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THE RĀSA MĀNA KE PADA OF KEVALARĀMA

A MEDIEVAL HINDI TEXT OF THE EIGHTH GADDĪ OF THE VALLABHA SECT

Alan William Entwistle

Thesis submitted for Ph.D. examination

University of London

1982

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Abstract

Rāsa māna ke pada is the title given to a compilation of lyrics attributed to Kevalarāma, a seventeenth century gosvāmī of a branch of the Vallabha sect (or Puṣṭimārga) which is referred to as the 'Eighth Gaddī' (Hindi: Aṣṭama/Āṭhavi Gaddī). The lyrics, composed in the literary Braj dialect and dealing mainly with aspects of the love between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, are representative of a body of literature preserved in a collection of manuscripts which were copied in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in and around Dera Ghazi Khan, a town on the banks of the Indus where, until 1947, the main temple of the Eighth Gaddī was situated.

Since no account of the author and his sectarian background is available in English, the relevant historical and biographical data are presented in extended introductory chapters. Orthography and metre are examined in detail in order to show how the archaic inflections and tadbhava forms of the Ur-text, which were preserved by the relatively conservative scribe of the oldest extant version, were altered by later scribes who tended to Sanskritize the language, albeit with the retention of certain traits derived from their regional speech. Conclusions reached concerning the presumed archetypal language of the text and principles formulated for dealing with variant spellings have wider implications for the editorial treatment of early Hindi texts in general.

Grammatical forms are listed in a section which summarises the linguistic features of the poems (including three which are written in Panjabi), and an index provides etymologies, glosses and cross-references for all words occurring in the text. A literal English translation is provided and the bibliography includes detailed descriptions of all manuscripts consulted.



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Preface

For Sanskrit and Hindi terms the standard method of transcribing Devanagari has been adopted. Arabic and Persian words are transcribed according to the system used by J. T. Platts in his Dictionary of Urdū, Classical Hindī and English. Anglicized spellings are given for place names and names of languages, scripts and contemporary personages (apart from authors listed in the bibliography). Dates are given according to the Gregorian calendar unless stated otherwise (viz. Hijrī and VS for Vikrama Samvat). In the footnotes references are made either to the title of a work or to the author's name, accompanied by the date of publication in cases where more than one work by a single author is cited. Full details of publications are given in the bibliography. A few titles are referred to by abbreviations which are listed at the beginning of section four of the bibliography. Manuscripts are referred to by sigla as given in the descriptive list which comprises the first section of the bibliography.

I must record my gratitude to the gosvāmīs of the Eighth Gaddī for the encouragement and keen interest they have shown in the progress of my research. Particular thanks are due to Goswami Ratan Lal, Goswami Shyam Lal, Goswami Shravan Lal and the late Goswami Bankey Lal for providing manuscripts and other materials and for patiently answering my many enquiries. I am also grateful to Shri Devi Dayal, President of the Goswami Sati Kewalramji Memorial Society, for the warm hospitality extended to me during visits to Bohrianwala Thalla (New Delhi) and for his help in locating additional source materials. While studying at the School of Oriental and African Studies, and afterwards as an external student, my work was supervised by Professor J. C. Wright and Doctor R. D. Gupta, to whom I am greatly indebted for their valuable guidance throughout the course of my research. Thanks are also due to Doctor C. Shackle for his helpful comments on the Panjabi poems which are included in the text.



I

SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF THE EIGHTH GADDĪ AND THE WORKS OF  
KEVALARĀMA

I.1 Manuscripts of the Eighth Gaddī

The poems included in the Rāsa māna ke pada of Kevalarāma are found in a relatively unknown collection of manuscripts preserved by gosvāmīs living in Vrindaban who belong to the 'Eighth Gaddī' (in Hindi Aṣṭama Gaddī or Āṭhavī Gaddī) of the Puṣṭimārga, the sampradāya established by Vallabha and his descendants during the sixteenth century. The Puṣṭimārga is usually referred to as having seven branches (called gaddī, pīṭha or ghar) which were established when Viṭṭhalanātha, the son of Vallabha, presented each of his seven sons with a deity. A compilation of stories dealing with the disciples of Viṭṭhalanātha mentions his having adopted a boy who became known as Śrī Lālaḷjī to whom he also gave a deity with the instruction that he form a branch of the sampradāya in Sind. The Eighth Gaddī which Śrī Lālaḷjī established at Dera Ghazi Khan has been overlooked in most accounts of the history of the Puṣṭimārga because it stood apart from the other seven gaddīs since it was geographically remote and was not founded by a member of the Vallabha family. Furthermore, its manuscript literature was never widely circulated and its structure and following have suffered from disintegration and dispersal since the partition of India and Pakistan in 1947 which obliged Hindus to abandon their homes in West Panjab.

Although the Rāsa māna ke pada could well be studied as an isolated text, one cannot ignore the fact that copies are found in a collection of manuscripts which have a common origin and contain other works attributed to the same author and members of his gaddī. Examination of the collection as a whole and extraction of the meagre historical data contained in the texts provide valuable clues as to the date and origin of the Rāsa māna ke pada. The manuscripts

now available for study were brought to Vrindaban in 1947 by three descendants of Śrī Lālajī, namely Goswami Bankey Lal, his son Goswami Ratan Lal and his uncle Goswami Shyam Lal. They are senior gosvāmīs from the temple at Dera Ghazi Khan who inherited the manuscripts and have shown interest in their study and preservation. The circumstances of the flight from Pakistan were so chaotic that only these three gosvāmīs managed to bring any manuscripts with them, and even then, since the amount of luggage they could bring was limited, they could only make a hasty selection from their library, leaving other manuscripts and records behind. The gosvāmīs from other Eighth Gaddī temples at Bahawalpur and Dera Ismail Khan also fled to India with their deities and possessions, but none of them seems to have brought any manuscripts while, since their departure, all the abandoned temples have been occupied by Muslim families or taken over by the government with the inevitable result that their contents have disappeared.

The manuscripts which the three aforementioned gosvāmīs brought to their temple in Vrindaban (now called Śrī Gopināthajī kā Mandira or Sukkhan Mātā Kuñja) are thus our only primary sources for the study of the gaddī's literature. Some secondary sources, such as the District Gazetteers, provide a certain amount of circumstantial or background information relevant to the gaddī's history and development. In recent years the gosvāmīs have donated several of their manuscripts to the Vrindaban Research Institute (a manuscript library situated in Vrindaban), in general retaining those specifically Eighth Gaddī texts of which they possess only one copy. A survey of what remains of the Dera Ghazi Khan manuscript collection enables one to form an idea of the literature with which previous gosvāmīs and their associates were familiar and allows one to arrive at a date for the manuscripts of the Rāsa māna ke pada.

In all about seventy-five manuscripts were brought to Vrindaban from Dera Ghazi Khan (a descriptive list of twenty-three manuscripts containing works attributed to Kevalarāma or providing information on the history of the gaddī is given below in the first section of the bibliography). There is no list of the manuscripts which formerly belonged to the library of the Dera Ghazi Khan temple, but from those which

survive it appears that the collection consisted of works written by the Eighth Gaddī gosvāmīs and their sevakas as well as other texts current among the Vaiṣṇava sampradāyas in general and the Puṣṭimārga in particular. Since the non-Eighth Gaddī texts in the collection give no information about the gaddī and its gosvāmīs, apart from indicating their tastes in reading, it is not necessary here to describe them in detail. Several of the manuscripts are anthologies which partly contain work by authors who did not belong to the Eighth Gaddī but which may be classified as Eighth-Gaddī manuscripts since they appear to have been compiled and copied in West Panjab under the auspices of the gosvāmīs if not by the gosvāmīs themselves.

I.2 The 'non-Eighth Gaddī' manuscripts brought from Dera Ghazi Khan

The majority of these manuscripts seems to belong to a period spanning the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and appears to have been collected by the gosvāmīs while on journeys to Vrindaban and other parts of North India. Most of them have been donated to the Vrindaban Research Institute by Goswami Ratan Lal (V.R.I. accession numbers 9599-9601, 10842, 10844-10848, 10850-10859, 11316-11335, 11338-11340). Some have colophons indicating their date and place of composition, viz. Kavitta saṅgraha dated VS 1845 (acc. no. 11316A), Praśnatantra VS 1853 (acc. no. 10846), Jaiminiya-aśvamedhaparva copied at Vrindaban in VS 1870 (acc. no. 10845), Caurāsī vaiṣṇavan kī vārtā copied at Gokul in VS 1878 (acc. no. 11319), Rāmāyaṇa VS 1893 (acc. no. 10848), Rasamañjarī mūla by Bhānudatta VS 1905 (acc. no. 11331B), Raghuvamśa copied at Vrindaban in VS 1907 (acc. no. 10856) and Śikṣāpatra of Harirāya with Gopeśvara's Braj commentary VS 1935 (acc. no. 10842).

These manuscripts mostly contain the sort of literature one would expect to find in a Puṣṭimārga library. Sanskrit texts include the Ṣoḍaśagrantha of Vallabha (with Nārāyaṇopaniṣad, Puruṣasūkta and other short works, acc. no. 11321) and similar compilations of stotras

etc. (acc.nos. 11332 and 11333), as well as Sampradāyapradīpa of Gadādhara (acc.no.11324) and the aforementioned Śikṣāpatra of Harirāya. Among the Braj texts are several Puṣṭimārga vārtā manuscripts (acc. nos. 11317, 11319, 11323, 11330, 11335), Sūrasāgara (acc.no.11326), Rāsapañcādhyāyī of Nandadāsa (acc.nos. 9601A and 11320B) and anthologies of other verse by Aṣṭachāpa poets (acc.nos. 10850, 10853, 11339). There are also a couple of genealogies of Puṣṭimārga gosvāmīs (acc.nos. 11321A and 11322), Bāvan vacanāmṛta of Kākā Vallabhajī (acc.no.10852), Vallabhākhyāna of Gopālādāsa (acc.nos. 9599A and 11338) and some padas and short doctrinal texts in prose by Harirāya, including Bhāvabhāvanā (acc.nos. 9599B, 9601B, 11340). (1)

Among non-Puṣṭimārga texts, apart from those mentioned above, are such random Sanskrit works as Śāntiparva with Mokṣadharmā ṭikā (acc.no.10844), Dravyaśuddhi of Puruṣottama and Mahākarmavipākā (acc. no.11318), Sārasvatacandrikā (acc.no.10847), Bālacikitsā (acc.no. 10857) and Rasabodhacandrodaya (acc.no.10859). Non-Puṣṭimārga Braj texts include anthologies of padas (11316, 11327, 11331A), Rāmagītāvalī of Tulasīdāsa (acc.no.11334A, with the Rāma poems from Sūrasāgara in 11334B) and a work on prosody by Muralīdhara Kavibhūṣaṇa entitled Chandohṛdayaprakāśa which was copied for Gosvāmī Raṇachoraṛāya in VS 1839 at Dera Ghazi Khan. (2)

1. The manuscripts containing padas of Harirāya (two of which have been donated to the V.R.I., acc.nos. 9599B and 9601B) are referred to by P.Mital, 1962(2), pp.2-5, who used them for his book Śrī Harirāyajī ka pada-sahitya. He believes that they were all copied from the same manuscript and found that they provided variant readings and some additional verses which were not given in other manuscripts he consulted. V.Caturvedī also discusses manuscripts of works by Harirāya from Dera Ghazi Khan (pp. 88, 117-21 and 225), stating that one Eighth Gaddī manuscript contains two short prose works which are not found elsewhere (viz. A(d) and (g)).
2. This manuscript, belonging to Goswami Ratan Lal, has been edited by Viśvanātha Prasada and published by the K.Munshi Institute, University of Agra. At the end of the work the author gives its date of composition as VS 1723 (AD 1666) and names his patron as Mahārāja Hṛdaya Nārāyaṇadeva of the fort at Garha (in Jabalpur district). The first and last folios of the manuscript are reproduced at the end of the introduction to the published text.

These manuscripts give the impression that the Dera Ghazi Khan gosvāmīs used to study the simpler Puṣṭimārga doctrinal and devotional texts rather than such larger philosophical commentaries as Vallabha's Anubhāṣya, Subodhinī and Tattvārthadīpanibandha and Viṭṭhalanātha's Vidvanmaṇḍana. They also collected some Sanskrit texts of general interest and a selection of Braj poetry which included a certain amount of verse by poets who were not associated with the Puṣṭimārga (such as Kabīr in acc.no.11316B).

### I.3 Manuscripts containing works by Eighth Gaddī authors

Manuscripts belonging specifically to the Eighth Gaddī form a category distinct from those mentioned above since they consist partially or entirely of material written by Eighth Gaddī authors and are all bound volumes having certain scribal characteristics in common. Those manuscripts with colophons giving information about their date, scribe and place of composition, and comparable manuscripts which do not provide such data, indicate that they were written in West Panjab during the period when the 'non-Eighth Gaddī' manuscripts were acquired. Ten manuscripts have colophons supplying the following information:

<u>MS siglum</u>	<u>date (AD)</u>	<u>place</u>	<u>scribe and other information</u>
F	1788-93		records the birth of Harideva in 1793.
P	1794		written for Raṇachorārāya.
C	1797	Lakki	written by Rūpacanda Puṣkarāṇa for Raṇachorārāya and Harideva.
A	1819	Leiah	Mūlacanda Jośī, copy of MS compiled by or for Bāke Bihārī.
N	1866		Rāma Tarnejā (for himself).
S	1887	Dera	copied from a MS written in 1798 by Mukundadāsa for Raṇachorārāya.



<u>MS siglum</u>	<u>date (AD)</u>	<u>place</u>	<u>scribe and other information</u>
O	1895		written for Sundaralāla.
T	1896		written for Jīvanalāla.
R	1926		
L			copy of a MS written at Dera Ghazi Khan in 1904 by Kṛṣṇadāsa Gurur (= Garuḍa).

It is evident from the colophons that the oldest extant Eighth Gaddī manuscripts were written in the last decade of the eighteenth century for Gosvāmī Raṇachorāya. Names of other gosvāmīs mentioned in the texts and comparison of handwriting enable us to give approximate dates for other manuscripts which do not have informative colophons.

The present Eighth Gaddī gosvāmīs, as is usual for such families, particularly in the Panjab, are able to give the names of all the important agnatic descendants of Śrī Lālaājī. In most cases they can also give traditionally accepted dates of birth and death which are mentioned either in songs in praise of their ancestors (stutis) or in genealogies (vaṃśāvalīs). Besides vaṃśāvalīs which the present or recent gosvāmīs have compiled there are lists in two manuscripts (I ff.38-9, W(c) f.73) of the gosvāmīs from Śrī Lālaājī to Raṇachorāya, though no dates are given. A manuscript of Śrī Lāla caritam and Dvādaśa bhakta kathā by Dayālu Candra Śarmā gives the names and dates of the senior gosvāmīs up to the present century (U f.3/'4'), the author stating that his list is based on information supplied by gosvāmīs of the temple at Dera Ghazi Khan. Most of the stutis were written in a manuscript which has been lost or mislaid in recent years, though P.Mital was able to inspect it and include some of the information it provided in his article on the Eighth Gaddī and its literature.<sup>(3)</sup> He quotes some of the verses from the stuti manuscript which give dates of birth and death of some of the gosvāmīs, but on the basis of similarity of style and language he concludes that the stutis were all written by the same person, not by the various

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3. P.Mital 1965, pp. 20, 22-6.

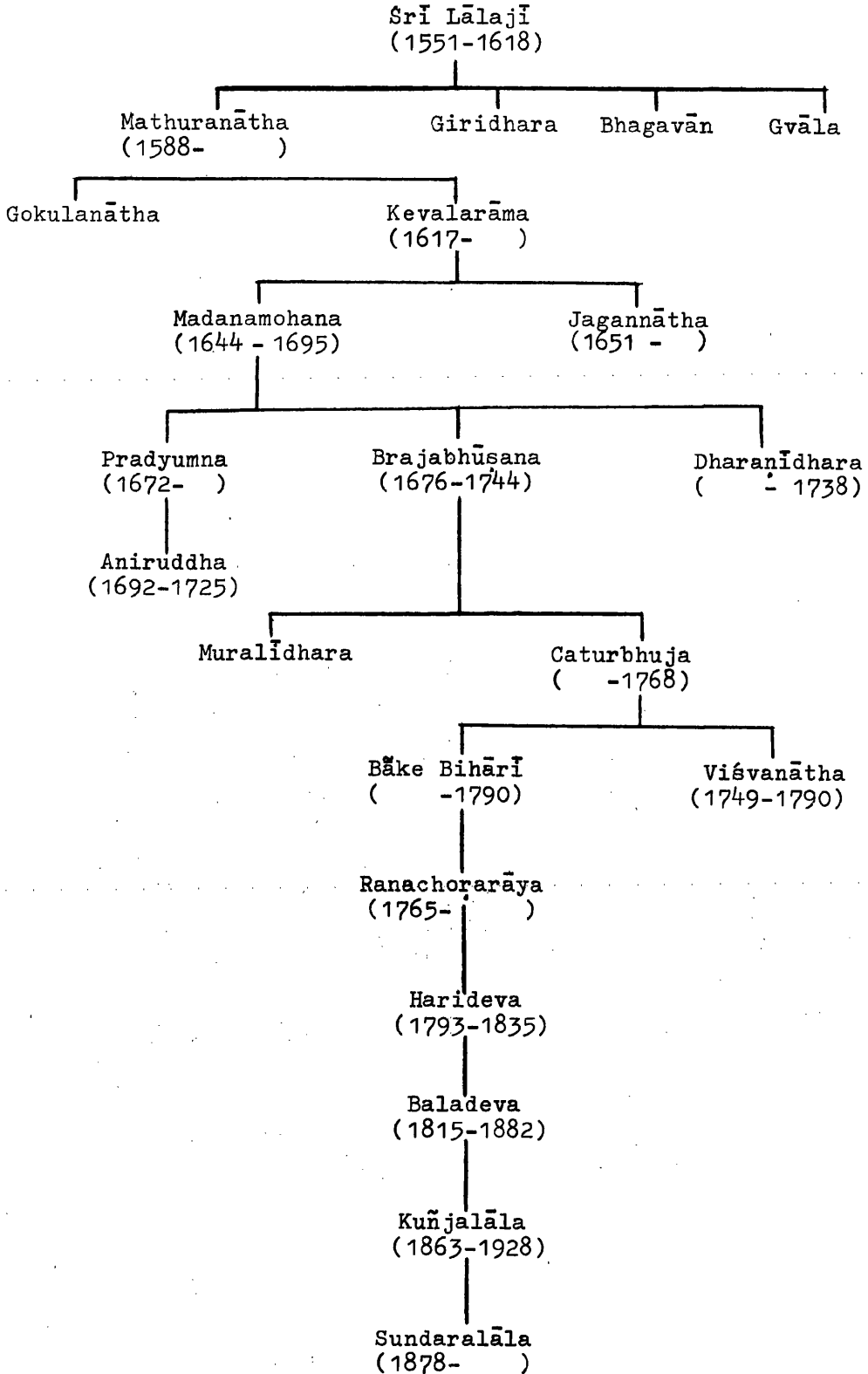
gosvāmīs and sevakas whose chāpa they contain. He says that the volume contained stutis of gosvāmīs from Śrī Lālajī to Harideva and had a colophon dated AD 1834, after which a stuti for Baladeva had been added in a different hand. Stutis of Mathurānātha, Aniruddha and Dharaṇīdhara are found in manuscript B, while G contains several verses in praise of Śrī Lālajī. After collating the information given in the stutis and vaṃśāvalīs a genealogy may be constructed as illustrated in table no.1.

Although there is no external evidence to confirm the dates given in the genealogical table they provide a feasible chronology and may be taken as at least approximate. Sources for the dates of gosvāmīs from Śrī Lālajī to Kevalarāma are discussed in detail in the following section of this introduction. The dates of the gosvāmīs who came after Harideva are found only in the vaṃśāvalīs while dates for those who preceded him are found in both the vaṃśāvalīs and the stutis, but with some discrepancies as indicated below:

	<u>source for stuti</u>	<u>stuti dates</u>	<u>alternative/additional dates from vaṃśāvalīs</u>
Madanamohana	Mītal pp.21-22*	b.1644	d.1695
Pradyumna	Mītal pp.21, 24	1672-1717	
Aniruddha	B f.155 <sup>v</sup>	1692-1725	b.1662
Brajabhūṣaṇa	Mītal pp.21, 24	1676-1744	1664-1752
Dharaṇīdhara	B f.165 <sup>v</sup>	d.1738	
Caturbhūja	Mītal pp.21,25	d.1768	1679-1764
Bāke Bihārī	" pp.21, 26	d.1790	b.1705
Viśvanātha	" "	1749-1790	
Raṇachoraṛaya	" p.21	b.1765	
Harideva	" "	b.1793	1765-1835

\* i.e. article by Mītal, 1965. On p.26 he gives the date for the death of Bāke Bihārī in figures as 1780, but the lines quoted from the stuti clearly give the date as 1790.

Table 1: GENEALOGY OF THE EIGHTH GADDI GOSVĀMĪS



The alternative dates given in the vamśavalīs do not seem preferable to those found in the stutis. If 1672 is accepted as the date of birth of Pradyumna then 1662 must be rejected as a date of birth for his son Aniruddha and assumed to be written in error for 1692 (i.e. VS 1719 for 1749). The year 1664 as a date of birth of Brajabhūṣaṇa would make him older than his elder brother Pradyumna, whose date of birth is given as 1672 in both the vamśavalīs and the stutis. If 1676 is accepted as the year of birth of Brajabhūṣaṇa then 1679 is an impossible date for the birth of his son Caturbhūja and seems rather early in relation to a vamśavalī date of 1664 for the year of birth of his father. Bāke Bihārī's year of birth as 1705, while consistent with vamśavalī dates for his father and grandfather, seems somewhat incongruous if 1676 is accepted as the year of birth given in the stuti for his grandfather Brajabhūṣaṇa. It seems more likely that he was born nearer the year 1749 which the stuti gives as the date of birth of his younger brother Viśvanātha. The vamśavalī date of birth of Harideva is contradicted both by his stuti and by a record of his birth found in one of the manuscripts (F f.128v). The stuti dates of birth for Raṇachoraṛāya and Harideva fit in well with the dates given in the manuscript colophons referred to above.

If the dates given in the genealogical table are accepted as being accurate, or at least approximate, then one may deduce the age of two of the manuscripts which do not have dated colophons. Manuscript B cannot be older than 1738 since it contains a stuti mentioning the death of Dharanīdhara. Manuscript D cannot be older than the early nineteenth century since it contains part of a work entitled Virahabhedavivarāṇa written by Harideva.

Examination and comparison of the scribes who compiled the anthologies also allow us to arrive at an approximate date for some of the undated manuscripts. The scribe of manuscript C, Rūpacanda Puṣkaraṇa, has a hand distinctive for its thick and bold letters, apparently written with a broad-nibbed pen. Exactly the same

handwriting appears in manuscript D with, on folio 17<sup>r</sup>, the same kind of circular design as is found in the centre of four folios in manuscript C. Rūpacanda is thus the scribe of several of the folios of D, including the ardās hymn on folio 156<sup>r</sup>. On some folios in D his handwriting appears alongside that of another scribe where he has either written over some lines obliterated with an ochre-coloured paint (f. 56<sup>v</sup>) or where the other scribe has written a poem between verses copied by Rūpacanda (ff. 88<sup>v</sup> and 93<sup>v</sup>). The person whose handwriting appears alongside that of Rūpacanda on these folios in D is clearly the scribe who copied the first section of Kevalarāma's Ratnasāgara (ms. K). It is thus evident that manuscripts D and K were copied by a contemporary of Rūpacanda who copied C in 1797. D contains an extract from Harideva's Virahabhedavivarāṇa, a work which he is not likely to have written before about 1815 since he was born in 1793. It appears therefore that Rūpacanda was active in the last years of the eighteenth century and the first few decades of the nineteenth, the period when the scribe of D and K must also have been active.

Other scribes show orthographical similarities but not consistently enough to allow for positive identification of any particular scribe whose hand appears in more than one manuscript. The overall impression, taking into consideration handwriting and the kinds of inks and papers used, is that manuscripts B, E, G, H, and probably I and J, all belong to the same period in which the manuscripts dated 1788-1819 were copied. It appears that the gosvāmīs Raṇachoraṛāya and Harideva showed particular interest in the literature of their gaddī and encouraged scribes to copy manuscripts in order to build up a library at Dera Ghazi Khan.

Two of the manuscripts written in the latter half of the nineteenth century were copied by the same scribe, namely S and T which are dated 1887 and 1896 respectively, the former reproducing a colophon in the form of two kavittas written in 1798 by an earlier scribe named Mukundadāsa who says that he copied the manuscript for Raṇachoraṛāya. The two manuscripts of Kevalarāma's Jñānadīpaka also belong to this period, the earlier one (N) having been copied in 1866 by Rāma Tarṇejā for his own use and the other (O) for

Gosvāmī Sundaralāla in 1895. The most recent dated manuscript is a copy (R) of Śrī Lālaḷī's Saptagranthī, Dharmasaṃvāda and Sahasranāma together with Harināmamālā of Nandadāsa which is dated 1926. The handwriting, ink and kind of paper used for manuscripts M (Snehasāgara of Kevalarāma) and Q (Ekādaśa catuṣpadī of Śrī Lālaḷī) give the impression that they belong to the latter half of the nineteenth century, while a verse in the manuscript of a vārtā dealing with Raṇaḷaḷarāya (V f. '139'<sup>F</sup>) gives the date of composition of the work as 1870.

The earliest gosvāmī recorded as having compiled or commissioned a manuscript is Bāke Bihārī, the father of Raṇaḷaḷarāya, who is mentioned in the kavitta with which the scribe Mūlacanda Jośī concludes manuscript A. Some of the manuscripts have evidently been rebound (e.g. B, H and K) since the folios have been sewn together out of sequence. One anthology (F) was compiled over a period of at least five years and, from the nature of its miscellaneous contents, served as a notebook in which gosvāmīs or their associates copied items of interest to them. Other anthologies (e.g. D, H and I) may have been compiled in the same way and some (e.g. B and E) may have been made by binding together folios from more than one original manuscript, as is indicated by the irregular foliation, variety of scribes, use of different kinds of paper and inconsistent drawing of margin lines. Alternatively, such anthologies were written in volumes made by sewing together blank leaves of different kinds of paper since no portions of text have been lost in the process of binding and trimming the folios to a uniform size. Some manuscripts, such as G, were bound or rebound with blank leaves at the beginning and/or the end which have since been used by later owners or other scribes for copying additional poems or notes, some added quite recently as is indicated by the use of blue-black fountain pen ink or modern pens.

The various stutis, doctrinal texts and other compositions by the gosvāmīs and their followers contain occasional references or data

which have been examined below in the account of the Eighth Gaddī's history and the life and works of Kevalarāma. Two manuscripts belonging to Goswami Ratan Lal (Madanamohana's Bhāgavatadaśamaskandha and Harideva's Virahabhedavivarāṇa) and one in the Vrindaban Research Institute (acc.no.11336 containing thirty-three battīsī poems by Baladeva written in the latter half of the last century) have not been referred to or described since they do not contain material relevant to the history of the gaddī or to the works of Kevalarāma.

Some anthologies contain works by poets who did not belong to the Eighth Gaddī, either interspersed with verses by Eighth Gaddī writers or in separate sequences. Most of the 'non-Eighth Gaddī' verses in the anthologies are by poets of the Aṣṭachāpa, others whose poems are occasionally included are Hita Harivaṃśa, Rasakhāna and Sūradāsa Madanamohana. One manuscript (J) contains verse by later poets of the rīti kāla such as Keśava, Deva, Jāna, Senāpati, Gāṅga, Vṛnda and Ālam. One anthology (H) has a certain amount of Panjabi verse while two others (F and J) contain Persian gazal, rekhtā, bait and rubā<sup>cī</sup> verses written in Devanāgarī script with appropriate diacritical marks. There are some short prose texts by Harirāya in one anthology (A) and, in the same and other anthologies (C, F and I), some selected Sanskrit ślokas and short texts such as Garbhitastotra, Navagrahavidhi, Ṣaṭpadi of Viṭṭhala, Bhavanyaṣṭaka, Svapnādhyāya of Bṛhaspati, Gāṅgamahātmya, Yamunāṣṭaka and a Bālalīlā attributed to Śaṅkarācārya.

Apart from these Dera Ghazi Khan manuscripts there is another (W) in the Houghton Library of Harvard University which contains work by various bhakti poets. The first text in this manuscript, written in a different hand from the other two, is the Caurāsī pada of Hita Harivaṃśa. This is followed by Nānamālā of Nandadāsa which, according to the colophon, was copied by Harirāma Rāvala in 1803. This scribe then added a pada saṃgraha which is unfinished and has no colophon but which is evidently an Eighth Gaddī compilation since it contains a list of ancestors and descendants of Śrī Lālajī up to Raṇachorārāya as well as a poem in praise of Kṛṣṇa as Gopināthajī with the chāpa

'Madanamohana' and several verses with Śrī Lālaḷāḷī's chāpa 'Lāladāsa' and Kevalarāma's chāpas 'Kevala' and 'Kevalajana', some of which appear in other Eighth Gaddī anthologies described above.

The existence of two Eighth Gaddī manuscripts was recorded in the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā's 'Khoj Report' on the search for Hindi manuscripts for the years 1932-34. One of these (no.114, p.208) is a copy of Kevalarāma's Rāsa māna ke pada described as having forty folios written in Devanāgarī script and as being prācīna. It was found in the library of Devakīnandanācārya at Kāmaban (Kaman) in the temple of Gokulacandramāḷī, seat of the fifth gaddī of the Puṣṭimārga. The beginning of the manuscript is given as:

atha śrī rāma māna ke pada śrī kevalarāma gosāḷīḷī kṛta liṣate

The reading rāma is presumably a misprint since the heading for the entry gives the title as Rāsa māna ke pada.

The other manuscript (no.162, p.255) is a copy of Śrī Lālaḷāḷī ko janam caritra by Paramānanda containing seven folios in Devanagari script and also described as prācīna. It was found among the manuscripts collected by Paṇḍita Māyāśāṅkara Yājñika kept at the fourth gaddī's temple of Gokulanāthāḷī at Gokul. The beginning and end of the work as given in the description show that this is the same text as is found in Dera Ghazi Khan manuscripts A and I. The verses giving the dates of birth and death of Śrī Lālaḷāḷī are quoted, the latter in a corrupt form (cf. below II.2 note 80). The manuscript is also said to contain a work not found in other sources called Śrī Lālaḷāḷī kī vaṁśāvalī written in verse by Motīdāsa in 1754. No scholars who have so far studied the Eighth Gaddi refer to these entries in the 'Khoj Report' or to any other manuscripts apart from those which were brought from Dera Ghazi Khan to Vrindaban. Enquiries made at the temple of Gokulacandramāḷī elicited the information that all the manuscripts had been sent to Kaman, both gaddīs having had the same tilakāyat (head gosvāmī) since the time of Vallabha, who succeeded Devakīnandana earlier this century. Repeated letters and visits to Kaman have so far failed to obtain access to this



temple library, its custodian spending most of his time elsewhere and the library remaining closed in his absence.

From time to time the gosvāmīs of the Eighth Gaddī have published texts by Śrī Lālaḷāḷī for circulation among their followers, a list of which is given below in a separate section of the bibliography. There have been two editions of Kevalarāma's Jñānadīpaka which are described below in a section dealing with works attributed to the author (cf. III.2.7).

One might also mention here a series of seventeen portraits by a single artist which are in the possession of Goswami Ratan Lal. They depict the senior gosvāmīs from Śrī Lālaḷāḷī to Harideva as well as Viṣṇusvāmī and two gosvāmīs of the Gauḍīya sampradāya named Śyāmajī and Kṛṣṇadāsa Guṅḡamālī who were active in West Panjab. The style of the paintings and the fact that Harideva is the last gosvāmī depicted indicate that they were probably commissioned by him in the first half of the nineteenth century.

#### I.4 External sources

There is reason to believe that fresh information on the history of the Puṣṭimārga as a whole, and perhaps even some data on the relationship to it of the Eighth Gaddī, may be available in sectarian archives and libraries, such as those belonging to the temples at Nathdwara, Kankaroli, Jatipura and Govardhan. However, as one writer has already had occasion to remark, authentic records are not generally made available to researchers since the sampradāya likes to keep the history of its temples shrouded in mystery, any efforts to trace the origin of its idols being likely to go against the ethics (maryādā) of the sect.<sup>(4)</sup> It is not unusual for members of religious sects to be suspicious of outsiders who are likely to subject their archives to critical examination, an attitude which presumably arose as a result of the discrepancy between Mughal and Hindu 'history'. Members of the Puṣṭimārga tend to be more defensive than usual, their greater degree

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4. R.Jindel, p.18.

of distrust and suspicion being attributable to the adverse accounts of the sect which appeared for several decades following the sensational revelations and scathing denunciations published in 1865 by Karsendas Mulji in his anonymous History of the Sect of the Maharajas. Furthermore, in recent years, some of the hereditary spiritual leaders have been obliged to defend their interests and status in a series of legal battles with the government or groups of dissatisfied followers. Judgements have tended to go against them, with the result that they have lost their traditional claims to exclusive ownership of idols and temple property and have been declared merely managers or custodians subject to Boards of Trustees.

Such reticence to open temple archives accounts for the lack of any notable progress in study of the history of the Puṣṭimārga since Kaṇṭhamaṇi Śāstrī 'Viśārada' published his Kaṁkarolī kā itihāsa in 1939. He presents the dates and other information given in sectarian literature concerning the establishment of the Puṣṭimārga in Braj and the history of the third gaddī up to the twentieth century. His sources, most of which have been published, include the collections of eighty-four and two hundred and fifty-two vārtās, Śrīnāthajī kī prakaṭya vārtā and other vārtās attributed to Gokulanātha and Harirāya, Sampradāyakalpadruma by Viṭṭhalanātha Bhaṭṭa, Sampradāyapradīpa by Gadādhara and Vallabhadigvijaya by Yadunātha. Only Sampradāyakalpadruma and Do sau bāvan vaiṣṇavan kī vārtā mention Śrī Lālajī, which implies that once he had left Braj to settle in Dera Ghazi Khan he had little contact with the rest of the sampradāya whose senior members, for their part, probably had no interest in promoting a gaddī which was so remote and which was not held by a member of the Vallabha family. Dīnadayālu Gupta gave an account of the early history of the Puṣṭimārga in Aṣṭachāpa aur Vallabha-sampradāya (1947), discussing some of the sectarian sources in more detail than Śāstrī, while Hariharanātha Ṭaṇḍan examined the authorship, contents and dating of the vārtā texts in Vārtā sāhitya,

published in 1960. Prabhudayāla Mital in his Braja ke dharmasampradāyō kā itihāsa (1968) gives the history of the Puṣṭimārga and all its gaddīs (including a brief section on the Eighth Gaddī) which enlarges upon the account he had given earlier in Aṣṭachāpa paricaya (1949) and relies on the same sources used by other scholars but offers a more acceptable interpretation of the conflicting accounts given in some texts of certain episodes in the early history of the sect. Richard Barz drew upon the aforementioned studies and sources for the introduction to his translation of four vārtās in The Bhakti Sect of Vallabhācārya (1976), and Rajendra Jindel has described the development of Nathdwara, citing some fresh documentary evidence for its later history, in Culture of a Sacred Town: a Sociological Study of Nathdwara (1976). Charlotte Vaudeville has begun to re-examine the origins and early history of the cult of Śrīnāthajī (cf. her article on 'The Govardhan Myth in Northern India', 1980), giving more consideration to the Bengali and other non-Puṣṭimārga sources than earlier scholars. The chronology which emerges from the sectarian literature is partly corroborated by firmans issued by the Mughal rulers to Viṭṭhalanātha and his descendants which were published with English and Hindi translations by K.M.Jhaveri in Imperial Farmans (1928).

These sources provide a chronology and sectarian background against which the Eighth Gaddī's own account of its origins and early history may be examined. In addition there is a certain amount of information available in the District Gazetteers, H.A.Rose's A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Panjab and the North-West Frontier Provinces and in the accounts of various travellers (e.g. Pallas, Elphinstone, Tod, Postans, Mohan Lal and Burton) which helps to throw light on the social environment and status of Hindus in the trans-Indus region, some of the authors referring specifically to followers of Śrī Lālaājī. There are also two books in Urdu giving some information on Kevalarāma and the Eighth Gaddī, namely Qismat Derah Jāt by H.St.G.Tacker and Caraffjīt Lāl, and Hamārā Derah Ismā'īl Khān by Jaswant Rām Ailāwādī. None of these non-sectarian sources has been referred to in previous studies of the Eighth Gaddī and its literature.

An intriguing but questionable source of information concerning the cult of Śrīnāthajī is found in a work entitled Śrīnāthajī kī kathā by Vaiṣṇavadāsa, the text of which was published in 1965 by Yamunāvallabha Gosvāmī of Rādhāmādhava temple (Dusāyat Mohallā), Vrindaban. He says that his edition is based on 'an old manuscript' which he threw in the Yamuna after publication because it was in such poor condition. The same gosvāmī has published other works which he claims are authentic editions of manuscripts he inherited, but these are viewed with suspicion by local Vaiṣṇavas because they so overtly substantiate his claim that he is a direct descendant and spiritual successor of Jayadeva, author of Gītagovinda.

If Śrīnāthajī kī kathā really is a faithful edition of an old text, then it is of interest because of its account of the early history of the temple at Govardhan. Apparently the work was commissioned by the Maharājā of Alwar, the colophon stating that it was copied in 1673 by Chājūrāma Brāhmaṇa and that the author, Vaiṣṇavadāsa, was a disciple of Rādhikānātha who was a sevaka of Rāmarāya, a descendant of Jayadeva. A dohā on page 80 states that Vaiṣṇavadāsa wrote the section of the work dealing with Vallabha in 1593, the account of subsequent events being added later. Its version of the establishment of the worship of Śrīnāthajī combines the traditional Gauḍīya and Puṣṭimārga accounts, stating that Bengalis originally conducted the sevā of the image under the guidance of Mādhavendra Purī until they were forcibly expelled by Kṛṣṇadāsa, the adhikārī appointed by Vallabha. The work is divided into different sections dealing with the life stories (carita) of Rāmarāya, the most prominent figure in this account, Mādhavendra Purī, Caitanya, Vallabha and Viṭṭhalanātha. Śrī Lāljī, who is mentioned in the carita of Viṭṭhalanātha, is said to have been a Sārasvata brahmin from Sind whose name was originally Tulasīrāma. He was adopted by Viṭṭhalanātha and fetched water from the Yamuna at Mathura for use in the sevā of Śrīnāthajī until he was eventually given the deity Gopināthajī.

Since the published edition should be regarded with a certain amount of caution Śrīnāthajī kī kathā is not referred to below as a source of information on the relationship between Śrī Lārajī and the Puṣṭimārga. However, it might be useful to record here the chronological data which the published text has to offer. Rāmarāya was born in 1483 and spent his childhood in Lahore where the deity (Rādhamādhavajī) of the gaddī of Jayadeva had been taken by his ancestors. In 1513 the deity was brought to Vrindaban after the death of Rāmarāya's parents. Mādhavendra Purī's date of birth is given as 1409 and he is said to have settled at Govardhan in his old age. The discovery or appearance (prāgaṭya) of Śrīnāthajī is said to have happened in 1485 and the year of its installation in the temple is given as 1513. The dates of birth of Vallabha's sons Gopīnātha and Viṭṭhalanātha are given as 1511 and 1515 and Vallabha is said to have first seen Śrīnāthajī in 1519. Gopīnātha's son Puruṣottama is said to have been born in 1530, the same year in which Vallabha died. Gopīnātha is said to have retired to Puri after being upset by the dispute with the Bengalis over the sevā of Śrīnāthajī and Viṭṭhalanātha is said to have died in 1585.

There is no external evidence or any reference in early standard Gauḍīya literature to support Yamunavallabha Gosvāmī's claim that Rāmarāya was a descendant of Jayadeva and a pupil of Nityānanda. P. Mital has discussed the works attributed to Rāmarāya and conveys some of the information imparted to him by Yamunavallabha Gosvāmī. (5)

#### I.5 Theses and published studies on the Eighth Gaddī

The literature of the Eighth Gaddī does not appear to have attracted the attention of scholars until after its manuscripts had been brought to Vrindaban. The first notification of the existence of these manuscripts was given in 1956 by Bābā

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5. Cf. P. Mital 1962(1), pp. 141-5, 167, 303-6.

Kanhaiyādāsa in a short article contributed to the periodical Braja Bhāratī entitled Braja sāhitya ke eka navīna bhaṇḍāra kā paricaya. In the following year the same author contributed an article on the life and works of Śrī Lālaḥjī in a short-lived periodical called Dharmajyoti, published in Vrindaban but not widely circulated. Kṛṣṇadatta Vājapeyī, in his Braja kā itihāsa (1958, cf. second volume pp. 241, 287-8, 490) referred to the most important Eighth Gaddī writers in a section dealing with miscellaneous poets of the bhakti period. He gives the traditionally accepted dates for Śrī Lālaḥjī, Mathurānātha, Kevalarāma and Madanamohana and the names of six of Śrī Lālaḥjī's disciples who wrote poetry. He says that Śrī Lālaḥjī wrote a simple commentary on the Bhāgavatapurāna and about a thousand padas dealing with līlā, śṛṅgāra and upadeśa. Kevalarāma's three long works are mentioned (Jñānadīpaka, Snehasāgara and Ratnasāgara, the latter said to contain about five hundred padas whereas in fact it contains about three hundred) as well as 'hundreds of chamdas' on siddhānta and līlā and several poems in his local dialect. He says that Kevalarāma is considered to be in the highest class of bhakti poets, illustrates his work by giving a pada found in manuscripts C and F, and identifies him with the Kevalarāma mentioned in Nābhādāsa's Bhaktamāla. Madanamohana's Daśamaskandha is mentioned as well as his mājh verses and padas on viraha and siddhānta. The second appendix to the volume, contributed by Śatrughnadatta Dube, begins with a mention of the vārtās dealing with the disciples of Śrī Lālaḥjī written by Premadāsa, quoting a few sentences and stating that it was written in Dera Ghazi Khan in the seventeenth century, but without offering any evidence to substantiate the date. H. Taṇḍan mentions Śrī Lālaḥjī, by the name of Tulasīdāsa, in his Vārtā sāhitya (1960, pp.285-6).

Two theses were accepted by the University of Agra in 1958 for the degree of M.Litt. One of them, by Rāmeśa Candra Jain, was entitled Śrī Kevalarāmaḥjī kṛta 'Jñānadīpaka' kā vaijñānika

pāṭhanusamdhāna. This gives the text of Jñānadīpaka with some notes on the language and glosses on some of the more obscure vocabulary and terms used, but it hardly deserves the epithet 'scientific (or critical) text edition' since it is based only on one of the available manuscripts (O) and makes no reference either to the other extant manuscript (N) or to the lithograph edition published by Gosvāmī Kuñjalāla. The introduction gives an account of the sectarian background and life of Kevalarāma based on information supplied by the gosvāmīs and some of the available manuscripts, relates the work to the sākhī tradition of the Santa movement and discusses its philosophical outlook and literary merit. The other thesis, Śrī Lāladāsa ke graṁthō kā vaijñānika pāṭhanusamdhāna by Rāmeśa Candra Mehrotrā, gives the edited text of four works by Śrī Lālaḥjī (Bhagavadgītāmāhātmya, Nāmamāhātmya, Sahasranāma and Bhāgavatamāhātmya) found in manuscript P. The introduction gives a biography of Śrī Lālaḥjī and a description of the language used in his writings with an appraisal of their thought and literary qualities and with some indication of the Purāṇa sources from which the content of the edited texts has been derived. Both these scholars arranged for the manuscripts they consulted to be photographed (viz. mss. O, P, S and T), the microfilm being deposited at the K. Munshi Institute, University of Agra. Neither of them has dealt with other works by the authors with whom they are concerned, this being outside the scope of their studies, hence they did not make use of the anthologies and other extant manuscripts.

A broad survey of the contents of the Eighth Gaddī manuscript collection was given by Prabhudayāla Mītal in an article entitled Vallabha sampradāya kī āṭhavī gaddī aur uskā sāhitya, published in Braja Bhāratī in 1965. The article serves as a general introduction to the Eighth Gaddī, giving the dates of the gosvāmīs as contained in a manuscript of stutis. Most of the Eighth Gaddī writers are mentioned, the majority of them being introduced with a few sentences

followed by some lines of verse as a sample of their work. In his Braja ke dharmasampradāyō kā itihāsa (1968, pp.296-8 and 525) Mītal briefly mentions the Eighth Gaddī ('Lālajī kā ghar') in the general context of the structure and history of the Puṣṭimārga. Dr.Satyendra also refers to the Eighth Gaddī poets in his Braja sāhitya kā itihāsa (pp. 160 and 680-1) published in 1967, but he simply mentions the most prominent authors and the titles of some of their works.

The most detailed study of the Eighth Gaddī, based on an examination of all the extant manuscript material brought from Dera Ghazi Khan, is the Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of Agra in 1971 by Surendra Śarmā entitled Vallabha sampradāya ke aṣṭama pīṭhastha sāhityakārō kā adhyayana. After a lengthy introduction giving the sectarian, cultural and literary background of the Eighth Gaddī the author gives a chronological survey of the writers whose works appear in the manuscripts with appropriate samples of their verse. He has extracted all available biographical details from the manuscripts and gives a fair appraisal of the various writers. His external and secondary sources are restricted mainly to Hindi publications and, like other scholars mentioned above, he does not make use of Urdu and English sources which give supplementary information and provide a picture of religious and cultural life in West Panjab and the role played by the Eighth Gaddī gosvāmīs.



II

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL DATA RELATING TO KEVALARĀMA AND THE  
EIGHTH GADDĪ

II.1 The Foundation of the Eighth Gaddī and its relation to the rest of  
the Puṣṭimārga

Although the Eighth Gaddī is regarded by the other seven as a subsidiary branch of the Puṣṭimārga there is little mention of it in sectarian literature. Its founder Śrī Lālaḷajī appears in Do sau bāvan vaiṣṇavan kī vārtā, a collection of stories about the disciples of Viṭṭhalanātha, the son of Vallabha. There are no manuscripts older than the mid-eighteenth century<sup>(1)</sup> though the tales it contains are said to have been passed on by Viṭṭhalanātha's fourth son Gokulanātha who told stories about the disciples of his father and grandfather.<sup>(2)</sup> It appears that Harirāya (born in 1590), a nephew of Gokulanātha, compiled and edited the two hundred and fifty-two vārtās, adding his own comments in the form of a bhāvaprakāśa.<sup>(3)</sup>

Śrī Lālaḷajī makes his appearance in the vārtās under his original name of Tulasīdāsa.<sup>(4)</sup> The basic story says that his father was appointed by Viṭṭhalanātha to the task of fetching water from the Yamuna for use in the service of the temple of Śrīnāthajī at

1. Authorship and mss. of the vārtās are discussed by D.Gupta pp.129 f. and H.Ṭanḍan pp.102-11, 124 f.
2. Sampradāyakaḷpadruma (SK), written by Viṭṭhalanātha Bhaṭṭa in 1672 (date of composition given in the work itself, XII.31 and 39, pp. 180 and 181) mentions the fact that Gokulanātha composed vārtās dealing with Vallabha and Viṭṭhalanātha, but without mentioning Caurāsī vaiṣṇavan kī vārtā (84V) and Do sau bāvan vaiṣṇavan kī vārtā (252V) as such, XI.10 p.141. The oldest vārtā ms. is said to be dated 1640 and gives the vārtās of Vallabha's eighty-four disciples and the four Aṣṭachāpa poets initiated by Viṭṭhalanātha.
3. The date of birth of Harirāya is given in SK X.30 pp.116-7.
4. 252V vārtā no.239 pp.252-4 (Kankaroli edn.), no.246 pp.352-3 (Mathura edn.).

Govardhan. Both his father and mother died, however, and so the orphan Tulasīdāsa grew up in Viṭṭhalanātha's household and played with his sons. Viṭṭhalanātha treated him like one of the family and used to call him lālajī, an affectionate appellation by which he used to call his own sons. When the seven boys grew up and were each given a deity by their father Tulasīdāsa was disappointed at not being given one as well. Kṛṣṇa, being aware of his disappointment, instructed Viṭṭhalanātha to give Tulasīdāsa a deity since he was destined to lead many souls to salvation. Viṭṭhalanātha duly gave Tulasīdāsa a deity called Gopināthajī and told him to go to Sind and initiate the people there. Thus Tulasīdāsa went to Sind and there began sevā of Gopināthajī. The vārtā concludes by saying that he became famous as 'Āṭhamē Lālajī' ('The Eighth Lālajī'), that his lineage survives and that his descendants still initiate the people of Sind.

The bhāvaprakāśa added to this vārtā states that Lālajī's father was a Sārasvata brahmin from near Delhi who came to Braj with his wife and son. They met Viṭṭhalanātha, who was in Mathura at the time, and were initiated by him. The father was poor and asked if there was any work he could do and so Viṭṭhalanātha gave him the task of jalaghariyā sevā (jalaghara being the pitcher in which water for the temple was fetched). The bhāvaprakāśa also says that Tulasīdāsa was five years old when his parents died. The only other mention of Śrī Lālajī in standard Puṣṭimārga literature is a reference in Sampradāyakalpadruma, written in 1672, to his having been sent to Sind by Viṭṭhalanātha after receiving the mantra of initiation. (5)

Among the manuscripts belonging to the Eighth Gaddī are some prose vārtās, songs in praise of Śrī Lālajī and a janma caritra which give more detailed information about him. These sources are all unanimous in saying that he was born in Sind on Māgha śuklapakṣa 7

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5. nāma mantra upadeśa kiya āyuṣa dai dvijarāya  
jala sevaka dvija lāla kō siṃdhuhī haraṣa paṭhāya  
SK VIII.14 p.72.

1551, a date which fits in well enough with Puṣṭimārga chronology, and that he was the son of Ajjū (also spelt Ajū) and Devakī. (6) The statement in Do sau bāvan vaiṣṇavan kī vārtā that he was born twenty kosas from Delhi may perhaps be taken as a surmise of Harirāya or some other writer who was influenced by the tradition that Sūradāsa, another Sārasvata brahmin, was also born in that area. (7) One may assume that the Eighth Gaddī has preserved more accurate information about its founder and that any disparity with the standard Puṣṭimārga account is the result of a lack of exchange of information between the eighth and the other gaddīs at the time the vārtās were written. (8)

One of the verses in praise of Śrī Lālaḥjī says that he was born in the Lalāḥjī lineage. (9) His descendants today bear the

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6. The year and date are given in Śrī Lālaḥjī ko janma caritra A f.146<sup>r</sup>:

utarāiṇa ke same māgha saptama śudī hoi  
vāra nakṣatra anūpa joga jāne sabha koi  
dviya ajū gṛha pragāṭa nāma śrīlāla dharāyo  
soraha saha aṭhotare prabha avatara āyo

The same date is given in verses by Mādho in G(a) nos. 9 and 14. Sind is given as the place of birth by Mādho, Kṛṣṇadāsa, no.17, Premadāsa f.78<sup>r</sup> and by Prabhudāsa in S f.62<sup>r</sup>. For further remarks on the name of Devakī cf. below notes 67 and 75.

7. Stated in the bhāvaprakāśa on the vārtā of Sūradāsa, 84V no.81 p.401.
8. Dayālu Candra Sarmā's version of Dvādaśa bhakta kathā states that Śrī Lālaḥjī left Sind in 1568 at the age of 17 after his parents had died (U f.2<sup>r</sup>). This information, however, is not given in any older Eighth Gaddī sources, while the statement in 252V that he was orphaned at the age of five while his parents were in Braj fits in better with the story of his having been adopted by Viṭṭhalanatha.
9. lalaḥjī vaṃśa śrīlāla pragāṭyo  
dasa disa māhi bhayo ujayāro  
Verse by Mādho in G f.79<sup>r</sup>.

family name of Bālī and belong to the Takhat Lalājī branch of the Kauśala gotra of Sārasvata brahmins. The Sārasvatas, who claim that their clan originally lived on the banks of the mythical Sarasvatī river, are the most numerous group of brahmins in the Panjab and Takhat is one of four sub-divisions of the Lalājī group whose members traditionally acted as priests (vatīsars) for the Aroṛās. The Bālīs are one of a group of five (pañcajāti) Muhyāl brahmins, a name said to derive from muhin, the sum of money given to them at weddings by Bhāṭ and Jājak families. <sup>(10)</sup> Śrī Lalājī's family was perhaps already Vaiṣṇava before he or his parents were initiated by Viṭṭhalanātha since he is said to have inherited the sevā of a family deity called Nāgarajī, an aṣṭadhātu image of Kṛṣṇa playing the flute in tribhaṅgī pose. <sup>(11)</sup>

The Eighth Gaddī manuscripts state simply that Śrī Lalājī was born somewhere in Sind, but the gosvāmīs say more precisely that he came from Sehwan in Larkana district and that his baiṭhak or gaddī was maintained in a house belonging to members of the family which was occasionally visited for worship on some festive occasions. The town had a sizeable population of Hindu traders and at the time of Śrī Lalājī's birth was comparatively free from strife under the rule of Tarkhans and Afghans. <sup>(12)</sup>

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10. Information on the caste supplied by Go. Ratan Lal. Cf. also H.A. Rose Vol. III pp. 116-27, where the spellings Munhiāl, Munhāl and Wateshar are given, the latter said to derive from vriteśvara.
  11. This deity was given a temple in Dera Ismail Khan (see below II.3 p.69) and has been in Kanpur since the partition of India and Pakistan. Dayalu Candra Sarma, U f.2<sup>r</sup>, records that Śrī Lalājī had a younger brother called Raghava from whom he collected the deity and his share of their inheritance on his return to Sind. The same text, *ibid.*, lists the ancestors of Śrī Lalājī as Śrīpati, Sāvāla, Sambhu, Mattana, Magana, Chagana, Ratana, Pokhara and Khokhara, the father of Aju. W(c) f.73 gives the names of Śrī Lalājī's ancestors as Mattana, Chattana, Ratana, Khakhara and Ajū, and also names his younger brother Raghava.
  12. Sind Gazetteer pp. 103-5. There is a possibility that Śrī Lalājī's association with Sehwan arose on account of the existence there of the tomb of the celebrated Qalandar saint Pīr Lal Shāhbāz, built on the site of an old Hindu temple, which attracted large numbers of Hindu and Muslim pilgrims who both worshipped a śalagrāma there. The Hindus regarded the place as the shrine of Rājā Bhartrhari, the wandering prince of Ujjain and brother of Vikramāditya. See below note 67 for an example of conflation of local cults and legends about Śrī Lalājī.

It appears that, between 1556 at the earliest and up until 1584 at the latest, Śrī Lālaḥjī was working as a sevaka in Govardhan and became regarded by Viṭṭhalanātha and his sons as almost one of the family. During much of this time, however, Viṭṭhalanātha would have been travelling around busily initiating disciples in order to establish himself as head of the Puṣṭimārga and collect funds in order to expand the sect and found temples. His father Vallabha had first come to Braj in the last decade of the fifteenth century and, until his death in 1530, had been laying the foundations of the Puṣṭimārga by initiating disciples and writing philosophical works in Sanskrit. Although he had adopted Śrīnāthajī of Govardhan as his principle deity, had helped to organise its worship and had arranged for a temple to be built, he in fact spent most of his later years at Adail near Allahabad. (13)

Initially the sevā of Śrīnāthajī was shared by followers of Vallabha and Bengali Vaiṣṇavas who had begun to settle in Braj. Since there was a conflict between these two groups following the death of Vallabha they each present a different account of the discovery of the deity and how its worship was initially organised. It appears from these accounts that Bengali Vaiṣṇavas were appointed to perform sevā of the deity while followers of Vallabha were responsible for more peripheral duties such as administration and organisation of offerings and music headed by Kṛṣṇadāsa as adhikārī, a disciple of Vallabha who became one of the Aṣṭachāpa group of poets. (14)

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13. The most important sources of information, albeit largely hagiographical, on the life of Vallabha are 84V, Nijavartā, Gharu vartā, Śrīnāthajī kī prakāṭya vartā and SK. All of these texts give 1530 as the year of his death at the age of 52.
  14. Śrīgovardhananāthajī ke prakāṭya kī vartā, or simply Śrīnāthajī kī prakāṭya vartā, (SPV), describes events from the time the deity first emerged from the Govardhan hill until its arrival at Nathdwara during the reign of Aurangzeb. The vartā of Kṛṣṇadāsa, 84V no. 84, gives information about his appointment as adhikārī and disputes with the Bengalis and Viṭṭhalanātha.

Viṭṭhalanātha was born at Chunar, near Varanasi, in 1515 and was between three and five years younger than his elder brother Gopinātha.<sup>(15)</sup> From Śrināthajī kī prākāṭya vārtā and the vārtā of Kṛṣṇadāsa in Caurāsī vaiṣṇavan kī vārtā it seems that friction between the Bengalis and followers of Vallabha increased as Gopinātha and/or Viṭṭhalanātha became old enough to assert their authority. Although no exact chronology emerges from the sources it would seem that the Bengalis were not forcibly expelled from the temple at Govardhan until about 1550 while Viṭṭhalanātha's de facto custodianship of the temple does not appear to have been officially recognised until several years later.<sup>(16)</sup> Further difficulty in determining the exact sequence of events during this period in Puṣṭimārga history arises from the suspiciously confused accounts in sectarian sources of the untimely deaths of Gopinātha and his son Puruṣottama. At one point Viṭṭhalanātha had such a disagreement with Kṛṣṇadāsa that the latter banned him from entering the temple of Śrināthajī for a period of six months. It appears that Gopinātha died while his son Puruṣottama was still a minor and so Viṭṭhalanātha assumed leadership of the sampradāya. The banishment of Viṭṭhalanātha from the temple might then be attributed to the fact that

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15. The date of birth of Viṭṭhalanātha is given in SK VI.12-14, p.44 and Nijavartā p.67, as well as in other Puṣṭimārga sources. Various dates are given for the birth of Gopinātha; SK VI.11 and Nijavartā p.66 give 1510, which is accepted by D.Gupta, p.72. P.Mital, 1968, p.247 and KKI pp. II.51 and 84 give 1511, though the latter says 1512 is also found, the year given by R.Barz p.52. Chunar appears as Caranāṭa in the texts.
16. The chronology of events is confusing but P.Mital, 1968, p.251 makes the plausible suggestion that the dispute was a protracted affair which began in around 1533 and culminated in the expulsion of the Bengalis in 1550. The firmans issued by Akbar (cf. below note 28) imply that eventually Viṭṭhalanātha's status as head of the sect and its temples was officially recognised.

Puruṣottama's mother began to fight for her son's right to succeed. The death of Puruṣottama at this crucial point allowed Viṭṭhalanātha to assume leadership without further opposition and to appease Kṛṣṇadāsa. The theory given in some sectarian histories that Gopinātha outlived his son and retired to Puri after handing everything over to Viṭṭhalanātha appears to be a later version of events designed to alleviate suspicion that rivalry within the family was behind all the trouble. (17)

By 1550 Viṭṭhalanātha's leadership of the Puṣṭimārga was probably no longer a matter of contention and the conflicts with Kṛṣṇadāsa and the Bengalis had been resolved in such a way that he was able to modify and expand the organisation and worship of the sect as he saw fit. Although his father had formulated a basic devotional ideology and praxis, Viṭṭhalanātha himself did much to enhance the popular appeal of the Puṣṭimārga, increase its membership and promote Braj, especially Govardhan and Gokul, as a spiritual centre of the sampradāya.

The middle decades of the sixteenth century were years of fervent religious activity among the Kṛṣṇa sects in Braj. Followers of Caitanya were establishing temples and religious communities under the leadership of the 'Six Gosvāmīs', of whom the most important were Rūpa, Sanātana and Jīva; the Nimbārka sampradāya, already long associated with Braj, flourished under the leadership of Harivyāsadeva while the 'poet-saints' Hita Harivaṃśa and Svāmī Haridāsa were each attracting a following of devotees. The main characteristics of these religious movements were evocation of devotional sentiment and emotion (rasa and bhāva) derived from contemplation of the līlās of Kṛṣṇa as they are described in the Bhāgavatapurāna, creation of a sense of participation in such līlās through their daily and seasonal re-enactment by means of service (sevā) of a temple or

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17. Here again P. Mital, 1968, p.255, offers the most plausible chronology, viz. that a dispute over succession began in 1545 following the death of Gopinātha, culminated in the banishment of Viṭṭhalanātha in 1548 and was resolved in 1549 after the death of Puruṣottama.

private deity, use of the Braj dialect as a medium of poetic expression (especially for kīrtana in the temples) and an attempt to create a suitably sacred geographical environment for such religious activity by 'reclaiming' or 'rediscovering' the sacred sites in Braj where Kṛṣṇa was thought to have actually performed his various līlās.

Viṭṭhalanātha is said to have performed the circumambulation (parikramā) of Braj three times, visiting all the newly discovered sacred hills, trees, wells, ponds, groves and thickets, thereby helping to establish a route for an annual pilgrimage which is still undertaken by large numbers of Puṣṭimārga devotees. (18) Other Vaiṣṇava saints and devotees were engaged in the same pursuit, but the Puṣṭimārga was particularly interested in locating those sites which were associated with the childhood of Kṛṣṇa. Over a period of about forty years Viṭṭhalanātha spent much of his time travelling extensively in order to visit centres of pilgrimage and build up a following. He must have been aware of the financial advantages of winning converts from among the rich trading communities of the western provinces. He appears to have made six pilgrimages to Dwarka during which he regularly stayed at Ahmedabad and gradually visited almost every important town in Gujarat, an area where the Puṣṭimārga remains popular to this day, particularly among the mercantile castes. (19)

Viṭṭhalanātha is credited with having elaborated the temple worship of the Puṣṭimārga in order to recreate in more detail the atmosphere, sentiments and emotions which could be evoked by contemplation and reenactment of the līlās of Kṛṣṇa. He is said to

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18. Cf. P.Mital 1966 pp.88-90, 1968 p.265.

19. Cf. D.Pocock and N.A.Thoothi. The varṭas depict the association of Vallabha and Viṭṭhalanātha with the vaiśya community. Dates of Viṭṭhalanātha's main tours of the western provinces and elsewhere and the places he visited are given in KKI III.111-13, and SK skandhas VII and VIII, from which it appears that he was travelling frequently between 1543 and 1581.



have introduced the pattern of aṣṭayama sevā which involved providing the deity with food and ornaments appropriate for each of the eight services of the day. He is also renowned for having formed the Aṣṭachāpa, a group of eight poets, four of them initiated by Vallabha and four by himself, who were later imagined to have been appointed to sing in turn at one of the eight services. (20) Whereas followers of Nimbārka, Caitanya, Hita Harivaṁśa and Svāmī Haridāsa were primarily concerned with the amorous līlās of Kṛṣṇa and the erotic religiosity associated with his love for Rādhā, the Puṣṭimārga concentrated more on the childhood of Kṛṣṇa with a view to cultivating the kind of parental affection (vātsalyabhāva) which was experienced by Kṛṣṇa's foster mother Yaśodā. Kṛṣṇa was visualised as a miraculous infant who performed astonishing feats to protect the people of Braj from demons and other evil forces, yet was at the same time a delightfully mischievous child who would get up to such pranks as stealing curd and butter while Yaśodā's back was turned. In order, therefore, to evoke the appropriate bhāva among the devotees, the worship performed in Puṣṭimārga temples centred around the concept of the deity representing the infant Kṛṣṇa. Viṭṭhalanātha introduced elaborate guidelines for a more grandiose sevā of the deity by enlarging the number of sevakas, increasing the quantity and variety of foodstuffs offered and by adding more vestments and ornaments to the deity's wardrobe. An indication of the increase in activity at the Govardhan temple is given by a mention in Śrīnāthajī kī prākāṣya vārtā that a large number of cows were donated for which Viṭṭhalanātha built cowsheds and employed four herdsmen. (21) He is also said to have elaborated the festival calendar by, for example, initiating a car festival (rathayātrā) and by organising grand

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20. Viṭṭhalanātha's elaboration of sevā is referred to specifically in SPV pp.29 f. and the vārtā of Kṛṣṇadāsa, 84V no.84.

