</sup> badana canda<sup>2</sup> deṣē<sup>3</sup> mere<sup>4</sup> hṛde<sup>5</sup> sarovara<sup>6</sup> tai<sup>7</sup> kamodani<sup>8</sup> phūli;  
 mana ke manoratha<sup>9</sup> taraṅga<sup>10</sup> apāra<sup>11</sup> sūndaryatā<sup>12</sup> tahā<sup>13</sup> gati bhūli;  
 tero<sup>14</sup> kopa<sup>15</sup> grāha<sup>16</sup> grasē<sup>17</sup> liyē<sup>18</sup> jāta<sup>19,20</sup> chuḍāyo<sup>21</sup> na chūṭata<sup>22</sup> rahyau<sup>23</sup> buddhibala<sup>24</sup>  
 gahi<sup>25</sup> jhūli<sup>26</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>27</sup> ke<sup>28</sup> svāmī syāmā<sup>29,30</sup> carana<sup>31</sup> banasi<sup>32,33</sup> gahi<sup>34</sup> kāḍhe<sup>35</sup> rahe<sup>36</sup> laṭapaṭāi<sup>37,38</sup>  
 gahi<sup>39</sup> bhujā<sup>40</sup> mūli<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>A, I, BR, PH tero

<sup>2</sup>NC candra

<sup>3</sup>C, BR deṣe; D, I, RC dekhai; F deṣata; J daiṣai; NC dekhaī

<sup>4</sup>C merai; H merē

<sup>5</sup>A, D, F, J, NC hṛdai; I hrade; BR hṛdaya; PH hradai ; RC hradaya

<sup>6</sup>C saraūvara; J sarauvara

<sup>7</sup>A, C te; F, H, PH, NC tē; BR te; RC tau

<sup>8</sup>C kāmodinī; F kamodini; H, I, J, RC kamodini; BR, NC kamodani

<sup>9</sup>NC, RC manoratha

<sup>10</sup>C taraga

<sup>11</sup>J sa added

<sup>12</sup>C saundaryatā; D, NCM saundaryatā; F, J saundaryyatā; H saundarya emended to saundaryatā; I, BR sundarjatā; NCP saudaryatā; RC sundaratā

<sup>13</sup>C tahā; F omitted

<sup>14</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, NC, RC terau; C teraū

<sup>15</sup>C kaūpa

<sup>16</sup>NCM grahā

<sup>17</sup>C, J grasai; D, I, RCgrasai; H bala? emended to grasē; BR grase

<sup>18</sup>C liyai; D, RC liyai; I, J liyai; BR liye

<sup>19</sup>C jātu

<sup>20</sup>F, NCM hai added

<sup>21</sup>C chuḍāye; D, I chuṭāyau; F chuṭiē; H chuḍāyai; J chuḍāyau; BR chuḍāe; NC, RC chuḍāyau

<sup>22</sup>H chāḍata; RC chuṭata

<sup>23</sup>A, BR rahyo; C rahaū; NCP rahau; NCM rahayau

<sup>24</sup>C °balī; D, I, J, BR, PH, RC budhi°; NCM buddhi

<sup>25</sup>A, C, F, I, J, BR, NCP, RC omitted; NCM gaha

<sup>26</sup>C guli

<sup>27</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>28</sup>C kai

<sup>29</sup>F syāma

<sup>30</sup>I kuñjabihārī added

<sup>31</sup>A, C carana; H carana replaces original reading

<sup>32</sup>A, C, D, F, H, J, BR, NC, RC bamsī

<sup>33</sup>Added: C sau; H saū; BR sō

<sup>34</sup>C, NCM gahi; H omitted

<sup>35</sup>A, F, I, J kāḍhi; NCM kāḍha

<sup>36</sup>C rahaī

<sup>37</sup>A lapaṭāi; C laṭapaṭāi; I, J laṭapaṭāya; PH lapaṭāi emended to laṭapaṭāi; NC lapaṭāya

<sup>38</sup>J rahaī

<sup>39</sup>C gahi; NCM gaha

<sup>40</sup>RC bhaja

<sup>41</sup>C muli; H omitted, added in marg.

## KM 58

'pyārī terau<sup>2</sup> badana kanaka kaukana<sup>3</sup> śrama jala<sup>4</sup> kana<sup>5,6</sup> sobhā<sup>7</sup> deta rī;  
 tā mē<sup>8</sup> tila<sup>9</sup> draṣṭi<sup>10</sup> parata<sup>11</sup> hī<sup>12</sup> mana hari<sup>13</sup> le[ta<sup>14</sup> rī];  
 ura<sup>15</sup> tana jāta<sup>16</sup> pāti<sup>17</sup> prānani<sup>18</sup> kaũ<sup>19</sup> kaṭi<sup>20</sup> sō<sup>21</sup> kari<sup>22</sup> saṅketa rī;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>23</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>24</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>25</sup> kahata<sup>26,27</sup> aceta rī.

<sup>1</sup>D kuñjabihārī nācata added

<sup>2</sup>A, BR, PH tero; C teraũ

<sup>3</sup>A, BR, NCM kokana; C kaũ; H kōkana

<sup>4</sup>H omitted, added in marg.; J lala

<sup>5</sup>A kaṇa

<sup>6</sup>A sō added

<sup>7</sup>C saũbhā; PH saubhā

<sup>8</sup>C, F me; D, RC mai; I māi

<sup>9</sup>H tilaka emended to tila

<sup>10</sup>A, C, F, J, BR, PH dṛṣṭi; D dṛiṣṭa; H diṣṭa; NCM dṛṣṭi

<sup>11</sup>RC parati

<sup>12</sup>A hau; C, D, I, BR, NC, RC hī

<sup>13</sup>D, NC hara

<sup>14</sup>H leti

<sup>15</sup>C uta

<sup>16</sup>NC, RC jāti

<sup>17</sup>C, D, F, H, J, BR pāta; NCP pāti

<sup>18</sup>A prānani; D, NCM prānana; NCP pranana emended to prānana

<sup>19</sup>A, BR ko; D, F, J, RC kau; I sō; NCP kō; NCM saũ

<sup>20</sup>NC kaṭi

<sup>21</sup>C, D, I, J, NCM saũ; H omitted, added in marg; RC sau

<sup>22</sup>H omitted, added in marg.; NC kari; RC kārī

<sup>23</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>24</sup>H syāma

<sup>25</sup>H saũ added

<sup>26</sup>PH omitted, deleted?; RC kahati

<sup>27</sup>Added: C pyārī tū karata; BR pyārī tū karata, encircled by a later hand

## KM 59

eka<sup>1</sup> bola<sup>2</sup> boliye<sup>3</sup> ju<sup>4</sup> māna<sup>5</sup> na karaũ<sup>6</sup>;  
mana baca<sup>7</sup> krama<sup>8</sup> tina<sup>9</sup> hũ<sup>10</sup> tẽ<sup>11</sup> na țaraũ<sup>12</sup>;  
[tere<sup>13</sup> hĩ<sup>14</sup>] kiyẽ<sup>15</sup> māmā<sup>16</sup> vyāpu<sup>17</sup> hota<sup>18,19</sup> tana<sup>20,21</sup> kaisai<sup>22</sup> kai<sup>23</sup> hõ<sup>24</sup> bharau<sup>25</sup>;  
srī haridāsa<sup>26</sup> ke svāmī syāma<sup>27</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>28</sup> kahata<sup>29</sup> kaisai<sup>30,31</sup> hõ<sup>32</sup> larõ<sup>33</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>C, F, J, BR, RC omitted

<sup>2</sup>C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NCM, RC bacana

<sup>3</sup>A boliyẽ; C di; D mǎgau dehu; F, H, I, J, BR, NCM, RC dai; NCP bola dai

<sup>4</sup>C, RC omitted; F rī; H rī, deleted; PH, NCP jũ

<sup>5</sup>C, F mānu

<sup>6</sup>F, PH, NCP karõ; I, RC karau

<sup>7</sup>C, F, H, BR omitted

<sup>8</sup>Added: C, H, BR bacana; F baca; D kara

<sup>9</sup>F tinini; I, J, NCP tina

<sup>10</sup>C hu; D hũ; RC hũ

<sup>11</sup>C, J, NCM te; D, RC tai; I tai

<sup>12</sup>D, I țarau; F țarõ

<sup>13</sup>F terau

<sup>14</sup>F, I, J i; NCM omitted

<sup>15</sup>C, D kiyai; F omitted; H, I, BR kiye; NC kiyẽ; RC kiyai

<sup>16</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC māmā

<sup>17</sup>A, C, D, H, I, J, RC vyāpa; F vyāpaka; NC vyāpata

<sup>18</sup>C kahai

<sup>19</sup>C ta added

<sup>20</sup>C tanu; RC omitted

<sup>21</sup>Added: C, I, BR, NCM kahi; H kãhe rī emended to kahi; RC so

<sup>22</sup>A, F, H, PH, NC kaisẽ; C kaisai; I, RC kaisai; BR kaise

<sup>23</sup>F kaisẽ

<sup>24</sup>A, C, D, F, I, BR, NC, RC omitted; H omitted, ka added in marg.; PH omitted, deleted?

<sup>25</sup>C, D, H, J, BR, NC, RC bharaũ; F bharõ

<sup>26</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>27</sup>A, C, D, J, BR, N, RC śyāmā; H syāma emended to śyāmā

<sup>28</sup>H omitted, added in marg.; I omitted

<sup>29</sup>Added: C hai pyārī; H hõ, deleted; I, NCM rī pyārī; J, RC rī pyārī kahi; BR pyārī, possibly preceded by sth. else; NCP rī

<sup>30</sup>A kesẽ; C kesaĩ; D, I, RC kaisai; F, H, J, NC kaisẽ; BR kaise

<sup>31</sup>Added: A, C, J ke; F, H, I, BR, NCM, RC kai; PH sth. unr., deleted

<sup>32</sup>D hau; H, I, J, NCM, RC omitted

<sup>33</sup>A, C, D, H, J, BR, NC laraũ; I, RC larau

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kuñjabihārī nācata [nikaī]<sup>1,2</sup> lāḍilī<sup>3</sup> nacāvata<sup>4,5</sup> nikaī<sup>6</sup>;  
<sup>7</sup>aughara<sup>8</sup> [tāla dharē<sup>9</sup>] śrī syāmā<sup>10</sup> tātātheī<sup>11</sup> tātātheī<sup>12,13</sup> bolata<sup>14</sup> [saṅga<sup>15</sup> pī<sup>16</sup>] kai<sup>17</sup>;  
 tāṇḍava<sup>18</sup> lāsa<sup>19</sup> aura<sup>20</sup> aṅga ko<sup>21,22</sup> ganē<sup>23</sup> je<sup>24</sup> je<sup>25</sup> ruci upajata<sup>26,27</sup> jī kai<sup>28</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>29</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>30,31</sup> kau<sup>32,33</sup> meru<sup>34</sup> sarasa banyaū<sup>35</sup> aura<sup>36</sup> gunī<sup>37</sup> pare  
 phike<sup>38</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>A, F, H nikē; C nikaū; D, I, RC nikai; BR nīke; PH omitted, seems deleted; NC omitted

<sup>2</sup>C rest of line omitted; H rest of line omitted, lāḍilī lacāvata nīke added in marg.

<sup>3</sup>NC omitted

<sup>4</sup>F, I nacāvati

<sup>5</sup>NC lāḍilī added

<sup>6</sup>F, PH, NCM nikē; I, RC nikai; BR, NCP nīke

<sup>7</sup>C second line omitted

<sup>8</sup>A auraghara emended to aughara; RC avaghara

<sup>9</sup>D, I, RC dharai; H, J, NC dharaī; BR dhare

<sup>10</sup>Added: {J, BR milāvata; NCM milāvata, in brackets}; RC milā emended to mi tā (because of the following word)

<sup>11</sup>F, H omitted; J tātheī

<sup>12</sup>D, H, BR, RC omitted

<sup>13</sup>Added: D milāvata; F milavati; H milavata tātātheī; RC milavata

<sup>14</sup>F gāvati; H, J, BR, RC gāvata

<sup>15</sup>F suratī

<sup>16</sup>F omitted; NCM piya

<sup>17</sup>A, I, RC kai; F, PH kē; BR, NC ke

<sup>18</sup>H tāṇḍala emended to tāṇḍava

<sup>19</sup>BR lāsi

<sup>20</sup>C aūra; PH ora

<sup>21</sup>C kaū; PH kau

<sup>22</sup>H dhō added, deleted

<sup>23</sup>A gane; C, I, BR, RC ganai; D, J ganai

<sup>24</sup>C jāi

<sup>25</sup>C jāi; BR omitted

<sup>26</sup>A, I, NCP upajati; F omitted; H omitted, added in marg.; BR upajava emended to upajavata; NCM upajai

<sup>27</sup>D kai added, deleted

<sup>28</sup>A, PH kē; D, I kai; H, BR, NC ke

<sup>29</sup>C haradāsa; BR haridāsi

<sup>30</sup>C syāma; BR omitted

<sup>31</sup>C kuñjabihārī added

<sup>32</sup>A, PH ko; C, D, NCM kaū; BR omitted; NCP kō

<sup>33</sup>C line continues: ṣela ṣela kāhu na laraū

<sup>34</sup>F, H, RC mera

<sup>35</sup>A, PH banyo; F omitted; H omitted, bharyo added *sec. m.*; J, NCM, RC bhayau; BR bhayo

<sup>36</sup>Added: H rasa, in marg.; J, BR, NCM, RC rasa

<sup>37</sup>NCM guni

<sup>38</sup>A, J, RC phikaī; D, PH phikē; NCM phike

## KM 61

ḍola<sup>1</sup> jhūlata<sup>2,3</sup> bihārī bihārini<sup>4</sup> rāgu<sup>5</sup> rami<sup>6</sup> rahyau<sup>7</sup>;  
 kāhū<sup>8</sup> ke<sup>9</sup> hātha<sup>10</sup> adhoṭī<sup>11</sup> kāhū<sup>12</sup> kē<sup>13,14</sup> bīna<sup>15</sup> kāhū<sup>16</sup> kai<sup>17</sup> mṛdaṅga<sup>18</sup> koū<sup>19</sup> gahaī<sup>20</sup> tāra<sup>21</sup>  
 kāhū<sup>22</sup> kē<sup>23</sup> aragajā<sup>24</sup> chirakata<sup>25</sup> raṅga<sup>26</sup> rahyau<sup>27</sup>;  
 ḍāḍī<sup>28</sup> chāḍai<sup>29</sup> ṣelu<sup>30</sup> baḍhyau<sup>31</sup> ju<sup>32,33</sup> paraspara nahi<sup>34</sup> janiyata<sup>35</sup> pagu<sup>36</sup> kyaū<sup>37</sup> rahyau<sup>38</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>39</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>40</sup> kuñjabihārī kau<sup>41</sup> ṣelu<sup>42</sup> ṣelata<sup>43</sup> kāhū<sup>44</sup> nā<sup>45</sup> lahyau<sup>46</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>C ḍolata<sup>2</sup>C jhūta<sup>3</sup>Added: F hē; H, J haī; BR hai; J śrī<sup>4</sup>A bihārini; C, D, I, J, BR bihārani; PH unr.<sup>5</sup>A, C, D, F, I, J, BR, NC, RC rāga<sup>6</sup>NCM rama<sup>7</sup>C rahyaū; BR rahyo; NCP rahayau<sup>8</sup>C kāhu; F kāhū<sup>9</sup>H, PH kē; J kai<sup>10</sup>C hāta<sup>11</sup>C, F, H, I, RC adhaūṭi; NCM adhaūṭi<sup>12</sup>C kāhu<sup>13</sup>A, D, I, BR, NC ke; C, RC kai; J kai<sup>14</sup>J a added, deleted<sup>15</sup>H bena emended to bīna<sup>16</sup>C kahu; F, J koū<sup>17</sup>A, D, I, BR, NC ke; C kaū; H kē; J omitted; PH, RC kai<sup>18</sup>RC mṛdaga<sup>19</sup>C kaū chaū<sup>20</sup>A, F, BR gahe; H, PH gahē; NC, RC gahai<sup>21</sup>I, RC tāla<sup>22</sup>C kāhu; F kāhū<sup>23</sup>A, BR, NC ke; C, J kai; F pai; I, RC kai<sup>24</sup>C aṅgajā; F agarajā; I argajā<sup>25</sup>C hira karata<sup>26</sup>PH raṅga<sup>27</sup>A, BR rahyo; C rahyaū; NC rahayau<sup>28</sup>C, RC ḍāḍī; I ḍāḍī<sup>29</sup>A, NCM chāḍe; C, H, BR chāḍe; D chāḍai; F, PH chādē; J chāḍai; NCP chāḍai<sup>30</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NCM, RC khela; NCP khaila<sup>31</sup>A baḍhyō; C badhaū; F omitted; H macyau; BR baḍhyo; NCP baḍhau; NCM baḍhayau<sup>32</sup>NC jo<sup>33</sup>F macyau added<sup>34</sup>A nahī; H, I, NCP nahī; PH unr.; NCM nahī<sup>35</sup>C, H, J, RC jāniyata; F jāniyati<sup>36</sup>D, H, I, BR, NCM, RC paga; NCP pāga<sup>37</sup>A, BR, PH kyō; C vyaū; D, RC kyau<sup>38</sup>A, BR rahyo; C omitted; NC rahayau<sup>39</sup>J, BR haridāsi<sup>40</sup>NCM kau khela added, deleted<sup>41</sup>BR ko<sup>42</sup>A khe- omitted, added *inf. lin.*; C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC ṣela<sup>43</sup>F ṣilata<sup>44</sup>A kāhū; C kāhu; D, F, I, J, BR, NC, RC kāhū<sup>45</sup>A ne emended to na; C, D, F, I na<sup>46</sup>A, BR lahyo; PH unr.; NCP lahayau; NCM lahou

## KM 62

<sup>1,2</sup>hamārau<sup>3</sup> dāna<sup>4</sup> [māryau]<sup>5</sup> ini<sup>6</sup>;  
 rātini<sup>7</sup> beci<sup>8</sup> beci<sup>9</sup> jāti<sup>10</sup> gherau<sup>11</sup> saṣā [jāna]<sup>12</sup> jyaū<sup>13</sup> na pāvai<sup>14</sup> jiyo<sup>15</sup> jini<sup>16</sup>;  
 deṣau<sup>17</sup> hari ke ūja<sup>18</sup> [uṭhāi]be<sup>19</sup> kī bātē<sup>20</sup> rāti<sup>21</sup> birāti<sup>22,23</sup> bahū<sup>24</sup> beṭi<sup>25</sup> kāhū<sup>26</sup> [ki<sup>27</sup>  
 ni]kasati<sup>28</sup> hai<sup>29</sup> puni<sup>30</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>31</sup> ke svāmī<sup>32,33</sup> kī [prakṛti]<sup>34</sup> na<sup>35</sup> phiri<sup>36</sup> chiyā<sup>37</sup> chāḍo<sup>38</sup> kini<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>In I the line starts with the first part of the second line - [rātini...jāti] and continues with [hamarau ..ini].

<sup>2</sup>F dāna māryau dāna māryau added

<sup>3</sup>A, BR, PH, NCP hamāro; C hamāraū

<sup>4</sup>C dānu

<sup>5</sup>A, BR māryo; C mauraū emended to māraū; NC māriyau

<sup>6</sup>A, D, BR, RC ina; C ita

<sup>7</sup>C, J rātana; D, BR rātani; NC, RC rātina

<sup>8</sup>A, D, I, NC beca; C baīci

<sup>9</sup>A, D, I, NC beca

<sup>10</sup>C, J, RC jāta; PH unr.; NCM jāti

<sup>11</sup>H, I, BR, PH ghero

<sup>12</sup>J, BR, RC jāni

<sup>13</sup>A, D, H, I jyau; F jau; J jō; BR jo; NC jyō

<sup>14</sup>A pāve; C pāyaū; D pāvai; F, H, I, J, BR, PH, RC pāvai; NC pāvē

<sup>15</sup>A, H, BR, PH chiyo; C chiyāū; D, F, J, NC, RC chiyau; I chiyau

<sup>16</sup>D, RC jina; NCM jini

<sup>17</sup>C deṣaū; BR dekho; PH [de-...-ri] unr.

<sup>18</sup>C upāja emended to uja; RC uja

<sup>19</sup>C uṭhāibe; D uṭhāyebe; NCM uṭhāyabai emended to uṭhāibai

<sup>20</sup>C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, RC bāta; NCP bātai

<sup>21</sup>D rāta

<sup>22</sup>D, NCP, RC birāta

<sup>23</sup>C ba added

<sup>24</sup>C bahu

<sup>25</sup>C beṭi; PH unr.

<sup>26</sup>C kauū; F, H, BR, RC koū; J omitted

<sup>27</sup>F, J, BR, RC omitted

<sup>28</sup>D nikasiti emended to nikasati; NC, RC nikasata

<sup>29</sup>A hē; C, H he; D hai

<sup>30</sup>NCP puni; RC puna

<sup>31</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>32</sup>C svamī

<sup>33</sup>C syāmā; NC syāma

<sup>34</sup>D, RC prakṛta

<sup>35</sup>J nā

<sup>36</sup>C phiri; D phira; NCM phiri

<sup>37</sup>C chiya; F chāyā; NCP chiyā

<sup>38</sup>D, F, H, J chāḍau; I, NC, RC chāḍau; BR chāḍo

<sup>39</sup>C kinā; D, BR, NCM, RC kina; NCP kini

## KM 63

guna<sup>1</sup> rūpa [bhari] bidhanā<sup>2</sup> sāvārī<sup>3</sup> duhū<sup>4</sup> kara<sup>5</sup> kaṅkana ekai<sup>6</sup> ekai<sup>7</sup> [sōhai]<sup>8</sup>;  
 chūṭe<sup>9</sup> bāra garē<sup>10,11</sup> poti<sup>12</sup> dipatī<sup>13</sup> muṣa kī<sup>14</sup> joti<sup>15</sup> de[ṣi]<sup>16</sup> deṣi<sup>17</sup> pr]ānapati<sup>18</sup> rījhe<sup>19</sup>  
 tohi<sup>20,21</sup> nēna<sup>22</sup> salōni<sup>23</sup> mana<sup>24</sup> mohai<sup>25</sup>;  
 26,27[niraṣi<sup>28</sup> tha]kita<sup>29</sup> bhai<sup>30</sup> saṣi<sup>31</sup> saba<sup>32</sup> meri<sup>33</sup> āli<sup>34</sup> jyaū<sup>35</sup> jyaū<sup>36</sup> prāna<sup>37,38</sup> [pyārau<sup>39</sup>  
 te]rau<sup>40</sup> muṣa johai<sup>41</sup>;  
 rasa basa kari<sup>42</sup> linē<sup>43</sup> śrī<sup>44</sup> haridāsa<sup>45</sup> ke<sup>46,47</sup> svāmī syāmā<sup>48</sup> teri<sup>49</sup> upamā<sup>50</sup> kō<sup>51</sup> kahi dhō<sup>52</sup>  
 ko<sup>53</sup> hai<sup>54</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>NCP guna<sup>2</sup>A, F, I, J, PH, NC, RC bidhinā; BR bidhi<sup>3</sup>A sahmāri; D, F, I, J savārī<sup>4</sup>A, D, NC, RC duhū; C, H, BR duhu; F omitted; J doū<sup>5</sup>C karana<sup>6</sup>A, D, J, BR, NC eka; C aisai kai; I yeka; RC aikai emended to ekai<sup>7</sup>A, D, F, H, J, BR, NC, RC eka; C aūka; I yeka<sup>8</sup>A, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC sohai; C saūhai; D sauhai<sup>9</sup>D chūṭe; H chūṭai; J chūṭē<sup>10</sup>A galaī emended to garē; C, BR gare; D, J, RC garaī; I, NCM garai<sup>11</sup>A di added, deleted<sup>12</sup>C pauti<sup>13</sup>D, RC dipata<sup>14</sup>C, NC omitted<sup>15</sup>C jyaūti<sup>16</sup>NCP dekhī<sup>17</sup>NCP dekhī<sup>18</sup>A, C, F, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC omitted; D pata<sup>19</sup>C rījhai; F rījhē; J rījhai<sup>20</sup>C tauhi; NCM tohi<sup>21</sup>Added: A prāna pati; C, H, I, BR, NC, RC prāna pati; F, J prāna pati pyāraū<sup>22</sup>A, D, I, J, BR, NC, RC naīna<sup>23</sup>D, I, NC, RC salauni<sup>24</sup>J manu<sup>25</sup>C, D, NCP mohai<sup>26</sup>In PH the wordorder of the third line is emended with numbers to: saba saṣi niraṣi thakita bhai<sup>27</sup>C, H, I, J, BR saba saṣi; F, RC saba saṣi<sup>28</sup>F omitted<sup>29</sup>C thakīta<sup>30</sup>F, H bhai<sup>31</sup>C, F, H, I, J, BR, RC omitted<sup>32</sup>C, F, H, I, J, BR, RC omitted<sup>33</sup>C, H, I, BR, RC omitted; J omitted, added in marg.; PH omitted, deleted?<sup>34</sup>I rī added<sup>35</sup>A, H, BR, PH jyō; C, RC jyaū<sup>36</sup>A, H, BR, PH jyō<sup>37</sup>A prāna<sup>38</sup>Added: C pyā, deleted; F pati<sup>39</sup>A, BR pyāro; H pati emended to pyaro; PH pati? emended to pyāro; NCM pyaurau emended to pyārau<sup>40</sup>F deṣau; BR, PH tero<sup>41</sup>C, D johai<sup>42</sup>D kara; NCM kari<sup>43</sup>A line; C linai; D, I, RC linai<sup>44</sup>H omitted<sup>45</sup>BR haridāsi<sup>46</sup>C kai<sup>47</sup>J ke added (end of page)<sup>48</sup>F syāma<sup>49</sup>F to sī<sup>50</sup>F triyā<sup>51</sup>A, D, J, NCM, RC kau; F omitted; I kaū; BR, NCP ko<sup>52</sup>C, D, F, J, NC, RC dhaū; I dhau<sup>53</sup>C kā<sup>54</sup>D, J hai

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<sup>1</sup>aja hū<sup>2,3</sup> kahā kahati<sup>4,5</sup> rī<sup>6</sup> māre<sup>7</sup> nēna<sup>8</sup> ārani<sup>9</sup>;  
 bhohai<sup>10</sup> dhanaṣa<sup>11</sup> jyaū<sup>12,13</sup> bāna<sup>14</sup> bāphini<sup>15</sup> phaūka<sup>16</sup> dharaī<sup>17</sup> kahata<sup>18</sup> syāma pyāraṇi<sup>19</sup>;  
 tū<sup>20</sup> hī<sup>21</sup> aba<sup>22</sup> jīvani<sup>23</sup> tū<sup>24</sup> hī<sup>25</sup> aba<sup>26</sup> bhūṣana tū<sup>27</sup> hī<sup>28</sup> prāna<sup>29</sup> dhana<sup>30</sup> yāraṇi<sup>31</sup>;  
 sṛī haridāsa<sup>32</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>33</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>33</sup> sō<sup>34</sup> meru<sup>35,36</sup> bhayo<sup>37</sup> rī<sup>38</sup> bihārini<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>H tū added

<sup>2</sup>C hu ; J, NCM, RC hū

<sup>3</sup>I, RC tū added

<sup>4</sup>C kahahata; D, NCP kahata; NCM karata

<sup>5</sup>Added: A, C he; D, F, H, I, J, PH, NC, RC hai

<sup>6</sup>E māi; H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>7</sup>A marai; D mārai; F tere; NCM mārai

<sup>8</sup>A, D, I, BR, NC, RC naina; F nenani; H nēnani emended to nēna

<sup>9</sup>D ārana; NCM āraṇi emended to ārina

<sup>10</sup>A, H bhōhe; C bhaūhai; F bhōhē; I, RC bhauhai; J bhōhaī; BR bhohai; NC bhauhē

<sup>11</sup>A, C, D, F, H, J, BR, NC, RC dhanuṣa

<sup>12</sup>A, C, F, H, I, J, BR, RC omitted; D jau; PH, NC jyō

<sup>13</sup>Added: A, C, F, H, I, J, BR, RC citavani; D, NC citavana

<sup>14</sup>F bāni

<sup>15</sup>C bāphini; D, NCM, RC bāphina; F bāphīni; H bāphina; NCP baphina

<sup>16</sup>A, F, H, J, PH phōka; C phoka; BR phoki; NCM phauka

<sup>17</sup>A, BR dhare; D, I, NC dharaī; F, H, PH dharē

<sup>18</sup>H kahī emended to kahata

<sup>19</sup>C pyāraṇi; NCP pyārīna; NCM pyārīna; RC ṣyārāni

<sup>20</sup>F, H tu; BR to; NC tū

<sup>21</sup>H hī

<sup>22</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, BR, NC, RC omitted

<sup>23</sup>C, BR, NC, RC jivana

<sup>24</sup>C, D, J, PH, RC tū; F, H, I tu; BR to

<sup>25</sup>A, C, D, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC hī

<sup>26</sup>C, H, I, J, BR, NC omitted; F ba

<sup>27</sup>A, C, D, I, J, PH, NCP, RC tū; F tu; BR to

<sup>28</sup>A, C, D, F, I, J, BR, PH, NCM, RC hī; H ba

<sup>29</sup>A prāna

<sup>30</sup>C dharana

<sup>31</sup>F vārāni; I pārāni; J ādhārāni; BR, RC dhārāni; PH yārīni; NCM yārīna

<sup>32</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>33</sup>H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>34</sup>A, C, D, I saū; H omitted; BR so; RC sau

<sup>35</sup>J moru; NCP mela; RC mera

<sup>36</sup>Added: J sarasa; NCM mela, in brackets

<sup>37</sup>C bhayaū; D, H, I, J, NC, RC bhayau

<sup>38</sup>C, H, J, BR omitted; F aura; RC hai

<sup>39</sup>C bihārīni; D, I, J, BR, PH, RC bihārāni; NC bihārīna



## KM 65

pyārī tū<sup>1</sup> gunani<sup>2</sup> rāi<sup>3</sup> siramaura<sup>4</sup>;  
 gati<sup>5</sup> mē<sup>6</sup> gati upajati<sup>7</sup> nāñā rāga<sup>8</sup> rāgini<sup>9,10</sup> tāra<sup>11</sup> mandira<sup>12</sup> sura<sup>13,14</sup> ghora;  
 kāhū<sup>15</sup> kachū<sup>16</sup> liyo<sup>17</sup> reṣa<sup>18</sup> chāyā to<sup>19</sup> kahā bhayo<sup>20</sup> jhūṭhī<sup>21</sup> daura<sup>22</sup>;  
 kahi<sup>23,24</sup> haridāsa<sup>25</sup> leta pyārī jū ke<sup>26</sup> tirapa<sup>27</sup> lāgani<sup>28</sup> mē<sup>29</sup> kisora<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>H, NC tū

<sup>2</sup>C tumu rāṣaṭa emended to guṇana?; D, J, NC gunana

<sup>3</sup>C rāi; I, J, BR, NC rāya

<sup>4</sup>A, C, BR, PH °mora

<sup>5</sup>F gatini; H gatini emended to gati

<sup>6</sup>C me; D, I, RC mai; H, J māi; NCM omitted, added *inf. lin.*

<sup>7</sup>D, H, J, BR upajata

<sup>8</sup>F omitted

<sup>9</sup>D rāgina; NCM rāgani

<sup>10</sup>H sura added

<sup>11</sup>F omitted; J tāla

<sup>12</sup>C, J, BR, RC mṛdaṅga; D mandara; F omitted; H manda emended to mṛdaṅga; I mandira emended to mṛdaṅga

<sup>13</sup>H omitted

<sup>14</sup>F tāla added

<sup>15</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC kāhū; C kāhu

<sup>16</sup>C kāhu

<sup>17</sup>A, D, I, J, NCM, RC liyau; F layau; NCP liyau

<sup>18</sup>F reṣi; RC riṣa

<sup>19</sup>D, H, I, NC, RC tau

<sup>20</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, NC, RC bhayau

<sup>21</sup>I jhūṭhī

<sup>22</sup>A, C, BR, PH, NCM dora

<sup>23</sup>D kahaī; NC kaha

<sup>24</sup>J, BR, NCM, RC śrī added

<sup>25</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>26</sup>C omitted; F kī; H kī emended to ke; I kai; J kaī; NCM ke emended to kī?

<sup>27</sup>A tṛpa; C tirapā; I trapa; BR tirapi

<sup>28</sup>C lagani; NC lāgana

<sup>29</sup>C, J, RC mai; D mai; F me

<sup>30</sup>C kiśaura

## KM 66

pyārī tau<sup>1</sup> pai<sup>2</sup> kitauka<sup>3</sup> saṅgraha chabina<sup>4</sup> kau<sup>5</sup> aṅga aṅga<sup>6</sup> prati nāññ bhāi<sup>7</sup> diṣāvata<sup>8</sup>;  
hā[thi]<sup>9</sup> kinnari<sup>10</sup> madhya<sup>11</sup> sacu<sup>12</sup> pāi<sup>13</sup> sulapa<sup>14</sup> rāga [rāgini<sup>15</sup> sō<sup>16</sup> tū<sup>17</sup>] mili<sup>18</sup> gāvata<sup>19</sup>;  
kahā kahaū<sup>20</sup> e[ka<sup>21</sup> jībha<sup>22</sup> guṇa<sup>23</sup> agini]ta<sup>24</sup> hāri<sup>25</sup> paryau<sup>26</sup> kachū<sup>27</sup> kahata<sup>28</sup> na [āvati]<sup>29</sup>;  
srī haridāsa<sup>30</sup> ke svāmī syāma<sup>31</sup> kuñjabihā[rī (kahata<sup>32</sup> rī<sup>33</sup>)mg pyārī] tū<sup>34</sup> je<sup>35</sup> je<sup>36</sup> bhāi<sup>37</sup>  
lyāvati<sup>38</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>C taū; D, F, I, J, BR, PH, RC to

<sup>2</sup>A pe

<sup>3</sup>C, H, NCP, RC kiteka; F kitaku; BR, PH kitoka; NCM kitauka emended to kitaika

<sup>4</sup>C, F chabini; D, BR, PH chabani; H, I chabini

<sup>5</sup>C, RC ke; BR ko

<sup>6</sup>C aga

<sup>7</sup>A bhāi emended to bhāva; C bhāi; D bhāya; F, J, BR, NC, RC bhāva

<sup>8</sup>A, C, F, H, I, BR, RC diḥhāvati

<sup>9</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC hātha

<sup>10</sup>D, J kiṇnari

<sup>11</sup>A madhi emended to madhya; I maddhi

<sup>12</sup>A, D, J, BR, NCM saca; C saba; H sañca

<sup>13</sup>A pāi emended to pāi; C, NCP pāi; D pāya

<sup>14</sup>NCM surapa

<sup>15</sup>F rāgini; I rāginini; NCP rāganini; NCM, RC rāgani

<sup>16</sup>C, D, I, J saū; F so; H sau; RC asau

<sup>17</sup>A, D, F, I, RC tū; C, J, BR, NC omitted; H tū deleted; PH omitted, tū added in marg.

<sup>18</sup>D, NCP mila; NCM omitted

<sup>19</sup>A, C, F, I, RC gāvati; NC gāvati

<sup>20</sup>C kaho; F, BR, NCP kahō; H, I, RC kahau; PH kahū

<sup>21</sup>I yeka

<sup>22</sup>C jībhabha emended to jībha

<sup>23</sup>C guṇa

<sup>24</sup>A aganita; C, D, J, BR, NC, RC aganita; PH aginata

<sup>25</sup>NC, RC hāra

<sup>26</sup>A, BR paryo; C paryaū; NC parayau

<sup>27</sup>C, F, H, BR, RC kachu; NCP omitted

<sup>28</sup>F, BR kahati

<sup>29</sup>C, D, PH, NC āvata

<sup>30</sup>C haradāsa; BR haridāsi

<sup>31</sup>A, C, D, F, I, J, BR, NC śyāmā

<sup>32</sup>RC kahati

<sup>33</sup>C, F, H, J, BR, NC omitted; PH omitted, added in marg.

<sup>34</sup>C ta; F jū; BR, NC tū

<sup>35</sup>C, NCP jai

<sup>36</sup>C jāi; NCP jai

<sup>37</sup>A, C, F, J, BR, NC, RC bhāva; D bhāya

<sup>38</sup>C lyāvata; D lāvata; F, I, BR, NCP, RC lāvati; NCM lāvati

## KM 67

paraspara<sup>1</sup> rāga [jamyaũ]<sup>2</sup> sameta<sup>3</sup> kinnarī<sup>4</sup> mṛdaṅga sō<sup>5</sup> tāra<sup>6</sup>;  
 tīna<sup>7</sup> [hũ<sup>8</sup> sura<sup>9</sup> ke<sup>10</sup> tãna] bandhãna<sup>11</sup> dhura<sup>12</sup> dhurapada<sup>13</sup> apãra<sup>14</sup>;  
 [birasa]<sup>15</sup> leta<sup>16</sup> dhīraja<sup>17</sup> na rahyau<sup>18</sup> tirapa<sup>19</sup> lāga dāṭa<sup>20</sup> sura<sup>21</sup> morani<sup>22</sup> sãra;  
 sṛī haridãsa<sup>23</sup> ke svãmī syãma<sup>24</sup> je<sup>25</sup> je<sup>26</sup> aṅga kī<sup>27</sup> gati leta<sup>28</sup> ati nipuna aṅga aṅgahãra<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>H parasapara

<sup>2</sup>BR, PH jamyo

<sup>3</sup>C samaīta; F, H, BR sameti

<sup>4</sup>D, H, J kiṁnarī

<sup>5</sup>C, D, H, RC sau; F so; I sura; J, NCM saũ; NCP sũ

<sup>6</sup>RC tāra

<sup>7</sup>F, I tīni

<sup>8</sup>A, D, F, H, J hũ; C, RC hu

<sup>9</sup>I surani; NC surana

<sup>10</sup>C kaī; PH unr.

<sup>11</sup>C, D badhãna; NCM bãdhãna

<sup>12</sup>A omitted, added *sup. lin.*; C, D omitted; F madhura; H dhura emended to dhruva; I dhur; BR dhura;

PH dhruva emended to dhura?

<sup>13</sup>I dhurpada; BR dhrurapada

<sup>14</sup>C, J apãra

<sup>15</sup>C bira

<sup>16</sup>NCM laita

<sup>17</sup>F dhīraju

<sup>18</sup>A, BR rahyo; NC rahau

<sup>19</sup>A, I trapa; BR tirapi

<sup>20</sup>D hãṭa

<sup>21</sup>A, BR svara

<sup>22</sup>F milē; H milē emended to morani; NCM morana

<sup>23</sup>BR haridãsi

<sup>24</sup>F syãma

<sup>25</sup>C jaī

<sup>26</sup>C jai

<sup>27</sup>H kī

<sup>28</sup>D, H, RC leti

<sup>29</sup>A, C, J, BR, NC aṅga ahãra; F aṅga rahe hãra; I aga ahãra

## KM 68

to<sup>1</sup> kau<sup>2</sup> piya<sup>3</sup> bolata hai<sup>4</sup> rī lāla<sup>5</sup> ṭhāḍhe<sup>6</sup> kadamba<sup>7</sup> tara;  
 aba<sup>8</sup> kai<sup>9</sup> aisau<sup>10</sup> jyaū<sup>11</sup> kiyē<sup>12</sup> kahā hota<sup>13</sup> hai<sup>14</sup> rī māri<sup>15</sup> rahī<sup>16</sup> kusuma<sup>17</sup> sara;  
 kuñjabihārī apanō<sup>18</sup> aṃsa<sup>19</sup> tā<sup>20</sup> sō<sup>21</sup> kyaū<sup>22</sup> kijai<sup>23</sup> chadāma<sup>24</sup> bara;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>25</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>26,27</sup> ḍhūḍhata<sup>28</sup> bana mē<sup>29</sup> pāi<sup>30</sup> krama krama kari<sup>31</sup>  
 biṣama<sup>32</sup> ḍara.

<sup>1</sup>C taū<sup>2</sup>C, D, RC kau; F, J, BR, PH, NC kō<sup>3</sup>H piu; I, PH, NC piya<sup>4</sup>A hē; C he; D, F, BR, PH, NC, RC hai<sup>5</sup>Added: F na; H nu<sup>6</sup>A, C, NCM ṭhāḍe; NCP ṭhāḍē<sup>7</sup>A, NC kadama; C kadaṅk<sup>8</sup>D ak<sup>9</sup>A, D, I, J, BR, PH, NCM, RC kai; F kē<sup>10</sup>A asau; C aīsaū; BR, PH aīso<sup>11</sup>A jo emended to jyō; C, F, H, I, RC jyau; BR, PH jyo; NC jo<sup>12</sup>C kiyāū; D, J, RC kiyāi; F, NCP kiyau; I kiyai; BR kiye<sup>13</sup>H hotu; J hoti<sup>14</sup>C he; BR omitted<sup>15</sup>D, NC māra<sup>16</sup>RC hahī<sup>17</sup>C, I, J, PH, NC kusama; F asamaī; H asama? emended to kusama<sup>18</sup>A apana; C, D, H, I, NC, RC apanāū<sup>19</sup>C asa; H aṃsu<sup>20</sup>H tina<sup>21</sup>A, RC sau; C, D, H saū<sup>22</sup>A, PH, NC kyō; C, D kyau; BR omitted<sup>23</sup>C kijai; RC kijiyai<sup>24</sup>A chāda; D, BR chadaṃva; RC chadma<sup>25</sup>D -sa omitted, added in marg.; BR haridāsi<sup>26</sup>F syāma<sup>27</sup>NCM kuñjabihārī added<sup>28</sup>A, J ḍhūḍhata; C ḍhūḍhata<sup>29</sup>C, J māi; D, RC mai<sup>30</sup>H pāi; PH pāi<sup>31</sup>C, F, I, J, BR, NC omitted; D kara; H kai; PH omitted, deleted?<sup>32</sup>F biṣaima; NC bisama

## KM 69

caliye<sup>1</sup> chabīlī chabīle<sup>2</sup> bolata<sup>3</sup>;

āju<sup>4</sup> kī bānika<sup>5,6</sup> para trana<sup>7</sup> tūṭata<sup>8</sup> hai<sup>9</sup> kahī na jāi<sup>10</sup> kachū<sup>11</sup> syāma tohi<sup>12</sup> rata<sup>13</sup>;

saṣī<sup>14</sup> lai<sup>15</sup> [calī] manāi<sup>16</sup> jyaū<sup>17</sup> hita<sup>18</sup> kī āi<sup>19</sup> ghata;

śrī haridāsa<sup>20</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>21</sup> bīca<sup>22</sup> hī<sup>23</sup> āi<sup>24</sup> mile tina<sup>25</sup> kī [subāsa]<sup>26</sup> sakala<sup>27</sup> bharama<sup>28</sup>  
kala<sup>29</sup> mata<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, NCP, RC caliye; C calihi; NCM calīyai

<sup>2</sup>A, J, BR, RC chabīlo; C chabīlāū; D, I, NC chabīlau

<sup>3</sup>C hai added

<sup>4</sup>D, RC āja

<sup>5</sup>C bānika

<sup>6</sup>A pa added

<sup>7</sup>F, H trinū; BR tṛrana; NC tranu; RC tṛna

<sup>8</sup>F, H tūṭatu

<sup>9</sup>A he; D haī

<sup>10</sup>A, D, I, J, NC jāya; C jāi

<sup>11</sup>A, C, H, BR, RC kachu

<sup>12</sup>NCP tohī

<sup>13</sup>C ra- omitted, added *sup. lin.*; NCP ratī; NCM ratī

<sup>14</sup>RC sakhi

<sup>15</sup>A, D, F, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC lai

<sup>16</sup>C, H, NC manāi; D, I manāya

<sup>17</sup>A, BR, PH, NC jyō; C jo; I, RC jyau

<sup>18</sup>H, J hitu

<sup>19</sup>F āhi

<sup>20</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>21</sup>D, I, BR, NCP syāma; F, RC omitted; H omitted, syāmā emended to syāma added in marg.

<sup>22</sup>C, F, J, PH bīci

<sup>23</sup>A, C, D, I, J, BR, NC, RC hī

<sup>24</sup>C āi; D, NC āya

<sup>25</sup>A, C, I, J, BR tana; F tini

<sup>26</sup>A subhāsa; H subāsu

<sup>27</sup>C, F, H, J, RC omitted; BR kamala

<sup>28</sup>A bhamara; C babara; D, F, I, J, BR bhavara; H bhaūra; PH, NC bhāvara; RC bhramara

<sup>29</sup>C, F, H, J, BR, NCP kula; PH omitted

<sup>30</sup>C malata; H māta emended to mata

## KM 70

baĩnĩ<sup>1</sup> gũnthi<sup>2</sup> [kahā kou<sup>3</sup> jānē<sup>4</sup>] merĩ<sup>5</sup> sī terĩ saũ<sup>6</sup>;  
 bĩca<sup>7</sup> bĩca<sup>8</sup> phũla [seta pĩta<sup>9</sup> rāte<sup>10</sup> aura<sup>11</sup>] kō<sup>12</sup> kari<sup>13</sup> sakai<sup>14,15</sup> rĩ saũ<sup>16</sup>;  
 baiṭhe<sup>17</sup> ra[sika sāvārata<sup>18</sup> bārani<sup>19</sup> [ kaũmala<sup>20</sup> kara kakahĩ<sup>21</sup> saũ<sup>22</sup>];  
 śrĩ haridāsa<sup>23</sup> ke<sup>24</sup> svāmĩ syāmā<sup>25</sup> kuñjabihārĩ<sup>26,27</sup> dai<sup>28</sup> kāja[ra<sup>29</sup> naṣa hĩ<sup>30</sup>] saũ<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>A, C, F, H, PH bēnĩ

<sup>2</sup>C gũtha; D, F, RC gũthi; I, NC gũntha

<sup>3</sup>C kaũũ; H kou

<sup>4</sup>A, I, BR, RC jānai; C, D, J jānai

<sup>5</sup>H merĩ

<sup>6</sup>F, BR, PH, NC sō; H, RC sau

<sup>7</sup>A, F, H, I, BR, NC, RC bica; J bici; PH bĩci

<sup>8</sup>A, D, F, H, I, BR, NC, RC bica; J bici

<sup>9</sup>C, F, H, J, NCP pita; D omitted

<sup>10</sup>F -te added in marg., *pr. m.*; RC omitted, added in marg., *pr. m.*

<sup>11</sup>A, C, I, J, BR, NC omitted; F, H aru; PH ora

<sup>12</sup>A, D, F, H, J, BR, PH, NC, RC ko; C kaũ; I kau emended to ko

<sup>13</sup>C, D kara

<sup>14</sup>A, C, I sake; H, NCM sakai; RC sakau

<sup>15</sup>Added: A, NC e; C ai; I ye

<sup>16</sup>F, J, BR, PH, NC sō; H sau

<sup>17</sup>C beṭhe

<sup>18</sup>A sahmārana; C, F savārata; D savārini emended to savārani; H sāvārani; I savārani; J, BR, NC, RC sāvārana; PH sāvāra emended to sāvārana

<sup>19</sup>A, C, D, J, BR, NC bārana; H, I, RC bārani

<sup>20</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC komala

<sup>21</sup>H kāgahĩ; I kagahĩ

<sup>22</sup>F, J, BR, PH, NC sō; RC sau

<sup>23</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>24</sup>C kai

<sup>25</sup>C syāmā; F, H omitted, added in marg., *sec m.*; RC syamā emended to syāmā

<sup>26</sup>C, F, H, I, BR, RC omitted

<sup>27</sup>Added: C, H, I naṣa siṣa laũ banāi; F, BR naṣa siṣa lō banāi; NCM nakha sikha lō banāi; RC nakha śikha lau banāi

<sup>28</sup>A, C de

<sup>29</sup>J kārajara emended to kājara

<sup>30</sup>NCP hĩ

<sup>31</sup>F, BR, PH, NC sō; H sau

## KM 71

pyārī terī putarī<sup>1</sup> kājara hū<sup>2</sup> tē<sup>3</sup> kā[rī<sup>4</sup> māñō<sup>5</sup> dvai<sup>6</sup>] bhavara<sup>7,8</sup> uḍe<sup>9,10</sup> barābari<sup>11</sup>;  
 campe<sup>12</sup> kī ḍāra<sup>13</sup> baiṭhe<sup>14,15</sup> ali<sup>16</sup> kundana<sup>17,18</sup> lāgi<sup>19</sup> hai<sup>20</sup> jaiba<sup>21</sup> arāari<sup>22</sup>;  
 jaba āni<sup>23</sup> gherata<sup>24</sup> kaṭaka<sup>25</sup> kāmā kau<sup>26</sup> taba jiya<sup>27</sup> hota<sup>28</sup> ḍarāḍari<sup>29</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>30</sup> ke<sup>31</sup> svāmī<sup>32</sup> syāmā kuñjabihārī dou<sup>33</sup> mili<sup>34</sup> larata<sup>35</sup> jharājhari<sup>36</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>NCM putari

<sup>2</sup>C hu; I, BR, NC hū

<sup>3</sup>C, F, BR, NCM te; D, RC tai; J tai

<sup>4</sup>NCM kāri; RC kāri

<sup>5</sup>A māno; C, I, BR, RC mānau; D, J, NC mānā; F, H manahu

<sup>6</sup>C dvaī; F omitted

<sup>7</sup>A bhamara; PH, NC bhāvara

<sup>8</sup>F, H dvai added

<sup>9</sup>C uṭhai; NCP uḍata

<sup>10</sup>Added: I ri; J hai

<sup>11</sup>C °ri; D, BR, RC °ra

<sup>12</sup>C capai

<sup>13</sup>D, F, H, NCP ḍāri

<sup>14</sup>C baiṭhai; F omitted

<sup>15</sup>C hai added

<sup>16</sup>C, F, H, I, J, BR, NCM, RC omitted

<sup>17</sup>A, C, I, J, BR, NC, RC kunda; F kundamani; H kundana emended to kunda; PH kunda emended to kundana

<sup>18</sup>Added: C ali; F ari; H ali, replacing original reading; I, J, BR, NCM, RC ali

<sup>19</sup>C lāgi

<sup>20</sup>C hai

<sup>21</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NCM, RC jeba

<sup>22</sup>D, BR, NCM arāara

<sup>23</sup>PH āi; NCP āna

<sup>24</sup>D cherata

<sup>25</sup>F kaṭaku; H kaṭaki emended to kaṭaka

<sup>26</sup>A, BR, PH ko; D kau

<sup>27</sup>C, I, BR, PH jiya

<sup>28</sup>C haūta; F, H hoti

<sup>29</sup>A °ri emended to °ri; C °ri; D, BR, NCM °ra

<sup>30</sup>C haradāsa; BR haridāsi

<sup>31</sup>C kai

<sup>32</sup>C svāmā

<sup>33</sup>C daūū; H dou

<sup>34</sup>D mila; NCP mili

<sup>35</sup>RC jiya hota śarā added after lara-, deleted; NCP laḍata emended to larata

<sup>36</sup>A °ri emended to ri; C °ri; D, BR, NCM °ra

## KM 72

syāma kisora<sup>1</sup> jū<sup>2</sup> tuma kō<sup>3</sup> dou<sup>4</sup> raṅga raṅgita<sup>5</sup> hai<sup>6</sup> pītāmbara<sup>7,8</sup> cūnari<sup>9</sup>;  
 aiso<sup>10</sup> rūpa kahā<sup>11</sup> tuma pāyau<sup>12</sup> aranisa<sup>13</sup> soca<sup>14</sup> udhera<sup>15</sup> būna rī;  
 manamōhana<sup>16</sup> surajñāna<sup>17</sup> sirōmani<sup>18</sup> saba aṅgani<sup>19</sup> aṅga<sup>20</sup> koka<sup>21</sup> nipūna<sup>22</sup> rī;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>23</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>24</sup> kī<sup>25</sup> bicītratāi<sup>26</sup> prema sō<sup>27</sup> pāiyata<sup>28</sup> [rasa] sūnari.

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<sup>1</sup>C, J kiśaura

<sup>2</sup>BR jū

<sup>3</sup>A, H, RC kau; C, D, I, J kaū; BR ko

<sup>4</sup>C daūu; H dou

<sup>5</sup>C ragita; D rāgi; F raṅgata; H raṅgata emended to raṅgita

<sup>6</sup>A hvai; D hai; H, J, NC, RC omitted

<sup>7</sup>C pītābara; D pītāmba; F, H pītāmbara

<sup>8</sup>D ba added

<sup>9</sup>D cūnirī

<sup>10</sup>A esau; C aisaū; F, H, I, J, RC aisau; NCP aiso emended to eso

<sup>11</sup>C, F, H, BR, NCP kahā

<sup>12</sup>A, BR, PH pāyo

<sup>13</sup>A, RC ahar°; C, F, H, I ahi°; D, PH ahara°; J, BR aha°; NC aharanisi

<sup>14</sup>C sauca; F sāca; H socu

<sup>15</sup>A, D, I, J, BR udherā; NCP udherata

<sup>16</sup>C °mona; RC °mauhana

<sup>17</sup>C, BR °gyāna; F °gāna; H °gāna emended to °gyāna

<sup>18</sup>A, RC °ṇi; C °ṇī; D °na

<sup>19</sup>D, J aṅga; NC aṅgana

<sup>20</sup>C aga; J aṅgani; PH original reading deleted

<sup>21</sup>C kaūka; F kokata

<sup>22</sup>F puna; H, NC nipuna

<sup>23</sup>BR, PH haridāsi

<sup>24</sup>I kuñjabihārī added

<sup>25</sup>A, C, F, RC tumhārī; D tumārī; H tumhārī emended to kī; I, J, BR, NCM tumhārī

<sup>26</sup>D bicītratāi

<sup>27</sup>A, C, D, J saū; H, RC sau

<sup>28</sup>D, BR, NCP pāiyata; F, H pāiyati; I pāyata emended to pāiyata *pr. m.*



## KM 73

cokī<sup>1</sup> kahā<sup>2</sup> badali<sup>3</sup> pari<sup>4</sup> ho<sup>5</sup> pyāre [hari];

lāla pāṭa<sup>6</sup> kī hutī jaṅgālī<sup>7</sup> lyāe<sup>8</sup> bari<sup>9</sup>;

vaha<sup>10</sup> [to<sup>11</sup> hu]tī hīrani<sup>12</sup> ṣacita pai<sup>13</sup> yaha<sup>14,15</sup> duraṅga<sup>16</sup> panā<sup>17</sup> lālahi<sup>18,19</sup> mili<sup>20</sup> lehū<sup>21</sup>  
lari<sup>22</sup>;

śrī haridāsa<sup>23</sup> ke<sup>24</sup> svāmī syāmā<sup>25</sup> kuñjabihārī kī caturāi<sup>26</sup> rahī bhari<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>A, D, F, I, J, BR, NC, RC caukī; C cyaukī

<sup>2</sup>C, F, BR kahā

<sup>3</sup>C -da- omitted, added *sup. lin.*; D, NCP badala

<sup>4</sup>C omitted; F pari emended to pari; NCP pīra emended to pari; NCM pari

<sup>5</sup>C, F, H, J, BR, RC omitted

<sup>6</sup>C paṭā

<sup>7</sup>F jagālī

<sup>8</sup>C lyāyai; H, I, J, BR lyāye; NC lāye; RC lāe

<sup>9</sup>BR biri; NCM bara

<sup>10</sup>A, D vahu; RC vuha

<sup>11</sup>D, H, I, J, NC, RC tau; F omitted

<sup>12</sup>A, D, BR, NC, RC hīrana

<sup>13</sup>F omitted; H pē

<sup>14</sup>A yahu; J ye

<sup>15</sup>D hu added

<sup>16</sup>C duraga; D raṅga; RC duhu raṅga

<sup>17</sup>A, F, J, NCM, RC pannā; C panā; NCP panna

<sup>18</sup>D, F lāla; I lālai

<sup>19</sup>F hili added

<sup>20</sup>D, NCP mila; H mi- omitted, added in marg.

<sup>21</sup>A lehaū; C leho; D, PH laiḥū; F lehō; H, RC laiḥau; I, BR laiḥaū; J laiḥaū; NCP laiḥō; NCM laiḥō

<sup>22</sup>D larī; H mari emended to lari; NCM lara

<sup>23</sup>C haradāsa; BR haridāsi

<sup>24</sup>C [ke...] text missing

<sup>25</sup>BR omitted

<sup>26</sup>F, H, J, BR, NC caturāi

<sup>27</sup>NC bhari

## KM 74

āva<sup>1</sup> [lāla]<sup>2</sup> aisē<sup>3</sup> mada pījai tero<sup>4</sup> jhagā merī aṅgiyā<sup>5</sup> [dhari]<sup>6</sup>;  
 kuca kī surāhī<sup>7</sup> nēnani<sup>8</sup> kau<sup>9</sup> pyālau<sup>10</sup> dārū<sup>11</sup> [...] yō<sup>13,14</sup> āṅkō<sup>15</sup> bhari;  
 adharani<sup>16</sup> cuvāi<sup>17</sup> le<sup>18</sup> saba<sup>19</sup> [rasa<sup>20</sup> tana] ko<sup>21</sup> na jāna<sup>22</sup> de<sup>23</sup> ita<sup>24</sup> uta dhari<sup>25</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>26</sup> ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī kī suhabati<sup>27</sup> [asara] jahā<sup>28</sup> āpuna hari.

Folio missing in C

<sup>1</sup>A, F, I, J, BR āu

<sup>2</sup>F lalā; H lalā emended to lāla

<sup>3</sup>A ese; D, I aisai; F aisau; J, RC aisai; BR aiso; NCM aisō emended to aisē

<sup>4</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, NC, RC terau

<sup>5</sup>F agiyā; H, NCP āgiyā; I, J agiyā; NCM aṅgiyā

<sup>6</sup>NCP dhari

<sup>7</sup>A surāi

<sup>8</sup>A, D, I, J, NC, RC nainani; BR nainana

<sup>9</sup>A, D, H, I, J, RC ke; BR, PH ko

<sup>10</sup>A, D, I, RC pyāle; H piyāle; J pyālā; BR pyālo

<sup>11</sup>A dāru emended to dārū; NCP dāru

<sup>12</sup>A dēūgi; D dyaūgi; I daihugi; NCP deūgi; NCM deūgi; RC daihūgi

<sup>13</sup>A yai; D, NC omitted; H, I, J yaū; PH yō

<sup>14</sup>Added: F, BR, PH dyōgi; H dyaygi; J deugi

<sup>15</sup>D, RC āṅkau; F ākō; H ākaū; I aṅkaū; BR aṅko; PH aṅkō; NCM aṅkau

<sup>16</sup>F adhani emended to aradhani; NCP adharani; NCP adharana

<sup>17</sup>A, F, I cvāi; D, J cuvāya; NCP cuvāi

<sup>18</sup>A lēhu; D, I lehu; F lahu; H lēū; J laū; BR leu; NC leva; RC laiū

<sup>19</sup>D sabarau; F, H, J sigarau; I sagarau; BR sagaro

<sup>20</sup>F, H rasu

<sup>21</sup>A, D, H, I, J, PH, NC, RC kau; F ka

<sup>22</sup>J jāni

<sup>23</sup>A dē; D dai; F, I dehu; H dēhi; J daiū; BR dei; NCM deva; RC daihi

<sup>24</sup>D druta

<sup>25</sup>NCM dhari

<sup>26</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>27</sup>D sahubata; F, NC, RC suhabata; H subati; J sohabati

<sup>28</sup>H tahā

## KM 75

ḍola jhūlata <sup>1</sup> bihārī bihārini<sup>2</sup> puhapa<sup>3</sup> bṛṣṭi<sup>4</sup> hoti<sup>5</sup>;  
 sura pura pura<sup>6</sup> gandharva aurau<sup>7</sup> pura tina<sup>8</sup> kī nārī<sup>9,10</sup> vārata<sup>11</sup> lara<sup>12</sup> moti;  
 gherā<sup>13</sup> karata<sup>14</sup> paraspara<sup>15</sup> saba mili kahū<sup>16,17</sup> deṣī na<sup>18</sup> jubatī<sup>19</sup> aisī<sup>20</sup> joti;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>21</sup> ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārini<sup>22</sup> sādā<sup>23</sup> curī<sup>24</sup> ṣubhī<sup>25</sup> poti.

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Folio missing in C

<sup>1</sup>Added: F hē; H, J haī

<sup>2</sup>A bihārini; D, I, BR, PH bihārani; NC bihārina

<sup>3</sup>A, H, NC, RC puhupa; D, F, I, J pahupa

<sup>4</sup>H biṣṭa; I bṛṣṭa

<sup>5</sup>D hota; NCP hotī

<sup>6</sup>PH omitted, added in marg.

<sup>7</sup>A, D, F, I, J, NC aura; PH auro

<sup>8</sup>F, PH tīni

<sup>9</sup>NC nārī

<sup>10</sup>Added: D, F, H, J, BR, NCP, RC dekhata; I deṣati; PH deṣata, in marg.

<sup>11</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, BR, RC vārati

<sup>12</sup>H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>13</sup>D ghairā; NCP ghērā

<sup>14</sup>A, H, I karati

<sup>15</sup>H parasapara

<sup>16</sup>D, H kahū; NCP kahū

<sup>17</sup>I na added

<sup>18</sup>I aisī

<sup>19</sup>F, H, J, BR, PH jubati; NCP jūbati; NCM jūbati

<sup>20</sup>A esī; I omitted

<sup>21</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>22</sup>A, I, J, BR, PH °rani; D, RC °rina; F °rīni

<sup>23</sup>D omitted; PH sadā emended to sādā?

<sup>24</sup>BR, NC cūrī

<sup>25</sup>NCM po added, deleted

## KM 76

pyārī jū<sup>1</sup> bolata<sup>2</sup> nāhī<sup>3</sup> kai<sup>4</sup> tū<sup>5</sup> sutā<sup>6</sup> unīdī<sup>7,8</sup> kidhō<sup>9</sup> kāhū<sup>10</sup> kachū<sup>11</sup> kahyau<sup>12</sup> [kai] terau<sup>13</sup>  
 aisoi<sup>14</sup> subhāva<sup>15</sup>;  
 mohi<sup>16</sup> tere deṣē<sup>17</sup> bina<sup>18</sup> ka[la<sup>19</sup> na<sup>20</sup> ] parai<sup>21,22</sup> kai<sup>23</sup> tū<sup>24</sup> chāḍī<sup>25</sup> kubhāva<sup>26</sup>;  
 kāhū<sup>27</sup> kī jhuka<sup>28</sup> hamē<sup>29</sup> [deta<sup>30,31</sup> rī] upajata dubhāva<sup>32</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>33</sup> ke svāmi<sup>34</sup> syāma<sup>35,36</sup> kahata tā ke<sup>37</sup> basa pare pragaṭata<sup>38</sup> ju<sup>39</sup> bhāva<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>A, RC omitted<sup>2</sup>F, H, I bolati<sup>3</sup>F nāhina; I, J, NCP nāhī; NCM nāhī<sup>4</sup>D kai; NCM kē<sup>5</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, PH, RC tū<sup>6</sup>A, D, H, RC sūtā<sup>7</sup>A unī emended to unīdī; D, F, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC unīdī<sup>8</sup>D uṭhī added<sup>9</sup>A kaidhō; D, H, RC kidhau; I kaidhaū; J kahi dhō; BR, NC kidhaū<sup>10</sup>D, H, PH, NC, RC kāhū; F kou<sup>11</sup>A, F, H, BR kachu<sup>12</sup>A, BR kahyo; NCP kahau; NCM kahayau<sup>13</sup>BR, PH tero<sup>14</sup>A esoi; D aisohī; H, J, NCM, RC aisauī; I aisauhī<sup>15</sup>H, PH subhāu<sup>16</sup>D mohī; BR mohī<sup>17</sup>A, D, F, H, I, BR, PH, NC, RC dekhe; J deṣai<sup>18</sup>H, J, BR binu<sup>19</sup>F, H, J rahyau; BR rahyo<sup>20</sup>D vaya<sup>21</sup>A pare; NCM parata emended to parai<sup>22</sup>A, I ri added<sup>23</sup>H kē<sup>24</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, PH, RC tū<sup>25</sup>BR, NCP, RC chāḍī; NCM chāḍī<sup>26</sup>F subhāva; H, PH kubhāu<sup>27</sup>J kāhū<sup>28</sup>A jhika; D jhūka; F jhukani; BR jhūki; NCM jhukī emended to jhuka<sup>29</sup>D, I, BR, RC hamai; F, H, J hamahi<sup>30</sup>F, I deti<sup>31</sup>NCM hai added<sup>32</sup>H, PH dubhāu; NCM kubhāva<sup>33</sup>BR haridāsi<sup>34</sup>NCM svāmi<sup>35</sup>F, NC, RC syāmā<sup>36</sup>NCP, RC kuñjabihārī added<sup>37</sup>H kai; PH kē<sup>38</sup>A, F, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC pragaṭata<sup>39</sup>NC jo<sup>40</sup>H, PH bhāu; RC bhava emended to bhāva

## KM 77

[ālasa] bhīje rī nēna<sup>1</sup> jābhāti<sup>2</sup> āchī<sup>3</sup> bhāti<sup>4</sup> sudesā;

[kara sō<sup>5</sup>] kara ṭekai<sup>6</sup> aṅgurani<sup>7,8</sup> peca<sup>9</sup> mānō<sup>10</sup> sasi maṇḍala [baiṭhyau]<sup>11</sup> ati bhāti<sup>12</sup>  
sudesā;

mana ke harive<sup>13</sup> kau<sup>14</sup> aura<sup>15</sup> [suṣa<sup>16</sup> nāhi<sup>17</sup>] kou<sup>18</sup> pyārī<sup>19</sup> naṣa siṣa<sup>20</sup> bhāti sudesā;

śrī haridāsa<sup>21</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>22</sup> kuṅjabihārī<sup>23</sup> chā[tū saū<sup>24</sup> chātū] lagāe<sup>25</sup> aṅga aṅga<sup>26</sup>  
sudesā.

Folio missing in C

<sup>1</sup>A, D, I, J, BR, NC, RC naīna

<sup>2</sup>D jabhāti; F, BR jabhāti; H jabhhāta; I jabhāta; J jābhāta; RC jāhmāti

<sup>3</sup>H akṣī; NCM āchī

<sup>4</sup>I bhāti

<sup>5</sup>D, H, I, J saū; RC sau

<sup>6</sup>A, F, H, PH, NCP ṭekē; I, RC ṭekai; BR ṭeka; NCM ṭeki

<sup>7</sup>A, RC aṅgurina; D agurina; F, H agurini; I aṅgurīni; J, NCP aṅgurini; NCM aṅgurinu

<sup>8</sup>BR bica added

<sup>9</sup>NCM pēca

<sup>10</sup>A, RC mānau; D, H, I, J mānā

<sup>11</sup>D paṭhyau; BR, PH baiṭhyo; NCP baiṭhayau; NCM baiṭhau

<sup>12</sup>F bhā

<sup>13</sup>BR, NCP harave

<sup>14</sup>F, PH kō; BR ko; NC, RC kau

<sup>15</sup>F, BR omitted; H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>16</sup>F, H, BR omitted

<sup>17</sup>A nāhī; D, I, J, NCP nāhi; F, H nāhinē; BR nāhine; NCM nāhinē

<sup>18</sup>F, I, J, BR, NCM omitted

<sup>19</sup>Added: F, I kou; H kou to te, kou to (deleted), te emended to tū; J, NCP tū; BR, NCM kou to te; RC to  
tai

<sup>20</sup>H tē added, deleted; J ati; BR tē

<sup>21</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>22</sup>H, I syāma

<sup>23</sup>H, I, BR, NCM omitted

<sup>24</sup>D sau; F, BR, PH, NC sō

<sup>25</sup>D lagāyai; H, NC lagāyē; I, J lagāyaī; BR, RC lagāye

<sup>26</sup>NCP āga

## KM 78

pyārī jū eka<sup>1</sup> [bāta ko<sup>2</sup>] mohi<sup>3</sup> ḍara<sup>4,5</sup> āvata<sup>6</sup> hai<sup>7</sup> rī mati<sup>8</sup> kabahū<sup>9</sup> kuma[yā<sup>10</sup> kari<sup>11</sup> jāti<sup>12</sup>];  
 palu<sup>13</sup> palu<sup>14</sup> hitu<sup>15</sup> bañchatu<sup>16</sup> hō<sup>17</sup> rī mati [parai<sup>18</sup> bhāti<sup>19</sup>;  
 yaha] saca<sup>20</sup> aisē<sup>21</sup> hī<sup>22</sup> rahau<sup>23</sup> rī<sup>24</sup> jini<sup>25</sup> ṭarau<sup>26</sup> teri<sup>27</sup> ghāti<sup>28</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>29</sup> ke svāmī syāma<sup>30,31</sup> kahata<sup>32</sup> yō<sup>33</sup> bāḍhau<sup>34</sup> jyaū<sup>35</sup> puraini<sup>36</sup> jala<sup>37</sup> kī rīti<sup>38</sup>  
 tohi<sup>39</sup> laū<sup>40</sup> sāti<sup>41</sup>.

Folio missing in C, text resumes in line 3, asī

<sup>1</sup>H, I yeka

<sup>2</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, NC, RC kau

<sup>3</sup>F, RC omitted; BR mohī

<sup>4</sup>H, NCP ḍaru

<sup>5</sup>F, RC mohi added

<sup>6</sup>F āvati; H āvatu

<sup>7</sup>F, H, BR, NCM omitted; NCP deleted

<sup>8</sup>NCP matī

<sup>9</sup>D, I, J, BR, PH, NC °hū

<sup>10</sup>D, F kamayā; J kumiyā

<sup>11</sup>NCP kari; NCM kara

<sup>12</sup>J jāta

<sup>13</sup>A, I, J, NC, RC pala

<sup>14</sup>A, I, J, NC, RC pala

<sup>15</sup>A, D, I, J, BR, NC, RC hita

<sup>16</sup>A, D, I bañchita; F bāñchati; J, NCP bāñchita; BR bāñchata; PH, RC bañchata; NCM bāchita

<sup>17</sup>A, H, I, BR, PH haū; D, RC hau; F, NC ho

<sup>18</sup>H pare

<sup>19</sup>D, J bhāta

<sup>20</sup>A, F, H, I, J, BR, RC sacu

<sup>21</sup>A esē; C asī; D, H, I, PH, RC aisai; J aisai; BR aiso

<sup>22</sup>C omitted; I hī; BR i

<sup>23</sup>J, BR, PH raho

<sup>24</sup>I omitted

<sup>25</sup>C, J na; D, I, NCM, RC jina; F jibi; BR mati

<sup>26</sup>C ṭasaro, -sa- without top line, meant to be omitted; BR, PH ṭaro

<sup>27</sup>C taīri

<sup>28</sup>C ghāti; D, NCM ghāta; I, J ghāti

<sup>29</sup>C haradāsa; J, BR haridāsi

<sup>30</sup>C, F, RC syāmā; H syāmu

<sup>31</sup>F, RC kuñjabihārī added

<sup>32</sup>H kahatu

<sup>33</sup>C yo; D, RC yau; H, I, J, NCM yaū

<sup>34</sup>A bāḍhyo; C bāḍhaū; D, F, H bāḍhyau; BR, PH bāḍho; RC bāḍhau

<sup>35</sup>A, RC jyau; H jyau, deleted; BR jyo; PH, NCP jyō

<sup>36</sup>C purani; D, BR, RC puraina; F puraiyani; NCM puini emended to puraini

<sup>37</sup>F omitted, added in marg.

<sup>38</sup>RC rīta

<sup>39</sup>C, F, I, J, PH, RC tau hī; D tyau hī; BR to hī; NCM tō hī

<sup>40</sup>D, RC lau; F, BR, PH, NCP lō; J lo

<sup>41</sup>C sāti; NCM sāti

## KM 79

pyārī jū<sup>1,2</sup> hama tuma doū<sup>3</sup> eka<sup>4</sup> kuñja ke<sup>5</sup> saṣā rūṭhe<sup>6</sup> kyaū<sup>7,8</sup> banē<sup>9</sup>;  
 ihā<sup>10</sup> na<sup>11</sup> koū<sup>12,13</sup> merau<sup>14</sup> na<sup>15</sup> terau<sup>16</sup> hitū<sup>17</sup> jo<sup>18</sup> yaha<sup>19</sup> pīra<sup>20</sup> janē<sup>21</sup>;  
 hō<sup>22</sup> tero<sup>23</sup> basīṭha<sup>24,25</sup> tū<sup>26</sup> merau<sup>27</sup> to<sup>28</sup> merai<sup>29</sup> bica<sup>30</sup> aura<sup>31</sup> na<sup>32</sup> sanaī<sup>33</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>34</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>35</sup> kuñjabihārī kahata<sup>36</sup> prīti<sup>37</sup> panē<sup>38</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>C ju; NC omitted

<sup>2</sup>C a added, deleted

<sup>3</sup>C dauū; F, J, BR omitted

<sup>4</sup>I yeka

<sup>5</sup>A kē

<sup>6</sup>A, F, H, PH, NC rūṭhē; I, RC rūṣai; J rūṭhai

<sup>7</sup>A, BR, NC kyō; C, RC kyau

<sup>8</sup>NC kara added

<sup>9</sup>A, C, D, J, BR, RC banaī; H banai; I bane

<sup>10</sup>A, I, NCM yahā; C itahā emended to ihā; F hyā; H, J, BR ihā

<sup>11</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, RC omitted; PH omitted, added in marg.

<sup>12</sup>A koī; C kaūu

<sup>13</sup>Added: C hitū; H, I, J, BR, RC hitū

<sup>14</sup>A, PH mero; C maīraū; BR tero; NCM merau koū emended to koū merau with numbers

<sup>15</sup>PH deleted?

<sup>16</sup>A, PH tero; C tāūrau; D teraū; F te; BR mero

<sup>17</sup>C, H, I, J, RC omitted; F hitu

<sup>18</sup>C, J jau; H ju

<sup>19</sup>F yā

<sup>20</sup>H para

<sup>21</sup>A, C, D, J janaī; I jane; BR, RC janai

<sup>22</sup>C hu; D, BR, NC haū; RC hau

<sup>23</sup>C teraū; D, F, H, I, J, NC, RC terau

<sup>24</sup>H basīṭhu

<sup>25</sup>C ku added

<sup>26</sup>BR, NC tū

<sup>27</sup>C meraū emended to merī or *vice versa*; D mere; BR, PH mero

<sup>28</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, NC, RC omitted; PH tu

<sup>29</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, NC, RC omitted

<sup>30</sup>A, C, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC omitted

<sup>31</sup>PH ora

<sup>32</sup>A, C, BR, NCP, RC bica added; NCM bici

<sup>33</sup>D sanaū; F, H, PH, NCP sanē; I sane; BR, RC sanai

<sup>34</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>35</sup>H syāma

<sup>36</sup>C pyārī

<sup>37</sup>RC prīta

<sup>38</sup>A, J, NCM, RC panaī; C, I pane; D, BR panai

## KM 80

cūnarī<sup>1</sup> mai<sup>2</sup> jāḍo<sup>3,4</sup> lāgatu<sup>5</sup> hai<sup>6</sup> rī<sup>7</sup> kījiye<sup>8</sup> suṣa sēna<sup>9</sup>;  
gharī<sup>10</sup> gharī<sup>11</sup> kai<sup>12</sup> rūsanē<sup>13</sup> pahara<sup>14</sup> manāvata<sup>15</sup> jāi<sup>16</sup> mīṭhe<sup>17</sup> mīṭhe<sup>18</sup> baīna<sup>19</sup>;  
uṭhi<sup>20</sup> sadakai<sup>21</sup> balāi<sup>22</sup> lēva<sup>23</sup> prakṛti<sup>24</sup> [yō<sup>25</sup> na] cāhiye<sup>26</sup> dhāiye<sup>27</sup> jyaū<sup>28</sup> mēna<sup>29</sup>;  
śrī haridāsa<sup>30</sup> ke<sup>31</sup> svāmī syāmā<sup>32</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>33</sup> gahi<sup>34</sup> lapaṭāi<sup>35,36</sup> rahe<sup>37</sup> [māni<sup>38</sup> sa]bai<sup>39</sup>  
suṣa<sup>40</sup> caīna<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>NCM cunarī

<sup>2</sup>A, F, H, I, BR, NC mē; C, D mai

<sup>3</sup>A, F, H, I, J, NC, RC jāḍau; C, D jāḍau

<sup>4</sup>C lāḍau added

<sup>5</sup>A lāgai; C lāgai emended to lāgatu; D, F, I, J, BR, RC lāgata

<sup>6</sup>A omitted; C omitted, added *sup. lin., sec m.*; D hai

<sup>7</sup>A, C, D, F, H omitted

<sup>8</sup>A, C, F, H, RC kījiyai; D kījiyai; I kījiyai; NCP kījiye; NCM kījiye

<sup>9</sup>A, C, D, I, J, BR, RC saina

<sup>10</sup>C ghari

<sup>11</sup>C ghari

<sup>12</sup>F, I, J, BR, PH, RC ke; H, NC kē

<sup>13</sup>C, D, J, RC rūsanai

<sup>14</sup>H paharu

<sup>15</sup>F manāvavata

<sup>16</sup>C jāha; D, I jāta; NC jāya; RC jāi

<sup>17</sup>C mīṭhai; PH deleted

<sup>18</sup>C mīṭhai; D mīṭhai; H, NCP omitted

<sup>19</sup>F, H, J bēna

<sup>20</sup>D uṭha

<sup>21</sup>A, I sadikai; C sadikai; D sakaidakai; F, H sadikē; BR sadake; NCP sadakai

<sup>22</sup>A bulāya; C balāi; NC balāya

<sup>23</sup>A, F leu; C lehu; D laiu; H lyau; I laihu; J lyaū; BR lyō; PH laiva; NC leva; RC laihu

<sup>24</sup>D, RC prakṛta

<sup>25</sup>C, H, J, RC yaū; D yau

<sup>26</sup>A cāhiye; C cāhiyai; D, F, H, I, PH, RC cāhiyai; J cāyai

<sup>27</sup>A dhāiye; C cāhiyai; D, F, H, I, J cāhiyai; BR cāhiye; NCP dhāiye, emended to dhāiye; NCM dhāiye; RC dhāiyai

<sup>28</sup>A, BR, NC jyō; C, RC jyau

<sup>29</sup>D, I, J, BR, PH, RC māina

<sup>30</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>31</sup>C kai

<sup>32</sup>F, I syāma

<sup>33</sup>C kuñjakuhārī emended to kuñjakihārī; F omitted

<sup>34</sup>C, F, H, J, BR, NCM, RC omitted

<sup>35</sup>C laṭapaṭāi; D, NCP lapaṭāya; F, H, J, BR laṭapaṭāi; PH lapaṭāi emended to laṭapaṭāi; NCM laṭapaṭāta; RC paṭāi emended to lapaṭāi

<sup>36</sup>F paṭāi added

<sup>37</sup>C rahaī; D rahē

<sup>38</sup>D māna; NC māni

<sup>39</sup>C sabaī; D omitted

<sup>40</sup>D sakha

<sup>41</sup>C, F, H cena



## KM 81

<sup>1</sup>duhūna<sup>2</sup> kī sahaja<sup>3</sup> bisāti<sup>4</sup> [doū]<sup>5</sup> mili<sup>6</sup> satarañja ṣelata;  
 ura ruṣa nēna<sup>7</sup> ca[pala<sup>8</sup> a]sva<sup>9</sup> catura<sup>10</sup> barābari<sup>11</sup> jhelata<sup>12</sup>;  
 ātura[tā<sup>13</sup> phīla<sup>14</sup> pa]lyāde<sup>15</sup> nigraha pharajī cōpa<sup>16</sup> anūpama<sup>17</sup> pelata<sup>18</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>19</sup> ke<sup>20</sup> svāmī syāmā<sup>21</sup> kuñjabihārī saha sāha<sup>22</sup> rāṣē<sup>23</sup> ṣelata<sup>24</sup>.

- 
- <sup>1</sup>In A, F and H the second half of the line (from doū) precedes the first  
<sup>2</sup>A, D duhuna; C duhīni; F, H, BR, RC duhuni; I dohūna; J doūni; NCP duhūna  
<sup>3</sup>H sahaju  
<sup>4</sup>A bisāta; C, J, PH, NCP bisāti; D, BR, RC bisāta; NCM bisāti  
<sup>5</sup>C daūū  
<sup>6</sup>D mila; NCM mili  
<sup>7</sup>C, D, I, J, BR, NC, RC naīna  
<sup>8</sup>C caṭavaya  
<sup>9</sup>H asu  
<sup>10</sup>C caṭūra  
<sup>11</sup>A, C, D, BR, PH, NC, RC barābara  
<sup>12</sup>C jhelalata  
<sup>13</sup>C ātura  
<sup>14</sup>A, BR, NC, RC pīla  
<sup>15</sup>BR piyāde  
<sup>16</sup>A, D caupa; C, NCP cōpa; H, I, J caūpa; RC cauapa emended to caupa  
<sup>17</sup>C anupama  
<sup>18</sup>C ṣelata; F phelata  
<sup>19</sup>BR haridāsi  
<sup>20</sup>C kai  
<sup>21</sup>A śyā  
<sup>22</sup>A sō; C sau; D, F sā; H sōha; J, NCM saū; BR so  
<sup>23</sup>A, D, BR, NC rāke; C, I, J rāṣai; RC rākhai  
<sup>24</sup>D lata

## KM 82

hauḍa<sup>1</sup> pari<sup>2</sup> maurani<sup>3</sup> aura<sup>4</sup> syāmahi<sup>5</sup>;  
 āvahu<sup>6</sup> milahu<sup>7</sup> madhya<sup>8</sup> sacu<sup>9</sup> kī gati lēhi<sup>10</sup> raṅga dhō<sup>11,12</sup> kāmēhi<sup>13</sup>;  
 hamāre tumāre<sup>14</sup> madhyastha<sup>15</sup> rādhe aura<sup>16</sup> jāhi<sup>17</sup> badau<sup>18</sup> bījhi deṣau<sup>19</sup> tinu<sup>20</sup> dai<sup>21</sup> kahā  
 hai<sup>22</sup> yā mēhi<sup>23</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>24</sup> ke svāmī<sup>25</sup> kau<sup>26</sup> copari<sup>27</sup> kau<sup>28</sup> sau<sup>29</sup> ṣela<sup>30</sup> ikaguna<sup>31</sup> duguna<sup>32</sup> tiguna<sup>33</sup>  
 caturāguna<sup>34</sup> rī<sup>35</sup> jā ke<sup>36,37</sup> nāmehi<sup>38</sup>.

This verse is missing in RC1, variants taken from RC2

<sup>1</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC hoḍa; RC hoḍi

<sup>2</sup>C pari

<sup>3</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, BR, RC morani; NC moranī

<sup>4</sup>A oru; C, F, H, J, BR, RC aru; D au

<sup>5</sup>A śyāme; H, I, RC syāmai; NCM syāma hī

<sup>6</sup>C avahu

<sup>7</sup>F milihu

<sup>8</sup>A, I maddhi; C, H, J madhi; BR omitted, added in marg.

<sup>9</sup>C sacī; D, F, H, PH, NC saca; BR saca emended to sacu

<sup>10</sup>A, D, BR, NCP lehi; C laiha; I laihi; J, RC laihi; NCM lehu emended to lehi

<sup>11</sup>C, D, J, BR, NC dhaū; RC dhau

<sup>12</sup>BR raṅga dhaū added

<sup>13</sup>A kāmē; C, D, F, J, BR, PH, NCM kāmahi; H, I, RC kāmāi; NCP kāma hi

<sup>14</sup>A, F, PH, RC tumāre; C, H, I, J, BR, NC tumhāre; D tumāre

<sup>15</sup>H madhista

<sup>16</sup>C aūra; H auru

<sup>17</sup>C, NCP jāhi; PH jāha

<sup>18</sup>D baddo?

<sup>19</sup>C deṣaū; D vekhau; BR, PH dekho

<sup>20</sup>A, I, J trana; C ṭṇu; BR, NC, RC ṭṇa

<sup>21</sup>C de

<sup>22</sup>C, D haī

<sup>23</sup>A mē; C mahī; D, J, BR, PH, NC mahi; F -hi omitted, added *sup. lin.*; H, I maī; RC mai

<sup>24</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>25</sup>Added: C syā; J syāmā; NCP syamā, emended to syāmā; NCM, RC syāmā kuñabihārī

<sup>26</sup>D kaū; BR ko

<sup>27</sup>C caūpara; D, BR, NCM, RC caupara; F, H, I, J caupari; NCP coparī emended to copara

<sup>28</sup>C kaū; I, NCP kai; BR, PH ko; NCM kau emended to kai

<sup>29</sup>C saū; BR, PH so

<sup>30</sup>H ṣelu

<sup>31</sup>C ṅuṅa; NCP ekaguna; RC ikaguna

<sup>32</sup>C duguṅa; F diguna; NCP dviguṅa; NCM dviguna; RC duna

<sup>33</sup>A, BR, NC triguna; C triguṅa; I traguna; J, RC ṭṛguna

<sup>34</sup>F, H caturguṅa; RC caturaguna

<sup>35</sup>H omitted

<sup>36</sup>C kaī

<sup>37</sup>H rī added

<sup>38</sup>A, H nāmē; C, D, F, J, BR, PH nāmahi; I, RC nāmāi; NC nāma hī

## KM 83

kaho<sup>1</sup> yaha kākī beṭī kahau<sup>2</sup> dhō<sup>3</sup> kahā<sup>4</sup> hai<sup>5</sup> kūvari<sup>6</sup> kau<sup>7</sup> nāu<sup>8</sup>;  
 tuma saba raho<sup>9</sup> rī hō<sup>10,11</sup> hī<sup>12</sup> hō<sup>13</sup> hī<sup>14</sup> ūtara<sup>15</sup> daihaū<sup>16</sup> cali<sup>17</sup> kina<sup>18</sup> jāu<sup>19</sup> ḍhoṭā bāu<sup>20</sup>  
 bāvarau<sup>21</sup> hai<sup>22</sup> gāu<sup>23</sup>;  
 saba saṣī<sup>24</sup> mili<sup>25</sup> chirakāu<sup>26,27</sup> ṣelana<sup>28</sup> lāgī<sup>29</sup> to<sup>30</sup> laū<sup>31</sup> tuma rahau<sup>32</sup> rī jo<sup>33</sup> laū<sup>34</sup> haū<sup>35</sup>  
 nhāu<sup>36</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>37</sup> ke<sup>38</sup> svāmī syāmā<sup>39</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>39</sup> lai<sup>40</sup> buḍakī<sup>41</sup> garai<sup>42</sup> lāgi<sup>43</sup> cōki<sup>44</sup> pari<sup>45,46</sup>  
 [kahā<sup>47</sup> hō<sup>48</sup> jāu<sup>49</sup>].

<sup>1</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, NC, RC kahau; C kahaū

<sup>2</sup>A, D, I kahā; C, F, J, BR kahi; NC kaho; RC omitted

<sup>3</sup>A, C, J, NC dhaū; D, I dhau; RC omitted

<sup>4</sup>A, D, I omitted

<sup>5</sup>A, C, D, F, I, BR omitted; H omitted, added in marg.; J he

<sup>6</sup>A kūvari; C, F, H, J, BR yā; D kuvari

<sup>7</sup>C, H kaū; BR, PH ko

<sup>8</sup>A, C, F nāma; I, RC nāva; J, NC nāū

<sup>9</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, NC, RC rahau

<sup>10</sup>A, D, H, RC hau; C, I, J, BR, NC haū

<sup>11</sup>D rā added, deleted

<sup>12</sup>A, D, J, PH, RC hī; C, F, H, I, BR, NC omitted

<sup>13</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC omitted

<sup>14</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC omitted

<sup>15</sup>A utaru; C utaru; D, F, NCM ūttara; H utara; J, BR, NCP uttura

<sup>16</sup>A, C daihaū; F daihō; H, BR daihau; J daiū; PH daihū; NCP daihō; RC dehaū

<sup>17</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NC cale; C calē; RC câle

<sup>18</sup>A, F, H, I, PH kini; C kinī; J kyaū na

<sup>19</sup>A, F, I, J, RC jāhu; PH jāi; NC jāva

<sup>20</sup>C bāi; D, NC bāya; I, J, RC bāi; BR omitted, added *sup. lin., sec. m.*

<sup>21</sup>BR, PH, NCP bāvaro

<sup>22</sup>A, D, H, I, BR, NC, RC omitted

<sup>23</sup>A, F gāma; C gāū; D, NC gāū; H gāu; I gāva; RC gāva

<sup>24</sup>NCP saṣi

<sup>25</sup>NCM mila

<sup>26</sup>C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC chirakā

<sup>27</sup>Added: C jū; D, F, H, BR, PH, RC ju; I jo

<sup>28</sup>D gā added, deleted

<sup>29</sup>A, C, D, F, I, J, BR, NC, RC lāgī

<sup>30</sup>A, I, J jau; C, F, H, NC, RC tau; D taū; BR jo

<sup>31</sup>A, C, D, H, I, J, RC lau; F, BR, PH, NCP lō

<sup>32</sup>PH raho

<sup>33</sup>A, I, J tau; C, D, F, H, NC, RC jau; BR to

<sup>34</sup>A, D, BR, RC lau; F, PH, NCP lō

<sup>35</sup>C, RC hau; F, H hō

<sup>36</sup>A, I, RC nhāva; C, BR nhāū; NCP nhāū

<sup>37</sup>J, BR haridāsi

<sup>38</sup>C kaī

<sup>39</sup>J omitted; PH deleted?

<sup>40</sup>C lai; J le

<sup>41</sup>D buḍikī; BR puḍakī

<sup>42</sup>A, C, D, I garai; F, BR gare; H, PH garē

<sup>43</sup>D lagāi; F, H lāge

<sup>44</sup>A, D, H, J, BR cauki; C, NCM, RC caūki; I caūka

<sup>45</sup>C rī

<sup>46</sup>NCM kī added

<sup>47</sup>C, F, H, BR kahā

<sup>48</sup>A hau; C, H, I, J, BR, RC omitted; D, NC haū

<sup>49</sup>A, RC jāva; C jāū; D, H jāu; I jāva; NCP jāū; NCM jāū

## KM 84

eka<sup>1</sup> samē<sup>2</sup> ekānta<sup>3</sup> bana<sup>4</sup> mē<sup>5</sup> ḍola<sup>6</sup> [jhūlata]<sup>7,8</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>9</sup>;  
<sup>10</sup>jhoṭā<sup>11</sup> deta paraspara saba<sup>12</sup> [mili]<sup>13</sup> abira<sup>14</sup> uḍāvata<sup>15</sup> ḍārī<sup>16</sup>;  
 kabahūke<sup>17</sup> ve<sup>18</sup> una<sup>19</sup> ke<sup>20</sup> [ve una<sup>21</sup> ke<sup>22</sup>] hō<sup>23</sup> duhūni<sup>24</sup> kī<sup>25</sup> eka<sup>26</sup> sārī;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>27</sup> ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī baḍhyau<sup>28</sup> raṅgu<sup>29</sup> bhārī.

<sup>1</sup>I yeka<sup>2</sup>A, NCP samaya; C, D, I, BR, NCM, RC samaī<sup>3</sup>I yekānta<sup>4</sup>F omitted; H omitted, added in marg., *pr. m.*<sup>5</sup>D, RC mai; F omitted; H omitted, added in marg., *pr. m.*; I, J maī<sup>6</sup>A ḍōla; NCM ḍaula<sup>7</sup>F jhūlai<sup>8</sup>Added: F, I śrī, in text; PH śrī, in marg.<sup>9</sup>F kujabihārī<sup>10</sup>C second line omitted<sup>11</sup>I jhōṭā; BR jhotā; NCP jhautā<sup>12</sup>D, H, BR, NCM omitted<sup>13</sup>D, H, BR, NCM omitted<sup>14</sup>NCM abira<sup>15</sup>F uḍāvati<sup>16</sup>H bhārī? emended to ḍārī<sup>17</sup>A °hūka; C °hu; D, I °hūka; F, J, BR, RC °huka; H °hūkē; NCP °hū; NCM °hūka<sup>18</sup>C vaī<sup>19</sup>F uni<sup>20</sup>C kai<sup>21</sup>F uni<sup>22</sup>C kaī<sup>23</sup>A, D, H, I, J, BR haū; C, RC hau; NCM ho<sup>24</sup>A, C, BR duhuna; D druhūna; F, H duhumi; I duhūni; NC duhūna; RC dūhūna<sup>25</sup>C hī; F kē; BR ke; RC kaī<sup>26</sup>C ka; F, H, J, BR, RC ika; I yeka<sup>27</sup>BR haridāsi<sup>28</sup>A, BR baḍhyo; D baḍhyaū; NCP rahayau; NCM baḍhau<sup>29</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC raṅga

## KM 85

kuñja kuñja ḍolani<sup>1</sup> mṛdu bolani<sup>2</sup> ṭūṭi<sup>3</sup> lara chūṭi<sup>4</sup> poti<sup>5</sup> sobhā<sup>6</sup> ati<sup>7,8</sup> lāgati<sup>9</sup>;  
bhavara<sup>10</sup> guñjāra<sup>11,12</sup> karata<sup>13,14</sup> saṅga<sup>15</sup> ḍolata<sup>16</sup> mānō<sup>17,18</sup> mera<sup>19,20</sup> rāga<sup>21</sup> ke<sup>22</sup> saṅga<sup>23</sup>  
liyē<sup>24</sup> rāgati<sup>25</sup>;  
jūtha aneka sughara<sup>26</sup> juvatini<sup>27</sup> ke tuhmāri<sup>28</sup> <ri>jha<sup>29,30</sup> palava<sup>31</sup> nahi<sup>32</sup> lāgati<sup>33</sup>;  
śrī haridāsa<sup>34</sup> ke<sup>35</sup> svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārini<sup>36</sup> para tana mana<sup>37</sup> dhana<sup>38</sup> nyaūchāvāri<sup>39</sup>  
karaū<sup>40</sup> kā gata<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>NCP bolana emended to ḍolana; NCM ḍolana

<sup>2</sup>C baṭlani; D belani; NC bolana

<sup>3</sup>C ṭuṭi; F chuṭi; H chūṭi emended to ṭūṭi

<sup>4</sup>C chuṭi; F, H ṭūṭi; RC chūṭe

<sup>5</sup>C poti; NC pota

<sup>6</sup>A, C, F, H, I, BR, NC, RC omitted

<sup>7</sup>NCM omitted, added *inf. lin.*

<sup>8</sup>A, C, F, H, I, BR, NCP, RC chabi added

<sup>9</sup>A, PH, NCP, RC lāgata; C lā laugati; I lāgati emended to lāgata; NCM lāgati

<sup>10</sup>A, RC bhamara; I, PH bhāvāra; NC bhramara

<sup>11</sup>C, RC gujāra; F uḍāi

<sup>12</sup>Added: F na; RC chāchapūra, deleted

<sup>13</sup>F sakata

<sup>14</sup>F ba added

<sup>15</sup>F sa added

<sup>16</sup>F omitted; PH ḍaulata

<sup>17</sup>A, H, I, RC mānau; C, D, J mānā; F manō; BR mano

<sup>18</sup>F giri added

<sup>19</sup>C, D, J, BR meru

<sup>20</sup>H kē added, deleted

<sup>21</sup>C, I, BR, RC rāgani; F omitted; H rāga emended to rāgani; J rāgini; NCP rāgini; NCM rāgini

<sup>22</sup>C, J kau; F, NC kō; H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>23</sup>C ḍaulata mānau mairu added

<sup>24</sup>C, D, H, I liyai; J, RC liyai; BR liye

<sup>25</sup>A, F, I, PH, RC rāgata

<sup>26</sup>A omitted, added *sup. lin.*

<sup>27</sup>A, D, BR, NC, RC juvatina; C juvatini; F javatini

<sup>28</sup>C, D, I, BR, NC tumhāri; H tumhari

<sup>29</sup>D, J, PH, NCM, RC riḥi; NCP riḥi

<sup>30</sup>C paraspara added

<sup>31</sup>H paluva; NC palaka

<sup>32</sup>A, NCM nahi; C, D, I nahi

<sup>33</sup>A, I, PH, RC lāgata

<sup>34</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>35</sup>C akaī

<sup>36</sup>C, I, BR, NC kuñjabihāri; D kuñjabihārīna; PH kuñjabihārani

<sup>37</sup>H manu

<sup>38</sup>H omitted

<sup>39</sup>C °ri; D, RC °ra; I nauchāri emended to nauchāvāri; J nāuchāvāri; BR nyochāvāri

<sup>40</sup>C, D, RC karau; F, NCP karō; H karaī emended to karaū

<sup>41</sup>C, F, H, J, BR, NC gati

## KM 86

priyā<sup>1</sup> piya<sup>2</sup> ke<sup>3</sup> uṭhibe<sup>4</sup> kī<sup>5</sup> chabi baranī na jāi<sup>6</sup> saba<sup>7</sup> tē<sup>8</sup> nyāre<sup>9</sup>;  
 mānō<sup>10</sup> dyosa<sup>11</sup> rēni<sup>12</sup> eka<sup>13</sup> ṭhaura<sup>14</sup> tē<sup>15</sup> ye<sup>16</sup> na<sup>17</sup> bhaye<sup>18</sup> na<sup>19</sup> bhaye<sup>20</sup> nyāre<sup>21</sup>;  
 bāra laṭapaṭe<sup>22</sup> mānō<sup>23</sup> bhavara<sup>24</sup> jūtha larata paraspara<sup>25</sup> kama<sup>26</sup> dala<sup>27</sup> (p.c.-la)  
 da(la)<sup>mg</sup>ni<sup>28</sup> para<sup>29</sup> ṣaṅjarīṭa<sup>30</sup> sobhā<sup>31</sup> nyāre<sup>32</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>33</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>34</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>34,35</sup> para<sup>36</sup> koṭi<sup>37</sup> koṭi<sup>38</sup> anaṅga<sup>39,40</sup> koṭi  
 brahmāṇḍa<sup>41</sup> vāri<sup>42</sup> kiye<sup>43</sup> nyāre<sup>44</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>C priya; D, I priyā

<sup>2</sup>D, I, NC piya

<sup>3</sup>BR kī

<sup>4</sup>C uṭhibe; D uṭhabe

<sup>5</sup>C gī

<sup>6</sup>A, D, I, J, NC, RC jāya; C jāi; BR jāi

<sup>7</sup>D hī added

<sup>8</sup>C, I, J tāi; D, RC tai; BR te

<sup>9</sup>C nyārai; F nyārē

<sup>10</sup>A mānahu; C mānyaū; D, J mānaū; H māna; I māna hū; RC mānau

<sup>11</sup>C, D, F, H, I, J, NC, RC dyausa

<sup>12</sup>A, I, J raini; C reṇa; D, BR, NCM, RC raīna; NCP rēna

<sup>13</sup>A, C, H, I, J, NC, RC ika

<sup>14</sup>A, F, H, J, RC thaure; C, PH ṭhōra; BR thaurai; NCM thaūrē

<sup>15</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC omitted

<sup>16</sup>A, I, NC soye; C saūye; D saue; F omitted; H so; J sauye; BR, RC soe

<sup>17</sup>I nā

<sup>18</sup>C bhayaī; D, F, RC bhae

<sup>19</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC omitted

<sup>20</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC omitted

<sup>21</sup>C nyārai

<sup>22</sup>D laṭapare; NCM lapate

<sup>23</sup>A, H, I, RC mānau; C, D, J mānaū; BR māno

<sup>24</sup>A bhamara; I, PH, NC bhāvara; RC bhramara

<sup>25</sup>H parasapara

<sup>26</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC kamala

<sup>27</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC omitted

<sup>28</sup>D, J, NC dalana

<sup>29</sup>D pari

<sup>30</sup>A -ṭa omitted, added *inf. lin.*

<sup>31</sup>C saūbhā; F omitted

<sup>32</sup>C nyārai

<sup>33</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>34</sup>C omitted

<sup>35</sup>Added; C kuñjabihārini; I, J bihārani; RC śrī bihārī

<sup>36</sup>C pari; I omitted, added *sup. lin.*; RC ūpara

<sup>37</sup>C kaūṭi

<sup>38</sup>C kaūṭi

<sup>39</sup>D aṅganaṅga emended to anaṅga; F brahmāṇḍa; J aṅga emended to anaṅga, *pr. m.*

<sup>40</sup>NC aru added

<sup>41</sup>D brahmāmaḍa emended to brahmāḍa; F anaṅga; H brahmaṇḍa

<sup>42</sup>D, NC bāra

<sup>43</sup>C kiyaī; RC kie

<sup>44</sup>C nyārai

## KM 87

syāṃā syāma āvata kuñja mahala tē<sup>1</sup> [ragamage]<sup>2,3</sup> ragamage<sup>4</sup>;  
 maragajī<sup>5</sup> banamāla<sup>6</sup> sithala<sup>7</sup> ka[ṭi]<sup>8</sup> kiṅkini<sup>9</sup> aruna<sup>10</sup> nēna<sup>11,12</sup> cāraū<sup>13</sup> jāma<sup>14</sup> jage<sup>15</sup>;  
 saba [saṣī]<sup>16</sup> sugharāi gāvata<sup>17,18</sup> bīnā<sup>19</sup> bajāvata<sup>20</sup> mava<sup>21</sup> suṣa [...] <sup>22</sup> sāṅgīta page<sup>23</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>24</sup> ke<sup>25</sup> svāmi syāṃā kuñjabihārī (kī)<sup>mg,26</sup> kaṭāchi<sup>27</sup> saū<sup>28</sup> koṭi kāma dage<sup>29</sup>.

Omitted verse in F; in H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>1</sup>C, NCM te; D tai; I, J, RC tai

<sup>2</sup>C raṅgamagaī; D, NC, RC raṅgamage; BR ragamaga

<sup>3</sup>D ga added

<sup>4</sup>C ragamagaī; H omitted; RC raṅgamage

<sup>5</sup>D -ja- added after ma, deleted

<sup>6</sup>C, H, J, BR māla; PH bana omitted, added in marg.

<sup>7</sup>A, BR sithila

<sup>8</sup>C kaṭi

<sup>9</sup>C, NCP kiṅkini; H, I, J, BR, PH, RC kiṅkini

<sup>10</sup>A aruṇa

<sup>11</sup>D, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC naina

<sup>12</sup>NCP mānō added

<sup>13</sup>A cāryo; D, BR, NCP cārau; H, I cāryau; PH cārō; RC cāryaū

<sup>14</sup>A yāma

<sup>15</sup>C jagai

<sup>16</sup>J, BR mili added

<sup>17</sup>A, I gāvati

<sup>18</sup>J koū added

<sup>19</sup>C, H, I, J, BR, NC bīna

<sup>20</sup>A, I, BR bajāvati

<sup>21</sup>A, C, D, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC saba

<sup>22</sup>A, C, D, H, I, J, BR, PH, NCP, RC mili; NCP mila

<sup>23</sup>C pagai

<sup>24</sup>D -ke- added after dā, deleted; H, BR haridāsi

<sup>25</sup>C kaī

<sup>26</sup>A ke

<sup>27</sup>A, D, I, RC kaṭākṣa; BR kaṭācha replaces original reading; NC kaṭākṣi

<sup>28</sup>C, H, BR omitted; PH, NC sō; RC sau

<sup>29</sup>C dagai

## KM 88

hiṇḍore<sup>1</sup> ba<sup>2</sup> jhūlata<sup>3</sup> lāla dina [dūlaha<sup>4</sup> dulaḥini<sup>5</sup>] <sup>6</sup> bihārini<sup>7</sup> deṣau<sup>8</sup> rī lalanā<sup>9</sup>;  
 [gaura syāma] chabi ati duti<sup>10</sup> bahu<sup>11</sup> bhāti<sup>12</sup> rī<sup>13</sup> balanā<sup>14</sup>;  
 [nīlambara]<sup>15</sup> pītambara<sup>16,17</sup> calata<sup>18</sup> cañcala<sup>19</sup> dhujā<sup>20</sup> phaharāti<sup>21,22</sup> kala<sup>23</sup> nā<sup>24</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>25</sup> ke<sup>26</sup> svāmi<sup>27</sup> syāmā<sup>28</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>28</sup> śrī<sup>29</sup> bihārini<sup>30</sup> abacalanā<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>A, F, NC hiṇḍorē; C hiḍolaī; D, I hiḍorai; H, PH hiṇḍorē; J, RC hiṇḍoraī

<sup>2</sup>C omitted

<sup>3</sup>C rāga added, deleted

<sup>4</sup>F omitted; H, J, BR, PH dūlahu; NCP dulaḥa

<sup>5</sup>C dulaḥani; I, J, PH dulaḥani; BR dulaḥina

<sup>6</sup>Added: F dūlaha ba; H ba, deleted

<sup>7</sup>A -hā- omitted, added in marg.; C, F bihārī; I, J, PH bihārani; BR unr.

<sup>8</sup>PH deṣo

<sup>9</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NC lalanā

<sup>10</sup>NC dyuti

<sup>11</sup>H originally after bhāti, wordorder emended with numbers

<sup>12</sup>C bhāti

<sup>13</sup>F ra; BR omitted, added *sup. lin., sec. m.*

<sup>14</sup>A, C, D, F, H, J, NC balanā; I bālanā emended to balanā

<sup>15</sup>A nīlambara emended to nīlāmbara; C, F, I, J, BR, NC, RC nīlāmbara; PH unr.

<sup>16</sup>A pītambara emended to pītāmbara; C, F, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC pītāmbara

<sup>17</sup>Added: A, H, J, BR, NC, RC añcala; C añcara; F kī chabi; I acala; PH cañcala

<sup>18</sup>A cala; NCP calāta emended to calata

<sup>19</sup>A, C, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC omitted; D añcala

<sup>20</sup>NCM omitted

<sup>21</sup>C, H, I, J, NC, RC phaharāta; F pharāta; BR phahirāti

<sup>22</sup>BR rī added *sup. lin., sec. m.*

<sup>23</sup>NCP kali

<sup>24</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NC nā

<sup>25</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>26</sup>C kai

<sup>27</sup>C thvāmī?

<sup>28</sup>A kuñjabihārini emended to kuñjabihārī

<sup>29</sup>A omitted, added in marg.; C, F, H, I, J, BR, NCM, RC omitted

<sup>30</sup>A omitted, added in marg.; C bihārini; H, I, J, BR, PH bihārani; NCP bihārini

<sup>31</sup>A, D, I, J, BR, NCM abacalanā; C calanā; F, H calanā; NCP abacalinā; RC abacalamā



## KM 89

aisī<sup>1</sup> ritu<sup>2</sup> sadā<sup>3</sup> sarvadā<sup>4</sup> jo<sup>5</sup> rahai<sup>6</sup> bolata<sup>7</sup> morani<sup>8</sup>;  
 nīke<sup>9</sup> bādara<sup>10</sup> nīke<sup>11</sup> dhanaṣa<sup>12</sup> cahū<sup>13</sup> disa<sup>14</sup> nīkau<sup>15</sup> śrī<sup>16</sup> bṛndābana āchī<sup>17</sup> nīkī meghani<sup>18</sup>  
 kī ghorani<sup>19</sup>;  
 āchī<sup>20</sup> nīkī<sup>21</sup> bhūmi<sup>22</sup> hari<sup>23</sup> harī<sup>24</sup> harī<sup>25,26</sup> āchī nīkī<sup>27</sup> būḍhani<sup>28</sup> kī rēgani<sup>29</sup> kāma<sup>30</sup>  
 kiraurani<sup>31</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>32</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>33</sup> ke<sup>34</sup> mili<sup>35</sup> gāvata jamyāū<sup>36</sup> rāga<sup>37</sup> malāra<sup>38,39</sup> kisaura<sup>40</sup>  
 kisorani<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>A, NCP esī

<sup>2</sup>A ṛtu; D rītu; J ruti

<sup>3</sup>A sadā; F sadāi

<sup>4</sup>A sarvadā; F saravadā

<sup>5</sup>C, H jau

<sup>6</sup>NCP omitted

<sup>7</sup>A, NCM bolati; D bolati emended to bolata; NCP bolati

<sup>8</sup>NCP moranī

<sup>9</sup>C nīkai; F nīkē

<sup>10</sup>A bādala

<sup>11</sup>C nīkai

<sup>12</sup>A, D, F, I, J, NC, RC dhanuṣa; C, H, BR dhanaka; PH umr.

<sup>13</sup>A, C, H cahu; F, I, RC cahū; NCM cahū

<sup>14</sup>A, C, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC diśi

<sup>15</sup>BR ācho; PH nīko

<sup>16</sup>C, F, H, J, BR, NCM omitted

<sup>17</sup>NCP āchī

<sup>18</sup>C meghani; D, I, BR, NC meghana

<sup>19</sup>C ghorani; NCP dhorani; NCM ghorana

<sup>20</sup>C achī

<sup>21</sup>C, F, H, I, J, BR omitted

<sup>22</sup>C mi; I bhūma; NC bhūmī

<sup>23</sup>A, C, D, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC omitted; F hari emended to harī

<sup>24</sup>NCM hari

<sup>25</sup>F rī; BR omitted; NC hari

<sup>26</sup>D chā added, deleted

<sup>27</sup>C, F, H, I, J, BR, NC omitted

<sup>28</sup>C būḍhani; BR būḍhana; NCM buḍana

<sup>29</sup>C regani; D, I, J raigani; NCP raṅgana; NCM raigana; RC raigani

<sup>30</sup>C kāna

<sup>31</sup>A, C kirorani; D, RC kīrorani; F, J karaurani; I, BR, NCP karorani; PH karorani emended to kirorani?;

NCM karoranī

<sup>32</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>33</sup>J, BR kuñjabihārī added

<sup>34</sup>H, PH, NCM kē; I kai; J kaī

<sup>35</sup>C, F, BR, NC omitted; D mila; H omitted, added in marg., *sec. m.*

<sup>36</sup>A, PH jamyō; C, F, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC omitted

<sup>37</sup>H rāgu

<sup>38</sup>J mallāra

<sup>39</sup>Added: C, F, H, I, J, RC jamyāū; BR jamyō; NC jamau

<sup>40</sup>A, C, D, F, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC kiśora; H kiśori

<sup>41</sup>NC kiśorani

## KM 90

<sup>1</sup>āye<sup>2</sup> dina pāvāsa ke sacū<sup>3</sup> ke<sup>4</sup> so<sup>5</sup> bola<sup>6</sup> boliye<sup>7,8</sup> mānu<sup>9</sup> na karihaū<sup>10</sup>;  
ghari<sup>11</sup> ghari<sup>12</sup> ke<sup>13</sup> rūṣane<sup>14</sup> kyaū<sup>15</sup> banē<sup>16</sup> te<sup>17</sup> bola<sup>18</sup> boli[ye<sup>19</sup> ju<sup>20</sup>] mana baca<sup>21</sup> krama<sup>22,23</sup>  
(p.c. krama baca) ke<sup>24</sup>;  
bhayaū<sup>25</sup> hai<sup>26</sup> bandhāna<sup>27</sup> bahuta<sup>28</sup> jatanani<sup>29</sup> kari<sup>30</sup> bisare<sup>31</sup> guna<sup>32</sup> gasa<sup>33</sup> ke<sup>34</sup>;  
śrī haridāsa<sup>35</sup> ke svāmī syāma<sup>36</sup> kuñjabihārī pyārī<sup>37</sup> basa ke<sup>38</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>In NC the second part of the line (from sau) precedes the first

<sup>2</sup>A, D, F, J, PH āe

<sup>3</sup>A, F, H, BR, RC saca

<sup>4</sup>C kaī; D kaū

<sup>5</sup>C, H, J, BR, RC su; F omitted; NCP sau; NCM su in brackets, written beneath so in brackets

<sup>6</sup>RC omitted

<sup>7</sup>A, PH, RC boliyai; D boliyai; F boli; H boliyē; I, NCM boliye

<sup>8</sup>Added: A, C, I, J, BR jū; D, H ju; F dai

<sup>9</sup>A, C, D, I, BR, PH, NC, RC māna

<sup>10</sup>A, D, I, RC °hau; F, H, PH, NC °hō

<sup>11</sup>C, F, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC ghari

<sup>12</sup>C, D, F, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC ghari

<sup>13</sup>C kaī; F kē

<sup>14</sup>C, D, J, RC rūṣanaī; F rū emended to rūṣē

<sup>15</sup>A, H, BR, PH, NCP kyō; I, NCM, RC kyau

<sup>16</sup>C, I, NCP bane; D, BR, NCM, RC banai; J banaī

<sup>17</sup>F tē

<sup>18</sup>F bāla

<sup>19</sup>C boliyai; D, F, RC boliyai; H boliyē; I boliye; NCP boliyē

<sup>20</sup>A, C, I, J, NC jū; F je

<sup>21</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, BR, PH, NC, RC omitted

<sup>22</sup>BR karama

<sup>23</sup>Added: A, C, F, H, I, BR, PH, NCP, RC baca; D bacana; NCM baca emended to bacana

<sup>24</sup>C kaī

<sup>25</sup>A, BR, PH bhayo; C, D, F, H, I, J, NC, RC bhayau

<sup>26</sup>A he; C haī

<sup>27</sup>C, F badhāna

<sup>28</sup>RC buhuta

<sup>29</sup>C, J, PH, NCM jatanana; F jatanini; NCP jatana

<sup>30</sup>NCP kari

<sup>31</sup>C bisakaire emended to bisare; F bisāre

<sup>32</sup>H ganara? emended to gana

<sup>33</sup>C hāsa

<sup>34</sup>C kaī

<sup>35</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>36</sup>A śyā; C, D, F, H, J, BR, PH, NC syāmā (and E),

<sup>37</sup>A omitted, added *sup. lin.*; F rādhā

<sup>38</sup>C kaī; NCM kē

## KM 91

yaha<sup>1</sup> [aci]raja<sup>2</sup> deṣyau<sup>3</sup> na sunyaũ<sup>4</sup> kahũ<sup>5</sup> nabīna megha<sup>6</sup> saṅga<sup>7</sup> [bīju]rī<sup>8</sup> ekarasa<sup>9</sup>;  
 tā mē<sup>10</sup> moja<sup>11</sup> uṭhata<sup>12</sup> adhika<sup>13</sup> [bahu<sup>14</sup> bhāntini<sup>15</sup>]<sup>16</sup> lasa;  
 mana<sup>17</sup> ke<sup>18</sup> deṣive<sup>19</sup> kaũ<sup>20</sup> aura<sup>21</sup> suṣa nā[hi<sup>22</sup> koũ<sup>23</sup> pyā]rī<sup>24</sup> tũ<sup>25</sup> citavata citahi<sup>26,27</sup>  
 karata<sup>28,29</sup> basa;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>30</sup> ke svāmi<sup>31</sup> syāmā<sup>32</sup> kuñjabihārini<sup>33,34</sup> jũ<sup>35</sup> kau<sup>36</sup> pabitra<sup>37</sup> jasa.

<sup>1</sup>C yahaya<sup>2</sup>A, D, BR, RC acaraja; C -ra- omitted, added *sup. lin.*; H aciriju<sup>3</sup>A, C, BR, PH deṣyo; NCP dekhau<sup>4</sup>A, BR, PH sunyo; D sunau<sup>5</sup>C kahu<sup>6</sup>C vegha<sup>7</sup>F madhi<sup>8</sup>C, F, J, NCP bijuri<sup>9</sup>I yeka<sup>o</sup><sup>10</sup>C, D, I, BR, RC mai; H, J mai<sup>11</sup>A, C, D, I, BR, NC, RC mauja; F maũjā<sup>12</sup>D, J, BR, PH, NC uṭhata; RC uuta<sup>13</sup>C adhi; H omitted<sup>14</sup>D bahuta; F bahuti; H ana<sup>15</sup>A, NC bhāntina; C bhānti; D, F, I, J, BR, PH, RC bhānti<sup>16</sup>H adhika added<sup>17</sup>NCP mena emended to mana<sup>18</sup>C kai<sup>19</sup>C daiṣive; D dekhave; J, RC harive; NCP dekhīve<sup>20</sup>D, I, NCM, RC kau; F, BR, PH, NCP kō<sup>21</sup>C aũra; PH ora<sup>22</sup>A, D, NCP nāhi; C nihī; F, BR, NCM nāhinē; H nāhī; I, J nāhinai<sup>23</sup>C, F, H, J, BR, NCM omitted<sup>24</sup>C, F, H, J, BR, NCM omitted<sup>25</sup>A, D, J, NCP, RC tũ; C, F, H, BR, NCM omitted<sup>26</sup>C citahī; BR citai; NCP cittahī; NCM citahī<sup>27</sup>Added: C, F, I, J, BR ju; NCM jo<sup>28</sup>F karati<sup>29</sup>F manahi added<sup>30</sup>BR haridāsi<sup>31</sup>BR omitted<sup>32</sup>H syāma<sup>33</sup>A °riṇi; C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NC °rī; PH °rani<sup>34</sup>Added: C bihārini; H, NCM bihārini; I, J, BR bihārani; NCP bihārina<sup>35</sup>NCM omitted, added *inf. lin.*<sup>36</sup>BR, PH ko<sup>37</sup>NCP -ba- omitted, added *inf. lin.*

## KM 92

būnde<sup>1,2</sup> suhāvanī<sup>3</sup> rī<sup>4</sup> lāgati<sup>5</sup> mati<sup>6</sup> bhījai<sup>7</sup> terī cūnari;  
 mohi<sup>8</sup> dai<sup>9</sup> utāri<sup>10</sup> dhari<sup>11</sup> rāṣō<sup>12</sup> bagala mē<sup>13,14</sup> tū<sup>15</sup> na rī;  
 lāgi lapaṭāi<sup>16</sup> rahai<sup>17,18</sup> chāti<sup>19</sup> saū<sup>20</sup> chāti<sup>21</sup> jyaū<sup>22</sup> na<sup>23</sup> āvai<sup>24</sup> tohi<sup>25,26</sup> bauchāra<sup>27</sup> kī  
 phūnari<sup>28</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>29</sup> ke<sup>30</sup> svāmī syāma<sup>31</sup> kahata<sup>32</sup> bijurī<sup>33</sup> kaūdhē<sup>34</sup> kari<sup>35</sup> hā<sup>36</sup> kahū<sup>37</sup> na rī.

<sup>1</sup>A, BR, PH, RC būnda; C būdaī; D būda; F būndē; H būnde emended to būnda; I būndai; J būdai; NCP būdaī; NCM būdai

<sup>2</sup>Added: F ba; I aba

<sup>3</sup>A suhāmani; C, F, J, PH, NC suhāvanī; BR suhāvana

<sup>4</sup>I, NC omitted

<sup>5</sup>C lāgaīta; D, BR, PH, NC lāgata; RC lāgai

<sup>6</sup>NCP mata

<sup>7</sup>A bhījai; C bhīje

<sup>8</sup>NC mohī

<sup>9</sup>A, C de

<sup>10</sup>C, NC utāra; D utāri

<sup>11</sup>H hō emended to dhari *sec. m.*; NCM dhari

<sup>12</sup>A, D, I, BR, NCP, RC rākhaū; C rāṣyā; J rāṣyaū; NCM rākhau

<sup>13</sup>C, H, I, J, BR maī; D, RC mai

<sup>14</sup>Added: I su; RC tū

<sup>15</sup>D cūnari, RC sunari instead of tū na rī

<sup>16</sup>C lapaṭāi; D, J, NC lapaṭāya

<sup>17</sup>A, PH, NCP rahē; D, F, I, NCM rahe; H hai emended to rahai *pr. m.*; J, RC rahai

<sup>18</sup>NC doū chaila added

<sup>19</sup>NCP chāti

<sup>20</sup>A, F, BR, PH, NC sō; D omitted, added in marg., *pr. m.*

<sup>21</sup>Added: F lagāi; NC lagāya

<sup>22</sup>A jyō; D jaū; I, BR jo; J jyau; RC jau

<sup>23</sup>J nahi

<sup>24</sup>A āvē; F, NC omitted

<sup>25</sup>C tauhi; BR omitted; NCP tauhi; NCM tohi

<sup>26</sup>Added: F lāgai; NCP avaigau; NCM āvai

<sup>27</sup>A pochāri; C, H, I, PH bochāra; D baūchāra

<sup>28</sup>A pūnari

<sup>29</sup>C haradāsa; BR haridāsi

<sup>30</sup>C kaī

<sup>31</sup>A, C, D śyāmā

<sup>32</sup>F kahati

<sup>33</sup>F dāmīni; J bijūrī

<sup>34</sup>A kaudhau; C, J, BR kaūdhāi; D, RC kaudhai; F kōdhi; H kōdhe; I, NCM kaūdhai; PH kōdhē; NCP

kaūdhē

<sup>35</sup>C kari; NC kara

<sup>36</sup>C, D, NCM hā

<sup>37</sup>A, D, NC hū; C hu; F, I, J hū; H hū emended to kahū; BR omitted; PH kahū emended to hū

## KM 93

bhījana<sup>1</sup> lāge<sup>2</sup> rī<sup>3</sup> doū<sup>4,5</sup> jana;

añcarā<sup>6</sup> kī auṭa<sup>7</sup> karata doū<sup>8</sup> jana;

ati unamatta<sup>9,10</sup> rahata<sup>11</sup> nisa<sup>12</sup> bāsara rāga hī ke<sup>13</sup> raṅga raṅge<sup>14</sup> doū<sup>15</sup> jana;

śrī haridāsa<sup>16</sup> ke<sup>17</sup> svāmī syāmā<sup>18</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>18</sup> prema<sup>19</sup> paraspara<sup>20</sup> nṛtya<sup>21</sup> karata doū<sup>22</sup>  
jana.

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<sup>1</sup>D bhījata; NC bhījana

<sup>2</sup>D lāgi

<sup>3</sup>NCM omitted

<sup>4</sup>C daūu

<sup>5</sup>H saḥacarī added, deleted

<sup>6</sup>A, D, F, H, I, NC, RC acarā

<sup>7</sup>A, C, D, F, H, I, BR, NC oṭa; RC oṭi

<sup>8</sup>C dou; H haū emended to doū

<sup>9</sup>D uttamana; BR, NCM, RC unmatta

<sup>10</sup>D uttama added

<sup>11</sup>F rahati

<sup>12</sup>A, I, BR, NC nisi

<sup>13</sup>H omitted, kai added in marg.

<sup>14</sup>A, D, I rage; H rāge

<sup>15</sup>C dauu

<sup>16</sup>BR haridāsi; NCP haridāsa

<sup>17</sup>C kī

<sup>18</sup>C, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC omitted

<sup>19</sup>C, F omitted

<sup>20</sup>C, F omitted

<sup>21</sup>A nirta; F nṛta

<sup>22</sup>C daūu

## KM 94

nadita<sup>1</sup> mana mṛdaṅgī<sup>2</sup> rāsa<sup>3</sup> bhūmi<sup>4</sup> sukānti<sup>5</sup> abhinē<sup>6</sup> su<sup>7</sup> nava gati<sup>8</sup> tribhaṅgī<sup>9</sup>;  
 dhāpi<sup>10</sup> rādhā<sup>11</sup> naṭata<sup>12</sup> lalitā rasavati<sup>13</sup> nāgarī<sup>14</sup> gāi<sup>15</sup> te<sup>16</sup> gri<sup>17</sup> [nābhi]<sup>18</sup> tāna tuṅgī<sup>19</sup>;  
 rasada<sup>20</sup> bihārī<sup>21</sup> bande ballabhā rādhikā nisi<sup>22</sup> dina raṅga raṅgī<sup>23</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>24</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>25</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>26</sup> saṅgīta<sup>27</sup> saṅgī<sup>28</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>RC nadata

<sup>2</sup>C mṛdaṅgi; H mṛdaṅge emended to mṛdaṅgī

<sup>3</sup>F rasa emended to rāsa *sec. m.*; J rāsi; BR rasa

<sup>4</sup>NCP bhūmi

<sup>5</sup>C, D, H, I, NC sukānta; F sakāta; RC sukāti

<sup>6</sup>C unr.; D, NC, RC abhinaya; F omitted, added in marg., *sec. m.*; H, I, J, BR subha

<sup>7</sup>C unr.; H, I, J, BR omitted

<sup>8</sup>F omitted, added in marg., *sec. m.*; H gata

<sup>9</sup>C, I, J trabhaṅgi; D, RC ṛbhaṅgi; H tribhaṅge

<sup>10</sup>D dhāpa; F gāi; H, BR, NCP dhāpi

<sup>11</sup>H rādhe emended to rādhā

<sup>12</sup>A, F, H, I, J, BR, NCP, RC naṭati, NCM naṭatī

<sup>13</sup>F, NCM rasavati; H rasavata emended to rasavati, originally preceding lalitā, wordorder emended with numbers

<sup>14</sup>C, BR omitted; D nāgiri; H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>15</sup>C, NC gāi; D, J, RC gāya; H gāvati emended to gāi

<sup>16</sup>A ti; C to; H omitted, added *sec. m.*

<sup>17</sup>A, BR, RC gra; F gu; H gr

<sup>18</sup>H nābhā; NCM nābhī

<sup>19</sup>A guṅgī; C tugi; H tuṅge

<sup>20</sup>C rasata

<sup>21</sup>C bih[...]

<sup>22</sup>A, D, I, RC nisa

<sup>23</sup>C omitted; H raṅge

<sup>24</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>25</sup>F syāmī emended to syāmā

<sup>26</sup>NC so added

<sup>27</sup>F santa

<sup>28</sup>H saṅge

## KM 95

<sup>1</sup>dāmini<sup>2</sup> kahata<sup>3</sup> megha saũ<sup>4</sup> hamārī<sup>5</sup> upamā<sup>6</sup> dehi<sup>7</sup> te<sup>8</sup> jhūṭhe<sup>9</sup> yei<sup>10</sup> [megha yei<sup>11</sup> bī]juri<sup>12</sup>  
sāci<sup>13</sup>;

jina<sup>14</sup> jina<sup>15</sup> hamārī<sup>16</sup> [upamā<sup>17</sup> dīni<sup>18,19</sup> tina<sup>20</sup> tina<sup>21</sup>] kī mati<sup>22</sup> kācī<sup>23</sup>;

aisi<sup>24</sup> kahū<sup>25</sup> [sunī jū<sup>26,27</sup> būnde<sup>28</sup> tē<sup>29</sup>] kanu<sup>30</sup> nyārau<sup>31</sup> tā paṭatara<sup>32</sup> kau<sup>33</sup> [dījai<sup>34</sup> samudra  
<sup>35</sup> rāci<sup>36</sup>];

śrī haridāsa<sup>37</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>38</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>39</sup> aṭala aṭala<sup>40</sup> prīti<sup>41</sup> māci<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>In F and H the second part of the line (from yei megha) precedes the first

<sup>2</sup>F, H, I, NCM dāmini

<sup>3</sup>A, F kahati

<sup>4</sup>F, BR, PH, NC sō

<sup>5</sup>F, H omitted

<sup>6</sup>F, H omitted

<sup>7</sup>D daihi; F, H omitted; I, J daihi; NCP dēhi; RC dauhi

<sup>8</sup>F, H omitted

<sup>9</sup>C jhūṭhai; F, H omitted; I jhūṭhe; NC jhūṭe

<sup>10</sup>C yei; H, BR eī; J ehi; RC yaii

<sup>11</sup>F, BR eī; H yaha; J yehi emended to yehī

<sup>12</sup>C bijuri

<sup>13</sup>A, NCM sāci

<sup>14</sup>C, J jini; F, H omitted

<sup>15</sup>C, J jini; F, H omitted

<sup>16</sup>C, BR logani; NCM logana

<sup>17</sup>C, J, BR, NCM paṭatara; I ūpamā

<sup>18</sup>C, NCM diyau; F, H dēhi; J diyau; BR diyo

<sup>19</sup>Added: F jūṭhī; H te jhūṭhe (in text), jina jina logana paṭatara diyo tina (in marg.)

<sup>20</sup>F jini; J tini emended to tūni

<sup>21</sup>C, D, H, BR, PH, NC omitted; F tini; I omitted, added in marg.; J tini emended to tūni

<sup>22</sup>H hai added, deleted

<sup>23</sup>BR, NC kāci

<sup>24</sup>A, H esi

<sup>25</sup>C kahu; RC kahū

<sup>26</sup>A, I jo; D, H, J, BR ju; F na

<sup>27</sup>C [jū...] folios missing

<sup>28</sup>A, D, F, H, J, BR, PH, RC būnda; NCP būda; NCM būde

<sup>29</sup>A, F, BR te; D, RC tai; J tai

<sup>30</sup>D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC kana

<sup>31</sup>D nyārau; BR, PH nyāro

<sup>32</sup>A paṭatara; I paṭatari

<sup>33</sup>A, H, I, J kyaū; F, PH kō; BR, NC kyō

<sup>34</sup>F omitted

<sup>35</sup>F diyē added

<sup>36</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NCM, RC rāci

<sup>37</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>38</sup>A śyāmī emended to śyāmā; H syāma

<sup>39</sup>Added: A, F, I, J, PH, NC kī; H kī, in marg.

<sup>40</sup>F, NC omitted

<sup>41</sup>RC prīta

<sup>42</sup>A, D māci; H vāñci? emended to māñci

## KM 96

nācata morana<sup>1</sup> saṅga syāma mudita syāmāhi<sup>2</sup> rijhāvata<sup>3</sup>;  
 taisīye<sup>4</sup> kokilā<sup>5</sup> alāpata<sup>6</sup> papihā<sup>7,8</sup> deta sura taisoi<sup>9</sup> megha garaji<sup>10</sup> mṛdaṅga bajāvata<sup>11</sup>;  
 taisīye<sup>12</sup> syāma ghaṭā nisi<sup>13</sup> sī kāri<sup>14</sup> taisīyai<sup>15</sup> dāmini<sup>16</sup> kaūdhi<sup>17</sup> dīpa diṣāvata<sup>18</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>19</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>20</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>21</sup> rijhi rādhe hāsi<sup>22</sup> kaṇṭha lagāvata<sup>23</sup>.

Folio missing in C, verse omitted in F

<sup>1</sup>A, D, H, I, J, BR, PH, RC morani

<sup>2</sup>NC °hī

<sup>3</sup>A, BR, RC rijhāvati

<sup>4</sup>D taisīya; H taisīyai; J taisīye; PH taisīyai; NC taisīye; RC taisaii

<sup>5</sup>NCP kaukilā

<sup>6</sup>D -pa- added before lā, deleted; H alāpita emended to alāpata

<sup>7</sup>PH omitted, added in marg.

<sup>8</sup>PH sura added

<sup>9</sup>D taisoi; I taisei; NCM taisaii; RC tesei

<sup>10</sup>D, NC garaja

<sup>11</sup>D vata; RC bajāvati

<sup>12</sup>D taisīya; H, PH, NCM taisīyai; J taisīe; RC taisīyai

<sup>13</sup>D nisa

<sup>14</sup>H kāri

<sup>15</sup>A tesīye; D taisī; I, J, BR, NCM taisīye; RC taisīyai

<sup>16</sup>I, NC dāmini

<sup>17</sup>D kaudhi; H, PH kōdhi; I kaūdhai

<sup>18</sup>RC dikhāvati

<sup>19</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>20</sup>H syāma emended to syāmā *sec. m.*

<sup>21</sup>J kaū

<sup>22</sup>D, I, BR hasi; H hara? emended to hasi; J, NCP hāsa

<sup>23</sup>NCM lagavata; RC lagāvati



## KM 97

hari ke<sup>1</sup> aṅga kau<sup>2</sup> candana lapaṭānaū<sup>3,4</sup> tana tere<sup>5</sup> deṣiyata<sup>6,7</sup> māñṅ<sup>8</sup> pīta colī;  
maragaje<sup>9</sup> abharana<sup>10</sup> badana kāhe<sup>11</sup> kaū<sup>12</sup> chipāvata<sup>13</sup> chipāyē<sup>14</sup> na chipata<sup>15</sup> māñṅ<sup>16</sup>  
kṛṣṇa<sup>17</sup> bolī;  
kahū<sup>18</sup> añjana<sup>19</sup> kahū<sup>20</sup> alaka rahī ṣisi<sup>21</sup> surati<sup>22</sup> raṅga kī poṭa<sup>23</sup> ṣolī;  
śrī haridāsa<sup>24</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>25</sup> bihārini<sup>26</sup> mil[itu?]<sup>27,28</sup> hāru<sup>29</sup> na<sup>30</sup> rahyau<sup>31</sup> kaṅṭha bica<sup>32</sup>  
aulī<sup>33</sup>.

Folio missing in C

<sup>1</sup>PH omitted, added in marg.

<sup>2</sup>F kaū; BR, PH ko

<sup>3</sup>F, H, BR, PH, NCM lapaṭānō; RC lapaṭānyau

<sup>4</sup>F, BR rī added

<sup>5</sup>F, H terē; I, RC terai; J terai

<sup>6</sup>I deṣiyata; NCM, RC dikhiyata

<sup>7</sup>RC hai added

<sup>8</sup>A mānau; D, I jaisai; F jaisē; H omitted, jaisai added in marg.; J mānaū; BR jaise; RC jaisai

<sup>9</sup>D -ma- added after -ga-, deleted; H originally after abharana, wordorder emended with numbers

<sup>10</sup>A, I, NC, RC ābharana

<sup>11</sup>F, H, I, J, BR, NCM, RC omitted

<sup>12</sup>A kau; F, H, I, J, BR, NCM, RC omitted; PH, NCP kō

<sup>13</sup>I, J chipāvati

<sup>14</sup>D chipāyai; F, I, J, BR, NCM, RC chipai; H chapai emended to chipai; NCP chipāye

<sup>15</sup>F chipāē; H chapāyai emended to chipāyai; I, J, RC chipāyai; BR chipāe; NCM chipāye

<sup>16</sup>D, I, J mānaū; F māno; H omitted, mānau added in marg.; RC mānau

<sup>17</sup>F kṛṣa

<sup>18</sup>RC kahū

<sup>19</sup>H añjana replaces original reading

<sup>20</sup>H omitted, kahū added in marg.; RC kahū

<sup>21</sup>D, F, I, BR, PH, RC ṣasi; H ṣasi replaces original reading; NC khisa

<sup>22</sup>D, F, BR, NCM, RC surata

<sup>23</sup>H poṭai; I poṭai

<sup>24</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>25</sup>H syāma emended to syāmā; RC śyāma

<sup>26</sup>A kuñja°; D, PH °rani; F bihārī emended to kuñjabihārī *sec. m.*; H, I, J, BR, NC, RC omitted

<sup>27</sup>A, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC milata; D milita

<sup>28</sup>Added: F, I, J, BR bihārani; H, RC bihārini; NC bihārina

<sup>29</sup>A, H, J, BR, PH, NC, RC hāra; D hāru; F nihārī?

<sup>30</sup>F omitted

<sup>31</sup>A, H, BR rahyo; NCP rahau; NCM rahaū

<sup>32</sup>J bici

<sup>33</sup>A, D, F, H, I, BR, NC, RC oli; PH boli?

## KM 98

[kuca gaḍu]vā<sup>1</sup> jobana maura<sup>2</sup> kañcukī basa<sup>3</sup> (*p.c.* basana) ḍhāpi<sup>4</sup> lai rā[ṣyau<sup>5,6</sup> basanta];  
 guna mandira rūpa bagīcā<sup>7</sup> maī<sup>8</sup> baiṭhī<sup>9</sup> hai<sup>10,11</sup> [muṣa lasāta];  
 koṭi<sup>12,13</sup> kāmā lāvanya<sup>14</sup> bihārī jā<sup>15</sup> deṣata<sup>16</sup> sa[ba duṣa nasāta];  
 aise<sup>17</sup> rasika<sup>18</sup> śrī<sup>19</sup> haridāsa<sup>20</sup> ke svāmī<sup>21</sup> [tina<sup>22</sup> ko<sup>23</sup> bharana āi<sup>24</sup>] mili<sup>25</sup> hasāta.

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Folio missing in C

<sup>1</sup>A, J, RC gaḍuā; H gaḍūvā; BR gaḍavā

<sup>2</sup>H, BR, PH mora

<sup>3</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC basana

<sup>4</sup>H ḍhāki; RC ḍhāpi

<sup>5</sup>PH rāṣyo; NC rākhau

<sup>6</sup>BR hai added

<sup>7</sup>NCP bagicā

<sup>8</sup>A, F, I, NC mē; D, BR, PH, RC mai

<sup>9</sup>I baiṭhī

<sup>10</sup>A he; D, PH hai; F, H hē

<sup>11</sup>A vaha added

<sup>12</sup>NC koṭi

<sup>13</sup>F koṭi added

<sup>14</sup>J, PH lāvani; NCP lāvanya

<sup>15</sup>A, I, J, NCP jāhi; NCM jāhī

<sup>16</sup>I deṣai; BR dekhe

<sup>17</sup>A ese; BR omitted, added *inf. lin.*; NCP aisē; NCM aisai

<sup>18</sup>A -ka omitted, added *inf. lin.*; BR omitted, added *inf. lin.*

<sup>19</sup>H omitted, added in marg., *sec. m.*

<sup>20</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>21</sup>J syāmā added

<sup>22</sup>F tā

<sup>23</sup>A, D kau; F, BR, PH kō; H, I, J, NC, RC kaū

<sup>24</sup>A, D, F, J, BR, NC, RC āi; PH āi

<sup>25</sup>H prabhu? emended to mili; NC mila

## KM 99

kuñjabihārī [kau<sup>1</sup> basanta] <sup>2</sup> calahu<sup>3</sup> na<sup>4</sup> deṣana jāhi<sup>5</sup>;  
<sup>6</sup>nava bana nava nikuñja nava pallava<sup>7</sup> nava juvatini<sup>8</sup> mili<sup>9</sup> māhi<sup>10</sup>;  
 baṃsī sarasa<sup>11</sup> madhura dhuni<sup>12</sup> suniyata<sup>13</sup> phūli<sup>14</sup> aṅgana<sup>15</sup> māhi<sup>16</sup>;  
 suni <sup>17</sup> haridāsa<sup>18</sup> prema sō<sup>19</sup> premahi<sup>20</sup> chirakata chaila<sup>21</sup> chuvāhi<sup>22</sup>.

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Folio missing in C

<sup>1</sup>BR, PH ko

<sup>2</sup>A, I, J, RC sakhi added

<sup>3</sup>BR calau

<sup>4</sup>NCP omitted

<sup>5</sup>D, H jāhi; NC jāhi

<sup>6</sup>A third line omitted, added in marg.

<sup>7</sup>D pavallava; PH palava

<sup>8</sup>A, D, BR, NCP, RC juvatina; PH juvatani; NCM jūvatina

<sup>9</sup>D, NC mila

<sup>10</sup>D māhi; NCP māhi; NCM māhi

<sup>11</sup>A omitted, added *sup. lin.*

<sup>12</sup>F sura

<sup>13</sup>F suniyati

<sup>14</sup>H phūle emended to phūli

<sup>15</sup>F aṅgani

<sup>16</sup>NC māhi

<sup>17</sup>J, BR, NCM śrī added

<sup>18</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>19</sup>D, H, I, J saū; RC sau

<sup>20</sup>A, I premē; J, RC premai; NCM pramahī

<sup>21</sup>A chela

<sup>22</sup>D, H, J, NC, RC chuvāhi

## KM 100

cali<sup>1</sup> rī bhīra tē<sup>2</sup> nyāreī<sup>3</sup> śelai<sup>4</sup>;

kuñja<sup>5</sup> nikuñja mañju<sup>6</sup> mē<sup>7</sup> jhelai<sup>8</sup>;

<sup>9</sup> pañchi<sup>10</sup> na<sup>11</sup> sahita<sup>12</sup> saṣī<sup>13</sup> na<sup>14</sup> saṅga<sup>15</sup> koū<sup>16</sup> tihi<sup>17</sup> bana cali<sup>18</sup> mili kelai<sup>19</sup>;

śrī haridāsa<sup>20</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>21</sup> prema<sup>22</sup> paraspara<sup>23</sup> būkā bandana melai<sup>24</sup>.

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Folio missing in C

<sup>1</sup>J cala

<sup>2</sup>A, F, BR te; D, I, J, RC tai

<sup>3</sup>H nyāre

<sup>4</sup>A, H khelē; D ṣaile; F ṣesē; RC khelai

<sup>5</sup>F second line omitted

<sup>6</sup>I mañja; BR omitted

<sup>7</sup>D, RC mai; I, J maī

<sup>8</sup>D jhelai; H, PH, NCP jhelē

<sup>9</sup>Added: A, F, H, J, BR, NCP jahā; I tahā

<sup>10</sup>F, H pachī; I, J, NC, RC pañchi

<sup>11</sup>I, J, PH ni

<sup>12</sup>F saṣā na; H saṣī emended to sahita; NCM saṅga

<sup>13</sup>H saṣā, emended to saṣī; NCP sakhi

<sup>14</sup>F omitted; H, PH omitted, added in marg.

<sup>15</sup>F, BR, NCM omitted; RC sāga

<sup>16</sup>A, J kauū; F kāū

<sup>17</sup>J tīhi; NC tīhī; RC tīha

<sup>18</sup>D cala

<sup>19</sup>D, RC kelai; F, H kelē

<sup>20</sup>J, BR haridāsi

<sup>21</sup>Added: F kuñjabihā; H kuñjabīārī

<sup>22</sup>F, H omitted

<sup>23</sup>F, H omitted

<sup>24</sup>D, BR, RC melai; F, H, PH melē

## KM 101

aba<sup>1</sup> kai<sup>2</sup> basanta nyarei<sup>3</sup> ṣelai<sup>4</sup> kāhū<sup>5</sup> sō<sup>6</sup> na<sup>7</sup> mili<sup>8</sup> ṣelē<sup>9,10</sup> rī<sup>11</sup> terī sō<sup>12</sup>;  
 ducate<sup>13</sup> hota<sup>14</sup> [kachū<sup>15</sup> na<sup>16</sup> sa]ca<sup>17,18</sup> pāiye<sup>19</sup> tū<sup>20</sup> kāhū<sup>21</sup> saṣi<sup>22</sup> sō<sup>23</sup> mili<sup>24</sup> na<sup>25</sup> merī sō<sup>26</sup>;  
 deṣaigī<sup>27</sup> ju<sup>28</sup> raṅga upajaigau<sup>29</sup> paraspara<sup>30</sup> rāga rāginī<sup>31</sup> [ke]<sup>32</sup> phera<sup>33</sup> pherī sō<sup>34</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>35</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>36</sup> kuñjabihārī rāga<sup>37</sup> hī mai<sup>38</sup> raṅga<sup>39</sup> rahai<sup>40,41</sup> erī<sup>42</sup> saū<sup>43</sup>.

Folio missing in C

<sup>1</sup>F ava

<sup>2</sup>A, H, NC kē; D, F, RC ke; I kai

<sup>3</sup>RC nyariī

<sup>4</sup>A, D, BR, RC khelai; F, H, NCP ṣelē

<sup>5</sup>NC kāhū

<sup>6</sup>D maū; H, I, J saū; RC sau

<sup>7</sup>D, F, H, J, BR, RC omitted

<sup>8</sup>D, F, RC na added

<sup>9</sup>D, I, BR, RC ṣelai; J, PH ṣelai

<sup>10</sup>H, J, BR na added

<sup>11</sup>I, NC omitted

<sup>12</sup>A, D, H, I, J, PH, RC saū

<sup>13</sup>A, D, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC ducite; F ducitē

<sup>14</sup>F bhaē; H bhayē; I bhayai; PH hauta

<sup>15</sup>F, H omitted; RC kachu

<sup>16</sup>F, H, J omitted

<sup>17</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, PH, NC, RC sacu

<sup>18</sup>Added: F na kachu; H na kachū; J na

<sup>19</sup>A, J, BR, NC pāiyata; D pāiyai; F, RC paiyata; H, I pāiyata; PH pāiye

<sup>20</sup>H, NC tū; BR omitted

<sup>21</sup>J, BR, NCM kāhū

<sup>22</sup>H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>23</sup>D, H, I, J, RC saū

<sup>24</sup>H, BR, PH, NC mila; RC omitted

<sup>25</sup>Added: NCM rī; RC mili

<sup>26</sup>A, D, H, I, J saū; RC sau

<sup>27</sup>A dekhaigī; NC dekhaūgī

<sup>28</sup>A, NC jo

<sup>29</sup>BR, RC upajaigo; PH upajaigaū

<sup>30</sup>RC paraspāra

<sup>31</sup>F, I, J, PH rāginīni; H rāgini; NC, RC rāginīna

<sup>32</sup>J ka; RC kī

<sup>33</sup>A, D, I, J, NC, RC pherā; F pheri

<sup>34</sup>A, D, H, I, J saū; RC sau

<sup>35</sup>J, BR haridāsi

<sup>36</sup>H syāma emended to syāmā; PH svāmā

<sup>37</sup>H raṅga emended to rāga

<sup>38</sup>A, F, I, BR, NC mē; D, RC mai

<sup>39</sup>PH raṅgu; NCP raṅgī

<sup>40</sup>A rahyo; D ūpajata; F, H, J, BR upajata; I, NCM upajaigau; NCP rahē; RC upajati

<sup>41</sup>RC hai added

<sup>42</sup>A, I ye<sup>o</sup>

<sup>43</sup>D, RC sau; F, BR, PH, NC sō

## KM 102

raho<sup>1</sup> [raho<sup>2</sup> bi]hārī jū<sup>3</sup> merī āṣina<sup>4</sup> me<sup>5</sup> būkā<sup>6,7</sup> melata ho<sup>8</sup> [kita<sup>9</sup> an]tara hota<sup>10</sup> muṣa  
 avalokana<sup>11</sup> kau<sup>12</sup>;  
 aura<sup>13,14</sup> [bhāvati<sup>15</sup> ti]hārī milyau<sup>16</sup> cāhati<sup>17</sup> misi<sup>18</sup> kai<sup>19</sup> paiyā<sup>20,21</sup>[lāgō<sup>22</sup> pana] pana kau<sup>23</sup>;  
 gāvata ṣelata jo suṣa [upajata]<sup>24</sup> su<sup>25</sup> to<sup>26</sup> koṭi<sup>27</sup> bara<sup>28</sup> hai tana kau<sup>29</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>30</sup> ke<sup>31</sup> svāmī<sup>32</sup> ko<sup>33</sup> milata<sup>34</sup> ṣelata<sup>35</sup> ko<sup>36,37</sup> suṣa<sup>38</sup> kahā<sup>39</sup> [pāiyata]<sup>40</sup> hai<sup>41</sup>  
 aisau<sup>42</sup> suṣa<sup>43</sup> mana<sup>44</sup> kau<sup>45</sup>.

Folio missing in C.

<sup>1</sup>A, F, H, I, J, NC, RC rahau; D rahaū

<sup>2</sup>D, H, I, J, NC, RC rahau

<sup>3</sup>F omitted

<sup>4</sup>A ākhina; F, H, I, J āṣini; PH āṣini

<sup>5</sup>A, F, I, BR, PH, NC mē; D, J māi; RC mai

<sup>6</sup>NC būkā

<sup>7</sup>NC bandana added

<sup>8</sup>A, D hau; F, I, BR, RC omitted

<sup>9</sup>F, J, RC kata; H kata emended to kita

<sup>10</sup>F kata ba added

<sup>11</sup>D, H, I, J, BR avalokani; F avalokini

<sup>12</sup>A, D, F, RC kau; BR, PH kō; NCP mē

<sup>13</sup>PH ora

<sup>14</sup>F tau added

<sup>15</sup>A, NC bhāmati; F, BR bhāvati

<sup>16</sup>A, BR, PH milyo; H, NCM milau

<sup>17</sup>D, F, H, I, J, BR, NC cāhata; RC vāhata

<sup>18</sup>A, F, I misu; D, H, NCM, RC misa

<sup>19</sup>I, J, NCM kai; PH kē; RC kari

<sup>20</sup>A paiyā; D payyā; H paiā; I paiyā; PH paiyā; NCP paiyā; RC yaiyā emended to paiyā

<sup>21</sup>[lāgāū...] folio missing in I

<sup>22</sup>A, H, I, J, PH lāgāū; D, BR, RC lāgau; F lāgō

<sup>23</sup>F, RC kau; BR kō

<sup>24</sup>D uparajata; H upajai

<sup>25</sup>J sau; NCM, RC so

<sup>26</sup>A, D, F, J, BR, NC, RC tau

<sup>27</sup>NCP kauti; NCM koṭa

<sup>28</sup>H bira emended to bara; J, BR, PH baru

<sup>29</sup>F, RC kau; BR kō

<sup>30</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>31</sup>A omitted, added *inf. lin.*

<sup>32</sup>Added: H syāma kiñjabihārī; J syāmā

<sup>33</sup>A, D, F, J, PH, NC, RC kau; H kō

<sup>34</sup>RC milala

<sup>35</sup>RC khelasata

<sup>36</sup>A, D, F, H, J, PH, NC, RC kau

<sup>37</sup>H aisau added in marg.

<sup>38</sup>J aisau added

<sup>39</sup>D kahā; F omitted

<sup>40</sup>A, PH pāiyatu; D, F, J, NC pāiyata; H pāiyai emended to pāiyaita *sec. m.*; BR pāiye

<sup>41</sup>D hai; H, J, BR, RC omitted

<sup>42</sup>A esau; F, BR, PH aiso; J omitted

<sup>43</sup>J, NCM omitted

<sup>44</sup>NCP mana added

<sup>45</sup>A, D, F, H, NCM, RC kau; BR ko

## KM 103

sōdhe<sup>1</sup> nhāi<sup>2</sup> baiṭhī<sup>3</sup> pahari<sup>4</sup> paṭa<sup>5</sup> sundari<sup>6</sup> jahā<sup>7</sup> phulavāri<sup>7</sup> tahā<sup>8</sup> suṣava[ta]<sup>9</sup> alakai<sup>10</sup>;  
 kara<sup>11</sup> naṣa sobhā kala kesa sāvārata<sup>12</sup> manō<sup>13</sup> nava ghana mē<sup>14</sup> uḍaghana<sup>15</sup> jhalakai<sup>16</sup>;  
 bibidhi<sup>17</sup> siṅgāra<sup>18</sup> liyē<sup>19</sup> āgai<sup>20,21</sup> ṭhāḍhī<sup>22</sup> priya<sup>23</sup> saṣi bhayau<sup>24</sup> bharu<sup>25</sup> āni<sup>26</sup> ratipati dala  
 dalakai<sup>27</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>28</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>29</sup> kuñjabihārī kī<sup>30</sup> chabi<sup>31</sup> niraṣata<sup>32,33</sup> lāgata<sup>34</sup> nāhi<sup>35</sup>  
 [pala]kai<sup>36</sup>.

Folio missing in C and I

<sup>1</sup>A, NC sōdhē; D, RC saudhai; F sodhē; H saūdhē; J saūdhaī; PH sōdhai

<sup>2</sup>D, J, NC, RC nhāya

<sup>3</sup>A bethī

<sup>4</sup>A, BR pahiri; D pahara; H, NC pahira

<sup>5</sup>BR paṭhu

<sup>6</sup>J, NC, RC sundara

<sup>7</sup>D phulavāvāri; F phulavādi; H, J, NC phulavāri

<sup>8</sup>RC taho

<sup>9</sup>A, RC sukhavati; D sukava; F, J, BR sukavati; H sukavata

<sup>10</sup>F, H, NC alakē

<sup>11</sup>F -ra omitted, added in marg., *pr. m.*

<sup>12</sup>A sahmārata; D, H savārata; F, J savārati; NCM samhārata; RC sāvārati

<sup>13</sup>A mānau; D, J mānaū; F māno; BR mano; NC mānō; RC manau

<sup>14</sup>D, J, PH maī; NC tē; RC mai

<sup>15</sup>A, F, H, J, BR, PH, NC, RC uḍaghana; D uḍaghana

<sup>16</sup>F, H, NC jhalakē; BR jhalakai

<sup>17</sup>NC bibidha

<sup>18</sup>H sigāra

<sup>19</sup>A liye; D, RC liyai; J liyai; BR lie; NCP liyē

<sup>20</sup>A, F, H, NC āgē; BR āge; RC āgai

<sup>21</sup>NCM liyē added, wordorder emended with numbers to liyē āgē

<sup>22</sup>A, NCP ṭhāḍī; D ṭāḍhī; NCM thāḍī

<sup>23</sup>D priyā; BR priye

<sup>24</sup>A, H, BR, PH bhayo; D bhayaū

<sup>25</sup>A, F bhari; D bhala; RC bhara

<sup>26</sup>NC āna

<sup>27</sup>F, H, NC °kē; BR, RC °kai

<sup>28</sup>J, BR haridāsi

<sup>29</sup>H syāma emended to syāmā

<sup>30</sup>D, H omitted

<sup>31</sup>H omitted

<sup>32</sup>NCP nīrakhata

<sup>33</sup>H chabi added

<sup>34</sup>F lāgati

<sup>35</sup>A nāhi; D, J, NCP nāhi; F, H, BR, PH, RC nahi; NCM nahī

<sup>36</sup>F, H, NC palakē; BR palakai

## KM 104

calau saṣī<sup>1</sup> kuñjabihārī sō<sup>2</sup> mili<sup>3</sup> [cita]<sup>4</sup> dai<sup>5,6</sup> deṣē<sup>7</sup> hama<sup>8</sup> u<sup>9</sup> (*p. c. una*) kī bhāvati<sup>10</sup>;  
 sundara sō<sup>11</sup> sundara<sup>12</sup> mili ṣelata<sup>13</sup> kaisē<sup>14</sup> dho<sup>15</sup> gāvati<sup>16</sup>;  
 aucaka<sup>17</sup> āi<sup>18</sup> [parī]<sup>19</sup> saṣī<sup>20</sup> taḥā<sup>21</sup> piya<sup>22</sup> pai<sup>23</sup> (pā)<sup>mgya</sup><sup>24</sup> capāvati<sup>25</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>26,27</sup> ke svāmī<sup>28</sup> syāma<sup>29</sup> kũ<sup>30</sup> (*p.c. deleted*) sō<sup>31,32</sup> mili poḍhi<sup>33</sup> tana mana  
 rā[vaṭi]<sup>34</sup>.

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Folio missing in C and I

- <sup>1</sup>F, H saṣi  
<sup>2</sup>D, H, J saū; RC sau  
<sup>3</sup>D mila; J, NCM omitted  
<sup>4</sup>H caitu; BR omitted; NCM citta  
<sup>5</sup>BR omitted  
<sup>6</sup>J mili added  
<sup>7</sup>A, J, NC dekhaī; D dekhe; F deṣai; RC daikhai  
<sup>8</sup>A, F, H, J, BR, NC, RC omitted  
<sup>9</sup>A, D, H, J, NC una, F uni  
<sup>10</sup>BR bhāvati; NCM bhāmati  
<sup>11</sup>D, H, J saū; F omitted; RC sau  
<sup>12</sup>F, J, BR, PH, NC, RC sundari; H sundara emended to sundari  
<sup>13</sup>F, J ṣelati  
<sup>14</sup>A, BR kaise; D kaīsaī; J kaisaī; RC kaisai  
<sup>15</sup>A, J, PH dhō; D, H, BR, NC dhaū; F omitted; RC dhu  
<sup>16</sup>A gāmati; F, H, J, BR, PH, NC gāvati; RC gāvati  
<sup>17</sup>PH ocaka; NCM ocaka  
<sup>18</sup>NC āya  
<sup>19</sup>D yarī  
<sup>20</sup>D, F, NCP saṣi; RC sākhī  
<sup>21</sup>F jahā; BR tāha  
<sup>22</sup>NC piya  
<sup>23</sup>H pai emended to sau; BR, NCM sō  
<sup>24</sup>F pāni; H, BR, RC pāi; NC pāya  
<sup>25</sup>D, H, J, NC, RC capāvati; F pāvati  
<sup>26</sup>J, BR haridāsi; NCM haridāsi  
<sup>27</sup>NCM jū added  
<sup>28</sup>NCM so added  
<sup>29</sup>NCP, RC syāmā  
<sup>30</sup>A, D, H, J, BR, PH, NC omitted; F added, deleted; RC kuñjabihāri  
<sup>31</sup>A, D, RC sau; H, J saū; NCM omitted  
<sup>32</sup>NCM lāla tē added  
<sup>33</sup>A, D, F, J, NC, RC paudhi; H paudhai emended to paudhi *sec. m.*  
<sup>34</sup>A, D, F, H, J, BR, NC, RC rāvati



## KM 105

<sup>1</sup>rādhā rasika kuñjabihārī ṣelata<sup>2</sup> phāgu<sup>3</sup> [saba] juvatī<sup>4</sup> jana<sup>5</sup> kahata<sup>6</sup> ho ho<sup>7</sup> horī;  
 bharata pa[raspara]<sup>8</sup> kāhū kī<sup>9</sup> (kāhū)<sup>mg</sup> na sudhi<sup>10</sup> hāsi<sup>11</sup> kai<sup>12</sup> mana<sup>13</sup> harata<sup>14</sup> mō[hana]<sup>15</sup>  
 gorī<sup>16</sup>];  
 kara sō<sup>17,18</sup> kara ba<sup>19</sup> jorī<sup>20</sup> kaṭī<sup>21</sup> sō<sup>22</sup> kaṭī<sup>23</sup> ba<sup>24</sup> morī<sup>25</sup> [karata<sup>26</sup> ṛṭya<sup>27</sup>]<sup>28</sup> kāhū na ruci  
 thorī;  
<sup>29</sup>śrī haridāsa<sup>30</sup> ke [svāmī syāmā] phirata<sup>31</sup> nyārei<sup>32</sup> nyāre<sup>33</sup> saba saṣiyana<sup>34</sup> kī dṛ[ṣṭi]<sup>35</sup>  
 bacā]vata taki<sup>36</sup> taba<sup>37</sup> ṣorī.

Folio missing in C; in I text resumes in line 4 after missing folios

<sup>1</sup>F śrī added

<sup>2</sup>RC khelai

<sup>3</sup>A, F, BR, NC, RC phāga

<sup>4</sup>NCP, RC juvatī

<sup>5</sup>H mili; NCP jāta emended to jana

<sup>6</sup>F, BR kahati; RC kata

<sup>7</sup>F, H, BR omitted

<sup>8</sup>J parasapara

<sup>9</sup>H na added, deleted

<sup>10</sup>D sudha

<sup>11</sup>A, D, F, J hasi; H hasi replaces original reading

<sup>12</sup>A, F kē; D, J kai; H, NCM ke

<sup>13</sup>J manu

<sup>14</sup>F harati

<sup>15</sup>D, RC mauhana

<sup>16</sup>D, J, PH gaurī

<sup>17</sup>A, RC sau; D, H, J saū

<sup>18</sup>A ba added, deleted

<sup>19</sup>A omitted, added

<sup>20</sup>H jora emended to jorī; RC jorī?

<sup>21</sup>D omitted; NCM kaṭī

<sup>22</sup>A, H, J, RC saū; D omitted

<sup>23</sup>D omitted; NCP kaṭī

<sup>24</sup>J omitted

<sup>25</sup>D, H, BR, NC mora; RC mo- (rest of line omitted)

<sup>26</sup>F karati; H omitted

<sup>27</sup>A nirta

<sup>28</sup>H karata added

<sup>29</sup>RC line omitted until <nyā>(rai), see variant 25

<sup>30</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>31</sup>D ī added

<sup>32</sup>D nyāre; F oī added in marg., *sec. m.*; RC <nyā>(rai) hī

<sup>33</sup>F omitted, added in marg., *sec. m.*

<sup>34</sup>F, H, PH, NCM, RC saṣiyani; I saṣiyani; J saṣi ini

<sup>35</sup>H diṣṭa; I, J draṣṭi; NCM dṛṣṭi

<sup>36</sup>J, BR, NC taka

<sup>37</sup>J tava

## KM 106

navala<sup>1</sup> nikuñja [graha<sup>2</sup> navala] āgai<sup>3</sup> navala<sup>4,5</sup> binā madhya<sup>6</sup> rāga gauri<sup>7</sup> ṭhaṭhī<sup>8</sup>;  
 [manō<sup>9</sup> dasa indu<sup>10</sup>] piyūṣa<sup>11</sup> baraṣata<sup>12</sup> suṣada capala karajāvalī dṛṣṭi<sup>13</sup> piya<sup>14</sup> sō<sup>15</sup> jaṭi;  
 rījhi<sup>16</sup> rījhi<sup>17</sup> piya<sup>18</sup> deta<sup>19</sup> bhūṣana basana dāma ura rasana dasanani<sup>20</sup> dharata<sup>21</sup> niraṣi<sup>22</sup>  
 sāraṅga kaṭi;  
 rasada śrī haridāsa<sup>23</sup> bihārī<sup>24,25</sup> aṅga aṅga milata<sup>26</sup> atana<sup>27</sup> udo<sup>28</sup> karata surati<sup>29</sup>  
 ārambhaṭi<sup>30</sup>.

Folio missing in C

<sup>1</sup>H, I, J, BR, NC, RC nava; PH nava emended to navala

<sup>2</sup>D, NCP grha; NCM omitted, grha added *inf. lin., pr. m.*

<sup>3</sup>A, F, PH, NC āgē; I āgai; BR āge

<sup>4</sup>D navalā

<sup>5</sup>F navala added

<sup>6</sup>I maddhi; BR madhi

<sup>7</sup>D gauri; J, PH, NCM gorī

<sup>8</sup>D, BR ṭhaṭhī

<sup>9</sup>D, RC manau; I mānaū; BR mano; NCP mānō emended to manō; NCM mānō

<sup>10</sup>A, I, J, NCP, RC indu; F inda; BR canda

<sup>11</sup>I piūṣa; NC piyūṣa

<sup>12</sup>A, BR barṣata; NCP barasata

<sup>13</sup>H diṣṭa; I draṣṭi; NCM dṛṣṭi; RCdaṣṭi

<sup>14</sup>I, PH, NCP piya; D yiya

<sup>15</sup>A, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC kī; D sau

<sup>16</sup>NCP rījhi

<sup>17</sup>D rījhi; NCP rījhi

<sup>18</sup>I, NC piya

<sup>19</sup>F deṣata emended to deta; NCP deti; RC doti

<sup>20</sup>I, J, BR, NC dasana

<sup>21</sup>D, F, NC dharati; J omitted

<sup>22</sup>D niravikhi; PH deleted?

<sup>23</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>24</sup>NCM bihārī emended to bihārī

<sup>25</sup>NCM bihārī added

<sup>26</sup>F omitted

<sup>27</sup>D atina; I, NCP anata

<sup>28</sup>D udaū; F udau; H, I, J, BR udota; NC udyota; RC udauta

<sup>29</sup>D, F, H, BR, RC surata; NCP omitted

<sup>30</sup>F arambhaṭi

## KM 107

jhūlata ḍola doū jana ṭhāḍhe<sup>1</sup>;  
 hai<sup>2</sup> gata<sup>3</sup> jora<sup>4</sup> sahita jaisi<sup>5</sup> ba<sup>6</sup> jā kē<sup>7</sup> ḍāḍi<sup>8,9</sup> gahē<sup>10</sup> gāḍhe<sup>11</sup>;  
 bica<sup>12</sup> bica<sup>13</sup> prīti<sup>14</sup> rahasi<sup>15</sup> rasa<sup>16</sup> rīti<sup>17</sup> kī<sup>18</sup> rāga rāginīna<sup>19,20</sup> jūtha<sup>21</sup> bāḍhe;  
 s̄rī haridasa<sup>22</sup> ke<sup>23</sup> svāmī syāmā kuñjabihari<sup>24</sup> rāga hī ke raṅga rāgi<sup>25</sup> kāḍhe.

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<sup>1</sup>A ṭhāḍe

<sup>2</sup>A, D, F, I, J, BR, RC hā; H, NC hā; PH hai

<sup>3</sup>D, F, H, I, J, BR ghata

<sup>4</sup>I jori

<sup>5</sup>A jaisē; D, F, H, I, J, RC jaisau; BR jaiso

<sup>6</sup>A, H, I, J, BR, NC omitted

<sup>7</sup>D ke; H, J kau; I, RC kai; BR ko; PH kaī; NC kī

<sup>8</sup>A ṛāi; D ḍāḍi; F ḍāḍī

<sup>9</sup>D, F, H, I, J, BR ba added

<sup>10</sup>D, I, RC gahai; H gahi; BR gahe; NC gahāi

<sup>11</sup>A ṭhāḍe; D gāḍho; RC gāḍhe

<sup>12</sup>J bici

<sup>13</sup>F, J bici; H bica

<sup>14</sup>RC prīta

<sup>15</sup>H omitted, added in marg.; NCP rahisa

<sup>16</sup>H rasi emended to rasa

<sup>17</sup>D, RC rīta

<sup>18</sup>H māi added, deleted

<sup>19</sup>A, I, PH rāginini; D rāginina; F, J, BR, NC rāginī; H rāginini; RC rāganīna

<sup>20</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC ke added

<sup>21</sup>H juḍha; NCP yūtha

<sup>22</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>23</sup>D ko

<sup>24</sup>RC ke added after -ha-, deleted

<sup>25</sup>F raṅgani; H raṅga; NCP rāgi

## KM 108

jhūlata<sup>1</sup> ḍola<sup>2</sup> śrī [kuñjabī]hārī;

dūsarī aura<sup>3</sup> rasika<sup>4</sup> rādhā bara<sup>5</sup> nāgari<sup>6</sup> navala<sup>7</sup> dulārī;

rāṣe<sup>8</sup> na rahati<sup>9</sup> hāsati<sup>10</sup> kahakaha<sup>11</sup> kahe<sup>12,13</sup> bilabilāta<sup>14</sup> piya<sup>15</sup> bhārī;

śrī haridāsa<sup>16</sup> ke svāmī syāma<sup>17,18</sup> kahata<sup>19</sup> rī<sup>20</sup> pyārī<sup>21,22</sup> ba<sup>23</sup> kai<sup>24</sup> rāṣi hahā<sup>25</sup> rī.

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Folio missing in C

<sup>1</sup>F omitted

<sup>2</sup>F jhūlata added

<sup>3</sup>A, D, F, I, PH, NC, RC ora

<sup>4</sup>F -ka omitted, added in marg.; NCP rasika

<sup>5</sup>H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>6</sup>A, D, I nāgara; H nāgara emended to nāgari

<sup>7</sup>D -ha- added after na, deleted

<sup>8</sup>I rāṣai

<sup>9</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC rahata

<sup>10</sup>A, I, PH, NC, RC hāsata; D, F, H, J, BR hasata

<sup>11</sup>D, BR, NC kahikahi

<sup>12</sup>A kahē; F, PH kaha; H kaha? emended to priyā; I, J, BR, NC, RC omitted

<sup>13</sup>Added: D, I priyā; F, J, BR, NCM, RC priyā

<sup>14</sup>D bilāta; RC bilabilāti

<sup>15</sup>I, NCP piya; BR priya

<sup>16</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>17</sup>D, F, I, RC syāmā

<sup>18</sup>F kuñjabihārī added

<sup>19</sup>F omitted; RC kahati

<sup>20</sup>F omitted

<sup>21</sup>F omitted

<sup>22</sup>RC bali added

<sup>23</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC aba

<sup>24</sup>A, F, NC kē; D, I, J kai; H, BR ke

<sup>25</sup>H, I, NC hāhā

## KM 109

[kõna<sup>1</sup> prakṛ]ti<sup>2</sup> tihārī<sup>3</sup> chiyā<sup>4</sup> tumahi<sup>5</sup> milata [begi<sup>6</sup> bhora<sup>7</sup> hvai<sup>8</sup> jā]ta;  
<sup>9</sup>athavata<sup>10</sup> nimeṣa hoi<sup>11</sup> paha<sup>12</sup> phāṭī<sup>13</sup> deṣi[yata<sup>14</sup> pa]hilī<sup>15</sup> sahimāta<sup>16</sup> hvai jāta;  
 āvata [jāta<sup>17</sup> bhārau<sup>18</sup> para]i<sup>19</sup> pītau<sup>20</sup> mari<sup>21</sup> jāta;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>22</sup> ke svāmī<sup>23</sup> tuhmārai<sup>24</sup> māthai<sup>25</sup> trana<sup>26</sup> kitau[ka<sup>27</sup> suṣa<sup>28</sup> jāta].

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Folio missing in C

<sup>1</sup>A, D, I, J, BR, RC kauna

<sup>2</sup>D kṛṣṇata?; PH, RC prakṛta

<sup>3</sup>F tuhmārā; H tumhārī; PH tumahai

<sup>4</sup>A, I, NC chiyā

<sup>5</sup>D, I, BR, NCP tumahī; F tume; H tumhai; J tumahi; RC tumhai

<sup>6</sup>D, J, RC bega; NCM begi

<sup>7</sup>H bhoru

<sup>8</sup>NC ho

<sup>9</sup>D second line omitted

<sup>10</sup>J athauta; NCP atha bana

<sup>11</sup>F pīri; H, NC hoyā; PH hota

<sup>12</sup>A paya; J, BR pahi; NCP yaha; NCM pahu

<sup>13</sup>F, H phāṭata

<sup>14</sup>F, H deṣiyati; I deṣiyata

<sup>15</sup>F, RC pahālī

<sup>16</sup>A, I, NC sahamāta; F, H sahaja māta; J, BR saihaimata; RC sahaju māta

<sup>17</sup>F, H na added

<sup>18</sup>BR, PH bhāro

<sup>19</sup>NCM parau

<sup>20</sup>PH pīto

<sup>21</sup>D, NCM mara

<sup>22</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>23</sup>Added: F, H syāmā kuñjabihārī; NC syāmā

<sup>24</sup>A, J, BR, NC tumhāre; D tumāre; F, RC tuhmāre; H tumhārei; I tumhāre; PH tuhmārē

<sup>25</sup>A, BR māthe; D, I, PH māthai; F, NCP mātē; NCM omitted

<sup>26</sup>A trana emended to ṭṇa; D, PH trina; F, H tinu; J, BR, NC, RC ṭṇa

<sup>27</sup>A, PH, NCM kitoka; D kitaūka; F, H kitaku; I, J kitau; BR kito

<sup>28</sup>H suṣu

## KM 110

1juva<sup>2</sup> kavīnī<sup>3</sup> baises<sup>4</sup> kisora<sup>5,6</sup> [doū nikasi<sup>7</sup>] thādhe<sup>8</sup> bhaye<sup>9</sup> saghana bana tai<sup>10</sup>;  
 tana tana<sup>11</sup> māi<sup>12</sup> basata mana mana mē<sup>13</sup> lasata sobhā<sup>14</sup> bādhi duhū<sup>15</sup> disi<sup>16</sup> mānō<sup>17</sup>  
 pragata<sup>18</sup> bhai<sup>19</sup> dāmini<sup>20</sup> ghana ghana tē<sup>21</sup>;  
 mōhana<sup>22</sup> gahara<sup>23</sup> gambhīra<sup>24</sup> bidita<sup>25</sup> pika bānī<sup>26</sup> upajata<sup>27,28</sup> priyā<sup>29,30</sup> ke bacana<sup>31</sup> tē<sup>32</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa<sup>33</sup> ke svāmī syāmā<sup>34</sup> kuñjabihārī aiso<sup>34</sup> ko<sup>35</sup> mana<sup>36</sup> jā<sup>37</sup> ko<sup>38,39</sup> lāgai<sup>40,41</sup> anata<sup>42</sup>  
 matē<sup>43</sup>.

Folio missing in C

<sup>1</sup>In F, H and J the second part of the line from doū, (e doū in J) precedes the first

<sup>2</sup>F, H, J, NC juga; I juvā

<sup>3</sup>A, D, I, J, BR, PH, NCP, RC kavani; F kavaniya; H kamaniya; NCP kavaniya

<sup>4</sup>F omitted; PH vaisa

<sup>5</sup>J kiśaura

<sup>6</sup>J e added

<sup>7</sup>D, NC nikasa

<sup>8</sup>A, NC thāde

<sup>9</sup>A, D, F, J bhae

<sup>10</sup>A, F, H, PH, NC tē; BR te; RC tai

<sup>11</sup>PH mē emended to tana

<sup>12</sup>A, F, H, I, PH, NC mē; BR mai

<sup>13</sup>D, H, J, PH māi; BR, RC mai

<sup>14</sup>D saubhā; RC śomā

<sup>15</sup>D, RC duhū; F, NC duhū; BR duhu

<sup>16</sup>D, I, PH, NCP, RC disa

<sup>17</sup>A, D, I, BR, RC mānau; J mānāū

<sup>18</sup>A praghata

<sup>19</sup>A, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC, RC bhai

<sup>20</sup>D dāmina; H, NCP dāmini

<sup>21</sup>D, I tai; BR te; RC tai

<sup>22</sup>D, RC mauhana

<sup>23</sup>A gahana

<sup>24</sup>RC gabhīra

<sup>25</sup>A, I, RC badata

<sup>26</sup>F bāmī

<sup>27</sup>I, J upajati; PH upajita

<sup>28</sup>Added: D mānāū; F, J, NCM mānō; H mānau, in marg.; I mānau; BR māno

<sup>29</sup>F pika; H piya; I priyā

<sup>30</sup>NCM jū added

<sup>31</sup>NCP bacanana

<sup>32</sup>D, RC tai; I, J tai; BR te

<sup>33</sup>BR haridāsi

<sup>34</sup>A esau; D, F, H, I, J, RC aisau; NC aisō

<sup>35</sup>D kau

<sup>36</sup>F, H, I, J, BR, NCM, RC omitted

<sup>37</sup>F, H, J, BR omitted

<sup>38</sup>D, I, NC, RC kau; F, H, J, BR omitted

<sup>39</sup>I, NCM mana added

<sup>40</sup>NCP lāge

<sup>41</sup>F, H, J, BR mana added

<sup>42</sup>D anatana; F, NCM anatē; J anatai; BR anate

<sup>43</sup>D, RC matai; F, J, BR, NCM omitted; H omitted, added in marg.; I matai

## Chapter V

***Aṣṭādaś siddhānta and Kelimāl:***  
**Annotated translation**

The following commentaries have been cited in the translation of AS and KM:

HE	Hargūlāl's edition (Braj commentary of AS, VS 2028, AD 1971)
NC	Nāgarīdās's commentary (Braj commentary of KM, 18th c. VS)
PC	Pitāmbardās's commentary (Braj commentary of KM, 18th c. VS)
RC	Rādhāśaraṇdās's commentary (Braj commentary of KM, 19th c. VS)
SMC	Svāmī Śrī Haridās Saṅgīt Mahotsav's commentary (Hindi commentary of KM, AD 1973)
TC	Tulsīdās's commentary (Braj commentary of AS, VS 2009, AD 1952)

For further information about NC, PC, RC and BC see chapter VII.

I have also consulted Growse's translation of AS. Indeed since his English is much more idiomatic and poetic than mine could ever hope to be, I have used his wording in some instances where his interpretation coincided with mine and his language was not too christianised or outdated.

## AS 1

As you keep one, just so one remains<sup>1</sup>, oh<sup>2</sup> Hari;

And were I unthinkingly<sup>3</sup>,<sup>4</sup> to set foot somewhere else whose tracks would I follow<sup>5</sup>?

Even should I want to do what pleases my mind<sup>6</sup>, how could I<sup>7</sup> hold and keep it?

Haridās<sup>8</sup> says: like<sup>9</sup> a bird<sup>10</sup> in a cage, which remained fluttering<sup>11</sup> despite all its attempts to fly<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>The idea of the individual's total dependence on god is expressed with almost identical words in Sūr's *jaisai rākhahu taisai rahaū* (see Snell 1991b, p. 88).

<sup>2</sup>*hau* here is a vocative particle rather than a form of the verb *ho-*.

<sup>3</sup>The interpretation of *acarace* is problematic. SBBhK gives three meanings of *acarace*: 'not venerated', 'silent' and 'indiscriminately' (*acarait, apūjit, binā pūjā ke; cupcāp* and *binā pahcāne, bina bhed jāne*). My translation is based on the third of these, despite the fact that this line is quoted in SBBhK as the example for the first. TC and HE gloss *acarace* with 'without/against one's wish' (*icchā ke binā/pratikūl*): *carcā nām vicār kau hai, na carcā acarcā. acarce nām āpke vicār arthāt icchā ke binā* (TC); *āpkī icchā ke pratikūl* (HE). BC reads *acarace* as representing *carcā: aur siddhānta kī to carcā hī mat karo*. Growse translates: 'If I would shape my course in any different fashion, tell me whose tracks could I follow'.

<sup>4</sup>MSS A, BR, PH; B, D, F, I and J add *kaho/°au* (see variant 18). This interpolation is supported by a large number of relatively independent MSS; however, it is of explanatory character and does not really contribute to the sense. Moreover it might have been a poetic hyper-correction aimed at lengthening this extremely short line, and enhancing the alliteration of *k-*.

<sup>5</sup>The use of the absolute rather than the 1st p. subj.-pres. here is probably due to the rhyme.

<sup>6</sup>*mana bhāyau* as a synonym of *mana ko rucnevālā*, 'pleasing the mind' is attested in SŚ.

<sup>7</sup>My translation is based on the reading of G: *kari rāṣaū haū pakari*. MSS A, B, D, F, I, J and BR add *sakō/°aū/°au jo/jyaū tuma*, read *rāṣau/°o* instead of *rāṣaū*, and omit *haū* (see variants 35, 36, 37). The translation of this reading, which is also semantically possible, would be: 'you have seized and kept me'.

<sup>8</sup>The interpolation of the honorific *śrī*, suggested by MSS B, F, I, J and BR (see variant 39) is evidently a sectarian hypercorrection.

<sup>9</sup>The reading *lō/°o/°aū* of MSS A; B; D, F, I, J and BR (see variant 43) is attested as a synonym of *jyaū* 'in the way in which; just as; like' in SŚ.

<sup>10</sup>Literally: 'like a creature in a cage', the gloss 'bird' is determined by the following *uḍive*.

<sup>11</sup>The readings *taḍaphadāi/tarapharāi/tarapharāya/tapharāi* of MSS A; B, F, I; D, J and BR (see variant 44) with their meaning 'to toss about, to be restless; to flounder; to writhe' (see OHED) convey the same idea (expressed also by *phaṭaphatāya*) of the anxiety of the bird which cannot escape from the cage.

<sup>12</sup>Literally: 'having done however much in order to fly'. *kitoū* here is used rhetorically.



## AS 2

No one has any power, all happens by your grace, Bihārī-Bihārīṇī;  
 The rest is falsehood and illusion, why speak [of it]? It is defeat<sup>1</sup>.  
 To him who loves you, show love, source<sup>2</sup> of all happiness;  
 Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī are the support of life<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>The use of the verbal noun *hārini* here is determined by the rhyme.

<sup>2</sup>Both forms *kāraṇi* and *ādhāraṇi* are presumably an accommodation for the rhyme.

<sup>3</sup>*prāṇa-ādhāra* is glossed in SBBhK with *prāṇādhār*, which means literally 'support of life', and metaphorically 'husband, beloved' (see OHED).

## AS 3

At times the mind strays, [but] what joy<sup>1</sup> is greater than this<sup>2</sup> now?

There are many different traps<sup>3</sup>, keep<sup>4</sup> it in restraint<sup>5</sup>, or you will find unhappiness;

Bihārī is lovely as myriads of cupids, looking<sup>6</sup> at him one obtains all happiness and is kept in countenance<sup>7</sup>;

May I remain<sup>8</sup> constantly gazing at the wondrous faces of Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī.

<sup>1</sup>Dittography of *su-* in MS J (see variant 8).

<sup>2</sup>I have translated *yā tē* as part of the comparative expression. Its alternative interpretation 'therefore' is semantically inferior in this context.

<sup>3</sup>*ghata* as a form of *ghāta* is attested in SBBhK. My translation is based on the interpretation of HE: *anek prakār kī pralobhan rūpī ghāt*. TC, BC and Growse read *ghata* as 'means': *ghata nām dāv athvā upāy kau hai, bahut bhāti ke upāyan saū* (TC); *sab prakār se sanjhā bujhākar* (BC); 'discipline it in every way' (Growse).

There are no further occurrences of *ghata* in AS; it appears in KM 69 as a rhyme-word with the meaning 'stratagem', cf. note 8 to KM 69.

<sup>4</sup>In this context the imperative makes better sense than the perf. ptc., suggested by MSS A, B, F, I, J, PH and BR (see variant 14).

<sup>5</sup>*āni* as a synonym of *dabāv* is attested in SBBhK. Similar is Growse's interpretation: 'keep it under'. The commentaries seem to gloss *āni* as derived from the verb *ā(n)-*: *man kau śrī bihārījī ke caraṇan mē lagāyau* (TC); *yadi...man ko is ras mādhurī mē nahī lagāoge* (BC); *yāki mahāmadhur ras mē ḍubāi ke rākhyau* (HE).

There are no further occurrences of *āni* in AS; it appears twice in KM: in KM 71.3, where it is a form of the verb *ā-* (cf. note 9 to KM 71), and in KM 103.2, where it is a form of the f. n. *ān* 'charm' (cf. note 8 to KM 103).

<sup>6</sup>The interpretation of *mūhācuḥī* is problematic. It is attested as a f. n. meaning *paraspar dekhā-dekhī*, literally: 'looking at each other', in SK, and as a synonym of *ḍīg mānā* 'to boast, to brag; to be vainglorious' in SŚ. Most commentaries follow the sense given in SK: *mūhācuḥī arthāt sammukh ḍṣṭi se ḍṣṭi jor darśan kau sukh leta* (TC); *śrībihārī-bihārīnījū ke atī bicitra śrīnukhcandran kau paraspar mūhācuḥī ke sarvopari sukh kū nihārai hai* (HE). BC interprets *mūhācuḥī* as a synonym of *vāchā* 'desire, longing': *lok evaṃ lokottar mē jitne bhī sukh hai ve sab koṭikāmlāvanya śrī bihārī jī se sukh ke liye mūhācuḥī yāni vāchā karte hai*. Growse translates: 'and Pleasure and all delights dwell in his presence'.

<sup>7</sup>The gloss of *ruṣa rahata* is questionable. I have translated it on the model of the combination of *rukha* and the transitive counterpart of *rahnā*, *rakhnā*, which means 'to keep the face towards, to show continuing favour' (see OHED). BC ignores it. TC and HE read *rukḥ liye: āpkī ruṣ liye arthāt āpkī ruci ke anusār sakhijan sevan karai hai* (TC); *rukḥ liye sadākāl lāi-lāāvai hai* (HE). For Growse see above.

<sup>8</sup>The imperative of *rah-*, suggested by MSS B and F (see variant 29) is also semantically possible; however there is not enough manuscript evidence for this reading.

## AS 4

Worship Hari, worship Hari, do not desert him, value<sup>1</sup> your birth as a man<sup>2</sup>;  
 Do not wish<sup>3</sup>, do not wish for even the least particle of wealth;  
 It will come to you unsought as one eyelid<sup>4</sup> droops<sup>5</sup> upon the other<sup>6</sup>;  
 Haridās says: when<sup>7</sup> death comes, wealth<sup>8</sup> is left behind alone.

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<sup>1</sup>I have followed BC and HE in my translation of *māni nara tana kau*, which stresses that human birth affords a unique opportunity for *sādhanā*: *ye bhajan ekmatra mānav deh sō hī bani sakai hai* (HE); *yah mānav jīvan prabhu kī amūlya den hai* (BC). TC and Haynes gloss *māni* as ‘pride, arrogance’: *nara tana kau māna arthāt manuṣya deh kau abhīmān choṛ kaī*; ‘and forget the arrogance of the human body’; Growse translates: ‘nor desert him out of regard for thy mortal body’.

<sup>2</sup>Haplography of *na-* in MS J, because of previous *na-*, see variant 6.

<sup>3</sup>*bañchai* is presumably second rather than 3rd p. subj.-pres., since the latter would bring about an unnecessary and awkward change of subject (cf. the 2nd p. imperatives in the first line). The reading *bañche/bache* of MSS A and F (see variants 10 and 13) is grammatically superior, since *-e* is usually the ending for 2nd p., *ai-* being the ending for 3rd p. subj.-pres.

<sup>4</sup>I have followed Growse in translating *palu lāgata palu kau* literally rather than as the idiom *pala lāg- = nīnda ānā*, ‘to feel sleepy’ (see SS). This image can be interpreted as referring to the spontaneity with which the upper eyelid closes on the lower eyelid.

<sup>5</sup>MSS B, I, J, BR; D and F read *lāgai/°ai/°e*, see variant 23. About the functional overlap of subj.-pres. and general pres. see III 6.3.2.1.

<sup>6</sup>The rhyme pattern *-na kau* is not maintained in this line. No MS suggests a reading correcting this inconsistency (see variant 25).

<sup>7</sup>The reading *kyau/°ō* of MSS F and BR (see variant 30) is semantically inferior.

<sup>8</sup>BC interprets this image as referring to the similar nature of wealth and death: wealth is like death for man: *paramārtha-path ke pathikō ke liye dhan mṛtyu ke sadṛś paramārthik prāṇ ko haraṇ karnevālā bairī hai*.

## AS 5

Oh Hari, there is no<sup>1</sup> destroyer<sup>2</sup> like me, and no sustainer like you, a contest has arisen  
between you and me;

Whoever wins, whoever loses, still<sup>3</sup> do not give up the combat<sup>4</sup>;

The wondrous games of your illusion<sup>5</sup> beguile sages<sup>6</sup>, [even] the cunning<sup>7</sup> are deceived  
by its feints<sup>8</sup>;

Haridās says: I won and you lost, but even so there is no conclusion<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>*ko* functioning as the indefinite pronoun *koī* is attested in SBBhK. In this meaning the reading *ko* of MSS A and BR (see variants 5 and 9) is more straightforward.

<sup>2</sup>Both *bigāraṇa* and *sabāraṇa* are here verbal nouns functioning as verbal agent (see Snell 1991b, p. 16).

<sup>3</sup>The form *pira* is not attested. This translation is based on the emendation *para*, supported by MSS A, D and I (see variant 19).

<sup>4</sup>*badī* as ‘combat’ is not attested. However, this is the meaning given by the commentaries, presumably derived from the verb *bad-* ‘to wager, to be joined (as combat, rivalry)’ (see OHED), or *badābadī* ‘rivalry, contestation’ (see Platts): *hoḍ tūṭaigī nahī* (TC); *āpne hoṛ...na choṛikē nibhāte hī rahiyō* (HE); ‘there is no breaking of the condition’ (Growse).

<sup>5</sup>MSS A, F, J and BR add *pasārī* (see variants 23 and 24) ‘to spread out, to expand, to extend’ (see OHED). This variant is a possible alternative in the case of MSS F and BR, which read *tuma* rather than *tuhmāri* (see variant 22), but is grammatically inferior in the case of MSS A and J, where the sentence has no subject (*pasār-* is a vt.).

<sup>6</sup>My translation is based on the reading *muni*, supported by MSS A, I, J and BR (see variant 26). The text of the second *pāda* of the third line is evidently corrupt. This transpires through the *lemmata* as well: *muni suni kāke bhūle koḍ* (TC); *sura muni kāke bhūle koḍ* (HE); *sunī muni kāke bhūle koḍ* (Haynes); *muni kāke bhūle koḍ* (Growse). *sunī muni*, *sura muni* and *muni suni* are not supported by any of the MSS collated by me; they have presumably resulted from contamination, whereby scribes have compared MSS which read *sunī/sura* with MSS which read *muni*, and have included both of them for the effect of the assonance of *-ni*. Between *sunī* and *muni*, the latter is semantically superior in this context. It is poetically superior as well, since it brings about alliteration of *m-*, but this argument cannot be conclusive.

<sup>7</sup>*kāke* is not glossed in any of the commentaries. My translation is based on the meaning ‘a cunning fellow’ for *kāka*, given in OHED.

<sup>8</sup>*koṛa* as a synonym of *paītrā* ‘feint, dodge’ (see OHED) is quoted in SBBhK. The example it gives from *Sūrsāgar* connects *koṛa* again with *bhūl-*: *koṛa bhūle goṛa tharatharāne*. BC and HE gloss *kaḍa* with *god* ‘lap’: *ham jīv to yā māyā kī god mē hī baiṭhe haī* (HE); *ham to māyā ke god mē haī* (BC).

<sup>9</sup>The readings *toḍa*, suggested by MSS A, D, F, I, J, BR and PH (see variant 37) and *koḍa* of MSS A, B, D, F, I, J, BR and PH (see variant 28) are poetically better, because they preserve the rhyme-pattern.

*toḍa* as a synonym of *nipaṭarā* ‘completion; settlement, conclusion’ is attested in SBBhK.

## AS 6

Oh worshipper<sup>1</sup>, this choice is good:

Waver not in mind, enter into profound meditation, be not an adversary<sup>2</sup>;

Do not wander from door to door [or seek] your father's door<sup>3</sup>, do not be blind<sup>4</sup>;

Haridās says: what the creator causes<sup>5</sup>, comes to pass - even immovable Meru moved<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>The commentaries gloss *bande* as derived from *bandā* 'servant, slave' (see OHED), rather than from the verb *band-* *ārādhnā karnā*, *praṇām karnā* 'to worship' (see SBBhK): *he bande, manuṣya tanu dhārī jan* (TC); *he bhāī* (BC). Growse and Haynes translate it as an address but with the meaning of *band-*: 'O ye faithful' (Growse); 'worshippers' (Haynes). Cf. note 9 to KM 94. This verse shows a number of Persio-Arabic loanwords: *bande*, *aṣatīyāra* and *pidara*. For further examples of Persio-Arabic loanwords in Haridās's poetry see III 3.

<sup>2</sup>*agalā* as 'opponent, adversary' is cited in Platts. TC glosses it with 'prior, previous, before': *agalā arthāt pahile jaise anek yonin mē bhatakyaū*; BC with *anyathā* 'otherwise, contrarily; contrary': *anyathā jāne kī ceṣṭā mat karo*; Growse translates: 'be not stragglers'; Haynes renders: 'don't be apart from this'.

<sup>3</sup>I have followed BC and TC in reading *pidara dara* as semantically belonging to the first *pāda* of the line, implying that the real bonds are not worldly attachments, but the ties man creates with god: *pitā ke dvāra pai mat phirai. arthāt aiso kar jo pitā mātā kau dvār na dekhnaū paḍai arthāt janma maraṇ se chūṭve kau upāy kar* (TC); *mātā pitā sāmsārik āsā* (BC). Growse connects *pidara dara* with *na hohu adhalā* in a rather Christian interpretation 'nor be in doubt as to your own father's door'.

<sup>4</sup>The unmasalised form *adhalā* of MS G is an accommodation for the rhyme, cf. variant 14.

<sup>5</sup>Both *kiyā* and *huvā* are KhB rather than Braj forms. MS F (and MS BI) read *karī su bhāī*; MS J gives *bhayā* (see variants 17 and 19).

<sup>6</sup>The perf. ptc. *calā* is probably used rhetorically here in what is effectively an implied conditional.

Growse gives a different interpretation of the last line: 'what is God's doing, is as fixed as Mount Sumeru has become'.

## AS 7

Set your affection on the lotus-eyed<sup>1</sup>, in comparison with whose love all love seems insipid,

Or set your affection on the company of saints, through which<sup>2</sup> all the sins<sup>3</sup> of your soul may depart<sup>4</sup>.

The love of Hari is like the [durable] dye of the madder plant, and the love of the world is like the dye<sup>5</sup> of saffron that lasts only two<sup>6</sup> days;

Haridās says: set your affection on Bihārī, and know<sup>7</sup> that he is the sustainer<sup>8</sup> of the soul for ever<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>All the commentaries read *kamala nēna* as a *bahuvrīhi* compound, referring to Kṛṣṇa.

<sup>2</sup>*jyāū* in the meaning *jisse* is attested in SŚ.

<sup>3</sup>The form *kilibiṣa* is not attested. My translation is based on the reading *kalamaṣa*, suggested by MSS D, I, J and BR (see variant 21).

<sup>4</sup>*jāi* here is 3rd p. subj.-pres. rather than the stem (see Snell 1991b, p. 11).

<sup>5</sup>MSS F, J and BR omit *raṅga* (see variant 33). *raṅga* here is of explanatory character and may have been a later addition; on the other hand its omission may have resulted from prosodic hypercorrection aimed at shortening this excessively long line.

<sup>6</sup>*duṭīya* as a synonym of *do* is attested in SBBhK.

<sup>7</sup>Growse reads Bihārī as the subject of *jāni*: 'and he knowing your heart will remain with you forever'.

<sup>8</sup>The form *nibāhū* as agent of the action = *nirvāh karnevālā* is attested in SBBhK.

<sup>9</sup>This translation is based on the reading *ora*, suggested by MSS F, I and BR (see variant 44), which is semantically superior compared to *aura*. This is the reading of the commentaries as well: *ora nām anta tak jīkaū nām jīv kaū hit, nibāhu nām nibāhvevāre* (TC); *ekmātra prem karnevāle śrī bihārījū hī anta tak jīv se prem kā nirvāh karte haī* (BC), for Growse see above, note 6.

## AS 8

Like a straw in the power of the wind;

As [it] pleases<sup>1</sup> just so it blows [the straw] away and casts it down at a caprice;

Such are the realm of Brahma, the realm of Śiva and other realms;

Says Haridās: I kept on reflecting and did not see<sup>2</sup> anyone like<sup>3</sup> Bihārī.

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<sup>1</sup>The reading *bhāvai*, suggested by MSS B, F, I, J and BR (see variant 7) is a synonym of *cāhai* and has the same prosodic value.

<sup>2</sup>This translation is based on the readings *deṣyau*/<sup>o</sup>; *dekhau* (if analysed as perf. rather than imp.), suggested by MSS F, J; BR; B, D and I (see variant 20). There is strong manuscript support for this reading and the transitive *dekh-* is semantically superior in this context. The variant of MSS B, D and I, *dekhau*, can be interpreted as imperative as well; the use of an imperative in this context is also semantically plausible. The reading *dīthau* of MSS G and PH would translate: 'it appears through reflection'.

<sup>3</sup>There are two possible versions of the last line, and two alternative interpretations of *java*. My translation is based on the reading of MS BR: *bicāra rahyo na dekhyo bihārī java* (see variants 19, 20, 21 and 22). This reading is supported also by MS BI and is semantically superior in the general context of this stanza, which is concerned with security and protection. Growse renders *java* as a form of *jaisā* as well: 'This is my conclusion, I have seen none such as Bihārī'. The commentaries gloss *java* as derived from *yaśa*: *hamnē acchī tarah bicār kē dekh liyau ki in lokan mē śrī bihārī jū kau yaś nahī hai* (TC); *śrī bihārī se ananya sambandha sthāpit kiye binā kisī kī sthāyī kīrti akṣuṇṇa nahī rah sakī* (BC); *śrībihārī jī mahārāj kī ananya saranāgati ke binā samyak prakār sarvopari nitya java kāhū ko ho hī nāi sakai hai* (HE).

## AS 9

In the ocean of existence there are men, fish, crocodiles, alligators and other creatures<sup>1</sup>  
of numerous kinds<sup>2</sup>;

The wind of the mind spreads the net of love;

Avarice is the cage, the avaricious are divers who break the four goals of life into  
pieces<sup>3</sup>;

Haridās says: only those souls have crossed who remained seizing the feet of the son of  
bliss<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>The allusion of the first line is open to interpretation (except for the reading of MS B, where *mīna* is evidently a metaphor for men, since *nakra* and *magara* are omitted, see variants 2 and 3). The image of the sea of worldliness is very common in *bhakti* poetry, cf. for example Sūr's stanza *abakāi nātha mohi udhāri*, in which the crocodile of Kāmdev, the fish of the senses, the waterweeds of infatuation, the waves of greed, the winds of anger, vanity, pride and longing are all components of the *bhava ambunidhi* (see Snell 1991b, p. 84). Similar images, but in a completely different context and with different connotation, appear in KM 57, which pictures the waves of desire in the pond of Kṛṣṇa's heart, and the crocodile of Rādhā's anger.

The commentaries interpret the metaphor here in different ways: HE simply enumerates the various creatures (as I have done in my translation): *samsār sāgar ke jal-thal mẽ manuṣya, pasu, pakṣī, ananta prakār kī banāvaṭ ke jīv hai*; BC and TC read fish, crocodiles and alligators as metaphors for men who have different power: *bhav samudra mẽ manuṣya mīn, nakra, magar kī tarah saṃskārvaś rahtā hai* (BC); *samsār samudra hai aur manuṣya mīn hai. jaise mīn cañcal hai taisai hī manuṣya kau man cañcal hai... aur koī manuṣya nakra hai arthāt mīn jo nibal hai tinkaū dukh dey hai. aur koī unṃ se bhī prabal hai te magar hai* (TC); 'Man is like a fish in the ocean of the world, and other living creatures of various species are as the crocodiles and alligators' (Growse).

<sup>2</sup>The form *bandasi* is not attested. On the basis of the meaning 'list, inventory' attested in Platts for *banda*, I have interpreted it rather freely as a synonym for the expected sense *bahu bhāti*. Growse glosses *bandasi* as 'species' (see above); TC as *racnā* 'creation': *jīvani kī bandasi arthāt racnā hai*; BC as *sthiti* 'situation': *isī prakār aur bhī bahut jīvō kī sthiti hai* (BC); HE as *banāvaṭ* 'nature' (see above). A comparison to *khandā* (= *khaṇḍa*?) shows that a shift from retroflex to dental consonant might have taken place here and therefore *bandasi* might be related to *baṇḍa* 'maimed, defective, crippled' (see MW). *bandasi* could also be interpreted as 'fastened, enclosed' but the ocean image does not accommodate this gloss.

Neither of these glosses accounts for the ending *-si*. The other rhyme-words present the same problem.

<sup>3</sup>My translation is based on the reading *khandā*, suggested by MSS A, B, J, BR and PH (see variant 15). It is supported by a number of relatively independent MSS; moreover the form *ṣaṃ* is not attested. I have followed the commentaries in interpreting *khandā* as a form of *khaṇḍa*: *ek padārtha kau khaṇḍa tāko hū khaṇḍa prāpta hoy to hāy [sic] hai. pūrṇa padārtha tau hū nahī milai* (TC); *cārō padārthan ke ananta prakār sō ṭukre kari-karikē* (HE); 'and the four objects of life as four compartments of the cage' (Growse). Haynes translates *khandā* as connected to *khodnā* 'to dig': 'the greedy are like pearl divers digging up the four aims [of man]'.

<sup>4</sup>Since *nanda* means not only 'son', but is the name of the foster-father of Kṛṣṇa, another possible translation of *ānanda nandasi* would be 'the delight of Nanda'. This might perhaps explain the ending *-si* as a remnant of the gen. ending *-sya* for m. n. in *-a* in Sanskrit. The commentaries do not acknowledge this possibility, since the name of Nanda is clearly connected with *Vraja līlā*, and the sect claims its uniqueness on the basis of its single-minded concentration on the *nikuñja līlā* (see note 9 to KM 52 and I 1.2 and 1.4).



## AS 10

Why are you lazy in Hari's praises, Death roams about and aims<sup>1</sup> his arrows;

He knows nothing of suitable and unsuitable time<sup>2</sup>, he roams<sup>3</sup> riding<sup>4</sup> on [your] shoulder<sup>5</sup>.

So what if you have accumulated pearls and many jewels, and elephants are tied up at your gate?

Haridās says: though a woman in finery awaits you in the palace, nothing helps when the darkness<sup>6</sup> of the end arrives.

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<sup>1</sup>The nasalised form of *sādh-* 'to point, to aim' is attested in SŚ.

<sup>2</sup>Dittography of *kubera* in MS PH (see variant 7).

<sup>3</sup>The reading *rahata/rāhatu*, suggested by MSS B, D and I (see variant 11), might be a poetic hypercorrection aimed at avoiding the repetition of *phirata* (cf. previous line).

<sup>4</sup>I have followed BC and HE in my interpretation of *caḍhyau*: *pratyek prāṇī ke kandhe par savār hai* (BC); *tumhāre kandhā pai hī baiṭhyau hai* (HE). TC and Growse read *caḍhyau* as referring to the bow of Death: *kāl... nit kādhe pai caḍhyau rākhyau hai* (TC); 'but has ever his bow on his shoulder' (Growse).

<sup>5</sup>*sara sādhe* in MS F is obviously miscopied from the previous line (see variants 12 and 13). The reading of MS B, *nita* (see variant 12), is semantically possible, and prosodically of equal value; however, it is not supported by any other MS.

<sup>6</sup>The f. n. *ādha* in the meaning *ādherā* is attested in SBBhK. The ending *-e* of *ādhe* is either an emphatic suffix or an accommodation for the rhyme.

## AS 11

See<sup>1</sup> the attachment<sup>2</sup> of these people;

They do not perceive Hari's lotus-feet, wasting their life in falsehood;

When<sup>3</sup> Yama's<sup>4</sup> messenger comes and confines them, he does what pleases<sup>5</sup> him<sup>6</sup>;

Haridās<sup>7</sup> says: one is immortal<sup>8</sup> only when one's attention is drawn<sup>9</sup> to Kuñjabihārī.

<sup>1</sup>The 1st p. subj.-pres., suggested by MS J (see variant 1) is semantically inferior in this context.

<sup>2</sup>I have interpreted *lāvani* as a verbal noun of *lāv-*, a synonym of *lagānā* (see OHED), in the meaning 'to attach, to apply (the mind to)'. This is the gloss of the commentaries as well: *in sāṃsārik manuṣya kī lāvani arthāt asatya saṃsār ke vyavahār me kitnī āsakti hai* (TC); *ye log kṣaṇ bhaṅgur parārthō kī prīti mē bādḥkar* (BC); *in logaṅ kī āsakti* (HE). Growse translates: 'See the cleverness of these people'. The form *lāvani* is attested in SŚ and SBBhK as derived from *lāvanya* 'savour, charm' (see OHED), but this etymology would be semantically inferior in this context.

<sup>3</sup>MSS D, F and BR omit *taba* (see variant 15) and *jaba* (together with MS J, see variant 25). This omission might have resulted from prosodic hypercorrections to cut down the length of the third and the fourth lines to the 28 *mātrās* of the second line.

<sup>4</sup>The reading *jaba* of MS F (see variant 11) is semantically inferior in this context.

<sup>5</sup>*bhāvani* here is a verbal noun of *bhāv-* 'to be approved of, or liked, to seem good to' (see OHED).

<sup>6</sup>*āpu* as a synonym of *apnā* is attested in SŚ.

<sup>7</sup>Haplography of *ha-* in MS BR (see variant 21), presumably influenced by previous *kahi*.

<sup>8</sup>This translation is based on the reading *cirajīvai/ °aī; cirujīvai* of MSS BR, F; B and I (see variant 24); the 3rd p. subj.-pres. makes better sense in this context than the imperative. Alternatively, one could analyse *cirajīvai* as an extended form of the adj. *cirajīva* rather than as a verbal form.

<sup>9</sup>I have interpreted *citāvani* as a verbal noun of *citā-* (= *cetānā*) 'to draw one's attention, to remind' (see OHED). This is the gloss of BC, HE and Growse as well: *jab tum śrī bihārī ko citta mē sthāpit kar loge; jab śrī kuñjabihārī tumhāre cit mē bhalībhāti āi jayēge* (HE); 'who has taken Kunj-bihari to his soul' (Growse). Alternatively, *citāvani* could be interpreted as a rhyme form of *citvani* 'look, glance'; this is the rendering of TC: *kuñjabihārī ko citvan karēge*, or of *cetāvnī* 'a warning; caution; a reminder' (see OHED), especially as *cetāvnī* is a genre name for such verses, whose aim is to remind the worldly of the *sādhana*.

## AS 12

Feel love with dedicated heart; with an earthen pot<sup>1</sup> in your hand, sweep the lanes of Vṛndāvana.

String with your hand a rosary of *guñjā* berries from Vṛndāvana and its forests<sup>2</sup> and groves.

As a cow [watches] her calf and a doe its fawns<sup>3</sup> and does not look<sup>4</sup> at<sup>5</sup> anybody else at all,

[Fix your mind<sup>6</sup>] on Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī as [a milkmaid concentrates] on a milk-pail<sup>7</sup> on her head.

<sup>1</sup>The earthen pot is a symbol of giving up worldly possessions and taking the path of ascetic life.

<sup>2</sup>*bana* is omitted in MSS J and BR (see variant 11), the second *bana* in MSS B, F and BR (see variant 14), and *hātha* in MSS F and BR (see variant 15). I have opted not to include the second *bana*, since it does not contribute to the sense. It cannot be proven whether the first *bana* and *hātha* are original readings, or prosodic 'fillers'.

<sup>3</sup>MSS I, J and BR add *mṛga* before *sutana* on the model of *gau sutana* (see variant 23). This reading would establish an inner symmetry in the first *pāda* of the line and lengthen this relatively short line; however these arguments work both in favour and against such an emendation.

<sup>4</sup>*johanī* is presumably a rhyme form of the verbal noun *johani*.

<sup>5</sup>*tana* here is the ppn. 'towards'.

<sup>6</sup>The majority of MSS: A, B, D, F, I, J and BR read *sō citta jyaū sira para dōhanī* (see variant 31). However, *sō cita* is probably a secondary reading of explanatory character, aimed at deciphering this cryptic line.

<sup>7</sup>The commentaries gloss this simile identically: one should not forget Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī whatever one is doing, just as the milkmaids, carrying milk, talk to each other, but do not lose their concentration on the milk-pail: *tin mē aise citta ko lagāve jaise koī gūjī dūdh kī bhari dohnī kaū māthe par dharkaī calai hai, tā samai saṅga kī sakhīna sō bātē hū kartī jāy hai mārga hū dekhta jāy hai parantu man dohnī mē hī lag rahyau hai* (TC); *jaise kāhū ke mastak pai dūdh kī dohnī rakkhī hoi hai, vāko man vā dohnī mē hī aiso lagyau rahai hai, joki apne saṅgavāren te anek bāt hū karai hai tauhū vāko man dohnī te nāi haṭai hai* (HE); *usī prakār lagāye rakho jis par mastak par ghaṛā dhāraṅ karnevālī panihārinē bāt bhī kartī jāti hai par dhyān ghare mē hotā hai* (BC). Growse translates: "be your meditation on them as well balanced as a milk pail on the head".

## AS 13

Just such<sup>1</sup> is all the sport of Hari.

The world is pervaded by mirage, nowhere is there seed or flower<sup>2</sup>.

The intoxication of wealth, youth and power is like a clod<sup>3</sup> [thrown] amidst birds.

Haridās says: I know<sup>4</sup> this with my heart, [it is] like<sup>5</sup> a meeting at a place of pilgrimage<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>For a discussion on Haridās's use of relative-correlative constructions see III 1.

<sup>2</sup>The second *pāda* of the second line is obscure. I have followed the commentaries in interpreting *bijaurau* as a form of *bijālā* 'having seed or grain' rather than as a form of *bijār* 'a bull, a stallion' (see OHED). *vela* is productive of meanings connected with growth, and is used here in this general sense. *bijaurau na vela* develops the image of the mirage: the world is like a waterless desert in which there is no seed or plant. All commentaries supply an explanation of the rather cryptic *mūla*, most of them connecting *bijaurau bela* with the concept of happiness: neither in the beginning nor in the end of worldly activities there is happiness; the seed or plant of happiness is nowhere in the world: *yā saṃsār kau bijorī arthāt bij aur bel kachū bhī nahī hai* (TC); *saṃsār ke kisi parārtharūpī bij athvā pratiphalit bel mē kūncit sukh kī gandha bhī nahī hai. arthāt sāṃsārik kārya ke na to prārambha mē aur na usse pratiphalit honevāle phal mē koī sukh hai* (BC); *yāmē kahū sukh ko na to bij hī hai na bel hī hai. arthāt jagat mē kachuk paude bij te paidā hoi hai, kachun kī bel lagi jāī hai. jab do nō hī nāī [sic] hai, tab sukhrūpī phal prāpta hoibe kī bāt hī kaun kahi sakai hai* (HE).

<sup>3</sup>All commentaries interpret *ḍela* as derived from [\**ḍella*-] 'lump, piece, clod' (see OHED): wealth, youth and power are transient just like birds which disperse when a clod is thrown at them: *jitne ye mad hai titne sab kṣaṇ bhaṅgur hai, jaisē pañchīn kau samūh baithau hoy aur yāmē ek ḍel phaīk deu to sab uṛ jāy yāhī bhāti sab mad kṣaṇ mātra mē naṣṭa hai jāy hai* (TC); *aśvarya yauvan evaṃ rājymad usī prakār kṣaṇ bhaṅgur hai jis prakār pakṣiyō ke samūh mē ek ḍel ke phēk dene se sabke sab phurra se uṛ jāte hai* (BC); *ye sab mad nek dhakkā pai hī aise uṛi jāī hai jaise anek pañchī ek ḍelī ke phēkibe te hī phurra uṛi jāī hai* (HE). *ḍela* is also attested as a synonym of *ullū* in ŚBBhK. Probably this meaning is the basis for Growse's translation: 'are all like the crow among birds'.

<sup>4</sup>The imperative *jāno/au*, suggested by MSS A; B and F (see variant 19) may be semantically superior to the subj.-pres. reading of MS G, because of the strong formulaic admonitory ring of the phrase *yahai jāy jān-*. Cf. *Sūrsāgar* 2.7 (Snell 1991b, p. 84).

<sup>5</sup>This translation is based on the reading *ko/au sau mela*, suggested by MSS A, BR, PH; B and D (see variant 20).

<sup>6</sup>The commentaries explain that the simile stresses the transience of worldly things: contacts made at a pilgrimage place last only until the end of the pilgrims' stay there: *jaisē parva mē tīrtha mē anek jagah ke manuṣya ekatra āikē milai hai aur ek ek do do dīn mē jo jahā sō āyau hai tahā calau jāy hai. yāhī prakār yā saṃsār kau nātau alpa kāl kau hai* (TC); *sāṃsārik sambandha usī prakār asthāyī hai jis prakār tīrtha par mile hue vyakti kā vichoh avāśyamev ho jātā hai* (BC); *māyik-sukh-sambandha kū aise jāno jaise tīrath pai anek thauran te yātrī āikē ekatrit hoi, paraspar prembhāv banāī levaī hai kintu do-cār dīn mē hī sab apne apne ghar cale jāī hai [sic]* (HE).

## AS 14

You make the false appear true, oh clever Hari;

Day and night [you] keep on weaving and unravelling the ocean of illusion.

[You] have formed<sup>1</sup> the woman<sup>2</sup>, but [she]<sup>3</sup> is shrewder<sup>4</sup> than the *puruṣa*<sup>5</sup>.

Listen, [says] Haridās: I know<sup>6</sup> this with my heart, it is like awareness in sleep<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>MSS F reads *nāu* for *kau* (see variant 17) and MS J gives *nāma* for *hai* (see variant 18). If one accepts the reading *nāu/ma* the translation would be: 'You have fashioned the woman and given her a name'. Like F, MS BI also reads *mihirī nāu hai*, but *ko* is added in margin *pr. m.*

<sup>2</sup>The form *miharī* is attested in SŚ.

The commentaries read *miharī* as a metaphor for *māyā*: *tumhārī miharī jo māyā hai* (TC); *māyā rūpī patnī* (BC); *āpkī māyā itek jabaradasta balvān hai* (HE).

<sup>3</sup>BC and HE gloss *āgara* as referring to *miharī*: *āpne apnī māyārūpī patnī kā thātbat āpne se bhī adhik banākar is prakār digdarśit karā diyā hai ki āp se adhik āpkī māyā kā log mahatva dete hai* (BC); *āpkī māyā itek jabardasta balvān hai, ki āp te hū adhik prabhāvsālī* [sic]...(HE); TC connects *āgara* with *puruṣa*: *he puruṣ! te arthāt tumhārī miharī jo māyā hai tāke dvārā āpne yah thāth viśva banāy kai dharyau...āpkī sattā se yah saṃsār hai so āp baṛe āgar arthāt catur hau*. Growse translates: 'Though thou affectest the woman in form and name, thou art more than man', and explains that 'the god's illusive power, or Maya' rather than god himself is addressed in this stanza.

<sup>4</sup>*āgara* as a synonym of *catura* 'shrewd, clever' is attested in SBBhK.

<sup>5</sup>*puruṣa* works on two levels: the literal 'man, husband' as opposed to 'woman, wife'; and the theological, referring to the supreme being and source of the universe.

<sup>6</sup>About the choice of an imperative or a subj.-pres. interpretation of *janaū* (cf. variant 26) see note 4 to AS 13.

<sup>7</sup>The commentaries explain the metaphor of sleep: the world has the deceptive 'realness' of dreaming: *jaise manuṣya sotau bhayau svapna mē jāgivau dekhai parantu vah jāgnau mithyā hai kyōki vāstav mē to soy hī rahyo hai. aise hī yah saṃsār satyavat pratit hotau bhayau vāstav mē mithyā hai* (TC); *jis tarah svapna mē prāpta sampatti kā jage par koī astitva nahī rahtā, tadvat in māyik vastuō kī mṛg marīcīkā par satat vicārte raho* (BC); *jaise sapne mē jīv jāgrit sadṛṣ dekhte bhayau vāko sāco mānai hai, ākh khulibe pai phir kahū kachū nāi dīkhai hai taise hī log supānvat yā jagat kū sāco māni rahē hai* (HE).

## AS 15

Having tried worldly love I have found that there is no one [to forge] a bond<sup>1</sup> with;

From king to pauper<sup>2</sup> no opposition of [one's] own nature<sup>3</sup> has succeeded.

The days of many births have passed, may no more pass<sup>4</sup> thus;

Haridās says: I have found a good friend in Bihārī, may everyone attain<sup>5</sup> him likewise<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>The interpretation of the second *pāda* of the first line is problematic. The commentaries gloss *gaṭī* as related to *gāṭh* 'a knot; a fastening; a contract, agreement' (see OHED) and explain that there is no one in the world to tie the knot of true love: *jagat mē gaṭī kau koṭī nahī hai*, *jāsō prīti kī gāṭh bādḥ jāy aisau koṭī nahī* (TC); *jagat mē bisuddha sācī prīti kī gaṭīvāro koṭī nāī milai hai* (HE); 'there is no real accord' (Growse). *gaṭī* as a form of *gāṭh* is attested in SŚ and SBBhK. Cf. also note 3 to KM 24.

<sup>2</sup>MSS A; B; F, J and BR add *dekhē/a/e* (see variant 10). This reading brings about a certain symmetry between the first and second lines; however it may have resulted from prosodic hypercorrection aimed at equalizing the length of the second and third lines, and it does not contribute to the sense significantly, so I have opted against such an emendation.

<sup>3</sup>I have followed the interpretation of *prakṛti...koṭī* in BC and HE according to which human beings do not manage to maintain true love because of the selfishness of their nature: *apnī prakṛtijanya ahamanyatā* [sic] *ke vaśībhūt hone ke kāraṇ prīti kā nīrvāh koī kar nahī pātā* (BC); *yah jīv apnī prakṛti sō bhalībhāti virodh kari hī nāī sakai hai*, *aur svasukhtā ke svabhāv mē prem ko praves hī nāī hoi hai* (HE). However, TC and Growse analyse this line as consisting of two independent statements: the nature of everyone, from a king to a beggar, is different, and therefore love between them is impossible: *rājā sō lai raīka tak dekhe sab prakṛti viruddha hai*, *ek kī ek sō prakṛti paraspar mē viruddha hai tab prīti mitratā kaise hai sakai*; 'See, from the king to the beggar, natures differ and no match can be found'.

<sup>4</sup>*jāu* with the function of 3rd p. subj.-pres. is attested in SŚ. It cannot be interpreted in the usual way as 2nd p. imp., because of its intransitive nature, which would make impossible the translation 'do not pass any more days in this way'.

<sup>5</sup>The reading *pāvai* in MS F (see variant 32) is grammatically superior, since *saba koṭī* requires 3rd p. subj.-pres. rather than 2nd p. imp.

<sup>6</sup>There is an important semantic difference between the *aisē/e/ese* readings (if interpreted adverbially) of MSS G; B, I, J and A (see variant 31) which suggest 'may everyone attain Bihārī similarly' and the adjectival *aisau/o* readings of MSS D, F and BR which imply 'may everyone attain such a one', and thus admit the possibility of other paths existing.

## AS 16

People go astray<sup>1</sup>. Well, let them do so, but you, rosary-bearer<sup>2</sup>, do not stray;  
 To leave your lord<sup>3</sup> and love others is to be like a prostitute among wives;  
 Śyāma says: those people who have turned their faces<sup>4</sup> from me, who are they<sup>5</sup>? [They  
 are] those who have formed<sup>6</sup> another tie<sup>7</sup>.  
 Haridās says: faith in sacrifice, gods and ancestors is burdensome.

<sup>1</sup>TC and HE interpret *bhūlai* as 'to forget' and supply Kuñjabihārī or the 'resorting' to him as its object: *aur je saṃsārī manuṣya bhagvān kau bhūl rahe hai* (TC); *śrībihārījī kī ananya āśritatā kū aur log bhūli rahe hai* (HE).

*bhūle* could also be analysed as m. pl. perf., as Growse does: 'people have gone astray'. This gloss is supported by the reading *bhūlyau*<sup>o</sup> of MSS F and BR (see variant 3).

<sup>2</sup>All the commentaries interpret the reference to *mālādhārī* as underlining the difference between people who have not been initiated and people who wear the *tulsī* rosary, a symbol of initiation. Haynes reads *mālādhārī* as an epithet of Kṛṣṇa: 'don't forget Kṛṣṇa'.

<sup>3</sup>The interaction between the two different meanings of *pati*: 'lord, master' and 'husband' in the original is lost in translation.

<sup>4</sup>About Vyās's concept of *vimukha* being hypocritical *bhakta* see Pauwels 1994b, p. 34.

<sup>5</sup>The syntax of the second *pāda* of this line is obscure and the commentaries are not of much help. The general gloss they give on the line is that those people are opposed to Bihārī who despite choosing him as their deity, worship also other deities: *jīn jīvan ne mero bhajan choṛike phal kāmna sō anya, dūsre devtādikan kau bhajan kiyau, ve jīv mosō vimukh bhaye* (TC); *unhī jīvō ko maī apne se parāṇimukh samajhtā hū jo mujhe apnā iṣṭavaraṇ karke bhī anyō ke prati bhī āsthā rakhte hai* (BC); *veī jan mote bimukh hai gaye hai, jo log śrīgurun dvārā hamārī dīkṣā laikē hū aur dharman kō apno rakṣak mānikāī nānā prakār kī āsān sō binkū mātho navāve hai* (HE); 'those men rebel against me who prefer another' (Growse).

Evidently the message of this line (and of the stanza as a whole) is to stress the importance of single-mindedness in *bhakti*.

<sup>6</sup>*kari* functioning as f. perf. ptc. is attested in SŚ.

<sup>7</sup>I have interpreted *ḍārī* as a rhyme form of *ḍorī* 'string, cord; bond, tie' (see OHED). *ḍorī* is the reading of MS BI and gives the most likely meaning in this context. Another possible interpretation of *ḍārī* is as the f. perf. of *dāl-* in the sense 'to maintain (as a mistress)' which would continue the image of the second line. *ḍārī* could also be analysed as a form of *ḍālī* 'a basket or tray of flowers, fruit, &c. sent as a present' (see OHED), but this interpretation is unlikely in this context. The commentaries do not give a specific gloss of *ḍārī*, see above, note 5.

## AS 17

Oh heart<sup>1</sup>, as long as you live, worship Hari, all<sup>2</sup> other things are vain;

They are only transient<sup>3</sup> gains<sup>4</sup>, will<sup>5</sup> you bear<sup>6</sup> them off with you?

Intoxicated by wealth<sup>7</sup>, virtues and youth you are lost in the squabbles<sup>8</sup> of the town;

Haridās says: you are struck by greed<sup>9</sup>, so what complaint will succeed<sup>10</sup>?

<sup>1</sup>The position of *mana* in the syntax of the first line is uncertain. I have followed TC which reads *mana* as vocative: *re man jab tak jīvai*. Growse connects *mana* with *bhaji*: 'Worship Hari from the heart'. Yet another possibility would be to interpret *mana* as connected with *aura bāta*, which would make the translation: 'all other matters of the heart are vain'.

<sup>2</sup>Haplography of *ba-* in MS F (see variant 7), because of following *bā-*.

<sup>3</sup>I have interpreted *dyausa cāri ke* as an equivalent of the MSH idiom *cār din kā* 'fleeting, transient' (see OHED). Growse explains the number four as referring to 'the four stages of life: childhood, youth, manhood, and old age'.

<sup>4</sup>*halā-bhalā* is attested as a m. noun in HŚS, where it is glossed as a synonym of *nibaṭārā*, *nirṇay* 'conclusion' and *parinām*, *phal* 'fruit, result'. SK quotes also the meanings *kalyāṇ*, *sukh* 'welfare, happiness' for it. OHED gives the f. noun *halbhalī* of the meaning 'bustle, scurry'.

<sup>5</sup>*kahā* can be translated either as a question marker (used here rhetorically) or as the interrogative pr. 'what'.

<sup>6</sup>*lādi* could be analysed either as the absolutive of the verb *lād-* 'to load, to pile, to heap on' (see OHED) or as a rhyme form of the n. *lād* 'load, burden' (see OHED).

<sup>7</sup>*māyā* as 'wealth' is attested in OHED. The reading *dhana* of MSS F, J and BR (see variant 16) echoes AS 13.3 (*dhana mada jobana mada rāja mada*). The same applies to the readings *jobana* (instead of *guna*) and *rāja* (instead of *jobana*) of MSS J and BR (see variants 17 and 19).

<sup>8</sup>The form *bidādi* is not attested. My translation is based on the emendation *bibādi/da*, suggested by MSS A, J, PH; D, F and BR (see variant 21).

<sup>9</sup>TC suggests an alternative to this interpretation of the last line: if greed is destroyed no prayer will be needed, God himself will show his mercy (*athvā śī haridāsī kahaī ki yadi lobh...carpaṭ arthāt nās hoy gaye tau phirād kāhe ki lagai arthāt prārthnā karve ki kachū zarūrat hī nahī paṛai phir to paramēśvar svayaṃ hī kṛpā karai hai*).

<sup>10</sup>The meaning 'to be successful, to come off well' of *lag-* is attested in OHED. This is also the gloss of the commentaries: *lobhāsakta hai to vā lobh ne carpaṭ arthāt nās kar diyo tāsō phirād kāhe ko lagai. arthāt prārthnā svikār nahī hoy hai* (TC); *pratyek vastu mē lolup hone ke kāraṇ iṣṭa ke prati kiyā huā phariyād bhī tumhārā viphal ho rahā hai* (BC). Growse translates: 'where will a complaint lie'.



## AS 18

In the ocean of love deep<sup>1</sup> with the essence of beauty, how could one reach the shore?

Calling<sup>2</sup> one knowledgeable<sup>3</sup> is useless<sup>4</sup>; where does the path<sup>5</sup> of knowledge<sup>6</sup> lie?

No one's arrow flies straight, for all their boasting<sup>7</sup> in streets and market-places.

Haridās says: <sup>8</sup>Know that the lord Bihārī sees<sup>9</sup> through the screen of clothing<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>*gahirai* here is presumably a loc. form.

<sup>2</sup>*kahāvata* is presumably the imperf. part. of *kahā-* rather than the f. noun *kahāvata* 'proverb, saying'.

<sup>3</sup>*jāna* as a synonym of *jānevālā* is attested in SŚ. TC reads it as related to *jñāni* as well: a person who has control over his senses is considered knowledgeable, but such knowledge is inferior to the *rāsa* of love: *nām indriyan mē bikār daikāi arthāt netran mē jal, gātra mē rom harṣa, citta mē ārdratā ye cinha dikhāy kē, jān kahāvat arthāt apnē kō jñāni kahvāmē* [sic], *aise aise cinha dekh ke sāmānya jan yah kahaī haī ye jñāni mahātma haī, parantu vijñā-jan vākaū premī nahī kah sakē haī*. BC and HE gloss *jāna* as a form of the verb *jān-* 'to know' (see below, note 4 for BC); *śrīsvāmiji dūsi tuk mē bidhi gyān isvartā ādi tatvan sō milāi, prem-ras prāpti ke sādhan barnan karibevāren ke māū lakṣya kari kahyau ki bisuddha sarvopari nij prem prāpti ke mārga kū ye log jān hī nāi sakai haī* (HE). Growse translates: 'admitting his helplessness he cries'.

Yet another possibility is to interpret *jāna de-* as the idiom 'to devote oneself' if *jān* is analysed as the f. noun 'life, spirit', or as a combination of the verbal noun of *jā-* 'to go' and *de-* 'to allow', if one follows the model of *jān dai* in KM 25.3 and 74.3.

<sup>4</sup>I have followed BC's interpretation of *bekāryaū* as an extended form of *bekār*: *jin logō kā yah dāvā hai ki hamne prem ko jān liyā ve bekar bakte haī*. A parsing of *bekāryaū* as *be + kārya +* emphatic *-u* seems unlikely. Compare this form to the following *jānipanyaū*, see below note 6.

<sup>5</sup>*bāṭ paṇnā* is quoted as an idiom in HŚS with the meaning 'to waylay, to rob': *rāste mē bādha denā, taṅga karnā, piche paṇnā, ḍākā paṇnā*. However, this meaning seems inappropriate here, and therefore I have translated *bāṭa parī* literally. This is the interpretation of BC and Growse as well: *jānne kā mārga kaunsā hai* (BC); 'What way of escape is open?' TC glosses: if one has taken the wrong path how can he be called knowledgeable? (*arthāt unko mārga hū 'sādhan hū'* [sic] *thik nahī hai, tau jñātā kaise kahi sakai*).

<sup>6</sup>*jānipanyaū* is presumably an extended form of MSH *jānpan*. This verse is quoted in HŚS as an example for the meaning *jānkārī* 'informed knowledge' (see OHED) of *jānpan*, *jānpanā*.

<sup>7</sup>*gāla mārnā* is an idiom attested in LMK in the meaning 'to speak insolently or boastfully' (*barh barh kar bātē karnā*).

<sup>8</sup>The meaning of this line is obscure. BC underlines the difference between supremacy and love: *jaise kisi ko vastra ke āvaraṇ se avlokan kiyā jāne aise tum bhī bhagavattā ke āvaraṇ se śrī bihārī kā darśan karte ho*. Growse translates rather freely: 'Know Bihari [sic] to be a god who overlooks all defects in his votaries'. My translation is based on the dichotomy between appearance and inner essence: god can see through the pretences of the devotee into his soul.

<sup>9</sup>*tak-* can also be translated as 'aim', which would continue the image of the arrow from the previous line.

<sup>10</sup>*oṭa paṭa* (= *pāta*) is glossed in SBBhK with *vastra kī oṭ mē*. HE renders it with *it ut* 'here and there': *oṭ-pāt (it-ut) dekh rahe ho*.

## KM 1

O friend, the united<sup>1</sup> couple<sup>2</sup> has become manifest<sup>3</sup>; it is of fair and dark hue<sup>4</sup>, like cloud and lightning.

It has been in the past, is now, and will remain in the future; it will not vanish in that way<sup>5</sup>.

The radiance, elegance, dexterity, beauty of [the couple's] each and every limb is thus [equal].

Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī are equal in their youth.

<sup>1</sup>In RC *sahaja* is glossed *adbhuta* (wondrous); in SMC - *śāśvat* (eternal), though no dictionary supports this meaning; BC explains: 'the pair who are innately united' (*svabhav se hi ek si rahnevāli śri bihāri bihāriṇi kī jorī*).

<sup>2</sup>NC gives two interpretations of this verse and subsequently of *jorī*. Apart from the meaning 'couple' as applied to Śyāmā - Kuñjabihārī, it suggests that the intended sense of *jorī* might be 'the pair of Śyāmā's breasts'. The colour metaphor continues this interpretation: the dark colour of the nipples set against the fair colour of the breasts (*sarva aṅga to gaura agra bhāga syāma*).

<sup>3</sup>*pragāṭa*: The second interpretation of this verse in NC connects it with the context of *māna*: having been appeased by the *sakhis* Śyāmā manifests herself (or her compassion).

<sup>4</sup>*raṅga* is a polysemic word and can be interpreted in different ways. I have followed NC in choosing the most straightforward meaning, 'colour', connecting it with the following adjectives. SMC and BC opt for 'sport, pleasure', supplying the necessary verb (*kiṛṇā mē nimagna rahtī hai*). Similar is the sense chosen by Haynes: 'absorbed in merriment'.

<sup>5</sup>One of the peculiarities of Haridās's poetry is the frequent and often obscure use of relative-correlative constructions (see III 1). The use in this verse of the demonstrative and demonstrative-correlative adverbs *taisaī*, *aisaī*, *vaisaī*, which are not associated with a relative clause, exemplifies this.

*taisaī* is employed by later commentators (SMC, BC) for ideological purposes: to underline the difference between the eternal couple Śyāmā - Kuñjabihārī and other divine couples, *avatāras* of Viṣṇu: Rāma and Sītā, Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, who take birth and, having completed their mission, leave (cf. I 1.4 and VII 2.1). NC interprets *na tarihai taisaī* in the context of *māna*: Śyāmā should not withdraw led by her *māna*, as she often does.

*aisaī* presents a problem similar to *taisaī*. SMC explains that the couple is beyond comparison, they could be likened only to themselves. *aisaī* (together with *vaisaī* from next line) can be interpreted as a part of a demonstrative adverbial construction which involves the following line as well: as they are equal in radiance..., so they are equal in age.

NC does not elaborate on *vaisaī* but glosses the whole fourth line: *jorī samāna viharata hau yā vihāra mē* (the couple sport equally in this dalliance). SMC's rendering is similar: *prem bahas rahe haī* (fight the battle of love).

## KM 2

With the radiance of desire they started<sup>1</sup> to sport with each other.

Transcendental *rāgas* and *rāginīs* [were] produced; they were engrossed in dance, music and in *alaga* and *lāga* steps<sup>2</sup>;

In the melodies of desire<sup>3</sup> alone joy resided, the two were frothing<sup>4</sup> in an ocean of passion;

The merriment<sup>6</sup> of<sup>7</sup> Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī continued, they were totally immersed in love.

<sup>1</sup>The ending *-e* of *lāge* and the following rhyme words can indicate pres. or perf. I have translated it as a past tense here for the sake of consistency (cf. *rahyau*).

<sup>2</sup>BC and NC take *alaga lāga* as one semantic unit which refers to a dance movement. B. Prakāś explains in his English commentary of KM: 'This is a kind of Indian method of classical dance in which sometimes separate and at the other moment, dance is displayed united with each other' [sic]. NC glosses: dancing without putting their arms around each other's necks (*binā kaṇṭha mē bhujā diyē hī nīrta karata hai*). A similar occurrence of *lāga* juxtaposed to *alaga* is found in Dhruvdās's *Nirtta bilāsa līlā: alaga lāga hurumai ju līnī; pragaṭa kalā nija guṇa kī kīnī* (see Snell 1991a, note 3 to CP 16, p. 198).

RC and SMC interpret *alaga* as a non-technical term. The first understands *alaga* as 'dividing' and *lāga* as 'joy' (*baṭāvata moda*) and the second reads *alaga* as 'unique', and *lāga* as 'love' (*alag vicīratā se prem prakāśit kar rahe hai*). PC paraphrases obscurely: *alaga thāna thekata*.

The *Nartananirṇaya* describes *lāga* as a class of *deśī* dance exercises which are characterised by vigorous movement and jumping steps (Bose 1970, pp. 155-156). The *Saṅgītadarpaṇa* states that '*lāga* is jumping in the Karnāṭa style' (loc. cit). Saksenā (1982, p. 66) defines *lāga* in a rather obscure manner: *jab śarīr ke koī bhī aṅga paraspar sundartā se milte hō tab vah 'lāg' kahlātā hai*. See also note 6 to CP 68 (Snell 1991a, p. 248).

The term *lāga*, together with *tirapa* and *ḍāṭa*, is also listed among the thirty *lakṣaṇas* (inherent melodic embellishments) of *dhrupada* style (see Sanyal 1986, pp. 46-47 and Sanyal 1995, pp. 114-115).

<sup>3</sup>This translation is an attempt to render the double meaning of *rāga* as both 'melody' and 'love'.

<sup>4</sup>This is the only occurrence of the nominal verb *jhāg-* 'to be frothy' or 'to make froth' that I have come across. HSS quotes *jhāg-* as both vt. and vi. but does not give any examples.

<sup>5</sup>The explanatory *ke* (variant 17) and *e* (variant 20) are probably later inclusions.

<sup>6</sup>The different layers of meaning which the original *raṅga* contains ('colour', 'love', 'joy') are lost in translation. Cf. also note 4 to KM 1.

<sup>7</sup>Literally, 'merriment remained upon Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī'. *pai* is again used figuratively in the sense 'on, upon' in KM 66.1. *pai* also appears as the conj. 'but' in KM 7.3, 24.3, 42.4, 73.3; as an instrumental marker in KM 36.4 and 104.3, and in collocation with *vārō* in KM 44.4.

## KM 3

If I go on<sup>1</sup> seeing [them] in this way, I would consider my life fruitful;

The beloved's dear one, the dear one's beloved, may I know (only)<sup>2</sup> this young couple.

I would not move away for an instant, not for a moment would I wander, I would remain with one tie<sup>3</sup>.

Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī are rulers of the heart<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>The verbal forms based on *rah-*, *mān-*, *ṭar-*, *jān-*, *rah-* can be interpreted either as 1st p. sg. subj.-pres. (in which case nasalised endings would be preferred) or as a 2nd p. imp. (where the unnasalised variants suggested by some of the MSS would be more natural), cf. variants 3, 8, 15, 18, 26. I have opted for the former since the didactic tone typical of the latter is not characteristic of KM.

<sup>2</sup>The emphatic *-ai* is not included in G (see variant 13), but is essential for the sense.

<sup>3</sup>I interpret *tānaū* as a form of *tānā* 'warp', 'tie' (HŚS, OHED). This metaphor alludes to the importance of the couple for the devotees: it is as fundamental to the devotees as the warp is to the loom. Most of the commentators gloss *tānaū* similarly. PC renders it with *kasi* 'to tie, to bind'; SMC - with *sūtra* 'tread'. RC ignores it, paraphrasing this and the next line: *pala na ṭaraū ita uta kahū mana rānyaū juga jāni* '(even) for a moment I will not withdraw anywhere, having perceived the kings of the heart'.

<sup>4</sup>In accordance with the sectarian views about the pre-eminence of Rādhā (cf. VII 2.2) NC connects *mana* with her: *pyārī jū ko mana rājā hai*.

## KM 4

The couple is decorated in [such] a wondrous way, oh *sakhī*, to<sup>1</sup> captivate<sup>2</sup> anyone's<sup>3,4</sup> heart;

Looking<sup>5</sup> [at them] eyes do not wander here and there, in mind, word and deed [one is] to be satisfied<sup>6</sup> in their company alone.

Like cloud and lightning they always<sup>7</sup> remain together, they<sup>8</sup> do not separate; who<sup>9</sup> else is to be chosen<sup>10</sup>?

Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī are not to be evaded<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>Here and in the second and fourth lines I have interpreted *kaū* with the infinitive as equivalent to KhB *ke lie*.

<sup>2</sup>The use of the infinitive rather than a finite verb presents the problem who is the subject of the action. In accordance with the sectarian view about the pre-eminence of Rādhā (cf. VII 2.2) NC asserts that she (rather than the couple) is the agent of the 'stealing': *śrī priyā jū tau lāla ke mana harana kau*.

<sup>3</sup>The oblique form of the indefinite pr. is more often not nasalised, but SŚ quotes examples where it is. The unnasalised reading *kāhū* is supported by all remaining manuscripts (see variant 6).

<sup>4</sup>All the other MSS add an explanatory *ke* (disagreeing about its place, see variants 7 and 9). However, such expansions of the text in order to clarify it are usually later accretions.

<sup>5</sup>There are different possibilities with regard to the subject of *citavata*. NC suggests the couple themselves: *paraspara śrī pyārī jū aura prītama dekhata hai*. I have chosen the devotee as the agent because the tenor of this *pada* is quite similar to that of KM 3.

<sup>6</sup>Not only the subject of *bharana* but also its sense is open to interpretation. Another meaning of the verb *bhar-* is 'to meet' (see HŚS); the translation then would read 'for meeting with them in mind, word and deed'. *bharana* could also be derived from the noun *bharana* (as suggested by MS C, see variant 19), which would make the meaning: 'only in this company is there nourishment/satisfaction'.

<sup>7</sup>The *tadbhava* reading *nita* suggested by most MSS (see variant 23) is poetically superior to its *tatsama* counterpart, given in MS G, because of alliteration of *-ta*.

<sup>8</sup>SMC claims that the 'I' of the *sakhī* is the subject of the participle *bichurata*: *jis tarah megh aur vidyut kā nītya sambandh hai, usī prakār māī inse bichrū nahī*. However, it seems unlikely that the metaphor *ghana dāmini* would be used just as a general example rather than be applied to the couple.

<sup>9</sup>McGregor (1968: 3.62) cites *kaū* as a form of the interrogative pronoun *kauna*. Alternatively *kaū* can be read as equivalent to KhB *ke lie* (as in the other lines) which would ensure parallel usage throughout the quatrain, but would make the interpretation of *aura* problematic.

<sup>10</sup>Apart from the meaning 'choice' that I have selected, *barana* can be read as 'excellent' (see SŚ) or 'colour'; the latter interpretation would underline the *ghana dāmini* metaphor.

<sup>11</sup>The subject of *tarana* is again unclear. It could be the *sakhī* (Haridās), as is the case in KM 3.3. Alternatively it could be the couple as in KM 1.2. The latter possibility is supported by SMC since it implies a theological difference from other couples (see note 5 to KM 1). NC specifies: *vihāra te neka hū tarave kaū nāhī*.

## KM 5

Why are you<sup>1</sup> going<sup>2</sup> here and there? Come right before [my]<sup>3</sup> eyes.

Know<sup>4</sup> that I<sup>5</sup> alone am the well-wisher<sup>6</sup> of your love, keep just<sup>7</sup> such a disposition.

Unite<sup>8</sup> [your] nectar-like words with the nature<sup>9</sup> of [your]<sup>10</sup> heart, give [me] just such an opportunity<sup>11</sup>.

Haridās's sovereign Śyāma<sup>12</sup> says, oh Pyārī, sing festive praise to love.

<sup>1</sup>NC adopts Rādhā's eyes as the subject of *sidhārata*: *pyārī jū tihāre rasa bhare netra ita uta kāhe ko sidhārata* [sic] *hai*.

<sup>2</sup>*jā-* rather than *sidhār-* would be expected alongside *ita uta*.

<sup>3</sup>The explanatory *merī*, added by MSS J and NC (see variant 6), as well as *tū* (see variants 4 and 20), are probably later accretions.