21. SPV pp.29-30.

offerings of fifty-six preparations from a chosen kind of flour (chappan bhoga) for Śrīnāthajī and other deities worshipped by members of his family. <sup>(22)</sup>

Viṭṭhalanātha's travels, preaching and elaboration of temple worship seem to have resulted in considerable expansion of the sect during his lifetime. The vārtās of two hundred and fifty-two of his disciples, though somewhat naive, inconsequential and lacking in historical detail, give an impression of the kind of people he attracted and of the way in which the Puṣṭimārga appealed to its followers. Most of them were vaiśyas, whom one might call the 'bourgeoisie' of their day, but (despite the antipathy shown by some present members of the sampradāya to 'unclean' castes and non-Hindus) Viṭṭhalanātha is also said to have initiated members of the lower castes and even Muslims. Names of his disciples given in the vārtās include Mādhurīdāsa Mālī, Meha Dhīmar, Rūpamañjarī Vyādhā, Mohana Bhaṅgī, Pīrzādī, Dhondī, Rasakhāna, Alīkhān Paṭhān and his daughter, and even Akbar's begam Tāj Bibī and his court musician Tānsen. Although much of the material in the vārtās must be considered fanciful, the fact that such people were thought to have been acceptable initiates shows a willingness to admit people from different social backgrounds. Another factor which must have added to the appeal of the Puṣṭimārga was the fact that it did not recommend renunciation or asceticism but offered householders a religion in which they could enjoy their prosperity and the good things of life, provided they first made a token dedication of them to Kṛṣṇa. It allowed lower status groups and those engaged in dubious businesses to achieve social status and provided, in the words of D.Pocock, 'an arena in which the wealthy merchant classes could

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22. Initiation of the rathayātrā festival is mentioned in KKI pp. III.99-100. The first chappan bhoga is said to have been staged at Govardhan in SK VII.86-8, p.64.

display their wealth and earn at once distinction and merit'.<sup>(23)</sup>

The vārtās also suggest that Viṭṭhalanātha found favour in aristocratic circles. Among nobles he actually initiated were Rājā Āsakarana of Narwar and Rāṇī Durgāvati of Garha who endowed him with property and arranged his second marriage. Other royal personalities whose names appear in the vārtās are Rājā Rāmacandra Baghelā of Bandhogarh, Mādhvasiṃha (son of Rājā Manasiṃha of Amber), Rājā Jodhasiṃha, Rājā Parvatasena and such figures in Akbar's court as Toḍarmal, Bīrbal, Mānasiṃha (darbārī), Pṛthviṃha and Rāya Puruṣottama.<sup>(24)</sup> Association with the ruling classes helped Viṭṭhalanātha acquire donations and grants of land, the most important of which relate to Gokul which he apparently began to develop as a Puṣṭimārga centre some time after 1560.<sup>(25)</sup>

Although he had secured control of the temple of Śrīnāthajī and must have spent periods of time in Braj between his travels, the vārtās give the impression that Viṭṭhalanātha continued to maintain the family home at Adail. It is possible that he finally decided to make his permanent home in Braj in about 1562-63, a period when there was political unrest and insecurity around Allahabad.<sup>(26)</sup> Gokul, on the opposite side of the Yamuna from Mathura and a few kilometres downstream, is where Vallabha is said to have stayed when he first came to Braj and where Kṛṣṇa instructed him to begin initiating disciples with the brahmasambandha mantra.<sup>(27)</sup> The

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23. D.Pocock p.117. Vallabha himself berated asceticism in favour of devotional sevā in the short texts Ehaktivardhinī and Samnyāsanirnaya (included in the Ṣoḍaśagrantha).
  24. The initiation of Āsakarana is also mentioned in SK VII.36 p.57 and that of Durgāvati in SK V.114, p.42.
  25. According to F.S.Growse p.284 he settled there in 1565. D.Gupta p.14, D.Parikh p.8 and VKP give 1571 and R.Barz p.54 gives 1572.
  26. KKI p.III.102 and R.Barz, *ibid*.
  27. Described in Nijavārtā pp.11-12, SK V.24-7 pp.29-30, the vārtā of Damodaradāsa Harasānī, 84V no.1, and at the beginning of Caurāsī baiṭhak caritra. The date is consistently given as 1492.

goddess Yamunā appeared to Vallabha and revealed Gokul to him as the place where Kṛṣṇa had grown up in the house of Nanda and Yaśodā, hence it was a site with particular appeal for followers of the Puṣṭimārga. Between the years 1557 and 1581 Viṭṭhalanātha acquired from Akbar various firmans giving him the right to graze cattle in Braj and to hold land rent free at Gokul.<sup>(28)</sup> In 1570 a disciple of his father named Yādavendrādāsa helped him to lay the foundation of the first havelī and a temple for the deity Navanītapriyajī was begun in the following year.<sup>(29)</sup>

If during these years Śrī Lālaḥjī was working as a sevaka in the temple at Govardhan then his contact with Viṭṭhalanātha would have been intermittent on account of the amount of time the latter spent travelling around the country. He would have had more regular contact with the elder sons of Viṭṭhalanātha who might have spent longer periods in Braj while their father was busy elsewhere. Viṭṭhalanātha had six sons by his first wife, born between 1540 and 1558, and a seventh, born in 1571, by his second wife.<sup>(30)</sup> Eighth Gaddī tradition maintains that Śrī Lālaḥjī, after receiving primary initiation (śaraṇamantṛa) from Viṭṭhalanātha, was given secondary initiation (brahmasambandha) by the eldest son Giridhara, who was eleven years older, and that he studied Bhāgavatapurāṇa with the fourth son Gokulanātha, who was the same age as him.<sup>(31)</sup> Worshipped alongside the Eighth Gaddī's deity Gopīnāthajī are a small image of Kṛṣṇa as Navanītapriyajī and a Govardhan stone which are said to have been presented to Śrī Lālaḥjī by Giridhara and Gokulanātha respectively.

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28. Text and translation of the relevant firmans are given by K.M. Jhaveri. See also KKI pp.III.102-6, D.Gupta p.32, P.Mital 1968 pp.259-61.

29. D.Gupta p.14, Caturbhujadāsa (Khata rtu vārtā) p.51

30. Dates of birth of the sons are given in VKP pp.57-8, Dvārakeśajī pp.16-18, SK VII.29, 40, 64, 74 and VIII.79 pp.56-73.

31. These details are not found in any source older than D.C.Śarmā (ms.U).

While all the events outlined above were taking place Śrī Lālaġī, as the jalasevaka for Śrīnāthajī, would have left Govardhan early every morning after the māngalārati service in order to fetch water from the Yamuna at Mathura which had to be brought back to the temple in time for utthāpana, the first service of the afternoon, in all a round journey of some twenty-six kilometres.

As the end of his life drew near Viṭṭhalanātha arranged that the flourishing sect which he had worked so hard to expand and develop should be carried on by his sons as virtually a 'family business'. Some time before his death in 1585<sup>(32)</sup> he called his sons together and presented each of them with a Kṛṣṇa deity which they were to worship independently in their households, thereby establishing the tradition of seven gaddīs. Gosvāmīs of the Eighth Gaddī point out that, with the additional presentation of a deity to Śrī Lālaġī, a branch of the Puṣṭimārga was formed which catered for Vaiṣṇavas living in the eighth direction (viz. the north-west) and which made the total number of gaddīs correspond to significant octads in the sampradāya, namely the eight syllable mantra of initiation, the aṣṭayāma sevā corresponding to the eight praharas of the day, the eight sakhās of Kṛṣṇa and eight sakhīs of Rādhā and the eight poets of the Aṣṭachāpa.

According to sectarian tradition the deities which Viṭṭhalanātha distributed, probably in 1583,<sup>(33)</sup> had been acquired by him and Vallabha during their travels. The seven deities are referred to collectively as the saptasvarūpas and are held to be of divine origin because, like Śrīnāthajī and some of the major deities worshipped by other Vaiṣṇava sects, they are believed to be self-

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32. 1585 is the year given in all sectarian sources except SK VIII.168 f. pp.94-5 which implies that he died in the spring following the Annakuṭa festival held for the seven deities in 1587.
33. Eighth Gaddī sources say the deity was given to Śrī Lālaġī on the full moon day of the month of Agahan, S f.53v. P.Mital, 1968 p.276, gives the year as 1583, KKI p.III 108 says 1578, while SK VIII.107-8 pp.85-6 gives 1584. Cf. below note 84.

created (svayaṃ prakāṣa) rather than man-made, hence miraculous stories are told of their origin or discovery. Giridhara, the eldest son, was given the svarūpa of Mathureśajī (also called Mathurānātha or Mathurādhiśa) which is said to have been discovered by Vallabha near the Yamuna and was entrusted by him to his disciple Padmanābhadaśa, with whose family it remained until it was returned to Viṭṭhalanātha.<sup>(34)</sup> The second son, Govindarāya, was given the deity called Viṭṭhaleśajī (or Viṭṭhalanātha) which was discovered at Chunar and was first served by a sādhu who later gave it to Vallabha.<sup>(35)</sup> The deity Dvārakādhiśajī (also called Dvārakanātha) was given to the third son Bālakṛṣṇa, whose descendants wrote a vārtā giving an account of how the image first revealed itself to Brahmā and was then served by a succession of ṛṣis followed by Yudhiṣṭhira and Parīkṣit, eventually finding its way into the hands of devotees of Vallabha who gave it to Viṭṭhalanātha.<sup>(36)</sup> Gokulanātha, the fourth son, was given a deity called Gokulanāthajī which is said to have been worshipped by the family of Vallabha's wife.<sup>(37)</sup> The fifth son, Raghunātha, was given Gokulacandramājī which had been found by a kṣatranī of Mahaban on a bank of the Yamuna known as Brahmāṇḍa Ghāṭ and was entrusted by Vallabha to a devotee who lived at Mahaban. The same woman is also said to have discovered another image called Navanītapriyajī in the same place which she gave to Vallabha who passed it on to a devotee from Agra who looked after it until it was returned to Viṭṭhalanātha.<sup>(38)</sup> Yadunātha, the sixth son, received a deity called

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34. The discovery of the deity is related in the bhāvaprakāśa of the vārtā of Padmanābhadaśa, 84V no.4 p.39.

35. P.Vairāgī p.86.

36. Go. Brajabhuṣaṇa, pp.2-46. The introduction to this edition of the prakāṣya vārtā of Dvārakādhiśajī explains that the original version was written down in the eighteenth century.

37. Nijavartā p.65.

38. This deity is now worshipped alongside Śrīnāthajī at Nathdwara. An account of the discovery of Gokulacandramājī and Navanītapriyajī is given in Mahābana kī eka kṣatranī kī vārtā (84V no.15 pp.120-1); further details of the worship of the former are given in vārtas of Nārāyaṇadaśa Brahmaçārī (84V no.14 pp.110 f.) and Gajjan Dhāvan (84V no.13 pp.107-9).

Bālakṛṣṇajī which had been found in a well at Gokul and served by the family.<sup>(39)</sup> The youngest son was given Madanamohanajī which Vallabha had inherited from ancestors on his mother's side.<sup>(40)</sup> Giridhara, as eldest son, was also given custody of Śrīnāthajī and Navanītapriyajī, and his descendants are regarded as the most senior gosvāmīs in the Puṣṭimārga (being referred to as tilakāyat or ṭikait/ṭiket). The seven gaddīs, also called pīthas or ghars, are referred to as first, second, third etc. according to the seniority of the son of Viṭṭhalanātha from whom they derive.

The origin and history of Gopīnāthajī, the deity given to Śrī Lārajī, are narrated in two of the Eighth Gaddī manuscripts. It is said to have appeared first before Vajranābha on a mountain in the south. He took the deity to Govardhan and it was thereafter worshipped by Kamalāsana, Bilvamaṅgala, Keśavapurī, Vallabha and then his eldest son Gopīnātha before being acquired by Viṭṭhalanātha.<sup>(41)</sup>

The implication of the above stories is that the deities, apart from the two acquired by Vallabha from his wife and mother, were either donated by disciples or perhaps, in some cases, commissioned from them by Vallabha or Viṭṭhalanātha. The vārtās<sup>(42)</sup> suggest that four which were once worshipped together by Vallabha's family at Adail were Navanītapriyajī, Viṭṭhalanāthajī, Gokulanāthajī and Madanamohanajī, all of which are made of golden coloured metal (presumably aṣṭadhātu), are roughly the same size and represent Kṛṣṇa as standing, apart from Navanītapriyajī which, like Bālakṛṣṇajī

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39. SK V.110 p.41 and D.Parīkh pp.47-8.

40. SK VIII.113 p.86 and Nijavartā p.65.

41. Śrī Gopīnāthajī kī vārtā, A(r) ff.137<sup>v</sup>-145<sup>r</sup>, and padas in S ff.12<sup>v</sup>-13<sup>r</sup>, one of which bears the chāpa of Śrī Lārajī and begins:

dakṣiṇa giri tē pragāṭa bhae

gopīnātha pūraṇa puruṣottama jaga saṃtāpa gae.

The vārtā relates that after Gopīnātha the deity was served by the wife of Giridhara, Viṭṭhalanātha's eldest son.

42. Nijavartā p.65; cf. P.Mital 1968 p.527.

(much smaller than the other svarūpas), depicts him as a baby crawling on his knees and holding a lump of butter in his right hand. Madanamohanajī and Gokulanāthajī depict Kṛṣṇa playing the flute, the latter having two extra arms which hold a conch and a lump of butter. The other deities are black in colour and (apart from Gokulacandramājī) appear to be carved from a similar stone with a polished finish. Śrīnāthajī, the largest deity (almost a metre and a half in height), and Mathureśajī and Dvārakādhīśajī (about half its size), all depict Kṛṣṇa in a standing pose and are carved in relief against a background panel containing various supplementary figures. Śrīnāthajī is in the pose of lifting up Govardhan with his left hand while the other two are four-armed figures. Gokulacandramājī (a wooden image) and Gopināthajī both depict Kṛṣṇa playing the flute in tribhāṅgī posture (bent at the neck and waist with the right leg crossed over the left and resting on the ball of the foot).

After the death of Viṭṭhalanātha the structure of the Puṣṭimārga began to change as the gaddīs gradually became more independent, particularly after the svarūpas were moved out of Braj. Initially the seven sons and their families lived with their deities in havelīs at Gokul and Jatipura, the village beneath the temple of Śrīnāthajī which Vallabha had built on the Govardhan hill. However, in the latter part of the seventeenth century the Puṣṭimārga svarūpas, along with major deities of the other Vaiṣṇava sects based in Vrindaban, were moved to areas controlled by Hindu rulers, an exodus which is attributed to Muslim hostility towards Hinduism which began with the advent of Aurangzeb. Two svarūpas, those of the third and sixth gaddīs, had in fact been taken away from Gokul shortly before this situation arose as a result of conflict over their custody between members of the family. The third gaddī's deity, Dvārakādhīśajī, was taken to Kankaroli in Mewar, while Bālakṛṣṇajī ended up at Surat



on the coast of Gujarat.<sup>(43)</sup> Śrīnāthajī was taken away from Govardhan in 1669 and after a journey lasting over two years eventually settled at a village near Kankaroli where Dvārakādhiśajī had arrived in 1670.<sup>(44)</sup> The town which grew up around the havelī of Śrīnāthajī became known as Nathdwara and is the most important place of pilgrimage for followers of the Puṣṭimārga. The svarūpas of the other gaddīs also sought the protection and patronage of rulers of princely states which now form part of Rajasthan. Viṭṭhaleśajī of the second gaddī joined Śrīnāthajī at Nathdwara, while the deities of the fourth, fifth and seventh gaddīs settled eventually in Jaipur where they remained until the middle of the last century when Gokulanāthajī was brought back to Gokul and Gokulacandramājī and Madanamohanajī, after spending a few years at Bikaner, were brought to Kaman, a small town in the part of Braj which falls within Rajasthan. Viṭṭhalanātha's eldest son Giridhara gave separate custody of Śrīnāthajī and Mathureśajī to two of his sons. The descendants of the son who inherited Mathureśajī took the deity first to Bundi and then on to Kotah where it remained until it was brought back to Jatipura in recent years.

This migration of the svarūpas contributed towards the expansion of the sect in areas to the west of Braj. As a result of the patronage of Hindu rulers and rich merchants, and with the division of the gaddīs into subsidiary lineages as the number of descendants increased, several new temples were established, especially in Gujarat and Rajasthan. Although the Tilakāyat of Nathdwara was regarded as the supreme authority in the Puṣṭimārga as a whole, the other temples were primarily associated with a particular gaddī of which the senior gosvāmī was considered a more immediately authoritative

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43. Circumstances of the dispute over inheritance and custody of these deities and an account of their removal to Kankaroli and Surat in 1670 are given by Go. Brajabhūṣaṇa pp.52-66 and in KKI pp.IV.132-44.
44. The story and dates of the journey of Śrīnāthajī from Govardhan to Nathdwara are given in SPV pp.42 ff. Cf. R.Jindel and P.Vairāgi for an account of the growth of Nathdwara as a centre of pilgrimage.

figure. Some of the gosvāmīs began to live in pontifical luxury and built for themselves havelīs which can only be described as palatial. A problem inherent in any hereditary system of religious leadership is the lack of any guarantee that later incumbents will possess the requisite spiritual qualities. Attacks on some of the gosvāmīs on account of their degeneracy and licentiousness culminated in a famous libel case held in Bombay in 1862 which considerably damaged the reputation of the Puṣṭimārga. (45) Often gosvāmīs were adopted by one gaddī from another in order to maintain the hereditary lineage, sometimes there was argument and litigation between branches of the family over the rights of inheritance and succession. In recent years, however, some gosvāmīs have lost their claims to private ownership of the deities and havelīs and are recognised simply as custodians responsible for supervision of sevā while real control and administration have been vested in Boards of Trustees. (46)

Although the gaddīs spread out over a wide area after leaving Braj, a common desire to maintain a sense of unity between them is exemplified by intermittent attempts to gather the deities together for celebrations called saptasvarūpotsavas. Viṭṭhalanātha had brought the deities together to celebrate the chappan bhoga feast, (47) a practice repeated occasionally by his descendants almost as if they were promoting the idea of a family of deities as being complementary to the family of gurus who were all descendents of Vallabha. The svarūpas at Nathdwara and Kankaroli could occasionally be brought together without much difficulty, but reunions of all the deities were a more complicated affair. Some reunions of the

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45. Karsendas Mulji gave a full account of the trial in History of the Sect of the Maharājas.
46. For further details cf. All India Reporter (40) 1953 Bombay, pp.153-64 (Ranchoddas v. Mahalaxmi Vahuji) and (50) 1963 Supreme Court, pp.1638 f. (Shri Govindlal v. State of Rajasthan).
47. The date is given as 1583, cf. P.Mital 1968 p.259 and H.Ṭaṇḍan p.303.

svarūpas and other deities belonging to senior gosvāmīs were organised a few times during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and even as recently as 1966, but not all of the seven original svarūpas were always able to attend owing to disagreements over their custody and order of precedence.<sup>(48)</sup> Gosvāmīs of the Eighth Gaddī never seem to have been invited to bring their deity to any of these joint celebrations, perhaps because, living far away not being members of the family, there was a lack of communication even though they maintained their allegiance to the Puṣṭimārga and upheld its teachings.

The most significant difference between the Eighth Gaddī and the other seven is that its gosvāmīs were not descendants of Vallabha, a distinction which was reinforced by the way their right to give initiation was regulated. Other Vaiṣṇava sects have hereditary gurus, but none of them has such a highly developed notion of a divine family as the Puṣṭimārga. Gopeśvara, in his commentary on the Śikṣāpatra written by his elder brother Harirāya, states that the three greatest families of the past three eras, in which avatāras have been born for the salvation of their devotees, are the lineage of Raghu into which Rāma was born in the Tretāyuga, the lineage of Yadu, into which Kṛṣṇa was born in the Dvāparayuga, while now, in this degenerate age of Kaliyuga, we have the lineage of Vallabha<sup>(49)</sup>, referred to as the Vallabha kula. Vallabha is referred to as mukhāvatāra since he is considered to be a form of the divine fire which emerges from the mouth of Kṛṣṇa as Puruṣottama, thus he had the power to intermediate between Kṛṣṇa and the human soul just as Agni intermediates between gods and men by transmitting offerings made in

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48. Details of these reunions are given in KKI pp. IV.148, V.165-6, VII.278-88, and VIII.61, P.Vairāgī pp.18-29 and R.Jindel pp.73-4.

49. Śikṣāpatra, commentary on VI.2, p.91.

the sacrificial fire. <sup>(50)</sup> The role of the guru is not so much to arouse potentialities within the initiate as to act as a channel or medium through which divine grace (krpā, anugraha or puṣṭi) is bestowed upon the receptive soul. Followers of the Puṣṭimārga believe that the divine power of Vallabha is transmitted to his agnatic descendants and that nobody from outside this unique family can attain comparable status, whatever his degree of learning or spiritual attainment.

There are two stages of initiation in the Puṣṭimārga, the first being performed when the guru whispers a mantra of eight or sometimes five syllables (śrī kṛṣṇa śaraṇam mama or kṛṣṇa tavāsmi) three times into the initiate's ear and gives him a string of tulasī beads to wear round his neck and the right to wear the red sectarian forehead mark (tilaka). This ceremony, referred to as 'hearing the name', mantropadeśa or śaraṇamantra, takes place within the first few years of the life of a child born into a family of devotees. The secondary initiation, referred to as brahmasambandha or ātmanivedana, occurs when the child is at least old enough to repeat the relevant Sanskrit formula (the normal age for boys being about twelve). The initiate, holding a piece of tulasī in his left hand, is made to repeat a mantra of eighty-four syllables in which he declares himself to be a servant of Kṛṣṇa and vows to take refuge in him and dedicate or offer to him his mind, body and wealth. The brahmasambandha is intended to remove all faults from the soul of the initiate, to restore him to Kṛṣṇa and make him eligible to receive his grace. <sup>(51)</sup>

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50. Vallabha is referred to in the bhāvaprakāśa of Nijavārtā, p.7, as a manifestation of the ādhidaivika svarūpa of the agni which emanates from the lotus face of Puruṣottama. SK II.1 p.9 and II.37 p.14 refers to him as agnikumāra.
51. As stated by Vallabha in Siddhāntarahasya. The text and translation of the brahmasambandha mantra are given in F.S.Growse, cf. pp.285-8, and in the introduction p.vi of M.T.Telivalā's edition of Siddhāntarahasya. K.Mulji, pp.80 f., also gives the text of the mantra and reveals how it came to be misinterpreted by some degenerate gosvamis.

Although Vallabha himself nowhere stated that only his agnatic descendants may impart the brahmasambandha initiation, such is the practice which has been established by them. Moreover a myth arose that Vallabha had been instructed to have a son by the deity of Pandharpur called Viṭhobā or Viṭṭhala because he, the deity, wished to become incarnate as Viṭṭhalanātha.<sup>(52)</sup> This gave additional strength to the belief that Viṭṭhalanātha was a partial or even full incarnation of Kṛṣṇa and that this divinity is present in his descendants. This has led to an often excessive reverence of the hereditary gurus of the Puṣṭimārga. Senior gosvāmīs are referred to by the regal sounding title of 'Mahārāja Śrī' and are regarded with awe and treated with extreme deference by their devotees who may even serve them as if they are svarūpas. Festival calendars published by the Puṣṭimārga list the birthdays of Vallabha, Gopinātha and Viṭṭhalanātha, as well as those of his seven sons and their contemporary descendants, though these are only celebrated by followers of their respective gaddīs. Some worship is also performed at a number of shrines called baiṭhaks where Vallabha, Viṭṭhalanātha or other prominent gosvāmīs like Gokulanātha or Harirāya, are said to have sat and preached or performed some memorable deed.

The gosvāmīs of the Eighth Gaddī, not being descendants of Vallabha, could never attain a status in the Puṣṭimārga comparable to that of a so-called kula mahārāja. Their subordinate status has been continually reinforced by observance of the rule that, although they may receive the śaraṇamantra from a member of their own family, they must take the brahmasambandha from a descendant of Vallabha. Each generation of Eighth Gaddī gosvāmīs has therefore had to renew its power to give initiation into the Puṣṭimārga by first receiving brahmasambandha from a kula mahārāja, customarily from a head of one of the other seven gaddīs. A contemporary descendant of the Vallabha family has remarked that:

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52. SK V.81-6 pp.37-8.

In our sect, it is a point of dispute whether other persons can become a Guru or acharya or not. But as the tradition exists there is only one outside case: the son of Vallabhacharya adopted an outsider and asked him to preach and teach our sect; they are not direct descendants of Vallabhacharya but they are Gurus in our sect. (53)

The Eighth Gaddī gosvāmīs say that when Śrī Lālajī left Braj with the deity Gopināthajī he was given a copper plate by Viṭṭhalanātha which conferred upon him the right to impart the brahmasambandha, the only practical arrangement if the Puṣṭimārga was to be spread in such remote areas as Dera Ghazi Khan. The gosvāmīs say that they used to do pūjā of this copper plate because it bore the signature of Viṭṭhalanātha, but that it was unfortunately lost during the flight from Pakistan.

This arrangement meant that the Eighth Gaddī gosvāmīs had to maintain some kind of periodic contact with the rest of the Puṣṭimārga. Either they had to travel with their sons to the location of one of the other seven gaddīs in order to receive brahmasambandha, or they had to invite a kula mahārāja to visit them in Dera Ghazi Khan. Such isolation from the rest of the Puṣṭimārga contributed to the fact that, although Vallabha was recognised as founder of the sampradāya as a whole, Śrī Lālajī acquired special status as a guru within the Eighth Gaddī and was even proclaimed an avatāra in his own right.

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53. Shyam Baba of Bombay as quoted by P. Brent, p. 192, in the course of a discussion on the status of the guru in the Puṣṭimārga. Goswami Ratan Lal says that a senior member of the Eighth Gaddī family would usually give the primary initiation to a child eleven days after its birth at the time of the cola samskāra. He was the first gosvāmī of his gaddī to receive his secondary initiation at Nathdwara and is of the opinion that the idea of taking this initiation from a senior member of the Vallabha family became a fixed practice only in later years when communication was facilitated. They had no special links with any particular gaddī among the other seven but were most frequently in contact with the 'maharajas' of Kotah and Surat.

## II.2 Śrī Lālajī in Dera Ghazi Khan

When he left Govardhan Śrī Lālajī would have been about thirty-two years old, according to the dates given for his birth and the distribution of the svarūpas by Viṭṭhalanātha. According to the Eighth Gaddī festival calendar he arrived at Dera Ghazi Khan on the day of Vaiśākha samkrānti, four and a half months after receiving the deity of Gopināthajī.<sup>(54)</sup> The town lies to the west of Multan on a narrow plain stretching about three hundred and seventy kilometres between the west bank of the Indus and the barren and precipitous Sulaiman mountains which are impassable in an east-west direction except at certain points which give access to valleys running north-south between the ranges. It had been founded during the late fifteenth century at a time when Baloch tribes were settling in the area between Sitpur and Kot Karor.<sup>(55)</sup> Here the Baloches, elsewhere scattered in occasional colonies, were to form, politically and socially, a preponderating element in the population, while mixed tribes of Jāṭs formed the next largest group.<sup>(56)</sup>

Muslim incursions into the area began in the eighth century. After being taken by Maḥmūd of Ghazni early in the eleventh century the area was governed from Delhi by the dynasty of Shihāb ud-dīn Ghorī,

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54. S gives the date for celebrating the presentation of Gopināthajī to Śrī Lālajī as Agahan purnima, ff.53<sup>v</sup>-54<sup>r</sup>, of their arrival in Dera Ghazi Khan as Vaiśākha samkrānti, f.78<sup>r</sup>, and the prakāṭya of Gopināthajī as Bhadrapāda kṛṣṇapakṣa 11, f.12<sup>r</sup>. A pada with the chapa of Kevalarāma is provided for the festival of Gopināthajī's arrival in Sind, beginning:

āja āe śrī gopinātha  
siṃdhu deśa derā pattana mẽ sabha jaga kiya sanātha  
vaiśākhi dina jāna puṇya vara ravi ūce ghara āyo  
tāhī dina paga dharye siṃdhu mẽ jaga saṃtāpa nasāyo.

55. The Muzaffargarh Gazetteer of 1883-4 p.24 says that Dera Ghazi Khan was founded in Hijrī 887/AD 1484.

56. The Gazetteer of Dera Ghazi Khan p.59 says that in 1891 the Baloches formed about a third of the population and that before their arrival the area had probably been inhabited by a few scattered tribes of Jāṭs who depended on cattle for their subsistence.

followed by the Khaljīs and Tugluqs. In 1398 Pīr Muḥammad, grandson of Tīmūr, laid siege to Multan after which the province became independent under a family of Langāhs who managed to maintain semi-independence from 1445 until 1526 during the rule of the Lodīs from Delhi. In about 1469 Sulṭān Ḥusain, son of Quṭb ud-dīn, gained control of the government of Multan and enlisted the help of Ḥājī Khān and Malik Suhrāb in a campaign against hill robbers who were causing trouble in the area and duly rewarded them with tracts of land on the west bank of the Indus. Both of them originally came from the Dodāī Baloch tribe, Ḥājī Khān from the Mirṛānī branch and Suhrāb from the Hot branch. On the succession of Sulṭān Ḥusain's grandson, Maḥmūd, Ḥājī Khān managed to establish independent authority over the greater part of what is now Dera Ghazi Khan District and founded the town of Dera Ghazi Khan which was named after his son who died in 1494. (57)

In 1526 Bābur conquered the area and the Langāhs of Multan lost whatever independence they had. On the death of Bābur one of his sons, Kāmṛān, received Kabul and the area west of the Indus, while his other son Humāyūn gained control of the rest of the territory in India. In Akbar's reign Multan was incorporated in the Delhi empire as a province, though it is known from general history that the area was ruled sometimes from Delhi and sometimes from Kabul, neither powers having much effect on internal developments, local chiefs being left to carry out public improvements or indulge in skirmishes with local tribes without interference from outside. (58) It was during the reigns of Bābur and Humāyūn that the Baloch tribes moved into India and Mekran and settled in Dera Ghazi Khan and surrounding areas where they became allies of Humāyūn. All Baloch tribes recognised the Mirṛānī rulers who, for several generations, were named alternately Ḥājī Khān and Gāzī Khān. They accepted the sovereignty of Akbar and remained subject to his

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57. The details given here are from Dera Ghazi Khan Gazetteer pp.18-22. On p.6 it is said that the town was originally built on an island in the Indus but that the creek to the west later silted up.
58. Gazetteer of Multan District p.26.



successors but, on regular payment of a quit rent, their powers were practically uncontrolled. (59)

Besides the fact that the area was relatively peaceful and nominally a part of Akbar's empire, a probable reason for Śrī Lālaĵī's decision to settle in Dera Ghazi Khan was that other Vaiṣṇavas had also managed to establish themselves there. Two Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava saints who were probably already active in the area were Śyāmaĵī and Kṛṣṇadāsa Guṅĵāmālī, both disciples of Caitanya's close companion Nityānanda. Kṛṣṇadāsa Guṅĵāmālī was born in Lahore and was a Śārasvata brahmin of the same Bālī sub-caste as the family of Śrī Lālaĵī. He came to Vrindaban as a youth, took initiation from Nityānanda and was given the title of gosvāmī by the latter's successor Vīrabhadra Bhaṭṭa. Later Guṅĵāmālī returned to his homeland where he founded a temple of Govardhananāthajī and established a following. (60) His main gaddī was at Tulamba (Jhang District) and there were temples in Lahore, Bahawalpur, Multan, Montgomery and Muzaffargarh, the latter three being mentioned by Rose as places where considerable reverence was paid to the shrine of Guṅĵāmālī in Multan city. (61) It is also said that he went to Braj as a boy and was given a post in the sevā of Śrīnāthajī by Mādhavendra Purī, a saint associated with the Gauḍīya sampradāya who is acknowledged, even in Puṣṭimārga sources, to have been the first person to serve the deity on the Govardhan hill. (62) He

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59. Dera Ghazi Khan Gazetteer p.22. The Imperial Gazetteer of India Vol.XI p.270 says that they retained their supremacy until the eighteenth century when they became vassals of Nādir Shāh and Aḥmad Shāh.

60. Priyādāsa's Bhaktirasabodhinī commentary (kavitta no.415 p.656) on the Bhaktamāla of Nābhādāsa mentions his having settled at Lahore. Other details about Guṅĵāmālī have been supplied by Go. Ratan Lal. The deity Govardhananāthajī is now in Vrindaban.

61. H.A.Rose, Vol.I p.388.

62. Śyāmadāsa, p.185 gives the story of Guṅĵāmālī. Mādhavendra Purī appears to have been a follower of the Mādhva sampradāya and is mentioned in SPV pp.7-8, 23-7 as having been entrusted with the education of Vallabha for which as dakṣiṇā he asked to be able to serve the deity which he prophesied that Vallabha would discover at Govardhan. The deity, however, would accept only milk until Vallabha arrived. SPV says that Mādhavendra Purī was appointed mukhiya in charge of the Bengali sevakas, which is unlikely since he was not alive when the temple was built, his lifespan being probably 1420-90 (cf. F.Hardy's article in JRAS 1974, p.40). Later Puṣṭimārga vartas appear to have tried to underplay the role of Mādhavendra Purī and the Bengalis in the

might then have been one of the group of 'Bengali' sevakas which was expelled from the temple by Kṛṣṇadāsa and replaced by followers of the Puṣṭimārga, one of whom was the young Śrī Lālaḥjī.

The other Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava was Śyāmajī, or Śyāmadāsa, who was born in the village of Dipalpur in Montgomery District and was the son of a kṣatriya devoted to Kṛṣṇa. He is said to have gone to Vrindaban in his youth and spent many years there before returning to West Panjab in 1543 where he spent some time in a nearby village before being invited to Dera Ghazi Khan. There he founded a temple of Giridharajī and attracted many followers. Several stories are told about the contests he had with local pīrs which are similar to those told about Kevalarāma. It is also said that he made a living by sewing caps since, as a kṣatriya, he was unable to accept gifts. He is said to have worked a miraculous cure for a young Baloch boy who later became his disciple and helped him to spread his teachings in Kohat, Bannu, Kabul and Kandahar. At the age of thirty-five he married and so began a line of hereditary gurus, notably his son Lāladāsa and grandson Ṭhakarāy Khān, who took initiation from the gosvāmīs of the temple at Śṛṅgāra Vaṭa in Vrindaban. His branch of the Gauḍīya sampradāya became the dominant Vaiṣṇava sect in the town of Dera Ghazi Khan while the Eighth Gaddī predominated in the rural areas. (63)

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establishment of the cult of Śrīnāthajī. If the story of Guṅjamālī having been a sevaka is true then he might well have left Govardhan and returned to Lahore following the expulsion of the Bengalis from the temple, after which Śrī Lālaḥjī became a sevaka and was later sent by Viṭṭhalanātha to proselytize in the same area where Guṅjamālī and Śyāmadāsa had begun to establish a following.

63. Details given here are from Śyāmadāsa pp.184-7. Additional information may be found in G.Rose Vol.I pp.388-9 who says that Śyāmajī arrived in Vrindaban at the age of twelve and was given the blessing of a senior gosvāmī named Dvārakadāsa. Both Rose and the Gazetteer of Muzaffargarh p.61 give the year of his return to his homeland as 1543. Other temples of his gaddī were established at Dera Ghazi Khan (Navanītapriyaji, now at Gurgaon, and Rāmarāyaji), Dera Ismail Khan, Kot Sultan, Kot Addu, Multan and Leiah, cf. Rose *ibid.*, Dera Ismail Khan Gazetteer p.106 and Muzaffargarh Gazetteer *ibid.*

successors but, on regular payment of a quit rent, their powers were practically uncontrolled. (59)

Besides the fact that the area was relatively peaceful and nominally a part of Akbar's empire, a probable reason for Śrī Lālaĵī's decision to settle in Dera Ghazi Khan was that other Vaiṣṇavas had also managed to establish themselves there. Two Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava saints who were probably already active in the area were Śyāmaĵī and Kṛṣṇadāsa Guṅĵāmālī, both disciples of Caitanya's close companion Nityānanda. Kṛṣṇadāsa Guṅĵāmālī was born in Lahore and was a Sārasvata brahmin of the same Bālī sub-caste as the family of Śrī Lālaĵī. He came to Vrindaban as a youth, took initiation from Nityānanda and was given the title of gosvāmī by the latter's successor Vīrabhadra Bhaṭṭa. Later Guṅĵāmālī returned to his homeland where he founded a temple of Govardhananāthajī and established a following. (60) His main gaddī was at Tulamba (Jhang District) and there were temples in Lahore, Bahawalpur, Multan, Montgomery and Muzaffargarh, the latter three being mentioned by Rose as places where considerable reverence was paid to the shrine of Guṅĵāmālī in Multan city. (61) It is also said that he went to Braj as a boy and was given a post in the sevā of Śrīnāthajī by Mādhavendra Purī, a saint associated with the Gauḍīya sampradāya who is acknowledged, even in Puṣṭimārga sources, to have been the first person to serve the deity on the Govardhan hill. (62) He

59. Dera Ghazi Khan Gazetteer p.22. The Imperial Gazetteer of India Vol.XI p.270 says that they retained their supremacy until the eighteenth century when they became vassals of Nadir Shāh and Aĥmad Shāh.

60. Priyadāsa's Bhaktirasabodhinī commentary (kavitta no.415 p.656) on the Bhaktamāla of Nābhādāsa mentions his having settled at Lahore. Other details about Guṅĵāmālī have been supplied by Go. Ratan Lal. The deity Govardhananāthajī is now in Vrindaban.

61. H.A.Rose, Vol.I p.388.

62. Śyāmadāsa, p.185 gives the story of Guṅĵāmālī. Mādhavendra Purī appears to have been a follower of the Mādhva sampradāya and is mentioned in SPV pp.7-8, 23-7 as having been entrusted with the education of Vallabha for which as dakṣiṇā he asked to be able to serve the deity which he prophesied that Vallabha would discover at Govardhan. The deity, however, would accept only milk until Vallabha arrived. SPV says that Mādhavendra Purī was appointed mukhiyā in charge of the Bengali sevakas, which is unlikely since he was not alive when the temple was built, his lifespan being probably 1420-90 (cf. F.Hardy's article in JRAS 1974, p.40). Later Puṣṭimārga vārtas appear to have tried to underplay the role of Mādhavendra Purī and the Bengalis in the

down the river in Sind proper. The river was worshipped mainly on Sundays with water and lamps and sometimes the deity was thought of as being distinctly anthropomorphic. The Hindus believed that he became incarnate early in the eleventh century in response to Muslim domination of the area. He was a miraculous infant who emerged from the Indus as a sword-bearing horseman similar to such folk deities of Rajasthan as Gogā, Pābū, Rāmadeva and Tejā. The Hindus had prayed to him for protection against a gāzī of Thattha who had ordered them all to adopt Islam, thus he came to be regarded as an heroic defender of their faith. This incarnation, known to Hindus as Udero Lāl, Amar Lāl, Dulan Lāl, Ralhal, Purak, Darya Ṣāhib or Jindā Pīr, was, on the other hand, worshipped also by Muslims who had alternative legends and ritual, identified him with Khwāja Khizr and sometimes referred to him as Shaikh Tāhir.<sup>(67)</sup> The Hindu version of this cult had temples in the town and district of Dera Ghazi Khan and also in Alipur (Muzaffargarh District) where it has been said that along with the gosvāmīs of Syāmajī and Lālajī the priests of the river worshippers received more respect than other brahmins.<sup>(68)</sup>

Besides the cults of various pīrs, discussed below with reference to Kevalarāma, the worship of Śanicara, the Saturday deity, was also popular among Hindus, as is evident from his continued recognition

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67. Cf. U.T.Thakur pp.130-3 and R.Burton 1877 pp.294-5. Thakur says that he emerged in 1007, shortly after Maḥmud of Ghazni had taken control of the area around Multan. On p.133, however, he gives the date of the shrine of Udero Lal/Khwāja Khizr at Sukkur as 952. For the worship of Gogā (Gūgā)/Zāhir Pīr cf. Ja'far Sharif p.202, who also gives some details about the worship of Khwāja Khizr. Thakur points out that a Rajput dynasty had been in power in the area for five generations with its capital at Alor prior to the Muslim invasion, which may account for the similarity between legends of Udero Lāl and those of Rajasthanī divine heroes. Cf. Thakur p.21 for the worship of Darya Pīr among the Lohanas of Gujarat. Thakur says that Udero Lāl's mother was called Devaki, the name also given for the mother of Śrī Lālajī, perhaps an example of conflation of legends about the two and a desire to associate them ultimately with Kṛṣṇa.

68. Gazetteers of Dera Ghazi Khan, p.51, and Muzaffargarh (1884) p.61.

among people from that area now settled in India. Outside the larger towns Śaivism does not seem to have been widely represented and Devī worship was less common than it was around Lahore and in central Panjab.<sup>(69)</sup> In Sind and neighbouring regions the term 'Gosain' (derived from gosvāmī and used also in the Puṣṭimārga for descendants of Vallabha) referred to Śaiva mendicants in general or specifically to Yogī followers of Gorakhanātha who had centres in West Panjab from early times, their main centre being at Tilla near Jhelum.<sup>(70)</sup>

Gurū Nānak visited West Panjab and Sind late in the fifteenth century and quickly established a following. In the north, around Muzaffargarh, there were devotees called Sānwal Shāhīs, named after the disciple Nānak appointed to preach in that area. Further to the south, in Sind, there were many so-called Hindus known as Nānak Shāhīs who, although followers of the Sikh guru, were not initiated into the Sikh communion nor were they strict observers of its ordinances. They observed Hindu rites, wore the sacred thread and used brahmin priests yet also wore beards.<sup>(71)</sup>

Such was the religious environment in which Śrī Lālajī set out to spread the teachings of the Puṣṭimārga. Among the Eighth Gaddī manuscripts is a prose account of Śrī Lālajī's twelve main disciples which, like the vartās dealing with the disciples of Vallabha and Viṭṭhalanātha, contains edifying stories illustrating the saving grace of the guru and the appropriate attitude a devotee should adopt.<sup>(72)</sup> His chief disciple was Dvārakādāsa Khatrī who became adhikārī of the temple at Dera Ghazi Khan. He was

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69. Multan Gazetteer p.115.

70. Cf. Sind Gazetteer pp.183-4, H.A.Rose Vol.I p.289. U.T.Thakur p.114 says that further south the Yogīs were found mainly around Hyderabad and had their main temple at Shikarpur.

71. Muzaffargarh Gazetteer p.6, Sind Gazetteer pp.164-5.

72. Details given of the sevakas are taken from the ms. Śrī Lāla bhaktavara dvadasa kathā by Premadāsa, T(b). Sometimes there is confusion over the exact names of the disciples. P.Mital, in his article in Braja Bharatī p.16, takes Daṇḍī Bhagavatadāsa as the name of one disciple rather than as names of two separate ones, and includes the name of Premadāsa, author of the stories about twelve sevakas. Premadāsa is mentioned as a thirteenth disciple in a list found in C f.147<sup>v</sup> which omits Daṇḍī and gives instead the name Devadāsa. Premadāsa says that the twelve sevakas were reincarnations of pauranic characters and ṛṣis such as Udhava, Sañjaya, Puṇyaśīla, Ambarīṣa etc.

originally a worshipper of Devī but she recommended that he become a disciple of Śrī Lālaḷāḷjī since it was not in her power to grant him liberation. Another important disciple was Ucīrāma Kālaḷaḷā, who angrily rebuked Śrī Lālaḷāḷjī for trespassing on his land when he first arrived in Dera Ghazi Khan. On his return home Ucīrāma fell violently ill with stomach pains and seemed about to die, but Śrī Lālaḷāḷjī, after being approached by members of the family, effected a miraculous cure. This resulted in the conversion of Ucīrāma who donated money for the construction of a temple for Gopināthajī of which he became the mukhiyā.

Hita Jagadīśa Traṇejā was the son of a poor farmer who, after becoming a disciple of Śrī Lālaḷāḷjī, went to Khorasan and there managed to accumulate wealth and impress the Paḷthāns with the power of his guru's name. Khemadāsa Puṣkarāṇa left his native town of Phalodi because of famine and came to Sind as a beggar in search of food. At Fateh Khan he met Śrī Lālaḷāḷjī who instructed him in how to develop renunciation (vairāgya) since it was not fitting for a brahmin to be obsessed with finding food. Paramānanda, a Sārasvata brahmin (and perhaps the author of Śrī Lālaḷāḷjī ko janma caritra), was originally the disciple of a saṃnyāsī before being converted by Śrī Lālaḷāḷjī. Rasa Jagadīśa, originally called Kapūra Khatrī, was a revenue officer from Thattha who worshipped one of the pīrs. He attempted to extort taxes from a group of devotees of Śrī Lālaḷāḷjī who were on a pilgrimage to Dwarka but they managed to impress him with Śrī Lālaḷāḷjī's miraculous power with the result that he and his family became disciples.

Paramānanda Sacadeva, who had come from the north in search of a guru, was sent to Gokul to deliver ornaments, clothes and wealth as 'a gift from Śrī Lālaḷāḷjī to Śrī[nātha]jī', which duly impressed the 'gusāī' (presumably Viṭṭhalanātha or one of his sons). Kalyāṇadāsa Puṣkarāṇa was born into a family of learned brahmins but was himself a dunce until he sought refuge in Śrī Lālaḷāḷjī and became wise. Daṇḷḷī (also called Kṛṣṇadāsa Daṇḷḷīsvāmī or Daṇḷḷīrāma) lived in a village near Dwarka and used to associate with people from the Bhīl tribe who

robbed and killed pilgrims. Eventually he was reformed after taking initiation from Śrī Lālaġī who sent him to the north where he led an ascetic life and began to help people possessed by evil spirits. He helped to reform Hindus of Khorasan who had lapsed in their orthodox religious practices as a result of becoming disciples of Śaiva yogīs. He established an ascetic order in the hills at Mari which eventually developed into a householder sect specialising in exorcism. His descendants, loosely related to the Eighth Gaddī, became known as the Garulāla gosvāmīs, among whom the senior gosvāmī used to remain celibate. They had a temple of Dvārakādhiśajī at Leiah which was visited by people requiring exorcism or magical cures, especially during the two annual navarātra festivals. (73)

Another disciple was Bhagavatadāsa Pambū who came from Sind and whose father and grandfather were disciples of the Vrindaban saint Svāmī Haridāsa. Santadāsa Puṣkaraṇa and his wife were drunkards who were always quarreling with each other. Eventually his wife left him and returned to her father's house where she came into contact with a group of Vaiṣṇavas staying in the neighbourhood who were on their way back from a pilgrimage to Dwarka. They invited her to join their bhajana sessions and she became purified by singing the name of Śrī Lālaġī. When Santadāsa came to find his wife he was so impressed by the change in her that they set out together to meet Śrī Lālaġī, prostrating themselves all the way, and were duly initiated. The twelfth disciple was Virū Valecā, son of a sevaka of Śrī Lālaġī called Manīrāma.

Although the tenor and style of these tales are reminiscent of the vārtās of the disciples of Viṭṭhalanātha and Vallabha, they are significantly different in that the miraculous element is attributed not to the intervention of 'Thākuraġī' (Kṛṣṇa) but to the magical power of Śrī Lālaġī's name. The disciples, simply by

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73. Details of the Garulāla gosvāmīs are from H.St.G.Tacker p.175 and Go. Ratan Lal. Their present temple is at Panipat.

invoking Śrī Lālaġī or repeating his name, are said to have brought about the instant conversion of non-Hindus, caused rain to fall, recovered lost money, endowed a pauper with wealth, extinguished a fire, given a barren woman a son, restored someone else's son to life and pacified a man-eating tiger. Unlike other Puṣṭimārga vārtās, they do not dwell on the intricacies of serving a deity or on the obsequious respect and hospitality which should be shown to the guru.

Of the above mentioned sevakas Hita Jagadīśa, Paramānanda, Rasa Jagadīśa, Paramānanda Sacadeva, Kalyāṇadāsa, Bhagavatadāsa, as well as Premadāsa the supposed writer of their stories, appear in the Eighth Gaddī manuscripts as poets. Hita Jagadīśa's chāpa was 'Jagadīśa' while Rasa Jagadīśa's was 'Sundara'. Vīrū and Khemadāsa also appear as writers of a few verses in praise of Śrī Lālaġī. These and other writers of the Eighth Gaddī express a veneration for their guru which is different from that shown to Vallabha or Viṭṭhalanātha in the rest of the Puṣṭimārga. Through their belief in the power of a divine name they perhaps show influence of the Santa tradition. Repetition (japa) of the name of Śrī Lālaġī has the power to lift fallen souls and help them cross over the ocean of worldly strife.<sup>(74)</sup> They are also far more unequivocal in their exaltation of Śrī Lālaġī as a full avatāra of Viṣṇu than are other writers of the Puṣṭimārga in their eulogies of Vallabha and Viṭṭhalanātha. Since they stood apart from the other gaddīs of the Puṣṭimārga, the followers of the Eighth Gaddī were free to claim special divine status for Śrī Lālaġī in contrast to the view that he was no more than an adopted agent or intermediary. He is hailed as an avatāra born to relieve the souls of north-west India from the woes of Kaliyuga and whose birth was accompanied by great rejoicing in heaven and on earth,

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74. E.g. verses in G by Trilokinātha (no.42), Navanīta (no.44), Premadāsa (no.76), Kṛṣṇadāsa (no.125) and several by Paramananda on ff.84 f., and Kevalarama's Śrī Lāla pacīsī, J(a).



the gods themselves sending down showers of flowers.<sup>(75)</sup> His eldest son Mathurānātha wrote Avatāranibandha which praises him as an avatāra of Viṣṇu, a sentiment repeated by Kevalarāma in Śrī Lāla pacīsī and in a kīrtana written for his grandfather's janmotsava.<sup>(76)</sup>

The Eighth Gaddī writers do occasionally mention Śrī Lālajī's role as a teacher of the Puṣṭimārga. In a work attributed to Śrī Lālajī himself entitled Ghar kī paddhati it is stated that he maintained the teachings of Vallabha and, along with the Bhāgavata-purāna, Vallabha's Subodhinī and Anubhāsyā commentaries are named as authoritative scriptures.<sup>(77)</sup> Some also praise him as a

75. E.g. verses in G by Paramānanda (no.1, also on f.77<sup>r</sup>) and Madhojana (no.9), as well as in the description of the birth given in Śrī Lālajī ko janma caritra. Paramananda's verse in G begins:

āja bhūtala mē maṅgala cāra  
phuna pragatye śrīkrṣṇa rūpa prabha lāla nāma śubha dhāra  
je pūraba vasudeva bhae aba te ajjū hui āe  
māta devakī bhaī devakī sabhana sukha varakhāe  
jaise dvāpura jīva udhārye taise kalayuga māhī

76. Śrī Lāla pacīsī, dohā 17, J f.2<sup>v</sup>, and kīrtana in S f.61<sup>v</sup>. Avatāranibandha is included in some editions of Saptagranthī, but there is no ms. older than R, dated 1926.
77. References to Śrī Lālajī and the Puṣṭimārga are made in some poems in praise of him, e.g.:

nigamasāra gopījanavallabha so muja nāma batāyo  
puṣṭimāga mata śrī bhāgavata ko phuna sevā rasa svāda  
braja līlā suṅdara ko anubhava śrī muralī ko nāda  
śrī puruṣottama ko adharāmṛta ānaṅdamaya varakhāyo  
lāla kṛpālu kṛpādṛgahū tē gaṅgādhara phala pāyo

(verse by Gaṅgādhara, G f.18<sup>r-v</sup>)

jaya jaya jaya śrī vallabha nātī  
aṣṭama lāla śrī viṭṭhalajī ke

bhakti prakāśaka sabha agha ghātī

(verse by Khemadāsa, G (a) verse no.31)

veda paṅtha matha bhajana suvidhi ko kīno anika prakāra  
apuna janana kara diyo niraṅtara puṣṭamāga ko sāra

(verse by Gaṅgādhara in S f.62<sup>r</sup>)

preacher of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa and the ninefold path of bhakti,<sup>(78)</sup> while the manuscript of Utsavaratnamālā, ostensibly written in part by Śrī Lālaḷjī and enlarged by his great-grandson Madanamohana, gives details of all the festivals to be celebrated during the year. Besides festivals common to the whole of the Puṣṭimārga, including the birthdays of Vallabha, Gopīnātha, Viṭṭhalanātha and his eldest son Giridhara, all to be observed with special sevā of the deity featuring appropriate music, food and decorations (rāga, bhoga and śṛṅgāra), there are such specifically Eighth Gaddī festivals as the birthdays of Śrī Lālaḷjī, his sons Giridhara and Mathurānātha, and Kevalarāma as well as celebration of the appearance (prakatya) of Gopīnāthajī and the days he was given to Śrī Lālaḷjī and arrived in Dera Ghazi Khan.

In 1584, the same year that the temple of Gopīnāthajī was founded, Śrī Lālaḷjī married Tulasī, the daughter of a local brahmin named Viṣṇudāsa, and subsequently had four sons named Mathuranātha, Giridhara, Bhagavān and Gvāla.<sup>(79)</sup> The two younger sons appear to have died without any heirs since they are not recorded as having any descendants. The dates of birth of Mathurānātha and Giridhara are given in vamsāvalis maintained by their descendants as 1588 and 1590 respectively.

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78. Among verses praising Śrī Lālaḷjī as a teacher of the Bhāgavata and such bhakti practices as kirtana, kathā, sevā and bhoga are those in G by Kalyāṇa (no.15), Navanīta (no.47), Rasikadāsa (no.49) and Premadāsa (f.78<sup>r</sup>).

79. apa tē cāra svarūpa lālanī ke pragaṭāe  
mathurāpura ke nātha navala giradharajī ae  
bhajana heta bhagavāna pragaṭa śrī gvāra gusāi  
catura rūpa vapu dhāra lālaḷjī sahāim

(Śrī Lālaḷjī ko janma caritra, A ff.174<sup>v</sup>-148<sup>r</sup>).

The stuti for Mathurānātha by Kevalarāma, B f.95<sup>r</sup>, names his mother as Tulasī. The gosvamis also say that Śrī Lālaḷjī had a daughter named Thārī, a name which occurs as a chapa in a few verses occurring in the ms. anthologies. Some padas are also attributed to Bhagavān and some mājh in Multani to Gvāla.

Śrī Lālaḷajī is said to have died in 1618 at the age of sixty-seven. (80) According to the traditional account preserved orally by the present gosvāmīs, his death occurred in Vrindaban at the place where his samādhi now stands. He is said to have retired to Vrindaban to spend his last days there, bathing in the Yamuna every morning and doing parikramā of the town. During the last week of his life he attended a recitation of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa and took only holy water (caranāmṛta) and a few morsels of prasāda. His second son Giridhara was with him and was secretly observing his father even though he had been requested not to. They both took prasāda at the end of the week-long recitation, after which Śrī Lālaḷajī is said to have vanished as he made a final prostration before the Bhāgavatapurāṇa. The samādhi, a fairly large example of its type, stands beneath a banyan tree on Praskandana Ghāṭ (close to the temple of Madanamohana founded by Sanātana Gosvāmī) and is surrounded by smaller stones commemorating many of his descendants. (81)

In the janma caritra Śrī Lālaḷajī is quoted as instructing his followers to serve his four sons and nominates Mathurānātha as head of the temple sevā. (82) As in the other gaddīs of the Puṣṭimārga

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80. Śrī Lālaḷajī ko janma caritra, A f.150<sup>r-v</sup>.

bhadrā paramapunīta mā ṣaṣṭī śudi hoi  
sāmat soraha sāi saṭhe dasa paṃca māhī  
lāla deha taja calye bhayo jaikara tahāhī

...

varṣa sāṭha aru sāta rahe bhūloka udhare

The person who described the Gokul manuscript of this text for the 'Khoj Report' of 1932-34 (no.162 p.255) either misread the text or made an accurate transcription of a less satisfactory reading of the second line quoted above, viz.:

sāmat soraha sai isaṭhe veda sapaṃcama māhī

81. The story of Śrī Lālaḷajī's death may derive from an account in Nābhādāsa's Bhaktamāla of the death of a certain Lāladāsa who expired at the end of a Bhāgavata saptaha held at a place called 'Bāgherai' (cappaya no.164, pp.860-1). Since 1947 the samādhi of Śrī Lālaḷajī has been taken care of by gosvāmīs from Dera Ismail Khan.

82. Śrī Lālaḷajī ko janma caritra, A f.148<sup>r-v</sup>.

there arose the notion of a spiritually endowed lineage or kula the merits of which are expressed in a few Sanskrit ślokas and a pada occurring in one of the manuscript anthologies, in which the family is likened to the divine wish-giving tree in the shade of which devotees find refuge from the troubles of the world. (83)

The works attributed to Śrī Lālaḷāḷī, all in Braj, are either translations of Sanskrit scriptures or short texts dealing with the basic principles of Vaiṣṇava bhakti, as well as a number of padas. They do not stress any specifically Puṣṭimārga points of doctrine and, being simple and direct in style and language, were evidently intended for a popular audience. The most widely circulated collection of his shorter works is known as Saptagranthī, though the contents of different versions of this collection are not always the same. All of them contain Nāmaratna (also called Puruṣottama-aṣṭottaraśatanāma) and Laghu pacīsī, and add variously five texts from among the following: Kṛṣṇastotra, Saptaślokī gītā (a pada translation of seven ślokas from the Bhagavadgītā), Gurustuti, Bhagavatstuti, Iṣṭabhāva, Vinayachanda (in sixty-six caupāis dealing with the svarūpa of Kṛṣṇa and the devotee's attitude of vinaya), Śikṣā pacīsī, Ghar kī paddhati and Daśamaskandha (a resumé of the tenth book of the Bhāgavatapurāna in which the date of composition is given as 1587). Ghar kī paddhati is the only work which clearly states that Śrī Lālaḷāḷī was following the principles laid down for the Puṣṭimārga as a whole by Vallabha and Viṭṭhalanātha, but no manuscript of the work has been traced, the only available version of the text being in printed versions of the Saptagranthī. Other works in this collection deal with the merits of bhajana, nāmasmarana, sevā of Kṛṣṇa and the guru, and similar basic devotional practices. Two versions of the Saptagranthī include Mathurānātha's Avatāranibandha.

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83. F ff.104<sup>v</sup>-105<sup>v</sup>, entitled Śrī Lālaḷāḷī surataru catuḥślokī.

A separate work is entitled Ekādaśacatuspadī, a sequence of eleven verses extolling the importance of Gopināthajī as iṣṭadeva, exclusive devotion and self-sacrifice to Kṛṣṇa, veneration of the guru, avoidance of worldly pleasures and the importance of vrata, dāna and the samdhya prayers etc. His versions of pauranic texts are Dharmasaṃvāda, Bhagavadgītāmāhātmya (a version of the dialogue between Brahmā and Nārada from Brahmapurāṇa), Bhāgavatamāhātmya (based on the last book of Brahmapurāṇa) and Ekādaśīvratavidhi (from Padmapurāṇa) which is supplemented by māhātmyas of the jayantis of Kṛṣṇa, Vāmana, Rāma and Narasiṃha. The same manuscript also contains Nāmamāhātmya, culled from various sources and elaborated by Śrī Lālaḥjī, and Sahasranāma which appears to be an original work, the date of composition being given in the text itself as 1612. (84)

Apart from the aforementioned works and the verses included in Utsavaratnamālā, there exist over two hundred padas in various manuscripts which bear the chāpa 'Lāladāsa' and are either didactic in tone or deal with the līlās of Kṛṣṇa. Two works of Śrī Lālaḥjī which are said to have been lost during the flight from Pakistan were Braj versions of the Bhagavadgītā, left behind at Dera Ghazi Khan, and of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa, which is said to have been begun soon after he settled at Dera Ghazi Khan and was modelled on the Sūrasāgara of Sūradāsa. This existed in the form of an illustrated manuscript which was thrown in the Indus when the gosvāmīs left for India.

### II.3 Kevalarāma

The manuscripts give hardly any information about the sons of Śrī Lālaḥjī. Mathurānātha, according to a stuti bearing the chāpa of

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84. Date given in caupāī no.388, P f. 75<sup>r</sup>. The ms. contains Bhāgavatamāhātmya, Bhagavadgītāmāhātmya, Ekādaśīvratavidhi, Nāmamāhātmya and Sahasranāma, all of which, apart from Ekādaśīvratavidhi, were edited by R.C.Mehrotra for his M.Litt. thesis. The date of Bhagavadgītāmāhātmya is given in dohā 34, f.47<sup>v</sup>, as 1581, which means that it was either written at Govardhan or soon after his arrival in Dera Ghazi Khan (having been presented with his deity in advance of the seven sons of Viṭṭhalanātha, unless the distribution took place before 1581).

his son Kevalarāma which hails him as an avatāra of Kṛṣṇa and the very form (niju sarūpa) of Śrī Lālaḥ, was born in Sind and travelled widely with followers and members of his family in order to spread Vaiṣṇavism and visit all the places of pilgrimage.<sup>(85)</sup> In addition to Avatāranibandha he appears to have composed some padas dealing with līlās of Kṛṣṇa which are found in some of the manuscript anthologies. He presumably succeeded to his father's gaddī and took over custody of Gopīnāthajī while his younger brother was given the deity of Nāgarajī which he took to Dera Ismail Khan where he founded a temple.<sup>(86)</sup>

Dera Ismail Khan, a place with which Kevalarāma was to become associated, lies about two hundred kilometres north of Dera Ghazi Khan and is the chief town in the northern part of the plain which extends between the river and the Sulaiman mountains. Malik Suhrāb, leader of the Hot branch of the Baloches who settled in the area late in the fifteenth century, founded both Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Fateh Khan which were named after his two sons. The Hot chiefs controlled the area from Dera Ismail Khan for a period of about three hundred years and, from the time of Bābur until the invasion of Nādir Shāh in 1738, the district was nominally a part of the Mughal empire. The proportion of Baloches in this area decreases as one moves northwards while Jāṭs, descendants of earlier settlers, become more numerous. During the period of their ascendancy in the area the Hots were engaged in constant fighting with Paṭhān tribes

85. The stuti is in B, ff.92<sup>V</sup>-97<sup>R</sup>:

śrī mathurānātha niju sarūpa śrī lāla ke (ff.92<sup>V</sup>-93<sup>R</sup>)  
ādi svarūpu śrī lālaḥ kiyo jagata udhāru  
mathurāpati līlā karana kṛṣṇa līyo avatāru (f.93<sup>V</sup>)  
sabha kāraja kīne siṃdhu desa mō janamu le  
pāvana kari līne jīva jaṃtra kaliyuga viṣe (f.94<sup>V</sup>)  
sabha tīratha kīe loka kaṭūmbī sāthi bahu (f.96<sup>R</sup>)

S, ff.91<sup>R</sup>-92<sup>R</sup> gives details of the celebration of Mathurānātha's birthday on the full moon day of the month of Agāhan (Mārgaśīrṣa) including vidhi verses and a kīrtana with the chāpa of Kevalarāma.

86. The ms. anthologies contain about fifty padas attributable to Giridhara whose birthday is celebrated on Aṣāḥ śudi 6, for which vidhi verses and a kīrtana with the chāpa of Kevalarāma are supplied, S ff.89r-90<sup>R</sup>.

inhabiting the hills to the north and north-west.<sup>(87)</sup> Despite such local skirmishes the relative stability which Mughal hegemony brought to the area was conducive to an increase in the flow of trade with Central Asia, largely conducted by Hindus, and brought prosperity to those towns which were situated on the caravan routes.

The Nāgarajī temple which Giridhara established at Dera Ismail Khan became the Eighth Gaddī's second most important centre of worship. His elder son Bhagavān inherited this temple and the younger, named Kamalanayana, went south to Bahawalpur where he founded a temple of Giridhārījī. At Bahawalpur, besides a temple of the Gauḍīya followers of Guṇjāmālī, there was also a temple of Brajamohana, an idol believed to have been worshipped by Nāmadeva and now housed at Kaladhārī Mandira, Vrindaban. The Bahawalpur branch of the Eighth Gaddī is mentioned as having comprised the leading Sārasvata brahmins of the town who were called locally Lālji de potre and are said to have settled there during the reign of Nawwāb Muḥammad Bahāwal Khān II and to have had numerous followers in the districts of Lodhran and Kahrōr.<sup>(88)</sup> Thus, by the middle of the seventeenth century, there were three branches of the Eighth Gaddī which were each to have a separate lineage of hereditary gosvāmīs, the main branch being at Dera Ghazi Khan and the others at Dera Ismail Khan and Bahawalpur. Mathurānātha's eldest son Gokulanātha is said to be the founder of a second temple of Gopināthajī at Dera Ismail Khan, but apparently had no direct descendants who could have inherited the sevā.<sup>(89)</sup>

The dates of birth of Mathurānātha's two sons, Gokulanātha and Kevalarāma, are traditionally given as 1610 and 1617 respectively.<sup>(90)</sup>

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87. Details given here regarding Dera Ismail Khan and the Hots are taken from D.I.K. Gazetteer, pp. 23, 30-9.

88. Bahawalpur Gazetteer p.156. Since partition descendants of Kamalanayana have settled with their deity at Rajpura (Panjab) while some other Bahawalpur gosvāmīs moved to Bikaner.

89. The deity remained in the custody of the Dera Ghazi Khan gosvāmīs and after partition was taken first to Delhi and then later was housed in a new temple in Vrindaban near Sevā Kuñja.