<sup>4</sup>The MSS disagree about the ending of the verb *jān-* (see variant 19). The forms *jāno/au* (suggested by MSS A, BR; C, NCP and RC) and *jānō* (supported by MSS F, H, I and PH) can be interpreted either as 1st p. subj.-pres. or as 2nd p. imp. I have chosen the latter, despite the fact that this is not the reading in G. I have done so for two reasons. First, if the verb is in 1st p. subj.-pres., (which will make the translation 'I would know the benevolence of your love, only if you keep this disposition') one would expect the second verb to be in 2nd p. subj.-pres. However, no MS suggests an alternative to the stem-form of *rāṣi* (see variant 23) apart from the lengthening of the final *-i* in NC which is characteristic for this MS (see orthographic peculiarities of MS NC, !! 1.). The second reason is consistency, all the other verbs of this verse being in imp., which fits the context of Kṛṣṇa entreating Rādhā.

<sup>5</sup>I have interpreted *hū* as a personal pronoun rather than as a form of the verb *ho-* or as an enclitic.

<sup>6</sup>The form *hitu* of *hitū* is attested in SŚ.

<sup>7</sup>The emphatic *aiso hī* and *aisoī* (cf. following line) are evidently used interchangeably in MSS G and J (see variants 22 and 31). The rest of the MSS show consistency in their choice of one or the other form.

<sup>8</sup>This translation is based on the readings *mili/mila* of MSS A, J, RC, H; BR (see variant 30), whereby the stem is interpreted as an imperative. Alternatively, *milai/ai* should be read as a 2nd rather than 3rd p. subj.-pres. (in order to avoid the unnecessary change of subject within the line), which would have a similar force.

<sup>9</sup>About the use of *prakṛti* in KM see note 6 to KM 14.

<sup>10</sup>The implied possessive pronoun can apply either to Rādhā or to Kṛṣṇa. In the first case it will express the idea that Rādhā's pique is only a pretence, possibly due to her bashfulness. SMC chooses the latter interpretation: *mere antar kī jo lalsā hai āp bhī usī ke anurūp rahē*.

<sup>11</sup>The literal translation of *dāva dai* seems to fit the context better than its established sense 'to trick, to take in' (see OHED).

<sup>12</sup>The obscurity of the *chāpa* obviously confused the scribes and their perplexity is reflected in the abundance of variants in most of the verses of KM. Here we have 5 possibilities: A replaces *syāma* with *syāmā* and adds *kuñjabihārī*; C does the same and omits *kahata*; F and RC follow A, but omit *kuñjabihārī*; NC opts for *syāma* and adds *kuñjabihārī*, and H omits both *syāmā* and *kuñjabihārī*, to interpolate them later in the margins. Of all these possibilities MSS F and RC are most unlikely because it is highly improbable that if Śyāmā is the agent of the action she would address herself with the request to sing praises to love (unless *syāmā* is interpreted as vocative, but this would bring about amassing of vocatives, cf. *pyārī*). Similarly the reading of A is unlikely because if both Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī are the subject of the action, Pyārī is an unlikely addressee, unless the sentence is split into two with subject of only the second Kuñjabihārī, which is again awkward. H is unlikely to give the solution because the alternative it offers is not characteristic of the *chāpa* compared to the other poems. The real choice seem to be between G and C (NC), and this choice recurs again and again. Often the *chāpa* in G is *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma (kuñjabihārī)* when Kṛṣṇa is the likely subject of the action. Some other MSS (C in this case) stick to the set formula *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī*, and exclude *kahata*. For further discussion see VI 2.

## KM 6

<sup>1</sup>Oh beloved, as I see myself<sup>2</sup> in your eyes, do you see [yourself]<sup>3</sup> in the same way or don't you?

Then I am telling you, my dear<sup>4</sup>, if I keep<sup>5</sup> my eyes closed, then where would Lāla<sup>6</sup> go<sup>7</sup> after emerging [from them]?

Tell me a place to go. Tell<sup>8</sup> [me] the truth, I fall at your feet<sup>9</sup> and implore you;

Oh Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā<sup>10</sup>, I want to see only<sup>11</sup> you. Where<sup>12</sup> else is happiness to be found<sup>13</sup>?

This verse is a dialogue between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. Kṛṣṇa speaks in the first, third and last lines and Rādhā in the second.

<sup>1</sup>The first line, starting with vocative and ending with 'or don't you', is an example of the colloquial and sometimes prosaic quality of some of Haridās's verses, which seek to re-create the spontaneous and informal atmosphere of the *nikuñja*.

<sup>2</sup>I have interpreted *apanapau* as the reflexive pr., a meaning which connects well with the next line. - Kṛṣṇa sees himself in Rādhā's eyes but if she closes her eyes he will not be able to see himself anymore. *apunapau* of this meaning is quoted in SŚ and occurs in CP 7.7, 41.2, 42.6 (Snell 1991a, pp. 120, 144, 145). Alternatively, *apanapau* could be taken as equivalent to *apnāpan* 'affinity, intimacy' (see OHED), and this is the choice made by SMC: *maī apnatva dekh rahā hū...* Then the translation would be 'as I see intimacy in your eyes, do you see [such] in the same way or not?'

<sup>3</sup>It is not stated what the object of the 'seeing' is. I have opted for a parallel action in which Pyārī sees her reflection in Kṛṣṇa's eyes. This is the interpretation of NC as well: *tāhī ritī sō tuma hū merī ākhana mē apapanau dekhata hau ki nāhī dekhata*. Haynes takes Kṛṣṇa as the object: 'do you see me or not?'

<sup>4</sup>The f. reading of F, *pyārī*, (see variant 20) is semantically inferior.

<sup>5</sup>The MSS suggest nasalised and unnasalised readings of *rah-*, *batā-*, *jā-*, *kah-* and *lāg-* which can be parsed as 1st p. subj.-pres. or 2nd p. imp. (see variants 23, 34, 37, 39 and 40).

<sup>6</sup>*lāla* could also be interpreted as 'redness' with the usual implication of the eyes' redness after a sleepless night of lovemaking, but the following line makes this gloss rather unlikely.

<sup>7</sup>*jāhī* as a subj.-future form is quoted in SŚ. The nasalisation of the long stressed *-ā-* is probably a result of the requirements of the rhyme. Analogous example in *pada* 31.3 of *Rās māt ke pad* (see Entwistle 1983, p. 252).

The connotation of Rādhā's question seems to be: 'if I close my eyes, would you secretly go to somebody else?' and, consequently, in the next line Kṛṣṇa tries to persuade Rādhā that there is no place for him other than with her.

<sup>8</sup>The subject of this action can be either Rādhā (if the verbal form is interpreted as 2nd p. imp.), or Kṛṣṇa (if the form is considered to be 1st p. subj.-pr.) (cf. above, note 5).

<sup>9</sup>I have not been able to find the form *pāhī* attested in any dictionary. It might have been constructed from *pā* 'foot' and the obl. sg. n. suffix *-hī*, or else it might be just a rhyme form. The commentaries gloss *pāhī* with 'feet' as well: *lāgau pāi* (PC); *āpake carana kamalana kī sapta khāta haū* (NC); *āpke pairō partā hū* (SMC); *āpke caranō kā sparśa karke* (BC).

<sup>10</sup>Again (cf. note 12 to KM 5), the MSS disagree on the *chāpa*. H chooses *syāma kahata*; A, F and NC stick to the formulaic *syāmā kuñjabihārī* (see variants 44 and 45).

<sup>11</sup>The reading *dekhata* of NCP (see variant 47) is grammatically inferior, since in Braj usually the perf. ptc. rather than its imperf. counterpart is combined with *cāh-*.

<sup>12</sup>I have interpreted *kāhī* as a synonym of *kahā*, which meaning continues the motif of 'place' from the previous two lines. The same form in this meaning (again in final rhyme) is attested in verse 26.4 of *Rās māt ke pad* (Entwistle 1983, p. 246). Alternatively *kāhī* can be a synonym of *kyā*, which will make the translation: 'what other happiness is to be experienced?' This is the sense favoured by RC: *aura kahā sukha caina*.

<sup>13</sup>*lāg-* here can be interpreted as 'to be found, to occur', 'to be obtained' or 'to be felt' (see OHED, meanings 3, 36 and 24 of *lagnā*).

## KM 7

Oh beloved, your body is [like] nectarous mud; [my] eyes are stuck in it.

[My] mind went to extricate them, but remained<sup>1</sup> in the soft<sup>2</sup> cavity at the juncture of your breasts.

There are<sup>3</sup> many means [to rescue them], oh beloved, but<sup>4</sup> they<sup>5</sup> do not work.

Haridās's sovereign Śyāma<sup>6</sup> Kuñjabihārī says<sup>7</sup>, may it remain<sup>8</sup> so.

<sup>1</sup>This translation is based on the reading *rahyo/°au* of the rest of the MSS (cf. variant 14). The reading *rahe* of MS G can be interpreted either as 3rd p. subj.-pres. if *cīta* continues to be the subject in the second part of the line, or as m. pl. perf. if the eyes are the agent.

<sup>2</sup>I have not been able to find any reference to *bhvai*. I have translated it as related to *bhuā* 'cotton', since either the softness or the whiteness of the cotton of the silk-cotton tree could be the basis of this metaphor. Alternatively, *bhvai* could be interpreted as a synonym of *hvai* (NC glosses it with *hvai*) but the form *bhvai* as a stem of *ho-* is not attested; moreover *hvai* of the same meaning is the rhyme word in the fourth line. Some of the MSS read *bhvai* as *hvai* but this is probably only a substitution of a *lectio difficilior* with a *lectio faciliior*. It is very tempting to read *bhvai* as a form of 9567 *bhūyas* 'exceedingly, still more' (forms *bhūye*, *bhūya*, *bhūe* are attested in Aśokan, *bhūo* in Prakrit, see CDIAL). Yet another option is that *bhvai* is a corrupted reading of original *\*mvai*, which could be a form of the verb *mu-* 'to die'. However, there is no manuscript evidence in support of this hypothesis. SMC glosses *bhvai* with *banda ho gaye*, but gives no explanation for this interpretation.

<sup>3</sup>I have interpreted *āhi* as a 3rd p. pres. of *ho-*. However, in all the examples of *āhi*, attested in McGregor 1968: 3.113 and 116 (d), it does not occur independently and it appears exclusively in the context of negation. The shortness of this line suggests that another verb might have been omitted in the process of transmission. Indeed the gloss of SMC is: *upāy to karke hār gaye*.

<sup>4</sup>About the usage of *pai* in KM see note 7 to KM 2.

<sup>5</sup>*svai* as a form of the pronoun *vaha* is attested in TK.

<sup>6</sup>The *chāpa* again presents two main options: the formulaic *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī* (MSS C, D, F, I, J and RC) and the less formulaic alternative *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma kuñjabihārī kahata* (MSS G, H, BR and PH), see variants 25 and 26.

<sup>7</sup>SMC understands Haridās to be the subject of *kahata*: *haridāsī jū kahtī haī ki he pyāre! maī yahī cāhtī hū kī āp. isī prakār phāse raho*.

<sup>8</sup>Connected with the variants of the *chāpa* are the readings of the form of the verb *rah-* (see variant 29). Most MSS read 2nd p. imp.; the addressee is either Rādhā if Kṛṣṇa is speaking, or both of them in the more formulaic version of the *chāpa*.



## KM 8

Coming and going you make your anklets<sup>1</sup> sound;

The case<sup>2</sup> between you and me is [placed] before God<sup>3</sup>. Whatever [he]<sup>4</sup> decides let [him] do it<sup>5</sup>, it will be on my head<sup>6</sup>.

Oh, beloved, the grove<sup>7</sup> is extremely near, [you] have stopped<sup>8</sup> only two steps [away].

The love-play<sup>9</sup> of Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī is as constant as the Pole star<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>It is worth noticing that a rhyme form of *nūpura* has generally not been forced (with the exception of MSS A and RC, see variant 4). This might suggest an approximation in the pronunciation of unstressed medial *-a-* and *-u-*. About the use of *-a-* and *-u-* in the penultimate syllable see also Entwistle 1983, p. 152.

<sup>2</sup>A possible interpretation of the 'case' between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is the latter's complaint that the sound of Rādhā's anklets is stirring desires in him. Alternatively, he may be suggesting that the sound of her anklets is giving them away.

<sup>3</sup>PC makes Haridās the final judge: *nyāva karata śrī svāmī sahaçari*. SMC follows this interpretation. In NC *daī* is a metaphor for Kṛṣṇa's desire: *so cāha rūpī daī hai*.

<sup>4</sup>Alternatively, the subject of *kar-* can be Rādhā, and then the clause will translate: 'do whatever you (want to) do'.

<sup>5</sup>This seems to be an assimilation to the expected *jo ho so ho* expression. All the other MSS agree in omitting *kari* (see variant 15).

<sup>6</sup>I have translated *sira ūpara* as a synonym of MSH *sir par* 'on the head; close at hand; burdening' (see OHED). SMC interprets it as a synonym of the Hindi idiom *sira māthe (caṛhānā)* 'to indicate compliance or acceptance' (see OHED): *vah hamāre sir māthe hai*.

<sup>7</sup>The meaning 'grove' of *mavāsa* is quoted in OHED. An alternative translation is 'refuge, shelter, fort', which can be connected with the legal case/persecution context. In both cases the implied meaning is presumably the couch on which Kṛṣṇa's and Rādhā's love-play takes place.

<sup>8</sup>I have followed in my translation the variant *mavāsa hvai rahī*, suggested by most of the MSS (see variants 23 and 24). The reading of G presents the difficulty of combining the m. n. *mavāsa* with the f. perf. ptc. *bhai*; one could still interpret *mavāsa* as belonging to the first part of the line and *bhai* to the second, but *rahī* seems more appropriate than *bhai* in that case.

<sup>9</sup>The translation of the imp. suggested by the majority MSS (see variant 31) would be: 'Oh Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī, may you sport in the constant manner of the pole star'.

<sup>10</sup>The form *dhūpara* (which appears again in the same context in KM 18.4) is not attested in any dictionary. The commentaries unhelpfully paraphrase the whole line, without elaborating on *dhūpara* (e.g. RC: *vilasata nahacala nāgarī piya ratī kelī abhaṅga*). I have interpreted *dhūpara* as a rhyme form of *dhū*. A considerable liberty in creating rhyme forms is a salient feature of Haridās's poetry, see III 2.

## KM 9

Her glances [like] bird-lime are an excellent trap; she has captured and kept bird [-like] Bihārī in the cage of her heart.

Her good disposition is his nourishment<sup>1</sup>; he drinks the water of love which trickles from her body, but he is insatiable and remains gazing<sup>2</sup> at her face<sup>3</sup>.

He keeps on repeating ‘beloved, beloved’<sup>4</sup> each and every moment<sup>5</sup>, there is nothing<sup>6</sup> else in his heart, oh friend.

Listen, oh Haridās: staring continually at this bird of many hues<sup>7</sup>, the beloved does not tire<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>The commentaries have glossed *cunō* as a synonym of *cugā* ‘food scattered for birds, pickings’ (see OHED): *subhāva bhoga* (PC); *soī vā pañchī kau cugau hai* (NC); *kṛpālu svabhāv rūpī cugne kā dānā* (SMC). However, no MS reads *cugau* (see variant 10). *cunau* is glossed in SBBhK with *cūnā* ‘lime’, but this meaning seems unlikely here because of tautology with *phandā*. I have interpreted it as a form of *cūn* (of the same etymology) meaning ‘flour, meal’ or *cūnī* ‘fragments of bruised or coarsely ground grain’, again of the same derivation (see OHED).

<sup>2</sup>*nihārī* is probably the absolutive lengthened for the sake of the rhyme in composition with the finite *rahai*, rather than the feminine form of the perf. ptc. which cannot be accounted for since both the object (*muṣa*) and the subject Bihārī are masculine nouns. For further examples of absolutives lengthened to accommodate the rhyme see III 2.5.

<sup>3</sup>It was mentioned in the chapter on textual criticism that metre cannot be a reliable criterion for Haridās’s lyrical verses, but nevertheless it might be useful to make some observations about prosody with regard to the interpolation or omission of *muṣa*. This stanza has an almost regular metre: the first line has 34 *mātrās*, the third line 38 and the fourth 39. The second line, with its 37 *mātrās*, would be too short without *muṣa*, therefore from the point of view of prosody a reading including *muṣa* would be better; however, *muṣa nihārī* might have resulted from a confusion with KM 11.4: *rahe muṣa nihārī*.

<sup>4</sup>In his commentary of KM, B. Prakāś divides the word *pyārī* into two components: the verbal stem *pyā-*, equal to MSH *pilā-*, and the vocative particle *ī*.

<sup>5</sup>The reading suggested by F, *nisi bāsara*, (see variants 20-22) is also semantically possible. Both of them have further appearances in KM: *china (hī) china* in KM 19.1 and 46.3, and *nisi bāsara* in KM 93.3.

<sup>6</sup>*nāhinaī* is an emphatic form of the negative particle.

<sup>7</sup>The word in the original, *raṅga*, is open to different interpretations and this semantic richness is lost in translation. NC interprets *raṅga* as emotions - *nānā prakāra ke bhāvana ke puñja tāhī kau pañchī dekhata hī dekhata pyārī jū na hārī*. RC connects *raṅga* with the couple’s love-play: *nānā raṅgani surati sukha ūpajata [sic] piya mana cāha. raṅga* could refer to Bihārī’s beauty as well. Cf. notes 4 to KM 1 and 6 to KM 2.

<sup>8</sup>The reading *nihārī* suggested by MSS A and BR (see variant 38) seems inferior in meaning: the inclusion of another verb for ‘looking’ after *deṣata hī deṣata* is unlikely.

## KM 10

Even inadvertently<sup>1</sup> do not sulk, oh beloved<sup>2</sup>. When I see your eyebrows frowning<sup>3</sup>, no  
life remains in my body.

I sacrifice<sup>4</sup> [my] life<sup>5</sup> for you, oh beloved, why you are silent<sup>6</sup>, says<sup>7</sup> the cloud-dark one.

How could I have<sup>8</sup> peace<sup>9</sup> now when I see<sup>10</sup> you like this, oh treasure of my life?

Listen, oh Haridās, why do you not tell her to give up<sup>11</sup> her resolve now?

<sup>1</sup>*bhūlai bhūlai hū* is presumably equivalent to MSH *bhūlkar bhī* 'under no circumstances, on no account'.

<sup>2</sup>The MSS disagree on interpolating or omitting *pyāri ri* in the first three lines. From the point of view of metre the decision of G to include *pyāri ri* in the first and second line and exclude it from the third line further increases the discrepancy between the long first (47 *mātrās*) and second (41 *mātrās*) lines, and the short third (31 *mātrās*) line.

<sup>3</sup>'Frowning eyebrows' is the sense suggested by the commentaries: *teṭi bhauha jhapata* (PC); *āpakī jo bhōhai hai. mahā garva bhāri citavana tē tehū dekhata hau* (NC); *āpkī bhaūhō mē tērhāpan dekhkar* (SMC); *āpkī bhaūhō mē vakratā kā digdarśan karke* (BC). However, I have not been able to trace this idiom in any dictionary; the collocation is presumably based on the figurative meaning of *maīlā* (cf. *maīla* 'ill-will' in OHED).

<sup>4</sup>Subj.-pres. is to be preferred in this context to imperative (see variant 17) for semantic reasons.

<sup>5</sup>The reading of MS NC, *jīya/jīyā* 'life' (see variant 15) gives a better meaning than the reading of the rest of the MSS, *jyaū* 'such'. In MS C *jyaū...tau* seems to have been understood as a relative-correlative construction (see variants 15 and 20).

<sup>6</sup>*mūkī* can be interpreted as deriving from the verb *mūk-* 'to leave' or as an extended form of the adjective *mūka* 'silent'. SS quotes *mūke* as an extended form of *mūka*, establishing a precedent for such a form. The meaning 'silent' fits the context better and is adopted by the commentators.

<sup>7</sup>The f. ptc. with a lengthened final *-ī*, suggested by NCM, (see variant 26) is an unsatisfactory reading from the point of view of grammar, since the subject, *Śyāma*, is m.

<sup>8</sup>The readings *hoya/hoi* (see variant 35) with their subjunctive tenor are superior to the variant of A *hota* in this context.

<sup>9</sup>The variant of MS F, *bikala*, 'distress' (see variant 33) is semantically inferior.

<sup>10</sup>The interpolation of *rahaū* in C (see variant 31) might have been caused by assimilation to KM 3.1 (*aisai hī deśata rahaū*).

<sup>11</sup>The use of repetitions, usually for emphasis, is a salient feature of Haridās's poetry. It is exemplified here by the repetition of *chāḍ-*, which increases the force of Kuñjabihārī's entreaty. See also III 4.1.

## KM 11

Words were casually spoken<sup>1</sup>. Now it is hard<sup>2</sup> on Bihārī.

No life [remained] in his body. He was agitated: What is my beloved saying?

Having seen<sup>3</sup> the state<sup>4</sup> of<sup>5</sup> [her] darling there was<sup>6</sup> turmoil<sup>7</sup> in [her] heart, oh friend;

Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā embraced [Bihārī] and [they] remained gazing<sup>8</sup> at [each other's] faces.

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<sup>1</sup>The commentaries disagree on the subject of *kahata*. NC chooses Pyārī, SMC Bihārī: *ho pyārī...tuma jo rukhāī kī bāta sahaja hī karī* (NC); *śrī lāl jī bāt kahte kahte besudh ho gaye* (SMC).

The f. perf. ptc. *kahī* (as part of the passive) suggested by MS G might be a better reading than the stem (as part of the compound verb) proposed by MSS A, J, BR, NC, RC (see variant 2).

<sup>2</sup>The form *kaṭhani* is not attested in any dictionary, and is probably a misspelling of *kaṭhina* (see variant 3).

<sup>3</sup>I interpret *deṣaī* as an adv. use of the perf. ptc. rather than as a 3rd p. subj.-pres.

<sup>4</sup>I have followed the commentaries in interpreting *prakṛti* as referring to Bihārī's condition: *pīya tina kī prakṛtī* [sic] *dekhata. kahā kī āsakta haī. aru vyākula haī* (NC); *priyatam kī is gambhīr premdaśā kā anubhav kar* (BC). On the use of *prakṛti* in KM see note 6 to KM 14.

<sup>5</sup>From the point of view of prosody the third line is too short, having only 26 *mātrās* as compared to the 29 *mātrās* of the second line and the 39 *mātrās* of the fourth line. Therefore it might be a metrically better reading if the third line does not omit *kī* (cf. variant 16) and includes *bahuta* as suggested by MSS A, C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC (see variant 22).

<sup>6</sup>*jo* here is probably a pronoun, part of a relative-correlative construction, used pleonastically. For a discussion of this commonplace usage in the poetry of Vyās, a fellow-*bhakta* of Haridās, see Pauwels 1995, p. 81. See also III 1.2.

<sup>7</sup>The reading suggested by MS F, *suṣa*, 'happiness' (see variant 20) instead of *śrama* 'turmoil', seems very unlikely in this context.

<sup>8</sup>*nihārī*: see note 2 to verse 9.

## KM 12

Oh Kuñjabihārī, I<sup>1</sup> sacrifice myself to you, you sing<sup>2</sup> [so] well,

<sup>3</sup>[you] produce many *rāgas* and *rāginīs*.

In the same way<sup>4</sup> the couple is united<sup>5</sup>; seeing<sup>6</sup> the beloved's face the moon<sup>7</sup> was put to shame;

To whom<sup>8</sup> is it not pleasing to see<sup>9</sup> the dance of Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā<sup>10</sup>?

<sup>1</sup>SMC reads the first two lines as the words of a *sakhī* (Haridās) to Kuñjabihārī. NC adds the possibility that they might be addressed to Rādhā by Kuñjabihārī.

<sup>2</sup>NC interprets *gāvata* as referring to the melodious speech of Śyāmā: *tuma āju nikē mṛdu bacana bolata haī*.

<sup>3</sup>This line has only 19 *mātrās* compared to 31 in the first, 38 in the third and 34 in the fourth lines. The variety of the length of the lines, characteristic of Haridās's verses is typical of *dhrupada* where the *tāla* rather than the *chanda* is of primary importance (see VI 3.4).

<sup>4</sup>For a discussion on the relative-correlative constructions in Haridās's poetry see III 1.

<sup>5</sup>*taisīyai taisī milī jorī* is open to interpretation. The polysemic verb *mil-* allows complementary meanings to interact with one another: 'to unite', 'to be similar', 'to be harmonious'. NC chooses the first sense: *jā jā aṅga mē jā jā aṅga kī jorī hai so milī aru samāna hai*; SMC opts for the second: Śyāmā, like Kuñjabihārī, is a skilful musician: *priyā jū bhī gān kalā mē ati nipuṅ haī*.

<sup>6</sup>The MSS variants show abundance of different interpretations of the grammar of *deṣ-* (see variant 17): from an adv. ptc. construction (MSS G, D?) which alternates with stem with an abs. force (F), to the imperf. ptc. (MSS C, H, I, J, RC) substituted by subj.-pres. (D, G?). By contrast the scribes are unanimous about the form of *deṣa-* when needing a subject for *bhāvata* in the fourth line (see variant 26).

<sup>7</sup>In accordance with the sectarian views about Rādhā's primacy the moon in NC is the moon-face of Kuñjabihārī: *priyā jū ke mukha candramā ke āge lāla jū kau mukha candra lajāvata hai*, see also VII 2.2.

<sup>8</sup>*kāhi* suggested by MSS A, D, H, I, J, BR, RC (see variant 27) and *kāhe*, suggested by G, are functional equivalents: the former being the obj. and the latter the obl. form (see SŚ) of the interrogative pr. *kauna*.

<sup>9</sup>Dittography of *de-* in C (see variant 26).

<sup>10</sup>The MSS are again not unanimous about the *chāpa*. Both variants (including Kuñjabihārī or not, see variant 22) seem equally plausible. If only Śyāmā is mentioned in the *chāpa*, the *pada* will be very symmetrical with the first two lines devoted to Kuñjabihārī, and the second two to Śyāmā (the linking first half of the third line being about the couple together). Or alternatively the fourth line can be seen as a generalization about the couple.

## KM 13

Once in a solitary wood the two were adorning each other;  
 She looking at his reflection and he at hers, they remained<sup>1</sup> engrossed<sup>2</sup> in each other;  
 They have never before been adorned as elegantly as they are today. All mirrors proved  
 useless<sup>3</sup>; what<sup>4</sup> and which<sup>5</sup> [mirror can show their beauty]<sup>6</sup> today?  
 Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī<sup>7</sup>, delighting each other, have submitted<sup>8</sup> to  
 love.

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<sup>1</sup>I have taken *rahata* as belonging to the second *pāda* rather than being in a compound with *deṣata*. This is the interpretation of RC as well: *pratibimba lakhi bhoi rahe sukuvāra*.

<sup>2</sup>The long *-ī* ending of *bhoi* is presumably an accommodation for the rhyme of the absolute. Cf. also III 2.5.

<sup>3</sup>*jhūthā par-* is a Hindi idiom, whose meaning is 'to be proved false, untrustworthy, to be useless' (cf. OHED).

<sup>4</sup>*koī* is more likely an emphatic form of the interrogative pr. *ko* than its indefinite counterpart.

<sup>5</sup>The readings *kaisīyo/au* and *kaisīye/ai* (see variant 29) constitute the same form, constructed of *kaisī* + emph. *ī/ū*.

<sup>6</sup>The idea is that Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are so beautiful that their reflections in the mirror are mere semblances of the real images.

<sup>7</sup>The omission of *kuñjabihārī* in MSS F, H, I and BR (see variant 33) is semantically inferior. The *pada* is dedicated to both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa and it would be more logical for both to be included in the *chāpa*. Moreover, the inclusion of *paraspara* (which is omitted only in PH) makes the lipography of *kuñjabihārī* awkward.

<sup>8</sup>The form *noī* is attested only as a f. n. meaning 'rope used to tie a cow's legs when milking it' (see OHED); however, this meaning is highly unlikely in this context. I have interpreted *noī* as a rhyme form of the verb *nav-*. Alternatively it can be taken as a synonym of *navīna* 'new'. There is one occurrence of *noi* in KM, again in the same environment: *navala/prema prīti saū noi gai* (see KM 47.4), where the translation as a form of *nav-* is definitely better. On the other hand *prīti nai* 'new love' is a commonplace collocation (cf., for example, Vyās's *Mān kī śṅkhalā*, see Pauwels 1994a, p. 11 of chapter 9).

Most of the commentaries: RC, PC and NC ignore *noī*; SMC quotes the two possibilities without choosing either.

The reading of F, *bhoī*, (see variant 37) is evidently a substitution of a *lectio difficilior* with a *lectio facilior*.

## KM 14

Oh Rādhā, come, Hari<sup>1</sup> is calling, the cuckoo is singing, the birds give voice, a *rāga* is established;

There the peacock dances with tail spread<sup>2</sup>, the clouds sound as drums<sup>3</sup>, counting out the time<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>5</sup>[But he has] no liking<sup>6</sup> [for this], I have realized<sup>7</sup>, and for this reason I came having taken up<sup>8</sup> the depth<sup>9</sup> of [his] passion<sup>10</sup>.

The words<sup>11</sup> of Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā<sup>12</sup> and Kuñjabihārī are incoherent, they say something but mean<sup>13</sup> something else.

<sup>1</sup>About the use of *hari* in KM see note 2 to KM 52.

<sup>2</sup>SMC and BC gloss *kācha bādhē* with *pañkha phailā karke*. *kācha bādh-* is attested in HSS and Platts as an idiom, which means 'to put on, to wear *dhoti*'. No meaning with reference to peacocks is given in any dictionary. Probably it is used in this case by analogy, as an allusion to the appearance of the peacock with its feathery thighs and bare legs, like a person with *dhoti* girded up.

<sup>3</sup>The disagreement of the MSS about the choice of *mṛdaṅga* or *pakhāvaja* (see variant 13) is interesting; even more so because *mṛdaṅga* is obviously a poetically superior reading, for the alliteration of *m-*. There are four more occurrences of *mṛdaṅga* and one of *mṛdaṅgi* in KM (33.3, 61.2, 67.1, 96.2; 94.1); in none of these cases is the variant *pakhāvaja* given by any MS. The substitution of *mṛdaṅga* by *pakhāvaja* is influenced either by the commentaries (PC, RC, NC) or by the actual performing practice at the time the MSS were written.

<sup>4</sup>*bandhāna* here is translated in the meaning 'measure, rhythm'. R. Snell (1991a, p. 256) points out that the alleged technical sense of *bandhāna* as 'the first beat of the *tāla*' (see HSS) is not inherent in *bandhāna* by itself, but is yielded only by the combination *tāna-bandhāna*.

<sup>5</sup>The meaning of this line is far from clear. An opposition between *prakṛti* and *surati* might have been intended which would translate: 'I have found that none of these [are intended] from nature, thus I came taking them as a measure of love-making'. This translation would fit the opposition between implied and stated meaning, taken up in the next line. However, this seems much too artificial for Haridās, whose verses seem to be a direct description of what he as an 'observer' 'sees' to be happening in the *nikuñja*, rather than compositions made in an effort to create embellished literature.

<sup>6</sup>I have interpreted *prakṛti* as 'inclination'. Similar is the understanding of SMC, according to which all the splendour described in the first two lines gives no pleasure to Kṛṣṇa in the absence of his beloved: *uparukta śobhā āpke abhāv mē lāl jī ke svabhāv ke anukūl nahī hai*.

There are six more occurrences of the word *prakṛti* in KM, and they show a range of meanings: 'the nature (urges) of the heart' of KM 5.3 becomes 'the state of the beloved' (KM 11.3) and the 'inclination' of Kuñjabihārī in this verse. Similarly variable is the use of *prakṛti* in its primary sense 'nature': it refers to the excellence of Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī in KM 23.4, the mischievous character of Kṛṣṇa in KM 62.4 and the sulking nature of Rādhā in KM 80.3 and 109.1.

<sup>7</sup>The form *janyaū* as connected to *jān-* 'to know' rather than *jan-* 'to give birth' is not attested, but the latter is semantically implausible in this context. Probably both the omission of the long *-ā-* and the *m* perf. ending are just an accommodation for the rhyme. Cf. KM 79.2 (*jo yaha pīra janē*).

<sup>8</sup>SMC interprets *gahi* as applied to Rādhā: *dhyān karāne āi hū ki āp anumān kar lēgi*. But in this meaning the infinitive or the 3rd p. subj.-pres. would be more natural than the stem.

<sup>9</sup>*unamāna* as a synonym of *thāha* 'depth' is attested in SBBhK. The substitution of *unamāna* with *anumāna* is probably a replacement of *lectio difficilior*.

<sup>10</sup>SMC interprets *surati* as a synonym of *smṛti* 'recollection, memory'; see above, note 8.

<sup>11</sup>If the original reading of H, *jānī*, (see variant 37) is accepted, the meaning will be 'the essence' or 'the understanding' (of Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī).

<sup>12</sup>SMC interprets *syāmā* as an address: *śrī haridāsī jū kī prāṇ śyāmā pyārī! kuñjabihārī kī aṭpaṭī prakṛti hai*.

<sup>13</sup>Literally: 'when they say something they say something else'.

## KM 15

[Your] beloved, Bihārī, is waiting for you.

Even now [you]<sup>1</sup> are not leaving<sup>2</sup> your meditation<sup>3</sup>, [you] do not want to look up<sup>4</sup> even a little.

Having come<sup>5</sup> unexpectedly<sup>6</sup> [he] covers<sup>7</sup> [her] eyes with [his] hands, and [she] cries<sup>8</sup> out<sup>9</sup> in alarm;

While looking for Śyāmā<sup>10</sup> in the forest Haridās's sovereign found<sup>11</sup> his beloved on the doorstep<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>Alternatively, the second line could refer to Kṛṣṇa, who even then is not abandoning his contemplation of Rādhā. This is the interpretation of NC: *ho pyārī jū terī samādhi jo dhyāna tāmē aisē lina ho rahe hai*. However, then *samādhi* would lose its irony; see below, note 3.

<sup>2</sup>Literally: 'your meditation is not given up', *chūṭ-* is a vi. which makes the double interpretation of the agent of the meditation possible. The confusion as to the logical subject of this action is reflected in the ending of the imperf. ptc.: MSS A, F and I suggest the f. form, *chūṭati*, and the remaining MSS the m (or neutral) *chūṭata* (see variant 9).

<sup>3</sup>The technical term *samādhi* is used ironically: Rādhā, who is silent because of her *māna*, is compared to a *yoginī*. The same motif is very common in Harirām Vyās's *Mān kī śṛīkhalā*, where the formulaic *muni vratu taji* often appears at the end of verses (see Pauwels 1994a, pp. 119, 133 etc. of chapter 9).

<sup>4</sup>Usually *cah-* is used in Braj in combination with the m. sg. form of the of the perf. ptc. (see McGregor 1968: 4.21). *nihārī* here is evidently a rhyme form.

<sup>5</sup>The different forms of *ā-* (see variant 15) show the confusion of the scribes about the subject of this sentence (cf. above note 2). I have taken Kṛṣṇa as the subject, but if the second line is interpreted as referring to Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā could be the agent of the action in the first half of the third line, as MS C suggests. MS C destroys the logic of this choice, though, by later opting for the specifically f. form *arabarāī* (see variant 20). NC reads Rādhā as the subject: *pyārī jū taba to acānaka hī āī pyārī jū ne piya [sic] ke naina dvai kara saū mūde*.

<sup>6</sup>Dittography of *āya* in MS NC (see variant 14).

<sup>7</sup>*mūde* can be interpreted either as 3rd p. subj.-pres. or as m. pl. of the perf. ptc. I have chosen the former for consistency: see below, note 9.

<sup>8</sup>The form *cihārī* is not attested. SBBhK quotes the verb *cihar-* and the f. noun *cihāra*. The long final *-ī* is probably an accommodation for the rhyme. The reading *bihārī* of MS C (see variant 23) is a *lectio facilior*.

<sup>9</sup>*uṭh-* can be interpreted either as an independent verb or as a compound verb together with *cihār-* (if *cihār-* is analysed as a verb). I have opted for the latter, but BC has chosen the former.

I have interpreted *uṭhe* as 3rd p. subj.-pres. If the past tense is preferred and Rādhā is the subject of the action, one will have to opt for the reading *uṭhī* of A, J, I, BR and RC (see variant 22). Alternatively Kṛṣṇa could be the subject, which would account for the m. form of the perf. ptc. (see above, notes 2, 5, 7).

<sup>10</sup>The reading of F and H, *syāma*, (see variant 25) might be better because if Śyāmā is the object, the repetition of the object (cf. *priyā*) is superfluous. The different readings of the *chāpa* are probably connected with the confusion about the logical subject of the action in the last line and the whole verse (see above).

<sup>11</sup>*pāī*, for which no MS gives variants, is the only verb in this verse which is unambiguous about the noun it is connected with. It can be applied only to the feminine object *priyā*, which makes the second interpretation of the last two lines, in which Rādhā would be the subject, and Kṛṣṇa the object, not only unlikely in the narrative, but also grammatically incorrect.

<sup>12</sup>The form *dihārī* is not attested. I have followed SMC which interprets *dihārī* as related to *dehī* 'threshold, doorstep'. SMC adds to this interpretation that in this case *dehī* is a synonym of *nikāṭa*. NC glosses *dihārī* with *dātāra* 'liberal, generous': *naina mūde pāī dihārī kahā kī dātāra hai*.

The reading *bihārī* of MSS A and C (see variant 30) is evidently a *lectio facilior*.



## KM 16

Oh friend, assent<sup>1</sup>, come<sup>2</sup> now, remain together.

Behave like this only if you can live without seeing [him].

He is a dark cloud<sup>3</sup>, you are lightning<sup>4</sup>, rain a mass of love and drink the liquor of pleasure<sup>5</sup>.

Oh Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā, unite intimately with Kuñjabihārī and experience ecstasy<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>Alternatively, if the form *māna* of MSS H and NCM is accepted (see variant 2), the translation could read: '(what is) this sulking?'

<sup>2</sup>The imperative *cali* is superior to the original readings of A (*cali*), H (*cale*) and NC (*cali*), see variant 6. This form is more appropriate in the context of a *sakhī* appeasing Rādhā and is in agreement with the other verbs which are also in imp.

<sup>3</sup>The reading *saghana*, suggested by MS D, (see variant 18) is inferior in this context; one would expect *ghana* 'cloud' rather than *saghana* 'dense' in combination with *dāminī* 'lightning'.

<sup>4</sup>The cloud-lightning metaphor here works on two levels: it is an argument that Rādhā should not stay apart from Kṛṣṇa, because cloud and lightning cannot be separated (cf. KM 4.3), and it is connected with the rain of love.

<sup>5</sup>With 'liquor of pleasure' I have tried to translate the double meaning of *rasa*, underlined by the association of *rasa* with *pījai* 'drink'.

<sup>6</sup>Both the reading of D, *lāhau*, 'gain, benefit' and the reading of NCP, *rasa*, are possible alternatives to *raṅga* in this context (see variant 30). *rasa* is inferior poetically, because it already appears in the previous line. *lāhau*, on the other hand, adds to the poetic quality, because of the assonance of *l*.

## KM 17

Leave anger<sup>1</sup>, oh Rādhā, oh Rādhā!

The more you hold back, the more I am hurt. I constantly show you deep devotion<sup>2</sup>.

It nourishes my life to hear<sup>3</sup> even a few<sup>4</sup> words from you.

Haridās's sovereign Śyāma<sup>5</sup> Kuñjabihārī [says]: your love captivates [me] again and again.

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<sup>1</sup>The reading of MS H, *alisa*, (cf. variant 2) is probably related to *ālasa* 'languor'. It seems a less likely variant because *ālasa* is usually found in a context of after-lovemaking rather than in the context of *māna*.

<sup>2</sup>Because of the repeat I have translated *sādhe sādhe* as a form of the vt. *sādh-*. This interpretation is supported by a further occurrence of *sādhe sādhe* in KM, where it has again the meaning 'to show deep devotion' see 41.3. SMC also derives *sādhe sādhe* from the verb *sādh-* but glosses it with *samhālnā* 'to support, to sustain'. Haynes takes it as a rhyme form of *sādha* [*sādhu-*] 'excellent'. Alternatively, it can be interpreted as a rhyme form of *sādha* [*śraddhā-*] 'eager desire, longing, craving', see OHED.

<sup>3</sup>The use of the passive here is odd. There is one more example in KM (*deṣiyata* 36.1) of a passive which is not required by the context and which is not supported by all MSS (see here variant 25). See also III 6.3.4.

<sup>4</sup>My interpretation of *ādhe* is rather free. The commentaries either gloss *ādhe* with the same word: *āpke...ādhe ādhe bacanō se* (BC) or interpret it as referring to the 'half-words' uttered in love-play: *ardhabacana kahi keli mai* (RC); *jaba aṅga aṅga milikē surata rasa bhare mē ādhe ādhe bacana kahata hāi* (NC); *premāveg ke kāraṇ nisṛt aspāṣṭa aur ādhe vacanō ko sunkar* (SMC).

<sup>5</sup>Since Śyāma rather than Śyāmā is the subject of the 'speaking' (this is determined by the possessive pronoun *teṭī*, which evidently applies to Śyāmā), G opts for the form *syāma* in the *chāpa*. The majority of MSS give the formulaic *syāmā kuñjabihārī* (see variant 27), which would be translated 'Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī, (he says)...'.

## KM 18

Oh friend, today a rite of protection<sup>1</sup> is made over the beautiful Tribhaṅgī<sup>2</sup>.

With one foot over the other, placing the flute on [his] lips<sup>3</sup>, with an oblique glance under<sup>4</sup> [his] beautiful brows.

Rādhikā, why not go quickly to your beloved, if you want to be the one above all others.

<sup>5</sup>Now it is a good time<sup>6</sup> for Haridās's sovereigns: they are united in love-play, their passion has become as unwavering as the Pole star<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>*trana tūt-* 'the breaking of a straw' is a symbolic act of ritual protection from the effects of the evil eye (see HSS). This idiom is often used when describing Rādhā's and/or Kṛṣṇa's beauty (cf. CP 32.8, see Snell 1991a, p. 138).

<sup>2</sup>*tribhaṅgī* 'thrice-bent' is an epithet of Kṛṣṇa which refers to his fluting posture with a bent knee, waist and neck.

<sup>3</sup>Haplography of *-dhara* (of *adhara*) in MS BR because of following *dharaī* (see variant 12).

<sup>4</sup>The use of *para* here is obscure and might have been determined by the requirements of the rhyme.

<sup>5</sup>The length of the last line fluctuates between 33 and 56 *mātrās*, depending on the interpolation or omission of *syāmā*, *banyaū*, *lāla kī*, *keli*, *bhaī* and *rati* (see variants 32, 37, 38, 41, 43 and 44). Meter is not a reliable criterion with regard to Haridās's poetry, but some speculations could be made on the basis of prosody. In this verse the first line is typically short; the second and the third lines with their 34 and 33 *mātrās* come close to the absolute minimum of the fourth line. The omission of *rati* is supported by relatively distant (see II 8) MSS: C, D, H, I, BR, RC (see variant 44) and E, and is semantically preferable, since *keli* and *rati* are synonyms. *banyaū* is not included in MSS C, D, H, I and BR (see variant 37); it might have been a later interpolation as a gloss. The addition of *syāmā* (see variant 32) and *lāla kī* (see variant 38) has no semantic basis, is supported by only few, unreliable MSS, and unnecessarily increases the length of this extra-long line.

<sup>6</sup>This is the only occurrence of *samayo<sup>o</sup>au* in Haridās's poetry as an independent noun rather than as part of the adverb *eka samē* (cf. KM 13.1, 84.1).

<sup>7</sup>On *dhūpara* see note 10 to KM 8.

## KM 19

Every day [they] play frame-drums and cymbals and sing, [they] colour<sup>1</sup> each other at every moment in Holī;

Their extremely delicate bodies radiant<sup>2</sup> with exertion<sup>3</sup>, Kiśora and Kiśorī are well-joined<sup>4</sup> lovers.

Talking and conversing<sup>5</sup>, [the couple] were immersed<sup>6</sup> in fun and frolic<sup>7</sup>; they looked<sup>8</sup> around, spied a sheltered place<sup>9</sup> and went there.

Listen, oh Haridās, the slender<sup>10</sup> golden vine clings to the dark *tamāl* tree.

<sup>1</sup>*bhar-* is a polysemic verb, whose different meanings ‘to be immersed’, ‘to embrace’, ‘to colour’ interact in this context. The commentaries opt for the most immediate meaning connected with Holī, ‘to colour’: NC: *lāla laṛaitī raṅga bhare khelata hāi*; SMC: *śyāmā śyām .. ras raṅga mē bharte rahate hāi*.

<sup>2</sup>The meaning ‘to be radiant’ of *baras-* is attested in OHED.

<sup>3</sup>SMC interprets *śrama* as an abridged version of the compound *śrama-jala* ‘sweat’ and, accordingly, *baras-* as ‘to rain’: *sved kī varṣā hone lagtī hai*. NC glosses: ‘it is not a rain of sweat but of bliss’ (*kaḥā kī śrama nāhī ānanda hī kī barṣā hota hāi*).

<sup>4</sup>About the verb *mil-* see note 5 to KM 12. Another possible meaning of *bhale mile* would be ‘well-suited’; it has a parallel with the archaic English adjective ‘meet’ as meaning ‘suitable, fit, proper’.

NC interprets *bhale milai* in the context of the love-play: *doū... nisaṅka aṅka bhare*. SMC merely paraphrases: *joṛī bhālī milī hai*.

<sup>5</sup>*bātani bata batāta* seems to be a rhetorical repeat, parallel to the *r<sup>p</sup>* sequence that follows. It also brings about alliteration of *b-*.

<sup>6</sup>The most straightforward translation of *rami* in this context is ‘immersed’, ‘taking delight in’ which makes the two lovers the logical subject of the sentence, and so prevents an unnecessary change of subject in the line. However in that case one would expect the m. pl. perf. ptc. *rahe* rather than the m. sg. *rahyau*. I have interpreted *rahyau* as governed by the implied *jugala* ‘couple’. Alternatively, *rāgu raṅga* could be the subject of the sentence, if one interprets *ram-* as ‘pervade’, ‘spread’, a meaning suggested by HSS. Then the clause would translate ‘fun and frolic has spread’ (cf. KM 61.1). The direct case ending *-u* of *rāgu* corroborates the interpretation of *rāgu* as subject, but cannot be conclusive (see III 5.1.7).

<sup>7</sup>I have interpreted the two occurrences of *rāga raṅga* in KM (cf. KM 55.4) as the commonplace collocation ‘music and merriment: fun, enjoyment’ (see OHED). NC takes *rāga raṅga* as two independent words, saying that the couple’s speech is like melody, and they are immersed in the enjoyment of love: *aru mahā madhura bacanāmṛta nāhī hā havai [sic] rāga ramī rahau. aṅka eka sancha kau hī raṅga tāmē doū magana hāi*.

<sup>8</sup>The form *cāi* is not attested. The predominance of readings with *-hi-* (see variant 16) suggests that it might be a form of the verb *cāh-* ‘to look’.

<sup>9</sup>The sense of *ṣorī* is rather obscure. My translation is based on the meaning ‘cover’ quoted in Platts and ‘hut’ in CDIAL. This interpretation would make sense of the narrative transition between public Holī context in lines 1 and 2, and the private embraces of line 4. *ṣorī* appears in the same environment, in combination with *takī*, in KM 105.4 as well. The suggested meaning fits also that context (where again the couple is trying to find a place hidden from everyone). SMC glosses *ṣorī* as *saṅket sthal* ‘trysting-place’. NC interprets *ṣorī* as ‘the lane’ between Rādhā’s breasts: *khori jyaū kucana ke madhya*. PC paraphrases freely: ‘casting the spell of love everywhere’ *lita uta dārata prema thagorī*.

<sup>10</sup>NC and SMC offer an alternative interpretation of *thorī*: Rādhā is so entwined with Kṛṣṇa that she can hardly be seen: *thorī dṛṣṭi āvata hai* (NC); *tanik-tanik hī dṛṣṭi path mē ā rahī hai* (SMC).

## KM 20

Two<sup>1</sup> strings of pearls, one ornament of glass beads, unadorned<sup>2</sup> eyes<sup>3</sup> - my glance<sup>4</sup>, do not fall [on them]!

Four bangles on each arm, a single<sup>5</sup> four-sided anklet on [her] feet, Hari<sup>6</sup> is gazing<sup>7</sup> unblinkingly;

One *sārī*, rumpled, [her] bodice removed<sup>8</sup> from [her] body, she has twisted the left side<sup>9</sup> of the border of [her] *sārī* on [her] breasts<sup>10</sup> and turned it over<sup>11</sup>.

Overpowered by the charm of Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā<sup>12</sup>, Kuñjabihārī slowly moves<sup>13</sup> up<sup>14</sup> to her.

<sup>1</sup>The use of numbers in this verse is persistent and probably has some significance. The allusion might be to the conventional number sixteen in the context of ornaments (cf. introductory note to next verse); indeed if all details in the description of Rādhā are added: three necklaces, unadorned eyes, eight bangles (four on each arm), one anklet, one *sārī*, her bodice and the border of the *sārī*, the total would be sixteen.

<sup>2</sup>I have followed NC and SMC in connecting *sādā* with the following *netra*, and reading 'eyes' as part of the description of Rādhā's beauty: *sādā netrana kahā ki netrana mē añjana hū siṅgāra bhāra hai* (NC); *tathā sādā netra* (SMC). BC interprets *sādā* as referring to the previous *puñja poti*: *sādā poti kā ek puñja*. *sādā* in a similar context appears again in KM 75.4. About the use of Persian words in Haridās's poetry see III 3.1.

<sup>3</sup>The obl. reading *netrani/na* of most MSS (see variant 7) could be explained by interpreting *netra* as the object of *lāg-*.

<sup>4</sup>HSS gives *dīṭh lagnā* as a synonym of the idiom *nazar lagānā* 'to cast an evil eye'. Similar is the interpretation of SMC here: *kahī merī dīṭhi na lag jāy (nazar lag jāne kā viśvās...mānā jāta rahā hai)*. This idiom is presumably connected with the 'unadorned eyes' of the heroine (since *kājal* is applied also to avert evil eyes).

<sup>5</sup>*ikasāra* as a synonym of *ikaharā* is quoted in SBBhK.

<sup>6</sup>This is one of the few examples in KM where Kṛṣṇa is called Hari. This choice contributes to the assonance (and alliteration) of *h-*. Cf. note 2 to KM 52.

<sup>7</sup>*herī* is an absolutive, lengthened for rhyme; see III 2.5.

<sup>8</sup>I have followed NC in interpreting *nyārī* as 'removed', a meaning which fits the description of Rādhā's clothing (presumably after love-making) better than the sense 'wonderful', chosen by BC, SMC and Haynes. *nyār-* appears in KM both in a physical and a more abstract sense, cf. KM 86.2, 4, 95.3 and KM 55.4, 86.1, 3.

<sup>9</sup>*gati*, suggested by MSS H, I, BR, NC and RC (see variants 27 and 29) is evidently a *lectio facillior*.

<sup>10</sup>I have translated *urasani* as the oblique pl. form of *urasa* 'breast'. Alternatively, it can be interpreted as a verbal noun of *uras-* 'to fold in'.

<sup>11</sup>Haynes's translation of the second part of this line is: 'on the side a peacock dances and bobs'.

<sup>12</sup>Alternatively, the first part of the last line can be translated in a more formulaic way: 'Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī, overpowered by [her] charm [he] slowly moves up to her'.

<sup>13</sup>*sarakani* is probably a verbal noun. Cf. III 6.3.8.

<sup>14</sup>*nerī* is presumably an accommodation for the rhyme of the adverb *nerē* 'nearby', cf. III 2.5.

## KM 21

Coloured with the colour of her youth, with golden body, with assenting eyes, an ornament of beads on a black silken [thread] around her neck,

In her every limb gleams Kāmdev's radiance, rings in her ears lend lustre, [her beauty] can be appreciated only by seeing [it], she has blossomed, she is like the moonlight of a moonlit night<sup>1</sup>,

<sup>2</sup>Her *sārī* made of fine muslin<sup>3</sup>, with a red bodice, the splendour of a satin petticoat, four bangles on each [arm], ornaments on her wrists, jingling<sup>4</sup>, she is adorned<sup>5</sup> with a beautiful<sup>6</sup> nose-pin, her mouth [flavoured] with *pān*, her front teeth<sup>7</sup> flash so that I<sup>8</sup> am deceived<sup>9</sup> in the illusion [that they are lightning];

Such is the eternal Bihārīnī, in whose company Śrī Bihārī Lāla, who is like a [mighty] *tamāl* tree<sup>10</sup>, becomes very humble, desirous and shaking; in the bower-abode Haridās's couple sway on the swing of passion.

The *nakha-śikha* sequence follows a rather odd curve in this *pada*: the description starts with Rādhā's eyes, moves to her neck, comes back up to her ears, again down to her body, then up to her mouth. This verse can also be seen as an example of the 16-*śṛṅgāra* convention which is commonplace in Hindi literature. However, this instance neither shows a conceit according to which the 16 are divided into four groups of four natural attributes: being long, short, slender and broad (as in *Padmāvata* 40.4-5), nor does it restrict itself to the category 'appliances for decoration' (cf. Platts s.v. *śiṅgār*). Instead the KM examples (cf. previous verse) are organised only in accordance with the *nakha-śikha* sequence. Thus, KM might represent 'an early stage of the development of the Hindi 16-*śṛṅgāra* convention out of the Sanskrit *nakhaśikha varṇana*' (Snell 1991a, p. 224).

The adj. *ḍharārā* is explained in HŚS with *śiḡhra hī ākarṣit yā pravṛtta honevālā* 'being quickly attracted, or inclined'. It is glossed in SMC similarly: *svikṛti parak bhāvō se yukta*. There is one occurrence of *ḍharāre* in *Rās mān ke pad*, where it is again connected with eyes: *bimala kamala nainā diragha ḍharāre*, but there it seems to function as a verb which has an object 'the eyes dispel one's composure' (see Entwistle 1983, pp. 352-353).

<sup>1</sup>I have translated *jōha mē jōna* by analogy with *pūranamāsi kī sī pūnarī* of KM 49.2. The meanings 'moonlight' and 'moonlit night' for the Sanskrit equivalent of *jōha*, *vyotsnā*, are attested in OHED.

<sup>2</sup>Both the third and the fourth line are excessively long: 84 and 80 *mātrās* respectively. High density of words is quoted among the peculiarities of the poetical composition of *dhrupada* (see Delvoye 1983, p. 90, and VI 3.4).

<sup>3</sup>*tanasuṣa* is glossed in OHED with 'fine muslin'. HŚS elaborates: *tajeb yā śruddhī kī tarah kā ek prakār kā baṛhiyā phūldār kapṛā*, and quotes this example. SMC suggests that it is a very thin material: *aisī jhūnī sārī jismē se aṅgō kī suḍaultā ḍṛṣṭigat ho rahī hai*.

<sup>4</sup>SMC glosses *khamaki banī* with *sundartā se anurūp hī baiṭhī hai*.

<sup>5</sup>See above.

<sup>6</sup>My translation of *jaiba* is based on its meaning 'beauty'. Alternatively, it can be translated as 'placket'. The nominal formant *-zeba* 'adorning, becoming' is quoted in OHED as well, but the translation 'Rādhā adorning the nose-pin' (i.e. she is so beautiful, that she adorns the ornaments rather than *vice versa*) seems too far-fetched.

<sup>7</sup>*caukā* is glossed as 'an aggregate of four' in OHED. This meaning, applied to Rādhā's teeth, is adopted by SMC: *mukh ke agle bhāg ke ūpar nice ke cār dātō kī kāntī...* HŚS ascribes to *caukā* the meaning 'head-ornament' (*sir par pahanne kā phūl ke ākār kā ek gahnā*), which could be an alternative in this context.

<sup>8</sup>This is the 'I' of the *sakhī*, describing Rādhā's beauty.

<sup>9</sup>The reading of BR *jhūlī* 'sway' (see variant 33) is semantically and poetically inferior (*jhūlī* is the rhyme-word in the next line).

<sup>10</sup>This simile is open to interpretation. I have based my reading on the contrast between the might of Kṛṣṇa and his humble behaviour in front of Rādhā. NC and SMC take *tamāla* as a representative of the stock simile comparing the hero and heroine, united in their dalliance, with a *tamāla* tree, around which a creeper is entwined: *taru tamāla kahā kī aṅga tē aṅga lapaṭī rahe hai jyaū taru tamāla tāi kañcana belī lapaṭai* (NC); *jis prakār tamāl vṛkṣa ke sāth bel lipaṭ jāti hai tathaiva kuñja-mahal mē yaha jorī rasmay keli ke hiṅḍore me jhūlne lagī* (SMC).

## KM 22

Rādhā, dear, leave your sulking;

My life is obtained<sup>11,12</sup> [through you], oh friend, hold it<sup>13</sup>;

Place your hand on my forehead<sup>14</sup>, give me an assurance of protection today;

<sup>15</sup>Haridās's sovereign Śyāma<sup>16</sup> Kuñjabihārī says imploringly, with excitement and desire: be ashamed [of your sulking].

<sup>11</sup>I have interpreted *pāyo jāta* as passive. The commentaries gloss *pāyau jāta* as two finite verbs: *tumhārī prasannatā mē prāna* [sic] *pāya haī...mere prāṇa jāta hai* (NC); *pāye hue prān...nikalte hue se pratīt ho rahe haī* (SMC). Cf. also KM 58.3.

<sup>12</sup>The reading *he* of MS C (see variant 7) is inferior to the reading *hai* of the rest of the MSS: the latter can be interpreted as auxiliary, avoiding the accumulation of two vocatives.

<sup>13</sup>*sajnā* as a synonym of *dhāraṇa karnā* 'to maintain' is attested in HŚS. The commentaries also translate *sajī* as the imp. of *saj-*: *tātē sajī kahā kī ...prāna jāte rākhau* (NC); *sajī arthāt merī avyavasthit cetnā ko vyavasthit kar* (SMC). Haynes interprets it as a rhyme form of *sajanī* 'lady, sweetheart'.

<sup>14</sup>NC interprets *māthai para hātha dhar-* as a synonym of the KhB idiom *sir par hāth rakhnā* 'to swear by one's life': *mere māthe kī sapta* [sic] *khāū*.

An almost identical line appears in *Sūrsāgar*: *abhaya dāna dai kara dhari sūrdāsa ke mātha* (s.v. *mātha* in SBBhK).

<sup>15</sup>My translation is based on the reading *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma kuñjabihārī kahata bali raṅga ruci sō lajī*. The abundance of variants shows that the text of the last line is corrupt. A large number of MSS do not include *pyārī* and *yō*: C, F, H, I, J, BR, NC(M/P), RC (see variants 27 and 28); both of them are presumably later glosses. None of the MSS apart from G (including E) read *bhūle* (see variant 32) and *sō* (see variant 31). Neither of these words adds much to the sense and they make the extremely long fourth line even longer. By contrast all the MSS (including E) support the reading *raṅga* (see variant 33), which might be dictated by the form rather than by the content: alliterative *raṅga* and *ruci* often appear together.

<sup>16</sup>Again, there are two variants of the *chāpa*: the reading of G, *syāma kuñjabihārī*, and the more formulaic version of A, C, F, I, J, NC and RC, *syāmā kuñjabihārī* (see variant 23).

## KM 23

On the topic of qualities, oh Rādhā, who knows more than you? He who<sup>17</sup> knows is a mere shadow<sup>18</sup> of [you];

Nobody<sup>19</sup> knows the distinctions of the varieties<sup>20</sup> of dance, song and rhythm, however much [they]<sup>21</sup> have studied<sup>22</sup> them in detail.

[Nobody knows] the essence<sup>23</sup> and pure<sup>24</sup> form, the scope and the limit<sup>25</sup> [of these arts]<sup>26</sup>, those who are skilful in their knowledge of notes, they have toiled laboriously but in vain.

Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī<sup>27</sup>; by [even] a little of all the aspects of your nature<sup>28</sup> the other excellent ones have been defeated.

<sup>17</sup>In accordance with the secyarian views about Rādhā's supremacy NC interprets *jo* as applied to Kuñjabihārī: *jo kachu jānāi tau yaha piya bihārī so āpahī tai sikhai hai* (cf. VII 2.2).

<sup>18</sup>I have interpreted *unahārī* as a variant of *anuhārī*. SMC gives an analogous gloss: *kachū unahārī = chāyā mātra*. The two forms appear again as alternatives in Vyās's *Mān kī śṛṅkhalā*, pada 68 1(1) (see Pauwels 1994a, p. 168 of chapter 9).

<sup>19</sup>SMC translates *kāhū* as related to the adverb 'somewhere, anywhere' rather than to the indef. pronoun 'somebody'. In accordance to such an interpretation is the reading, *kaḥū*, suggested by MSS D, I, and NC (see variant 19).

<sup>20</sup>Haplography of *bhedā* in NCM because of previous *bhedana* (see variant 15).

<sup>21</sup>SMC takes the *sakhī* (Haridās) as the subject of this action, and the possible experts as the object: *maīne sabko dekh liyā*.

<sup>22</sup>According to Śaraṇ Bihārī Gosvāmī and Buddhi Prakāś *jhār-* 'to sift' has a similar metaphorical meaning 'to examine', like its English counterpart (see COD). OHED quotes the idiom *jhār-pachorkar dekhnā* 'to sift and winnow (a matter): to investigate in detail'; even without the *pachor-* component collocation with *dekh-* suggests strong support for the above interpretation.

<sup>23</sup>In this context the musical meaning of *tatva*, 'slow time in music' (see Platts), is also a possible interpretation. NC glosses *tatva suddha sarūpa* as the couple's skilfulness, elegance and radiance: *jo tatva suddha svarūpa kahā kī aṅga aṅga kī jorī caturāi sugharāi ujarāi*.

<sup>24</sup>*śuddha* also is used in musical terminology: as a kind of *gīti* (melodic development), *sūda* (type of the form of singing of *prabandha*) and *bānī* (melodic style of *dhrupada*) (see Srivastava 1980, pp. 5, 5-19 and 50).

<sup>25</sup>I have translated *reṣi* rather freely, extending its literal meaning 'line' to a metaphorical interpretation 'limit'. However, I have not been able to trace any attestation of *reṣi* as synonymous with *sīmā*. Harivaṃśa's CP 52 *deṣau māi sundartā kī sīvā* (Snell 1991a, p. 152) could be quoted as collateral support for the semantic context. See also note 6 to KM 42.

*rekha* is a dance-term as well. MW glosses it as 'a right or straight position of all the limbs in dancing'. For a detailed explanation of the meaning of *rekha* as 'lines in dancing' see Banerji 1985, pp. 19-21.

<sup>26</sup>I have taken *tatva*, *suddha sarūpa*, *reṣa*, *paramāna* as independently connected with the arts enumerated in the previous line, but many different compounds of combinations of them can be constructed.

<sup>27</sup>There are different possible interpretations of the role of the *chāpa* in the syntax of the last line. I have opted for a reading in which the *chāpa* is only formally connected to the rest of the line and *śyāmā kuñjabihārī* are taken together. Since the whole verse is addressed to Rādhā (rather than both of them), one could read Śyāmā as vocative and Kuñjabihārī as the subject of implied *kah-*. Then the translation would be 'Oh Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā, says Kuñjabihārī'.

SMC gives yet another gloss of the last line in accordance with the sectarian views about the primacy of Rādhā. This alternative makes the *chāpa* an integral part of the sentence: 'Oh Śyāmā, only Kuñjabihārī is a bit like you, all the other worthy ones have been defeated': *he śrī śyāmā jū śrī kuñjabihārī hī keval tanik āpkī kuch samāntā mē hai anya jitne bhī guṇī hai ve sab hār mān gaye*. Similar is the interpretation of NC: *ho śyāmā yaha kuñjabihārī nēka tumhārī prakṛti kau hai*; (cf. also VII 2.2)

<sup>28</sup>About the use of *prakṛti* in KM see note 6 to KM 14.



## KM 24

Bihārī<sup>29</sup> has become skilful under this patronage only;

Whatever multitude of skilful<sup>30</sup> knowledge he has<sup>31</sup> is through this power only.

He was indeed greater than anybody else but<sup>32</sup> he<sup>33</sup> did not pass<sup>34</sup> her test<sup>35</sup>.

Haridās's<sup>36</sup> sovereign Śyāma<sup>37</sup> Kuñjabihārī remains benumbed by desire.

SMC interprets this verse as connected to the previous one. Kṛṣṇa reacts to the last remark in KM 23 (that he has acquired only a little bit of the skilfulness of Rādhā, see note 11 to KM 23) with the question: 'Do even I know only a little bit?' KM 24 is the answer of the *sakhī* to his question.

<sup>29</sup>If one adopts the readings of MSS H; D, J and PH, *āju tuma; hau/ho* (see variants 1 and 3), *bihārī* will have to be taken as a vocative.

<sup>30</sup>The pleonastic use of the adj. *sughara* (qualifying *jānapanē*) would be avoided if there were another noun ruling *sughara*. Because of this the reading *sughara sura/svara* of MSS D, F, I, J, BR, RC and H (see variant 12) (and MS BI) might be better.

<sup>31</sup>This translation is based on the reading *gaṭī* (see variant 10), glossed in SK as a synonym of *samūh* 'group, multitude'. Alternatively, it can be interpreted as the verb *gaṭ-*, with the meaning 'to be caught, fixed, established', with *bāta* as understood subject. The other reading, *ghaṭī*, can also be interpreted as perf. ptc., this time of the verb *ghaṭ-*, 'to come about, to happen; to be formed, made' (see OHED) again governed by an implied *bāta*.

NC glosses *gaṭī* with *gāsa* 'a rankling urge or desire'; SMC with *marma* 'essential truth'; but neither of them gives any reason for these interpretations. PC typically paraphrases the line in such a way that it is difficult to establish which word of the *ṭikā* corresponds to what in the *mūla*: *basikarana gūni jitanai jānata bāha gahe tai bhae*. RC's gloss, *aura gaṭī je sughara sura aṅga dayā tuva yāra*, is no more helpful.

<sup>32</sup>About the usage of *pai* in KM see note 7 to KM 2.

<sup>33</sup>I interpret *yāha* as a rhyme form of the demonstrative pronoun *yaha*; literally: 'There was no passing of her test by him' SMC glosses *yāha tai* with *yahā para*. An alternative interpretation of *yāha tai* would read *taī* as a form of *taya* [A *taī*], 'concluding, deciding' and translate 'this was her conclusion'.

<sup>34</sup>For a similar use of *kasa khaṭā*- see Tulsidās's *Vinay patrikā*, *pada* 204 (Viyogī 1950, p. 401).

<sup>35</sup>All the dictionaries I have consulted give m. gender for *kasa*, but the f. form of the postposition *kī* suggests that the noun might have functioned with double gender. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that nouns deriving from a verb stem tend to be feminine.

<sup>36</sup>Dittography of *ha*-in MS C (see variant 36).

<sup>37</sup>Only two MSS (H and PH) support the reading of G, *syāma* (see variant 37). Even E (which in almost all readings agrees with G, see II 8) joins the rest of the MSS giving *syāmā*. For discussion of the variants of the *chāpa* see note 12 to KM 5, and VI 2.

## KM 25

The lover of Rādhā, Kuñjabihārī<sup>38</sup> says<sup>39</sup>: I have not gone anywhere, listen, listen, oh Rādhā, I swear by you;

If you should not believe me, Haridāsī<sup>40</sup> was with me, ask<sup>41</sup> her and see, [Kuñjabihārī to Haridās:] Sister, swearing on me, tell her then what happened.

[Haridās? to Rādhā:] Dear, [how can you] have no<sup>42</sup> faith in a pledge<sup>43</sup>? Give up this bad temper<sup>44</sup>, let it go. [I will say] this much<sup>45</sup> now, I<sup>46</sup> adjure you, oh friend.

The two beautiful ones have grasped each other and remain<sup>47</sup> clinging; embracing each other they<sup>48</sup> turn and turn.

<sup>38</sup>The addition of the honorific particles *śrī* in F and NCM, and *jū* in NCM (see variants 1, 3, 5) is presumably a later accretion.

<sup>39</sup>Haplography of *ka*-in *kahata* because of previous *rasika* in BR (see variants 4 and 6).

<sup>40</sup>The introductory phrase *rādhā rasika kuñjabihārī kahata* (which has a very commentary-like ring, but is not fully omitted in any of the MSS) together with *haridāsī* seems to be a substitution for a *chāpa* in this stanza.

<sup>41</sup>The reading *būjhi*, suggested by J, (see variant 20) occurs also in KM 82.3 (this time without any alternative readings), again connected with *dekh*-. Either the scribe of J has confused KM 25 and 82, or *būjhi dekh*- is an established collocation. *pūchi* is the form used in PC; it is difficult to say if Pītāmbardās has copied the *mūla*, or if his *ṭikā* has influenced the later MSS.

<sup>42</sup>Alternatively *na* can be taken as obl. pl. termination of the previous *gathōda*, but the negative is semantically better.

<sup>43</sup>The range of variants for *gathōda* betrays semantic confusion on the part of the scribes. NC and SMC explain *gathōda* as referring to the signs of love-making left on Rādhā's body: *he pyāri jū tuma kāūna tau gathaudana apanē tana kī na pratīta hai* (NC); *tumhē gathāud arthāt raticinhō kī pratīti arthāt smṛti nahī hai* (SMC). However, the general sense of 'pledge' as something given for security, seems more likely.

It is interesting that the only other reference to *gathōda* (or rather to its synonym *gathibandha*) I have come across is again connected with *pratīti*: *gathibandha tē paratīti baṛī* (*dohā* 453) and *baṛī pratīti gathibandha tē* (*dohā* 457) of Tulsī's *Dohāvalī* (see Śukla 1973-4, pp. 117 and 119). Maybe the intended meaning here is similar: 'Pyāri, your faith [should be firmer than any] pledges', but without any adjective, such an interpretation seems too far-fetched.

<sup>44</sup>*chīyā* as referring to something filthy (in literal and metaphorical senses) is attested in OHED and TK. Both, the reading of NCP, *chīmā*, 'forgiveness' and of NCM, *dhīmā*, 'slow, weak' (see variant 32) are inferior from a semantic point of view.

<sup>45</sup>The f. ending of *itanī* is probably in accordance with an implicit *bāta*. My translation of *itanī* is based on the meaning of *itaneta* in KM 39.3. SMC glosses *itanī* as a synonym of 'such': *ab is prakār kī bātō ko na karo*.

<sup>46</sup>Both NC and SMC interpret the third line as said by the *sakhī* (Haridās) to Rādhā as a response to Kṛṣṇa's words in the second line. Alternatively Kṛṣṇa could continue to be the subject, again addressing Rādhā.

<sup>47</sup>A large number of MSS from different groups: C, D, F, H, I, BR and RC do not include *rahai* (see variant 42). The interpolation of *rahai* in the rest of the MSS might echo KM 92.3 (*lāgi lapaṭāi rahai chāṭī saṭī chāṭī...*).

<sup>48</sup>*sō* in the last line can be interpreted either as a rhyme form of the demonstrative-correlative pronoun (as in my translation), or as the postposition 'by means of: by, with' (see OHED); literally: 'they embrace each other by turning'.

## KM 26

Oh beloved, your greatness cannot<sup>49</sup> be described: the languor<sup>50</sup> with which you have overpowered the god of love;

He<sup>51</sup> assaults me, oh friend, I have<sup>52</sup> become subservient<sup>53</sup>.

[Your body] is purified<sup>54</sup> like a golden coin<sup>55</sup>, or else<sup>56</sup> it is as if naturally<sup>57</sup> adorned with the sixteen decorations<sup>58</sup>, it is fragrant<sup>59</sup> with the essence of sandalwood, camphor, musk and saffron.

Haridās's sovereign Śyāma<sup>60</sup> Kuñjabihārī [says]: [you] have made [me] subject to desire.

<sup>49</sup>*jāi* is the 3rd p. subj.-pres. rather than the stem.

<sup>50</sup>SMC's interpretation of *ālasa* is 'without any exertion': *jisse āpne ālasya mē hī kām ko sarvathā ādhīn kar liyā*. NC glosses *ālasa* as Rādhā's languor after the couple's love-sports: *ho pyārī jū tihārī mahimā mopai kahī nahī jāta kī bihāra mē tuma kau ālasāna bhāi*. Haynes translates it as 'weak' and takes *basa kīna* as independent words rather than the collocation 'to make subject (to oneself), to subdue' (see OHED): 'it makes me weak with the power of love'.

<sup>51</sup>I have translated the demonstrative-correlative pronoun as connected to Kāma because *daṇḍa lāg-* alludes to the common image of Kāma striking with his blossom-arrows. However, *ā* could apply also to *mahimā*, as it is interpreted in BC.

<sup>52</sup>The pl. ending can be explained by the use of the 1st p. pl. pr. *hanē* for 1st p. sg.

<sup>53</sup>The reading *bhīna*, 'engrossed' suggested by F, (see variant 14) is possible but less likely in this context.

<sup>54</sup>*auṭ-* 'to boil, evaporate over fire' refers to the process of purifying by heating. The reading of F *ora* (see variant 18) is a *lectio facillior*.

<sup>55</sup>I have not been able to find any reference to *sādhe gyāraha*. B. Prakāś explains in his English commentary: 'At the time of emperor Akbar eleven and a half masha gold coins were in circulation'. This is the meaning adopted by the other commentaries as well: *prathama tau sādhe gyāraha māse mohara tākau saunā* (NC); *us samay sārhe gyārah māse kī [sic] muhar calī thī* (SMC). PC glosses *sādhe gyāraha* with 'gold': *kañcana tana*.

A silver coin of this weight (11.5 *māśas*), called 'rupee', is listed in Abul Fazl's inventory of Akbar's coins (Hormasji 1923, p. 49). Issues which weigh 11 or 12 *māśas* are enumerated among the golden coins (Ibid., p. 42), but no golden coin of 11.5 *māśas* is mentioned. However, the text suggests that both, gold and silver, were purified in the same manner (Ibid, p. 41).

<sup>56</sup>The original reading of H (and MS BI) omits the whole phrase *dūjai...mē* (see variants 19-25), which cuts out 20 of the 59 *mātrās* of this enormously long line.

<sup>57</sup>NC and SMC take *sahaja hī* as connected to the following fragrances rather than to the sixteen ornaments.

<sup>58</sup>About the sixteen ornaments see the introductory note to KM 21.

<sup>59</sup>*bhīna* as a synonym of *sugandhit* is attested in SŚ. However, the original *rañga bhīna* allows different semantic nuances which interact with each other. Apart from referring to the fragrance of the ointments, *bhīna* can be translated as a synonym of *rañgita* 'coloured', especially if *rañga* is taken in its most immediate meaning. *rañga bhīna* can allude to the couple's love-play as well, SŚ glosses it with *kām-kṛīṅā mē lagā*.

<sup>60</sup>If the reading *syāmā*, suggested by MSS A, C, F, I, J, BR, NC and RC (see variant 34) and MS BI, is accepted, the *chāpa* will be an integral part of the syntax of the last line, which will then translate: 'Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā has made Kuñjabihārī subject to desire'.

The collocation *rasa basa kari lina* occurs again in KM 63.4, in a similar context: *rasa basa kari linē śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*.

## KM 27

These are not<sup>61</sup> drops of sweat, add<sup>62</sup> them to your string of pearls;

[I]<sup>63</sup> have seen<sup>64</sup> [them to be] priceless, without price<sup>65</sup>: take<sup>66</sup> [my] body, mind and wealth as sacrifice [for them].

<sup>67</sup>In inverted position [you] make love without weariness. He is the central gem<sup>68</sup> among your [pearls].

Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī and they<sup>69</sup> are united<sup>70</sup> in beautiful love.

<sup>61</sup>Haplography of *na*-in F, because of preceding *kana* (see variant 2).

<sup>62</sup>I have interpreted *deha* as the imperative of *de-*, in analogy with *leha* in the next line. Similar is the gloss of Pītāmbardās: *śrama kana dijai motī mālā*. On the other hand, since *motī mālā* is a well established compound, NC and SMC read *motī* and *mālā* together and interpret *deha* as 'body': *ye motī mālā kau deha hai* (NC); *āpke śrī aṅga par vidyamān ye śrambindu jal ke kaṅ nahī hai, in par motiyō kī mālā nyauchāvar hotī hai* (SMC).

<sup>63</sup>NC reads Haridās as the speaker of this verse whereas SMC glosses the first two lines as the words of Kṛṣṇa to Rādhā.

<sup>64</sup>SMC supplies 'other pearls' as the object of *deṣ-*: *maīne bahut se motī dekhe hai kintu yaha to amol motī hai*. The interpolation of *bahuta*, suggested by MSS C, D, F, I, J, BR, NCM, RC (see variant 9) fits this interpretation.

<sup>65</sup>*amola mola nāhi*: for a discussion on emphatic repetitions in Haridās's poetry see III 4.1.

<sup>66</sup>*leha* is probably a rhyme form of the imp. *lehu*. This assumption is supported by the reading *lehu* of MSS C, D, F, I, J, BR, NC and RC (see variant 16).

<sup>67</sup>The third line is far from clear. The omission (or interpolation) of *nāhi* (see variants 20, 21, 25), and the transpositions in the line (see variant 25) show the semantic confusion of the scribes, and are signs that the text is corrupt. Some of the printed editions (e.g. the *mūla* of SMC) read *nāhaka*, a form comprising both *nāika* and *nāhi*, a clear sign that there might have been a confusion of the two forms. It is very difficult to assess the correctness of F and BR, which omit *nāhi* (see variants 21 and 25). Without *nāhi* the length of the third line will be 29 *mātrās*, exactly matching the length of the second line, but metre is not a reliable criterion in Haridās's poetry.

The commentaries also reflect the semantic confusion. They either supply allegedly missing material, or paraphrase the line obscurely. NC rewords: *rati mē biparīta prīti kau ālāsa haū. nāyaka priyā jū saū ye tere madhya nāhi*. PC is not more helpful: *ratipati kī bipirīta cāha ati tū nava navāla*. RC renders: *rati bipirīta ālāsa nahī jo nāyaka tuva āsa*. According to SMC Lalitā addresses Rādhā, saying that she knows that Rādhā herself is desirous to sport with Kṛṣṇa, but acts inertly. She should see what a wonderful lover is waiting for her: *terī bhī lāl ko svayaṃ laṛāne kī lalsā hai tathāpi tū prem mē alsā rahī hai, dekhe tere madhya kaisā man bhāvatā nāyak hai*.

<sup>68</sup>See above. I have translated *nāika* as 'the central gem of a necklace', a meaning attested in HSS, Platts and MW. In the commentaries *nāika* is glossed as 'hero, lover'.

<sup>69</sup>I have translated *be ha* as an emphatic form of the pronoun *ve* (supported by the reading *hu* of MSS F, I, J, BR, NC and RC, see variant 33). NC glosses *beha* with *vedha* 'piercing': *pyārī jū kau aṅga ujvala motī so lāla jū kau aṅga prīti varamā tā kaū vedha lehu*.

<sup>70</sup>My translation of *malaye* is based on the readings *mīeye* of I, NC and *mīiye* of BR (see variant 31), interpreting them as subj.-pres. in the passive from *mil-* 'to meet, to unite'. Similar is the rendering of NC: *śrī haridāsī jū ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī lāla jū saū prīti bara. śreṣṭhatā kara milata bhaye*. SMC interprets *malaye* as a synonym of *malayaja* 'fragrant wind': *śrī lāl mē se sarvopari prem kī lalsā kī sugandhit havā ā rahī hai*. Yet another possibility would be to translate *malaya* as 'garden' (meaning attested in MW), yielding 'they are in the beautiful garden of love'.

## KM 28

Kuñjabihārī sits in meditation on the blue-<sup>71</sup> and red-<sup>72</sup> [clad] fair one.

The longer he was denied pleasure, the longer he suffered greatly.

Agitated<sup>73</sup>, she appeared<sup>74</sup>. There was much happiness in [his] heart, oh friend.

Kuñjabihārī pleases Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā<sup>75</sup>.

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<sup>71</sup>I have followed SMC and RC in interpreting *nīla* as referring to Rādhā's clothing: *gaur varṇa par nīlī sārī tathā lāl kañcukī ke dhyān mē śrī kuñjabihārī tadākār hokar baithe haī* (SMC); *gorī nīlāmbara bhāī* (RC). Alternatively, *nīla* could allude to the dark-blue colour of Kṛṣṇa's complexion.

<sup>72</sup>See above. According to SMC *lāla* is the colour of Rādhā's bodice (indeed in KM 21 Rādhā is described as wearing a red bodice). *lāla* could be read also as an epithet of Kṛṣṇa.

<sup>73</sup>I have interpreted *arabarāiē* as adverbial use of the perf. ptc. The reading of MSS C, F, I; H and BR, *āpa/°e/°u hī*, 'she herself' (see variant 10) is semantically possible as well. The gloss on the third line in PC includes *āpa hi: āpa hi praḡaṭa kahī makha bānī suni pītama rasa sidhu pagāyai*, it is possible that this early *īkā* has influenced the later MSS.

<sup>74</sup>SMC suggests a transitive reading of *praḡaṭa bhāī: śrī priyā jū apnī lālsā ko praḡaṭ karne lagī*.

<sup>75</sup>Alternatively the *chāpa* can be translated in a more formulaic way: 'Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī and [he] pleases [her]'.

## KM 29

The splendour of your<sup>76</sup> apparel today, oh dear one, and of yours<sup>77</sup>, oh beloved, cannot be described<sup>78</sup>.

His darkness and your fairness are like a white and dark braid<sup>79</sup>, or like [the colour-pattern] of a recumbent snake<sup>80</sup>.

[The splendour] of his yellow sash and of your blue mantle is like the splendour of the sun<sup>81</sup>, the moon and pure gold.

The beauty of Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī could not be described, [even] were thousands of poet-connoisseurs to assemble.

<sup>76</sup>The use of *terī* referring to Kṛṣṇa and *tuhmārī* to Rādhā could suggest a shift of honorific level (explained by the primacy of Rādhā in the sect), but more probably it indicates a certain degree of interchangeability of *tū* and *tuma* (see III 6.2.2).

<sup>77</sup>Alternatively *tuhmārī* can refer to *pyārī* rather than to her apparel; this will make the translation read: 'The splendour of your apparel, oh dear one, and of your beloved...'. However, this will make the first line addressed only to Kṛṣṇa, and will thus require a change of addressee in the second and third lines, which are evidently said to Rādhā.

<sup>78</sup>The formula *barani (kahī/baṣānē) na jāi* is often used in verses describing the beauty of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa; most of its occurrences are, as here in the opening line: KM 40.1, 41.2, 69.2, 86.1.

<sup>79</sup>Presumably the meaning of this simile is that the couple of dark Kṛṣṇa and fair Rādhā are entwined like the locks of hair in a braid. NC and SMC elaborate on the colours of this simile, explaining that the white in the braid stands for the flowers with which it is decorated: *bainī tau phūlana taī guhī* (NC); *jaise veṇī mē safed phūl gūthe hue hō* (SMC).

<sup>80</sup>The snake simile is open to interpretation. It might refer to the white-dark pattern of the skin of the cobra, since *bhuvanāga* can mean specifically 'cobra' (see OHED). Or it might allude generally to snakes which have dark dorsal and light ventral: NC's gloss seems to suggest such an interpretation *bhuvanāgama jo sarūpa kī śyāma barana ūpara. bāke nīcāē gauratā*. SMC understands the simile to refer to inverted love-making: *kisi bhār se sarpa dab rahā ho (rati viparīt)*. Yet another interpretation is offered in BC, where the snake is explained as a simile for the braid: *jaise nāginivat veṇī puṣpō ko gūthā gayā ho*.

<sup>81</sup>The 'sun/moon' reference is difficult to interpret, and seems to have been equally obscure to the commentators. A further example of a 'sun' and 'moon' allusion, similar in its obscurity, appears in Hit Harivaṃśa's CP (see Snell 1991a, pp. 195-196, note 2 to CP 14).

In translating this line I have followed BC: *inkā pītāmbar evaṃ āpkī nīlānbar kī orhni is prakār dipta ho rahī hai jaise sūrya-candra evaṃ kañcan kī ābhā ek sthal par ekatrit ho rahī ho*. However, if one tries to analyse the details of this simile, the colours involved present a problem. SMC suggests that the moon refers to the blue mantle, and the gold and the sun to the yellow sash, but does not explain the colour-connection between the blue mantle and the moon. NC gives a possible solution to this question by glossing the moon with Rādhā's face, surrounded by the sky-like dark blue sash: *kahā kī śaśī candramā so tau mukha. candramā nīlānbarana mē sohata*. But a parallel interpretation cannot be given for Kṛṣṇa, and indeed NC equates the sun with Kṛṣṇa's yellow sash, rather than with his face: *so rabi rūpa lāla jū kau pītāmbara*. This problem would be resolved by the reading *mani*, suggested by MSS C, H, and I (see variant 29), but exactly for this reason it seems that *mani* might just be a *lectio facillior*.

The colour of Kṛṣṇa's and Rādhā's clothes has a further implication: Rādhā is dressed in a mantle which has the dark-blue colour of Kṛṣṇa, and he wears a sash of the golden colour of Rādhā.

## KM 30

[I]<sup>82</sup> rejoiced<sup>83</sup> as I watched.

[how you] were brought<sup>84</sup> before<sup>85</sup> your lover<sup>86</sup> in the glow<sup>87</sup> of love.

Listen, oh friend, [he] is dressed<sup>88</sup> in wedding raiment<sup>89</sup>. Today with a charm of protection [I]<sup>90</sup> am surrendering<sup>91</sup> [to you].

Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī are skilled in all qualities, in the *tātātheṛ*<sup>92</sup> rhythm which<sup>93</sup> came about.

<sup>82</sup>SMC is the only commentary to specify the subject of *bhaī*, i.e. the *sakhīs* (see below). Both NC and SMC assert that this *pada* presents the words of Haridās to the other *sakhīs*; however, this interpretation requires a change of addressee in the third line, which is evidently directed to Rādhā. I have translated *phūla bhaī* as referring to Haridās.

<sup>83</sup>The collocation *phūla bhaī* is grammatically problematic if parsed as abs. + perf. of *ho-*, and semantically problematic if interpreted as noun + *bhaī*. I have followed the commentaries in reading *phūla* as the verb 'to bloom' rather than the noun 'flower': *aṅga mē samāta nāhī* (NC); *dekhata phūli* (PC); *sahcariyō ke prāṇ phūl rahe haī* (SMC).

<sup>84</sup>I have translated *lai* as the perf. ptc. of the verb *lā-* 'to bring, to fetch'. The commentaries gloss it with 'embrace': *bhujana mē bhari lai* (NC); *lāl ko bhujāō mē bhar liyā* (SMC).

<sup>85</sup>NC renders *ke āgē* with 'to bring forward': *lāla jū ne unakī cāhi jānī apanī prīti kaū āgē kara*. SMC paraphrases rather freely: *jo prīti yukta bhāv mē vibhor hokar*. As usually, RC merely repeats the *mūla*: *prīta kī [sic] āgai hvai kai*.

<sup>86</sup>I have translated *prīti* 'love' as referring to Kṛṣṇa. This interpretation would be more immediate if the reading of MSS D and RC *prīta* (see variant 4) 'beloved' (see OHED) were adopted.

<sup>87</sup>I have adopted RC's and Haynes's gloss of *prakāsa* as 'glow, splendour': *prema ujjyāri* (RC); 'in the splendor of love' (Haynes). SMC interprets *prakāsa* as 'disclosure': *jis pūṇa prem kā prakāś śyāmā ne kiyā*.

<sup>88</sup>The interpolation of *nīkaū/ō* suggested by NCP and NCM (see variant 12) seems to echo KM 18.4 (*aba nīko banyaū*).

<sup>89</sup>I have interpreted *bāgau* as a form of *bāgā* 'knee-length outer garment worn by men, wedding garment (of bridegroom)' (see OHED). NC gives a similar rendering, but sees *bāgau* as a metaphor for Kṛṣṇa's love: *so pīya [sic] nē prema rūpī bāgau pahirāyau hai*. Rādhāśaraṇdās's interpretation is again figurative: *biba tana śobhā milana kī bāgau banyaū navīna*. SMC glosses the whole phrase as connected with the couple's appearance but does not elaborate on *bāgau*: *āj to āpkī bānik adbhut aur navīn banī hai*. Similar is the interpretation in PC: *paharai paṭa bhūkhana*.

<sup>90</sup>NC reads Kṛṣṇa as the agent of *trana tūṭata*: *kahā kī lāla balihāra hota haī*.

<sup>91</sup>I have translated *naī* as the absolutive (lengthened for rhyme) from the verb *nav-*, referring to the *sakhī* (Haridās). Alternatively, its subject can be Śyāmā, which would make the translation: 'you have submitted [to love]'. All the commentaries read it as a form of the adjective *navīn*: SMC and RC connect it with *bāgau* (see above, note 8), which creates a gender problem unless *naī* is seen as a rhyme form for the m. or as governed by implied *bānika*; NC interprets *naī* as referring to implied *keli*: *aneka bhāvana kara naī naī keli bilasata hai*.

<sup>92</sup>*tātātheṛ*: mnemonics used to mark time and to stress rhythmic patterns in dancing (cf. KM 60.2 and CP 36.8, 62.4, 68.7, 71.3).

<sup>93</sup>*ju* here is presumably a relative pr., used pleonastically (cf. note 6 to KM 11). *ju* in the third line, however, seems to be the honorific rather than a pr.

## KM 31

In such<sup>94</sup> [a way] is the unique<sup>95</sup> couple adorned.

Such [a couple] has not been seen, heard<sup>96</sup> of, or described anywhere.

It is as if their wonderful bodies were made of gold which has been purified<sup>97</sup> over and over again.

Haridās's sovereign Śyāma<sup>98</sup> is a *tamāl*<sup>99</sup> tree, against which the lass sits leaning.

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<sup>94</sup>I have interpreted *aisī* as governed by implied *vidhi*; for a detailed discussion of relative-correlative constructions in Haridās's poetry see III 1.

<sup>95</sup>NC interprets *bicitra* in the context of *chadma līlā* ('disguise or exchange of clothes', see Entwistle 1987, p. 56): *beṣa palaṭive kī chabi tau kabahū na dekhī*.

<sup>96</sup>From the point of view of consistency (with regard to the preceding *deśī* and the following *bhanī*), the f. perf. ptc. *sunī*, suggested by MSS A, D, I, NCP and RC (see variant 8) might be better than the passive stem *sunīya*, given by G. See also discussion on passive in III 6.3.4.

<sup>97</sup>I have translated *sudāha* as consisting of the prefix *su-* 'good' and the noun *dāha* 'burning'. The literal translation would be 'heating gold again and again'; it refers to the process of purifying gold by heating it. A similar concept is expressed in KM 26.3 (*sādhe gyāraha jyaū auṭī*). The commentaries interpret *sudāha kari* in the same way: *mānō kanaka kau agnī mē auṭāya kē aisī adbhūta deha banī hai* (NC); *is sundar adbhut deh kī to māno kundan ko bār bār tapākar taiyār kiyā gayā hai* (SMC).

<sup>98</sup>Alternatively, *syāma* can be read as an adj. to *tamālai*.

The reading of C and F, *syāmā*, (see variant 16) is inferior, because it would merely double the subject *dhanī*.

<sup>99</sup>*tamālai* is presumably a locative form; for further examples of the locative in Haridās's poetry see III 6.1.6.



## KM 32

[They] laugh, play, talk, unite. See<sup>100</sup> this happiness<sup>101</sup> of my eyes<sup>102</sup>.

[They] exchange<sup>103</sup> *pān*, [their] beauty shines like cloud and lightning, in manifold<sup>104</sup> joy.

Notes sounded<sup>105</sup> and the *rāga* Kedārau<sup>106</sup> was stirred up<sup>107</sup>, at midnight<sup>108</sup> happiness was in every pore<sup>109</sup>;

Through<sup>110</sup> Haridās's sovereigns<sup>111</sup> Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī's<sup>112</sup> singing, and the calling<sup>113</sup> peacocks<sup>114</sup>, supreme joy was born.

<sup>100</sup>If one adopts the reading of MSS C and D, *deṣaū*, (see variant 3) the translation will be: 'May I see this happiness with my eyes.'

<sup>101</sup>There are a number of verses in KM and AS where the final rhyme is based either on repetition or on homonyms (see VI 3.4). This meets Bhāvabhaṭṭa's requirement for *dhrupada* to have *anuprāsa* or *yamaka* at the end of each foot (see Delvoye 1987, p. 36).

<sup>102</sup>SMC suggests that Haridās is addressing his eyes: *o mere netro!... dekho*. However, this interpretation would leave the obl. ending of *ākḥ-* unexplained. I have followed NC's gloss: *tuma merī ākhina kara sukha dekhau*.

<sup>103</sup>Literally: 'They take *pān* and feed each other'. *leta khavāvata* presumably expresses the reciprocity inherent in *paraspara*; the suggestion is the intimacy of eating the *pān* from each other's mouths.

<sup>104</sup>I have followed NC in connecting *bahu bhātini* with the following *suṣa*: *bahu bhātina ke sukha hai*. SMC glosses *bahu bhātini* as referring to the preceding *sobhā*: *nānā prakār kī śobhā*.

<sup>105</sup>*ghurnā* as a synonym of *śabda karna*, *bajnā* is attested in HSS. The reading of F, *dhara*, (see variant 13) is a *lectio faciliōr*; it might have resulted through contamination with a MS related to MS BI which reads *ati dhara* instead of *śruti ghuri*.

<sup>106</sup>It is significant that this verse confirms the classification of Kedārau as a late-night *rāga*. See also VI 1.

<sup>107</sup>The reading of J, *macyau*, (see variant 15) might echo KM 52.3 (*śruti ghuri rāga kedārau macyau*).

<sup>108</sup>The purpose of the pleonasm *adharāti nisā* is not clear to me. NC gives an elaborate explanation of this phrase, connecting it with the love-play: *adharāta nisā kahā kī tina haī. surata sukha mē avasthā. prathama tau surata ārambha. dvitīya madhya tisre anta. soya samē madhya bhāva hai. na to ārambha na ālasa. tākau nāma adharāti nisā*.

<sup>109</sup>This is one of the few examples where *m* is reduced to *anusvāra*; see III 5.10.

<sup>110</sup>On the use of *kai/ke* in association with imperf. ptes. see McGregor 1968: 3.171.

<sup>111</sup>The dittography of *ke svāmī* in NCP (see variant 22) is because of folio ending.

<sup>112</sup>The omission of *kuñjabihārī*, suggested by MSS F, H, J and RC (see variant 23), might echo KM 89.4 (*śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā ke [mili] gāvata*).

<sup>113</sup>The reading of NCP, *sukha* (see variant 25), is semantically inferior.

<sup>114</sup>I have followed SMC in interpreting *maura* as 'peacock': *mayūr svar dete haī*. NC and BC gloss *maura* as a form of the pronoun *maī*: *mora kahīye mokō parama sukha bhayau* (NC); *mujhe param sukh huā* (BC). However, *mora* is attested as a synonym of *merā* rather than *mujhe* (see OHED and SS).

The reading of C, *bhaūra*, 'bee' (see variant 27) is possible, but less likely, because one would expect *bhaūra* to be connected with a different verb (e.g. *bhavara guñjāra* KM 85.2). In KM *sura deta* is usually applied to birds, cf. *sura deta pañchī* (KM 14.1), *papihā deta sura* (KM 96.2).

MS BI (partially supported by H, see variants 25, 27 and 29) reads after *gāvata*: *ati rasa moda bhayo ī parama suṣa*.

## KM 33

- 1 Most<sup>115</sup> wondrous movements are produced as both youth and maiden, dance on the circular stage.
- 2 Performing all parts of the *sudhaṅga*<sup>116</sup> dance, the innocent one and her beloved dance, turning<sup>117</sup> their smiling faces and in the clamour<sup>118</sup> [enjoying] the pleasure of embracing.
- 3 The ladies keep<sup>119</sup> the rhythm, the drums resound to the light<sup>120</sup> strokes of their palms<sup>121</sup>.
- 4 Lalitā's song of the seven kinds<sup>122</sup> [of notes] and beautiful words<sup>123</sup> steals<sup>124</sup> hearts.
- 5 Vrindāvana has blossomed with flowers, the moon is full, threefold winds blow gently<sup>125</sup>.
- 6 In the joyous pleasure of movement and mutual mirth is the wondrous couple on earth<sup>126</sup>.
- 7 The Yamunā waters stand still, there is a rain<sup>127</sup> of flowers, the god of love sacrifices<sup>128</sup> himself.
- 8 Who can describe with their tongue the *rasa* of Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī, oh friend?

This is the only *pada* in KM which consists of 8 rather than 4 lines. The suspiciously short fourth and 6th lines and the internal rhyming in the second line (*bhaurī, morī, raurī*) make this line division questionable.

<sup>115</sup>NC and BC take *ati* as connected with *nṛtata*: *atisai karikai sauī nācata hai* (NC); *atisay sarvokṣṭa nṛtya* (BC).

<sup>116</sup>*sudhaṅga* is a dance of uncertain description, which is associated with the *rāsa*. In his annotated translation to CP R. Snell (1991a, p. 192) notes that *sudhaṅga* often appears in alliterative contexts (with *mṛdaṅga, aṅga* etc.), and is frequently associated with dance-step mnemonics which recreate the strong rhythms of dance styles such as *kathak*. For occurrences of *sudhaṅga* in texts written by contemporaries of Haridās see Hit Harivaṁśa's CP 19.10, 65.3, 68.4, 69.1, 78.1, 79.2, 82.4 (Snell 1991a, pp. 128, 164, 167, 168, 175, 176, 178) and Harirām Vyas's *Mān kī śṛṅkhālā*, verses 65.1 (1), 66.3 (2) and 69.3 (1) (Pauwels 1994a, pp. 191, 194, 201 of chapter 9).

NC interprets *sudhaṅga* as derived from *su-* 'beautiful' and *ḍhaṅga* 'way' (a meaning alleged in HSS as well): *lāḍīlī ati sughara aṅga bhārī*.

The readings of C and NCP, *sugadha/sugandha*, (see variant 9) are evidently *lectiones faciliores*.

<sup>117</sup>*morī* is probably absolute lengthened for the purpose of internal rhyming. This hypothesis is supported by the gloss in NC: *jaba pyārī jū mukha mora kai musakyāta bhāī*.

<sup>118</sup>SMC glosses *rorī* with *dhūm macāte hue*. NC reads *rasa rorī* as: *bahuta gāṛha ālīngana kara* 'embracing very tightly'. Alternatively, *rorī* can be translated as 'beautiful' (*sundar, rucir*), a meaning attested in HSS. The form *raurī* is presumably again an accommodation for the rhyme.

<sup>119</sup>I have followed SMC's gloss of *tāla dhara-* as a synonym of *tāla de-*. There is one more occurrence of this collocation, again of the same meaning, in KM 60.2 (*aughara tāla dharē*). A similar phrase, *tātātheī tātātheī dharati*, appears also in CP 36.8 (Snell 1991a, p. 141). The choice of the verbal noun rather than the finite verb here is probably dependent on the assonance of *-nī*.

<sup>120</sup>The f. ending of *thorī* can be explained either as a confusion between the m. and f. noun *ghāta*, or as an accommodation for the rhyme.

<sup>121</sup>HSS glosses *candrāgati ghāta* as *mṛdaṅga kī ek thāp*, and quotes this *pada*. I have not been able to find a more elaborate explanation of this phrase. NC gives a very fancy interpretation of *candrāgati*: *yahā candrāgati kahā kī jyaū candramā kau prakāśa prathama thorā hoi. pāchai baḍhtau jāya so prathama pyārī jū candrabadanī thorī thorī nṛtya kī gati leta hai*.

*candacālī*, an obscure dance term which might be related to *candrāgati*, occurs in CP 81 (see note 7 to CP 81 in Snell 1991a, p. 259).

<sup>122</sup>I have translated *bhāi* as deriving from *bhāti*. PC, NC and BC gloss it with *sura* 'notes': *sapta surani sahaçari uccārā* (PC); *sapta bhāi kañiye sapta sura soi* (NC); *śrī lalitāñi kā saptam svar mē gāyan* (BC). The *mūla* of SMC gives *samay pāi* instead of *sapta bhāi* and the *ñikā* glosses it with *avasara par*.

<sup>123</sup>I have followed SMC's interpretation of *bhāṣā*. However, *bhāṣā* also has two specifically musical meanings: as a name of a *rāgiñi* and a kind of a *tāla* (see HŚS).

<sup>124</sup>*caurī* is probably the absolutive, lengthened for rhyme. Alternatively, it could be read as the f. perf. ptc., since *çita* has a double gender.

<sup>125</sup>Again the f. ending of *thorī thaurī* is probably an accommodation for the rhyme.

<sup>126</sup>PC's reading of *bhūtala* has a theological sense: *bhūpara kriçata bība avatāra*. SMC interprets *bhūtala* in its general meaning as 'the earth', 'world': *yah jorī bhūtal par adbhut hai*. NC gives two alternatives: the immediate meaning, as a synonym of *mañçala*, or *mañçala* seen as a metaphor for the *sakhīs*' hearts: *athavā sakhī kau hiya rūpa mañçala*. Analogous to the appearance of *bhūtala* here is that in CP 7.2 (*sunī abhūta bhūtala para jorī*) (Snell 1991a, p. 120).

<sup>127</sup>Alternatively, *baraṣā* could be parsed as another abs., with *ratipati* as subject.

<sup>128</sup>*çārata tñna tor-* is attested in SŚ as a synonym of *nyochāvar kamā* 'to sacrifice'. The long *-ī* ending is again determined by the rhyme.

## KM 34

Oh beloved, every time<sup>129</sup> I see your face, it seems completely new to me.

An illusion occurs as if I<sup>130</sup> had never seen [this beauty]<sup>131</sup> before, oh friend; it [gives] splendour to splendour<sup>132</sup>, there is neither pen<sup>133</sup> nor<sup>134</sup> paper<sup>135</sup> [to describe it].

How<sup>136</sup> did you<sup>137</sup> hide millions of moons<sup>138</sup>, oh friend? I am engrossed<sup>139</sup> [in them] anew<sup>140</sup>.

Haridās's sovereign Śyāma<sup>141</sup> says, 'May<sup>142</sup> my desire be not assuaged, may<sup>143</sup> there be no satiety, may I remain alert night and day.'

<sup>129</sup>The reading *jaya* 'victory, hail', suggested by MS C (see variants 3 and 4), is semantically inferior.

<sup>130</sup>The agentive form of the personal pronoun for the 1st p. is usually nasalised. From that point of view the nasalised readings suggested by MSS D, NCP; PH; F, H, I, J; BR (see variants 14 and 16) are superior.

<sup>131</sup>I have followed NC and BC in interpreting *sobhā/dyuti* as the implied object of *deṣī*: *aisau bhrama hota hai kī* [sic] *kabāhū yaha sobhā dekhī hū nahī* (NC); *mānaū is saundarya mādhuri kā maīne kabhī darśan hī nahī kiyā* (BC). SMC reads *muṣa* as the object, but this presents a gender problem: *deṣī* is the f. perf. ptc. and *muṣa* is a m. noun.

<sup>132</sup>The translation of the second *pāda* of this line and especially of *duti kaū duti* is very problematic. I have adhered to the interpretation of *duti kaū duti* in NC and BC: *yaha sobhā dyuti hū kau sobhā deta hai* (NC); *samasta lāvanyayukta śobhā-sampanna kāntiyō ko bhī kānti pradān karnevālī hai* (BC). SMC glosses the second *duti* as *raṅga*, and connects the phrase with the following *leṣana na kāgata: iski dyuti ko prastut kar sake aise raṅgō (dyuti) kā bhī sarvathā abhāv hī hai*.

Presumably, the first *dyuti* represents the splendour of Rādhā in general, which is increased by the beauty of her face.

<sup>133</sup>My translation is based on the reading *lekhanī/ni na kāgata* of MSS A, H; F, I, BR; NC and RC (see variant 23) which is semantically superior. Both BC and SMC choose *lekhanī* 'pen' rather than *leṣana* 'writing'. NC interprets *lekhanī* as a synonym of *likhnā*: *lekhanī na kāgata kahā kī jānave mē na āvata aru likhāve mē hū na āvata*. Both the action and the instrument of writing are included in PC: *mukha śobhā...likhata na banaī lekhanī kāgata*.

<sup>134</sup>The scribe of J has evidently misread *na* as the pl. obl. ending *-ni* (see variant 24), which interpretation is semantically inferior.

<sup>135</sup>The form *kāgata* is not attested. The reading of F, *kāgada* (see variant 25), is the form quoted in dictionaries. The substitution of the voiced with the voiceless consonant might be an accommodation for the rhyme. An alternative explanation is NC's reading of *kāgati* as comprising *kā* and *gati*: *kāgati kahā kī kaunasi gati hai*. *kāgata/ni* appears again in KM 85.4, where it is glossed with *kā gati* in the other commentaries as well.

<sup>136</sup>I have followed BC in the interpretation of *kahā* as a synonym of *kis prakār*. In this meaning the unnasalised reading of C, D and NC *kahā* (see variant 30) would be more straightforward. Alternatively, *kahā* can be rendered with 'where' as in SMC: *āpne karōṛ candramāō ko kahā chipa rakhā hai?*

<sup>137</sup>I have interpreted *taī* as the agentive form of the personal pronoun *tū*.

<sup>138</sup>The implication is that Rādhā's face is so beautiful, it is as if it has absorbed the splendour of a million moons.

<sup>139</sup>BC and SMC interpret *rāgata* as 'to sing', a gloss which does not seem very appropriate in this verse whose context is visual rather than aural: *jab āp naye naye rāgō kā gāyan kartī hai* (SMC); *jab āpne mukhkamal se gāyan kartī hū naye naye rāgō kā āpke dvārā vistār hotā hai* (BC). NC glosses it with love: *naye naye rāgata kahā kī nava nava saneha*. *rāgnā* as a synonym of *līn honā* 'to be engrossed' is attested in HSS and SBBhK where it is supported with an example from *Padmākar granthāvalī*. The use of imperf. ptc. can be explained by the requirements of the rhyme. Cf. also KM 85.2.

<sup>140</sup>I have interpreted *naye* rather freely as an adv. usage of the adj. Alternatively, it can be analysed as the perf. ptc. of *nay-* (=nav-, 'to submit', see OHED) used adverbially. The translation would read: 'having submitted fully [to you/your beauty] I am engrossed in it.'

<sup>141</sup>For a discussion of the *chāpa* see note 12 to KM 5 and VI 2.

<sup>142</sup>I have translated *hoi* as 3rd p. subj.-pres. BC and SMC interpret it as a habitual present and gloss it with *hota hai*.

<sup>143</sup>My translation is based on the emendation of the reading of G *hoī* to the readings *hoya/hoi* suggested by D, J, NCM; I, BR, RC (see variant 43). The f. perf ptc. is semantically inferior to the 3rd p. subj.-pres. in this context.

## KM 35

I have such a desire<sup>144</sup> to unite<sup>145</sup> heart with heart, to bring<sup>146</sup> body together with  
body! But then what would I look at, oh beloved<sup>147</sup>?

Attached<sup>148</sup> to you alone, may eyes remain united<sup>149</sup> with eyes, this is the only  
benefit<sup>150</sup> of living, oh beloved.

I do not<sup>151</sup> have so much weaponry<sup>152</sup>, oh beloved. I am very humble under your  
power<sup>153</sup>. I cannot endure<sup>154</sup> the haughtiness of your brows<sup>155</sup>, oh beloved.

Haridās's sovereign Śyāma<sup>156</sup> says: keep me under the protection of your arms<sup>157</sup>, I  
am destitute, I have been burnt<sup>158</sup> by desire, oh beloved.

<sup>144</sup> *jī (jiya) ho-* is an idiom, which means 'to have a desire' (see OHED). However, *jiya* is given in all dictionaries as m., which makes its connection with *aisī* problematic. SMC interprets *jiya* literally as 'heart', and *aisī* as governed by implied *lālsā*: *hṛday mē aisī lālsā ho rahī hai*. However, if SMC's literal interpretation of *jiya hota* is followed, perhaps an implied *bāt* rather than the more specific *lālsā* would be a better explanation for the f. ending of *aisī*.

<sup>145</sup> I have interpreted *milai* as the stem of the transitive verb *milā-* rather than as the 3rd p. subj.-pres. of its intransitive counterpart *mil-*, for the sake of consistency (cf. *samāya lyaū*).

<sup>146</sup> I have parsed *lyaū* as 1st p. subj.-pres. of *lā-* 'to bring', following an absolutive.

<sup>147</sup> *ho pyārī* is probably a filler, which was added to the *pada* as a result of its musical performance; its absence in a number of MSS (see variants 30, 31, 47, 48, 59, 60) suggests its probably secondary character.

<sup>148</sup> *hilagi* can be interpreted either as the f. n. *hilaga*, 'attachment, love' or as the stem of the verb *hilag-* 'to be attached, to be entangled' (see OHED).

<sup>149</sup> For the verbal composition of perf. ptc. and *rah-* see McGregor 1968: 4.23.

<sup>150</sup> Haplography of *-h-* in MS NCM (see variant 29), presumably because of following *ho*.

<sup>151</sup> Here *kahā* is used in its rhetorical sense 'in what (possible) case', see OHED.

<sup>152</sup> Both BC and SMC interpret *sāja* as a synonym of *sāmarthya* 'capacity, strength': *mujhmē itnā sāmarthya kahā hai jo āpkī ṭeṛhī bhṛkuṭī (āpkā mān) sah sakū* (SMC); *mere ko itnā sāmarthya he pyārī kahā hai* (BC). None of the dictionaries I have consulted quotes this meaning, but HŚS gives the meaning 'weapons' (*larāī mē kām ānevāle hathiyār*) which I have adopted.

<sup>153</sup> *basi* here is presumably a locative form (see III 6.1.6).

<sup>154</sup> The KhB rather than Braj forms of the perf. ptc. *sahā* and *dahā* are probably determined by the rhyme-words *kahā* and *lahā* in the first couplet.

<sup>155</sup> 'Pride, haughtiness' or 'striking down' are meanings of *kṣepa* cited in MW. All the commentaries interpret *bhuva chepa* as a synonym of the idiom *bhaūh ṭeṛhī karnā* 'to frown': *bhuva chepa kahā kī...mahā garavīlī nainani kaū mora deta* (NC); *āpkī ṭeṛhī bhṛkuṭī* (BC); see above, note 9 for SMC. I have not been able to locate any such idiom. Another possible translation which would fit the context of weaponry is 'arrow', a meaning of *chepa (kṣepa)* attested in HŚS; however, there it is not supported by any examples.

<sup>156</sup> About the two main alternatives of the *chāpa* (cf. variants 50 and 51) see note 12 to KM 5 and VI 2.

<sup>157</sup> HŚS glosses *bāhubala* with *parākram*, *bahādurī* 'courage' and quotes this verse. However, the literal sense of *bāha bala*, as comprising *bāha* and *bala*, seems more appropriate in this context.

<sup>158</sup> The reference to burning alludes to the story of Kāmdev, who himself was burnt by Śiva.

## KM 36

Now [that I] see<sup>159</sup> you in solitude, oh beloved, I would ask you for a promise<sup>160</sup> -  
give it<sup>161</sup> in writing.

For witnesses [I call upon] your eyes, teeth, hair, breasts, hips and buttocks - give it in  
writing.

With love for assets and mutual<sup>162</sup> desire for interest, in thought, word and deed<sup>163</sup> -  
give it<sup>164</sup> in writing.

[Kuñjabihārī] got the promise<sup>165</sup> written down by<sup>166</sup> Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā Pyārī.

<sup>159</sup>Literally '[you] are seen in solitude [by me]'; about the use of the passive see note 3 to KM 17.

<sup>160</sup>*bola*, followed by *likhi dehu* carries the irony that the 'promise' which is intrinsically 'oral' (*bol-*) must be written down.

The reading suggested by RC, *bācana*, (see variant 6) is equally possible. There are two more verses in which *bola* appears in the same context, KM 59.1 and 90.1. All MSS are unanimous in choosing *bola* rather than *bacana* in the latter, but in the former *bola* and *bacana* compete again. The reading of F, *bāta*, (see variant 6) is semantically inferior, because it does not have the sense 'promise', which is evidently required by the context.

<sup>161</sup>SMC interprets *jo* as the conj. rather than the rel. pr.: *yadi āp likh kar de sakē. jo* in the second and third lines is used pleonastically, cf. note 6 to KM 11.

<sup>162</sup>Haplography of *-ra* in C because of following *-para* (see variant 20).

<sup>163</sup>The interpretation of the syntactic position of *mana baca krama* is problematic. I have translated it as referring to the preceding *ruci byāja paraspara*. PC renders *mana baca krama* as 'offerings': *sahacari śrī haridāsa lakhahu [sic] balī mana krama bacanani tohi patījai*. BC reads it as a further demand to Rādhā: she should understand this agreement fully, with thoughts, speech and deeds: *yah bhī likhnā hogā ki māine man kram vāñī se bhālī bhāti samajhkar yah vādā svīkar kiyā hai*. SMC connects it with *pṛīti: man vāñī aur karma se param prem to mūl dhan hogā*. As usual NC's gloss is associated with the couple's love-play *kahā kī mana kara sadā keli sukha mē rasa barṣā karata rahau. krama kahā kriyā aṅga aṅga kī jo jo aṅga jā jā aṅga mē samāvai tā mē tē nikasa na sakāi*.

If one accepts the interpolation of *kari*, suggested by MSS A, H, NCM (see variant 21), yet another interpretation of *mana baca krama* is possible: *kari* can be taken as related to *kara* in its technical sense of 'tax, tribute, toll' (see OHED), which will make the translation: 'and your mind, words, deeds for tax'.

There are two further appearances of *mana baca krama* in KM in the context of *māna* (59.2 and 90.2).

<sup>164</sup>The substitution of *jo* with *ke/kē/kai*, suggested by MSS C, I, BR, see variant 22, (or the inclusion of *kaī* in MS J, see variant 21) makes the phrase identical with that in KM 90.2.

<sup>165</sup>SMC and BC interpret Haridās as the agent of the 'writing': Kṛṣṇa makes Rādhā promise him that she will not sulk any more, and Rādhā tells Haridās to write this down: *śyāmā se śrī lāl ne yah bacan le hī liyā aur priyā jū ne haridāsī se kahā lāl jaisā kahē vaisā likh do*. The rendering of NC is similar: *śyāmā jū pai śyāma lāla jū nē bola bulāya liyau kī kabahū māna na karaūgī...śrī haridāsī jī tē kahau bhalai jū likha dehu*.

I have parsed *bola bulāya liyau* as a causative; this interpretation accommodates the reflexive sense of *le-*. The addition of *dehu* in the last line is presumably an accommodation for the rhyme.

*bola bulā-* could also be taken as a synonym of the KhB idiom *bol bolnā* 'to make fun, to tease' (see LMK); however, this would not account for the compounded *le-*.

<sup>166</sup>About the usage of *pai* in KM see note 7 to KM 2.

## KM 37

Beloved, your eyelashes<sup>167</sup> are arrows which strike precisely<sup>168</sup>, your eyebrows are a bow<sup>169</sup>;

[When the arrows] are released all at once<sup>170</sup> like this, the clouds of Indra's anger seem to rain down.

Who can reckon your other weapons<sup>171</sup>, oh friend, [alongside] your sidelong glancing<sup>172</sup>,

<sup>173</sup>Oh Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā Pyārī<sup>174</sup>, when you speak to Kuñjabihārī so irritably<sup>175</sup>.

<sup>167</sup>I have not been able to find any reference to *bāṣhīni*. My translation follows the interpretation of BC and SMC which gloss *bāṣhīni* with *baraunī* 'eyelash'. NC paraphrases the line without explaining *bāṣhīni*: *terī yā bhāṭī citavani tāmē bāṣhīna soī bhaye bāna so mārana lāge*; and so do PC and RC: *bāṣhīna bāna sumāra lagata* [sic] (PC); *bhauhaī dhanuṣa bāṣhīna tīra apāra* (RC).

There is one more occurrence of *bāṣhīni* in the same context in KM 64.2, for which BC and SMC give again the rendering 'eyelash'. One could interpret *bāṣhīni* as derived from [9223 *bāṣpa-*] with the meaning 'tear, vapour' (see CDIAL), but this sense does not fit the context.

<sup>168</sup>I have analysed *sumāra* as comprising the prefix *su-* 'good' and *māra* 'stroke', and connected with the verb *lāg-*. This interpretation is supported by the same usage in Bihārī's *Satsaī* 450 (see Dās 1951, p. 185). B. Prakāś glosses *sumāra* with *sundar kām*, taking *māra* as an epithet of the god of love, and connects *lāg-* with *bhauhaī*, reading it as 'to seem': *bhauhaī aisi lagti hai jaise dhanuṣ*. NC understands *lāg-* as 'to begin' (see above).

<sup>169</sup>The reading of G, *dhanāṣa*, rather than *dhanuṣa*, suggested by the majority of MSS (cf. variant 6), is evidently defined by the rhyme.

<sup>170</sup>The reading of BR, *bera*, 'time, occasion' is equally possible (see variant 8).

<sup>171</sup>Dittography of *ra kō* in BR (see variant 20).

<sup>172</sup>I have interpreted *cāhani* as a verbal noun. The rendering of SMC has a similar meaning: *āp to ākh kī kor se bhī dekh lē, usse bhī koi nahī bac sakta*.

<sup>173</sup>I have translated the last line as connected with the third line. The meaning of the last couplet could also be: 'Who would reckon your other weapons...when you speak angrily?', i.e. the other weapons are as nothing by comparison.

The commentaries supplement the last sentence: *śrī haridāsī jū ke svāmī syāmā tuma kuñjabihārī śyāma saū. kahā kī yaha śyāma atī vyakula mahā darapa karī tana samhāra bhūlē jāta hai... jaba tuma canaṣa canaṣa bolata hau* (NC); *śrī haridās jī kahtē hai kī śyāmā jab bihārī se itrā-itrākar boltī hai to ve apne ko samhāl ho nahī pāte* (SMC); *ho...śyāmā kuñjabihārī se jab āp iṭhlātī hūī bacanō kā uccāraṇ kartī hai to lāl parājīt sā ho jāta hai* (BC).

<sup>174</sup>The omission of *pyārī*, suggested by MSS F and H (see variant 27) might be a better reading - since no MS excludes *śyāmā* from the *chāpa*, the interpolation of *pyārī* seems superfluous.

<sup>175</sup>*canaṣ-* as a synonym of *ciṭhnā* 'to be irritated' is quoted in HŚS.

## KM 38

Why are you seemingly disordered today, oh Hari<sup>176</sup>?

Your turban<sup>177</sup> is awry, the fastening<sup>178</sup> is loose, you show<sup>179</sup> roguishness<sup>180</sup> as you proceed<sup>181</sup>;

Your feet are stumbling, I noticed that as you came<sup>182</sup> staggering hither;

Oh Haridās's sovereign Śyāma, know that I<sup>183</sup> have found you out today, my dear: you have stayed<sup>184</sup> [with someone] else<sup>185</sup>.