90. These are the dates given in the vamśavalī of the gosvāmīs. P.Mital (Braja Bhārati article p.21) gives Gokulanātha's date of birth as 1604, which seems rather early if his father was born in 1588. Kevalarāma is hailed as an avatāra of Śrī Lālajī cf. below notes 91 and 92, but it is difficult to reconcile this belief with the information that he was born in the year preceding his grandfather's death.

Kevalarāma became the most revered figure in the Eighth Gaddī after Śrī Lālaġī himself while outside the circle of the gosvāmīs and their sevakas he was to become the subject of a more or less independent popular cult among both Hindus and Muslims. Although there is some oral tradition surrounding the personality of Kevalarāma there is a dearth of biographical information in manuscript sources. His date of birth is given as Caitra śudi 11, the day on which his janmotsava is celebrated for which the vidhi and a kīrtana were supplied by his son Madanamohana and another kīrtana by Paramānanda, while two more verses in praise of Kevalarāma were written by Prabhudāsa.<sup>(91)</sup> These are traditional eulogies which praise Kevalarāma as a great devotee, saint and preceptor, but give us very little in the way of biographical detail. Paramānanda hails him as an avatāra of Śrī Lālaġī and informs us that his birthday fell on a Thursday while Prabhudāsa states that he was the son of 'Mathureśa' and grandson of Śrī Lālaġī, was a supreme yogī who wrote many poems (vānī) for the benefit of his followers and performed daily sevā for Gopīnāthajī, his chosen deity (iṣṭa).

'Kevalarāma' is an unusual name for a child born in a Puṣṭimārga family and is exceptional for an Eighth Gaddī gosvāmī since, until very recently, all descendants of Śrī Lālaġī have had names derived from an epithet of Kṛṣṇa, usually with the suffix 'Lāl'.<sup>(92)</sup> The name

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91. The four songs written in praise of Kevalarāma are given in Appendix I. Kevalarāma's only autobiographical reference occurs in Snehasagara, cf. below III.2.6 (note 28).
92. The gosvāmīs say that he was called Kevalarāma because he was born two days after Rāma navamī, the birthday of Rama. J.R. Ailawadī, p.59, records the story of how Śrī Lālaġī, shortly before his death, is supposed to have told Giridhara not to grieve because 'I will have a second birth only in your home' (maī kevala tumharehī ghar mē dūsarā janam lūgā), thus the grandchild was named Kevalarāma. Names of several gosvāmīs are given in U f.3<sup>v</sup> and S. Sarma in his appendix gives genealogical tables for the houses of Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan and Bahawalpur gosvāmīs. Apart from Kevalarāma there are no other names associated with Rama until very recently.



'Kevalarāma' is more typical of a member of a nirguṇa sect or devotee of Rāma, which suggests that he might have adopted the name later in life when his way of devotion and style of literary composition became subject to influences from outside the Puṣṭimārga tradition.

He is said to have had two sons, Madanamohana and Jagannātha, who were born in 1644 and 1649 (or 1651) respectively.<sup>(93)</sup> Apart from inferences which may be drawn from the works attributed to him the only source of further information about Kevalarāma is the oral tradition of the gosvāmī family and his popular following. His younger son Jagannātha is believed to have died as a young man before his marriage was finalised. His fiancée, who came from a village near Dera Ghazi Khan, was known as Sukkhan Bāī. The gosvāmīs say that she was reluctant to marry anyone else since she had already been betrothed to Jagannātha, despite efforts by her father and Kevalarāma to persuade her to consider an alternative marriage. She wished instead to lead a pious life and so accompanied Kevalarāma to Vrindaban where she was to spend the rest of her days and become known eventually as Sukkhan Mātā.

93. The mislaid ms. containing stutis of several gosvāmīs (mentioned above in section I.3) contained a stuti in praise of Madanamohana written by Madho/Mādhaudāsa. When the gosvāmīs of the Eighth Gaddī perform śrāddha the wife of Kevalarāma is remembered by the name Kalyāṇī. However, S. Sarma, p.82, quotes a couplet in which her name is given as Rukmiṇī:

svāti būda kevala bhaye mātā rukminī sīpa  
muktā madanamohana pragaṭa śobhā saba te jīpa

P.Mital, 1965 p.22, quotes lines which contain the caste name of Śrī Lalajī and mention some of his descendants:

lalarī vaṃśa udāra mē pragaṭa bhaye śrī lāla  
tihi suta mathuranāthajī dīnana viṣai dayāla  
tihi suta kevalarāmajī kevala kevala rūpa  
śrī madanamohana jagannāthajī tina tē bhāe anūpa

R.C.Jain, in his M.Litt. thesis on Jñānadīpaka p.8, gives the year of Jagannātha's birth as 1651, citing a stuti by Rupacanda in the missing stuti anthology.

Kevalarāma and Sukkhan Mātā are credited with the foundation of the Eighth Gaddī's Gore Dāujī temple in Vrindaban. One morning Sukkhan Mātā went to bathe in the Yamuna and struck her head against a stone while ducking under the water. That night Balarama appeared to her in a dream and instructed her to return to the same spot the next day where he would come to meet her. She went there with Kevalarāma and together they discovered an image of Balarama for which they duly built a temple. This mūrti of Gore Dāujī is carved in high relief from a slab of white marble and depicts Balarama standing under a canopy formed by the seven heads of the serpent Śeṣa with his right hand raised and the left holding a goblet. It was the main object of worship in the temple until the arrival of Gopināthajī from Dera Ghazi Khan in 1947 (since when it has been renamed Śrī Gopināthajī kā Mandira). A small memorial stands in the courtyard to mark the place where Sukkhan Mātā did her bhajana while the temple and adjoining living quarters are known as Sukkhan Mātā Kuñja and the narrow alley in which they stand is called Sukkhan Mātā kī Galī. Gore Dāujī has been moved to one side to give Gopināthajī the central place in the shrine. Until the Dera Ghazi Khan gosvāmīs and their families took up permanent residence in the temple the sevā was performed by local pujāris appointed by them. The last pujāris were members of the Bhaṭṭa family which has a temple opposite the entrance to Vrindaban's Rādhāvallabha Gherā and is considered to be partly Gauḍīya and partly Rādhāvallabhī by sectarian affiliation.

Sukkhan Mātā Kuñja must have served as a residence for later Eighth Gaddī gosvāmīs whenever they came on pilgrimage to Braj. The question arises as to why the Eighth Gaddī should have established a temple in Vrindaban rather than in the more predominantly Puṣṭimārga centres of Mathura, Govardhan, Jatipura or Gokul. Possible reasons might have been the presence there of Śrī Lalājī's samādhi, lack of contact with the other seven gaddīs during this period or the feeling that anywhere else in Braj they would have felt overshadowed by them,

or perhaps that Kevalarāma and Sukkhan Mātā were attracted by the religious life of Vrindaban and its community of Vaiṣṇavas, many of whom were rasikas inspired by the poetry of Hita Harivaṁśa and Svāmī Haridāsa.

Kevalarāma is reputed to have travelled widely, perhaps initially with his father, visiting the major places of pilgrimage in North India as well as touring Sind and Afghanistan. He is even credited with the foundation of a small temple at Kandahar called Śrī Lālaḥjī Dvārā. His bhajana sthala, referred to as his thallā, is at Bilot, a village at the foot of the hills some sixty kilometres north of Dera Ismail Khan.<sup>(94)</sup> From the stories told about him it appears that it was there that Kevalarāma spent the latter part of his life as a kind of ascetic, possibly after taking a vow of saṁnyāsa. The present gosvāmīs relate how Kevalarāma, after the death of his elder brother Gokulanātha, was approached by sevakas and asked to become head of the gaddī at Dera Ghazi Khan but he suggested that his nephew, Gokulanātha's son, should be installed. This nephew, whose name is not recorded, is said to have died soon afterwards and so Kevalarāma was again approached to become ācārya. By this time it appears that he had become enough of a recluse or udāsī not to wish to become involved with the business of supervising the gaddī and so suggested that his son Madanamohana should succeed Gokulanātha. Before settling down at Bilot Kevalarāma is said to have spent some time at Dera Ismail Khan, his sojourn there being commemorated by a baiṭhak which stood opposite the entrance to the temple of Nāgarajī. The old town of Dera Ismail Khan was washed away by the Indus in 1823<sup>(95)</sup> but a baiṭhak constructed in the new town was

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94. The village is said to be named after one of two Hindu rājās, Bil and Til, who were the legendary occupants of two ancient forts called Kaffir Kot which overlook the Indus and stand on small hills attached to lower spurs of the Khasor range (Dera Ghazi Khan Gazetteer p.23). Bil's fort stands on one of the hills overlooking Bilot.
95. D.I.K. Gazetteer p.106.

probably a replacement for one which stood in or near the original temple. (96)

Although he declined to become leader of the Eighth Gaddī in order to pursue a pious life at Bilot, it is said that he still remained devoted to Gopīnāthajī since he did his bhajana facing south (as opposed to east or north) because this was the direction of the deity's temple at Dera Ghazi Khan. His thallā at Bilot was situated beneath a banyan tree close to the bank of the Indus which in those days apparently flowed past the village but has since receded to follow a course a few kilometres away. The word used locally for the banyan tree is bohar, whence Kevalarāma has acquired the appellation Satī Boharīyāvālā (or Boharīvālā), meaning 'the truthful one (or truth seeker) of the banyan trees'. He was to acquire the status of a local saint, comparable to that of a pīr, and attracted a popular following which was restricted neither to sevakas of the Eighth Gaddī nor just to Hindus.

Like so many other popular saints he is remembered not through his writings but by legends told of his miraculous powers. Most of these stories deal with magical contests between Kevalarāma and local

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96. A photograph of this baiṭhak exists but it has been removed since 1947 leaving only traces of where it once stood against the wall of a house. H.A. Rose, Vol. I p. 290 gives a confused account of Kevalarāma in which he states that he dwelt in a corner of the Gopīnāthajī temple at Dera Ghazi Khan where he spread out his thelā or 'wallet' on which he sat absorbed in meditation. He says that this thelā is worshipped and that Hindus come to the site to have their childrens' hair cut and to make offerings in fulfilment of vows. He records that sugar was offered to this 'wallet' and was then thrown amongst the gathering to be carried away. Rose appears either to have misunderstood his informants or to have been given inaccurate details since the story of Kevalarāma having stayed at one of the Dera Ismail Khan temples has been confused with a description of the fairs which took place at Bilot (see below) and the term thallā has evidently been misunderstood as thelā, there being no tradition of any sacred 'wallet'.

Muslim saints, the most prominent among whom was Pīr Shāh <sup>Ḷ</sup>Isā Qattār whose shrine (dargāh) is at Bilot. It is said that when Kevalarāma first arrived there he was obliged to seek this pīr's approval before taking up residence in the nearby banyan grove. Shāh <sup>Ḷ</sup>Isā responded to his request by sending him a bowl filled to the brim with milk, implying that the area already had its fill of holy men and that there was no room for any newcomer. Kevalarāma replied by floating a rose (some say a jasmine flower) on the surface of the milk and sending it back to the pīr, thereby indicating that he would live there without disturbing anyone. Shāh <sup>Ḷ</sup>Isā then sent a tiger to menace Kevalarāma, a sign that it would be dangerous for him to settle at Bilot, but the tiger showed no aggression towards him and even sat down beside him so that he could be used as a cushion. This is one of the most frequently told anecdotes concerning Kevalarāma and in the oldest available portrait of him he is shown seated against a tiger with the mountains in the background and the river in front. (97)

Unfortunately the historicity of the story of the bowl of milk is undermined by the fact that the same incident is related in connection with other saints, including Shaikh al-Sa'īd <sup>Ḷ</sup>Abd al-Qādir Jīlānī (AD 1077-1166), Lāl Shāhbāz of Sehwan and Gurū

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97. The portrait belongs to Go. Ratan Lal and is one of a series depicting Eighth Gaddī gosvāmīs which was probably painted during the time of Gosvāmī Harideva in the first half of the last century. On the back of this portrait is a couplet which says that Kevalarāma sits with a tiger for a pillow in a yogic posture with mountains behind and water in front:

kehara ko upavarha dhara baiṭhe kevalarāma  
pāche giri āge salila yogāsana abhirāma.

A more recent painting, showing Kevalarāma kneeling on a deer skin wearing a turban and holding a rosary, was printed for circulation among devotees and served as a model for a murti installed at the 'Bohrianwala Thalla' recently established in New Delhi.

Nānak. (98) Furthermore Shāh ʿĪsā is reported to have settled at Bilot in the time of Bahlūl Lodī, and so if there was any kind of confrontation between Kevalarāma and a local pīr it must have involved one of his descendants. (99) Other stories of Kevalarāma's contests with rival Muslim saints may also be assumed to derive from a repertoire of hagiographical legends which have been current for a long time and are common to different religious groups. After the tiger incident Shāh ʿĪsā and Kevalarāma are said to have become friends, but they still had the odd challenge whereby they sought to excel each other by displaying some miraculous power. Shāh ʿĪsā, for instance, is said one day to have spread a sheet on the surface of the Indus and sat on it. Kevalarāma outdid him by taking a slab of stone, placing it on the water and sitting on it.

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98. The dates of Jīlānī (also known as Pīr-i-dastagīr) are given in the Encyclopaedia of Islam (new edn.) vol.i p.69. J.P.Brown pp.99-101 gives the story told about him (from a Turkish ms.) according to which Khizr, patron saint of travellers, directed him to go to Baghdad. When Jīlānī arrived there the local Shaikh sent him a cup filled with water which Jīlānī sent back with a rose floating on it even though roses were then out of season. Everyone exclaimed that 'the Shaikh Jīlānī is our rose', respectfully welcomed him into the city and thereafter the Qādirīs took to wearing a rose in their caps. Gurū Nānak, on his arrival in Multan, was met by pīrs bringing a cup filled with milk on which he placed a jasmine flower (W.H.McLeod p.35). A similar story is told about the arrival of Lāl Shāhbāz in Sehwan (J.R.Gulraj p.92).

99. H.G.St.Tacker p.176 states that Shāh ʿĪsā arrived at Bilot in the time of Bahlūl Lodī. From a member of the makhdūm family descended from Shāh ʿĪsā I learnt that he was a Sayyid whose ancestors came from Iraq and settled first at Bahawalpur. He also told me that they believe that Kevalarāma, despite his Hindu name, was a Muslim and worked for Shāh ʿĪsā as a kind of munshī helping to administer his land. The presence of the dargāh leads local people to refer to the village as 'Bilot Sharīf' and in the Dera Ismail Khan Gazetteer, p.106, the makhdūms are said to enjoy a jagir which has been with them since the days of the Mughal emperors constituting an area of 19,844 acres held in perpetuity for the support of the shrine.

This same slab, say the gōsvāmīs, was placed in a courtyard (Govardhan cauk) of the Gopināthajī temple in Dera Ghazi Khan and used for the Govardhan pūjā festival. <sup>(100)</sup> Further examples of the stories told about Kevalarāma are as follows:

(i) Shāh <sup>Ā</sup>Isā challenged Kevalarāma to see who could first place his hand on the other's head, thereby making him his disciple. Kevalarāma outwitted Shāh <sup>Ā</sup>Isā by sitting in a state of samādhi in the Indus for three days until the latter, tired of playing hide and seek, withdrew the challenge.

(ii) After they became friends Shāh <sup>Ā</sup>Isā, who had no children, came riding past Kevalarāma who asked him for a grain of barley from the horse's nose bag. There was a black speck on the grain given to him from which Kevalarāma prophesied that Shāh <sup>Ā</sup>Isā would have a son, but that for ten generations his descendants would be one-eyed. The prophesy turned out to be correct, but Shāh <sup>Ā</sup>Isā was nevertheless pleased to have a son at last as a result of Kevalarāma's blessing.

(iii) Darya-dīn Banhā, who lived on the opposite bank of the river rode out to meet Kevalarāma on a lion holding a cobra as a riding crop in order to intimidate him. On his arrival Kevalarāma, remaining seated on a slab of stone, moved forward to meet him. This so astonished Darya-dīn that he was obliged to acknowledge Kevalarāma's superiority.

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100. Information about this stone was supplied by Go. Ratan Lal. After Dera Ghazi Khan was inundated earlier this century the stone was moved to the new temple of Gopināthajī. Muslims also tell stories about their saints floating on slabs of stone, as indicated by a reference in the Dera Ismail Khan Gazetteer, p.9, which says that Bilot is 'famous as the shrine of a holy Saiyad who used to sail about the Indus in a stone boat. His descendant, known as the Makhdum of Bilot, has inherited the sanctity along with the stone boat of his ancestor'. There is also a story of a floating contest between the river deity Udero Lāl and his opponent Āhū, the gazī of Thattha. The Hindu Darya Sevaks say that each of them spread a cloth or shawl on the Indus, Udero Lāl managing to stay afloat while Āhū sank, to be duly saved from drowning by his opponent (R. Burton 1877 pp.294-5).

(iv) Lāl <sup>c</sup>Īsā, whose shrine is at Karor on the east bank of the Indus, looked out of his window one day and saw Kevalarāma floating upstream on a cloth. The pir resorted to magic power to try to make the cloth shake and sink, but Kevalarāma caused horns or antlers to spring from the pir's head. Since he could not draw his head back through the window he had to call a truce and beg Kevalarāma to undo his spell. No confrontation, miraculous or otherwise, could have taken place with the original Lāl <sup>c</sup>Īsā (a Quraishī descendant of Bahāwal Haqq, a saint of Multan) since he lived in the fifteenth century. <sup>(101)</sup>

Oral tradition presents a fairly consistent account of the death of Kevalarāma, but there is no record of the year in which it occurred. <sup>(102)</sup> Devotees say that when he felt that his end was drawing near he covered himself with a cloth which he said should not be removed until his son Madanamohana arrived. When Madanamohana came and lifted up the cloth Kevalarāma's body was found to have disappeared. As a result the last rites had to be performed with the cloth, but when his relatives later went to gather the ashes they found pieces of charred bone amongst them. The story has similarities with accounts of the death of other saints including Viṭṭhalanātha, who is said to have disappeared into a cave at Govardhan leaving only his shawl behind, and Kabīr and Gurū

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101. Imperial Gazetteer of India XV p.61.

102. R.C.Jain p.14 refers to a stuti by Bhopati in one of the missing mss. in which it is said that Kevalarāma was present at the janmotsava of his second grandson Brajabhūṣaṇa, whose date of birth is given as 1676. The fact that he is not mentioned as having been present at the janmotsava of his third grandson Dharaṇīdhara (stuti by Caturbhūja, B ff.163<sup>r</sup>-165<sup>v</sup>) leads him to infer that Kevalarāma died not long after 1676. The argument is inconclusive and variation in dates of birth and death of gosvamis of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as they are given in the stutis and vamśavalīs, does not provide grounds for such precise chronological speculation.



Nānak, whose Hindu and Muslim followers argued over the right to dispose of their guru's body. In the case of Kabīr his body was covered with a sheet which, when removed, was found to cover only a heap of flowers, half of which was taken by Muslims for burial and the rest by Hindus for cremation. In the case of Gurū Nānak each party placed a pile of flowers on either side of his body, it having been decided that the group whose flowers remained fresh should have the right to perform the funeral rites. His body was found to have disappeared when the sheet covering it was lifted while both piles of flowers remained fresh. (103)

Such legends, derived from Hindu and Muslim hagiography, grew up around Kevalarāma because, in addition to being by birth a leading gosvāmī, he became a saintly figure who attracted a popular following and earned the reputation of being a great udāsī and yogī. There were many other holy men in the Indus region, most of them Muslim pīrs but some from a Hindu background, who became cult figures and attracted a mixed following. Worship of local saints and deities by both Hindus and Muslims was a common feature of the whole of this area. Converts to Islam buried their dead but did not entirely forsake their old gods and sacred places. They buried their pīrs within Hindu shrines and thus established dargāhs where fairs continued to be attended by rival cults. Thus a cult of tomb worship developed in which it was believed that saints would answer the prayers of votaries who had various rites and ceremonies performed in the precincts of their tombs. (104)

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103. The story of the passing away of Viṭṭhalanātha is given in SK VIII, 168-74, pp. 94-5 and in KKI p. III. 111. The story of Kabīr's death is given in C. Vaudeville 1974 pp. 8-9 and that of Gurū Nānak's in W. H. McLeod pp. 50-1. J. R. Ailawādī p. 58 and S. Sarma p. 78 relate the same story but with reference to Śrī Lalājī, though all gosvāmīs and devotees are unanimous in saying that it happened to Kevalarāma.
104. Cf. U. Thakur p. 18 on tomb cults in Sind. Notable examples of Hindu/Muslim cults in the Indus region are Zindā Pīr/Khwaja Khizr, Udero Lal/Shaiikh Tahir, Lallū Jasraj/Pīr Manghu, Rājā Bhartrhari/Lal Shahbaz.

The thallā of Kevalarāma, regarded by Muslims as his grave and by Hindus as his place of bhajana and samādhi, became a site of pilgrimage and worship for his popular following. The pathway leading to the thallā, situated in a relatively isolated spot a couple of kilometres north of Bilot, passes rubble and disused wells which are said to be the remains of the Hindu ('kāfir') settlement. The thallā itself lies beneath a tall pīpal tree, the older banyan having been cut down, apparently at the time of partition. From a photograph taken before partition the thallā appears to have been a broad square platform with a low humped wall along the north side which the Hindus used to smear with cow dung. Nowadays the thallā has a surrounding enclosure, is occasionally whitewashed and has niches for lamps in the low wall or mound on the north side. The gosvāmīs of Dera Ghazi Khan were traditionally custodians of the thallā and used to appoint a pujārī to attend to the site, but since their departure this duty has been entrusted to a Muslim mujāwir appointed by the Makhdūm of Bilot. (105)

The thallā was the scene of annual fairs attended by pilgrims who travelled in groups carrying pennons (jhaṇḍās) and came by river and on foot over dangerous and difficult terrain from places as far away as Waziristan and Dera Ghazi Khan. Muslims visited the thallā in the month of Caitra which was also the main time of pilgrimage to the dargāh of Pīr Shāh <sup>Ḳ</sup>Īsā. The Hindu fairs were held on the birthday of Kṛṣṇa (janmāṣṭamī), from the first day of Caitra until the birthday of Kevalarāma (Caitra śudi 11) and, most important of all, on Vaiśākha saṃkrānti. The latter was of extra

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105. Shri Devi Dayal, the founder and President of the Goswami Kewalramji Memorial Society, managed to obtain a statement in Urdu from a paṭavārī of Dera Ismail Khan which states that the gosvāmīs of Dera Ghazi Khan are still officially recognised as custodians of the thallā at Bilot. Ruins of shelters or a dharmaśālā used by Hindus stand close to the thallā. Alongside the old pīpal tree at the thallā is a young banyan which was planted there on the orders of the Makhdūm who is said to have disapproved of the destruction of the old tree by Muslim fanatics in 1947.

importance for the gosvāmīs and their sevakas since this was also celebrated as the day Śrī Lalājī arrived with Gopināthajī in Dera Ghazi Khan. The smaller janmāṣṭamī fair lasted for two or three days while the Caitra-Vaiśākha celebrations lasted longer and were attended by six thousand people. (106)

The Caitra and Vaiśākha saṁkrānti period is a popular time for such fairs at the shrines of many other saints in Sind and West Panjab, with which the fairs held at Kevalarāma's thallā had much in common. (107) A special feature of the Kevalarāma festivals was the offering of a kind of sugar candy (miśrī) which the pujārīs then threw out among the crowd of pilgrims in contrast to the normal practice of handing out prasāda individually. Another kind of sweet called batāsā could also be offered as well as a piece of cloth or food which could be used to prepare a feast. Many devotees would also have certain ceremonies performed in the vicinity of the thallā, such as nāmakaraṇa (naming of a child), upanayana (investiture of the sacred thread), colā (dressing a child in a cloth for the first time) and muṇḍana (first shaving of a child's head), the latter two

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106. Attendance figure is given in H.G.St.Tacker p.176. J.R.Ailāwādī pp.64-5 also describes the festivals saying that the gosvāmīs of Dera Ghazi Khan received the offerings and gave a share to resident hereditary pujārīs.

107. Examples are the fair held on Vaiśākha saṁkrānti at the samādhi of Naga Arjuna (alias Naga Uddhāra) at Maniōt near ruined temples in the Mari hills. It was attended by Hindus seeking supernatural aid and his shrine was once in charge of Vairagī sadhus who had a temple outside Mari (Mianwali Gazetteer pp.76-7). The most renown pir of Dera Ghazi Khan district is Ḥaṣrat Zenabulḍīn who migrated from Baghdad early in the thirteenth century and whose shrine at Sakhī Sarwar is the scene of a large Vaiśakhī saṁkrānti fair which used to be attended by Hindus as well as Muslims (D.G.K. Gazetteer pp.52-3). Another notable saint was Pīr <sup>C</sup>Adil who came from Mashad in the ninth century Hijrī. His shrine was built by the first Gāzī Khan nine miles from Dera Ghazi Khan and was the location of a fair held on Mondays in the month of Caitra (ibid. p.55). Another festival which may be compared with that of Kevalarāma was the jhaṇḍa melā held in the early spring in Peshawar in honour of Sakhī Sarwar, revered alike by Hindus and Muslims, Imperial Gazetteer of India (North West Frontier Provinces) p.196).

being ceremonies commonly performed at the shrine of a pīr, a Devī or a family iṣṭadeva.

Although Muslims continue to worship at the thallā it is visited only occasionally by some of the few Hindus resident in Pakistan today, though in 1961 and 1962 parties of former residents of the area managed to obtain permission to undertake a pilgrimage from India.<sup>(108)</sup> Many devotees who came from the area of Dera Ismail Khan were resettled in New Delhi where, at Inderpuri, they formed the Goswami Sati Kewalramji (Bohrianwala) Memorial Society in 1972. They have founded a new 'Bohrianwala Thalla' which houses a painted marble image of Kevalarāma (in kneeling pose and wearing Puṣṭimārga tilaka) and has a banyan tree planted alongside. The festivals of janmāṣṭamī and Vaiśākha samkrānti (Baisākhī melā) are recreated here and attract an enthusiastic crowd of devotees who receive the traditional miśrī prasāda, enjoy a feast, dance and sing songs in praise of Kevalarāma. Some of them maintain the custom of having their mundana, colā and other ceremonies performed at the thalla.<sup>(109)</sup>

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108. These two parties were led by Gurdev Harbans Shah Sahib of Kamla Nagar Gurudwara (Delhi) who was formerly a resident of Dera Ismail Khan. I have also met a Paṭhān devotee who, until he came to India a few years ago, used to lead a group of pilgrims to Bilot from Wana in South Waziristan and still possesses a permit authorising him to carry arms for the protection of the party.

109. The only gosvāmī who had any involvement with the creation of the new thallā was Braj Ratna Lal who came from Dera Ismail Khan and settled in Faridabad. We may assume that, besides the gosvāmīs and their sevakas, Kevalarāma has always had a popular following of devotees who were unaware of his links with the Puṣṭimārga. The Memorial Society has published pamphlets giving the words of songs about Kevalarāma which were composed by devotees earlier this century, the most popular one beginning: jai hovī bohriāvālā terī qudrat tū qurban. The Memorial Society is a flourishing concern which has already managed to establish a library, free homoeopathic dispensary and other medical facilities within the precincts of the new thallā.

#### II.4 The subsequent history of the Eighth Gaddī

None of the Eighth Gaddī manuscripts provides biographical information about the gosvāmīs who followed Kevalarāma, apart from the volume of conventional stutis (mentioned above, I.3, in connection with their genealogy) and a narrative of the travels of Raṇachoraṛāya. Most of the leading gosvāmīs, however, seem to have contributed to the literary heritage of their gaddī. There are about two hundred and fifty padas attributed to Madanamohana, the son of Kevalarāma, as well as a Braj version of the tenth book of the Bhāgavatapurāna.<sup>(110)</sup> He also contributed to Utsavaratnamālā, a festival calendar containing verses by Śrī Lālaḷī, Kevalarāma and other early Eighth Gaddī poets, which gives details of how the deity is to be decorated, describes any special rites which are to be performed and provides poems suitable for kīrtana. Two of his three sons, Pradyumna and Brajabhūṣaṇa, also appear in the anthologies as authors of about twenty and fifty padas or kavittas respectively. Pradyumna's son Aniruddha seems to have had no heir and so leadership of the gaddī was assumed by his uncle Brajabhūṣaṇa. He was succeeded by his younger son Caturbhujā who, according to oral tradition, was appointed to the post of local raḷādhikārī. In one of the series of paintings kept at the Vrindaban temple he is depicted seated under a canopy before a group of sevakas or petitioners. Like most of the other gosvāmīs in these paintings he wears a beard, a turban and Mughal style dress. He was succeeded in turn by Bāke Bihārī, Raṇachoraṛāya and Harideva, gosvāmīs of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries who, as is evident from the colophons of extant manuscripts, made efforts to expand the temple library at Dera Ghazi Khan.

Evidence that the gosvāmīs maintained contact with their temple in Vrindaban and occasionally visited Braj is provided by the existence around the samādhi of Śrī Lālaḷī of smaller memorial stones inscribed with the names of Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Brajabhūṣaṇa,

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110. A manuscript of Madanamohana's Bhāgavatadaśamaskandha is in the collection of Go. Ratan Lal, but either it is incomplete or the work was unfinished. The padas of Madanamohana and other later gosvāmīs are scattered through the anthology manuscripts.

Dharañīdhara, Caturbhuja, Muralīdhara, Bāke Bihārī, Viśvanātha, Keśorāya and Nandanandana (grandson and great-grandson of Giridhara, founder of the Dera Ismail Khan gaddī) and Navanītarāya (of the Bahawalpur gaddī). Although none of the stones bears the name of Raṇachoraṇāya, oral tradition maintains that he spent his last years in Vrindaban, leaving Harideva to manage affairs in Dera Ghazi Khan. In 1870 a certain Govardhana Bhaṭṭa, using the chāpa 'Ānanda', wrote an account in prose and verse of the travels and encounters of Raṇachoraṇāya (ms. V) with particular emphasis on a chappan bhoga festival which he organised. It appears from this text that he met senior gosvāmīs of Nathdwara and Kankaroli and so perhaps helped to re-establish links with the rest of the Puṣṭimārga which might possibly have been neglected by his predecessors.

Harideva is reputed by oral tradition to have been a scholar and, like his father, a patron of the arts. Besides a few verses in Multani he wrote a long work entitled Virahabhedavivarana containing two hundred and twenty-five padas arranged systematically according to their respective rāgas and rāginīs.<sup>(111)</sup> He was succeeded by Baladeva, author of several padas and a series of battīsī verses (V.R.I. ms. acc.no.11336), who in turn had six sons. The sevā and property of the Dera Ghazi Khan temple were until his time inherited by one leading gosvāmī, but following the death of Baladeva they were divided between two of his sons, Kuñjalāla and Jīvanalāla, a division which was to lead to some confusion and dispute among their descendants over the rota for sevā and sharing of temple property. It was during the lifetime of Kuñjalāla that the old town of Dera Ghazi Khan was swept away by flooding and a change of course in the Indus, as had happened some years previously at Dera Ismail Khan. He supervised the construction of another temple in the new town of Dera Ghazi Khan which was built on a safer

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111. A manuscript of this work is in the collection of Go. Ratan Lal.

site nearby. There is no record of whether any manuscripts from the temple library were lost at this time.

There were also a few sevakas of these later gosvāmīs who contributed to the gaddī's literature. One of these was Mādhodāsa who wrote several padas, a Dānalīlā and stutis for some of the gosvāmīs of whom the latest was Caturbhūja. Prabhudāsa, the most prolific of the sevakas, wrote stutis for Madanamohana and Bāke Bihārī, over a hundred padas, a work called Lāla cālīsā and appears to have been the compiler of Utsavaratnamālā and an anthology of verses in praise of Śrī Lālaḥjī. Another sevaka, of uncertain date, was Mādhavottaranānda, author of a commentary (vivarāṇa) on Śrī Lālaḥjī's Laghu pacīsī. (112)

Works by three gosvāmīs from the Bahawalpur temple also appear in the manuscripts. Gaṅgādhara, son of the temple's founder Kamalanayana, wrote a few padas as did his son Kuñjabihārī who also wrote a work entitled Neha śata. Kuñjabihārī's younger brother Navanītarāya also wrote some padas and, in 1780, a work called Vinaya pacāsa. (113)

Throughout this period the Eighth Gaddī continued to expand with the result that, by the time the gosvāmīs and their followers had to leave Pakistan, temples had been established not only at Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan and Bahawalpur but also at Jampur (deity of Kalyāṇarāyaḥjī, now in Delhi), Kot Addu (deity of Gopināthajī established by Kuñjalāla, now in Faridabad), Shikarpur (deity of

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112. The stutis by Mādhodāsa and Prabhudāsa are cited by P. Mital 1965 pp. 20, 23-3, 25-6, 29. A manuscript of Prabhudāsa's Lāla cālīsā is in the possession of Go. Ratan Lal, Mādhodāsa's Dānalīlā is in A ff. '75<sup>v</sup>-77<sup>r</sup>', Mādhavottaranānda's commentary is in T.

113. Neha śata is in D ff. 112<sup>v</sup>-135<sup>r</sup> and Vinaya pacāsa in C ff. 188<sup>r</sup>-193<sup>r</sup> and F ff. 90<sup>r</sup>-96<sup>v</sup>. Communication between the three branches of the Eighth Gaddī seems to have been consistently maintained. According to the present gosvāmīs from Dera Ghazi Khan they used to attend each others' weddings and it was the practice for any fees (bandhān) paid by sevakas for wedding ceremonies outside the three towns to be divided between the three branches, the Dera Ghazi Khan gosvāmīs receiving fifty per cent. and the other two families twenty-five per cent. each.

Gopināthajī in a temple enlarged by Baladeva, now in Bombay), Isa Khel (deity of Gopināthajī, founded in the last century) and Leiah (Śrī Lālajī temple). Smaller shrines were also maintained by followers at Quetta and Bhakkar. In order to visit their sevakas the gosvāmīs would travel through these towns, sometimes into Afghanistan where there were communities of devotees in Kabul, Kandahar and other towns on the trade routes. (114)

After their exodus in 1947 many Hindus from the districts of Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan were resettled in Delhi and towns in the vicinity such as Faridabad, Gurgaon and Palwal. Others found new homes in Kotah, Gwalior, Jaipur, Kanpur, Bombay and several towns in the Panjab. The Dera Ghazi Khan gosvāmīs moved with their deity to Vrindaban, while those from Dera Ismail Khan took their deity to Kanpur and gosvāmīs from Bahawalpur settled at Rampur and Bikaner. Some refugees, mainly from Bannu and Kohat, settled at Hardwar where a branch of the Dera Ghazi Khan gosvāmī family established a small thallā of Kevalarāma (at Krishna Nagar) and gosvāmīs from Dera Ismail Khan founded a Śrī Lālajī temple. This dispersal over a wide area has considerably weakened the traditional ties between the gosvāmīs and their sevakas with the result that sevā in the temples is performed on a much more modest scale and the gosvāmīs have lost much of their former status and patronage.

By the mid-nineteenth century the Eighth Gaddī had expanded to command the allegiance of a considerable proportion of the Hindus resident in the trans-Indus region and in the districts of Multan and Muzaffargarh, while even outside the immediate circle of

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114. Information about the distribution of the temples has been supplied by the gosvāmīs from Dera Ghazi Khan. Older members of the family can recall several tours they made of the trans-Indus region and Afghanistan.



sevakas the names of Śrī Lālaġī and Kevalarāma were well known and frequently invoked. It is evident that the gosvāmīs catered for groups within the Hindu minority having a series of temples in towns where merchant communities were settled. According to census reports which appeared in the Gazetteers from the late nineteenth century onwards the Hindus formed about twenty-five per cent. of the population of Sind, the highest density being in the Thar and Parkar districts, with a smaller proportion in upper Sind and the frontier regions. Hindus accounted for approximately twenty per cent. of the population in the districts of Multan and Muzaffargarh and somewhat less in Bahawalpur. The proportion of Hindus decreased in the more northerly areas, forming almost thirteen per cent. of the population in Dera Ismail Khan and a slightly higher percentage in Dera Ghazi Khan. Further north in Bannu the number of Hindus fell to less than ten per cent. and in Kohat to about five per cent. The Bannu Gazetteer notes that Hindus were equally scattered throughout the district, except in Waziristan where they were very few, and were mainly Aroṛās of whom about two thirds were engaged in trade. Nowhere in these districts did Sikhs account for more than one per cent. of the population and, of the Muslims, the vast majority was Sunnī. (115)

Lieutenant-Colonel James Tod and Peter Simon Pallas provide some indication of the state of Vaiṣṇava Hindus in the trans-Indus region during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. At that time, as is the case today, the baniyā of north and western India was a very enterprising kind of businessman who was prepared to undertake long journeys and settle far from home in order to carry out his trade. In his account of the Puṣṭimārga's main temple at Nathdwara Tod remarks that:

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115. These statistics are taken from the Gazetteers of Sind (p.154 and its supplement B VI p.6), Multan (p.114), Muzaffargarh (1930, p.80), Bannu (p.73) and the Imperial Gazetteer of India vol.XI (1908, p.263). Hindu life in Dera Ghazi Khan and some of the notable gosvāmīs of Nāgarajī temple are described by J.R.Ailawādī pp.59-63.

From the banks of the Indus to the mouths of the Ganges, from the coasts of the Peninsula to the shores of the Red Sea, the gifts of gratitude or of fear are lavishly poured in...

The spices of the isles of the Indian archipelago; the balmy spoils of Araby the blest; the nard or frankincense of Tartary; the raisins and pistachios of Persia [etc.]... all contribute to enrich the shrine of Nathdwara. (116)

He also makes what must be a reference to the Eighth Gaddī in its role as an outpost of the Puṣṭimārga on the trade routes leading to Central Asia:

A deputy resides on the part of the high priest at Multan, who invests the distant worshippers with the initiative cordon and necklace. Even from Samarkand the pilgrims repair with their offerings; and a sum, seldom less than ten thousand rupees, is annually transmitted by the votaries from the Arabian ports of Muscat, Mocha, and Jiddah; which contribution is probably augmented not only by the votaries who dwell at the mouths of the Volga, but by the Samoyede of Siberia. There is not a petty retailer professing the Vishnu creed who does not carry a tithe of his trade to the stores; and thus caravans of thirty and forty cars, double-yoked, pass twice or thrice annually by the upper road to Nathdwara. (117)

With reference to his statement that Hindus from as far away as the mouths of the Volga sent donations to Nathdwara Tod cites Pallas, who travelled through the southern provinces of the Russian Empire in the years 1793-4. Pallas<sup>(118)</sup> describes how he 'attended with pleasure at the idolatrous worship of those Indian merchants of Multanistan, who reside together in the Indian Court called Indeskoi Dvor'. He says that they bathed every evening in the Volga before worshipping their idols 'in the chamber of their priest, who is not a regular Brahmin, but a Dervishe'. He remarks that, since an earlier visit he made to Astrakhan, these Hindus had become somewhat lax in their religious observances, but from his description it is evident that their worship followed the normal

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116. J.Tod vol.II pp. 611 and 615.

117. Ibid., pp.615-7.

118. P.S.Pallas vol.I pp.254-9 and plates 8 and 9.

Vaiṣṇava pattern of ārati and distribution of prasāda and caranāmṛta. The central image in the shrine, of which Pallas provides a description and illustration, was evidently of Gopāla-kṛṣṇa ('small idol with a very high bonnet called Gupaledshi') which was surrounded by śālagrāmas and other idols which were mainly Vaiṣṇava. Tod adds that he learnt 'from the authority of a gentleman who has dwelt among the Hindkis of Astrakhan, that distance from their ancient abodes has not deteriorated their character for uprightness' and that 'the reputation of these Hindu colonists, of whom there are about five hundred families, stands very high, and that they bear a preference over all the merchants of other nations settled in this great commercial city'. (119)

Some other travellers provide further information about such communities of Hindu traders. Mohan Lal describes the merchants of Shikarpur of the early nineteenth century as conducting a prosperous trade in Afghanistan, Turkestan, Khorasan and Persia, and says that their reputation was so high that their bills of exchange (hundīs) were considered valid from Russia to Bombay. He describes the large caravans supplying silk and horses which travelled from Bokhara through to Dera Ghazi Khan, Dera Ismail Khan, Multan and Bahawalpur, and in Kabul found a community of two thousand Hindus who were allowed to keep all the privileges of their religion, though further west in Balkh and Bokhara they spoke Persian, looked Muslim and were not allowed to ride a horse, wear a turban or tie a cloth or shawl round their waist. (120) Elphinstone refers to the cloth merchants and shopkeepers of Peshawar, Kabul, Ghazni and Kandahar as living in houses superior to those of the local inhabitants and remarks that there was no friction between Hindus and Muslims. (121) Campbell described the Panjabi khatris who ran most of the trade from Afghanistan as being staunch Hindus, though the further they found their way into Central Asia the more depressed and humiliating their position became. (122)

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119. J.Tod, *ibid.*, p.616.

120. Cf. Mohan Lal pp.74-7, 95, 128, 393, 411, 438.

121. M.Elphinstone vol.II p.231 and appendix B pp.355-71 ('Narrative of Mr.Durie').

122. Ethnology of India, cited by H.A.Rose vol.II p.506.

It must have been largely due to the wealth which these merchants accumulated through their commercial activities that temples of the Eighth Gaddī and other Hindu sects in West Panjab were able to flourish. The Hindus, although they played such an important role in the economic life of the region, were always in a minority and, apart from common worship of some of the local saints, never integrated with the Muslim population. Perhaps initially, under the rule of the Gazī Khāns, the position of the Hindus was better than it became in the nineteenth century when they began to feel the pressure of declining economic opportunity and competition between rival elites. Although in 1947 it was largely as a result of violent disturbances elsewhere in India that the situation deteriorated in West Panjab, there had already been some instances of communal rioting in the area at the beginning of the present century.<sup>(123)</sup> Several writers of the last century have commented on the alienated condition of Hindus in Sind and West Panjab. Some report that they were much less orthodox in matters of caste and ritual purity and, especially in rural areas and the far-flung trading towns, consumed alcohol and certain kinds of meat,<sup>(124)</sup> though this did not apply to Vaiṣṇava gosvāmīs and their more faithful disciples. On the whole, the Hindus formed a closed society, tightening caste and taboos in order to reduce the area of contact with Muslims while retaining a monopoly over trade in wheat, cotton and other commodities and providing the bulk of rural credit.<sup>(125)</sup> As the peasant's creditor and natural enemy, the Hindu came in for proverbial abuse, being referred to in documents as muti-ul-islām (subject to Islām), and being known colloquially as kāfir (infidel) or kirār (trader), a term which came to mean 'coward', 'base' or 'abject'.<sup>(126)</sup> Some writers of the last century have remarked upon

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123. These events are described by K.W.Jones pp.280 f.

124. E.g. R.Burton 1877 p.278 and the Gazetteers of Dera Ghazi Khan (p.55), Sind (p.183), Multan (pp. 85 and 128).

125. Cf. M.A.Chaudhuri pp.264-5.

126. Cf. J.D.Cunningham p.11 and the Gazetteers of Dera Ismail Khan (p.53) and Muzaffargarh (1884 p.71).

the oppressed status of the Hindus, forbidden to wear a turban, permitted to ride only donkeys and bearing a reputation for cunning and miserliness which was expressed in terms reminiscent of those used in the West to describe the anti-semitic stereotype of the Jewish usurer. (127)

Most of the traders who settled in Sind and the southern part of West Panjab appear to have been either Rāmanandīs or followers of one of the Puṣṭimārga gaddīs or of Svāmī Nārāyaṇa. (128) In the district of Bahawalpur the Puṣkaraṇa brahmins were generally followers of the 'Tailāṅga Gokul Gosains' (i.e. one of the first seven gaddīs of the Puṣṭimārga) while the Sārasvatas were mainly devotees of Śrī Lālaḷājī, Guṅḷjāmālī, the Gokul Gosains or the temples of Gopālaḷājī and Kaladhārīḷājī. The khatrīs of the State were sevakas of either Śyāmājī or the Gokul Gosains, while the Aroṇās were followers of Śrī Lālaḷājī, Guṅḷjāmālī, the Gokul Gosains, or were otherwise Nānak-panthīs or Nānak-sevakas. (129) Further north and to the west there was a larger proportion of followers of Śrī Lālaḷājī, Śyāmājī and Guṅḷjāmālī. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the status of the gosvāmīs and other brahmins was challenged by Dayānanda Sarasvatī, founder of the Ārya Samāja. He had attacked the Gokul Gosains in the eleventh section (ullāsa) of his polemical work Satyārthaprakāśa, taking full advantage of the sensational revelations of the 'Maharaja Libel Case' held some years previously in Bombay. He visited Multan in 1877 where an armed mob shouting 'Jaya Gopāla' broke up a meeting at which he condemned the Gokul Gosains and local brahmins. (130) Despite such opposition the Ārya Samāja, with its regional headquarters in Lahore, managed to convert a considerable number of Hindus in West Panjab.

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127. E.g. T. Postans pp. 35 and 40, R. Burton 1877 pp. 274 and 276.

128. Sind Gazetteer p.163.

129. These details are taken from the Bahawalpur Gazetteer pp.182-3.

130. K.W. Jones p.40.

III

WORKS ATTRIBUTED TO KEVALARĀMA

III.1 Various saints and writers sharing the name 'Kevala'

It has already been pointed out (II.3, p.71) that the name 'Kevalarāma' appears to be more typical of a Santa than of a gosvāmī of a sampradāya so exclusively devoted to Kṛṣṇa as is the Puṣṭimārga. The name is presumably to be interpreted as meaning 'one who resorts exclusively to Rāma' or 'one who relies solely on the name of Rāma'.<sup>(1)</sup> The question of the identity of the Eighth Gaddī's Kevalarāma and the attribution of works to him necessarily involves consideration of other saints with the same or a similar name and other writers who used 'Kevala', or some variant thereof, as the chāpa occurring in the last line of their poems as an indication of their authorship.

The gosvāmīs of the Eighth Gaddī and those scholars who have so far studied its literature have automatically assumed that the Kevalarāma mentioned in the Bhaktamāla of Nābhādāsa was the grandson of Śrī Lālaḥjī. The chappaya stanza by Nābhādāsa and the accompanying kavitta by his commentator Priyādāsa<sup>(2)</sup> say that this Kevalarāma purified the fallen souls of Kaliyuga and converted many people who

1. Such an interpretation, or perhaps even the origin of the name itself, is suggested by a line in one of the two hymns in the Ādigraṇtha by Jaidev (Jayadeva) who is usually identified with the twelfth century author of Gītagovinda, though there is no convincing evidence for such a supposition. The language of the two hymns is so corrupt that it is difficult to assign them to a specific period, but they were presumably popular or widely known before they were incorporated into the Ādigraṇtha by Arjunadeva in 1604. The relevant line (cf. S.S.Kohli pp.27 f.) reads:

kevala rāma nāma manoramam  
baḍi amrita tata miam

2. Nabhādāsa chappay no.173, p.875; Priyādāsa kavitta no.601, p.876 (edition of Sitaramaśaraṇa Bhagavan Prasāda 'Rupakalā').

had no guru and were ignorant of the teachings of bhakti and the Bhāgavatapurāṇa. He was pure, without desire, always kept aloof from the material world (udāsī), could perceive the true nature (tattva) of things and was a 'heap' (rāsī) of compassion and good conduct. He firmly established the use of the forehead mark (tilaka) and beads made from the sacred basil (dāma) and imparted the doctrines of the nine-fold jewel of devotion and the grace of Kṛṣṇa. He used to go from door to door begging people to apply their minds to service of Kṛṣṇa and repetition of his name and taught those people whom he saw wearing fine clothes and behaving reprehensibly how to serve the Lord. He was so exceptionally compassionate that once, on seeing an ox being beaten with a stick, he felt such pity that he fell to the ground and, when he got up again, the mark of the stick was seen to have appeared on his own back, a sign of the truthfulness which filled his mind and body.

Although these stanzas state that he was an udāsī and a preacher of devotion to Kṛṣṇa there is nothing in them which gives any grounds for positively identifying this saint as the Kevalarāma from Dera Ghazi Khan. Apart from the inconclusive nature of the stanzas there is also a problem of chronology. If Kevalarāma was born in or around 1617, a date which is in accordance with dates given for the lifetimes of Viṭṭhalanātha and Śrī Lālajī, he would have been too young for inclusion by Nābhādāsa in his Bhaktamāla, a text which is generally held to belong to the first half of the seventeenth century. There is a possibility that the chappay is a later interpolation but, like so many verses of Nābhādāsa, it was paraphrased by Rāghavadāsa in a Bhaktamāla which he compiled on the same lines as that of Nābhādāsa with the inclusion of other saints belonging to the Dādū Pantha. The paraphrase by Rāghavadāsa may well indicate that the Kevalarāma chappay was part of the original text of Nābhādāsa.<sup>(3)</sup> If, despite

3. Cf. Bhaktamāla of Rāghavadāsa with ṭikā of Gaturadāsa (ed. Agara-canda Nāhaṭā) chapai no.474 p.223 and stanza no.610 of the ṭikā (which paraphrases the kavitta of Priyadāsa). The year of composition is given at the end of the text (p.246) as:

sambata satraha sai satrahaūtarā sukala pakṣa sanibāra  
tithi tṛtīyā āsāra kī rāgho kīyau bicāra

In his introduction (page 'da') Nāhaṭā observes that this couplet  
(Contd. on next page.....)

the chronological difficulty, one were still to argue that the Kevalarāma in question is the one from Dera Ghazi Khan then an explanation must be given for why neither Bhaktamāla makes any reference to his equally illustrious grandfather, the founder of the Gaddī.

Since Nābhādāsa was affiliated to the Rāmanandī sampradāya, and Rāghavadāsa to the Dādū Pantha, one is inclined to identify their Kevalarāma as a saint of the Rāmanandī or Santa traditions. Both authors mention a Kevala among the disciples of Payāhārī Kṛṣṇadāsa, the celebrated Rāmanandī saint who lived at Galta, near Jaipur. <sup>(4)</sup> They also mention a certain Kevala Kūbā, a bhakta who is described in more detail by their respective commentators Priyadāsa and Caturadāsa. <sup>(5)</sup> The two commentators say that he was a potter and a devotee of Rāma who lived at a village in Mewar called Jhītharā, was famous for his services to holy men (santasevā) and had many branches of disciples. The legend they tell about him relates how he agreed to dig a well for a merchant in order to earn money so that he could feed the holy men who came to visit him. While he was digging the earth caved in on top of him, but he managed to create an underground cavity for himself by arching his back (here the poets imply that the appellation Kūbā derives from kūbar meaning 'hunchbacked', which provides an alternative to the etymology from kūpa > kūvā meaning 'well'). After a month had passed the local villagers, who had assumed that he had been buried alive, dug him out after hearing him repeating the name of Rāma from underground. As a result of this miraculous survival people began

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(....contd. from previous page)

may be interpreted as giving the year as VS 1777 (= AD 1720), VS 1770 (= AD 1713) or VS 1717 (= AD 1660) and decides that the earliest date is the correct interpretation solely on the grounds that later bhaktas are not included in the text.

4. Nābhādāsa chappay no.39 p.308; Rāghavadāsa chapai no.154 p.69.
5. Nābhādāsa chappay no.149 and Priyadāsa kavittas 567-74, pp.828 f.; Rāghavadāsa stanzas 174-5 and Caturadāsa savaiyas numbered 188-96, pp.76 f.



to revere him and donate money. Later he obtained from a sādhu a deity which he called Jānarāya.

Although neither commentator suggests that Kevala Kūbā had any connection with Payahārī Kṛṣṇadāsa, one editor of the Bhaktamāla, Sītārāmaśaraṇa Bhagavān Prasāda 'Rūpakalā', indicates that he is alternatively known as Kevaladāsa, which he gives elsewhere as the fuller name of the Kevala mentioned in the list of Payahārī's disciples, implying that he considered them to be one and the same.<sup>(6)</sup> However, in his study of the so-called rasika branches of the Rāmānandī sampradāya, B.P.Simha does not connect Kevala Kūbā with Payahārī Kṛṣṇadāsa but states that he was the seventh ācārya to succeed to the Rāmānandī gaddī at Chiran in the Chapra district of Bihar.<sup>(7)</sup> The Bhaktamāla of Rāghavadāsa does not state explicitly that Kevala Kūbā was a disciple of Payahārī, and in addition mentions a separate Kevaladāsa who worshipped Rāma ('Rāghava'), wrote padas and sakhīs and was a pupil of Garībdās.<sup>(8)</sup>

Two apparently different saints named Kevala and Kūvā are also mentioned in Jmānabodha, a work attributed to Malūkdās, while another text entitled Bhaktamāla santa sumirini by Laghujana lists Kevala, Kūvā and Kevalarāma consecutively as three independent figures.<sup>(9)</sup> Unless, therefore, both Nābhādāsa and Rāghavadāsa and their respective commentators have written about the same Kevala in different contexts,

6. He gives the full name of Payahārī Kṛṣṇadāsa's disciple as Kevaladāsa on p.308 and gives the same as an alternative name for Kevala Kuva on p.829.
7. B.P.Simha p.340, where the succession is given as Rāmānanda, Surasurananda, Madhavananda, Garībananda, Lakṣmidāsa, Gopāladāsa, Naraharidāsa and Kevala Kūvā Rāma. On p.356 Kevala Kūvā Rāma's sakhī name is given as Kṛpā Alijī.
8. Rāghavadāsa stanzas 503-4, p.234. According to M.Menāriyā, p.283, Garībdās was the eldest son and successor of Dadū (1575-1636).
9. The bhaktas mentioned in Jmānabodha are listed in the introduction to Rādhākṛṣṇadāsa's edition of the Bhaktanamavalī of Dhruvadāsa (page 'ca'). The traditional date of birth of Malūkdās is 1574, cf. P.Caturvedī p.569, which, if Jmānabodha is a genuine work of his, implies that the Kevala mentioned cannot be the Kevalarāma from Dera Ghazi Khan. Devotees mentioned by Laghujana are listed in L.Dube p.179, who says that he consulted a manuscript of the mid-nineteenth century.

it would appear that there were three different saints, named Kevalarāma, Kevala Kūbā and Kevaladāsa, one of whom may also have been a disciple of Payahārī Kṛṣṇadāsa, the most likely being Kevalarāma of the Bhaktamāla, unless, of course, this disciple was someone else again. If the Kevalarāma of Dera Ghazi Khan is taken as different from all the above Kevalas, as would seem to be the case, then there are at least four or five candidates for authorship of texts bearing the chāpas 'Kevala', 'Kevalarāma' and 'Kevalajana'.

One of these saints is probably the author of a verse with the chāpa 'Kevala' included in the Sarvāngī of Dādūpanthī Rajjab, and perhaps of another verse with the chāpa 'Kevalarāma' which is found in a manuscript anthology of verses by Dādū, Nāmadeva, Kabīr, Rajjab and others. (10) Both verses are similar in content, style and form (four rhyming couplets with a ṭeka), which suggests that they are two examples of verse by a Kevala[rāma] whose verse was occasionally included in such anthologies and who seems quite different from the poet Kevalarāma known to us from Eighth Gaddī sources.

Another Kevalarāma, apparently unrelated to any of the aforementioned persons, was the author of two Sanskrit texts (assuming they are by the same author), one an astrological work entitled Tithisārīṇī and the other a Gāṅgāstutipaddhati which is dated 1780. (11) Yet another Kevalarāma, born in 1699 and a son of Keśavarāma Nāgara, wrote a poem called Vābī vilāsa in praise of his patrons, the Wābī nawwabs of Junagadh. (12) The name Kevalarāma also appears in a list

10. The pada by Kevala found in the Sarvāngī and numbered 88/10 is referred to by W.M.Callewaert, p.81. I am grateful to Dr.Callewaert for supplying me with a copy of the poem, which begins taba koī bavaro pachitai. The other pada, which begins bhali kinhī bhavana padhare rājā rāma, is found in ms. no.12378, f.92<sup>r</sup> in the library of the Jodhpur branch of the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute.

11. Both are in the library of the Jodhpur branch of the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, the first being ms. no.3125 and the second ms. no.3300.

12. This work is mentioned by Satyendra, p.672 and by T.Tomar p.19.

of eighteenth century writers of the Rādhāvallabhī sampradāya, to whom a padāvalī is attributed. (13)

Whereas all the aforementioned poets appear in quite different contexts from the Kevalarāma from Dera Ghazi Khan, there is one poet using the chāpa 'Kevalarāma Vṛndāvana Jīvana' (KVJ) who is the cause of confusion. His verses, which are all in Braj and deal with Kṛṣṇa, occur in some Vaiṣṇava anthologies. (14) In only two instances were poems with the chāpa KVJ found to occur in the same anthology as verses with the chāpas 'Kevala' or 'Kevalajana'. One instance is the large anthology of verses compiled by Kṛṣṇānanda Vyāsadeva 'Rāgasāgara' entitled Rāgakalpadruma which gives five verses by KVJ and one with the chāpa 'Kevalarāma', but with no information about the sources from which the poems were taken. (15) The other instance is in one of the Eighth Gaddī manuscript anthologies (W) which

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13. He is listed by Kiśoriśaraṇa 'Ali' p.17. This poet could possibly be the author of the padas with the chāpa 'Kevalarāma Vṛndāvana Jīvana' which are discussed below.

14. The following five manuscript anthologies which were consulted were found to contain eighteen different verses with the chāpa KVJ:

(i) Jodhpur branch of the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute no.1882 called Padamuktāvalī and copied in Jaipur in 1762 containing one KVJ pada (no.66) on f.56<sup>v</sup>.

(ii) Jodhpur R.O.R.I. no.1890 called Padamuktāvalī containing four KVJ padas on ff. 11<sup>v</sup>, 28<sup>v</sup>, 59<sup>v</sup> and 141<sup>r</sup>.

(iii) Jodhpur R.O.R.I. no.9087 containing one KVJ pada on f.19<sup>v</sup>.

(iv) Vrindaban Research Institute acc.no.2847 containing six KVJ padas (one lacking beginning) on a few extant folios of a verse anthology.

(v) Vrindaban Research Institute acc.no.10934, also containing six KVJ padas (one lacking beginning) on seven extant folios from an anthology.

The existence of a padāvalī by KVJ is recorded in the 'Khoj Report' for 1941-43, ed. V.P.Miśra, no.33 p.53. The author is said to have come from Panjab, some of his verses being in Panjabi. The poems are said to deal mainly with prema and bhakti for Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā with some poems dealing with Rama, Hanumān, the Gāṅgā etc. No details of the date of the poet or the ms. were available.

15. The KVJ verses, found in volume I pp. 292, 446, 614, 666 and in volume II on p.173, are all different from those found in the manuscripts described in note 14 above, but deal with similar subject matter (viz. Kṛṣṇa) and are in a similar style. The verse with the chāpa 'Kevalarāma' (vol.III p.169, in Bengali script) deals with Kṛṣṇa as butter thief and has not been found in any other source.

contains twenty-one padas with the chāpas 'Kevala' and (more commonly) 'Kevalajana', and one with the chāpa KVJ. (16)

The classic surveys of Hindi literature by Grierson, the three Miśra brothers and Śivasimha Semgar do not help to clarify the identity of the aforementioned poets. From Kṛṣṇānanda Vyāsadeva's preface to the Rāgakalpadruma Grierson abstracted a list of Hindi authors which includes the names 'Kēwal Rām' and 'Brindāban Jīban'. (17) He was unable to provide any information about the latter but states that Kēwal Rām is the saint mentioned in the Bhaktamāla of Nābhādāsa and was a disciple of Payahārī Kṛṣṇadāsa, a person he confuses with the Aṣṭachāpa poet Kṛṣṇadāsa by saying that he lived in Braj and flourished around 1575. (18) Since he gives no sources for these details and does not substantiate his identification of the Kevalarāma of Rāgakalpadruma with the one described by Nābhādāsa, it appears that he was simply assuming that they were one and the same or had been told that they were by some informant.

In Miśrabandhu-vinoda a Kevalarāma Vrajavāsī is mentioned as a minor poet who flourished around 1575. (19) The epithet 'Vrajavāsī' and the date of 1575 as a floruit are presumably derived from Grierson or the same source which the latter consulted. Śivasimha Semgar, discussing a Kevalarāma Kavi Brajavāsī who was alive in 1710, says that he is the person described by Nābhādāsa in chappaya no.173 and listed among the pupils of Payahārī Kṛṣṇadāsa. As a sample of his verse he gives a pada with the chāpa KVJ which is also given in Rāgakalpadruma. (20) In his review of Semgar's survey of

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16. The KVJ verse in W is on ff.58<sup>V</sup>-59<sup>V</sup> and is not found in any of the sources mentioned above.

17. G.A.Grierson 1889, pp. 137-9.

18. Ibid., pp. 21 and 26.

19. Miśrabandhu-vinoda volume I p.341 no.153.

20. Ś.Semgar, Śivasimha saroja (ed. T.N.Dikṣit), the date of the poet and identification of him with the Kevalarāma of the Bhaktamāla being given on p.396 and the pada on p.42 (beginning sarasa rasa ranga bhīne navala hari rasika vara prātaḥ jāta itarāta sohe, as found in Rāgakalpadruma vol.II p.173).

Hindi authors Kiśorīlāla Gupta points out quite correctly that the date 1710 is too late for anyone who is to be identified with the Kevalarāma of Nābhādāsa.<sup>(21)</sup> Because the verse given by Sengar has the chāpa KVJ Gupta assumes that he lived in Vrindaban, saying that his dates are uncertain. He also refers to a KVJ padāvalī described in the 'Khoj Report' for the years 1941-3 and assumes, presumably on account of the similarity of name, that he is identical with the Kevalarāma who wrote the Rāsa māna ke pada, a manuscript of which is described in the 'Khoj Report' for the years 1932-34.<sup>(22)</sup>

None of these scholars is of much help in distinguishing one Kevala from another since they do not give the sources for their identifications, appear to have made assumptions based merely on similarity of name and seem to have been familiar only with those poems which are included in Rāgakalpadruma. None of them shows any awareness of an Eighth Gaddī Kevalarāma or of any works written by him, and the later writers rely uncritically on information given by their predecessors.

Despite the dearth of biographical information given about all these different saints and poets in the sources mentioned above, it seems quite certain that the Kevalarāma whose works are found only in Eighth Gaddī manuscripts is different from the Kevalarāma, Kevala Kūbā and Kevaladāsa whose names appear in the Bhaktamāla texts. One could also state with confidence that the KVJ padas were also written by a different poet, were it not for the fact that one KVJ pada is found in an Eighth Gaddī manuscript (W) which contains padas with the chāpa 'Kevala' or 'Kevalajana'. The inclusion of five KVJ padas in the first two volumes of Rāgakalpadruma and one with the chāpa 'Kevalarāma' in the third volume does not necessarily indicate that all of the padas are by the same author, even though the KVJ padas have some linguistic features which are distinctly Panjabi (e.g. the use of dā/de/dī as possessive particles).

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21. K.Gupta p.210.

22. 'Khoj Report' for 1932-34, ed. P.D.Barthvāl, no.114 p.208, and for 1941-43, ed. V.P.Miśra, no.33 p.53.

The entry in the 'Khoj Report' for the years 1941-3 which describes a padāvalī of KVJ also says that some of the verses are written in Panjabi, though the KVJ padas found in other manuscripts are all in Braj.

If, on the basis of his apparent Panjabi origin and the inclusion of one of his padas in W, one were to argue that KVJ is the same as the Eighth Gaddī's Kevalarāma then one would be led to the conclusion that the KVJ padas are early poems written while he was resident in Vrindaban which were either ignored by the scribes of Dera Ghazi Khan or were not available to them. However, unless more Eighth Gaddī manuscripts containing KVJ verses come to light, or unless more manuscripts are found in which KVJ padas occur alongside those with the chāpa 'Kevala' or 'Kevalajana' the evidence for such an identification is very scanty. The most satisfactory conclusion is that a stray KVJ pada somehow found its way into W but that the author himself, though apparently from some part of the Panjab, had no affiliation with the Eighth Gaddī.

In view of the foregoing conclusions regarding the identity of the various saints and writers sharing variants of the name Kevala, only those works found in Eighth Gaddī manuscripts which bear the chāpa 'Kevala' or 'Kevalajana' are to be considered as attributable to the Kevalarāma from Dera Ghazi Khan.