<sup>NC</sup> starts its gloss to this poem with a lengthy introduction, trying to find other reasons for Rādhā to address Kṛṣṇa with this verse, than his alleged unfaithfulness. It gives two alternatives as background to this verse. The first one connects this *pada* with the previous verse: Rādhā gives the promise Kṛṣṇa requires, but thinks that his demand for such a vow is unjustified, since she dallies with him all the time: *so pyārī jū nē kahaū likha dekhīgē. phira pyārī jū ne bicāri kī yaha kapaṭī hai mahā lampaṭa hai rasa kau yāhī raīna dina rasa pīvata ho gayai [sic] tau bhī phera māgavau karata haī. taba pyārī sō kahau tuma baḍe aṭapaṭe hau.* The second interpretation connects this verse with the time after the couple's love-making: both of them are disarranged and Rādhā describes the appearance of Kṛṣṇa: *doū jugala kiśora ālasa saṭī bhare āvata hai. mahā maragaje siṅgāra haī.* Similar is the rendering of RC, with the difference only that Rādhā forgets that they have just made love and starts interrogating Kṛṣṇa: *surata karī dampatī anta bhayau puni āni. bhaye śithala aṅga aṅga ati tāmai śyāma nidāna. lakhi bhorī risa mai bhaī mai aura ke saṅga kahā aṭapaṭe lāla hau bolī bhūli abhaṅga.* See also VII 2.2.

<sup>1</sup>About the use of the epithet Hari for Kṛṣṇa in KM see note 2 to KM 52.

<sup>177</sup>NC derives *pāga* from the verb *pag-* 'to be immersed': *pāga kahā laṭapaṭī kī aṅga aṅga laṭapaṭāna kau rasa tānē paga jāyavau.* However, the 'turban' sense is confirmed by an established collocation with *laṭapaṭa* (OHED, *laṭpaṭā* s.v. *laṭ*).

<sup>178</sup>The reading of C, *basa*, (see variant 11) is a *lectio facillior*.

<sup>179</sup>I have interpreted *āgai de-* as identical with the KhB idiom *āge denā* 'to present, to show'. The reading of C, *deṣi*, (see variant 12) is a *lectio facillior*.

<sup>180</sup>*aṭapaṭī* as a f. noun with the sense 'naughtiness' is attested in OHED. BC and SMC interpret it as an adj., governed by implied *vāṇī*: *āpkī vāṇī mē bhī is prakār kī aṭpaṭī vilakṣaṅtā kā udbhav ho rahā hai* (BC).

<sup>181</sup>I have interpreted *sari* as the absolutive of the verb *sar-* 'to move ahead, to proceed' (see OHED). BC, SMC and NC agree in their interpretation of *sari* as 'equal': *jiskī samāntā koī nahī kar saktā* (SMC); *jo sāmānya se sarvathā bhinna hai* (BC); *ho piya jadipa tuma catura hau pai pyārī jū kī sara na kara sakau* (NC). Alternatively, *sari* can be read as deriving from [13260 \**sarā*] 'string, garland' (see CDIAL).

<sup>182</sup>*he* functioning as *the* is attested in SŚ.

<sup>183</sup>*haū* used as agentive is attested in SŚ.

<sup>184</sup>*paṇā* as 'to stay (in a place)' is attested in OHED.

<sup>185</sup>The commentaries desperately try to avoid the meaning of alleged unfaithfulness. SMC glosses obscurely that Kṛṣṇa's state has become different (*unkī daśā kuch bhinna hī ho gaī hai*). BC explains *aurai pari* as a reaction to Rādhā's sulking: *śrī priyā ke netra bān se vidhne kī pratikriyā ho rahī hai*. NC glosses: *āja lāla kau mana kaūna sī bhāti ratī bilāsa mē hai*. For the interpretation of RC see the introductory note.



## KM 39

Why are you sulking, why are you now causing me grief?

I keep on<sup>186</sup> looking<sup>187</sup> [at you] like a *bāsā* bird<sup>188</sup>, [but] your life-restoring<sup>189</sup> root [remains] with you.

Now do this<sup>190</sup>: do not show the shutter<sup>191</sup> of [your]<sup>192</sup> eyebrows, [I] say this much<sup>193</sup>.

Having used this stratagem<sup>194</sup> Kuñjabihārī embraced Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā<sup>195</sup>, and she was delighted<sup>196</sup>.

<sup>186</sup>Or if the reading *rahau* of MSS A, NCM and RC (see variant 11) is interpreted as imperative: 'you should remain staring as a *bāsā* bird'.

<sup>187</sup>Literally: 'having taken the gaze of *bāsā*, I remain'.

<sup>188</sup>This is the sense given by the commentaries: *bāsau pakṣī eka suni mārata pakṣī joi jori* [sic] *najara pakṣī rahai tau nahanaī vuha* [sic] *koi* (RC); *bāsau jyaū pañchī hoyā hai. so apanī bāsī saū bahuta saneha rākhē hai. bākī prasannatā mē dṛṣṭi liyē rahata hai. jaisē maī tumhārī bāse kaisī* [sic] *dṛṣṭi liyē rahata haū*. (NC); *bāsā ek pakṣī hotā hai jo apni patnī kī dṛṣṭi mē dṛṣṭi milākar yānī pyār se dekhtā hai* (BC); *bāsā ek pakṣī hotā hai jo apni mādā kī ākhō se ākh milākar dekhtā rahtā hai* (SMC). However, no dictionary supports this gloss. HSS explains that *bāsā* is 'a kind of bird', but does not throw any light on the peculiarities of this bird. There are famous metaphorical images of birds (*cakor*, *papīhā*) in Indian poetry, but *bāsā* is not among them. NC offers a second interpretation of *bāsā* as well, as derived from *bas-* 'to dwell: *bāse kaisī* [sic] *dṛṣṭi kahā kī aṅga saṅga āpake nitya basata. aura āpa kṛpāla bhaye mokō aṅka bharī apane aṅga mē mokō aṅga aṅga basāvau*. PC merely repeats the phrase without glossing it.

<sup>189</sup>The second *pāda* in this line is equally problematic. NC glosses it with: *aba tuma sahita merī jīvana hai*, which leaves out the possessive pronoun *teṛī*. SMC and BC gloss *jīvani* with the *sakhis*: *āpkī prāṅ-jīvani saharī evam āp samet* (BC); *āpkī jīvan arthāt prāṅ sakhī aur āpke samet isī or dṛṣṭi kiye rahtā hū* (SMC).

<sup>190</sup>*aisī* is probably governed by implied *bāta*.

<sup>191</sup>*bhōhani tāṭī* presumably refers to the frown of Rādhā's eyebrows. This is the meaning given by the commentaries: *bhāhana kī cadhana yaha tāṭī hai* (NC); *bhaūhō kī vakratā* (BC); *āpkī bhaūhō par vakratā na āve* (SMC). No idiom including *bhaūh* and *tāṭī* is attested.

<sup>192</sup>According to BC this line is addressed to Haridās rather than to Rādhā: *he sakhī tumhārī ye svāminī bhaūhō kī vakratā...*

<sup>193</sup>The form *itaneta* is not attested. I have followed SMC and BC in interpreting *itaneta* as derived from *itnā*, assuming that it is an accommodation for the rhyme. NC offers an alternative gloss: *itaneta kahā kī nāhī nāhī aisē jina kabau*.

<sup>194</sup>G gives the noun *chalu*, connecting it with the absolutive of *kar-*. The reading of A is the absolutive of the verb *chal-* itself, of the same meaning (see variant 32). The alternative *chaila* 'handsome one', suggested by MS H, is also possible, especially if (as is the case in H, see variants 30 and 33) *kuñjabihārī* and *kaī* are omitted. B. Prakāś gives yet another interpretation of *chalakaī* (if one adopts the reading of MSS D, J, BR, NC, RC, *chala*, see variant 32) as derived from *chalak-* 'to overflow': *ānand mē umārkar*.

<sup>195</sup>The range of variants for the *chāpa* betrays semantic confusion on the part of the scribes. The majority of MSS omit *kuñjabihārī* (see variant 30), which in the case of BR and H avoids a duplication of *syāma* (see variant 28) and *chaila* (see variant 32). I have translated the line taking *kuñjabihārī* as the subject and *syāmā* as the object (except for the last part) for two reasons: it is semantically more probable (if *chalu* is derived from *chal-* rather than *chalak-*), because usually Kṛṣṇa invents tricks and pretexts to embrace Rādhā, not *vice versa*; and it is grammatically better, because of the f. ending of the vt. *lagā-* (unless one adopts the absolutive-readings of H and J, see variant 35). However, NC, BC and SMC interpret *syāmā* as the subject and *kuñjabihārī* as the object thus avoiding a change of subject in the line: *syāmā jū nē śyāma kaū chala karakāi...garē lagāi* (NC); *priyā ne umaṅga mē bharkar lāl ko apne kaṅṭha se āśleṣit kar liyā* (BC); *syāmā ne... lāl ko chal se gale lagā liyā* (SMC). PC renders the last line as said by Haridās to Rādhā: *śī haridāsa kahati rī śyāmā ura lagāi rasa pījai*.

<sup>196</sup>The form *rameta* is not attested and is probably determined by the rhyme. I have translated it as related to *ramit* 'gladdened, delighted'. BC derives it from *ram-* 'to be engrossed in': *nimagna ho gai*; NC and SMC - from *ramaṇa*: *ramana karata bhāi* (NC); *ramaṇ karne lagāi* (SMC).

## KM 40

If my every pore were a tongue, even then your qualities could not be described<sup>197</sup>;

What can I say<sup>198</sup> with one tongue, friend? The matter of talk is [just] talk<sup>199</sup>.

The sun<sup>200</sup> is worn out the moon too is<sup>201</sup> worn out, and so is the group<sup>202</sup> of young women<sup>203</sup>.

Haridās's sovereign<sup>204</sup> Śyāma<sup>205</sup> says<sup>206</sup>: oh beloved, you preserve my departing<sup>207</sup> life.

<sup>197</sup>About the formula 'cannot be described' see note 3 to KM 29.

<sup>198</sup>If the readings *kaho/kahau* of MSS BR and RC (see variant 11) are parsed as imp. they will be semantically inferior in this context.

<sup>199</sup>The interpretation of *bāta kī bāta bāta* is problematic. NC glosses the first *bāta* as derived from *vāt* 'wind': *eka jībha tē ki bāta jo pavana jāki bāta kī kahāvata hai*. BC interprets the first *bāta* as 'matter', the second as 'ultimate mystery' and the third - as 'wind': *premmay jo bāt hai uskā bhī jo rahasyātmak bāt hai, vah hai āpke guṇ yadi jihvā se nek varṇan bhī karū to mūh se nikaltī vāpī havā mē vilin ho jāti hai*. Similar is the gloss of SMC, with the only difference that the second *bāta* is interpreted as 'talk': *prem kī bāt yadi rasnā se tanik varṇan karū bhī to vah bāt hī rahegi...aur havā mē vilin ho jayegi*. Both PC and RC omit *bāta kī bāta bāta* from their glosses, as does Haynes.

If one adopts the reading of MSS C, F, J, BR and NCM, which omit the third *bāta* (see variant 13), the translation could be: 'it is mere talk'. However, this will make this very short line even shorter; this reading seems to be a *lectio facillior*.

<sup>200</sup>The sun-moon reference is open to interpretation. BC explains that the sun and the moon are worn out because they have been describing the qualities of Rādhā: *guṇō kā varṇan karte karte sūrya, candra evam samasta yuvatiō kā samūh śramit ho gayā*. A similar construction, which is an allusion to nature being brought to a rest by the effect of the *līlā*, is used in CP 71.5: *thakita rākesa mabha* [sic], translated 'the moon in the sky...is worn out' (see Snell 1991a, pp. 170 and 250). SMC renders *śramita* as a synonym of *thakit* in the sense 'stand still' (in awe of Rādhā's qualities): *in guṇō ke varṇan mē sūrya bhī stambhit ho aur candramā bhī yāvat yuvati gaṇ bhī lajjit ho gai hai*. This reading echoes *śrī jamunā jala bithakita* (KM 33.7) and *thakita sasi maṇḍala* 'the moon's orb stilled' (CP 63 IV.4, see Snell 1991a, pp. 162 and 242). Yet another possibility is offered in PC and RC, which explain that sun, moon, other beauties, nothing can be a suitable simile for Rādhā's splendour: *kahā kahau upamā kahū nāhina cadra* [sic] *sūra sama sara paci maranau* (PC); *aura na paṭatara hai koī upamā dijai kāi* (RC). NC suggests two fancy interpretations: the first elucidates the line in the context of *viraha*: exemplified by the sun and the lotus at night, and the moon and the *cakora* bird during the day, concluding that no happiness is possible when there is *viraha*: *pai jo sanehī mātra hai te saba śramita hai. ki sarva mē ādi anta milana bichurana tā kai sanehī kau sukha nahī dai sakata*. The other interpretation takes the sun as a metaphor for the heat of desire, the moon as the heart, and the young women as the mind: *bhāna to kāma dahā hai, citta cakita candra hai, buddhirūpa ye yuvati saba śramita hai*.

Cf. also note 6 to KM 29.

<sup>201</sup>The pl. *bhaye* perhaps applies to both the sun and the moon. MS H (see variant 18) and MS BI do not include it.

<sup>202</sup>*jāta* is glossed in SBBhK as *jāti*, *samūh* 'group'.

<sup>203</sup>Haynes interprets *juvati* as derived from *jyoti* and translates: '[all] other light goes'.

<sup>204</sup>NC reads *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī* as referring to Śyāmā: *śrī haridāsī jū ke svāmī kaūna śrī śyāmā pyārī tina saū kuñja bihāri kahata...*

<sup>205</sup>For a discussion about the two main alternatives of the *chāpa* (cf. variants 22 and 23) see note 12 to KM 5.

<sup>206</sup>The reading of MS RC, *kahati*, (see variant 24) is semantically inferior (since Śyāmā is evidently the addressee rather than the speaker) unless one interprets the line as said by Haridās, which will require change of subject.

<sup>207</sup>I have chosen to translate *jāta* here as the imperf. ptc. of *jā-* rather than the f. n. *jāti*. This interpretation corresponds to the two other occurrences of *jāta* in similar context (KM 22.2 and KM 58.3).

The readings *jāti/tū* of MSS H and RC (see variant 29) are inferior for rhyme.

## KM 41

Your<sup>1</sup> fame is glorious in thousands of universes<sup>2</sup>, oh Rādhā;  
 Your beauty and splendour cannot be described<sup>3</sup>; they are unfathomable<sup>4</sup>;  
 Many<sup>5</sup> lives have passed<sup>6</sup> only in reflecting [on them], showing constant devotion<sup>7</sup>;  
 Haridās's sovereign Śyāma<sup>8</sup> Kuñjabihārī says<sup>9</sup>: Oh beloved, I have obtained these  
 days<sup>10</sup> gradually.

<sup>1</sup>Presumably the scribes of MSS A, C and NC read the first line as two clauses: 'you are famous' (*tuma jāsa*, see variant 1) and 'you are glorious in thousands of universes' (*koṭi brahmāṇḍa birāje/ai*, see variant 6).

<sup>2</sup>The pl. obl. form of *brahmāṇḍa* would be expected in this context but no MS suggests such a reading (see variant 5).

<sup>3</sup>The formula *barānī na jāi* (and its synonyms) usually has *jā-* in subj.-pres. (cf. KM 29.1, 4, 69.2, 86.1). The only occurrence of the imperf. ptc. of *jā-* in this context is in KM 40.1, where it is defined by the rhyme. In view of this the reading *jāti* of MS I (see variant 10) is inferior. Cf. also note 3 to KM 29.

<sup>4</sup>The extended form of *agādh-* is attested in SŚ. Presumably the rhyme accounts for its m. pl. ending here.

<sup>5</sup>The reading *koṭika* of MS J (see variant 11) leads to an unnecessary repetition of *koṭi* (cf. first line).

<sup>6</sup>The emendation of *ja* to *gaja* in MS C (see variant 14) is probably an unfinished correction of a present tense form to a past form.

<sup>7</sup>*sādhe* is probably adverbial use of the perf. ptc.

<sup>8</sup>MSS A, C, F, BR, NCM, RC and H opt for the more formulaic version of the *chāpa*: *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī* (cf. variant 19). This is an extremely long line, perhaps indicating that some of the omissions suggested in the MSS (see variants 20, 21, 22, 23, 27) are justified. The omission of the fillers *rī* (see variant 22) and *pyārī* (see variant 23) is more tenable than that of *syāma* (see variant 19), *kuñjabihārī* (see variant 20), *kaḥata* (see variant 21) and *krama* (see variant 27).

<sup>9</sup>The omission of *-ha-* in *ka(ha)ta* in MS I (see variant 21) has probably occurred because the folio finishes after *ka-*.

<sup>10</sup>The commentaries agree that Kṛṣṇa is referring to the blissful time of his love-play with Rādhā: *e dina kahā jo yā bhāti āpa kṛpāla hau...bahuta dina (janama) āpa kī prasannatā ke liyē calau bahuta binatī kaī* (NC); *ye adbhut sukh ke din maine sanaiḥ sanaiḥ prāpta kiye haī* (SMC).

## KM 42

Watching and watching, all the *sakhīs* forgot<sup>1</sup> [themselves];

Ladies<sup>2</sup> of the worlds of *yakṣas*, *kinnaras* and *nāgas*, and goddesses, remained  
enchanted, looking<sup>3</sup> at the earth again and again;

The women say to each other<sup>4</sup>: ‘Consider<sup>5</sup> this beauty to be the limit<sup>6</sup>’.

However they look<sup>7</sup> at Haridās’s sovereign Śyāmā, it is with constant scrutiny<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>The reading *phūli* of MSS NC (see variant 2) might be a sectarian hypercorrection, since the theology of the HS states that the *sakhīs* have to be alert at every moment, so as to serve the couple constantly. It is highly unlikely, though, that this was the motive for choosing *phūli* rather than *bhūli* in H, since it is the least sectarian MS. The interpolation of *deṣi deṣi* at the beginning of the line in H (see variant 1) suggests that *phūli* in H might echo KM 30.1 (*deṣi deṣi phūla bhāi*).

<sup>2</sup>The commentaries are unanimous that *jachi...strī* is one (rather than two: *jachi...loka* and *deva strī*) *taṭpuruṣa* compound: *yakṣa, kinnar, nāg aur devlok kī striyā* (SMC); *yakṣa kinnar, nāg evaṃ dev lok kī mahistriyō* [sic] (BC); *yakṣa loka kinnara loka nāga loka deva lokana kī strī* (NC).

<sup>3</sup>I have translated *leṣi* as derived from [11108 *lekhya*-] ‘to look at, to behold’ (see CDIAL). This interpretation is supported by RC: *āja jugala ānanda mai lakhi lakhi lakhi* [sic] *bhūli bāla rījhi rahī tihū loka kī sahaçari*. Most of the commentaries read *leṣi* as ‘to scratch’ and supply agents in the form of toenails: *apne pairō ke nakhō se pṛthvī ko kuredane lagī* (BC and SMC); *cintā kara nicī grīvā kiye bhūmi kau nakhana tē athavaṅ ṭnakā tē khodaī haī* (NC). SMC explains that women act in such a way when they are ashamed or depressed: *sañkoc evaṃ glāni ke samay striyā aiśi hī ceṣṭā kartī haī*. However, it is difficult to combine the preceding *rījhi* with this observation.

<sup>4</sup>The use of *saū* alongside *paraspara* is pleonastic, but no MS omits either of them (see variant 19).

<sup>5</sup>*avareṣ-* as a synonym of *mānnā, jānnā* ‘consider’ is attested in SBBhK. SMC and BC also gloss *avareṣi* as the stem of the verb *avareṣ-*: *avrekhi arthāt bhālī bhāti samajhkar* (SMC); *paraspar me vicāṛō ke ādān pradān ke paścāt yah niṣkarṣa dene lagī* (BC). NC interprets it as a synonym of *reṣi* ‘limit’: *abarekhi rekhi kahā kī inakē āgē sundaratā kī hada haī* (NC).

<sup>6</sup>Again, (cf. note 9 to KM 23) I have translated *reṣi* rather freely, extending its literal meaning ‘line’ to a metaphorical interpretation ‘limit’. This is the gloss of the commentaries as well: *sundartā kī rekhā arthāt sīmā haī* (SMC); *yah saundarya kī caram sīmā haī* (BC), see above for NC.

Another possible interpretation of *reṣa* which comes to the same meaning would be based on its sense ‘calculation: rank’; cf., for example, *dohā* 235 of *Bālakāṇḍa* of *Rām carit mānas*: *patidevatā sutiya mahu mātu prathamā tava rekha*, ‘Among all good women who adorn their husbands as gods, O Mother, you rank foremost!’ (Prasad 1990, p. 134).

<sup>7</sup>*citaye* is more likely to be a subj.-pres. than a passive form. BC interprets Śyāmā as its subject: *śyāmā kī yah vilakṣaṅtā haī ki ye kisi prakār bhī yadi dṛṣṭi kar dē*. So does NC as well: *śrī haridāsi jū kaī svāmī syāmā jū ye kaisē hū pīya pai citavaī*.

<sup>8</sup>The text of the last *pāda* is corrupt and this makes the interpretation of the line problematic. I have based my translation on the reading of G, understanding *pareṣi pareṣi* as alluding to the the beholder’s awe of Rādhā’s beauty. However, it is possible that original *reṣi* may have been misread as *pareṣi* because of the preceding *pai/para*. This hypothesis is supported by the readings *raiṣi/reṣi* of MSS C; F, BR (see variant 33), and of F, J, BR and RC (see variant 34). In this case the translation would be: ‘however one looks at Śyāmā (with scrutiny) she is still the limit’.

The *mūla* of both BC and SMC is *pai reṣi reṣi*, which determines their gloss: *kintu vah to niṣcit hī sundartā kī sīmā kī bhī caram sīmā haī* (SMC); *par sarvopari saundarya kī jo bhī sīmā haī unki bhī sīmā haī* (BC). NC interprets *parekhi* in the context of the couple’s love-play: *parekhi kahā kī inakē aṅga aṅga bilāsa kī cāha baḍhata haī*.

About the usage of *pai* in KM see note 7 to KM 2.

## KM 43

Whatever you do<sup>1</sup> with your beloved, it<sup>2</sup> pleases.

Whoever [tries] to equal<sup>3</sup> you is put to shame.

You are very knowledgeable<sup>4</sup> in every limb, oh friend, <sup>5</sup> sulking is in vain.

Oh Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā<sup>6</sup>, you dwell in [Kṛṣṇa's] heart<sup>7</sup> and always rule [there].

<sup>1</sup>Here and in *basai* and *birājai* of the fourth line the expected verbal ending would be *-ai* rather than *-ai* (usually 2nd p. subj.-pres. is marked by the monophthong rather than its diphthongal counterpart). However, only NCM suggests such an alternative (see variant 6); on the other hand the 2nd p. pr. *tū* does not allow a 3rd p. interpretation.

<sup>2</sup>The addition of second *soī* in MSS A and H (see variant 8) probably mirrors the preceding *joī joī*.

<sup>3</sup>The abundance of readings of *sēgha* (see variant 11) betrays semantic confusion on the part of the scribes. The only reference to *segha* I managed to find is in ŚBBhK, as a synonym of *chaṭā*. All the commentaries gloss *sēgha* with 'comparison', but such a meaning is not attested. The form in MS BI is *seja*, which might have been the base for this gloss, since *seja* in the meaning *barābarī*, *samtā* is quoted in RKK and SBBhK. PC renders: *tere sama sara karai*; NC: *jo barābarī kai sakai. so eka lāla jū hai. pai āpakī hoḍa karai to veū lājai*; SMC and BC: *anya koī yadi tumhārī sēgh arthāt samtā karnā cāhe to use lajjit honā paregā*; RC does not give a gloss of this *pada*, maintaining that: 'its meaning is clear' (*spaṣṭa hī yā kau artha hai*).

<sup>4</sup>*surajñāna* as a synonym of *sujāna* is attested in SŚ. Both BC and SMC interpret *surajñāna* as 'knowledge about music': *tū sākṣāt svar jñān svarūpā hai* (SMC); *saṅgīt viṣayak samasta aṅgō mē āp vidagdha cūrāmaṇi hai* (BC). NC merely repeats the phrase. Cf. also KM 72.3.

<sup>5</sup>The interpolation of *rati/kata/te*, suggested by MSS C; D, H; PH; F, (see variant 25) does not add to the meaning, but is probably for the sake of the assonance of *ra/ka/ta*.

<sup>6</sup>My translation is based on NC's gloss: *śrī haridāsī jū ke svāmī tuma syāmā hau śyāma ke jīya mē nita nita basau hau...nita nita unake hīya mē birājata hau*. The *mūla* of BC and SMC gives *syāma* instead of *syāmā*, and includes *ko* and *tau/to/tau* as suggested by MS H (see variant 29), and MSS C; F, I, J, BR; H; RC (see variant 31) respectively. Accordingly their interpretation is: *śrī haridās jī ke svāmī śyām kā man sadā kāl tum mē basā rahtā hai aur tumhārā man śrī lāl mē nitya virājmān hai* (SMC); *śrī lāl āpmē virājte hai evaṃ lāl ke hṛday ko āp vibhūṣit kartī hai* (BC). However, the reading *śyāma* is supported only by MSS A and H (see variant 28), and its interpretation is not unambiguous. An alternative translation would read: 'Oh Haridās's sovereign, you dwell in Śyāma's heart'; *ko* is given only in MS H (and even there it is added later), and the interpolation of *to* seems to be of explanatory character. Moreover, in the context of *māna*, the statement that Rādhā dwells in Kṛṣṇa's heart, i.e. he thinks of her all the time, is semantically better than the opposite claim.

An alternative referent to 'heart' could be 'devotee', which would express a commonplace *bhakti* sentiment.

<sup>7</sup>The readings *jaū* of MS C, *jyaū* of MS F, *jyau* of MSS H, I, J, RC and *jyo* of MS BR (see variant 30), if interpreted in the sense *jab/jaise* rather than *jīya*, are semantically inferior.

## KM 44

Accept these words of mine, you have charmed my dark beloved, oh friend.

This uncunning<sup>1</sup> one unconstrainedly<sup>2</sup> settled<sup>3</sup> in a new bower, a palace of great happiness;

Caressing<sup>4</sup> his darling with ever new affection, he never, never<sup>5</sup> goes<sup>6</sup> to Braj<sup>7</sup>.

I sacrifice<sup>8</sup> myself to Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī, a white jasmine and a black bee<sup>9</sup>.

The commentaries try to avoid any suggestion that this *pada* could be said by a rival of Rādhā. NC explains that the verse is addressed by Rādhā to her reflection: *śrī pyāri jū kau pratibimba piya [sic] ke hīya mē parau. so lādīlī jū yaha adbhuta rūpa apanāū pratibimba dekhī mohi gai. va pratibimba saū pyāri jū bolī*. BC and SMC interpret this verse in the context of *māna*, as words said by a *sakhī* to Rādhā (see below, note 2). Cf. also VII 2.2.

<sup>1</sup>I have interpreted *gāvarau* as a rhyme form of *gāvāra*.

<sup>2</sup>The interpretation of *subasa* is problematic. *subasa* is attested in SŚ and glossed with *apne vaś yā adhikār mē*.

Both SMC and BC allege some ironic meaning of *subasa basau*, interpreting it in the context of *māna*: *yah grām subas basaigā (vyaṅgyātmak bhāṣā hai ki jis gāv mē chin chin tumhāre jaisī rūṭhī rahtī hai vah gāv to ujaṛ jāvegā arthāt jo sukh samṛdh hai, vah sukh ujaṛ jāvegā)* (SMC); *ap khijkar bolī ki he vidhātā acchī tarah basaigo yah grām* (BC). As usually, NC's interpretation is in the context of the couple's love-play: *subasa basau yaha gāvarau. kahā kī tumhāre doūna ke aṅga aṅga soī milakē saṅketa bhayau*.

<sup>3</sup>The 1st p. subj.-pres. form, *basāū*, suggested by MSS C, D and I (see variant 18) seems highly unlikely in this context.

<sup>4</sup>SMC and BC interpret *ladāva* as an imperative, addressed by the *sakhī* to Rādhā: *he laṛlī! tum lāl jū ke naye naye lār laṛō kyōki lāl to tere mukh canda kā cakor hai, usne braj se bhī koī sambandha nahī rakhā* (SMC); *priyatam ko navnavāyamān lār se tumhē abhisīcīt karnā cāhiye jo tumhāre premāsakti ke vyatirikta brajmaṇḍal ke prem ko bhī sparśa nahī kartā* (BC).

<sup>5</sup>The marked repeat of *nāhī* is a reflection of the more conventional repeat of *nava*.

<sup>6</sup>The rhyme form *jāvara* is attested in HŚS, glossed as *gaman, jānā, prasthān*, but the example quoted is from this verse. NC interprets *braja jāvarau* as the group of *sakhīs*: *braja jāvarau jo samūha sakhīna kau. jānē tumhāri samāna koī nahī nahī*.

<sup>7</sup>This sole mention of *braja* in KM is often quoted in sectarian treatises as proof that Kuñjabihārī is connected only with the *nikuñja* (as opposed to Braj), and is different from (and higher than) the Kṛṣṇa of Braj. Cf. also I 1.2 and 1.4

<sup>8</sup>The future form suggested by MSS A, F; C, BR, RC; H; I, J, NCM (see variant 31) is equally possible. The subject of the sacrificing is the *sakhī* (Haridās), which explains the f. ending.

<sup>9</sup>I have followed NC's interpretation of *mālatī bhāvarau* as metaphors for Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa: *śrī haridāsī jū ke svāmī syāmā aru kuñjabihārī jū pai. mālatī aru bhāvarau bāra dāraū*. NC takes as basis for this metaphor the attachment of the black bee to the jasmine: *mālatī mē bhavara kī āsaktatā atyanta hai. so mālatī śrī priyā jū aru bhāvara śrī lāla jū*. SMC and BC interpret this metaphor as pointing to the single-mindedness of Kṛṣṇa's devotion to Rādhā: *śrī haridāsī kahtī hai ki he śyāmā! kuñjabihārī ke prem ras kī ananyatā par maī māltī puṣpa ke lobhī bhramar kau nyauchāvar kartī hū*. This is followed by the explanation that the black bee is devoted to the jasmine only and does not go to other flowers: *māltī ke puṣpa kā bhramar ananya rasik hotā hai, vah māltī ko choṛkar dūsre puṣpa par nahī jātā*.

The simile has a colour connotation as well: the whiteness of the jasmine alludes to Rādhā, and the blackness of the bee to Kṛṣṇa.

## KM 45

Oh dear one, listen<sup>1</sup> well to whatever your beloved<sup>2</sup> says.

Whatever arises<sup>3</sup> in the heart<sup>4,5</sup> is for your sake<sup>6</sup> (alone)<sup>7</sup>, I<sup>8</sup> say this on oath.

If you do not believe me, feel [his]<sup>9</sup> heart with your hand<sup>10</sup> and see;

Oh Haridās's sovereign<sup>11</sup> Śyāmā<sup>12</sup>, give an offering to the beggar Kuñjabihārī.

<sup>1</sup>About this type of rhyme scheme see note 2 to KM 32.

<sup>2</sup>MSS F, H and RC seem to suggest that the *sakhī* is addressing Kṛṣṇa (rather than Rādhā), and that Rādhā (rather than Kṛṣṇa) is the subject of the verb *kah-* (see variants 3 and 4). However, such a request addressed to Kṛṣṇa seems unlikely; it is much more probable that this is a *māna pada* in which the *sakhī* is trying to appease Rādhā.

<sup>3</sup>The f. ending of *upaja-* and of the postposition *kī* is probably governed by an implied *bāt*.

<sup>4</sup>NC and BC interpret *jiya* as connected with Kṛṣṇa: *pyāre ke jīya mē jo upajata hai* (NC); *lāl ke citta mē jo bhī sphūrti unmeṣit hotī hai* (BC). SMC acknowledges the possibility of applying *jiya* to the *sakhī*, who is addressing Rādhā: *mere hṛday mē jo kuch ā rahā hai*.

<sup>5</sup>The interpolation of *su/so*, suggested by MSS C, J, RC; I, BR, NCM (see variant 12) is justified from the point of view of prosody, since this line with its 26 *mātrās* is shorter than the rest.

<sup>6</sup>The readings *ruci* and *hita*, suggested by MSS C, F, H, J, BR; I, PH, NCM and RC (see variant 14) are equally possible. The form of the possessive pronoun *ter-* is correspondingly changed to the f. in the MSS which read *ruci* (apart from in BR), see variant 13. *ruci* is the gloss on *hita* in PC, and since this is the oldest commentary, it might have influenced the reading in the MSS.

<sup>7</sup>The emph. encl. added in MSS C, F, D, H, I, BR, RC, J, NCM (see variant 13) contributes to the sense.

<sup>8</sup>Again (cf. note 5) the interpolation of the explanatory *hau/hō/haū* in MSS C, I; H; J, BR, NCM (see variant 17) might be an attempt to correct the length of the line.

<sup>9</sup>I have followed the interpretation of NC, which takes *chāṭī* as connected with Kṛṣṇa (see below). SMC and BC gloss it as referring to Rādhā (see below).

<sup>10</sup>I have adopted the interpretation of *pāna* as derived from *pāni* 'hand', given by the commentaries: *apne hī hṛday par hāth rakh kar dekh lo* (SMC); *tau tuma pīya kī chāṭī ṭakaṭorī dekhau kara tē* (NC). This sense seems the most likely one because it interacts with the meaning of the verb *ṭakaṭor-*, which involves testing by touching. It may be also possible to translate *pāna dai* as a synonym of the KhB idiom *pān denā* 'to encourage or to induce a person to take up a challenge' (see OHED). *pāna* can be interpreted as derived from *paṇa* 'vow' as well; the form *pāṇa* (with a lengthened stem) of this meaning is attested in SBBhK. Yet another possibility is to take *pāna* as originating from *pāni*; then a possible translation would be 'opportunity' (see the 7th meaning of *pāni* in TK). There are no further occurrences of *pāna* in KM (except for the reading *pāna* for *bāna* suggested by MS NC, see variant 13 to KM 47).

<sup>11</sup>I have followed NC, which glosses *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī* as applied to Rādhā: *śrī haridāsī jū ke svāmī kaūṇa śrī syāmā*. But the *chāpa* can be translated in a more formulaic way as well: 'Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī, give an offering to the beggar', cf. below.

<sup>12</sup>My translation is based on the emendation *haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*. The reading *syāmā* is supported by the rest of the MSS (including E), with the sole exception of PH (which is difficult to read) (see variant 31); moreover it avoids the accumulation of epithets of Kṛṣṇa.

## KM 46

Oh dear one<sup>1</sup>, go farther, go farther into the dense forest, where the cuckoo sings, oh friend.

A beautiful bed of very wondrous flowers and leaves has been made and decorated, now lie<sup>2</sup> down on it, oh friend.

At each moment, at every instant [he]<sup>3</sup> speaks<sup>4</sup> of you alone, waiting<sup>5</sup> for you<sup>6</sup>, oh friend.

Oh Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā<sup>7</sup>, [I]<sup>8</sup> am telling [you], the handsome one is immersed<sup>9</sup> in the essence of desire, oh friend.

<sup>1</sup>Since *jū* is not included in MSS F, H, I, RC (see variant 2) and in MS BI, and it is very unlikely for a scribe deliberately to remove an honorific, it is probably a later accretion.

<sup>2</sup>It is difficult to analyse the form *soila*. Both BC and SMC read it as imperative: *leṭo*. The imperative in Maithilī and the perf. ptc. in Maithilī, Bhojpurī and Magadhī are constructed with the infix *-l-* before the termination (see Kellogg 1938, table XX). The Eastern Hindi form was presumably borrowed only because of the rhyme requirement, and was not otherwise part of the author's active vocabulary.

<sup>3</sup>Or 'I' if the verse is interpreted as said directly by Kṛṣṇa to Rādhā (which is the gloss of NC), rather than by his messenger (the rendering of BC and SMC). The two alternative interpretations of the subject are kept throughout the *pada*.

<sup>4</sup>*kahānī* in the sense *bāta* is attested in TK.

<sup>5</sup>I have followed BC and SMC which translate *joila* as pres. cont. tense: *joh rahe hai*. However, the only justification for this interpretation is the sense. About the form *joila* cf. note 2.

<sup>6</sup>The reading *tuma*, suggested by MS C (see variant 28), is grammatically inferior.

<sup>7</sup>My translation is based on the emendation: *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*, which is supported by a number of relatively independent MSS (see variant 32) and avoids the awkward split of the noun *syāma* and the adjective *chābilau* (which presumably refers to *syāma* rather than *kāma*) by *kahata*. The MSS have tried to resolve this problem in different ways: PH preserves *syāma*, but substitutes *kahata* with *kuñjabihārī* (see variants 33 and 34), thus allowing the second *pāda* to be just a general statement. H keeps *syāma* too, but provides the f. *chābilī* (see variant 35), which then is read as an address to Rādhā. F gives the m. vocative *chābile* (see variant 35), but substitutes *syāma* with *syāmā* (see variant 32), and avoids the verb *kahata* (see variant 34). I, NC and RC read *syāmā* (see variant 32) and preserve the rest. Four MSS: C, F, J and BR opt for *syāmā* (see variant 32), add *kuñjabihārī* (see variant 33) and omit *kahata* (see variant 34), following in this way the more formulaic model of the *chāpa*.

<sup>8</sup>One of the problems regarding the interpretation of the *chāpa* is the identity of the subject of *kahata*. I have taken *sakhī* as the speaker in accordance with my interpretation of the third line. NC reads Kṛṣṇa as the subject: *śrī haridāsī jū ke svāmī syāmā tina sō chābilau syāma kahata kī kāma rasa mē bhoya gaye hai*, cf. note 3.

<sup>9</sup>About the form *bhoila* see note 2.



## KM 47

The beloved has gone to sleep<sup>1</sup> now;

The more I waken her, the more she does not wake; she has become immersed while speaking<sup>2</sup> words<sup>3</sup> [full of] love and pleasure.

If she were conscious<sup>4</sup>, I would waken her. Through her now the connoisseur [has obtained] the supreme bliss<sup>5</sup> of pure *rasa*<sup>6</sup>; she has sown *rasa*.

Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī<sup>7</sup>; she<sup>8</sup> rose<sup>9</sup> and embraced him and submitted<sup>10</sup> to new<sup>11</sup> love.

<sup>1</sup>The commentaries interpret *soī* as a metaphor for Rādhā's state of being intoxicated by love, e.g.: *śrī śyāmā jū...mattatā mē chak gaī* (SMC). This interpretation is continued in the next two lines, where *jagāvata* is glossed with *sāvadhāna karata* (NC), and *jāgata* with *sāvadhāna hota* (NC).

<sup>2</sup>I have interpreted *kari* as the absolutive of *kar-*. Alternatively, it could be analysed as a *ppn.*; this would translate: 'she has become immersed in words [full of love] and pleasure'. For a discussion on this usage of *kari* see McGregor 1968: 3.179.

<sup>3</sup>It is difficult to judge which of the two alternatives *bāna/bāni* or *pāna/pāni* (see variant 13) is superior. One would expect *rasa* to be followed by *pāna* rather than by *bāna*, but exactly for this reason *pāna* could be branded as a *lectio facilior*. The position of *rasa* itself is rather dubious, since MSS C, F, H, J and BR omit it (see variant 12). On the other hand one of the two other occurrences of *bhoī* in KM is again connected with *rasa* (see KM 46.4). A further complication is the possibility of reading *bāna* in the sense of 'arrow' if following the MSS omitting *rasa*. In any case, there is no strong manuscript evidence to support the emendation of *bāna* to *pāna*, or the omission of *rasa*; the latter would further reduce the length of this already shorter (in comparison to lines 3 and 4) line.

<sup>4</sup>The literal meaning of *jāgata hoi* is: if she were 'wakable'.

<sup>5</sup>I have followed the commentaries in reading *saca* as 'bliss, happiness', since this seems to fit the context of dalliance better than the philosophical 'ultimate truth'. In this sense the reading *sacu* of MSS C, F, H, J, NC and RC (see variant 24) is more straightforward.

<sup>6</sup>It seems that in the case of *rasa hī rasika rasa* considerations of the form prevail over the meaning. SMC and BC interpret *rasika* as referring to Rādhā: *param ānandamay ek mātra ras-svarūp dūhīn jū ras ko bikher rahī hai*. However, I have not been able to find any other examples in which the *m. rasika* is applied to a *f. noun*. The line remains obscure.

<sup>7</sup>Alternatively, the *chāpa* can be translated in a less formulaic way: 'Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā rose and embraced Kuñjabihārī'.

<sup>8</sup>The reading of Śyāmā as the logical subject of *lagāī* is adopted by the commentaries, and is more likely in this context. Since the MSS are almost unanimous about the *f. form* of the *perf. ptc. lagāī* (see variant 35), it seems that the verb agrees with its logical subject despite its transitive character.

<sup>9</sup>SMC glosses *uṭhī* as a *vt.*: *śrī pyārī jū ne śrī lāla ko uṭhākar*.

<sup>10</sup>For *noi* see note 8 to KM 13.

<sup>11</sup>This translation is based on the reading *navala prīti*. It is supported by the majority of MSS (see variant 36), it avoids the tautology *prema prīti*, and is a well-established collocation.

## KM 48

The bride and groom are swinging on a swing<sup>1</sup>;  
 Red dye<sup>2</sup> flies, they sprinkle saffron, united<sup>3</sup> they play together;  
 Cymbals, *rabāb* and many other [instruments]<sup>4</sup> resound on the bank<sup>5</sup> of the Yamunā<sup>6</sup>;  
 There is no joy<sup>7</sup> anywhere<sup>8</sup> else for<sup>9</sup> Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>The commentaries explain that the swing is a metaphor for the couple's love-making: *keli ḍola jhūlata jugala* (RC); *dulahini dūlahu ke aṅga aṅga ke milana kau ḍola* (NC); *śrī yugala ...ānanda ke ḍol mē jhūl rahe hai* (BC). Cf. notes 1 to KM 61, 3 to KM 88 and 1 to KM 107.

<sup>2</sup>Semantically, the reading *gulāla* of MS J (see variant 6) is equally possible, but *gulāla* does not appear elsewhere in KM. *abīra* has one more occurrence in KM (84.2), where all the MSS are unanimous in choosing *abīra* rather than *gulāla*.

<sup>3</sup>The interpretation of *sūlahu* is problematic. It cannot be read as derived from [*śūla-*] or [*śūlate*], since the meaning 'pang, anguish' evidently does not fit the context of happiness. I have interpreted it as a form of the f. n. *sulaha*, attested in SBBhK as a synonym of *mel*, *paraspar anukūltā*. BC and SMC analyse it as comprising two components *sū* = *so* and *lah-* = *lābh karnā*: *ras krīrā kā sūlahu arthāt lābh karo* (SMC); *uskā pān karo* (BC). NC glosses freely: *paraspara yaha rasa rūpa horī kau khela adbhuta sobhāyamāna hai*.

<sup>4</sup>NC interprets *aura bahuta* as referring to the ornaments on the bodies of the couple: *ābhūṣaṇana ke bāje bajāti*.

<sup>5</sup>*kūlahu* evidently has a locative sense, but Snell (1991a, p. 240) points out that this form can represent only Ap. gen./abl. It seems therefore to be a rhyme form.

<sup>6</sup>My translation is based on the emendation *tarani tanayā*, supported by MSS I, BR, RC and NC (see variant 12). It is evident from the following *tanayā* and *kūlahu* that the form intended is *tarani* 'sun', rather than *taruna* 'young' or *tarana* 'crossing over'. *taranijā*, suggested by MS H (see variant 12) has the same meaning, but it is 2 *mātrās* shorter than *tanayā*, which will disrupt the equal length (28 *mātrās*) of lines 2 and 3.

<sup>7</sup>I have interpreted *phūla hu* as the emphatic form of *phūla* taken in its metaphorical sense 'joy' (see SBBhK). NC interprets it as an imperative to the *sakhīs*: *yaha sukha kahā pāiyata hai. ye sakhī tuma yaha sukha nirakhī [sic] ke phūlahu* (this sense is quite specific in CP 62.2, see Snell 1991a, p. 159). SMC and BC give a gloss similar to mine: *śrī jugal ko ab kisī anya ras mē (anyatra) phūlan nahī hai, ruci nahī āī* (SMC); *śrī yugal ko is rasānanda viśeṣ ke atirikta aur kahī abhiruci nahī hotī* (BC).

<sup>8</sup>The reading *anta*, suggested by MSS D, J and PH (see variant 19), is less likely than *anata*; there is a further occurrence of *anata* in KM (cf. 110.4) in a very similar context.

<sup>9</sup>*kau* can be analysed both as dat. and gen. marker. However, the genitive interpretation will create a gender problem since *phūla* 'joy', as most other nouns derived from verbal stems, is a f. noun; possibly the scribes have confused it with the m. *phūla* 'flower'.

<sup>10</sup>Dittography of *-bi-* in MS A (see variant 17).

## KM 49

The beloved is wearing<sup>1</sup> a shawl;

Such<sup>2</sup> is her shiny<sup>3</sup> well-arranged skirt that she looks like the full moon<sup>4</sup> on a full moon night.

What I say<sup>5</sup> is: come, oh Manamohana, the sullen<sup>6</sup> one will not<sup>7</sup> assent.

Haridās's sovereign Śyāma<sup>8</sup> Kuñjabihārī embraced<sup>9</sup> [Śyāmā's] feet<sup>10</sup>, oh friend<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>*pahiraī* can be parsed as 3rd p. subj.-pres. or a perf. ptc. used adverbially.

<sup>2</sup>NC interprets *taisoī* as referring to the dark colour of Rādhā's skirt, which is like Kṛṣṇa's complexion: *taisoī śyāma raṅga kau lahāgā hai. kahā kī māno śyāma kau aṅga soī lahāgā hokē banau hai*. For a discussion on the relative-correlative constructions in Haridās's poetry see III 1.

<sup>3</sup>*silasilau* as a synonym of *ciknā* is attested in HŚS. This is also the interpretation of the commentaries: *silasilau kahā kī ati sacikkana komala* (NC); *ati komal lahāgā* (SMC); *komal kāntiyukta lahāgā* (BC).

<sup>4</sup>The form *pūnarī* is not attested, but its KhB equivalent *pūnrī* with the meaning 'full moon' is quoted in HŚS.

<sup>5</sup>*Homoeoracta* of *-ta... mānēgī* incl. in MS RC (see variant 13) because of reoccurring *-hā-*: *(ka)hā - (kuñjabi)hā*.

<sup>6</sup>I have followed the commentaries in interpreting *ghūnarī* as a form of *ghunnā*: *vah ghūnrī (ghunna ghunna rahnevālī - jiske bhūtar mē bhāv ho par ūpar se gupta rakhne kā svabhāv ho)* (SMC); *yah ghunnī apnī svīkṛti pradān nahī karegī* (BC). The actual form *ghūnarī* is not attested in any dictionary and is probably an accommodation for the rhyme. A similar word-transformation is made in PC, which preserves the rhyme and glosses *ghūnarī* with *mūnarī*.

<sup>7</sup>NC interprets *na* as connected with *ghūnarī* rather than with *mānēgī*, thus reversing the meaning of the *pāda*: *mānāgī jo tuma kahauge. na ghūnarī kachū ghūnarī kahā kī mana mē tau nahī rasa mē magana hai*.

<sup>8</sup>About the two main alternatives of the *chāpa* see note 12 to verse 5 (cf. variant 20 here).

<sup>9</sup>*lapatānē* is probably the perf. ptc., constructed after the model of vi. with *-ā* stems in rhyme context (see Snell 1991b, p. 12).

<sup>10</sup>The use of *duhūna* in combination with *carana* is pleonastic, however no MS omits it (see variant 25).

<sup>11</sup>*tī* in the final line is included for the rhyme, and requires a change of addressee.

## KM 50

Oh friend, you<sup>1</sup> are adorned with four bracelets on each arm,  
 a golden necklace<sup>2</sup>, two strings of diamonds<sup>3</sup>, a pearl dangling<sup>4</sup> from [your] nose.  
 Collyrium enhances<sup>5</sup> the beauty of [your] eyes so<sup>6</sup> that seeing<sup>7</sup> them the god of love  
 [himself] is afraid<sup>8</sup>.  
 Enchanted<sup>9</sup> by Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā<sup>10</sup>, her beloved Kuñjabihārī falls<sup>11</sup> at her feet.

<sup>1</sup>The reading *terī*, suggested by MS C (see variant 2), is grammatically inferior since *ter-* is governed by the m. noun *kara*. Presumably the scribe of C considers the f. *terī* to be governed by *cūrī* rather than *kara*.

<sup>2</sup>The reading *kaṇṭha poti* of MSS F and H (see variant 8) may be an assimilation to that in KM 21.1 (*kaṇṭha pautī maṣatūli*).

<sup>3</sup>The reading of MS A, *hārana* (see variant 10), is semantically inferior.

<sup>4</sup>The verbal nouns *ḍharani*, *ḍarani* (see below, note 8) and *parani*, are used in the last three lines instead of finite verbs because of the requirements of the rhyme set by the obl. pl. n. *karani*. I have translated *ḍharani* with a gerund in order to preserve the couplet construction of the original. The other two examples I have rendered rather freely with finite verbs.

<sup>5</sup>The reading *phabi<sup>o</sup> nabi rah-*, suggested by MSS I, J, RC, BR, NCM; C (see variants 16 and 18) is synonymous; its metrical value is almost equal to this of *sohai* as well. However, there are no more occurrences of *phabi rah-* in KM; *soh-* appears two more times (in KM 21.2 and 63.1), and in both cases the MSS are unanimous in choosing this reading.

<sup>6</sup>For a discussion on the relative-correlative construction see III 1.1.1.

<sup>7</sup>MSS F and H give *saṣī* (see variant 19), which is semantically inferior. The omission of *niraṣi* might be a case of haplography, caused by the similar endings of *saṣī* and *niraṣi*.

<sup>8</sup>My translation is based on the reading *kāma ḍarani*. There is strong manuscript evidence in favour of it: the reading *ḍarani<sup>o</sup>na* is supported by all the other MSS (see variant 21), apart from D, which gives *durana*, and A and E, which agree with G. *ḍarani* is a poetically better reading in that it avoids the repetition of the same rhyme-word. The *mūla* of all commentaries reads *ḍarani*, which is reflected in their gloss: *kāma kī ḍarana hai* (NC); *jise dekhkar svayaṃ kām dev bhaybhīt ho rahā hai* (SMC); *sāksāt kāmdev bhayākrānta ho rahā hai* (BC). In PC *ḍarani* is glossed with *vārata* 'to sacrifice, to offer': *kajārā nainani nirakhi sakhi kula bārata kāma*. Cf. also *ratipati ḍārata* (KM 33.7).

If one adopts the reading of MSS A, G and E, the translation might be 'the god of love is delighted'; *ḍharnā* as a synonym of *riḥnā* is attested in HSS. The variant *durana*, 'to go out of the way, to disappear', suggested by MS D, is semantically possible as well, but is not supported by any other MS.

For the grammar of *ḍarani* see above, note 4.

<sup>9</sup>The MSS A, C, I, J, BR, NC, RC, which repeat *riḥi* (see variant 23), omit *piya* (see variant 24). *riḥi* and *piya* have a similar metrical value, but the latter has better poetical qualities in that it enhances the alliteration of *p-*. However, this argument cannot be conclusive.

<sup>10</sup>Alternatively, the *chāpa* can be translated in a more formulaic way: 'Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī; enchanted, the beloved falls at her feet'.

<sup>11</sup>See above, note 4.

## KM 51

Now the beloved has come somehow;

You<sup>1</sup> were<sup>2</sup> very weary<sup>3</sup> here, oh Manamohana, I have explained<sup>4</sup> this to her somehow<sup>5</sup>.

There the young cleyer one<sup>6</sup> was<sup>7</sup> sulking greatly like<sup>8</sup> one who has new authority;

<sup>9</sup>Haridās's sovereign Śyāma<sup>10</sup> Kuñjabihārī is silent, with hands joined, say who has  
[ever] eaten *khīr* prepared by a poor man.

<sup>1</sup>The transposition of *tuma*, suggested by MSS C, F, J, BR, NCM and RC (see variants 6 and 8), mirrors the construction of the next line but is poetically inferior in that the assonance of *ita śramita* is lost.

<sup>2</sup>I have followed the commentaries in translating this and the next line in past tenses, for the sake of the logic of the narrative. Neither *śramita* nor *karati* allow any certainty about the tense implied.

<sup>3</sup>Dittography of *śramita ma* in MS F because of end of line (see variant 11).

<sup>4</sup>Presumably *samajhāi* is governed by implied *bāta*.

<sup>5</sup>The reading *koṭi jatana*, suggested by MSS C, F, H, I, J, BR and RC (see variants 14-16), is synonymous and of almost the same metrical quality. The reading of MS C, *kaṭi jagata* (see variants 14 and 16), is semantically inferior. The same applies to the reading of MS A, *kyō hū jatana* (see variants 14-16); the scribe of A has evidently been influenced by both major alternatives.

<sup>6</sup>This translation is based on the emendation *nāgari*, which is made even in MS G, as shown in the text *supra lineam*.

<sup>7</sup>See above, note 2.

<sup>8</sup>For the relative-correlative construction see III 1.1.1.

<sup>9</sup>This line remains obscure. I have not been able to identify any idiom which sheds light on *dūbare kī rādhi śira śā-*. Most of the commentaries agree that these are the words of Kṛṣṇa to the *sakhī* (Haridās), imploring her to help/him appease Rādhā. NC explains that Rādhā would not yield to Kṛṣṇa's words without Haridās's mediation in the same way as a king, free of desires, would not accept the *prasāda* of a poor man, who is full of wishes: *jaisē koī garība kāhū rājā sō kahai kī mere prasāda karau...pai rājā jānai kī yā kē prasāda karāyave kau heta yaha hai kī sakāmī hai. tātē bāke prasāda na karāī kī kachū daina āvaigo jātē mē pūrna sakāmī hū. aua yaha niškāmī rājā so mo garība kī rādhi khīra kaba khāta hai. so āpa ke basa hai*. In PC these words are said by Haridās, but the commentary offers no gloss on their meaning: *sahacari śrī haridāsa kahati bali khīra dūbare kina khāī*.

The HSS quotes an idiomatic sense of *khīr khilānā* as associated with a dowry: *laṅkevāle kī or ke cār kūvār laṅke tathā var ko beṭvāle kā kuch dekar khīr khilānā*.

<sup>10</sup>About the two main alternatives of the *chāpa* see note 12 to verse 5 (cf. variant 26 here).

## KM 52

Listen to the sound of the flute playing<sup>1</sup> in the forest! Hari<sup>2</sup> has arranged a *rāsa* dance.

In every bower, trees and creepers have blossomed<sup>3</sup>, the dance-ground is of gold,  
studded with jewels<sup>4</sup>.

The youthful couple was<sup>5</sup> dancing with the young women, notes<sup>6</sup> sounded<sup>7</sup> and *rāga*  
Kedārau broke out.

Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī<sup>8</sup>; dear Lāla<sup>9</sup> was dancing elegantly.

<sup>1</sup>The reading *bāji* of MS C (see variant 3) is perhaps an attempt to ease the syntax of the line; all other MSS give two main verbs in the *teka*.

<sup>2</sup>Hari as a name of Kṛṣṇa is used only 7 times in the 110 verses of KM (as opposed to 9 times in the 18 verses of AS; this can easily be explained by the difference in subject-matter between these two works). In these 7 cases the choice of *hari* is due to thematic or poetic considerations. In KM 14.1, 20.2 and here, the poetic factor prevails; the choice of *hari* enhances the assonance of *-ra-*, *-ha-* and *-ra-* respectively. *hari* is a rhyme-word in KM 38.1 and 73.1, and in both cases the verse is dedicated to the alleged unfaithfulness of Kṛṣṇa (a topic uncharacteristic of the *nikuñja līlā*). The reason for the choice of *hari* in KM 62.2 is purely thematic, since this is a typical *dāna līlā pada*. *hari* in 97.1 creates a pun, with its double meaning 'yellowish' and Hari. In all these cases (apart from the variant *bihārī* in KM 38.1) no MS suggests any alternative to the reading *hari*.

<sup>3</sup>SMC reads *praphulita* in its metaphorical meaning 'joyful': *latā vṛkṣa prasanna mudrā mē haī*. Similar is the interpretation of PC: *bana ke druma belī lakhi phūlata*.

NCM's reading *praphūlita* is perhaps a metrical compensation for *belī* (see variants 6 and 7).

<sup>4</sup>This translation is based on the reading *manī*<sup>9</sup> of the remaining MSS (see variant 9).

<sup>5</sup>I have translated the imperf. ptc. *nṛtata* with a past tense for consistency (cf. *macyau*).

<sup>6</sup>My translation is based on the reading of G *śruti ghuri*. The reading *mana/°nu mili/°a/°ī*, suggested by MSS C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NCM, RC (see variants 14 and 15), is semantically possible, and metrically of equal value. The reading of A, G, E and PH, *śruti ghuri*, echoes KM 32.3 (*śruti ghuri rāga kedārau*) where the MSS are unanimous in choosing *śruti ghuri*.

<sup>7</sup>About *ghuri* see note 6 to KM 32.

<sup>8</sup>SMC and BC suggest a less formulaic translation of the *chāpa*: *śrī haridās apnī ārādhyā śyāmā se kahte haī ki āj pyāre jū ne bahut hī sundar nṛtya kiyā hai*. The problem with this translation is the accumulation of three epithets of Kṛṣṇa: *kuñjabihārī*, *pyārau* and *lāla*.

<sup>9</sup>The variant *gupāla*, suggested by MSS F, H (see variants 21 and 22) and MS BI has very important implications, which perhaps explain its blotting out in MS H. The sect claims its uniqueness on the basis of its singleminded dedication to the couple's *nikuñja līlā*, but the use of an epithet so clearly connected with Kṛṣṇa's *vraja līlā* as *gupāla*, by the 'instigator' of the sect, would weaken this claim, cf. I 1.2 and 1.4 and VII 2.1.

## KM 53

Wherever your feet step, oh beloved, there my mind goes on making<sup>1</sup> a shadow.

Many are my forms<sup>2</sup>: [one] waves a fly-whisk, one feeds<sup>3</sup> you *pān*, one takes<sup>4</sup> up a mirror now.

There are many more kinds of service, and whichever anyone<sup>5</sup> might suggest, I would do it, just as<sup>6</sup> [I fulfil] any<sup>7</sup> of [your] desires I know;

Haridās's sovereign<sup>8</sup> placates<sup>9</sup> Śyāmā well, when he gets<sup>10</sup> the chance<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>I have followed SMC and BC in interpreting *karata phirata* as progressive aspect of *kara-*: *vahā merā man chāyā kartā caltā hai* (SMC); *vahā manasi-bhāvnā dvārā mai chāyā kartā caltā hū* (BC). I have not been able to find any reference to the use of *phirānā* as an aspect marker, but it seems highly unlikely that in this context *karata* and *phirata* function as independent verbs. NC ignores *karata: vāhī ruci ke anusāra rukha liyē phirata hai*.

<sup>2</sup>The use of *mūrati* here as a synonym of *rūpa* is peculiar.

NC and SMC understand *bahuta mūrata* as the subject of *cōra dhurāvata: mai eka mūrti kara kahā bahuta mūrta merī caūra dhurāvata* (NC); *mai...anek svarūp se cāvar sevā kartā hū* (SMC).

<sup>3</sup>The interpolation of *ke*, suggested by MSS A and RC (see variant 14), might echo KM 32.2 (*bīrī paraspara leta śavāvata*).

<sup>4</sup>The subj.-future form *jāhī* used as general present is attested in SŚ.

<sup>5</sup>*kauū* has emphatic force.

<sup>6</sup>I have followed the reading *jyaū* of MS G, rather than the reading *jau<sup>o</sup>*, suggested by MSS D; I, PH and NCM (see variant 30). The *mūla* of NC, SMC and BC reads *jo*, and glosses accordingly: *aura sevā kī jaisī ruci* (NC), for BC and SMC see below. Since the whole phrase is very obscure, it is difficult to comment on the superiority or inferiority of any of these readings, but the manuscript evidence in favour of *jo* is weak.

<sup>7</sup>*jāhī* is glossed in BC and SMC as a subj. form of *jā-*: *jis prakār kī bhī āpkī ruci jñāt ho jāy* (SMC); *jis prakār kī bhī ruci mālūm par jāy* (BC). However, if *jānō jāhī* was a passive subj., one would expect the f. perf. part. of *jān-* rather than the 1st p. subj.-pres. For this reason I have chosen to interpret it as a form of the pronoun *jo*, applied to *ruci* (*jis (prakār kī) ruci*). The phrase *jyaū ruci jānō jāhī* is far from being clear, and its meaning is probably secondary to poetic considerations (alliteration of *j-* and rhyme).

<sup>8</sup>NC reads *haridāsa ke svāmī* as referring to Śyāmā, and supplies *syāma* for subject: *śrī haridāsī jū ke svāmī syāmā tina kō śyāma bhalāi manāvata hai* (NC).

<sup>9</sup>The reading *banāvata*, suggested by MS C, (see variant 38) is semantically inferior in this context.

For an apparently sexual connotation of *bhalāi manāvata* see *Rājñīti* line 83 *tā hū kau bhalau manāyau* (Snell 1991b, p. 69).

<sup>10</sup>I have translated *upāhī* as a form of the verb *upā-*; the meaning 'to get, to obtain' of *upā-* is attested in Platts. BC interprets *upāhī* as derived from *upāya* 'means, device, scheme': *dāi upāy dekhkar*. Similar is the gloss in NC: *dāva upāva kari kē*. SMC reads *upāhī* as 'feet' (*upāhana* as a synonym of *nañge pair* is attested in SBBhK), and *dāi* (*dābi* in its *mūla*) as the absolutive of *dāb-* 'to press': *āpke carañ dāb kar*. The scribe of A has evidently interpreted the line in the same way, since A reads *dāva pāhī* (see variants 39 and 40).

<sup>11</sup>The absence of any nasalised reading of *dāi/dāva* (see variant 39) is worth noticing.

## KM 54

What is this being now one thing, now another, now something completely different<sup>1</sup>;

Goddesses, *nāga* women and other women, they are not different<sup>2</sup>;

Such<sup>3</sup> has not been heard before, is not now, nor shall be henceforth, this strange manner of beauty to be different;

Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī, while he fell simply under the power of this sentiment, she<sup>4</sup> became quite different.

<sup>1</sup>MSS A, D, F, I, J, BR and RC consistently reduce the rhyme-syllable, substituting *aurai* with its unemphatic counterpart *aura* (see variants 8, 15, 28 and 35).

<sup>2</sup>*aura kā aura* is an idiom, meaning 'quite different, quite changed' (see OHED). The use of the subj. form *hohi* as habitual pres. is attested in SŚ.

<sup>3</sup>*sunī* and *aisī* are presumably governed by implied *bāta*.

<sup>4</sup>NC, BC, SMC and Haynes interpret *yaha* as referring to Kṛṣṇa: *śrī haridāsī jū ke svāmī syāmā jū ke rasa basa bhaye kuñjabihārī yaha aura kī aura bhaye ki yā rasa ke basa bhaye* (NC); *śrī haridāsī jū ne kahā ki śrī kuñjabihārī is mādhurya ras ke vaśībhūt hokar aur hī aur ho gaye haī arthāt sudh-budh kho baiṭhe haī*; 'Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kunjbihārī, who has come under the power of emotion and has become quite other' (Haynes). However, these commentaries do not take into consideration the f. ending of the perf. part. *bhai*. Attempting to solve this gender-problem BC suggests that *bhai* refers not to Kṛṣṇa directly, but to his state: *lāl kī dasā bhī aur kī aur ho gāī yānī sudhī budhī kho baiṭhe*. RC explains this verse in the context of *māna*, where *bhai aura kī aura* implies that Rādhā was appeased: *māna chudāvani heta piya karati baḍāī rūpa. suni prasanna gorī bhāī ārambha keli anūpa*.



## KM 55

Oh *sakhī*, he is her messenger, she his<sup>1</sup>; who else, pray, could come between them?

[From] the<sup>2</sup> exertion of their [love-] battles, there was *argajā*<sup>3</sup> mud on their bodies.

The beloved's lotus face<sup>4</sup> is blossoming, it looks as if watered<sup>5</sup> by the nectar of lips.

The mysteries<sup>6</sup> of Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī's merriment and embraces are wondrous<sup>7</sup>, they are like reeds<sup>8</sup> in deep water.

<sup>1</sup>One of the gen. ppns. would be expected to be f. since it refers to Rādhā. However, no MSS gives such an alternative (see variant 7). The use of *ke* for feminine is very common in the *chāpa* of KM, where *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī* often refers to Rādhā (see VI 2.). Cf. also note 1 to KM 65.

<sup>2</sup>I have followed SMC in interpreting *ju* as a form of the relative pronoun: *jo śram huā hai us se (pasinā se) śrī aṅgō mē argajā kī kīc ho gaī hai*.

<sup>3</sup>*aragajā* is a perfume, yellowish in colour, made from various ingredients: sandal, rose-water, camphor, musk, ambergris (see OHED). The idea is that the sweat has turned the yellow *argajā* with which their bodies are covered to a mud-like substance, see above, the gloss of SMC.

<sup>4</sup>The interpretation of *ko/kau* is problematic. If one analyses it as a genitive marker, as presumably suggested by the readings *kau/kaū* of MSS A, F, H, I, J, PH, NC, RC; C and D (see variant 24), there will be a gender problem, since *ḍahaḍahāṭa* is a f. noun. A possible solution would be to parse the genitive construction as follows: *pyāri jū ke ambuja kau muṣa*. Another alternative is to read it as a dative marker. This line is suspiciously long; but no MS omits *ko*.

<sup>5</sup>The omission of the nasalisation of *sīñca* in MSS C, D, H, I, J, BR and RC (see variant 33) is to accommodate the rhyme.

<sup>6</sup>I have followed SMC and BC in interpreting *bheda* as 'mystery': *milan ke rahasya atyanta vicitra hai* (SMC); *rahasya ati vicitra* (BC).

<sup>7</sup>Like BC and SMC, I have translated *nyāre* as 'wondrous' (see above).

<sup>8</sup>The interpretation of *pāñī mē pāñī narīca* is very problematic. NC, BC, SMC and Haynes explain that the 'mystery' lies in the couple's duality in non-duality. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are as different as a line drawn in water which disappears immediately, or as waves are from the water: *nyāre hvai kē mila jāñī...jyaū pāñī mē lāñī ḍarai so vāki lakira tau lāgata dīkhai hai. pīchai jyaū kaū tyāū jala mila jāñī* (NC); *ve ek hote hue bhī usī prakār do pratī hote hai jaise jal mē lahrē* (SMC); *jaise jal mē jal kī lakīr (śrī jugal ke paraspar kā rāg raṅga ādi aise ekākāritā kā sūcak hai jaise jal mē kaisī bhī lakīr banāo par tatkāl miṭkar ek ho jāñī hai)* (BC); 'The difference in the union of erotic emotions of Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī, has disappeared like a line drawn in water' (Haynes). However, I have not been able to find any reference to *narīca* as a synonym of *lakīr*. Maybe the commentaries have reached this meaning, interpreting *narīca* as derived from *narāca* 'arrow' (see OHED). Alternatively, *narīca* could be interpreted as derived from [*naḍa-*] 'species of reed'; this is the basis for my translation. The abundance of variants suggests that the text of the line is corrupt. Indeed MS H (and MS BI) omit *lapañī* (see variant 37), which might have been a gloss. MS H also omits the obscure repetition of *pāñī* (see variant 44), which in my translation has remained unresolved.

The gloss of PC and RC is also obscure: *śrī haridāsa lapañī lakhi adbhuta sūkata druma jyau sīci barai* (PC); *suniyai artha nirīca kau khāli hoyā na koi. jala māñī jala jyau kala samāñī rāga raṅga yaū joī* (RC).

## KM 56

Having rubbed<sup>1</sup> [her] limbs with musk, holding a flute, wearing a yellow sash, she<sup>2</sup>  
says: Rādhā, I am Śyāma<sup>3</sup>;

The youth having decorated himself with saffron, [wearing] a *sāṛī*, bracelets and ear-  
stud, puts [Śyāma's] black colour on his eyes;

[She]<sup>4</sup> takes [his] arm: 'Come, let us go to the bower'; [he] sees [her] face and smiles, it  
is as if *she* were Śyāma.

Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī, the fair and the dark embraced each  
other<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>All the verbal forms in the first two lines (apart from *kahati*) are perf. ptc. used adverbially. For a discussion on this usage see III 6.3.6.2.

<sup>2</sup>The preponderance of the masculine reading *kahata* (see variant 12) betrays confusion on the part of the scribes about the *chadma līlā* context of this *pada*. MS G most often does not specify gender, using the m. form of the imperf. ptc. for both genders; the specifically f. form here presumably aims to assist the reader.

<sup>3</sup>About the rhyme-pattern see note 2 to KM 32.

<sup>4</sup>I have followed the interpretation of NC, BC and SMC that Rādhā, assuming the role of Kṛṣṇa, entreats her beloved (who acts now as Rādhā) to go to the bower to sport. This reversal of the usual situation amuses Kṛṣṇa: *gaur lāl ke mukh ko dekhkar śyām priyā muskarāne lagī, gaur śyām is prakār manuhār kar rahe haī māno sāksāt lāl ye hī haī*.

<sup>5</sup>The last line is open to interpretation. I have chosen the most immediate one. BC and SMC explain that Śyāmā (in the guise of) Kuñjabihārī embraces the fair Śyāma (Kṛṣṇa dressed as Rādhā). However, *gaura syāma* would more logically refer to Rādhā in the guise of Kṛṣṇa than *vice versa*. If Rādhā is the object of *lagā-* Kṛṣṇa should be the subject, and the translation would read: 'Haridās's lord Śyāmā, Kuñjabihārī (in reality) embraced his fair Śyāma (i.e. Rādhā)'. This interpretation would fit the logic of the narrative better as well: he is amused by the words of his beloved and embraces her. *lagāye* might also be seen as adverbial use of the perf. ptc.; this interpretation is supported by the nasalised readings of MSS D, I, J and PH (see variant 46). RC and PC paraphrase freely: *śrī haridāsa lakhata sū sohī sukha apāra tana palaṭata gauhā* (PC); *bina bījhe sakhī kṛīḍata doū ānanda kanda jyaū jyaū mardata aṅga nija tyāū dampati makarada* [sic] (RC).

## KM 57

<sup>1</sup>Oh beloved, on seeing the moon<sup>2</sup> of your face the lily<sup>3</sup> in<sup>4</sup> the pond of my heart blossomed;

The unbounded waves of my mind's desires were stilled<sup>5</sup> by the beauty<sup>6</sup> there;

The crocodile of your anger has seized me and was carrying me off<sup>7</sup>, I could not get free despite trying<sup>8</sup>, [my] intelligence, captured<sup>9</sup>, remained dangling<sup>10</sup>;

Oh Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā, may you catch<sup>11</sup> [me] and extricate [me] with the fish-hook of your feet; [he] was still quivering<sup>12</sup>, and [she]<sup>13</sup> seized [his] upper arms.

<sup>1</sup>The imagery of this verse has parallels in a Sūrdās stanza (*aba kai nātha mohi udhāri*): the pond here has its analogue in the sea there, the waves of desire in the waves of greed. The similarity between the third line of this *pada* and the fourth line of Sūrdās's verse can be seen not only in the images of the crocodile of anger compared to *anaṅga* the crocodile, but also in the actual wording: *grāha grasē liyē vis-à-vis gāhe grāha anaṅga* (see Snell 1991b, p. 84).

<sup>2</sup>The moon and the *kamodanī* are traditionally connected, since the *kamodanī* is believed to blossom only at night (cf. Delvoe 1994, p. 414).

<sup>3</sup>The forms *kamoda*, °*dana*, °*dina*, °*danī* are attested in SBBhK and OHED. The final *-i* of *kamodanī* is a substitute either for *-ī* or for *-a* (see III 5.1.4).

<sup>4</sup>The use of *taī* here rather than the more conventional *māī* is peculiar. For another example of unusual usage of *taī* see McGregor 1968: 3.176.

<sup>5</sup>I have followed the interpretation of BC, which takes *gati* as connected with *tarāṅga*: *man ke manorathrūpī apār tarāṅge kī gati āpke saundarya kā darśan karke gatihīn ho rahī hai*. SMC links *gati* with Kṛṣṇa: *āpkī sundartā ko dekhkar vahā merī gati ruk jāti hai*; NC with the mind: *saundaryatā aṅga aṅga kī dekhata hī mana kī gati bhūla jāta hai*.

<sup>6</sup>The MSS show an abundance of readings of *sūndaryatā*, differing in their choice of first vowel and their choice of *tatsama -y*, *tadbhava -j* or neither (see variant 12).

<sup>7</sup>This is an unusual cluster of perf. ptes. used adverbially. I have followed the interpretation of SMC: *āpkā kop rūpī makar mujhe pakṛe liye jā rahā hai*.

<sup>8</sup>The idiomatic usage of transitive and intransitive forms of the same verb (though here *chudāyo na chūṭata*) requires adverbial invariable *-e*. In view of this, the readings *chudāye*, °*yaī*, °*e* of MSS C, H and BR (see variant 21) are grammatically superior. Cf. also notes 5 to KM 97, 5 to KM 108 and III 6.3.6.2.

<sup>9</sup>The omission of *gahi*, suggested by MSS A, C, F, I, J, BR, NCP and RC, (see variant 25) might be a better reading. *gahi* does not add much to the meaning, but makes the verbal construction awkward: *gahi* cannot simply be an absolutive, connected with the following *jhūlī*, since it is a transitive verb and *jhūl-* is an intransitive verb, which would require a change of subject. *gahi* is repeated twice more in the next line which casts doubt on its importance for the meaning of the verse.

<sup>10</sup>*jhūlī* is presumably an absolutive, lengthened for rhyme. It is probably connected with the preceding *rahyau*.

<sup>11</sup>SMC, BC and NCM give the imperative *kāḍhi/kāḍha* in their *mūlas*, and gloss accordingly: *machlī ko pakar lo* (SMC); *mīn ko nikālo* (BC). MSS A, F, I, J and NCM read *kāḍhi/kāḍha* too (see variant 35). I have translated *kāḍhe* as 2nd p. subj.-pres. Alternatively, it can be interpreted as a perf. ptc.

<sup>12</sup>PC and RC interpret *lapaṭaṭāī* as related to *lapaṭ-* 'to cling, to be embraced': *śrī haridāsa kahati gahi caranani lapaṭi urani rasa rījhi bharau vara* (PC); *jaba tere pada bānsi lai dīnāū mohi kaṭāva lapaṭi rahyau taba aṅga tuva kīnāū sakhī sahāī* (RC); The *mūla* of NC reads *lapaṭāya* and glosses accordingly: *jaba doū aṅga aṅga mila bhujamūla gahī surata samudra mē jūlata bhaye*. *lapaṭāī* is also the reading of MS A (see variant 37). *lapaṭā-* might be semantically better in this context: the sense 'clinging, embracing' would be the bridge between the extended metaphor on the one hand and the straightforward meaning on the other: i.e. it is through the embrace of union that Kṛṣṇa is to be saved. Thus *lapaṭa-* would bring the stanza to a resolution. However, the manuscript support for *lapaṭa-* is weak and for this reason I have based my translation on G's original reading, *lapaṭaṭāī*.

<sup>13</sup>The subject of *gahi* is open to interpretation. I have followed BC and SMC in choosing Śyāmā as subject: *priyā ne unke bāhuō ko pakarkar samhāl liyā* (BC); *priyā jū ne unke bhujmūl ko samhāl liyā* (SMC). But an equally possible translation would be: '[Kṛṣṇa] seized [her] arms [in his distress]'.

## KM 58

<sup>1</sup>Oh beloved, your face is like a golden red lily<sup>2</sup>, the drops of sweat give it splendour, oh friend;

As soon as<sup>3</sup> one sees the mole<sup>4</sup> on it, it captivates<sup>5</sup> the heart, oh friend;

[My] heart<sup>6</sup> and body<sup>7</sup> are departing<sup>8</sup>, [I] receive<sup>9</sup> vital breath when you give me a hint with your waist<sup>10</sup>, oh friend;

Oh Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā<sup>11</sup>, while speaking<sup>12</sup> Kuñjabihārī became unconscious<sup>13</sup>, oh friend.

<sup>1</sup>The addition of *kuñjabihārī nācata* in MS D (see variant 1) is through scribal error, these being the introductory words of KM 60.

<sup>2</sup>All the commentaries take *kaukana* as a form of *kokanada* 'red lotus'. *kokana* is quoted in HŚS as a type of tree found in Assam. However, this meaning seems unlikely in this context. Therefore, I have followed the commentaries despite the fact that *kokana* is not attested as a form of *kokanada*, and that no MS suggests the reading *kokanada* (see variant 3). Perhaps the use of the diphthong *kau* might suggest that some of the scribes were reading *kau kana*.

BC interprets the simile of the red lotus as applied to Rādhā's cheeks: *evaṃ lāl kamal sadṛś kapol-pradeś*.

<sup>3</sup>The reading *hau*, suggested by MS A (see variant 12), is grammatically inferior in this context.

<sup>4</sup>NC glosses *tila* as the reflection of Rādhā's pupils on her cheeks: *kapolana mē nainani kī so śyāma putarī kau pratibimba parata hai so tila*; this gloss is perhaps related to a misinterpretation of *draṣṭi parata*.

<sup>5</sup>The reading *leti* of MS H (see variant 14) is grammatically incorrect, unless Rādhā (rather than *tila*) is interpreted as the subject of *le-*, which is less likely in this context.

<sup>6</sup>I have followed the gloss of SMC, interpreting *ura* as referring to Kṛṣṇa's heart: *merā hṛday śarīr nyauchāvar ho jāta hai*. BC reads *ura* as applied to Rādhā's breasts: *vakṣasthāl evaṃ kaṭi pradeś kā avlokan karne se*.

<sup>7</sup>*tana* can be read as 'towards' as well: 'when my glance moves towards your breasts'. Haynes glosses *tana* as referring to Rādhā: 'your body'.

<sup>8</sup>I have followed SMC in connecting *jāta* with *ura tana* (see above, note 6). BC reads *jāta* as referring to Kṛṣṇa's glance, and thus interprets this *pāda* as continuation of the first *pāda* of the previous line (see above, note 6). PC glosses *jāta* as connected with *prāna*: *prāna jāti rī*. Haynes reads *jāti* as 'caste': '[your] body and the tips of [your] breasts trouble beings of all castes'.

<sup>9</sup>My translation is based on the emendation *pāta prānani*; *pāta* is the reading of MSS C, D, F, H, J and BR (see variant 17). This emendation agrees with KM 22.2 (*prāna pāyo jāta*). In my interpretation I have followed SMC's gloss: *prān tabhī prāpta kiye jā sakte hai*. Alternatively *pāti* can be read as the f. noun 'line, row, mass' (cf. preceding *jāta*) rather than as the imperf. ptc. of the verb *pā-*. BC interprets it as a synonym of *samūh*: *hamāre prān-samūh kā sampoṣaṇ hotā hai*. Haynes connects it with *ura* and translates 'the tips of [your] breasts'.

<sup>10</sup>I have followed SMC in interpreting *kaṭi* as the f. noun 'waist': *jab āp kaṭi se prem saṅket karē*. BC and PC gloss it as the stem of the verb *kaṭ-* 'to be removed, to be cut away': *kaṭa sā jāta hai yānī hṛday ke ṭukre ṭukre ho rahe hai* (BC); *kari saṅketa miñī tana chobhā*. (PC). However, *kaṭ-* is an intransitive verb, so *prānani* has to be its subject rather than its object. But the dative marker *kaū* makes the function of *prānani* as subject impossible.

This very obscure line remains unresolved.

<sup>11</sup>Alternatively, the *chāpa* can be translated in a more formulaic way: 'Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī, who while speaking...'

<sup>12</sup>I have followed BC and SMC's interpretation of Kṛṣṇa as the subject of *kahata* and of *kahata* as a ptc. used adverbially, rather than as a finite verb: *śrī lāl kahte-kahte acet ho gaye hai*. NC glosses *kahata* as referring to Kṛṣṇa as well, but analyses *kahata* as a finite verb: *so kahata hau aceta bhayau*. PC and Haynes connect *kahata* with Haridās: *śrī haridāsi kahata suni pyārī hota aceta* (PC), 'Haridās, whose sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī, says...' (Haynes).

<sup>13</sup>Haynes interprets *aceta* as referring to Rādhā: 'Pyārī, you do this unconsciously.' This translation is based on text which includes *pyārī tū karata* (cf. variant 27); however, *pyārī tū karata* seems to be of explanatory character and is probably a later accretion.

## KM 59

Make<sup>1</sup> one promise<sup>2</sup> - that<sup>3</sup> 'I shall<sup>4</sup> not sulk';

'Mind, words<sup>5</sup> and deeds, <sup>6</sup> with all three<sup>7</sup> I shall not draw back';

Your sulking<sup>8</sup> spreads in [my] body<sup>9</sup>, how can I bear<sup>10</sup> it?

Haridās's sovereign Śyāma<sup>11</sup> Kuñjabihārī says<sup>12</sup>: <sup>13</sup> how <sup>14</sup> can I fight<sup>15</sup> [it]?

<sup>1</sup>The reading *māgau dehu* of MS D (see variant 3) echoes KM 36.1 (*eka bola māgaū jo liṣi dehu*). The reading *bola dai* of NCP has probably resulted from conflation of MSS, which give *bola bol-*, and MSS which quote *bacana de-*.

<sup>2</sup>About the alternative *bacana/bola* see note 2 to KM 36 (cf. variant 2 here).

<sup>3</sup>I have interpreted *ju* as a conjunction introducing direct speech. *ju* can also be parsed as the honorific particle used here as an address; this hypothesis is supported by the readings *jū* of MSS PH and NCP, and *rī* of MSS F and H (see variant 4).

<sup>4</sup>The imperative readings *karau* of MSS I and RC (see variant 6) and *ṭarau* of MSS D and I (see variant 12) are also possible. Than *ju* will be interpreted as an address (see above).

<sup>5</sup>*mana baca krama* is a well-established collocation, which usually appears in this order. There are three further occurrences of this expression in KM (4.2, 36.3 and 90.2). There is no change of the word order in the first two. In the third the order is reversed to *mana krama baca* because of the rhyme (cf. *sacu ke*). It is possible that the change of word order suggested by MSS C, F, H and BR here (see variants 7 and 8) echoes KM 90.2.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. the interpolation of *kara* suggested by MS D (see variant 8) with the analogous addition of *kari/kai?karī* in KM 36.3 (see variant 21).

<sup>7</sup>*tīna hū* in the sense *tīnō hī* is attested in SŚ.

<sup>8</sup>This translation is based on the emendation *māna*, supported by the rest of MSS (see variant 16), including E. *māma* is an obvious scribal mistake.

Literally, 'the sulking made by you only'. The perf ptc. *kiyē* is used adverbially here.

<sup>9</sup>Dittography of *ta-* in MS C (see variant 19).

<sup>10</sup>SMC and BC interpret *bhar-* as a synonym of *daṇḍa cukānā* 'to pay a penalty': *ap hī batāiye ki kis prakār mān ke dukh kā daṇḍa cukāū* (SMC); *āpke mān ke vyathā kā daṇḍa mā kab tak cukā paūgā* (BC).

<sup>11</sup>About the two main alternatives for the *chāpa* see note 12 to KM 5, cf. variant 27 here.

<sup>12</sup>Haridās is the subject of *kah-* in BC: *sakhī priyā se kahne lagī*.

<sup>13</sup>The reading *hai pyārī/hōrī pyārī* (*kahi/pyārī/rī*), suggested by MSS C; H; I, NCM; J, RC; BR; NCP (see variant 29) is probably a later accretion.

<sup>14</sup>The addition of *ke/kai*, suggested by MSS A, C, J; F, H, I, BR, NCM, RC (see variant 31) mirrors the previous line, and unnecessarily increases the length of this line.

<sup>15</sup>Similar is the interpretation of SMC: *āpke mān se ye kaise laṛāi laṛ sakte haī*. NC reads *laṛ-* in the meaning 'to compete': *tuma sō barābari tau kaisē kara sakaū*.

If *larau*, suggested by MSS I and RC, (see variant 33) is analysed as imperative, this reading would be semantically inferior.

## KM 60

Kuñjabihārī dances well, the dear<sup>1</sup> one makes him dance well;

Keeping the unique<sup>2</sup> rhythm Śyāmā calls<sup>3</sup> *tātāthe<sup>4</sup>* *tātātheī* with her beloved;

*tāṇḍava<sup>5</sup>* and *lāsa<sup>6</sup>* - who could count the other varieties [of dance], arising from the various desires of<sup>7</sup> their hearts;

<sup>8</sup>The union<sup>9</sup> of Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā [with Kuñjabihārī] became<sup>10</sup> [so] full of emotion that [that of] other connoisseurs<sup>11</sup> became insipid.

<sup>1</sup>All the commentaries read *lādīlī* as the subject of *nacāvata* rather than its object. Haynes reverses this: 'Kunjabihārī [sic] dances elegantly [and] causes his beloved to dance elegantly (also)'.

<sup>2</sup>*aughara* is glossed in HSS as *anokhā* 'unique'. The examples quoted are from this verse and two verses by Sūrdās, again in a musical context (connected with *tāna*). The form *avaghara* appears in CP 48 as well, again in collocation with *tāla*. For a discussion of possible etymology and meaning see note 4 to CP 48 (Snell 1991a, p. 227).

Similar to the gloss in HSS is the interpretation of *aughara* in PC: *adbhuta tāla dharai*. RC ignores *aughara*. SMC interprets *aughara* as particular types of *tālas*: *aughara tāla* (7, 9, 11, 13, 15 *mātrā kī tālē*) *de rahī hai*.

<sup>3</sup>The reading *gāvati/ta*, suggested by MSS F; H, J, BR, RC (see variant 14) and the interpolation of *milāvata/milavati/milavata* in MSS D, NCM; F; H, J, BR, RC (see variants 10 and 13) echoes KM 89.4 (*mili gāvata*). The readings of MSS D and NCM (which retain *bolata* but add *milāvata*) have probably resulted from a conflation of MSS which give *milāvata gāvata*, and MSS which read *bolata*.

The interpolation of *milā* and later of *milavata* in MS RC (see variants 10 and 13) shows again a probability of contamination: of MSS which add *milavata* after *śyāmā* (see variant 10) and MSS which include it after *tātātheī* (see variant 13).

<sup>4</sup>*tātātheī*: cf. note 11 to KM 30.

<sup>5</sup>Bose (1970, p. 10) thoroughly discusses the development of the term *tāṇḍava* in the musical treatises: from *Nāṭya sāstra* 'nṛta which is constituted of such difficult poses as the *karāṇas* and *aṅgahāras*', to *Abhinaya darpaṇa*: '*tāṇḍava* and *lāsyā* are two styles of dancing, one virile, and the other graceful', and to *Mānasollāsa*: 'two of the six forms of dancing done by men and women respectively'.

NC explains that *tāṇḍava* is a special dance in which the limbs of the dancers do not touch one another: *tāṇḍava jo nṛtya kahā kī aṅga aṅga kau milāpa tāhī kī nṛtya aura aṅga koṁ sparsa na karau. yaha adbhuta nṛtya hai jāme carana hū parasa na hoī*.

<sup>6</sup>According to MW *lāsa* is 'a dance representing the emotions of love dramatically...The term *lāsyā* is also applied to the *Nāch* [sic] (Nautch) dance of the Indian dancing girls, consisting chiefly of gesticulations with a shuffling movement of the feet forwards and backwards as invented by Pārvatī and opposed to the boisterous masculine dance called *tāṇḍava* practised by Śiva and his followers'. See also note 2 to CP 10 (Snell 1991a, p. 192).

<sup>7</sup>About the construction of abstract subst. of either gender (or pr.) + *kaī* as an invariable possessive see McGregor 1968: 3.170.

<sup>8</sup>The reading *ṣela ṣela kāhu na laraū* of the second *pāda* of the last line in MS C (see variant 33) is a result of *homoeoarcta* of KM 60.4 and 61.4, whereby the last word of 61.4, *lahyau*, is substituted with that of 59.4, *laraū*.

<sup>9</sup>I have interpreted *meru* as derived from *mela* 'union'. This is the gloss of SMC and BC as well: *śrī haridās ke svāmī śyāma śyām kā mel itnā saras banā hai* (SMC); *śyāmā evaṁ kuñjabihārī kā nṛtya ke dharātal par sāññīlan āj jo huā* (BC). NC glosses *meru* as 'the largest bead in rosary': *kahā kī śyāma ke ura mē subhaga māla śrī priyā jū sobhita hai*. RC and PC paraphrase the last line freely, without giving a specific gloss. Haynes translates *meru* with measure: 'the measure of Haridās's lord Śyāmā [you] make beautiful'.

There are two more occurrences of *meru/mera* in KM (64.4 and 85.2). In the first case the commentaries read it as related to *mela* 'union', in the second as 'union' or 'multitude'.

<sup>10</sup>The readings *bhayau/bhayo* of MSS J, NCM, RC and BR (see variant 35) probably echo KM 64.4 (*meru bhayo*).

<sup>11</sup>NC specifies that *aura gunī* is used for Kṛṣṇa: *aura rasa gunī kauna kī pīya* [sic] *sughara siromani baḍe bijñā kahavata so phike*.

The reading *rasa* of MSS H; J, BR, NCM and RC (see variant 36) is probably a later accretion of explanatory character. On the other hand the omission of it might echo KM 23.4 (*aura gunī pare hārī*).

## KM 61

Bihārī and Bihārīṇī are swaying in a swing<sup>1</sup>, love's melody<sup>2</sup> has spread;

In one person's hands the *adhōṭī*<sup>3</sup>, in another's the *vīṇā*, in another's the drum -  
someone holds<sup>4</sup> the cymbals - in another's coloured perfume, continually sprinkling  
joy.

When [they] let go<sup>5</sup> of the swing-rope<sup>6</sup>, [their] mutual play intensified, nobody knew<sup>7</sup>  
how to stop<sup>8</sup> [their] feet;

Nobody has experienced the game-playing<sup>9</sup> of Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and  
Kuñjabihārī.

<sup>1</sup>Some of the commentaries gloss *ḍola* as a metaphor for the couple's love-making: *aṅga calani jhūla kini surata janyaū rāga raṅga* (RC); *doīna ke aṅga aṅga hī mila jhūlata hai. soi ḍola hai* (NC). Cf. also notes 1 to KM 48, 3 to KM 88 and 1 to KM 107.

<sup>2</sup>With 'love's melody' I have attempted to maintain the ambiguity of *rāgu* as both 'melody' and 'love'. NC and BC interpret *rāga* as a synonym of *anurāga* 'love': *rāga kahī anurāga so chai gayau hai* (NC); *mānō sāksāt anurāg hī mūrtimān ramaṇ kar rahā hai* (BC). SMC gives preference to the musical meaning of *rāga* because of the following description of instruments: *rāg rāginiyā mūrtimān hokar nṛtya ramaṇ karne lagī hai*. However, this argument can be counteracted with the general amorous tenor of this verse (see above, note 1). PC does not elaborate on *rāga*, RC glosses it with *rāga raṅga* 'fun and frolic'.

<sup>3</sup>*adhōṭī* is a musical instrument of uncertain description. SBBhK glosses *adhauṭī* with 'type of musical instrument' and quotes an example from the poetry of Kumbhandās. According to Bṛhaspati *adhōṭī* is the Ap. form of *arddha-vīṇā* (see Rañjan 1970, p. 21).

<sup>4</sup>The differentiated expression for 'holding the cymbals' perhaps indicates the 'clutching' action which is necessary to play this instrument.

<sup>5</sup>I have interpreted *chāḍai* as the perf. ptc., used adverbially. Often it is nasalised in such cases, as the readings of MSS D; F, PH and J suggest (see variant 29).

<sup>6</sup>My interpretation of *ḍāḍī* is based on its specific meaning as *hiṇḍole mē lagī huī ve cār sīdhī lakṛiyā yā ḍori kī laṛe jinse lagī huī baiṭhne kī paṭri laṭaktī rahtī hai*, attested in HSS. BC and Haynes interpret *ḍāḍī* in its abstract meaning: as a synonym of *maryādā* 'correct behaviour, decorum': *maryādā kā atikramaṇ karke* (BC); 'leaving decorum' (Haynes). NC analyses this line in the light of the couple's love-making: *aṅga aṅga hī mila aṅga kau chāḍai paraspara mē khela ati baḍhau*.

There is one more occurrence of *ḍāḍī* in KM (107.2), again in the context of *ḍola līlā*.

<sup>7</sup>Literally: 'it was not known'. About the usage of the synthetic passive in KM cf. note 3 to KM 17.

<sup>8</sup>Usually *jān-* in the sense 'to know how to' is connected with the verbal stem rather than with the perf. ptc. (see McGregor 1968: 4.1b). The perf. ptc. *rahyau* here is probably an accommodation for the rhyme. I have followed the commentaries in my interpretation of *pagu rahyau*; no such idiom is attested.

<sup>9</sup>Alternatively *ṣelata* can be interpreted as connected with *kāhū nā*, which will make the translation: '[However much they try to] play, nobody has obtained the play of Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī'.

## KM 62

She did not pay tribute<sup>1</sup> to me.

She goes in the nights to sell: Surround<sup>2</sup> her, oh friends<sup>3</sup>, so that she cannot leave.

[Rādhā says]<sup>4</sup>: ‘Do not touch<sup>5</sup> [me]!’

Mark Hari’s<sup>6</sup> troublesome<sup>7</sup> talk<sup>8</sup>! Besides, whose wives<sup>9</sup> and daughters go out in the middle of the night?

Haridās’s sovereign’s<sup>10</sup> nature<sup>11</sup> has not changed. Why don’t you give up this bad<sup>12</sup> disposition?

This verse, whose subject-matter is evidently *dāna līlā* (rather than *nikuñja līlā*), and which makes a reference to Kṛṣṇa’s male friends (who are not supposed to have access to the *nikuñja* according to the perception of the sect), contradicts the later developed theology of the Haridāsi *sampradāya*, which centres only on the *nikuñja līlā* (cf. note 9 to KM 52). Because of this it presents great difficulties to the commentators. The commentaries start with an introduction which explains that this verse is a cryptic message from Kṛṣṇa to Rādhā: *lāla gūḍha priya* [sic] *sau kahai* (RC); *svāmī jī kī upāsnā mē na to braj līlā hai, na sakhāō kī hī vahā pradeś hai. śrī vṛndāvan upāsnā ati marmiyō kā rasdeś hai - rahni kahni sab te hai nyāri vyās ananya sabhā kī. parantu is pad ke śabda to kuch aur hī kahte hai bhāv kuch aur hī hai* (SMC); *tahā māna ke chudayave kaū eka oṭapāya* [sic] *kī bātē karane lāge* (NC). Cf. also VII 2.1.

<sup>1</sup>The commentaries interpret *dāna* metaphorically: SMC explains that Rādhā is hiding her limbs in the way some people sell things secretly: *jaise koī cupke se hī koī vastu bec jātā hai, isī bhāti priyājū aṅga chipāti hai*; RC and NC gloss it as the tax of love: *ratī na deta yaha dāna* (RC); *hamāre pai hoḍa hāre hai kī ratī dāna deigē. so aba deta nāhī* (NC).

I have interpreted *mār-* here in the sense which it has in the collocation *paisa mārṇā* ‘not to repay a debt’.

<sup>2</sup>*gherau* is also attested in SK as a m. noun meaning ‘vilification’ (*nindāmay carcā, badnāmī*); however this sense seems semantically inferior in this context.

<sup>3</sup>All the commentaries interpret *saṣā* metaphorically in order to avoid mentioning Kṛṣṇa’s male friends (see above, introductory note). PC and NC gloss *saṣā* with Kṛṣṇa’s desires: *gherati sakhā manoratha mana ke* (PC); *apanē manoratha* [sic] *rūpa saṣā kahā* (NC). RC claims that *saṣā* stands for Kṛṣṇa’s limbs: *hai sakhā aṅga tuma gheri*. BC and SMC interpret *saṣā* similarly, as an address to Kṛṣṇa’s arms: *apne hī kar kamalō se sambodhan hai* (SMC); *lāl apne hasta kamal ko sambodhan kar rahe hai* (BC). These data might suggest relatedness between PC and NC, and RC, BC and SMC.

<sup>4</sup>I have followed SMC, BC and RC, which read *chiyo jini* (see below) as said by Rādhā in response to Kṛṣṇa’s command to his *saṣās*: *śrī priyā jū tatkāl śrī lāl ko sāvdhān kar rahī hai - chūnā mat* (SMC); *is kahne kī praktikriyā svarūp priyā kā ākroś mē kahnā hai ki mat chuo* (BC); *priyā kahai chivo na mo* (RC). NC interprets the imperative as a continuation of Kṛṣṇa’s speech to the *sakhās* (his desires): *chiyau jina kahā kī gherau sahī pai adava* [sic] *tē unakaū parasāū mata*.

<sup>5</sup>This translation is based on the emendation *chiyo jini*. All the other MSS, including E, read *chi-* rather than *ji-* (see variant 15); *chi-* is semantically superior in this context as well.

*chiyo* is the imperative rather than the perf. ptc.

<sup>6</sup>About the use of *hari* in KM see note 2 to KM 52.

<sup>7</sup>*ūja* is attested in SBBhK as a synonym of ‘turmoil’ (*utpāt* and *upadrav*). The original reading *upaja* of MS C (see variant 18) is a *lectio faciliōr*.

<sup>8</sup>I have followed PC’s interpretation of *bātē* as a synonym of *vānī*: *inake ūja uṭhāvani kī bāni* [sic]. BC glosses *bātē* as ‘matter, nature’ rather than ‘talk’: *dekho hari kā yah utpāt kā svabhāv*.

<sup>9</sup>The dittography of *ba-* in MS C (see variant 23) has occurred because of the end of line after *ba-*.

<sup>10</sup>BC and SMC interpret *haridāsa ke svāmī* as referring to Kṛṣṇa: *śrī haridāsājū ke lārle kā haṭh nahī chūṭṭā hai* (SMC); *śrī haridāsājū ke laṭle ārādhyā ne prakṛti mē parivartan nahī kiyā* (BC). PC elucidates the last line as the words of Haridās to Kṛṣṇa: *śrī haridāsī kahati śyāma sau chāḍī subhāva nāhi anakhāti*. NC glosses the last line as addressed by Kṛṣṇa to Rādhā: *śrī haridāsājū ke svāmī syāmā so lāla jū tē kahata hai kī aho jū tumhāri prakṛti kahā kī kapaṭa tāke subhāva choḍau*. This interpretation is in agreement with the other two occurrences of *chiyā* in KM (25.3 and 109.1), where *chiyā* definitely refers to Rādhā’s sulky nature.

The addition of *syāmā* in MS C and *syāma* in MS NC (see variant 33) is evidently a later attempt to resolve the semantic ambiguity of the last line.

<sup>11</sup>About the use of *prakṛti* in KM cf. note 6 to KM 14.

<sup>12</sup>*chiyā* can be interpreted both as an adj., governed by *prakṛti* (as it is the case in KM 109.1) or independently, as a f. n. (cf. KM 25.3).

The reading *chāyā* of MS F (see variant 37) is semantically inferior in this context.



## KM 63

The creator<sup>1</sup> made you full of qualities and beauty; a single bracelet gleams on each arm;  
 Your hair loose, beads shine<sup>2</sup> on your neck, looking at the lustre of your face again and  
 again the eyes<sup>3</sup> of the beloved<sup>4</sup> find delight in you<sup>5</sup>, the beautiful one charms his  
 heart;  
 Just as your beloved<sup>6</sup> gazes<sup>7</sup> at your face, so all the *sakhīs* stood watching in awe<sup>8</sup>, my  
 friend;  
 Oh Haridās's sovereign<sup>9</sup> Śyāmā, you have made<sup>10</sup> [Kṛṣṇa] subject to desire, tell me  
 then, to whom can you be likened?

<sup>1</sup>NC interprets *bidhinā* (see variant 2) as *bidhi nā*, explaining that Rādhā's natural beauty surpasses any decorations: *so guna rūpa bhair ho bidhinā sāvarī kahā kī kachū bidhi pūrvaka nā samhārī hau. vā sādā siṅgāra nahī hai. sahaja hī sādau siṅgāra hai.*

<sup>2</sup>Alternatively *dīpati* can be interpreted as referring to *joti*. This is the gloss suggested by NC and PC: *dīpati mukha kī joti kahā kī mukha candramā prakāsamāna hai* (NC); *garai lagi poti dipata mukha joti* (PC).

Dittography of *dī-* (of *dīpati*) in MS A because of following *poti* (see variant 11).

<sup>3</sup>I have interpreted *nēna* as referring to Kṛṣṇa. Alternatively, it can be glossed as alluding to Rādhā, whose eyes charm the mind of Kṛṣṇa. Similar is the interpretation of BC and SMC, which gloss *salōnī* as connected to the preceding *nēna* (presumably making an association between the etymology of *salōnī* and the eyes as source of salty tears) and read it as applied to Rādhā: *praṇ-priyatam āpke ras bhare lāvanyamay netrō kī chabī-chaṭā par vimugdha ho rahā hai* (SMC); *āpke ras bhare lāvanyamay netrō kī chabī-chaṭā par* (BC). This gloss avoids the awkward change of person (from 2nd p. to 3rd p.), but creates a gender problem since *salōnī* is f. and *nēna* is m. Alternatively, the change of person could be avoided if one analyses *salōnī* as vocative and *mohai* as 2nd rather than 3rd p. subj.-pres. NC takes *nēna salōnī* as a *bahuvrīhi* compound: *tuma kaisī hau kī naina salōnī hau*; however its second component, *salāunī*, is an adj. rather than a noun.

<sup>4</sup>The transposition of *prāna pati*, suggested by MSS A, C, F, H, I, J, BR, NC and RC (see variants 18 and 21) shows the confusion about the referent of *nēna*, see above.

<sup>5</sup>Literally: 'are delighted by you'; *tohi* in the sense *tujh se* is attested in SŚ.

<sup>6</sup>Dittography of *pyā-* in MS C (see variant 38).

<sup>7</sup>The tautology *deṣau + johai*, suggested by MS F (see variant 40) is semantically inferior.

<sup>8</sup>About the use of *thakita* cf. note 4 to KM 40.

<sup>9</sup>I have followed NC and BC in interpreting *haridāsa ke svāmī* as referring to Rādhā. Alternatively it can be read as an epithet of Kṛṣṇa: 'Oh Śyāmā, you have made Haridās's sovereign subject to desire'.

<sup>10</sup>*rasa basa kari linē*: cf. note 12 to KM 26.

## KM 64

What are [you] saying<sup>1</sup> just now, oh friend, as you strike with the awl of your eyes?

[Your] eyebrows are like bows, the notches of [your] eyelashes<sup>2</sup> hold the arrows of  
[your] glances<sup>3</sup>, says Śyāma to his beloved<sup>4</sup>;

You alone are my life now, you alone are my adornment, you alone are my life's  
treasure, oh friend<sup>5</sup>;

Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā Bihāriṇī<sup>6</sup> became <sup>7</sup> united<sup>8</sup> with Kuñjabihārī, oh friend<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>Dittography of *-ha-* in MS C, see variant 4.

<sup>2</sup>About *bāphini* see note 1 to KM 37.

<sup>3</sup>This translation is based on the reading *citavani bāna*. The rest of the MSS support this emendation (see variant 13); it is semantically superior in this context as well. The omission of *citavani* in MS G may echo KM 37.1 (*bāphini bāna sumāra lāge bhōha jyaū dhanāṣa*).

<sup>4</sup>The form *pyārani* as a synonym of *pyārīna* is not attested. However, this is the meaning the commentaries attribute to it: *he pyārī* (BC, SMC); *ho pyārī pyārīna śyāma yau* [sic] *kahata hai* (NC). The transformation of *pyārīna* to *pyārani* is probably an accommodation for the rhyme (presumably like the reading *ārīna* of NCM, see variant 9). The readings *pyārīna* and *pyārīna* of NCP and NCM (see variant 19) are evidently an attempt at emendation to the common form and thus are *lectio facilior*.

The tension between sense and rhyme is evident again in the form *bihārīni*. MSS G and C sacrifice rhyme for sense, choosing the common form *bihārīni*, <sup>9</sup>*nī* (see variant 39). MSS D, I, J, BR, PH and RC opt for the form *bihārani* (which is not attested) in order to preserve the rhyme. This variation has created confusion among the commentators as well. SMC and BC interpret *bihārani* as derived from [*vihāra-*] rather than from [*vihārīni-*]: *bihār kā dān diyā* (SMC); *bihār-parāyaṇ ho gaī* (BC)

<sup>5</sup>The form *yārani* 'female friend' is attested in Platts. About the use of Persian lexis in Haridās's poetry see III 3.1. Presumably *yārani* could also be interpreted as derived from Sanskrit *jāra-* 'lover (adulteress)' (see OHED) but this sense is not likely in this context. The reading *dhārani* 'holder' of MSS BR and RC (see variant 31) is semantically equally possible, and poetically superior (because of the alliteration of *dha-*), but the latter argument can be used both in favour and against such an emendation. Neither *yārani* nor *dhārani* appear elsewhere in KM. The readings *vārani* and *pārani* of MSS F and I (see variant 31) are semantically inferior.

<sup>6</sup>See above, note 4.

<sup>7</sup>The inclusion of *sarasa* in MS J (see variant 36) is most probably influenced by KM 60.4 (*meru sarasa banyāū*).

<sup>8</sup>About *meru* see note 9 to KM 60.

<sup>9</sup>The omission of *rī*, suggested by MSS C, H, J, BR and F (see variant 38), avoids the change of addressee in the last line.

## KM 65

Oh beloved, you are the paragon among the kings<sup>1</sup> of skills<sup>2</sup>;

Movement leads to movement in the various *rāgas* and *rāginīs*<sup>3</sup>, with resonant tones high and low<sup>4</sup>;

<sup>5</sup>If somebody<sup>6</sup> has acquired something [of your skills], so what? It is a false endeavour, only a semblance of your perfection<sup>7</sup>;

Haridās says<sup>8</sup>: Kiśora adopts the beloved's<sup>9</sup> hand-gestures<sup>10</sup> in the *lāga*<sup>11</sup> steps.

<sup>1</sup>The use of 'king' is a further example of the common association in Haridās's poetry of masculine forms with feminine referents, cf. note 1 to KM 55.

<sup>2</sup>The commentaries elaborate on the kinds of skills Rādhā possesses: NC specifies that they are connected both with the art of love and music: *kahā kī je je aṅga aṅga mē bilāsa ke bhāva saṅgīta sahita koka kalā mē hai tīna mē tuma gunana rāi hau*; BC and SMC limit their explanation to the domain of music: *śrī priyājū ke adbhut nṛtya saṅgīt ko dekhkar prem sahelī kā kathān - he pyārī jū! āp yāvadguṇījanō mē sirmaur haī* (SMC); *saṅgīt nṛtyādi kalāō mē jinkī prāmāṅikā kalā-jagat mē gānya hai, unki āp ārādhyā haī* (BC).

The reading *tumu rāṣata* of MC C (see variant 2) echoes KM 40.4 (*pyārī tū rāṣata prāna jāta*); probably the scribe was misled by the introductory *pyārī* in the process of penning from the 'oral tradition'.

<sup>3</sup>SMC and BC supply 'you are unequalled in your knowledge': *rāg-rāganiyō ke jñān mē āp advitīy haī*.

<sup>4</sup>*tāra mandira sura*: uncertainty as to the meaning of this phrase is reflected by the abundance of readings for *mandira* (see variant 12). My translation is based on the reading *tāra mandara sura*. BC and SMC gloss *mandara* and *tāra* as the low and high musical scales. Alternatively, they can be interpreted as instruments, as the reading *mṛdaṅga* of MSS C, J, BR, RC; I (see variant 12) suggests.

The same problem occurs in CP 31.6 (*sura mandara kala ghora*), where there is a high number of *mandira* readings as well, and the commentaries are again uncertain if the meaning is related to instruments or to the musical *grāmas* (see Snell 1991a, p. 212, note 6 to CP 31).

<sup>5</sup>This is a rather tentative translation of the third line.

<sup>6</sup>NC specifies that *kāhī* refers to Kṛṣṇa: *aura tau yā gatina kī chāyā hū ke levē mē kāhū kī pahuca nāhī. eka kiśora hai. so āpa kī sī gati kahā pāiye* (cf. note 1 to KM 23).

The unnasalised form *kāhū*, suggested by MSS A, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NC and RC (see variant 15) is grammatically superior.

<sup>7</sup>About *rekha* see note 9 to KM 23 and note 6 to KM 42.

<sup>8</sup>NC glosses the stem of *kah-* as an imperative: *śrī lāḍilī jū śrī haridāsī jū tē bolī. kī tuma kahau pīya nē kachū nṛtya kī gatina sikhī*.

<sup>9</sup>The f. form of the genitive postposition *kī*, suggested by MSS F and H (see variant 26), is probably governed by implied *gati* (see below, note 11).

<sup>10</sup>*tirapa* is glossed in OHED as 'a ptc. gesture of the hand made in dancing with a partner'. See note 5 to CP 54 as well (Snell 1991a, p. 232). Bose (1970, p. 149) quotes *tirapa* as one of the *Deśī* dances enumerated in *Nartananirṇaya*. See also note 2 to KM 2.

<sup>11</sup>About *lāga* see note 2 to KM 2. *lāga* is often used in combination with *tirapa* and/or *ḍāṭa* (cf. KM 67.3). This is the only occurrence of *lāga* (unless *lāgani* here is not in its musical meaning) in pl. I have come across, and no MS suggests any sg. readings (see variant 28). NC, BC and SMC agree in their interpretation of *lāga* as a dance term: *śrī priyājū ke nṛtya mē lāg aur tirap jaisī gatiyō mē śrī kiśor hī kuch saṅgati kar sakte haī* (SMC); *tirap ādi kuch viṣayō mē kiśor lāl bhale hī samtā kar sakte haī* (BC); *kachū pyārī jū tirapa lāgina mē kiśora gati leta hai. pai jyō āpa eka eka lāgana mē tīna tīna prakāra kī gati tāhū mē nānā prakāra kī leta hau vaisī tau nahī* (NC).

## KM 66

Oh beloved, how<sup>1</sup> great a collection of beauty<sup>2</sup> there is about<sup>3</sup> you<sup>4</sup>, your each and every<sup>5</sup> limb shows many kinds<sup>6</sup> [of splendour];

Through the *kinnarī* in your hands bliss<sup>7</sup> is obtained<sup>8</sup>, [you accompany] the *sulapa*<sup>9</sup> dance, [you] sing in harmony with *rāgas* and *rāginīs*;

What can<sup>10</sup> I say with one tongue<sup>11</sup>? [Your] skills are countless<sup>12</sup>, I am defeated, I can<sup>13</sup> say nothing,

<sup>14</sup>Haridās's sovereign Śyāma<sup>15</sup> Kuñjabihārī says: Oh beloved, whatever kinds<sup>16</sup> of [qualities] you bring forward.

<sup>1</sup>The attested form is *kiteka* (suggested by MSS C, H, NCP and RC, see variant 3) rather than *kitauka*. However, *kiteka* is characteristically plural, whereas the occurrence of *kitauka* is clearly singular; perhaps this consideration is reflected in the form.

<sup>2</sup>Plural occurrences of abstract nouns are rare, but no MS suggests a singular reading of *chabina* (see variant 4).

<sup>3</sup>About the usage of *pai* in KM see note 7 to KM 2.

<sup>4</sup>The reading to of MSS D, F, I, J, BR, PH and RC (see variant 1) is more straightforward in the sense 'you' (obl.).

<sup>5</sup>ŚS quotes a similar example of pleonastic usage of *prati* after *aṅga aṅga*: *aṅga aṅga prati chabi taraṅga gati* (s.v. *prati*).

<sup>6</sup>The commentaries gloss *bhāi* as a synonym of *bhāva* 'emotions' rather than of *bhāti* 'kind': *nava nava bhāva bhārī priyā bāje sarva surāga* (PC); *āpke aṅga pratyāṅga se nānā prakar ke bhāvō kā udbhav hotā hai* (BC); *āp ek ek aṅga-pratyāṅga ke mādhyam se ananta bhāvō kī abhivyakti kartī hai* (SMC). NC enumerates the emotions expressed by Rādhā's limbs: *aṅga aṅga nānā bhāvana kaū dikhāvata hau. kabahū nainani kaū sara kara mana kaū bedhi dārata hau. aru kabahū kapola adhara rasa pāna daikē rasa sō sīncata hau. aru kuca kamala chavana deta hau.*

<sup>7</sup>The readings *saca* of MSS A, D, J, BR and NCM (see variant 12) is less straightforward than *sacu* in this meaning; the reading *saba* of MS C is semantically inferior.

<sup>8</sup>The subject of the stem *pāi* is not specified. The commentaries understand *sacu pāi* as a general statement: *kahā kī aṅga aṅga kau milāpa tāmē madhya kau sukha hai* (NC) (the meaning of *madhya kau sukha* remains obscure); *sukh prāpta hotā hai* (SMC); *ati ānanda ātā hai* (BC).

<sup>9</sup>*sulapa*: Bose (1970, p. 160) describes *sūlupa* from the *Nartananirṇaya* in the following way: 'harmonious combination of stringed instruments and drums like *mṛdaṅgas*. This accompanies gay dances'. NC, PC and BC gloss *sulapa* as a dance-term: *tākau pāya caranana kara sulapa natya* (NC); *pāi sulapa gati* (PC). BC explains: *saṅgīt darpaṇ mē sulūp śabda hai. uskā apabhraṃśa hai sulap. sulap us aṅga ko kahte hai jo komaltā liye hotā hai*. This gloss agrees with Garg's definition of *sulapa* as an *aṅga* showing a great delicacy of expression, performed 'with great elegance' (see Snell 1991a, p. 248, note 6 to CP 68). SMC interprets *sulapa* as a synonym of *alāp*:- *jab āp anek rāg rāganiyō mē alāpati hai*.

<sup>10</sup>The 1st p. subj.-pres. is semantically superior in this context to the imperative, suggested by MSS C; H, I and RC (see variant 20).

<sup>11</sup>Dittography of *-bha* in MS C (see variant 22).

<sup>12</sup>The variety of forms of *aginita* reflects interpretations variously as *tatsama/tadbhava* (see variant 24).

<sup>13</sup>The f. form of the imperf. ptc. *āvati* is probably governed by implied *bāta*.

<sup>14</sup>The last sentence consists only of a relative part, the correlative counterpart is not given, leaving the line open to interpretation. All commentaries supply an end to this sentence: *jiyō jiyō bhāva lyāvata hau. tāhī sō merau jivana hai* (NC); *jin jin bhāvō kā prakāṭikaraṇ āpke dvārā hotā hai...unse mere prāṇō kā sampoṣaṇ hotā hai* (BC); *āp jo jo bhāv prakāṭ kartī hai unse hamāre prāṇō kā poṣaṇ hotā hai* (SMC).

It could be taken to correlate in a general sense with the latter half of the previous line, *kachu kahata na āvati*. A similar elliptical sentence (unless one considers it to be continuation of the previous line) occurs in KM 37.4 (*pyārī jaba tū bolata canaṣa canaṣa*).

<sup>15</sup>About the two main alternatives of the *chāpa* see note 12 to KM 5 (cf. variant 31 here).

<sup>16</sup>Again the commentaries interpret *bhāva* as 'feelings' (see above, note 6).

## KM 67

The *rāga* was established between them, with<sup>1</sup> the *kinnarī*, and the cymbals<sup>2</sup> with<sup>3</sup> the drums;

With well-timed melodic passages<sup>4</sup> in the three [scales of notes]<sup>5</sup> there was an unsurpassed, set<sup>6</sup> *dhrupada*.

Taking the steps of *birasa*<sup>7</sup>, there was no composure left, [dancing] *tirapa*<sup>8</sup>, *lāga*<sup>9</sup> and *ḍāṭa*<sup>10</sup>, achieving<sup>11</sup> the turnings<sup>12</sup> of the notes.

The steps of whichever kind of [dance] Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā takes, she is very skilled in the dance sequences<sup>13</sup> of the limbs.

<sup>1</sup>*sameta* seems to be used prepositionally rather than postpositionally here.

<sup>2</sup>BC and SMC read *sura tāra* in their *mūla* (cf. variant 5). Accordingly BC's gloss is: *kinnarī evaṃ mṛdaṅga ke mādhyam se svarō kā vistār ho rahā hai*; SMC connects *sura tāra* with the three *saptakas* (interpreting *tīna hū sura* as referring to the three *saptakas* rather than to the three *svaras*): *mandra madhya aura tāra saptakō ke svārō kī adbhuta saṅgati karke*.

<sup>3</sup>*tāra*, *sura* and *mandira/mṛdaṅga* often appear together (cf. KM 65.2), and this might be the reason for the reading *sura* of MS I (see variant 5).

<sup>4</sup>*tāna-bandhāna* has a technical sense: 'the closing of a melodic run [on the first beat of the rhythmic cycle]', see note 3 to CP 78 (Snell 1991a, p. 256) and *pada* 23 of Kevalrām (Entwistle 1983, p. 244).

<sup>5</sup> Presumably *tīna hū sura* here refers to the three scales of notes (*mandra*, *madhya* and *tāra*) rather than to the three types of *svara* (*komala*, *tīvra* and *acala*) since *tāna* is associated with running through the scales, and because no *rāga* includes all the three types of *svaras*. About the definitions of the three types of *saptaka* and the three kinds of *svara* see Śrinathisimha 1988, pp. 3-4.

<sup>6</sup>The abundance of readings of *dhura* (see variant 12) betrays semantic confusion on the part of the scribes. The reading *madhura* of MS F is a *lectio facillior*. It seems that the repetition *dhura dhrupada* is determined by the form rather than by the meaning. The commentaries gloss the second *pāda* of this line almost identically, all of them supplying *bheda: ati dhruvapada* [sic] *bheda apāra* (PC); *navina navina bheda ucarata hai* (NC); *agraganya dhruvpada ke apār bheda prakāṣ ho rahe hai* (SMC); *prakhyāt dhrupad tāl ke agānit bheda vikāsit ho rahe hai* (BC).

<sup>7</sup>I have followed the majority of commentaries in interpreting *birasa* as a type of dance: SMC glosses *birasa* with *nṛtya viśeṣ*; NC reads: *pyārī jū pīya ke aṅga pai nṛtya karana lāgī*; RC enumerates *birasa* among the other dances mentioned in this line: *birasa lāga ḍāṭa su tirapa morani rati gati lola*. However, I was not able to find any further reference to such a dance. BC glosses *virasa* with *viśeṣ ras: śrī priyā ke dvārā viśeṣ ras ke udbodhan se yukta saṅgīt vaibhav kā pratiphalan yah huā*. PC merely repeats: *virasa leti*.

*birasa* could perhaps be interpreted as a form of *bilasa* 'pleasure' as well; a similar phonetic change of the corresponding verbal form is attested in Platts.

<sup>8</sup>*tirapa*: see note 10 to KM 65.

<sup>9</sup>*lāga*: see notes 2 to KM 2 and 11 to KM 65.

<sup>10</sup>*ḍāṭa*: Bose (1970, p. 149 and 155-156) quotes *ḍāṅṭu* among the *Deśī* dances enumerated in *Nartananirṇaya*. See also note 2 to KM 2.

The reading *hāṭa* of MS D (see variant 20) is deprived of any meaning in this context, and is probably a result of confusing the characters *ḍ* and *h*.

<sup>11</sup>I have interpreted *sāra* as the absolutive of *sār-* 'to make, to achieve, to accomplish; to complete, to perfect' (see OHED). NC, SMC and BC gloss it as 'essence' and supply 'happiness' connected with it: *ati sukha ke sāra so dete hai* (NC); *śrī lāl ko sarva sukh sār mil gayā* (SMC); *lāl ko sarva sukh sār kī anubhūti ho rahā hai* (BC).

<sup>12</sup>I have interpreted *morani* as a verbal noun of *mor-*. NC and BC connect *morani* with the turnings of the dancers' bodies: *aṅga aṅga kī murana bhāi* (NC); *aṅga aṅga kī muran se* (BC); SMC reads it as referring to *sura*: *āpke svar kī maror aisī hai*. SMC gives an alternative interpretation as well, glossing *morani* as the obl. pl. of *mor* 'peacock': *āpkā svar mayurō ke svar kī madhurtā kā sār hai*. This resembles to a certain degree KM 32.4 (*sura deta maura*); however sweetness is hardly the most prominent quality of the peacock's voice.

The reading *mīle* of MS F (see variant 22) is a *lectio facillior*.

<sup>13</sup>For a detailed description of the *aṅgahāras* see Bose 1970, pp. 136-146.

The reading *aṅga ahāra* of MSS A, C, J, BR and NC (see variant 29) might have been determined by misinterpretation by the scribes. Most of the commentaries show an evident lack of awareness of the technical meaning of this word: *jugala kṛḍati kuñja ahāra* (PC); *aṅga aṅga tau gati ...adbhuta keli anūpa. hāra paraspara...* (RC); *pratyek bhāv anubhāv lāl jū ke praṇō kā ādhār hai* (SMC); *aṅga aṅga ahāra kahā kī aṅga aṅga hī kau ahāra hai vihāra mē* (NC).

## KM 68

[Your] beloved is calling you, oh friend, Lāla is standing under the *kadamba* tree;

What is the point of doing<sup>1</sup> such<sup>2,3</sup> [sulking] now, oh friend? You kept on striking him with flower<sup>4</sup> arrows!

Kuñjabihārī is part of your own self, why should you play this fine<sup>5</sup> trick with him?

[Kuñjabihārī] searched for Haridās's sovereign<sup>6</sup> Śyāmā and found her in the forest, approaching<sup>7</sup> her with unparalleled timidity<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>*kiyē* is the perf. ptc. used adverbially. The alternative, *kiyāu*/<sup>o</sup>*au* of MSS C; F and NCP (see variant 12) would be presumably governed by implied *māna*, cf. below.

<sup>2</sup>I have interpreted *aisau* as governed by implied *māna*. NC and SMC read it as connected with *rukḥāi*: *kaḥā kī aba rukḥāi liyē karata hau* (NC); *is samay aiso rukḥāi karne se kyā lābh* (SMC). However, this interpretation creates a gender problem, since *aiso* is a m. form and *rukḥāi* a f. n.

<sup>3</sup>The function of *jyāu* is obscure, and this is evident in the abundance of its readings (see variant 11). The commentaries interpret it as a form of *jī* 'heart, feelings': *aisau jīya kiyē kaḥā hota hai rī* (NC, see above as well); *aisā hṛday mē yānī rukḥāi* (BC). However, the connection between *jī* and *rukḥāi* is unclear, *jī* does not have such a meaning, and the sense cannot be 'the harshness of her heart' since Rādhā's *māna* is meant to be only ostensible (as the next line of this *pada* shows). The idiom *jī kainā* 'to desire, to long for' (see OHED) is evidently out of place in this context. Therefore in my interpretation *jyāu* has the function of the relative pronoun *jo*. For the pleonastic use of *jo* see note 6 to KM 11.

<sup>4</sup>The reading *asama*/<sup>o</sup>*ai* 'unequal, dissimilar, uneven, odd' (see OHED) of MSS H and F (see variant 17) might refer to the odd number (five) of Kāma's arrows.

<sup>5</sup>I have followed the commentaries in interpreting *bara* as an adjective to *chadāma*, used sarcastically: *tāsō chala kapaṭa śreṣṭha kāḥāi kaū kijai* (NC); *unse itnā baṛā chadma śobhā nahī detā* (SMC); *itnā baṛā kapaṭ* (BC).

<sup>6</sup>I have followed NC and BC in connecting *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī* with Śyāmā: *śrī haridāsī jū ke svāmī kauna syāmā* (NC); *śrī haridāsī jū kī svāmīni syāmā ko* (BC). Alternatively, it can be interpreted as referring to Kṛṣṇa; the translation will then read: 'Haridās's sovereign searched for Śyāmā'.

<sup>7</sup>I have interpreted *krama krama kari* in its literal meaning 'moving step by step' rather than as the adv. 'gradually, in due course and order' (see OHED). The commentaries opt for the latter and supply the action to which *krama krama kari* refers: *krama krama kaḥā kī saṣī nē jyō tyō samajhāi* (NC); *śanaih apnī premjanit ceṣṭā ko bhī prakṣṭ kar rahe hai* (BC); *āp baṛe śrampūrvak apnī abhivyakti kar rahe hai* (SMC).

<sup>8</sup>The commentaries explain that Kṛṣṇa is afraid that (if he touches Rādhā) she might start sulking again: *parasata nahī ḍaramāna* (RC); *aru mana mē ḍara hū hai kī binā atā [?] kaisē sparṣa karaū* (NC); *citta mē āśāṅka hai ki kaḥī phir bhṛūkuṭī terhī na ho jāy* (SMC); *citta mē bhṛūkuṭī baṅka hone kī bhay hai* (BC).

## KM 69

Come, beautiful one, the handsome one<sup>1</sup> is calling.

A protective charm<sup>2</sup> is made [for him<sup>3</sup> in] today's<sup>4</sup> apparel which cannot be described<sup>5</sup> at all, Śyāma is engrossed in you<sup>6</sup>;

<sup>7</sup>Persuading her, the *sakhī* took her along, as a stratagem<sup>8</sup> for love came [to the *sakhī*];

Meanwhile [Kuñjabihārī] came and met Haridās's sovereign<sup>9</sup> Śyāmā<sup>10</sup>, the whole<sup>11</sup> swarm<sup>12</sup> of black bees<sup>13</sup> was intoxicated<sup>14</sup> by her fragrance.

<sup>1</sup>*chabile* is presumably pl. used for Kṛṣṇa. The sg. readings *chabilo*/<sup>o</sup>*au*/<sup>o</sup>*au* of MSS A, J, BR, RC; C; D, I and NC (see variant 2) are equally possible.

<sup>2</sup>About *trana* *tūt-* see note 1 to KM 18. NC supplies two alternative glosses: *balihāra hota hai*, and *aṅga aṅga kī aisī tūtana kahā kī* [sic] *cahā hai. jo jīya sō jīya milai tana sō tana milai to eka ho jāya*.

<sup>3</sup>I have followed BC and SMC, which interpret *bānika* as referring to Kṛṣṇa: *āj jis śobhā sampatti se lāl yukta ho rahe hai* (BC); *āj pyāre kī chaṭā advitīy hai* (SMC). This seems to fit the logic of the narrative better: Kṛṣṇa's splendour is such that it cannot be described, it has to be seen, therefore Rādhā has to go to him (cf. note 5). NC glosses *bānika* as referring to both of them when their limbs are entangled in love-play: *ho pyārī jū tumhārī aru tumhāre pyāre kī bānika kahā kī jo naina sō naina jure hai. adhara sō adhara. kuca tē kuca. nābhi tē nābhi. kaṭi tē kaṭi carana tē carana. bāhu tē bāhu. aru saba aṅga aṅga apanē apanē sthāna pai mila rahe hai. so yā bānika para tranu tūtata hai*.

<sup>4</sup>*āju kī* could also be interpreted as equivalent to *ab kī* (*bār*), 'now' rather than as an adj. to *bānika*.

<sup>5</sup>*kahī na jāi* is a stock-phrase used in the description of beauty, cf. note 3 to KM 29. However, here *kī* might have a less formulaic implication, as an argument of the *sakhī* who is trying to persuade Rādhā to go to her beloved: his beauty cannot be described in words, one has to see it.

<sup>6</sup>*tohi*: SŚ gives examples of the objective used as an oblique followed by the postposition *mē*.

<sup>7</sup>This line is evidently elliptical, but no MS offers any longer version.

<sup>8</sup>*ghata* as a form of *ghāta* 'stratagem' is attested in SBBhK. This is the gloss of all the commentaries too: *taba saṣī ghāta kī bātē jaisī āi taisī kahī* (NC); *is prakār jo bhī prem kā dāv pec samajh mē āyā, samjhā bujhākar sakhīyā pyārī ko manā kar* (SMC); *premjānit dāv upāy se priyā ko samjhā bujhākar* (BC). Alternatively, *ghata* can be interpreted as 'opportunity'; then the translation will read: 'when the *sakhī* persuaded Rādhā and went with her, the opportunity for love came'. Cf. also note 3 to AS 3.

<sup>9</sup>*śrī haridāsa ke svāmī* can refer to Kṛṣṇa as well. This will make the translation: 'Haridās's sovereign came meanwhile and met Śyāmā.'

<sup>10</sup>The reading *syāma* of MSS D, I, BR and NCP (see variant 21) is equally possible. Judging by the length of this line, both *syāma* and *syāmā* might have been later interpolations (cf. MSS F, H and RC, variant 21).

<sup>11</sup>The inclusion of *sakala* contributes to the form rather than to the meaning: it does not add much to the sense, but it enhances the alliteration of *s-* and the assonance of *kala-*. Considering this and the extreme length of this line, the reading of MSS C, F, H, J and RC, which omits *sakala* (see variant 27), might be superior.

<sup>12</sup>This translation is based on the emendation *kula mata*, supported by MSS F, J, BR and NCP (see variant 29). The form *kalamata* is not attested (apart from the verb *kalamnā* quoted in HŚS with the meaning *kātnā*, which is highly unlikely in this context). The reading *kalamata* is probably determined by the attempt of the scribes to achieve assonance with *sakala* (in all the MSS in which *sakala* is omitted, apart from RC, the vowel after *k-* is *u-* rather than *a-*, see variants 27 and 29). The scribe of MS C may have confused *kula mata* with *kalamalā-* 'to fidget, to move restlessly or uneasily' (OHED) (see variant 30).

<sup>13</sup>My translation is based on the emendation *bhamara*. All the MSS (apart from C) give different forms of *bhramara* (see variant 28); *bharama* 'confusion, error' does not fit the context.

*bhamara* can be interpreted metaphorically as well, as alluding to Kṛṣṇa. This is the interpretation of RC, PC, NC and BC: *rahyau na dhīraja lāla* (RC); *bhramara mana matta bhaye rī* (PC); *aru vāhī bāsa sō bhāvara lāla jū ke manorthana* [sic] *kau samūha te matvāre hvai rahe hai* (NC); *priyā ke aṅga aṅga se sravit saurabh kī mādkatā mē lāl rūpi bhramar mat ho gaye* (BC).

<sup>14</sup>*mata* is probably a rhyme form of *matta*.

## KM 70

Does anybody know<sup>1</sup> how to braid hair, as<sup>2</sup> I do, on my oath;

With white, yellow and red flowers in the middle<sup>3</sup>, who else can do this, on my oath, oh friend.

Sitting, the connoisseur does her hair with the comb of his gentle hands.

Kuñjabihārī<sup>4</sup> with his fingernail applies collyrium to [the eyes of] Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>About the composition of verbal stem and *jān-* in the sense 'to know how to' see note 8 to KM 61.

<sup>2</sup>The *f. merī* and *sī* are presumably governed by implied *bhāti*.

<sup>3</sup>The reading *bīca* (cf. variants 7 and 8) might have been determined by prosodic considerations: it brings about an effective alternation of a *guru* with a *laghu* syllable in the first *pāda* of the line.

<sup>4</sup>The text in the last line is corrupt. Both readings, *kuñjabihārī* (MSS A, D, E, G, PH) and *naṣa siṣa laū/lō banāi* (MSS C, H, I; F, BR, NCM; RC, see variants 26 and 27) are supported by a number of relatively independent MSS and are semantically plausible. *naṣa siṣa lō banāi* allows the commentaries to read into this *pāda* the implication that Kṛṣṇa touches Rādhā all over her body under the pretext of adorning her, but often such glosses are far-fetched. The repetition *naṣa siṣa lo banāi, dai kājara naṣa hī saū* seems odd, but is not impossible. *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī* is the most common version of the *chāpa*, but by no means the only one. There are no obvious reasons for preferring one reading to the other.

<sup>5</sup>Again the *chāpa* can be translated in a more formulaic way: 'Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī, he applies collyrium to her eyes with his fingernail'.



## KM 71

Oh beloved, your pupils are even darker than collyrium, [they are] like two black bees flying<sup>1</sup> in rivalry<sup>2</sup>;  
 The bees are sitting on a branch of a golden<sup>3</sup> *campā*<sup>4</sup> tree, their rivalry<sup>5</sup> looks<sup>6</sup> beautiful<sup>7</sup>;  
 When<sup>8</sup> the army of Kāma comes<sup>9</sup> and surrounds them, their hearts are frightened<sup>10</sup>;  
 Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī, [her] two [eyes]<sup>11</sup>, together, strike against [him] constantly.

<sup>1</sup>Both *uḍe* and *baiṭhe* (line 2) could also be interpreted as m. pl. of the perf. ptc. However, the present tense seems more likely in this context.

<sup>2</sup>*barābarī* is a rhyme form of either *barābara* or *barābarī*. Shortening of the final vowel required by the rhyme occurs again in *arāari* (line 2) and *ḍarāḍari* (line 3).

<sup>3</sup>The commentaries interpret *kundana* as the pl. obl. of *kunda* 'jasmine': *jaise campā kī ḍāl ho jis par kunda kā puṣpa bhī ho* (SMC); *jaise campā kī ḍāl par vikasit kunda par* (BC), see below (note 4) for NC. However, the combination of the branches of the *campā* tree with jasmine flowers seems more unlikely than the association of *kundana* 'gold, golden, fine' with the yellowish *campā* flowers; there is one more occurrence of *kundana* in KM (29.3), and no appearance of *kunda*. The confusion between *kunda* and *kundana* is evident in the different readings of the MSS as well (see variant 17).

<sup>4</sup>BC and SMC explain this simile in the same way: *campā* stands for the complexion of Rādhā's face, *kundana* for the white of her eyes and *ali* for her pupils: *śrī mukh candra campā kī ḍār hai, ākh kā safed hissā kunda sadṛś hai aur putlī bhramar hai* (SMC); *campā ke ḍāl ke samān mukhākṛti aur unṁṁ donō netrō ke madhya safed evaṁ kālā bhāg* (BC). Similar are also the explanations of PC and NC, but PC glosses *campā* as a simile for Rādhā's body: *campaka tana*, and NC - for her nose: *campe kī ḍāra nāsikā jahā naina kī ujjalatā mānō kunda ali hai*.

<sup>5</sup>*arāari* in the sense *hoṛ* 'rivalry' is attested in SBBhK, but its etymology remains uncertain. The commentaries also gloss *arāari* with *hoṛā-hoṛī*, explaining that the bees are in contest to get the sap of the flowers: *aru douna arāara jeba lāgī hai. kahā karāī kī hita rūpa amṛta pāna karāī hai* (NC); *jaisī puṣpa ke ras ko pān karne ke liye bhramarō mē hoṛā hoṛī ho rahī ho* (BC); *śobhā hoṛā hoṛī kī lag rahī hai* (SMC). Haynes suggests an alternative interpretation of *arāari*: as a rhyme form, derived from the vt. *aṛā-* and the vi. *aṛ-*. 'to stop': 'it is as if beauty has stopped there.' Cf. also note 2.

<sup>6</sup>Literally: 'has looked'.

<sup>7</sup>*jaiba*: see note 7 to KM 21.

<sup>8</sup>All the commentaries supply a relative clause, rather than interpreting *āni gherata kataka kāma kau* as such: *jaba muhi herata ḍṛṣṭa* (PC); *jaba ina nainani kī sobhā dekhata* (NC); *maī jab inkī or dekhtā hū* (SMC); *jab maī is ḍṛṣya kā avlokan karne lagtā hū* (BC). I have analysed *jaba...kau* as the relative clause and kept the established subject of the bees/eyes who are in panic at the onslaught of the army of love (Kāma's arrows are flower-tipped; at such an onslaught will the bees be able to cope with the nectarous bombardment?).

<sup>9</sup>I have followed the commentaries in interpreting *āni* as a verbal noun of *ā-* rather than as the polysemic f. noun *ān*.

<sup>10</sup>The form *ḍarāḍari* is attested in HSS as a synonym of *ḍar*, *bhay*. Cf. also note 2.

<sup>11</sup>NC interprets *doṁ* as referring to Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā: *jaba hī syāmā jū kuñjabihārī sō mila ānga ānga duhūna ke jharājharī larana lāge*.

## KM 72

Oh Śyāma Kiśora, two colours colour<sup>1</sup> you, [those of] the yellow sash and the red shawl;

From where did you obtain such beauty? Day<sup>2</sup> and night [I] ponder<sup>3</sup> this in perplexity, oh friend;

Manamohana, you are a paragon among the wise<sup>4</sup>, skilled<sup>5</sup> in the art of love with your each and every limb, oh friend;

Oh Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā<sup>6</sup>, your<sup>7</sup> unusual nature<sup>8</sup> is obtained through love, oh beautiful one<sup>9</sup> of *rasa*.

This verse is an example of the confusion which can be created in a *veṣa palāṭa pada* with regard to the actual identity of the hero/heroine. BC and SMC have evidently misunderstood this stanza, taking it literally as addressed to Kṛṣṇa by Rādhā. They explain that whether Kṛṣṇa is dressed as a hero or a heroine, he is beautiful in both cases: *cāhe tumhē pītāmvar dhāraṇ karāke nāyak rūp mē rakhā jāy athvā oṛhñī dhāraṇ karāke nāyikā rūp mē āp utne hī phabte hai* (SMC); *pītāmvar yukta puruṣocit śṛṅgār mē athvā cūnri samśliṣṭa nāyikā rūp - donō hī samān rūp se tumhāre śrī aṅga par śobhā kī vṛddhi kartā hai* (BC). This interpretation is doubtful for three reasons: the inclusion of the f. voc. ptc. *rī* in lines 2 and 3, the unanimous *syāmā* and *sūnarī* in the 4 line, and the fact that this kind of eulogy is usually addressed to Rādhā (cf. KM 43).

NC gives a much more plausible clarification of this verse, explaining that it is addressed to Rādhā, who is disguised as Kṛṣṇa, by Haridās: *pyārī jū nē piya [sic] kau rūpa dhārana kiyau. tina sō śrī haridāsijū kahata hai*.

<sup>1</sup>the syntax of *tuma kō doū raṅga* requires a finite verb rather than a participial adj., therefore the reading *raṅgata* of MSS F and H (see variant 5) is grammatically superior. For a discussion on the confusion of participial adjectives with imperf. ptcs. see III 5.2.3 and Snell 1991a, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup>*ara* as a form of *ahar-* is not attested, and is probably a scribal mistake. My translation is based on the readings *ahi*<sup>o</sup> or *aharanisa* (see variant 13). The loss of *-h-* between vowels is commonplace in Braj (see McGregor 1968: 2.30).

<sup>3</sup>The use of the stem *soca* as a main verb in the second line is obscure.

<sup>4</sup>About *surajñāna* see note 4 to KM 43. The reading *gāna* of MSS F and H (see variant 17) betrays a lack of understanding on behalf of the scribes of the meaning of *surajñāna*; they have evidently taken *sura* in its musical sense.

<sup>5</sup>The lengthening of *-u-* in *nipūna* is presumably an accommodation for the rhyme.

<sup>6</sup>BC and SMC interpret *syāmā* as addressed to Kṛṣṇa, who has taken the disguise of Rādhā: *śrī haridāsī jū ke lārle! sāvrī saheli svarūp mē suśobhit sakhī suno* (BC); *he śrī haridās ke lārle* (SMC). NC glosses *syāmā* as referring to Rādhā, dressed as Kṛṣṇa: *śrī haridāsī jū ke svāmī syāmā...yaha tuma kiśora rūpa dhārau hau* (cf. the introductory note).

<sup>7</sup>This translation is based on the reading *tumhārī bicitratāi*. There is strong manuscript support in favour of this emendation (see variant 25) and it avoids the unnecessary change of addressee in the last line. The choice of *kī* in MSS G and E may have been determined by confusion as to the real identity of the addressee (see the introductory note). On the other hand *tumhārī* may have been a later accretion of explanatory character.

<sup>8</sup>The interaction of the two meanings of *bicitratāi* 'varied colouring' and 'unusual nature' (see OHED, s.v. *vicitratā*) is lost in English.

<sup>9</sup>The form *sunarī* of *sundarī* is attested in SK. The lengthening of *-u-* is presumably to accommodate the rhyme. BC and SMC gloss *sūna* as the imperative of *sun-*: *arī sakhī suna*. NC interprets *sūna* as derived from *sar-* 'to be mixed, to be smeared': *tuma kaisē hau kī rasa hī sō sanai hau*.

## KM 73

Where did your medallion change<sup>1</sup>, oh beloved Hari<sup>2</sup>?

It was [made] of red silk, you have chosen<sup>3</sup> and brought a green one;

That one was studded with diamonds, but<sup>4</sup> this is two-coloured: emeralds<sup>5</sup> and rubies  
are mixed; I shall take this necklace<sup>6</sup>;

Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī, his roguery remained at full strength<sup>7</sup>.

The commentaries start their gloss to this *pada* with an introduction explaining that the change of medallion is an illusion, a cryptic message from Rādhā, or a joke: *ura bimbani lakhi bhrama bhayau caukī tana chāyā* (PC); *kahā kī jā caukī kō lāla jū apanē ura tē rājata hai. so kuca rūpa caukī kau pratibimba piya* [sic] *ke ura mē parau. taba pyārī jū vā pratibimba kō dekha kari pyāre sō kahata hai* (NC); *so pyārī jū kī cāha uparānta āpanī cāha kō badalakē kuca chala anṛta piyau. jahā pyārī jū piya* [sic] *tē eka coja kī bāta kāhū ābhuṣanana kī oṭa daikē bolai* (NC, second meaning, see description of NC); *āj priyājū śrīlāl se pariḥās kartī huī kah rahī hai* (SMC); *parihāspūrvak priyā kā lāl ke prati yah vacan hai* (BC). The reason for this *ābhāsa* is to counteract the implication of this verse that Kṛṣṇa might have been unfaithful to Rādhā (cf. introductory note to KM 38 and VII 2.2).

<sup>1</sup>*badal-* can be both vt. and vi. The f. ending of the vi. *parī* (which agrees with *cokī*) determines *badal-* as a vi. here.

<sup>2</sup>About the use of *hari* in KM see note 2 to KM 52.

<sup>3</sup>NC interprets *bari* as a form of *bara* 'excellent, fine': *aba tumhārī jaṅgālī raṅga kahā tē śreṣṭhatā lāyē*. However, it seems unlikely that *bara* would appear in disjunction from the noun it qualifies, therefore I have translated *bari* as the absolutive of *bar-* 'to choose, to select'. SMC and BC gloss *bari* as derived from *baṭ-* 'to plait, to weave': *yah to jaṅgālī reṣam mē nibaddha hai* (SMC); *yah jaṅgālī dore se granthit hai* (BC).

<sup>4</sup>About the usage of *pai* in KM see note 7 to KM 2.

<sup>5</sup>The form *panā* is attested only with the meaning 'a drink made from the juice of fruits (as tamarind, mango) with certain spices' (see OHED). However *pannā* 'emerald' occurs as a synonym of *panā* (see BBhSK); either the two forms were used interchangeably or the double meaning of *pannā* is the reason for the semantic confusion of the scribes who have chosen *panā* (see variant 17).

<sup>6</sup>I have interpreted *lari* as a rhyme form of *lara* 'a string (as of pearls)' (see OHED), in accordance with the sense of *lara* in KM 20.1, 75.2 and 85.1. The commentaries analyse it as the absolutive of the verb *lar-* 'to fight': *tuma sō mili larakē lehu* (NC); *usī ko jhagar kar lūgī* (SMC and BC).

<sup>7</sup>SMC glosses *bhar-* with 'fade': *kuñjabihārī kī caturtā phikī paṛ gai hai*; similar is one of the interpretations of NC: *piya kī caturāī thakita bhāi*. BC elucidates *bhar-* with 'freeze': *nāgar śiromani lāl jake thake se ho gaye*; NC (2 interpretation) with 'embrace': *doū catura aṅga aṅga atī caturāī sō mila parama bilasa bilasata bhaye*. Another possible gloss of *bhari* is suggested by HSS, which gives as the seventh meaning of *bharnā*: *man mē krodh honā, asantuṣṭa yā aprasanna rahnā*. This would make the translation: 'Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā remained angry with Kuñjabihārī's roguery'.

## KM 74

Come, dear, drink liquor in this way<sup>1</sup>, placing your garment on my bodice<sup>2</sup>;

I will pour wine in the cup of [your] eyes from the jug of [my] breasts, embracing<sup>3</sup>  
[you] in this way;

With your lips drink up all the sap of my body<sup>4</sup>, do not let it trickle here and there, and  
drip away.

Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī<sup>5</sup>, [he]<sup>6</sup> loses<sup>7</sup> [him]self where there is  
the influence of [her] company.

<sup>1</sup>I have interpreted *aisē* as used adverbially. It can also be analysed as an adj. to *mada*: *aisai* in the function of *aisau* is attested in SŚ. The readings *aisau*/<sup>o</sup>/<sup>o</sup>/<sup>ō</sup> of MSS F, BR and NCM (see variant 3) would be more straightforward in this meaning.

<sup>2</sup>NC interprets *aṅgiyā* as a metaphor for Rādhā's body and *jhagā* as a metaphor for Kṛṣṇa's body: *tihārau aṅga rūpa jhagā aru merau aṅga rūpa aṅgiyā milāya dharau*.

<sup>3</sup>NC glosses *āṅkō bhari* as referring to *dārū*: *aṅkana mē bharavau so hī dāru hai*. BC interprets *āṅkō bhari* literally: *aṅga aṅga mē dāru bharā hai*.

The lengthened form *ākaū* in the meaning 'body' is attested in SŚ.

<sup>4</sup>NC and SMC interpret *tana ko* as an extended form of *tanaka* (KhB *tanik*) 'a little, slight, very little, the least' (the extended form *tanakau* is attested in SBBhK): *tanakahū ita uta dharakē jāna jina dehu* (NC); *tanik ras bhī idhar udhar bah kar nahī jā saktā* (SMC). This gloss perhaps aims at editing away the erotic meaning.

<sup>5</sup>The *chāpa* can be translated in a less formulaic way as well: 'Kuñjabihārī loses himself where there is the influence of Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā's company'.

<sup>6</sup>The subject of *hari* is questionable. PC is the only commentary which interprets *suhabati* as referring to Rādhā: *śrī haridāsa priyā kī saṅgata hota*, but the rest of the gloss of this sentence is very free: *ara [sic] sukha lakhi kai jījai*. NC reads *syāmā* as the subject of *hari*, supplying a parallel sentence referring to Kṛṣṇa: *syāmā kuñjabihārī kī suhabata ke asara tē āpu hī hari kuñjabihārī bhaye. aru lāla hari kuñjabihārī śrī pyāri jū ke saṅgata śrī kuñjabihārīna bhāi*. BC interprets *hari* as referring to Rādhā as well, explaining that in the presence of Kuñjabihārī she loses her (modest) nature: *śrī syāmā par saṅgati kā prabhav hai jahā āj apne ko bhūl gai. yāni apnā svabhāv vismaran kar gai*.

<sup>7</sup>I have interpreted *hari* as a rhyme form of *hāri* (cf. also CP 42.6, Snell 1991a, p. 145: *nāika nipuna navala mohana binu kauna apanapau hārai*). The implicit ambiguity of *hari* as the absolutive of *hār-* and an epithet of Kṛṣṇa is lost in translation.

## KM 75

There is a rain of flowers as Bihārī and Bihārīṇī sway in a swing;

The women of the realms of gods, realms of *gandharvas* and other realms are offering strings of pearls;

They gather round, all agree with one another [that they] have never seen such radiance in a young woman;

Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā Kuñjabihārīṇī is [decorated] simply: with bangles, ear-studs and glass beads<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>Dittography of *po* in MS NCM (see variant 25) because of end of line.

## KM 76

Oh beloved, you are not speaking. Either you are sleepy, oh friend<sup>1</sup>, or somebody has told you something, or such is your nature<sup>2</sup>;

I can have no peace without seeing you<sup>3,4</sup>, give up this bad mood<sup>5</sup>;

You are taking out on me your anger<sup>6</sup> with somebody else<sup>7</sup>, oh friend, grief<sup>8</sup> arises;

Haridās's sovereign Śyāma says, 'Having fallen<sup>9</sup> into her power, I<sup>10</sup> express these feelings'.

<sup>1</sup>*sutā* as a synonym of *sakhī*, *sahelī* is attested in SBBhK, TK and HŚS. The commentaries gloss it as derived from *sut-* 'to be asleep, to sleep, to lie down, to repose, to rest' (see Platts): *āp arddhanidrā mē so rahī haī* (SMC); *āp nidrā ke bharbhār ke karaṇ unīdī haī* (BC). However, this interpretation creates a gender problem: one would expect the f. rather than the m. form of the perf. ptc. to be used for Rādhā. *sutā* can also mean 'daughter', but this sense is unlikely here.

The reading *sūtā* of MSS A, D, H and RC (see variant 6) is probably derived from *sūt-* 'to sleep'.

<sup>2</sup>Whereas elsewhere in the text there are occurrences of repeated rhymes (see note 2 to KM 32), in this stanza there is an attempt at variation through a complete set of *bhāva* derivatives.

<sup>3</sup>Since the possessive pronoun *tere* can also be used as an oblique personal pronoun (as attested in SŚ) there are two possible interpretations for the logical subject of *deṣ-*. I have followed the gloss of BC and SMC, which select Kṛṣṇa, rather than Rādhā as its subject: *mujhe āpko dekhe binā cain nahī partā*. NC and Haynes have chosen the second possibility, reading Rādhā as the logical subject of *deṣ-*: *sanmukha rasa bhārī citavana kari dekhivau* (NC); 'I can have no peace without your looking at me' (Haynes).

<sup>4</sup>The interpretation of *kai* is problematic and remains unresolved in my translation. NC and SMC gloss *ī* as a synonym of *yadī* and supply the relative sentence: *maine cañcalatā aṅga parasave kī karihī. tākau āpake mana mē merau avaguna āyau hvai tau yaha kubhāva chāḍau* (NC); *yadi mujh se koī aprādh ho gayā ho* (SMC). BC ignores it. Haynes translates: 'so you should leave this bad mood'.

<sup>5</sup>The reading *subhāva* of MS F (see variant 26) is semantically inferior and repeats the rhyme word of the previous line.

<sup>6</sup>*jhuk-* as a synonym of *ruṣṭa honā*, *kruddha honā* 'to be angry' is attested in SBBhK.

<sup>7</sup>PC glosses *kāhū* with *kaba*: *kaba kī risa*.

<sup>8</sup>The meaning 'pain' of *durbhāva* is attested in Gujarati (see CDIAL).

The commentaries interpret *dubhava* as comprising *du-* + *bhāva* rather than *dur-* + *bhāva*: *upajata dubhāva kahā kī prathama tau āpa prasanna hī. so bhāva aprasanna kāhe tē hau. so ye dvai bhāva upajata hai* (NC); *pahle āp bilkul prasanna thī, ab āp ekāek aprasanna ho uṭhī. yah dvai bhāv āp mē prakṛt ho rahā hai* (SMC); *kṣaṇ kṣaṇ parivartan se āpmē utpanna sañcārī bhāvō mē vyathit ho rahā hū* (BC). The reading *kubhāva* of MS NCM (see variant 32) is poetically inferior, since it brings about a repeat of the rhyme word.

<sup>9</sup>I have interpreted *pare* as the perf. ptc. used adverbially, and *pragaṭ-* as a vt., both referring to Kṛṣṇa. The commentaries gloss *pare* as first p. pres. of *par-*: *jo bhāv āp prakṛt karē maī to uske vaśvartī hū* (SMC); *āpse udbhav sabhī bhāvō ke maī satat ādhīn hū* (BC). Since *pare* has the ending of 2nd rather than 1st p. subj.-pres., an alternative translation would be: 'May you (Rādhā) fall into the power of this emotion, which is expressed by me'.

<sup>10</sup>The commentaries read Rādhā, rather than Kṛṣṇa, to be the subject of *pragaṭatu* (see above). However, this makes the interpretation of *pare* awkward.

## KM 77

There is beauty<sup>1</sup> in your eyes drenched with languor, oh friend, when you yawn delightfully;

Supporting<sup>2</sup> hand with hand, fingers intertwined, like the disk of the moon<sup>3</sup> positioned so beautifully<sup>4</sup>;

There is no other happiness<sup>5</sup> which<sup>6</sup> captivates the heart, oh beloved, you are beautiful from head to toe.

Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī embraced<sup>7</sup> [with] their beautiful<sup>8</sup> limbs.

<sup>1</sup>The text of this verse may be corrupt. The rhyme (*bhāti*) *sudesa* seems contrived, and is not integrally connected with the sense of the verse. This makes the interpretation of *sudesa* very problematic.

NC, BC and SMC gloss *sudesa* in the first line with 'beauty': *tātē ati sobhā deta hai* (NC); *sundartā bikher rahā hai* (BC and SMC). Alternatively *sudesa* can be analysed as an address to Rādhā: 'beautiful one'.

<sup>2</sup>The ending *-ai* of *ṭekai* in MS G presents a grammatical problem: the verse is addressed to Rādhā, therefore 2nd rather than 3rd p. subj.-pres. would be expected. *ṭekai* could be interpreted as perf. ptc. used adverbially, yet there is no main verb in the first *pāda* of this line. Because of this, the absolutive *ṭeka/i*, suggested by MSS BR and NCM, or the reading *ṭekē* of MSS A, F, H, PH, NCP (see variant 6) are grammatically superior.

<sup>3</sup>The image here is the moon-face cradled in the interlocked hands. NC explains that the moon stands for Rādhā's face: *śaśi jo mukha candramā pyārī jū kau*, and *maṇḍala* for the circle made by her hands, when she is yawning and stretching: *maṇḍala jo doū kara sō kara jorī*.

<sup>4</sup>The commentaries gloss *sudesa* with 'beauty' again: *so ati sudesa nāma sobhā kara* (NC); *aisī śobhā hofī hai* (SMC); *yah mādhurī lagī hai* (BC). The problem with this interpretation is that it supplies no adjective qualifying *bhāti* (unless *ati* is analysed as an adj., rather than an adv., or *bhāti* is translated as 'like' rather than 'in...way'; both of these seem unlikely in this context: *ati* 'very much, very great, excessive, beyond' does not make sense, and there is already a conj. meaning 'as if').

<sup>5</sup>MSS F, H and BR do not include *aura suṣa* (see variants 15 and 16). Their reading of the first *pāda* of this line would translate: 'There is nobody (else) who steals the heart'. An almost identical phrase occurs in KM 91.3: *mana ke deṣive kaū aura suṣa nāhi*, without the omission of *aura suṣa* being suggested by any MS. It is possible that the scribes have confused the two verses. On the other hand, the phrase might function as a formula. If *aura suṣa* is omitted this extremely short line (36 *mātrās*, compared to 41 (second line) and 50 (fourth line) will become even shorter, but metre is so irregular in this *pāda* that no conclusion can be based on it.

<sup>6</sup>The literal translation of the first *pāda* is either 'there is no other happiness for captivating the heart' if *kaū* is interpreted as equivalent to KhB *ke lie*, or 'there is no other happiness (apart from the happiness) of the heart being captivated' if one reads *kaū* as a genitive postposition. The commentaries opt for the former: *man ko haraṇ karne ke lie* (SMC and BC). Cf. KM 4.1 (*mana harana kaū*).

<sup>7</sup>SMC and BC gloss Rādhā as the subject of *lagāe*: *śrī haridāśi jū kī lārī ne rījhkar śrī lāl ko vakṣasthal se lagākar* (SMC); *śrī haridāśi kī lārī ras vivaś hokar rījhī hūi kuñjabihārī se apne hṛday ko āśleṣit kar liyā* (BC). Confusion about the subject of *lagā-* transpires through the reading *syāma* of MSS H and I (see variant 22) and the omission of *kuñjabihārī* in MSS H, I, BR and NCM (see variant 23).

<sup>8</sup>BC and SMC interpret *sudesa* here as 'well': *aṅga aṅga se acchī tarah lipaṭā liyā*.

## KM 78

Oh beloved, I am afraid of one thing, oh friend: never be<sup>1</sup> harsh [with me];

Each and every moment I long for your love, oh friend, may [your feelings]<sup>2</sup> not become like<sup>3</sup> that.

This is happiness<sup>4</sup>. Stay<sup>5</sup> like this, oh friend, do not withdraw<sup>6</sup> in your trickery<sup>7</sup>.

Haridās's sovereign Śyāma says: <sup>8</sup>flourish [in] this [bliss] like<sup>9</sup> a lotus in water, only then will my desire<sup>10</sup> be pacified.

<sup>1</sup>One would expect the imperative of *jā-*, rather than the imperf. ptc., in combination with the negative adv. *matī jāti* is probably determined by the rhyme. It is also possible to read *kari jāti* as passive, *kari* being substituted for the expected *karī*.

<sup>2</sup>I have supplied 'your feelings' in my translation because of the 3rd p. subj.-pres. ending of *par-*. If *parai* is interpreted as 2nd p. subj.-pres. the subject will be Rādhā.

<sup>3</sup>SMC and BC gloss *bhāti* rather freely with 'difference': *yadi mujh se koī trūṭi ban bhī jāy to bhī us mē antar na paṛe* (SMC); *kiñcit bhī antarāy asahya hone lagtā hai* (BC).

<sup>4</sup>The reading *sacu* of MSS A, F, H, I, J, BR and RC (see variant 20) is more straightforward in this meaning.

<sup>5</sup>SMC and BC interpret *saca* as the subject of *rahau*: *āpke premmay vyavahār kā yah ānanda isī prakār banā rahe tale nahī* (SMC); *āpki premrasārdratā nirantar banī rahe mat ṭare* (BC). However, *rahau* can be analysed as 2nd p. imp. or m. perf. ptc., but not as 3rd p. subj.-pres. No MS suggests any real alternative to the ending of *rah-* (see variant 23). This is the reason for my translation of it as governed by Rādhā.

<sup>6</sup>BC and SMC interpret *saca* as the subject of *ṭarau* as well (see above); again this gloss creates a grammatical problem, since *ṭarau* is either 2nd p. imp. or m. perf. ptc., but not 3rd p. subj.-pres., and the only other reading, *ṭaro*, merely replaces the diphthong with a monophthong (see variant 26).

<sup>7</sup>SMC and NC gloss *ghāti* with *premmay vyavahār*. Similarly NC explains: *ghāta jo aṅga aṅga bilāsa mē nava nava gatina kī upajavau so kabahū na ṭarau*. Presumably this rather free interpretation of *ghāta* is based on its meaning 'a proper or suitable time, opportunity'.

<sup>8</sup>The meaning of the last line is extremely obscure. The commentaries explain that as the lotus rises again onto the surface when the water in a pond swells, in the same interrelated way the love of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā should grow: *mo prīti rūpa jala pai āpa kī prīti rūpa kamala ūpara hī rahai* (NC); *āpke prati prem isī prakār barhā hai jaise sarovar mē jal kā star barhne par kamal bhī ūpar ā jātā hai, jaise-jaise āpki kṛpālūtā barhī vaise-vaise hī merā prem. athvā hamārā āpkā sneh-sambandha jal-kamal sadṛś hai* (SMC); *ham logō kī paraspar kī premānurakti mē usī prakār vṛddhi hotī rahe jis prakār jal mē vṛddhi hone se kamal bhī uske sāth ūpar barhātā jātā hai* (BC). The gloss of NC and BC creates the same grammatical problem again (cf. notes 5 and 6); *bādhau* can be either 2nd p. imp. or m. perf. ptc. but not 3rd p. subj.-pres.

<sup>9</sup>*jyaū* and *kī rīti* are synonyms (unless *jyaū* is interpreted as 'when', which will make an awkward construction with the imperative *bādhau*, or as 'heart', which seems contrived here) and there is no apparent reason for this tautology. No MS suggests the omission of *jyaū* or *kī rīti* (see variants 35 and 38).

<sup>10</sup>The commentaries ignore *lau*: *tabhī mujhko śānti kā anubhāv hogā* (BC); *ab āpke dvārā hī citta ko śānti ho saktī hai* (SMC).



## KM 79

Oh beloved, you and I are both companions in one bower; how can [anything] be achieved by sulking?

Here there is no well-wisher<sup>1</sup> of mine or of yours who understands<sup>2</sup> this pain.

I am your messenger, you are mine, no one else can come between you and me.

Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā<sup>3</sup> and Kuñjabihārī, who speaks with a pledge<sup>4</sup> of love.

<sup>1</sup>PC glosses *hitū* as a metaphor for Kṛṣṇa's and Rādhā's love: *mero terau hitū neha hai*; RC interprets it as referring in a negative context to Rādhā's sulking: *krodha māna haṭha ye sakhī te na hitū*.

<sup>2</sup>I have followed the commentaries in their interpretation of *janē* as derived from *jān-* 'to know, to understand' rather than from *jan-* 'to give birth, to beget': *jo is prem kī vednā ko samajh sake* (SMC); *jo is pīrā kī anubhūti kar sake* (BC).

The shortening of the stem-vowel might be an accommodation for the rhyme. Cf. note 7 to KM 14.

<sup>3</sup>*śyāmā* can be translated as an address as well, making the rendering of the *chāpa* less formulaic: 'Oh Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā, Kuñjabihārī speaks with a pledge of love'.

<sup>4</sup>PC and BC interpret *panē* as derived from *paṇa* and meaning 'vow, promise': *piya kaū sauha* (PC); *apne pīti ke pan kā nīrvāh kartī raho*. Another possible translation of *panē* (again with the same etymology) is also 'agreement', which would echo the tenor of KM 36. SMC glosses *panē* with *prakṛti* 'nature': *apne prem kī prakṛti kā nīrvāh kartī raho*. RC reads *panē* as a synonym of *magna* 'immersed, engrossed': *pīti magana hvai kahati pati*.

The ending *ē/āi/e/ai* of *pan-* (see variant 38) can be interpreted as an emphatic suffix or simply as an accommodation for the rhyme.

## KM 80

You are cold in your shawl, oh friend, rest in comfort<sup>1</sup> ;  
 It takes<sup>2</sup> three hours of the sweetest words to appease<sup>3</sup> your sulking<sup>4</sup> of each minute<sup>5</sup>;  
 Get up, my life is yours<sup>6</sup>, [I] sacrifice<sup>7</sup> myself for you, this character<sup>8</sup> is untoward, you  
 should recall<sup>9</sup> Kāma<sup>10</sup> in your heart<sup>11</sup>;  
 Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī grasped<sup>12</sup> each other and remained<sup>13</sup>  
 clinging<sup>14</sup>, having assented<sup>15</sup> [she gave him] all comfort.

<sup>1</sup>The commentaries supply a link between the two statements of the first line: according to PC and NC Rādhā should reside in Kṛṣṇa's 'hot' heart: *grīṣama hiya mama saīna* (PC); *mo hiya* [sic] *kāma kara tapata hai. so tāpai sukha saīna kijai* (NC); SMC and BC explain that she should go with Kṛṣṇa to their abode in the *nikuñja*: *āp cal kar nikuñja bhavan mē sukh-śayan karē* (SMC); *kyō nahī avilamba calkar sukh se pauphe* (BC).

<sup>2</sup>*manāvata jāi* can be interpreted either as progressive aspect of *manā-*, which would enhance the suggestion of constancy of her sulking (cf. *gharī gharī*), or as two separate verbs. I have followed the commentaries in opting for the latter: *manāne mē prahar vyatit ho jāta hai* (SMC); *tumko samjhāne bujhāne...mē merā kāfī samay anāvasyāk rūp mē lag jāta hai* (BC).

<sup>3</sup>Dittography of -va- in MS F (see variant 15).

<sup>4</sup>*rūsanē* is probably a verbal noun in the oblique with a ppn. implied.

<sup>5</sup>*gharī gharī* means 'every now and again, repeatedly, constantly' (see OHED). But there is more to the choice of *gharī* 'moment' as opposed to *pahara* 'three hours': the difference of their duration underlines the inequality of the effort required to do the two actions: it is very easy to sulk, but extremely difficult to placate.

<sup>6</sup>I have translated *sadakai* as the interj. 'my life is yours' (see OHED). BC and SMC analyse it as comprising *sada* 'immediately' and *kai*: *āp turanta uṭhē* (SMC); *abhī tatkāl uṭho* (BC).

<sup>7</sup>The imperative readings of MSS A, F; C; D; I; RC (see variant 23) are semantically inferior.

<sup>8</sup>About the use of *prakṛti* in KM see note 6 to KM 14.

<sup>9</sup>MSS C, D, F, H, I, J and BR read *cāhiye* (or variants of it) instead of *dhāiye* (see variant 27). If their reading is accepted, the translation will be: 'nature like wax/that of Kāma is needed'. *cāhiye* is supported by a number of MSS, makes perfect sense and simplifies the syntax. On the other hand, *dhāiye* is corroborated by a similar number of relatively independent MSS: A, G, (E), PH, NC, RC; it is semantically possible, it avoids a repetition, and is a *lectio difficilior*, compared to *cāhiye*. For these reasons I have not opted for the emendation *cāhiye jyaū mēna*.

RC interprets *dhāiye* as derived from *dhāva(ti)* 'to run, go quickly, make haste rush' (see Platts): *dhāi milau piya*.

<sup>10</sup>*mēna* can be translated as 'wax' as well (an interpretation which could be set in the context of the 'heating' of the first line): Rādhā's nature should 'melt' and be as easily manageable as wax: *jaisē mēna nēka mē narana ho jāta taisē komala mana cāhiye* (NC), see below for BC and RC.

<sup>11</sup>I have followed RC in interpreting *jyaū* as 'heart': *narana karau hiya mainavata*. BC glosses it with *jaise*: *mom jaise tanik se gamnī pighal jāta hai*; *with jo:jo premyut kām ke anurūp ho*.

<sup>12</sup>MSS C, F, H, J, BR, NCM and RC omit *gahi* (see variant 34) since all of them (possibly apart from RC, see variant 35) read *laṭapaṭā-* rather than *lapaṭā-*.

<sup>13</sup>*rahe* is the only finite verb used in this sentence (all the rest are absolutes). It does not offer an unambiguous clue to the subject of this line: if *rahe* is interpreted as 3rd p. subj.-pres., the subject can be Rādhā or Kṛṣṇa, or indeed both of them. I have read it as m. pl. perf., which is governed by the two of them. This is the interpretation of NC as well: *doū aṅga aṅga kara lapaṭāta rahe*. BC and SMC read Rādhā as the subject of the first part of the line: *pyārī ne uṭhkar śrī lāl ko hṛday se liptā liyā* (SMC); *priyā...lāl ko hṛday se āśleṣit karke* (BC).

<sup>14</sup>MSS C, F, H, J, BR, NCM choose *laṭapaṭā-* rather than *lapaṭā-* (see variant 35). If this reading is adopted the meaning of the line will change completely: 'Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī, who remained stammering: assent [Rādhā], [you] are all the comfort [to me]'

This is not the only example of confusing *lapaṭā-* and *laṭapaṭā-* in KM, cf. variants 37 of KM 55 and 37 of KM 57, but this is the only case in which both *lapaṭā-* and *laṭapaṭā-* are semantically plausible: often in the last line the disagreement between the two lovers is resolved (cf. KM 25, 57), but in the last line of some *māna padas* Kṛṣṇa continues his entreaty (cf. KM 5, 10, 22). *gahi lapaṭāi* and *laṭapaṭāi* have almost the same metrical value, and the last line is anyway irregularly long (46 *mātrās*), so prosodic considerations cannot be of any help. There is no apparent reason to prefer one of the readings to the other.

<sup>15</sup>I have translated *māni* as referring to Rādhā. It can be ascribed to Kṛṣṇa as well, which will make the translation: 'he considers her to be the greatest comfort'. BC and SMC interpret Kṛṣṇa as the receiver of happiness and comfort, but ignore *māni*: *tab lāl ko sab sukh evaṃ viśrām milā*.

## KM 81

Both have a natural<sup>1</sup> chess-board, the two are playing chess<sup>2</sup> together;  
 Breasts for bishops, darting eyes for clever knights, [she] moves<sup>3</sup> them forward in  
 competition;  
 Impatience is the castle, restraint - the pawns, desire - the queen, impelled matchlessly;  
 Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī play<sup>4</sup> together, keeping<sup>5</sup> the king<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>The commentaries explain that the natural chessboard is the bodies of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa: *dūlah-dulhin donō kā aṅga hī svābhāvīk bisāt hai* (SMC); *śrī śyāmā śyām donō ke aṅga hī bisāt* (BC). This metaphorical interpretation of *bisāti* is presumably related to the imagery in lines 2 and 3, and to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa's fair and dark colouring.

<sup>2</sup>Chess is here a metaphor for the couple's love-play. This is reflected in the commentaries as well: *kṛīdata rasana satarāñja* (RC); *duhuna ke milive kau aru aṅga aṅga kara soī satarāñja kau khela khelata hai* (NC); *śatrañja ke rūpak se suratkeḷi kā varṇan* (SMC, BC).

<sup>3</sup>*jhel-* in the sense *āge baḥhānā, āge calānā* is attested in HŚS and SK.

The dittography of *-la-* in MS C (see variant 12) has occurred because of folio ending after *jhela-*.

<sup>4</sup>Haplography of *ṣe-* in MS D, because of preceding *rāṣe* (see variant 24).

<sup>5</sup>The commentaries explain that the 'players' are protecting their kings carefully, so that the game does not finish: *surata anta saha deti nahi rati sāha raṅgīna larata barobara* [sic] (RC); *śrī haridās jū kī joṛī is prakār khel rahī hai ki kisī kī parājay na ho* (SMC and BC). A similar idea is expressed in KM 109.2.

<sup>6</sup>The abundance of readings of *sāha* (see variant 22) betrays semantic confusion by the scribes. Presumably all these readings are actually variants of *saha* rather than of *sāha*. Indeed the combination *saha* (*so/sō/sau...*) *sāha* seems to have been determined by considerations about the form rather than the meaning: it creates alliteration of *sa-* (and assonance of *-ha-*).

## KM 82

A contest occurred between the peacocks<sup>1</sup> and<sup>2</sup> Śyāma;

Come<sup>3</sup>, join in<sup>4</sup>, take the step<sup>5</sup> of bliss, the dance<sup>6</sup> indeed of Kāma<sup>7</sup>.

There are mediators<sup>8</sup> between you and me, Rādhā<sup>9</sup>, invoke whomever else [you choose] as a witness, enquire and find out what is in this, I adjure you<sup>10</sup>.

Haridās's sovereign's play is like the game of *cauṣa*<sup>11</sup>: one-, two-, three-, fourfold<sup>12</sup>, oh friend, whichever [tempo] is named<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>Presumably this reference is to the 'peacock dance' of Kṛṣṇa (see Entwistle 1987, p. 372).

PC, RC and NC explain that the contest is the dancing/ love-games of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, who compete in their skill to twist their bodies (with the technique of peacocks): *priyā bhūpa āgāi nācata mili mayūra gati śyāma* (PC); *parī hoḍa ūra śyāma kī mūrati* (RC); *aṅga aṅga tē milāē so mayūra kī gati lāla jū aru syānā śrī pyāri jū rasana ke bhūpa tinakē āgē calata yaha hoḍa parī hai* (NC). SMC and BC gloss literally: *vṛndāvan mē mayūrō aur śyām sundar ke bic nṛtya kī hoṛ lag gāi hai* (SMC); *lāl evaṃ mayūr mē nṛtya karne kī pratiyogtā [sic] prārambha ho gāi* (BC).

<sup>2</sup>Haplography of *ra-* because of *s* of *syāma* in MS D (see variant 4).

<sup>3</sup>SMC and BC interpret the imperatives *āvahu*, *milahu* and *lēhu* as addressed to the peacocks; PC, RC and NC gloss them as the words of Kṛṣṇa to Rādhā.

<sup>4</sup>*madhya* has a specific musical meaning as well: 'an important term indicating a reference-state to help comprehend the relative highness and lowness in matters of pitch, and slowness and fastness in matter of tempo' (Ranade 1990, p. 68).

<sup>5</sup>NC interprets *gati* in the context of the couple's love-sports:  *jyō nābhī [sic] tē nābhī [sic] milai. aura aṅga tē sparśa na hoyā sakai. yaha adbhuta gati āvau mili kelēhī*.

<sup>6</sup>*raṅga* is a polysemic word, whose different meanings: 'colour, mood, manner, type, dancing, enjoyment' interact in the original, but are lost in translation. Cf. note 4 to KM 1.

Dittography of *raṅga dhaū* in MS BR (see variant 12).

<sup>7</sup>SMC and BC interpret *kāmēhi* as comprising *kā* and *mēhi*: *ki ānanda kis mē ātā hai* (SMC); *kiske nṛtya- viṣayak kalā mē ras-raṅga kā udrek [sic] hotā hai* (BC). NC glosses it with 'desire': *kahā ki raṅga lehu kāma jo cāha ruci kara*.

<sup>8</sup>NC interprets *madhyastha* in the light of the couple's love-play: *hamāre tumhāre madhyastha kahā ki aṅga aṅga aurahai. madhya aṅga ke jaba nābhi tē nābhi mile*.

<sup>9</sup>RC, PC and NC gloss *rādhe* as a vocative: *kahata piya mukha saū madhi rādhe bījhaū* (PC); *hamāre tumāre bica saki puni tuma tāhi patyāya* (RC); *śrī rādhe jāhi badau kahā ki una aṅgana kī milave kī nṛtya kī hoḍa badau* (NC). SMC and BC explain that Rādhā will be the arbitrator between Śyāma and the peacocks, but if they doubt her impartiality, they could suggest somebody else, or the decision could be taken without an arbitrator, by the actual participants: *hamāre tumhāre nṛtya kā nirṇay śrī rādhe karēgi aur yadi tumhē samśay ho ki ve merā pakṣapat karēgi to jisko niyat karo usko pūchkar dekh lo athvā ham log svayam hi śapath pūrvak nirṇay le lē*.

<sup>10</sup>*tinu dai* is attested as a synonym of *śapath de-* in SŚ.

<sup>11</sup>The reference to the game of *cauṣa* is probably connected with the number four. HŚS explains that *cauṣa* is a game played with four pieces of four different colours.

<sup>12</sup>The allusion of the numbers is presumably to the different tempi in the dance. Srivastava (1980, p. 51) explains that 'the *laya* is named after the multiple of the basic *laya*. If it happens to be double, treble or quadruple it is called *duguna*, *tiguna* and *cauguna* respectively'. SMC too connects the numbers with the concept of *laya* in music: *lāl kā nṛtya cauṣa kā sā khel hai jismē ikgun [sic], dugun [sic], trigun [sic] aur caugun [sic] layō ko apnāyā gayā hai*. This interpretation matches well the musical meaning of *madhya* (2 line, see note 4) as the medium *laya*: the tempo of their dance is taking momentum.

NC offers alternative explanations: Rādhā dances so well that for every step she takes many more new steps: *eka eka gati mē tina tina gati nai nai lai*; the numbers are connected with the couple's love-play: *ikaguna kahā ki kaṭi sō kaṭi jora. dviguna kahā ki nābhī [sic] tē nābhī jora. triguna kahā ki kuca tē kuca jora. caturāguna kaha kī adhara sō adhara jori*; *catura* means 'clever, skilful' rather than 'four': *aṅga aṅga kī nṛtya mē doū catura hai [sic]. caturtha ke guna jitanē hai so saba inamē hai*.

<sup>13</sup>SMC and BC gloss *nāmēhi* as 'fame': *lāl ko aisī vijay hūi ki āpkā nām ho gayā* (SMC); *jo vijay prāpta kī usse unki khyāti vyāpta ho gāi* (BC).

## KM 83

Tell<sup>1</sup> me whose daughter this is, tell me then, what is the name of this young maid?

You all be quiet, oh friends, I myself<sup>2</sup> will give him an answer. Go<sup>3</sup>, why don't you go, you boastful<sup>4</sup> boy, to [your] crazy<sup>5</sup> village<sup>6</sup>;

All the *sakhīs* started to play a sprinkling game<sup>7</sup> together. Friends, stay while I bathe.

Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī, he plunged into the water and embraced her, startled<sup>8</sup> she [cried], 'Where can I go?'

This is the second verse in KM (the first is KM 62) whose subject-matter extends beyond the realm of the *nikuñja*. As in KM 62, the commentators have tried to justify this breach of the prescribed topic of KM, explaining that this is a joke, a dream or a confusion of Rādhā: *bhuga tyau anabhuga tyau ju kachu dekhyau anadekhyau ju. bilasi kahata bhara svapna mā tyau hī pahale khauju. soi gai adbhuta rajani svapna bibasa tahā lekhi* (RC); *tātē ālāsa kara mattatā mē kachū sudha nahī..jahā priyā jū ke sambhrama adbhuta upajau so pyārī jū ke bacana sambhrama kē apanē mana saū supana mē* (NC); *śrīlāl jū parihās nē sahaçariyō se pūch rahe hai* (SMC). Cf. the introductory note of KM 62.

<sup>1</sup>The 1st p. subj.-pres. suggested by MS C (see variant 1), is semantically inferior in this context.

<sup>2</sup>There is strong manuscript evidence for an emendation which would omit the repeat of *hō hī*. The remaining MSS are unanimous in not including the second *hō hī* (see variants 13 and 14). Even in G there seems to have been an attempt at deleting it, but the state of the folio does not allow any certainty about this correction.

<sup>3</sup>The 2nd p. subj.-pres., *cale/°ē*, suggested by MSS A, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NC; RC; C (see variant 17) is equally possible in this context.

<sup>4</sup>The interpretation of *bāu* is problematic. SMC and BC gloss it as oblique (emphatic) of the demonstrative pronoun *vah: us paglō ke grām mē kyō nahī cale jāte* (SMC); *tum kyō nahī us bāvre grām mē cale jāte ho* (BC). However, MS G, which is very consistent in differentiating *va* from *ba* (especially in the case of the demonstrative pronoun) by writing a dot under the character, has not done so in this case. Moreover, the reading *bāya* of MSS D and NC (see variant 20) can hardly be interpreted as emphatic. I have translated *bāu* as derived from [11502 *vātika*-] 'mad, boastful, flatulent, whim' (see CDIAL). Haynes translates *bāu* as related to [11529 *vāpī*-] 'pond, tank': 'where is that naughty boy going - to the village well'. It seems that the inclusion of *bāu* is determined by poetic rather than by semantic considerations: it brings about alliteration of *bā*-.

<sup>5</sup>There may be an implication of the rivalry between Rādhā's village and Kṛṣṇa's. This rivalry is expressed in the Holī festivities in Barsana and Nandgaon (in fact, the third line suggests a Holī context, even if not specifically).

My translation is based on the reading *bāvarau gāu*, which omits *hai*. There is convincing manuscript evidence for this emendation (see variant 22), and the reading without *hai* is semantically superior.

<sup>6</sup>SMC does not miss the opportunity to proclaim the sectarian ideology of single-minded concentration on the *nikuñja-līlā*, explaining that the reason for the rudeness of Rādhā's answer is her anger, provoked by Kṛṣṇa's reference to something outside Vṛndāvana: *śrī svāminī śrī vṛndāvan ke atirikta anya sambandha ko sunnā hī nahī cāhtī ataḥ yah sunkar unhē krodh huā*.

<sup>7</sup>I have interpreted *chirakāu* as a phonetic variant of MSH *chīrkāv* 'sprinkling'.

<sup>8</sup>RC and NC interpret *cōki parī* as connected with Rādhā's previous state of dreaming/confusion: now she comes to her senses: *caūki parī caītanya tahā lapaṭī piya ke aṅga. jāhu kahā yaha bacana kahi adbhuta keli abhaṅga* (RC); *śrī syāmā jū mahāmatta yō sambhrama ke bacana kahata hai. śrī kuñjabihārī ke aṅga saṅga paudhe hai. jyaū buḍakī lai taba tau piya ke garaī lāgi caūka parī ki arī saṣī mē kahā jāta hai*.

## KM 84

Once in a solitary wood<sup>1</sup> Kuñjabihārī<sup>2</sup> was<sup>3</sup> swinging;  
 Pushing the swing, all together<sup>4</sup> were throwing<sup>5</sup> red powder at one another;  
 Sometimes he [follows]<sup>6</sup> her, sometimes she [follows] him, I<sup>7</sup> am the one follower<sup>8</sup> of  
 both;  
 The great excitement of Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī grew<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>The omission of *bana mē*, suggested by MSS F (and H), see variants 4 and 5, is semantically possible; however, *eka samē ekānta bana mē* occurs without such an omission in KM 13.1.

<sup>2</sup>PC and NC gloss *kuñjabihārī* in a figurative way: *so jhūlata piya ura jori* (PC); *doū kuñjabihārī hiya kuñja sō milikē nitya bihāra karata hai* (NC). RC, SMC and BC read *kuñjabihārī* as collective noun for the couple: *ḍola jhalata* [sic] *bhāmini kanta* (RC); *śrī jugal ḍol jhūl rahe the* (SMC); *śrī kuñjabihārī bihārīni ḍol jhūlne lagē* (BC).

<sup>3</sup>All the verbal forms in this verse (apart from *baḍhyau*) are either absolutes or imperf. ptc. This makes the translation of the tense uncertain. I have opted for past rather than present tense for the sake of consistency, since *baḍhyau* is a past form.

<sup>4</sup>The omission of *saba mili*, suggested by MSS D, H, BR and NCM (see variants 12 and 13) seems semantically better because of the *ekānta* reference of the first line. However, there is a further occurrence of *paraspara saba mili* appears in KM (cf. KM75.3); moreover, an exclusion of that kind would also increase the prosodic irregularity of this excessively short line.

<sup>5</sup>*ḍārī* is the absolute, lengthened for rhyme, rather than the f. perf. ptc.

<sup>6</sup>The lack of any verb in this line makes its interpretation difficult. RC and SMC read the first *pāda* of this line as referring to the first *pāda* of the previous line: *ve unake ve unahi ke jhoṭā detī* (RC); *kabhī priyāji lāl ko tathā lāl jū priyā ko jhulā rahī thī* (SMC). The interpretation of BC connects the first *pāda* of this line with the second *pāda* of the previous line: *abir urāte hue dāl rahe haī kabhī priyā jī lāl par kabhī lāl priyāji par*. PC paraphrases freely: *ve unake ve unake tanmaya hu gahī rahī ubhaya bhūja mūle*. NC analyses this line in the context of 'role-shift': *kabahū ve priyā piya* [sic] *bhaye unakī kriyā karata hai. kabahū ve piya* [sic] *priyā bhaye unake sukha kō lahata hai*.

<sup>7</sup>All the commentaries gloss *hō* as 1st p. pronoun, but their interpretation of the meaning of the second *pāda* differs: *haū douni kau detī* (RC), *maī donō ko samān rūp se jhoṭā de rahī thī* (SMC); *maī inake sukha mē ika sārī rahata haū* (NC); *maī aisā dekhtī hū ki donō mē samān ruci hai* (BC). If *hō* is read as 3rd p. sg. of the verb *ho-*, the uncharacteristic personalization of this verse would be avoided; however only the unreliable NCM, C and RC suggest an unnasalised reading of *hō* (see variant 23).

<sup>8</sup>The interpretation of *sārī* is uncertain. *sārī* as derived from *sārīn*, in the meaning *anukaraṇ karnevālā* is attested in SK. SMC glosses it as a rhyme form of (*ika-*)*sār* 'even, level; equal, the same' (see OHED), cf. note 7. BC reads *sārī* as a synonym of *rucci* (see note 7), presumably deriving it from *sāra* '1. essence, substance, best or essential part; heart; core, marrow. 2. sap. 3. gist, sense; content...' (see OHED).

There is one more occurrence of *sāra* in KM (67.3), where it is most probably derived from *sār-* 'to accomplish, to make, to complete' (see note 11 to KM 67.3).

<sup>9</sup>The reading *rahayau* [sic] suggested by NCP (see variant 28) echoes KM 61.2 (*raṅga rahyau*), cf. variant 27 to KM 61 and variant 28 here.

## KM 85

You<sup>1</sup> look<sup>2</sup> very beautiful<sup>3</sup> wandering from bower to bower, speaking softly, with necklace broken and beads scattered;  
 The humming<sup>4</sup> of the bees moves with you, it is as if a multitude<sup>5</sup> of melodies accompany<sup>6</sup> you and sing<sup>7</sup>;  
 Groups of many beautiful women stay<sup>8</sup> awake<sup>9</sup> [for] your pleasure<sup>10,11</sup>;  
 I am sacrificing my body, mind and wealth to Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā Kuñjabihārīnī. What [other] refuge<sup>12</sup> is there?

<sup>1</sup>Because of the use of verbal nouns and imperf. ptcs. rather than finite verbs, the subject of this verse is uncertain. Since the necklace and the beads are attributes of Rādhā's apparel (cf. KM 20, 21 and 63), Rādhā (rather than Kṛṣṇa or the two of them) may have been the intended subject. This ambiguity transpires again in the *chāpa*, where MSS C, I, BR and NC read *syāmā kuñjabihārī* instead of *syāmā kuñjabihārīnī* (see variant 36).

<sup>2</sup>The reading of C *lā laugati* (see variant 9) is presumably due to the fact that the line ends after *lā*.

<sup>3</sup>*chabi* rather than *sobhā* is used in the gloss of PC. It is difficult to say if this choice has been determined by the original text, or the reading *chabi* in MSS A, C, F, H, I, BR, NCP and RC (see variant 8) has been influenced by PC (the oldest commentary). Both *chabi* and *sobhā* are extensively used in KM, but the only other location where the MSS disagree about the choice of one or the other is KM 29.4 (see variant 33 to KM 29).

For an analysis of the usage of *chabi* and *sobhā* based on the works of Tulsidās see Sakata 1994, pp. 330-332.

<sup>4</sup>The reading *uḍāi na sakata* of MS F (see variants 11, 12 and 13) is semantically inferior.

<sup>5</sup>For a discussion on *mera* see note 9 to KM 60.

In this instance NC and RC gloss *mera* with *aneka* 'many' and *vṇda* 'group': *mera jo kahiye aneka rāgīnī sō anurāgīnī jo cāha tākaū saṅga liyē* (NC); *rāga vṇda tinakī gati* (RC). BC and SMC render it with *yog* 'union': *inkā yog is prakār hai*.

<sup>6</sup>Dittography of *ḍalata mānau mairu* in MS C (see variant 23) because of preceding *saṅga*.

<sup>7</sup>The f. form of *rāgati* can be explained as an accommodation for the rhyme. Alternatively, it can be analysed as governed by *rāgīnī*, if the readings of MSS J, NCP and NCM (see variant 21) are adopted. Yet another possibility is to interpret Rādhā as the subject of *liyē* and *rāgati*; this option is corroborated by the obl. pl. *rāgani*, suggested by MSS C, I, BR and RC (see variant 21). The subject of *rāgati* could still be *guñjāra*, but unlike *guñja*, whose f. gender it may have borrowed, it is m.

For a discussion on the meaning of *rāgati* see note 11 to KM 34.

<sup>8</sup>No MS suggests an alternative to *lāgati* (see variant 33), which would avoid the repeat of the rhyme-word.

<sup>9</sup>The form *palava* is not attested. Only NC offers a real alternative to it (see variant 31). *palava* can be analysed either as a scribal mistake (the graphs *v* and *k* are often confused), or as comprising *pala* and *va* (= *ab* 'now'). The latter would present a semantic problem, since the theology of the sect stresses the constancy and everlastingness of the single-minded devotion of the *sakhīs*.

<sup>10</sup>The meaning of *rījha* is ambiguous. The interpretation I have chosen is in accordance with the notion of the *sakhīs*' single-minded devotion to the couple: in order to serve the couple they do not even sleep. SMC and BC add to this gloss: such is the love of the *sakhīs* for Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, that their love-play is the only nourishment necessary for the *sakhīs*, they need no food or sleep: *sahcarījan ke prem kā yah sarvoparī utkarṣa hai ki śrī yugal ke lār larāne mē unhē aisi tuṣṭi-puṣṭi hotī hai ki na to ek pal bhar bhī sevā se alag hotī hāi aur na sevā mē rahte hue bhī inhē ālasya yā jhapkī āī hai*.

<sup>11</sup>The inclusion of *paraspara* after *rījha* in MS C (see variant 30) echoes KM 13.4 (*rījhi paraspara prīti noī*).

<sup>12</sup>For a discussion on *kā gata* see note 7 to KM 34.

My translation is based on the emendation *kā gati*, suggested by MSS C, F, H, J, BR and NC (see variant 41), which avoids the breach of rhyme in MS G. (However, this argument can be reversed, and *gati* can be seen as prosodic hypercorrection). RC, NC, BC and SMC opt for *gati* in their glosses as well, and all of them supply an adjective to it: *karahū nichāvāra tana manahī yaha gati atī abhīrāma* (RC); *dekho kaisī adbhut gati hai* (SMC); *dekho inke prem kī kyā vilakṣaṇ sthiti hai ki apne tan man dhan sarvasva ko samarpan karne ke paścāt bhī āp donō ko satat lār larā karke bhī atṛpti kā bodh kartī hūī isī raspipāsā mē nimagna rahī hai* (BC); *kā gati mere aura koū gati nāhī. moko tumahī gati hau...tuma mere prānana ke pratipāla karana hārī hau* (NC). PC glosses unhelpfully: *śrī haridāsa nihārī jugala chabi bārata sarvasu lakhi garavāhī*.

## KM 86

The beauty of the rising of the beloved and the darling cannot be described<sup>1</sup>, they are unique<sup>2</sup>;

As though day and night in one place<sup>3</sup> they neither slept<sup>4</sup> nor separated<sup>5</sup>;

Their hair in disarray<sup>6</sup> like swarms of bees fighting each other; the beauty of the wagtails<sup>7</sup> on the lotus<sup>8</sup>-petals is extraordinary<sup>9</sup>;

Having detached<sup>10</sup> [myself from] myriads of cupids and myriads of universes, I sacrifice them to Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī.

<sup>1</sup>About *baranī na jāi* see note 3 to KM 29.

<sup>2</sup>Alternatively, *nyāre* can be interpreted as referring to *chabi*; presumably the requirements of the rhyme account for the ending.

<sup>3</sup>The reading *ṭhaure<sup>o</sup>ai<sup>o</sup>ē* of MSS A, F, H, J, RC; BR; NCM (see variant 14) is presumably a locative, cf. III 6.1.6.

<sup>4</sup>My translation is based on the reading *soye/soe*, suggested by MSS A, I, NC; BR and RC (see variant 16). Only MS PH, which is very closely related to G, supports the reading of G *tē* (see variant 15). Variant 16 clearly demonstrates the semantic confusion of the remaining scribes: some interpret the form as a combination of the ppn. *sō* and the pr. *ye*, some - as the m. pl. perf. of the verb *so-*. I have opted for the latter, since it is supported by a number of relatively independent MSS, it avoids the superfluous pronoun *ye/e*, and fits the context of rising. This is the choice of NC as well: *mānō dyausa jo priyā jū raina lāla jū ika ṭhaure soye*. PC and BC analyse *soe* as comprising *so+e*: *mānau dyausa raina ekata hvaive bichurata e sadā saṅghāti* (PC); *mānō aharniś ek sthiti mē rahkar kiñcit bhī vilag nahī hue* (BC). SMC reads rather ambiguously: *inke netrō mē abhī bhī din aur rātri ekatra haī - unīdāpan māno ve divas aur rain kī prakṛti se alag nahī hue arthāt ye na soye haī aur na jage*.

<sup>5</sup>All MSS, apart from PH, which is closely related to G, omit the repetition of *na bhaye* (see variants 19 and 20). This repetition may have resulted from a prosodic hypercorrection, aiming at lengthening this extremely short line. If the interpretation of the commentaries which analyse 'day' and 'night' as metaphors for the fair Rādhā and the dark Kṛṣṇa, is followed (see above), the repetition of *na bhaye* will be semantically superfluous: 'as if day and night slept in one place and did not separate'. However, my understanding of the line is that the couple are so passionately absorbed in each other that night or day they do not sleep or separate. Hence I have parsed *soye na bhaye* as a non-finite ptc. expression.

<sup>6</sup>For further examples of confusing *laṭapaṭ-* with *lapaṭ-* see note 14 to KM 80, cf. here NCM *lapaṭe* (variant 22).

<sup>7</sup>This metaphor probably alludes to the playfulness of the pupils, compared to wagtails. Most of the commentaries analyse *ṣaṅjarīṭa* as referring to the restlessness of the eyes generally: *kamala dala jo locana jugala so jāge hai...khañjarīṭa pañchī jyō atī cañcala hai. so sohata* (NC); *netra rūpī kamalō mē jo cañcaltā hai uskī khañjan ke samān nirālī hī chatā hai* (SMC); *kamaladal svarūp netrō mē jo cañcaltā hai vah khañjarīṭ pakṣī ke samān hai* (BC). RC reads *kamala dala* as related to Rādhā's face and *khañjarīṭa* - to her eyes: *badana kamala dala para manau bhīra nāina sacu pāi*. However, usually the face is compared to a lotus, not to lotus-petals. The petals here probably allude to the long-shaped eyes of the heroine.

<sup>8</sup>Dittography of *da-* in G because of following *-la*, corrected *pr. m*.

<sup>9</sup>The ending *-e* of *nyāre* here is presumably an accommodation for the rhyme, unless it directly refers to *kamala-dala* or *ṣaṅjarīṭa*.

<sup>10</sup>The interpretation of *vāri kiye nyāre* is problematic. BC and SMC analyse *kiye* as connected with *vāri*, and *nyāre* as referring to the uniqueness of the divine couple: *śrī jugal ke suratānta saundarya par koṭī-koṭī kāmdev tathā koṭī koṭī brahmāṇḍō kā sukh nyauchāvar kiya jā sakta hai* (SMC); *śyāmā kuñjabihārī ke is advitīy saundarya par koṭānukoṭī anaṅga kā lāvanya evaṃ koṭānukoṭī brahmāṇḍō mē udbhūṭ samānta sukhō ko ham nyauchāvar karte haī. inkī vilakṣantā anupamey hai* (BC). However, no occurrence of the verbal noun *vāri* with the meaning 'sacrifice' is attested. NC connects *kiye* with *nyāre*: *śrī haridāsi jū ke svāmī syāmā aru kuñjabihārī para koṭī koṭī anaṅga aru koṭī brahmāṇḍa ke sukha bārakē nyāre kiye*. PC paraphrases freely: *śrī haridāsi nirakhi ālāsa chabi koṭī anaṅga bāranai jāti*. RC stresses again (see note 5 to KM 1) the sectarian belief that Haridās's Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī are different from the rest because they dwell outside the realm of *saṃsāra* and incarnation: *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī [sic] sunī jugala kiśora sujāna. koṭīna koṭī anaṅga jo bāri dījīyata āni. sabai basata saṃsāra mai avatārādīk vṛndā. tinahi sahita bāri ju die koṭīna koṭī ānanda*.



## KM 87

Śyāmā and Śyāma, fervent and fervid<sup>1</sup>, are coming from the grove-palace;  
 With crushed forest-garlands, loose hip-bells, and eyes red from waking<sup>2</sup> all night<sup>3</sup>.  
 All the *sakhīs*<sup>4</sup> sing with skilfulness<sup>5</sup> and play the *vīṇā*, engrossed in music with all  
 joy.  
 Myriads of cupids are burnt<sup>6</sup> by the sidelong glances of Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā  
 and Kuñjabihārī.

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It seems that the inclusion of this *pada* in the corpus of KM is not unquestionable: this is one of the two verses (the other is KM 96) omitted from PC, the oldest commentary; it is also excluded from two of the available MSS: F and H. However, it is included as a genuine verse in MS BI where spurious *padas* are marked.

<sup>1</sup>This stanza features a very effective rhetorical sequence, in which the rhyme-word *ptc.* sits in composition and assonance with the preceding noun: *raṅga mage, jāma jage, saṅgīta page, koṭi kāma dage* (the pattern is subject to variation on line 4, but the effect is not abandoned even there).

For a further example of the use of *ragamage* in the context of the description of Rādhā's and Kṛṣṇa's beauty after a passionate night cf. verse 16 of Kevalrām's *Rās mān ke pad* (Entwistle 1983, p. 236).

<sup>2</sup>I have interpreted the rhyme-words as *ptcs.* used adjectivally.

<sup>3</sup>RC and NC interpret the 4 watches as the 4 stages of love-making: *surata madhya ārambha puni anta ju tinahu kāla* (RC); *prathama to surati ārambha. dūsare madhya. tisarē anta. cauthē phira anga anga sambhāra* [sic] *tāmē sāvadhāni soī jāge* (NC).

<sup>4</sup>The interpolation of *mili*, suggested by MSS J and BR (see variant 16) is semantically superfluous and echoes KM 83.3 (*saba saṣī mili chirakāu ṣelana lāgī*).

<sup>5</sup>I have followed RC and SMC in analysing *sugharāi* as related to *sughrāi* 'attractiveness of form or build; beauty; skill, accomplishment' (see OHED): *rati sugharāi thāni* (RC); *śrī jugal ke saundarya mādhurya kā gāyan karne lagī* (SMC). NC and BC read it as the name of a *rāga*: *sugharāi rāga mē gāvata hai* (NC); *sugharāi rāg kā gāyan karti huī* (BC). However, the four other *padas* of KM, in the text of which a *rāga* is mentioned, have been assigned unanimously to the same *rāga* unit they speak of (KM 32 and 52 to Kedarāu, KM 89 to Malāra and KM 106 to Gaurī, cf. VI 1.), and this verse is assigned to *rāga* Bilāvala rather than to *rāga* Sugharāi. Moreover, *sugharāi* is listed among the mid-day *rāgas* (Swarup 1933, p. 175) and this time does not fit the specifically early-morning context of the verse (whereas Bilāvala is an early morning *rāga*, see Bandothyaya 1950, p. 48). There is one more occurrence of *sugharāi* in KM (1.3), where it is clearly used in the sense 'beauty'.

<sup>6</sup>This verse is quoted in HSS as the example for the meaning *dagdha honā* of *dag-*. *dag-* as a synonym of *jahnā*, hints at the story of Kāma being burnt by Śiva, and at the 'fire' of Kāma's envy. The burn marks/brands allude also to the love-wounds on the hero's and heroine's bodies in the morning after a passionate night.

NC seems to read into *dage* the meaning *dāsa*: *aru dage kahā ki jo hama carana kamala ke dāsa hai*.

## KM 88

Now the bridegroom Lāla and the bride Bihārīnī<sup>1</sup> are constantly<sup>2</sup> swinging on a swing<sup>3</sup>;  
look oh *sakhīs*<sup>4</sup>.

The beauty of the fair and dark is extremely resplendent. [I am making] various<sup>5</sup>  
offerings<sup>6</sup> [to them].

The borders<sup>7</sup> of [their] blue mantle and yellow sash are moving [like] banners fluttering  
without rest<sup>8</sup>.

The play<sup>9</sup> of Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī never falters<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>The commentaries disagree in their interpretation of *bihārīni*, which is partly due to a textual problem. Haynes has evidently used a MS which quotes *bihārī* rather than *bihārīni* (see below), a reading suggested by MSS C and F as well (see variant 7). SMC gives *bihārana*, and interprets it as a verbal noun (see below). *bihārīni*, as an epithet of Rādhā, is a semantically superior reading; moreover, by naming the bride as well as the bridegroom, it contributes to the symmetry of the line.

<sup>2</sup>In order to accommodate the awkward collocation of *dina* with (a)ba, NC, BC and SMC interpret *dina* as referring to the couple and translate it as 'eternal' *dina jyō nitya lāla dūlahu aru dūlahina bihārīna* (NC); *āj śāśvat yugal svarūp hiṇḍore par jhūlte hue bihār kar rahe hai* (SMC); *jo anādikāl se nīrantar dūlah dūlahin rūp mē suśobhit rahte hai...hiṇḍore mē jhūl rahe hai* (BC). Haynes reads *dina* as part of the message to the *sakhīs*: 'Oh *sakhīs*, look always [at the] bride [and] the bridegroom Bihārī'.

The inclusion of *dina* is probably determined by considerations of form rather than content since it contributes to the alliteration of *d-*.

<sup>3</sup>RC and NC interpret *hiṇḍore* as a metaphor alluding to the couple's love-play *prema hiḍorā* (RC); *hīya duhūna ke so hiḍorā* (NC). Cf. notes 1 to KM 48, 1 to KM 61 and 1 to KM 107.

*hiṇḍore* is presumably a locative form (see III 6.1.6).

<sup>4</sup>Apart from the meaning 'a woman, an attractive woman' (see OHED), *lalanā* is also the name of one of Rādhā's *sakhīs*. (The second of the *aṣṭācārya* of the Haridāsī *sampradāya*, Viṭhal Vipul is traditionally seen as the incarnation of Lalanā.) However, there are no examples of mentioning names of *sakhīs* in KM (apart from Lalitā, who is traditionally connected with Haridās); all commentaries read *lalanā* in its general meaning.

<sup>5</sup>BC analyses *bahu bhāti* as referring to the couple's love-play rather than to the following *balanā*: *nānā prakār kī krīḍā kā vilās ho rahā hai*.

<sup>6</sup>The interpretation of *balanā* is problematic. Most of the commentaries analyse it as derived from *bali* 'offering, sacrifice' (see OHED): *śobhā lakhi sahaçari ṭṭna torāi* (PC); *maī to is par nānā prakār se nyauchāvar hotī hū* (SMC); *maī balaiyā letī hū* (BC). *bala* is quoted as a synonym of *bali* in OHED, but the extended form *balanā* remains beyond definitive explanation. It might be an obl. pl. form, though the use of obl. is not required in this grammatical context. Most of the rhyme-words in this verse present a similar problem, and the explanation might lie in the requirements of rhyme.

NC and Haynes interpret *bala* as derived from [bala-] 'power' (see OHED): *jovana ke jorē jhoṭā deta hai* (NC); 'The extreme splendour of the beauty [of the] fair one [and the] dark one [is] powerful [in] many ways' (Haynes).

<sup>7</sup>My translation is based on the reading *nīlambara pītambara añcala calata*. There is strong manuscript support for this emendation: the only MS to share the reading of G, *cañcala*, is the closely related MS PH (see variants 17 and 19). Moreover *añcala* is semantically superior in this context.

<sup>8</sup>The interpretation of the rhyme word is again problematic (cf. note 6). All commentaries analyse *kalanā* as comprising *kala* + *nā*, but they explain its meaning in a different way: NC and BC simply state that the activities of the couple do not stop: *rākhe rahata nāhī* (NC); *yadyapi ...svedbinduō kā donō ke śrī aṅgō mē darśan ho rahī hai tathāpi kal nahī par rahī hai* (BC); SMC elaborates: *mujhe unhē dekhe binā kal nahī partī*. Extended *nā* as a negative particle is quoted in SBBhK.

The form *kalanā* is attested in OHED in the sense 'sthg. created, creation', but this meaning seems unlikely in this context.

<sup>9</sup>This translation is based on the reading *bihārāni abacalanā*. Most of the MSS omit the honorific particle (see variant 29); the reading *bihārāni* is supported by a number of relatively independent MSS (see variant 30) and is semantically superior. *bihārāni* is presumably a verbal noun rather than the obl. pl. of *bihāra*.

<sup>10</sup>The interpretation of the last rhyme-word, *abacalanā*, is again problematic. Most commentaries gloss *abacalanā* as a rhyme form of *avicala*: *dūlahā dūlahina nīta naye avicala avicala dhāma* (RC); *śrī haridāsī jū kī jorī bihār mē avical hai arthāt śāśvat bihār cal rahā hai* (SMC); *śyāmā kuñjabihārī kī jorī...sadā isī ras mē acaī rahī hai* (BC). NC analyses *calanā* as a combination of *cala*+ *nā*: *calanā kahā kī doṅṅ tana mana kari magana hai. aru bibasa hvai cala na sakata*.

## KM 89

If only such a season could remain forever, with its crying peacocks<sup>1</sup>;

There are fine clouds and fine rainbows all around, fine is Vṛndāvana<sup>2</sup>, fine and beautiful is the thundering<sup>3</sup> of the clouds;

Fine and beautiful<sup>4</sup> is the green green<sup>5</sup> earth, fine and beautiful is the crawling of the red-velvet insects [like] millions of desires<sup>6</sup>;

Through<sup>7</sup> Haridās's sovereign's singing with Śyāmā, rāga Malāra was established by youth<sup>8</sup> and maiden<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>The commentaries interpret *morani* in different ways: PC glosses it as the possessive pronoun *morī*: *sakhi morī*; RC, SMC and BC read it as 'peacocks': *śabda alāpata mora* (RC); *mor. bolte rahē* (SMC); *ānandomatta hokar mayūr śrīvan mē yatratatra nṛtya kar rāge hai* (BC). NC gives two alternatives: makes Kṛṣṇa the subject of the speaking: *kahā ki pīya [sic] jo mora so manuhara ke matavāre bacana bolata hai*, or analyses *morani* as a verbal noun of *moṃā*: *athavā. jo bilāsa mē gatina kī aṅga aṅga mē morana tānē madhura madhura bolana aṅga aṅga ābhūṣanana kī hota hai*.

The analysis of the rhyme form *morani* is problematic. It could be interpreted as the obl. pl. of *mora* (cf. KM 82.1 and 96.1). Alternatively, it could be seen as a shortened version of *morani* 'peahen', but this meaning is semantically less likely. This does however seem to be the meaning adopted by the scribes of MSS A; D and NC, since they change the verbal form *bolata* to its f. counterpart, see variant 7 (unless they have analysed *morani* as a verbal noun, see above).

<sup>2</sup>The honorific particle is probably a later interpolation, as suggested by MSS C, F, H, J, BR and NCM (see variant 16).

<sup>3</sup>Since the obl. pl. of *ghora* here is highly unlikely, *ghorani* is presumably the verbal noun.

<sup>4</sup>MSS C, F, H, I, J and BR do not include *nikī* in the third line (see variants 21 and 27). The addition of *nikī* in the rest of the MSS may have resulted from a prosodic hypercorrection to supply the missing *mātrās* of this comparatively short line.

<sup>5</sup>The first *hari* in MS G is probably prosodic hypercorrection (see above); all the remaining MSS (except for F and BR which do not repeat it at all, see variant 25) repeat *hari*/<sup>o</sup>*i* only once, see variant 23.

<sup>6</sup>The commentaries disagree about the interpretation of the second *pāda* of this line. PC reads *būḍhani* as a metaphor for the *sakhīs* dressed in red garments: *sahacārī basana suraṅga manu kāma karorī*; RC as a metaphor for Rādhā's body *būḍhani gorī aṅga*; NC deciphers in it the radiance of passion in the couple's limbs: *āchī būḍana kī raigana kahā ki aṅga aṅga mē anurāga kī jhalaka soī būḍana*, and connects *kāma kīrorani* with Kṛṣṇa's desires: *kāma karorana kahā ki karorani manortha [sic] lāla jū ke purana hota hai*. SMC and BC supply verbs for *kāma kīrorani*: *is ramanīyatā par koṭī-koṭī balihārī hote hai* (SMC); *birabahuṭinō kā rēgnā koṭānu koṭī kām ke lavaṅya se susajit hai* (BC).

<sup>7</sup>The construction *syāmā ke mili gāvata* seems to echo both *syāmā kuñjabihārī kaī gāvata* (KM 32.4) and *mili gāvata* (KM 66.2). My translation is based on the reading *ke gāvata*, suggested by MSS C, F, H, BR and NC (see variant 35).

About the collocation of *ke* with imperf. ptc. see note 11 to KM 32.

<sup>8</sup>The syntax of the last line (especially with reference to *kisaura kisorani*) is obscure. PC and BC supply a clause for *kisaura kisorani*: *aṅga piya baraṣi kiśorī* (PC); *śrī lāl kahne lage he kiśorī pyārī. aise hī ras kī varṣā kartī rahau* (BC). SMC ignores *syāmā ke*: *śrī haridās ke ārādhyā navkiśor aur kiśorī ke samavet svar mē rāg malār jam rahā hai*.

<sup>9</sup>*kiśorani* is presumably a rhyme form of *kiśorī*.

## KM 90

<sup>1</sup>The days of rain and of joy have come, make this<sup>2</sup> promise<sup>3</sup>: I shall not sulk;  
 How can [anything] be achieved by constant<sup>4</sup> sulking? Make this<sup>5</sup> promise in thought,  
 word and deed<sup>6</sup>.  
 An agreement<sup>7</sup> has been made after many efforts, forget this adverse<sup>8</sup> nature<sup>9</sup>;  
 Haridās's sovereign Śyāma<sup>10</sup> Kuñjabihārī is under [his] beloved's power.

<sup>1</sup>The transposition of the two *pādas* of the first line, suggested by MS NC (see variant 1) restores the rhyme pattern. The uncertainty about the position of the two *pādas* has presumably resulted from the singing practice, cf. section on *geyavikāras* in II 4.

<sup>2</sup>I have translated *so* (in parallel with *te* in the second line) as the demonstrative-correlative pronoun. BC glosses it as the prefix *su-* 'good' to *bola* 'promise: *āp acchī prakār pratijñā karau*. Yet another possibility (if this word order is preserved) is to analyse *so* as the adverb 'thus, therefore, hence' (see OHED).

<sup>3</sup>The interpolation of *jū/ju* in MSS A, C, I, J, BR; D and H (see variant 8) echoes KM 59.1 (*eka bola boliye ju māna na karaū*).

<sup>4</sup>Most of the MSS read *gharī* rather than *ghari* (see variants 11 and 12). The reading of G is poetically superior, since it brings the length of the second line (35 *mātrās*) close to the 34 *mātrās* of the first line; however this may have been a prosodic hypercorrection.

<sup>5</sup>I have interpreted *te* in parallel with *so* in the first line as the demonstrative-correlative pronoun (see note 2). However, the syntax of *te* remains rather obscure.

<sup>6</sup>The commentaries supply a clause/clauses for *mana baca krama ke*: *mana kara kahā ki jyō mē tau mahā kāma dahā hau. cātika laū bacana aru cañcalatā mana kara karau. tau tuma mere auguna mana mē jina dharau. bacana kara kahā ki jo mē cañcalatā kara ātura haū. bacana hāsi kau kahau. aru āpakī binā ruci bolau tauhū bacana kara kachū auguna na gahau. kriyā kara kahā ki aṅga aṅga milakaī keli ke bilāsa heta aṅga aṅga sparśa karau tau* (NC); *atah āp man bacan karma se ek hokar mān na karne ki pratijñā karo* (SMC); *man vāñī evaṃ kriyā se āpkī anukūltā vāchā kartā hū* (BC).

The transposition of *baca krama* in MS G (cf. variants 21 and 23) has resulted from the tension between the usual word order of this stock phrase, and the requirements of the rhyme (cf. *sacu ke*, line 1, see note 1).

For further occurrences of *mana baca krama* in KM see 4.2, 36.3 and 59.2.

<sup>7</sup>I have translated *bandhāna* with its technical meaning, 'an agreement as to wages or terms' (see OHED), since KM 36 sets a precedent for the use of business terms in the context of *māna*. Alternatively *bandhāna* can be interpreted in its musical meaning, 'fixed measure, rhythm', employed metaphorically. PC glosses *bandhāna* with *prabandha* 'arrangement': *sukha prabandha atī āja bhayau*; NC analyses it as derived from the verb *bādh-*: *jaisē āpa ki ruci aṅga aṅga bilāsa mē hai. vaise hī merī ruci bādhi hai nāhī*; SMC and BC render it with *thāth* 'means, scheme, arrangement' (see OHED).

<sup>8</sup>SK quotes the noun *gāsa* as a synonym of *dveṣ*, *vair* 'aversion, enmity'. Similar is the interpretation of the commentaries as well, but they disagree about the identity of the bearer of *gasa guna*: PC interprets it as referring to Rādhā: *kopa terau hari laīna*; NC adds the possibility of *gasa guna* applying to Kṛṣṇa: *jaba pyārī jū ke mana mē gasa ke guna hai so bisare. athavā. piya [sic] ke auguna mana mē hai. so bisare*. SMC opts for the latter: *ab āp mere aprādh kī purānī bātō ko (yadi koī hō bhī) to bisār do*. BC connects *guna* with Kṛṣṇa and *gasa* with Rādhā: *yadi koī avgun mere se ban gayā ho aur āp usko dhyān mē rakhkar kop kar rahī hō*.

No MS offers a nasalised reading of *gasa* (see variant 33). The reading *hāsa* of MS C makes no sense in this context.

<sup>9</sup>The use of *guna* in collocation with *gasa* is presumably an ironic reference to 'quality'.

<sup>10</sup>There is strong manuscript support for the emendation *syāmā kuñjabihārī*, since this is the reading of a number of relatively distant MSS (of which PH and E are closely related to G); see variant 36. If this reading is accepted the translation will be: 'Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī, he is under Pyārī's power'. However, *śyāmā* might be a secondary reading, resulting from independent scribal hypercorrections, rather than an original reading; because of this I have opted not to make this emendation.

## KM 91

Such a wonder<sup>1</sup> has nowhere been seen or heard: lightning constantly together with  
a new cloud;

In it arise many kinds<sup>2</sup> of extreme delight and radiance<sup>3</sup>.

There is no other<sup>4</sup> happiness for the mind [but] seeing<sup>5</sup> this<sup>6</sup>. Oh beloved, you bewitch  
the heart<sup>7,8</sup> by glancing.

The pure glory of Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā Kuñjabihārī<sup>9</sup>!

<sup>1</sup>The commentaries elaborate on the intended meaning of *aciraja*. NC explains that the unity of sentiments between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā is wondrous: *so navina rasa duhūna kē eka rasa hai. tākau aciraja hai aisi rasa ki ekatā kabahū dekhī na sunī*. PC; BC and SMC elucidate that usually the lightning flashes and disappears, but Śyāmā (the lightning) and Kuñjabihārī (the cloud) remain together: *dekhaū ghana saṅga dāminī camaki rahī thaharāi* (PC); *sāmānyatayā meghō mē bijli camaktī hai aur chip jāti hai* (SMC); *sādhāraṇ niyam hai ki megh se bijli mili aur bijli lupta prāy hokar ghan mē samā jāti hai* (BC).

<sup>2</sup>It is difficult to determine the exact place of *bahu bhātini* in the syntax of the second line. Like SMC, I have interpreted it as referring to *moja*: *usmē anek prakār kī ākāṅkṣā aur sukh kī lālsāō kī taraṅgē uṭh rahī hai*. NC supplies *bilāsa kī gati* as a governing noun for *bahu bhātini* (see below). Haynes connects it with *lasa*: 'and many-sided attraction'.

<sup>3</sup>I have followed NC and SMC in interpreting *lasa* as derived from [*lasati*]<sup>1</sup> 'to shine, to be radiant or beautiful' (see OHED): *nava nava bilāsa kī gati tāhī bhāti lasata hai* (NC); *jo śobhā de rahī hai* (SMC). BC analyses *lasa* as derived from [*\*lasa-*] '4. fig. attraction' (see OHED): *man ko sadaiv ākārṣaṇ kartā rahtā hai*.

<sup>4</sup>MSS C, F, H, J, BR and NCM omit *koū pyārī* (see variants 23 and 24). This exclusion might have resulted from prosodic hypercorrection, since the third line, with its 41 *mātrās*, is excessively long compared to the other three lines. On the other hand *koū pyārī* is of explanatory character, and its inclusion might have been influenced by the almost identical *pāda* of KM 77.3. It is interesting that more or less the same MSS (F, I, J, BR and NCM) omit *koū* (before *pyārī*) in KM 77 as well (see variants 18 and 19). Since the latter omission is actually just a transposition, and since no MS excludes *pyārī* in KM 77, the reverse hypothesis (that the omission of *koū pyārī* has been affected by the parallel omission in KM 77.3) cannot be made. The same applies to the omission/inclusion of *tū* (see variant 25). As all the MSS which omit *koū pyārī tū* belong to the same group (see II 8), I have not opted for this emendation.

<sup>5</sup>The reading *harive* of MSS J and RC (see variant 19) is semantically superior. However, it does not have strong manuscript support; moreover it echoes KM 77.3 (*mana ke harive kau aura suṣa nāhi*).

<sup>6</sup>I have followed the SMC's gloss of the first *pāda*: *is āścarya ke atirikta koī dūsrā saundarya-mādhurya hai hī nahī, jisse citta ko sukh kī anubhūti ho*. BC interprets *kaū* as a synonym of *ke yogya*: *man ke dekhne ke yogya is prakār kā atyuttam ānanda hai hī nahī*. NC glosses this *pāda* as referring to Kṛṣṇa: *eka piya kō yā bhāti dekhivau bhāvata hai. aura sukha nāhina*.

<sup>7</sup>BC reads *mana* as referring to Kṛṣṇa: *śrī priyā kī rasbharī citvan ne lāl ko premvaśbhūt kar liyā hai*. PC glosses *mana* as applied to the *sakhīs*: *sahacari kau jiya harata*.

<sup>8</sup>MSS C, F, I, J, BR and NCM interpolate *jujo* (see variant 27). However, this inclusion is of explanatory character, and the MSS in question belong to the same group (see II 8).

<sup>9</sup>The *chāpa* presents a textual problem as usual. MSS C, D, F, H, I, J, BR and NC read *kuñjabihārī* instead of *kuñjabihārīni* (see variant 33); most of them (with the exception of D and F) add some phonetic variant of *bihārīni* as well (see variant 34). This reading has no impact on the semantics of the line; it simply preserves the more formulaic version of the *chāpa*: 'Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī, the pure glory of Bihārīni!'

## KM 92

The drops look beautiful, dear, let not your shawl be drenched;

Take<sup>1</sup> it off and give it to me, I would keep it under my arm, do not say no<sup>2</sup>, oh friend;

Come close<sup>3</sup> and remain<sup>4</sup> clinging<sup>5</sup> breast to breast<sup>6</sup>, so that the drops<sup>7</sup> of rain do not reach you;

Haridās's sovereign Śyāma<sup>8</sup> says: lightning flashes<sup>9</sup>, say yes, yes<sup>10</sup>, won't you, oh friend.

<sup>1</sup>The reading *utārī* of MS D (see variant 10) is grammatically inferior, since *utārī* is an action preceding *dai*, which needs to be expressed with an absolutive. The same applies to the reading *dharī* of NCM (see variant 11).

<sup>2</sup>I have followed NC and BC in analysing *tūnarī* as comprising *tū na ī*, and interpreting it as an abridged rhyme version of the MSH expression *nā karnā* 'to refuse' (see OHED): *tū nāhī mata karau* (NC); *nakārātmak uttar mat denā* (BC). The rest of the commentaries ignore *tūnarī*. An interpretation based on *tūn* (= *tūnūr* 'quiver') does not seem relevant.

The readings *cūnarī* and *sunarī* of MSS D and RC (see variant 15) betray semantic confusion on the part of the scribes.

<sup>3</sup>There are a number of occurrences of the expression *chātī sō chātī lagā-* 'to embrace' in KM (25.4, 56.4, 77.4). Some of the commentaries connect *lag-* with *chātī sō chātī* here as well: *maī tumhē bhī chātī se chātī lagākar chipā lū* (SMC); *hrday se hrday lagākar* (BC). However, I have not been able to locate any further examples of using the vi. rather than the vt. in this expression.

<sup>4</sup>I have interpreted *rahaī* as 2nd p. subj.-pres. which seems to make best sense in this context. Since the usual ending for 2nd p. is -e rather than *āī*, the readings *rahē/rahe* of MSS A, PH, NCP; D, F, I, NCM (see variant 17) are grammatically superior.

<sup>5</sup>The interpolation of *doū chaila* in MS NC (see variant 18) echoes KM 25.4 (*gahi lapaṭāi rahe doū chaila chātī sō chātī lagāī*).

<sup>6</sup>The interpolation of *lagāī*<sup>cya</sup>, suggested by MSS F and NC (see variant 21) is due to confusion with the collocation *chātī sō chātī lagā-* (see note 3).

<sup>7</sup>I have interpreted *phūnarī* as a rhyme form of *phuvara/phuāra* 'small fine rain, drizzle, mist, small spot or drop' (see Platts). This is the gloss of the commentaries as well: *tau vauchāra kī phūvāra na lagē* (NC); *jisse tum par būdō kī bauchār na āve* (SMC); *ki jal ke bauchār kā kaṇ āpke aṅgō ko samsparsīt na kare* (BC).

<sup>8</sup>The reading *śyāmā* of MSS A, C and D (see variant 31) is also possible if interpreted as vocative; however then the subject of *kahata* would not be expressed.

<sup>9</sup>The commentaries give different interpretations of the implied sense of *bijurī kaūdhē*. NC and RC connect this image with Rādhā: *āp nava nava gati koka bilāsana mē ati pravīna hau. so kaūdhī kaūdhī kē rasa barsā barasāvau* (NC); *china china kaūdhati rati rati baṭati ghana barasana kī cāhi* (RC); BC and SMC remain on the literal level in their analysis: *dekho bijlī bhī kaūdhne lagī hai atah svikāroka mudrā ko prakaṭ karke* (BC); *is samay bijlī kaūdh rahī hai* (SMC).

<sup>10</sup>There is strong manuscript evidence for the emendation *hā hū na ī* (see variant 37), on which my translation is based. This emendation is supported by a similar phrase in the second *pāda* of the second line of Vyās's *Mān kī śṛṅkhalā*, verse 13: *māna jini karai karai hā hā ī* (see Pauwels 1994a, p. 34 of chapter 9). The idiom *hā karnā* 'to say yes, to agree' is attested in OHED. Similar is the interpretation of BC: *he pyārī āp kaho hā hū yānī svikārātmak uttar do ṇa [sic] mat karnā*. SMC and Haynes gloss *hāhū* as derived from *hāhū*, synonym of *kolāhal*, *halcal* (see HSS): *āp hāhū na karē* (SMC); 'don't be frightened when the lightning flashes' (Haynes).

## KM 93

The two of them are getting a soaking<sup>1</sup>, oh friend;

The two of them are sheltering under the end [of her *sārī*];

The two of them remain<sup>2</sup> utterly intoxicated<sup>3</sup> day and night, coloured by the colour of  
love<sup>4</sup> alone.

Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī<sup>5</sup>, the two of them dance with mutual  
love<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>The reading *bhijata* of MS D (see variant 1) is grammatically inferior, since *lāg-* 'to begin to' requires the verbal noun of the main verb rather than its imperf. ptc.

<sup>2</sup>The reading *rahatī* of MS F (see variant 11) is grammatically inferior, because *doū jana* is presumably subject also of the first clause.

<sup>3</sup>The reading *uttamana* of MS D (see variant 9) is inferior.

Dittography of *uttama* in MS D (see variant 10).

<sup>4</sup>SMC glosses *rāga* in its musical meaning: *saṅgīt raṅga mē rāge rahte haī*. The musical interpretation is perhaps strengthened by the dance context of line 4.

<sup>5</sup>MSS C, H, I, J, BR, NC and RC omit *kuñjabihārī* (see variant 18). However this makes the syntax of the last line problematic. There are 20 more cases in KM where *syāmā* is used by itself in the *chāpa*: KM 6, 11, 12, 15, 36, 42, 43, 53, 57, 60, 63, 67, 68, 69, 72, 75, 89, 97, 100, 105; in all of them the usage is not formulaic, but *syāmā* is an intrinsic part of the syntax of the line. Here *syāmā* by itself cannot be an inherent part of the syntax of the line, because of the logical tension between it and *doū jana*. The omission of *kuñjabihārī* in these MSS might echo KM 100.4 (*śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā prema paraspara būkā bandana melai*). Because of these considerations I have opted against such an emendation.

<sup>6</sup>The syntax of the second *pāda* of the last line is open to interpretation. PC and NC analyse *prema paraspara ṅṭya* as a compound: *prema rasa ṅṭya karata* (PC); *syāmā aru lāla jū prema paraspara surati ṅṭya karata hai* (NC). However, the interposed *paraspara* seems to disallow a reading of *prema ṅṭya* as a compound. Because of this I have followed SMC and BC in reading *prema* and *ṅṭya* as two separate units: *donō prem se paraspar milkar ṅṭya kar rahe haī* (SMC); *prem mē paraspar ṅṭya karne lage* (BC).

## KM 94

Their hearts are delighted<sup>1</sup> with the drummers<sup>2</sup>, the dance-ground is lustrous, Tribhaṅgī [demonstrates] gestures and fine<sup>3</sup> new steps;  
 Rādhā<sup>4</sup> dances, satisfied, the prominent<sup>5</sup>, charming<sup>6</sup> and skilful Lalitā sings a high-pitched<sup>7</sup> tune ...<sup>8</sup>;  
 Delight-giving Bihārī praises<sup>9</sup> his beloved Rādhikā day and night, coloured<sup>10</sup> by the colour [of love];  
 Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī are companions in music<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>The form *nadita* is not attested. It might have resulted from a confusion of *tadbhava* imperf. ptcs. and *tatsama* perf. ptcs. (cf. III 5.2.3). However, only MS RC (see variant 1) and MS BI read *nadata*. I have interpreted *nadita* as a form of *nandita* attested in HSS as 'delighted'.

<sup>2</sup>The form *mṛdaṅgī* is attested generally (OHED, SŚ, HSS) in the meaning 'a player of *mṛdaṅga*'. All commentaries read *mṛdaṅgī* as 'drum' and interpret *mana mṛdaṅgī* as a *taṭpuruṣa* compound: *koka bacana nānā sajati mana pakhāvajī sāji* (RC); *jahā mana rūpa mṛdaṅgī bajata hai* (NC); *man rūpī mṛdaṅga* (BC). SMC supplies an explanatory clause for *mana mṛdaṅgī*: *mana ko haraṇ karnevālā mṛdaṅga baj rahā hai*.

<sup>3</sup>I have interpreted *su* as the Sanskrit prefix 'good, attractive, fine' rather than the ppn.

<sup>4</sup>The commentaries disagree about the subject of *natata*. PC and NC read it as applied to Lalitā: *nṛtya karati lalitā nija aṅgī* (PC); *naṭati lalitā kahā ki jahā lalitā jū ne kahau ki ho lādīlī jū pārāsa mē bibasatā alasān mē mati lyāvau. jaba lalitā jū nē naṭati śabda kahau...*(NC). SMC and BC take Rādhā as the subject of *naṭata*: *svāmīni jū nṛtya kar rahī haī* (SMC); *rādhā...nṛtyaparāyaṇ ho rahī haī* (BC).

<sup>5</sup>The translation of *te gri nābhi* is problematic. I have interpreted *gri* as a *sandhi* form of *agra* 'front, foremost, first, prior, prominent, chief, best, foremost or upper part' (see OHED), since according to the rules of *sandhi* -a preceded by -e becomes *avagraha*. NC analyses *gra* as a form of *grīva* 'neck': *aru grīva nābhi tē sundara tānana ke samūha*.

SMC and BC connect *nābhi* with *tāna tuṅgī*: *nābhi se uṭhnevālī tuṅga tān ko gā rahī haī* (SMC); *nābhi ke agrabhāg se svar kā sañcālan kartī huī ucca svar se* (BC); PC and RC ignore it: *gāvati tāna kaṭhina śrī rādhā nṛtya karati lalitā nija aṅgī* (PC); *ūce [sic] sura syāvā [sic] sadai karata lalita guna gāna* (RC). The collocation remains unresolved.

<sup>6</sup>The referent of *rasavatī nāgarī* and the subject of *gāi* are also uncertain (cf. note 4). PC and NC read *rasavatī nāgarī* as nouns referring to Rādhā: *gāvati tāna kaṭhina śrī rādhā* (PC); *aru alasāna bibasatā tē rasavatī nāgarī jū gāvata hai* (NC). BC and SMC analyse both *rasavatī nāgarī* and *gāi* as applying to Lalitā: *ras marmajñā parama vidagdha lalitā sakhī nābhi se uṭhnevālī tuṅga tān ko gā rahī haī* (SMC); *ras svarūpā param vidagdha saṅgīt svāmīni śrī lalitā jī* (BC).

<sup>7</sup>The extended form *tuṅgī* is not attested and is probably an accommodation for the rhyme.

<sup>8</sup>See above, note 5.

<sup>9</sup>I have followed SMC in translating *bande* as derived from *band-* 'to praise, to revere', though my interpretation of its subject is different: *maī ras denevāle śrī dūlah aur dulahīnī rādhā kī vandanā kartī hūī*. Both NC and BC interpret it as the pl. form of *bandā* 'servant, slave', but they disagree about its referent: NC reads it as applied to Kṛṣṇa: *aru bande kahā ki dāsi vallabhā rādhikā ke*, BC connects *bande* with the *sakhīs*: *ānandamūrti śrī lāl evaṃ unki prāṇ vallabhā priyā evaṃ sakhījan*. The interpretation of NC stresses the primacy of Rādhā in the theology of the Haridāsī *sampradāya*. The gloss of BC seems unlikely, since there are no further occurrences of *bande* used with reference to the *sakhīs*; the *sakhīs* who have a special importance in the theology of the sect would not usually be called servants. Cf. note 1 to AS 6.

<sup>10</sup>The f. form, *raṅgī*, of the perf. ptc. is presumably determined by the rhyme, rather than applying to Rādhā only. Alternatively, *raṅgī* can be analysed as the adj. 'impassioned'; however this seems a less likely option, used as it is together with *raṅga*.

<sup>11</sup>RC and NC interpret *saṅgīta* here metaphorically, as referring to the couple's love-play: *karata surata saṅgītamaya śyāmā śyāma sujāna* (RC); *so saṅgīta jo surati nṛtya tākē saṅgī hai* (NC).



## KM 95

<sup>1</sup>The lightning says to the cloud: those who compare<sup>2</sup> us [to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa] are wrong. He alone is real cloud, she alone is real lightning<sup>3</sup>.

Dim was the wit of those various people<sup>4</sup> who compared us [to them];

Has this<sup>5</sup> ever been heard: how<sup>6</sup> can a particle<sup>7</sup> separated from a drop<sup>8</sup> of water be compared<sup>9</sup> to an ocean of love<sup>10</sup>?

Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī<sup>11</sup> are immersed<sup>12</sup> in eternal, perpetual love.

<sup>1</sup>The transposition of the first and the second *pāda* of the first line, suggested by MSS F and H (see variant 1) would breach the rhyme, and has probably resulted from the singing practice, cf. section on *geyavikāras* in II 4.

<sup>2</sup>The usage of the subj.-future *dehi* as pres. indicative is attested in SŚ.

<sup>3</sup>The commentaries on the implied meaning of the lightning's statement stress either the unique beauty of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, or the single-minded love between the two of them (a motif reminiscent of KM 91): *dāmini śrī priyājū piya kī sobhā dekhi megha sō kahata hai...ēi lāla jū megha priyā jū bijurī tina kau nitya saṃyoga hai. yāi [sic] sāce hai ki sadā aṅga aṅga bihāra karata. hama doũ jhūte hai [sic]. kyoki [sic] kabahū tau megha baraṣai hai dāmini binā. kabahū dāmini camakai hai megha binā so nitya saṃyoga nāhī* (NC); *dekhatā pyārī jū lamana [sic] bolī bacana anūpa. e ghana dāmini sāca hai ina paṭatara hama nāha* (RC); *dhvani yah hai ki dāmini kā kahā hai ki is mādhuri kā darśan aise logō ko nahī huā hai* (BC); *śyāmā śyāma kī adbhut kānti kī upamā* (SMC).

<sup>4</sup>The reading *logani/na* of MSS C, BR and NCM (see variant 16) is supported only by a limited number of closely related MSS; moreover it would be very unusual to find *loga* used as a pluraliser in a text of this antiquity. The plural *jina jina...tina tina* is probably the origin of the pluralising *loga* reading.

<sup>5</sup>*aisī* is governed by an implied *bāta*.

<sup>6</sup>This translation is based on the reading *kyāū/kyō* of MSS A, H, I, J; BR and NC (see variant 33), which is semantically better in this context.

<sup>7</sup>The commentaries explain that to compare lightning and cloud with Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is as absurd as to compare a minute drop of water with the ocean: *e samudra hama būda* (PC); *so maī tau vā kana samāna haū. aru āpa rasa ke samudra hau* (NC); *kyā kabhī kisī ko jal ke kaṅ kī upamā samudra se dete hue sunā hai* (SMC).

<sup>8</sup>The reading *būnda* of MSS A, D, F, H, J, BR, PH and RC (see variant 28) is supported by a large number of relatively independent MSS and is grammatically superior.

<sup>9</sup>*dījai* here should be read as passive rather than as imperative.

<sup>10</sup>The translation of *rācī* is problematic. I have followed the gloss of NC in interpreting it as related to *rāc-* 'to love, to sport, to be attracted to' (see SBBhK): *aru āpa rasa ke samudra hau*. BC seems to gloss it as derived from *racnā*: *samudra se jisse uskī racnā hai*. The other commentaries ignore it. Another possibility would be to interpret *rācī* as related to the adj. *rāc* (= *rāc*), which in HŚS is glossed with *thorā, alpa, tanik*, and connect it with *kana*. Its position far apart from *kana* makes this option not very likely, but on the other hand its place in the line may have been determined by the rhyme.

It is interesting that such a majority of MSS (A, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NCM, RC) support the reading *rācī*, which would breach the rhyme (see variant 36).

<sup>11</sup>The interpolation of *kī*, suggested by MSS A, F, I, J, PH and NC (see variant 39), is of explanatory character and is probably a later addition.

<sup>12</sup>*mācī* as a synonym of *magna hai, raṅgī paṛī hai* is attested in SŚ. On the other hand this line is quoted as an example for the second meaning of *māc-*, *prasiddha honā*, 'be famous' in HŚS. This is the interpretation given in SMC and BC as well: *śrī jugal kī śāśvat ek-ras prīti sarvavidit hai* (SMC); *śrī śyāmā śyāma kī nitya ekras prīti hī premjagat mē sarvopari prakīrtit hai* (BC). NC reads *mācī* as a synonym of *mac-* 'to be caused, produced: to be stirred up, to break out' (see OHED): *śyāmā aru kuñjabihārī kī aṭala prīti macī rahī hai*.

The ending of *mācī* is presumably determined by the rhyme.

## KM 96

Śyāma dances with the peacocks and delights<sup>1</sup> the enchanted Śyāmā;  
 Just so the black cuckoo sings a prelude<sup>2</sup>, the pied crested cuckoo accompanies it, just  
 so the thundering of the clouds plays a drum;  
 Just so the dark dense cloud<sup>3</sup> is black like night, just so the lightning flash displays a  
 lamp;  
 Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī; delighted, Rādhā<sup>4</sup> smiled and  
 embraced him.

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This is the second stanza excluded from PC (the first is KM 87). Its omission from the oldest commentary and MS F shows that it has not been unanimously included in the corpus of KM.

<sup>1</sup>The reading *rijhāvati* of A, BR and RC (see variant 3) is grammatically and poetically inferior. Only RC persist in this change of the rhyme (cf. variants 11, 18 and 23).

<sup>2</sup>Dittography of *-pa-* in MS D (see variant 6).

<sup>3</sup>The 'dense cloud' and the 'lightning' function on two levels: literal, referring to the rainy season, which is traditionally associated with the bliss of love-union, and metaphorical, alluding to Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. NC explains that the darkness of the cloud refers to Kṛṣṇa's oblivion of anything apart from his emotion: *aru raina kāri maha mattatā mē khabara kachū nahī ki lāla jū hai*; SMC elucidates that this darkness is for the sake of the couple's love-making: *ramaṇiyatā liye rātri kī bhāti ādhiyāri*.

<sup>4</sup>The explanation of the vocative form *rādhe* here is problematic, since a vocative would be semantically inferior in this context, and no MS offers any alternative to it. Seemingly the vocative has become generalised and has lost its case specificity. NC shows this effect also: *syāmā rādhe jū kuñjabihārī pai riḥikē hāsikē apanē kaṇṭha tē lagāvata hai* (NC). The other commentaries also read Rādhā as the subject, rather than as an addressee: *śrī haridās kī laṛī ne riḥkar śrī lāl ko hāste hue kaṇṭha se lagā liyā* (SMC); *priyā ānandit muskarā karke lāl ko kaṇṭha se lagā rahī hai* (BC).

## KM 97

The sandal paste of Hari's<sup>1</sup> body is stuck<sup>2</sup> to your body, looking like a yellow bodice;  
 [Your] ornaments are crushed<sup>3</sup>, why<sup>4</sup> are you hiding [your] body, despite your efforts  
 it cannot be hidden<sup>5</sup>, it is as if the black cuckoo<sup>6</sup> called;  
 Your collyrium and locks are astray, you have opened the treasury<sup>7</sup> of love-game-  
 pleasures;  
 Oh, Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā Bihārīnī, during union [your] necklace stayed not on  
 your neck, [but fell] into the hem of your garment.

<sup>1</sup>About the use of *hari* in KM see note 2 to KM 52.

<sup>2</sup>ŚS quotes examples of intransitive use of *lapaṭā-*, therefore *lapaṭānaū* might be the perf. ptc. (see Snell, 1991b, p. 12) rather than the verbal noun.

<sup>3</sup>Dittography of *-na-* in MS D (see variant 9).

<sup>4</sup>It is difficult to decide for or against the omission of *kāhe kaū*, suggested by MSS F, H, I, J, BR, NCM and RC (see variants 11 and 12). Both the omission and the inclusion are supported by relatively independent manuscripts as well as by related ones; metre and sense do not help either.

<sup>5</sup>About the idiomatic usage of transitive and intransitive forms of the same verb see note 8 to KM 57. Cf. also note 5 to KM 108.

<sup>6</sup>*kṛṣṇa* as a synonym of *koyal* 'the black cuckoo' is attested in SBBhK. I was told by Ś. B. Gosvāmī that the black cuckoo is believed to give away secrets. The commentaries interpret *kṛṣṇa* as referring to Kṛṣṇa: *mānō kṛṣṇa nē tumakō bolī hai* (NC); *piya kī bolani* (PC); *usī prakār jis prakār kī anek svarō mē kṛṣṇa kī bolī nahī chip saktī* (SMC); *tumhārī jihvā se uccarit svar mē bhī lāl jaisī vāṇī kā akṣaraśah prasphuṭan ho rahā hai* (BC). However, it is unlikely that *kṛṣṇa* here is used for Kṛṣṇa: usually Kṛṣṇa is referred to in devotional texts by patronymics, pet names or epithets implying identity with Viṣṇu; the name Kṛṣṇa is restricted to technical uses (cf. the only occurrence of Kṛṣṇa, as part of a compound in CP 30, see Snell 1991a, p. 211, note 17). The usage of *kṛṣṇa* is even more unusual in the Haridāsī *sampradāya*, which claims its uniqueness on the basis of its single-minded concentration on the *nikuñja līlā* (see note 9 to KM 52); indeed this is the only occurrence of *kṛṣṇa* in the entire text of KM.

<sup>7</sup>Literally, 'the money-bag'.

## KM 98

Her breasts are jugs, her youth is blossom, the spring is kept covered<sup>1</sup> by her bodice and garment<sup>2</sup>.

A palace of qualities, she is sitting in a garden of beauty, her face shining<sup>3</sup>.

Bihārī has the loveliness of myriads of cupids; by seeing him<sup>4</sup> all suffering is destroyed.