### III.2 A survey of the works attributable to Kevalarāma

2.1 The poetry attributable to Kevalarāma is found in seventeen manuscripts and comprises many padas and other short poems as well as a few longer poems and two extensive works in dohā metre entitled Snehasāgara and Jñānadīpaka. This output ranged from lyrics dealing with Kṛṣṇa's pastoral and romantic adventures, which belong to the literary tradition of such Braj poets as Sūrādāsa and Hita Harivaṃśa, to didactic couplets which have more in common with the writings of the Santas. The subject matter of these works may be classified into three categories, namely poetry dealing with Kṛṣṇa's līlās, vinaya

poems which express the poet's earnest desire for salvation, and didactic verse which inculcates traditional Vaiṣṇava values. The language of most of the poetry is the literary Braj dialect of Hindi, with the didactic couplets of Jñānadīpaka showing some influence from the Kharībolī used by the Santa poets. There are also a few works in the poet's native dialect, or which show some of its linguistic features, which have been loosely referred to in the following survey as 'Panjabi poems'.<sup>(23)</sup>

Throughout the ensuing survey of his work the poet has been referred to as 'Kevalarāma', the name by which he is known in the Eighth Gaddī and which appears in some of the manuscript colophons. The phrases 'by Kevalarāma' or 'of Kevalarāma' have been used for convenience but should be treated with circumspection since there remains doubt as to how much of this body of literature was actually written by him. The poetry dealing with Kṛṣṇa and the didactic padas are relatively homogeneous in their language, style and imagery, while Jñānadīpaka and some other didactic pieces must, if they are to be attributed to the same author, be considered the product of a period of his life when his interests turned away from the conventions of the Puṣṭimārga and moved towards the Santa school of thought and discipline, perhaps during his later years of saṁnyāsa in Bilot. It is feasible that all of this literature is the work of one author, though such a wide range of interest is indeed unusual for a Vaiṣṇava poet of this period.<sup>(24)</sup>

## 2.2 Padas and other short poems

The manuscripts consulted contain a total of 553 complete poems

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23. Linguistic features of the Panjabi poems in the Rāsa māna ke pada are discussed below, VI.17.
  24. A poet whose work is comparable in its range of subject matter is Harirāma Vyasa who came from Orchha but spent many years in Vrindaban in the latter part of the sixteenth century. His published work, as edited by Vasudeva Gosvāmī, comprises 757 padas on didactic, līla and other themes, a version of the five rasa chapters of the Bhagavatapurāna and 148 didactic sakhī couplets.

with the chāpa 'Kevala' or 'Kevalajana' and another three poems which are incomplete due either to conflation or to loss of a folio. This total includes all verse written in the pada, kavitta, savaiyā, caupāi, dhamāra and licārī forms as well as a few poems referred to as chanda which have four stanzas of six lines, sometimes with intervening dohā couplets. The total does not include short didactic fragments in dohā/sākhi metre which have been mentioned separately below (2.8).

Most of these poems are assigned to a particular rāga (or rāginī) and where they occur in more than one manuscript, the scribes, with few exceptions, agree on the assignation. Apart from the padas contained in Ratnasāgara neither the author nor later scribes show signs of having arranged or classified the poems according to the rāga in which they are to be sung, though the anthologies do contain a few short sequences of poems in the same rāga. All but a few of the padas in the rāgas Bilāvala, Sāraṅga and Sorāṭha occur in Ratnasāgara, and in the other manuscripts a further forty or so rāga names occur of which the most frequently used are Kedāra (over fifty poems), Rāmakalī, Mārū and Dhanāśrī (about two dozen poems each). Most of the other rāgas are used only once or twice, while Asāvārī, Pūrāvī, Gauḍī, Bihāgaḍā, Tilāṅga, Naṭa and Kānharā are used for between six and thirteen poems each.

### 2.3 Ratnasāgara

The only extant manuscript of this compilation (K) contains 292 complete padas and one which is incomplete. It must originally have had three sections (referred to here as i, ii and iii) each containing 101 padas, those in the first section being assigned to rāga Bilāvala and those in the second and third to Sāraṅga and Sorāṭha respectively. In K only the second section has the full number of 101 padas, the third having 94 padas numbered 2-95 and the first 97 complete padas and one incomplete pada which are numbered 1-101 with numbers 31 and 32 and all but the first few words of number 30 missing (due to the loss



of a folio) and with one pada occurring twice as numbers 4 and 39. The first section, or śataka, has been copied by one scribe, the others by two alternating scribes whose handwriting is somewhat cruder but who have managed to maintain a fair degree of orthographic consistency.

Approximately 170 of the padas may be classified as didactic, another fifty or so are vinaya poems, about twenty deal with the child Kṛṣṇa and the rest are mainly in praise of Kṛṣṇa or descriptive of him. There is also a sequence of padas (iii.31-46) which narrates the story of Dhruva as it is told in the Bhāgavatapurāna (IV.8-9) and concludes with a few padas praising the Lord (referred to as Hari or Mādhva) for interceding on behalf of his devotees. Another sequence (from iii.89 onwards) narrates the story of the gambling between Duryodhana and Yudhiṣṭhira and the subsequent maltreatment and rescue of Draupadī. This sequence breaks off after pada iii.95 due to loss of the remaining folios of the manuscript, but three more padas which must have followed (i.e. iii.96-8) are to be found in B at the end of a sequence of ten padas (numbered 1-10 on ff.108<sup>r</sup>-112<sup>v</sup>) of which the first seven are the same as Ratnasāgara iii.89-95.

Similarities of style and language indicate that Ratnasāgara is by the same poet who wrote the Rāsa māna ke pada, his frequent recourse to a somewhat limited repertoire of stock idioms, similes and imagery being particularly noticeable in the poems which deal with Kṛṣṇa. (25)

25. An example of one of the poems in Ratnasāgara which resemble those in the Rāsa māna ke pada is no. i.87:

lāla mukha sobhā jagamaga jotī  
mora caṁdrikā sīsa virāje nāsā laṭakata motī  
naina aruna kānana mai kuṁḍala mukha muralī chabi pāve  
maṁḍa hasana cita vita hiri līno citavi ṭhagorī lāve  
kaṭi kāchanī khora caṁdana kī pīṭaṁbara sukhadāī  
ura motana kī māḷha virāje bhūṣana duti adhikāī  
paga nūpara nakha sikha suṁdaratā mohi liyo manu mero  
kevala gopījanavallabha ko rākho caranana nero

Ratnasāgara ii.2 has such phrases as catakī sī lāgī, ṭhonā lonā namda dhaṭonā, sudhi budhi laī, ratipatī nirakha lajāno; ii.5 has hoḍā hoḍī nācata gāvata mudita doū rasa puṁja, thorī thorī būda parata garajata ghana bolata ali pika mora etc., all of which recur, with slight permutations, in the Rāsa māna ke pada.

Such repetitions, while being demonstrative of the pedestrian nature of some of the poet's verse, at least indicate that the padas bearing the chāpa 'Kevala' or 'Kevalajana' found in different manuscripts are the product of the same author. More significantly, the occurrence in Ratnasāgara of Kṛṣṇa poems alongside those of a didactic tone indicate that the author was content to write in a manner more typical of the Santa poets as well as in the saguna bhakti mould. The way in which certain themes or phrases occur in consecutive poems gives the impression that the compilation of the three śatakas of Ratnasāgara was done by the poet himself since, as is evident from the Rāsa māna ke pada, a scribal compilation tends to be much more haphazard. In compiling Ratnasāgara the poet's intention seems to have been to alternate between padas descriptive of Kṛṣṇa's form or his līlās and more abstract padas which impart some moral or doctrinal principles.

The first śataka opens with a series of padas in the Sūradāsa tradition which deal with the child Kṛṣṇa and the parental love (vātsalya) felt for him by Yaśodā, a popular theme among poets of the Puṣṭimārga. The didactic verses which predominate in the rest of the śataka are interspersed with odd poems in which one sakhī describes to another the overpowering effect of Kṛṣṇa (i.39, 72, 78, 87 and 91) or in which charming aspects of Kṛṣṇa's childhood are depicted (i.79 and 86). The last pada of the first śataka and the first of the second describe and praise Kṛṣṇa in the form of Gopīnātha, the epithet given to the chief deity of the Eighth Gaddī, as do a few other padas (i.29, ii.7, 14 and 30). Other poems at the beginning of the second śataka describe Kṛṣṇa and his līlās, Vrindaban, the good fortune of the people of Braj and the virtues of Mathura (ii.13), Gokul (ii.37) and of residence in Braj (ii.19). Didactic and vinaya poems occur with increasing frequency and dominate the latter half of the second śataka and the whole of the third apart from the aforementioned Dhruva and Draupadī sequences, one pada descriptive of Kṛṣṇa (iii.21) and another in praise of him (iii.29).

The deity to whom the vinaya verses are directed and whose worship is advocated in the didactic poems is Kṛṣṇa, referred to also by the epithets Hari, Mādhya, Govinda, Guru Govinda, Nandanandana, Dīnadayāla and Dīnabandhu. The only padas which recommend worship of

Rāma or the repetition of his name are four poems in the third śataka (iii.66, 75, 76 and 79). The vinaya verses are typical of the genre, being pleas for grace and salvation in which the poet stresses his iniquity and wretchedness (occasionally referring to himself as 'worm', e.g. kevala-kīṭa in ii.18), describes his strivings to lead a pious life and sometimes cites the names of others who were notable recipients of divine grace such as Ajāmila, Ambarīṣa, Kubajā, Draupadī, Śabarī and Sudāmā. The didactic verses repeatedly emphasise the need for faith and single-minded devotion and the eradication of selfishness and such 'deadly sins' as kāma, krodha, mada, lobha, vāsanā and abhimāna (lust, anger, intoxication, covetousness, desire and pride). The merits of bhajana are extolled and mere outward display of piety is criticised; the devotee is exhorted to remain aloof from the transient material world, to avoid speaking ill of others and to seek the company of the righteous. Some poems deal specifically with such themes as condemnation of adultery, intoxicants and meat (ii.21 and iii.88), others describe the role of the guru (i.64, ii.62), the woes of this degenerate age (viz. kaliyuga, i.45, iii.5-8, 18) and the merits of repetition of the divine name (ii.99 and iii.66). These are the most commonly recurrent themes in other didactic works of the poet which are described below.

Some of the Ratnasāgara poems occur in the manuscript anthologies. Besides the sequence of Draupadī poems mentioned above B contains (f.124<sup>r</sup>) the first pada of Ratnasāgara, which describes Kṛṣṇa's theft of butter, and two didactic poems (ii.62 and iii.86, found in B on ff.134<sup>r</sup> and 105<sup>r</sup> respectively). The first pada of Ratnasāgara also occurs in C (f.125<sup>r</sup>) as well as four poems on the theme of kaliyuga (iii.5-8 found in C on ff.73<sup>v</sup>-75<sup>r</sup>) and one in praise of the child Kṛṣṇa (ii.45, found in C on f.136<sup>v</sup>).

#### 2.4 Rāsa māna ke pada

The transmission of this compilation, the numbering of the padas it contains and the manuscripts in which they are found are discussed

in detail below (section IV). It contains 128 complete padas (three in Panjabi) and one (a cryptic kūṭa pada, 105.ii) which, after the fourth line, is incomplete in B and conflated with a didactic poem in A. Besides the rāsa and māna themes indicated in the title the compilation also contains poems on other aspects of Kṛṣṇa's life in Braj, some which are simply descriptive of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, and two complete kūṭa padas (numbers 14 and 32).

## 2.5 Scattered poems

Besides the Ratnasāgara and Rāsa māna ke pada compilations there are another 130 poems and one incomplete poem found in the manuscript anthologies A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, J, S and W which may be referred to as 'scattered poems', a term equivalent to the Hindi phuṭakara pada. Most of these poems are on didactic or vinaya themes, but there are several on rāsa, māna and other līlā episodes which did not find their way into either the Rāsa māna ke pada or Ratnasāgara. Their distribution among the eleven manuscripts is as follows:

- A Apart from the Rāsa māna ke pada this manuscript contains only one other Kevalarāma pada which has been copied by a later hand on a folio at the beginning of the volume. It is a pada in Panjabi describing Kṛṣṇa's wedding procession which is also in S.
- B Apart from the Rāsa māna ke pada and thirteen poems from Ratnasāgara this manuscript contains 65 complete poems and one incomplete kavitta. This total includes a didactic poem (f.68<sup>r</sup>) of which the first five lines have been conflated in A with number 105.ii of the Rāsa māna ke pada. There is a sequence of four padas in rāga Bihāgaḍā (ff.129<sup>r</sup>-130<sup>v</sup>) in which the gopīs describe their viraha to Uddhava, and a sequence of savaiyā and kavitta (ff.148<sup>v</sup>-150<sup>v</sup>) on the theme of māna numbered 1-8

followed by a kavitta which is incomplete due to the loss of a folio. The other poems are either didactic or vinaya verse, apart from one pada in praise of Kevalarāma's uncle Giridhara (f.98<sup>V</sup>), one pada on the theme of dānalīlā (f.102<sup>R</sup>), one poem in four stanzas on hindolalīlā (f.114), one holī pada (f.119<sup>V</sup>), one pada describing the effect of Kṛṣṇa's flute (f.124<sup>R</sup>), two somewhat longer poems introduced as dhamāla holī dī (ff.124<sup>V</sup>-127<sup>V</sup>) and six padas dealing with rāsa and māna (ff.130<sup>V</sup>-131<sup>R</sup>, 132<sup>V</sup>-133<sup>R</sup>, 135<sup>V</sup>) which are similar to those included among the Rāsa māna ke pada. Of these 66 poems only three are found in other manuscripts, viz. one in C and F and one each in D and W.

C This manuscript contains 44 padas of Kevalarāma of which six are found in Ratnasāgara, five in the Rāsa māna ke pada and one as an uncollected poem in both B and F. The poems occur in two anthologies which form the first two sections of the manuscript. The first is an anthology of work by various poets including several from the Eighth Gaddī. Apart from a few scattered couplets (referred to as sākhī or doharā) this anthology contains six didactic savaiyās in Panjabi (ff.40-53, nos. 225, 249, 250, 257, 263, 310). The second compilation (covering ff.68<sup>R</sup>-147<sup>R</sup>) contains mostly vinaya or didactic verse (particularly praising the merits of bhajana) as well as a few poems in praise of Kṛṣṇa or descriptive of him (no.49, also in F, nos. 61 and 62, also in J, and nos. 88, 113 and 186), one describing the celebration of holī (no.129), a fragment on the theme of viraha (no.155) and a poem on the defeat of Kumbhakarāṇa (no.215). There is also a didactic poem of four stanzas in which the language shows Panjabi influence (no.108). Two poems also occur in W, namely a didactic verse in Panjabi (no.134) and a vinaya pada (no.188). Another poem (f.150<sup>R</sup>, also found in F) describes the ritual bathing of Kṛṣṇa and is preceded by a Sanskrit text entitled Gurukesarasnānavidhi, one of a group of vidhi texts found in the third section of the manuscript.

- D There are 19 padas of Kevalarāma in this manuscript which occur in a sequence of poems (ff.145<sup>r</sup>-152<sup>r</sup>) on the themes of rāsa and māna which includes verse with the chāpas Sūradāsa, Nandadāsa, Kṛṣṇadāsa and Lāladāsa (= Śrī Lālaḥjī ?). Of the Kevalarāma poems fourteen are also found in the Rāsa māna ke pada while another poem on the theme of māna also occurs independently in B. The remaining four padas are found in no other manuscript but are similar to those of the Rāsa māna ke pada compilation.
- E All seven poems by Kevalarāma which occur in this manuscript are found among the first nine folios which contain padas arranged for kīrtana on the caturdaśī and full moon days. The compilation seems to be the work of one Prabhudāsa since his name appears as a chāpa in couplets which occur at the beginning of the anthology and between each verse, as well as in some of the padas themselves. Other poets whose chāpas appear are Sūradāsa, Nandadāsa, Paramānanda, Sūradāsa Madanamohana, Lāladāsa and Bhagavān. Five of the Kevalarāma padas are also found in the Rāsa māna ke pada while the other two, one describing the enchanting effect of Kṛṣṇa's flute and the other extolling the eternal nature of his love sport, are found in no other manuscript.
- F This manuscript contains seven padas of Kevalarāma of which only one, a four line-poem in Panjabi (f.65<sup>r</sup>) is found in no other manuscript. Of the other six padas one is from the Rāsa māna ke pada (viz. the last verse) and the rest occur also in C.
- G This anthology of verse mainly in praise of Śrī Lālaḥjī contains two Kevalarāma poems, one praising his grandfather (f.17<sup>v</sup>) and the other a vinaya poem addressed to him which has four stanzas of three rhyming couplets (f.31<sup>v</sup>, found in no other manuscript).
- H This anthology contains one pada (f.8<sup>r</sup>) which expresses the yearning to meet Kṛṣṇa ('Nandanandana') and is found in no other manuscript.

- J Besides several sākhī couplets (cf. below 2.8) this manuscript contains only two Kevalarāma padas (ff.90<sup>V</sup> and 91<sup>R</sup>) both of which are also found in C.
- S Besides a series of sākhī couplets dealing with the calendrical festivals this manuscript contains eight Kevalarāma padas which are intended to be sung as kīrtana on janmāṣṭamī (f.7<sup>V</sup>), the celebration of the marriage of Śrī Gopīnāthajī (two padas on f.16<sup>V</sup> of which the first, written in Panjabi, also occurs in A), the celebration of dānalīlā (f.38<sup>V</sup>), the birthday of Śrī Lāljī (f.61<sup>R</sup>, also in G), the celebration of the arrival of Gopīnāthajī in Sind on Vaiśākha saṃkrānti (f.78<sup>V</sup>) and for the birthdays of Giridhara (f.89<sup>V</sup>) and Mathurānātha (f.91<sup>V</sup>).
- W This manuscript contains twenty-one padas of Kevalarāma which are included in an anthology of various poets forming the third section of the manuscript. This anthology begins with four didactic padas in rāga Dhanāśrī on the theme of vinaya and other verses occur on ff. 12, 16, 17, 22, 25-9, 34, 37-8, 44, 70 and 78. Two of these are included in the Rasa māna ke pada (nos.126-7) while the others are didactic or vinaya poems, many of them extolling the merits of bhajana, of which one is also found in B and two in C.

Apart from these anthologies the Gosvāmīs say that there used to be in Dera Ghazi Khan a manuscript of about 200 didactic padas of Kevalarāma which was known as Jñānasāgara but this has been missing since 1947.

Miscellaneous longer poems and didactic fragments have been discussed separately below (2.8).

## 2.6 Snehasāgara

This text is found in two manuscripts, one (L) which is complete and contains 2,092 rhyming couplets in dohā metre and another (M) which contains only couplets numbered 650-1775 and 1887<sup>b</sup>-1935<sup>a</sup> (corresponding to L nos.650-1777, 1894<sup>b</sup>-1942<sup>a</sup>). The complete version has a colophon indicating that it was copied from a manuscript written in 1904, the

whereabouts of which is now unknown. The present copy was written by Goswami Shyam Lal some time before he left Dera Ghazi Khan in 1947. The texts of the two manuscripts follow each other fairly closely but with some omissions and differences in the numbering of the couplets, which is hardly surprising in view of the amount of repetition of words and phrases for poetic effect.<sup>(26)</sup> There are several instances in both manuscripts where words or lines are omitted and which in L are indicated by an hiatus and sometimes by a note in the margin. The scribe of M does not indicate such omissions and, where one line of a couplet is missing, tends to copy the following couplet without leaving any space and to give all three lines a single number. In some instances where L indicates an omission the text of M provides a reading which is either obscure or metrically unsatisfactory. It is clear from the omissions, variants and displacement of some of the lines that neither manuscript derives directly from the other but that a certain amount of corruption was already present in an older manuscript which was the ultimate source of both. In the following account of the work the numbering of the couplets is taken from L since this provides the complete text and is more consistent in its numbering.

The work may be divided into three sections, the first being an exposition of the concept of sneha (a word which appears as neha in the text and in the final colophon of L). The poet deals with the infatuation experienced by the lover (nehī) for the beloved, namely Kṛṣṇa, who represents the very personification of sneha. The poet describes the lover's constant absorption, all-consuming love, constant desire to behold the beloved and the overwhelming bliss experienced when this is achieved. This exposition of the relationship of the lover and loved one is interrupted only by a passage where Kṛṣṇa is described and some of his feats are mentioned (361-380) and another where he is described in detail from head to toe

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26. This is most noticeable in a passage describing the distracted state of the gopīs as they rush out to join the rāsa (L 1484-92, M 1482-87). Here the word ika is repeated several times as one gopī is said to do one thing and another gopī something else, and there are also adjacent lines beginning kina bhojana, kina bhūṣana and ika bhūṣana - repetitions which have led both scribes to confuse lines and give them a different order and numbering. Both omit the second line of one couplet and each omits a line which is present in the other.



(nakha-sikha varṇana, 979-995). The first part ends with a passage warning the readers against obstacles to the experience of sneha, especially preoccupation with ritual and outward display of piety which are of no help unless one can attain a visual experience (darśana) of the loved one.

Alongside the reiteration of statements about the nature of divine love there is a considerable amount of verbal repetition. A word introduced in one couplet is often repeated in the next in combination with other assonant or alliterative words and sometimes with repetition of the last foot of one couplet in the first foot of the one which follows. A few lines may be quoted to illustrate this style:

tehī piya s̄ magna hai nita nita nūtana prema /  
tana mana dhana arapana kiyō kevala avara na nema //  
aura nema sabha taja diye piya dekhana k̄ō nema /  
piya dekhana ko nema k̄ō kevala dina dina prema //  
prema prema m̄ō prema hai prema prema m̄ō prema /  
jahā kevala piya prema hai tahā khema m̄ō khema //  
khema kuśala sukha sampadā nehī ke piya neha /  
kevala avara na rucata kachu jiu cātaka k̄ō meha //  
cātaka caṃcala bāja ke sahata cūca kī pīra /  
kevala socata pīya jina hāra parata mata nīra // (246-50)

The manner in which the words nema, prema and khema are repeated in this extract is sometimes sustained over as many as four consecutive couplets, as is the case with the words marama, dharama, bharama, karama and narama in couplets 700-3. This kind of verbal embellishment is maintained throughout the first thousand couplets and recurs occasionally in the rest of the work, sometimes with a certain degree of effectiveness, sometimes ad nauseam.

The second part (beginning from couplet no.1104) deals with Kṛṣṇa's adventures in Braj beginning with Viṣṇu's decision to accept the request of Brahmā and the other gods to become incarnate. Here the poet uses a more straightforward narrative style, passing rather briefly over Kṛṣṇa's childhood līlās before dealing at length

with his amorous encounters with the gopīs, those ideal lovers who put their love above everything else. Here the poet closely follows the five rāsa chapters of the Bhāgavatapurāna (X.29-33), an episode which in M begins with a colophon stating simply atha paṃcādhyāī (preceding couplet no.1445) while L has a hiatus in which only paṃ- is written. Both scribes conclude with the words iti paṃcādhyāī (sic, in L after 1894, in M after 1887). The latter part of this section of the work (from 1511 onwards) consists partly of a discourse on love in the form of an address by Kṛṣṇa to the gopīs which precedes the enactment of the rāsa dance. At the end of this section, after mentioning the merits of hearing the story contained in the five chapters, the poet states that he has placed Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in his heart, the only specific reference to the latter in the whole work.

What might be called the third part of Snehasāgara (1895 f.), deals with the all-pervading nature of Kṛṣṇa, saying that he adopted a saguna form in order to appear on earth for the purpose of līlā, but that ultimately his saguna and nirguna forms are the same. His different states and manifestations are said to be like waves of the sea, reflections in a hall of mirrors (sīsa bhavana) or like butter, curd and cream concealed in milk.

On stylistic grounds the work may be held to be by the same Kevala who wrote Ratnasāgara and the Rāsa māna ke pada. Passages descriptive of Kṛṣṇa or the surroundings in which his adventures take place, use some of the favourite phrases of the poet which are found in his padas.<sup>(27)</sup> As in Jñānadīpaka there are some occurrences of words like hujūra, khyāla, galatāna, hairāna, bājī, galata and fakīra amid otherwise Sanskritic vocabulary. The poet hints at his sectarian affiliation by referring to a forehead mark of kunkuma

27. The following couplets may be cited as examples:

mātha mukuṭa virājata suṃdara naina visāla  
kevala kuṃḍala śravana mē dinakara jaisī jhāla (1170)  
pika cātika ali sakuna bahu śabda karata bahu mora  
kevala ati ānaṃda bhayo nṛtata naṃda kisora (1463)

There are also occurrences of such phrases typical of the Rāsa māna ke pada as bahuvīdha bajamtra bajāī (e.g. 1175 and 1198), lāga rahī mana dora (1205, 1318), nirakhata bhāī vihāla (1206 and elsewhere), nirakha aghāvata nāhī (1384) and nirakhata hoye līna (1270).

(980) and to Gopināthajī as pūrana sat[y]a svarūpa (1736) and in one passage makes a rare autobiographical reference in which he names (his father) Mathurānātha as his guru, says that he placed Kṛṣṇa in his heart, learnt the method of devotion from santas (referring either to holy men in general or the Santas in particular) and saw both saguna and nirguna in each other. (28)

Its stress on the non-difference of saguna and nirguna in the context of divine love suggests that the aim of Snehasāgara was to present the rāsapañcādhyāyī episode (the subject of the most important part of Vallabha's commentary on the Bhāgavatapurāna) in terms which would appeal to a local audience familiar with the teachings of Santas, Bhagatas and Śūfīs. Thus the work forms a bridge between the poet's work on rāsa and other līlā themes and the more abstract didactic sākhi couplets of Jñānadīpaka.

## 2.7 Jñānadīpaka

This didactic work contains approximately 1,600 sākhi couplets which are arranged into an invocatory chapter (called māṅgalācarana in the printed editions) followed by 98 sections, each referred to as an āṅga, dealing with such topics as the guru, the senses, various states of mind, the elements, the three gunas, different aspects of the spiritual quest and the stages of devotion. There are two extant manuscripts of the work, one dated 1866 which has a few folios missing (ms. N), the other dated 1895 (ms. O) in which two folios written in a different hand have been inserted to replace the lost originals.

In his colophon the scribe of N has given the total number of

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28. This passage (2064-8) runs:

guru śrī mathurānāthajī kṛpā bhāī mujhi āī  
kevala kṛṣṇa hṛdaye dharyo vidhi saṁtana te pāī  
saṅga sādhana aṣṭāṅga ko kara mana liyo jora  
pavana caḍhāyo yukti sō kevala baṁdhana tora  
sneha sneha piya mē juḍyo cāra bhujā tana syāma  
śaṁkha cakra gada padma se kevala nirakha viśrāma  
dhyāna dhāraṇa piya sō lāgī acala samādhi  
samajho sutahī prakāśa te kevala agama agādha  
saguna mē nirguna lakhyo saguna nirguna māhi  
kahana mātra ika doi hai kevala nyāro nāhi

couplets (śloka saṁkhyā) as 1,900, which is almost three hundred more than the manuscripts must have contained before the loss of folios containing most of āṅgas 53-4 and 95-6. Both scribes have occasionally omitted half or a complete couplet which is present in the other manuscript, a feature which, along with other discrepancies, indicates that the later manuscript O was not copied from N. The most common number of couplets in each āṅga is ten (both agree on this number for 39 āṅgas and one or the other has ten couplets for a further five). The others range in length from 11 to 38 couplets, while sādhu kā āṅga (no.73) has 60, dīnatā kā āṅga (no.68) has 150 and the final sarva kā āṅga has 132. With regard to orthography the spellings found in N are generally more archaic than those of O, thus the former, for example, writes ahalāda, oṭi, kaṭācha, carna, jatana, jasu, jiu, driḍha, mahu, rida, sarni and suṣa while the latter prefers the more modernized or Sanskritized spellings āhlāda, oṭa, kaṭākṣa, carana, yatna, jasa, jyṅ, dr̥ḍha, mṅ, hr̥da, śarana and sukha.

A lithographed edition of Jñānadīpaka in Gurumukhi script was published earlier this century which, judging from the number of couplets in each āṅga, was based on O.<sup>(29)</sup> The text was again published by Goswami Braj Ratan Lal Das in Faridabad, the town where he settled after leaving Dera Ismail Khan in 1947. This undated edition, in Devanagari script and published in two parts which contain the āṅgas numbered as 1-52 and 1-45, appears to have been based primarily on the Gurumukhi edition since it shares the latter's omissions and variants vis-à-vis the two manuscripts. Similarly, whereas the manuscripts have separate āṅgas on the themes of duṣṭa-saṅga and jūtha (nos. 26 and 27); both printed editions have

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29. The only copy of this edition which I was able to procure, by courtesy of Goswami Shraavan Lal of Vrindaban, lacks its title page, hence no details are available of the date and place of publication. According to Goswami Ratan Lal it was published under the auspices of his great-grandfather Kuñjalāla, which would add further weight to the argument that the text is based on O since, according to the colophon of this manuscript, it was written in 1895 for his eldest son Sundaralāla.

amalgamated the two under the heading dustasamga. There are, however, some variants in the Devanagari edition which indicate that another source (probably O) was consulted by the editor, but on the whole the text is unsatisfactory since it fails to emend errors found in the Gurumukhi edition and haphazardly Sanskritizes the spelling and substitutes Kharībolī forms for those of Braj (e.g. kucha, ko, pare, mē and se for kachu, kū/kō, parye, mō and te).

In form, style and moral tenor the work is similar to the didactic writings of earlier Santa poets, most notably Kabīr and Dādū, both of whose sākhīs have been collected into āngas. Whereas the editions of their works contain 59 and 37 āngas respectively, <sup>(30)</sup> all of the topics covered by Dādū being found in Kabīr in much the same sequence, Jñānadīpaka has a wider range of topics of which only a few are also discussed by the other two authors. All three authors are similar in their propagation of the ethos of Vaiṣṇavism in the broadest sense of the term: single-minded devotion, self control, clean living and purity of thought, word and deed. Like Kabīr and Dādū, Kevalarāma begins with an ānga on the guru, who is said to be equivalent to Govinda, which describes his powers in conventional similes (e.g. he is like a touchstone). However, all three writers, despite having several points of similarity, have written works which reveal their individual or particular concerns. Kevalarāma perhaps betrays his association with the Puṣṭimārga by remarking (guru kā ānga, 7):

tana mana dhana arpaṇa kare kevala hita cita sātha

Jñānadīpaka has relatively little in common with most other writings attributed to Kevalarāma since for this work the form and, to some extent, the language of the Santa poets have been adopted. Particular stress is laid upon the practice of remembering and repeating the name of Hari, Govinda or, most commonly, Rāma, while epithets of Kṛṣṇa such as are current in the Puṣṭimārga or other saguna sects are rarely mentioned, though 'Prabhu Gopālajī' is

30. Cf. Kabīr granthāvalī edited by Śyāmasundaradāsa and Dādūdayāla (granthāvalī) edited by P.Caturvedi.

referred to by the poet as his chosen deity (iṣṭa) in the māṅgalācaraṇa (dohā 10). It has, however, already been pointed out that Ratnasāgara contains both didactic and līlā verse and that Snehasāgara was an attempt to unite saguna and nirguna points of view and that therefore Jñānadīpaka may be accepted as an extension of themes and tendencies noticeable in other works by the same poet.

## 2.8 Miscellaneous short works

Other shorter works and didactic fragments are found in manuscripts A, B, C, D, I, J and S. These include six poems on līlā themes, three works relating to the Eighth Gaddī and various didactic pieces.

Three poems on līlā are found in A of which the first (ff.72<sup>r</sup>-73<sup>r</sup> also found in C on ff.98<sup>r</sup>-99<sup>r</sup>) may be supplied with the title Jogīlīlā. It is assigned to rāga Bihāgaḍā and has twenty-two rhyming couplets in payāra metre (two feet of 8+6 syllables). The poem relates the story of how Kṛṣṇa, having disguised himself as a yogī, is approached by Rādhā who seeks to know how long it will be before her beloved comes to appease her (māna manāvana). He replies that they will soon meet each other again but before managing to carry his ruse much further is recognised by one of Rādhā's companions. The two lovers are thus reunited and a joyful dance ensues in which the sākhīs also participate. In style and language the poem is comparable to the poet's other writings on Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa līlās.

The second poem (ff.77<sup>r</sup>-80<sup>v</sup>) is called Mānalīlā, the title being given in colophons at the beginning and end together with the name of Kevalarāma. It consists of twenty five quatrains in sāra metre (lines of 16+12 instants) which each have the chāpa 'Kevala' in the last line. It tells how Rādhā sits sulking one autumn night in a bower prepared for her by her companions. One of them, who acts as a go-between, pleads with her to go and meet Kṛṣṇa, complaining that she is tired of repeatedly trying to persuade her and describing Kṛṣṇa's despondency. Eventually Kṛṣṇa comes in person and the two are reconciled. The poet uses the same imagery and turns of phrase as are found in padas dealing with the same theme in the Rāsa māna ke pada, which suggest that both are by the same author.

Dānalīlā (ff.80<sup>V</sup>-84<sup>R</sup>) is also given its title, along with the name of its author as Kevalarāma, in colophons at the beginning and end of the poem. There are twenty-six quatrains similar to those of Mānalīlā, and like both Jogīlīlā and Mānalīlā it concludes with a few lines which extol the merits of hearing and narrating the līlā which has been described. The poem tells the well known story of how Kṛṣṇa and his friends obstruct Rādhā and her companions, refusing to let them pass unless they pay a tax on the pots of curd which they are carrying. The first seventeen quatrains are spoken alternately by the two parties in the dispute, the girls demanding to know on whose authority they are required to pay any tax and Kṛṣṇa issuing various threats. The altercation, which is carried on in lively and idiomatic dialogue, ends with the girls attacking the boys with sticks and managing to capture Kṛṣṇa's friends and tie them up. The boys call to Kṛṣṇa for help, which leads to a tussle between him and some of the girls in which they manage to snatch away his flute and he breaks all the pots of curd. The girls run off to a bower where Kṛṣṇa approaches them with humility and initiates further rāsa-vilāsa with Rādhā.

Among the longer poems contained in B is a work (ff.16<sup>R</sup>-19<sup>R</sup>) which in a colophon at the beginning is referred to as Priyā-prītama vivāha by Gusāi Kevalajana. It consists of twenty-five rhyming couplets, the metre being indicated by the word sākhī at the beginning of the poem. The first four and a half couplets are written on a folio which appears to have been inserted by a later scribe, but the fact that the first line of the fifth couplet ends with the same two words as the preceding line supplied by the apparently later scribe suggests that his was not an accurate restoration of the text. The poem describes the joyful celebration of the wedding of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and uses expressions, similes and imagery reminiscent of the Rāsa māna ke pada. (31)

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31. Couplet (sākhī) no.18 may be compared with Rāsa māna ke pada 3.22 and 57.5; it reads:

hābīra gulāla uḡhāvahī      bahuvidhi kīnī keli  
nācata gāvata prema sō      rāga rāginī meli

The title of Rasamañjarī (B ff.72<sup>r</sup>-74<sup>r</sup>) is given at the beginning of the poem and the author's chāpa occurs in the last line only as 'Kevalajanu'. It has twenty rhyming couplets in dohā/sākhī metre preceded by a couple of invocatory lines. It describes the beauty of Rādhā using conventional imagery, similes and turns of phrase which the poet employs in similar passages in other works.

B also contains another descriptive poem in dohā couplets (ff.81<sup>r</sup>-88<sup>v</sup>) which deals with the love between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. The first sixteen couplets are missing due to loss of folios and no title is given at the end of the poem, which simply concludes with the word sampūrna after a couplet numbered 94. The chāpa 'Kevala' occurs in the second line of every couplet.

The same manuscript contains a poem called Nārāyanastotra (ff.89<sup>v</sup>-90<sup>v</sup>) which has twenty-one rhyming couplets in praise of Kṛṣṇa, giving his various epithets and alluding to the līlā associated with each of them. The work has no chāpa and is attributable to Kevalarāma only on the grounds that it occurs in an anthology of work by him, though in any event the text is of no great importance.

Also in B is an incomplete work introduced in the colophon as Bāraha māha (ff.137<sup>r</sup>f.) written by Kevalarāma. It begins with four lines in dohā metre which invoke 'Guru Govinda' and recommend following the course of monthly discipline advocated in the rest of the poem. They are followed by ten stanzas of six lines each, the first two having twenty-one instants (divided 11+10) and the rest twenty-eight (sāra metre). Each stanza recommends a particular mode of devotion or religious practice to be cultivated each month, beginning with Phālguna and continuing up to Pauṣa (referred to as pohu) without giving any description of the season or time of year. The stanzas for the last two months are missing due to loss of folios. Each stanza has the chāpa 'Kevalajana' in its last line and the first foot of the third line echoes the last foot of the second. A different rāga is assigned to groups of four months, stanzas from Phālguna to Jyaiṣṭha being assigned to Dhanāśrī, those for the months from Āsāḍha to Āśvina to Rāmakalī and those from Kārttika onwards to Mālā-gauḍa (mālavagauḍa).



Another didactic work in B is Sāra pacīsī (ff.99<sup>V</sup>-102<sup>R</sup>) which has twenty-five dohā couplets containing an extra interjectory syllable re at the end of the first foot of most of the lines. The poem points out the need for righteous conduct and worship of Kṛṣṇa. The title is supplied in the twenty-third couplet:

sāru pa(ṃ)cīsī vidhi balī re . jo suni ulaṭe nāhi  
so mānava pasa jānīe bimukha sadā bhava māhi.

The poem ends with a couplet containing the poet's chāpa 'Kevalajana' and suggesting that one place the feet of Śrī Lālajī in one's heart:

bhagati pāi śrī kṛṣṇa kī re lehi sakala nistāri  
kevalajana ahi nisu bhajo re lāla carana ridi dhāri

In manuscript J there are three collections of didactic verse arranged under different headings. The first of these (ff.7<sup>V</sup>-21<sup>R</sup>) begins with the heading sākhyā prabodhī, though all the lines in this compilation have fifteen or sixteen instants, an indication that, for the scribe at least, the term sākhi may be used for didactic verse in general rather than being limited to lines in dohā metre. Some of the verses in this compilation are found in B (ff.91<sup>V</sup> and 151<sup>V</sup>-152<sup>R</sup>) where they are also referred to as sākhi. The second collection (ff.23<sup>R</sup>-42<sup>R</sup>) begins with the heading dohare prabodhī, though in fact most of the verses are in dohā metre (13+11 instants) rather than doharā (12+11 instants). Some of the headings in this compilation are the same as for āngas in Jñānadīpaka but the content is different. Both of these compilations include some admonitory verses with the chāpa of Śrī Lālajī. The third collection (ff.43<sup>R</sup>-48<sup>V</sup>), headed prabodhī ke dohare, contains twenty quatrains in Panjabi with lines generally conforming to sarasī metre (16+11 instants).

In I there is a text introduced as sākhyā dīnatā dyā (ff.3<sup>V</sup>-9<sup>R</sup>) which consists of fifteen stanzas each having four couplets with lines of fifteen or sixteen instants. They express the poet's plea for salvation on the same lines as his other vinaya verse.

Apart from these collections of didactic verse one may also mention here other isolated couplets which have not been included above in the survey of scattered poems. There are some sākhī couplets included in the first section of C which bear the numbers 256, 258, 264, 288, 291 and 302. The same manuscript also contains a few didactic couplets in Panjabi (ff.147<sup>r</sup>-148<sup>r</sup>). Kevalarāma is also thought to have composed the concluding lines of the Eighth Gaddī's ardās, a hymn sung at gatherings of devotees and during the ārati ceremony on some festive occasions, usually preceded by a Sanskrit invocation. The text of the hymn is given in some of the Gaddī's publications and is found in two manuscript anthologies (D f.156<sup>r</sup> and J f.89<sup>v</sup>).

Among works directly relating to the Eighth Gaddī is one called Śrī Lāla pacīsī, found at the beginning of J. It consists of twenty-six dohā couplets exhorting one to resort to Śrī Lālajī for salvation, sing his praise and repeat his name. In Mathurānāthajī kī stuti (found in B ff.92<sup>v</sup>-97<sup>v</sup>), the poet addresses his father as 'guru' and gives his chāpa as 'Kevalajanu' in the last couplet. This hymn of praise has six stanzas, each introduced by a pair of rhyming couplets referred to as sākhī (written in dohā metre). The stanzas are preceded by the word paudī<sup>(32)</sup> and end with the phrase śrī mathurānātha kī jai. These stanzas consist of six sorathā lines (11+13 instants with rhyme at the end of the first foot, though here the first foot generally has ten instants) followed by a dohā couplet. Mathurānātha is praised as a devout Vaiṣṇava who helped to spread the faith and a few biographical details are given (cf. above beginning of II.3).

In the text entitled Utsavaratnamālā (manuscript S) there are, besides padas by Kevalarāma included for kīrtana (cf. above 2.5), about 150 couplets in dohā metre with the chāpa 'Kevala' which

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32. This term, which occurs nowhere else in any manuscript of works by Kevalarāma, is used in the Ādigrantha to refer to stanzas of an average of five lines which all have the same rhyme and usually follow one or two couplets, constituting in connexion with them a mixed stanza called vara (cf. E.Trumpp pp.cxxxv-vi). According to S.S.Kohli (pp.68-9) the term, meaning literally 'rung of a ladder', indicates that stanzas bearing the name carry the idea of the poem one stage further. He lists different forms of paudī on pp.71-6.

introduce the different calendrical festivals and give the nirṇaya and vidhi instructions for the birthday of Giridhara. These couplets appear to have been either an independent text which was later incorporated into Utsavaratnamālā along with verses by Śrī Lālaḷjī and Madanamohana or was written by the poet expressly to accompany the original text of Śrī Lālaḷjī. Alternatively the couplets of Kevalarāma, as well as those of Śrī Lālaḷjī, are the work of Prabhudāsa, a writer who appears to have given the text its present form by including couplets and some padas bearing his own name as chāpa.

IV

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE RĀSA MĀNA KE PADA

IV.1 The transmission of the text

The only available copy of the Rāsa māna ke pada in which the title is given as such is manuscript A, which declares itself to be a copy made in 1819 of texts either belonging to or copied by Gosvāmī Bāke Bihārī. This older anthology was presumably written before 1790, the year given for the death of Bāke Bihārī. The only other manuscript containing all of the Rāsa māna ke pada is B which, as will be shown below, is older than A but was probably copied after 1738 since it contains a stuti mentioning the death of Gosvāmī Dharaṇīdhara (cf. above I.3). Comparison of the order and numbering of the poems in A and B reveals that the Rāsa māna ke pada sequence as it now exists has been transmitted with a certain amount of accretion or interpolation. In A there is confusion in the numbering of the first nine poems and around number 105, but otherwise its numbering from 9-105 coincides with that which has been adopted for the edited transcription of the text. The numbering of the first ten poems in A and B compared with that of the edited text is as follows:

<u>pada</u> no.	no. in A	no. in B
1	1	(unnumbered)
2	2	"
3	3	"
4	4	"
5	1	1
6	2	2
7	3	3
8	7	4
9	9	5
10 etc.	10 etc.	6 etc.

The poems occur in the same sequence in A and B but the latter, although numbering the individual stanzas of the first four chanda poems, does not begin numbering the padas until it arrives at our number 5. In B the first four poems follow directly after a work of Kevalarāma entitled Priyā-prītama vivāha without any colophon announcing a change of text. This gives the impression that originally the sequence began with the present pada 5 but that the scribe of A, or his predecessor, incorporated the four chanda poems into the sequence and adjusted the numbering retrospectively from pada 9 onwards. However, the fact that the eighth pada is numbered 7 in A implies that the compiler of this version of the sequence incorporated the first four poems from B and then took the padas he numbered 1, 2, 3, 7, and 9 from a different source, as is also indicated by the fact that the words bina kheda in our pada 8 are not omitted as they have been in B. The fact that the older numbering as 7 was not corrected suggests that at some point this kavitta was interpolated to extend the māna theme of the preceding three padas. Subsequent poems are descriptive of Rādā (no.9) or the rāsa dance (nos.10-12) and the māna theme returns with padas 13 and 14. The B version, on the other hand, had already adopted consistent numbering from our pada 5 onwards.

From pada 9 onwards the numbering proceeds regularly in A, despite the fact that its pada 21 is an obvious conflation. The preceding pada is numbered 16 in B and is followed by another (in sāra metre) which begins bacana kahata hau hārī bhamuni baca-, the last word being written at the end of the folio (f.32<sup>v</sup>). The next folio in B begins with the words karata vēnatī bahuvidhi mōhana sarada prakāsī jāma which form the first line of the last couplet of a pada in sarasi metre numbered 19. It is apparent that a folio containing pada 18 and most of numbers 17 and 19 is missing from B. The scribe of A must have been copying directly from B some time after this folio had been mislaid, for he first copied the words bacana kahata uhārī bhāmuna vaca karata benatī bahuvidhi mōhana sarada prakāsī jāma. Later he added a caret after vaca- and wrote

in the margin the words -na kahati hõ hārī, sune na bāta śravana de sajanī aṭipati ṭeva tihārī, thereby restoring the first two lines of B's missing pada 17, presumably after consulting a different manuscript.

Since the scribe of A has given the number 21 to his conflation of B's padas 17 and 19 the padas numbered 22-53 in A are equivalent to those numbered 20-51 in B. The fact that the scribe of B has numbered the padas only up to 51 may be taken as an indication that one particular sequence ended at this point and that the subsequent poems were added from another compilation, though there is no abrupt change of theme or metre to endorse such a supposition.

Despite the lack of numbering in B both manuscripts give the same poems in the same sequence up to pada 72. In B pada 73 is found outside of the sequence on a separate folio while, where we would expect to find pada 73, B gives us a repeat of number 69. This confusion might have originated in the fact that padas 69, 73 and 74 have a similar opening (viz. raina rījhi rī māī..., rījhi rījhi rahī hai... and rījhi bikala tana...) and appears to indicate loss and attempted repair of text. Hereafter both manuscripts agree on the sequence of poems up to number 85, at which point confusion is brought about by the fact that the folios of B have at some time been bound out of order. By matching the beginning and end of the extant folios one is able to arrive at a partial reconstruction of their original order, which is best illustrated by a diagram (Table 2).

If folios 16-80 of B are read in their original sequence it is evident that they contain the first one hundred and nine padas in the same sequence as is found in A apart from the repetition of 69 and a displacement (in terms of A) of numbers 73 and 100. The other folios of B cannot be rearranged in such a way as to make the padas 111-128 fall into sequence without including a certain amount of intervening material.

In A there are two padas numbered 105 in between which the scribe has amalgamated the beginning of one pada with the last five lines of

Table 2: CONTENTS OF Ms. B

Present order of contents (pada nos. according to the edited transcription)	Present folio order	Original folio order	Original order of contents
Miscellaneous verse by various poets	1 - 15	?	?
<u>Priyā-prītama vivāha</u> followed by 1-72, 69 (repeat), 74-85*	16 - 60	16 - 60	
*91-99, 101-105.ii*	61 - 65	66 - 67	<u>Priyā-prītama vivāha</u> , 1-72, 69 (repeat), 74-99, 101-105.ii, a didactic poem, 106-110, 128, <u>Rasamañjarī</u> , 111-117, a didactic poem
*85-91	66 - 67	61 - 65	
*105.ii, a didactic poem, 106-110, 128, <u>Rasamañjarī</u> , 111-117, a didactic <u>pada</u>	68 - 80	68 - 80	
Untitled poem of 94 couplets (beginning with the 16th couplet)	81 - 88	?	
<u>Nārāyaṇastotra</u>	89 - 90	?	
<u>pada 73</u> (recto), didactic verse (verso)	91	?	
<u>pada 100</u> (recto), <u>Mathurānāthajī kī stuti</u> , miscellaneous verse, <u>Sāra pacisī</u> , 118-119, four didactic poems, 120, <u>holī</u> poem, 121, a didactic poem, 122-127, a recipe, two <u>holī</u> poems ( <u>dhamāla</u> ) and other miscellaneous verse, <u>Baraha māṅga</u> (incomplete)	92 - 139	?	Some folios between the present ff.88 and 89 and between 139 and 140 have been lost. The original order of these sections may have been different from the one in which they are now bound.
Miscellaneous verse by Kevalarāma and others including two <u>stutis</u>	140 - 165	?	

\* asterisk indicates a break in the middle of a pada

B f.65<sup>V</sup>

B f.68<sup>F</sup>

प्यारी ॥ देवकी सुतो कि सोरि मा  
 नुत जि जै जोरि अजनु म ६ न न के  
 रि बनी छ विन्यारी ॥ १ ॥ सो जाके  
 सागरु नाम सुध के समूह धाम  
 रति पति कउने काम ससिने उ जा  
 री ॥ केवल मिलोयी यश्री राधे जी  
 वनि जीय कहि को मो नि ले की य  
 वाहत बिहारी ॥ २ ॥ ॥ राम करी  
 रागे ॥ ॥ देहे सधी राह दुइ स मि  
 वारि ॥ संगि अठ स कवल सो मि  
 त करत जुगल बिहारी ॥ १ ॥ वहे जो  
 रि अलि कुल आदि बदि ठे मा मो  
 गंध सुजादि ॥ विं प्र फल धट त र

राम करी रागे ॥ ॥ देहे सधी राधे स मि  
 मनी सुनि आव गति नाथ ॥ राधु रा  
 धु कलि पठे ठे धरि मस्त कु हाथ  
 ॥ १ ॥ त्रि गुण रूप धरि मोहनी पस  
 री तेरी माया ॥ अनिक न को सर व  
 सुहि सो तव सरने आया ॥ १ ॥ का  
 ल रूप को धरि के अतरु उ पा जाये  
 ॥ निद कर मुताते बडे से व कु ड व  
 पावे ॥ १ ॥ जाहि जाहि दर प्या अधि  
 क हरि करी सहा शि केवल ननु  
 अ पुना वितो मनु जन त न जाहि  
 ॥ १ ॥ ॥ मा ३ रागे ॥ ॥ गो वि  
 दने गे प्राणी धि र ना कि न जो देषी  
 ॥ १ ॥ सक ल स र मि कारा जु ल

A ff.111<sup>V</sup>-112<sup>F</sup>

१११  
 मानो कंम न म्प म्प के न म्पि अरि के  
 जा भुजा परि धरि ॥ केवल बेस गज गा  
 नी जोरि अति अमु दिन न पुर की गुण  
 पदा ॥ २ ॥ न र रा ग भाई सो मो मो ल  
 संग दे दा वन राजत नवल कि सोरि एन  
 प्रलो ध वि उ त क को रै अ मा पर स पर जो  
 री ॥ १ ॥ वि दर त स मि विला म पय के संग  
 राधे त न गोरी ॥ ना च न गा वत क र त क  
 दल च नि वत हे सु र मो री ॥ २ ॥ वा ज त क  
 ल प वा उ ए कर स सु ध सु र ली पु न धो री  
 म र द र ल के व ल स ध उ प जी ला ग र म  
 न डो री ॥ ३ ॥ प द ॥ १० ॥ ॥ कि र रो म गो ॥ १ ॥ य  
 वने कं संग बनी बिहा नि अति ॥ वि धो  
 न व स त मा जे अंग मु भग च वि त रंग नि  
 र ध न मो ह नी ल ग वे ॥ १ ॥ व द न र ड ल म  
 र मो ह न रहे लु भा र व ल त राम मे र ल  
 अ ति हि त उ प जा वे ॥ के व ल ब नी र र जो  
 री दे के र ति मु र धा वे ॥ २ ॥ प द ॥ १० ॥ ॥ वि

धो रा गे मा म के ॥ के दर स भग मु ध र के  
 न र द ड म पी व प र वि न वि सु ध रु ध धा र म  
 ॥ वि न ती ल नो कि सो र मान न जि ने भो र अं  
 जन न ड ल को र ब नी अ वि भा रा ॥ १ ॥ अ  
 सा ग र म्प म्प सु ध को स म्प र धा म र ति प ति  
 क उ ने काम स सि ने उ जा री ॥ के व ल म न  
 मि लो पी य धी रा धा जी व न नी य का हे को  
 मि न ले की य वा ह त बि हा री ॥ १ ॥ प द ॥ १५  
 रा म क नी रा ये क र ॥ दे हे स धी रा ह र म मि  
 वारि संग अ वि द स क व ल सो मि त कर त  
 जु ग ल बि हा र ॥ १ ॥ च के उ र अ ति धा र म र  
 से मा नो गे ध स भा र वि व फ ल ध र त र  
 रा रा म रा गे ॥ दे व दे व अ प ता प ती सु नि अ व  
 ग ति मा थ रा ध रा ध क ल प धं ड ने ध रि म ल  
 कु ल ध ॥ १ ॥ त्रि गु ण रू प ध रि मो ह नी प स र ति  
 मा या ॥ अ नि क म को स व व मु दि सो न व म  
 र ने आ या ॥ २ ॥ काल रू प को धा र के अंतर उ  
 प ग वे ॥



another, a conflation which, like 'pada' 21, must have derived from B. This second conflated and unnumbered 'pada', here referred to for convenience as 105.ii, was abandoned by the scribe of A as he neared the end of the recto side of the folio. In B pada 105.ii begins on f.65<sup>V</sup>, the last words written on this folio being bimbaphala ṣaṭū tahā, after which the rest of the poem must have been continued on a folio which is now missing. At this juncture A gives us the reading bimbaphala ṣaṭa tahā rā rāma rāge deva deva..., the last two words quoted being the first words of the poem which was abandoned by the scribe. The origin of the amalgamation in A of two padas is to be found by searching for the folio in B which once followed 65<sup>V</sup>. In B the present folio 68<sup>F</sup> begins with the words rāmakarī rāge deva deva..., the ~karī of the rāgiṇī name having been inserted later in a space left between the words rāma and rāge. The only way the scribe of A, or his predecessor, could have produced the reading bimbaphala ṣaṭa tahā rā rāma rāge deva deva etc. would have been by copying from B at a time when the present f.68 followed the present f.65, an intervening folio having already been lost, and before the suffix ~karī had been added. The verse in rāma(karī) rāga which begins deva deva apanā patī is given in its entirety in B and is followed by another didactic poem which is omitted in A, the scribe having abandoned the former and omitted the latter since he did not consider them suitable for the sequence which he had begun to extend by copying additional poems from B.

In the edited transcription the second pada numbered 105 in A has been given as 106, thus the poems which A numbers 105, (un-numbered conflated pada), 105-127 have been renumbered 105, 105.ii, 106-128.

Although the scribe of A produced his conflated padas 21 and 105.ii by copying directly from B there is plenty of evidence to suggest that another manuscript was available to him. It is unlikely that a scribe copying from B would have broken the latter's sequence

in order to insert padas 73 and 100 in their present positions when they would have been found elsewhere in B. There are also instances of omissions in B which are not found in A (viz. bina kheda in 8, tedhī cāla in 112, half of the first line of 119 and a whole line of 122). Such omissions, together with the occurrence in B of verses interspersed between padas 111-127 which would have been suitable for extending the original rāsa/māna sequence but which were not incorporated in A, give the impression that the copier of the A text was collating from two manuscripts, one of which was B and the other perhaps the alleged manuscript of Bāke Bihārī. However, despite his being able to consult two versions of the text, the scribe of A did not manage to resolve metrical irregularities by collating the two, perhaps because he only compared them with each other intermittently.

The existence of another source for some or even all of the Rāsa māna ke pada is indicated by the existence of twenty-one of the padas with variant readings in other manuscript anthologies. These padas and the folios on which they are found in other manuscripts are as follows:

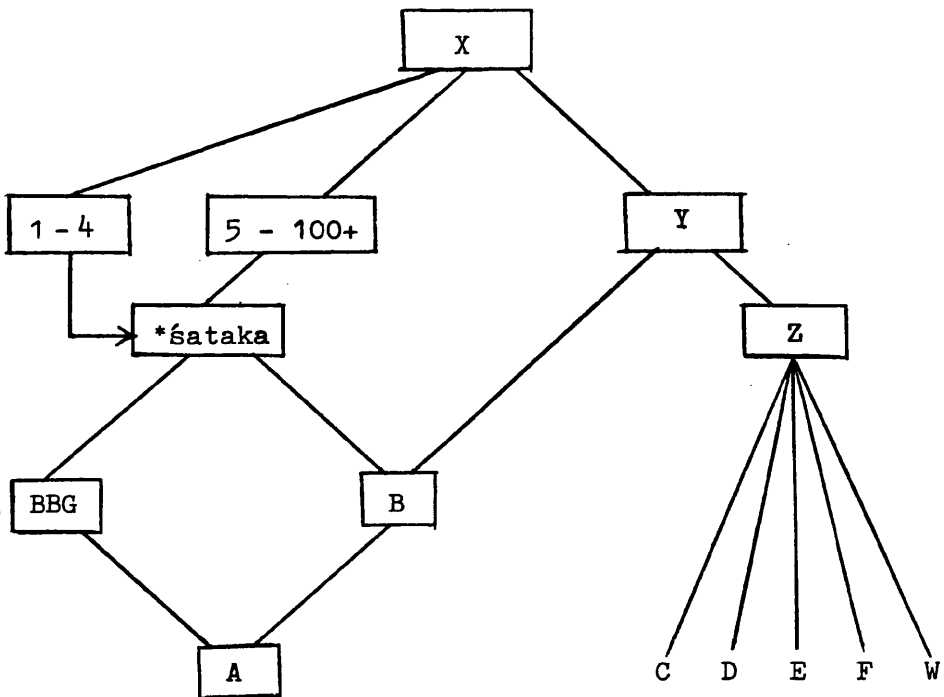
<u>pada</u>	C	D	E	F	W
2	104 <sup>r</sup>				
3	103 <sup>v</sup>				
5		146 <sup>r</sup>			
6		146 <sup>v</sup>			
7		149 <sup>r</sup>			
8		149 <sup>v</sup>			
13		146 <sup>v</sup>			
18		145 <sup>v</sup>			
22		149 <sup>v</sup>			
23			8 <sup>r</sup>		
25		147 <sup>r</sup>	1 <sup>v</sup>		
26		147 <sup>r</sup>			
29	106 <sup>v</sup>				
30		151 <sup>v</sup>			
46		152 <sup>r</sup>	3 <sup>v</sup>		
58		152 <sup>r</sup>			
67			4 <sup>r</sup>		
105.i		145 <sup>r</sup>			
107	121 <sup>r</sup>	148 <sup>r</sup>	3 <sup>r</sup>		
127					78 <sup>v</sup>
128	84 <sup>r</sup>			114 <sup>v</sup>	25 <sup>v</sup>

In pada 13 D has duṣa (for dukha) where A has krodha while B has duṣa emended to krodha. This implies that D may have copied from B before the word was altered or that both derive from a duṣa text while A relied on a text with the reading krodha. Since it seems that the scribe of A, or his predecessor, consulted B it is possible that he was responsible for the emendation of krodha for duṣa.

In general the padas found in the other manuscripts appear to have more in common with B than with A. D, for example, omits bina kheda in pada 8 and in pada 22 was probably confused by the B text reading cakā in line 5 and did not have access to the A reading caṁdrakā. In 26 and 30 D shares B's readings cūkie and chabi (A: tū kie and sabha). The poems in D, however, and those which occur in other manuscripts, also share readings which are found in neither A nor B. Both D and E, for example, have kiyo in 25.3 where A and B have aru, and in 107 C, D and E give the sixth and seventh lines in reverse order. In pada 128 manuscripts C, F and W all have the same variant reading for the first line. These other manuscripts are also in closer agreement with each other orthographically, being more consistent in their use of Sanskritizations, final -a and anusvāra. These factors suggest that the scribes of these manuscripts copied their padas from one or more independent sources.

The foregoing comparison of the variant readings and pada numbering in the manuscripts allows for a certain amount of speculation as to the manner in which the Rāsa māna ke pada have been transmitted. It is possible that at some time the padas were collected together in the form of a śataka, containing perhaps 101 padas (as in each of the three sections of the poet's Ratnasāgara) or perhaps 107 or 108. The exact number of padas which this hypothetical śataka might have contained is difficult to determine as a result of the confusion in numbering of the first few padas, the possible inclusion at an early stage of extraneous material (viz. those padas which do not deal with

Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā) and the blending of two padas into one (i.e. 105.ii). It does appear, however, that the A text was relying solely on B for pada 105.ii, but since it is unlikely that a scribe would have begun to copy B at such a confusing point, he probably started to copy a few padas earlier at the place where his other manuscript of the hypothetical śataka ended. B already contained the first 110 padas in the same sequence<sup>at</sup> in A (apart from 73 and 100) and then finished with pada 128. After copying 110 the scribe of the A text incorporated other padas (viz. 111-127 which deal with themes present in the other poems and include three poems in Panjabi) before concluding with 128, retaining it at the end because it was a well-known poem (as is suggested by the fact that it occurs in C, F and W) and was thought to provide a suitably didactic ending to the sequence. The possible evolution of the Rāsa māna ke pada is illustrated in the following diagram:



X represents the corpus of padas and shorter works of Kevalarāma, existing in one or more manuscripts, from which the various anthologies of his work derive. Y and Z represent two such

anthologies which are no longer extant. A compilation of approximately one hundred poems was formed, either derived directly from X or put together by combining individual poems and short sequences. This hypothetical śataka found its way into two manuscripts, one of which is the present B and the other an anthology compiled by or for Gosvāmī Bāke Bihārī (BBG), of which A declares itself to be a copy. Four chanda poems which, in B at least if not in an earlier manuscript, preceded this śataka eventually became incorporated into a sequence which, with the later addition of padas from at least 106 onwards, became known as Rāsa māna ke pada.

The sequence as it is given in B contains all padas found in A up to 110 which it follows immediately with the didactic pada 128. The scribe of B also copied other miscellaneous verse by Kevalarāma, including padas 111-127 which were not at that stage part of the Rāsa māna ke pada sequence but had been taken from X or some anthology derived from it (Y) which, in order to explain the similarities between readings of B and the anthologies C, D, E, F and W, must also have been the source from which their selections of padas ultimately derive. Between Y and C, D, E, F and W one may postulate the existence of another anthology (Z) in order to explain variants shared by these anthologies which are not found in B.

It appears that the scribe of A produced his version of the Rāsa māna ke pada by collating B with another manuscript (presumably BBG) and by inserting padas 111-127 between 110 and 128 (which are adjacent in B). The fact that in B padas 112, 119 and 122 contain hiatuses which are not found in A implies that the latter referred to a different source such as X, Y or Z. Alternatively, these extra padas had already been included in BBG. At least for the conflated padas 21 and 105.ii the scribe of BBG or of A was relying directly on B, having decided to incorporate additional poems from B and some other source. The question of whether it was the scribe of A or of

BBG who extended the sequence of padas remains unresolved. The fact that in A pada 128 is followed by no colophon, the rest of the folio being left blank with a different text beginning on the verso, suggests that it was the scribe of A who decided to end his expanded sequence rather inconclusively at this point.

The manuscript of Rāsa māna ke pada described in the 'Khoj Report' for the years 1932-34 ends with pada 126. Since this manuscript appears to have had no colophon and no details are given in the 'Khoj Report' about the number and sequence of poems it contained, it is not possible to assign it a place in the schema outlined above.

#### IV.2 Indication of rāgas, verse forms and themes

The name of the scale (rāga or rāgini) in which each poem is to be sung is given in all manuscripts except D. The scribe of A consistently uses the locative form rāge when giving the name of the scale, a form found for thirty-five poems in B (no.22 and others from no.68 onwards) which otherwise has rāgu or, in a few instances, either omits the word or writes rāga. The scribes agree on the assignation of the poems to particular rāgas with the following exceptions:

	A,	B	other mss.
<u>pada</u> 20	rāmakalī	māru	
75	kidāro	kānharā	
81	kinaro	kidārā	
99	kādāro	kānharā	
107	kidāro	mārū kidārā	E: bihāgarā
108	kidāro	kidārā mārū	
113	bibāsī	bibāsī ṭodī	
128	āsā	āsā	F: rāmakalī W: āsavarī

The discrepancy between A and B for padas 81 and 99 appears to be merely the result of carelessness on the part of the scribe of the former.

The thirty rāgas and rāginīs featuring in the Rāsa māna ke pada are listed below using spellings adopted in the edited transcription on the basis of the orthography of B. Variants spellings are indicated as well as the Sanskrit names where they are available and where they are appreciably different from the tadbhava forms. The number of poems in each rāga is given in the left hand column according to the assignments given in B.

1	Asāvārī	W: <u>āsavarī</u>
2	Āsā	
2	Kalyāna	
12	Kānarā	A: <u>kānaro</u> , <u>kānharo</u> ; B: <u>kānharā</u> ; Skt. <u>kānaḍā</u>
50	Kidārā	A: <u>kidāro</u> , <u>kedārā</u> (once only); equivalent either to Skt. <u>rāginī</u> <u>Kedārī</u> or to <u>rāga</u> <u>Kedāra</u> with extended termination.
1	Kidārā-Darabārī	A: <u>kidāro</u> ~
3	Gauḍī	A: <u>gaurī</u>
2	Jijavaṁtī	Skt. <u>jayajayavanti</u>
3	Ḍholā	A in one instance writes <u>ṭyaulyā</u> ; intended form may be <u>Ḍolā</u> (cf. below 3.4.4).
4	Taliṅga	A: <u>talāṅga</u> ; occurs in <u>Ādigrantha</u> as <u>tilāṅga</u>
1	Tukhārī	
1	Todī	Skt. <u>toḍī</u> ; in Hindi usually <u>toḍī</u> or <u>ṭorī</u>
4	Naṭu	In A and twice in B as <u>naṭa</u>
1	Paṁcama	
6	Pūravā	A: <u>pūrabā</u> , <u>pūrabāyā</u> ; B: <u>pūrvā</u> (once only), as in Skt.
2	Pūryā-Kānarā	A: <u>~kānaro</u>
2	Basaṁtu	A: <u>vasaṁta</u>
4	Bibhāsī-Todī	A: <u>toḍī vilāsī</u> , <u>bilāsī toḍī</u> , <u>bhabhāsī toḍī</u> , <u>bibāsī</u> ; B: <u>toḍī bibhāsī</u> , <u>bibāsī toḍī</u> , <u>bhabhāsī ṭhodī</u> , <u>bibāsī ṭodī</u> ; all are taken as being equivalent to Skt. <u>vibhāsī toḍī</u> .

2	Bilāvalu	A and once in B as <u>bilāvala</u> ; Skt. <u>velāvali</u>
1	Bihāgaḍā	A: <u>vihāgaro</u>
2	Bhairo	A: <u>bhayarō</u> ; B: <u>bhairō</u> ; Skt. <u>bhairava</u>
3	Malāra	A: <u>malhāra</u> ; B: <u>malāri</u> , <u>malhāri</u> ; Skt. <u>malhāra</u> or <u>mallāra</u>
4	Mārū	B seems to indicate a blend of Mārū and Kidārā for nos. 107 and 108; Skt. <u>mālavā</u> / <u>māravā</u> ?
1	Mālīgaḍā	Skt. <u>malāvagaḍa</u>
4	Rāmakalī	Skt. <u>rāmakarī</u>
2	Lalita	
2	Śrī	
1	Sūhava	A: <u>sūhaba</u> ; < <u>śubha</u> - ?; presumably a variant spelling of <u>sūhā</u> ; <u>Ādigrantha</u> has <u>sūhī</u>
2	Soraṭhi	A: <u>soratha</u> ; Skt. <u>saurāstrī</u> , <u>saurāṭī</u>
2	Hiṃḍola	A: <u>hiṃḍhola</u> ; B: <u>hidhola</u> , <u>hiṃḍhola</u>

Twenty of these rāgas and rāginīs feature among the thirty-one which occur in the Ādigrantha, assuming that Sūhava is equivalent to Sūhī, unless the former be a rāga and the latter a separate rāginī. Those which do not occur in the Ādigrantha are Kidārā-Darabārī, Dholā, Naṭu (unless equivalent to Ādigrantha's Naṭanārāyaṇa), Paṃcama, Pūravā, Pūryā-Kānarā, Bibhāsī-Todī, Lalita and Hiṃḍola. In the Ādigrantha poems in Asāvārī are included among those in Āsā.

There is no discernible arrangement of the rāgas and rāginīs used in the Rāsa māna ke pada according to time of day, families or thāt. The first two chanda poems are assigned to Śrī, the first rāga in the Ādigrantha, and numbers 5 to 14 are all in Kidārā. There are other sequences of three or four poems in the same rāga or rāginī but no sustained grouping or arrangement of them. There is, however, a certain amount of correlation between rāga and subject matter. The dawn rāga Lalita is used for two padas (15 and 16) describing Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā after an exhausting night of lovemaking. A kavitta on a similar theme is assigned to the morning rāga Bhairo (no.36), as is



another describing the waking of the child Kṛṣṇa (no.29). Three kavittas (nos. 39, 63, 101) and another poem (no.113) on the theme of the khaṇḍitā nāyikā rebuking her lover as he returns from having spent the night with another woman are assigned to the morning rāga Bibhāsī-Todī. However, Todī is used for a poem describing the rāsa dance on a moonlit autumn night (no.55) and another khaṇḍitā nāyikā poem (no.64) is assigned to the late night rāga Jijavaṃtī. All four poems assigned to the late afternoon rāga Naṭu deal with the nocturnal rāsa dance (nos. 30, 58, 86, 103). The seasonal rāga Malāra is used appropriately for three poems describing events in the rainy season (nos. 31, 80, 127) and the spring time rāga Basaṃtu is used for two poems (nos. 52 and 57) which deal with the celebration of the Holī festival.

Along with the rāga and rāgiṇī names the scribes occasionally give the name of the verse form. The scribe of A introduces the first two poems as śrī rāga ke chaṃdu while B has śrī rāga de chaṃda. Both scribes also give the name chaṃda for poems 3, 4 and 85, while A alone does so for number 55. The scribe of B introduces numbers 115, 116, 120 and 124 as lacārī or licārī, as does the scribe of A for the last two of these four poems. Both write dhamāla after the rāga name preceding number 70, A also having the words sājhī kī written in the margin. The scribe of A has written kavitta at the beginning of number 73 and the word rahāu meaning 'refrain', a term used in the Ādigraṇtha, after the first couplet of one of the chanda poems (no.55).

The scribe of A also gives some indication of the theme of a few of the poems by writing, for example, rāmakalī rāge cha[m]du māna ke at the beginning of number 4 and māna ke kedārā rāge at the beginning of number 5. Other poems which are introduced in A with the words māna ke are numbers 18, 20, 25, 37, 40, 51, 61, 65, 99 and 115. The same scribe writes śrngārī before numbers 1, 10, 15, 19, 23, 30, 38, 49, 53, 60, 62, 67, 72, 74, 79 and 122; viyogī before numbers 27 and 71; prema ke before number 33; saṃdata

(viz. khanditā nāyikā) before number 39 and the word kūta before the incomplete cryptic poem number 105.ii. The other scribes do not give such indications, apart from one poem in E (no.107) which is preceded by the words kīrttana rāga bihāgarā.

In the edited transcription only the rāga or rāginī name is given for each poem as indicated in B.

#### IV.3 Orthographic variants and their editorial treatment

3.1 Comparison of the spellings found in the different manuscripts reveals that B, which has been shown to predate at least A if not all the others, is most likely to have retained the Ur-text orthography. In the edited transcription the spellings given in B are generally preferred except where the scribe has made an obvious error (e.g. ratiprati for ratipati) or has a metrically or grammatically unsatisfactory reading which may be emended by inference or by adopting the reading of another manuscript. In principle B's orthographical inconsistencies are retained in the transcription except in cases where a line, phrase or word is repeated with variant spelling (e.g. lines 1.1/6 and such repetitions as jahā jahā and niriṣi niraṣi). A tatsama spelling is generally preferred where the form given in B appears to be simply erroneous Sanskrit rather than a bona fide tadbhava. B's tadbhava spellings are adopted in the transcription, wherever they are feasible, since they probably represent the archetypal orthography where other scribes have introduced Sanskritizations or eliminated terminations which had some morphemic value in the Ur-text.

#### 3.2 Handwriting and alphabetic features

In A the scribe has produced a fair copy of the padas in a neat and regular hand, a feature which is in conformity with his tendency to adopt spellings which he must have considered more standard or etymologically correct. B, on the other hand, is a

rather haphazardly written manuscript to which more than one scribe has contributed<sup>(1)</sup>. A cursory glance at the folios of B which contain the Rāsa māna ke pada gives the impression that they were copied by two or more scribes, but on closer examination it becomes apparent that they were written by one person with variations in handwriting being attributable to changes of pen and paper, and perhaps also to fluctuations in the degree of his concentration and his adoption of different postures while copying. Whereas the first sixty-seven padas are written in a fairly consistent hand the rest are copied with less attention paid to maintaining neatness and regular straight lines. There is also a tendency for the scribe's angular Kaithi style <c> and <v> to resemble each other and sometimes <t> and <n> are not clearly differentiated, which accounts for A's variant readings apata and jāti for apanā and jānī (105.ii.i and 100.2).

All the scribes of the Rāsa māna ke pada, like those of other Eighth Gaddī texts, employ some graphs which differ from those current in what might be termed 'standard' or 'conventional' Devanagari. In all manuscripts /jh/ is written consistently as ञ and /ḍ/ is represented mainly by ङ, while A, D and E have ॐ for initial /o/. All of these graphs are found in Jaina Nagari and the formation of <o> by modification of <u> is also found in Gurumukhi as ॐ<sup>(2)</sup>. However, unlike both Jaina Nagari and Devanagari, /kh/ is represented not by ख but by ङ, which is also used for tatsama /ṣ/ (cf. 3.4.2). For /ḍ/ the scribes of A and B occasionally use ॐ as an alternative for ङ, and both frequently confuse the retroflex consonantal graphs, especially by substituting <ḍh> for <ḍ> (cf. 3.4.4).

1. The fact that a later scribe's fair copy is not necessarily an improvement on an untidy original is illustrated in section II of the article by T. Mukherjee and J.C. Wright dealing with a testamentary document written by Jīva Gosvāmī in 1606/8. In an attempt to achieve clarity a later copyist adapted the original's 'Nagarized Kaithi' script and 'Sanskritized Braj' to standard Devanagari and a form of hybrid Sanskrit.
2. These observations are based on the alphabetical tables given by L. Renou and J. Filliozat, Appendix I, pp.690-8.

For initial /o/ B has ओ and for long and short /ī/ writes ई and इि which, with their long 'tails' are comparable to Gurumukhī एी and ऐि . Initial ai- is written either as अइ (in A) or अइि (in B), or as औ , the latter occurring in A with the word aiso/-e/-ī and for both occurrences of initial ai- in D. Formation of <ai-> from the graph <a-> , as opposed to the ऐ derived from <e-> of Jaina Nagari and Devanagari, is comparable to Gurumukhī ऐ and Gujarati યૈ (and is found also in the older Khotanese and Tibetan scripts). The forms अइ/अइि and अउ which are used for ai- and au- probably derive from Apabhramśa usage, as does the scribal preference for writing medial -ai- and -au- by combining <i-> and <u-> with the inherent -a- of a preceding consonant, thus both A and B prefer चइन and कउने to चैन and कौने (cf. 3.3.3).

From the above data it is clear that the form of Devanagari used by the Eighth Gaddī scribes has affinities with regional scripts which are or were current in west and north-west India.

### 3.3 Vowels

#### 3.3.1 Unstressed final -a, -i and -u

3.3.1.1 Previous studies of early Hindi texts have shown that final -i is liable to occur in feminine nouns with historic -ī, in words derived from masculine -i stem nouns, in survivals of old neuter plurals ending in -āni, as a reduction of the -e termination of masculine perfect participles or, in a different category, as an addition of modern origin to mark feminine gender<sup>(3)</sup>. Alternatively -i may replace -a in a palatal environment, or may be a remnant of locative or instrumental inflections<sup>(4)</sup>. Final -u is found to occur in masculine nouns derived from Apabhramśa forms with -o/-u/-a, representing either Sanskrit -aḥ or an -o formed by analogy<sup>(5)</sup>.

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3. B. Saksena, p.67.

4. R.S. McGregor, pp. 114, 135.

5. B. Saksena, p.69.

It has also been noted that -u may occur with singular nouns, if they do not have a final conjunct consonant, when they are the sentence subject or a nominal complement<sup>(6)</sup>. The degree to which these findings are relevant to the Rāsa māna ke pada is indicated in the following survey of variant spellings found in the manuscripts.

### 3.3.1.2 Masculine -a stem nouns

Unextended masculine nouns, which occur with the terminations -a, -u, -i, -ahi and -e, are subject to a fair amount of scribal variation. From a comparison of the phrases kara sō karu and pala sō palu as they are spelt in A and B (15.5, 39.3, 64.3, 113.3, 116.7) it is evident that whereas the latter consistently differentiates between the direct case forms karu and palu and the oblique kara and pala, the scribe of A only once maintains such a morphemic distinction and elsewhere writes kara, kari, pala and pali without any grammatical consistency. In B the distinction between direct and oblique case of masculine -a stem nouns, as well as the use of -e for locative, -i or -ahi for locative/instrumental/dative, and occasional use of -i for direct plural, is by no means confined to such stock phrases as the two cited above, but is maintained with a fair degree of consistency throughout the text. Although some -a stem nouns appear only with final -a regardless of their grammatical function<sup>(7)</sup>, instances where final -u and -i do occur conform to a nominal morphology directly inherited from Apabhraṃśa<sup>(8)</sup>.

In B there is a much higher proportion of -u and -i inflections than in the other manuscripts where they have largely been replaced by -a. The scribes of A, C, D, E, F and W, like those of other Braj texts and most editors of printed editions, have

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6. R.S. McGregor, p.133.

7. Occurrences of the different terminations in the edited text are indicated in the word index

8. The paradigm given below in VI.2 may be compared with those given for Apabhraṃśa nouns by H. Jacobi in his introductions to Bhavisatta kaha, p.33, and Sanatkumāracaritam, p.12.

more or less ignored an Ur-text system of inflections which gradually ceased to be distinguishable in pronunciation. This tendency, combined with their preference for Sanskritizations has resulted in the elimination of many archetypal Apabhraṃśa and tadbhava forms from their versions of the Rāsa māna ke pada. Whether or not the first scribe of the poems himself clearly differentiated between the short vowel inflections in his speech, he at least maintained a formal distinction between them for many of the masculine -a stem nouns occurring in the text.

The -u and -i inflections occur with both tadbhava and tatsama nouns, as well as with gerunds and the Arabic loanword mahala, are not restricted to any particular final consonant in the stem and may also occur with final conjuncts, e.g. samudru, and final consonants preceded by homorganic nasals. However, it is remarkable that some nouns occurring fairly frequently have -a regardless of their grammatical function, e.g. amsa, adhara, caina, jhāla, prāna, madhupa, manamatha, baça and syāma.

The -u termination is used with nominative subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs and in many instances where the noun is the object of a transitive verb (just as in modern Hindi where the direct case termination -ā is used for nouns in the accusative unless the definite object marker ko is added, in which case the noun has the oblique termination -e). Nouns also show -u, with a somewhat greater degree of regularity, when they are used with perfective participles (as in the modern Hindi ergative construction where the agent is in oblique case with the postposition ne). The -a termination is used consistently for oblique case when nouns are followed by a postposition, for most vocatives, and for nouns which occur as the first member of a compound.

Often the exact syntactical relationship between words is ambiguous. As heirs to a Sanskrit tradition the medieval Hindi poets were fond of stringing words together in quasi-compound formation even though their language no longer possessed an adequate range of inflections. The reader is left to interpret

many lines according to his intuition and familiarity with certain conventional phrases, epithets and metaphors. For example, in the line rāsa bilāsa kela rasa kevala nirakhi nirakhi balihārī (13.6) is Kevala seeing rāsa, bilāsa, kela and rasa as separate things, or does he see the bilāsa of rasa and the rasa of kela, the kelarasa of rāsabilāsa, or simply the rasa of the rāsabilāsakela ? Sometimes a noun may be taken as singular or plural, or as being used substantively, attributively, adverbially (with a postposition left understood), or as a nominal complement for which the reader has to supply words such as 'like' or 'as if'. Although B's use of the -u and -i inflections sometimes helps to clarify the syntax there are many instances where uniform use of -a leaves the exact interpretation uncertain.

Despite the fact that B does not have final -u in all possible contexts all occurrences of the inflection are, with relatively few exceptions, grammatically apposite. There are some instances where, instead of -u as given in B, a vocative -a as found in A would seem more appropriate (e.g. kāna in 35.6). B also has -u for some nouns which are apparently used as the first members of a compound, namely badanu roca nihāri and premu prīti jāni (4.23 and 124.21, unless they are intended to stand in apposition), rasu simdhu (46.4, rejected in transcription as a scribal error) and amtarupatu (a rejected reading in 107.7) which is spelt as amtarupaṭa in A and amtarapata in C, D and E, but is spelt unanimously with amtara- a few lines later (108.2), the anomalous amtaru- having perhaps been induced by an occurrence of the word as a direct case noun a few lines previously (105.ii.v). In the phrase līlā rasu samudru phailāyo (56.6) the spelling rasu may be an error unless the word is considered not as the first element of a compound but as a nominative yielding the meaning 'the rasu of līlā spread out an ocean'. Other doubtful occurrences of -u in B are in the phrases rasika rasu kāhe na jholata (108.3) and cibaku dhithonā (116.19 perhaps due to metathesis). On the whole, however, B's use of direct case -u is consistent enough for its readings to be preferable to those of A and the other manuscripts.

3.3.1.3 Final -i with masculine -a stem nouns

The locative/instrumental termination -i<sup>(9)</sup> is also much more common in B than in A, though it is not used in all possible contexts. The noun sīsa, for example, occurs as a locative ten times for which B has -i in seven instances while A has only -a. Besides being used with nouns designating a location (e.g. taṭi, grhi/ghari) -i is also used with parts of the body on which ornaments are worn or in which emotions are felt (e.g. aṃki, aṃgi, uri, kamṭhi, mukhi). The word rida has, besides ridi the alternative locative forms ridahi and ride, the latter occurring twice in the grammatically tautological but metrically appropriate combination ride mō (1.10, 1.16). The word mana has the locative forms mani and manahi used with the verb bhā- ('be pleasing to'). Unlike final -i, the -ahi and -e terminations are not subject to scribal variation, the latter occurring as the locative of extended nouns or as a Sanskritic locative used for rhyme (e.g. kumje, kūle, samāje and, formed on analogy from a feminine -i stem, kele).

Locative -i also occurs with nouns used as postpositions (cf. 3.3.1.13). The word basi/vasi, with -i representing either locative case or a direct borrowing from Sanskrit, is used either as a noun with the verb kar- (meaning 'take possession of') or as a postposition (meaning 'under the control of') used with nouns showing a locative inflection, as in the phrase rasi basi (which occurs once as a rhyme as rasi basu, 128.1). An example of the scribe of A's carelessness or incomprehension regarding the short vowel terminations is found in an instance where he has written rasi pīnē (72.4) for B's rasa pīne, having presumably been influenced by an occurrence of rasi basi two lines previously. The form kāmi (42.1) shows the use of the -i termination in a locative/dative sense ('for my work', 'of use to me').

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9. H. Jacobi, 1918 p.32 section 5.23, notes the interchange in Apabhramśa of the instrumental and locative singular of masculine -a stem nouns, viz. use of locative nari as equivalent to instrumental nareṇa/nareṃ/narē.



Some instances of -i in B suggest its use as a direct masculine plural termination, e.g. sapata suri in all but one out of eleven occurrences and for all four occurrences of kirani. Other examples of apparent direct plurals are basi, kāni and śravani, unless the usage here is locative or instrumental, and jūthi jūthi meaning 'in groups', unless a locative singular termination is here used with repetition for distributive force, as is found in A's grhi grhi (71.14, an example of a locative -i omitted in B).

Some doubtful instances of -i in B are with dhīri (124.16, but dhīra elsewhere), palaki oṭa (4.4, perhaps instrumental, though 25.4 has palaka oṭa), manāvani (37.1 and 43.1, perhaps expressing purpose, but occurring with -a in 25.1) and, perhaps because they have feminine reference, nidhyāni and sāgari (37.3, 55.21 as an internal rhyme, and 72.3).

#### 3.3.1.4 Masculine -i stem nouns

In B the final short -i is retained for all masculine -i stem nouns. In A however nearly a quarter of the occurrences of such nouns are written with final -a, and in one instance aru so is given for B's ari sō (14.5). A agrees with B on retention of -i for ahi, dadhi (whether tatsama or derived from udadhi), nidhi, pati and vidhi/bidhi.

#### 3.3.1.5 Masculine -u stem nouns

It seems probable that occasional instances of final -a for -u stem nouns have arisen through contamination with the morphology of -a stem nouns. Both scribes write siṃdhu and sumeru with -a in two instances where they are followed by a postposition (1.16, 49.2), whereas in all six other occurrences of siṃdhu B gives the -u termination where A has only -a. The scribe of A similarly writes accusative pasa where B has pasu and cukha for direct, accusative and quasi-compound occurrences where B has cukhu.

The word prabhu occurs three times in what may be construed as a vocative context, A having -u while B consistently gives prabha. Both scribes agree on the spelling imdu when it is either accusative or stands in apposition to a nominative, but write imda in compound formations (imda sama badana and imda badani 1.4 and 6.5). When it occurs with kota to mean 'ten million moons' B has imda while A gives imda in one instance and imdu in the other. B in most cases retains -u for benu (cf. 3.3.3 for variants with -ai-) while A generally prefers a final -a. As with the -a and -i stem nouns the edited transcription in principle follows B, even adopting its -a spellings where A gives -u.

#### 3.3.1.6 Feminine -i stem nouns

While B retains final -i in the majority of feminine -i stem nouns A shows a tendency to write -a regardless of the case in which the nouns occur. Both scribes consistently agree on the spellings gati, kānti (though spelt erroneously in B as krānti) and rati, while A's two instances of chaba appear negligible in view of the many other instances where the scribe agrees with B on a final -i spelling. The scribes also agree on the spelling avadhi, a word which is masculine in Sanskrit but usually feminine in Hindi and is found in the text with feminine concord. The gender of the word mani, written consistently with -i in B but twice with -a in A, is not conclusively indicated in the text but is generally feminine in Hindi although it is masculine in Sanskrit.

The scribe of B has -a spellings only for keli (seventeen out of twenty-one occurrences) and koti (seven out of nine) while A gives -a for all occurrences of these words as well as for joti, tripati, driṣṭi, bu(d)dhi, bhagati, mūrati, rāti, ri(d)dhi, si(d)dhi, surati. B's usage is followed in the edited transcription despite the possibility that the scribe may have added -i as an uncharacteristic Sanskritization or as a conventional termination for both tatsama and tadbhava feminine nouns.

3.3.1.7 Feminine nouns with -i representing metrically shortened -ī

Occasionally a final -ī of feminine nouns is shortened metri causa (e.g. kiṃkani, dhūmari). If a scribe omits the resultant -i termination there may be ambiguity as to whether a masculine or feminine noun is intended. Such is the case with the word nāgara/-i, which B spells with -a or -u when it is used as an epithet of Kṛṣṇa and with -i when it refers to Rādhā. A on the other hand writes -a for all but one of the feminine occurrences and likewise has -a where B has -i for kisori and sumdari, but seems to be more accurate in having kūari for B's kūara in 20.1.

For nouns ending in -anī/-inī/-unī cf. 3.3.2.3.

3.3.1.8 Feminine -u stem nouns

The only two nouns of this category which occur in the text are dhenu and bāhu, the latter being masculine in Sanskrit but appearing with feminine concord in accordance with general usage in the modern vernaculars. A gives final -a for one occurrence of dhenu where it is governed by the verb carāe (114.3).

3.3.1.9 Feminine tadbhava nouns

Feminine tadbhava nouns occur with either -a or -i, neither vowel having any relation to the case, though some instances of -i may represent a locative/instrumental termination on analogy with masculine nouns (e.g. ori). As with -i stem nouns the scribe of B shows a greater preference for -i spellings, presumably as a conventional addition to mark feminine gender, using it for all or most occurrences of feminine tadbhavas, but for the minority of those of ota, bāra and besara. A has -i only for jehari (spelt in B with -a) and some occurrences of musakani and lagani. The word jīvani, equivalent to Sanskrit masculine jīvana, occurs with final -i in B while A (and also D) have only -a. The word mauni/mūni/moni, spelt with -a in D and for all but one of the occurrences in A, is used with the verb le- to mean 'keep silent'. Although the word is usually masculine the -i used consistently by the scribe of B may denote feminine gender (cf. Rajasthani mūn f.) or have been added as a hyper-Sanskritization based on maunī or on

analogy with the absolutive -i added to verb stems when they are used as the first element of a compound verb. The word nisā, when it occurs with a short vowel, is exceptional in having final -u in B for all occurrences, while A sometimes has the variant spelling with -a.

### 3.3.1.10 The oblique plural termination

The oblique plural termination for all nouns is given as -ana apart from two instances of -ani, namely kumjani in A (118.11) and bātani in B (20.5), the latter being adopted in the transcription even though it is a relatively negligible variant perhaps occurring as a marker of feminine gender.

### 3.3.1.11 Adjectival concord

The predominant termination for unextended adjectives is -a, but there are some instances of final -i and -u used in concord with feminine and masculine nouns respectively. Final -u for masculine agreement is found in B for some occurrences of ātura, sarasa and sugamdha (A also having an extra occurrence of sugamdhu not found in B, viz. 96.3). Feminine -i occurs in B with kala, pravina and sumdara, and in both manuscripts with aparimiti, sāvāri (B having unmetrical -ī) and bibasi (perhaps on analogy with basi). Some occurrences of final -i may represent masculine plural concord, viz. sami (90.3) and madhuri suri (60.3, though the termination may also be instrumental, 'singing in a sweet tone'), as found in B, and sumdari naina in A only (47.1). Occurrences of -i with bhari and rījhi are probably to be interpreted as absolutive terminations, as is also the case with dūri, unless -i here represents a locative inflection<sup>(10)</sup>. Occurrence of -i in both manuscripts with bahuvidha and trividha is probably a hyper-Sanskritization rather than an example of masculine plural concord, hence it is not included in the

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10. R.S. MsGregor, p.141, suggests a locative, but points out that in constructs with kar- it may also be explainable as a reduction from -ī of the root dūrikr-. Both A and B write dūri for occurrences with kar-.

edited transcription (C, D and E have ~vidha and both A and B have trivadha in 52.3).

Despite a discernible tendency to use the -i and -u terminations in concord as indicated above, the adjectives saphala, nija and neka (in 14.2) occur in B with -u when qualifying either feminine or masculine oblique case nouns. In the case of neku the final vowel may have arisen on analogy with the -u which occurs when the word is used adverbially, as seems to be the case with pūranu (cf. 3.3.1.13).

### 3.3.1.12 Numerals

The final -i of the numeral cāri is probably a remnant of the generalised Apabhraṃśa neuter form<sup>(11)</sup>, as may also be the case with A's variant spelling sapati (23.3). The numeral ṣaṭu retains its final vowel in B (written as -ū, cf. 3.4.4) when it occurs independently and in combination with dasa.

### 3.3.1.13 Postpositions and adverbs

In B the postpositions and adverbs āsipāsi, basi, begi, pari, nāli, ūpari, saṃgi and hiti are written with locative/instrumental -i in all or most occurrences, while A usually has final -a. Both scribes agree on -i for bīci, mahi, ma(d)dhi and for one out of thirteen occurrences of parasapara. The word ora is also written once in B with a locative (or feminine) -i.

Adjectives when used adverbially are usually written with -u in B where A has only -a (cf. āju, cīru, neku, pūranu, bahutu and chinu).

The postposition derived from vinā occurs twice in both A and B as binā, and is otherwise spelt by B only with -u (cf. Ap. viṇu) while A also has -a.

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11. viz. cattāri, cf. J. Bloch, p.151. For cāru cf. pada 124.4 fn.

3.3.1.14 Verb stems with short vowel terminations

Verb stems take -i when they are used as absolutives and when they combine with a dependent auxiliary to form a compound verb. The scribe of B has written -i, as opposed to -a, in approximately ninety per cent. of such instances, while A has -i in just over twenty five per cent. of occurrences of stems used to form a compound verb and approximately forty per cent. of those where an absolute is used independently.

B also has a -u termination for most of the second person singular imperatives while in most of the occurrences in A they are written with -a. B's readings are adopted in the edited transcription, even where A has an absolute -i which is omitted in B, apart from B's anomalous raci paca (53.3) for the usual raci paci.

3.3.1.15 Final -a/-i/-u with imperfective participles

Imperfective participles occur in the majority of instances with the termination -ata, though -ati and -atu are found very occasionally in both A and B. A gives the spellings tajati (8.2) and diṣarāvati (88.2) and B has leti (92.3), all three occurring with feminine subjects. The termination -atu occurs with both masculine and feminine subjects, both scribes agreeing on its presence only for lagatu and pagatu (as two of the -atu hai rhymes given by B in 106). A alone has niratatu (53.1) while B alone has -atu hai for rhymes in pada 94.

3.3.1.16 Short unstressed final vowels in C, D, E, F and W

Although the other manuscripts generally prefer -a spellings in the contexts surveyed above, they are not always in agreement with A. Manuscript C has a slightly higher proportion of absolutives with -i than in A, while D and E have less. All of the scribes of manuscripts other than A and B agree on bhāta for bhāti, but otherwise retain the final vowel of -i stem nouns. Final -u occurs only with -u stem nouns apart from W in which

the -u rhymes of pada 128 are retained and in the same poem a possibly archetypal visvāsu is given where A and B have visvāsa. E offers two instances of final -i which are not found in A or B, namely taṭi baṭi and mukaṭi mana (67.2 & 11).

### 3.3.2 Medial short vowels

3.3.2.1 Variant spellings of tatsama and tadbhava words containing unstressed medial -a-/-i-/-u- imply a certain amount of inconsistency in older manuscripts. The edited transcription follows B's tadbhava orthography, even though the scribe has sometimes been inconsistent. For Sanskrit loan words the tatsama orthography is generally preferred, but where both A and B repeatedly spell a word with a change of one of the short medial vowels their spelling is adopted in the edited transcription since it is likely to be archetypal. Sanskrit spellings are restored, however, for a few tatsama words which occur only once or twice in the text, even though the scribes agree on a non-tatsama spelling.

#### 3.3.2.2 -a- > -i-

Manuscripts A and B both have instances of substitution of -i- for -a-. Sometimes they agree on a particular spelling, viz. cātika (perhaps <pika, which it usually follows), niksatra, lilāta, sāringa, alikāvali (also in C, but with final -a) and kumtila (for one occurrence, only B having -i- in the other). In the transcription tatsama spellings are given, except for the repeated occurrences of cātika, for sāringa (repeated several times in pada 32) and lilāta (cf. Prakrit lilāda and Hindi lilār). In cases where the scribes disagree over substitution of -i- for -a- a tatsama spelling is preferred, thus the transcription rejects A's alisānī and nāgira and B's kanika, sanikādika, balirāma, madhuritā and risāla.

B's tadbhava spellings are preferred where they differ from the other manuscripts, namely kāchani<sup>†</sup> (for A's kāchina/-ī), kichu (occurring once for the usual kachū), musik- (for the usual musak-, found in musikāve and musika, the latter probably metathesis of the absolute as also found in pulika), and nirikh- (for the usual nirakh-,

where -i- may be justified etymologically). However, A's spelling amgana is preferred (as an oblique plural in 111.9) since B's amgina is probably the result of contamination with the frequent locative singular amgi. The form hir- for the verb har- is adopted in the transcription since it occurs consistently in B (apart from the derivative harani) and is also common in A.

### 3.2.3 -i- > -a-

The tatsama termination -inī is subject to scribal variation. Where -m- precedes the termination the spelling -uni is adopted in transcription (viz. gāmunī, jāmunī, dāmunī, bhāmunī and mānunī) since it is used consistently in B (where the other manuscripts have -unī, -anī, -ina, -inī and -una without any consistency) and may be related to an Apabhraṃśa form such as \*bhāmvanī. For other occurrences where B (and usually A) writes -anī the tatsama -i- is restored (viz. taramgini, bihārinī, mohinī, rāginī, nandinī and two occurrences of ~vāsini).

With the exception of the recurrent spelling sithala (=śithila × sītala ?) the tatsama -i- is also restored where the scribes have given the spellings aparamiti (for ~pari~), trivadha (for trividha, elsewhere written as trividhi), giradhārī/-ana (spelt with gira~ for seven out of twelve occurrences in A and also found in C and D, but only once spelt as such in B), nāsakā, and chudraghaṃtakā (for ~ikā) and saromaṇi (in B where A has siromaṇi).

B's istati (for sthati) is adopted in the transcription where A has istiti, while other instances of -a- for -i- occurring only in the latter are rejected, viz. anaka, avanāsī, kokalā, camd(r)akā, lalatā and nakasata (for nikasata).

### 3.2.4 Interchange of -a- and -i- in participles

Occasionally the scribes appear to have confused tadbhava imperfective participles and tatsama perfective participles. Instances of substitution of one for the other are considered to be errors and are not adopted in the transcription. Examples of erroneously spelt imperfective participles are bajita (in A and B) and bolita (in B), and of erroneous perfective participles: (bi)rājata (in A), mohata and lajata (in B).



3.3.2.5 Medial -u-

The spellings cibaku, kautaka/-u, kusama, nūpara, mukata/-u are retained in the edited transcription in view of the consistency with which both A and B have substituted -a- for -u- in the penultimate syllable (apart from one occurrence of cibuka in A). The transcription gives kutūhala where A has katūhala, which perhaps derives from B's kātūhala (× kanta-/kantu- ?). Although all scribes agree on the spelling of gunānuvāda with -anavāda and both A and B have kaustava and (tri)bhavana for kaustubha and (tri)bhavana, the scribal variants are rejected in the edited transcription since they are considered to be merely erroneous spellings of Sanskrit loanwords. The transcription adopts A's consistent spelling dhanuṣa, which B agrees with once but otherwise has dhanaṣa (also in C) and dhaniṣa. Although the use of <ṣ> may be held to presuppose a -u- spelling there remains the possibility that the Ur-text had \*dhanusa or \*dhanasa/-u, or that <ṣ> represents tadbhava [k<sup>h</sup>] (cf. 3.4.2). Other variant spellings of tatsama words which occur in B but are not included in the edited transcription are atisakumārī, ādipuraṣu and tribulī.

With tadbhava words -u- spellings are adopted wherever they are found in A and B, viz. lādulī/-e (always with -u- apart from one occurrence of lāḍale in A and E, 67.3), bāsurī (only D has bāsarī) and sācurī (apart from one occurrence in B of sācarī), or where they are found only in B, viz. lālunī and bīthuna. They are not adopted where they occur only in A, viz. musukānī, arusāta, cāmdunī and larukā. In accordance with the editorial principle of following B for tadbhava words the transcription gives taturānī even though the standard Hindi and Panjabi form is tuturānī, the the spelling which is given in A.

### 3.3.3 ai/e and au/o

The scansion of poems composed in syllabic metre shows that in the majority of instances a monosyllabic (or monophthongal) pronunciation of -ai- and -au- was intended, though the scribes generally prefer to write them as a combination of <a> with <i-> or <u-> in initial positions or of <i-> and <u-> with the inherent -a- of a preceding consonant where they occur medially. The special medial graphs provided by the Devanāgarī alphabet (here indicated by <ai> and <au>) are occasionally used by the scribes alongside the combination of short vowel graphs (here indicated by <ai> and <au>) inherited from Apabhraṃśa, but without any consistent correlation with their metrical value.

In B <ai> occurs in syllabic metre only with the word balaiyā which requires trisyllabic pronunciation (29.3, where C also has <ai> and A the unmetrical variant spelling balaiyā). Elsewhere in syllabic verse the scribe of B uses only <ai> regardless of whether a monosyllable or disyllable is required. The scribe of A has written <ai> in some instances where monosyllabic pronunciation is required (jaiso 43.3, baithī 54.1, kaise 54.4, naina 63.1, caina 63.2, maina 73.4, nainana sō nainā 106.1) and in one instance, in a single line (112.2), appears to have used the two graphs to differentiate between metrically appropriate naina and nainana. The same scribe, however, has not been thoroughly consistent for in several instances a metrical monosyllable is spelt with <ai>, even in contexts where other words in close proximity which also require a monosyllable are written with <ai> (e.g. raina, naīna, maina and baīna in 36.1/2). He uses the initial graph अ in one instance where metre requires a monosyllable (aisī 124.8) but writes <ai> for other occurrences of monosyllabic initial ai-. Although there are perhaps two instances of a metrically inappropriate <ai> in A where a disyllable is required (maina 9.4 and jaiso in 8.4 if the line is to be read kevala aiso hai thatu jaiso cikano ghatu, though one may consider hai to be an interpolation and read aiso), the

scribe does appear to have made some attempt to introduce <aj> for monosyllabic occurrences of the historic diphthong.

A and B agree on the use of <au> for some of the monosyllabic occurrences (viz. gaura 115.20, mauni 105.i.4, where D has mona, kautaka and gau 29.1 & 2, where C has kautaka and gauū, the latter being admissible only if sabada is read as sabda) but have <aü> for others. Both agree on metrically appropriate disyllabic and trisyllabic spellings of the variants derived from bhrū-, namely bhaūa (116.14 and bhaūa (9.9), and A alone gives the metrically suitable bhauā (124.15, where B has bhaūā). Both scribes also write a trochaic occurrence of the word as bhaūa (2.15, where C has the inappropriate spelling bhō), but for another such occurrence (68.4) they give the unsuitable form bhaū.

That the poet himself regarded monosyllabic pronunciation as standard and that either he or the scribes did not consider the diphthongs to be substantially different from [e] and [o] is indicated by occurrences as spondee or disyllabic rhymes of thaura/kisora (55.11/12), dauryo/boryo (32.3/4), jhakorē/thorē (85.9/10, A has thaurē), chaunā/-onā (114), bairī/hai rī (32.1/2) and the trochaic -aina rhymes of pada 16. An alternative disyllabic pronunciation as an occasional variant metri causa is indicated by the use in syllabic metre of trisyllabic avara and kavana for the normally disyllabic aura and kauna (compare 54.3 66.2, 79.4, 101.2) and by disyllabic mahi/mahu as opposed to mē/mō, and the variant imperative terminations -ahu and -o (later confused by the scribes in 105.i.4 and 108.4).

The predominance of monosyllabic pronunciation is shown by the number of instances where <e> and <o> replace the older -a(h)i and -a(h)u terminations. Third person present tense terminations are written consistently as -e/-ē and the extended masculine nominative termination usually written in Braj texts as <au> is written with <-o>, as are the postpositions sō and ko, while kō and the conjunction jo have the relatively infrequent variant spellings kau and jau.

The scribes agree on some occurrences of alternative spellings (gorī/gaura, thaura/thora/-ī, podh-/pauḍh-) but differ over others (besari/baisari, maura/mora, pichaurī/pichorī, samō/samau, hai/he) and fail to distinguish between benu/-a (<venu->) and baina (<vadana->).

From the above data it is evident that B has tended to retain the traditional graphs <aī> and <aü> for [e] and [o] while A has tended to introduce <ai> and <au> in instances where he was aware that a monosyllable or monophthong was required, presumably with the intention that <aī> and <aü> should be reserved for instances where a disyllable was required.

In the edited transcription the orthography of B is followed, except where metrical emendation is necessary, and no distinction is made between <ai, aü> and <ai, au> since the latter appear secondary as regards the Ur-text. However, editorial emendation seems justified in the case of benu,-a and baina in order to distinguish the two words. The third person singular and plural of the substantive verb is written at random as hai/haī (with <aī> apart from one occurrence in A of hai, 100.4) or he/hē. Since the two scribes often disagree over the form used and neither of them is consistent the standard forms hai for the singular and haī for the plural are adopted in the transcription (cf. 3.3.5.8 for nasalization).

### 3.3.4 ṛ

While <ṛ> occurs frequently with tatsama words in A and consistently in C, D, E and F, the scribe of B prefers spellings with <ri>, even when followed by tatsama <ṣ, ṣt, ṣn> as in vriṣabhāna (cf. 3.4.5), driṣṭi and kriṣṇa. The few occurrences of <ṛ> in B are found in mṛga, mṛnāla (mis-spelt as mṛdāla), vṛthā, one occurrence of vṛṣabhāna, four of gṛha and in the oblique plural dṛgana (74.3) contrasting with driga in the following line.

### 3.3.5 Nasalization

3.3.5.1 The anusvāra used for all occurrences of homorganic nasals also serves to indicate vowel nasalization (anunāsika), candrabindu being absent in all manuscripts. In the edited transcription anunāsika is represented by a tilde and etymological homorganic nasals by -ṃ- except when the syllable in which they occur is to be counted as short metri causa, in which case a tilde is used (cf. V.2.3). Since the indication of nasalization is somewhat haphazard in all manuscripts a few anomalous instances of omission of anunāsika have been discounted as being due to scribal oversight (viz. bāsuri in A and B in 92.3, and cādanī, bhāti and sācurī in B, and instances where ko and kō and nasalized and unnasalized morphemes have been confused<sup>(12)</sup>). Apart from omitting scribal indication of conditioned nasalization the transcription follows B, though it should be borne in mind that while there is a tendency for long vowels to develop a nasal resonance the resultant forms are irregularly distributed and it is hardly possible to distinguish between spelling and pronunciation<sup>(13)</sup>.

### 3.3.5.2 Conditioned nasalization

Both A and B frequently indicate the regressive and progressive nasalization of vowels in a nasal consonantal environment. Apart from occurrences in A of the spellings kadāma and bhīnya (a variant in 70.10) and in both manuscripts of vrāhmādika and dhānya, conditioned nasalization is indicated only for long vowels. Regressive nasalization of -ā- before -m- and -n- is indicated in about seventy-five per cent. of instances in B and about seventy per cent. in A, while progressive nasalization of -ā- following -m- is indicated in slightly less than a half of the instances in B and slightly less than a third of those in A. Progressive nasalization

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12. R.S. McGregor, p.126, has noted confusion of nasalized and non-nasalized vowels, even where the distinction could be morphemically significant.

13. As noted by J. Bloch, p.46

of -ā- in the prefix mahā~ is indicated by B in fifteen occurrences out of nineteen and by A in five. Regressive nasalization of -e- is indicated for most occurrences of prema/-u, as well as for the only occurrence of dhenu and some of benatī and bena/-u. Regressive nasalization of -o- occurs in komala and roma, but not in romāvalī where the stress falls on the second syllable. Regressive nasalization of -o- before -n- is shown in most instances, while progressive nasalization of -o- following -n- is occasionally indicated, particularly for māno where it is shown for about a quarter of the occurrences in both manuscripts. Nasalization of -ā- falling between -m- and -n- is indicated in slightly more than half of the occurrences in B and in about a third of those in A. The scribes of D, E and F do not indicate conditioned nasalization while C generally does (though not for mahā~).

Where indicated by the scribes conditioned nasalization seems to reflect the tendencies of regional pronunciation, since in Lahnda regressive nasalization is virtually compulsory and progressive nasalization of a final vowel is quite regular except when it is stressed<sup>(14)</sup>. In principle conditioned nasalization is not indicated in the edited transcription since it is not phonemic and the exact degree of nasalization must have varied from speaker to speaker. However, all occurrences indicated by the scribes are given among the variant readings and an exception is made for māhī and nāhī/nāhina since nasalization of -ā- is distinct in Braj pronunciation and is frequently indicated in Braj manuscripts. The same applies to mē and mō, but the variant spelling mai (also used for the nominative of the first person singular pronoun) is not written with anusvāra, perhaps simply because the scribes were not in the habit of placing it above <i>->.

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14. H. Bahri, pp. 61-2.

### 3.3.5.3 Nasalization resulting from vocalization of intervocalic -m-

From the variant spellings kuvari, kūara and kuari it is apparent that intervocalic -m- may be replaced by -v- (representing[  $\beta > \tilde{w}/w$  ] ) or disappear leaving nasalization of a neighbouring vowel. Where A has the spellings sīvā, sīvā and sīvā ( from sīman-, the latter variant also occurring in D), B has only the form sīvā (cf. Panjabi sīvā vs. Hindi sīwā). Nasalization is indicated for -ā- in derivatives from śyāmala- in all but five out of seventeen occurrences in B, but the non-nasalized forms are not given in the transcription since they are not standard in Braj, though Panjabi and Sindhi derivatives may have -ā-.

### 3.3.5.4 Nasalization of stressed -ā-

The stressed -ā of verb stems is sometimes written with nasalization when followed by the -v- which is normally inserted before terminations. As with conditioned nasalization caused by the presence of -m- or -n-, the scribes, rather than transmitting Ur-text orthography, may simply be reflecting a tendency in their pronunciation to nasalize -ā- when followed by -v-, though in some cases nasalization may be attributed to the presence of a nasalized termination (e.g. jāvē, jāvō). Nasalization of -ā- in this context is not given in the transcription in view of its sporadic appearance.

Stressed -ā- is also nasalized in some instances where it is followed by another vowel. Where such nasalization appears to be conditioned by a nasalized termination (e.g. āē 26.3) it is not transcribed, while other occurrences are given in the transcription since they occur as rhymes ( e.g. āī etc. in padas 25 & 26, and thāu, thāhī in 109.3 & 31.3) or may represent a standard Braj form (e.g. pāī, parachāī and gāī, though the latter is more typical of Sindhi/Lahnda).

### 3.3.5.5 Nasalization of pronouns

Nasalized and non-nasalized variants of the pronoun tū and the oblique third person forms vā/u(v)ā, jā and tā occur in A and B.

As with stressed -ā- the nasalization here may reflect the scribes'

regional pronunciation<sup>(15)</sup>. The edited transcription follows the orthography of B, even where tū and tū̃ both occur in the same pada (viz. 90) and where it has tū against the nasalized variant in A and D (18.3). Nasalization of the oblique forms seems more likely to occur with the postpositions ko/kī/ke and kō than with the emphatic suffix ~hī.

When used adverbially the oblique forms aise, jaise, taise and kaise are not nasalized apart from two adverbial occurrences of kaisē in A where nasalization may be held to derive from the Middle Indo-Aryan termination -ahim (28.3, 120.15)<sup>(16)</sup>.

### 3.3.5.6 Nasalization of noun and adjective terminations

Final -e is frequently nasalized, a feature which in some cases may be attributed to rhyme or the scribe's tendency to nasalize peripheral vowels (cf. 3.3.9). However, in many cases such instances may be morphemic, for example locative hīē rhyming with the nasalized absolutive kīē (115.1/2). Other instances of locatives with nasalized -ē are kumjē, thorē, himḍorē and palanē (the latter arguably an example of conditioned nasalization). A has two instances of nasalization of masculine direct plurals, viz. nyārē and cārē. One of the occurrences of kaunē may be due to conditioned nasalization or an example of the Apabhraṃśa instrumental termination<sup>(17)</sup>.

### 3.3.5.7 Nasalization of adverbial terminations

The adverbs pāchē and nīcē occur regularly with nasalization, as does āgē apart from one instance where both A and B agree on āge. The adverb tahā occurs several times with the variant forms taha and tahā and the rhyming form tāhī<sup>ṽ</sup> (for metrical reduction to tahā cf. V.2.2). The interrogative kahā/kāhī

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15. cf. 3.3.9. G.A.Grierson, L.S.I. vol. VIII part I p.259 gives tū as a typically Lahnda form.

16. R. S. McGrégor, p. 140.

17. cf. H. Jacobi 1918 section 5.8 p.27; in his edited text instrumental singular terminations always have -ē/-ī.



occurs consistently with nasalization. The relative adverb of manner jiu is only once written with nasalization (cf. modern Hindi jiyō). For kaisē cf. 3.3.5.5.

### 3.3.5.8 Nasalization of suffixes and postpositions

The transcription includes the few occurrences of nasalization of the absolute suffix -ke which are found in B, but not those of the emphatic suffix -hū since nasalization occurs only sporadically in A and once in D.

The postpositions tē and sō are nasalized in almost all instances but lo, normally nasalized in Braj, is found with nasalization only for one occurrence in A. Apart from a few insignificant scribal errors nasalization regularly differentiates the direct object marker kō from the genitive postposition ko.

### 3.3.5.9 Nasalization of verb terminations

Nasalization of the -e termination of the third person of the present tense is found with sixty per cent. of the occurrences in A and twenty per cent. of those in B. The reason for the smaller proportion in the latter is that the scribe has on the whole used -ē only with plural subjects. The two scribes are normally in agreement over occurrences of nasalization with plural subjects and use either -e or -ē when the subject is Kṛṣṇa or Rādhā. The other scribes agree with B in reserving -ē for plural and honorific contexts. In the transcription an instance in B of -ē with a singular subject is emended (116.16) but others are retained since they occur as nasalized rhymes. The transcription rejects A's instances of nasalization of the imperative termination of kīje and dīje but includes C's reading -ahī for the older form of the third person plural present tense (used for rhymes in pada 3), since the -ahī occurring in A and B is strictly a singular form.

The third person singular and plural of the substantive verb are spelt indiscriminately as hai/haī/he/hē, the forms used bearing no relation either to the metre or the gender and number of the

subject<sup>(18)</sup>. In the edited transcription the standard forms hai for the singular and haĩ for the plural are given, even though the scribes indicated nasalization relatively infrequently (for approximately six per cent. of all occurrences in B and twenty per cent. of those in A). The other scribes have no instances of nasalization with a singular subject but are inconsistent in their indication of plural nasalization.

The first person singular termination of the present tense is either -õ or -u with nasalization indicated in the preceding vowel (e.g. ǰău, lěhu). There are some instances of -õ instead of imperative -o, mainly occurring in A apart from one which is also found in B (101.4) and is duly emended in the transcription.

There are some examples of nasalization of the -e termination of perfectives when they are used in an absolutive sense (e.g. kĩě, dekhyě), a usage which is generally agreed upon by A and B but is not found in the other manuscripts. The spelling lĩně is retained in 29.7 since the nasalization may be considered morphemic with absolutive force rather than as an instance of conditioned nasalization.

### 3.3.5.10 Spontaneous nasalization

In addition to the occurrences of nasalization discussed above there are others which may be simply the result of careless copying, contamination, or spontaneous nasalization occurring in the scribes' dialect. The latter probably accounts for the frequent nasalization of peripheral vowels<sup>(19)</sup> as in atisě, jasodă, triyă, nĩkě, perě, himdorě and grĩvă, (also spelt as grĩvā in B and grĩvā in A). Some instances

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18. e.g. 41.1 and pada 38 where different spellings are used without any change of subject. R.S. McGregor, pp.162-3, has noted that faint realisation of nasalization in unstressed positions led to scribal confusion in Indrajit's text. For -ai vs. -e spellings cf. above 3.3.3.
19. A typical feature of Trans-Indus dialects, as noted by C. Shackle, 1976 p.17.

of nasalization reflect the common tendency of modern vernaculars to nasalise long vowels in general (as in A's hōta and B's khōbhī), especially in the vicinity of a sibilant, r(1) or a palatal<sup>(20)</sup>, which may account for the spellings prāta, lāchamī, sātha, sōca and saravamsa<sup>(21)</sup>.

### 3.4 Consonants

#### 3.4.1 k > g

Occurrences of tadbhava <g> for tatsama <k> are agreed upon by all scribes (e.g. āgara, naraga, bigasi and bhagati). One dubious form is the spelling pamgaja, which is perhaps no more than a shared miscopying since both A and B give the tatsama form pamkaja for the other occurrence of the word.

#### 3.4.2 kh, ks, ś

The graph <ś> occurs as the first element of a conjunct consonant in tatsama contexts (viz. <śṇ, śṭ>) and intervocalically in ādipurusa, dhanusa (also in the variants dhanasa and dhanisa, cf. 3.3.2.5), bhūsana, bhesa, viśe, viśeṣī, vriṣabhāna/vrṣabhāna, saṭu, harasu, harasata and as an alternative to <s> in some occurrences of baras-. Pronunciation as historic [ś] is doubtful, at least in intervocalic contexts, since viśeṣī is used as an internal rhyme with dekhī, barasana rhymes with words ending in -arasana and four occurrences of bhūsana are spelt as bhūksana in B. All occurrences of [k<sup>h</sup>] are also written with <ś>, except for a single occurrence of the standard Devanagari graph <kh> in D for pakhāvaja (a variant for paśāu in 30.3).

Where verb stems ending with [k<sup>h</sup>] occur with the perfective terminations -ye/-yo the scribe of B uses the graph <kṣ> (e.g. dekṣe) which only occurs in its proper Sanskrit context in

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20. A phenomenon noted by J. Bloch, p.46, which he suggests might be traced back to Middle Indian

21. = sarvasva, perhaps simply ×vamśa, though G.A. Grierson in JRAS 1922 p.387, gives the comparable development: svabhāvasya > sahāvassa > sahāvamsa.

naksatra (spelt niksatra). For perfectives containing -khy- A has either <kṣ> or, as a less frequent alternative, <ṣy> (also used in C and D) and for one occurrence of dekhyo (83.1) has a conjunct <kṣy>. The graphs <kṣ> and <ṣy> thus represent [k<sup>h</sup> + j], the glide probably having a tendency to approximate to [ʃ] (22), though in the spelling bhūksana <kṣ> is probably no more than an orthographic hyper-Sanskritization based on a [k<sup>h</sup>] pronunciation.

The above data imply that <ṣ> eclipsed an archetypal /k<sup>h</sup>/ graph which was akin to Kaithi  $\mathcal{K}$ , Gurumukhi  $\mathcal{K}$  and Gujarati  $\mathcal{K}$  (23). The spelling baraṣ- represents a Sanskritization of baras- or, for the scribes at least, the variant form barakh- since the perfective is spelt as barakṣe. In the edited text <ṣ> is transcribed as -kh- wherever it represents historic /k<sup>h</sup>/ and as -ṣ- where it represents tatsama /ṣ/, even though the most likely intended pronunciation was [k<sup>h</sup>]. Similarly <kṣ> is transcribed as -khy- except for its occurrence in naksatra.

### 3.4.3 j<y

All scribes acknowledge the prevalence of tadbhava <j> over tatsama <y>, the only exception being yuga yuga in B (85.19/24)

### 3.4.4 Retroflex consonants

In A and B /ḍ/ is represented by  $\mathcal{D}$  or  $\mathcal{D}$ , as in the other manuscripts, or by the graph normally used for /dh/. There is a discernible tendency for the less frequently employed graph  $\mathcal{D}$  to be used in contexts where the consonant was articulated as a flap, since both scribes use it for piḥḍe, phoḍyo, baḍa and jaḍata (occurring with -arata rhymes) which are pronounced with flaps

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22. Spellings with <ṣy> replacing <kṣ> have been noted by R.S. McGregor, p.124, viz. raṣyā and vrṣya, implying palatalization of the retroflex sibilant.

23. cf. T. Mukherjee and J.C. Wright, p.300, for examples of graphic confusion arising from Devanagari adaptation of Kaithi features.

in modern Hindi, and in B it occurs with sughaḍa, which is elsewhere spelt as sughara (24).

B substitutes <ḍh> for <ḍ> wherever it is preceded by the homorganic nasal, as does W for pakhamḍa and A in all instances apart from a few kumḍala and mamḍala spellings. B also uses <ḍh> regularly for umad-, ud(ā)-, chād-, ḍagaru, ḍora/-i, ḍol-, ladetī/-e and lāḍa laḍā-, while A sometimes has spellings with <ḍ>. Words containing /ḍh/ are normally written with the correct graph apart from the use of <ḍ> in B for caḍhi and by all scribes except W for driḍha. The scribe of A once writes ḍ(h)ār- with <ṭh>, and also has udhī and udhāī for uṭhī and uṭhāī (54.3 and 126.4). For one of several occurrences of the verb tār-/tāl- A uses <ḍh> and B <ṭh> (13.5).

Confusion over these graphs may have arisen as a result of the absence of /ḍh/ in Panjabi, and in some instances may be due to uncertainty over how to indicate dialectal pronunciations with an implosive retroflex. The spelling of Siraiiki [ḍ] with <ḍ> in dede (Sir. ḍēde) and with <ḍ> in asādā may account for occurrences of the variant spellings vadā, vada/bada (with ॐ) and badha for the adjective derived from vadra- (Hindi barā).

Where short -u follows retroflex consonants the scribe of B often gives a metrically inappropriate -ū, and whereas the scribe of A manages to differentiate between <du> and <du>, B has a graph resembling A's <du> which serves for both (25).

Standard Braj forms are given in the edited transcription for the instances of graphic confusion indicated above, except in the case of the word dhitonā/dhatonā (which, rather than being simply mis-spellings of the usual dithaunā/-onā, may be phonetic spellings of variant forms) and the verb dhār- which is an acceptable variant for the dār-/dāl- which may originally have been intended.

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24. C. Shackleton, 1976 p.21, notes that in modern Siraiiki the contrast between /ṛ/ and /r/ is strong in medial positions, but that there is no such opposition in Hindu speech, differentiation being a major shibboleth with Muslim speech.

25. Compare A f.88<sup>r</sup> lines 11 and 13 with B f.26<sup>r</sup> last line and 26<sup>v</sup> line 2, as reproduced below, Appendix III.

Apart from one instance where A has aruna for B's aruṇa, both scribes agree on occurrences of <n> and <ṇ> in words which are optionally spelt with either. The other scribes sometimes give <n> where A and B have <ṇ> (viz. E: mani, and jhunakārī; C,F,W: gunānavāda). Both A and B spell mrṇāla as mrḍāla, an error not incorporated in the edited transcription.

### 3.4.5 b and v

All scribes exhibit varying degrees of inconsistency over the use of <b> and <v>, either as a consequence of approximation in pronunciation (cf. -avana/-abana rhymes in pada 66) or as a result of their tendency to Sanskritize the spelling. The scribe of B, with his preference for <b> spellings, is more consistent than the scribe of A, who has to some extent restored historic <v>, and those of C, D and E who have given a relatively high proportion of <v> spellings. Despite the scribe of A's tendency to restore <v> he disagrees with B by writing standard tadbhava <b> in savaya and vada and gives some examples of non-historic <b> (viz. tribhabana, taba, naba, nabelī and baijamṭī). In one instance, with the word bivāna, A's spelling appears more acceptable than B's bibāna in view of Hindi bewan and Old Awadhi bevānū.

The general phonological principle underlying the <b> and <v> spellings is the tendency for [v] to approximate to [b] in stressed syllables, while in unstressed, intervocalic and final positions, and where it is inserted before verbal terminations, it approximates to [w], hence the prevalence of archetypal initial <b> in B and the absence of such spellings as \*gabana, \*ṭeba and \*upajābata.

B's spellings are adopted in the edited transcription, apart from instances of initial <vr> where occasional occurrences of <br> instead of <vr/vr̥> and the use of <vr> for brahmādika, suggest that an earlier scribe, while intending [br], did not clearly differentiate between <vr> and <br>. On the assumption that a tadbhava pronunciation was intended (e.g. brikhabhāna for vṛṣabhānu and brimḍābana for vṛndāvana), spellings with <vr> are transcribed as br, the line under the initial b- indicating editorial emendation.

The scribes generally agree on occurrences of variant forms with and without intervocalic <v> (avara vs. aura, kavana vs. kauna) apart from the unmetrical variant pakhāvaja given for pakhāu by A and D. Only C offers an example of restoration of <sv>, viz. svarūpa for the sarūpa preferred by A and B. On two occasions A and B differ over the use of the variant forms kamala and kavala, in which cases the transcription adopts B's preferred variant with <v> .

### 3.4.6 y

A and B generally agree on loss of historic <y> (e.g. jai, naina, saina, nāikā, niranau, rahasa and kanūā in 85.1 as opposed to the repeated kānūyā elsewhere in the same poem) and on insertion of non-historic <y> (e.g. utyama, nidhyāni and bhalyē), though A has additional examples of extraneous <y> in jarāya (B: jarāu) and one occurrence each of hasyi and teryo. B gives syāma for sāma, a lexical error also found once in A. They agree on the presence of <y> in gāiyana and one occurrence of coyā (for covā, elsewhere spelt by both as coā), but A once gives ujayārī for B's ujiārī.

The scribes of C, D and E prefer the Sanskritic spelling rahasya and insert intervocalic <y> before the terminations of verbs which have a perfective stem ending in -ī (e.g. dīyo, līye), a usage found occasionally in A but not in B (apart from the rhyming form kīya). The -y- of the perfective terminations is sometimes omitted after consonants giving rise to ambiguity as to whether a perfective or present/subjunctive is to be understood (e.g. pare 35.3, bole 54.4), while in one instance the imperative -īe termination is modified to -ye for the purposes of rhyme (sidhārye, 42.3). For the metrical value of -y- cf. V.2.2, p.174).

### 3.4.7 r and l

A and B are in agreement over occurrences of words which have variable <r> and <l> spellings (himḍole vs. himḍorē, gvārani vs. gvāla), but A gives the Sanskritic caritra for B's carita. Cases of omission of <r> in A and insertion of it in B have produced the unacceptable variant readings kīdā (4.22, 56.5) and krāmti (1.2 and 22).

3.4.8 ś

tatsama <ś> has in all instances been replaced by <s> apart from the survival of the conjunct forms <śr> in all manuscripts and <śy> in E for one occurrence of śyāma.

For <ṣ> cf. 3.4.2

3.4.9 h

The scribes are neither consistent nor in agreement with each other over the presence of <h> in ca(h)ū and disagree over the spelling of the imperative termination -ahu/-o. The -ahu termination is more common in B, which suggests that it was the standard archetypal form. A and D write -ahu but also give variant readings with -o, the only form found in the other manuscripts. In one instance an occurrence of milo in A and B requires metrical emendation (105.i.iv).

B spells the absolute and third person singular present tense of jā- as either jāhi or jāi (the latter being the only spelling found in the other manuscripts) and both A and B use the variant spellings kāna/kānha and kānaro/kānharo (though the former is used in the text and the latter occurs only as a variant for designating the rāga in which some of the padas are to be sung). A occasionally uses the spellings mālhā and līlhā and once omits <h> in cahyo. B's orthography is followed apart from an occurrence of Panjabi e for Braj hai (73.1).

3.4.10 Loss of aspiration

While acambo, kasumbe and istati may be acceptable tadbhava forms showing loss of aspiration of [<sup>h</sup>t] and [<sup>h</sup>b], the form balabadra has been emended since it is probably no more than a scribal error. The same may also apply to sapata and kaustava.

3.4.11 Geminates

The scribes of A and B write utyama for uttama in both occurrences of the word, W also having the spelling for the second occurrence where C has uttama and F the unmetrical utama. The form is perhaps explainable with reference to Sindhi utyō.



The adjective bhalla- when used as an exclamation to express blessing is spelt bhalyē. An instance of metrically superfluous and non-etymological gemination occurs with A's spelling dhamddhā. For the metrical value of geminates cf. V.2.4.

### 3.4.12 Clusters

The metre sometimes determines whether two consonants should be written separately, as a conjunct or whether one of them should be omitted as a scribal Sanskritization (cf.V.2.4) but the gana structure of the moric metres is usually free enough for conjunct consonants or separate consonants to be equally admissible. A few tatsama conjuncts are retained or restored by the scribes, but without unanimity. A has adbhuta for six out of eleven occurrences, a spelling which does not occur in B but is found in the other manuscripts, and writes sapta for the usual sapata in one out of three occurrences (a spelling E also uses elsewhere). The scribes of A, B and W agree on visvāsa where C and F have visavāsa, which seems to be the only archetypal use of a conjunct apart from mūrchita, spelt with <rch> in B for both occurrences while A once and C twice have the metrically unsatisfactory mūrachita. The conjunct <gy> occurs for tatsama <jñ> in gyāna.

All scribes tend to write -r- above a following consonant to form a non-tatsama conjunct, but nowhere is the resultant long syllable obligatory for the metre, even though cases of scribal agreement suggest that such conjunct formations may have been present in older manuscripts. B alone writes a metrically suitable nirtata, but also has the unmetrical spelling urjhānī. The same manuscript also has barni for one occurrence of the word, and both A and B agree on conjunct <rn> in giridharna, where D has separate consonants. A and B are reciprocally at variance over occurrences of dharani and dharni in a repeated line (1.1/6). The only other occurrence of a non-tatsama conjunct in B is nirsike (1.10), while A has four instances of nirṣ- spellings elsewhere and C, D and E agree on nirṣa as a variant (107.7). Other occurrences of conjuncts with -r- are found only in A, viz. carna/carnō, tarphata, parsapara (also as paraspara) and biharni (possibly metrical if an 18+6 syllabic structure is intended for 104.1)

Occasionally A gives a conjunct spelling which is also found in other manuscripts, viz. one occurrence out of fourteen of sarda (23.3, a spelling used once elsewhere in D, 22.5, six occurrences out of nine of parma- (endorsed twice by C and D, while elsewhere C and F have the conjunct as a variant spelling), and narga sarga (128.7, where F agrees on the use of conjuncts while C has sarga narka and B and W naraga svaraga).

Since non-tatsama conjunction of -r- with a following consonant is of no appreciable metrical benefit and appears to be no more than a sporadic variant spelling (reflecting the tendency for unstressed medial [ə] to become zero), its occurrences in B and the other manuscripts are not given in the edited transcription.

V

METRE

V.1 Various moric and syllabic metres occur in the Rāsa māna ke pada but, apart from a few short sequences of poems in the same or similar metre (11-19, 30-32, 62-66, 67-72, 115-117), there is no pattern to their occurrence and little correlation between metre, rāga and subject matter. Readily identifiable metres are listed in Appendix II and some of their distinctive features are discussed below (sections 3.1 and 3.2). The chanda poems (nos. 1-4, 55, 85) and others which have indeterminate or irregular metre, are dealt with separately (3.3 and 3.4). The editorial procedure for the treatment of recurrent metrical and orthographic inconsistencies is explained in the following section, while in some specific instances suggestions for metrical emendation are given in notes which follow the text of individual poems. The irregular first lines of several poems are transcribed verbatim except where slight emendation gives them a metrical value which corresponds to that of the feet of the subsequent lines. Spacing is used in the transcription to indicate caesurae, even in cases where they interrupt the syntax.

V.2 Metrical irregularities

2.1 Interpolations and omissions

Words or phrases occurring in both or all available manuscripts which are proven by scansion to be metrically superfluous, and therefore presumably interpolated, have been placed between round brackets. In a few instances a word or phrase which the scribes appear to have omitted is supplied between square brackets in order to restore the metre.