Such a connoisseur is Haridās's sovereign; she came to embrace him and they united, smiling.

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<sup>1</sup>The reading *ḍhāki* of MS H (see variant 4) is a synonym of *ḍhāp-*.

<sup>2</sup>*basa* is evidently a scribal mistake. All the MSS read *basana* (see variant 3), *basa* is corrected in MS G as well.

<sup>3</sup>The nasalisation of *-a-* in *lasāta*, *nasāta* and *basāta* is presumably an accommodation for the rhyme. Perhaps these ptes. follow the model of the Sanskrit present ptes. of the active voice which have a nasal occurring in nom., acc. and voc. of the three numbers.

<sup>4</sup>NC and SMC stress again the primacy of Rādhā (cf. VII 2.2) by forcing her into being the object and Kṛṣṇa into being the subject of *deṣata* : *aisē bihārī pyārī jū ke mukha candramā kaū dekhata hai...jina ke saba dukha kahā ki kāma dahā hai. so dukha dekhata hī nasi jāta hai* (NC); *śrī bihārī jī...bhī āpkā darśan kar sab dukhō ko naṣta huā samajhte hai* (SMC). BC follows the traditional *bhakti* motif, taking Kṛṣṇa as the object of *deṣata* and the *sakhīs* as its subject: *bihārī jo āpke priyatam hai unko dekhte hī hamārī vyathā vinaṣta ho gai*.

## KM 99

Come, won't you, let us go and see the spring of Kuñjabihārī;

<sup>1</sup>Together amidst the young women in the fresh wood and fresh bowers with new shoots<sup>2</sup>;

When the mellow sweet melody of the flute is heard, [they]<sup>3</sup> blossomed in [their] bodies<sup>4</sup>;

Listen, oh Haridās, the beautiful one<sup>5</sup> sprinkles love lovingly and touches<sup>6</sup>.

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This verse is an exception to the usual metrical irregularity of Haridās's poetry. Lines 2 to 4 show the regular metrical structure of 16 + 11 *mātrās* with trochee rhyme which is classified as *sarasi chanda*.

<sup>1</sup>The interpretation of the second *pāda* of the second line is problematic. NC interprets *nava juvatini* as the *sakhīs* or the desires of the couple: *nava juvatina jo sakhī jana so mila mila mana sō mana paraspara sukha kō sucata [sic] hai. athavā. nava juvatina duhūna kī cāhana kō bhītara tē mila eka hvai vau*. BC reads 'the new shoots' as referring to the *sakhīs* and supplies a new clause - they are resplendent with unprecedented excitement: *naye anurāg se ankurit pallav ke samān navnavāyamān mādhuṛī se paripūrṇit sakhigaṇ apūrva utsāh se suśobhit ho rahī hai*. SMC supplies a new clause as well - together with the *sakhīs*, Śyāmā and Śyāma are blossoming: *aise vātāvaraṇ mē nav yuvatiyō ke sāth śyāmā śyāma praphullit ho rahe hai*.

<sup>2</sup>Dittography of -va- in MS D (see variant 7).

<sup>3</sup>BC interprets *phūlī* as referring to Rādhā: *śrī priyā jū prasannatā se phūlī*. NC offers two possible referents of *phūlī*: Rādhā (*aru phūlī aṅga mē na bhāvata hai śrī lādilī jū*); or the *sakhīs* (*athavā ye sakhī jana*). The interpretation which connects this line with Rādhā is an attempt to resolve the inconsistency between the lack of any specific reference to Rādhā in this verse and the primary importance she is later given in the theology of the HS, cf. VII 2.2.

<sup>4</sup>*aṅgana* can be interpreted either as the obl. pl. of *aṅga* or as a combination of *aṅga* and the neg. particle *na*, which would make the translation: 'they rejoiced and could not [contain themselves] in their bodies'. BC and NC choose the latter: *phūlī nahī samāñī* (BC); for NC see above.

<sup>5</sup>I have interpreted *chaila* as referring to Kṛṣṇa because of its gender; however Haridās's poetry presents a number of examples where masculine forms are used with a feminine referent (cf. notes 1 to KM 55 and 1 to KM 65), so *chaila* can be analysed as referring to both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

<sup>6</sup>*chuvāhi* is subj.-future used as pres. indicative. The use of the causative *chuvā-* for the vt. *chū-* is presumably an accommodation for the rhyme.

## KM 100

Come, oh friend, let us play far apart from the crowd;  
 Let us enter<sup>1</sup> the lovely forest's thicket bowers<sup>2</sup>,  
 [Where]<sup>3</sup> there are no<sup>4</sup> birds and no *sakhī* is present<sup>5</sup>, let us go to this forest and play<sup>6</sup>  
 there together;  
 Oh Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā,<sup>7</sup> let us throw powder<sup>8</sup> with mutual love<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>*jhel-* is open to interpretation: SBBhK gives 5 different meanings of *jhel-*: *sahnā*, *samay kātnā*, *dhakkā denā*, *dhakelnā*, *phēknā* and *praviṣṭa honā*. Three of them: *sahnā*, interpreted as 'to experience', *samay kātnā* 'to spend time' and *praviṣṭa honā* 'to enter' are possible in this context. The commentaries opt for the first, supplying an object: *tāke madhi rasa jhelai* (NC); *kuñja-nikuñjō mē ānanda lē* (SMC); *ānanda prāpta karē* (BC).

<sup>2</sup>About the interpretation of *kuñja nikuñja* as a single unit on the model of *kuñja kuñira* etc. see Snell 1991a, pp. 213-214, note 1 to CP 34.

<sup>3</sup>The reading *jahā pañchī* is supported by a number of independent MSS: A, F, H, J, BR, NCP; I (see variant 9) and by the 1740 MS (see below, note 5); however *jahā* is of explanatory character and is probably a later accretion.

<sup>4</sup>*na* can perhaps be interpreted as obl. pl. suffix connected with *pañchī* rather than as the neg. particle since birds are usually part of the bucolic scene. However, the reading of MS BI *jahā na pañchī na saṣī saṣā* contradicts this interpretation.

<sup>5</sup>MS F reads *saṣā na saṣī*, MS H *saṣī saṣā* (see variants 12 and 13). Since according to the later theology of the sect the *sakhās* have no access to the *nikuñja* (cf. introductory note and note 3 to KM 62), the reading of MS H is corrected by a later hand to *sahita saṣī*. Despite the fact that *saṣā* is supported by only two closely related MSS, the possibility of its being the original reading cannot be ignored. It is evident from the corrections in MS H (cf. note 9 to KM 52 as well) that the MSS underwent irenic hypercorrections. Moreover, a photocopy of a MS of *pada-saṅgraha*, which is as old as 1740 AD, and which quotes this line as it is in the unrevised version of MS H, was given to me by N. C. Baṃsal. This MS is 15 years older than MS G, which is not yet conclusive, but shows that the version including *saṣā* was known very early, maybe even earlier than the canonized version. A further proof is the reading of MS BI, which supports F and H (see above). Cf. also VII 2.1.

<sup>6</sup>It is worth noting the existence of *kel-* as a Braj verb alongside the verb *khel-* and the noun *keli*.

<sup>7</sup>Neither the addition of *kuñjaji(h)ā(ri)*, nor the omission of *prema paraspara*, suggested by MSS F and H (see variants 21, 22 and 23) is supported by the 1740 MS. However, both these readings are given in MS BI.

<sup>8</sup>Both *būkā* and *bandana* are connected with the spring festival Holi; the context of this *pada* speaks of spring (even though not as directly as KM 98, 99 and 101), and in accordance with this the *rāga* prescribed for it is *basanta*.

<sup>9</sup>NC and BC interpret *prema paraspara būkā bandana* as a compound: *anurāga rūpa būkā bandana so melata hai* (NC); *āpas mē prem svarūp rasmayī būkā bandana ek dūsre par dālē* (BC). However, the inclusion of *paraspara* seems to preclude such an interpretation (cf. note 6 to KM 93).

## KM 101

Now in the springtime let us play truly apart [from the others], let us play without meeting anybody else, dear, I swear by you;

No happiness is obtained when one is in two minds, do not meet any *sakhī*, swear by me;

You will see the enjoyment which will arise from mutual exchange<sup>1</sup> of *rāgas* and *rāginīs*;

Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī [who says]: delight dwells<sup>2</sup> in the *rāgas*<sup>3</sup>, I swear [by you], dear.

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In all commentaries this *pada* is glossed as addressed by Kṛṣṇa to Rādhā.

<sup>1</sup>*pherā-pherī* is attested as 'change, exchange' in OHED.

<sup>2</sup>MSS D; F, H, J, BR; I, NCM; RC read *ū°/upajata°/jaigau°/ti* instead of *rahai* (see variant 40). This reading is poetically inferior to *rahai*, because it repeats the phrase *raṅga upajaigau* from the previous line. Moreover *raṅga rahai* seems to function as a stock phrase in KM (cf. KM 2.3, 2.4 and 61.2).

<sup>3</sup>The interplay of the meanings 'melody' and 'love' of the original *rāga* is lost in translation.

## KM 102

Stop, stop, Bihārī jū, you are throwing powder<sup>1</sup> in my eyes, what<sup>2</sup> a screen<sup>3</sup> this is for seeing the face;

You want<sup>4</sup> to meet another love<sup>5</sup> of yours under this pretext, I<sup>6</sup> am touching your feet with a firm<sup>7</sup> vow<sup>8</sup>.

The happiness which arises while singing and playing [with you] is of infinite excellence for<sup>9</sup> the body;

Where can one find such happiness for the heart as the happiness of meeting<sup>10</sup> and playing with Haridās's sovereign<sup>11</sup>?

<sup>1</sup>About *būkā* cf. note 8 to KM 100.

The interpolation of *bandana* in MS NC (see variant 7) echoes KM 100.4 (*būkā bandana melai*).

<sup>2</sup>I have interpreted *kita* as an equivalent to MSH *kyā* in its rhetorical, rather than interrogative meaning.

<sup>3</sup>The commentaries gloss *antara* as a synonym of *bādhā* 'obstacle': *isse to āpke mukh nirakhne mē vyavadhān paṛ jātā hai* (SMC); *is se āpke mukh ke darśan mē bādhā upasthit ho rahā hai* (BC); *aru pyārī jū kō pīya [sic] kō rūpa kamala avalokana mē antara parau* (NC). *antara* as a synonym of *oṭ* 'covering, screen; shelter' (see OHED) is attested in SŚ.

<sup>4</sup>This translation is based on the reading *cāhata*, suggested by MSS D, F, H, I, J, BR and NC (see variant 17). This reading is supported by a large number of MSS belonging to different groups, and is grammatically superior.

<sup>5</sup>The commentaries interpret *bhāvati* metaphorically in order to avoid any hint at Kṛṣṇa's possible unfaithfulness: *ho pyāre aura tumhāre mana kī bhāmatī bāta kara misa kai milau cāhata hau. mo aṅga kuca ādi tai* (NC); *āp apnī kōi dūsrā mancāhī ceṣṭā karnā cāhte hai* (SMC); *tum apnī abhilāṣā ke vaśibhūt hokar anek upāyō ke dvārā utāvle ho rahe ho* (BC). Cf. also VII 2.2.

<sup>6</sup>The identity of 'I' is uncertain. NC and BC interpret Kṛṣṇa as the subject of the second *pāda* of the second line: *taba lāla jū bole paiyā lāgau pana pana kō* (NC); *priyā se us bāt ko sunkar lāl kahne lage* (BC). This is supported by the other occurrence of *paiyā/pāhī lāg-* in KM (6.3) where Kṛṣṇa is the agent of the action. However this unmarked switch of voice might have resulted from sectarian concern about the primacy of Rādhā; cf. VII 2.2. I have followed SMC in interpreting Rādhā as the continuous subject of the second line: *āpke mukh-avlokan ke praṇ ke kāraṇ mai āpke pairō partī hū*.

<sup>7</sup>The repetition of *pana* does not contribute a great deal to the sense and is not required by the rhyme, but no MS omits it. MS NCP follows this pattern of repetitions and adds a second *mana* in the rhyme of the fourth line (see variant 44).

<sup>8</sup>The commentaries interpret *pana* as derived from *pana* '4. promise, vow' (see OHED): *kyaūki tumanē yaha pana layau so tumhāre pana kō dekhive mē pāya lāgata haū* (NC); *āpke praṇ ke is nirvāh ke dhaṅga par mai balihārī jāti hū* (SMC); *balihārī jāti hū āpke is praṇ par* (BC).

There is one more occurrence of *pana* (*panē*) in KM (79.4), where it again has the same meaning.

<sup>9</sup>*kaū* in the third and the fourth lines can be interpreted as a dative or a genitive marker, see variants 29 and 45.

<sup>10</sup>It seems that RC reads *mila lakhe lasata* (see variants 34 and 35).

<sup>11</sup>The commentaries interpret *svāmī* here as referring to Rādhā: *śrī haridāsī jū ke svāmī tuma syāmā hau. tumhārau milata khelata kau sukha...*(NC); *śrī śyāmā kī ras keli jaisā ras* (SMC).



## KM 103

Perfumed<sup>1</sup> after bathing<sup>2</sup>, wearing a garment, the beautiful<sup>3</sup> one sits drying<sup>4</sup> her hair in<sup>5</sup>  
the garden;

Her beautiful fingernails glitter like stars in fresh cloud while she is doing her soft hair;

Taking various ornaments [she]<sup>6</sup> stands before her dear<sup>7</sup> *sakhī*, there was [such] a mass  
of charm<sup>8</sup> [that] the army<sup>9</sup> of Kāma [was]<sup>10</sup> trembling;

Haridās's sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī, seeing [her] beauty, the eyelids<sup>11</sup> do  
not close.

<sup>1</sup>I have analysed *sōdhe* as the perf. ptc. used adverbially. This interpretation is supported by the nasalised readings of MSS A, NC; F; H and J (see variant 1).

<sup>2</sup>This line presents an unusually long sequence of absolutives. For a similar case of perf. ptc. used adverbially (which are functionally equal to the absolutives) cf. note 7 to KM 57.

<sup>3</sup>The commentaries gloss *sundari* as referring to *paṭa: aṅga aṅga basana sundara śrī priyā jū pahirai hai* (NC); *sundar vastrō ko dhāraṅ karke* (BC, SMC). However, this interpretation creates a gender problem, since *paṭa* is a m. noun and *sundari* a f. adj. or noun. Only three not very reliable MSS: J, NC and RC, read the m. alternative of *sundari*, *sundara* (see variant 6). For this reason I have translated *sundari* as a noun referring to Rādhā. Alternatively, it can be analysed as governed by the f. noun *phulavāri*. *sundari/°a* is again used as a noun applying to Rādhā in KM 104.2 (see variant 12).

<sup>4</sup>*sukhavata* is attested as a vt. in SŚ.

<sup>5</sup>Literally: 'dries her hair there where the garden is'. About Haridās's use of relative-correlative constructions see III 1.

<sup>6</sup>Alternatively, the *sakhī(s)* might be the subject, which would make the translation: 'the dear *sakhī(s)* stand(s) before [her]'; however, reading Rādhā as the subject seems to connect better with the second part of the line.

<sup>7</sup>Alternatively, *priya* can be translated with 'attractive' as attested in OHED.

<sup>8</sup>The interpretation of *bhayau bhāru āni* is problematic. I have followed the gloss of SMC and BC: *saundarya ke bhār (bharuān) arthāt adhiktā* (SMC); *priyā kī is vilakṣaṅ rūp mādhurī se* (BC).

There is one more occurrence of *āni* in KM (71.3), again in the context of the army of Kāma but there it seems to derive from the verb *ā-*.

<sup>9</sup>I have interpreted *dala dalakāi* as a collocation of *dala* 'army' and *dalak-* 'to shake, to tremble'. It is also possible to analyse it as a form of the verb *daladalā-*, again of the meaning 'to shake, to quake'.

<sup>10</sup>I have translated *dalakāi* as the perf. ptc. for the sake of consistency (cf. *bhayau*). *dalakāi* could be a rhyming form of *dalake*, but is more naturally analysed as 3rd p. subj.-pres.

<sup>11</sup>The commentaries read *kī chabi* as referring to Rādhā, and Kṛṣṇa as the referent of *palakāi lāgata: piya chabi lakhi lāgata nāhi palaka* (PC); *pyārī...jū ke sarasa khyāla sukha sō lāla nihāla hota hai* (NC); *śyāmā kī is mādhurī kā darśan karne mē is tanmayatā ko lāl prāpta ho rahe hai ki unkī palakē bhī nahī lag rahī hai* (BC); *śrī haridāsī kī svāminī kī chavi ko nirakhte hue kuñjabihārī ke palak nahī lagte* (SMC). This interpretation follows the logic of the verse, which is a description of Rādhā's beauty. The other, more formulaic possibility would be to read *kī chabi* as applying to both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and *palakāi nāhi lāgata* - to their devotees.

## KM 104

Come, oh friend<sup>1</sup>, let us<sup>2</sup> meet Kuñjabihārī, and look attentively at his beloved<sup>3</sup>;  
 [See how] the beautiful woman<sup>4</sup> plays with the handsome man, and indeed how she  
 sings<sup>5</sup>;  
 Unexpectedly the *sakhī* came there, [Rādhā] was letting her beloved<sup>6</sup> massage her feet;  
 She was lying together with Haridās's sovereign<sup>7</sup>, Śyāma, and sporting<sup>8</sup> with mind and  
 body.

<sup>1</sup>The narrative of this verse is open to interpretation. Most commentaries read it literally as a conversation between two *sakhīs* who go to watch the play of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and find him massaging her feet. RC glosses the first two lines as an address by Rādhā, who is under the illusion that Kṛṣṇa is playing with somebody else, to a *sakhī*: *paryau bimba ura śyāma tana dekhyau apanau rūpa gauṛī bhōrī hai gaī hū jau kona svarūpa. kahata sakhī saū dāva rasa dekhou nava nava raṅga. aura bhīvatī* [sic] *sundarī khelata sudara* [sic] *saṅga*.

Yet another possibility would be to interpret this *pada* in the context of *māna*: the first two lines could be the words of a *sakhī* to Rādhā, lying that Kṛṣṇa is sporting with another beautiful woman in order to make Rādhā go to him. Then *saṣī* in the first and third lines would refer to Rādhā (as is the case in KM 30.3, 40.2, 43.3). This would explain the unexpectedness of the coming, which is otherwise difficult to account for. Then the translation of the second half of the third line would be: 'and had her beloved massage [her] feet'. A further argument in favour of this interpretation is that the third line of KM 15, a *māna pada*, resembles the third line here.

<sup>2</sup>MSS A, F, H, J, BR, NC and RC omit *hama* (see variant 8), which is of explanatory character and therefore possibly a later interpolation.

<sup>3</sup>NC, BC and SMC read the couple's play as the object of *deṣē*, and supply a clause for *bhāvatī*: *ki kuñjabihārī sō unakī bhāvatī kahā kahata hai so cita dai mili kē dekhē* (NC); *unki bhāvatī āj kaisī adbhut lag rahī hai* (SMC); *aur dekhē ki āj kis lāvanya vaicitrī se saundarya nidhān priyā ko apnī manobhilāṣit sāth ke udrek ke sāth lāl laṛā rahe hai* (BC).

<sup>4</sup>This translation is based on the reading *sundara sō sundarī*, given by MSS F, J, BR, PH, NC and RC (see variant 12).

<sup>5</sup>*gāvatī*, *capāvatī* and *rāvati* are presumably rhyme forms. A large number of MSS ignore the rhyme and read these forms without nasalisation, see variants 16, 25 and 34.

<sup>6</sup>All the commentaries read *piya* as the subject and Rādhā as the object of *capāvatī*: *ki chabīle jū chabī tē pāya śrī pyārī jū ke cāpata hai* (NC); *śrī pyārī jū priyatam se apne caraṇāravinda dabvā rahī thī* (SMC); *lāl ke dvārā priyā apne caraṇō kī sevā sampanna karva rahī hai* (BC). This interpretation stresses the pre-eminence of Rādhā in the Haridāsī *sampradāya*. *pai* is presumably an instrumental marker, denoting the agent of the action (a hypothesis supported by the reading *sō* of MSS BR and NCM as well, see variant 23), cf. also note 7 to KM 2. *capāvatī* is probably a rhyme form of the causative. Either Rādhā or the *sakhī* is the grammatical subject of the causative action, cf. note 1.

<sup>7</sup>Alternatively, *haridāsa ke svāmī* can be interpreted as referring to Rādhā: 'Haridās's sovereign was lying together with Śyāma...'. This is the gloss of most of the commentaries: *śrī haridāsī jū ke svāmī so śyāma lāla tē mili* (NC); *śrī haridās jū kī lāṛlī śrī lāl jū ke sāth milkar* (SMC); *hamārī lāṛlī āradhyā priyā...lāl ke saṅga pauṛh* (BC).

<sup>8</sup>*rāvati* is probably a rhyme form, derived from *rav-* (= *vilās kamā*, see SK). All the commentaries gloss it with 'play': *kahā ki tana mana kara rasa phāga khelata hai* (NC); *tan man se ramaṇ karne lagī* (SMC); *tan man se rasordra ho gaī* (BC).

## KM 105

The lover of Rādhā<sup>1</sup>, Kuñjabihārī, is celebrating Holī<sup>2</sup>, all the young women are saying  
*hohohorī*;

They are colouring<sup>3</sup> each other, nobody is aware of anyone, smiling the Enchanter and  
the Fair lady captivate<sup>4</sup> hearts;

Now hand joined with hand, now waist turning<sup>5</sup> with waist, they are dancing, noone's  
desire is small;

Haridās's sovereign<sup>6</sup> and Śyāmā wander quite apart, avoiding the gaze of all the *sakhīs*,  
and search out a sheltered place<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>NC and BC read *rādhā rasika* as referring to Rādhā, rather than as an epithet of Kṛṣṇa: *śrī rādhā jū rasikāna ke sira maura* (NC); *rasik sironani śrī priyā jū* (BC). There is one further occurrence of *rādhā rasika kuñjabihārī* in KM (25.1), where it definitely applies to Kṛṣṇa.

<sup>2</sup>Holī is seen as a metaphor for the couple's love-play: *phāga rasa khelata hai* (NC); *surata rūpī phāga* (BC).

<sup>3</sup>I have followed the gloss of RC: *bharata paraspara raṅga*, because of the context of Holī and a similar occurrence of *bharata paraspara* in KM 19.1. However, the other commentaries read *bharata* as 'to embrace', which is also possible, on account of the metaphorical meaning of Holī: *śrī jugal ek dūstre ko bhujāō mē bhar rahe hai* (SMC); *ek dūstre ko āśleṣit karte hue* (BC). The polysemy of *bharata* is lost in the English translation. Cf. note 1 to KM 19.

<sup>4</sup>The commentaries disagree about the subject of *harata*. BC reads Śyāmā as the subject and the heart of Kṛṣṇa as the object, SMC reverses them: *mandāsmityukta priyā ke mukh kā darśan karke lāl kā matti apaharan ho rahā hai* (BC); *manmohan lāl hās karke pyārī kā man haran kar rahe hai* (SMC). The reading *harati* of MS F (see variant 14) betrays this same confusion. The word order supports my reading of a joint subject of *harata*, but the action could also be reciprocal.

<sup>5</sup>*Homoeoarcta* of *karata* (third line) to *-rai* (fourth line) because of *-rai* (<mo>*rai*- <nyā>*rai*) in MS RC (see variants 25, 29).

<sup>6</sup>*haridāsa ke svāmī* can refer to Rādhā as well; then Kṛṣṇa will be implied, and the translation will be: 'Haridās's sovereign Śyāmā [and Kuñjabihārī]'.  
<sup>7</sup>For *taki ṣorī* see note 9 to KM 19. PC glosses it with: *tiya mana melata*; RC analyses it metaphorically: *aṃsa bagāla khorī jaghana takata chaila rasa bhoi*.

## KM 106

In a new bower-abode, in the presence of the young one<sup>1</sup>, *rāga* Gaurī was established  
on<sup>2</sup> a new *vīṇā*;

The lover's<sup>3</sup> glance was fixed on her swift fingernails which bestow happiness like ten  
moons raining nectar;

Pleased and delighted the lover gives [her] his decorations, his garments and the garland  
on his chest, he puts his tongue between his teeth on seeing her lion-waist<sup>4</sup>;

[Śyāmā], the giver of delight to Haridās, and Bihārī embrace, the god of love rises, they  
sport with vigour<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>Haynes reads *nikuñja* and *graha* as separate units, and the second *navala* as referring to *graha*: 'In a fresh grove, before a new home.' However, *nikuñja graha* is more likely to be a compound (like *kuñja mahala*, see KM 21.4 and 87.1). I have interpreted *navala* as substantival use of the adj., referring to Kṛṣṇa. The extended form *navele* is attested in SŚ as referring to Kṛṣṇa.

<sup>2</sup>*madhya* is a rather unexpected ppn. in this context. For a similar case see KM 66.2 (*hāthi kinnarī madhya*).

<sup>3</sup>My translation is based on the reading *kī*, suggested by MSS A, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC and RC (see variant 15); this reading is supported by a large number of relatively independent MSS and is semantically superior.

<sup>4</sup>The lion-waist of the heroine is a stock simile (cf. CP 43.3 and 71.6, see Snell 1991a, pp. 145 and 170).

<sup>5</sup>The interpretation of *ārambhaṭī* is problematic. NC and SMC analyse it as a rhyme form of *ārambha*: *surata jo dīṣṭi ati sundara rati tākō ārambha hai* (NC); *surati kā prārambha huā* (SMC). *ārabhaṭī* is also a style of dancing, a feature of the *tāṇḍava* dance (see Bose 1970, p. 11). Because of this it is analysed in *Bhāratiya saṅgīt paramparā aur Svāmī Śrī Haridās* as a technical term, see Rafījan 1970, p. 22. NC interprets *ārabhaṭī* both as 'beginning' and as a 'style of dancing': *surata sambhūt ārabhaṭī nṛtya prārambha karne lagī*. A more general meaning of *ārabhaṭī*, *sāhas kī manovṛtti*, is attested in SBBhK; my translation is based on this.

## KM 107

The two are swinging standing on the swing<sup>1</sup>;

Moving fast<sup>2</sup> and with all their force<sup>3</sup>, they hold<sup>4</sup> the swing-ropes<sup>5</sup> firmly;

From time to time the love<sup>6</sup> of the way of secret<sup>7</sup> joy and the groups of<sup>8</sup> *rāgas* and  
*rāginīs* swell;

Haridās's sovereigns Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī are drawn out<sup>9</sup> only by being coloured  
with love's colour.

<sup>1</sup>NC, PC and RC interpret this *pada* metaphorically in the context of the couple's love-sports: the swing stands for the couple's bliss: *ānanda rūpa dola* (NC), or for their dliance: *surata hiṇḍora* (PC), *karata surata thāthe* (RC); the handle - for their arms: *bhūja dāḍī* (NC), *dāḍī pakarata gāhi bhujamūla* (PC), *bhuja dāḍī pakarī* (RC); *rāga* is a metaphor for Kṛṣṇa's love, and *rāginī* - for Rādhā's: *jo rāga saneha cāha piya kī rāginī cāha priyājū kī* (NC), or for their words: *bacana jūtha rāgina baḍhe* (RC). Cf. notes 1 to KM 48, 1 to KM 61 and 3 to KM 88.

<sup>2</sup>This translation is based on the emendation *hā/hā*, suggested by MSS A, D, F, I, J, BR, RC; H and NC (see variant 2). There is strong manuscript evidence for this reading; moreover in this context *hai* is a *lectio faciliior*; compared to *hā*. The commentaries are not unanimous in their interpretation of *hā gata*. NC and BC read it as referring to Rādhā's favourable disposition: *hā. yā bhāti ghāta bhalāi* (NC); *svīkṛtiparak bhāvō ko prakāṭ karte hue* (BC). This is evidently the meaning adopted by the scribes of MSS D, F, H, I, J and BR as well, since these MSS give the *lectio faciliior* *ghata* rather than *gata* (see variant 3). I have followed the interpretation of RC and SMC: *hā hā bolata gati viṣai* (RC); *pūri gati ke sāth pēg bhar rahe hai* (SMC). I have not been able to locate any further examples of *hā* and *gati* used together; however, I was told by Ś. B. Gosvāmī that this combination must have originated from the common usage of the interj. *hā* when people swing high. SBBhK explains that *hā* is an interj. for stopping, *rokne yā manā karne ke artha mē prayuktā ek avyay*, which meaning might be related to the use of *hā* in the context of swinging.

<sup>3</sup>I have followed the commentaries in reading *jaisi ba jā ke* as connected with *jora*. Since *jora* is a m. noun, the reading *jaisau/jaiso* of MSS D, F, H, I, J, RC and BR (see variant 5) would be grammatically superior. The choice of *jais-* rather than *jitn-* here is peculiar, since the context seems to require quantitative rather than qualitative sense.

<sup>4</sup>All the finite verbs in this verse: *gahē*, *bāḍhe* and *kāḍhe* can be analysed both as 3rd p. subj.-pres. and as m. pl. perf. ptcs.

<sup>5</sup>For a discussion on *dāḍī* see note 6 to KM 61.

<sup>6</sup>It seems that formal rather than semantic considerations prevail in *prīti kī rahasi rasa rīti*: the accumulation of *rasa rīti* and *prīti* enhances the effect of the alliteration of *r-*, and the assonance of *r-*, *s-* and *i*

<sup>7</sup>*rahasi* is open to interpretation. I have adhered to SMC and BC, which read *rahasi* as a synonym of *rahasya* 'secret, mysterious; a secret, a mystery' (see OHED): *prem kī rahasyātmak ras-rīt ke sāth* (SMC); *ati niguṛh rahasya ras ke...manobhāvō ko* (BC). *rahasi* could be interpreted also as a synonym of *rāsa* (see OHED) or as 'solitary place' (see SBBhK).

<sup>8</sup>The majority of MSS: A, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC and RC add the genitive postposition *ke* (see variant 20). However *ke* is of explanatory character and might have been a later interpolation.

<sup>9</sup>The commentaries gloss *kāḍhe* as a vi.: *kāḍhe kahā ki saneha hī kī mūrti sukha rūpa ho gaye* (NC); *māno rāg mē rāg kar hī nikle hai* (SMC). BC reads *śrī yugal ke aṅga prem ke raṅga se karhā [sic] hue lag rahe hai*. An intransitive meaning of *kāḍh-* is not attested. It is possible that the vi. was intended and *kāḍhe* is simply an accommodation for the rhyme.

## KM 108

Kuñjabihārī swings on a swing;

On the other side<sup>1</sup> [of] the passionate bridegroom of Rādhā<sup>2</sup> is that skilful young darling;

<sup>3</sup> She laughs tumultuously<sup>4</sup> and stops<sup>5</sup> not, though he restrains her<sup>6</sup>; the dear one calls out in great distress;

Haridās's sovereign Śyāma says: oh beloved, protect<sup>7</sup> me now, I am entreating you, dear.

<sup>1</sup>This translation is based on the reading *ora*, suggested by MSS A, D, F, I, PH, NC and RC (see variant 3), which is semantically superior in this context.

<sup>2</sup>I have followed BC in interpreting *rasika rādhā bara* as referring to Kṛṣṇa: *dūsrī or rasik rādhāvar lāl*. In this way the amassing of five epithets of Rādhā would be avoided, and the m. *rasika* would be connected with its more natural referent. However, *rasika rādhā bara* could be read as applying to Rādhā as well; this is the gloss in PC, NC and SMC: *dvatīya [sic] ora śrī rasika svāmīnī* (PC); *dūsarī ora rasika svāmīnī rādhā jo mahā śreṣṭha hai* (NC); *dūsrī or rasik-agraganyā navalnāgarī dulārī rādhājī hai* (SMC).

<sup>3</sup>The interpretation of the third line is problematic. It is obvious from the readings *rahata* and *hāsata/hasata* of MSS A, D, F, H, I, J, BR, PH, NC and RC (see variants 9 and 10), and from the reading *bilabilāti* of MS RC (see variant 14) that there is a confusion as to who is the subject of which action in the line. The commentaries read Rādhā as the subject of *rahati* and *hāsati*, and Kṛṣṇa as the subject of *bilabilāta*: *rakhata śramita hiḍora [sic] piya tyau tyau jhulavati [sic] vāma aha hāsa puni karata ati piya kamjorahi jāni. bilabilāi taba kahata piya* (RC); *śrī rādhājī śrīlāl ke rokne par bhī nahī ruktī aur hās rahī hai, kintu priyatam unhē dekhkar ātur ho rahe hai* (SMC); *lāl bār bār dhūre gati lene kī prārthnā kar rahe hai. priyā muskārātī hai* (BC). However, this interpretation presents a narrative problem: why would Kṛṣṇa want to stop the swing? The glosses of NC and BC attempt to elucidate the logic of the narrative. NC gives two possible explanations: the first one reads the swinging as a metaphor for the couple's love-games, and here *rākhata* is interpreted as 'to place': *pīya [sic] aṅga aṅga pai rākhai pai rahata nāhī...aru pīya [sic] ati ātura hai*; the second explains that Kṛṣṇa wants to stop the swing in order to look at Rādhā's body: *kaṭi rūpa dūkula taba pīya [sic] bhujamūla gahikē priyājū kau badana dekhata hai. aru kahata hai ki mati jhūlau*. BC suggests that the reason for Kṛṣṇa's entreaty is his worry that the delicate Rādhā would get tired: *priyā kī sukumārtā anubhav kar lāl ke prāṇ chatpatā rahe hai aur rukne ke lie anurodh karte hī jā rahe hai*.

<sup>4</sup>Most commentaries ignore *kahakaha* (*kahe*). The reading *kahi* of MSS D, BR and NC (see variants 11 and 12) and the gloss of BC, *śrī lālī bār bār kahte hai ki priyā ab kī thahar jāvē*, betray semantic confusion on the part of the scribes and the commentator, who evidently have read *kaha* as derived from the verb *kah-*, rather than from the Arabic [*qahqaha*] 'a loud laugh; burst of laughter' (see OHED).

<sup>5</sup>*rāṣe na rahati* can be seen as another example of the idiomatic usage of transitive and intransitive forms of the same verb (cf. notes 8 to KM 57 and 5 to KM 97).

<sup>6</sup>Since MSS D, F, I, J, BR, NC and RC read *rahata* and *ha(m)sata* (see variants 9 and 10), they include the explanatory *priyā* (see variant 13) probably in order to clarify the subject (see note 3).

<sup>7</sup>*rāṣi hahā* is open to interpretation. My translation is similar to the gloss of PC and SMC: *śrī pyārī rākhi lehu* (PC); *maī hā-hā khātā hū, āp merā raksā karē* (SMC). RC renders *hahā* as an interj. of distress: *kahata piya hā hā rāṣi nidāna*. NC and BC read *rākhi* as a vi.: *syāma...kahata ki arī pyārī abakē rākhi hā hā khātā haū rī. ēka rahau* (NC); *hai priyā ab to āp thoṛā ruk jāvē maī āpkī hā hā khāte hue balaiyā letā hū* (BC).

## KM 109

What is this bad<sup>1</sup> character<sup>2</sup> of yours? When I meet you the dawn comes quickly;  
 In the twinkling of an eye, the sunset becomes daybreak<sup>3</sup>, it seems that [with the] first<sup>4</sup>  
 [move] the game is finished<sup>5</sup>;  
 [Your] coming and going<sup>6</sup> are burdensome<sup>7</sup> [to me], [with] the [coming of the] sun<sup>8</sup> [I]  
 die;  
 Oh Haridās's sovereign, now it is your responsibility<sup>9</sup>, I adjure you, how much<sup>10</sup>  
 happiness is going.

<sup>1</sup> *chiyā* in similar context appears in KM 25.3 and 62.4, cf. notes 7 to KM 25 and 12 to KM 62. The commentaries interpret *chiyā* as related to *chī*: *yaha chiyā bāta hai yakaū chāḍau* (NC); *āpkā kaisā svabhāv hai, chih chih* (SMC); *āpkā yah kaisā svabhāv hai hāy hāy* (BC).

<sup>2</sup> About the use of *prakṛti* in KM see note 6 to KM 14.

<sup>3</sup> The form *paha* [*prabhā-*] 'dawn' is attested in SBBhK.

<sup>4</sup> The commentaries interpret *pahilī* as the ppn. (*ke/se*) *pahle* 'before; earlier (than)' (see OHED): *khel kā prārambha hone se pahle* (SMC); *khel ke pahle hī* (BC). The f. ending of *pahilī* can be explained grammatically, but not semantically with the f. noun *sahimāta*: the translation 'the first checkmate comes' would raise a question about the other checkmates. For this reason I have supplied the f. noun *cāla* 'movement', which would account for the f. form *pahilī*.

<sup>5</sup> Literally: 'it is checkmate', cf. note 5 to KM 81.

<sup>6</sup> *āvata jata* is open to interpretation. The only other occurrence of *āvata jāta* (in KM 8.1) does not help to establish its meaning here with any certainty. The commentaries explain the intended meaning in different ways: NC analyses it as referring to Rādhā's changes of disposition: *āvata jāta kahā ki jo bahuta jatananī kari tau tuma kaū prasanna karai. aru naika tumhārau mana jaba kṛpā kī ora prasannatā mai āvata. aru jaba nēka ānga [sic] chuvau aru aprasannatā bhai. aru tumhārau mana mere augunana mē jāta so gharī gharī ke rūsanē pahara manāvata jāta*. BC reads *āvata* as referring to Kṛṣṇa and *jāta* - to Rādhā: *jaise mai ap ke samīp ātā hū vaise hī ap apne man ko haṭā letī hai*. SMC glosses unhelpfully: *yahā ānā aur jānā*.

<sup>7</sup> *bhārau* as a form of *bhārī* is attested in SŚ, and the phrase *bhārī paṛnā* 'to outweigh; to be burdensome' is given in OHED. Similar is the interpretation of the commentaries: *so yaha dukha ati bhārau parau* (NC); *bhārī paṛtā hai* (SMC); *mere ko itnā bhārī paṛtā hai yānī dukh hotā hai* (BC). Haynes reads *bhārau* as a form of *bhora* 'daybreak': '[And when] dawn has come'.

<sup>8</sup> The interpretation of *pītau* is problematic: *pītu* as 'sun' is attested in HŚS. NC and BC read it as 'flower', a meaning quoted in SBBhK: *pītau mara jāta. kahā ki phūla ānanda kau kumalāya jāta* (NC); *jaise puṣpa kumhlā rahā ho is prakār merā man susta paṛ rahā hai* (BC). SMC glosses *pītau* with *umāga* 'height of feeling, strong desire' (see OHED): *umāga samāpta ho jāti hai*. It is not clear if the authors of SMC have derived this meaning from *pītu* 'fire' (see HŚS) or from *pīti* 'love' (see OHED). Haynes translates *pītau* as 'yellow', referring to the colour of the day: 'with the [first] yellow I wilt'.

<sup>9</sup> SMC reads *māthai* as a shortened form of *māthe paṛnā* 'to be the responsibility of' (see OHED), and *trana* as representative of *trana tor-* 'to sacrifice': *iskā dāyitva āpke hī māthe hai, balihārī hai* (SMC). Similar is the interpretation of NC *tumhāre māthai ṭṭna hai tumahī kahau kitau sukha jata hai*. Since I have not been able to locate an expression which connects *māthai* and *trana*, I have followed these commentaries in interpreting them as two separate units and abridged versions of the above-mentioned collocations. BC glosses *māthai* as applied to Kṛṣṇa, and the whole phrase as an expression of humility and veneration: *āpke samakṣak merā mastak ṭṭvat avanat hai*.

<sup>10</sup> *kitauka*: see note 1 to KM 66.

## KM 110

The beautiful<sup>1</sup> pair<sup>2</sup>, the two young people, having emerged from the dense wood were standing;

Body resides in the body, mind shines in the mind<sup>3</sup>, beauty grows in both directions, like lightning emerged from a thick cloud;

<sup>4</sup>Mohana [’s voice] is deep and low, it seems<sup>5</sup> that from the words of the beloved the sound of the cuckoo is produced;

Haridās’s sovereigns are Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī, can there be anyone whose thoughts are fixed elsewhere?<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>The form *kavīnī* is not attested. The reading *kavanī* of MSS A, D, I, J, BR, PH, NCP and RC (see variant 3) is given in SBBhK.

<sup>2</sup>This translation is based on the reading *juga*, suggested by MSS F, H, J and NC (see variant 2), which avoids the tautology *juva - baisa kisora*.

<sup>3</sup>Haynes reads *śobhā* as the subject of *basata* and *lasata*: ‘Great beauty dwells in [their] bodies [and] shines in the hearts of both’. All the commentaries analyse *tana* as the subject of *basata* (and *mana* of *lasata*): *tana mai tana mana mai mana milavata* (PC); *tana mē tana basata. kahā ki aṅga mē aṅga mila rahe hai. mana mana mē lasata kahā ki mana mana douna ke eka ruci liyē milike lasata hai* (NC); *ek dūsre ke aṅga se aṅga evaṃ man se man saṃśleṣṭa hai* (BC).

<sup>4</sup>The interpretation of this line is problematic. Both BC and NC read *kokilā* as referring to Kṛṣṇa, rather than as a simile for Rādhā’s voice: *bidita pika bānī kahā ki so piya [sic] rūpa kokilā nitya basanta ritu aṅga aṅga kī praphullitā cāhata hai...lāla jū bolata hai. so mānō kokilā priyā jū ke bacana tē bacana upajata hai* (NC); *yadyāpi nāyak sahas bhārī āvāz hai par is samay aise kokilā samān bol rahe hai mānō śrī priyā jū bol rahi hai* (BC).

<sup>5</sup>MSS A, I and RC read *badata* ‘speak’ (see variant 25). This is a semantically superior reading, because it supplies a referent for *gahara gambhīra*; it also avoids the tautology caused by the interpolation of *mānañ/ °ō/°o* in MSS D, F, J, NCM and BR (see variant 28). However, there is not enough manuscript evidence for this emendation, and *badata* seems to be a *lectio facillior* compared to *bidita*.

<sup>6</sup>Literally: ‘Who is such a person, whose mind is fixed somewhere else?’ This translation is based on the omission of *matāi*, suggested by MSS F, H, J, BR and NCM (see variant 43). The addition of *matē* (presumably a rhyming form of *mata*) ‘opinion, view; feeling; system of opinions; doctrine; persuasion; sect, party’ (see OHED) seems to be an irenic hypercorrection. The form *anatai/°ai* ‘elsewhere’, required for the rhyme is attested in SBBhK.



## Chapter VI

***Aṣṭādaś siddhānta and Kelimāl:***  
**Text in a singing tradition**

The symbiosis of Haridās's *padas* with a singing tradition has already been mentioned in the chapter on textual criticism. Given the present lack of data on the oral tradition, however, this thesis has concentrated primarily on the analysis of the written text. However, some musicological work on the HS has already been done, Saksenā's (1990, pp. 163-204) description of the *samāja* in the HS being the most notable example. The current research of another ethno-musicologist, Selina Thielemann, should at last provide the *rasikas* of the *rasika sampradāya* of Haridās with an exhaustive musical analysis.

I argued that Haridās's *padas* are affiliated to a singing tradition for three reasons: the connection of the verses with a *rāga*; the inclusion of a *chāpa* (*bhaṇitā*); and the lack of any apparent metrical structure (except the almost totally regular four-line arrangement), suggesting association with the musical style of *dhrupada*. This chapter will provide a close, albeit non-musicological analysis of these three elements.

### 1. *Rāgas* in *Aṣṭādaś siddhānta* and *Kelimāl*

The only organising principle of AS and KM is the *rāga* distribution of the *padas*. The structural function of the *rāgas* is evidently very formalised since in most manuscripts a new numbering sequence begins with each *rāga*<sup>1</sup>.

All the MSS agree (with a few deviations) in how they assign *rāgas* to *padas*, more or less following the *rāga saṅkhyā kavitta*<sup>2</sup> quoted by MSS BR and RC1:

*prathama rāga kānhare mē tīsa sukha īsa ban,  
 baīsa kedāre mājhū sarasa rasa rāsa mē;  
 bāraha kalyāna gyāraha sārāṅga sura bandhāna,  
 daśa hai bibhāsa dvai bilābala prakasa mai;  
 āṭha hai malāra dvai gauḍa malāra pañca hai vasanta  
 gaurī chai naṭa dvai bilāsa mai.*

The exceptions are:

1. MS F gives KM 105 twice: in *rāga* Kānharau and in *rāga* Gaurī;
2. MS F substitutes Vibhāsa with Vilāvala;
3. MS H enumerates KM 96 under Malāra rather than Gauṛa malāra.

<sup>1</sup>Unlike KM and AS Hit Harivamśa's *Caurāsī pad* has serial numbering 1 to 84. R. Snell speculates that this might have been due to the 'meaningful' significance of 84 as a sacred number (personal communication).

<sup>2</sup>It is worth noticing that an analogous *rāga saṅkhyā kavitta* is included in some MSS of the *Caurāsī pad*. As is the case with Haridās's *vāṇī*, this *kavitta* does not appear in the earliest existent MSS of Harivamśa's *vāṇī* (Snell 1991a, p. 313). This suggests that in both instances the *rāga saṅkhyā kavitta* must have had a descriptive rather than a prescriptive character.

4. There is little agreement about the *rāga* assignment of KM 109: MSS I, J and BR group it under *rāga* Naṭa, MS H under *rāga* Vibhāsa and the remaining MSS under *rāga* Gaurī. Even MS RC1, which quotes the *kavitta*, does not follow its specification (including KM 109 under *rāga* Gaurī rather than Naṭa, it reduces the number of Naṭa *padas* to one).

5. MS BR assigns the last five *padas* of AS to *rāga* Varārī, and PH to *rāga* Kānharau, instead of the standard Kalyāna.

The *rāga* groupings do not show any thematic or textual coherence except for the *padas* with springtime and monsoon context, which are in *rāgas* Vasanta and Malāra/Gauṛa malāra respectively. These are KM 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95 for Malāra; 96, 97 for Gauṛa malāra and KM 98, 99, 100, 101, 102 for Vasanta. However, most of the *padas* connected with *Holi* and *Hiṇḍora* are allocated to different *rāga* groups: KM 48 to Kedārau, KM 61 to Kalyāna, KM 75 to Sāraṅga, KM 84 to Vibhāsa, KM 88 to Malāra, KM 105, 107, 108 to Gaurī.

In four *padas* the name of the *rāga* to which the stanzas have been assigned appears in the *mūla* itself (the spelling follows MS G):

KM 32.3 *sruti ghuri rāga kedārau jamyau, adharāti nisā rō rō suṣa;*

KM 52.3 *nṛtata jugala kisora jubati jana mana mili rāga kedārau macyau;*

KM 89.4 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā ke mili gāvata janyaū rāga malāra kisaura kisorani.*

KM 106.1 *navala nikuñja graha navala āgaī navala bina madhya rāga gaurī thaṭī.*

In a number of *padas* there is a connection between time references and *rāga*:

1. KM 33 and 47 are associated with a night context and are assigned to the ‘night’ *rāga* Kedārau;

2. KM 76 and 77, and 86 and 87 have subject matter connected with the morning time and are allocated to the ‘morning’ *rāgas* Vibhāsa and Vilāvala.

However, this explicit correspondence in temporal association between subject matter and *rāgas* is the exception rather than the rule.

From the data it seems that in regard to *rāga* sequence and *pada* arrangement within the *rāga* units there were at least two ‘musical compilations’ of Haridās’s *vāṇī*: MSS H and BI give a completely different order (from the remaining MSS) of *rāgas* and stanzas.

The *rāga* sequence in H and BI is not identical but is quite similar. They both start with Vibhāsa, followed by Vilāvala, then BI continues with: Vasanta, Sāraṅga, Malāra, Gaurī, Naṭa and Gauṛa malāra, and H enumerates: Sāraṅga, Naṭa, Malāra, Gauṛa malāra, Vasanta, Gaurī. Both H and BI finish the sequence with Kalyāna, Aḍano, Kanhārau and Kedārau. The order of *rāgas* in the rest of the MSS is almost reversed: starting with Kānharau, followed by Kalyāna and finishing with Naṭa.

The usual context in which *rāgas* constitute a coherent sequence is that of the literary *rāgamālā*. But the *rāgamālā* texts consulted do not match Haridās's poetry.<sup>3</sup>

Very different is the result when one applies to the sequence of *rāgas* in AS and KM the 'time theory' in Indian music, which associates the performance of *rāgas* with particular times of day and night<sup>4</sup>. There is no general agreement regarding the details of the time theory among different *gharānās* but the following extract<sup>5</sup> from the table quoted by Swarup (1933, pp. 175-177) reflects widely accepted views:

Table 6

***Rāgas* in accordance with the time of the day**

Time	Names of <i>rāgas</i>
Dawn to early morning	Vibhasa
Earlier part of the morning	Bilavala
Latter part of the morning	Asavari
Midday	Saranga
Evening, dusk	Gauri
Earlier part of the evening	Kalyana Kidara
Latter part of the evening	Darbari kanhra Adana
Midnight	Malar Nata
Late after midnight	Basanta

The sequence of *rāgas* in AS conforms completely to this theory: the first *rāgas* in the AS are the 'morning' *rāgas* Vibhāsa and Vilāvala, followed by Āsāvārī (latter part of the morning) and the 'evening' *rāga* Kalyāna (or Kānharau).

The sequence of *rāgas* in KM is more problematic. The order of *rāgas* in MS H fits this theory perfectly: starting with the 'morning' *rāgas* Vibhāsa and Vilāvala, continuing

<sup>3</sup>The texts consulted are: *Saṅgīta-makarandā*, *Catvariṃśatchata-rāga-nirūpanam* by Nārada, *Saṅgīta-Nārāyaṇa* by Mammata, *Rāga darpaṇa* by Soma Svara Deva, *Rāgamālā* by Kallinātha, *Rāga-Mālā* by Meṣakarna, *Rāga-taraṅgini* by Locana, *Rāga-vivodha* by Somanātha, *Saṅgīta-darpaṇa* by Dāmodara Miśra and *Anūpa-saṅgīt-āṅkuśa* by Bhāvabhaṭṭa (see Gangoly, 1948; the spelling of the work and their authors follows Gangoly).

<sup>4</sup>For the time theory see: Popley 1921, pp. 62-63; Bandopadhyaya 1950, pp. 47-50; Strangways 1989, pp. 151-180; Danielou 1968; Gangoly 1948; Kaufmann 1968; Swarup 1933, pp. 175-177.

<sup>5</sup>In this extract I have included only the *rāgas* which occur in KM or AS. The names of the *rāgas* are as given by the author.

with the 'noon' *rāga* Sāraṅga, the 'evening' *rāgas* Gaurī and Kalyāna and finishing with the 'night' *rāgas* Aḍāno, Kānharau and Kedārau. The three seasonal ragas Malāra, Gaurā malāra and Vasanta are positioned in the middle of this sequence, which does not conflict with the time theory because there is no agreement about the time with which these *rāgas* should be connected. MS BI largely conforms to this theory, starting with the 'morning' *rāga* Vibhāsa, continuing with Sāraṅga, Gaurī, Kalyāna, Aḍāno, Kānharau and Kedārau. The only deviation from the expected pattern is that Vibhāsa is repeated twice and *rāga* Gaurī is situated between Vibhāsa 1 and 2. Much more difficult is to find any logic in the 'standard' order of *rāgas* in KM. *rāgas* connected with the same time seem still to be grouped together, but the sequence starts with the 'night, evening' *rāgas* Kānharau, Kedārau and Kalyāna, goes through the 'noon' *rāga* Sāraṅga to reach the 'morning' *rāgas* Vibhāsa and Vilāvala and again return to 'evening, night' *rāgas* Gaurī and Natā.

The close association of the sequence of *rāgas* in some MSS of Haridās's lyrical verses with the times of day and night may indicate that the *rāgas* were allocated to the text in order to apportion it for the purposes of *aṣṭayāma sevā*<sup>6</sup>, the worship of the deity through the various watches of the 4-hour period. This might also explain the relative uniformity of the MSS in the order and distribution of *rāgas*.

The MSS also largely agree on the order of stanzas within the different *rāga* groups. The major exceptions again appear in MSS H and BI, especially with regard to the sequence of stanzas under the heading of *rāga* Kānharau. It seems that the most feasible explanation for this is the fact that Kānharau is the largest *rāga* unit. It is likely that in oral transmission, which requires memorization of the text, this would be the unit with the highest number of deviations because of its length.

In his analysis of the textual history of Nāmdev's songs Callewaert (1989, p. 107) speaks of an interesting connection between the regularity of the *rāga* and the 'authenticity of the songs': 'It appears that those songs which show some irregularity as far as the rāg [sic] is concerned, are often less 'authentic' from the point of view of occurrence in Mss., of order and of variants'. It seems that all differences in the *rāga* assignments in the MSS appear in the same 'problematic zones' of the texts:

1. MS F omits KM 87 and 96. MS H follows F in not including 87, and changes the *rāga* of 96 from Gauṛa malāra to Malāra. Both *padas* 87 and 96 are at the end/beginning of *rāga* units which makes both *lacunae* and conforming to the *rāga* of the previous group easy.

<sup>6</sup>Saksenā (1990, p. 177) asserts that the *ācāryas* of the HS are characteristically so absorbed in the *nitya vihāra* that they cannot perform *aṣṭayāma sevā*, which requires strict awareness of time; indeed the tradition claims that this was the reason why Bihārīnīdās handed over the service of the *mūrti* of Bāke Bihārī to Jagannāth. But although, this statement might be true of the *sādhus* it is hardly applicable to the *gosvāmīs* of the sect.

2. KM 109 presents most problems with its *rāga* allocation. Grouping it under *rāgas* Naṭa, Vibhāsa or Gaurī, the MSS agree on their disagreement about the *rāga* assignation of this *pada*. None of the *rāgamālās* seems to suggest any connection between these three *rāgas*.

3. The ‘problem zone’ in AS is after AS 13, where MSS BR, C, F insert extra *padas*, and MSS BR and PH change the *rāga*, substituting Varārī and Kānharau for Kalyāna.

## 2. The *chāpa* in *Aṣṭādaś siddhānta* and *Kelimāl*

The role of the *chāpa* in the syntax of the last line is a question which deserves careful consideration. Unlike a great number of *padas* where the syntactic connection of the *chāpa* is very loose and open to different interpretations (see Hawley 1988, pp. 277-278 for Sūrdās, Entwistle 1993 for Kevalrām<sup>7</sup>, Snell 1991a, p. 112-113 for Hit Harivaṃśa), the *chāpa* in most of Haridās’s *padas*, although frequently problematic, is an integral part of the syntax of the last line. The *chāpa* in KM poems usually follows the widely spread pattern ‘X’s lord Y’, whereby Y is represented by Haridās’s preferred epithets for Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, *syāmā* and *kuñjabihārī* (just as Mīrā, for example, most often calls her lord *gīridhara nāgara*). Moreover the *chāpa haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī* may have been the origin of Haridās’s title, *svāmī*, which differentiates him from his namesakes in Indian cultural history.

The general model of the *chāpa* in KM is *haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī*, in which Haridās’s name is anchored to the rest of the signature by a genitive ppn. Unlike KM, the most common pattern of the *chāpa* in AS is constituted by Haridās’s name and a *bhaṇitā* verb of ‘authoring’: *kahi haridāsa*. Rarely *kahi* is replaced by a vocative: *sunī haridāsa*. However, there are a few *padas* in KM which follow the model of AS: KM 65 (*kahi haridāsa*); KM 9, 10, 19, 99 (*sunī haridāsa*) and *vice versa* - AS 2, 3, 12 adhere to the version of the *chāpa* in KM. Presumably this difference between the *chāpas* in the two texts is determined by their different subject-matter; the ‘*kahi X*’ pattern is more common with *padas* of didactic character, which expound general *bhakti* doctrines (cf. for example Kabīr).

The *chāpa* in KM presents many more problems and uncertainties than that in AS. Unlike AS it shows a large number of variant readings. Therefore it would be useful to see what the variations of the general model are, and in what kind of semantic contexts they appear<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>7</sup>There is no discussion of the *chāpa* in Entwistle, but almost any poem would serve as an example of the loose syntactic connection.

<sup>8</sup>Full listing of the *chāpa* in AS and KM, following the scheme suggested here, is given in appendix IV.

haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī

The majority of verses show a *chāpa* which includes both *syāmā* and *kuñjabihārī*. Roughly we can divide this type into the following categories:

1. *chāpa* as an integral part of the syntax of the line:

1.1 Both *syāmā* and *kuñjabihārī* exercising the same syntactic function (subject/object, part of attributive construction);

1.2 *syāmā* and *kuñjabihārī* exercising different syntactic functions (addressee/subject/object, part of attributive construction).

2. Formulaic use of the *chāpa*.

The above categorisation cannot be precise since the different types merge (this is especially true of 1.2 and 2; the examples of these two categories are listed according to the highly subjective choice exercised in the translation; the notes which discuss the alternative interpretations are also quoted). The division is further complicated by the readings of the different MSS, although it is worth mentioning that this model of the *chāpa* shows less manuscriptal variation (compared to the following two models). The most common variant is the alternative *syāma* for *syāmā* in MS H.

The typical speaker of the last line is a *sakhī*, and the context of the *padās* is description of the beauty of Śyāmā and Kuñjabihārī or of their activities: dance, love-play, swinging, playing Holī etc., and eulogy of their qualities. In some cases (KM 8, 14, 39, 44, 64) the last line reports the union of the two after Rādhā's display of *māna* presented in the previous three lines.

The model discussed above has a variation in which only *syāma* or *syāmā* is present. This deviation shows a large number of manuscript variants aimed at 'correcting' it to the commonest model, even if this emendation would turn the *chāpa* into a mere formula. This is especially true of *padās* where the *chāpa* quotes only *syāma* (particularly if it is followed by *kuñjabihārī*), which is repeatedly 'corrected' to *syāmā*. MSS C, F and NC are most persistent in this change, but it also occurs often in MSS A, D, J and RC.

haridāsa ke svāmī syāma (kuñjabihārī) (kahata)

The *chāpa* variation which reads *syāma*, usually occurs when he is the subject of the last line. (There is only one example in which *syāma* is an addressee, and two examples of his being an object.) There are two main patterns:

1. *haridāsa ke svāmī syāma (kuñjabihārī)* followed by *kahata*. This pattern can include or exclude *kuñjabihārī*.

2. *haridāsa ke svāmī syāma kuñjabihārī* not followed by *kahata*; it typically includes *kuñjabihārī* after *syāma*.

The usual context of the *padas* where Śyāmā is the subject of the last line is either *māna* or eulogy of Rādhā. The one example of a vocative is addressed by Rādhā to Kṛṣṇa, and the two instances of his being an object in the last line are in observations made by *sakhīs*.

*haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*

Similar variation of the *chāpa* includes only *syāmā*, sometimes followed by (*kuñja*)*bihārini*: KM 75, 85, 91, 97. Again this variation shows a relatively high number of manuscript variants (but not as high as in the previous section), mainly concerning the interpolation of *kuñjabihārī* or the transformation of (*kuñja*)*bihārini* to *kuñjabihārī* (imitating again the commonest form of the *chāpa*). Note also the already mentioned substitution of *syāmā* by *syāma* in MS H.

The great majority of cases quoting this variation of the *chāpa* show Śyāmā as the object of the sentence or as an addressee. In limited examples she is also the subject. An interesting problem in this variation of the *chāpa*, created by Haridās's characteristic usage of m. nouns with f. referents (see III 6.1.7 and note 1 to KM 55), concerns the identity of the referent of *haridāsa ke svāmī*<sup>9</sup>. In a few examples it seems that it applies to Kṛṣṇa (rather than to Śyāmā), and he then becomes the subject of the action (KM 15, 89, 105).

The typical speaker in the line is a *sakhī* (or sometimes Kṛṣṇa) who extols Rādhā's qualities, tries to appease her, or announces her union with Kṛṣṇa after her sulking.

*haridāsa ke svāmī*

The last of the variations of the main model of Haridās's *chāpa* does not include either *syāmā* (*syāma*) or *kuñjabihārī*, but reads only *haridāsa ke svāmī*. Some of the MSS (most conspicuously NC, C and J) have again tried to tailor this variation to the commonest model.

The question about the identity of the referent of *haridāsa ke svāmī* was raised in the discussion of the *chāpa* variant *haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*. Here too it is sometimes rather uncertain whether *svāmī* refers to Rādhā, to Kṛṣṇa or to both.

The general context suggests that the referent of *svāmī* in KM 82 and 98 is Kṛṣṇa, in KM 109 and KM 102 (?) Rādhā, in KM 18 the two of them. KM 62 presents an identity problem: evidently the referent is singular, but it could be either Kṛṣṇa or Rādhā. In all of these verses (apart from KM 109) the speaker in the last line is a *sakhī*.

There are three cases in KM in which the seal of the author is completely different: KM 21.4 reads *haridāsī jorī*; KM 106 - *rasada śrī haridāsa bihārī*, and KM 25 has no *chāpa*, but

<sup>9</sup>In view of this problem I have translated *svāmī* with the gender-free 'sovereign'.

mentions Haridās's name in its second line and Kuñjabihārī's name in its first line, thus making Haridās a participant in the events described in the *pada*.

This example also raises the question of Haridās's role in these verses. It was mentioned above that the last line is often an observation made by a *sakhī*. However, one could equally say that this conclusive comment is made by the poet himself, and that his personality merges into the personality of a *sakhī*. This is evident from 1st p. stanzas like KM 3, and especially in verses (like KM 25) where the poet becomes a participant in the action of the poem. A further example of this kind is KM 10, where Kṛṣṇa asks Haridās to intercede with Rādhā for him.

### 3. Svāmī Haridās and *dhrupada*

3.1 The name of Svāmī Haridās has been listed among the greatest *dhrupada* musicians<sup>10</sup>, and his verses have been unanimously classified as *dhrupadas*<sup>11</sup>. Since this categorisation has been accepted as an axiom without any attempt to prove it, it is important to critically examine the definition of *dhrupada* and its relevance for Haridās's stanzas.

As Delvoye (1983, p. 87) points out, the term *dhrupada* (*dhrupada*: *dhruva* 'structured, fixed' and *pada* 'word, syllable') applies both to a type of poetical composition set to music, and to a classical style of Hindustānī music. Here I focus on the characteristics of the 'poetical genre' of *dhrupada*; the reader interested in the *dhrupada* musical style is referred to Srivastava 1980 and Bṛhaspati 1976.

3.2 Since the 'genre' of *dhrupada* appeared in the age of *bhakti*<sup>12</sup>, the earliest *dhrupadas* were of devotional character, and more specifically were dedicated to Viṣṇu (Srivastava 1980, pp. 21-22). Srivastava (loc. cit.) differentiates between *viṣṇupada*<sup>13</sup> (the early devotional *dhrupadas*), which gave rise to *havelī* (temple) *dhrupada*, and their derivatives, the *darbārī* (court) *dhrupadas*, which included non-devotional themes as well, i.e. praise of chivalrous deeds of kings and patrons, descriptions of *nāyakas* and *nāyikās* etc. Delvoye (1987, p. 38) makes a further observation with regard to the subject-matter of *dhrupada*, noticing that 'many *dhrupada* texts are connected, directly or indirectly, to music and dance'.

<sup>10</sup>The most important names that figure among the *dhrupada* singers of the past are those of Nāyaka Gopala I, Nāyaka Gopala II, Nāyaka Baijū, Nāyaka Bakṣū, Tānasena, Svāmī Haridāsa and Ibrāhīm Ādil Shāh [sic] (Srivastava 1980, p. 119).

<sup>11</sup>Perhaps this has been so readily assumed because the term *dhrupada* occurs in KM 67.2: *dhura dhrupada apāra*..

<sup>12</sup>It is worth noticing, however, that the history of *dhrupada* can be traced back to the *prabandha* of the 13th century (Thielemann 1995, p. 24).

<sup>13</sup>Gosvāmī (1966, p. 465) opposes *viṣṇupada* and *dhrupada*, stating that text, and hence metre, is of primary importance to the former, and music to the latter. This makes *dhrupada* free of metrical restrictions.



Both of Haridās's works, the KM and the AS, have an exclusively devotional character and can be identified as anthologies of *viṣṇupadas*<sup>14</sup>: KM is dedicated to the love-play of Kṛṣṇa (Kuñjabihārī) and his consort Rādhā (Śyāmā), and AS expounds general doctrines of Viṣṇu *bhakti*. This makes the subject-matter of Haridās's poetry congruent with that of the early *dhrupadas*.

To follow up Delvoye's observation on the contents of *dhrupada*, there are several *padas* in KM whose topic is connected with music and dance: Haridās makes an apparently well-informed use of terminology connected with vocal and instrumental music and dancing. However, the text of KM is extremely obscure and complex, and the specific meaning of some of the terms used by Haridās (*alaga lāga*, *tirapa* etc.) has been lost. He mentions various instruments: string instruments like *rabāba*<sup>15</sup> (KM 48.3), *bīna/ā* (KM 61.2, 87.3, 106.1) and *kinnaṛī* (KM 66.2, 67.1); percussion instruments: *mṛdaṅga* (KM 14.2, 33.3, 61.2, 67.1, 96.2), *ḍapha* (KM 19.1); wind instruments: *muralī* (KM 18.2, 52.1, 56.1), *baṃṣī* (KM 99.3); and idiophones: *tāla* (KM 19.1, 48.3). *Kelimāl* is also an abundant source of technical terms connected with dancing: *alaga lāga* (KM 2.2), *sudhaṅga* KM (33.2), *rāsa* (KM 52.1, 94.1), *tāṇḍava*, *lāsa* (KM 60.3) are evidently different kinds of dance steps. Haridās uses also dance mnemonics, *tātātheī* (KM 30.4, 60.2), and terminology referring to gesture: *aṅgahāra* KM 67.4, *abhinē* (KM 94.1) and tempo: *ikaguna*, *duguna*, *tiguna*, *caturāgauna* (KM 82.4). His references to vocal music terminology testify again that he was an experienced singer: he not only mentions musical modes, *rāgas* and *rāginīs* in general, but also enumerates specific representatives: *rāga kedārau* (KM 32.3, 52.3), *rāga malāra* (KM 89.4), *rāga gaurī* (KM 106.1). In these cases, the *rāga* is selected according to the prescribed requirements to fit the general context (temporal or seasonal) of the verse (see section on *rāgas*). Haridās distinguishes between the verbs *alāp-* 'to sing a prelude' (KM 14.1, 96.2) and *gā-* 'to sing' (general meaning) (KM 12.1, 19.1, 32.4, 66.2, 87.3, 89.4, 102.3); he talks about *śruti* 'microtonal intervals' (KM 32.3, 52.3), *sura* 'notes' (KM 65.2), *sapta* 'octave' (KM 33.4), *tāra* 'upper register' (KM 65.2), *mandra* 'lower register' (KM 65.2) and *tāna* 'melodic figures formed by combining the notes' (KM 94.2).

3.3 Three of the earliest<sup>16</sup> Sanskrit and Persian accounts of *dhrupada*, Bhāvabhaṭṭa's *Anūpa-saṅgīta ratnākara*<sup>17</sup> (Delvoye 1983, p. 90), Faqīrullah's *Rāg darpaṇ* (Palaniṭkar 1986, p. 38) and Mirzā Khān's *Tuhfat-ul-Hind* (Delvoye 1987, p. 35) state clearly that the language of *dhrupada* is *madhyadeśīya/deśī/bhākhā* (i.e. Braj

<sup>14</sup>The labelling of Haridās's *padas* as *viṣṇupadas* involves the identification of Kṛṣṇa with the eighth *avatāra* of Viṣṇu. Although this is a generally accepted view in Viṣṇuism, it is only partially supported by the Haridāsī *sampradāya*, which distinguishes between Kṛṣṇa of Braj, who is an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, and Haridās's *iṣṭadeva*, Kṛṣṇa of Vrindaban, who is no *avatāra* but eternal; cf. I 1.4.

<sup>15</sup>The terms are quoted in the spelling of MS G.

<sup>16</sup>The three cited treatises were written in the 17th century (Delvoye 1987, pp. 35-36).

<sup>17</sup>Both in the name and terms used in this Sanskrit work I have given spellings with inherent -a.

Bhāṣā)<sup>18</sup>. Delvoye (1983, p. 91) calls attention to the choice of vocabulary in *dhrupada*, with Persian and Sanskrit borrowings, which in her view proves the importance of the poetic aspect of these compositions.

The language of Haridās's verses is Braj Bhāṣā. With its relatively large number of Persio-Arabic borrowings<sup>19</sup>, it also confirms Delvoye's point about the high percentage of loan-words in *dhrupada*.

**3.4** Abū-l-Fazl, Faqīrullah, Mirzā Khan and Bhāvabhaṭṭa specify also the structure and prosodic features of *dhrupada*: it consists of four<sup>20</sup> units<sup>21</sup>; it typically has no metrical structure<sup>22</sup>, but has a final rhyme<sup>23</sup>, often based on homonyms. Thus the *dhrupada* belongs to the *viṣama-chanda*<sup>24</sup> (irregular metre) category of prosody (Delvoye 1987, p. 37).

All the *padas* included in KM and AS consist of 4 lines (apart from KM 33, which has 8 lines). Typically the lines of one and the same verse have different length (e.g. KM 8: 16-42-26-37 *mātrās*; KM 30: 12-24-33-55 *mātrās*; KM 41: 21-19-25-47 *mātrās*; KM 51: 20-32-33-61 *matrās* etc.), and have no identifiable metrical structure<sup>25</sup>. Lastly, all *padas* of Haridās's corpus have an end-rhyme, which is often based on repetition or homonyms (for example: *kaū* AS 4, *kau* AS 7.2/3/4, *koū* AS 15; *lāge* KM 2.1/2, *taī/°ē* KM 24, *sō* KM 25, *suṣa* KM 32, *ho/°au pyārī* KM 35, *jo liṣi dehu* KM 36, *jāta* KM 40.1/3/4, *dai* KM 45, *gaī* KM 47, *aura kī aurai* KM 54.2/3/4, *syāma* KM 56, *rahyau* KM 61.1/2/3, *saū* KM 70, *°bhāva* KM 76, *sudesa* KM 77, *lāgati* KM 85.1/3, *nyāre* KM 86, *doū jana* KM 93, *māhi* KM 99.2/3, *sō/°aū* KM 101, *kaū* KM 102, *jāta* KM 109, *taī/°ē* KM 110.1/2/3).

<sup>18</sup>Bhāvabhaṭṭa's definition mentions Sanskrit also, but as Srivastava points out no *dhrupada* has yet been found in Sanskrit (1980, p. 20). Srivastava also notes that modern Hindi and other modern Indo-Aryan languages have started to make their way into this genre (Ibid, p. 21).

<sup>19</sup>See III 3.

<sup>20</sup>It is often noted that the four lines correspond to the four melodic elements (*dhātu*) of *dhrupada*: *sthāyī*, *antarā*, *sañcārī* and *ābhoga*. However, Srivastava (1980, p. 18) shows that in the early period (before the 19th century) *dhrupada* had only three *dhātus* viz. *udgrāha*, *antarā* and *ābhoga*.

<sup>21</sup>'*dhrupada* [sic] consists of four rhythmic lines' (*Āin-i-Akbarī*, 1596-97, in Delvoye 1987, p. 34); '*dhrupada* [consists] of four *misra-s*' (*Rāg darpaṇ* in Delvoye 1987, p. 35); '*dhrupada* is constituted of four *tuk-s*' (*Tuhfat-ul-Hind* in Delvoye 1987, p. 35); '[When *dhrupada*] is composed in four feet like this, known as *udgrāha*, *dhrupada* and *ābhoga* (the last one being split into two sections) it is *uttama* (high class) *dhrupada*' (*Anūpa-saṅgīta ratnākara* in Delvoye 1987, p. 36).

<sup>22</sup>*dhrupada* is 'without any definite prosodical length of words or syllables' (*Āin-i-Akbarī* in Delvoye 1987, p. 34); the restrictions of metre (*chanda*) are of no importance for *dhrupada* (*Rāg darpaṇ* in Palaniṅkar 1986, p. 39); *dhrupada* 'is a composition not in verse but rhymed' (*Tuhfat-ul-Hind* in Delvoye 1987, p. 35).

<sup>23</sup>*dhrupada* 'has *anuprāsa* (rhyme) or *yamaka* (repetition of words giving a different meaning each time) at the end of each foot' (*Anūpa saṅgīta ratnākara* in Delvoye 1987, p. 36).

<sup>24</sup>Srivastava (1980, p. 20) specifies that in *dhrupada* the number of *akṣaras* per line may range from 15 to 60. She asserts that since the number of syllables in each line is different, in order to keep the number of *mātrās* (beats) constant in all the lines, the *dhrupada* singer would pronounce the *akṣaras* of the long lines in their diminutive forms (*laghu akṣaras*). Brhaspati (1959, p. 9) explains that the *akṣaras* of the short lines are pronounced with a drawl (*kṛṣya*).

<sup>25</sup>An exception to this is KM 99 which shows the regular metrical structure of *sarasī chanda* (see introductory note to the translation of KM 99).

This analysis suggests that in both content and form Haridās's verses demonstrate the characteristics of *dhrupada* text-songs. Whereas features like the use of Braj, devotional subject-matter, a four-line-structure and final rhyme are not exclusive to *dhrupada* and hence cannot be conclusive, taken by themselves, the combination of their aggregate with the absence of metre is clearly indicative of *dhrupada*. The analysis of the definition of *dhrupada* and its application to Haridās's verses thus confirms the classification of his poetical compositions as *dhrupadas*.

### Conclusions

The importance of *rāga* distribution as the only organising principle in the corpus of Haridās's *padas* demonstrates their affiliation with a singing tradition (indeed it is indicative that 15 out of 16 MSS specify the *rāga* allocation of the verses). The order of *rāgas* in the MSS suggests two 'musical compilations'. One of them, represented by MSS H and BI, follows a sequence of *rāgas* which broadly conforms to the traditional 'time theory'. The other does not seem to comply with any specific logic, but might have been determined by the requirements of the *aṣṭayāma* service. Neither of the 'compilations' follow any accepted *rāga-mālā* sequence. The text corroborates Callaewart's observation that the regularity of *rāgas* is linked with the authenticity of the songs.

The use of *bhaṇitā* or *chāpa* is again symptomatic of association with singing practice. Though commonly a label of a tradition rather than of one poet in *bhakti*, the *chāpa* can nevertheless be of importance for establishing authorship (even if only as negative argument; for example it is worth noticing that all the *bhēṭa padas* in MS BI actually carry the *chāpa* of Mohinidās rather than Svāmī Haridās<sup>26</sup>).

Typically, the *chāpa* is an integral part of the syntax of the line in Haridās's poetry, largely following two main models. The 'verb of authoring' model prevails in AS due to its didactic character; the 'X's lord Y' pattern is most prominent in KM. The latter is subject to more variations than the former, and suggests the merging of the personality of the poet with that of a *sakhī*.

The last section of this chapter attempts critically to analyse the hitherto axiomatic association of Svāmī Haridās with *dhrupada*. The examination of the oldest available definitions of *dhrupada* as a poetic composition and the characteristic features of Haridās's verses has confirmed the affinity between the two.

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<sup>26</sup>Cf. appendix II.



Std. No.	Std. <i>rāga</i>	BR	PH	NC	RC 1	RC 2 A	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	BI
1	Kānharau	1	1	rāga?	Kedārau	1	1	20	1	1	1	60	1	1	1
2												11th <i>rāga</i>			1
3												61			11th <i>rāga</i>
4												62			9
5												63			13
6												64			16
7												76			7
8												79			11
9												65			18
10												68			29
11												67			6
12												70			5
13												71			10
14												66			14
15												80			4
16												77			19
17												78			12
18												85			17
19												73			12
20												82			24
21												74			2
22												75			21
23												69			3
24												87			30
25												72			8
26									26			84			26
27									26			86			15
28												88			23
29												89			25
30												81			27
31	Kedārau	1	31	30	30	30	30	49	30	30	30	83	30	30	28
32												90	1	31	20
33												12th <i>rāga</i>			22
34												91			1
												92			12th <i>rāga</i>
												93			2
															3
															4

Table 9  
Concordance showing *rāga* and stanza order for KM

Std. No.	Std. rāga	BR	PH	NC	RC 1	RC 2 A	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	BI
35												94			5
36												95			6
37												96			7
38												97			8
39												98			9
40												99			10
41												100			11
42												101			12
43												2			13
44												3			14
45												4			15
46												5			16
47												6			17
48												7			17
49												8			20
50												9			21
51												10			22
52			52	52	22	52	52	72	52	22	52	47	22 (52)	52	23 (112)
53	Kalyāna	1	1	53	1	53	53	73	1	1	1	9th rāga	1	53	1
54												48			2
55												49			3
56												50			4
57												51			5
58												52			6
59												53			8
60												54			9
61												55			10
62												56			11
63												57			12
64		12	12 (64)	64	12	64	64	83	12	12	12	58	12 (64)	64	7
65	Sārāṅga	1	1	65	1	65	65	84	1	1	1	13	1	65	1
66												3rd rāga			4th rāga
67												14			2
68												15			3
69												16			mis. f.
70												17			mis. f.
												18			6

Std. No.	Std. rāga	BR	PH	NC	RC 1	RC 2	A	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	BI
71													19			7
72													20			8
73													21			9
74													22			10
75		11	11 (75)	75	11	11	75	75	94	11	11	11	23	11 (75)	75	11
76	Vibhāsa	1	1	76	1	1	76	76	95	1	1	Vilāvāla	1	1	76	4
77											2		1st rāga			1st rāga
78											3		2			1
79											3		3			3
80											4		4			6
81											5		5			7
82											7		7			2
83					6				100		8		8			8
84					omitted				1		9		9			9
85					8				2		10		10			10
86	Vilāvāla	10	10	85	10	10	84	85	3	10	10	10	11	10 (85)	85	5
87		1	unr.	86	1	1	86	86	4	10	11	11	12	1	86	1
88	Malāra	2	87	87	2	2	87	87	5	11	12	12	2nd rāga	2 (87)	87	2nd rāga
89		1	1	88	1	1	88	88	6	12	omitted	12	omitted	1	88	1
90									7	1	1	1	5th rāga			5th rāga
91													26			2
92													27			3
93													28			5
94													29			6
95		8	8	96	8	8	95	95	14	8	8	8	31	8 (95)	95	8
96	Gaura malāra	1	9	97	1	1	96	96	15	9	omitted	9	33	1	96	4
97		2	10 (97)	98	2	2	97	97	16	10	9	10	32 (Malāra)	8 (95)	97	1
98	Vasanta	1	1	99	1	1	98	98	17	1	1	11	35	2 (97)	97	2
99													6th rāga			8th rāga
100													36			1
101													7th rāga			3rd rāga
102		5	5	103	5	5	102	102	21	5	5	5	37			2
													39		100	4
													38		1	3
													40	5	2	5

Std. No.	Std. <i>rāga</i>	BR	PH	NC	RC 1	RC 2	A	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	BI
103	Gaurī	1	1	104	1	1	103	103	22	1	6	1	45 8th <i>rāga</i>	1	3	1 6th <i>rāga</i>
104													41			11 Vibhāsa
105													46			2
106													42			3
107													43			4
108		6	6		6	6				6	11		44	6 (108)	8	5
109	Naṭa	1	7	110	7	7	109	109	28	7	6	7	6 (Vibhāsa)	1	9	6
			(Gaurī)				(Gaurī)	(Gaurī)	(Gaurī)	(Gaurī)	(Vilāvāla)	(Gaurī)				(Gaurī)
110		2	1(110)	111	1	1	110	110	29	8	7	1	24	2 (110)	110	1
					<i>rāga?</i>								4th <i>rāga</i>			7th <i>rāga</i>
extra pada	<i>rāga</i> specified in the MSS															
<i>pyārī</i> <i>kaṅkana</i> <i>bandhyau</i> <i>surata</i> <i>raṅga</i> <i>hinḍorē</i>	Kedārau												11			18
	Aḍāno			89									59			1
													10th <i>rāga</i>			10th <i>rāga</i>



## Chapter VII

### Commentaries

Some basic information about the commentaries of KM and AS has been given at the beginning of the chapter on translation. Some of the commentators' interpretations have been cited in the translation of AS, and especially of KM, mainly in instances where they give an insight into or an alternative reading of the meaning of the text. However, the commentaries are generally even more incomprehensible than the text they comment upon, hiding under the smoke-screen of this obscurity the failure of their composers to make sense of the *mūla*. Often the 'elucidation' of the commentaries is either contrived to serve sectarian purposes, or a fanciful attempt to discover a *dhvani* behind every word and context.

This chapter will first give some additional information about the main commentaries of KM (1.). I shall then focus on how the commentaries reflect sectarian dogma (2.), and conclude with a brief analysis of their mechanism of metaphorical interpretation (3.). AS will not be included in this discussion since its didactic subject-matter has not required sectarian 'editing' and has not unleashed the imagination of the commentators.

#### 1. Main commentaries of KM

PC was composed in the first half of 18th c. (VS)<sup>1</sup> by Pitāmbardās, disciple of the 6th *ācārya* of the Haridāsī *sampradāya*, Rasikdās, and fellow-disciple of the 7th *ācārya* Lalitkiśorīdās. This *ṭikā* is in verse and includes 108 of the 110 generally accepted stanzas of KM (excluding KM 87 and 96), for which reason it is called *aṣṭottaśata padō kī mālā* (cf. description of RC in II 1).

RC was composed by Rādhāśaraṇdās, disciple of Ṭhākurdās and *mahanta* of the Ṭaṭṭī Asthān from VS 1868 to 1878. It was created in the second half of the 19th c. (VS) as a commentary in verse on PC. It is also known as *Vastu darśinī*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>The dating of all commentaries follows that given by Mital (1984, pp. 35-37).

<sup>2</sup>Since the beginning and end of this commentary (unlike that of NC and PC) are not quoted in the section on MSS, I will cite them here:

*vastu darasanī nāma yaha ṭikā parama rasāla;*  
*rādhāsarana virāja ura, kahyau lāṭilī lāla.*  
*kelimāla yā grantha kau nāma rasālaya cāra;*  
*bhakti mukti lilā rahita tina rasikani siṅgāra.*  
*svāmī śrī haridāsa vara, ānanda sindhu sarūpa;*  
*gupta vastu paragaṭa karī lalitā rūpa anūpa.*  
 The commentary ends:  
*śrīsvāmī haridāsa kau, adbhuta rasa kau rāsa;*

PC and RC are usually quoted together in the MSS. The three MSS of PC and RC that I have seen (RC1, RC2 and a 20th century MS) are structured in the same way: the *mūla* is quoted in the centre of the page, with PC above it and RC below it. Both PC and RC are very concise and obscure: PC starts its commentary on each verse with a *dohā*, which it then ‘expands’ in a *pada*, while RC typically gives only a *dohā*<sup>3</sup>.

NC was created in the second half of the 18th c. (VS) by Nāgarīdās (different from his namesake, the third *ācārya* of the Haridāsī *sampradāya*). The author of NC was a disciple of Pītāmbardās and fellow-disciple of Kiśordās, the composer of *Nijmat siddhānta*. This *ṭikā* is of impressive size, over 600 pages of commentary. The elucidation of each verse usually starts with an *ābhāsa* which introduces the characters and sets the scene. The verse is first quoted as a whole, and then line by line with the relevant commentary following each line. The commentary to each verse usually finishes with stanzas by other poets of the sect. However, in a few instances, these stanzas are followed by the *mūla*, quoted again line by line, and further commentary giving an alternative meaning (see description of NC in II 1). NC is called *Kelimāl kī bhāvārtha dīpikā* (the diminutive suffix of *dīpikā* hardly reflecting its size).

BC was written recently by Buddhi Prakāś, a living member of the Haridāsī *sampradāya*. It quotes the *mūla* first, and then gives a very brief literal elucidation of the meaning of the verse as a whole, written in prose. This is followed by an elaborate statement of the *bhāvārtha*, the ‘implied meaning’, written in a highly sanskritized Hindi.

## 2. Commentaries and sectarian dogma

2.1 The introductory chapter presented a brief analysis of the theological views of the Haridāsī *sampradāya*. It was pointed out that the sect discriminates between *vraja līlā* and *nikuñja līlā*, considering the latter supreme; similarly Kuñjabihārī is not seen as a mere *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, as Kṛṣṇa is, but as the ‘lord of all lords’ and ‘source’ of all *avatāras*.

This point is elaborated in the commentaries on KM 1, where the obscurely used adverb *taisai* is interpreted as referring to the differences between the *nimitta* (with a particular purpose) represented by the Braj Kṛṣṇa and the *nitya* (eternal) represented by the Vṛndāvana Kṛṣṇa (see note 5 to translation).

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*koṭī rasika kavi paci gae, taū na pāi āsa.*  
*śrīlalitamohini kī kṛpā, ṭikā adbhuta kīna;*  
*mahā gūṛha tē gūṛha je bhāva artha kahi dīna.*  
*śrīsvāmī gurudeva kī, adbhuta vānī cāra,*  
*tākau saṁmata lai racyau, veda sāra kau sāra.*

<sup>3</sup>For examples of these commentaries see appendix 4.

I have also mentioned that the sect asserts its uniqueness on the basis of its singleminded concentration on the *nikuñja lilā*, to the complete exclusion of the puranic narrative; this focus influences the selection not only of subject-matter of the *padas*, but also of their protagonists and even of the epithets used for them<sup>4</sup>.

However, a number of Haridās's verses do not entirely conform to these sectarian views elaborated by his followers. True, most of the *padas* of KM are accounts of the *nikuñja lilā*, but this is not always the case. KM 52, for example, takes the puranic motif of the *rāsa* dance, and not surprisingly a 'forbidden' epithet creeps in. MSS F, H and BI read *gupāla* (instead of *pyāro lāla*); *gupāla* has been carefully blotted out by an editing hand in MS H (see note 9 to translation).

Whereas the commentators did not feel the need to justify the presence of KM 52, probably reading it just as a *pada* with musical context, KM 62<sup>5</sup>, a *dāna lilā* verse could not be left 'unexplained'. The commentators go to great lengths in their 'elucidation' that the message of this verse is cryptic (*gūḍha*); however the initiated would recognize that *dāna lilā* here is merely a metaphor for the *nitya vihāra* (see introductory note and note 1 to the translation). A metaphoric sense is also read into the awkward mention of Kṛṣṇa's *sakhās*, who should have no access to the *nikuñja*: it is 'explained' that the apparent *sakhās* actually stand for Kṛṣṇa's arms, or desires (cf. note 3 to translation).

Similar strategies are employed in KM 83, another verse with subject matter outside the realm of the *nikuñja*, which starts with Kṛṣṇa's questioning the *sakhīs* as to who Rādhā is, and finishes with a description of their water game. Again, the commentaries 'explain' that this is a joke, a dream or Rādhā's confusion (see introductory note to translation). The problem with the *sakhās* reappears in KM 100, but is (like *gupāla* in KM 52) solved on a textual level, without any need for the commentators to intervene. It is simply blotted out and replaced with *saṅga* in MS H (see note 5 to translation).

**2.2** Another sectarian concept which has been discussed in the introductory chapter is the elevation of Rādhā to a position which, for some members, is higher than Kṛṣṇa's: in Bihārinidās's words, Rādhā is the 'lord of Hari, who is lord of all lords' (cf. I 1.5). This view has strongly influenced the commentaries, where a pre-occupation with Rādhā's primacy is evident.

For example, NC and SMC read KM 23.4 as a juxtaposition of Rādhā's and Kṛṣṇa's qualities, concluding that Rādhā is the unquestionable champion: *he śrī śyāmā jū śrī kuñjabihārī hī keval tanik āpkī kuch samāntā mē haī anya jitne bhī guṇī haī ve sab hār mān gaye* (SMC); *ho śyāmā yaha kuñjabihārī nēka tumhārī prakṛti kau haī* (NC) (see note 11 to translation). The same motif is repeated in NC's commentary of KM

<sup>4</sup>For a discussion on the possible influence of these sectarian considerations on the process of canonization of AS and KM see appendix II.

<sup>5</sup>The position of both KM 62 and 83 in the middle of *rāga* groups shows that they were included in the corpus at a very early stage.

65.3: *aura tau yā gatina kī chāyā hū ke levē mē kāhū kī pahuca nāhī. eka kiśora hai. so āpa kī sī gati kahā pāiye* (see note 6 to translation).

Similarly, in KM 98 NC and SMC explain that seeing Rādhā brings an end to Kṛṣṇa's suffering, by forcing Rādhā (rather than Kṛṣṇa, as the logic of the original line suggests) to be the object of *deṣata* and Kṛṣṇa to be its subject: *aisē bihārī pyārī jū ke mukha candramā kau dekhata hai...jina ke saba dukha kahā ki kāma dahā hai. so dukha dekhata hī nasi jāta hai* (NC); *śrī bihārī jī...bhī āpkā darśan kar sab dukhō ko naṣṭa huā samajhte haī* (SMC) (see note 4 to translation). In KM 102.2 too the commentators force a change of subject (in the second *pāda* of the second line) from Rādhā to Kṛṣṇa, in order to avoid a suggestion that Rādhā might be touching Kṛṣṇa's feet in a humble supplication: *lāla jū bole paiyā lāgau pana pana kō* (NC); *priyā se us bāt ko sunkar lāl kahne lage* (BC) (see note 6 to translation).

Dictated by the concept of Rādhā's primacy is the need felt by the commentators to explain away verses which hint at Kṛṣṇa's alleged unfaithfulness or any possibility that Rādhā might have a rival. The commentaries to these verses usually start with a lengthy explanation that Rādhā's suspicions have resulted from an illusion (where she sees her reflection but mistakes it for another's) or a dream; alternatively these verses are read by the commentators as a cryptic message or a joke (see introductory notes to KM 38, 44, 73 and note 1 to KM 104).

A further case where similar forces have been at work is KM 99, where no specific reference to Rādhā is made. BC and NC try to reconcile this with the primary importance she is given in the later theology of the sect by reading *phūli* as referring to Rādhā: *śrī priyā jū prasannatā se phūli* (BC); *aru phūli aṅga mē na bhāvata hai śrī lādīlī jū* (NC) (see note 3 to translation).

**2.3** A third sectarian tendency apparent in the commentaries is to underline the important role of the confidante Haridāsī as a mediator between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. In KM 36.4, for example, NC, BC and SMC read Haridās as the 'scribe' of Rādhā's promise to Kṛṣṇa not to sulk: *śyāmā se śrī lāl ne yah bacan le hī liyā aur priyā jū ne haridāsī se kahā lāl jaisā kahē vaisā likh do* (SMC and BC); *śyāmā jū pai śyāma lāla jū nē bola bulāya liyau kī kabahū māna na karaūgī...śrī haridāsī jī tē kahau bhalai jū likha dehu* (NC) (see note 7 to translation). Similarly, in BC's reading of KM 39.2 Kṛṣṇa addresses Haridās (rather than Rādhā) in his distress caused by Rādhā's sulking: *he sakhī tumhārī ye svāminī bhaūhō kī vakratā...*(see note 7 to translation), and in KM 59.4 Haridās tries to appease Radhā: *sakhī priyā se kahne lagī* (see note 12 to translation).

The commentators interpret the obscure idiom *dūbare kī rādhī śira ṣā-* (KM 51) as implying that a third party, Haridās, should present the case of the destitute Kṛṣṇa, to the mighty Rādhā: *jaisē koī garība kāhū rājā sō kahai kī mere prasāda karau...pai rājā jānai kī yā kē prasāda karāyave kau heta yaha hai kī sakāmī hai. tātē bāke prasāda na*

*karai kī kachū daina āvaigo jātē mē pūrna sakāmī hū. aura yaha niṣkāmī rājā so mo garība kī rādhī khīra kaba khāta hai. so āpa ke basa hai* (NC); *sahacari śrī haridāsa kahati bali khīra dūbare kina khāi* (PC) (see note 9 to translation).

This tendency is connected with the sectarian view of Haridās as Rādhā's foremost companion, Lalitā, and thus as the sole channel through which the devotee may receive the *rasa* of *nitya vihāra*. Presumably the 'identification' of Haridās with Lalitā is connected with the importance of the *sakhīs* in the theology of the sect: they are seen as equal to Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa; in Bihārinidās's formula Rādhā, Kṛṣṇa and the *sakhīs* are three peas in a pod (see I 1.3).

However, it is apparent from some of Haridās's verses that the importance of the *sakhīs* is probably a later development. In KM 55.1, for example, a *sakhī* comments that nobody could come between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, that 'he is her messenger and she his'. In KM 79 Kṛṣṇa repeats these words almost literally: 'I am your messenger, you are mine, no one else can be incorporated between you and me'. In KM 100 and KM 101 Kṛṣṇa tries to persuade Rādhā to go where 'no *sakhī* is present' and not to 'meet any *sakhī*'. Interestingly, no commentator has felt the need to explain away these instances.

### 3. Metaphorical interpretation in the commentaries

I have shown the influence of sectarian dogma on the commentaries. I shall now proceed to look closely at the mechanism of metaphorical<sup>6</sup> interpretation in the commentaries, using the tabulated material (see table 10).

The metaphorical interpretations of the commentaries are usually *ad hoc* rather than of general application. However, some of them recur in the glosses on different verses in one and the same commentary (e.g. *nṛtta* as a representation of the couple's love-play in NC) or in the elucidation of the same verse in different commentaries (e.g. *juvatini* as a metaphor of Kṛṣṇa's and Rādhā's desires, KM 85.3). A few stock metaphors have also been listed: the hero, Kṛṣṇa, is compared to a tree, and the heroine, Rādhā, to a creeper; the dark Kṛṣṇa is a cloud while the fair Rādhā is lightning.

Many of these substitutions are based on a similar attribute of their tenor and vehicle<sup>7</sup>: in the interpretation of 'couple' as 'breasts' this is number; the similarity

<sup>6</sup>The use of the term 'metaphorical' in this context is arguable, since the commentators' contestable reading of *dhvani* in straightforward contexts is not really metaphor as such. However, if one takes the most general sense of metaphor as 'a figurative expression of similarity or dissimilarity in which a direct, nonliteral substitution or identity is made between one thing and another' (Myers & Simms 1989, p. 178), one will discover analogies between the mechanism of metaphor and the replacement of *abhidhā* with *dhvani*: in both cases we have a substitution which is done on the basis of similarity (or dissimilarity in metaphors). For this reason 'metaphor' and 'metaphorical' will be used in this context, albeit with caution.

<sup>7</sup>I am using these terms, coined by I. A. Richards, to refer to the two components of a metaphor, by analogy. 'Tenor' is the 'referential word which is usually stated first and is often of a general or abstract nature, 'vehicle' is usually the second term, commonly more concrete or specific' (Ibid.).

between 'crowd' and 'sulking', and between 'dense forest' and 'Rādhā's beauty', is large quantity; between 'dance' or 'swing' and 'love-play' it is the movements involved; between 'musk' and 'Kṛṣṇa's body', 'yellow sash' and 'Rādhā's body', 'red flowers' and 'Kṛṣṇa's/Rādhā's lips' or 'eyes', and between 'black bee' and 'Kṛṣṇa', it is colour; '*yamunā*' is interpreted as 'love union' because of the sense of connecting and merging of the two banks; the association of 'humming' with 'laughter' is based on sound.

In many substitutions, especially in a *nakha-sikha* context, the similarity between the tenor and vehicle is not apparent. However, in these cases the latter includes in its description the attribute on which the replacement is based: '*mṛdaṅga*' or '*tāra*' stands for the 'sound of decorations'; 'necklace' for the 'radiance of Kṛṣṇa's limbs', 'pearls' for the 'radiance of Rādhā's limbs'; 'ear-studs' for the 'splendour of Rādhā's locks of hair'; 'white flower' for the 'radiance of Rādhā's and Kṛṣṇa's faces'; 'flowers' or 'spring' for the 'blossoming of the couple's bodies'.

Yet another class of substitutions (again mainly in a *nakha-sikha* context) depend on contiguity in space: 'necklace' refers to 'Kṛṣṇa's arms' embracing Rādhā; 'bracelets' to 'Kṛṣṇa's fingerprints' or to the 'shadow of his arms on Rādhā's wrists'; 'anklets' to the 'shadow of Kṛṣṇa's feet on Rādhā's feet'; 'bodice' to 'Kṛṣṇa's hands', which are placed on Rādhā's breasts. This contiguity in space is strongly metonymical<sup>8</sup> in 'flute', which is interpreted as 'lips', and 'medallion' as 'Rādhā's breasts'.

A number of substitutions (especially in the context of nature) are based on a rather vague similarity between the tenor and the vehicle, which can be loosely defined as both being 'containers': 'bowers', 'forest' or 'earth' stand for the 'couple's bodies' or 'hearts'. In other examples the basis for the replacement is completely obscure, since there is no apparent similarity between its tenor and vehicle: the interpretation of '*sakhā*' and '*juvatini*' as 'Kṛṣṇa's and Rādhā's desires'; of '*sakhī*' as 'Rādhā's mind'; of '*bīna*' as 'Rādhā's breasts' or 'Kṛṣṇa's body'; of '*tāra*' as 'Rādhā's bodice' and '*kinnarī*' as the 'joining of Rādhā's and Kṛṣṇa's hands' and 'turning of their waists'; 'braided hair' as 'Kṛṣṇa's desires'; 'shawl' as 'Rādhā's body'; 'hem' as 'Rādhā's and Kṛṣṇa's bodies'; 'forest' as 'Rādhā's joyfulness'; 'cuckoo' as 'Kṛṣṇa's heart'; 'peacock' as the *sakhīs* etc.

To conclude, the *ṭīkāś* clearly reflect the theological views of the Haridāsī *sampradāya*. The sectarian influence on the commentaries is manifested in three main tendencies: to play down the motifs referring to Kṛṣṇa's *vraja līlā*, to underline the pre-eminence of Rādhā, and to stress the importance of Haridās as the main confidante and mediator between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. A second salient feature of the *ṭīkāś* to KM is the partiality of the commentators for fanciful metaphorical interpretations of every word

<sup>8</sup>On metonymy and metaphor see Jakobson 1988.

and context. Sometimes the connection between the literal and metaphorical sense is clear, but often it is not. Most allusions are to the couple's love-play.

Table 10

**Metaphorical interpretations in the commentaries****Companions**

NC	1.1	couple ( <i>jorī</i> )	R's breasts
NC	79.1	friends ( <i>sakhā</i> )	K's/R's desires
NC, RC	85.3	young women ( <i>juvatini</i> )	K's/R's desires ( <i>cāha rūpa juvatī</i> )
NC	101.2	<i>sakhī</i>	R's mind
NC, BC	100.1	crowd ( <i>bhīra</i> )	R's sulking ( <i>māna rūpī bhīra</i> )

**Musical context**

NC	2.2, 12.2, 14.1, 65.2, 85.2,	<i>rāga/rāginī</i>	R's/K's love ( <i>saneha</i> )
NC, RC	101.3, 106.1 67.1		
RC	12.2		R's/K's desire ( <i>manoratha</i> )
NC	5.4	festive praise ( <i>maṅgalā</i> )	love-play ( <i>bihāra</i> )
NC, RC	94.4	music ( <i>saṅgīta</i> )	love-play ( <i>surata</i> )
NC	12.4, 23.3, 52.3, 60.1, 65.2	dance ( <i>nṛtya</i> )	love-play ( <i>surata</i> )
NC, RC	96.1		
NC, RC	94.1	movements ( <i>gati</i> )	love-play ( <i>surata</i> )
RC	94.1	dance ground ( <i>rāsa bhūmi</i> )	K's heart ( <i>piya hiya</i> ) R's/K's bodies
NC	52.1	flute ( <i>muralī</i> )	Kāma's desires ( <i>kāma rūpa kī cāhi</i> )
NC	56.1		K's lips ( <i>piya kā adhara</i> )
NC	99.3	( <i>baṃsī</i> )	desire ( <i>kāma</i> )
NC	61.2	<i>adhoṭī</i>	K's/R's hands ( <i>kara kamala</i> )
NC	61.2, 106.1	<i>bīna</i>	R's breasts ( <i>kuca kamala</i> )
RC	106.1		K's body ( <i>bīna aṅga nija śyāma</i> )

NC	61.2	<i>mṛdaṅga</i>	sound (of decorations) on R's and K's limbs ( <i>aṅga aṅga mila jhūlave mē bajata</i> )
NC, RC	67.1		R's bangles ( <i>balayā bajata mṛdaṅga</i> )
NC	61.2 65.2	<i>tāra</i>	R's bodice ( <i>kañcuki rūpa tāra</i> ) sound of R's/K's jewels ( <i>aṅga aṅga ābhūṣanana kī bajana</i> )
NC	66.2	<i>kinnarī</i>	as above
NC	67.1		joining of R's/K's hands and turning of their waists ( <i>kinnarī jo kara so kara jora. kaṭī so kaṭī mora</i> )
RC			sound of anklets ( <i>nūpura kī dhuni</i> )

### Holi context

NC, SMC	19.1	<i>holī</i>	love-play ( <i>bihāra, rasa raṅga</i> )
NC	48.2	powder ( <i>abīrai</i> )	K's desires ( <i>pīya kī cāha</i> )
NC	75.1	swing ( <i>ḍola</i> )	K's/R's embraces ( <i>āliṅgana kau ḍola</i> )
NC, RC	84.1		love-play ( <i>keli ḍola</i> )

### nakha-śikha context

NC	20.1	necklace ( <i>lāra</i> )	K's arms ( <i>pīya ke bhujā</i> )
NC	75.2		R's arms
RC	85.1		R's limbs
NC	20.1, 21.1, 75.4	beads ( <i>potī</i> )	Kṛṣṇa
RC	85.1		K's body
NC	50.2	necklace ( <i>kañṭhasiri</i> )	radiance of K's limbs ( <i>lāla ke aṅga kī jhalaka</i> )
NC	50.2	string of pearls ( <i>dularī hīrani</i> )	radiance of R's limbs ( <i>ujvāla aṅga</i> )
NC	20.2, 21.3, 50.1	bracelets ( <i>cūrī</i> )	K's fingerprints ( <i>aṅgurina ke cinha</i> )
NC	56.2, 75.4		shadow of K's arm ( <i>pīya kara parachahi</i> )
NC	63.1	bracelets ( <i>kañkana</i> )	K's fingerprints
NC	20.2	anklet ( <i>cūrā</i> )	shadow of K's feet ( <i>pīya ke carana kī parachāī</i> )
NC	56.1	musk ( <i>kastūrī</i> )	K's limbs ( <i>pīya ke śyāma aṅga</i> )
NC	56.1	yellow sash ( <i>pītāmbara</i> )	R's body ( <i>pyārī ke kañcana varna tana</i> )
NC	56.2	ear-studs ( <i>khubhī</i> )	the splendour of R's locks of hair ( <i>alakana kī ābhā</i> )
NC	75.4		the blossoming of R's/K's limbs



NC	70.1	braided hair ( <i>bainī</i> )	K's desires ( <i>manorthana kī bainī</i> )
NC	70.1	white flowers ( <i>seta phūla</i> )	the radiance of R's/K's faces/eyes
NC	70.1	red flowers ( <i>rāte...</i> )	redness of eyes/lips
NC	73.1	medallion ( <i>caukī</i> )	R's breasts ( <i>kuca rūpa caukī</i> )
NC, RC	92.1	shawl ( <i>cūnarī</i> )	R's body
NC	93.2	hem ( <i>añcāra</i> )	R's/K's bodies ( <i>aṅga aṅga rūpī añcāra</i> )
NC	98.1	bodice ( <i>kañcukī</i> )	K's hands ( <i>pīya kau kara</i> )

### Nature

NC	33.7, 48.3	<i>yamunā</i>	love-union ( <i>milāpa kī sandhī</i> )
NC, BC	44.2, 52.1, 99.2, 106.1	bower ( <i>nikuñja</i> )	K's/R's hearts ( <i>hīya</i> )
NC, RC	68.3, 85.1, 100.2, 106.1	( <i>kuñja</i> )	K's/R's bodies ( <i>nikuñja aṅga aṅga</i> )
NC, PC	79.1	( <i>kuñja</i> )	K's/R's love ( <i>neha kuñja</i> )
NC, PC, RC, BC	46.1, 52.1, 84.1, 99.2, 110.1	forest ( <i>bana</i> )	K's/R's bodies ( <i>bana tana</i> )
RC, NC	99.2, 110.1		K's/R's hearts ( <i>nava bana hṛdā</i> )
NC	100.3		R's joyfulness ( <i>prasanna rūpa bana</i> )
PC	110.1		R's, K's beauty ( <i>rūpa saghana bana</i> )
NC, RC, PC	46.1	cuckoo ( <i>kokilā</i> )	K's heart ( <i>mana rūpa kokilā</i> )
NC, RC	96.2		Rādhā or Kṛṣṇa
NC, RC	96.2	cuckoo ( <i>papihā</i> )	Rādhā or Kṛṣṇa
NC	46.1	flowers ( <i>phūla</i> )	'blossoming' of K's/ R's bodies ( <i>aṅga aṅga kī phūlana</i> )
NC	75.1	( <i>puhapa</i> )	K's/R's smiles ( <i>musakana phūlana</i> ) or decorations <i>phūlana ke ābhūṣana</i>
NC	52.2	tree ( <i>druma</i> )	Kṛṣṇa
NC	52.2	creeper ( <i>belī</i> )	Rādhā
NC, BC	99.2	shoots ( <i>pallava</i> )	R's/K's love ( <i>anurāga</i> )
NC, RC	68.1	<i>kadamba</i>	K's desires ( <i>so cāha hī kau kadama</i> )
NC	85.2	bee ( <i>bhavara</i> )	Kṛṣṇa
RC	85.2	humming ( <i>guñjāra</i> )	K's/R's laughter
NC	89.1	peacock ( <i>mora</i> )	Kṛṣṇa
RC			<i>sakhīs</i>
NC, RC, PC	89.2	clouds ( <i>bādara</i> )	Kṛṣṇa
NC, RC	96.2	( <i>megha</i> )	

NC, RC, PC	89.2	rainbow ( <i>dhanuṣa</i> )	Rādhā
NC, RC	89.3	earth ( <i>bhūmi</i> )	R's/K's bodies
NC RC	89.3	red-velvet insects ( <i>būḍhani</i> )	radiance of passion ( <i>anurāga kī jhalaka</i> ) Rādhā's body
NC, RC, PC	92.1	drops ( <i>būnde</i> )	sweat
RC	98.1, 99.1	spring ( <i>basanta</i> )	love-sports ( <i>bihāra kī basanta</i> )
NC, BC	99.1, 101.1		blossoming of R's/K's bodies ( <i>aṅga aṅga kī phūlana</i> )

## Chapter IX

### In conclusion

The kernel of this dissertation has been the text of two 16th-century devotional lyrical works, the *Kelīmāl* and the *Aṣṭādaś siddhānta*, composed by the North Indian religious preceptor, poet and musician Svāmī Haridās.

To throw light on this core I first tried to remove the husks of legends and sectarian dogma, and crack the shell of orality. Devoting my introductory chapter and the chapter on commentaries to the first of these tasks, I asked the questions: What are the theological views of the Haridāsī *sampradāya* and how do they compare to those of its instigator, Svāmī Haridās? Can we glimpse the historical Haridās in the image of the legendary Haridās? What were the hagiographic strategies and sectarian concerns in creating the latter?

Haridās's text suggests that he was a *rasika*, an ecstatic aesthete of the eternal love-play, *nitya vihāra*, of the divine couple Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. He was an exemplary representative of what H. Pauwels (1994a, p. 2 of chapter 12) calls 'the optimistic mystic', a devotee engrossed in the love-union of the divine-couple, rather than stricken by the pangs of love in separation, *viraha*. Nothing in his texts suggests any affiliation to another sect, or indeed, any overt concern with theological doctrine.

The germs of Haridās's beliefs were developed by his followers soon after his death. Haridās's preference for the *nitya vihāra* was made exclusive of any other motifs of Kṛṣṇa's myth; his view of Rādhā as part of the *yugala svarūpa* (joint form) gave way to a preoccupation with her primacy; his devotional persona as one of Rādhā's *sakhīs* was 'identified' as being a reincarnation of Lalitā. These new developments are demonstrated not only by the sectarian commentaries to Haridās's verses but also by the sectarian 'editing' of Haridās's very text. They may also have played a role in the selection of verses to include in the canonical version of Haridās's works.

Some of Haridās's hagiographies show another tendency of this process of 're-interpretation' of his life and message. These are partisan works which attempt to enhance the importance of their own sectarian tradition by making Haridās a disciple of their own preceptors.

Whereas Haridās's message has very little in common with such sectarian considerations, it agrees in tenor with the general *bhakti* motifs which prevail in his hagiographies. His single-minded devotion, his asceticism, his disregard for worldly pleasures, mundane power and scriptural injunctions, the egalitarianism of his love are stressed again and again in his eulogies. Common hagiographic topoi - conflict between asceticism and worldly responsibilities, victory of spiritual over mundane power, the

miraculous power of the image, alluding to the intimacy between the devotee and his deity - are found also in Haridās's hagiography.

However, one unusual motif which recurs in most of Haridās's hagiographies is that of his musical prowess; he is portrayed as a singer whose voice could bring abundant rain in the driest months of the summer. This admiration is summarised in Gopāl's celebrated line: *sūra kau pada aura dhurapada haridāsa kau*<sup>1</sup>, which places Haridās next to the 'sun' of Braj poetry, the famous Sūrdās, and makes his lyrics an epitome of the art of *dhrupada* just as Sūr's verses are unsurpassed representatives of the genre of *pada*.

This motif is supported by the internal evidence of Haridās's texts: the connection of his verses with a *rāga*; the inclusion of a *chāpa* (*bhaṇitā*); and the lack of any apparent metrical structure (beyond the almost ubiquitous four-line arrangement), suggesting association with the musical style of *dhrupada*, prove the intrinsic connection of his verses with an oral singing tradition. In my chapters on textual criticism and on the singing tradition I began by trying to examine this orality and crack open its shell in order to establish the original text of Haridās. However, soon the fallacy of a clear-cut dichotomy between oral and written became obvious. The metaphor of the kernel of the text hidden by the shell of the orality had to be discarded. The layers of orality had become part of the text much in the same way as the layers of an onion actually constitute the onion.

Haridās's *padas* were transmitted orally possibly for as long as two centuries before they were finally written down. Moreover, the oral tradition did not die with the scriptural fixation of the text. We cannot simply peel away the layers of the changes brought about by the singing tradition to reach the core of Haridās's text, since they have become an intrinsic component of the text. The picture is further complicated by the lack of any fixed linguistic or prosodic structure of the text on which editorial decisions could be based. This is why instead of reconstructing authorial intention I have adopted a historical perspective and presented the different versions available. On the basis of shared variants, analysed with cladistic and phenetic computer programmes, I have sought the answers to some important questions: Are there different recensions of Haridās's text? What is a plausible vulgate? Two main recensions emerged from the chaos of MS variants, one of them possibly associated with the pre-canonical period of the text, the other presenting the vulgate.

This hypothesis was supported also by external evidence: the inclusion of extra verses, the *rāga* distribution and *rāga* sequence of the *padas*, and their order and numbering system in the individual *rāga* units. The chapter on singing tradition looked closely at the *rāgas*, searching for the logic behind the *rāga* distribution and order.

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<sup>1</sup>See Gosvāmī 1966, p. 465.

Whereas the first compilation fits the requirements of the theory that *rāgas* are associated with specific times of the day, the second perhaps follows those of the daily cycle of ritual service to the image (*aṣṭayāma*); neither of them comply with a *rāga-mālā* sequence. The investigation of the symptoms of the singing tradition is continued with an analysis of the structure of the *chāpa* and its importance for the syntax of the last line, and a comparison of Haridās's verses with the poetic genre of *dhrupada*.

The study of hagiographic strategies, sectarian considerations and textual history is, however, only a lens to assist the reading of Haridās's works. The actual text, its interpretation and translation, its linguistic analysis has been the focal point of my research. This is obvious from the very length of the chapter '*Aṣṭādaś siddhānta* and *Kelīmāl: Annotated translation*', in which, armed with manuscript variants, sectarian elucidations and linguistic arguments I struggled against textual corruption, irenic hypercorrections and lexical obsolescence to make sense of this extremely complex and obscure text. Though my observations on Haridās's language confirm the general structure of Braj Bhāṣā, Haridās's text shows some salient features: extreme poetic liberty in creating rhyme-forms, abundance of Perso-Arabic vocabulary, partiality for (odd) relative-correlative constructions and repetitions.

The irretrievable march of the centuries has eroded the contours of the historical persona of Svāmī Haridās. His precise dates, parents, *guru*, *sampradāya* and life-history still stir up heated sectarian and 'academic' arguments due to lack of historical evidence. Nor do we know anything about his style of singing, and his poetry is a source of endless puzzles. However, time has not managed to erase his image from the collective memory of his venerator. His name is firmly imprinted in the hearts of the people of North India as a byword for single-minded devotion and musical genius.

## Appendix I

### Glossary

The glossary gives the *pada* and line number for all occurrences of words appearing in KM and AS; it follows MS G. When the translation is based on another reading, the glossary follows that reading with a cross-reference to the reading of MS G; the note to the translation which explains this emendation is also quoted (e.g. *kilibiṣa*, MS G reading (note 3 to AS 7), cf. *kalamaṣa*).

The glossary follows these conventions:

1. Verbs are listed as roots with a short dash, e.g. *ho-*; they precede any homonyms.

2. When no clear direct m. singular form of a noun or adjective appears in the text, its stem form is given with a long dash, followed by the occurring forms in parentheses. The same applies to forms which are very different from the accepted dictionary forms (e.g. *abacaI— (°anā)*). In these cases the alphabetical order is according to the ending.

3. Extended nouns and adjectives are listed under their stem form, followed by a long dash. The alphabetical order follows the last letter of the stem form.

4. *anusvāra* and *candrabindu* follow textual usage and are not distinguished in regard to the alphabetical order. For consistency *m̐* in etymologies taken from CDIAL is changed to *m̐*.

5. Etymologies which are found in CDIAL are given with a numerical reference, regardless of whether the forms are *tatsama*, *ardha tatsama* or *tadbhava*. Derivations from Sanskrit which are not quoted in CDIAL, but in other dictionaries (mostly MW), are noted [S] when the form in the text is identical with the Sanskrit form, and [S...] where ... stands for the Sanskrit form when it differs from that of the text. Problematic etymologies or etymologies which are not well established are preceded by an indication of the dictionary in which they are found. The abbreviations of the names of the dictionaries are given in the preface. Commonly accepted Sanskrit compounds are quoted together in derivations (e.g. [S *yamadūta*]); when the compound is not well established the CDIAL references to its components are given (e.g. [5656 *tanū-* + 13451 *sukha-*]).

6. The abbreviation 'rep.' is used when there is a consecutive repetition of the word discussed. If the repetition brings a new shade of meaning, it is quoted. If the word is used two or more times in the same line but not consecutively, the number of times is noted in the reference.

7. All different forms are given as cross-references.

8. A question mark is written only in the most problematic cases; when there is simply an uncertainty between two forms (discussed in the notes to the translation) the one accepted in the translation is given.

9. Only the grammatical functions which occur in the text are quoted in the glossary, e.g. if a verb can be both vi. and vt., but appears only as vt. in the text, vt. will be given as its grammatical definition. When the grammatical function of a word deviates in a particular location from the expected, the peculiar grammatical function is quoted in parenthesis: e.g. *anūpama* adj. (adv.).

10. Both etymological *kh* and *ṣ* are given according to the alphabetical order for *ṣ*. This applies to *ṣ* in both initial and intermediate position.

11. Collocations are listed under the entry of their first (or main) member with a cross-reference to the other members.

12. If a word occurs only with nasalised stem, the nasalised form is given as a headword (e.g. *kāna*); if there are both nasalised and unnasalised occurrences, it is listed under the unnasalised form (e.g. *kāma*) with a cross-reference.

13. Words are listed under their commonest form in the text. If there are only two forms in the text preference is given to the form which has been more widely attested in Braj (e.g. *kaṭāchi* rather than *kanaṣa* is chosen for a headword).

14. When there has been a correction in MS G, made *pr. m.*, the form after the correction is quoted in the glossary.

15. Verbal nouns are listed as verbs; cross-reference is made to verbal nouns which function as nouns proper in the text (e.g. *cit-* vt. [4799 *citta-*] 'look at': -*aye*, KM 42.4; -*avata*, KM 4.2, 91.3; -*avani*, (f.), KM 18.2; -*ai*, KM 56.3 and *citavani* cf. *cit-*).

16. Compounds are listed as one unit when the first member has no separate occurrence, and the compound is well established (e.g. *brahmaloka*). If it is not a well-established compound or the first member occurs also outside the compound, it is listed under the entry for the first member (*guñja-mālā* and *manamōhana*). In these cases cross-reference is made to the second member of the compound. For clarity these compounds are usually hyphenated in the glossary, but written together in the *apparatus*.