In some cases the scribes have apparently inserted words in an attempt to clarify the syntax or make the meaning more specific. Examples of such interpolations are mohi in 4.9 and 20.2, tū and

tere in 22.1/2, siri in 33.3, subha in 49.1, ladetī, and mohi in 61.6, piya in 66.3 and māno and dui in 74.3. Other instances of interpolation seem to be the result of conflation of stock phrases, for example (rasa) keli krīdā in 4.22, (kachu) ganī na jāve mohi in 2.9 and perhaps (mata) gaja cāla in B only in 47.2. There are also two instances of metrically superfluous repetition, namely thorī (thorī) in 31.3 and nirakhi (nirakhi) in 99.4.

Some occurrences of hai/haī with imperfective participles are metrically superfluous (cf. 12.8, 16.5, 17.4, 24.4, 28.6) and in two cases its insertion may help to improve the metre (117.9<sup>a</sup> and 120.9<sup>a</sup>). The metre is improved by omission of the oblique plural termination in 88.2 and by its insertion in 108.3. The honorifics śrī and jīu/jī do not appear to have been interpolated except perhaps in 75.4, 80.4 and 108.1. In two instances the poet's chāpa is given as kevalajana where the metre would prefer simply kevala (29.4, 68.12). In some instances the scribes have copied the interjections rī/re and, in first lines, vocatives such as māī rī (103.1), aho tuma (101.1) and ho lāla (127.1) which must have been employed in sung performance to help the phrasing fit the rhythmic cycle. Similarly the scribes have in some cases repeated words occurring in the first line which would have been used as a refrain, namely mohana dekhye in 47.1, kanaie cetaku lāyā in B after 68.2, and merī rasanā in C and F after each line of pada 128.

## 2.2 Metrical irregularities in vowel and semivowel orthography

There are frequent occurrences of metrically erroneous spellings with the vowels -ā, -ū and medial and final -ī (for <ai> and <a(h)u> vs. <e> and <o> cf. IV.3.3.3). Emendation of such inaccuracies, where they are found in both or all available manuscripts, is indicated by a line underneath the vowel, thus baraha (11.2) denotes scribal barahā where the metre requires the reading baraha, and pītāmbara (114.4) that the scribal -a- should be read as -ā-.

The only word besides barahā which is written with -ā for -a is tahā, which may or may not have nasalization indicated for the final vowel. Only once do A and B agree on the metrically appropriate spelling taha (91.2), and only twice does A have the required periambic spelling (4.24, 107.9). Elsewhere all of the scribes write a final long vowel regardless of metrical requirements.

Scribal -ī for metrically appropriate -i is more common, especially with nāhī, baranī and kāchanī. The feminine form of the perfective of the substantive verb may be shortened to bhai. The word thai (a bola term used when calling out dance steps) occurs in various combinations with the word tata and may have a metrical value of either two syllables or two or three instants. Only once (10.1) does the form given by A and B fit the metre, while elsewhere the spellings thai, thai and thai are used more or less indiscriminately. Spellings with -ī predominate which, together with the fact that the spelling thai does not occur in B, suggests that a disyllabic pronunciation was intended, but with variable metrical value, as is evident from two occurrences of the spelling thai thai (3.27, 38.1) where metre requires a total value of five instants.

Medial <ī> occurs regularly in pīya, jīya (<jīvā) and jīu (<jīva) in all manuscripts, regardless of whether the metre requires the long vowel to be shortened. However, the form pīu as a variant for pīya is always metrically appropriate, and the conjunction jiu is spelt consistently with metrical -i-. In a few cases the honorific jīu requires monosyllabic pronunciation, in which case the transcription gives jīu (sometimes the form jī is found). Metrically unsuitable -ī- spellings are also found before -y- (e.g. kamariyā, maiya, perhaps gāiyana and probably the -īyā rhymes of pada 97) and in the

word spelt as ābīra/-u<sup>(1)</sup>. Medial -ī- before -e and -o is also liable to require metrical shortening, though in the majority of cases it is the final vowel which should be counted short. Only in A is a metrically appropriate short vowel spelling found in this context (viz. dījie 107.3).

The indefinite pronoun spelt consistently as koū sometimes has to be read as kou. There are also the variants koī (which in 123.2 should be read as kōi) and ko which probably represents a contraction in the same way that do occurs as a variant for dōū. This numeral is spelt variously by the scribes as do, daū, daū, daū, dui, duha, dou and, most commonly doū, with dāū occurring once in B as a presumed error (100.4). While the doū spelling is in some cases suitable for the metre it mainly requires either a trochaic or periambic value, transcribed as dou and dōū respectively even where scribes other than B offer a more satisfactory spelling (A: daū in 1.17, daū in 3.13 and do in 4.19; C: dau in 3.5), since their alternatives are probably secondary. B's spelling doū, even though the long vowels are sometimes inappropriate, at least conveys the need for a disyllabic pronunciation which seems preferable for the cadence. The alternative form dui, wherever it occurs in B, is appropriate for the metre. Apart from dōū and kōū the only other word which requires reduction of scribal -ū is tēū, an emphatic form of the direct plural correlative pronoun. For occurrences in B of -ū following retroflex consonants cf. IV.3.4.4.

The variant spellings of the word ujārī/ujiārī/ujayārī are not consistently differentiated in accordance with metrical requirements, thus the spellings uj[i]ārī (54.2) and uj(i)ārī (66.2) are given in the transcription as suggested modifications of scribal orthography.

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1. Metre requires -i- for both occurrences. J. Platts and HSS give the spelling abīra, but in N. Vājapeyī's edition of Sūrasāgara, pada 3472, metrically appropriate short and long vowel spellings occur in consecutive lines. BBSK gives both spellings, defining the one with -i- specifically as a white-coloured powder thrown during festivals in temples of the Vallabha sampradāya. None of the dictionaries records an ā-spelling; the spelling hābīra occurs elsewhere in B, cf. III.2 note 31.

In some cases it appears that -y- should be given independent syllabic value (e.g. three syllables for pyāri in 37.2, pyāre in 39.4 and pyāro or syāma in 65.1). A disyllabic tadbhava pronunciation is required for the only occurrence of udaya.

The oblique case form of the remote demonstrative pronoun is spelt with initial <v-> , <u-> or <uv-> for which pronunciation as [w] must have been intended since initial u- and uv- have no syllabic value in scansion. Occurrences of the latter are transcribed as <sup>u</sup>v-. See below, 2.5, for -v- and -y- as the second element in a medial cluster.

### 2.3 Anusvāra

When used to indicate a homorganic nasal anusvāra normally gives the syllable in which it occurs a value of two instants, whether the preceding vowel be long or short. Instances in which a syllable containing a short vowel followed by anusvāra has a value of only one instant are indicated in the transcription by the use of a tilde for the usual -ṃ-. Such is often the case with the words aṃga, ānaṃda, naṃda (when combined with naṃdana) and saṃgi). Where anusvāra occurs twice in adjacent words either of the two syllables containing it may be counted short. In such cases the transcription indicates metrical shortening according to the cadence or the gana structure of the foot (e.g. aṃga āga in 2.27 but āgi aṃgi in 11.10). Most instances of scribal omission of anusvāra in B and D occur with syllables which have a value of one instant rather than two.

### 2.4 Geminates

Occasionally in A, and more frequently in B, a single consonant is given where metre would prefer a geminate in order to show that a preceding syllable containing a short vowel has a value of two instants. In such cases A's spellings with geminates are adopted for the transcription and a double consonant is supplied when it is absent in both manuscripts (cf. pal(l)ava, praphul(l)ita, bha[c.]cha, mat(t)a, ma(d)dhi, and laj(j)ita. Some of

A's geminates are metrically redundant, which implies that such spellings are as much a symptom of the scribe's tendency to Sanskritize as of his circumspection with regard to scansion, for it is likely that his predecessors were not in the habit of writing double consonants<sup>(2)</sup>.

## 2.5 Clusters

Syllables with short vowels followed by a cluster of which the second element is -r- have a value of one instant, except in a few cases where the syllable is to be counted long (viz. viśrāma 21.4, samudra 56.6 & 60.6, patra 70.7 and bajitra in 58.5, a word elsewhere to be read as a tribrach, which may be an argument for preferring D's variant bajamtra). A syllable containing a short vowel followed by a cluster of which the second element is -y- is normally counted long, but optionally so in the case of -hy-, (probable exceptions are abhyāsu 128.3 and dhanyu 125.1). Occurrences of the spelling nitya with a value of two instants in 110.4 and 128.5 (as given in B, C and F) suggest that the -y- is a Sanskritization, since elsewhere periambic nita and trochaic nitya are differentiated.

The combination -sv- produces long syllables in asva and for one of two occurrences of visvāsu (69.6), but not in the phrase sāsa usvāsa where the spelling is probably a Sanskritization of usāsa.

In 88.4 niratata is to be read as nirtata, a spelling which is used elsewhere (53.1) for a verb borrowed directly from Sanskrit (cf. nrtata in the couplet quoted above, III.2 note 27). For -dbh- and conjuncts with -r- as first element cf. IV.3.4.12.

## 2.6 -ē and -ō

Many occurrences of -e and -o are to be counted short (indicated in the transcription by a short vowel sign), an option permissible according to the usual rules of scansion.

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2. J. Bloch, p.89, remarking on the persistence of geminates in Lahnda, Panjabi and Sindhi, cites aji (< adya) which in Sindhi poetry keeps its long scansion.



These vowels are often to be counted short when they occur as perfective terminations  $(-(y)e/-yo)$ , even when they are nasalized and used as absolutives. With verb stems ending in  $-ah$ , however, the vowels may retain their long value because the conjunct  $-hy-$  does not necessarily require a preceding syllable with a short vowel to have a value of two instants. The direct masculine plural termination may be shortened, as well as locative  $-e$ , even when written with nasalization (as in pāchě). Final  $-o$  is shortened for some occurrences as a masculine direct singular termination and perhaps also in jo (78.6). Short initial  $e-$  is found only in the emphatic form of the near demonstrative pronoun (ěhi).

Where two or more vowels in a phrase may optionally be counted short the transcription indicates short vowels on the basis of the gaṇa structure or cadence (thus āě dou rather than āe dōu in 3.14 and bharyě āe rather than bharye āě in 3.18). In some cases two or more alternatives appear equally acceptable, as in 55.7 for example where one may read liě brimḍābana if the foot is to conform to the only gaṇa structure applicable to the other lines of the poem (2+2+3+5+4), or lie brīḍābana if it is to conform to all lines except the nineteenth. One may also read lie, but then only line 19 will be found to have a similar gaṇa structure.

### V.3 Distinctive features of certain metres

#### V.3.1 Syllabic metres

##### 8 + 6 (lacārī)

Poems written in this metre contain between seven and seventeen rhyming couplets, are all assigned to rāga Kidārā and either deal with māna or simply describe the beauty of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. Four of the poems are referred to by the scribes as lacārī or licārī<sup>(3)</sup>. The metre of these poems is relatively well preserved by the scribes, two of them (nos. 115 and 124) requiring no metrical emendation.

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3. HSS defines the term simply as 'a kind of song' and Brhat hindī kośa as a kind of village song current in some parts of Bihar. 'Dvijendra', p.156, refers to a similar Bengali metre called payāra.

In pada 9 four of the lines have an identical arrangement of long and short syllables but, apart from the fact that most of the lines of these poems end with a spondee, there is no fixed arrangement of ganas.

8 + 8 + 11

This metre, found only in pada 108, has foot-end rhyme for the first two feet and a third foot which is further divisible into a 5 + 6 structure due to repetition of kāhe na followed by an imperfective participle. In both A and B it appears that the order of the feet in the first line has been reversed.

(8 + 8) + (8 + 5-8) (kavitta or ghanāksarī)

The kavitta has four lines, the first half of each line having sixteen syllables, often divisible into two feet of eight syllables which may have foot-end rhyme, followed by another foot of between thirteen and sixteen syllables which may be further divisible into two feet of which the first has eight syllables. The arrangement of long and short syllables is not fixed and several kavitta found in the Rāsa māna ke pada have regular scansion preserved only in the last two lines.

Most of the kavitta have a fourth foot of either six or seven syllables at the end of each line. The best preserved examples of those with a last foot of six syllables are numbers 63 and 105.i; others which have the same structure, allowing for emendations and a few irregularities, are numbers 29, 39, 53, 62, 66 and 101. Five of these eight kavitta have a spondee rhyme and the others a tribrach; number 53 has an extra first line which has either been interpolated or was intended as an introductory couplet. Number 64 is the best preserved example of a kavitta with a last foot of seven syllables although, unlike others with the lines of the same length (apart from number 65 which may be included in this category if the mai rhyme is read as a monosyllable), it has no foot-end rhymes. Numbers 36, 65 and 73 have metrical deficiencies only in their first lines, while in numbers 43 and 100 only the fourth line scans satisfactorily. Two other poems which may originally have been intended to have an 8 + 8 + 8 + 6/7 structure are numbers 48 and 75.

Two poems which appear to have a fourth foot of eight syllables (with periambic rhyme) are numbers 8 and 86, though in the former the first line is two syllables shorter than the rest, and in the latter one has to read gaura with three syllables, phailyo with two syllables, and adopt the variant reading vrimdāvipina.

9 + 7

Found only in pada 109, this unusual syllabic metre seems more readily applicable than a moric metre with feet of (12-14) + 10 instants.

V.3.2 Moric metres

12 + 10 (kundala)

There are three consecutive padas with this metre (33-35) which are all assigned to rāga Mārū and have four rhyming couplets ending with a spondee and an irregular first line. Another pada, also assigned to Mārū in B, which was probably intended to have the same structure is number 20.

12 + 12 + 12 + 10 (haripriyā)

The two padas (10 and 46) composed in this metre each have four lines with three feet consisting of four three mātrā ganās followed by a fourth with the gana structure (3 + 3) + 4. Both padas have foot-end rhymes and a spondee at the end of each line. The first line of pada 46 is irregular in having the structure 12 + 10 + 12 + 10, which may be analysed as a rhyming couplet with two feet in each line.

14 + 10 (rūpamālā)

The only pada in this metre is number 7 which has six lines, the first being a refrain of fourteen instants. The first foot of all the lines may be divided into ganās of 3 + 4 + 3 + 4 instants and the second into ganās of 3 + 4 + 3 instants.

14 + 11/12

This metre is found only in pada 98 which has four lines, the first being a refrain of thirteen instants. However, if the final vowel of each line is lengthened the refrain will consist of fourteen instants and the other lines will yield a 14 + 12 structure (if in the third line amga amga is omitted and one reads bharyē/musakānī). If this was the author's intention then the lines approximate to the gītā and gītikā metres, though neither allows a final spondee. As they stand, most of the lines are divisible into a gaṇa structure 7 + 7 + 7 + 4.

13 + 9/10

This metre (intended as rādhikā or avatāra ?) is found in pada 105.ii for which a 13 + 9 structure was probably intended since, if the rhymes of lines v and vi are read as a trochee, it is applicable to all lines except iii and iv.

16 (+ 16) (caupāī/laghimā)

There are three poems (numbers 11, 22 and 126) with feet of sixteen instants (which are numbered in pairs in the transcription). Number 11 has a first line of 16 + 12 instants followed by others with feet of sixteen instants which, apart from line 2, fulfil the requirements of caupāī metre, as do all the feet of number 120, (viz. 2 + 4 + 4 + 4 + 2). Most lines of number 22 have feet of sixteen instants but the 3 + 3 + 3 + 3 + 4 gaṇa structure of laghimā is more applicable to them.

A caupāī structure of (2+4) + 4 + 4 + 2 instants serves as the first foot of the lines of several padas, the metres of which are described below.

16 + 10 (viṣṇupada)

This metre is used only for pada 128 which has a final periambus instead of the iambus or spondee normally required for viṣṇupada metre.

16 + 11 (sarasi)

This metre is used for ten poems which have between four and ten lines and the same trochaic rhyme throughout, apart from pada 70 which has an irregular first line followed by ten rhyming couplets. The first line may either be equal to the others or divisible into two feet, the second corresponding to the second asymmetrical (visama) feet of the subsequent lines and the first providing a short phrase which, in sung performance, must have been repeated after each line in order to help the second foot cover a sixteen beat rhythmic cycle<sup>(4)</sup>. Examples of this kind of division of the teka line are:

12.1 (bāra dōu) nava kisora se bāla

18.1 (mānuni) mānu kiō kiha kāja

The second foot of these poems has, with few exceptions, a structure of 8 + 3 (ahira) or 6 + 4 + 1 instants (the latter equivalent to the second foot of a dohā).

16 + 12 (sāra)

This metre is used for seventeen padas of between four and eight lines and for four longer poems which have between ten and eighteen lines. In most cases the second foot has a 4 + 4 + 4 structure which is equally divisible into 6 + 6, the latter being on the whole more common and usually further divisible into a (2 + 4) + 4 + 2 structure. The lines end regularly in a spondee and most of the poems retain the same rhyme throughout, the exceptions being numbers 14, 32, the longer poems 57, 68 and 71, and 67 which has rhyming triplets.

Where the first lines of padas in this metre are shorter than the others they are usually divisible into two feet, the second corresponding to the second foot of the other lines and the first serving to fill out the rhythmic cycle (as suggested above for sarasi metre). Examples of this kind of division are:

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4. This procedure has been described by R. Snell in his metrical analysis of the padas of Hita Harivamśa with reference to their performance in the samāja held regularly in temples of the Rādhavallabha sampradāya.

- 6.1 (pyārī tero) musika milana piya bhāve  
14.1 (mānuni) bisai priyā kiu sāje  
31.1 (ho lāla māī) khelata inu braja māhī  
58.1 (tata thaī) nācata nava gati nyārī

16 + 13

Number 111 is the better preserved of the two poems which are definitely composed in this metre. It has a cretic rhyme and a first line of thirteen instants with the second foot structured 6 + 2 + 5 (ullālā). Number 25 has four lines ending with a spondee, the first having twenty instants and the second foot of the other three having a 5 + 4 + 4 (pradoṣa) structure. Poem number 97 may also have a 16 + 13 structure unless the -iyā rhymes are to be read -iyā.

16 + 14 (kukubha)

Two padas with this metre are 96 and 110, of which the second feet have the structure 8 + 6 (hākali), further divisible into 2 + 4 + 2 + 2 + 4. Number 110, however, may be given a 16 + 13 structure if the -aryo rhymes are understood to be trochaic.

16 + 16 (samāna savaiyā)

There are fourteen padas composed in this metre, all of them having between four and eight lines and a final spondee, apart from numbers 28 and 74 which have periambic rhymes. Ten of these padas begin with a refrain of sixteen or seventeen instants, the latter being in most cases reducible to sixteen by slight emendation. As with other padas having feet of sixteen instants the gaṇa structure is, with few exceptions, 6 + 4 + 4 + 2.

Poem number 72 has either suffered from interpolations in its third and fifth lines or was intended to have alternate lines in sāra and samāna savaiyā metres.

16 + 16 + 8 + 11

This appears to be the intended metre for the last two lines of pada 59. The first line has twenty-two instants, perhaps to be counted as two feet of eleven instants, and the second line has three feet of 16 + 16 + 11 instants. The last two feet of the longer lines have a gana structure 2 + 2 + 2 + 2 and 4 + 4 + 3.

20 + 11

This is apparently the metre of pada 92, though the second line has seventeen instants (reducible to sixteen by reading mohyō), which suggests that the other lines may have been extended by interpolations. One may omit pyāre from line 1<sup>a</sup> and in 3<sup>a</sup> omit inu and read kōu, but the first half of the fourth line has a definite 10 + 10 structure.

### V.3.3 The poems referred to as chanda

There are six poems with four six-line stanzas which are introduced by the scribes as chamda (cf. IV.2, p. 136), a term which is used in the Ādigrantha for poems consisting mostly of four or six stanzas<sup>(5)</sup>. The poems numbered 2 and 3 have dohā/sākhī couplets preceding each stanza, one couplet in the case of number 2 (given only in B) and two in the case of number 3 (given by A and B but not found in C). In all of these poems the first foot of the third line of each stanza is more or less

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5. E. Trumpp, p. cxxxv, defines the 'Chant' as a stanza consisting of three couplets, each having its own rhyme and with each line consisting of twenty-eight mores (8 + 8 + 8 + 4) with a caesura after the eighteenth mora. S.S. Kohli, pp.80-1, says that the chanda may have one or more stanzas (called pāda) of between four and six lines (the majority having six), in which the second part of the second line is normally repeated in the first part of the third (as in the Rāsa māna ke pada examples). The basic stanza form is that of the kundaliyā, viz. two dohā lines (13 + 11) followed by four roḷā lines (11 + 13) with repetition of 2<sup>b</sup> as 3<sup>a</sup> and of 1<sup>a</sup> as 6<sup>b</sup>. The chandas of the Ādigrantha, however, lengthen the lines by the addition of surplus words.

a repetition of the last foot of the second line. The first two lines of each stanza are shorter than the rest, but in 85 all lines are the same in length and in 1, 4 and 85 the last line is a repeat of the first. In 55 all stanzas have the same final line and in 2 and 3 the first foot of the last line of each stanza is identical. The rhyming scheme of all stanzas is AABBA, apart from those of 55 which rhyme AABCC.

The characteristics of each of the chanda poems are as follows:

no. 1

- lines 1,2,6      15 + 12 instants; first foot: 3 + 2 + 3 + 2 + 3 + 2 (similar to gopī, but with final periambus for the required spondee); second foot: 8 + 4 (either 3 + 2 + 3 + 2 + 2 or 2 + 3 + 3 + 2 + 2)
- lines 3,4,5      10 + 10 + 17 (some with foot-end rhyme); first two feet: 3 + 4 + 3 (except 17<sup>b</sup>); third foot: 3 + 2 + 3 + 2 + 3 + 4 with spondee rhyme.

no. 2

Iambic or cretic rhymes, but final spondee for lines 3-6 of the third stanza.

- lines 1,2      22 instants, mostly (8 + 4) + (5 + 5)
- lines 3,4,5      (7 + 7) + (7 + 5), known as gītikā, but 16+11 for line 22 (therefore omit ko and read lagyō/tābola?)
- line 6      16 + 12; first foot: caupāī; second foot: 3 + 2 + 2 + 3 + 2 or 2 + 3 + 2 + 3 + 2 (except line 24).

no. 3

Iambic rhyme for the third and fourth lines of each stanza, cretic rhyme for the rest.

- lines 1,2      11 + 10 (cāndrāyana, apart from line 16 which has 12 + 9); first foot 7 + 4 / 6 + 4 + 1; second foot: 5 + 5 / 7 + 3
- lines 3 - 6      16 + 12 or 14 + 12; second foot: 3 + 2 + 2 + 2 + 3

no. 4

Iambic rhyme for the third and fourth lines of each stanza, trochaic rhyme for the rest

- lines 1,2      13 + 11 (dohā)
- lines 3,4      14 + 12 (gītikā)
- line 5      16 + 10 (gītā); first foot: caupāī; second foot 3 + 2 + 2 + 3
- line 6      repeat of line 1



no. 55

- lines 1,2     16 + 10 for stanzas 1 and 4, 16 + 9 for stanzas 2 and three, assuming that the words lo syāma combine with the preceding word to form a separate foot and accepting a caesura in the middle of anurāgī in line 14.
- line 3         9 + 9 + 12 in all but the first stanza (where it has 8 + 8 + 12) and the fourth (where it has 9/10 + 8 + 12, depending on the length of the final vowel of āgarī); final spondee.
- line 4         16 + 12 (sāra) in all but the last stanza which has 18 + 12, either to match the preceding line (in which case read paryō...tahā) or because the repeat of rasa is superfluous.
- lines 5,6     16 + 11 (sarasī); the last line is the same for all stanzas.

no. 85

The first foot of the first two lines and of the last line of every stanza begins with the phrase merī kānūyā jiu. All lines are in sāra metre and end with a spondee preceded, in all but two lines, by a periambus.

V.4 Poems with irregular metrical structure

Most of the poems in which no regular moric or syllabic metre is apparent have four lines. They contain too many mores for them to be classified as salok sahasakṛiti stanzas, such as are found in the bhoga section of the Ādigraṇtha, which have four lines of unequal length with a total of ninety six mores<sup>(6)</sup>. However, such a metre may be applicable to pada 118 (which has lines of 14-12 syllables and 21-29/30 mores) if it is regarded as consisting of an introductory couplet followed by three quatrains. The irregular four line poems may have been composed as loosely structured dhrupada verses similar to those attributed to Svāmī Haridāsa, and those which seem to have a change of metre half way through may have been intended for performance with a change of tāla, as may have been the case with pada 24 in which the first four lines have sixteen instants and the rest a syllabic ghanākṣarī structure.

In pada 90 the simple omission of ko from the second line restores a syllabic structure of thirteen syllables for the first line and twenty-six for the other three, though with no fixed

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6. cf. E. Trumpp, pp. cxxxiii-iv.

caesurae or gana structure. This suggests that a syllabic metrical pattern underlies these poems which has been distorted by scribes who were not aware of their structure or precise meaning. Alternatively, the scribes may have tampered with the metre in an attempt to fit syllabic metres to a moric framework. Since these poems may have originally had a free metrical structure, since the degree of scribal corruption is uncertain and since there are sometimes several options available for adjusting the count of long and short syllables, these poems are transcribed with a minimum of emendation.

In most cases a syllabic ghanākṣarī type of metre is immediately apparent in the last one or two lines. They are often found to have two or three feet of eight syllables, sometimes with foot-end rhyme, and a final foot of between six and thirteen syllables. However, a count of the number of mores sometimes reveals that the underlying structure is in fact a moric one, most commonly consisting of feet of twelve instants and with a haripriyā metre (12 + 12 + 12 + 10) often evident in the third or fourth line.

Some additional characteristics of the irregular four-line poems are as follows:

no. 37

A syllabic rhythm (8 + 8 + 12/13) is evident in lines 2 and 4, but a moric structure is suggested by the first line (16 + 12) and the others which have two feet of ±11 mores and a third of 18-22.

no. 76

A ghanākṣarī rhythm is apparent in the last two lines and the first two have a syllabic structure 8 + 8 + 11 (reading mō as mahu), but the first lines may have an intended moric structure 20 + 16/17 and the others are perhaps intended to be in haripriyā metre

no. 77

Although a syllabic metre is apparent in the last line (8 + 8 + 8), feet of eleven mores may be counted for 1<sup>b</sup>, 3<sup>a</sup>, 3<sup>b</sup> (omitting the repeat of phuni), 4<sup>a</sup> and 4<sup>b</sup>, while line 2 has 16 + 16 instants and also 1<sup>b</sup> if the caesura falls between thārī and ghatā.

no. 79

A syllabic structure is apparent in the last line, but the underlying metre may be moric based on feet of eight, ten and twelve instants with a last foot of sixteen instants in each line.

no. 81

A syllabic structure  $8 + 8 + 8 + 7$  is apparent in the last line (reading pyārī with three syllables), but an underlying moric metre with feet of sixteen instants is also possible.

no. 84

An underlying ghanāksarī metre seems more likely.

no. 87

Syllabic scansion produces a regular count for the last foot of each line, with the lines having alternatively  $12/13 + 10/11$  and  $15/16 + 11$  syllables. However, an underlying moric metre with feet of twelve instants may have been intended.

no. 89

The feet have between seven and nine syllables in most cases, but there may be an underlying moric structure based on alternating sāra and haripriyā lines.

no. 93

A basic syllabic structure  $8 + 6$  is most readily apparent, though the underlying scheme may be a moric one with feet of ten and twelve instants.

no. 94

Syllabic metre ( $8 + 8 + 8 + 7$ ) is evident in the last line, though the first three lines have feet of  $\pm 18$  instants.

no. 102

The lines may be read with a  $16 + 18$  syllabic structure after omission of some possible interpolations (e.g. the repeat of amga and duti or chabi), but there may be an underlying moric structure of  $19 + 12$  instants.

no. 112

Lines 2 and 4 suggest a syllabic structure  $8 + 8 + (9 + 6)$ , but they may also be reckoned as moric lines with  $(12 + 12) + 12 + 10$  instants, which is also possible for line 3 if chabi is omitted.

no. 113

The metre is probably intended to be moric since line 3 is haripriyā if one reads nīcě nīcě. Omission of ho and ke from the last foot of the last line renders it equal in length to the last foot of the preceding lines.

no. 114

Unlike the other irregular poems mentioned above, this one has six lines and is written in Panjabi. It apparently has a syllabic basis with lines of sixteen syllables and a caesura, in all but the first and last lines, after the tenth syllable (assuming dekhi for dekhata in line 3 and reading the chāpa as kevala). A moric structure is also possible, with alternating lines of 16 + 10 and 16 + 12 instants with the first two lines having 13 + 10.

VI

LANGUAGE

V.1 Nouns

The use and frequency of occurrence of the different inflections of unextended masculine -a stem nouns, a category which incorporates older neuter nouns, have been summarized above (IV.3.3.1.2). The following inflections were found to occur with these nouns in the singular:

Direct (nominative/accusative)	-a, -u
Oblique (used with postpositions)	-a
Instrumental/dative	-i, -ahi
Locative	-i, -ahi, -e
Vocative	-a

Occasionally the termination -i occurs with some of these nouns when they are in the direct plural case.

There are a few extended masculine nouns which have -o or -ā for direct singular case (the latter occurring infrequently for rhyme or assonance) and -e for the oblique singular and direct plural. Masculine -i and -u stem nouns have no distinctive singular inflections but, like all other nouns including those of feminine gender, have the oblique plural termination -ana (with the rare variant -ani, cf. IV.3.3.1.10). There is one occurrence of -o as an ablative inflection in the phrase gharo ghari meaning 'from house to house'<sup>(1)</sup>.

Feminine -i and -u stem nouns generally retain their historic final vowels (in B at least, cf. IV.3.3.6/8), while the gender of some other feminine nouns is marked by a non-etymological final -i (cf. IV.3.3.1.9). In the direct plural feminine nouns have the termination -ē or, for -i stem nouns, -īyā (written invariably with <ī>).

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1. J. Bloch, p.174, relating this inflection to Prakrit -ao, cites the comparable expressions hāthohathāī, 'from hand to hand', and disodisi, 'everywhere' (Pali disodisaṃ), as noted by L.P. Tessitori, section 61.

## 2 Adjectives

The limited extent to which unextended adjectives show concord with masculine and feminine nouns is indicated above (IV.3.3.1.11) Extended adjectives show masculine direct singular -o or -ā (the latter used for rhyme only), oblique singular and direct plural -e, and the termination -ī with feminine nouns in all cases.

The adjective-forming particle so/se/sī is used to give the sense of 'like', 'as if'.

## 3 Postpositions

As is usual in New Indo-Aryan languages, postpositions have largely replaced the older inflections. Most of the postpositions (in B at least) are spelt with a locative or instrumental termination, viz. āgē, (ū)pari, kāraṇe, nāli, pāchē, basi, bīci, ma(d)dhi/mahi (which has variants mahu, mō, mē, mai and madhya), viṣe, saṃgi and hiti. There are a few compound postpositions, viz. kī nyāī, ke pāchē, ke basi, ke māhī and ke saṃgi. The use of the above postpositions is straightforward, as is that of binu/-a/-ā, lo, līe ('for the purpose of'), the direct/accusative marker kō/kau and the genitive postposition kā/ko/kī/ke. The following postpositions have a wider range of idiomatic uses: tē (corresponding to modern Hindi se) is used to mean 'from' with regard to places and time (kumjana tē, ajahū tē), 'from' or 'by' in an agentive sense (vāhī tē bani āve), 'than' in comparisons (sasi tē ujārī), 'apart from' in constructions like tuma tē kachū auru na bhāvata, and in such expressions as ika tē ika ('one by one'), dekhye tē ('as a result of seeing'), calana tē...haṭī ('desisted from moving'), rākhu...pakhamda tē ('protect from impiety'), tinu vimukhana tē nasu ('ruin upon those who disregard!'). pa(h)i/paī/pē (and the metrically shortened form pi) besides being used for persons spoken to (kahyo piya pai) and in the sense of 'towards'/'in the direction of', also occurs with agents in passive constructions, as in kavana pai jāve ganī and mō pē baranī na jāī. sō is used to mean 'with' or 'by' in an instrumental sense and with persons spoken to or met with, or for whom love etc. is felt, and in the expressions kara sō karu ('hand in hand') and bhujā bhujā sō ('arm in arm').

4 Pronouns

In the following paradigms a hyphen standing alone indicates that the relevant form is wanting in the text, a hyphen following any pronoun indicates that the form occurs only with postpositions or an emphatic suffix. Most pronouns have an oblique form with the termination -hi which is used in an instrumental or dative sense. The plural pronouns are used mainly with singular reference, as is often the case in modern Hindi. Both A and B give the spelling una in all contexts, but B has ina and tina only when they are followed by postpositions or an emphatic suffix.

<u>First person</u>	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
Direct	mai, hau	hama
Oblique	mujhe, mohi, mo-	hama
Possessive	mero/-ā/-e/-ī	hamāro/-ā/-e/-ī
<u>Second person</u>		
Direct	tū, tū	tuma
Oblique	tujhe, tohi, tuhi to-, tihāre, tere	tuma
Possessive	tero/-ē/-ī	tumāro/-e/-ī

tihāre and tere occur as equivalents for oblique case only when followed by a postposition (viz. tihāre saṅgi, tere tē).

Third person (proximate demonstrative)

Direct	yaha, iha	-
Oblique	yā-, yā-	inu, ina

An emphatic form of the direct singular is ehi, which occurs with short initial e- for both occurrences in moric metre.

Third person (remote demonstrative)

Direct	vaha, uha	-
Oblique	uā-, uvā-, uvā-, vā-, vā-	una

For the metrical value of the oblique case spellings cf. V.2.2  
For possible oblique plural binu cf. 54.2 fn.

Third person (correlative)

Direct	-	tēu
Oblique	tā-, tã-, tisi, ti-	tinu, tina
Locative	tihi/tiha (2)	-

tisi and tēu are emphatic forms and ti occurs only in A with pi as a metrical contraction equivalent to tāhī pē (the reading given by B in 42.3)

Relative

Direct	jo
Oblique	jihi, jā-, jã-

The form jihi occurs with the postposition sō and the direct singular jo often occurs somewhat superfluously in such contexts as bhayo jo mahābilāsu and sudhi jo bisarī. The form jinahū occurs twice, apparently as a singular instrumental<sup>(3)</sup>. No plural forms of the pronoun occur in the text.

Reflexive

The most common form is the possessive adjective āpuno/-e/-ī, especially with the verb kar- in the sense of 'make one's own'. It is used only once with reference to the second person (viz. āpuna pē āe (115.1))

<u>Interrogative</u>	<u>animate</u>	<u>inanimate</u>
Direct	kavana	kahā
Oblique	kauna/-ē, kavana	kahā/kāhe

The oblique of the inanimate forms is used to introduce questions (kāhe na kahyo ?) and kiha (A variant: kihi) occurs in the phrase kiha kāja ('for what purpose ?'). The use of the forms kavana and kaune is not always clear. The form kaunē occurs only once where the context suggests direct rather than instrumental and the nasalization may be merely be conditioned<sup>(4)</sup>. The oblique

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2. Noted as a locative form by L.P. Tessitori, section 90.
  3. J.D. Smith, pp.38-9, cites comparable Marwari instrumental/locative pronominal forms with the terminations -ina, -ini
  4. Apabhraṃśa forms noted by H. Jacobi, 1918 p.38 section 30, are kavanu (masc./neut. nom. sing.), kavanem (instr.), and kavana (used adjectivally or as a fem. nom./acc.).



kaune is used in the phrase kaune k̄ama (equivalent to kiha k̄aja) and in kaune ke prere ('upon whose instigation?'). Elsewhere kavana occurs with a postposition (kavana pai jāve ganī) or as an adjective (nisā hai kavana).

<u>Indefinite</u>	<u>animate</u>	<u>inanimate</u>
Direct	ko, kōī, kōū	kachū
Oblique	kisī, kāhū	kachū

The form ko occurs in negative contexts with the meaning 'nobody'. The oblique kisī occurs only once (71.11) in a dative context. There are four adjectival occurrences of the forms kōī/kōū used with the noun tōno/-ā with the meaning 'some kind of spell'. The inanimate form kachū is mainly used adverbially to mean 'to a certain extent' (or with a negative particle 'not at all'). For the feminine kāī cf. below, section 17.

5 Pronominal adjectives and adverbs

	<u>demonstratives</u>	<u>correlative</u>	<u>interrogative</u>	<u>relative</u>
adjective of quantity	eto/-ī, eta	teta	keta	jeta
adjective pf manner	aiso/-e/-ī	taise	kaise	jaiso/-e/-ī
adverb of manner	iu	tiu	kiu	jiu, jīu, jivē
adverb of time	aba	taba	kaba	jaba
adverb of place	ihā-	tahā, tahā tāhī	kahā, kāhū, kāhī	jahā

The adjectives of quantity with final -a occur only as rhymes. Masculine singular oblique forms of the adjectives of manner are also used adverbially. Also occurring as adverbs of place are anata ('somewhere else'), jata kata ('wherever'), and the emphatic form katahū. The combination jaba kaba occurs with the meaning 'whenever'. The pronominal adjectives and adverbs frequently occur with emphatic suffixes (and ihā- only so). For the metrical value of tahā/tahā cf. V.2.2.

In addition to the above avara/auru/-a, bahu/-ta/-tu and sab(h)a/-e are also used pronominally as well as adjectivally.

6 Verb stems

Several transitive and causative stems occurring in the text are formed by the addition of -ā to the intransitive or transitive stem and by shortening of the stem vowel if it is long. Four verbs occurring with intransitive, transitive and causative stems are illustrative of these three gradations, viz. jhūl- / jhol- / jhulā-, pasar- / pasār- / pasarā-, bisar- / bisār- / bisarā- and mil- / mel- / milā-. There are a few other stems besides jhūl- which have synonymous stems with either a long or short vowel, viz. jāg-, dhār-, bāj-, bādh-, pāg- and lāg-.

Stems ending with a vowel have an intervocalic -v- before verb terminations except -i and the perfective terminations -ī and -e.

7 The substantive verb

The verb ho- is the only one in the text which occurs with an extended infinitive, viz. honā used as a rhyme in one of the Panjabi dialect poems. The third person singular and plural of the present tense are written at random as hai / haĩ / he / hē (cf. IV.3.3.5.9 and 3.3.3). The first person present is hō and the second person is hai in the singular and ho in the plural, which may also be used with singular subjects. There is an occurrence of the form hovō (in B) or hovo (in A) which may be either the first person present subjunctive or the second person imperative (85.23). The perfective participle is bhayo / bhae / bhaĩ (showing concord with the subject and sometimes having short final vowels metri causa).

The present tense is used as auxiliary verb with imperfective participles to form a present indicative tense (e.g. karata hai), and with perfective participles to form a present perfect tense (e.g. mānu kīo hai, bhaĩ hai chimāsī raina).

The form hoī̃ may function, sometimes ambiguously, as an absolutive, a third person singular present subjunctive or as a perfective equivalent to the usual bhayo / bhae / bhaĩ and modern Hindi huā / hue / huī̃ and Panjabi hoiā / hoī̃. The perfective form hoī̃ occurs with feminine subjects and hoi with feminine or sometimes with masculine subjects, where it probably represents a metrical variant of hoe.

8 Present tense

The present tense, which is used for indicative, subjunctive and imperative moods, has the following terminations<sup>(5)</sup>:

singular	1	-o, -āu
	2	-ahi
	3	-i, -ahi, -ahe, -e(-ahī as rhyme)
plural	1	-
	2	-o, -ahu, -aho
	3	-ahī, -ahī, -ē

The termination -āu is found with verb stems ending in -ā (e.g. dikhāu) as an alternative to the form with intervocalic -v- (e.g. dikhāvō). The second person singular and plural forms occur in the text only as imperatives (see next section). The third person singular and plural terminations (cf. IV.3.3.5.9 for scribal indication of their nasalization) are used according to metrical requirements, thus for example either jāi, jāhi or jāve may occur with bali to form a phrase found in the last line of several poems meaning 'sacrifices/devotes himself' (alternatively 'sacrifice yourself' when jahi is used). The termination -i is found only after a stem ending in -ā<sup>(6)</sup>.

9 Imperatives

The second person imperative is expressed either by the above present tense forms (e.g. jā(h)i, jāvaho, milahu or milo, for variant spellings of which cf. IV.3.4.9) or by the addition of the termination -u, or -hu if the stem ends in a vowel (e.g. calu, dehu). Polite imperatives with the old passive terminations -īe, -īje and -ījīe are also found (cf. below, section 16).

Imperatives are negated with the particles na or jina.

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5. They may be compared with the Apabhramśa forms: singular 1 karaum, 2 karahi, 3 karai, plural 1 karahum, 2 karahu, 3 karahim, as discussed by J. Bloch, p. 245-8. H. Jacobi, 1918 section 5.11 p.28, notes that -aho represents a metrical lengthening of -ahu.

6. The scribes do not make the distinction between indicative jāi and imperative jāhi (with emphatic -h-) as noted for Old Awadhi by B. Saksena, section 303, p.259.

10 Future tense

The only future tense forms found in the text are the first person singular feminine (karōgī, bādhōgī, rahōgī) and the second person plural (dhārahuge, used with a singular subject).

11 Imperfective participles

These are formed from the verb stem by the addition of the termination -ta or, in only a few instances, -tu and -tī (cf. IV.3.3.1.15). They occur independently, used as participles or with the force of a finite verb, or in combination with the substantive verb as an auxiliary to form a present indicative tense (karata hai, pāvata hai). They are also used with the participles hota and jāta to impart a sense of continuity (pragatu hota, milata jāta).

12 Perfective participles

Perfective participles of most verbs are formed by the addition to the stem of the terminations -yo/-ye/-ī (showing concord with the subject). A masculine singular form with the termination -yā also occurs, but its use is restricted to rhyming positions. The verbs kar-, de-, pī- and le- have (in addition to the forms karī and laī) the perfective participles kīo (or kīya as a rhyming variant), dīo, pīo, līo and kīno, dīno, pīno and līno (which show feminine and masculine oblique and direct plural concord, viz. kīnī, kīne and the masculine rhyming form kīnā)<sup>(7)</sup>. The perfective participle of jā- is gayo/gae/gaī (based on √gam).

These participles may function independently as a finite verb or in combination with the substantive verb as an auxiliary forming a present perfect tense (chakye hai, kīe hai). Being a passive participle the constructions in which it is used are ergative (e.g. kahā mohi kīnā, jorī citu coryo), though the

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7. The terminations -yo/-ye/-ī derive from Prakrit -ia/-io (S.-(i)ta); kīo from Prakrit kiyo/kido (S. krta-, with dīo <\*dita- and pīo and līo formed on analogy); dīno from \*dinna- (Ap. dinnau, with kīno, pīno, līno formed on analogy). Cf. CDIAL, J. Beames part III p.144, L.P. Tessitori, section 126, and J. Bloch p.269. For variant spellings kiyo etc. cf. IV.3.4.6.

instrumental case of the agent is not always clearly indicated. The perfective participle with an oblique termination may be used as an absolutive, as noted below (section 14).

Some intransitive verbs with roots in -ā, including a few which have the vowel as a passive theme, form their perfective participles with the terminations -āno/-āne/-ānī, for example akulāne and sakucānī from intransitive verbs, thagāne and upajāno from passive verbs, contrasting with the transitive form thagyo and the causative upajāyo (8).

13 Infinitives, gerunds and gerundives

The role of the modern Hindi infinitive is fulfilled by gerunds which occur with the terminations -nu and -na<sup>(9)</sup>, both being used as direct case forms while -na is also used for the oblique case and thus occurs regularly with postpositions (e.g. kachu kahanu na āve, calana tē). Constructions having inceptive force may be formed by combining the gerund/infinitive with the verb lāg-, as in bajāvana lāgī ('they began to play', fem. pl.).

An example of a gerundive formed from a causative verb with the termination -āvana is manāvana, which occurs twice as manāvani where the final -i may represent locative/dative case ('while appeasing' or 'in order to appease').

14 Absolutives

The absolutive is formed by adding -i or -(i)ke/-(i)kē to the verb stem (e.g. nirakhi, nirakhike, dhārikē; for variant spellings cf. IV.3.3.1.14/3.3.5.8). The stem alone occurs in the case of the verb le-, as in mathanī le and mūni le. Alternatively a perfective participle may be used, showing an oblique (originally locative) termination which is usually nasalized unless followed by a

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8. L.P. Tessitori, section 126, citing the Sindhi participles ubhāno, vikāno etc., derives the termination from MIA passive verbs in -āmanu.

9. Derived from Sanskrit nouns of action in -anam. There are no occurrences of the other Braj infinitive ending in -ivo/-ibo (<-tavya).

postposition (e.g. dekhyē ratipati murachāve, dekhye tē na rahe dukhu).

The verb stem with the termination -i is also used with the verbs sagh- (as in cali saghata nahī, 'is unable to move') and rah- (expressing continuity, as in atāki rahyo, 'remained fixed').

15 Compound verbs

Verb stems take the absolutive -i termination when they are combined with a dependent auxiliary verb to form a compound verb (e.g. mohi līo, cali āvo, bhūli gāī). The verbs ā-, phaila- and le-, however, are not written with -i when combined with a dependent auxiliary verb. Compound verbs occurring in the text are:

<u>(absolutive) stem</u>	<u>dependent auxiliary</u>
<u>cali, bani, le</u>	+ <u>ā-</u>
<u>gūthi</u>	+ <u>kar-</u>
<u>ghaṭi, bisari, bīti,</u> <u>bhūli, laṭi, surajhi</u>	} + <u>jā-</u>
<u>kari</u>	+ <u>dhār-</u>
<u>ulaṭi, giri, jāgi, phaila</u>	+ <u>par-</u>
<u>ā-</u>	+ <u>mil-</u>
<u>apuna kari, uṭhāi, kari,</u> <u>curāi, dhari, nihāri, pheri,</u> <u>bīni, bulāī (-ī for rhyme),</u> <u>meli, mohi, roki, simci,</u> <u>sunī, hiri</u>	} + <u>le-</u>

The form lyāī hai may represent a contraction of le + ā-<sup>(10)</sup>.  
For dūri + kar- cf. IV.3.3.1.11.

10. J.D. Smith (in his glossary under lā<sup>-2</sup>) suggests that it is more likely to represent a modification of lā- to accord with a folk etymology deriving it from le + ā-. L.P. Tessitori, section 4, notes a rare instance of -ya- written for -i- when the latter falls after a consonant or before a vowel: \*layati (= lāti) > Ap. lei > lii > lyai.

16 Passives

An isolated survival of an original primary passive is the form dīse (<drśyate). The terminations -īe and -īje<sup>(11)</sup>, often used for polite imperatives, also retain their original passive meaning in a few contexts (e.g. aba kahā kīje 120.1, kari līje 32.6, na sunīje 51.4). The fact that these forms had begun to lose their passive force (as a result of their being used as imperatives) is indicated by occurrences of a secondary passive formation consisting of a perfective participle combined with the verb jā-, e.g. jāvata na ganī, kahī na jāve, na jāve toī.

The -y- in the rhymes rakhīyā/lakhīyā (97.2/3) suggests that they are to be interpreted as passive participial formations.

17 Panjabi features

Three poems included among the Rāsa māna ke pada are written in Panjabi (numbers 111, 114 and 118), and some others contain features characteristic of the Trans-Indus dialects<sup>(12)</sup>. The three Panjabi poems show some admixture of Braj, Hindi (Kharībolī) and Sindhi forms which, to some extent, may simply be the result of miscopying, as seems to be the case in pada 114 where the phrase prema dā khilonā in the first line contrasts with namda kā dhaṭonā in the fourth. Panjabi traits found in the Braj poems are the phrase cukhu asā do bhāli (122.10), the use of the verbs col- (for Braj calā-) and sagh- (for Braj sak-, cf. Sindhi saghanu rather than Lahnda saggan/haggun), the use of

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11. These are derived from Prakrit passives showing -īai/-īe or -ijia(i)/-ijjai (representing the Sanskrit passive verbal suffix -ya-). Cf. B. Saksena section 351 p.295 and J. Bloch pp. 240 & 288.

12. The term 'Panjabi' is used here in a broad sense since the data are neither sufficient nor consistent enough to allow the language of the relevant poems to be identified as any specific dialect. G.A. Grierson, LSI vol. VIII part I pp. 233 f., used the term Lahnda for the speech of the area which includes Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan. Other loosely used terms are Jatki, Multani or West Panjabi. A term which has since gained wider acceptance for the speech of the area including Dera Ghazi Khan is Siraiki, cf. C. Shackle 1976, p.2.

the postpositions nāli and nere (uncommon in Braj but standard in Panjabi where the forms current are nāla and nere) and kāī as a dialectal feminine form of koī/koū.

The frequent indication of conditioned nasalization and nasalization of peripheral vowels, by later scribes if not in the Ur-text itself, has been mentioned above as a feature characteristic of Trans-Indus dialects (cf. IV.3.3.5.2/3.3.2.10). Some variant forms which are not typical of Braj, such as rūma for the usual roma and sagh- for sak-, may also be attributed to the influence on the scribes of their own regional speech.

The following distinctively Panjabi (or Trans-Indus) grammatical forms are found in the Rāsa māna ke pada:

genitive postposition:	<u>prema dā khilonā</u> (direct; 114.1) <u>alabelā ve namda dyā</u> (vocative; 111.1)
accusative/dative postposition:	<u>supūta nā gholī</u> (118.5) <sup>(13)</sup>
the postposition <u>utē</u> ('upon'):	<u>aṃgaṇi utē</u> (118.8)
the postposition <u>do</u> ('towards'):	<u>cukhu asā do bhāli</u> (122.10)
possessive pronouns:	<u>maidāī jholī</u> (118.3) <u>galī asādī</u> (111.2) <u>vasi asāde honā</u> (114.6)
imperfective participles:	<u>āudā, bhāudā, jāudā</u> etc. (111) <u>latakamdā</u> (as a rhyme in 45.3) <u>ḍede</u> <sup>(14)</sup>
present tense:	<u>devā, jīvā</u> (first person; 118.1/2) <u>thivē, jivē</u> (second person; 118.4)

13. An unusual form, either a local variant or standard Panjabi nū × ā, used as an object marker in the area north of Dera Ismail Khan, as noted by C. Shackle 1980 p.489.

14. Siraiiki ḍede. For orthography of retroflex consonants, including the forms asādī/asāde, cf. IV.3.4.4.



VII

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE POEMS  
AND THEIR TRANSLATION

The aim of the foregoing sections on orthography, metre and language has been to ascertain the degree of scribal corruption in the manuscripts and at the same time to formulate principles for the editorial treatment of variants in order to present a text which is coherent, reasonably consistent and a fair representation of the presumed archetype. Readings given in the edited transcription have been chosen according to the observations and conclusions made above, the spellings and grammatical forms given by B having generally been preferred since the manuscript appears to have retained more archetypal features.

The poems are representative of a genre of medieval Braj poetry of which the most well known exponents are the Aṣṭachāpa poets, Hita Harivaṃśa, Harirāma Vyāsa and Svāmī Haridāsa, who were active during the sixteenth century. Much of this kind of poetry was written in Braj itself or composed by poets who were closely associated with the area or with one of the devotional sects which drew inspiration from the religious activity which had begun to flourish there from the late fifteenth century onwards. The Rāsa māna ke pada, whether or not they were composed in Braj, were certainly written by someone who was well-versed in its language and literature, including all the conventions of Sanskrit love poetry which the Braj poets had inherited. The compilation contains a few poems in Panjabi, but most of them are in standard literary Braj with only a slight admixture of alien grammatical forms or idioms and with dialectal influence largely restricted to such non-morphemic and non-phonemic contexts as indication of nasalization.

What is remarkable is that, although written in an area remote from Braj and copied probably at least a century after their date of composition, the poems have preserved spellings and grammatical forms which are often neutralized in other more

Sanskritized versions of Braj texts which were copied during the same period (i.e. from the mid-eighteenth century onwards). From the relatively conservative orthography of manuscript B it is evident that, at the time of their composition, presumably in the mid-seventeenth century, the Rāsa māna ke pada had more in common with Apabhraṃśa than with Sanskritized literary Braj, even though much of the vocabulary was tatsama. The form of Braj preserved by scribes living in such a peripheral area as Dera Ghazi Khan retained a relatively high proportion of archaic inflections and orthographic features which are presumably a more accurate representation of the language of earlier poets than is generally available.

Though preserved by a gaddī of the Puṣṭimārga, there is little in the content of the padas which is specifically sectarian. Some of them may have been intended for performance at times of darśana in the temples, thereby supplementing the Aṣṭachāpa padāvalīs which were used as hymnals throughout the Puṣṭimārga. The Braj dialect is held in particularly high esteem in the sampradāya since it was imagined to have been the language spoken by Kṛṣṇa while he was growing up in the countryside around Mathura. Its role as a lingua franca in the Puṣṭimārga (where it is referred to by some adherents as puruṣottamī bhāṣā) is concomitant with the development of Braj as a centre of pilgrimage and religious activity. On account of its rustic charm and mythological associations it came to be regarded as the most suitable medium for describing Kṛṣṇa's pastoral and romantic adventures, even in areas remote from Braj.

It is evident from the existence of shorter first lines, and occasional scribal repetition of refrains, that the padas were intended for sung performance. The structure of many of the poems, particularly the shorter ones, in which the couplets present contrasting aspects of a situation, was perhaps designed for alternating sthāyī and antarā phrasing in sung performance, culminating in a line which stresses the importance of the incident described, as in the last line of many poems in which the delight of beholding Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā is stressed, or in the māna poems in which the negative side of the situation is first presented, followed by a final line in which the lovers are joyfully reunited.

The main intention of the pada is to evoke an emotional or devotional sentiment relevant to the particular episode of Kṛṣṇa līlā which is described. The prime exponent of the genre was Sūradāsa, though the tradition of composing padas in moric metre which are assigned to a particular rāga and bear the poet's name in the last line may be traced back through Vidyāpati and Caṇḍīdāsa to the caryāpadas of the Buddhist siddhas. Among the Santas and poets of the nirguna school the pada was chiefly a didactic verse, but for the Vaiṣṇava sects which centred themselves in Braj the emphasis was on evocation of rasa and bhāva.

The Rāsa māna ke pada deal primarily with the rāsa dance and other romantic adventures of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā rather than with the childhood episodes generally favoured in the Puṣṭimārga. This may reflect the poet's closer contact with the sects based in Vrindaban, which comprised the followers of Caitanya, Nimbārka, Hita Harivaṁśa and Svāmī Haridāsa. The rasika poets of these traditions developed the themes of love poetry which had previously been popular in other vernaculars and had been inherited from classical Sanskrit. They drew from a conventional repertoire of conceits, metaphors, similes, characterizations and themes which could have either secular or mystical application, the former being relevant to the court poets and the latter to the vernacular songs of various 'poet-saints' who sought to transpose human sentiments and emotions into an expression of yearning for union with the divine.

Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, although worshipped as divinities, thus came to be described as nāyaka and nāyikā, depicted with attributes and in situations and settings typical of erotic court poetry which had all been expounded and classified in technical treatises on love-making, of which the Kāmasūtra is the best known example. Kṛṣṇa thus came to be depicted as the typical nāgarika, the urbane aesthete with a liking for bowers, perfumes, betel, swings in shady groves and so forth. The poetry describing him and his associates borrowed well-worn similes and metaphors such as amorous glances being fired like arrows from the bow of the eyebrows, teeth like pearls or jasmine buds, eyes like fish or wagtails and hips swaying like those of an elephant.

The application of themes derived from erotic poetry to the romantic adventures of Kṛṣṇa was by no means a new departure. There were precedents in Hāla and the Tamil Ālvārs and the rāsa episode had become canonised in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa. The great popularity of Jayadeva's Gītagovinda helped to spread the notion that the love of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā represented a form of cosmic līlā between the godhead and his śakti and was perhaps the first text to popularise the theme of māna whereby Kṛṣṇa is deemed to suffer from temporary separation from his beloved and to become himself despondent and submissive.

In the first half of the sixteenth century the application of the conventions of classical love poetry to devotional sentiment was developed by Rūpa Gosvāmī who, while living in Vrindaban, had composed treatises in which the classical aesthetic theory (rasasāstra) of Bharata, Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta was adapted in order to provide a theoretical framework for the emotional brand of devotional religion inspired by Caitanya. Terms such as rasa, bhāva, śṛṅgāra, rasika and so on, thus became imbued with devotional or theological overtones for Vaiṣṇava writers in whose works erotic sentiments are sublimated into religious devotion. These poets described incidents in the life of Kṛṣṇa with the intention of evoking an emotional response in their audience which would be the same as that felt by those who were able to witness or participate in them, such as a sakhī who promotes the love play of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, or the mother Yaśodā adoring her divine child.

Belonging as they do to such a collective tradition, the Rāsa māna ke pada contain much that is stereotyped and conventional, particularly in the poems dealing with the rāsa dance or which are merely descriptive of the divine couple. In view of the stereotyped nature of much of the content, which to some extent may be due to later expansion and interpolation, Kevalarāma would be more favourably represented as a poet by a selection of his better poems in which ingenuity of diction, effective cadence or an original turn of phrase compensate for the conventionality of the subject matter. However, as a first attempt at retrieving his poetry from the manuscripts among which it is scattered, the

more scientific approach is to present one text for detailed examination, hence the Rāsa māna ke pada have been edited in their entirety, though in themselves they do not represent the diversity of the various works attributed to Kevalarāma.

The most successful poems in the compilation are those which deal with the theme of māna, since they contain more lively and idiomatic expressions and less conventional situations than are depicted in the rāsa poems. Even so, the māna poems still conform to the traditional theme of gurumāna, the severest degree of resentment felt by the offended woman (khaṇḍitā nāyikā), which arises from her becoming aware that the lover has spent the night with another woman. She rebuffs his advances and it is left to the go-between (dūtī) to bring the two together again by resorting to the six traditional ways of effecting a reconciliation, namely by persuading them to meet (vinaya), praising one of them to the other (stuti), reproaching them (nindā), telling one of the other's distress (virahanivedana), explaining the situation (prabodha) and contriving a meeting (samghaṭana).

Interspersed among the rāsa and māna poems are two didactic padas (105.ii.i-viii and 128), a few padas dealing with the boyhood of Kṛṣṇa and others describing other aspects of the sport of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.

The English translation facing the Hindi text, although it is arranged into lines corresponding to the original text, has no pretensions to being a poetic rendition of the original. It is intended to serve primarily as a help in following the text and may be supplemented by referring to the word index where more specific or less figurative meanings of some terms will be found. Since the syntax of the original is often obscure and ambiguous the translation follows the structure of the original as closely as possible, with conjunctions, pronouns and other words supplied in brackets where they are left understood. The translation is as literal as is possible within the bounds of English syntax, though a few idioms have been translated freely where a literal version would be awkward or meaningless. Footnotes are provided for some specific usages and ambiguities, other terms, including epithets and names of birds, musical instruments etc., are defined in more detail and with greater accuracy in the word index. The glosses

given in the word index are not necessarily those which occur in the translation, since the exact nuance varies according to the context.

'Kevala' as the poet's chāpa may in some cases be understood to mean 'just' or 'only'. Though it is rarely translated as such the reader should bear in mind the fact that the poet may have used his chāpa with additional emphatic meaning. Often the poet refers to himself, in the role of a sakhī, with feminine concord, thus with the verb 'dedicate' the pronoun 'himself' is given in parentheses since the feminine form may be intended.



RĀSA MĀNA KE PADA

HINDI TEXT WITH PARALLEL TRANSLATION



1 (śrī)

priyā manu harani chabi dharani śrī kṛiṣṇa manu mohi līnā  
nirakhi chabi rūpa kī kām̐ti kō piya lakhi bhae dīnā  
bhae mohana dīna nirakhi hoṣ līna

prema bādhyo ride apara pyāre  
im̐da sama badana hai sudhā ko sadana bara

prema hiti umagi trailoka vāre  
am̐kana vasata jhāla calata mada gaja cāla

maṁda musakanī adabhuta pravīnā

5

priyā manu harani chabi dharani śrī kṛiṣṇa manu mohi līnā

1 A: dharni, kṛiṣṇa

2 A: niraṣa; B: krām̐ti

3 A: niraṣata hoi; B: mōhana, prēma

4 A: hita; B: haī, prēma

5 A: adbhuta

6 A: harana, dharana, kṛiṣṇa mana mohi; B: prayā, harana,  
dharna, mana mohi līnā

naina mṛga taruna ali mīna mana caina sabha dūri kīe  
maina khājarīta aru kavala chabi nirakhi nahi dhīra hīe  
dhīra dhārata nāhi vadata mana ke māhi

priyā chabi rūpa nahi tulya koī

kum̐ja mō ḍolahe madhuri suri bolahe

nirakhike ride mō mudita hoī

10

sakhī lalitā sam̐ga karata bahuvidha raṅga

kusama bana sudhā mō siṁci līe

naina mṛga taruna ali mīna mana caina sabha dūri kīe

7 B: sa dūri

8 A: kamala, niraṣa

10 A: ḍolahē, sura bolahē, niraṣake; B: ḍolahe, mathura,  
nirṣike

11 A/B: bahuvidhi; A: siṁca

12 A: manu

*the beloved,*  
Śrī, captivator of the heart (and) possessed of beauty,  
has enchanted the heart of Kṛṣṇa.  
Seeing the splendour of (her) beautiful form the lover,  
beholding (her), was overwhelmed.  
Mohana was overwhelmed, on seeing (her) he became enraptured,  
unique love swelled in the lover's heart.  
(Her) face is like the moon, a choice abode of nectar,  
elated with love (and) affection (he) offers up the three worlds.  
Radiance dwells in (her) bosom, (she) moves (with) the gait of a  
trutting elephant, gently smiling, wonderful (and) adroit.  
Śrī, captivator of the heart (and) possessed of beauty,  
has enchanted the heart of Kṛṣṇa.

Eyes (like) a young deer, bees (and) fish, have driven away  
all peace of mind.  
Seeing (her) beauty, (like that of) Maina, the wagtail (and)  
the lotus, (there is) no composure in (his) heart.  
He cannot maintain (his) composure (and) says to himself,  
"No one is as beautiful as (my) beloved".  
(She) wanders in the grove, speaks in a sweet tone,  
seeing (her) there is joy in (his) heart.  
With (her) companion Lalitā, amusing herself in many ways,  
(she) sprinkled the flowers with nectar.  
Eyes (like) a young deer, bees (and) fish, have driven away  
all peace of mind.

latā sō bhujā dhari bhāmunī karata haī kela kuṃjē  
sātha dūtī catura eka tahā madhupa mili bahutu guṃjē  
madhupa guṃjā māna oṭa līnī kāna  
nirakhi chabi tripati nāhina aghāve 15  
rūpa rasa siṃdha mō chakyē haī sāvare  
ride mō dhīra chinu nāhi āve  
karī taba bena dhuni laī dulahanī suni  
milyē haī urajhi dōu rasika puṃjē  
latā sō bhujā dhari bhāmunī karata haī kela kuṃjē

- 13 A/B: bhāmunī; A: dhara, hai, kuṃje  
14 A: bahuta; B: sātha  
15 A/B: kāna; A: gujā, niraṣa, tripata, aghāvē; B: māna  
16 A: hai, china, āvē  
17 A/B: baina; A: dhunu, hai urajha dau.  
18 A/B: bhāmunī; A: hai, kuṃje

dou hitu jāni rati māni ati calyē saṃketa āe  
bhayo ānaṃdu sukha caina sabha kiē haī manahi bhāe 20  
manahi bhāyo kīna kela ubhayo pīna  
neha rasa līna ānaṃda kaṃdā  
banyē adabhuta bhāti aṃki nakha sikha kām̐ti  
priyā sāgi rājahe kṛiṣṇa caṃdā  
ēhī rasu bar[a]ni nahi sake kou dhar[a]ni  
sahaja niju lagani kevala sunāe  
dou hitu jāni rati māni ati calyē saṃketa āe

- 19 A: māna; B: jāni, māni  
20 A/B: hai; A: ānaṃda  
21 A: manaha  
22 A: adbhuta bhāti aṃka, saṃga, rājahē kṛiṣṇa; B: krām̐ti  
23 A: rasa barana, nija  
24 A: hita; B: jāni, māni

The lady, (her) arm resting on a creeper, is sporting in the grove.  
There, with a cunning go-between, bees gather and hum loudly.  
Aware of the humming of the bees, Kāṅha took shelter;  
    seeing (her) beauty (his) thirst is not sated.  
Sāṅvare is intoxicated in the ocean of beauty's essence,  
    composure does not enter (his) heart for a moment.  
Then (he)sounded (his) flute (and) brought the bride (to him when  
    she) heard; the two supreme lovers met in an embrace.  
The lady, (her) arm resting on a creeper, is sporting in the grove.

Both of them, knowing (their) love (and) strongly aware of (their)  
    passion, came to meet (each other).  
There was complete happiness, joy (and) peace;  
    they did as they pleased.  
They did as they pleased, both imbibed the delight,  
    immersed in the essence of love, the root of joy.  
(They) looked amazingly beautiful, splendour in (their) bodies  
    from head to toe, the moon Kṛṣṇa is resplendent with (his) beloved.  
No one on earth can describe this delight -  
    Kevala has related it with his innate devotion .  
Both of them, knowing (their) love (and) strongly aware of (their)  
    passion, came to meet (each other).

2 (śrī)

syāma salone rūpa mō naina rahe urajhāi  
kevala sobhā nirakhikē aura na kachū suhāi  
sāvārī mūrati lāla sakhī bhāve mujhe  
laṭakata maṭakata naina dikhāvō calo tujhe  
calo tohi dikhāu yaha chabi baraha sīsi suhāvanā 5  
adhara benu bajāi sama suri braja vadhū mani bhāvanā  
pīta bāsu subāsa suṃdara banyē jiu ghana dāmuni  
bali jāi kevala nirakhi yaha duti calata mada gaja gāmuni

(The couplets preceding each stanza are found only in B)

- 1 B: syāma salōnē
- 3 A/C: mūrata
- 4 A/B: diṣāvō
- 5 A/B: calō; A/C: sīsa; A/B/C: suhāvanā; C: diṣāu, caha (for yaha)
- 6 A/C: mana bhāvanā; B/C: vraja; A: sura; B: bēnu, bhāvanā; C: adhasma (? for adhara), baina, badhū
- 7 A/B: dāmuni; A/C: bāsa; C: dāmini
- 8 A/C: bala, nirāṣa; A: duta; B: gāmuni; C: gāmini

aṃga aṃga sobhā banī (kachu) ganī na jāve mohi  
kevala vedhye rasa mujhe sakō nahī kahi tohi 10  
alākāvali dhari māthe tilaku birājahe  
bīdā banyo rasāla dekhi ravi lājahe  
dekhi sobhā hoi lajjita koṭa dinakara caṃdramā  
nirakhi kuṃḍala śravana khobhī gayo duri mana ko śramā  
bhaūa dhanuṣa banāi rākhye naina bāna calāvahī 15  
bali jāi kevala nirakhi yaha duti dhīra nāhi dharāvahī

- 11 A/B: alikāvali; A/C: tilaka; A: birājahē; C: alikāvala dhara
- 12 A/C: deṣa; A: benā (for bīdā), lājahē; B: risāla; C: biṃḍā
- 13 A/C: deṣa; B/C: lajjita; A: koṭi; B: caṃdramā
- 14 A/C: nirāṣa; A/B: śramā; A: dura; B: kuṃḍhala, sōbhī; C: mani
- 15 A/B: rākṣe, calāvahī; B/C: dhanuṣa; A: vāna; B: bāna; C: bhō
- 16 A/C: nirāṣa; B: dharāvahī; C: nāhi



roma roma aṭakī sakhi jinahū nirakhī jhāla  
kevala parabasi hau bhai hiri līnī nāda lāla

aṃjanu manamatha gaṃjanu atichabi pāvahe  
nāsā besara motī laṭaki laṭakāvahe

20

laṭaki mukatā hiryo tanu manu bibasi prāna hamāre  
adhara lagyo taṃbola ko rasu cibaku atichabi dhāre  
kaṃṭhi dularī pota rājita ura sohe banamālā  
bali jāi kevala nirakhi yaha duti hiri lai braja bālā

17 B: rōma rōma

19 A/C: aṃjana; C: gaṃdhana

20 A: bēsara, laṭaka (-ka deleted) laṭakāvahē; C: baisara

21 A/B: prāna; A: tana, vivasa, hamārē; C: hiryo-ta-tana  
mana bivasa

22 A/C: rasa, cibuka, dhārē; B: lago

23 A: vanamālā; C: kaṃṭha, poti, rājata

24 A: nirṣa, hari; C: nirāṣa, duta, hira

dhīra na āve nirakhikē sobhā maṃda kisora  
kevala mūrati mādhurī cita vita ke hai cora

25

aṃga āga bhūṣana cāru birājē syāma ke  
ridi mō kaustubha dhāri hirye sukha kāma ke

hiryē sukha sabha kāma ke prabha aparimiti sobhā banī

kāchanī aru chudraghaṃṭ[ik]ā kavana pai jāve ganī

30

bajata nūpara karata ruṇujhuṇu yaha sarūpu ride base

bali jāi kevala nirakhi yaha duti maṃda maṃda hasana hase

27 A/B/C: syāma; A: virāje; B: birāje; C: omits cāru

28 A/B/C: kaustava; A/C: dhāra; A/B: kāma; C: rida me

29 A/B: kāma, aparamiti; A/C: prabhu; C: aparamita

30 A: kāchinī

31 A/C: ruṇajhuṇa, svarūpa; A: vasē; C: vase

32 A/C: nirāṣa; A: hasē; C: bala

(My) friend, whoever has seen (this) radiance  
 (feels) transfixed in every pore.  
 Kevala: I have become subjugated; Nanda's son has captivated (me).  
 (His) collyrium, confounding Manmatha, attains great beauty.  
 In (his) nose a pearl-ring dangles.  
 The dangling pearl captivated (my) body (and) mind,  
 my soul (was) overwhelmed.  
 (His) lip is stained (with) betel juice,  
 (his) chin possesses great beauty,  
 A double strand of glass beads resplendent around (his) neck,  
 a forest garland adorning (his) chest.  
 Kevala dedicates (himself) on seeing this splendour,  
 the maid of Braj was captivated.

There is no composure after seeing the beauty of Nanda's son.  
 Kevala: that sweet image is a stealer of (one's) mind  
 (and) consciousness.  
 Fine ornaments are resplendent on Śyāma's every limb;  
 A kaustubha jewel placed on (his) chest  
 deprived Kāma of his contentment.  
 Deprived Kāma of all his contentment,  
 so attractive is the Lord's infinite beauty.  
 By whom can (his) waist garment and girdle of small bells  
 be described?  
 (His) anklets resound, making a tinkling noise;  
 may this apparition abide in (my) heart.  
 Kevala dedicates (himself) on seeing this splendour  
 -(he) gives a gentle smile.



3 (tukhārī)

brimḍābana rasa kela kō calyē dou rasa puṃja  
rādhā lāla bilokahī phūli rahī nava kuṃja  
pika cātika ali guṃjahī sabada karata bahu mora  
kevala tahā birājahī nāgara naṃda kisora

brimḍābana rasa rāsa rasika dōu khelahī 5  
nānā praphulita phūla madhupa mili kelahī  
mili madhupa karahi kalola kautaka kokilā kali dhuni raṭī  
suni maura cātika ko kulāhalu calana tē jamunā haṭī  
navala kuṃja samīra sītala maina ko tana pelahī  
bali jāhi kevala jugala chabi pari mudita rasa rasa jhelahī 10

(The couplets preceding the six-line stanzas are not found in C)

- 1 A: vṛṃdāvana 2 A: vilokahī phūla  
4 A: tahā virājahī; B: birājahī jahā nāgara  
5 A/C: vṛṃdāvana; A/B: ṣelahī; C: dau  
6 A/B: kelahī; A: nānā; B: nānā; C: mila  
7 A: kala; C: mila, kokalā, dhuna  
8 A/C: mora, kulāhala; B: jamunā; C: suna, jagu nā (for jamunā)  
9 A/B: navanakuṃja (= nava nikuṃja ?), kō  
10 A/C: jāi; C: chaba para mudita rasa kō jhelahī

kuṃja latā hitu jānike navasata sāje aṃga  
gopījana rasa kāraṇe karata parasapara raṃga  
rāsa maṃḍala āē dou bhujā bhujā pari dhāri  
kevala dūlaha dulahanī mahāpremu vistāri

rādhā lāla biloki kuṃja hita rājahī 15  
gopījana rasa maṃḍana navasata sājahī  
tana sāji navasata calī bhāmuni piya bhujā pari bhujā dhari  
rasa bharyē āe rāsa maṃḍala prema pūrana ridi bhari  
tāla bena mṛḍaṅga muralī sāja bahuvidha bājahī  
bali jāhi kevala jugala chabi pari koṭa manamatha lājahī 20

- 11 A/C: sājē; A: hita; B: jānike 18 A/B: maṃḍhala;  
13 A: dau, para A/B/C: prēma; C: rida  
14 A: ~prema; B: mahāprēmu 19 A/B: bēna, bahuvidhi  
15 A/C: viloka bājahī; C: baina  
16 A/B: maṃḍhana, sājahī 20 A/C: bala, para; A: jāi,  
lājahī; B: rājahī; C: chaba  
17 A/C: sāja, bhāmīna; A: piya; B: bhāmuni; C: para

Heaped with emotion the two of them went to the delightful  
sporting in Vrindaban.

Rādhā looks at Lāla, the fresh grove is in bloom.

The cuckoo (and) cātaka warble, the peacock makes much noise.

Kevala: Nanda's urbane son is resplendent there.

The two lovers play the delightful rāsa of Vrindaban.

Various flowers are in bloom, the bees meet and play.

The bees meet and engage in mirth (and) revelry,  
the cuckoo repeats (its) melodious call.

Hearing the commotion of the peacock (and) cātaka  
the Yamuna to flow.

In the fresh grove a cool breeze pierces the body of Maina.

Kevala dedicates (himself) to the couple's beauty  
plunging joyfully into all kinds of delight.

Knowing the grove (and) creepers to be well-disposed,  
(their) bodies decked (in all) sixteen (adornments),

The gopis, for the sake of delight, are amusing each other.

The two of them came arm in arm to the rāsa circle;

Kevala: the bride (and) groom radiate great love.

Love is resplendent in the grove when Rādhā looks at Lāla.

The gopis, to heighten the delight, are decked (in all)  
sixteen (adornments);

The woman, (her) body decked (in all) sixteen (adornments),  
walked arm in arm with (her) lover.

Full of delight they came to the rāsa circle,  
(their) hearts completely filled with love.

They play the cymbals, flute, drum, pipe  
(and) all kinds of instruments.

Kevala dedicates (himself) to the couple's beauty;  
ten million Manmathas are put to shame.

rasika bihārī bhāmuni biharata haī rasa keli  
nācata gāvata prema sō rāga rāginī meli  
ruṇujhuṇu nūpara bājahī thai thai vadata gupāla  
kevala khelye bhāti bahu druma belī behāla

biharata rasika bihāra bihārī bhāmuni 25  
laṭakata gāvata gīta calata gaja gāmuni  
gaja cāla calata sudhaṅga nācata thai thai nūpara raṭe  
rasa kela kautaku dekhi surapati nāka kō nahi phiri haṭe  
druma bela sahita anaṅga mūrchita laṭi gai sabha jāmuni  
bali jāhi kevala jugala chabi pari banyē jiu ghana dāmuni 30

21 A/B: bhāmuni; A: vihārī, viharata hai

22 A/B: prēma; A: raṅganī; B: rāganī

23 A: ruṇajhuṇa, madana (for vadata); B: thai thai

24 A: vehāla; B: bihāla

25 A: viharata, vihāra, bhāminī; B: bhāmuni; C: bihirata, bhāminī

26 A: gāminī; B: gāmuni; C: gāminī 27 C: thai thai, raṭe

28 A/C: deṣa; C: kautaka, surapata, ko, phira haṭe

29 A/C: mūrachita; A: laṭa, jāminī; B: jāmuni; C: anaṅga,  
laṭa rahī, jāminī

30 A/B: jāi, dāmuni; C: bala, juga chaba para, dāminī

āe kuṃja mahala viṣe rasyē unīde naina  
navala kuara nava lādulī sukha sijā kio saina  
sobhā nirakhata koṭa ika lajjita hoi anaṅga  
kevala tahā birājahī lāla kuari ke saṅga

rasa bharye unīde naina saina kō āvahī 35

sukha sijā kio saina maina murachāvahī

bhae mūrchita maina nirakhata dou mūrati mādhurī

gaura sāvara navala jorī kuṃja maṅdira mai durī

kanaka latā tamāla druma jiu urajha ura lapaṭāvahī

bali jāhi kevala jugala chabi pari paramamoda baḍhāvahī 40

32 A/B: lādulī; A: sijjā kiya

38 C: sāvala

33 B: lajita

39 A/B: lapaṭāvahī; B: kanika

34 A: virājahī

40 A/B: jāi, baḍhāvahī;

35 A/B: āvahī; C: ko

A/C: para, pārma-;

36 A/B: murachāvahī; A: sijjā kiya; C: kiyo

C: bala, chaba

37 A: daū mūrata; B: niraṣata madhura mūrati mādhurī;

C: maina mūrachita bhayo niraṣata madhura mūrata sāvarī

The sportive lover (and his) lady amuse themselves  
in delightful play,  
dancing (and) singing with love, mixing the rāgas (and) rāginīs.  
(Their) anklets make a tinkling sound,  
Gopāla calls out the dance steps.

Kevala: they played in many different ways,  
the trees (and) creepers were overwhelmed.

The sportive lover (and his) sportive lady amuse themselves,  
Swaying, singing songs, moving with elephant gait.  
Moving with elephant gait, dancing gracefully,  
(their) anklets repeat a "thai thai" sound.

The Lord of the Gods, seeing the revelry of the delightful play,  
does not return to (his) heaven.

Ananga swooned along with the trees (and) creepers,  
the whole night was exhausted.

Kevala dedicates (himself) to the couple's beauty;  
they are as beautiful as cloud (and) lightning.

They came into the arbour, (their) eyes tired (and) watering.  
The fresh youth and the fresh maid rested on a pleasant couch.  
Seeing the beauty millions of love gods were put to shame.  
Kevala: Lāla, with the maid, is resplendent there.

With moist and drowsy eyes they settled down to rest.  
They rested on a pleasant couch; the love gods swooned.  
The love gods fell into a swoon on seeing (their) two sweet forms.  
The fair and dark young couple retreated into the bower,  
Wrapped in an embrace like a golden creeper (and) a tamāla tree.  
Kevala dedicates (himself) to the couple's beauty  
(which) intensifies supreme delight.

4 (rāmakalī)

taji haṭhu piya sō bhāmuni giridhara lālu adhīna  
begi calo gaja gāmuni taraphata binu jala mīna  
binā jala jiu mīna ātura syāma tuma binu iu bhae  
palaki oṭa bitīti māno cāri juga pūranu gae  
bali jāi kevala prāna pyārī mahācatura pravīna  
taji haṭhu piya sō bhāmuni giridhara lālu adhīna

5

- 1 A: haṭhi, bhāminī giradhara lāla; B: bhāmuni
- 2 A: bega, gāmanī tarphata; B: gāmuni, jiu (for binu)
- 3 A/B: syāma; A: bina
- 4 A: bitīta, cāra, pūrana; B: mǎnō
- 5 A/B: prāna; B: mahā~
- 6 A/B: bhāmuni; A: haṭha, giradhara lāla

kuṃja latā mō sāvare tuhi citavata dhari dhyānu  
maina caina murachāvahī dūri karo risa mānu  
taji mānu suni baca (mohi) haṭhīlī beri kaba kī hama bhai  
haṭī ajahu na risa tumārī raina sakalī ghaṭi gai  
bali jāi kevala prāna pyārī calahu dīje dānu  
kuṃja latā mō sāvare tuhi citavata dhari dhyānu

10

- 7 A: dhara dhyāna; B: tohi, dhyānu
- 8 A/B: murachāvahī; A: māna; B: mānu
- 9 A: māna, vaca muhi, bera; B: mānu
- 10 A: haṭhī, ghaṭa
- 11 A: calo dījē dāna; B: prāna, dānu
- 12 A: dhara dhyāna; B: tohi, dhyānu

Abandon (this) obstinacy towards (your) loved-one,  
Giridhara Lāla (is) dependent (upon you).

Go quickly, (with) elephant gait  
(he) tosses about (like) a fish out of water.

Without you Śyāma has become like a fish suffering out of water.  
(For him) the blinking of an eye is like the passing  
of the four ages.

Kevala dedicates (himself to one who is as) dear as life (itself),  
very cunning and adept.

Abandon (this) obstinacy towards (your) loved-one,  
Giridhara Lāla (is) dependent (upon you).

Among the creepers of the grove Sāvare is looking out for you,  
engrossed in thought.

Maina falls into a swoon - cast off (your) anger and resentment.

Abandon (your) resentment, obstinate woman, listen to my words,  
how late it has become for us.

Your anger has not been dispelled today,  
the whole night has passed.

Kevala dedicates (himself to one who is as) dear as life (itself);  
go (and) give (him some) token.

Among the creepers of the grove Sāvare is looking out for you,  
engrossed in thought.

dīna vacana suni lādulī musika calī bana māhi  
prema nehu hitu jānio urajhi milyē dōu tāhi  
milyē premu badhāi rasa mō keli kautaku bahu karē 15  
rasika lāla pravīna jorī rāsa maṁḍala hitu dharē  
bali jāi kevala prāna pyārī katahu sama kōu nāhi  
dīna vacana suni lādulī musika calī bana māhi

- 13 A: suna, musaka; B: lādulī  
14 A/B: prēma; A: neha hiti, urajha; B: jānio  
15 A: prēma; B: prēmu  
16 A/B: maṁḍhala  
17 A/B: prāna  
18 A: musaka; B: lādulī

khelata mili dōu rāsu tahā bhujā bhujā pari dhāri  
bahuvidha bajitra bajāvahī thaj thaj vadata murāri 20  
karata thaj thaj gāna kautaku kuṁja puṁja anādu bhayo  
(rasa) keli krīḍā karī pūranu dekhi mana ko śramu gayo  
bali jāi kevala prāna pyārī badanu roca nihāri  
khelata mili dōu rāsu tahā bhujā bhujā pari dhāri

- 19 A: mila do rāsa taha  
20 A/B: bahuvidhi, bajāvahī  
21 A/B: gāna; A: anamda  
22 A: kela kīḍā, pūrana deṣa  
23 A: badana, nihāra; B: prāna  
24 A: dau rāsa taha

The beloved, hearing (these) humble words,  
went smiling into the forest.  
Realising (their) love, affection (and) devotion  
the two of them met there in an embrace.  
On meeting (their) love swelled with emotion,  
they indulged in many kinds of joyful play.  
The lover Lāla, that skilful couple,  
established (their) love in the rāsa circle.  
Kevala dedicates (himself to one who is as) dear as life (itself),  
nowhere is there anyone equal.  
The beloved, hearing (these) humble words,  
went smiling into the forest.

The two of them meet and play rāsa there, arm in arm  
They play many kinds of instrument,  
Murāri calls out the dance steps.  
Dancing 'thai thai' (to a) merry song,  
the grove was heaped with joy.  
Seeing them play the game of love to the full  
the weariness of (one's) mind is dispelled.  
Kevala dedicates (himself to one who is as ) dear as life (itself)  
on seeing the radiance of (his) face.  
The two of them meet and play rāsa there, arm in arm.



5 (kidārā)

to sama ko pyāro nahi pyārī  
tana mana dhana tuma prāna lāla ke sasi jiu sudhā kirāṇi ujiārī  
jiu dāmuni binu ghana kī sobhā taise tuma binu kuṃjabihārī  
begi mānu taji milahu lāla sō jiya kī jīvani sobhā nyārī  
tuma ho catura pravīni lādulī rūpa simḍhu sīvā na tihārī  
kevala rasi milu rasu upajāvo uha naṭu tū bṛiṣabhāna dulārī

- 1 D: pyārī nahi pyārī
- 2 A/B: prāna; D: kirāṇa
- 3 A: dāmuni bina, bina; B: dāmuni; D: dāmīna vina, vina  
~vihārī
- 4 A/D: bega māna, jīvana; B: mānu; D: taja milo
- 5 A/D: pravīna, sīvā; B: lādulī; A: simḍha
- 6 A/D: rasa mila rasa, nata; A: vṛṣabhāna; B: vṛiṣabhāna;  
in D the second foot has been emended to read: prītama  
sō vṛṣabhāna dulārī

6 (kidārā)

pyārī tero musika milana piya bhāve  
maina baina tana urajhi tero jasu kuṃja bhavana mō gāve  
vr̥thā mānu haṭhu kiō haṭhīlī karahu jivē bani āve  
to sī triyā racī nahi racanā vidhi raci paci na suhāve  
im̐da badani tuma sadana sudhā ko sukha samūha upajāve  
kevala calahu milahu piya bhāmuni bahuvidha lāḍa laḍāve

- 1 A: bhāvē; D: musaka (in margin), piyā (followed by deleted ko)
- 2 B/D: caina (for baina); A: gāvē; D: urajha, jasa, mē
- 3 A/D: māna; A: haḍha, haḍhīlī karō, āvē; B: mānu;  
D: haṭha kiyo, karo ivē ju suhāve
- 4 A/B: racanā; A: priyā (for triyā); B: triyā; D: to sī  
tiyā racī nahi kabahū vidha supanē nahi āve
- 5 A: badana; D: im̐du vadana
- 6 A/B: bhāmuni bahuvidhi lāḍha laḍhāve; D: bhāmīna

Beloved, no one has a lover such as yours<sup>1</sup>  
You are Lāla's body, mind, wealth (and) soul,  
like the moon's bright beams of nectar.  
Without you Kuñjabihārī is like the beauty of clouds  
(when they are) bereft of lightning.  
Quickly abandon (your) sulking, meet Lāla  
- (your very) lifeblood, unique (in) beauty.  
You are a cunning (and) clever lover,  
(there is) no limit to the ocean of your beauty.  
Meet in pure rasa<sup>2</sup>, inspire rasa, he (is) a strolling player,  
you (are) Vṛṣabhānu's darling child.

1 Translated on the assumption that to = tava; otherwise  
D's reading is preferable: 'No one is as dear (to him)  
as you, beloved'.

2 Assuming that the author has intended the Sanskrit  
compound kevalarasa.

Beloved (your) lover is pleased by your smile  
(at the moment of) meeting.  
(With his) face like Maina's (and his) body engrossed,  
(he) sings your praises in the bower.  
(You) have sulked (and) resisted in vain, obstinate woman,  
do what needs to be done.  
Creation has not produced such a woman as you,  
the Creator, after striving (to create one) is not satisfied.  
You, moon-faced, an abode of nectar, give rise to an *abundance* of joy.  
Just go, (my) lady, meet (your) lover,  
coax (him) in many different ways.

7 (kidārā)

mānuni karahu mānu na eta  
badana lava paṭa oṭa dīē syāma manu hiri leta  
banani banahi banāu jaiso karahu tumahī teta  
tajahu aṃtaru lāla piya sō kahō kahyo na jeta  
dīna mohana paṃthu citavata dhāri mana mō heta  
calahu kevala dānu dīje rahī kahi kahi keta

- 1 A: māna na karahu mānini eta; B: mānuni, mānu;  
D: mānina karahu māna na eta
- 2 A/B: syāma; A/D: mana hira; D: dīyē
- 3 D: banāu
- 4 A: tajo, kahyo karo na jeta; D: aṃtara
- 5 A/D: paṃtha; B: mōhana; D: dhāra, mē
- 6 A/D: dāna; A: calo; B: dānu

8 (kidārā)

sunahu lālana piya pyārī na ṭarata ṭārī  
mana kī ṭeva tihārī jāni rahī sabha  
pāina paratī mohi haṭhu na tajata tohi  
kachū na calata balu jāvahu tumahī prabha  
sāma dāma kahi bheda daṃḍa vaca bina kheda  
raina sakala gaī kirāni pasarī nabha  
kevala aiso hai ṭhaṭu jaiso cikanō ghaṭu  
jatana karata hārī chipata nāhina kab[h]a

- 1 A: jāna; B: jāni; D: jāna, saba
- 2 A/D: bala jāvo, prabhu; A: haḍha, tajati; D: haṭha
- 3 A/B: syāma dāma, daṃḍa; A/D: vaca; B/D: omit bina kheda;  
D: syāma, kirāna
- 4 A/B: cikanō; A/D: ghaṭa; A: aisō; D: haṭha (for ṭhaṭu),  
nāhina; all three have he for hai, which may be an  
interpolation, cf. IV.3.3.3.

Reproachful lady, do not sulk so much.

Just by slightly covering (your) face (with) a veil  
(you) captivate the heart of Śyāma.

Do as much as needs to be done to settle the matter<sup>1</sup>,

End (this) dispute with (your) beloved Lāla;  
let me speak, (I have) not (yet) said so much.

The forlorn Mohana is looking out (for you)  
(his) heart filled with love.

Go, just give a token (of affection),  
how often I have pleaded (with you).

- 1 A comparable modern idiom uses bāt (for banani):  
jaise bāt bane taise banāo

Listen, dear Lāla, (your) beloved, (though) urged,  
will not yield; she knows full well the nature of your heart.

I fall at (her) feet (but she) does not abandon (her)  
stubbornness towards you; (my) powers are to no avail;  
go (to her) yourself, (my) Lord.

(I have) reasoned, coaxed, argued and scolded relentlessly<sup>1</sup>;  
the whole night has passed, (dawn's) rays have spread  
(across the sky). (across the sky).

Kevala: such is (her) ploy - just like a smooth pot<sup>2</sup>;  
(I am) exhausted with trying (but) it will not be abandoned.

1 sāma, dāma, bheda, daṇḍa: four traditional means (upāya)  
of winning over an adversary.

2 cikano ghaṭu: a smooth, glazed or oiled pot which repels  
water, used to describe someone who is impervious to all  
advice and persuasion (comparable to the expression 'like  
water off a duck's back').

9 (kidārā)

ṭhād̥hī hai aṃgana madhi rasika rasīlī  
rūpa sudhā kī sīvā chaila chabīlī  
darapanu kara līno badanu nihāre  
māno maina ke jūtha koṭa ika vāre  
jhūmaka sārī tana syāma bīrī sohe 5  
suri nara manu hiryo mohinī kō mohe  
nāsā motī jagamaga mahāchabi dhāre  
aṃjanu nainana māno khaṃjana vāre  
bhaūa dhanuṣa madhi biṃdulā banāyo  
māno ravi uditā sasi ghari āyo 10  
kuṃtala kesana madhi māga birāje  
māno siva kī jaṭā bīci gaṃga rāje  
aṃgi aṃgi pyārī chabi baranī na jāve  
kevala calahu lāla dekhyē bani āve

- 1 A: hē; B: he
- 3 A: darapana, badana; B: līnō
- 4 A: mānō; B: mānō
- 5 A/B: syāma
- 6 A: mohani, sura; B: mōhani
- 7 A/B: mahā~ ; A: dhārē
- 8 A: aṃjana, naina, vārē; B: mānō, vārye
- 9 B: dhanīṣa
- 10 A: mānō, ghara; B: mānō
- 11 A/B: kuṃtila; A: virājē
- 12 A: māno, rājē; B: mānō
- 13 A: aṃga aṃga, varanī, jāvē
- 14 A: calo, deksē, āvē; B: dēksē

The impassioned lover is standing in the courtyard,  
A fine beauty, the ultimate nectar of loveliness.  
Holding a mirror in (her) hand (she) looks at (her) face,  
(It is) as if hoards of love gods, a million or more,  
are offering themselves (to her).  
A glittering sari on (her) body, beautified by a dark earring,  
Captivates the hearts of gods (and) men, enchants Mohinī.  
A sparkling pearl of great beauty (in her) nose,  
Collyrium in (her) eyes, as if wagtails are offering themselves,  
(She has) made a round mark between (her) arched eyebrows  
As if the sun has risen (and) entered the house of the moon.  
A line (of jewels) is resplendent in (the parting of her) hair  
Just as the Ganges looks splendid in Śiva's matted locks.  
The beauty of the beloved's every limb is indescribable;  
Kevala: go (to her) Lāla - the sight is well worth seeing.

10 (kidāro)

nācata dōu rāsa māḍala thaī thaī tata thaī  
prema umaḍi rījhi rījhi gāvata suri thori  
ika tē ika gati suḍhāra tāna māna sama bihāra  
khelata rasa mai pravīna rādhikā kisori  
runajhuna nūpara bisāla calata hai jaisī bāla  
chabi dekhata bhrām̐ti maina manasā kī torī  
bhāti bhāti karī kela ānāda rasa sim̐dhu jhela  
kevala juga juga bihāra brim̐dābana jori

- 1 A/B: prēma umaḍhi; A: rījha (once only), sura; B: maḍhala
- 2 A/B: tāna māna
- 3 A: bhrām̐ta; B: calata hai gaja jaisī cāla
- 4 A: vṛm̐dābana; B: ānada

11 (kidārā)

khelata hai mili rāsa rasika dōu kuḃja bhavana mahu baiṭhe  
lāla ke baraha sīsi birāje priyā kī māga mahāchabi chāje  
piya kō pīta pichori sohe bhāmuni nīlām̐bara mana mohe  
piya ke kuḃdala kāni banāe pyārī śravana tāṭam̐ka suhāe  
piya ke nainana aḃjanu dīnā bhāmuni mohe kham̐jana mīnā 5  
piya ke nāsā laṭakata motī pyārī besara jagamaga joti  
piya ko badanu kavala kī nyāī pyārī sasi pragat̐yō nabha māhī  
piya ke ura sohe banamālā pyārī navasata hāra bisālā  
piya ke kaṭi kāchanī birāje priyā ke chudragham̐tikā rāje  
jugala kī āgi aḃgi chabi sohe dekhata manamatha ko manu mohe 10  
chabi kī upamā kahī na jāve nirakhata kevalajanu bali jāve

- 1 A: hai, mō
- 2 A: sīsa virāje; B: mahā~
- 3 A: ko, bhāmīna; B: bhāmuni
- 4 A: kāna, tāṭam̐ka; B: kuḃdhala kāni
- 5 A: aḃjana, bhāmīna; B: bhāmuni, mīnā
- 6 A: vaisara
- 7 A: vaina (for badana), nyāī, māhī
- 8 A omits
- 9 A: kāchinī
- 10 A: aḃga aḃga, sohē, kō mana
- 11 A: bala; B: upamā

They are both dancing in the rāsa circle- 'thai thai tata thai'-  
joyful with overflowing love, singing in gentle tones.  
With ever more graceful movements (and) the play of melody, rhythm  
(and) sama, the damsel Rādhikā gambols, skilled in love  
The broad anklets jingle as (they) follow the maiden('s movements)  
on seeing the beauty the pride of Maina's heart is broken.  
(They) played all kinds of games, plunging into an ocean of bliss;  
Kevala: (such), from age to age, (is) the revelry of  
(this) couple (in) Vrindaban .

Seated in the bower, the two lovers have met (and) are playing rāsa.  
The peacock feather on Lāl's head is resplendent, the line  
( of gems) in the parting of) the beloved's (hair)  
displays great beauty.  
The lover's yellow garment is pleasing, the woman's blue gown  
is enchanting.  
The lover's earrings beautify (his) ears, earrings adorn  
(his) beloved's ears.  
The collyrium applied to the lover's eyes charms the woman  
(as if the eyes are) wagtails (or) fish.  
A pearl dangles from the lover's nose, (his) beloved's nose ring  
(is of) sparkling brilliance.  
The lover's face (is) like a lotus, (his) beloved (is) the moon  
appearing in the sky.  
A forest garland adorns the lover's chest, the beloved (decked  
in all) sixteen (adornments, wears) a broad necklace.  
A kāchanī is resplendent around the lover's waist, the beloved's  
girdle of small bells looks splendid.  
Beauty graces the couple's every limb, Manmatha is enchanted on  
seeing them.  
No simile for (their) beauty can be expressed,  
seeing (them) Kevalajana dedicates (himself).



12 (kidārā)

bāra dōu nava kisora se bāla  
tina mō atisumdari ika ravanī mahāmatta gaja cāla  
rāma lachana tinu nāmu kahata hai janaka sutā ju rasāla  
vā kī sobhā obhā sabha jagu nirakhata bhae nihāla  
amga amga ruci parata mādhuri paṅkaja naina bisāla  
nakha sikha lo chabi uṭhata taraṅgani hiri līnī mukha jhāla  
puravāsī nara nāri mohita bhae giri giri parata bihāla  
kevala saru taji calyē hai kahā kau tretā juga ke marāla

- 1 A: vāra
- 2 A: sūmdara; B: mahāmata
- 3 A: tina nāma; B: rāma, nāmu, sutā rīsāla
- 4 A: vā kī
- 5 A: visāla
- 6 A: hira
- 7 A: gira gira, vihāla; B: mohata
- 8 A: hai kahā ko

13 (kidārā)

tuma cali āvo giridhārī mahāmānu kīo piya pyārī  
mukha tere tē karī venatī raṭata raṭata hau hārī  
śravani na sune citu nahī dhāre dukha pāve mana bhārī  
jaba kaba khiji upajī tere tē adabhuta ṭeva tumārī  
yaha baca suni mohana uṭhi ā mili māna āpadā ṭārī  
rāsa bilāsa kela rasa kevala nirakhi nirakhi balihārī

- 1 A/D: giradhārī; A: mahāmāna; B: mahāmānu; D: cala, mahāmāna kīyo
- 2 A/B: vēnatī; D: benatī
- 3 A/D: śravana; A: citta, dhārē, pāvē krodha; B: duṣa (deleted) and krodha added in the margin; D: cita
- 4 A/D: sija; A: kava
- 5 A/B: mōhana, māna; A/D: vaca; A: mila, dhārī; B: āe, ṭhārī; D: suna, uṭha āe mila mana apadā
- 6 A/D: vilāsa; niraṣa niraṣa; A: balahārī

Be dedicated to the fresh and youthful couple.

One of them is a very beautiful woman  
(with) the gait of a rutting elephant.

Rāma says her name to Lakṣmaṇa  
(she who is) the lovely daughter of Janaka.

The whole world is gratified on seeing her beauty and splendour.

There is sweet attractiveness in (her) every limb  
(and in her) wide lotus eyes.

From head to toe beauty wells up like an ocean<sup>1</sup>  
captivated by the radiance of her face.

The men (and) women of the town are enchanted  
(and) fall down in a swoon.

Kevala: where have the swans of the Tretā age gone  
(now that they have) left the lake ?

- 1 assuming taraṅgani = tarāṅgini rather than the oblique plural of taraṅga ('wave')

Come (to her) yourself, Giridhārī,  
(your) beloved is feeling very reproachful.

I have made entreaties on your behalf,  
(but) am (now) exhausted with repeating (them).

(Her) ears do not hear, (she) does not concentrate  
(and) feels much grief (in her) heart.

Your behaviour is very strange  
whenever she feels angry with you.

Hearing these words, Mohana rose, came to meet (her)  
(and) dispelled (her) baleful resentment.

Kevala, beholding the delight of (their) joyful rāsa play,  
pays tribute.

14 (kidārā)

mānunī biṣaī priyā̄ kiu sāje  
bidhi suta ko sutu tā kī sutā sabha neku darasa tē lāje  
jala suta ko pati tisi pita ko sutu tinu priya nīti na kīje  
śrota sutī suta pati suti bhedana tinu prītama sukhu dīje  
dadhi sutu jīvani ko sutu tā suta tinu ari sō akulāne  
nīra pūta jala ripa kari ātura una rasa neha bikāne  
pavana bha[c]cha dhari ke suta bahavidha musaki calī tinu māhi  
kevala umagi calyē piya pyārī nirakhi aghāvata nāhī

- 1 A: mānanī; B: mānunī
- 2 A: vidhi, kō suta, tā kī, neka
- 3 A: suta tina, nīta
- 4 A: suta, tina, suṣa
- 5 A: suta jīvana ko suta, tina aru so akulānē;  
B: akulānē
- 6 A: nēha vikānē; B: bikānē
- 7 A/B: bahavidhi; A: dhara, tina
- 8 A: umamga, nirasa

15 (lalita)

āvata kuṃjana tē dou prāta  
nisā bihāra sithala manamatha bhaē aruna naina arasāta  
śrama jala būdi maddhi bhauana ke janu mukatāvala (kī) pāta  
bīdā ubhaya bhāla sarasī mahu hamsa bha[c]cha kau jāta  
aṭapaṭi cāla parasapari musakani kara sō karu lapaṭāta  
kevalajana dāmuni ghana āvahi līē prema kī bāta

- 1 A: prāta; B: kuṃja, dou
- 2 A: vihāra, arusāta
- 3 A: būda, janu, pāta; B: madhi, māno (for janu)
- 4 A: mō, ko
- 5 A: kara
- 6 A: ~janu, dāmuni, āvē; B: āvahi, prēma

Beloved, why have you assumed the role of a reproachful woman ?  
 All the daughters of the son of Vidhi's son  
   are abashed by just a glance (from him).

Look upon the beloved (m.) of the son of the father  
   of the lord of the son of water,

Bestow happiness upon the loved one of that which cleaves (?)  
   the son(s) of the lord of the son of the river's daughter.

(He) is perplexed by the enemy of the son  
   of the son of the livelihood of the ocean's son,

Having made the enemy of the water (of) the son of water suffer  
   (he) has sold (himself) to the love of its rasa.

She went smiling among the manifold sons of (the one who is)  
   possessed of the one whose food is air.

Kevala can never be sated by the sight of the lover  
   (and his) beloved moving along joyfully.

This is a cryptic poem in which the dutī persuades Rādhā to abandon her māna and meet Kṛṣṇa, but no solution is readily forthcoming; vidhi suta suta perhaps refers to the sun (son of Kaśyapa); nītina is probably intended for nītana, used by Sūrādāsa to mean 'eye(s)', viz. nīta + na = naya + na = nayana (cf. P. Tandan, p.418); jāla suta pati may refer to Viṣṇu as lord of Kāmalā; dadhisuta may mean lotus, pearl, moon(light) or anything produced from the ocean; pavana bhaccha dhari probably refers to Śiva as one who wears a serpent (an animal said to eat air).

They are both coming out of the groves at dawn.

Manmatha was weary (from) the nocturnal revelry,  
   (their) bloodshot eyes are tired.

(There are) drops of perspiration between (their) eyebrows  
   like a string of pearls,

The forehead mark on the lake of each brow  
   (is like) a swan going (in search of) food<sup>1</sup>.

(They walk with) faltering steps, smiling at each other  
   (and) clasping hands.

Kevalajana: lightning (and) cloud are coming,  
   borne by the wind of love.

1 The haṃsa is fabled to eat pearls.

16 (lalita)

āvata mūrati maina māno āvata mūrati maina  
ārāsa badana khiryē bhūṣana basa mahāragamāge naina  
kara mījhata aru deta jhābhāī sithala madhura mukha baina  
adabhuta chabi pyārī pyāre kī jiu tārā sasi gaina  
bahavidha kīō (hai) bilāsu nisā kau pragati cihana tēu caina  
kevalajana jorī citu coryo rūpa sudhā ko aina

- 1 A: mūrata; B: mānō
- 2 B: mahā-
- 3 B: mījhata, jhabhāī
- 4 B: pyāro kī (?)
- 5 A/B: bahavidhi; A: kīyo, vilāsa, pragata
- 6 A: cita, ke aina

17 (pūravā)

āju pyārī ke saṅgi rasika rāi gupāla  
atichabi pāvata gāvata doū calata cāla marāla  
karata bihāra bilāsa rāsa mō māna leta karatāla  
kevalajana rasu badhyō (hai) parasapara druma belī behāla

- 1 A: saṅga
- 2 A: omits gāvata doū
- 3 A: vilāsa, tāna (for māna); B: māna
- 4 A: -janu, sukha (for rāsu), vehāla



18 (kidārā)

mānuni mānu kiō kiha kāja  
rahata adhīna dīna mohana jiu bāha gahe kī lāja  
tū vā kī sobhā saṃpati hai vaha tava paramasamāja  
kevala musaki milo śrī bhāmuni calie navasata sāja

- 1 A/D: māna kiyo; A: mānanī, kihi; B: mānuni mānu;  
D: mānanī
- 2 A/B: mōhana; A: vāha gahē; D: jī bāhi
- 3 A/D: tū, parma~; D: saṃpata he tava vaha
- 4 A/D: bhāmīna; B: bhāmuni; D: musaka

19 (kidārā)

hasata khelata lālu āve alī mero hasata khelata lālu āve  
bāki dṛiṣṭi capala nainana gati mukha muralī dhuni gāve  
māthe mukaṭu khora caṃdana kī kaṭi kāchani chabi pāve  
tāna māna mē sarasu sāvare śrī rādhā mani bhāve  
aṃga aṃga ruci parata mādhurī nirakhata ṭonā lāve  
tana mana prāna deta nihachāvara kevalajanu bali jāve

- 1 A: lāla, alī, lāla āvē
- 2 A: vāki dṛṣṭa, gāvē
- 3 A: mukaṭha, kāchina
- 4 A/B: tāna; A: me sarasa sāvarē, manu; B: māna
- 5 A/B: ṭonā; A: lāvē
- 6 A/B: prāna; A: ~jana bala

Sulking woman, why have you shown such resentment ?

The forlorn Mohana remains dependent (upon you  
with) the humility of (one who) grasps (your) arm (for help).

You are his beauty (and) treasure, he is your supreme companion.

Kevala: meet (him) with a smile, blessed lady,  
go decked (in all) sixteen (adornments).

Lāla is coming, laughing (and) playing, my friend,  
Lāla is coming, laughing (and) playing,

(With) sidelong glances, darting movements of (his) eyes,  
sounding the flute (on his) lips,

A crown on (his) head, a mark of sandal (on his forehead),  
the kāchanī round (his) waist looks beautiful.

Sāvare, delightful in (his command of) melody and rhythm,  
pleases the heart of Rādhā.

Sweet attractiveness imbues (his) every limb,  
(by) glancing (he) casts a spell.

Kevalajana dedicates (himself),  
making an offering of (his) body, heart (and) soul.



20 (mārū)

navala kūara brīṣabhāna ko jasu kīje  
āī hō jācana dvāra tihāre bhalo dānu(mohi) dīje  
tīni loka sama ko nāhina mana ko dukhu chīje  
navala lāla dūlaha sō rasa mō basi līje  
chāḍo haṭhu mānu pyārī inu bātani jīje  
kevala rasa kela ko rasu piya sō mili pīje

- 1 A: kūari vṛṣabhāna, jasa; B: vṛiṣabhāna
- 2 A: dāna; B: dānu
- 3 A: tīna, koū, manu ko duṣa; B: mana kō
- 4 A: vasi
- 5 A/B: mānu; A: haṭha, ina bātana; B: chāḍho
- 6 A: kevalajana rasa kela ko piya sō mila pīje

metre: 12 + 10

read 2<sup>a</sup> as: āī jācana dvāra ?

21 (rāmakalī)

bacana kahata hau hārī bhāmuni bacana kahata hau hārī  
sune na bāta śravana de sajanī aṭipati ṭeva tihārī  
...  
karata venatī bahuvidhi mohana sarada prakāsī jāma  
kevala rāsa rasika mili khelē drumā belī viśrāma

- 1 A: bacana kahata-u-hārī bhāmuna vaca\*na kahati hō hārī  
(the words following \* and the next line are written in  
the margin with a caret placed after vaca~); B: bhāmuni;  
omits words following baca~ and line 2
- 3 A/B: mōhana; A: benatī; B: vēnatī, jāma

Youthful maid, uphold Vṛṣabhaṅu's reputation.

I have come begging at your door, give me some suitable gift.

No one in the three worlds is (your) equal,  
alleviate the sorrow of (his) heart.

Dwell in delight<sup>1</sup> with the young Lāla, (your) suitor.

Beloved, cast off (your) stubbornness (and) resentment,  
you spend your life (indulging) in these feelings.<sup>2</sup>

Kevala: meet (your) lover and drink the essence of love's play.

1 alternatively: overpower (him) with rasa.

2 alternatively: be pleased with these words.

I have exhausted myself saying (these) words, my lady,  
I have exhausted myself saying (these) words.

(You) do not listen to (my) words, lend an ear, good lady,  
your behaviour (is so) erratic.

...

Mohana pleads in every way,  
(it is) a bright (moonlit) autumn night,

Kevala: (you) should meet (your) lover and play the rāsa,  
the trees (and) creepers (are at) rest<sup>1</sup>

(This pada is probably a conflation, cf. IV.1, p. )

1 alternatively: the lovers meet and play the rāsa,  
(then) rest (among) the trees (and) creepers.



Beloved, you captivate the heart of Lāla,  
    (are) cunning, very adept (and possessed of) unique beauty.  
(At the sight of your) doe-like eyes the wagtail is abashed,  
    (your) various ornaments adorn (your) every limb,  
Your gait puts the swan (and) elephant to shame,  
    destroyed all the pride of Ratipati.  
The jingling of (your) anklets is extremely beautiful  
    (and) pleases the dark Giridhara Lāla.  
The autumn moon is clear (and) bright  
    a couch is prepared in the grove for Śyāma.  
Quickly (go and) indulge in the revelry of the delightful rāsa;  
    Kevala: meet Lāla (and) give him pleasure.

23 (kānarā)

navala lāla br̥iṣabhāna dulārī  
thai thai karata rāsa rasa khelata  
ika tē ika nautana gati nyārī  
tāna bādhāna sapata sura gāvata  
rījhata dekhi sarada ujiārī  
kevala lāla tori triṇu bolye  
to sama ko nāhina piya pyārī

- 1 A: vṛṣabhāna; B: vriṣabhāna; E: br̥ṣabhāna
- 2 A/B: thāī thāī; E: te, naūtana
- 3 A/B: tāna; A/E: deṣa; A: sapati, sarda; B: baṃdhāna;  
E: badhāna, sapta, ujayārī
- 4 A/E: tora triṇa; A: bole; E: nāhina piyā

24 (kānarā)

kumja bhavana mō jorī banī  
syāmā syāma aṃsa kara dhārata  
chabi upamā kachu jāvata na ganī  
hitu upajāvata benu bajāvata  
madhura madhura suri dhuni jo ṭhanī  
rījhi parasapara gāvata kānaro  
garajata (hai) māno dāmuni ghanī  
sarada caṃḍa prakāsu bhayo hai mahābilāsu  
ura pari hāru cāru sobhita manī  
kevala lālana pyārī sobhā jo banī hai nyārī  
maina caina dalu jīto hasata hasanī

- 2 A: kachū jāta na ganī; B: syāmā syāma, upamā
- 3 A: hita, bēna, sura dhuna, ṭhanī/dhanī (?); B: bēnu
- 4 A/B: kānaro, mānō; A: rījha; B: dāmuni
- 5 A: caṃdra, ~bilāsa, ura pati; B: mahā~
- 6 A: jītō; B: he

The youthful Lāla (and) Vṛṣabhānu's darling child  
Dance (and) enact the delight of the rāsa  
(with) increasingly new (and) exquisite movements,  
Singing the seven notes (with) melodic phrases (and) fixed rhythm,  
seeing (which) the bright autumn (moon/night) is pleased.  
Kevala: Lāla, snapping a straw<sup>1</sup>, said:  
'No one is equal to you, beloved'.

- 1 This refers to the act of snapping a straw at the sight of something beautiful in order to ward off the evil eye.

The couple looked beautiful in the bower.  
Śyāmā places (her) hand on Śyāma's shoulder,  
no comparison can be given for (their/her) beauty.  
Inspiring love, (he) plays the flute,  
producing the sound of mellifluous notes.  
Delighting each other, (they) sing (rāga) Kānaro,  
resonating like cloud (and) lightning.  
(In) the brightness of the autumn moon there was great revelry;  
on (her) breast a fine necklace adorned with gems.  
Kevala: the uniquely appealing beauty  
of the young lad (and his) beloved<sup>1</sup> (as they) laughed  
(and) smiled, conquered the peace of mind of Maina's hoard.

- 1 alternatively: the young lad's beloved (as she) laughed (and) smiled...

25 (kānarā)

pyārī tero mānu manāvana āī  
rasika lāla bhejī karuṇā kari bāra bāra paryō pāī  
eto haṭhu tuma kī(y)o una sō aise banata hai nāhī  
kevala palaka oṭa tumahī binu pīya vyākula mana māhī

- 1 A/D/E: māna; A: āī; B: mānu manāvana
- 2 A/D/E: kara vāra vāra; D/E: bhedyī; A: pāī
- 3 A/D/E: haṭha; A/B: tumahī aru una sō; A/D: vanata;  
D: tumahī kīyo, he; E: hē nāhī
- 4 D/E: vina; A: bina; E: pīyā

26 (kānarā)

tohī pai lālu, le āī  
ajahū tē haṭhu tajahu na bhāmuni kaise (ke) tohi manāī  
gr̥ha āē ādara na cūkie samajhi sōca mana māhī  
eto mānu kiō nahi kabahū dekhyo sunyo na kāhī  
tuma ho catura pravīni priyā jiu bāta karo rasa bhāī  
kevala rasi basi milyē manohara ānāda uri na samāī

- 1 A/D: pai; A: tohi, lāla, āī; D: lālē le āī
- 2 A/B: bhāmuni; A/D: haṭha, manāī; D: ajahū, tajo, bhāmīna;  
ke deleted
- 3 A/B: āē; A/D: samajha; A: na tū kie; D: āe
- 4 A/D: māna kīyo; A/B: dekṣo; A: suno; B: mānu; D: kabahū,  
deṣye
- 5 A/D: pravīna; A: catu (for catura); D: jī, bhāī
- 6 A/D: ura; A: rasa vasi; B: ānada; D: vasa, samāī

Beloved, I have come to quell your resentment.

The lover Lāla has been (so) gracious (as to) send (me),  
time after time he fell at (my) feet.

(You) have shown such stubbornness towards him,  
such (behaviour) is not fitting.

(If he is) without you for only a moment  
(your) loved-one (is) despondent in (his) heart.

I have brought Lāla to you.

From today you do not give up (your) obstinacy, (my) lady,  
no matter how (you) are entreated.

Do not forget (to show) respect (to one who) has come  
to (your) house, think it over in (your) mind.

Such resentment has never been shown (before),  
nowhere (have I) seen or heard (the like).

You are cunning (and) adept, beloved, speak delightful words.

Kevala: under the sway of love (she) met Manohara,  
the joy could not be contained in the heart.



27 (gaudī)

birahana braja kī nārī tuma binu  
bikala bhaī nahi rucata gyāna manu ahi nisu cāha tumārī  
sōdhā telu phulelu bisari gayō gr̥ha kārāja sudhi hārī  
sīsī dahyo dhari pūcha gharo ghari kaba āve vanavārī  
taji (re) siṃgāru bihāra sutana sō mahāprema hita mārī  
ḍolata bolata nahi sūdhe maga tana tē dīse nyārī  
roma roma rasa bīdhī gvārani pāyo avasaru bhārī  
kevala braji tumahī binu ātura begi mile giridhārī

- 1 A: vina
- 2 A: nisa; B: gyāna
- 3 A: tela phulela visara, sudha
- 4 A: sīsa, gharo ghara; B: pūchata gharo dhari
- 5 A/B: ~prēma; B: mahā~
- 6 A: dīsē; B: ḍholata
- 7 A/B: rōma rōma; A: bādhi , avasara
- 8 A: vraja, bina ātura bega milo (emendation of mile)  
giradhārī

28 (sūhava)

nirakhatahī manu mohi līō hari  
syāma sarīra kavala dala locana sobhā nyārī naṃda bhavana ghari  
bibasi bhaī cali saghata nahī palu  
manu ulaṭyō na(hī) dharō kaise dhari  
mādhuri mūrati dekhi bhulānī gr̥ha suta bhūle citavanahī kari  
mahāprema kari vyākula hoī calyō pravāhu umāḍi nainana bhari  
kevala rūma rūma urajhānī biraha pīra sabha gaī (hai) mahājari

- 1 A: mana
- 2 B: syāma
- 3 A: bibasa, cala, uladhyo, kaisē; B: dharahu
- 4 A/B: bhulānī; A: mūrata deṣa
- 5 A: mahāvyaākula hoī ghaṭa bhīmtara, naine; B: mahāprema  
umāḍi
- 6 A/B: urajhānī, mahā~; A: rōma rōma, hē; B: he

(This) woman of Braj is desolate without you.

She is agitated, reason does not appeal to (her) mind,  
day and night (her) desire is for you.

(She has) forgotten (her) scents (and) perfumes  
(her) concern for household chores is lost.

Placing (a pot of) curd on (her) head (as a pretext, she goes)  
from house to house asking: 'When will Vanavārī come?'

Neglecting (her) attire (and) amusement with (her) sons,  
she is assailed by great love (and) affection.

(She) wanders about, talking, not (keeping to) the straight path,  
looking strange in her appearance.

The cowherd girl is pierced with emotion in every pore,  
(you have) gained a great opportunity.

Kevala: in Braj (she is) disconsolate without you,  
quickly (come and) meet (her) Giridhārī.

Just by looking (at me) Hari has stolen my heart.

(His) dark body (and) lotus petal eyes -  
unique beauty in Nanda's house.

(I am) overwhelmed (and) cannot move for (even) a moment,  
(my) mind is overturned, I cannot control it however I try.

Seeing (that) sweet image has made (me) oblivious,  
(my) house (and) son are forgotten after just a glance.

Having felt such great love (I) have become perplexed,  
a stream (of tears) pours from (my) overflowing eyes.

Kevala: every hair (of my body) is entangled (in this love  
and I am) completely burnt up by the pain of separation.

29 (bhairo)

jāgaho gupāla lāla bhora mora bolē  
gvāla bāla kautaka sō āsipāsi ḍolē  
gau bacha sabada karē dhīraja kō nāhi dharē  
dūdhu duho prānanātha baṁdhana kō kholē  
mathanī le mathyo dahyo ācho navanīta bhayo  
jāgaho balaiyā lēhu dāsī binu molē  
līnē balabhadra hātha uṭhe hai śrī gopīnātha  
kevala(jana) sakhā sō mili ānaṁda mukha colē

- 1 A/C: āsapāsa; B: ḍholē; C: gopāla, bhora bhora bole, gvāra
- 2 A/B: prāna~; A/C: vacha, dūdha; A: duhō; C: gauū, nāhi, sabha (for kō)
- 3 A/C: bina; A: balaiyā lēvō; B: madhyo;  
C: mathanī, uṭhaho (for jāgaho), levō, mole
- 4 A/C: mila, cole; A: līne balabhadra, hē; B: ānada; C:  
C: uṭhye he, gonātha

30 (naṭu)

jorī rāsa māḍala madhi rāje  
aṁgi aṁgi chabi uṭhata jhakorē pūrana navasata sāje  
tāla rabāba pakhāu kimnarī bhāti bhāti suri bāje  
thai thai karata sapata suri gāvata jamunā pulina birāje  
sarada raina brīṁdābana phūlyo rāsa bilāsa samāje  
kevala catura pravīni nāgarī dekhata manamatha lāje

- 1 A/B: maṁḍhala; A: madhya; D: mē
- 2 A/D: aṁga aṁga; A: sabha (for chabi), sājē; D: jhakore
- 3 A: sura; D: tāla pakhāvaja baina bāsari bhāta bhāta  
dhuna bāje
- 4 A/B: thāi thāi; A/D: sura; B: jamunā; D: pulana virāje
- 5 A/D: vilāsa; A: vrīṁdābana; D: vrīṁdāvana; hāsa (for rāsa)
- 6 A/D: pravīna; D: nirasata (for deṣata)

Wake up, Gopāla Lāla, the peacocks are calling at daybreak,  
the cowherd boys are wandering about in high spirits.

The cows (and) calves are calling out, (they) cannot  
maintain (their) composure; Prānanātha, do the milking,  
untie (their) tethers.

(I) took the churning stick (and) churned the curd -  
the butter was good; wake up, let me bless you,  
(your) voluntary servant<sup>1</sup>.

Gopinātha, having taken Balabhadra by the hand,  
has got up (and), meeting his friends,  
has a bite to eat<sup>2</sup>.

1 literally: without having paid a price, i.e. she serves  
him out of love and devotion, requiring no payment.

2 an idiom meaning literally: move the mouth.

The couple is resplendent in the rāsa circle,

Fully decked (in all) sixteen (adornments),  
waves of beauty welling up in every limb.

Cymbals, rabāb, drum (and) kimnarī give out their different sounds  
(While they) dance (and) sing the seven notes,  
sands of the Yamunā.

(On this) autumn night Vrindaban blossoms in (the presence of)  
the joyful rāsa gathering.

Kevala: Manmatha was abashed (when he) saw  
the clever (and) adroit Nāgarī.

31 (malāra)

ho lāla māī khelata inu braja māhī  
larikā savaya saṅgi sata ṣaṭu dasa yaha sukhu katahū nāhī  
thorī (thorī) būda gābhīra ghora ghana mili ṭhāḍhe ika ṭhāhī  
pika cātika maura bahu bolata gāvata sabha mili tāhī  
lakuṭī hāthi asva lakuṭana ke saṅgi carāvata gāī  
dūdha bhātu acavata kevalajana ḍolata kuṃjana māhī

- 1 A: ina
- 2 A/B: nāhī; A: larukā sabe saṅga sata ṣaṭa, suṣa katahū
- 4 A: cātike mora, mila
- 5 A: hātha, saṅga
- 6 A: bhāta, māhī; B: ḍholata

32 (kidārā)

sārīga mē rājita sārīga sutu sakhī hamāro bairī  
sārīga binu sārīga upajo tani dukhu upajāvata hai rī  
sārīga tē sārīga upajāno sārīga kō le dauryo  
sārīga tē sārīga sutu kara mō sārīga sō le boryo  
sārīga kō sārīgu le āyo sārīgu mero chīje  
sārīgu vr̥thā jāi sārīga binu kaho kahā kari līje  
sārīga mai sārīgu ati upajo sārīgu sārīga cāhyo  
kevalajana āe nāda naṃdana milata paramasukhu pāyo

A has only the spelling sārīṅga; B omits anusvāra for all occurrences

- 1 A: suta, vairī
- 2 A: bina, tana duṣa upajāvati
- 3 A/B: upajānō
- 4 A: suna-kara
- 6 A: bina, kara
- 7 A: cāyo
- 8 A: parma~

O friend, Lāla is playing in these cattle sheds  
With all the sixteen hundred boys-  
                                nowhere was there ever such mirth-  
Assembled in one place (like) tiny drops  
                                (fallen from) a dense (and) menacing cloud.  
The cuckoo, cātaka (and) peacock cry out aloud  
                                (and) sing, having assembled there.  
With sticks in (their) hands, using their staffs  
                                as hobby horses<sup>1</sup>, (they) herd the cows,  
Kevalajana: eating rice (and) milk,  
                                wandering through the groves.

1     literally: with horse sticks

The collyrium adorning (my) eyes, (my) friend, (is) my enemy.  
Without (my) lover passion is aroused in (my) body  
  (and) is causing pain<sup>1</sup>,  
Passion is aroused by the clouds, (I) run (to meet my) lover.  
Collyrium from (my) eyes (is) all over (my) hands,  
                                (I am) drenched in the water (of my tears).  
(When) the clouds bring lightning the (cooling effect of)  
                                the sandal paste (on my forehead) diminishes.  
The night is wasted without (my) lover,  
                                tell (me) what is to be done ?  
A mass of clouds appeared in the sky,  
                                the cātaka thirsted for water.  
Kevalajana: when the son of Nanda comes  
                                (I) feel supreme joy on meeting (him).

This pada exploits the multifarious meanings of the word sāraṅga (cf. Monier-Williams and HSS and compare with similar poems which are found in Sāhitya laharī, attributed to Sūradāsa). The poem is therefore open to various interpretations; the one offered here is based on the assumption that it expresses viraha using typical rainy season imagery.

1     hai rī may alternatively be read as hairī: 'O friend' (= hailī which, according to HSS, is equivalent to Ap. helli, S. halā or < he + alī).

33 (mārū)

sāvare gupāla lāla manu hamārō līno  
muralī bajāi gāi ṭono kōu kīno  
laṭapaṭī (siri) pāga sohe pītāmbara dhārī  
laṭakata gaja matta cāla nirikhi sudhi bisārī  
suṁdara mukha subhaga syāma neku hasi nihāryo  
naina capala bhaū kamāna biraha bāna māryo  
loka lāja kula samāja chāḍi pāchē ḍolō  
kevalajana eka bāra bāti kholi bolō

- 1 A: mana
- 2 A/B: ṭōnō; A: kīnō
- 3 A: sira, sohē
- 4 A: niraṣa; B: mata
- 5 A/B: syāma; A: neka hasyi
- 6 A/B: kamāna, bāna; A: viraha
- 7 A/B: chāḍhi; A: samājhi; B: ḍholō
- 8 A: vāra bāta khola

34 (mārū)

syāma driṣṭi parye sakhi mere syāma driṣṭi parye  
mohana mukha kavala kosa madhupa naina arye  
caṭakī sī lāgi rahī pagu na calyō jāi  
adabhuta chabi aṅga aṅga madhuratā sukhadāi  
kāchani kaṭi muralī kara baraha sīsa rāje  
nirakhi prāna bibasi bhae bisari loka lāje  
pīta basana hasana maṁda citavata hiri līnī  
kevalajana lāla aisē merī gati kīnī

- 1 A/B: syāma (bis); A: drṣṭa...driṣṭa; B: parye...paryē
- 2 B: mōhana
- 3 A: lāga, paga
- 4 A: chaba; B: madhuritā
- 5 A: kaṭa, varaha
- 6 A/B: prāna; A: niraṣa, visara
- 7 A: vasana, hari





35 (mārū)

ṭhagorī lāī rī baṃsī ṭhagorī lāī  
kadama kuṃja tare syāma adhara dhari bajāī  
gokha chāḍī nikasi calī sudhi na pare kāī  
dhuni suni manu aṭaki rahyo biraha bhīri pāī  
sūdhe maga pagu na pare bāvarī sī ḍolō  
gṛha pati mati bhūli gaī kānu kānu bolō  
bedhī rasa roma roma kahā kahō māī  
kevalajana lāla milyē nirakhi naina sirāī

- 1 A: repeats lāī rī
- 2 A/B: syāma
- 3 A: chāḍha, sudha; B: chāḍhi
- 4 A: dhuna, pīra (for bhīri)
- 5 B: ḍholō
- 6 A: bhūla, kāna kāna; B: kānu kānu
- 7 A/B: rōma rōma; A: vedhī
- 8 A: nirāṣa

36 (bhairo)

raina ke unīde naina maina jīpi āe ho  
ārasa rasīle baina sithala basana caina  
motīana lara tūṭī rasa lapaṭāe ho  
abhrava māno hai syāma capala subhaga bhāma  
premahū kī bāti parī nisu barasāe ho  
aṃsa aṃsa bāhu jori ṭhāḍhe doū kuṃja ori  
kevala nirakhi chabi manu murachāe ho

- 1 B: naina ke unīde naina
- 3 A/B: bhāma prēmahū; A: mānō, bāta, nisa; B: māno, syāma
- 4 A: jora ḍhāḍhe, ora, nirāṣa, mana

It has cast a spell, O the flute has cast a spell.

Beneath the kadamba grove Syāma placed  
(it on his) lip (and) played.

Leaving the window, (I) came out, without any concern.

(My) mind was transfixed on hearing the sound,  
(I) felt the pangs of longing.

(My) feet cannot follow a straight path,  
I wander about as if demented.

Forgetting (all) thoughts of home (and) husband  
I cry 'Kānha, Kānha'.

Joy has penetrated every pore, O friend, what can I say ?

Kevalajana: on meeting (and) seeing Lāla  
(my) eyes are soothed.

(With) eyes drowsy from (a long) night,  
you have returned after conquering Kāma.

(Your) sweet voice (is) tired,  
(your) clothes loose (and) bedraggled, (your) string of  
pearls is broken, you have been engrossed in pleasure.

Syāma is like a cloud, the woman (like) beautiful lightning,  
the wind of love blew, you caused rain to fall at night.

With arms around each other's shoulders  
they both stood at the edge of the grove;  
Kevala: on seeing the beauty you swoon (in your) heart.

37 (pūryā-kānarā)

śrī mohana lāla syāma tamāla mānu manāvani āvata  
kanaka latā pyārī hīyare tē nāhi nyārī  
kāhe kō etī risi upajāvata  
tumahī tanu manu prāna tumahī sabha guna nidhāna  
saravasū tuma tē kachū auru na bhāvata  
kevala rasīlī rasi kijīe apuna basi  
tero pyāro pyārī tere guna gāvata

- 1 A/B: syāma; A: māna manāvana; B: mōhana, mānu
- 2 A: hīya tere tē nāhi, risa; B: kanika
- 3 A/B: prāna; A: tana, mana, nidhyāna, saravāsa; B: nidhyāni
- 4 A: rasa, vasa, pyārā pyārī tero

38 (kidārā)

nūpara thāi thāi cāla  
bhāmuni ke āgi saṅgi nācata gupāla  
rasa [mō] pravīna māno jugama hai marāla  
rucira cāru mādhuri mukha paratī hai jhāla  
bhāti bhāti sobhita chabi naina bara bisāla  
bajata hai mṛdaṅga bena muralī dapha tāla  
karata kela rasa bihāra gāvata braja bāla  
pasu paṅkhī nirakhi beli kevala nihāla

- 2 A/B: bhāmuni; A: aṅga saṅga
- 3 A: mānō; B: māno
- 4 A/B: he
- 6 A/B: baina
- 8 A: pasa, niraṣa bela

metre: moric 12+9

read: 2<sup>b</sup> gopāla; 4<sup>a</sup> mādhuri; 8<sup>b</sup> behāla

Mohana Lāla, dark (as the) tamāla tree, is coming to appease (you).