17. Signs:

[]	for etymological references
{ }	marks the individual meaning of a word which appears only in an idiom in the text (e.g. <i>gāla</i> {cheek}: ~ <i>mār-</i> , 'boast')
(?)	a question mark after a component of an entry denotes uncertainty with regard to this component; it is used after

	the headword to show uncertainty regarding the whole entry
: in translation	divides a literal meaning from the meaning in the context
f./m.	used for words with double gender
<	derived from
×	conflated with



- aṅga m. [114 *aṅga-*] ‘limb, body, part, variety, aspect’: KM 9.2, 33.2, 43.3, 55.2, 56.1, 60.3, 67.4 (twice), 97.1; ~ aṅga, ‘every limb, all aspects’, KM 1.3, 21.1, 23.4, 66.1, 77.4, 106.4; -na, KM 99.3; aṅgani aṅga, KM 72.3; ~ hāra, ‘gesticulation’, KM 67.4
- aṅgahāra cf. aṅga
- aṅgiyā f. [132 *aṅgikā-*] ‘bodice’: KM 21.3, 74.1
- aṅgura f. [135 *aṅguli-*] ‘finger’: -ni, KM 77.2
- añcarā m. [168 *añcala-*] ‘border or end of garment’: KM 20.3, 93.2; añcala, KM 88.3
- añcala cf. añcarā
- añjana m. [170 *añjana-*] ‘collyrium’: KM 97.3
- anta m. [347 *anta-*] ‘end’: AS 10.4
- antara m. [357 *antara-*] ‘screen’: KM 102.1
- ambuja m. [S] ‘lotus’: KM 55.3
- aṃsa m. [2 *aṃśa-*] ‘part’: KM 68.3
- agalā m. [68 *agra-*] ‘adversary’: AS 6.2
- agādh—(°e) adj. [S *agādha*] ‘unfathomable’: KM 41.2
- aginita adj. [S *agaṇita*] ‘countless’: KM 66.3
- aghā- vi. [1062 *āghrāpayati*] ‘be satiated’: -ta, KM 9.2
- acarace adv. [S *a-* + 4695 *carcā-*] ‘unthinkingly’: AS 1.2
- acala m. [S] ‘immovable’: AS 6.4
- aciraja m. [1464 *āścarya-*] ‘wonder’: KM 91.1
- aceta adj. [S] ‘unconscious’: KM 58.4
- aja/°i cf. āju
- aṭapaṭ— adj. [179 \**aṭṭ* (DEDR 83 *aṭ-*)] ‘incoherent, disordered, loose, stumbling’: -ī, KM 14.4; -e, KM 38.1, 2, 3
- aṭapaṭī f. [179 \**aṭṭ* (DEDR 83 *aṭ-*)] ‘roguishness’: KM 38.2
- aṭala adj. [S] ‘unwavering, eternal’: KM 18.4, 95.4 (rep.)
- atana m. [S *atanu*] ‘bodiless’ (name of Kāma, the god of love): KM 106.4
- atarauṭā m. [359 \**antarapaṭṭa-*] ‘petticoat’: KM 21.3
- atalasa f./m. [A *aṭlas*] ‘satin’: KM 21.3
- ati adj. & adv. [200 *ati*] ‘great, very, extremely’: KM 19.2, 21.4, 33.1, 35.3, 46.2, 67.4, 77.2, 85.1, 88.2, 93.3
- athav- vi. [976 *astam eti*] ‘set (the sun)’: -ata, KM 109.2
- adbhuta adj. [240 *adbhuta-*] ‘wonderful, wondrous, strange’: KM 31.3, 33.1, 6, 54.3
- adhara m. [S] ‘lip’: KM 18.2, 55.3; -ni, KM 74.3
- adharāṭī f. [671 *ardharāṭra-*] ‘midnight’: KM 32.3
- adhalā adj. [385 *andha-*] ‘blind’: AS 6.3
- adhika adj. [250 *adhika-*] ‘greater, extreme’: AS 3.1, KM 24.3, 91.2
- adhoṭī f. [662 *ardhapuṭa-*] (?) ‘musical instrument’: KM 61.2
- anaṅga m. [S] ‘bodiless’ (epithet of Kāma, the god of love): KM 21.2, 86.4
- anata adv. [401 *anyatra*] ‘elsewhere’: KM 48.4, 110.4
- anamāgyau adj. [S *ana-* + 10074 *mārgatī*] ‘unsought’: AS 4.3
- anaṣa f./m. [284 *anakṣa-*] ‘anger’: KM 37.2
- anūpama adj. (adv.) [S *anupama*] ‘matchlessly’: KM 81.3
- aneka adj. [345 *aneka-*] ‘many’: KM 85.3
- apan— poss. pr. [1135 \**ātmanaka-*] ‘own’: -ō, AS 1.3, 16.2, KM 10.4, 22.3, 68.3; apanai rasa, ‘at a caprice’, AS 8.2
- apanapau m. [1135 \**ātmanaka-*] ‘one’s self’: KM 6.1
- apāra adj. [482 *apāra-*] ‘unbounded, unsurpassed’: KM 57.2, 67.2

- aba adv. [Add<sup>2</sup> 2528 *evam eva* × *a*-] 'now': KM 1.2, 11.1, 16.1, 18.4, 39.3, 47.1, 51.1, 54.3, 64.3 (twice); ~ *kaī*, 'now, at this time', KM 68.2, 101.1; 'ba, AS 3.1, KM 10.3, 4, 13.3, 25.3, 39.1, 46.2, 47.3, 88.1, 105.3 (twice), 107.2; 'ba *kaī*, KM 108.4
- abacal— (°*anā*) adj. [S *avicala*] 'unwavering': KM 88.4
- abareṣ- vt. [S *ava-* + 11108 *lekhyā-*] (?) 'consider': -i, KM 42.3
- abīra m. [A 'abīr] 'powder, usu. red, which is thrown and sprinkled at the Holi festival (made from ground meal, or minerals, esp. mica): KM 48.2, 84.2
- abhinē m. [S *abhinaya*] 'gesture': KM 94.1
- abhai m. [507 *abhaya-*] 'freedom from fear': ~ *dāna*, 'grant of lack of fear: assurance of safety or protection', KM 22.3
- amṛta m. [571 *amṛta-*] 'nectar, ambrosia': KM 5.3, 7.1, 55.3
- amola adj. [S *a-* + 10373 *maulya-*] 'priceless': KM 27.2
- ara cf. aura
- aragajā m. [Pers.] 'a perfume of a yellowish colour compounded of several scented ingredients (as sandal, rose-water, camphor, musk, ambergris)': KM 55.2, 61.2
- aranisa, MS G reading (note 2 to KM 72), cf. aharanisa
- arabarā- vi. [13949 \**haḍabaḍa-*] 'be alarmed, agitated': -i, KM 15.3; -iē, KM 28.3
- arāari f. [187 \**aḍ-*] (?) 'rivalry': KM 71.2
- aruna adj. [616 *aruṇa-*] 'red': KM 87.2
- alaka f. [694 *alaka-*] 'lock of hair': KM 97.3; *alakaī*, KM 103.1
- alaga (?) [700 *alagna-*] 'a type of dance': KM 2.2
- alāp- vt. [1361 \**ālapyati*] 'tune the voice': -ata, KM 14.1, 96.2
- ali m. [716 *alin-*] 'bumble bee': KM 71.2
- alokika adj. [S *alaukika*] 'transcendental': KM 2.2
- avalokana m. [S *avalokana*] 'looking at': KM 102.1
- aṣatīyāra m. [A *ikhtiyār*] 'choice': AS 6.1
- asa cf. ais—
- asara m. [A *aṣṛ*] 'influence': KM 74.4
- asita adj. [S] 'dark': KM 29.2
- asta-bista adj. [S *asta-vyasta*] 'agitated': KM 11.2
- asva m. [920 *aśva-*] 'knight (in chess)': KM 81.2
- aharanisa adv. [S *aharniśa*] 'night and day': KM 72.2
- ānkō m. [100 *aṅka-*] 'body': ~ *bhar-* 'embrace': KM 74.2
- ādh— (°e) f. [385 *andha-*] 'darkness': AS 10.4
- āṣi f. [43 *akṣi-*] 'eye': KM 6.2; -na, KM 5.1, 6.1, 32.1, 35.2, 102.1; *āṣai*, KM 35.2
- ā- vi. [1200 *āpayati*] 'come': -i, AS 11.3, KM 15.3, 69.4, 104.3; -ī KM 98.4; -ī, KM 14.3, 51.1; -ni, KM 71.3; -ye, KM 90.1; -va, AS 6.2, KM 5.1, 74.1; -vata, AS 10.4, KM 8.1, 38.3, 78.1, 87.1, 109.3; -vati, KM 66.3; -vahu, KM 82.2; -vai, AS 4.4, KM 92.3; -vaigau, AS 4.3
- āgara m. [1000 *ākara-*] 'wise or skilled person': AS 14.3
- āgē adv. & ppn. [68 *agra-*] 'in front, further, before, later': AS 7.1, KM 5.1, 8.2; *āgai*, AS 4.3, KM 23.1, 46.1, 54.3, 103.3, 106.1; *āgai*, KM 1.2, 30.2; ~ *de-*, 'show', KM 38.2
- āch— adj. [142 *accha-*] 'good, fine': -ī, KM 77.1, 89.2, 3 (twice)
- āju adv. [242 *adya-*] 'today, now': KM 13.3, 18.1, 29.1, 30.3, 36.1, 38.1, 4, 69.2; *aja hū*, 'just now, even now', KM 15.2, 64.1; *aji*, KM 22.3
- ātura adj. [S] 'desirous': KM 21.4

- āturata f. [S] 'impatience': KM 81.3  
 ādhār—(°ani) m. [1165 *ādhāra*-]  
 'support', cf. *prānani ādhārani*: AS  
 2.4  
 ādhīna adj. [S] 'humble, subservient':  
 KM 21.4, 26.2  
 ādh—(°e) adj. [644 *ardha*-] 'few':  
 KM 17.3 (rep.)  
 āna f. [1095 *ājñā*-] 'oath': KM 45.2  
 ānanda m. [1172 *ānanda*-] 'bliss': AS  
 9.4  
 āni f. [1110 *āni*-] 'restrain, charm': AS  
 3.2, KM 103.3  
 āpa pr. [1135 *ātman*-] '-self': AS 11.3;  
 -na, AS 4.4; *āpuna*, KM 74.4  
 āpuna cf. *āpa*  
 ābharana m. [1224 *ābharana*]  
 'ornament': KM 97.2  
 āra f. [1313 *ārā*-] 'awl': -ni, KM 64.1  
 ārambhaṭī f. [S *ārabhaṭī*] 'vigour': KM  
 106.4  
 ārasī f. [1143 *ādarśa*-] 'mirror': KM  
 13.3, 53.2  
 ālasa adj. & m. [1371 *alasya*-] 'lazy,  
 languor, weariness': AS 10.1, KM  
 26.1, 27.3, 77.1  
 āli f. [1380 *āli*-] 'woman's female  
 friend': KM 63.3  
 āhi cf. *ho*-  
  
 indra m. [1572 *indra*-] 'Indra': KM  
 37.2  
 ikaguna adj. [2462 \**ekka*- + 4190  
*guṇa*-] 'onefold': KM 82.4  
 ikaṭaka adj. [2462 \**ekka*- + 5716  
*tarkayati*] 'unblinking': KM 20.2  
 ikasāra adj. [2510 \**ekkasara*-] 'single':  
 KM 20.2  
 ita adv. [\**itra*, cf. 228 *atra*; base also for  
*uta, kita, jita* (MTH)] 'hither, here':  
 KM 51.2; ~ *uta*, 'here and there',  
 AS 3.1, KM 3.3, 4.2, 5.1, 19.3,  
 74.3  
 itan— adj. [1589 *iyattaka*-] 'this  
 much': -i, KM 25.3; -eta, KM 39.3;  
 ito, KM 35.3  
 ito cf. *itan*—  
 ina, ini cf. *yaha*  
 ihā adv. [1605 *iha*] 'here': KM 79.2  
  
 indu m. [1570 *indu*-] 'moon': KM  
 106.2  
  
 ujarāi f. [1670 *ujjala*-] 'radiance':  
 KM 1.3  
 uṭh- vi. [1900 \**ut-sthāti*] 'rise, arise, get  
 up'; aux. verb: -ati, KM 91.2; -i,  
 KM 47.4, 80.3; -ibe, KM 86.1; -e,  
 KM 15.3  
 uṭhaṅg- vi. [2172 \**uppatṭhiṅga*-] 'lean':  
 -i, KM 31.4  
 uṭhā- vt. [1903 \**ut-sthāpayati*] 'raise':  
 -ibe, KM 62.3  
 uḍ- vi. [1697 *uḍḍayate*] 'fly': -ata,  
 KM 48.2; -ive, AS 1.4; -e, KM 71.1  
 uḍaghana m. [1694 *uḍu*- + S *ghana*]  
 'stars': KM 103.2  
 uḍā- vt. [1697 *uḍḍāpayati*] 'blow away,  
 throw': -i, AS 8.2; -vata, KM 84.2  
 uta adv. [cf. *ita*] 'thither, there' (cf. *ita*  
*uta*): AS 3.1, KM 3.3, 4.2, 5.1,  
 19.3, 51.3, 74.3  
 utār- vt. [1770 *uttārayati*] 'take off': -i,  
 KM 92.2  
 udo m. [1931 *udaya*-] 'rising': KM  
 106.4  
 udher- vt. [2009 *uddhṛta*-] 'undo,  
 unravel': -ata, AS 14.2; *udhera-būna*  
 (f.), 'unpicking and (re-) weaving:  
 perplexity', KM 72.2  
 udhera-būna cf. *udher*-  
 una cf. *vaha*  
 unamatta adj. [2111 *unmatta*-]  
 'intoxicated': KM 93.3  
 unamāna m. [2121 *unmāna*-] 'depth':  
 KM 14.3  
 unahāri f. [342 *anuhāra*-] 'imitation':  
 KM 23.1  
 unīnd—(°ī) adj. [2108 *unnidra*-]  
 'sleepy': KM 76.1  
 upaj- vi. [1814 *utpadyate*] 'be  
 produced, arise': -ata, KM 2.2, 60.3,

76.3, 102.3, 110.3; -ati, KM 33.1, 45.2, 65.2; -aigau, KM 101.3  
 upajā- vt. [1814 *utpadyate*] 'produce':  
 -vata, KM 12.2  
 upamā cf. upamā  
 upamā f. [2203 *upamā-*] 'simile,  
 comparison': KM 95.2; upamā, KM  
 63.4, 95.1  
 upavana m. [S] 'grove': AS 12.2  
 upā- vt. [1814 *utpādayati*] 'get': -hī,  
 KM 53.4  
 upāi m. [2308 *upāya-*] 'means': KM  
 7.3  
 ura m. [S] 'heart, breast, chest': KM  
 58.3, 81.2, 106.3  
 urasa m. [2350 *uras-*] 'breast, chest':  
 -ni, KM 20.3  
 ūja m. [2422 *ūrjas-*] 'trouble': KM  
 62.3  
 ūtara m. [1767 *uttara-*] 'answer': KM  
 83.2  
 ūpara adv. & ppn. [2333 \**uppari*]  
 'above, on' (cf. sira ūpara): KM 8.2  
 e<sup>1</sup>, eha see yaha  
 e<sup>2</sup> interj. [S] 'Oh! Listen!': AS 5.1  
 eka adj. & num. [2462 \**ekka-*] 'one':  
 KM 3.3, 20.1, 3, 36.1, 40.2, 53.2,  
 59.1, 66.3, 78.1, 79.1, 84.3, 86.2,  
 91.1; ~ rasa, 'constant', KM 91.1;  
 ~ saṅga, 'together', KM 16.1;  
 ~ samē, 'once', KM 13.1, 84.1; ~ hī  
 bāra, 'at once', KM 37.2; ekai, KM  
 63.1 (rep.); yekau na cal-, 'nothing  
 succeeds': AS 10.4  
 ekānta adj. [2487 *ekānta-*] 'solitary':  
 KM 13.1, 84.1  
 erī interj. [10808 *re*] 'Oh! Listen!':  
 KM 25.3, 101.4  
 ais— pr. adj. & adv. [1611 *īdrśa-*]  
 'such, like this, in this way': -i, KM  
 21.4, 31.1, 2, 35.1, 39.3, 75.3,  
 89.1, 95.3; -ē, AS 15.3, 4, KM  
 74.1; -ē hī, KM 78.3; -ai, KM 1.3;  
 -ai hī, KM 3.1; -ai hī, KM 7.4; -o,

KM 34.2, 55.3, 72.2, 110.4; -oi,  
 AS 13.1, KM 76.1; -o hī, KM 5.2;  
 -au, AS 7.3, KM 68.2, 102.4; asa,  
 AS 8.3

ora f. [812 *avarā-*] 'side, end': AS 7.4,  
 KM 108.2

aūṭ- vi. [1420 *āvartayati*] 'be evaporated  
 over a fire, be purified': -i, KM 26.3

aughara adj. [OHED: = H *garhna*<  
 \**gaṭhati*, and *ghaṭate*] 'unique': KM  
 60.2

aucaka adv. [Snell: \**ajāna(ka)-??*]  
 'suddenly': KM 15.3, 104.3

auṭa f. [2544 \**oṭṭā-*] 'screen, shelter':  
 KM 93.2; ~ pāṭa, AS 18.4

auḍh- vt. [2547 \**oḍḍh-*] 'wear': -ē,  
 KM 56.1

aura<sup>1</sup>, MS G reading (notes 9 to AS 7  
 and 1 to KM 108), cf. ora

aura<sup>2</sup> conj. & adj. [434 *apara-*] 'and,  
 other, else': AS 1.2, 2.2, 7.1, 8.3,  
 9.1, 12.3, 17.1, KM 4.3, 6.4, 9.3,  
 23.4, 37.3, 40.3, 48.3, 53.3, 54.1  
 (twice), 2, 55.1, 60.3, 4, 77.3, 79.3,  
 82.3, 91.3, 102.2; -na, AS 16.2;  
 aurai, KM 14.4, 38.4, 54.1; ~ kī  
 aurai, 'changed, different', KM 54.2,  
 3, 4; aurau, KM 75.2; ara, KM 20.3

aulī f. [759 *avacūḍa-*] 'hem of a  
 garment': KM 97.4

kaṅkana m. [2597 *kaṅkaṇa-*] 'bracelet':  
 KM 63.1

kaṅcana m. [3013 *kāṅcana-*] 'gold':  
 KM 19.4

kaṅcukī f. [S *kaṅcukī*] 'bodice': KM  
 20.3, 98.1

kaṅṭha m. [2680 *kaṅṭha-*] 'neck': KM  
 21.1, 97.4; ~ lagā-, 'embrace', KM  
 96.4; ~ sirī, 'golden necklace', KM  
 50.2

kakahī f. [2598 *kaṅkata-*] 'comb': KM  
 70.3

kaca m. [S] 'hair': KM 36.2

kachu cf. kachū

- kachū pr. & adj. [3144 *kiṃcid-*]  
‘something, anything, a little, some, any’: AS 10.2, KM 9.3, 14.4, 23.1, 39.3, 65.3, 66.3, 69.2, 76.1, 101.2; kachu, KM 8.2
- kajarā, cf. kājara
- kaṭaka m. [S] ‘army’: KM 71.3
- kaṭāchi m. [2636 *kaṭākṣa-*] ‘sidelong glance’: KM 87.4; kanaṣa, KM 37.3
- kaṭi f. [2639 *kaṭi-*] ‘waist’: KM 36.2, 58.3, 87.2, ~ sō ~, KM 105.3; kaṭī, KM 106.3
- kaṭī, cf. kaṭi
- kaṭhani, MS G reading (note 2 to KM 11), cf. kaṭhina
- kaṭhina adj. [2650 *kaṭhina-*] ‘hard’: KM 11.1
- kata adv. [OHED: conn. *kutaḥ*] ‘why’: AS 10.1, KM 39.1
- kadamba m. [2710 *kadamba-*] ‘the tree *Nauclea cadamba*’: KM 68.1
- kana m. [2661 *kaṇa-*] ‘drop’ (cf. śrama jala kana): KM 27.1, 58.1; kanu, KM 95.3
- kanaka m. [2717 *kanaka-*] ‘gold’: KM 31.3, 52.2, 58.1
- kanaṣa cf. kaṭāchi
- kanu cf. kana
- kaba adv. [OHED: cf. Ap. *kabbe*: for S *kadā*] ‘when?’: -hūke, ‘sometimes’, KM 84.2; -hū, ‘at times, ever’, AS 3.1 (rep.), KM 34.2; -hū, ‘ever’, KM 78.1; -hū na, ‘never’, KM 13.3
- kabi m. [2964 *kavi-*] ‘poet’: KM 29.4
- kamala m. [2764 *kamala-*] ‘lotus’: AS 11.2, KM 86.3; ~ nēna, ‘lotus-eyed one’ (Kṛṣṇa), AS 7.1
- kamodani f. [3305 *kumuda-*] ‘the white water-lily’: KM 57.1
- kar- vt. [2814 *karoti*] ‘do, make’ (cf. krama kar-, hā-hū kar-): -ata, AS 10.1, 11.3, KM 7.3, 13.1, 39.1, 53.1, 55.2, 75.3, 85.2, 91.3, 93.2, 4, 105.3, 106.4; -ati, KM 51.3; -i, AS 1.3, 4, 14.1, 15.1, 16.3, KM 3.1, 8.2, 10.1, 26.4, 28.4, 47.2, 58.3, 63.4, 70.2, 78.1, 92.4, -ihaū, KM 90.1; -ai, KM 8.2, 43.1, 2; -ō,
- KM 10.2; -aū, KM 53.3, 59.1, 85.4; -au, AS 2.3, KM 39.3; kiyā, AS 6.4; kiyau, AS 1.3; kiyē, KM 56.1, 59.3, 68.2; kiye, KM 56.2, 86.4; kījiye, KM 80.1; kījai, AS 7.4; kījai, AS 7.1, 2, 12.1, KM 16.2, 68.3; kīna, KM 26.1; kai, KM 39.4
- kara m. [2779 *kara-*] ‘hand’: AS 12.1, KM 15.3, 51.4, 63.1, 70.3; ~ sō ~, KM 77.1, 105.3; -ni, KM 50.1; ~ naṣa, ‘fingernails’, KM 103.2
- karajāvali f. [S] ‘fingernails’: KM 106.2
- karatā m. [S *kartā*] ‘creator of the world, god’: AS 6.4
- karapūra m. [2880 *karpūra*] ‘camphor’: KM 26.3
- karavā m. [2781 *karaka-*] ‘earthen pot’: AS 12.1
- kala<sup>1</sup> adj. [S] ‘soft, gentle’: KM 103.2
- kala<sup>2</sup> m. [2948 *kalya-*] ‘rest, happiness’: KM 10.3, 76.2, 88.3?
- kala<sup>3</sup>, MS G reading (note 12 to KM 69), cf. kula
- kalamaṣa m. [2946 *kalmaṣa-*] ‘sin’: AS 7.2
- kavanī adj. [S *kamaniya*] ‘beautiful’: KM 110.1
- kavīnī, MS G reading (note 1 to KM 110), cf. kavanī
- kasa f./m. [2970 *kaṣa-*] ‘testing’: ~ ṣatā-, ‘pass a test’, KM 24.3
- kasūmbha m. [3378 *kusumbha-*] ‘saffron’: AS 7.3
- kastūri f. [2985 *kastūrikā-*] ‘musk’: KM 26.3, 56.1
- kah- vt. [2703 *kathayati*] ‘say, tell, speak, call out’: -ata, AS 16.3, KM 5.4, 10.2, 4, 14.4, 22.4, 25.1, 34.4, 35.4, 39.3, 40.4, 41.4, 42.3, 45.1, 2, 46.4, 49.3, 58.4, 59.4, 64.2, 66.3, 4, 76.4, 78.4, 92.4, 95.1, 105.1, 108.4; -ati, KM 56.1, 64.1; -i, AS 1.4, 4.4, 5.4, 6.4, 7.4, 8.4, 9.4, 10.4, 11.4, 13.4, 15.4, 16.4, 17.4, 18.4, KM 25.2, 63.4, 65.4; -ī, KM 11.1, 69.2; -e, KM 108.3; -ai, KM 11.2, 33.8, 53.3; -ō, KM 6.2,

- 40.2; -o, KM 83.1; -aũ, KM 6.3, 66.3; -au, KM 51.4; -yau, KM 76.1
- kahakaha m. [A *qahqaha*] 'loud laugh, burst of laughter': KM 108.3
- kahã adv. [2574 *ka*-] 'where, rhetor. in what (possible) case': KM 6.2, 35.3, 72.2, 73.1, 83.4; kahã, AS 18.2; kãhĩ, KM 6.4
- kahã- vt. [2703 *kathayatĩ*] 'call': -vata, AS 18.2
- kahã<sup>1</sup> adj. & interr. pr. [2574 *ka*-] 'what, how': AS 17.2, KM 11.2, 25.2, 35.1, 40.2, 64.1, 66.3, 68.2, 70.1, 82.3, 83.1; ~ bhayo, 'so what, no matter', AS 10.3, KM 65.3; kãhe, 'why', AS 17.4, KM 10.4; kãhe kaũ/°o, 'why', AS 2.2, KM 5.1, 39.1; kãhe tẽ, 'why', KM 10.2, 38.1
- kahã<sup>2</sup> cf. kahã
- kahãni f. [OHED: H. \**kahãnã*, Brbh. *kahãno*] 'talk': KM 46.3
- kahũ<sup>1</sup> adv. [*kahã* + emph.] 'anywhere, somewhere, ever', AS 13.2, KM 25.1, 31.2, 75.3, 91.1, 95.3, 97.3
- kahũ<sup>2</sup>, MS G reading (note 10 to KM 92), cf. hã(-hũ)
- kãdh— (°e) m. [13627 *skandha*-] 'shoulder': AS 10.2
- kãna m. [2380 *karna*-] 'ear': -ni, KM 21.2; ~ de-, 'pay attention', KM 45.1
- kãma cf. kãma
- kãhĩ cf. kahã
- kã cf. ko<sup>2</sup>
- kãk— (°e) m. [2993 *kãka*-] 'cuning fellow': AS 5.3
- kãgata m. [Pers. *kãgaz*: for orig. *kãgad*] 'paper': KM 34.2
- kãc— (°i) adj. [2613 \**kacca*-] 'deficient': KM 95.2
- kãcha m. [2592 *kaksya*-] '*dhotĩ*': ~ bãdh-, 'put on *dhotĩ*: tail spread', KM 14.2
- kãjara m. [2622 *kajjala*-] 'collyrium' KM 70.4, 71.1; kajarã, KM 50.3
- kãdh- vt. [2660 \**kaḍḍhati*] 'extricate, draw out': -ana, KM 7.2; -e, KM 57.4, 107.4
- kãma m. [3042 *kãma*-] 'desire, love, cupid, Kãma (the god of love)': KM 87.4; kãma, AS 3.3, KM 26.1, 34.4, 35.4, 46.4, 50.3, 71.3, 89.3, 98.3; kãmehĩ, KM 82.2
- kãran— (°i) m. [3057 *kãraṇa*-] 'source': AS 2.3
- kãr— (°i) adj. [3083 *kãla*-] 'black': KM 71.1, 96.3
- kãla m. [3084 *kãla*-] 'death': AS 10.1
- kãhũ, kãhũ cf. koũ
- kãhe<sup>1</sup> cf. kahã<sup>1</sup>
- kãhe<sup>2</sup> cf. ko<sup>2</sup>
- kiñkini f. [3152 *kiñkiñĩ*-] 'small bell': KM 87.2
- kĩnnarĩ cf. kinnarĩ
- kit— pr. & adv. [3167 \**kiyatta*-] 'how much, rhetor. how!, rhetor. very much?': -e, KM 23.2; -oũ, AS 1.4; -auka, KM 66.1, 109.4
- kita adv. [cf. *ita*] 'rhetor. what a...!': KM 102.1
- kidhõ conj. [McGregor: *ki* < 3164 *kim*, + *dhaũ* < 6892 *dhruva*?] 'or, or then': KM 6.1, 76.1
- kina adv. [Snell: 3164 *kim* + *na*?] 'why not': KM 83.2; kini, KM 62.4
- kini cf. kina
- kinnara m. [3145 *kiñnara*-] 'mythical being with a human figure and the horse's head, reckoned among the *gandharvas* (as divine musicians or singers)': KM 42.2
- kinnarĩ f. [S *kiñnarĩ*] 'musical instrument (either a kind of lute, cf. the classical *kiñnarĩ viñã*, or the percussion instrument made from metal which is also called *karkarĩ/ kirakarĩ/ kiñgarĩ*): KM 66.2; kinnarĩ, KM 67.1
- kiraura m. [3498 *kõṭi*-] 'ten million': -ni, KM 89.3
- kilibiṣa, MS G reading (note 3 to AS 7), cf. kalamaṣa
- kisora adj. & m. [3190 *kisora*-] 'young, youth': KM 3.2, 19.2, 52.3, 56.2, 65.4, 72.1, 110.1; kisaura, KM 89.4

- kisorani cf. kisaurī  
 kisaura cf. kisora  
 kisaurī f. [3190 *kiśora*-] ‘girl’: KM 19.2, 33.1; kisorani, KM 89.4  
 kī cf. kau<sup>1</sup>  
 kīca f. [OHED: cf. *cikka*-<sup>2</sup>] ‘mud’: KM 55.2  
 kuṅkūma cf. kūmakūma  
 kuñja m. [3226 *kuñja*-] ‘bower, grove’: KM 56.3, 79.1; ~ kuñja, ‘from bower to bower’, KM 85.1; ~ nikuñja, ‘thicket-bowers’, KM 100.2; ~ bihārī, (an epithet of Kṛṣṇa), AS 11.4, KM 25.1, 60.1, 68.3, 84.1, 99.1, 104.1, 105.1, 108.1, and occurring in the last line of every poem of KM as part of the *chāpa*, except: KM 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 18, 19, 21, 25, 31, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 46, 53, 57, 60, 62, 63, 65, 67, 68, 69, 72, 75, 76, 78, 82, 85, 89, 91, 92, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 104, 105, 106, 108, 109; ~ bihārini, (an epithet of Rādhā), KM 91.4; ~ mahala, ‘bower-abode’, KM 21.4, 87.1  
 kundana adj. & m. [Platts: S *kandalah*] ‘pure gold, golden’: KM 29.3, 71.2  
 kūmakūma m. [3214 *kuṅkuma*-] ‘saffron’: KM 56.2; kuṅkūma, KM 26.3; kumakumā, KM 48.2  
 kūvara m. [3303 *kumāra*-] ‘youth’: KM 33.1  
 kūvari f. [3303 *kumāra*-] ‘damsel’: KM 83.1  
 kuca m. [3216 *kuca*-] ‘female breast, bosom’: KM 36.2, 74.2, 98.1  
 kubera f. [3361 \**kuvelā*-] ‘unsuitable time’: AS 10.2  
 kubhāva m. [S *ku*- + 9475 *bhāva*-] ‘bad disposition’: KM 76.2  
 kumakumā cf. kūmakūma  
 kumayā f. [OHED: ? ad. \**kumāyā*-] ‘harshness’: KM 78.1  
 kula m. [3330 *kula*-] ‘swarm’: KM 69.4  
 kusuma m. [3377 *kusuma*-] ‘flower’: KM 68.2  
 kūla m. [3416 *kūla*-] ‘bank’: -hu, KM 48.3  
 kṛpā f. [3437 *kṛpā*-] ‘grace’: AS 2.1  
 kṛṣṇa m. [3451 *kṛṣṇa*-] ‘black cuckoo’: KM 97.2  
 kē, ke cf. kau<sup>1</sup>  
 kedārau m. [S *kedāra*] ‘name of a *rāga*’: KM 32.3, 52.3  
 kel- vi. [3918 \**khed*-] ‘sport’: -aī, KM 100.3  
 keli f. [S *keli*] ‘amorous sport’: KM 18.4  
 kesa m. [3471 *keśa*-] ‘hair’ (cf. *sāvār*-): KM 103.2  
 kaī, kai<sup>1</sup> cf. kaū<sup>1</sup>  
 kai<sup>2</sup> conj. [OHED: ? *kim*, or H *ki*, + H (*h*)ī] ‘or’: ~...~, ‘either...or’, KM 76.1; KM 76.2 (?)  
 kais— adj. & adv. [3197 *kīdṛśa*-] ‘of what kind, how’: -īyo, KM 13.3; -ē, KM 10.3, 59.4, 104.2, -aī, AS 18.1, -aī kai, KM 59.3; -aī hū, KM 42.4  
 kō<sup>1</sup> cf. kaū<sup>1</sup>  
 kō<sup>2</sup> cf. ko<sup>2</sup>  
 kōna cf. kaūna  
 ko<sup>1</sup> cf. kaū<sup>1</sup>  
 ko<sup>2</sup> pr. [2574 *ka, kaḥ*] ‘who, which’: KM 55.1, 60.3, 63.4, 110.4; kō, KM 70.2; kaū, KM 4.3; kau, KM 23.1, 33.8, 37.3; kā, KM 83.1, 85.4; kāhe, KM 12.4  
 ko<sup>3</sup> cf. kaū<sup>1</sup>  
 koila cf. kokilā  
 koū pr. & adj. [2967 *kaścid*] ‘some, any, someone, anyone’: AS 15.1, 2, 3, 4, KM 14.3, 53.2, 61.2, 70.1, 77.3, 79.2, 91.3, 100.3; kāhū, KM 4.1, 23.2, 61.4, 65.3, 76.1; kāhū, AS 2.1, 18.3, KM 61.2 (thrice), 62.3, 76.3, 101.1, 2, 105.2 (twice), 3; kaū, AS 5.1 (twice)  
 koka m. [S] ‘art of love’: KM 72.3  
 kokilā f. [3483 *kokila*-] ‘the black cuckoo’: KM 96.2; koila, KM 46.1; kaukilā, KM 14.1

koṭi f. [3498 koṭi-] 'ten million': AS 3.3, KM 29.4, 34.3, 41.1, 86.4 (rep.), 87.4, 98.3, 102.3

kopa m. [3516 kopa-] 'anger': KM 57.3

kaū<sup>1</sup> ppn. & obl. case marker, cf. kāhe kaū<sup>o</sup> [14342 kakṣa-]: AS 2.1, KM 5.1; AS 4.1, 3, 4, 10.1, 11.2, 16.4, KM 4.1, 2, 4, 7.2, 17.2 (twice), 3, 45.4, 58.3, 68.1, 77.3?, 102.3, 4?; kō, KM 39.1; KM 6.3, 53.4, 63.4, 72.1; ko, 98.4; kau, AS 15.1, KM 18.4

kaū<sup>2</sup> cf. ko<sup>2</sup>

kaū<sup>3</sup> cf. koū

kaū<sup>4</sup> cf. kau<sup>1</sup>

kaūdh- vi. [2758 kavandha-] (?) 'flash (as lightning)': -i, KM 96.3; -e, KM 92.4; -ai, KM 21.3

kaūna pr. & adj. [2575 kaḥ punar] 'who, whom, what, which': AS 1.2, 3.1, 16.3, KM 54.1; ~ dhaū 'whoever', AS 5.2 (twice); kaunē, KM 51.4; kōna, KM 109.1

kaūmala adj. [3523 komala-] 'gentle': KM 70.3

kau<sup>1</sup> gen. ppn. (cf. aba kaī) [OHED: conn. kṛta-]: AS 1.2, 3.4, 7.2, 3, 13.1, 14.2, 3, 4, 18.3, KM 5.4, 12.3, 4, 27.3, 29.3, 33.8, 48.4, 56.2, 60.4, 61.4, 66.1, 71.3, 74.2, 82.4 (twice), 83.1, 91.4, 95.3, 97.1, 99.1; kī, AS 10.4, 11.1, 18.2, KM 1.1, 3, 3.2, 5.3, 7.1, 11.3, 14.3, 4, 19.4, 20.1, 3, 23.1, 24.2, 3, 29.1, 4, 34.4, 39.2, 45.2, 46.2, 49.2, 50.2, 51.4, 53.3, 54.2, 3, 4, 55.2, 3, 62.3, 4, 63.2, 67.4, 69.2, 3, 4, 71.2, 72.4, 73.2, 4, 74.2, 4, 75.2, 76.3, 78.4, 81.1, 82.2, 83.1, 84.3, 86.1, 87.4, 89.2, 3, 92.3, 93.2, 95.2, 97.3, 103.4, 104.1, 105.2, 4, 107.3; kē, KM 61.2 (twice), 107.2; ke, AS 1.4, 2.4, 3.3, 4, 7.1, 8.1, 10.1, 13.4, 15.3, 17.2, KM 2.1, 3.2, 12.2, 13.2 (twice), 23.2, 4, 26.3, 28.1, 30.2, 55.3, 4, 57.2, 61.2, 62.3, 65.4, 67.2, 76.4, 77.3, 79.1, 84.3 (twice), 85.3, 86.1, 90.1 (twice), 2 (twice), 3, 4, 91.3, 93.3, 97.1, 107.4, 110.3, and occurring in the last line of every

poem of KM as part of the *chāpa*, except: KM 9, 10, 19, 21, 25, 65, 99, 106; kaī, KM 9.3, 32.4, 60.2, 3, 61.2, 108.3; kai, AS 13.4, KM 80.2; ko, KM 5.2, 35.2, 55.3?, 56.1, 74.3, 78.1, 110.4; kaū, AS 4.2

kau<sup>2</sup> cf. ko<sup>2</sup>

kau<sup>3</sup> cf. kaū<sup>1</sup>

kau<sup>4</sup>, MS G reading (note 6 to KM 95), cf. kyaū

kaukana m. [S *kokanada*] (?) 'red water-lily': KM 58.1

kaukilā cf. kokilā

kauda m. [3037 kapaṭa-] 'feint': AS 5.3

kyaū adv. [3164 kim] 'how, why': AS 1.3, KM 61.3, 68.3, 79.1, 90.2, 95.2 (?); ~ hū<sup>o</sup>ū 'somehow', KM 51.1 (rep.), 2

krama<sup>1</sup> m. [2892 karman-] 'deeds, doing' (cf. mana baca krama): KM 4.2, 36.3, 59.2, 90.2

krama<sup>2</sup> m. [3577 krama-] {step}: ~ ~ kar-, 'gradually, approach', KM 41.4, 68.4

For words starting with *kh-* see *ṣ-*

gandharva m. [S] 'kind of celestial musician': KM 75.2

gambhīra adj. [4031 gambhīra-] 'low': KM 110.3

gaī, gae cf. jā-

gaṭi f. [4354 granthi-] 'knot: bond, multitude': AS 15.1, KM 24.2

gaṭhōda m. [4352 \**granthabandha-*] 'pledge': KM 25.3

gaḍuvā m. [3984 gaḍuka-] 'water-jar': KM 98.1

gata cf. gati

gati f. [4009 gati-] 'rhythm, movement, manner, step, refuge' (cf. hā gata): KM 30.4, 33.1, 6, 54.3, 57.2, 65.2 (twice), 67.4, 82.2, 94.1; gata, KM 85.4, 107.2



- gan- vt. [3993 *gaṇayati*] ‘count, reckon’: -ē, KM 37.3; -yaū, KM 14.2
- gaye, gayo cf. jā-
- garaji f. (?) [4046 *garjati*] ‘thundering’: KM 96.2
- gar— (°ē/°aī) m. [4070 *gala-*] ‘neck’: KM 63.2; ~ lagā-/lāg-, ‘embrace’: KM 39.4, 47.4, 83.4
- galī f. [4085 \**galī-*] ‘lane’: AS 18.3
- gavā- vt. [4028 *gamayati*] ‘waste’: -vani, AS 11.2
- gasa m. [(?)] ‘aversion’: KM 90.3
- gah- vt. [4236 *grahati*] ‘grasp, seize, take’: -i, AS 9.4, KM 14.3, 25.4, 56.3, 57.3, 4 (twice), 80.4; -ē, KM 107.2; -aī, KM 61.2
- gahabara adj. [4108 *gahvara-*] ‘dense’: KM 46.1
- gahara adj. [4024 *gabhīra*] ‘deep: KM 110.3; gahirai, AS 18.1
- gahirai cf. gahara
- gaharu m. [OHED: ? conn. *graha-*, *grahila-*] ‘holding back’: KM 17.2
- gāina m. [4136 *gāyana-*] ‘song’: KM 33.4
- gāu m. [4368 *grāma-*] ‘village’: KM 83.2
- gāvati cf. gā-
- gāvarau adj. & m. [4371 \**grāmadāra-*] ‘uncunning’: KM 44.2
- gā- vt. [4135 *gāpayati*] ‘sing’: -i, KM 94.2; -va, KM 5.4; -vata, KM 12.1, 19.1, 32.4, 66.2, 87.3, 89.4, 102.3; gāvati, KM 104.2
- gādhe adv. [4118 *gādha-*] ‘firmly’: KM 107.2
- gāta m. [4124 *gātra-*] ‘body’: KM 21.1
- gāla m. [4089 *galla-*] {cheek}: ~ mār-, ‘boast’, AS 18.3
- gīta m. [4167 *gīta-*] ‘song’: KM 23.2
- guñja m. [4176 *guñja-*] ‘grain (the berry of the shrub *Abrus precatorius*): ~ māla, ‘rosary of *guñja* seed’, AS 12.2
- guñjāra m. [4173 *guñja-*] ‘humming’: KM 85.2
- guna m. [4190 *guṇa-*] ‘quality, skill, nature’: AS 17.3, KM 23.1, 30.4, 40.1, 63.1, 66.3, 90.3, 98.2; -ni, KM 65.1
- gunī adj. [4192 *guṇin-*] ‘worthy’: KM 23.4
- gūnth- vt. [4205 *guphati*] ‘braid’: -i, KM 70.1
- gorī cf. gaura
- gau f. [OHED: *go-*; *gava-*] ‘cow’: AS 12.3; ~ suta, ‘calf’, AS 12.3
- gaura adj. [4345 *gaura-*] ‘fair-complexioned’: KM 1.1, 28.1, 56.4, 88.2; gorī, KM 105.2
- gauratā f. [4345 *gaura-*] ‘fairness’: KM 29.2
- gaurī f. [S *gaudī*] ‘name of a *rāga*’: KM 106.1
- gyāraha num. [2484 *ēkādasa-*] {eleven} (cf. *sādhe gyāraha*): KM 26.3
- graha m. [4240 *grha*] ‘abode’: KM 106.1
- grāha m. [4382 *grāha-*] ‘crocodile’: KM 57.3
- gri adj. [68 *agra-*] (?) ‘prominent’: KM 94.2
- gras- vt. [4359 *grasati*] ‘seize’: -ē, KM 57.3
- ghatā f. [4411 *ghatā-*] ‘dense cloud’: KM 96.3
- ghaṭī, MS G reading (note 3 to KM 24), cf. gaṭī
- ghata m. [OHED: cf. Pk. *ghatt-*; ? × *ghāta-*] ‘trap, stratagem, trickery’: AS 3.2, KM 69.3; ghāṭī, KM 78.3
- ghana m. [4424 *ghana-*] ‘cloud’: KM 1.1, 4.3, 10.2, 32.2, 103.2, 110.2 (rep.)
- gharī f. [4406 *ghaṭī-*] ‘moment’: ~ ~, ‘at every moment, constantly’, KM 80.2, 90.2
- ghāṭī cf. ghata

- ghāṭa m. [4414 *ghaṭṭa-*] 'landing place, shore': ~ lāg-, 'come to shore', AS 18.1
- ghāta m. [4460 *ghāta-*] 'stroke' (cf. *candrāgati-ghāta*): KM 33.3
- ghur- vi. [4487 *ghurati*] 'sound': -i, KM 32.3, 52.3
- ghūnarī adj. & f. [Platts: S *ghṛṇa + kaḥ*] 'sullen': KM 49.3
- gher- vt. [4474 \**gher-*] 'confine, surround': -ata, AS 11.3, KM 71.3; -au, KM 62.2
- gherā m. [4474 \**gher-*] 'circle': KM 75.3
- ghor- [4487 *ghurati*] 'thunder': -ani, (f.), KM 89.2
- ghora adj. [4522 *ghora-*] 'low': KM 65.2
- ghorani cf. ghor-
- cañcala, MS G reading (note 7 to KM 88), cf. añcarā
- canda m. [4661 *candra-*] 'moon': KM 12.3, 34.3, 57.1
- candana m. [4658 *candana-*] 'sandalwood paste': KM 97.1
- candrāgati f. [4661 *candra-* + 4009 *gati* or *āgati* ?]: ~ ghāta 'palm stroke over a percussion instrument': KM 33.3
- camp—(°e) m. [4678 *campā*] 'the tree *Michelia champaka*, jasmine': KM 71.2
- caḍh- vt. [4578 \**caḍhati*] 'mount': -yau, AS 10.2
- catura adj. [4594 *catura-*] 'clever': KM 81.2
- caturāi f. [4594 *catura-*] 'dexterity, roguery': KM 1.3, 73.4
- caturāguna adj. [4599 *caturguṇa-*] 'fourfold': KM 82.4
- canaṣ- vi. [cf. *caṭakh-* Platts] (?) 'be irritated': -a, KM 37.4 (rep.)
- capala adj. [4672 *capala-*] 'darting (of eyes), swift': KM 81.2, 106.2
- capā- vt. [4674 \**capā-*] 'have massaged': -vatī, KM 104.3
- camacamā- vi. [4676 \**camakka-*] 'shine': -ta, KM 32.2
- carana m. [S *carana*] 'foot': AS 9.4, 11.2, KM 18.2, 49.4, 53.1, 57.4
- cal- vi. [4715 *calati*] 'go, move, come' (cf. *yekau na cal-*): -ata, AS 10.4, KM 19.3, 88.3; -ahu, KM 18.3, 99.1; -ā, AS 6.4; -i, KM 14.1, 16.1, 46.1 (twice), 83.2, 100.1, 3; -iye, KM 49.3, 56.3, 69.1; -ī, KM 69.3; -e, KM 56.3; -au, KM 104.1; -yau, KM 7.2
- cahū disa adv. [4609 *caturdiśam*] 'all around': KM 89.2
- cāha f. [4775 \**cāh-*] 'desire, longing': KM 24.4
- cāi, MS G reading (note 8 to KM 19), cf. cāh-
- cāri num. [4655 *catvāri*] 'four' (cf. *padāratha cāri*): AS 9.3, KM 20.2, 21.3, 50.1 (rep.); *dyausa* ~, 'transient' AS 17.2; *cāraū jāma*, 'the four watches: whole night', KM 87.2
- cāh- vt. [4775 \**cāh-*] 'desire, look for, glance': -ata, KM 6.4, 15.2; -ati, 102.2; -ani, (f.) KM 37.3; -iye, KM 80.3; -ai, AS 8.2; cāi, KM 19.3
- cāhani cf. cāh
- cit- vt. [4799 *citta-*] 'look at': -aye, KM 42.4; -avata, KM 4.2, 91.3; -avani, (f.), KM 18.2; -ai, KM 56.3
- cita f./m. [4799 *citta-*] 'mind, heart': AS 6.2, KM 7.2, 33.4; ~ de-, 'be attentive', KM 104.1; -hi, KM 91.3
- citavani cf. cit-
- citāvani f. [derived fr. caus. fr. *citav-*] 'drawing attention to': AS 11.4
- cirajīv- vi. (?) [4824 *cira-* + 5241 *jīvatī*] 'live long': AS 11.4
- cihār- vi. (?) [4787 \**ciṅghāṭa-*] 'cry out': -i, KM 15.3
- cunō m. [4889 *cūrṇa-*] 'coarsely ground grain: nourishment': KM 9.2
- curī cf. cūrī
- cuvā- vt. [4948 \**cyutati*] 'drain': -i, KM 74.3
- cūnarī f. [OHED: *cinotī*] 'shawl': KM 49.1, 72.1, 80.1, 92.1

- cūrā m. [4884 *cūḍa-*] ‘anklet’: KM 20.2
- cūrī f. [4884 *cūḍa-*] ‘bracelet, bangle’: KM 20.2, 21.3, 50.1; curī, KM 56.2, 75.4
- cepa m. [4819 \**ceppa-*] ‘bird-lime’: KM 9.1
- caīna m. [(?)] ‘peace, rest’ (cf. *suṣa caīna*): KM 80.4
- cōk- vi. [4676 \**camakka-*] ‘be startled’: -ī, KM 83.4
- cōpa m. [Platts and Entwistle: related to *kṣubh?*] ‘desire’: KM 81.3
- cōra m. [4677 *camara-*] ‘fly-whisk’: KM 53.2
- cokī f. [4629 *catuṣka-*] ‘medallion’: KM 73.1
- copari f. [4648 *catuṣpuṭa-*] ‘game played with oblong dice’: KM 82.4
- colī f. [4923 *coḍa-*] ‘bodice’: KM 97.1
- caukā m. [4629 *catuṣka-*] ‘an aggregate of four: front teeth’: KM 21.3
- caupahalū adj. [4593 *catur-* + Pers. *pahlū*] ‘four-sided’: KM 20.2
- caur- vt. [4933 *corayati*] ‘steal’: -ī, KM 33.4
- chatrapati m. [S *kṣatrapati*] ‘king’: AS 15.2
- chadāma m. [4981 *chadman-*] ‘trick’: KM 68.3
- chabi f. [5006 *chavī-*] ‘splendour, beauty’: KM 21.3, 29.1, 86.1, 88.2, 103.4; -na, KM 66.1
- chabīl— adj. [OHED: conn. *chavī-*, or *chādmika-*] ‘beautiful, handsome’: -ī, KM 18.2, 69.1; -e, KM 69.1; -au, KM 46.4
- chalu m. [5001 *chala-*] ‘stratagem’: KM 39.4
- chāḍ- cf. chāḍ-
- chāha cf. chāyā
- chāj- vi. [4982 \**chadyati*] ‘please’: -ai, KM 43.1
- chād- vt. [5060 \**chryndati*] ‘abandon, leave’: -i, AS 4.1, KM 17.1, 25.3, 76.2; -ai, KM 10.4 (rep.), 61.3; -o, KM 62.4; chāḍi, AS 16.2
- chāti f. [5014 \**chātti-*] ‘heart, breast’: KM 45.3; ~ saū ~, ‘breast to breast’, KM 92.3; ~ sō/°aū ~ lagā-, ‘embrace’, KM 25.4, 56.4, 77.4
- chāyā f. [5027 *chāyā-*] ‘protection, semblance’: KM 65.3; chāha, KM 24.1
- china m. [3642 *kṣaṇa-*] ‘moment’: KM 3.3; ~ china, ‘every moment’, KM 9.3, 19.1, 46.3
- chip- vi. [4994 \**chipp-*] ‘be hidden’: -ata, KM 97.2
- chipā- vt. [4994 \**chipp-*] ‘hide’: -yē, KM 97.2; -vata, KM 97.2
- chiy- vt. [5055 *chupati*] ‘touch’: -o, KM 62.2
- chiyā adj. & f. [5029 *chi-*] ‘bad (nature)’: KM 25.3, 62.4, 109.1
- chirak- vt. [5035 \**chit-*] ‘sprinkle’: -ata, KM 48.2, 61.2, 99.4
- chirakāu m. [5035 \**chit-*] ‘sprinkling game’: KM 83.3
- chuḍā- vt. [3747 *kṣoṭayati*] ‘cause to be free’: -yo, KM 57.3
- chuvā- vt. (rhyme-form for chū-?) [5055 *chupati*] ‘touch’: -hi, KM 99.4
- chūṭ- vi. [3707 *kṣutyate*] ‘leave, be released, be loose, be scattered’: -ata, KM 15.2, 37.2, 57.3; -ī, KM 85.1; -e, KM 63.2
- chepa m. [3738 *kṣepa-*] ‘haughtiness’: KM 35.3
- chaila adj. & m. [5006 *chavilla-*] ‘beautiful’: KM 25.4, 99.4
- choḍ- vt. [3747 *kṣoṭayati*] ‘give up’: -a, AS 5.2
- jaṅgālī adj. [Pers. *zangārī*] ‘of the colour of verdigris, green’: KM 73.2
- jābhā- vi. [5265 *jṛmbhate*] ‘yawn’: -ti, KM 77.1
- jak- vi. [10400 *yata-*] ‘be benumbed’: -i, KM 24.4
- jag- cf. jāg-
- jaga m. [S] ‘world’: AS 13.2

- jagata m. [5078 *jagat-*] ‘world’: AS 15.1
- jagā- vt. [5175 *jāgrati*] ‘awaken’: -ũ, KM 47.3; -vata, KM 47.2
- jachi m. [10395 *yakṣa-*] ‘kind of demigod’: KM 42.2
- jaṭ- vi. [5091 \**jaḍati*] ‘be fixed’: -i, KM 106.2
- jatana m. [10404a *yatna-*] ‘effort’: -ni, KM 90.3
- jaddapi conj. [S *yadyapi*] ‘even if’: AS 1.3
- jan- cf. jān-
- jana m. [5098 *jana-*] ‘person’ (used as pluralizing suffix): KM 52.3, 93.1, 2, 3, 4, 105.1, 107.1
- janama m. [5113 *janman-*] ‘life’: AS 11.2, KM 3.1, 41.3; -ni, AS 15.3
- janābara m. [Pers. *jānvar*] ‘creature: bird’: AS 1.4
- jaba adv. & conj. [Add<sup>2</sup> 2528 *evam eva* × *ya-*] ‘when’: AS 10.4, 11.3, 4, KM 34.1 (rep.), 37.4, 38.3, 71.3
- jam- vi. [10428 *yamyate*] ‘be established’: -yaũ, KM 32.3, 67.1, 89.4
- jamadūta m. [S *yamadūta*] ‘Death’s messenger’: AS 11.3
- jamunā f. [10427 *yamunā-*] ‘the river Yamunā’: KM 33.7
- jala m. [5155 *jala-*] ‘water’ (cf. śrama jala kana): KM 27.1, 33.7, 58.1, 78.4
- javādi m. [A] ‘sandalwood’: KM 26.3
- javāhara m. [A pl. *javāhir*, pl. & sg.] ‘jewel’: AS 10.3
- jasal<sup>1</sup> cf. jais-
- jasal<sup>2</sup> m. [10443 *yaśas-*] ‘fame, glory’: KM 41.1, 91.4
- jahā adv. [1605 *iha*] ‘where’: KM 14.2, 46.1, 74.4, 103.1; ~...tahā tahā ‘wherever’, KM 53.1
- jā- cf. jā-
- jān- cf. jān-
- jāna adj. & m. [5282 *jñānin-*] ‘knowledgable’: AS 18.2
- jānapan—(°ē) m. [5282 *jñānin-* + *pan* (= *tvam*)] ‘knowledge’: KM 24.2; jānipanyaũ, AS 18.2
- jānipanyaũ cf. jānapan—
- jāma m. [10467 *yāma-*] ‘a three-hour period, watch’ (cf. cāraũ jāma): KM 87.2
- jāvar—(°au) m. [10452 *yāti*] ‘going’: KM 44.3
- jāhi cf. jo<sup>1</sup>
- jā- vi. [10452 *yāti*] ‘go’ (cf. bali jā-); aux. verb: -i, AS 7.2, KM 69.2, 80.2, 86.1; -u, AS 15.3, KM 83.2; -ta, AS 3.1, KM 8.1, 22.2, 40.1, 4, 57.3, 58.3, 109.1, 2, 3 (twice), 4; -ti, KM 62.2, 78.1; -na, KM 25.3, 62.2, 74.3; jāũ, KM 83.4; jāũ, KM 6.3; jāta, AS 14.2; jāhi, KM 99.1; jāhi, KM 6.2, 53.2; gai, KM 47.1, 2, 3, 4; gae, AS 15.3; gaye, KM 41.3; gayo, KM 25.1
- jā, jāhi cf. jo<sup>1</sup>
- jāg- vi. [5715 *jāgrati*] ‘wake up, be awake’: -ata, KM 34.4, 47.2, 3; jage, KM 87.2
- jāgara m. [S] ‘awareness’: AS 14.4
- jācaka m. [S *yācaka*] ‘beggar’: KM 45.4
- jāḍo m. [5180 *jāḍya-*] ‘cold’: KM 80.1
- jāta f. [5185 *jāti-*] ‘group’: KM 40.3
- jān- vt. [5193 *jānāti*] ‘know, realize, understand’: -ata, AS 10.2; -i, KM 38.4; -ē, KM 23.1 (twice), 70.1; -ō, KM 3.2, 53.3; -aũ, AS 13.4, 14.4, KM 5.2; janiyata, KM 61.3; janē, KM 79.2; janyaũ, KM 14.3; jāni, AS 7, 18.4
- jāhi cf. jo<sup>1</sup>
- jīt—(°e) pr. adj. [1589 *iyattaka-*: × *ya-anal.*] ‘however much’: KM 23.2
- jinal<sup>1</sup>, jini<sup>1</sup> cf. jo<sup>1</sup>
- jinal<sup>2</sup> cf. jini<sup>2</sup>
- jini<sup>2</sup> adv. [10408 *yathā na*] ‘not (in prohibitions)’: AS 15.3, 16.1, KM 62.2, 78.3; jina, KM 20.1, 39.3
- jīya m. [5239 *jīva-*] ‘heart, life’: AS 13.4, 14.4, KM 5.3, 35.1 (twice),

- 43.4, 45.2, 71.3; ~ ho-, 'have a desire', KM 35.1; *jyaũ*, KM 10.2
- jiyo*, MS G reading (note 5 to KM 62), cf. *chiy-*
- jī-* vi. [5241 *jīvatī*] 'live': -*jai*, KM 16.2; -*vai*, AS 17.1
- jī* m. [5239 *jīva-*] 'soul, heart': AS 7.2, 4, KM 60.3
- jīt-* vt. [5224 *jīta-*] 'win': -*ai*, AS 5.2; -*yau*, AS 5.4
- jībha* f. [5228 *jīhvā-*] 'tongue': KM 40.2, 66.3
- jīva* m. [5239 *jīva-*] 'creature, soul': AS 9.1, 4, 16.3
- jīvata* m. [S *jīvatī*] 'living': KM 35.2
- jīvani* f. [S *jīvanī*] 'life-giving root, life': KM 39.2, 64.3
- ju*<sup>1</sup> cf. *jo*<sup>1</sup>
- ju*<sup>2</sup> cf. *jo*<sup>2</sup>
- ju*<sup>3</sup> cf. *jū*<sup>1</sup>
- juga* m. [10493 *yugma-*] 'pair': KM 110.1
- jugala* m. [10489 *yugala-*] 'couple': KM 3.2, 52.3
- jubatī* cf. *juvatī*
- juva* MS G reading (note 2 to KM 110), cf. *juga*
- juvatī* f. [10504 *yuvati-*] 'young woman': KM 40.3, 52.3, 105.1; °*ini*, KM 85.3, 99.2; *jubatī* KM 75.3
- jū*<sup>1</sup> hon. part. [5240 *jīva-*]: KM 6.1, 8.3, 9.4, 10.3, 33.8, 34.1, 36.1, 45.1, 46.1, 53.1, 55.3, 56.3, 65.4, 72.1, 76.1, 78.1, 79.1, 91.4, 102.1; *ju*, KM 30.3
- jū*<sup>2</sup> cf. *jo*<sup>2</sup>
- jūtha* m. [10516 *yūtha-*] 'group: many': KM 12.2, 85.3, 86.3, 107.3
- je* cf. *jo*<sup>1</sup>
- jaiba* f./m. [A *jaib*, Pers. *jeb*] 'beauty': KM 21.3, 29.3, 71.2
- jais*— adj. & adv. [10458 *yādrśa-*] 'like, just as, as, as if': -*īye*, KM 53.3; -*ē*, KM 55.4; -*e*, KM 13.3, 29.2; -*ai*, KM 1.1, 6.1, 37.2; -*o*, AS 7.3; *jasā* AS 8.4
- jo-* vt. [6612 *dyotate*] 'look at, watch' (cf. *maga jo-*): -*ila*, KM 46.3; -*vata*, KM 15.1
- jo*<sup>1</sup> rel. pr. [10391 *ya-*] 'who, which': AS 15.3, KM 11.3 (?), 23.1, 36.1, 2, 3, 43.2, 45.1, 2, 79.2, 102.3; *jāhi*, KM 53.3 (?); *jā*, AS 7.1, KM 82.4, 98.3, 107.2, 110.4; *jāhi*, AS 2.3, KM 82.3; *jina*, KM 95.2 (rep.); *jini*, AS 16.3; *jīhi*, KM 26.1; *ju*, KM 30.4, 49.3, 54.1, 55.2, 76.4, 90.2, 101.3; *je*, AS 9.4, KM 23.3; ~ ~ 'whatever, whichever', KM 24.2, 60.3, 66.4, 67.4; *joī joī* 'whatever' KM 43.1; *jau*, KM 8.2
- jo*<sup>2</sup> conj. [10401 *yatah*] 'if, when, that': KM 18.3, 40.1; *jo*<sup>o</sup>*au laũ* 'as long as', AS 17.1, KM 83.3; *ju*, KM 59.1 (?), 61.3, 89.1; *jū*, KM 95.3 (?); *jau* KM 16.2, 29.4
- joti* f. [S *vyotī*] 'lustre, radiance': KM 63.2, 75.3
- jonha* f. [5301 *vyotsnā-*] 'moonlight, moonlit night': KM 21.2 (twice)
- jobana* m. [10537 *yauvana-*] 'youth': AS 13.3, 17.3, KM 21.1, 98.1
- jo-* vt. [10496 \**yoṭayati*] 'join': -*i*, KM 51.4, 105.3
- jora* m. [Pers. *zor*] 'force': KM 107.2
- jo-* f. [10496 \**yoṭa-*] 'pair, couple': KM 1.1, 4.1, 12.3, 21.4, 31.1, 33.6
- joh-* vt. [6612 *dyotate*] 'look at, gaze': -*anī*, (f.), AS 12.3; -*ai*, KM 63.3
- johanī* cf. *joh-*
- jaũ* cf. *jyaũ*<sup>1</sup>
- jau* cf. *jo*<sup>2</sup>
- jyaũ*<sup>1</sup> adv. [OHED: conn. *eva*<sup>1</sup>] 'like, as, just as, so that, which': AS 1.4, 4.3, 4, 7.2, 8.1, 12.4, 13.3, 16.2, KM 4.3, 21.4, 26.3, 29.2, 3, 32.2, 37.1, 53.3, 55.3, 62.2, 63.3 (rep.), 68.2 (?), 69.3, 78.4, 80.3, 92.3; ~ ~...*tyaũ/ō* (*tyaũ*) 'just so, the more...the more, the longer...the longer', AS 8.2, KM 17.2, 28.2, 47.2; ~ *hī*...*tyaũ hī*, 'just so', AS 1.1 (rep., 2nd form *jaũ*)
- jyaũ*<sup>2</sup> cf. *jiya*

- jhagā m. [OHED ? 273 \**adhyaṅgaka*-] 'long, loose garment': KM 74.1  
 jharājhari adv. [5351 \**jhal*-] 'constantly': KM 71.4  
 jhalak- vi. [5352 \**jhal*-] 'glitter': -āi, KM 103.2  
 jhalaka f. [5352 \**jhal*-] 'radiance': KM 21.2  
 jhāg- vt. [5332 \**jhaggā*-] 'froth': -e, KM 2.3  
 jhār- vt. [5362 \**jhāṭayati*] {sift}: -i deṣ-, 'sift (a matter): study in detail', KM 23.2  
 jhuka f. [5316 *jhakk*- (× 5399 \**jhukkati*)] (?) 'anger': KM 76.3  
 jhūṭh— adj. [5407 \**jhūṭṭha*-] 'false, wrong': -ī, AS 14.1; -e, KM 95.1; -ī par- 'be proved false, be useless', KM 13.3  
 jhūl- vi. [5406 \**jhulyati*] 'swing, sway': -ata, KM 48.1, 61.1, 75.1, 84.1, 88.1, 107.1, 108.1; -ī, KM 21.4  
 jhel- vt. [5413 \**jhelati*] 'move forward, enter': -ata, KM 81.2; āi, KM 100.2  
 jhoṭā m. [5414 \**jhoṭa*-] 'push given to a swing': KM 84.2  
  
 takāṭor- vt. [5716 *tarkayati*] (?) 'test by feeling': -i, KM 45.3  
 tar- vi. [5450 *talati*] 'vanish, move away, draw back, withdraw': -ata, KM 4.2; -ana, KM 4.4; -ihai, KM 1.2; -aū, KM 59.2; -au, KM 3.3, 78.3  
 tāṭi f. [5990 \**traṭṭa*-] 'shutter': KM 39.3  
 tūṭ- vi. [6065 *trutyati*] 'break' (cf. trana tūṭ-): -ata, KM 18.1, 30.3, 69.2; -ī, KM 85.1  
 tek- vt. [5420 \**tekk*-] 'support': -āi, KM 77.2  
  
 tha- vi. [13756 *sthāpayati*] 'come about': KM 30.4  
 thakurāi f. [5488 *thakkura*-] 'authority': KM 51.3  
 thaṭ- vi. [13676 *stabdha*-] 'be established': -ī, KM 106.1  
 than- vi. [Entwistle: = *thān*- < \**sthānya*-] 'be solidified: be made': -ī, KM 31.3  
 thākura m. [5488 *thakkura*-] 'lord': AS 18.4  
 thāṭhu m. [6090 \**thaṭṭha*-] 'form': AS 14.3  
 thāḍh— adj. [13676 *stabdha*-] 'standing: awaiting': -ī, AS 10.4, KM 103.3; -e, KM 68.1, 107.1, 110.1  
 thaura m. [13767 *sthāvara*-] 'place': KM 6.3, 86.2  
  
 ḍapha m. [A *daff* × (?) *ḍamaru*-] 'frame-drum': KM 19.1  
 ḍar- vi. [6190 *darati*] 'fear': -ani, (f.), KM 50.3  
 ḍara m. [6186 *dara*-] 'fear, timidity': KM 68.4, 78.1  
 ḍarani cf. ḍar-  
 ḍarāḍari f. [6186 *dara*-] 'fear': KM 71.3  
 ḍahadahāṭa f. [6321 *dāha*-] 'blossom': KM 55.3  
 ḍāḍi f. [6128 *daṇḍa*] 'swing-rope': KM 61.3, 107.2  
 ḍāṭa (?) [6618 \**draṭ*-] (?) 'type of dance': KM 67.3  
 ḍār- vt. [5545 \**dāl*-] 'throw': -ata trana torī, 'sacrifice oneself', KM 33.7; -ī, KM 84.2  
 ḍāra f. [5546 *dāla*-] 'branch': KM 71.2  
 ḍārī, MS G reading (note 7 to AS 16), cf. ḍorī  
 ḍulā- vt. [6453 \**dulati*] 'waver': -va, AS 6.2  
 ḍela m. [5564 \**della*-] 'clod': AS 13.3  
 ḍorī f. [6225 *davara*-] 'bond': AS 16.3 (?)  
 ḍol- vi. [6585 *dolāyate*] 'wander': -ata, KM 85.2; -ani, (f.), KM 85.1  
 ḍola m. [6582 *dola*-] 'swing': KM 48.1, 61.1, 75.1, 84.1, 107.1, 108.1

ḍolani cf. ḍol-

ḍhar- vi. [5581 \**ḍhalatī*] ‘incline: stagger; drip, dangle’: -ani, (f.), KM 50.2; -i, KM 38.3, 74.3

ḍharani<sup>1</sup> cf. ḍhar-

ḍharani<sup>2</sup>, MS G reading (note 8 to KM 50), cf. ḍarani

ḍharār—(°e) adj. [5581 \**ḍhalatī*] ‘assenting’: KM 21.1

ḍhāp- vt. [5579 \**ḍhamp-*] ‘cover’: -i, KM 98.1

ḍhiga m. [5586 \**ḍhigga-*] ‘side’: KM 20.3

ḍhurā- vt. [5593 \**ḍhulatī*] ‘wave’: -vata, KM 53.2

ḍhūḍh- vt. [6839 \**ḍhūḍh-*] ‘search for’: -ata, KM 15.4, 68.4

ḍhotā m. [5607 \**ḍhotṭa-*] ‘boy’: KM 83.2

taū cf. to<sup>2</sup>

tak- vt. [5716 *tarkayati*] ‘look, search out’: -ata, AS 18.4; -i, KM 19.3, 105.4

taj- vt. [5984 *tyajati*] ‘leave’: -i, KM 22.1

tatva m. [5642 *tattva-*] ‘essence’: KM 23.3

tana<sup>1</sup> m. [5656 *tanū-*] ‘body’ (cf. nara tana): AS 4.1, KM 10.1, 11.2, 20.3, 58.3, 59.3, 74.3, 97.1, 102.3, 104.4, 110.2 (rep.); ~ sō ~, KM 35.1; ~ mana dhana, ‘physical, mental and material resources, all one is and has’, KM 27.2, 85.4

tana<sup>2</sup> ppn. [OHED: *-tanaḥ*] ‘towards’: AS 12.3

tanasaṣa m. [5656 *tanū-* + 13451 *sukha-*] ‘fine muslin’: KM 21.3

taba adv. [Add<sup>2</sup> 2528 *evam eva × ta-*] ‘then’: AS 11.3, KM 34.1 (rep.), 71.3; -hi, AS 11.4

tamāla m. [5690 *tamāla-*] ‘the tree *Garcinia xanthochymus*’: KM 19.4, 21.4, 31.4

taraṅga f. [5699 *taraṅga-*] ‘wave’: KM 57.2

tara cf. taru

tarani-tanayā f. [S *taraṇitanayā*] ‘daughter of the sun: Yamunā’: KM 48.3

taru m. [5711 *taru-*] ‘tree’: KM 21.4; tara, KM 68.1

taruna-tanayā, MS G reading (note 6 to KM 48), cf. tarani-tanayā

tahā adv. [Snell: 1605 *iha*] ‘there’ (cf. jahā): KM 46.2, 57.2, 103.1, 104.3; ~ ~, KM 53.1

tāna f. [5761 *tāna-*] ‘tune’: KM 94.2; ~ bandhāna ‘the closing of a melodic run [on the first beat of the rhythmic cycle]’, KM 67.2

tāṇḍava m. [S] ‘virile style of dancing’: KM 60.3

tā, tāṭē cf. so<sup>1</sup>

tātātheī f. ‘beating time in music or dancing’: KM 30.4 (rep.), 60.2 (rep.)

tān—(°ō) m. [5761 *tāna-*] ‘tie’: KM 3.3

tāra<sup>1</sup> f. [OHED: *tāra-*: w. Pers. *tār*] ‘high note or tone’: KM 65.2

tāra<sup>2</sup> cf. tāla

tāla m. [5748 *tāḍa-*, 5801 *tāla-*] ‘rhythm, cymbal’: KM 19.1, 23.2, 48.3; tāra, KM 61.2, 67.1; ~ dhar-, ‘keep the rhythm’: KM 33.3, 60.2

tina cf. so<sup>1</sup>

tinu, tinukā cf. trana

tirapa m. [(?)] ‘partic. gesture of the hand made in dancing with a partner’: KM 65.4, 67.3

tila m. [5827 *tila-*] ‘mole, small particle’: KM 58.2; tilu, AS 4.2 (rep.)

tilu cf. tila

tihār— pr. [cf. 5889 *tuvam*, 10511 *yusmad-*] ‘your’: -ī, KM 102.2, 109.1; -e, KM 45.2

tihī cf. so<sup>1</sup>

tīna num. [5994 *trīṇī*] ‘three’: ~ hū, ‘all three’: KM 59.2, 67.2

tīratha m. [5846 *tīrtha*-] ‘place of pilgrimage’: AS 13.4

tuṅg— (°ī) adj. [5423 *tuṅga*-] ‘high-pitched’: KM 94.2

tuma pr. [5889 *tuvam*, also 10511 *yusmad*-] ‘you’: AS 1.1, 2.3, 5.4, 16.1, KM 6.1, 16.3, 30.3, 51.2, 72.1, 2, 79.1, 83.2, 3; -hī, KM 109.1; tumhai, KM 6.4

tumār— cf. tumhār—

tumhār— pr. [cf. 5889 *tuvam*, 10511 *yusmad*-] ‘your’: -ī, AS 2.1, 5.3, KM 85.3; tumāre, KM 82.3; tuhmārī, KM 23.4, 29.1; tuhmārai, KM 109.4; tuhmārau, KM 29.3

tumhai cf. tuma

tuhmār— cf. tumhār—

tuhmār— cf. tumhār—

tuva cf. ter—

tū cf. tū

tū pr. [5889 *tuvam*] ‘you’: AS 17.2, KM 10.2, 17.1, 43.1, 4, 46.2, 64.3, 65.1, 79.3, 101.2; tū, KM 5.1, 37.4, 64.3 (twice), 66.2, 76.1, 2, 92.2; tāi, KM 34.3, 44.1; to, AS 5.1, KM 6.2, 10.2, 17.2, 25.3, 35.2, 68.1; tohi, AS 5.1, KM 10.3, 39.2, 63.2, 69.2, 92.3; tau, KM 66.1

tē ppn. [OHED: conn. *ta*-: ? \**tatena*] ‘than, from, through, by, with’: AS 2.1, 3.1, 14.3, KM 20.3, 24.4, 59.2, 71.1, 86.1, 87.1, 95.3, 100.1, 110.2, 3; te, AS 16.3; tāi, KM 24.1, 2, 3, 57.1, 110.1

tē ye, MS G reading (note 4 to KM 86), cf. so-

te<sup>1</sup>, teī cf. so<sup>1</sup>

te<sup>2</sup> cf. tē

ter— pr. [5889 *tuvam*] ‘your’: -ī, KM 6.1, 10.1, 15.2, 17.4, 25.1, 26.1, 29.1, 37.1, 39.2, 43.2, 63.4, 70.1, 71.1, 78.3, 92.1, 101.1; -iyai, KM 46.3; -e, KM 17.3, 23.1, 27.3, 36.2, 40.1, 50.1, 53.1, 59.3, 76.2, 97.1; -o, KM 7.1, 15.1, 57.3, 74.1, 79.3; -au, KM 5.2, 34.1, 58.1, 76.1, 79.2; tuva, KM 35.3, 41.1, 46.3

taī<sup>1</sup> cf. tū

taī<sup>2</sup> cf. tē

tais— adj. & adv. [5760 *tādṛśa*-] ‘such, of that kind, so, in that way’: -ī, KM 12.3; -īye, KM 96.2, 3; -iyai, KM 12.3, 51.3, 53.3; -aī, KM 1.2; -oī, KM 49.2, 50.3

to<sup>1</sup>, tohi cf. tū

to<sup>2</sup> conj. & emph. [5639 *tatas*] ‘then, at that time, in that case, indeed’: AS 1.3, 7.1, 16.1, KM 5.2, 6.2, 11.1, 2, 24.3, 31.1, 47.3, 65.3, 73.3, 78.4, 102.3; -ū, KM 40.1; tāū, AS 5.4; tau, AS 1.2 (twice), 2.2, KM 16.2, 25.2, 35.1, 44.1, 45.3

tor- vt. [6079 *troṭayati*] ‘break’ (cf. *dārata trana tor*-): -ī, KM 33.7

tau<sup>1</sup> cf. to<sup>2</sup>

tau<sup>2</sup> adv. [cf. *taba*] ‘then’: AS 17.1, KM 83.3

tau<sup>3</sup> cf. tū

tauḍa m. [6077 \**troṭa*-] ‘conclusion’: AS 5.4

tyō cf. tyaū

tyaū adv. [OHED: conn. Ap. *tima*] ‘thus, in this way, just then’ (cf. *jyaū*): AS 4.4; ~~, AS 8.2, KM 17.2, 28.2; tyaū hī, AS 1.1 (rep.); tyō, KM 47.2

trana m. [5906 *tṛna*-] ‘straw’ (cf. *dārata trana torī*): KM 33.7, 109.4; ~ *ṭūt*-, ‘snap a straw at the sight of something beautiful in order to ward off the evil eye’, KM 18.1, 30.3, 69.2; *tinu de*- ‘adjure’, KM 82.3; *tinukā*, AS 8.1

trabhaṅgī cf. tribhaṅgī

triguna adj. [6022 *triguṇa*-] ‘threefold’: KM 82.4

tripati f. [5931 *tṛpti*-] ‘satiety’: KM 34.4

tribidhi adj. [S *trividha*] ‘threefold’ (said of the wind as ‘gentle, cool, fragrant’): KM 33.5

tribhaṅgī adj. [S] ‘bent in three places’ (epithet of Kṛṣṇa, referring to his way of standing with neck, waist and ankle bent): KM 94.1; tra°, KM 18.1

thakita adj. [13737 \**sthakk*-] ‘stand still (in awe)’: KM 63.3



- thor—(°ī) adj. [13720 \**stoka-*] ‘slender, light, small’: KM 19.4, 33.3 (rep.), 105.3
- daṇḍa m. [6128 *daṇḍa-*] ‘assault’: KM 26.2
- daī f./m. [6574 *daiviya-*] ‘god’: KM 8.2
- dag- vi. [OHED: Pers. *dāg*] ‘be burnt, be branded’: -e, KM 87.4
- dab- vi. [6173 \**dabb-*] ‘be recumbent’: -i, KM 29.2
- dara m. [Pers. *dar*] ‘door’: AS 6.3, 10.3; ~~, ‘from door to door’, AS 6.3
- dala m. [6215 *dala-*, 6214 *dala-*] ‘army, leaf’: KM 103.3; -ni, KM 86.3
- dalak- vi. [6212 \**dal-*] ‘tremble’: -ā, KM 103.3
- dasa num. [6227 *daśa*] ‘ten’: KM 106.2
- dasana m. [6231 *daśana-*] ‘tooth’: KM 36.2; -ni, KM 106.3
- dah- vi. [6245 *dahatī*] ‘burn’: -ā, KM 35.4
- dāna m. [6265 *dāna-*] ‘offering, gift, tribute’ (cf. abhai *dāna*): KM 22.3; 45.4, ~ mār- ‘not to pay tribute’, KM 62.1
- dāmīni f. [OHED: from *saudāmanī-*, *saudāminī-*] ‘lightning’: KM 1.1, 4.3, 16.3, 32.2, 95.1, 96.3, 110.2
- dāi cf. dāva
- dāma m. [6283 *dāman-*] ‘garland’: KM 106.3
- dāra f. [6293 *dāra-*] ‘wife’: -ni, AS 16.2
- dārī f. [6293 *dārikā-*] ‘prostitute’: AS 16.2
- dārū f. [Pers. *dārū*] ‘wine’: KM 74.2
- dāva m. [OHED: *dātu-*, or *dāman-2*] ‘opportunity’: KM 5.3; dāi, KM 53.4
- dina m. & adv. [6328 *dina-*] ‘day, constantly’ (cf. nisi *dina*): AS 3.4, 7.3, 14.2, 15.3, KM 19.1, 34.4, 41.4, 88.1, 90.1, 94.3
- dip- vi. [6362 *dīpyate*] ‘shine’: -ati, KM 63.2
- diṣā- vt. [6507 \**diṣati*, \**drakṣati*] ‘make appear, display’: -vata, AS 14.1, KM 66.1, 96.3
- diṣṭi cf. dṛṣṭi
- disi f. [6339 *diś-*] ‘direction’: KM 110.2
- dihārī (?) f. [6559 *dehalī-*] ‘doorstep’: KM 15.4
- dījai, dīnī cf. de-
- dīṭh- vi. [6518 *dṛṣṭa-*] ‘appear’: -au, AS 8.4
- dīna adj. [6347 *dīna-*] ‘humble’: KM 35.3
- dīpa m. [6348 *dīpa-*] ‘lamp’: KM 96.3
- duguna adj. [6390 \**duguṇa-*] ‘twofold’: KM 82.4
- ducat—(°e) adj. [6648 *dva-* + 4799 *citta-*] ‘in two minds’: KM 101.2
- duti f. [6606 *dyuti-*] ‘splendour’: KM 34.2, 88.2
- duṭīya num. [6402 \**duṭīya-*] ‘two’: AS 7.3
- dubhāva m. [6441 \**durbhāva-*] ‘grief’: KM 76.3
- duraṅga adj. [6424 \**duraṅga-*] ‘two-coloured’: KM 73.3
- durā- vt. [6495 *dūra-*] ‘hide’: -e, KM 34.3
- dularī adj. & f. [Entwistle: < \**du* + \**lada-*?] ‘having two strings, a necklace of two strings’: KM 50.2
- dulahini cf. dulaḥinī
- dulaḥinī f. [6446 *durlabha-*] ‘bride’: KM 48.1; dulaḥini, KM 88.1
- dulārī f. [< *dulhā*, 6446 *durlabha-*] (?) ‘darling, dear one’: KM 22.1, 108.2
- duṣa m. [6375 *duḥkha-*] ‘unhappiness, suffering, grief’: AS 3.2, KM 28.2, 39.1, 98.3
- duhūni, duhū, duhūna, dū cf. dou
- dūjai adv. [6402 \**duṭīya-*] ‘or else’: KM 26.3
- dūbar—(°e) adj. [6438 *durbala-*] ‘poor’ (cf. ṣīra): KM 51.4

- dūlaha m. [6446 *durlabha*-] 'bridegroom': KM 88.1; dūlahu, KM 48.1
- dūlahu cf. dūlaha
- dūsar—(°ī) adj. [6676 \**dvihsara*-] 'other': AS 16.3, KM 108.2
- ḍṣṭi f. [6520 *ḍṣṭi*-] 'glance, gaze': KM 9.1, 39.2, 106.2; ~ bacā-, 'hide from someone, not come in front of s.o.'s eyes', KM 105.4; ~ lāg- 'cast an evil eye', KM 20.1; ḍiṣṭi KM 4.2; draṣṭi, KM 58.2
- de- vt. [6141 *dadāti*] 'give, allow' (cf. āgē de-, kāna de-, cita de-, tinu de-): (?), KM 74.2; -ta, KM 14.1, 38.2, 39.1, 76.3, 84.2, 96.2, 106.3; -ha, KM 27.1; -hi, KM 95.1; -hu, KM 39.3; diyē, KM 56.2; dijai, AS 12.1, KM 95.3; dīnī, KM 95.2; de, KM 74.3; dai, AS 18.2, KM 5.3, 22.3, 45.1, 2, 3, 4, 70.4, 92.2, 104.1; daihaū, KM 83.2
- deṣ- vt. [6507 \**ḍṛkṣati* or \**drakṣati*] 'see' (cf. jhāri deṣ-): -ata, AS 3.4, KM 3.1, 6.1, 10.1, 3, 12.4, 13.2, 21.2, 98.3; -ata hī deṣata, KM 9.4; -ana, KM 99.1; -i, KM 25.2, 30.1 (rep.), 42.1 (rep.), 63.2 (rep.); -iyata, KM 36.1, 97.1, 109.2; -ive, KM 91.3; -ī, AS 15.1, KM 31.2, 34.2, 75.3; -ē, KM 12.3, 57.1, 76.2, 104.1; -e, KM 23.2; -aī, KM 11.3, 16.2; -aigī, KM 101.3; -ō, KM 34.1; -o, KM 27.2; -aū, KM 35.1; -au, AS 11.1, KM 32.1, 45.3, 62.3, 82.3, 88.1; -yau, KM 6.4, 91.1
- deva m. [6523 *deva*-] 'god': KM 42.2, 54.2
- devatā m. [6530 *devatā*-] 'god': AS 16.4
- deha f./m. [6557 *deha*-] 'body': KM 31.3
- dai, daihaū cf. de-
- dōhanī f. [6593 *dohana*-] 'milk-pail': AS 12.4
- doī cf. doū
- doū num. [6648 *dva*-] 'two, both': KM 2.3, 25.4, 33.1, 71.4, 72.1, 79.1, 81.1, 93.1, 2, 3, 4, 107.1, 110.1; duhūni, KM 84.3; duhū, KM 63.1, 110.2; duhūna, KM 49.4, 81.1; dū, KM 8.3; doī, KM 13.1; dvai, KM 15.3, 20.1, 71.1
- daura f. [6624 *dravati*] 'endeavour': KM 65.3
- dyosa cf. dyausa
- dyausa m. [6333 *divasa*-] 'day' (cf. cāri): AS 17.2; dyosa, KM 86.2
- dravya m. [6625 *dravya*-] 'assets': KM 36.3
- draṣṭi cf. ḍṣṭi
- druma m. [6637 *druma*-] 'tree': KM 52.2
- dvai cf. doū
- dhana m. [6717 *dhana*-] 'wealth' (cf. tana mana dhana): AS 4.2, 4, 13.3; KM 27.2, 85.4
- dhanaṣa m. [S *dhanuṣa*] 'bow, rainbow': KM 37.1, 64.2, 89.2
- dhanī f. [6721 *dhanikā*-] 'maid': KM 31.4
- dhar- vt. [6747 *dharati*] 'place, hold' (cf. tāla dhar-, pāya dhar-): -ata, KM 106.3; -ani, KM 33.3; -i, KM 22.3, 74.1, 92.2; -ē, KM 56.1, 60.2; -aī, KM 18.2, 64.2; -aū, AS 1.2; -yau, AS 14.3
- dhā- vt. [6812 *dhiyāyati*] 'recall': -īye, KM 80.3
- dhāp- vi. [6890 \**dhrāpyate*] 'be satisfied': -i, KM 94.2
- dhārī adj. & m. [6795 *dhārin*-] 'wearing' (cf. mālādhārī): AS 16.1
- dhīraja m. [6818 *dhīrya*-] 'composure': KM 67.3
- dhujā f. [6897 *dhvaja*-] 'banner': KM 88.3
- dhuni f. [6823 *dhuni*-] 'sound, melody': KM 52.1, 99.3
- dhura adj. [6892 *dhruva*-] 'set': KM 67.2
- dhurapada m. [S *dhrupada*] 'North Indian musical form/style': KM 67.2
- dhūpara (?) m. [6892 *dhruva*-] 'Pole star': KM 8.4, 18.4

dhō emph. part. [6892 *dhruva-*]  
‘indeed, then, pray’ (cf. *kaūna dhaū*):  
KM 25.2, 55.1, 63.4, 82.2, 83.1;  
dho, KM 104.2; dhaū, AS 5.2 (rep.)

dho, dhaū cf. dhō

dhyāna m. [6889 *dhyāna-*] ‘meditation’:  
KM 28.1

na neg. part. [6906 *na*] ‘not’: AS 4.1,  
5.1 (twice), 2, 4, 6.2 (twice), 3  
(twice), 10.4, 12.3, 13.2, 18.3, KM  
1.2, 3.3 (twice), 4.2, 4, 7.3, 9.2, 4,  
10.1 (twice), 4, 12.4, 18.3, 23.2,  
24.3, 25.1, 2, 3, 31.2, 34.2 (twice), 4  
(twice), 35.3, 40.1, 45.3, 54.2, 3  
(twice), 57.3, 59.1, 2, 62.2, 4, 66.3,  
67.3, 69.2, 74.3, 75.3, 76.2, 79.2  
(twice), 3, 80.3, 86.1, 2 (twice),  
90.1, 91.1, 92.2, 3, 4, 97.4, 99.1,  
100.3 (twice), 101.1, 2 (twice),  
105.2, 3, 108.3; nā, KM 61.4

nandasi m. [6949 *nanda*] ‘son’: AS 9.4

na- vi. [6956 *namati*] ‘surrender,  
submit’: -ī, KM 30.3; noi, KM 47.4;  
noī, KM 13.4

na— adj. [7025 *naviya-*] ‘new’: -ī,  
KM 51.3; -yo, KM 34.1 (rep.)

nakaphūla m. [6909 \**nakka-* + 9092  
*phulla-*] ‘nose-pin’: KM 21.3

nakra m. [7038 *nakra-*] ‘crocodile’: AS  
9.1

nagara m. [6924 *nagara-*] ‘town’: AS  
17.3

nac- cf. nāc-

nacā- vt. [7583 *nṛtyati*] ‘make dance’:  
-vata, KM 60.1

naṭ- vi. [6979 *nartayati*] ‘dance, act’:  
-ata, KM 94.2

nadita adj. [6950 *nandati*] ‘delighted’:  
KM 94.1

nabasata adj. [Entwistle: < *nava* + *sata*  
< *sapta*] ‘sixteen’ (referring to the  
sixteen kinds of *śṛṅgāra*): KM 26.3

nabina adj. [7023 *navīna-*] ‘new’: KM  
91.1

nara m. [6970 *nara-*] ‘man’: ~ tana,  
‘human body: life or birth as a man’,  
AS 4.1

narīca (?) f. [6936 *naḍa-* (+ ?)] (?)  
‘reed’: KM 55.4

nava adj. [6983 *nava-*] ‘new, fresh’:  
KM 44.2, 3 (rep.), 51.3, 99.2 (4  
times), 103.2

navala adj. [7012 \**navala-*] ‘new, fresh,  
young’: KM 47.4 (?), 106.1 (thrice),  
108.2

naṣa m. [6914 *nakha-*] ‘nail’ (cf. *kara-*  
*naṣa*): KM 70.4, 103.2; ~ siṣa,  
‘from head to toe’, KM 77.3

nas- vi. [7027 *naśyati*] ‘be destroyed’:  
-āta, KM 98.3

nahi, nahinē, nahī, nāhī, nāhi, nāhī, nāhi,  
nāhi, nāhinē, nāhi neg. part. [7035  
*nahi*] ‘not’: nahi, AS 15.2, KM  
15.2, 61.3, 85.3; nahinē, KM 15.2,  
48.4; nahī, AS 10.2; nāhī, KM 28.2;  
nāhi, AS 2.1, KM 11.2, 14.3, 27.2;  
nāhī, AS 8.4, KM 6.1, 103.4; nāhī,  
KM 44.3 (rep.), 76.1; nāhi, AS 3.2,  
11.2; nāhinē, AS 15.1; nāhi, KM  
27.3

nā cf. na

nāu cf. nāma

nānā adj. [7053 *nānā*] ‘various,  
different’: KM 9.4, 65.2, 66.1

nāma m. [7067 *nāman-*] ‘name’: AS  
10.1; nāu, KM 83.1; nāmehi, KM  
82.4

nāika m. [S *nāyaka*] ‘the central gem of  
a necklace’: KM 27.3

nāga m. [7039 *nāga-*] ‘*nāga* (a demigod  
with a human face and a snake-like  
lower body)’: KM 42.2, 54.2

nāgara adj. [7043 *nāgara-*] ‘clever’: AS  
14.1

nāgari adj. & f. [S *nāgarī*] ‘clever or  
skilful woman’: KM 51.3, 108.2;  
nāgarī, KM 94.2

nāgarī cf. nāgari

nāc- vi. [7583 *nṛtyati*] ‘dance’: -ata,  
KM 60.1, 96.1; nacyau, KM 52.4

nābhi (?) f. [7062 *nābhi-*] ‘navel’: KM  
94.2

- nāmehi cf. nāma  
 nāri f. [S *nārī*] ‘woman’: KM 42.3  
 (twice), 75.2  
 nāsā f. [7089 *nāsā-*] ‘nose’: KM 50.2  
 nikaṭa adj. & adv. [7136 *nikaṭam*]  
 ‘near’: KM 8.3  
 nikas- vi. [7479 \**niṣkasati*] ‘go out,  
 emerge’: -ati, KM 62.3; -i, KM 6.2,  
 110.1; -ive, KM 6.3  
 nikuñja m. [S] ‘grove, arbour’: KM  
 44.2, 99.2, 100.2, 106.1  
 nigraha m. [7169 *nigraha-*] ‘restraint’:  
 KM 81.3  
 nicaula m. [S *nicola*] ‘mantle’: KM  
 29.3  
 nita cf. nitya  
 nitamba m. [S] ‘buttocks’: KM 36.2  
 nitya adj. & adv. [7190 *nitya-*] ‘eternal,  
 always’: KM 4.3, 21.4; nita, KM  
 43.4 (rep.)  
 nipaṭa adv. [OHED: \**niṣpraṣṭha-*; ? × H  
*nibatnā, nipaṭnā*] ‘extremely’: KM 8.3  
 nipuna adj. [S *nipuṇa*] ‘skilled’: KM  
 30.4, 67.4; nipūna, KM 72.3  
 nipūna cf. nipuna  
 nibāhū m. [7397 *nirvāhayati*]  
 ‘sustainer’: AS 7.4  
 nimeṣa m. [7243 *nimeṣa-*] ‘twinkling of  
 the eye, moment’: KM 109.2  
 niraṣ- vt. [7280 *nirīkṣate*] ‘see’: -ata,  
 KM 103.4; -i, KM 50.3, 63.3, 106.3  
 nisa cf. nisā  
 nisā f. [7428 *niśā-*] ‘night’: KM 32.3;  
 nisa bāsara, ‘day and night’, KM  
 93.3  
 nisi f. [7436 *niśītha-*] ‘night’: KM  
 96.3; ~ dina, ‘day and night’, AS  
 14.2, KM 34.4, 94.3  
 nihacala adj. [7443 *niścala-*]  
 ‘unwavering’: KM 8.4  
 nihār- vt. [7228 *nibhālayati*,  
 \**nibhārayati*] ‘look, gaze’: -ī, KM  
 9.2, 11.4, 15.2  
 nīk— adj. & adv. [7150 *nikta-*] ‘good,  
 beautiful, well, elegantly’: -ī, KM  
 89.2, 3 (twice); -ē, KM 12.1; -e,  
 KM 13.3, 89.2 (twice); -āi, KM  
 60.1; -o, KM 18.4; -au, KM 89.2  
 nīla adj. [7563 *nīla-*] ‘blue’: KM 28.1,  
 29.3  
 nīlambara m. [S *nīlāmbara*] ‘blue  
 mantle’: KM 88.3  
 nūpura f./m. [7577 *nūpura-*] ‘anklet’:  
 KM 8.1  
 nṛṭ- vi. [7583 *nṛtyati*] ‘dance’: -ata,  
 KM 33.2, 52.3; nṛttata, KM 33.1  
 nṛta, nṛtti cf. nṛtya  
 nṛtt- cf. nṛṭ-  
 nṛtya m. [7582 *nṛtya-*] ‘dance’: KM  
 14.2, 23.2, 93.4, 105.3; nṛta, KM  
 12.4; nṛtti, KM 2.2  
 nēku adv. [OHED: ? conn. *naika-*] ‘a  
 little’: KM 15.2, 23.4; naīku, AS  
 12.3  
 nēna m. [6968 *nayana-*] ‘eye’ (cf.  
 kamala-nēna): AS 7.1, KM 7.1,  
 15.3, 21.1, 36.2, 63.2, 64.1, 77.1,  
 81.2, 87.2; -ni, KM 50.3, 74.2  
 netra m. [7587 *netra-*] ‘eye’: KM 20.1;  
 -ni, KM 56.2  
 nerī adv. [7136 *nikate*] ‘near’: KM  
 20.4  
 naīku cf. nēku  
 noi/°ī cf. na-  
 nyār— adj. & adv. [404 \**anyākāra*]  
 ‘removed, detached, wondrous,  
 unique, extraordinary, separately,  
 apart’: -ī, KM 20.3; -e, KM 55.4  
 (rep.), 86.1, 2, 3, 4; -eī, KM 100.1,  
 101.1; -eī nyāre, KM 105.4; -au,  
 KM 95.3  
 nyāva m. [7614 \**niyāya-*] ‘legal case’:  
 KM 8.2  
 nyaūchāvāri f. [Snell: A *nisār* (×  
*niyama-*?)] ‘sacrifice, offering’: KM  
 10.2, 27.2, 85.4  
 nhā- cf. nhā-  
 nhā- vi. [13786 *snāti*] ‘bathe’: -i, KM  
 103.1; nhāu, KM 83.3  
 paṅka f. [7645 *paṅka-*] ‘mud’: KM 7.1  
 pañchī m. [7636 *pakṣin-*] ‘bird’: KM  
 9.1, 4, 14.1, 100.3; °ina, AS 13.3

- pakar- vt. [7619 \**pakkaḍ-*] ‘hold’: -i, AS 1.3
- pag- cf. pāg-
- paga m. [7766 *padga-*] ‘foot’: KM 50.4; pagu, KM 61.3
- pagu cf. paga
- pac- vi. [7654 *pacyate*] ‘toil vainly’: -e, KM 23.3
- paṭa m. [7700 *paṭṭa-*] ‘garment’: KM 103.1
- paṭatara m. [Snell: *S paṭutara?*] ‘comparison’: KM 95.3
- pati m. [7727 *pati-*] ‘husband, lord’ (cf. *prāna-pati*, *raṭi-pati*): AS 16.2, KM 33.7, 63.3, 103.3
- patyā- vt. [8640 *pratyāyayati*] ‘believe’: -hu, KM 25.2, 45.3
- patra m. [7733 *pattra-*] ‘leaf’: -na, KM 46.2
- padāratha m. [S *padārtha*] ‘aim’: ~ *cāri*, ‘the four goals of life (viz. *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*)’, AS 9.3
- pana m. [7714 *paṇa-*] ‘resolve, vow, pledge’: KM 10.4, 102.2 (rep.); *panē*, KM 79.4
- panā m. [(?)] ‘emerald’: KM 73.3
- panē cf. pana
- papihā m. [OHED: conn. Pk *vappiā-*] ‘pied crested cuckoo, hawk-cuckoo’: KM 96.2
- pabitra adj. [7983 *pavitra-*] ‘pure’: KM 91.4
- payād—(°e) m. [Pers. *payāda*] ‘pawn’ (in chess): KM 81.3
- par- vi. [7722 *patati*] ‘fall, stay (in a place), arise, lie, be, become’ (cf. *jhūṭhī par-*, *bhārau par-*); aux. verb: -ata, KM 38.3, 53.1; -ani, (f.), KM 50.4; -i, KM 38.4; -ī, AS 5.1, 18.2, KM 11.1, 13.3, 73.1, 82.1, 83.4, 104.3; -e, KM 60.4, 76.4; -ai, AS 18.3, KM 55.1, 78.2, 109.3; -yau, KM 66.3
- para<sup>1</sup> ppn. [2333 \**uppari-*] ‘on, at, near to, to, for, by, from’: AS 12.4, KM 8.3, 10.2, 18.1, 2, 85.4, 86.3, 4; *paī*, KM 18.3; *pai*, KM 2.4, 36.4, 44.4, 66.1, 104.3
- para<sup>2</sup> cf. *pai*<sup>2</sup>
- parachāhī f. [8560 *praticchāyā-*] ‘shadow’: KM 53.1
- parani cf. par-
- parama adj. [7799d *parama-*] ‘supreme’: KM 32.4, 47.3
- paramāna m. [7855 *parimāṇa-*] ‘scope’: KM 23.3
- paraṣ- vt. [7904 *parikṣate*] ‘discern’: -e, KM 38.3
- paraspara adj. & adv. [S] ‘mutual(ly), reciprocal(ly)’: KM 2.1, 13.1, 2, 4, 19.1, 32.2, 33.6, 36.3, 42.3, 48.2, 61.3, 67.1, 75.3, 84.2, 86.3, 93.4, 100.4, 101.3, 105.2
- parirambhana m. [S *parirambhaṇa*] ‘embrace’: KM 33.2
- pareṣ- vt. [OHED: *parekṣate*, or *parikṣate* × H. *pekhnā*] ‘scrutinize’: -i, KM 42.4 (rep.)
- palak—(°aī) f. [Pers. *palak*] ‘eyelid’: KM 103.4; *palava lāg-* ‘sleep’, KM 85.3
- palava, MS G reading (note 9 to KM 85), cf. *palak*—
- palu m. & adv. [7952 *pala-*] ‘moment, for a moment, eyelid’: AS 4.3 (twice), KM 3.3, 46.3 (rep.), 78.2 (rep.)
- pallava m. [7969 *pallava-*] ‘shoot’: KM 99.2
- pavana m. [7978 *pavana-*] ‘wind’: KM 33.5
- paha f. [8705 *prabhā-*] ‘dawn’: ~ *phāt-*, ‘dawn to break’: KM 109.2
- pahar- vt. [7835 *paridadhāti*] ‘wear’: -i, KM 103.1; *pahiraī*, KM 49.1
- pahara m. [8900 *prahara-*] ‘period of three hours’: KM 80.2
- pahir- cf. pahar-
- pahil—(°ī) adj. [8652 \**prathilla-*] ‘first’: KM 109.2
- pahuñcī f. [8018 \**pahuñca-*] ‘wrist-ornament’: KM 21.3
- pahuca m. [8018 \**pahuñca-*] ‘wrist’: -ni, KM 21.3
- pahupani cf. puhapa

- pā- cf. pa-
- pāini cf. pāya
- pāna m. [8045 *pāni-*] ‘hand’: KM 45.3
- pānī m. [8082 *pāniya-*] ‘water’: ~ mē ~, (?), KM 55.4
- pāhi cf. pāya
- pā- vt. [8943 *prāpayati*] ‘obtain, find’;  
aux. verb: ‘manage’: -i, KM 66.2, -ī, KM 15.4, 68.4; -iyata, KM 72.4, 102.4; -īye, KM 101.2; -e, KM 38.4; -ye, AS 15.4; -yo, KM 22.2, -yau, KM 72.2; -vata, KM 28.2; -vatau, AS 3.2; -vai, KM 62.2; -vau, AS 15.4; pāti, KM 58.3
- pāi cf. pāya
- pāg- vi. [Smith: *pragāhate*] ‘be immersed’: -e, KM 2.4; page, KM 87.3
- pāga f. [7644 \**paggā-*] ‘turban’: KM 38.2
- pāchai adv. [7990 \**paśca-*] ‘before i.e. in the past’: KM 54.3
- pāṭa m. [7700 *paṭta-*] ‘clothes, woven silk’ (cf. auṭa-pāṭa): AS 18.4, KM 73.2
- pāya m. [8056 *pāda-*] ‘foot’: KM 104.3; ~ dhar- ‘set foot’, AS 1.2; pāi, KM 38.3; pāini, KM 20.2; pāhi lāg- ‘entreat’, KM 6.3; paiyā lāg- ‘entreat’, KM 102.2
- pāra adv. [8100 *pāra-*] ‘further bank, across’: AS 9.4
- pāvasa f./m. [8964 *prāvṛṣ(a)-*] ‘rainy season’: KM 90.1
- piñjara cf. piñjarā
- piñjarā m. [7865 *pañjara-*] ‘cage’: AS 1.4, KM 9.1; piñjara, AS 9.3
- pika m. [S] ‘the Indian cuckoo’: KM 110.3
- pitara m. [8179 *pitṛ-*] ‘ancestors’: -ni, AS 16.4
- pidara m. [Pers.] ‘father’: AS 6.3
- piya adj. & m. [8974 *priya-*] ‘beloved, lover’: KM 18.3, 33.2, 43.1, 50.4, 68.1, 86.1, 104.3, 106.2, 3, 108.3; pī, KM 60.2
- pira, MS G reading (note 3 to AS 5), cf. pai<sup>2</sup>
- pī- vt. [8209 *pībati*] ‘drink’: -jai, KM 16.3, 74.1; -vata, KM 9.2
- pī cf. piya
- pīta adj. [8230 *pīta-*] ‘yellow’: KM 70.2, 97.1
- pītambara m. [S *pītāmbara*] ‘yellow garment’: KM 29.3, 56.1, 88.3; pītāmbara, KM 72.1
- pītāmbara cf. pītambara
- pītau (?) m. [8230 *pīta-*] ‘sun’: KM 109.3
- pīyūṣa m. [8241 *pīyūṣa-*] ‘nectar’: KM 106.2
- pīra f. [8227 *pīḍā-*] ‘pain’: KM 79.2
- puñja m. [8251 *puñja-*] ‘mass, accumulation’: KM 16.3, 20.1, 44.2
- putarī f. [8269 \**putrala-*] ‘pupil of the eye’: KM 71.1
- puni adv. & conj. [8273 *punar*] ‘besides’: KM 62.3
- pura m. [8278 *pura-*] ‘realm’: KM 75.2 (thrice)
- puraini f. [8254 *puṭakinī-*] ‘lotus’: KM 78.4
- puruṣa m. [8289 *puruṣa*] ‘man, the supreme being or soul of the universe’: AS 14.3
- puhapa m. [8303 *puṣpa-*] ‘flower’: KM 75.1; pahupani, KM 33.7
- pūrana adj. [8339 *pūrṇa-*] ‘full’: KM 33.5
- pūranamāsī f. [8340 *pūrṇamās-*] ‘day/night of full moon’: KM 49.2
- peca m. [Pers. *pec*] ‘entanglement’: KM 77.2
- pel- vt. [9002 \**prelayati*] ‘impel’: -ata, KM 81.3
- pañ, pai<sup>1</sup> cf. para<sup>1</sup>
- pañḍa f./m. [OHED: \**padaḍa-*? and \**padadaṇḍa-*] ‘step, path’: KM 8.3; pañḍa bhar-, ‘follow’, AS 1.2
- pai<sup>2</sup> conj. [7793 *para-*] ‘but’: KM 7.3, 24.3, 42.4, 73.3; para, AS 5.2
- pañḍa cf. pañḍa

- paiyā cf. pāya
- pōh- vt. [8781 \**pravabhati*] ‘string’:  
-ani, (f.), AS 12.2
- pōhani cf. pōh-
- poṭa f. [8396 \**poṭṭa-*] ‘money-bag;  
treasury’: KM 97.3
- poḍh- vi. [8789 *pravardhate*] ‘lie  
down’: -ī, KM 104.4
- poti f. [8403 \**potti-*] ‘glass bead’: KM  
20.1, 63.2, 75.4; pauti, KM 21.1
- poṣ- vt. [8410 *poṣayati*] ‘nourish’: -ata,  
KM 17.3
- pauti cf. poti
- pyār— adj. & m./f. [8975 *priyakāra*]  
‘beloved’ (cf. prāna pyār—): -ani,  
KM 64.2; -ī, KM 5.4, 6.1, 7.1, 3,  
8.3, 9.3 (rep.), 4, 10.1, 2, 11.2, 22.4,  
25.3, 26.1, 29.1, 34.1, 35.1, 2, 3, 4,  
36.1, 4, 37.1, 4, 40.4, 41.4, 46.1,  
47.1, 3, 49.1, 51.1, 53.1, 55.3,  
57.1, 58.1, 65.1, 4, 66.1, 4, 71.1,  
76.1, 77.3, 78.1, 79.1, 90.4, 108.4;  
-e, KM 3.2 (twice), 6.2, 29.1, 73.1;  
-au, KM 52.4, 63.3
- pyālau m. [Pers. *piyāla*] ‘cup’: KM  
74.2
- prakāsa m. [8437 *prakāśa-*] ‘radiance,  
glow’: KM 2.1, 30.2
- prakṛti f. [8446 *prakṛti-*] ‘nature, state,  
liking’: AS 15.2, KM 5.3, 11.3,  
14.3, 23.4, 62.4, 80.3, 109.1
- pragaṭ- vt. [8428 *prakaṭa-*] ‘reveal,  
express’: -atu, KM 76.4
- pragaṭa adj. [8428 *prakaṭa-*] ‘manifest,  
appeared, emerged’: KM 1.1, 28.3,  
110.2
- prati adj. pref. [8540 *prati*] ‘each,  
every’: KM 66.1
- pratibimba m. [S] ‘reflection’: -na,  
KM 13.2
- pratīti f. [8624 *pratīti-*] ‘faith’: KM  
25.3
- prathama adv. [8648 *prathama-*]  
‘before’: KM 1.2
- prapañca m. [S] ‘illusion’: AS 2.2,  
14.2
- praphulita adj. [S *praphullita*]  
‘blossoming’: KM 52.2
- prāna m. [8928 *prāna-*] ‘life, vital  
breath’: KM 10.3, 11.2, 22.2, 40.4,  
64.3; -ani, KM 17.3, 58.3; ~ pati,  
life-lord: husband’, KM 63.2;  
~ pyārau, ‘dear as life, beloved’, KM  
63.3; prānani ādhārani, ‘support of  
life’, AS 2.4; prāna, KM 10.1
- prāna cf. prāna
- priya adj. [8974 *priya-*] ‘dear’: KM  
103.3
- priyā f. [S] ‘beloved’: KM 12.3, 15.4,  
86.1, 108.3, 110.3
- prīti f. [8982 *prīti-*] ‘love’: AS 12.1,  
15.1, KM 5.2, 4, 13.4, 17.4, 27.3, 4,  
30.2, 36.3, 47.4, 79.4, 95.4, 107.3
- prema m. [S] ‘love’: AS 18.1, KM  
9.2, 16.3, 30.2, 47.2, 4 (see note 11  
to translation), 72.4, 93.4, 99.4,  
100.4; -hi, KM 99.4
- prer- vt. [9002 *prerayati*] ‘spread’: -e,  
AS 9.2
- phanda m. [Entwistle: *spāśa- × bandha-*]  
‘net, trap’: -si, AS 9.2; phandā, KM  
9.1
- phandā cf. phanda
- phaṭphaṭā- vi. [9038 \**phaṭṭ-*] ‘flutter’:  
-ya, AS 1.4
- pharajī m. [Pers. *farzī*] ‘queen’ (in  
chess): KM 81.3
- phaharā- [Snell: 13820 \**spharati* with  
reduplication] ‘flutter’: -ti, KM 88.3
- phāgu m. [9062 *phalgu-*] ‘the Holi  
festival’: ~ ṣel- ‘celebrate Holi’, KM  
105.1
- phāṭ- vi. [13825 \**sphāṭyate*] ‘break’ (cf.  
paha phāṭ-): -ī, KM 109.2
- phir- vi. [9078 \**phirati*] ‘wander, roam,  
change’; aux. verb (?): -ata, AS 10.1,  
2, KM 53.1, 105.4; -ī, AS 6.3; -ī,  
KM 62.4
- phiriyādi f. [Pers. *faryādī*] ‘complaint’:  
AS 17.4
- phik— adj. [9037 \**phikka-*] ‘insipid,  
worthless’: -e, KM 60.4; -au, AS  
7.1

- phīla m. [Pers. *fil*] ‘castle’ (in chess):  
KM 81.3
- phulavāri f. [9096 \**phullavāṭikā*-]  
‘flower garden’: KM 103.1
- phūnarī f. [onomat.] (?) ‘drizzle’: KM  
92.3
- phūl- vi [9093 *phullatī*] ‘blossom,  
bloom’: -a, KM 30.1(?), -ī, KM  
57.1, 99.3; -yau, KM 33.5
- phūla<sup>1</sup> m. [9092 *phulla*-] ‘flower’: KM  
46.2, 70.2; -ni, KM 33.5
- phūla<sup>2</sup> m. (?) [9093 *phullatī*] ‘joy’:  
KM 48.4
- pher- vt. [9078 \**pherayati*-] ‘turn over’:  
-ī, KM 20.3
- phera m. [9078 \**phera*-] ‘turning’:  
~ pherī, ‘alternate, exchange’: KM  
25.4, 101.3
- pherī cf. phera
- phaūka m. [8391 \**phonka*-] ‘notch’:  
KM 64.2
- ’ba cf. aba
- bañka adj. [11191 *vañka*-] ‘devious’:  
KM 18.2
- bañch- vt. [11478 *vāñchatī*-] ‘long,  
wish’: -atu, KM 78.2; -ai, AS 4.2  
(twice)
- band- vt. [11270 *vandate*] ‘praise’: -e,  
KM 94.3
- banda m. [Pers. *band*] ‘fastening; list:  
kinds (?)’: KM 38.2; -si, AS 9.1 (?)
- bandana m. [11271 *vandana*-] (?)  
‘mixture of turmeric and lime powder’:  
KM 100.4
- bandasi cf. banda
- band—(°e) m. [Pers. *banda*] ‘servant:  
worshipper (?)’: AS 6.1
- bandhāna m. [9139 *bandhatī*] ‘fixed  
measure, rhythm, agreement’ (cf. tāna-  
bandhāna): KM 14.2, 67.2, 90.3
- baṃsī f. [11180 *vaṃsī*-] ‘flute’: KM  
99.3
- bagala f. [Pers. *bagal*] ‘armpit’: KM  
92.2
- bagicā m. [Pers. *bāgīca*] ‘garden’: KM  
98.2
- baça m. [11200 *vacas*-] ‘speech,  
talking’ (cf. mana baca krama): KM  
4.2, 36.3, 59.2, 90.2
- bacana m. [11199 *vacana*-] ‘words’:  
KM 5.3, 17.3, 44.1, 110.3
- bacā- vt. [11208 *vacyate*] ‘save’ (cf.  
dṛṣṭi bacā-): -vata, KM 105.4
- baj- cf. bāj-
- bajā- vt. [11513 *vādyate*] ‘play (music),  
cause to sound’: -vata, KM 8.1,  
14.2, 19.1, 87.3, 96.2
- baḍ—(°e) adj. [11225 *vaḍra*-] ‘great’:  
KM 24.3
- baḍh- cf. bāḍh-
- bata cf. bāta
- batā- vt. [11564 *vārtta*-] ‘tell’ (cf. bātani  
bata batāta): -ta, KM 19.3; -vau,  
KM 6.3
- bad- vt. [1245 *vadatī*] ‘name (as a  
witness)’: -au, KM 82.3
- badana<sup>1</sup> m. [11246 *vadana*-] ‘face,  
mouth’: KM 57.1, 58.1
- badana<sup>2</sup> m. [A *badan*] ‘body’: KM 7.1,  
19.2, 97.2
- badal- vi. [A *badal*] ‘change’: -i, KM  
73.1
- badī f. [Pers.] (?) ‘combat’: AS 5.2
- ban- vi. [11260 *vanatī*] ‘be adorned, be  
achieved, succeed, be established, be  
arranged, become’: -i, AS 10.4; -ī,  
KM 31.1; -ī, KM 50.1; -ē, KM  
13.3, 79.1, 90.2; -e, KM 13.3; -yaū,  
AS 15.2, KM 14.1, 30.3, 49.2, 60.4
- bana m. [11258 *vana*-] ‘forest’: AS  
12.2, KM 13.1, 15.4, 46.1, 52.1,  
68.4, 84.1, 99.2, 100.3, 110.1;  
~ māla, ‘garland of forest flowers’,  
KM 87.2
- banasī f. [9123 *baḍīśa*-] ‘fish-hook’:  
KM 57.4
- banā- vt. [11260 *vanatī*] ‘make, adorn’:  
-ī, AS 14.3, KM 4.1
- banitā f. [S *vanitā*] ‘lady, woman’: AS  
10.4, KM 33.3



- bapurā adj. [9147 \**bappuḍa*-] 'destitute': KM 35.4
- bayāri f. [11491 \**vātāra*-] 'wind': AS 8.1, 9.2
- bar- vt. [11318 \**varatī*] 'choose': -ana, KM 4.3; -i, KM 73.2
- bara m. & adj. [11308 *vara*-] 'husband, excellent, fine': KM 9.1, 68.3, 102.3, 108.2
- baran- vt. [11342 *varṇayati*] 'describe': -ī, KM 26.1, 29.1, 4, 41.2, 86.1
- baraṣ- vi. & vt. [11394 *varṣati*] 'rain, be radiant': -ata, KM 19.2, 37.2, 106.2
- baraṣā f. [11392 *varṣā*-] 'rain': KM 16.3, 33.7
- barābari f. [Pers. *barābarī*] 'rivalry, competition': KM 71.1, 81.2
- bala m. [9161 *bala*-] 'power: protection' (cf. *bāha*-*bala*): KM 35.4
- balanā cf. bali
- bali m. [9171 *bali*-] 'offering, adjuration': KM 22.4; ~*jā*-, 'implore devotedly', KM 6.3; *balanā*, KM 88.2
- balāi f. [A *balā*] 'misfortune': ~*le*-, 'wish or seek to take (another's) misfortunes on oneself, sacrifice oneself for another', KM 12.1, 80.3
- ballabhā adj. [11427 *vallabha*-] 'beloved': KM 94.3
- baṣān- vt. [12188 *vyākhyāna*-] 'describe': -ē, KM 40.1
- bas- vi. [11435 *vasati*] 'reside, dwell, settle': -ata, KM 110.2; -ai, KM 43.4; -au, KM 44.2
- basanta m. [11439 *vasanta*-] 'spring': KM 98.1, 99.1, 101.1
- basa m. [11430 *vaśa*-] 'power, subjugation': AS 2.1, 8.1, KM 20.4, 26.1, 4, 54.4, 63.4, 76.4, 90.4, 91.3; *basi*, KM 35.3
- basana m. [11436 *vasana*-] 'garment': KM 98.1, 106.3
- basi cf. basa
- basīṭha m. [11444 *vasiṣṭha*-] 'messenger': KM 55.1, 79.3
- bah- vi. [11453 *vahati*] 'blow': -ai, KM 33.5
- bahu adj. [9187 *bahu*-] 'many': AS 9.1, KM 32.2, 88.2, 91.2
- bahuta adj. & adv. [9190 *bahutva*-] 'many, much, greatly': AS 3.2, 10.3, 15.3, KM 7.3, 28.3, 48.3, 51.3, 53.2, 3, 90.3; -ka, KM 41.3
- bahutaka cf. bahuta
- bahū f. [11250 *vadhū*-] 'bride, young wife': KM 62.3
- bā—(°ī) adj. [11533 *vāma*-] 'left': KM 20.3
- bādh- vt. [9139 *bandhati*] 'tie, captivate' (cf. *kācha* *bādh*-): -ē, KM 14.2; -e, AS 10.3, KM 17.4 (rep.)
- bāna<sup>1</sup> m. [9203 *bāṇa*-] 'arrow': KM 37.1, 64.2
- bāna<sup>2</sup> cf. bāni
- bāni f. [11490 *vānī*-] 'words, sound': KM 14.4, 110.3; *bāna*, KM 47.2
- bānika f. [11338 *varṇa*-] 'apparel': KM 29.1, KM 69.2
- bāphini (?) f. [9223 *bāṣpa*-] 'eyelash': KM 37.1, 64.2
- bārani cf. bāra<sup>2</sup>
- bāha f. [9229 *bāhu*-] 'power, arm': KM 24.2, 56.3; ~*bala*, KM 35.4; *bāhu* sō *bāhu*, KM 11.4
- bāu adj. [11502 *vātika*-] 'boastful': KM 83.2
- bāgau m. [11421 *valgu*-] 'wedding garment (of bridegroom)': KM 30.3
- bāj- vi. [11513 *vādyate*] 'resound, play': -ata, KM 48.3; -ai, KM 52.1; *bajai*, KM 33.3
- bājī f. [Pers. *bāzī*] 'game': AS 5.3
- bāṭa f. [11366 *vartman*-] 'path': AS 18.2
- bāḍh- vi. [11376 *vardhate*] 'grow, swell, flourish': -ī, KM 110.2, -e, KM 107.3, -au, KM 78.4; *baḍhyau*, KM 61.3, 84.4
- bāta f. [11546 *vārta*-] 'thing, words, topic, matter, talk': AS 17.1, KM 11.1, 23.1, 54.1, 78.1; ~*kī* ~ ~, KM 40.2 (?); *bātani* *bata* *batāta*, 'talking

- and conversing'(?), KM 19.3; bātē, KM 62.3
- bādara m. [11567 *vārdala-*] 'cloud': KM 37.2, 89.2
- bādi adj. & adv. [OHED: ? = H. *bād*] '(in) vain': AS 17.1
- bāra<sup>1</sup> f. [11547 *vāra-*] 'time' (cf. eka hī bāra): KM 37.2
- bāra<sup>2</sup> m. [11572 *vāla-*] 'hair' (cf. sāvār-): KM 63.2, 86.3; bārani, KM 70.3
- bāvarau adj. [11504 *vātula-*] 'crazy': KM 83.2
- bāsara m. [11602 *vāsara-*] 'day' (cf. nisa bāsara): KM 93.3
- bās—(°e) (?) m. [(?)] 'type of bird': KM 39.2
- bāhu cf. bāha
- bikuca m. [S *dvi-*+ 3216 *kuca-*] 'female breast': KM 7.2
- bigār- vt. [11673 \**vighāṭayati*] 'destroy': -ana, (m.), AS 5.1
- bigārana cf. bigār-
- bica ppn. [12042 \**vīcya-*] 'between, meanwhile, in': KM 79.3, 97.4; ~~, 'in the middle, from time to time', KM 70.2, 107.3; bīca, KM 55.1, 69.4
- bicār- vt. [S *vicārayati*] 'reflect': -ata, KM 41.3; -i, AS 8.4
- bicitra adj. [S *vicitra*] 'wondrous, unique, beautiful': AS 3.4, 5.3, KM 4.1, 31.1, 33.4, 46.2
- bicitratāi f. [S *vicitratā*] 'unusual nature': KM 72.4
- bichur- vi. [11651 \**vikṣuṭati*] 'separate': -ata, KM 4.3
- bijaurau (?) m. [9250 *bija-*] 'having seed': AS 13.2
- bijña adj. & m. [S *vijña*] 'knowing, knowledgeable': KM 23.3
- bithakita adj. [12012 \**visthakk-*] 'dismayed, still': KM 33.7
- bithā f. [S *vyathā*] 'pain': KM 17.2
- bidādi, MS G reading (note 8 to AS 17), cf. bibādi
- bidita adj. [S *vidita*] 'perceived': KM 110.3
- bidhanā m. [11754 *vidhāna-*] 'creator': KM 63.1
- bina ppn. [11772 *vinā*] 'without': KM 16.2, 76.2; binā, AS 8.4
- binā cf. bina
- biparīti adj. [S *viparīta*] 'inverted' (cf. rati biparīti): KM 27.3
- bibādi m. [S *vivāda*] 'argument': AS 17.3
- bibidhi adj. [S *vividha*] 'various': KM 103.3
- bimuṣa adj. [S *vimukha*] 'opposed': AS 16.3
- birasa (?) 'type of dance': KM 67.3
- birāj- vi. [S *virājati*] 'be glorious, rule': -ai, KM 41.1, 43.4
- biraudha m. [S *virodha*] 'opposition': AS 15.2
- bilabilā- vi. [OHED: *vilapati, vilāpayati*] 'be distressed': -ta, KM 108.3
- bilas- vi. [11894 *vilasati*] 'derive pleasure, sport': -ata, KM 8.4
- bilāsa m. [11903 *vilāsa-*] 'pleasure': KM 33.6
- biṣama adj. [11972 *viṣama-*] 'unparalleled': KM 68.4
- bisar- vt. [12021 *vismarati*] 'forget': -e, KM 90.3
- biṣāti f. [A *bisāṭi*] 'chessboard': KM 81.1
- bihārini f. [S *vihārini*] 'one engaged in love-play' (referring to Rādḥā): AS 2.1, KM 21.4, 61.1, 64.4, 75.1, 88.1, 4, 97.4
- bihārī m. [S *vihārīn*] 'one engaged in love-play' (referring to Kṛṣṇa): AS 2.1, 3.3, 8.4, 15.4, 18.4, KM 9.1, 11.1, 21.4, 24.1, 61.1, 75.1, 94.3, 98.3, 102.1, 106.4
- bīca cf. bica
- bijurī f. [11745 *vidyullatā-*] 'lightning': KM 91.1, 92.4, 95.1
- bīth—(°ina) f. [12050 *vīthi*] 'lane': AS 12.1

- bīdh- vi. [11784 \**vindhati*] ‘be stuck’:  
-e, KM 7.1
- bīna cf. bīnā
- bīnā f. [12058 *vīnā-*] ‘Indian lute,  
instrument of the guitar-type’: KM  
87.3, 106.1; bīna, KM 61.2
- bīrā m. [12045 *vīṭaka-*] ‘roll of betel  
leaf and areca nut’: KM 21.3
- bīrī f. [12045 *vīṭikā-*] ‘small betel-  
packet’: KM 32.2, 53.2
- bīr— (°aī) f. [12045 *vīṭā-*] ‘ear  
ornament with two pearls’: KM 21.2
- budakī f. [9272 \**budṛyati*] ‘plunge’:  
KM 83.4
- buddhibala m. [S] ‘mental power,  
intellect’: KM 57.3
- bun- vt. [11773 \**vunāti*] ‘weave’ (cf.  
udhera-būna): -ata, AS 14.2; būna,  
(f.), KM 72.2
- bulā- vt. [9321 \**bol-*] ‘make smb.  
promise’ (cf. bola bulā- (?): -ya, KM  
36.4
- būna cf. bun-
- būnd— (°e) f. [9240 \**bundu-*] ‘drop’:  
KM 92.1, 95.3
- būkā m. [9264 \**bukka-*] ‘powdered  
mica’: KM 100.4
- būjh- vt. [9279 *budhyate*] ‘perceive,  
enquire’: -ata, AS 11.2; -i, KM 82.3
- būḍha m. [9530 \**bhuṇḍa-*] ‘red velvety  
insect’: -ni, KM 89.3
- bṛndābana m. [S *vṛndāvana*]  
‘Vrindaban’ (location of Kṛṣṇa’s *līlā*):  
AS 12.2, KM 33.5, 89.2
- bṛṣṭi f. [12088 *vṛṣṭi-*] ‘rain’: KM 75.1
- be, MS G reading (see note 8 to KM  
27), cf. vaha
- bekājai adv. [Pers. *be-* + *kāja* < 3078  
*kārya-*] ‘in vain’: KM 43.3
- bekār— (°yaū) adj. [Pers. *be-* + 3078  
*kārya-*] ‘useless’: AS 18.2
- begi adv. [12089 *vega-*] ‘quickly’: KM  
18.3, 109.1
- bec- vt. [12100 \**vetyayati*] ‘sell’: -i,  
KM 62.2 (rep.)
- beṭī f. [9238 \**beṭṭa-*] ‘daughter’: KM  
62.3, 83.1
- bera f. [12115 *velā-*] ‘time,  
opportunity’: AS 10.2
- belī f. [12123 *velli-*] ‘creeper: flower’:  
KM 52.2; vela, AS 13.2
- baīna m. [11199 *vacana-*] ‘words’:  
KM 80.2
- baīnī cf. bainī
- baith- vi. [2245 *upaviṣati*] ‘sit’: -ī, KM  
31.4, 98.2, 103.1; -e, KM 28.1,  
70.3, 71.2; -yau, KM 77.2
- bainī f. [12093 *veṇi-*] ‘braided hair’:  
KM 29.2; baīnī KM 70.1
- baisa f. [11305 *vayas-*] ‘youth’: KM  
110.1; vaisa, KM 1.4
- bo- vt. [11282 *vapati*] ‘sow’: -i, KM  
47.3
- bol- vt. [9321 \**bol-*] ‘say, call, talk,  
speak’ (cf. bola bol-): -ata, KM 14.1,  
32.1, 37.4, 60.2, 68.1, 69.1, 76.1,  
89.1; -ani, (f.), KM 85.1; -iye, KM  
59.1, 90.1; -ī, KM 97.2
- bola m. [9321 \**bol-*] ‘promise’: KM  
36.1; ~ bulā- (?)/bol-, ‘make a  
promise’, KM 36.4, 59.1, 90.1, 2
- bolani cf. bol-
- bauchāra m. [OHED: cf. *vāyu-*; ? conn.  
*chaṭā-*] ‘heavy rain’: KM 92.3
- byāja m. [S *vyāja-*] ‘interest (on  
money)’: KM 36.3
- byāp- vi. [11835 \**vyāpnoti*] ‘be  
pervasive, spread’: -i, AS 13.2
- braja m. [12224 *vraja-*] ‘cattle-station’,  
the homeland of Kṛṣṇa’s youth: AS  
12.1, KM 44.3
- brahmaloka m. [S] ‘Brahma’s world’:  
AS 8.3
- brahmāṇḍa m. [S] ‘universe’: KM  
41.1, 86.4
- bhaī, bhae cf. ho-
- bhaj- vt. [9359 *bhajati*] ‘worship’: -i,  
AS 4.1 (rep.), 17.1
- bhaṭū f. & interj. [Snell: 9402 *bhart-*?]  
‘sister’: KM 25.2

- bhan- vt. [9383 *bhanati*] 'speak: describe, mean': -ī, KM 31.2; -yaū, KM 14.4
- bhaye, bhayo, bhayaū, bhayau cf. ho-
- bhar- vi. & vt. [9393 *bhara-*] 'colour, be sated, embrace, fulfil, be full, bear' (cf. ānkō bhar-, paḍa bhar-): -ata, KM 19.1, 105.2; -ana, KM 4.2, 98.4; -i, AS 1.2, KM 33.2, 73.4, 74.2; -ī, KM 63.1; -au, KM 59.3
- bharama, MS G reading (note 13 to KM 69), cf. bhavara
- bharu m. [9397 *bharati*] 'bulk: mass': KM 103.3
- bhal— adj. & interj. [9408 *bhalla-*] 'good, well; well!': -ā, AS 6.1, -e, AS 15.4, KM 19.2; -āi, AS 16.1, KM 53.4
- bhavara m. [9651 *bhramara-*] 'large black bee': KM 71.1, 85.2, 86.3; bhamara, KM 69.4; bhāvarau, KM 44.4
- bhāti f. [9338 *bhakti-*] 'kind, way': KM 77.1, 2, 3, 78.2, 88.2; -na, AS 3.2, KM 53.3; -ni, KM 32.2, 91.2
- bhāna m. [9453 *bhānu-*] 'sun': KM 40.3
- bhāvat— adj. & f./m. [Snell: 9445 *bhāti*] 'beloved, dear': ī, KM 3.2 (twice), 102.2, 104.1; -e, KM 11.3
- bhāvarau cf. bhavara
- bhāi f. [9338 *bhakti-*] 'kind': KM 33.4, 66.1, 4
- bhā(v)- vi. [9445 *bhāpayate*] 'be pleasing', cf. mana bhā-: -ata, KM 12.4; -ani, (f.), AS 11.3; -yo, AS 1.3
- bhāva m. [9475 *bhāva-*] 'feeling': KM 76.4
- bhāvani cf. bhā(v)-
- bhāri cf. bhāri
- bhāri adj. [9645 *bhārika-*] 'great, burdensome': AS 16.4, KM 28.2, 84.4, 108.3; bhāri, KM 23.3; bhārau par-, 'be burdensome', KM 109.3
- bhārau cf. bhāri
- bhāṣ- vt. [9478 *bhāṣate*] 'speak': -iyai, AS 2.2
- bhāṣā f. [9479 *bhāṣā-*] 'words' (?): KM 33.4
- bhāj- vi. [9502 \**bhiyajyate*] 'be soaked, drenched': -ana, KM 93.1; -e, KM 77.1; -ai, KM 92.1
- bhātara ppn. & adv. [9504 \**bhiyantara-*] 'in': AS 6.2, KM 46.1
- bhāna adj. [9500 \**bhiyagna-*] 'fragrant': KM 26.3
- bhāra f. [9490 \**bhī-*] 'crowd': KM 100.1
- bhujamūli m. (?) [S *bhujamūla*] 'armpit, shoulder': KM 57.4
- bhuvaṅgama m. [9256 *bhujaṅga-*] 'snake': KM 29.2
- bhuva<sup>1</sup> f. [9557 *bhūmi-*] 'earth': KM 42.2
- bhuva<sup>2</sup> cf. bhōha
- bhūtala m. [S] 'earth': KM 33.6
- bhūmi f. [9557 *bhūmi-*] 'earth, site': KM 89.3, 94.1
- bhūl- vi. & vt. [9538 \**bhull-*] 'forget, lose oneself, be deceived, go astray': -ī, KM 42.1, -ī, KM 21.3, 57.2; -e, AS 5.3; -āi, AS 16.1 (twice); -au, AS 16.1; -yau, AS 17.3; bhūlai bhūlai hū, 'even inadvertently', KM 10.1
- bhūṣana m. [9572 *bhūṣana-*] 'adornment, decoration': KM 64.3, 106.3
- bheda m. [9610 *bheda-*] 'difference, kind, mystery': KM 23.2, 55.4; -ni, KM 23.2
- bhōha f. [9688 \**bhrumu-*] 'eyebrow': KM 37.1; -ni, KM 39.3; bhohaī, KM 64.2; bhaūhaī mailī, 'frowning eyebrows' (?), KM 10.1; bhuva, KM 35.3
- bho- vi. [9648 *bhramati*] (?) 'be immersed, engrossed': -i, KM 47.2; -ila, KM 46.4; -ī, KM 13.2
- bhora f./m. [9634 \**bhorā-*] 'dawn': KM 109.1
- bhaūhaī cf. bhōha
- bhaur— (°i) adj. [9539 \**bhola-*] 'innocent': KM 33.2

- bhrama m. [9646 *bhrama*-] 'illusion':  
KM 34.2
- bhvai (?) m. [9571 \**bhūva*-] 'cotton:  
soft' (?): KM 7.2
- maṅgala m. [9706 *maṅgala*-] 'festive  
song': KM 5.4
- mañju adj. [9720 *mañju*-] 'lovely': KM  
100.2
- maṅḍala m. [9742 *maṅḍala*-] 'circular  
stage, dance-ground, disc': KM 33.1,  
52.2, 77.2
- mandara adj. & m. [9855 *mandra*-] 'low  
(sound)': KM 65.2
- mandira<sup>1</sup>, MS G reading (note 4 to KM  
65), cf. mandara
- mandira<sup>2</sup> m. [9852 *mandira*-] 'palace':  
KM 98.2
- maga m. [10071 *mārga*-] 'road, way':  
~ jo-, 'look out for, await', KM 15.1,  
46.3
- magara m. [9692 *makara*-] 'crocodile':  
AS 9.1
- mac- vi. [9710 \**macyate*] 'break out, be  
stirred up': -yau, KM 52.3
- majīṭha f. [9718 *mañjiṣṭhā*-] 'the  
madder plant and its dye': AS 7.3
- mata<sup>1</sup> adj. [9750 *matta*] 'intoxicated':  
KM 69.4
- mata<sup>2</sup> cf. mati<sup>2</sup>
- mati<sup>1</sup> f. [S] 'intelligence': KM 95.2
- mati<sup>2</sup> adv. [9981 *mā*] 'not (in  
prohibitions)': KM 78.1, 2, 92.1;  
mata, AS 4.2 (twice)
- mada m. [9773 *mada*-] 'intoxication,  
liquor': AS 13.3 (thrice), 17.3  
(thrice), KM 74.1
- madhura adj. [9793 *madhura*-] 'sweet':  
KM 99.3
- madhya cf. mē<sup>1</sup>
- madhyastha adj. & m. [S] 'standing in  
the middle, go-between': KM 82.3
- mana<sup>1</sup> m. [9822 *manas*-] 'mind, heart'  
(cf. tana mana dhana): AS 3.1, 9.2,  
11.3, 17.1, KM 3.4, 4.1, 9.1, 27.2,  
53.1, 57.2, 58.2, 63.2, 77.3, 85.4,  
91.3, 94.1, 102.4, 104.4, 105.2,  
110.2 (twice); ~ l(ā)g(ā)- 'fix the  
mind, set the heart on, the mind to be  
fixed', AS 12.1, KM 110.4; ~ baca  
krama, 'thought, word and deed',  
KM 4.2, 36.3, 59.2, 90.2; ~ bhā-, be  
pleasing to the mind', AS 1.3; ~  
mōhana, 'enchanter of the heart'  
(epithet of Kṛṣṇa): KM 49.3, 51.2,  
72.3
- mana<sup>2</sup> f./m. [9731 *maṇi*-] 'gem, jewel':  
-ni, KM 52.2
- manahū cf. mānō
- manā- vt. [9857 *manyate*] 'persuade,  
appease': -i, KM 69.3; -vata, KM  
80.2
- manuṣya m. [S] 'man': AS 9.1
- manuhārī f. [S *manohārin*] (?) 'sthg.  
intended to please': KM 28.4
- manō cf. mānō
- manoratha m. [S] 'desire': KM 57.2
- mar- vi. [9871 *marate*] 'die': -i, KM  
109.3
- maragaj— adj. [OHED: \**malatī*]  
'rumpled': -i, KM 20.3, 87.2; -e,  
KM 97.2
- marajīvā m. [OHED: Pk *marajīvaya*- , ×  
*majjati*: Brbh. *majj*-] 'diver': AS 9.3
- mardana m. [9891 *mardana*-] 'rubbing':  
KM 56.1
- malaye, MS G reading (note 9 to KM  
27), cf. mil-
- malāra m. [9912 *mallārī*-] 'name of a  
*rāga*': KM 89.4
- mavāsa m. [Snell: A *mavāsh* ?]  
'sheltering trees or grove': KM 8.3
- maṣatūli adj. [Entwistle: HSS: *mahārgha*  
+ *tūla*-] 'made of black silk': KM  
21.1
- mahala m. [A *maḥall*] 'palace, abode'  
(cf. kuñja-mahala): AS 10.4, KM  
44.2, 87.1
- mahimā f. [S *mahimā*] 'greatness': KM  
26.1
- māg- vt. [10074 *mārgati*] 'ask for': -aū,  
KM 36.1
- māc- vi. [9710 \**macyate*] 'be  
immersed': -ī, KM 95.4

- mān- vt. [9857 *manyate*] 'assent, accept, consider: value': -i, AS 4.1, KM 16.1, 44.1, 80.4; -ēgī, KM 49.3; -ō, KM 3.1
- māna m. [10040 *māna*-] 'sulking, show of haughty aloofness contrived in lover's pique': KM 10.1, 22.1, 39.1, 43.3, 59.1, 3; mānu, KM 90.1
- mānu cf. māna
- mānō cf. mānō
- māma, MS G reading (note 8 to KM 59), cf. māna
- māhi cf. mē<sup>1</sup>
- māi f. [10016 *mātr*-] 'mother' (a vocative used between the *sakhis*): KM 1.1, 4.1, 55.1
- māth— m. [9926 *masta*-] 'forehead, head': -āi, KM 22.3; -ai, (for māthe paṇā, 'be the responsibility of') (?), KM 109.4
- mānō conj. & adv. [Add<sup>2</sup> 9857 *manyate*] 'like, just as': KM 56.3, 71.1, 77.2, 85.2, 86.2, 3, 97.2, 110.2; manō, KM 103.2, 106.2; manahū, KM 31.3; mānō, KM 97.1
- māyā f. [10060 *māyā*-] 'illusion, wealth': AS 5.3, 17.3
- mār- vt. [10066 *mārayati*] 'strike' (cf. gāla mār-, dāna mār-): -ata, AS 18.3; -i, KM 68.2; -e, KM 64.1; -yau, KM 62.1
- māla cf. mālā
- mālatī f. [S] 'jasmine, blossom': KM 44.4
- mālā f. [10092 *mālā*-] 'garland, necklace' (cf. guñja-māla, bana-māla): KM 27.1; ~ dhārī, 'rosary-bearer': AS 16.1; māla, AS 12.2, KM 87.2
- mīthyā f. [10130 *mīthyā*-] 'falsehood': AS 2.2, 11.2
- mil- vi. [10133 *milati*] 'be united, meet, join, be in harmony, be mixed, agree' (cf. hila/°i mili): -ata, KM 32.1, 102.4, 106.4, 109.1; -ahu, KM 82.2; -i, (in some occurrences adv. 'together') KM 66.2, 71.4, 73.3, 75.3, 81.1, 83.3, 84.2, 89.4, 98.4, 99.2, 100.3, 101.2, 104.1, 2, 4; -itu, KM 97.4; -i, KM 12.3, 35.2; -e, KM 19.2, 69.4; -āi, KM 5.3, 29.4; -yau, KM 102.2; malaye, KM 27.4
- milā- vt. [10133 *milati*] 'unite': milai, KM 35.1
- misi m. [10298 *mṛṣā*-] 'pretext': KM 102.2
- mihari f. [Platts: S *mahilā* + -ikā] 'woman': AS 14.3
- mīca f. [10288 *mṛtyu*-] 'death': AS 4.4
- mīth— (°e) adj. [10299 *mṛṣṭa*-] 'sweet': KM 80.2 (rep.)
- mīta m. [10124 *mitra*-] 'friend': AS 15.4
- mīna f. [10140a *mīna*-] 'fish': AS 9.1
- mūhācuhī f. [10158 *mukha*- + 4898 \**cūṣati*] (?) 'at the sight of': AS 3.3
- muktā f./m. [10152 *muktā*-] 'pearl': KM 50.2
- mudita adj. [S] 'enchanted': KM 96.1
- muni m. [S] 'sage': AS 5.3
- muralī f. [10214 *muralī*-] 'flute': KM 18.2, 52.1, 56.1
- muṣa m. [10158 *mukha*-] 'face, mouth': AS 3.4, KM 9.2, 11.4, 12.3, 21.3, 33.2, 34.1, 56.3, 63.2, 3, 98.2, 102.1
- musakani f. [10227 \**muss*-] 'smile': KM 33.2
- mūd- vt. [10202 *mudrayati*] 'close': -i, KM 6.2; -e, KM 15.3
- mūk— (°ī) adj. [10231 \**mūka*-] 'silent': KM 10.2
- mūrati f. [10245 *mūrati*-] 'form': KM 53.2
- mṛgatṛṣṇā f. [S *mṛgatṛṣṇā*] 'mirage': AS 13.2
- mṛgī f. [10264 *mṛgī*-] 'doe': AS 12.3
- mṛdaṅga m. [10289 *mṛdaṅga*-] 'drum': KM 14.2, 33.3, 61.2, 67.1, 96.2
- mṛdaṅgī f. [10289 *mṛdaṅga*-] 'drummer': KM 94.1
- mṛdu adj. [10292 *mṛdu*-] 'soft': KM 85.1
- mē<sup>1</sup> ppn. [9804 *madhya*-] 'in, amidst': AS 10.4, 16.2, KM 2.3, 4, 13.1, 15.4, 56.1, 3, 68.4, 84.1, 91.2,

- 92.2, 100.2, 102.1, 103.2, 110.2;  
-hi, KM 82.3; madhya, KM 27.3,  
66.2, 82.2, 106.1; māhi, KM 99.2,  
3; maī, AS 13.3, KM 2.3, 6.1, 7.1,  
2, 36.1, 43.4, 80.1, 98.2, 101.4,  
110.2
- mē<sup>2</sup> cf. haū<sup>1</sup>
- mēna m. [9775 *madana*-] 'title of Kāma,  
the god of love': KM 80.3
- mēhi cf. mē<sup>1</sup>
- megha m. [10302 *megha*-] 'cloud':  
KM 14.2, 91.1, 95.1 (twice), 96.2;  
-ni, KM 89.2
- mer— pr. [9691 *ma*-] 'my, mine': -ī,  
KM 20.1, 25.2, 32.1, 53.2, 70.1,  
74.1, 101.2, 102.1; -e, KM 57.1;  
-aī, KM 22.3; -ai, KM 79.3; -o,  
KM 44.1; -au, KM 8.2, 22.2, 53.1,  
79.2, 3
- mera cf. meru
- meru m. [10331 *mela*-] 'union,  
multitude, meeting': KM 60.4, 64.4;  
mera, KM 85.2; mela, AS 13.4
- mel- vt. [10332 *melayati*] 'throw': -ata,  
KM 102.1; -aī, KM 100.4
- mela cf. meru
- maī cf. mē<sup>1</sup>
- mai cf. haū<sup>1</sup>
- mail— (°ī) adj. [9904 \**malin*-]  
'troubled, annoyed' (cf. bhaūhaī mailī):  
KM 10.1
- mōna adj. [10371 *mauna*-] 'silent':  
KM 51.4
- mōhana adj. & m. [10361 *mohana*-]  
'enchanted' (epithet of Kṛṣṇa), cf.  
mana-mōhana: KM 49.3, 51.2, 72.3,  
105.2, 110.3
- mo, mohi cf. haū<sup>1</sup>
- moja m. [A *mauj*] 'delight': KM 91.2
- moti cf. motī
- motī m. [10365 *mauktika*-] 'pearl':  
KM 27.1; -na, KM 20.1; moti, KM  
75.2
- mor- vt. [10186 *moṭati*] 'twist, turn  
over': -a, KM 20.3; -i, KM 105.3
- mora m. [9865 \**mora*-] 'peacock': KM  
14.2; -na, KM 96.1; -ni, KM 89.1;  
maura, KM 32.4; maurani, KM 82.1
- mola m. [10373 *maulya*-] 'price': KM  
27.2
- moh- vt. [10362 *mohayati*] 'beguile,  
charm': -e, AS 5.3; -ai, KM 63.2;  
-yau, KM 44.1
- maū, mau cf. haū<sup>1</sup>
- maura<sup>1</sup> cf. mora
- maura<sup>2</sup> m. [10146 *mukura*-] 'blossom':  
KM 98.1
- maura<sup>3</sup> m. [10144 *mukuta*-] 'tiara,  
crest' (cf. sira-maura): KM 65.1
- yajña m. [10397 *yajña*-] 'sacrifice': AS  
16.4
- yaha pr. & adj. [2530 *eṣa*-] '(s)he, this':  
KM 42.3, 44.2, 3, 54.1, 3, 4, 73.3,  
78.3, 79.2, 83.1, 91.1; ina, AS  
11.1, KM 24.3, 29.2, 3, 55.1  
(twice); ini, KM 62.1; e, KM 41.4,  
84.3; eha, KM 27.3; yahai, AS 13.4,  
14.4, KM 35.2; yāha, KM 24.3; yā,  
AS 3.1, KM 9.3, 10.4, 14.3, 20.4,  
54.4, 82.3; yāhī, KM 4.2, 24.1, 2;  
ye, KM 16.3, 42.4, 55.1 (twice);  
yeī, KM 56.3, 95.1 (twice)
- yahai, yāha, yā, yāhī cf. yaha
- yārani f. [Pers. *yār*] 'female friend':  
KM 64.3
- ye, yeī cf. yaha
- yekau cf. eka
- yō adv. [2528 *evam eva*] 'in this way,  
such': KM 37.2, 74.2, 80.3
- rañka m. [10538 *rañka*-] 'pauper': AS  
15.2
- rañg- vi. [10570 *rañgayati*] 'be  
coloured': -ī, KM 94.3; -e, KM  
93.3; rāgi, KM 107.4
- rañga m. [10560 and 10561 *rañga*-]  
'dye, hue, colour, joy, merriment,  
delight, enjoyment, passion,  
excitement, ecstasy, pleasure, essence,  
dance' (cf. rāgu rañga): AS 7.3, KM  
1.1, 2.3, 9.4, 16.4, 19.3, 21.1,  
26.3, 61.2, 72.1, 82.2, 93.3, 94.3,

- 97.3, 101.3, 4, 107.4; raṅgu, KM 2.3, 4, 84.4
- raṅgita adj. [10571 *raṅgita*-] ‘coloured’: KM 72.1
- raṅgu cf. raṅga
- rāgil—(ī) adj. [10571 \**raṅgita*-] ‘coloured’: KM 21.1
- ragamag—(°e) adj. [Entwistle: < *rag*- < *rakta*- + *maga* < *magna*-] ‘fervent, fervid’: KM 87.1 (rep.)
- rac- vt. [10574 \**racyate*] ‘make, prepare’: -ī, KM 46.2; -yau, KM 52.1
- raṭ- vt. [10590 \**raṭyati*-] ‘repeat’: -ata, KM 9.3
- rata adj. [S] ‘engrossed’: KM 69.2
- rati f. [10599 *rati*-] ‘sexual passion, love’: AS 16.2, KM 18.4, 27.3; ~ pati, epithet of Kāma, KM 33.7, 103.3; ~ bipariti, ‘inverted love-making’: KM 27.3
- rabāba m. [A *rabāb*] ‘stringed musical instrument’: KM 48.3
- rabi m. [10646 *ravi*-] ‘sun’: KM 29.3
- ram- vi. [10637 \**ramyati*] ‘be immersed, be spread’: -i, KM 19.3, 61.1
- rameta (?) adj. [S *ramita*] ‘delighted’: KM 39.4
- rasa m. [10650 *rasa*-] ‘essence, love, pleasure, liquor, sap, charm, desire, sentiment, joy’ (cf. apnai rasa, eka-rasa): AS 8.2, 18.1, KM 2.4, 16.3, 20.4, 26.4, 33.2, 6, 8, 46.4, 47.2, 3 (twice), 54.4, 63.4, 72.4, 74.3, 91.1, 107.3
- rasada adj. [S] ‘giving delight’: KM 94.3, 106.4
- rasana cf. rasanā
- rasanā f. [S] ‘tongue’: KM 33.8, 40.1; rasana, KM 106.3
- rasavat—(°i) adj. [10657 *rasavant*-] ‘charming’: KM 94.2
- rasika adj. & m. [S] ‘passionate, one who delights in *rasa*, lover, connoisseur’: KM 19.2, 29.4, 47.3, 70.3, 98.4, 105.1, 108.2
- rah- vi. [10666 \**rahatī*] ‘remain, continue, reside, stop’: aux. verb: -ata, AS 3.3, KM 4.3, 9.3, 10.1, 93.3; -ati, KM 108.3; -iyatu, AS 1.1; -ihai, KM 1.2; -ī, KM 42.2; -ī, KM 29.2, 68.2, 73.4; -e, KM 7.2, 11.4, 20.2, 24.4, 25.4, 57.4; -ai, KM 7.4, 35.2, 92.3; -ai, KM 9.2, 89.1; -o, KM 3.3, 83.2, 102.1 (rep.); -au, AS 3.4, KM 3.1, 6.2, 34.4; -au, KM 78.3, 83.3; -yau, AS 1.4, 13.2, KM 2.3, 4, 16.1, 19.3, 57.3, 61.1, 2, 3, 67.3, 97.4
- rahasi<sup>1</sup> m. [10669 *rahas*-] ‘solitude’: KM 36.1
- rahasi<sup>2</sup> adj. [10669 *rahasya*-] ‘secret’: KM 107.3
- rāci (?) [10584 *rajyate*] ‘love’: KM 95.3
- rādh- vt. [10616 *randhayati*] ‘prepare’ (cf. *ṣira*): -ī, KM 51.4
- rāv- (?) vi. [10637 \**ramyati*] ‘sport’: -atī, KM 104.4
- rāi m. [10679 *rājan*-] ‘king’: KM 65.1
- rāg- vi. & vt. [10674 *rāga*-] ‘be engrossed, sing’: -ata, KM 34.3; -ati, KM 85.2
- rāga m. [10673, 10674 *rāga*-] ‘musical mode, melody, love, desire’: KM 2.2, 12.2, 14.1, 32.3, 52.3, 65.2, 66.2, 67.1, 85.2, 89.4, 93.3, 101.3, 106.1, 107.3, 4; rāgu, KM 2.3, 61.1; rāgu raṅga, ‘fun and frolic’, KM 19.3
- rāginī f. [S *rāgiṇī*] ‘modification of the musical mode called *rāga*’: KM 2.2, 12.2, 65.2, 66.2, 101.3; -na, KM 107.3
- rāgu cf. rāga
- rāja m. [10694 *rājya*-] ‘ruler: power’: AS 13.3
- rāti f. [10702 *rātri*-] ‘night’: ~ birāti, ‘in the middle of the night’, KM 62.3; -ni, KM 62.2
- rāt—(°e) adj. [10539 *rakta*-] ‘red’: KM 70.2
- rādhā f. [10708 *rādhā*-] ‘Rādhā’: KM 25.1, 94.2, 105.1, 108.2; rādhe, KM 14.1, 17.1 (rep.), 22.1, 23.1, 25.1, 41.1, 56.1, 82.3, 96.4



- rādhikā f. [S] endearing form from prec.: KM 18.3, 94.3
- rān—(°aū) m. [10680 *rājana-*] ‘ruler’: KM 3.4
- rāṣ- vt. [10547 *rakṣati*] ‘keep, preserve, protect, restrain’: -ata, AS 1.1, KM 40.4; -i, KM 5.2, 35.4, 108.4; -ē, KM 81.4; -e, KM 108.3; -ō, KM 92.2; -aū, AS 1.3; -au, AS 3.2; -yau, KM 9.1, 98.1
- rāsa m. [10725 *rāsa-*] ‘circular dance performed by Kṛṣṇa and the *gopīs*’: KM 52.1, 94.1
- rījhā- vt. [2457 *ṛdhyati*] ‘delight’: -vata, KM 96.1
- ritu f. [S *ṛtu*] ‘season’: KM 89.1
- risa f. [10746 *riṣ-*] ‘anger’: KM 17.1
- rī cf. re
- rījh- vi. [2457 *ṛdhyati*] ‘be delighted, be enchanted, be pleased’: -i, KM 13.4, 42.2, 50.4, 96.4, 106.3 (rep.); -e, KM 63.2
- rījha f. [2457 *ṛdhyati*] ‘pleasure’: KM 85.3
- rīti f. [10751 *rīti-*] ‘way’: KM 78.4, 107.3
- ruci f. [10762 *ruci-*] ‘desire’: KM 2.1, 22.4, 36.3, 53.3, 60.3, 105.3
- rucira adj. [S] ‘beautiful’: KM 46.2
- ruṣa m. [Pers. *rukḥ*] ‘countenance, bishops (in chess)’: AS 3.3, KM 81.2
- rūṭh- vi. [10791 *ruṣṭa-*] ‘sulk’: -e, KM 79.1
- rūpa m. [10803 *rūpa-*] ‘beauty’: AS 18.1, KM 54.3, 63.1, 72.2, 98.2
- rūs- vi. [10794 *ruṣyati*] ‘sulk’: -anē, KM 80.2; -ane, KM 90.2
- rēg- vi. [10739 *riṅgati*] ‘crawl’: -ani, (f.) KM 89.3
- rēgani cf. rēg-
- rēni f. [10579 *rajanī-*] ‘night’: KM 86.2
- re interj. (m.) [10808 *re*]: AS 4.2, 10.1, 17.1; rī (f.): KM 4.1, 5.4, 7.3, 9.3, 10.1, 11.3, 14.1, 16.1, 17.1, 22.2, 26.2, 28.3, 30.3, 33.8, 34.2, 3, 35.3, 37.3, 40.2, 4, 41.4, 43.3, 44.1, 46.1, 2, 3, 4, 49.4, 50.1, 58.1, 2, 3, 4, 64.1, 4, 68.1, 2, 70.2, 71.1, 72.3, 76.3, 77.1, 78.1, 2, 3, 80.1, 82.4, 83.2, 3, 88.1, 2, 92.1, 2, 4, 93.1, 100.1, 108.4
- reṣa f. [10810 *rekḥā-*] ‘line: limit, perfection’: KM 23.3, 65.3; reṣi, KM 42.3
- reṣi cf. reṣa
- rō cf. rōma
- rōma m. [10851 *roman-*] ‘hair’ (on body), repeated with the meaning ‘in every pore’: KM 40.1; rō rō, KM 32.3
- raurī f. [10641 *rava-*] ‘clamour’: KM 33.2
- la- cf. lyā-
- lag- cf. lāg-
- lagā- vt. [10895 *lagyati*] ‘apply, hold’ (cf. *kaṅṭha lagā-*, *garai/°ē lagā-*, *chāti sō chāti lagā-*, *mana lagā-*): -ī, KM 39.4, 47.4; -ya, AS 12.1; -ye, KM 56.4; -vata, KM 96.4
- laj- cf. lāj-
- laṭapaṭ— adj. [OHED: conn. \**laṭṭa*<sup>2</sup>-] ‘loosely tied (with regard to a turban), tangled’: -ī, KM 38.2; -e, KM 86.3
- laṭapaṭā- vi. [OHED: \**laṭṭa*<sup>2</sup>-] ‘shake’: -ī, KM 57.4; -ta, KM 21.4
- laḍā- vt. [10920 \**laḍ-*] {direct the movements} (cf. *lāḍa laḍā-*): -va, KM 44.3
- latā f. [10928 *latā-*] ‘creeper’: KM 19.4
- lapaṭā- vt. [11061 *lipyate*] ‘cling, entwine, enfold, stick’: -i, KM 25.4, 80.4, 92.3; -ni, KM 55.4; -nē, KM 49.4; -naū, KM 97.1
- lar- vt. [10920 \**laḍ-*] ‘strike, fight’: -ata, KM 71.4, 86.3; -ō, KM 59.4
- lara f. [10921 \**laḍa-*] ‘string, necklace’: KM 20.1, 75.2, 85.1; lari, KM 73.3
- lari cf. lara
- lalan—(°ā) f. [10969 *lalana-*] ‘attractive woman’: KM 88.1
- lalita adj. [S] ‘beautiful’: KM 18.1

- laliṭā f. [S] Lalitā (the foremost of Rādhā's companions, whose *avatāra* Svāmī Haridās is believed to be): KM 33.4, 94.2
- las- vi. [10993 *lasati*] 'shine': -āta, KM 98.2; -ata, KM 110.2
- lasa (?) f. [10993 *lasati*] 'radiance': KM 91.2
- lah- vt. [10948 *labhate*] 'experience': -yau, KM 61.4
- lahāgā m. [10901 \**laṅga-*] 'voluminous skirt': KM 49.2
- lahā m. [11018 *lābha-*] 'benefit': KM 35.2
- lāg- vi. [10895 *lagyati*] 'close, be found, be engrossed, hit, strike, seem, look, feel, come close, fall, succeed, begin' (cf. *garaī lāg-*, *ghāṭa lag-*, *ḍṛṣṭi lāg-*, *palava lāg-*, *pāhi/paiyā lāg-* (s.v. *pāya*), *mana lāg-*): -ata, AS 4.3, KM 6.4, 26.2, 34.1, 55.3, 103.4; -ati, KM 85.1, 3, 92.1; -atu, KM 80.1; -i, KM 83.4, 92.3; -ī, KM 83.3; -ī, KM 71.2; -e, KM 2.1, 2, 37.1, 93.1; -ai, AS 7.1, 18.1; -ō, KM 102.2; -aū, KM 6.3; -au, KM 20.1; *lagai*, AS 17.4
- lāga f. [MW: *lāga-* (*nṛtta*)] (?) 'kind of dance': KM 2.2, 67.3; -ni, KM 65.4
- lāj- vi. [10909 *lajjate*] 'be ashamed': -ai, KM 43.2; *laji*, KM 22.4
- lāḍa m. [11013 \**lāḍya-*] 'fondling, affection': ~ *laḍā-* 'caress', KM 44.3
- lāḍil— adj. & m./f. [11013 \**lāḍya-*] 'darling': -ī, KM 44.3, 45.1, 60.1; -au, KM 45.1
- lād- vt. [10966 *lardayati*] 'load': -i, AS 17.2
- lādḥ- vt. [10946 *labdha-*] 'obtain': -e, KM 41.4
- lāla<sup>1</sup> m. [11030 *lālya-*] 'beloved, darling infant' (referring to Kṛṣṇa): KM 6.2, 15.1, 21.4, 38.4, 44.1, 52.4, 68.1, 74.1, 88.1
- lāla<sup>2</sup> m. [Pers. *la'l*] 'ruby': -hi, KM 73.3
- lāla<sup>3</sup> adj. [Pers. *lāl*] 'red': KM 28.1, 73.2
- lāv- vt. [10895 *lagyati*] 'attach': -ani, (f.), AS 11.1
- lāvani cf. lāv-
- lāvanya m. [11034 *lāvanya-*] 'loveliness': AS 3.3, KM 98.3
- lāsa m. [11039 *lāsa-*] 'MW: dance (esp. accompanied with instrumental music and singing), a dance representing the emotions of love dramatically (this was at one time a principal part of the drama). The term *lāsya* is also applied to the Nāch [sic] dance of the Indian dancing girls, consisting chiefly of gesticulations with a shuffling movement of the feet forwards and backwards as invented by Pārvatī and opposed to the boisterous masculine dance called *tāṇḍava* practised by Śiva and his followers': KM 60.3
- lāhī adj. [11802 *lākṣa-*] 'dark red': KM 21.3
- liṣ- vt. [11048 *likhati*] 'write': -i, KM 36.1, 2, 3, 4
- le- vt. [10948 *labhate*] 'take, adopt, obtain' (cf. *balāi le-*); aux. verb: -ta, KM 32.2, 65.4, 67.3, 4; -hū, KM 73.3; *liyē*, AS 3.3, KM 39.2, 57.3, 85.2, 103.3; *liyo*, KM 65.3; *līna*, KM 26.4; *līnē*, KM 63.4; *lēva*, KM 80.3; *lēhi*, KM 82.2; *leigau*, AS 17.2; *lai*, KM 69.3; *lai*, AS 8.2, KM 9.1, 35.4, 53.2, 56.3, 83.4, 98.1; *laiū*, KM 12.1; *līu*, KM 74.3; *lyāū*, KM 35.1
- lekhanī f. [11103 *lekhanī-*] 'pen': KM 34.2
- leṣ- vt. [11108 *lekhyā-*] 'look at': -i, KM 42.2 (rep.)
- leṣana, MS G reading (note 5 to KM 34), cf. *lekhanī*
- lō cf. *laū*
- loka m. [11119 *loka-*] 'world': AS 8.3
- loga m. [11119 *loka-*] 'people': AS 16.1; -ni, AS 11.1
- lobha m. [11147 *lobha-*] 'avarice, greed': AS 9.3, 17.4
- lobhī m. [11150 *lobhin-*] 'avaricious': AS 9.3

- laū<sup>1</sup> ppn. [Add<sup>2</sup> 10893 *lagna-*] ‘to, until: AS 15.2, 17.1 (twice), KM 83.3
- laū<sup>2</sup> f. [10962 *laya-*] ‘desire’: KM 78.4
- lyā- vt. [11004 *lāgayati*] ‘bring (forward)’: -e, KM 73.2; -vati, KM 66.4; lai, KM 30.2
- vaha pr. [972 *asau*] ‘(s)he, that’: KM 73.3; una, KM 13.2 (twice), 84.3 (twice), 104.1; ve, KM 13.2 (twice), 84.3 (twice); be, KM 27.4 (?); svai, KM 7.3
- vār- vt. [11554 *vārayate*] ‘offer, sacrifice (oneself)’: -ata, KM 75.2; -i, KM 86.4; -ō, KM 44.4
- ve cf. vaha
- vela cf. belī
- vaisa cf. baisa
- vaisaī adv. [5760 *tādṛśa-*] ‘in that manner’: KM 1.4
- vyāpu ptc. (?) [for S *vyāpta*] ‘spread’: KM 59.3
- śivaloka m. [S] ‘paradise, Śiva’s heaven’: AS 8.3
- śradhā f. [12678 *śraddhā-*] ‘faith’: AS 16.4
- śrama m. [12682 *śrama-*] ‘turmoil, exertion’: KM 11.3, 19.2, 55.2; ~ jala kana, ‘drops of sweat’, KM 27.1, 58.1; śramu, KM 55.2
- śramita adj. [S *śramita*] ‘worn out, weary’: KM 40.3 (twice), 51.2
- śramu cf. śrama
- śrī hon. part. [12708 *śrī-*]: AS 2.4, 3.4, 12.4, KM 33.5, 7, 41.2, 60.2, 108.1 and part of the *chāpa* in the last line of each poem of KM except for: KM 9, 10, 19, 25, 65, 99
- śruti f. [S] ‘note’: KM 32.3, 52.3
- ṣaṃ, MS G reading (note 3 to AS 9), cf. ṣanda
- ṣañjarīta m. [S *khañjarīta*] ‘wagtail’: KM 86.3
- ṣanda m. [3792 *khaṇḍa-*] ‘piece’: ~ ṣandasi, ‘break into pieces’ (?), AS 9.3
- ṣac- vi. [3766 \**khacyate*] ‘be studded’: -yau, KM 52.2
- ṣacita adj. [S *khacita*] ‘studded’: KM 73.3
- ṣatā- vi. [OHED: conn. *khaṭṭayati*] {maintain} (cf. kasa ṣatā-): -ta, KM 24.3
- ṣamak- vi. [cf. 4997 \**chamma-*] ‘jingle’: -i, KM 21.3
- ṣavā- vt. [3865 *khādayati*] ‘feed’: -vata, KM 32.2, 53.2
- ṣā- vt. [3865 *khādati*]: ‘eat’ (cf. ṣīra): -ī, KM 51.5
- ṣis- vi. [3856 \**khasati*] ‘slip, come out (from its place)’: -i, KM 97.3
- ṣīra f. [3696 *kṣīra-*] {rice-milk}: dūbare kī rādhi ~ ṣā-, idiom of uncertain meaning, KM 51.4
- ṣubhī f. [13657 \**skubhyate*] ‘ear-stud’: KM 56.2, 75.4
- ṣel- vi. [3918 \**khel-*] ‘play, sport’ (cf. phāgu ṣel-): -a, KM 48.2 (?); -ata, KM 32.1, 61.4, 81.1, 4, 102.3, 4, 104.2, 105.1; -ana, KM 2.1, 83.3; -aī, KM 100.1, 101.1
- ṣela m. [3918 \**khel-*] ‘game, play, sport’: AS 13.1, KM 82.4; ṣelu, KM 61.3, 4
- ṣelu cf. ṣela
- ṣorī f. [OHED: \**khora-2* or *khola-2*] ‘sheltered place’ (?): KM 19.3, 105.4
- ṣol- vt. [3945 \**kholl-*] ‘open’: -ī, KM 97.3
- saṅketa m. [S] ‘hint’: KM 58.3
- saṅga m. & adv. & ppn. [13082 *saṅga-*] ‘company, together, with’ (cf. eka saṅga): KM 4.2, 3, 21.4, 25.2, 60.2, 85.2 (twice), 91.1, 96.1, 100.3
- saṅgati f. [S] ‘company’: AS 7.2
- saṅgī m. [13084 *saṅgin-*] ‘companion’: KM 94.4
- saṅgīta m. [12849 *saṅgīta-*] ‘music’: KM 2.2, 87.3, 94.4

- saṅgraha m. [12852 *saṅgraha-*] 'collection': KM 66.1
- sañc- vt. [12867 \**sañcayayati*] 'accumulate': -e, AS 10.3
- sandhi f. [12913 *saṁdhi-*] 'juncture': KM 7.2
- samputa m. [12941 *saṁputa-*] 'cavity': KM 7.2
- sambhrama m. [S] 'confusion': KM 21.3
- sāvār- vt. [13021 *saṁvārayati*] 'arrange, decorate, make': *bāraṇi/kesa sāvārata*, 'do the hair', KM 70.3, 103.2; -ī, KM 46.2, 63.1
- saṁsāra m. [13036 *saṁsara-*] 'worldly existence': AS 7.3, 9.1
- sabār- vt. [12961 *saṁbhārayati*] 'sustain': -ana, (m.), AS 5.1
- sabārana cf. sabār-
- sakala adj. [13066 *sakala-*] 'all, whole': KM 30.4, 33.2, 69.4
- saghana adj. [13079 *saghana-*] 'dense': KM 110.1
- saca cf. sacu
- sacu m. [Snell: 13112 *satya-?*] 'bliss, joy, happiness': KM 66.2, 82.2, 90.1; *saca*, KM 47.3, 78.3, 101.2
- saj- vt. [13091 *sajjayati*] 'set in place': -i, KM 22.2
- sajyā f. [12609 \**śayyā-*] 'bed': KM 46.2
- satarāñja f. [Pers. *šatranj*] 'chess': KM 81.1
- sadake interj. [A *śadqa*] 'my life is yours': KM 80.3
- sadā adv. [S] 'always': KM 89.1
- san- vi. [OHED: *saṁdadhāti*, and *saṁmayati*] 'be incorporated: come': -aī, KM 79.3
- sapta num. [13139 *sapta-*] 'seven': KM 33.4
- saba adj. & pr. [13276 *sarva-*] 'all, whole': AS 2.1, 3, 3.3, 7.1, 2, 13.1, 17.1, KM 13.3, 24.3, 42.1, 43.3, 63.3, 72.3, 74.3, 75.3, 83.2, 3, 84.2, 86.1, 87.3, 98.3, 105.1, 4; ~ koū, 'everyone', AS 15.4; ~ hī, KM 24.3; *sabai*, KM 80.4
- sama adj. [13173 *sama-*] 'equal': KM 1.4
- samajhā- vt. [12959 *saṁbudhyate*] 'explain': -ī, KM 51.2
- samayo cf. samē
- samā- vt. [12975 *saṁmāti*] 'bring together': -ya, KM 35.1
- samādhi f. [S] 'meditation': AS 6.2, KM 15.2
- samudra m. [13236 *samudra-*] 'ocean': AS 9.1, 18.1, KM 2.3, 95.3
- samē m. [13185 *samaya-*] 'time, occasion' (cf. *eka samē*): KM 13.1, 84.1; *samayo*, KM 18.4
- sameta ppn. [S] 'with': KM 39.2, 67.1
- sar- vi. [13520 *sarati*] 'proceed': -i, KM 38.2
- sara m. [12324 *śara-*] 'arrow': AS 10.1, 18.3, KM 68.2
- sarak- vi. [13520 *sarati*] 'move': -ani, (f.), KM 20.4
- sarakani cf. sarak-
- sarasa adj. [13255 *sarasa-*] 'full of feeling, mellow': KM 60.4, 99.3
- sarūpa m. [S *svarūpa*] 'proper form': KM 23.3
- sarvadā adv. [S] 'always': KM 89.1
- sarvopara adj. & adv. [S *sarvopari*] 'above all': KM 18.3
- salōn—(°ī) adj. [13286 *salavaṇa-*] 'beautiful': KM 63.2
- saṣā m. [13074 *sakhā-*] 'friend, companion': KM 62.2, 79.1
- saṣiyana cf. saṣī
- saṣī f. [13074 *sakhī-*] 'woman's confidante': KM 30.3, 40.2, 42.1, 43.3, 63.3, 69.3, 83.3, 87.3, 100.3, 101.2, 103.3, 104.1, 3; *saṣiyana*, KM 105.4
- sasi m. [12363 *śaśin-*] 'moon': KM 29.3, 33.5, 40.3, 77.2
- sah- vt. [13304 *sahate*] 'endure': -ā, KM 35.3

- saha ppn./pref. [13297 *saha*-] ‘with’: KM 81.4
- sahaja adj. [13302 *sahaja*-] ‘born together: united, natural’: KM 1.1, 26.3, 81.1
- sahita ppn. [13310 *sahita*-] ‘with’: KM 107.2
- sahimāta (?) f. [Pers. *śah* + *māt*] ‘check-mate’: KM 109.2
- sāc—(°ī) adj. [13112 *satya*-] ‘true, real’: AS 14.1, KM 6.3, 95.1
- sāti f. [12391 *sānti*] ‘peace’: KM 78.4
- sādh- vt. [13339 *sādhnoti*] ‘aim’: -e, AS 10.1
- sāvarau adj. [12665 *śyāmala*-] ‘dark’: KM 44.1
- sāgara m. [13325 *sāgara*-] ‘ocean’: AS 14.2
- sāj- vi. [13093 *sajjyate*] ‘adorn’: -i, KM 26.3
- sāja m. [Pers. *sāz*] ‘weaponry’: KM 35.3
- sāḍhe adj. [13369 *sārdha*-] {plus a half}: ~ gyāraha, ‘golden coin which circulated during Akbar’s time’ (?): KM 26.3
- sādā adj. [Pers. *sāda*] ‘unadorned, plain’: KM 20.1, 75.4
- sādh- vt. [13339 *sādhnoti*] ‘show deep devotion’: -e, KM 17.2 (rep.), 41.3 (rep.)
- sādha m. [13337 *sādhu*-] ‘righteous person’: AS 7.2
- sār- vt. [13358 *sārayati*] ‘achieve’: -a, KM 67.3
- sāraṅga m. [12401 *sāraṅga*-] ‘lion’: KM 106.3
- sārī<sup>1</sup> adj. & m. [S *sārin*] ‘follower’: KM 84.3
- sārī<sup>2</sup> f. [12381 *śāṭa*-] ‘sārī’: KM 20.3, 21.3, 56.2
- sāṣi m. [13321 *sākṣin*-] ‘witness’: KM 36.2
- sāha m. [Pers. *śāh*] ‘king’ (in chess): KM 81.4
- siṅgāra m. [12592 *śṛṅgāra*-] ‘adornment, decoration, ornament’: KM 13.1, 56.2, 103.3
- sita adj. [13397a *sita*-] ‘white’: KM 29.2
- sithala adj. [S *sithila*] ‘loose’: KM 87.2
- sidhār- vi. [13407 *siddha*-] ‘go’: -ata, KM 5.1
- sira m. [12452 *śiras*-] ‘head’: AS 12.4; ~ ūpara, ‘on the head: burdening or besetting (one: as a misfortune or responsibility)’, KM 8.2; ~ maura, ‘paragon’: KM 65.1
- sirōmani m. [S *śiromaṇi*] ‘paragon’: KM 72.3
- silasilau adj. [A *silsila*] ‘shiny’: KM 49.2
- siṣa m. [12436 *śikhā*-] {top-knot} (cf. naṣa-siṣa): KM 77.3
- siñca f. [13394 *siñcati*] ‘watering’: KM 55.3
- sī cf. sau
- sundara adj. & m. [13474 *sundara*-] ‘beautiful (one)’: -a, KM 104.2; MS G reading (note 4 to KM 104), cf. sundari
- sundaratā cf. sundaryatā
- sundari adj. & f. [S *sundari*] ‘beautiful one’: KM 103.1, 104.2
- sundaryatā f. [S *sundaratā*] ‘beauty’: KM 42.3, 57.2; sundaratā, KM 1.3
- su cf. so<sup>1</sup>
- sukānti f. [S *su*- + 3033 *kānti*-] ‘lustre’: KM 94.1
- sukūvāra adj. [13448 *sukumāra*-] ‘delicate’: KM 19.2
- sughara adj. [13460 *sughaṭa*-] ‘skilful, beautiful’: KM 23.3, 24.1, 2, 85.3
- sugarāi f. [13460 *sughaṭa*-] ‘elegance, skill’: KM 1.3, 87.3
- suta m. [S] ‘son, child’ (cf. gau-suta): -na, AS 12.3 (twice)
- sutā f. [S] ‘friend’: KM 76.1
- sudāha f. [*su*- + 6321 *dāha*-] ‘heating: purifying (gold)’: KM 31.3

- sudesa adj. [S *sudeśa*] ‘beautiful’: KM 77.1, 2, 3, 4
- suddha adj. [12520 *śuddha-*] ‘pure’: KM 23.3
- sudhaṅga m. [(?)] ‘type of dance’: KM 33.2
- sudhi f. [12523 *śuddhi-*] ‘awareness’: KM 105.2
- sun- vt. [12598 *śṛṇoti*] ‘hear, listen’: -i, AS 14.4, KM 9.4, 10.4, 19.4, 25.1 (rep.), 30.3, 52.1, 99.4; -iyata, KM 17.3, 99.3; -iyē, KM 45.1; -ī, KM 54.3, 95.3; -īya, KM 31.2; -yaū, KM 91.1
- sunava adj. [S] ‘fine new’: KM 94.1
- sunī, MS G reading (note 6 to AS 5), cf. muni
- supan—(°ē) m. [13904 *svapna-*] ‘sleep’: AS 14.4
- suphala adj. [S] ‘fruitful’: KM 3.1
- subasa (?) adj. [S *svavaśa*] ‘unconstrained’: KM 44.2
- subāsa f. [S *suvāsa*] ‘fragrance’: KM 69.4
- subhāva m. [S *svabhāva*] ‘disposition, nature’: KM 5.2, 9.2, 76.1
- sumāra f. [S *su-* + 10066 *mārayati*] ‘striking’: KM 37.1
- sumera m. [S *sumeru*] ‘mount Sumeru’: AS 6.4
- sura<sup>1</sup> m. [S] ‘god’: KM 75.2
- sura<sup>2</sup> m. [13498 *sura-*] ‘sound, note, tune’: KM 14.1, 23.3, 32.4, 65.2, 67.2, 3, 96.2
- surajñāna m. [13465 *sujñānin-*] ‘knowledgable’: KM 43.3, 72.3
- surati f. [S] ‘lovers’ pleasure, love-making’: KM 14.3, 21.4, 97.3, 106.4
- surāhi f. [Pers. *surāhi*] ‘jar’: KM 74.2
- sulapa (?) m. [(?)] ‘a dance term’: KM 66.2
- suṣa m. [13451 *sukha-*] ‘happiness, bliss, joy’: AS 2.3, 3.1, 3, KM 6.4, 28.2, 3, 32.1, 2, 3, 4, 44.2, 77.3, 80.1, 87.3, 91.3, 102.3, 4, 109.4; ~ caīna, ‘comfort’, KM 80.4
- suṣada adj. [S *sukhada*] ‘happiness-giving’: KM 106.2
- suṣav- vt. [12552 \**śuṣkatī*] ‘dry’: -ata, KM 103.1
- suhabati f. [Pers.] ‘company’: KM 74.4
- suhāvan—(°ī) adj. [OHED: *śubhāna-*, and *śubhāyate*] ‘beautiful’: KM 92.1
- sūnarī f. [S *sundarī-*] ‘beautiful woman’: KM 72.4
- sūdho adj. [12520 *śuddha-*] ‘straight’: AS 18.3
- sūlahu (?) f. [(?)] ‘union’: KM 48.2
- sēgha, MS G reading (note 3 to KM 43), cf. seja
- sēna m. [12323 *śayana-*] ‘rest’: KM 80.1
- se cf. sau
- seja (?) f. [12609 \**śayyā-*] ‘comparison’: KM 43.2
- seta adj. [12774 *śveta-*] ‘white’: KM 70.2
- sevā f. [13595 *sevā-*] ‘service’: KM 53.3
- sō<sup>1</sup> ppn. [13173 *sama-*] ‘by, with, in, from, to’: AS 2.3 (rep.), 7.1, 2, 12.1, 2 (twice), 3 (twice), 16.2, KM 5.3, 6.2, 19.4, 22.4 (twice), 35.1, 2, 37.4, 43.1, 58.3, 64.4, 66.2, 67.1, 68.3, 72.4, 77.2, 99.4, 101.1, 2, 3, 104.1, 2, 4, 105.3 (twice); saū, KM 10.4, 15.3, 35.1, 2, 42.3, 70.3, 87.4, 95.1
- sō<sup>2</sup> f. [12290 *śapatha-*] ‘oath, vow’: KM 25.1, 2, 3, 101.1, 2, 4; saū, KM 70.1, 2
- sō<sup>3</sup> cf. so<sup>1</sup>
- sōh- cf. soh-
- sōhanī f. [12629 *śodhanī-*] ‘broom’: AS 12.1
- so- vi. [13902 *svapati*] ‘sleep, lie down’: -i, KM 47.1; -ila, KM 46.2; -ye, KM 86.2
- so<sup>1</sup> pr. & adv. & conj. [12815 *sa*; 5612 *tā*] ‘it, (s)he, this; thus, therefore; then’: AS 1.3, KM 8.2, 23.1; su, AS 1.2, 2.2, 6.4, KM 102.3; sō,

KM 25.4 (?); soī, KM 43.1, 2, 44.1; soū, AS 16.3; tā, AS 2.3, 3.3, KM 7.1, 22.4 (?), 26.2, 3, 58.2, 68.3, 76.4, 91.2, 95.3; tātē, 'therefore, because of this', KM 47.3; tina, KM 69.4, 75.2, 95.2 (rep.), 98.4; tihi, KM 100.3; te, AS 16.3, KM 23.3, 24.2 (rep.), 90.2, 95.1; teī, AS 9.4

so<sup>2</sup> cf. sau

soc- vt. [12621 *socyate*] 'think': -a, KM 72.2

son— (°ē) m. [13519 *suvarṇa-*] 'gold': KM 21.1

sobhā f. [12638 *sobhā-*] 'lustre, beauty, splendour': KM 21.2, 29.4, 32.2, 41.2, 58.1, 85.1, 86.3, 103.2, 110.2

soh- vi. [12636 *sobhate*] 'gleam, shine, enhance the beauty': -ata, KM 21.2; -ai, KM 50.3; sōhaī, KM 63.1

saū<sup>1</sup> cf. sō<sup>1</sup>

saū<sup>2</sup> cf. sō<sup>2</sup>

saūdh- vi. [13454 *sugandha-*] 'be fragrant': -ē, KM 103.1

sau adj. & adj. encl. [13173 *sama-*] 'like, -like': AS 13.4, KM 82.4; sī, KM 21.2, 39.2, 49.2, 70.1, 96.3; se, KM 5.3, 21.1; so, AS 5.1 (twice)

sneha m. [13802 *sneha-*] 'love': AS 9.2

syāma/syāma adj. & m. [12664 *śyāma-*] 'dark, dark-blue' (epithet of Kṛṣṇa): AS 16.3, KM 1.1, 5.4, 7.4, 10.2, 16.3, 17.4, 19.4, 22.4, 24.4, 26.4, 31.4, 34.4, 35.4, 38.4, 40.4, 41.4, 45.4, 46.4, 49.4, 51.4, 56.1, 2, 3, 4, 59.4, 64.2, 66.4, 69.2, 72.1, 76.4, 78.4, 87.1, 88.2, 90.4, 92.4, 96.1, 3, 104.4, 108.4; -hi, KM 82.1

syāmatā f. [S *śyāmatā*] 'darkness': KM 29.2

syāmā/syāmā f. [S *śyāmā*] '(consort of) dark one' (epithet of Rādhā): AS 2.4, 3.4, 12.4, KM 60.2, 87.1; -hi, KM 96.1, and as part of the *chāpa* in the final line of each poem of KM except for: KM 5, 7, 9, 10, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 31, 34, 35, 38, 40, 41, 45, 46, 49, 51, 59, 62, 65,

66, 76, 78, 82, 90, 92, 98, 99, 102, 104, 106, 108, 109

srav- vi. [13880 *srvatī*] 'trickle' -ata, KM 9.2

svāmī cf. svāmī

svāmī m. [13930 *svāmin-*] 'sovereign': AS 2.4, 3.4, and as part of the *chāpa* in the last line of each poem of the KM apart from: KM 9, 10, 19, 21, 25, 65, 99, 106; svāmī, AS 12.4

svai cf. vaha

hās- vi. [14021 *hasati*] 'laugh, smile': -ata, KM 32.1; -ati, KM 108.3; -i, KM 96.4; -ikai, KM 105.2; -e, KM 56.3; hasāta, KM 98.4

ha, MS G reading (note 8 to KM 27), cf. hū<sup>2</sup>

haṭha m. [13942 \**haṭ-*] 'sulks': KM 51.3

hathiyāra m. [14027 \**hastakāra-*] 'weapon': KM 37.3

hama pr. [986 *asmad-*] 'I, me': AS 5.4, KM 79.1; hamē, KM 26.2, 76.3

hamārī cf. hamār—

hamār— pr. [988 *asmāka-*] 'our, mine': -ī, KM 95.1; -e, KM 8.2, 82.3; -au, KM 62.1; hamārī, KM 95.2

hamē cf. hama

har<sup>1</sup>- vt. [13980 *harati*] 'captivate, lose': -ata, KM 105.2; -ana, KM 4.1; -i, KM 58.2; -ive, KM 77.3

har<sup>2</sup> cf. hār-

hari m. [S] Hari (name of Kṛṣṇa): AS 1.1, 4.1 (twice), 5.1, 7.3, 10.1, 11.2, 13.1, 14.1, 17.1, KM 14.1, 20.2, 38.1, 52.1, 62.3, 73.1, 97.1

haridāsa m. [S] 'servant of Hari' (proper name - Svāmī Haridās): as part of the *chāpa* in the last line of each poem of the AS and the KM apart from: KM 21, 25; haridāsī, KM 21.4, 25.2

haridāsī cf. haridāsa

har— (°ī) adj. [13985 *harita-*] 'green': KM 89.3 (rep.)

harē adv. [10896 *laghu*] ‘slowly’: KM 20.4 (rep.)

halā-bhalā m. [14001 \**hala-*] ‘gain’: AS 17.2

hasāta cf. hās-

hasī m. [14039 *hastin-*] ‘elephant’: AS 10.3

hahā (?) m. [14049 *hā-*] ‘entreaty’: KM 108.4

hā interj. [1235 *ām*] ‘yes’: ~ hū kar- ‘say yes’, KM 92.4; ~ gata, ‘moving fast’ (?), KM 107.2

hāṭa f. [13944 *haṭṭa-*] ‘market’: AS 18.3

hātha m. [14024 *hasta-*] ‘hand, arm’: AS 12.2, KM 22.3, 61.2; -ni, KM 20.2; hāthi, KM 66.2

hāthāpāi f. [14024 *hasta-* + 8056 *pāda-*] ‘fighting’: KM 55.2

hāthi cf. hātha

hār- vi. & vt. [14061 *hārayati*] ‘be defeated, become tired, lose’: -i, KM 23.4, 66.3; -ini, (f.) AS 2.2; -ī, KM 9.4; -e, AS 5.4; -ai, AS 5.2; hari, KM 74.4 (?)

hārini cf. hār-

hāru m. [14059 *hāra-*] ‘necklace’: KM 97.4

hāsa m. [14068 *hāsa-*] ‘mirth’: KM 33.6

hiṇḍor—(°e) m. [14094 \**hiṇḍola-*] ‘swing’: KM 88.1

hita m. [S] ‘love’: AS 2.3, 7.3, KM 69.3, 78.2; hitu, AS 2.3, 7.1 (thrice), 2, 3, 4

hitu<sup>1</sup> cf. hita

hitu<sup>2</sup> cf. hitū

hitū m. [Mathur: *hitakah*] ‘well-wisher, benefactor’: KM 79.2; hitu, KM 5.2

hiyā m. [14152 *hṛdaya-*] ‘heart’: KM 9.3, 11.3, 28.3

hil- vi. [14116 \**hilati*] ‘become accustomed to’, used with *mil-* to mean ‘united with’: -a mili, KM 16.4; -i mili, KM 18.4

hilag- vi. [528 \**abhilagyati*] ‘be attached’: -i, KM 35.2

hī cf. hī

hī emph. enc. [OHED: *hi+vai, eva*] ‘precisely, particularly, just, merely’: KM 2.3, 4, 24.3, 37.2, 41.3, 54.1, 4, 59.3, 64.3, 70.4, 93.3, 101.4, 107.4; hī, KM 3.1, 5.1, 26.3, 47.3, 54.1 (twice), 56.1, 58.2, 64.3 (twice), 69.4, 83.2 (twice)

hīra m. [14130 *hīra-*] ‘diamond’: -ni, KM 50.2, 73.3

hīrā m. [14130 *hīraka-*] ‘diamond’: AS 10.3

hu cf. hū<sup>1</sup>

hutī, hute, huvā cf. ho-

hū<sup>1</sup> emph. enc. [3846 *khalu*] ‘too, also, even’ (cf. *kyaū hū/ū*): KM 1.2 (thrice), 10.1, 40.3, 51.2, 54.3 (twice), 59.2, 64.1; hu, KM 27.4 (?), 48.4; hū, KM 42.4, 51.1 (twice), 71.1

hū<sup>2</sup> cf. haū<sup>1</sup>

hū cf. hū<sup>1</sup>

hṛde m. [14152 *hṛdaya-*] ‘heart’: KM 57.1

he, haī, hai cf. ho-

heta ppn. [14160 *hetu*] ‘for the sake of’: KM 45.3

her- vt. [14165 \**herati*] ‘look’: -i, KM 20.2

hai, MS G reading (note 2 to KM 107), cf. hā

hō<sup>1</sup> cf. haū<sup>1</sup>

hō<sup>2</sup>, hōhī cf. ho-

ho- vi. [9416 *bhavati*] ‘be, become’ (cf. *jiya ho-*); aux. verb: AS 14.1, KM 18.3, 102.1; -i, KM 10.3, 30.2, 34.4, 109.2; -ī, KM 34.4; -ta, KM 27.1, 34.2, 35.1, 59.3, 68.2, 71.3, 101.2, 102.1; -ti, KM 75.1; -ti, KM 40.1; -ya, AS 2.1; -va, KM 3.3; -hu, AS 6.2, 3; āhi, KM 7.3; bhāī, AS 10.4, KM 1.1, 8.3, 18.4, 28.3, 30.1, 39.4, 54.4, 63.3; bhae, KM 24.1, 26.2; bhaye, AS 16.3, KM 11.2, 20.4, 40.3, 86.2 (twice); bhayo, AS 10.3, 17.4, KM 18.3, 25.2, 28.2, 55.2, 64.4, 65.3; bhayaū, KM 90.3; bhayau, KM



11.3, 28.3, 32.4, 103.3; hutī, KM 1.2, 25.2, 73.2, 3; hute, KM 24.3; huvā, AS 6.4; he, KM 38.3; haī, AS 11.3, KM 68.1; hai, AS 1.1, 2.2, 4.4, 10.1, 2, 13.2, 14.3, KM 22.2, 51.4, 68.2, 69.2, 71.2, 80.1, 82.3, 83.1, 90.3, 98.2, 102.3; hō, KM 78.2; hōhī, KM 54.2; haũ, KM 6.1; hau, AS 1.1, KM 6.1, 12.1; hvai, KM 7.4, 51.4, 109.1, 2; hvaihai, KM 54.3

ho interj. [14172 *ho*] ‘o’ (with vocatives for claiming smb.’s attention): KM 35.1, 2, 3, 4, 105.1 (rep.); hau, AS 1.1, KM 35.3

hoḍa f. [14175 *hoḍa*-] ‘contest’: AS 5.1; haḍa, KM 82.1

horī f. [14182 *hoīā*-] ‘Holi, the springtime festival of colours’: KM 19.1, 105.1

haũ<sup>1</sup> pr. [992 *aham*] ‘I’: KM 6.1, 2, 25.1, 35.3, 4, 38.4, 49.3, 83.3; mẽ, KM 14.3, 38.3, 51.2; mai, KM 34.2; maũ, AS 16.3; mau, AS 5.1; mo, KM 6.3, 17.2, 35.3, 44.1; mohi, AS 5.1, KM 10.3, 25.2, 39.1, 45.3, 76.2, 78.1, 92.2; hũ, KM 5.2; hō, KM 56.1, 79.3, 83.2 (twice), 4, 84.3

haũ<sup>2</sup> cf. ho-

hau<sup>1</sup> cf. ho

hau<sup>2</sup> cf. ho-

haḍa cf. hoḍa

hvai, hvaihai cf. ho-

## Appendix II

### Extra *padas*

I have mentioned in the chapter on textual criticism that at an initial stage of their development KM and AS were most probably just separate songs performed in connection with the service of the titular deities. This poses a very important question: on what basis were verses chosen for inclusion in the canonical version of AS and KM? Did the sectarian concern for exclusive concentration on *nikuñja līlā* and the pre-eminence of Rādhā influence this selection? To answer this question we need to study not only the verses which constitute the canonical version of AS and KM, but also the *padas* which may have been excluded from it.

There are a number of verses which bear Haridās's *chāpa* and are included in a few MSS of AS and KM and in *pada-saṅgrahas*, but not in the canonical version of AS and KM. MSS H, NC and BI add two extra verses to KM as genuine Haridās's *padas*: *pyārī kañkana* and *surata raṅga*. Nothing in their subject matter challenges the theological views of the sect: both of them have as their subject matter the *nikuñja līlā*, no mention whatsoever being made of Braj *līlā*. *pyārī kañkana* has the usual *chāpa*, *surata raṅga* has only *haridāsī* in the *chāpa*, but this is not conclusive, since the unanimously accepted KM 21, 25 and 106 do not follow the usual formula of the *chāpa* either. Evidently, sectarian considerations have not played a part in the exclusion of these verses from the canonized version of KM. Were they less popular than Haridās's other verses, and for this reason ignored in most MSS? Or, more likely, were they written by a later 'Haridās' as a tribute to Svāmī Haridās? Both these verses are integrated within a *rāga* group in the MSS which suggests that they were incorporated in this recension of KM relatively early.

If we turn now to the extra poems of AS quoted by the available MSS, we will discover that three *padas* could have been censored out for their subject matter, which not only deals with 'inconvenient' topics but also does not match the didactic tone of AS: *māī dhani* speaks of the anguish of the *gopīs* who are prevented by their husbands from following the call of Kṛṣṇa; *ita parvata* again mentions the *gopīs* and hints at the myth of Kṛṣṇa lifting Govardhan; *lāla merā* is a typical *dān līlā* verse. The two remaining *padas*, *gahau mana* and *kāma krodha*, have subject matter which fits the didactic context of AS. They are, however, marked as spurious in most MSS: BI, the only MS which quotes *kāma krodha*, refers to it as an additional verse by giving the formula for the *padas* of AS '20 + 1' (see description of BI in II 2); *gahau mana* is marked *bhēṭa* in MSS A, B, E and G and accepted as a genuine verse of Haridās only in MS D. All the extra AS verses are at the end of *rāga* groups, perhaps suggesting a relatively late incorporation in the text.

Six more *padas* are quoted in MS BC, which are marked as being a tribute to Haridās (*bhēṭa*). All of them include the name of Mohanīdās in their *chāpa* and were probably written by him as a tribute to Svāmī Haridās.

Let us examine now the 15 additional verse which bear the *chāpa* of Haridās and have the tenor of KM, which I have found in different *pada* collections. Are they verses by Haridās excluded from the corpus of AS and KM? If this is the case, does their exclusion reflect sectarian considerations? Or are these verses composed in Haridās's style by later followers of his as an offering (*bhēṭa*) to him?

In the case of two of these verses, we seem to be dealing with scribal confusion. One of them is actually a verse written by Nāgarīdās which mentions Haridās<sup>1</sup>. This was evidently mistaken for a *chāpa*; the final line which gives the real *chāpa* is omitted. The second verse is found in seven collections with Haridās's *chāpa*. Exactly the same stanza is quoted in *Aṣṭācāryō kī vāṇī* among Bihārīdās's verses<sup>2</sup>, this time, however, giving Bihārīdās's name in the *chāpa*. It is highly unlikely that Bihārīdās would plagiarize a verse composed by his own *guru*; it is much more plausible that he would have paid tribute to Haridās by writing a verse in his style. Of course, we have no conclusive evidence that this stanza was composed by either of the two poets it has been ascribed to, but it has been connected with Bihārīdās's name for a long time, since it is quoted among his verses even in MS G, one of the oldest existing MSS of *Aṣṭācāryō kī vāṇī*.

Verse 8 (see listing below) is evidently a partisan Rādhāvallabhī work, asserting that Svāmī Haridās was a disciple of Hit Harivaṃśa. Most of the other verses seem to be no more than glosses on stanzas of KM: 1 is obviously a simplified gloss on KM 91; 6 and 7 on KM 88; 9 on KM 92; 10 on KM 16; 11 on KM 93; 2 resembles in tenor KM 70 and 4 KM 63 (and 21). Of course one can try to explain the similarities between these verses and their counterparts in KM with the use of oral formulae; after all, there are verses in KM which employ identical stock phrases. However, here we have a case of line by line imitation rather than of mere use of oral formulae. This becomes apparent if we take for example verse 1 and its KM equivalent, *pada* 91:

#### verse 1

aciraja mūrati ghana saṅga dāminī  
tāmē bhānti uṭhati nānā raṅga rahī dyausa  
ari piya tana jāminī  
sahacari ke jiya harata mahā suṣa basa  
karanī mana haranī bhāminī  
śrī haridāsī niraṣi kē gāvati jasa pavitra  
juga rati guna nāminī

#### KM 91

yaha aciraja deṣyau na sunyaū kahū  
nabina megha saṅga bijurī ekarasa  
tāmē moja uṭhati adhika bahu bhātini lasa  
mana ke deṣive kaū aura suṣa nāhi koū  
pyārī tū citavata citahi karata basa  
śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārini  
kau pabitra jasa

<sup>1</sup>Verse No 65, Hargūlāl, 1971, p. 593

<sup>2</sup>Verse 60, Ibid, p. 496.

This imitation goes as far as direct copying, as demonstrated by verse 7, which preserves the exact rhyme-words of KM 88 (with the exception of the fourth line).

Verses 3, 5, 12 and 13 cannot so easily be dismissed as imitations. Verse 3 is very different from the general tenor of KM: first of all it mentions the word *biraha*, which is a concept foreign to KM; it also uses an epithet of Kṛṣṇa, Kānhara, which is not quoted in KM. It is possible that this verse was excluded from the canonized version of KM because of sectarian considerations, but it is much more likely that this is not a genuine Haridās verse. The mentioning of *viraha* is very uncharacteristic of what we know of Haridās's beliefs and poetry (unless, of course, this *pada* is the only survivor of a hypothetical 'lost' collection of *viyoga* verses by Haridās, but this does not seem very likely). It is also significant that the only appearance of this verse is in a collection of the Vallabha *sampradāya*. Verse 5 could have been excluded from the corpus of KM for sectarian considerations since it mentions the women of *braj* (*braja nārī*), but its style seems suspiciously straightforward for Haridās. The latter applies also to verses 12 and 13.

To conclude, sectarian considerations may have played a role in the selection of the verses included in the canonized version of AS and KM, but we have no strong evidence for this. None of the 13 extra verses found in *pada-saṅgrahas* seems likely to have been composed by Haridās himself.

### Extra *padas* quoted in MSS of KM and AS

#### MSS A, B, D, G (text from MS A)

gahau mana saba rasa kau rasa sāra;  
loka beda kula karmañ tajiye bhajiye nitya bihāra;  
graha kāmīni nṛpati dhana tyāgau sebau syāma udāra;  
kahi haridāsa rīti santana kī cali gādī kau adhikāra.

#### MSS C, F, BR, BI (text from MS BI, variants from other MSS)

māi dhani ve mṛgī je kamala nēna kaū pūjata apanē apāne bhara tārani<sup>3</sup> sahita;  
dhani ve gāi bacha veī je baṃsa<sup>4</sup> rasa pīvata śravana<sup>5</sup> daunā<sup>6</sup> jyaū jāi na vahata;  
pañchīna hōhī muni jana jete kete (na)<sup>7</sup> sevehi dina kāmā krodha lobha rahita<sup>8</sup>;  
suni haridāsa hamāre pati te kaṭhina (na) jāna (na) dēhiye rāṣata gahata.

<sup>3</sup>nārana, yārana

<sup>4</sup>basa

<sup>5</sup>avana

<sup>6</sup>dīnā; dō nā

<sup>7</sup>Parenthesis here and *passim* designates words which are included in some versions of the verses and omitted in others.

<sup>8</sup>rahata

**MS C**

ita paravata pallāva ita muṣa muralī ita gopī sau rati;  
 ita ghava (?) rata sahaja āpane ita gāi gvāla ṣelata nānā bhāta;  
 āyusa indra dayo maighani kau mahāpraloke barasau re ita sau chata;  
 kahi haridāsa lāi jāi carana gahi āyaū re amarāpati.

**MS BI**

kāma krodha mada lobha moha taji mana basa jaba hovai;  
 sata sīla dayā santoṣa dharama dhyāna āni hradai nitya jovai;  
 ekāgra kari citta nitya bihāra śrī svāmī kahyau so ghaṭa ṭohai (?);  
 śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī ko hradai dhāna dharai soī tana sohai.

**MSS F, BR, BI** (text from MS BI with variants from other MSS)

lāla mere dūdha kī dohanī;  
 māraga jāta gahi rahyau rī añcarā mero nāhina deta hō binā bohanī;  
 nāgari gujari ṭhagi līnō mero lāla gaurocana kau tilaka māthai mohani;  
 śrī haridāsa ke svāmī ihā aisoī nyāva hai yā nagarī<sup>9</sup> jina<sup>10</sup> baso rī sohanī.

**MSS H, NC, BI** (and in *pada-saṅgrahas*) (text from MS BI with variants from other MSS)

pyārī (kara) kaṅkana bādhyo bhale (hī) lāla (hō<sup>11</sup>) ṣola;  
 pāni parasi dulahuni ke dūlahu piyare<sup>12</sup> bhaye kapola;  
 sveda sithala ati haraṣi hiye mai miṭī<sup>13</sup> dṛga cañcalatāi lola;  
 śrī haridāsi ke svāmī syāmā (kuñjabihārī) niraṣi nāgarī āpa bikānē (bikānē) binu  
 mola.

**MSS H, NC, BI** (text from MS BI)

surati (raṅga) hiḍorē jhūlata prītama pyārī;  
 hasata lasata nava ghana jyaū dāmīni dulahani kuñjabihārī;  
 kabahū (tau) kara kañcukī banda mocata neti neti bolata sukuvārī;  
 bibisa bhaye ura dharē (saṣi rī) saṅga haridāsa dulārī.

**Mohanidās's padas**

śrī bṛndābana niju kuñja mai hamē pāi hai bāsata (?) anoṭhī rī;  
 ghaṭa mē china china niraṣi hō ora kahū nahi dīṭhī rī;  
 tana mana china pala laḡi rahyau neka na sarai aḍīṭhī rī;  
 avicala jorī rāja hī mana mohani johana miṭhī rī. (1)

<sup>9</sup>nagara<sup>10</sup>jani<sup>11</sup>tuma<sup>12</sup>pire<sup>13</sup>mate

jovana madamāti lāḍa gahailī rasika raṅgīlī nāgarī;  
 rūpa mahā aṅga raṅga cucāvata rasika piye rasa pāga rī;  
 madana lajāvata sisi nahi sobhita badana piye anurāga rī;  
 baṅka nisaṅka aruna madamāte tiya locana piya sāvārī;  
 raṅga raṅga doū rasa mē pāge niti biharata priti sujāna rī;  
 jhili milāta jagamaga aṅga saṅga doū bihārī pyārī biharata nahina ayāta rī;  
 gati gāmīni dāmīni aṅga ambuja jhalaka pāta (?) pīta jhukāni rī;  
 mānīni mana manōrana johana antara ura piya prāna rī;  
 śrī bṛndābana biharata herata pada ākati rasa raṅge haī rasikana prāna rī;  
 kuñja nikuñja puñja pahupa drūma aṅga aṅgani lapaṭi subāsa rī;  
 prītama pyārī rūpa upajyā rī piya herata saṣi prāna rī;  
 śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī kī sobhā mohani niraṣata nahina aghāta rī.

(2)<sup>14</sup>

calo mili baiṭhē kuñja saghana maī;  
 nita nita chatā niraṣi hō terī gumāna bhayau laṣi mere mana maī;  
 naī naī gati upajata deṣi taba pulaki pulaki bolani bhāi sana maī;  
 manda manda mṛdu bolani musakini mohani ḍārī hai mere mana maī. (3)

āju saṣi rī mē būjhata hō tuma kaū;  
 aīsau rūpa kahā tē ye lyāe chinaka chinaka deṣō mē ini kaū;  
 nēna madhura rasa bāke mohata upamā kahā dyaū maī ini kai tana kau;  
 śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī mohani mahata mere mana kaū. (4)

pyārī jū chabi niraṣi hū terī;  
 bhūlo vo tuma kabahū mati mokō hū ini pāi nicerī (?);  
 maī chabi niraṣata bhūlau kabahū to cita vo sōha merī;  
 nēka na ṭarau nēnani niraṣata hū matai phiro kāhū pherī;  
 śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī mohani rūpa laṣi herī. (5)

jugala carana rāṣaū hiyare naī;  
 kanaka sīghāsana ratanana kī chabi kamala haṃsa saravara maī;  
 komala kusama mahāvāri sobhita syāma ghaṭā ura ghana maī;  
 ghana dāmīni kī dhamaka durata hai jhamaka parī mere tana maī;  
 gaura syāma suṣa china china bilasaū ini saṣiyani ke saṅga mai;  
 aṅga aṅga kiā [sic] chabi niraṣata mohani ḍorī hai mere mana maī. (6)

### Verses from *pada-saṅgrahas*

aciraja mūrati ghana saṅga dāmīni;  
 tāmē bhānti uṭhati nānā raṅga rahī dyausa ari piya tana jāminī;  
 saḥacari ke jiya harata mahā suṣa basa karanī mana haranī bhāmīni;  
 śrī haridāsī niraṣi kē gāvati jasa pavitra juga rati guna nāmīni. (1)<sup>15</sup>

kuñja mahala kē aṅgana ḍolē bāha joṭi;

<sup>14</sup>I owe R. Snell the observation that this stanza has a pronounced Harivaṃśa ring to it.

<sup>15</sup>In *pada-saṅgraha* 9.

kabahūka canda kabahū pyārī tana nirakhi rahata puni ḍaga bharē choṭī;  
 kabahūka kusuma bīnata kali moṭi moṭī;  
 haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī guhi guhi bādhata coṭī. (2)<sup>16</sup>

khele khelē kānhara triyana phūlavārī maī chiraki chiraki raṅga bharata mo sukha  
 kare;  
 ati uttama candana bandana lāvai aura aragajā karikaī esaī anurāga chiraki chiraki  
 taruṇī biraha kare;  
 eka kara pohopa [sic] māla gare melata dūje mora dharāvana koū dhūpa aghara le  
 subāsa kare;  
 śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī tīna loka jāke basa so rādhā ke mukha para  
 abīra ḍarapa kaī dhare. (3)<sup>17</sup>

chīṭa chabīlī tanasukha sārī pyārī pahirai sohe;  
 navala lāla rasa rūpa chavīlau nirakhata manamatha mohe;  
 keli kalā rasa kuñja bhavana maī krīḍata ati sukha hohe;  
 śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī upamā ko kahiye ko hai. (4)<sup>18</sup>

jhūlata kamala nēna sukumāri;  
 gāvata gīta punīta manohara āsapāsa braja nāri;  
 bhūṣana basana bibidhi raṅga pahirē manō phūlī pulavārī;  
 śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kāma basa muṣa canda nihāri. (5)<sup>19</sup>

jhūlata doū sundara navala hiṇḍorē;  
 syāma barana tana rasika siromaṇi kūvari barana tana gorāi;  
 nīlāmvara pītāmvara (kī) chabi<sup>20</sup> ghana capalā ke bhoraī<sup>21</sup>;  
 śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī kī mṛdu musakani thaure thaure. (6)<sup>22</sup>

ḍola jhūlata hai lalanā;  
 nirakhi nirakhi phūlata lalitādika saṅga saḥacarī balanā;  
 sapta svarana mila gāvata saba mili jīla [sic] kokila kala nā;  
 śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī rījhi bhaye maganā. (7)<sup>23</sup>

namo ragīli ju aṃsa;  
 guhya rīti jaga karī prakāsita ko jānaī yaha gaṃsa;  
 jā tana kṛpā dṛṣṭī bhare citavata hota karma saba naṃsa;  
 śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī śrī guru hita harivaṃsa. (8)<sup>24</sup>

balaiyā jānai barasana lāgyau mehu;  
 syāma hamārī suraṅga cūnarī bhījana lāgi lehu;

<sup>16</sup>In *pada-saṅgraha* 2.

<sup>17</sup>In *pada-saṅgraha* 11.

<sup>18</sup>In *pada-saṅgraha* 11.

<sup>19</sup>In *pada-saṅgrahas* 3 and 16.

<sup>20</sup>añcala; duti

<sup>21</sup>kore

<sup>22</sup>In *pada-saṅgrahas* 3, 4, 11, 13, 15, 18.

<sup>23</sup>In *pada-saṅgraha* 11.

<sup>24</sup>In *pada-saṅgraha* 5.

jo hō taba tē aisi janatī kāhe kō tajatī gehu;  
śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī kau rāja karau yaha nehu. (9)<sup>25</sup>

būnde cūnarī śrama kana bhījai;  
jo mohi kṛpā karau rāṣau ura nēnani niraṣi mahā suṣa pījai;  
lāi rahau jiya sō kara jore ita uta dṛṣṭi parata nā chījai;  
śrī haridāsa dāminī kōdhani laṣi pratāpa kaisē kai jījai. (10)<sup>26</sup>

bhījata dampati suṣa kari doi;  
acarā oṭa karata niju kara sō adabhuta suṣa jyō laṣai na koi;  
matta paraspara rahata dyausa niśi rāga raṅgamaya surati samauya;  
śrī haridāsa nihari prema rasa nṛtya karata laṣi mana rahyau bhoi. (11)<sup>27</sup>

ye doū baiṭhe rī kusuma kuñja bhavana;  
bibidhi raṅga pahupani ke bhūṣana piya sājata pyārī tana;  
laḍaiti jhuki jhuki jāti manda manda musikāta balaiyā leta syāma ghana;  
śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārīni para vāraū (ḍarau) koṭi madana gana. (12)<sup>28</sup>

sundara ujyārī rī nīkī lāgē nikasi kuñja bhaye ṭhāḍhe;  
barana barana phūlana ke abhūṣana sōdhai bhīno bāge;  
atī anurāga bhare piya pyārī gāvati hai kedārau rāge;  
śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī chaṭe kara tanī doū jāge. (13)<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup>In *pada-saṅgrahas* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

<sup>26</sup>In *pada-saṅgraha* 9.

<sup>27</sup>In *pada-saṅgraha* 9.

<sup>28</sup>In *pada-saṅgrahas* 8, 11, 13, 14, 15.

<sup>29</sup>In *pada-saṅgraha* 7.



Table 11

*pada-saṅgrahas* from which the extra *padas* are taken<sup>30</sup>

Name of <i>pada-saṅgraha</i>	Date VS	Acc. No.	No here
<i>Aṣṭayāma ke pada</i>	1834	486	1
<i>Gīta cintāmaṇau</i>	1830-1840?	406	2
<i>Jhūlotsava ke pada</i>	1990?	15	3
<i>Pracīna pada saṅgraha</i>	1830?	161	4
<i>Pracīna pada saṅgraha 35</i>	1830?	296	5
<i>Pracīna pada saṅgraha 40</i>	1860-1870?	312	6
<i>Pracīna pada saṅgraha 41</i>	1840-1860?	319	7
<i>Pracīna pada saṅgraha 48</i>	1860?	372	8
<i>Malāra pada saṅgraha</i>	2000-2010?	6	9
<i>Malāra saṅgraha</i>	1820-1830?	443	10
<i>Vallabha sampradāya pada saṅgraha</i>	1815	-	11
<i>Vasanta horī aura horī ḍola ke pada</i>	1810-1820?	167	12
<i>Varṣotsava</i>	1981	14	13
<i>Varṣotsava pada saṅgraha</i>	1985?	21	14
<i>Varṣotsava</i>	1920	119	15
<i>Varṣotsava</i>	1840-1850?	518	16
<i>Vivāha vilāsa</i>	1832	207	17
<i>Hinḍorānu kau saṅgraha</i>	1800?	139	18
<i>Pada saṅgraha</i>	1797	-	19
<i>Varṣotsava</i>	1921	-	20

<sup>30</sup>The accession number refers to the MSS collection of Ras Bhārati Samsthān, 104, Sevā Kuñja Gali, Vrindaban. The last two *pada-saṅgrahas* are from the private collection of N. C. Bāmsal.

## Appendix III

## Examples of PC, RC, NC and BC

Commentary to KM 31**PC**

dohā           ati bicitra jorī banī dekhī sunī na hoi;  
kañcana tana banika priyā piya lapaṭi ura soī.

pada           jorī bicitra kahā rī dekhī sunī na kāhū baranī haū chabi nirakhi hota  
balihārī.  
kañcana kau rasa sāra sudhāryau tā kari upamita deha tihārī;  
śrī haridāsa ke svāmī śyāma tamālai latā lapaṭi ura kuñjabihārī.

**RC**

dohā           lalita lādīli lāla sau dhiga baiṭhī piya aṅka;  
karyau pragaṭa bara pañca-sara bilasata hāsata nisaṅka.

**NC**

atha ekatriśattamo pada ābhāsa. sakhī ke bacana śrī haridāsī jū sē. adbhuta śrī  
bṛndābana nikuñja jahā śyāma tamāla sō belī kañcana kī lapaṭi rahī hai. jahā komala  
kamala dalana kī seja pai dhani śrī priyā jū aru aru [sic] dhana śrī lāla jū sobhita haī.  
adbhuta jorī āju banī hai. kahā kī śyāma tamāla lāla jū kaū dhani śrī priyā jū goda mē  
liyē baiṭhe haī. yaha sobhā sakhī dekhī śrī haridāsī jū tē bolī. (followed by pada 31)

mūla. aisī tau bicitra jorī bani. artha. aisī to bicitra jorī birājita. kahā kī aṅga aṅga mē  
raṅga kī nava 2 chabi chāya rahī hai. so bicitra jorī banī hai. kahā kī. priyā jū ke hiya kau  
hulāsa pragaṭa dekhī sakhī bolī.

mūla. aisī kahū dekhī suni na bhanī. artha. āju kī sī chabi na tau kabahū dekhī na suni  
na kabahū tuma bhanī. kahā kī pyārī jū parama kṛpāla hai. āpa piya rūpa bihārī jū banē  
hai. bihārī pyārī banai hai. so yaha kṛpālatā kara veṣa palaṭive kī chabi tau kabahū na  
dekhī. athavā. aṅga aṅga mē kṛpālatā sō yaha chabi kabahū na dekhī. mūla. manahū  
kanaka sudāha kari kari deha adbhuta ṭhanī. artha. mānō kānaka kau agni mē auṭāya kē  
aisī adbhuta deha banī hai. kahā kī douna kī cāha prema rūpa aṅga 2 mē tāhi kī āca kara  
suddha kañcana rūpa tana kīyaū. kahā kī jaba prema kī āca lāgi taba aṅga 2 pighata kai  
eka rūpa jo manorthana kī deha banī. ati adbhuta ujjala kañcana śrī priyā jū kau tana  
tāmē nila manī piya kau tana jaṭita. aisī adbhuta deha ṭhanī hai. kahā kī aṅga mē aṅga  
jura baiṭhe. kahū antara nāhī. inakaū upamā deta sakuca āvata tātē ye nira upamā hai.  
douna kī sobhā pai ghani dāmīni lajāta nīya hai.

mūla śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā tamalaī uṭhaṅgī baiṭhī dhani. artha. śrī haridāsī jū  
āpa ke svāmī śrī śyāma jū. so dhani śyāma tamāla lāla kaū uṭhaṅgī kai kahā kī aṅka mē  
laikaī baiṭhī hai. aru hāsa parihaṣa karata prema jukta sarasa bilāsa sanī rahī hai. bilāsa

tau sadā hī karata. pai āju sarasa bilāsa hai. kī pyārī jū kṛpāla bhai. soyā sobhā guna sahaja hī rūpa lāvanyatā kī kahā kahaū. śrī haridāsī jū āpa kī kṛpā tē dularāvata haū. yaha varanī hai. athavā. pyārī jū lāla jū kaū uṭhaṅga lai baiṭhī. kahā kī takiyā laū bagala mē lapī baiṭhī hai. iti.

śrī bihārinidāsa jū kau pada. rāga kedārau. jorī adbhuta āju banī. bāraū koṭī kāma nakha chabi para ujjala nīla manī. upamā deta sakuca nira upamita dhana dāminī lajanī. karata hāsa parihāsa prema jukta sarasa bilāsa sanī. kahaū kahā lāvanya rūpa guna sobhā sahaja ghanī. śrī bihārīdāsa dularavata śrī haridāsa kṛpā baranī 1.

āju kachu aurē bānāka [sic] banau hāsa bilāsa beda bhṛkuṭina taē upajata rasa hī sanyau.

āga [sic] aṅga prati bhūśana tana sāvala subhaga ṭhanyau. jāgata jāminī baḍhyau rī jītau sukha kāpai parata ganyau. ati ānanda magana mana surata sadana china na bihata janyaū. śrī bihārīdāsa nava kuñja kelī milī manamathamāna hanyaū 2.

iti śrī adbhuta sejyā samaye ekatriśati nikuñja mahala bilāsa.

## BC

jorī kī advitīyatā par apnā abhimān karte hue śrī svāmī mahārāj kā nirṇaya ki śrī śyāmākuñjabihārī kī yah joṛī to is adbhuttā se nirmīṭ huī hai ki aisī alaukiktā kā kahī digdarśan nahī hotā hai aur na sunne mē bhī āī hai. kisī ke varṇan mē bhī is chaṭā kā darśan nahī prāpta hotā hai. jis tarah kañcan bār bār tapāne ke anantar viśuddha kānti yukta hokar dedīpyamān hone lagtā hai tadvat tapta kañcan kī bhāṭī śrī yugal ke śrī vīgrah adbhuttā suśobhit ho rahe haī.

śrī gaurśyām kī madhurī ko prastut pad ke mādhyam se prakāśit kartī huī līlā sākṣiṇī śrī haridāsīnī ne kahā ki hamāre premārādhyā śyām tamāl par apne pṛṣṭhabhāg ko avasthit karke ānandanidhi priyā baiṭhī huī haī.

## bhāvārtha

is joṛī ke satat sanidhya [sic] mē rahnevālī nityavihāropāsnā udgātā śrī haridāsī jī ne yah niṣkarṣa diyā ki prem... ke jahā jahā jin jin joṛiyō kī upāsnā prācalit hai un samasta upāsyā svarūpō se bhī hamāre śyāmākuñjabihārī kī joṛī ke sarvaṃśa mē jo vilakṣaṇa rūp guṇ mādhurī nita navnavāymān rahtī hai, us star kī asmordhva (?) mādhurī dekhne evaṃ sunne mē bhī nahī āī hai. is prakār kā varṇan bhī kahī nahī ab tak uplabdha huā hai.

isse yah vyañjit hotā hai ki śrīsvāmīnī [sic] mahārāj dvārā prakāṣit upāsnā anya upāsnāō se sarvathā vilakṣaṇ hai. is pad se yah spaṣṭa ho jātā hai ki śrī svāmīnī [sic] kī joṛī rūp guṇ dharma mē sarvathā bhinnatā rakhtī hai.

pad kā pariśeṣ karte hue anta mē us mādhurī kā citraṇ karte hue āpne kahā kī hamāre prāṇārādhyā śyām tamāl lāl par apne pṛṣṭhabhāg ko avasthit kartī huī mauj kī mastī mē priyā baiṭhī huī haī.

## Appendix IV

List of *chāpa* in AS and KM

## A S

*kahi*/<sup>o</sup>e

- 1<sup>1</sup> *kahi*<sup>2</sup> *haridāsa* <sup>3</sup> *piñjarā ke janābara jyaū phaṭaphaṭāya rahyau uḍive kaū kitoū kari*  
 4 *kahi haridāsa mīca jyaū āvai tyaū dhana hai āpana kaū.*  
 5 *kahi haridāsa hama jityau hāre tuma taū na tauḍa.*  
 6 *kahi haridāsa karatā kiyā su huvā sumera acala calā.*  
 7 *kahi haridāsa hitu kijai śrī bihārī sō aura nibāhū jāni jī kau.*  
 8 *kahi haridāsa bicāri dīṭhau binā bihārī nāhi jasa.*  
 9 *kahi haridāsa teī jīva pāra bhaye je gahi rahe carana ānanda nandasi.*  
 10 *kahi haridāsa mahala mē banitā bani ṭhāḍhī bhai yekau na calata jaba āvata anta kī ādhe.*  
 11 *kahi haridāsa taba hi cirajīvau jaba kuñjabihārī citāvani.*  
 13 *kahi haridāsa yahai jiya jānaū tīratha kai sau mela.*  
 15 *kahi*<sup>4</sup> *haridāsa mīta bhale pāye bihārī aisē pāvau saba koū.*  
 16 *kahi haridāsa yajña devatā pitarani kaū śradhā bhārī.*  
 17 *kahi haridāsa lobha carapaṭa bhayo kāhe kī lagai phiriyādi.*  
 18 *kahi haridāsa jāni ṭhākura bihārī takata auṭa pāṭa.*

## Vocative

- 14 *sunī*<sup>5</sup> *haridāsa yahai jiya jānaū supanē kau so jāgara.*

Resembling the *chāpa* in KM

- 2 *śrī haridā*<sa> *ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>6</sup> *kuñjabihārī prānani ke ādhārani.*  
 3 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>6</sup> *kuñjabihārī kau dina deṣata rahaū bicitra muṣa.*  
 12 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>6</sup> *kuñjabihārī*<sup>7</sup> *jyaū sira para dōhani.*

## KM

Both *syāmā* and *kuñjabihārī* included1.1 *syāmā* and *kuñjabihārī* exercising the same syntactic functionSubject

- 1 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>8</sup> *kuñjabihārī sama vaisa vaisai.*  
 3 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>8</sup> *kuñjabihārī mana rānaū.*  
 13 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>8</sup> *kuñjabihārī*<sup>9</sup> *rījhi paraspara prīti noi.*  
 30 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>8</sup> *kuñjabihārī*<sup>10</sup> *sakala guna nipuna tātātheī tātātheī gati ju ṭhai.*  
 77 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>11</sup> *kuñjabihārī*<sup>12</sup> *chātī saū chātī lagāe aṅga aṅga sudesa.*

<sup>1</sup>The number preceding the example shows the verse number.

<sup>2</sup>F, J, BR omitted

<sup>3</sup>F, J, BR ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārī added

<sup>4</sup>F, BR suni

<sup>5</sup>B kahe; D, I, J kahi

<sup>6</sup>F syāma

<sup>7</sup>F omitted

<sup>8</sup>NCM aru śyāma added in brackets

<sup>9</sup>F, H, I, BR omitted

<sup>10</sup>C kujabihārani

<sup>11</sup>H, I syāma

- 80 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>13</sup> *kuñjabihārī*<sup>14</sup> *gahi lapaṭāi rahe māni sabai suṣa caīna.*  
 81 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī saha sāha rāṣē ṣelata.*  
 94 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī saṅgīta saṅgī.*  
 95 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>15</sup> *kuñjabihārī aṭala aṭala prīti mācī.*  
 107 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī rāga hī ke raṅga rāgi kādhe.*

Object or part of attributive construction

- 2 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>16</sup> *kuñjabihārī pai raṅga rahyau rasa hī mē pāge. (and S)*  
 4 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī na ṭarana kau. (or S)*  
 8 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī bilasata nihacala dhū para.*  
 14 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>17</sup> *kuñjabihārī*<sup>18</sup> *kī aṭapaṭī bāni aurai kahata kachū aurai bhanyaū.*  
 23 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī*<sup>19</sup> *nēku tuhmārī prakṛti ke aṅga aṅga aura gunī pare hārī. (? see note 11 to translation)*  
 29 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī kī sobhā baranī na jāi jau milai rasika koṭi kabi*  
 32 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī*<sup>20</sup> *kaī gāvata sura deta maura bhayau parama suṣa.*  
 33 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī ju kau rasa rasanā kahai kau rī.*  
 44 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>21</sup> *kuñjabihārī*<sup>22</sup> *pai vārō mālati bhāvarau.*  
 48 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>23</sup> *kuñjabihārī kau anata nāhinē phūlahu.*  
 55 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī ke rāga raṅga lapaṭāni ke bheda nyāre nyāre jaisē pāni mē pāni narīca.*  
 61 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī kau ṣelu ṣelata kāhū nā lahyau.*  
 84 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī baḍhyau raṅgu bhārī.*  
 86 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī*<sup>24,25</sup> *para koṭi koṭi anaṅga koṭi brahmāṇḍa vāri kiye nyāre.*  
 87 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī (kī)*<sup>mg</sup> *kaṭāchi saū koṭi kāma dage.*  
 88 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī*<sup>26</sup> *śrī bihārini aba calanā.*

**1.2 *syāmā* and *kuñjabihārī* exercising different syntactic functions**

*syāmā* - vocative

- 16 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>27</sup> *kuñjabihārī sō hili mili raṅga lījai.*  
 37 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī sō pyārī jaba tū bolata canaṣa canaṣa.*  
 58 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>28</sup> *kuñjabihārī kahata aceta rī.*

<sup>12</sup>H, I, BR, NCM omitted

<sup>13</sup>F, I *syāma*

<sup>14</sup>F omitted

<sup>15</sup>H *syāma*

<sup>16</sup>H *syāma* emended to *syāmā*

<sup>17</sup>H, BR omitted, added in marg.

<sup>18</sup>H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>19</sup>J omitted

<sup>20</sup>F, J, RC omitted; H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>21</sup>H *syāma*

<sup>22</sup>C omitted

<sup>23</sup>H *syāma*

<sup>24</sup>C omitted

<sup>25</sup>Added: C *kuñjabihārini*; I, J *bihārani*; RC *śrī bihārī*

<sup>26</sup>A *kuñjabihārini* emended to *kuñjabihārī*

<sup>27</sup>H *syāmā* emended to *syāma*

<sup>28</sup>H *syāma*

Subject as opposed to object or part of attributive construction:

20 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>29</sup> *kuñjabihārī yā rasa basa bhaye harē hare sarakani nerī.*

28 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>30</sup> *kuñjabihārī kari manuhārī.*

39 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>31</sup> *kuñjabihārī*<sup>32</sup> *chalu kaī garaī lagāī bhaī rameta.*

50 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī rījhi piya*<sup>33</sup> *paga parani.*

64 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī*<sup>34</sup> *sō meru bhayo rī bihārini.*

70 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>35</sup> *kuñjabihārī*<sup>36</sup> *dai kājara naṣa hī saū. (? see note 5 to translation)*

**2. Formulaic *chāpa*, connected loosely with the rest of the line**

27 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī prīti bara malaye beha.*

47 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī*<sup>37</sup> *uṭhi garē lagāī prema prīti saū noi gai. (? see note 7 to translation)*

52 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī nīkē pyārau lāla nacyau. (? see note 8 to translation)*

54 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>38</sup> *kuñjabihārī yā rasa hī basa bhae yaha bhaī aura kī aurai.*

56 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī*<sup>39</sup> *chātī sō chātī lagāye gaura syāma. (? see note 5 to translation)*

71 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī doū mili larata jharājhari.*

73 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>40</sup> *kuñjabihārī kī caturai rahī bhari. (? see note 7 to translation)*

74 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī kī suhabati asara jahā āpuna hari. (? see note 5 to translation)*

79 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>41</sup> *kuñjabihārī kahata prīti panē. (? see note 4 to translation)*

83 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī*<sup>42</sup> *lai buḍaki garaī lāgi cōki parī kahā hō jāu. (? or different functions)*

93 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī*<sup>43</sup> *prema paraspara nṛtya karata doū jana.*

96 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>44</sup> *kuñjabihārī rījhi rādhe hāsi kaṇṭha lagāvata. (? or different functions)*

101 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>45</sup> *kuñjabihārī rāga hī maī raṅga rahai e rī saū. (? or different functions)*

103 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>46</sup> *kuñjabihārī kī chabi niraṣata lāgata nāhī palakaī. (? see note 12 to translation)*

110 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā* *kuñjabihārī aiso ko mana jā ko lāgai anata matē.*

<sup>29</sup>H syāma

<sup>30</sup>H syāma

<sup>31</sup>H syāmā emended to syāma; BR syāma

<sup>32</sup>C, F, H, I, J, BR, NCM, RC omitted

<sup>33</sup>A, C, I, J, BR, NCP, RC omitted; F para; PH piya

<sup>34</sup>H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>35</sup>C syāma; F, H omitted, added in marg., sec m.; RC syamā emended to syāmā

<sup>36</sup>C, F, H, I, BR, RC omitted

<sup>37</sup>C, I, J, RC omitted

<sup>38</sup>A śyāma

<sup>39</sup>C, D, BR omitted

<sup>40</sup>BR omitted

<sup>41</sup>H syāma

<sup>42</sup>J omitted; PH deleted?

<sup>43</sup>C, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC omitted

<sup>44</sup>H syāma emended to syāmā sec. m.

<sup>45</sup>H syāma emended to syāmā;

<sup>46</sup>H syāma emended to syāmā

**Only one component: syāma****Subject****Model haridāsa ke svāmī syāma kahata:**

5 śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma<sup>47,48</sup> kahata<sup>49</sup> rī pyārī prīti kau maṅgala gāva.

34 śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma<sup>50,51</sup> kahata kāmā kī sānti na hoi na hoī tripatī rahaū nisi dina jāgata.

35 śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma<sup>52,53</sup> kahata rāṣi lai bāhabala haū bapurā kāmā dahā ho pyārī.

40 śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma<sup>54,55</sup> kahata<sup>56</sup> rī pyārī tū rāṣata prāna jāta.

46 śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma<sup>57,58</sup> kahata<sup>59</sup> chabīlau kāmā rasa bhoila rī. (emended to syāmā, see note 7 to translation)

76 śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma<sup>60,61</sup> kahata tā ke basa pare pragaṭatu ju bhāva.

78 śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma<sup>62,63</sup> kahata yō bādḥau jyaū puraini jala kī rīti tohi laū sāti.

92 śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma<sup>64</sup> kahata bijurī kaūḍhe kari hā kahū na rī.

108 śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma<sup>65,66</sup> kahata<sup>67</sup> rī pyārī ba kaī rāṣi hahā rī.

**Model haridāsa ke svāmī syāma kuñjabihārī kahata:**

7 śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma<sup>68</sup> kuñjabihārī kahata<sup>69</sup> aisai hī rahaī hvai.

22 śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma<sup>70</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>71</sup> kahata pyārī<sup>72</sup> yō bali sō bhūle ruci sō laji.

41 śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma<sup>73</sup> kuñjabihārī<sup>74</sup> (kahata<sup>75</sup> rī)<sup>mg</sup> pyārī<sup>76</sup> e dina krama krama (ka)<sup>mg</sup> ri lādhe.

<sup>47</sup>A, C, F, RC śyāmā; H omitted, syāmā added in marg.; I syāmā emended to syāmā

<sup>48</sup>Added: A, C, NCM kuñjabihārī; H kuñjabihārī, in marg.; NCP kuñjabihārī

<sup>49</sup>C omitted

<sup>50</sup>C, J, NC, RC syāmā; H syāma emended to syāmā; I syāmā emended to syāma?

<sup>51</sup>H, NCP kuñjabihārī added

<sup>52</sup>C, D, I, J, BR, NC, RC syāmā

<sup>53</sup>Added: I, BR, RC kuñjabihārī

<sup>54</sup>C, F, I, BR, NCM syāmā; H syāmā emended to syāma

<sup>55</sup>C, F, H, I, BR, NCM kuñjabihārī added

<sup>56</sup>RC kahati

<sup>57</sup>C, F, I, J, BR, NC, RC syāmā; H syāma emended to syāmā

<sup>58</sup>Added: C, F, J, BR kuñjabihārī; H kuñjabihārī, sec. m.; PH kuñjabihārī, deleted

<sup>59</sup>C, F, J, BR omitted; H deleted; PH omitted, kuñjabihārī emended to kahata?; RC kahati

<sup>60</sup>F, NC, RC syāmā

<sup>61</sup>NCP, RC kuñjabihārī added

<sup>62</sup>C, F, RC syāmā; H syāmu

<sup>63</sup>F, RC kuñjabihārī added

<sup>64</sup>A, C, D śyāmā

<sup>65</sup>D, F, I, RC syāmā

<sup>66</sup>F kuñjabihārī added

<sup>67</sup>F omitted; RC kahati

<sup>68</sup>A, C, D, F, I, J, NC, RC śyāmā

<sup>69</sup>C, D, F, I, J, RC omitted; PH original reading [kahata]? deleted

<sup>70</sup>A, C, F, J, NC, RC śyāmā; H syāma emended to syāmā

<sup>71</sup>H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>72</sup>C, F, H, J, BR, NCM, RC omitted

<sup>73</sup>A, C, F, BR, NCM, RC śyāmā; H syāmā emended to syāma; NCP omitted

<sup>74</sup>I omitted

<sup>75</sup>C, F omitted; H, RC kahati

59 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma*<sup>77</sup> *kuñjabihārī*<sup>78</sup> *kahata kaisai hō larō.*

66 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma*<sup>79</sup> *kuñjabihārī (kahata*<sup>80</sup> *rī)*<sup>mg</sup> *pyārī tū je je bhāi lyāvati.*

Model *haridāsa ke svāmī syāma kuñjabihārī ...:*

17 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma*<sup>81</sup> *kuñjabihārī*<sup>82</sup> *terī prīti*<sup>83</sup> *bādhe bādhe.*

24 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma*<sup>84</sup> *kuñjabihārī jakī rahe cāha tē.*

26 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma*<sup>85</sup> *kuñjabihārī rasa basa kari lina.*

45 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma*<sup>86</sup> *kuñjabihārī*<sup>87</sup> *jācaka kau dāna dai. (emended to syāmā, see note 12 to translation)*

49 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma*<sup>88</sup> *kuñjabihārī*<sup>89</sup> *carana lapaṭānē duhūna rī.*

51 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma*<sup>90</sup> *kuñjabihārī*<sup>91</sup> *kara jori mōna hvai dūbare kī rādhi śira kahau kaūnē śāi hai.*

90 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma*<sup>92</sup> *kuñjabihārī pyārī basa ke.*

**Vocative**

38 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma*<sup>93</sup> *jāni haū pāe āju lāla aurai pari.*

**Object**

31 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma*<sup>94</sup> *tamālai uṭhaṅgi baiṭhi dhanī.*

104 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāma*<sup>95</sup> *kū (p.c. deleted) sō mili poḍhī tana mana rāvati.*

**Only one component: *syāmā***

**Subject**

11 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>96,97</sup> *bāhu sō bāhu milāya rahe muṣa nihārī.*

67 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>98</sup> *je je aṅga kī gati leta ati nipuna aṅga aṅgahāra.*

75 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārīni sādā curī ṣubhī poti.*

105 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā phirata nyāreī nyāre saba saṣiyana kī dṛṣṭi bacāvata taki taba ṣorī. (? see note 6 to translation)*

<sup>76</sup>C, J, BR omitted

<sup>77</sup>A, C, D, J, BR, NC, RC *śyāmā*; H *syāma* emended to *syāmā*

<sup>78</sup>H omitted, added in marg.; I omitted

<sup>79</sup>A, C, D, F, I, J, BR, NC *śyāmā*

<sup>80</sup>RC *kahati*

<sup>81</sup>A, C, D, F, I, J, PH, NC *śyāmā*; BR omitted

<sup>82</sup>NCP omitted

<sup>83</sup>NCP *kuñjabihārī*; RC *prīta*

<sup>84</sup>A, C, D, F, I, J, NC, RC *śyāmā*; BR omitted, *syāmā* added *sup. lin.*

<sup>85</sup>A, C, F, I, J, BR, NC, RC *śyāmā*

<sup>86</sup>A, C, F, H, I, J, BR, NC, RC *śyāmā*

<sup>87</sup>H omitted, added in marg.

<sup>88</sup>A, D, F, I, J, BR, NCP, RC *śyāmā*; C *syama*; H *syāmā* emended to *syāma*

<sup>89</sup>C omitted; H omitted, added in marg.; RC *bihārī*

<sup>90</sup>A, C, D, F, I, BR, NC, RC *śyāmā*

<sup>91</sup>RC omitted

<sup>92</sup>C, D, F, H, J, BR, PH, NC *syāmā* (and E),

<sup>93</sup>C, NCM *syāmā*; F, BR omitted

<sup>94</sup>C, F *syāmā*

<sup>95</sup>NCP, RC *syāmā*

<sup>96</sup>H, NCM *syāma* emended to *syāmā*

<sup>97</sup>D *kuñjabihārī* added

<sup>98</sup>F *syāma*



**Vocative**

- 6 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>99,100</sup> *tumhai deṣyau cāhata aura suṣa lāgata kāhī.*  
 43 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>101</sup> *jiya maī basai tū nita nita birājai.*  
 57 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>102,103</sup> *carana banasī gahi kāḍhe rahe laṭapaṭāi gahibhuja mūli.*  
 63 *rasa basa kari linē śrī*<sup>104</sup> *haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>105</sup> *terī upamā kō kahi dhō ko hai.*  
 72 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>106</sup> *kī bicitratāi prema sō pāiyata rasa sūna rī. (see note 7 to translation)*  
 97 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>107</sup> *bihārini*<sup>108</sup> *militu*<sup>109</sup> *hāru na rahyau kaṅṭha bica aulī.*  
 100 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>110</sup> *prema paraspara būkā bandana melai.*

**Object or part of attributive construction**

- 12 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>111</sup> *kau nṛta deṣata kāhe na bhāvata.*  
 15 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>112</sup> *ḍhūḍhata bana mē pāi priyā dihārī.*  
 36 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>113</sup> *pyārī*<sup>114</sup> *pai bola bulāya liyo liṣi dehu.*  
 42 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>115,116</sup> *ye kaisai hū citaye pai pareṣi pareṣi.*  
 53 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kō bhalai manāvata dāi upāhī.*  
 60 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>117,118</sup> *kau meru sarasa banyaū aura gunī pare phīke.*  
 68 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>119,120</sup> *ḍhūḍhata bana mē pāi krama krama kari biṣama ḍara.*  
 69 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>121</sup> *bīca hī āi mile tina kī subāsa sakala bharama kalamata.*  
 85 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā kuñjabihārini*<sup>122</sup> *para tana mana dhana nyaūchāvari karaū kā gata.*  
 89 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī syāmā*<sup>123</sup> *ke mili gāvata janyaū rāga malāra kisaura kisorani.*  
 91 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī*<sup>124</sup> *syāmā*<sup>125</sup> *kuñjabihārini*<sup>126,127</sup> *jū kau pabitra jasa.*

<sup>99</sup>H syāma emended to syāmā?

<sup>100</sup>Added: A, F, NC kuñjabihārī; H kahata, deleted

<sup>101</sup>A śyāma; H syāma emended to syāmā

<sup>102</sup>F syāma

<sup>103</sup>I kuñjabihārī added

<sup>104</sup>H omitted

<sup>105</sup>F syāma

<sup>106</sup>I kuñjabihārī added

<sup>107</sup>H syāma emended to syāmā; RC śyāma

<sup>108</sup>A kuñja<sup>o</sup>; D, PH <sup>o</sup>rani; F bihārī emended to kuñjabihārī *sec. m.*; H, I, J, BR, NC, RC omitted

<sup>109</sup>Added: F, I, J, BR bihārani; H, RC bihārini; NC bihārīna

<sup>110</sup>Added: F kuñjabihā; H kuñjabihārī

<sup>111</sup>F, H, J kuñjabihārī added

<sup>112</sup>F, H, PH syāma

<sup>113</sup>F syāma; H syāma emended to syāmā

<sup>114</sup>C, F, I, BR omitted; RC kuñjabihārī

<sup>115</sup>C, F syāma; H syāma emended to syāmā

<sup>116</sup>Added: H, I, J kuñjabihārī; NCM kuñjabihārī, in brackets

<sup>117</sup>C syāma; BR omitted

<sup>118</sup>C kuñjabihārī added

<sup>119</sup>F syāma

<sup>120</sup>NCM kuñjabihārī added

<sup>121</sup>D, I, BR, NCP syāma; F, RC omitted; H omitted, syāmā emended to syāma added in marg.

<sup>122</sup>C, I, BR, NC kuñjabihārī; D kuñjabihārīna; PH kuñjabihārīna

<sup>123</sup>J, BR kuñjabihārī added

<sup>124</sup>BR omitted

+ second epithet, (*kuñja*)*bihārini*, reminding of *kuñjabihārī*: 75, 85, 91, 97  
possibly disconnected from *svāmī*: 15, 53, 89, 105

**Both *syāmā* and *kuñjabihārī* omitted**

- 18 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī*<sup>128</sup> *kau samayo aba niko banyaū hili mili keli aṭala bhaī rati dhū para.*  
62 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī*<sup>129</sup> *kī prakṛti na phirī chiyā chāḍo kini.*  
82 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī*<sup>130</sup> *kau copari kau sau ṣela ikaguna duguna tiguna caturāguna rī jā ke nāmehi.*  
98 *aise rasika śrī*<sup>131</sup> *haridāsa ke svāmī*<sup>132</sup> *tina ko bharana āī mili hasāta.(?)*  
102 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī*<sup>133</sup> *ko milata ṣelata ko suṣa kahā pāiyata hai aisau suṣa mana kaū.*  
109 *śrī haridāsa ke svāmī*<sup>134</sup> *tuhmārai māthai trana kitauka suṣa jāta.*

***chāpa* completely different from the rest of KM**

- 21 *aisī nitya bihārini śrī bihārī lāla saṅga ati ādhīna ātura laṭapaṭāta jyaū taru tamāla kuñja mahala śrī*<sup>135</sup> *haridāsī jorī surati hiṅḍora jhūli.*  
25 no *chāpa*, names in lines 1 and 2:  
*rādhā rasika kuñjabihārī kahata ju hau na kahū gayo suni suni rādhe terī sō;*  
*mohi na patyāhu tau saṅga haridāsī hutī pūchi deṣi bhaṭū kahi dhō kahā bhayo merī sō;*  
106 *rasada śrī haridāsa bihārī aṅga aṅga milata atana udo karata surati ārambhaṭī.*

**Vocative to *Haridās*/ ‘says *Haridās*’ (resembles the model of AS)**

- 9 *sunī haridāsa pañchī nāñā raṅga deṣata hī deṣata pyārī jū na hārī.*  
10 *sunī haridāsa kāhe na kahata yā saū chāḍai ba chāḍai apanō pana.*  
19 *sunī*<sup>136</sup> *haridāsa tamāla syāma sō latā lāpaṭi kañcana kī thorī.*  
99 *sunī haridāsa prema sō premahi chirakata chaila chuvāhi.*  
65 *kahi haridāsa leta pyārī jū ke tirapa lāgani mē kisora.*

<sup>125</sup>H *syāma*

<sup>126</sup>A °riṇi; C, D, F, H, I, J, BR, NC °rī; PH °rani

<sup>127</sup>Added: C *bihārini*; H, NCM *bihārini*; I, J, BR *bihārani*; NCP *bihārini*

<sup>128</sup>C, NCM *syāmā* added

<sup>129</sup>C *syāmā*; NC *syāma*

<sup>130</sup>Added: C *syā*; J *syāmā*; NCP *syāmā*, emended to *syāmā*; NCM, RC *syāmā kuñjabihārī*

<sup>131</sup>H omitted, added in marg., *sec. m.*

<sup>132</sup>J *syāmā* added

<sup>133</sup>Added: H *syāma kuñjabihārī*; J *syāmā*

<sup>134</sup>Added: F, H *syāmā kuñjabihārī*; NC *syāmā*

<sup>135</sup>C, F, I omitted

<sup>136</sup>D *kaha*; J, NCM *sunā*; NCP *sunī*

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