Beloved, (like) a golden creeper (you are) not separate  
from (his) heart - why then (do you) show such anger ?

You alone are (his) body, mind (and) soul, you alone  
(are) an abode of all virtues, (his) everything,  
nothing else pleases (him) apart from you.

Kevala: (you are) passionate in love, make (him) your own,  
your lover, beloved, is singing of your virtues.

The anklets move - 'thai thai'.

Gopāla dances with (his arm around his) lady's waist,

Skilled in love as if they are a pair of swans.

Radiance falls on (their) brilliant, beautiful (and) sweet faces.

(Their) fine, broad eyes are resplendent with manifold beauty.

The drum, flute, pipe, tambour (and) cymbals are sounding.

The girls of Braj are singing, playing (with) delight (and) revelry.

The beasts, birds, creepers (and) Kevala were gratified  
on seeing (them).

39 (bibhāsī-todī)

tuma prātahū kō āe lāla nisu rasi basi  
una adharana pīka nīkehī ke jānye  
sakuca basana baina aṃjanu khiryo hai naina  
kāhe kō catura hota mukha alasāne  
pala sō lāgata palu uṭhata jhambhāī jalu  
tinahū kō basi kīje jāhū ke bikāne  
kevala pyāre piya jīya kī jīvani jīya  
tā sō bāte jāhi ṭhagi jinahū ṭhagāne

- 1 A/B: jānye; A: prātahū, nisa rasa basa; B: pīka phīka nīkehī ke jānye (?)
- 2 A: aṃjana, hōta, alasānē; B: alasāne
- 3 A: pala, jhambhāī jala tinahu, vasa kījē, vikānē; B: jhabhāī, bikāne
- 4 A: jīvana, tā, jīnahū ṭhagānē

40 (bihāgaḍā)

jāvo rī jāvaho  
priyā binu hama āturu jāhi kaho ālī mukha mere tē  
sabha gopījana maṃdala ṭhādhī rāsu samau āyo nere tē  
jāhi kahyo pyārī kō taraki karī giri parī hai perē tē  
kevala piya unahī sō khelo sabha bātē jānī tere tē

- 2 A: bina, ātura, jāi; B: priya
- 3 A: maṃdhala, rāsa samō, tere tē; B: rāsa (?) sthala (emended to maṃdhala)
- 4 A: jāi, gira; B: ālī piya (?) deleted between kahyo and pyārī, hai omitted
- 5 A: opī (for piya); B: jānī

You have come very early in the morning, Lāla,  
overpowered by a night of love; (you have been)  
well acquainted with the betel juice on those lips (of hers).

(Your) clothes (and) face are bedraggled, the collyrium  
(around your) eyes is smudged, why (do you try to) be  
(so) cunning (when your) face (reveals how) tired (you are) ?

(Your) eyelids are closing upon each other, waves of  
yawning rise up, go and overpower her to whom  
(you) have been sold.

Kevala: beloved, (my) very life and soul, go (and) speak  
to her, captivate (the one) by whom (you) have been captivated.

Go (to her) go.

I am distressed without (my) beloved, go, (my) friend,  
tell (her this) from me.

All the gopīs are standing in the rāsa circle,  
the time of delight has drawn near.

(I) went and told the beloved, argued (with her),  
fell down (at her) feet.

Kevala: loved one, play with her, she knows all the words  
(which I have conveyed to her) from you.

41 (kidārā)

kīnī hai dīnatā bahurī piya dīnī bīrī

citavata hai tuhi syāmā pyārī

kripā karo taji mānu haṭhīlī eka suno niyu bāta hamārī

kumja kela kō lubadhu bhayo manu magu herata piya rasika bihārī

kevala tuma vaha sukhu taji bhāmuni vṛthā mānu kīo hai bhārī

- 1 In B the words between kīnī he and bīrī are illegible due to obliteration and emendation; A: he...hē; B: he (bis), syāmā
- 2 A: krpā, nija; B: mānu
- 3 A: maga; B: piya, hai adhika written in margin with caret between bhayo and manu
- 4 A/B: he; A: suṣa, bhāmīna, māna kīyo; B: bhāmuni, mānu

42 (kidārā)

jā sō bhayō hitu tā kō dīje yaha bīrī nahi kāmi hamāre

tuma hama tē hama tuma tē chūṭe jata kata aṭakyē naina tumāre

burī karōgī jau phiri āī jihi sō bhayo hitu tipī sidhārye

kevala tuma naṭa aura ṭhaura ke hama tere sabha ghāṭa nihārye

- 1<sup>a</sup> A tentative reconstruction of a foot which is corrupt in both mss., viz. A: jā bhayo heta tāhi kō dīje (~hi added in margin); B: jāhū sō bhayo he hitu tāhū kō le dīje
- 1<sup>b</sup> A: kāma; B: nahī kāmi
- 3 A: vurī, phira, so bhayu hita; B: jāhū sō bhayo he hitu tāhī pē

The lover showed humility, then gave a roll of betel,  
(he) is looking out for you, beloved Śyāmā.

Kindly abandon (your) sulking, obstinate woman,  
listen to a suggestion of mine.

(His) mind is desirous of the love-sport in the bower,  
the playful lover is waiting (for you).

Kevala: you, (my) lady, have renounced that happiness  
(and) in vain have shown such great indignation.

Give (it) to her with whom (you) have fallen in love,  
this roll of betel is of no use to me.

You and I have become separated from each other,  
your eyes rested wherever (they pleased).

I'll vent my anger if she comes again,  
go to her with whom (you) have fallen in love.

Kevala: you are a strolling player from some other place,  
I have witnessed all of your shortcomings.



43 (kidārā)

calahu bihārī lāla mānu manāvani  
[pyārī] saghana kuṃja mō kīo hai mahāhaṭhu  
lādulī na māne kahyo rahī hō pāina pari  
dekhyo na sunyo kabahū aiso ṭhaṭu  
sāma dāma kahi bheda daṃḍa baca [binu kheda]  
chipata nahī [kabahū] jaiso cikano ghaṭu  
kevala subhaga pyārī ṭarata nāhina ṭārī  
aise baca mohi kahe ulaṭi mahāsaṭhu

- 1 A/B: he mahā~; A: māna manāvana; B: mānu
- 2 A/B: dekṣo; A: māne kahyo he, para, kabahu; B: lādulī, māne, hē corrected to hō (?)
- 3 A/B: dāma, daṃḍa; B: syāma
- 4 A/B: mahā~; A: nāhina

44 (kidārā)

bhavani āē (hai lāla) citavi prema ko magu  
kripā karo taji mānu haṭhīlī  
binu aparādha doṣu nahi samajho  
sabha guna pūrana rasika rasīlī  
cīru meli ṭhādho grīvā mō  
kela karo uṭhi chaila chabīlī  
kevala pyāre mili basi kīne  
yaha sukhu dekhi kāma gati ḍhīlī

- 1 A/B: prēma; A: bhavana, citava, kō kṛpā, māna; B: mānu
- 2 A: bina, doṣa, samajhō
- 3 A: mela ṭhādhe grīvā
- 4 A/B: kāma; A: basa, suṣa deṣa

Bihārī Lāla, go to appease (her).

(Your) beloved, in the dense grove, has shown great obstinacy.

(Your) loved-one pays no attention (to what I have) said,

(I) remained prostrate at (her) feet, (I have) never  
seen or heard of such a ploy.

(I have) reasoned, coaxed, argued (and) scolded

relentlessly (but her resentment) never diminishes,  
(she is) just like a smooth pot<sup>1</sup>.

Kevala: (your) pretty beloved, (though) urged (to do so)

does not yield (and) says such very harsh words to me in reply.

1 cf. notes to pada 8.

Lāla has come to the house, having sought the path of love,  
show mercy, abandon (your) resentment, obstinate woman.

Do not think (him to be at) fault unless (he has committed  
some) offence, the lover is full of all virtues,  
passionate woman.

He stands with a cloth placed around (his) neck<sup>1</sup>,  
rise up (and) play (with him), elegant beauty.

Kevala: (she) met (her) lover (and) overpowered (him),  
on seeing (their) happiness Kāma's footsteps faltered.

1 A gesture of submission (as is clear from other occurrences of the expression, viz. Kevalarāma's Dāna līlā in A f. 83<sup>v</sup>: pītāmbara melyo grīvā mahi pāina para lapatāye, and in one of the Draupadi poems in B f. 111<sup>v</sup>: cīru meli grīvā mahu drupadī sisu pāi pari rākhyo).

45. (rāmakalī)

naṃda ko naṃdā khelata naṃda ko naṃdā  
sakhā maṃḍalī madhya birājita śrī brimḍābana caṃḍā  
jamunā ke taṭi rāsu banāyo baraha sīsi laṭakaṃḍā  
druma belī sabha bhaī praphul[1]ita bigasi rahe makaraṃḍā  
bājata tāla pakhāu kiṃnarī suri gāvata māda maṃḍā  
thai thai vadata sabhe gopījana nācata ānāda kaṃḍā  
rādhā rasika bihārī citavata paryē prema ke phaṃḍā  
kevala yaha niyu sukhu dekhye tē bisari jāhi gṛha dhaṃḍhā

- 2 A: maddhi virājita, vṛḍābana; B: maṃḍhalī, omits śrī
- 3 A: taṭa rāsa, sīsa
- 4 A: sabha praphulita bahuvidhi vigasa
- 5 A: paṣāvaja (last syllable added in margin), sura
- 6 B: ānada
- 7 A/B: prēma
- 8 A/B: dekṣe; A: nija suṣa, visara jāi, dhaṃḍhā

46 (rāmakalī)

rādhā sāgi rasika lāla khelata [ hai ] rasa puṃjē  
āsipāsi phūli rahī brimḍābana kuṃjē  
aṃsa aṃsa bāhu dharē rījhi rījhi umāḍi parē  
kusamana kī mālā sō bhramarā bahu guṃjē  
thai thai gāna karata maina caina nāhi dharata  
caṭakī sī lagi rahī nahī dhyānu muṃcē  
bhāti bhāti karī kela ānāda rasa simḍhu jhela  
prema ko prasādu pāi kevalajanu bhūṃcē

- 1 A/E: saṃga; A/D/E: āsapāsa phūla, vṛḥḍāvana; B: vṛḍābana;  
D: rādhā saṃga lāla khelata sarasa rāsa puṃje; E: kuṃje  
(for puṃjē)
- 2 A/B: umāḍi; A/E: rījha rījha; A/D/E: guṃje; D/E: dhare,  
pare; A: mālā; D: umagi, so (emendation of se), bhavarā;  
E: umāṅga
- 3 A/B: thāi thāi gāna; A/D/E: lāga; D/E: dhyāna muṃce;  
A: dhyāna; B: dhyānu; D: karta, nā dharata; E: dharati
- 4 A/B/E: prēma; A/D/E: simḍha, prasāda; A/E: kevalajana;  
D/E: bhāta bhāta; B: ānāda rasu; D: kevalajana (?) emended  
to lāla mana (?), bhūṃje; E: bhūṃce

Nanda's son is playing, Nanda's son.

The moon of Vrindaban is resplendent  
in the middle of (his) circle of friends.

(He has) performed rāsa on the banks of the Yamuna  
(with) a peacock feather swaying on (his) head.

The trees (and) creepers are all in bloom,  
the flowers remain wide open.

Playing the cymbals, drum (and) kimnari,  
singing in gentle tones,

All the gopīs call out the dance steps,  
(Kṛṣṇa), the root of joy, is dancing.

When Rādhā saw the playful lover the traps of love were sprung.

Kevala: on seeing this intrinsic joy  
home (and) livelihood are forgotten.

The lover Lāla is playing with Rādhā -  
-an abundance of delight- all around the Vrindaban groves  
are in bloom.

With arms placed on each other's shoulders  
they overflow with great happiness; many bees are buzzing  
around (their) flower garlands.

(While they were) singing the dance rhythms Maina failed to  
maintain (his) composure (and I) remained as if spellbound<sup>1</sup>  
(my) concentration held in thrall<sup>1</sup>.

(They) played many kinds of game, plunging into an ocean  
of the essence of bliss; Kevalajana receives this  
(sacramental) food of love (and) eats.

<sup>1</sup> literally: is not set free.

47 (taliṅga)

āju sakhī mohana dekhye (mohana dekhye) piya

suṁdara naina bisāla

musakani mohi lai lāgi rahī caṭakī aṭakī

tahā calata gaja cāla

baraha sīsa muralī bāje mukha suṁdara sabada rasāla

mṛgamada tilaku lilāṭa dīo hai syāma subhaga tana jhāla

pīta basana bhūṣana āga āga mē uri motyana kī māla

kaṭi kāchani nūpara bājē paga dhuni suni lajita marāla

gr̥ha kāraja sudhi bhūli gai tana nirakhi nirakhi chabi lāla

kevalajana manu saṅgi rahe hari sunaho rī braja bāla

1 A/B: dekṣe (bis); A: āja, mohana...mōhana, suṁdari;  
B: mōhana (bis)

2 A: musakana, lāga; B: calata mata gaja

3 B: risāla

4 A/B: he syāma

5 A: ura

6 A: kaṭa kāchini, pagu; B: lajata

7 A: sudha bhūla, niraṣa niraṣa

8 A: saṅga

metre: 16+11, apart from 1<sup>a</sup> and 2<sup>a</sup> which have 24 instants, the latter perhaps expanded to match 1<sup>a</sup> after superfluous repetition of mohana dekhye. B has a double damdā after musikani mohi lai, which suggests that the phrase is an interpolation and that the second line might originally have read:

lāgi rahī caṭakī aṭakī taha calata matta gaja cāla



48 (kidārā)

paudhye haī sukha sō nisu kuṃja ke sadana mō  
apune lālana sō navala pīya pyārī  
arasaparasa grīvā bhuja sīvā  
kuhū kī nisā kō māno bhaī ujiārī  
kavala kusama dala talapa racī bimala  
rājita jugala rasa rasika bihārī  
prācī disā bhaī bhora sakuni bolata mora  
jāgi parye syāmā syāma kevala chabi nyārī

- 1 A: hai; B: apunē
- 2 A: grīvā, sīvā, mānō; B: māno
- 3 A: kamala, vimala
- 4 A/B: syāmā syāma; A: sakuna, jāga

49 ( kidārā-darabārī)

odhī pīrī (subha) sārī syāmā syāma kō dikhāve  
māno sasi sumera tē pragatyo manamatha koṭa lajāve  
rahe nihāra chakyē driga chabi mō piya kachu aura na bhāve  
rūpa sīdhu mō mīna mohana manu paryō pāru nahi pāve  
kahā kahō ali neha adhikatā vāhī tē bani āve  
rahe bikāi laḍetī ke basi nayō nayō premu dikhāve  
saravasū hiri līno pyāre ko jabahū muri musakāve  
kevalajana rādhā mādhō rati kaha ko ika mukhi gāve

- 1 A/B: syāma syāma; A: diṣāvē
- 2 A: lajāvē; B: mānō
- 3 A: bhāvē
- 4 A/B: mōhana; A: mana, pāvē
- 5 A: bana āvē
- 6 A: vikāi, prēma, diṣāvē; B: laḍetī, baṃsi, prēmu
- 7 A: saravāsū hari, kō, jabahū mura musakāve; B: saravāsū
- 8 A: muṣa gāve; B: kahā

At night the youthful beloved lies blissfully  
with her loved-one in the bower.  
Touching each other's neck and armpit- (it seems)  
as if (moon)light has appeared on (this) new moon night.  
(On) a couch prepared from white lotus petals  
the playful lover is resplendent in (their) mutual love.  
Dawn has broken in the east, the peacock makes auspicious sounds;  
Kevala: Śyāmā and Śyāma have woken, unique in beauty.

Śyāmā shows Śyāma the auspicious yellow sari  
(which she has) wrapped around (herself).  
(Looking) like the sun rising over (the golden mount) Sumeru  
putting ten million Manmathas to shame.  
Staring (at her with) eyes intoxicated by the beauty,  
nothing else pleases (her) lover.  
Mohana's heart, fallen (like) a fish into the ocean of beauty,  
cannot reach the further shore.  
What can I say, (my) friend, such an excess of love  
can only be inspired by her.  
(He) remains sold to the power of his beloved  
(as she) displays love ever new.  
Everything (her) lover possesses is captured  
whenever (she) turns and smiles.  
Kevalajana: what can anyone, with (just) one voice,  
sing about the passion of Rādhā (and) Mādhō ?



50 (hiṃdola)

hari pyāre hari pyāre hari pyāre jīu

merī jīvana prāna hamāre hari pyāre jīu

pulika pulika mana istati kīnī

sudhi budhi citavani sō hiri līnī iku palu nāhina nyāre  
adabhuta sobhā syāma salone

dhīra dharāve ridi mō kaune inu nainana ke tāre  
sumdara naina aruna alabele

rasa kari pūranu hai rasa kele baraha sīsī pari dhāre  
śravanana kuṃḍala pīta pichorī

nāsā beṣari musakani thorī sabha guna pūrana bhāre  
ura kaustubha maṇi aru banamālā

benu bajāve kiṃkani jhālā atichabi pāvē cāre  
subhaga kāchanī nūpara paga mō

nahi sama sobhā jāne jaga mō kevalajanu balihāre

1 A/B: prāna

2 A: istita, sudha budha, hari, ika pala, nyāre

3 A/B: syāma; A: adbhuta, salōne, rida, kaūnē ina naina;  
B: salōnē, kaunē

4 A: kara pūrana hai, varaha sīsa para

5 A: pichaurī, baisara, musakana; B: kuṃḍhala

6 A/B: kaustava, pāvē; A: baina bajāvē kiṃkana, cārē; B: bainu

7 A/B: jāne; A: nūparpaga, ~jana balahāre

Dear Hari, dear Hari, dear Hari, my life (and) soul, dear Hari.

(I) praised (him,my) heart thrilled,(all my) concerns  
(and) awareness stolen by (his) glance, not separate  
(from him even) for a moment.

The wonderful splendour of the beautiful Śyāma -  
the light of these eyes (of mine)- who can maintain  
composure in (his) heart ?

(His) beautiful, lively (and) reddened eyes  
have fully experienced the delight of the game of love,  
(he) places a peacock feather on (his) head.

(He wears) earrings in (his) ears, a yellow loincloth,  
a pearl nose ring, (he is) smiling slightly,  
completely filled with all virtues.

On (his) chest a kaustubha gem and a forest garland,  
(he) plays the flute (and) small bells  
-all four (items) attain great beauty.

A fine kāchanī, anklets on (his) feet -  
nothing of equal beauty is to be known in the world,  
Kevalajana pays tribute.

51 (kidārā)

apune lalana sō gaharu na kīje  
koṭa im̄da sama badana chabīlī

musaki bolicalu moni na līje  
ḍagaru nihārata bārata tribhuvana  
naina lāgi rahē una sukhu dīje  
kevala bītī hai nisu bihārī jīu sō rasi basi jaise  
tamacara kī bānī na sunīje

- 1 A/B: apunē; A: lālana sō garba na kījē; B: so
- 2 A/B: tribhavana; A: musakani bolacala mona; B: mōni
- 3 A: ḍagara, lāga, suṣa; B: ḍhagaru
- 4 A: nisa, jīya sō rasa vasa; B: bānī

52 (basamtu)

syāma salono pyāro āju banyo māī  
rājita navala pravīna priyā sāgi kachu miti barani na jāī  
nava brīṃḍābana kusama praphul[1]ita trividha pavana sukhadāī  
khelata tahā basamta sarasa rasa ābira gulāla uḍāī  
coā caṃdana kuṃkama kesara chirakata bhari picakāī  
ika daurata ika khelata nācata baṃsī bajitra bajāī  
rījhi rahe hiti prema parasapara kānana kela badhāī  
kevalajana rādhā mādho rati nirakhata rahe lubhāī

- 1 A/B: syāma; B: salōno
- 2 A: rājata, samga, varanī
- 3 A/B: trivadha; A: naba vṛṃḍābana
- 4 A/B: uḍhāī; A: tahā
- 5 A: bhara
- 6 A: baisī (for baṃsī)
- 7 A/B: prēma, kānana; A: rījha, hita

Do not keep your loved-one waiting.

Beautiful woman, (with) a face like ten million moons,  
speak with a smile, do not keep silent.

(He) is looking out (for you), sacrificing the three worlds,  
(his) gaze is fixed, grant him happiness.

Kevala: the night has passed, (it seems) as if Bihārī's  
soul is (so) overpowered by emotion (that) the crowing  
of the cock is not heard (by him).

The dear, handsome Śyāma looks beautiful today, (my) friend.

Resplendent with (his) youthful, clever beloved -  
(he) cannot be fully described.

Vrindaban is fresh (and) blossoming,  
a pleasant threefold<sup>1</sup> breeze (is blowing).

There (they are) celebrating spring with joyful emotion,  
throwing abira and gulāla,

Squirting syringes filled with coā, sandal, kumkuma and saffron.

One runs, another plays (and) dances,  
playing the flute (and other) instruments.

(They) remain happy in mutual love (and) affection,  
(their) mirth spread through the forest.

Kevalajana, on seeing the passion of Rādhā and Mādho,  
remains desirous.

1 viz. sītaḷa, mamda, sugamḍha, as described in 67.5 etc.

53 (kidārā)

khelata rāsu bihārī lāla nirtata catura braja kī bāla  
hodā hodī nācē gāvē mohana benu bajāvē  
prema mudita māno jamunā ke kūlē  
rāsa maṇḍala banyo bidhi raci paci ṭhanyo  
māno sarovara jugama kaṁja phūlē  
madhupa imḍrī lubhāyo urajhi rūpa samāyo  
chabi ke taraṅga bhae māno prema jhūlē  
kevalajana yaha sukhu nirakhi jugala mukhu  
ṭhagorī lāgata māno gr̥ha dhāma bhūlē

- 1 A: rāsa, niratatu, vraja, vāla
- 2 A/B: bajāvē; A: bena, mānau; B: gāvē mōhana bēnu, prēma, mānō
- 3 A/B: maṇḍala, paca; A: vidhi, kuṁja phūle; B: mānō
- 4 A/B: mānō; A: urajha; B: idrī (?), prēma
- 5 A: susa nirasa nirṣa jugāla muṣa, mānō gr̥ha kāma bhūle; B: māno, dhāma

54 (kidārā)

baiṭhī hai chabīlī pyārī raṅga sō raṅgīlī  
nisā bitī jāgī bhora kuṁja mō dulahani  
caṇḍa kī uj[i]ārī kō uj[i]ārī kari dhārī  
oḍhī ika oḍhani binu basi gahani  
ābhā piya pari pari avara ridahi dhari  
caupa kari uṭhī risa ridahi na sahani  
kevala uṭhye hai lāla bhāmuni na bole kaise  
kīnī hai sapat[h]a jaba milye rasa rahanī

- 1 A/B: he; A: ata-nisā, jāgi; B: omits sō
- 2 A: bini
- 3 A: uḍhī
- 4 B: bhāmuni

Bihārī Lāla is playing rāsa  
the skilful girls of Braj are dancing.  
They dance (and) sing in competition, Mohana plays the flute,  
as if rejoicing in love on the banks of the Yamuna.  
The rāsa circle looks beautiful- the Creator has established  
(it) with great effort- (Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā are) like a pair  
of lotuses blossoming on a lake.  
The bee's sense<sup>1</sup> is enticed, (it is) engrossed (and)  
immersed (in their) splendour; there were waves of beauty  
as if wafted by love.  
Kevalajana: this joy (felt) on seeing (their) two faces  
casts a spell, as if house (and) home are forgotten.

1 imdri probably refers specifically to the bee's tongue.

The beautiful beloved sits, splendidly attired<sup>1</sup>;  
the night has passed, the bride has woken in the bower at dawn.  
(She has) made the brightness of the moon (seem) even brighter,  
(and has) wrapped (herself) in a shawl  
(which) he grasped forcibly<sup>2</sup>.  
(The reflection of her) brilliance fell upon (her) lover  
and (he) placed (it) in (his) heart; striking (him)<sup>3</sup>,  
she stood up, (her) heart unable to bear (her) anger.  
Kevala: Lāla stood up, the woman would in no way speak  
(for) she had made a promise (not to do so) when (she)  
met (the one in whom) rāsa abides.

- 1 The phrase raṅga (sō) raṅgīlī may refer either to her appearance (equivalent to chaila chailī) or to her emotions ('enamoured'); cf. RSK under raṅgarāṅgīlau.
- 2 Assuming that binu is the oblique plural (agentive) of vaha and that gahanī is a rhyming participial form of gah-.
- 3 Other possible meanings (apart from 'blow' < \*cōpp-) are 'she kept silent' (< \*cuppa- ?) or 'she aroused (his) passion/ardour/excitement (cf. cōpa, as used in 71.13, for which RSK gives the additional meaning 'skill/cunning', cf. cūp, of which cōp is listed as a variant).

55 (todī)

āju rasa rāsu raco raṣika piya bhāmuni lo syāma  
sarada saṣi nakṣatra khaco prakāṣī jāmuni lo syāma  
sarada prakāṣī paramabilāṣī kānana keli baḍhāi  
gr̥ha gr̥ha tē gopī sabha āi bamsī syāma bajāi  
kuṃja latā bahu bhai praphul[1]ita pika ali guṃjata mora 5  
kevalajana bali jāhi nirakhi chabi nāgara naṃda kisora

- 1 A/B: bhāmuni; A: rāsa
- 2 A/B: nakṣatra, jāmuni, syāma; A: adds rahāu at end of line
- 3 A/B: kānana; A: ~vilāṣī
- 4 A/B: syāma; B: āi
- 6 A: bala jāi nirāṣa, nāgara

kusamana bīni liē brimḍāvana gopī lo syāma  
bhūṣana gūthi kie sakala guna opī lo syāma  
sakala guna opī paramahita ropī ridi ānaṃdu baḍhāyo  
dekhi kulāhalu haraṣu bhayo ati jai jai maṃgalu gāyo 10  
navasata sāja birājita jorī rāsa māḍala kī ṭhaura  
kevalajana bali jāhi nirakhi chabi nāgara naṃda kisora

- 7 A: bīna, vr̥mḍāvana; B: syāma
- 8 A/B: syāma; A: gūtha; B: bhūṣana
- 9 A: rida ānaṃda
- 10 A: deṣa kulāhala haraṣa, maṃgala
- 11 A/B: maṃdhala; A: virājita
- 12 A: bala jāi nirāṣa; B: nāgara

bahuvidha bajitra liē bajāvana lāgi lo syāma  
atisai premu hīe sakala anurāgi lo syāma  
sakala anurāgi adhika rasa pāgi tāna māna sugharāi 15  
bajata sāgita gīta mukha gāvata kachu miti barani na jāi  
karata bihāra sughara ghara nācata dou mahācitacora  
kevalajana bali jāhi nirakhi chabi nāgara naṃda kisora

- 13 A/B: bahuvidhi, syāma; B: bajāvana
- 14 A/B: syāma; A: atise prēma; B: prēmu
- 15 A/B: tāna; B: māna
- 16 A/B: bajita; A: mita varanī
- 17 B: mahā- 18 A: bala jāi nirāṣa

Today the lover (and his) lady  
have performed the delightful rāsa, O Śyāma.  
(The sky is) studded (with) the autumn moon  
(and) constellations (on this) bright night, O Śyāma.  
A bright (and) supremely joyful autumn (night  
with) revelry spreading (through) the forest.  
All the gopīs came from (their) houses  
(when) Śyāma played the flute.  
Many creepers (of the) grove were in bloom,  
the cuckoo, bee (and) peacock were murmuring.  
Kevalajana dedicates (himself) on seeing the beauty  
of Nanda's urbane son.

The gopīs (in/of) Vrindaban have gathered flowers, O Śyāma  
(And have) threaded (their) ornaments (and) polished (them)<sup>1</sup>, O Śyāma.  
(They) have polished (them and) planted supreme love,  
joy increased in (their) hearts.  
There was great delight on seeing the commotion,  
a song of praise was sung.  
The couple is resplendent, decked (in all) sixteen (adornments)  
(in) the place of the rāsa circle.  
Kevalajana dedicates (himself) on seeing the beauty  
of Nanda's urbane son.

1 literally: polished all (their) good qualities (?)

Taking many kinds of instruments (the gopīs) began to play, O Śyāma.  
(With) much love in (their) hearts, all enraptured, O Śyāma.  
All enraptured, steeped in extreme delight,  
(displaying their) skill (in) musical phrasing (and) rhythm.  
Playing music, singing songs (such as) cannot be fully described.  
The two of them, great captivators of the mind,  
rejoice (and) dance gracefully<sup>2</sup>  
Kevalajana dedicates (himself) on seeing the beauty  
of Nanda's urbane son.

2 ghara: the literal meaning may be 'abode of gracefulness',  
but ghara also has a more technical meaning, viz. 'tune  
and also the musical notation', cf. S. Kohli pp. 98-99,  
thus the phrase may mean 'dancing to graceful tunes'.



khelata rāsu tahā lāla saṅgi nāgarī lo syāma  
bhayō hai ulāsu mahāmudita mana āgarī lo syāma 20  
mudita mana āgari sobhā sāgari sabha tē rādhā pyārī  
rasa pravīni rasa phaila paryō tahā ramata saṅgi vanavārī  
sura ravanī cala acala māra mana lāgi rahī mana ḍora  
kevalajana bali jāhi nirakhi chabi nāgara naṁda kisora

- 19 A/B: syāma; A: rāsa, saṅga  
20 A/B: syāma; A: omits hai; B: he, mahā~  
21 A: āgani, sāgara  
22 A: pravīna, saṅga  
23 A/B: ḍhora; A: lāga  
24 A: bala jāi niraṣa

56 (soraṭhi)

navala pīya lāla laḍhetī gāie  
karata bihāra rāsa rasa lampāṭa kachu (miti) baranī na jāie  
ika tē ika chabi adhika caturatā suṁdaratā sukhadāi  
brimḍābana mō rājita juga juga paramahetu lapaṭāi  
eka prāna ika rūpa deha dui niju kriḍā kari līnī  
līlā rasu samudru phailāyo sunata sakala gati kīnī  
yaha rasu rasikana kī ridi rākhyo bimukhana kō ruci nāhī  
kevalajana jānata anurāgī ke braja bhagatana māhī

- 1 A/B: laḍhetī.  
2 A: kara vihāra, mita varanī  
3 A: omits suṁdaratā  
4 A: vṛṁḍābana, paramaheta  
5 A/B: prāna; A: nija, kara  
6 A: līlhā  
7 A/B: rākṣo; A: rida, vimuṣana, ruca; B: nāhī  
8 A/B: jānata

Nāgarī performs the rāsa there with Lāla, O Śyāma.

There was mirth (and) the heart of the foremost (of women)  
was overjoyed, O Śyāma.

The heart of the foremost (of women) was overjoyed,  
an ocean of beauty, Rādhā, the most beloved of all.

(She is) skilled in rāsa (and) rāsa spread all around  
(while she was) sporting with Vanavārī.

The minds of the gods' consorts, Māra (and all) animate  
(and) inanimate (beings) were engrossed.

Kevalajana dedicates (himself) on seeing the beauty  
of Nanda's urbane son.

Sing of the youthful beloved Lāla (and his) loved one.

Sporting (and) lusting after the pleasures of love-  
(they) cannot be fully described.

Offsetting each other's attractiveness, extreme cleverness  
(and) pleasing beauty,

(They) are resplendent in Vrindaban from age to age,  
embracing (in) supreme love.

(With) two bodies (but) one soul (and) beauty  
(they) enact their intrinsic play.

(They) caused the ocean of the delight of (their) sporting  
to spread, granting salvation to all (who) hear.

This pleasure is stored in the hearts of (its) connoisseurs,  
(it has) no appeal for the ill-disposed.

Kevalajana: (either those who are) impassioned know (it)  
or (it is to be found) among the devotees of Braj.

57 (basamtu)

naṃda dulāro pyāro briṃdābana māhi  
khelata basāta mudita rādhā sāgi yaha sukhu katahū nāhi  
jūthi jūthi sabha calī gopikā calo sakhī taḥā jāvō  
nāda naṃdana bṛiṣabhāna sūtā kō nirakhi naina sukhu pāvō  
ābiru gulālu uḍāvata gāvata bahuvidha bajitra bajāvē 5  
coā caṃdanu kuṃkama chirakata sahaja basamtu laḍāvē  
nānā vidha phūlye druma belī trividha pavana miti nāhi  
bahu cātika ali mora kokilā kū kū sabada sunāhī  
biharata jugala kisora rasika rasa samgi sakala braja nārī  
nirakhi nirakhi jai maṃgalu gāyo kevalajana balihārī

- 1 A: vṛṃdāvana
- 2 A: vasamta, samga, suṣa
- 3 A/B: jāvō; A: jūtha jūtha
- 4 A/B: pāvō; A: vṛṣabhāna, niraṣa, suṣa
- 5 A/B: uḍāvata, bahuvidhi, bajāvē; A: ābira gulāla
- 6 A/B: laḍāvē; A: caṃdana, vasamta
- 7 A/B: nānā vidhi, trividhi; A: phūle, mita, nāhi
- 8 A: ala, kokalā, sunāhī; B: sunāi
- 9 A: viharata, samga
- 10 A: niraṣa niraṣa, maṃgala, balahārī

In Vrindaban Nanda's darling child  
Joyfully celebrates the spring with Rādhā,  
nowhere (else) is there such mirth.  
All the gopīs have gone in groups,  
come, (my) friend, let us go there.  
Let (our) eyes obtain the joy of seeing  
Nanda's son (and) the daughter of Vṛṣabhānu.  
(They) are throwing abira (and) gulāla, singing,  
(and) playing many kinds of instrument,  
Sprinkling coā, sandal (and) kumkuma,  
spontaneously they fondle (each other in the) spring.  
Various kinds of tree (and) creeper have blossomed,  
(there is) a constant threefold<sup>1</sup> breeze.  
Many cātakas, bees (and) peacocks are making a cooing noise.  
The young couple are enjoying the delights of love  
with all the women of Braj.  
Kevalajana, on beholding (this) sang a song of praise  
(and) paid tribute.

58 (naṭu)

tata thai nācata nava gati nyārī  
karata bilāsa rāsa rasa mohana saṅgi birājita pyārī  
āsipāsi gopījana biharata sarada raina ujiārī  
jamunā taṭi baṭa kumja praphul[1]ita brimḍābana sukhakārī  
biharata mudita tahā piya bhāmuni bara bajitra dhuni dhārī  
ughatata gīta sāgīta sapata suri sukhu upajo rasu bhārī  
yaha chabi nirakhi cakrita sura ramanī manamatha surati bisārī  
juga juga rājita paramakela rati kevalajana balihārī

- 1 B: nyārī; D: thai thai nācata nava gata
- 2 A/B: mōhana; A: saṅga birājata; D: karata vihāra rasika  
mana mohana saṅga virājata pyārī
- 3 A/D: āsapāsa; D: vihirata, ujārī
- 4 A/D: taṭa, vṛmḍāvana; D: jamanā, praphulata
- 5 A/B: bhāmuni; D: vihirata mudata tahā piyā bhāmīna  
vara bajamtra dhuna dhārī
- 6 A/D: sura, suṣa; A: sapta, upaje; D: upajo ali bhārī
- 7 A/D: surata; A: nirasa; D: yā chabi deṣa, ravanī, visārī
- 8 A: parma~, balahārī; D: rājata, rata

59 (kalyāna)

kahā kahō rī āju āe mere dhāma  
kari kā misa līē nāda namdana  
dūdhu piō dhāryo āṅgana mai saṅgi sakhā balarāma  
jasumati pai jāē māī kahīe larikā (kī) bhūkhyē phirata  
sudhi leta nahī sadā karata yaha kima  
kevalajana aba kachu na kahō kari maṣṭi rahōgī jo phuni āvata  
gṛhi pagu dhārata gahi bādhōgī syāma

- 1 A/B: dhāma; A: kaho
- 2 A: līē, dūdha piyo dāryo, mē saṅga, balarāma; B: balirāma
- 3 A/B: kāma; A: pai, bhuṣo, sudha
- 4 A/B: syāma; A: kevala aba kachū, gṛha paga

(They are) dancing (with) new (and) different movements.  
Mohana, (his) beloved resplendent with (him)  
enacts the joyful delight of the rāsa.  
All around the gopīs are amusing themselves  
(on this) bright autumn night.  
The banyan trees (and) groves on the banks of the Yamuna  
are in bloom, making Vrindaban joyful.  
The lover (and his) lady are sporting joyfully,  
fine instruments resound.  
(While they were) measuring their songs, music  
(and) the seven notes, delightful joy arose.  
The gods' consorts were astonished to see this beauty,  
Manmatha forgot himself.  
The passion of that supreme love sport  
is resplendent through the ages - Kevalajana pays tribute.

O what can I say ? Today he came to my house.

On the pretext of (collecting) tax, Nanda's son,  
with (his) friend Balarāma, drank (my) milk (and)  
threw it in the yard.

Go to Jasumati, (my) friend, say that (her) son  
is wandering about hungry, always behaves in this way  
(and) shows no concern.

Kevalajana: now I shall say nothing (but) will keep silent,  
if Śyāma comes again (and) sets foot in (my) house,  
I shall catch (him and) tie (him) up.

60 (kidārā)

āju banī lālana sāgi pyārī

rāsa māḍala mō biharata jorī

jamunā pulina sarada ujiārī

thai\_ thai\_ vadata madhuri suri gāvata

ika tē ika nautana gati nyārī

aṅga aṅga chabi baranī na jāve

urapatirapa khelata vanavārī

tāla rabāba pakhāu kiṃnarī

bhāti bhāti adabhuta dhuni dhārī

bhujā bhujā sō rījhi parasapara

rasa samudra phailyo atibhārī

druma belī sabha nirakhi sithala bhaj

ratipati kī mana bhrānti nivārī

kevalajana dōu rasika siromaṇi

hiri līnī citavana vanavārī

- 1 A: āja, saṅga
- 2 A/B: māḍhala
- 3 A: madhura sura, te
- 4 A: varanī, jāvē
- 5 A: adbhuta
- 6 A: rījha parsapara
- 7 A: niraṣa, thakati (for sithala)
- 8 A: siromaṇa hira; B: saromaṇi

Today the beloved looks beautiful with (her) loved-one.

The couple is moving about in the rāsa circle,  
(on) the sands of the Yamuna (on) a bright autumn (night),

Calling out the dance steps, singing in sweet tones,  
(with) ever more new (and) different movements.

The beauty of every limb is indescribable  
(as) Vanavārī performs a sprightly dance.

Cymbals, rabāb, drum (and) kimnarī  
produce all kinds of wonderful sound.

Arm in arm, delighting each other  
an abundant ocean of rasa spread around.

On seeing (this) all the trees (and) creepers became listless,  
Ratipati's pride was rebuffed.

Kevalajana: (these) two (are) the paragon of lovers,  
Vanavārī captivated (me with just) a glance.



61 (kidārā)

navala pīya paī brīṣabhāna dulārī  
neku cito karuṇā kari suṃdari magu jovata ṭhāḍhe giridhārī  
sāsa usvāsa leta rasa laṃpaṭa maina caina tana surati bisārī  
tuhi mukha biraha bioga anamane musaki milo jāvō balihārī  
sarada ujārī kuṃjabihārī raci pacikē tahā talapa savārī  
kevala (laḍetī) mānu taji (mohi) dīje dānu  
tuma una sō kaisē banata (na) nyārī

- 1 A: pai, vṛṣabhāna; B: balu (?) for navala, vṛiṣabhāna
- 2 A: neka, suṃdara maḡa, giradhārī
- 3 A: surāta visārī
- 4 A/B: anamanē, jāvō; A: vioga
- 5 A: tahā
- 6 A: māna, dījē dāna, omits laḍetī; B: laḍhetī, mānu, dānu

62 (pūryā-kānarā)

āju doū banye rājita  
mukha kī nikāī māī kahī na parata  
āju lo nā kahū dekhī upamā chabi visēī  
marakata maṇi māno kaṃcana jaḍata  
kahū nisā bhora hota biharata otapota  
nainana sō naina caina bhujā sō bhujā dharata  
kevalajana rasīle pyārī ke basi basīle  
rahasa kela sukhu kuṃjana karata

- 2 A/B: māno; A: lō, kahū
- 3 A: kahū
- 4 A: vasīle, suṣa

Upon (your) youthful loved-one, darling daughter of Vṛṣabhānu,  
Be so kind as just to (bestow a) glance, beautiful woman,  
Giridhārī stands looking out for you.

(He) takes (deep) breaths (and) sighs, craving for love,  
Maina is oblivious of (his) peace of mind, body and memory.

(From) yearning (and) longing (to see) your face (he is) dejected,  
meet (him) with a smile, go and pay tribute (to him).<sup>1</sup>

There (on this) bright autumn (night) Kuñjabihārī has,  
with great care, prepared a couch.

Kevala: beloved, abandon (your) sulking, give me a boon,  
how is anything to be achieved while you are separated from him?

1 This interpretation requires the reading jāvo,  
otherwise the meaning is 'let me pay tribute'.

Today the two of them are resplendent,  
the beauty of (their) faces, (my) friend, is indescribable.

Nowhere, until today, (have I) seen a comparison (for their)  
special beauty - (they are like) an emerald set in gold.

Dawn is breaking (after this) new moon night<sup>1</sup>, they wander  
arm in arm, (finding) peace in each other's eyes.

Kevalajana: the lover (has fallen) under the sway of (his) beloved,  
in the groves (they) take pleasure in (their) secret play.

1 assuming that kahū = kuhū, otherwise the translation is  
'somewhere dawn is breaking'.

63 (bibhāsī-todī)

nisu ke unīde naina jāgye piya pyārī saṃgi  
bhalye ho bhalye ho lāla nīkehī sō āe  
sāvare salone ghana baraṣye rasa kuṃjana  
dāmuni bhāmuni sātha mili caina pāe  
terī caturāī kāī chānī nāhī mo sō kachu  
bhorahī āvanu kīno kinahū sikhāe  
kevalajana sujāna kapaṭī ho kāre kāna  
tāhī pē sidhāro jā ke hita lalacāe

- 1 A: nisa, saṃga
- 2 A/B: salōnē, dāmuni; A: varaṣye, mila; B: barakṣe, bhāmuni mili cihana pāe
- 3 A/B: chānī; A: nahī, kachū, āvana, kīnō, kinahū  
B: āvanu
- 4 A/B: sujāna; A: hō, tāhī, sidhārō; B: kāna

64 (jijavaṃtī)

locana nihāre lāla aruna unīde rasa  
jānye ho paichānye piya bhāmuni sō jāgye ho  
karata bihāra māra tūṭe lara jānye mohi  
adharana pīka lāgī aṃjana sō dāgye ho  
hasana lasana maṃda alabelī chabi sohe  
pala sō na lāge palu nae hita lāgye ho  
pyārī basi parye syāma lūṭyo manamatha gaḍu  
kevalajana ho <sup>u</sup>vā ke unahī sō pāgye ho

- 1 A/B: jānye; B: paichānye, bhāmuni
- 2 A/B: jānye; A: vihāra māla
- 3 A: alibelī; B: lāge ho
- 4 A/B: syāma; A: vasa, lūṭye, unahī

Eyes weary from the night (show that you), beloved,  
have been awake with (your) loved-one; be blessed,  
be blessed, O Lāla, you have done well to come!

The dark (and) handsome cloud has showered the groves with rasa  
(and) has found peace in the company of the woman (who is)  
like lightning.

Nothing of your deceit can be hidden from me at all,  
who has taught you to return at daybreak?

Kevalajana: (what) a fine fellow (you are)! -  
(how) deceitful you are, black Kānha;  
go to her whose love you crave!

Lāla, (I have) seen (that your) eyes (are) red (and) tired,  
you have experienced delight, (I have) perceived, *beloved*,  
(that) you have stayed awake with (some other) woman.

I know that (your) necklace has been broken (while you were)  
eagerly making love, betel juice has stained (your) lips,  
you are smeared with collyrium.

(Your) gentle gleaming smile is wonderfully beautiful,  
(your) eyelids do not blink, you are absorbed in some new love.

Syāma, (you) have fallen under the sway of (your) beloved,  
Manmatha's spear has been stolen- Kevalajana: become hers,  
(since) you are (now) engrossed in her.

65 (jijavaṃṭī)

syāma salono pyāro namda jīu ko nāgaru  
jagata ujāgara pyārī cāhata kuṃjana mai  
raṭata rahata rādhā pala sō na lāge palu  
kāhe kō muni le baisī apune bhavana mai  
karahu tumārī sōsa una ke mana kī sabha  
sudhi budhi hiri līnī kaṃcana se tana mai  
kevalajana laḍetī mānu taji begi milu  
dhāro citu bali jāvo pīya ke gavana mai

- 1 A/B: syāma salōno; A: kō nāgara
- 2 A: pala, mūni; B: raṭata raṭata rahata rādhā
- 3 A: kaho tuma sōsu aba una, sudha vidhi hira
- 4 A/B: mānu, jāvō; A: bega mili, cita; B: laḍetī

66 (kānarā)

ṭhādhī kuṃja bhavana duri citavata pīya  
pyārī chabīlī chabana  
sarada raina uj(i)ārī syāma sārī pyārī tana  
hirata na sudhi pare nisā hai kavana  
hita bhāi jānī tahā mānī ṭhakurānī rādhā  
lalitā bulāe baca sunye hai (pīya) śravana  
kevalajana laḍete lāla lāḍulī sō milye  
karata bihāra sukha sītala pavana

- 1 A: dura; B: chabi (for chabana)
- 2 A/B: syāma, he
- 3 A: jānī tahā; B: mānī
- 4 A/B: laḍhete; A: omits lāla; B: lāḍulī

The dark, handsome lover, Nanda's urbane son,  
is awake and restless in the groves longing  
for (you, his) beloved.

(He) keeps on repeating 'Rādhā', (his) eyelids unblinking,  
why do you sit at home in silence?

I swear to you that all the awareness (and) recollection  
of his mind have been captivated by (your) golden-hued body.

Kevalajana: beloved, abandon (your) sulking, quickly meet (him),  
be resolute, offer yourself on (your) loved-one's arrival.

The beautiful beloved stands hidden in the bower,  
looking out for (her) beloved.

(On this) bright autumn night the beloved (wears) a dark sari  
(on her) body; on looking (at her one)<sup>1</sup> is not aware how  
(dark) the night is.

There, knowing the mood of love (and that) Rādhā  
was aware (of it), Lalitā called (him) -  
the lover's ears heard.

Kevalajana: Lāla, the loved-one, met (his) beloved,  
(and they) enjoyed the delight of (their) revelry  
(in the) cool breeze.

1 Assuming that hirata = herata

67 (hiṃḍola)

brimḍābana rāsa banāī mohana brimḍābana rāsa banāī  
jamunā taṭa baṭa kusama praphullita kachu miti kahī na jāī  
brajapati lādūle ho brimḍābana rāsa banāī

pika cātika ali mora kuhamke sarada raina ujiārī  
sītala maṃḍa sugaṃḍha pavana vahē taha ṭhāḍhe giridhārī 5  
muralī dhuni kīnī hiri līnī griha griha tē braja nārī

bhāti bhāti āī brajavāsani hari darasana kī pyāsī  
ulaṭi kiē bhūṣana āga āga mahu chāḍi loka kula phāsī  
ramata nisamga subhaga kānana mahu āi milī avināsī

karata bihāra bajāvata gāvata bhāti bhāti dhuni dhārī 10  
syāma mukāṭa maṇi āgara nāgara sabha tē rādhā pyārī  
tata thai tata thai tāna māna mahi nūpara kī jhunakārī

aṃsa aṃsa dhari bhujā parasapara naina naina ke māhī  
nācata khelata karata kutūhala atirasu upajo tāhī  
sura ramanī jaikāru karata bahu yaha sukhu katahū nāhī 15

druma belī sabha nirakhi sithala bhai manamatha tāḍī lāgī  
aṭaki rahī jorī kī chabi mahi gopījana anurāgī  
yaha līlā dekhī ridi lekhī kevalajana vaḍabhāgī

- 1 A: vrṃḍābana (bis); B: mōhana; E: vrṃḍāvana (bis),  
banāī he (at end of line)
- 2 A/E: mita; B: praphulita; E: jamanā taṭi baṭi, praphulata  
kacha
- 3 A/E: lādāle, vrṃḍābana; B: lādūle; E: omits 3<sup>b</sup>
- 4 E: ala, kahūke, ujaarī
- 5 A: he (for vahe), tahā, giradhārī; E: vahi, vanavārī  
(for giridhārī)
- 6 A/E: hira; A: gr̥hi gr̥hi; E: gr̥ha gr̥ha te
- 7 A: -vāsana; E: bhāta bhāta, -vāsina
- 8 A: ulaṭa, mō; B: chāḍhi; E: me chāḍa, hāsī (for phāsī)
- 9 A: milye avanāsī; B: mata (for ramata); E: mahi
- 10 E: vihāra, bhāta bhāta
- 11 A: syāma, maṇa; E: mukāṭi mana, se (for tē)
- 12 A/B: tata theī tata theī; A/E: tāna māna; A: mai, nūpa;  
E: tata thai thai thai, paga (for mahi), jhunakārī
- 13 A: dhara; E: para (for dhari), nayana nayana, māhī
- 14 A: katūhala, -rasa; B: kātūhala; E: gāvata (for khelata)  
atarasa, tāhī

Mohana has performed the Vrindaban rāsa,  
performed the Vrindaban rāsa.

The banyan on the banks of the Yamuna is in bloom -  
(the scene) cannot be fully described.

O, the beloved Lord of Braj has performed the Vrindaban rāsa.

The cuckoo, cātaka,<sup>bee</sup> (and) peacock are calling,  
(on this) bright autumn night.

A cool, gentle (and) fragrant breeze blows where Giridhārī stands.  
(He) sounded (his) flute (and) enticed the women of Braj  
from (their) homes.

The various women of Braj came, thirsting for the sight of Hari.

On every limb (their) ornaments were put on upside down,  
(they had) abandoned the trammels of society (and) family,

Rejoicing, carefree, through the beautiful forest,  
(they) came to meet the Imperishable One.

Amusing themselves, playing (music and) singing,  
(they) produced all kinds of sounds,

(With) Syāma, the crest-jewel, the foremost, the urbane,  
(and) Rādhā, the most beloved of all.

The jingling of anklets (resounded) - 'tata thai tata thai' -  
in time with the melodic phrases.

(With) arms on each other's shoulders,  
(looking) into each other's eyes,

Dancing, playing, making merry - great delight arose there.

The gods' consorts called out many salutations -  
nowhere (else was there) such happiness.

Seeing (this) all the trees (and) creepers became listless,  
Manmatha was entranced.

The enraptured gopīs remained transfixed by the couple's beauty.

Seeing this sport, inscribing it in (his) heart,  
Kevalajana is very fortunate.



- 15 A: jaikāra, suṣa katahū; B: nāhī; E: jayakāra karata  
he yā suka katahū nāha
- 16 A/E: nirāṣa, bhaī, tāri
- 17 E: aṭaka, para (for mahi) ,gopī ati anurāgī
- 18 A/E: rida; A: līlhā, kevajana baḍha~; B: vada~;  
E: yā līlā

68 (ḍholā)

kanaie ceṭaku lāyā

syāma sarīra kavala dala locana māthe mukaṭu banāyā  
kuṃtala kaca makarākṛita kuṃḍala bhāla tilaka ati sohe  
bhaū[a] dhanuṣa dhari naina bāna sō manamatha ko manu mohe  
maṃda hasani basa pīta phabe āga suṃdaratā sukhadāī 5  
lola kapola adhika banī ābhā kachu miti kahī na jāī  
mukhi muralī dhuni hiri līno manu griha tana surati bhulānī  
nirakhi nirakhi chabi aṭaki rahe driga binu mula moli bikānī  
nāsā motī jagamaga jotī dularī kaṃṭha birāje  
bhujā mr̥ṇāla khora caṃdana kī kaṭi kāchani ati rāje 10  
āga āga bhūṣana sohe mohe paga nūpara jhuṅakārā  
carana kavala tahā madhupa kevala(jana) ika palu hoi na nyārā

- 1 A: kanhaie
- 2 A: syāma, mukaṭa; both A and B repeat the sthāyī after  
line 2, A with the spelling kanhai
- 3 B: kuṃtila, kuṃḍhala
- 4 A: bāna
- 6 A: mita; B: kahīya
- 7 A/B: līnō; A: muṣa, hira, mana gr̥hi, surata
- 8 A: nirāṣa, aṭaka rahē, bina mula mola vikānī
- 9 A: kaṃṭhi virājē
- 10 A/B: mr̥ḍāla; A: rājē
- 11 A: mohē
- 12 A: pala, tahā; B writes the sthāyī at the end with the  
spelling kanīe

Kanhaiyā has cast a spell.

(His) dark body, lotus petal eyes, a crown adorning (his) head,

Locks of hair, earrings shaped like dragons,  
a forehead mark beautifying (his) brow,

With arrows from (his) eyes, (shot from his) eyebrows held  
(in the shape of) a bow, (he) enchants Manmatha.

A gentle smile, yellow cloth looking fine (against his) body,  
delightful beauty,

The surpassing splendour of (his) tremulous cheeks  
cannot be fully described.

The sound of the flute on (his) lips, makes (one) oblivious  
of home, body (and) memory.

On beholding the beauty (my) eyes remained transfixed,  
(I was) sold (to him) without (any) price being paid.

A pearl in (his) nose of sparkling brilliance,  
a double-stranded necklace resplendent (around his) neck,

Arms (like) lotus stalks, a forehead mark of sandal,  
a kāchanī resplendent around (his) waist.

On every limb ornaments look beautiful (and) enchant,  
jingling anklets (on his) feet.

May Kevala, (like) a bee (settled) there (on his) lotus feet,  
never for a moment be separated (from him).

69 (kidārā)

raina rījhī rī māī dekhata hari ko rāsu  
jamunā thakita bhaī drumā belī sabha cala phuni acala akāsu  
pika cātika aru mora sakuni bahu ali aṭakyē taji bāsu  
karata bihāra sarasa rasa dou upajo mahāhulāsu  
āsipāsi gopījana ṭhādhī piya priyā karata bilāsu  
kevalajana manamatha mana mohyo jorī prāna visvāsu

(this poem occurs twice in B)

- 1 A: rāsa; B<sup>2</sup>: deṣi
- 2 A/B<sup>1</sup>: akāsa; B<sup>1</sup>: bhai
- 3 A/B<sup>1</sup>: sakuna; A: mahu (for bahu), vāsu; B<sup>1</sup>: aṭkyo, bāsa
- 4 B<sup>1</sup>: ~bilāsa emended to ~ulāsa (?); B<sup>2</sup>: rasika (for sarasa)
- 5 A/B<sup>1</sup>: bilāsa; A: āsapāsa; for piya priyā B<sup>1</sup> has bihārī  
bihārani, B<sup>2</sup> bihārī bihārana
- 6 A/B<sup>1</sup>: visvāsa; A: moryo

metre: moric 16+11

2<sup>b</sup>: omit sabha or phuni

70 (gaudī)

aho piya lāla laḍetī gāīe bṛiṣabhāna sutā naṃda naṃdanā  
sone kī sī beli meli lai syāma subhaga tara saṃga  
adabhuta chabi lapaṭī capaṭī sakhī gaura sāvare aṃga  
naina kusama mili naina kusama sō juga ali karata bihāra  
bāsa subāsa rūpa mahu urajhe lāgi rahyo ika tāra 5  
ubhaya pāna sākḥā sō sākḥā urajhi surajhi nahi jāta  
romāvalī patra pallava bara jhulata prema kī bāta  
subhaga tucā adabhuta basu pahirye phula bhūṣana subha jhāla  
hita jala sō laṭakye ṭahakye sakhī suṃdara sarasa bisāla  
dui mana khaga taha līna parasapara rājita nitya bilāsa 10  
sobhita gaṃdhu sugaṃdhu phaila parī sabha bana kiē subāsa  
bolata mora kimkanī nūpara rahata mūla ke māhi

O friend, the night was pleased on seeing Hari's rāsa.  
The Yamuna became motionless, all the trees (and) creepers  
shook then (became) still (like) the firmament.  
The cuckoo, cātaka and peacock (made) many auspicious cries,  
the bee abandoned (its) dwelling (and) settled (there).  
They both amused themselves in delightful revelry,  
great mirth arose.  
The gopīs stood all around (while) the lover (and his) beloved  
were sporting.  
Kevalajana: (this) couple, the mainstay of (his/one's) life,  
enchanted the mind of Manmatha.

O sing of the lover Lāla (and his) beloved,  
Vṛṣabhānu's daughter (and) Nanda's son,  
A golden creeper entwined around a dark (and) beautiful tree,  
Wonderful beauty embraced (and) entwined (itself, my) friend,  
(around their) fair (and) dark bodies,  
Lotus eyes having met with lotus eyes,  
(like) a pair of bees disporting,  
Engrossed in the fragrance of (their) beauty,  
fixed (upon them as if) entranced.  
Both (their) hands became entangled in the branches  
(and) cannot be extricated.  
Beautiful hair, leaves (and) buds  
are trembling in the breeze of love,  
Fine complexion, wearing wonderful garments,  
the auspicious radiance of flowers (and) ornaments.  
(They) fell into (and) dissolved <sup>1</sup> in the water of love,  
beautiful, delightful (and) abundant, (my) friend  
(Their) two minds (like) birds were absorbed in each other  
resplendent in eternal delight.  
Beautiful, sweet-smelling perfume spread around  
making the whole wood fragrant.  
The peacock is calling, bells (and) anklets are lying  
on the ground<sup>2</sup>.

pika cātika pī(ya) pī(ya) dhuni upajata yaha sukhu katahū nāhi  
rāsa māḍala bārī nyārī chabi ati kari sobhā deta  
jugala sarūpa anūpa banyē taha nirakhata manu hiri leta 15  
bajata bajamtra ghora ghana bana mō varaṣata dhārā phūla  
karata bihāra rāsa rasa doū naṭa jamunā ke kūla  
sarada ujārī manamatha tārī lāgi rahī chabi dekhi  
sura ramanī caḍhi nabha bibāna mahu sama hoī citralekhi  
apara apāra paramasukhu bilasata kachu miti kahanu na āi 20  
nirakhi nirakhi jorī citacorī kevalajana bali jāi

- 1 A: vṛṣabhāna; B: laḍhetī, nāḍdanā
- 2 A/B: sōne; A: syāma
- 3 A: adbhuta; B: sāvare
- 4 A: mila
- 5 A: vāsa suvāsa, lāga
- 7 A/B: prēma
- 8 A: adbhuta; B: phala bhūkṣana
- 9 A: ṭaharye
- 10 A: tahā, rājata bhimnya vilāsa; B: līna
- 11 A: vana, suvāsa
- 13 A: sukha katahū
- 14 B: mamḍhala
- 15 A: mana hira
- 16 A: bajitra bajamtra, varaṣata; B: bajitra bajitra ghora
- 17 A: vihāra; B: taṭi (for naṭa)
- 18 A: chaba deṣa
- 19 A: bivāna, citraleṣa; B: caḍi
- 20 A: parma~, kacha mita kahana
- 21 A: nirāṣa nirāṣa, bala

The cuckoo (and) cātaka make a 'pī pī' sound,  
nowhere (else is there) such joy.

The unique beauty of the broad rāsa circle  
appeared extremely splendid.

The matchless pair looked beautiful there,  
on seeing (them) the heart is captivated.

(They were) playing instruments (while) tremendous clouds  
showered streams of flowers onto the forest.

The two dancers are frolicking in the delightful rāsa  
on the banks of the Yamuna.

(On that) bright autumn (night) Manmatha,  
on seeing the beauty, remained entranced.

The gods' consorts ascended in the sky in heavenly vehicles,  
as beautiful as a painting.

Radiating extreme joy, unparalleled (and) infinite,  
(they) cannot be fully described.

Watching the couple, captivators of the heart,  
Kevalajana dedicates (himself).

1. ṭahak-: according to HŚS the verb may be used as an alternative to ṭasak- which, besides 'ache/throb', may also mean 'dissolve'. Alternatively, in view of scribal confusion of retroflex consonants (cf. IV.3.4.4) it may be read as ṭhahak- ('call out') or ḍahak- (one of the meanings of which is 'be scattered/sprinkled'). A's variant ṭahar- means either 'stroll about', or is equivalent to ṭahar- ('stay/linger').
2. mūla ke māhi: alternative meanings for mūla, given by HŚS and RSK, allow for translation of the phrase as 'in the vicinity' or 'in the grove/bower'.

71 (kidārā)

navaraṅgī ho tribhaṅgī mohana āu ghare  
raina divasa mo kō nīda na āvē taraphata jīu jala mīnā  
bītī avadhi kaḥā rahē mohana birahina kō dukhu dīnā  
griha bana bīthuna pūchati ḍolō kaba āve braja māhī  
pīu hamārā sāvari mūrati binu dekhye sukhu nāhī 5  
prāna hamāre śrī hari pyāre caṁdu nihāre māī  
ēhī caṁdu hamahī phuni dekhata niradaya kahata na kāī  
bhalē bhalē bhojana kaue ḍhāro āvanu āvanu bole  
pūchi rahī bābhana kī pothī avadhi na koī khole  
dūdha dahī mākhanu mero acavata inu dekhata dukhu pāvō 10  
naṁda dulāre vinu manamohana auru na kisī pilāvō  
naṁda jasodā nita magu citavata kaba āvē vanavārī  
kubajā ke basi niṭhura bhae hai cōpa na karata hamārī  
āe dūlaha maṅgala gāe griha griha bhai vadhāī  
kevalajana harasata brajavāsini mili mana tapati miṭāī 15

- 1 B: mōhana
- 2 A: jiu; B: mō
- 3 A: ko duṣa; B: mōhana birahani
- 4 A: gr̥ha, bīthana, āvē; B: pūchatī ḍholō
- 5 A: pīya, mūrata bina, suṣa; B: sāvarī, dekṣe, nāhī
- 6 A: caṁdri
- 8 A: kīe ḍārō, bolē
- 9 A: pūcha, ṣolē
- 10 A/B: pāvō; A: māṣana, ina, duṣa
- 11 A/B: pilāvō; A: bina, aura; B: ~mōhana
- 12 A: āvē
- 13 A: vasi niḍhura, hai; B: niṭhūra
- 14 A: gr̥hi gr̥hi; B: bhai
- 15 A: mila; B: ~vāsani

O bright (and) elegant Mohana, come to (my) house.

Sleep does not come to me (either at) night (or during) the day  
(I am) tossing about like a fish (without) water.

Where have you been in the meantime, Mohana,  
causing pain to those (who are) bereft (of you) ?

I wander among the houses (and) forest lanes asking  
'When will he return to Braj ?'.

There is no joy without seeing the dark form of my loved-one.

My very life, beloved Hari - (my) friend, look at the moon,

This very moon we see again, nobody accuses it of being cruel.

Place fine food in dishes, (they) say that (he is) coming.

(I) kept consulting the brahmins' books  
(but) nobody could predict how long (it will be before he comes).

I grieve when I see them tasting my milk, curds (and) butter.

I shall give no one (anything) to drink, apart from Manamohana,  
Nanda's darling child.

Nanda (and) Jasodā are constantly looking out (for him),  
when will Vanavārī come ?

Since (falling) under Kubajā's sway he has become heartless  
(and) shows no ardour for us.

The groom came, (they) sang songs of praise,  
there was rejoicing in every house.

Kevalajana: the women of Braj are pleased on meeting (him),  
(their) mental torment is dispelled.



72 (kidārā)

mohana lādūle raṅga bhīne  
banyē ṭhanyē rād̄hā pyārī sāgi hili mili rasi basi kīne  
sobhā sāgari nāgari āga āga musaki nihāri apuna kara līne  
ḍolata bolata pāchē āvata prema sudhā rasa pīne  
chabi rasa mata madhupa naṁda naṁdana  
bārata dekhi bhuvana sukha tīne  
rāsa bilāsa birājita juga juga kevala ānāda dīne

- 1 A/B: lādūle; A: bhīnē; B: mōhana
- 2 A/B: kīnē; A: saṅga hila mila, vasi
- 3 A: sāgara nāgara, nihāra, līnē
- 4 A/B: prēma; A: rasi pīnē; B: ḍholata
- 5 A/B: bhavana; A: matta, deṣa, tīne
- 6 A: dīnē; B: ānada

73 (kidārā)

rījhi rījhi rahī hai sarada kī cāṁdanī  
bhaī hai chimāsī raina pyāsī darasana kī  
banī hai navala jorī lāla saṅgi rādhe gorī  
khelata rāsa bilāsa rati parasana kī  
biharata caū ora sughara sācurī sabha  
kusamana goda bhari chabi baraṣana kī  
kuṁjana mō kīnī kela bhāti bhāti rasu jhela  
kevala parī hai ṭeva maina tarasana kī

- 1 A/B: rahī he; A: rījha rījha, cāṁdunī bhaī bhai he;  
B: bhaī e
- 2 A/B: he; A: saṅga, vilāsa
- 3 A: caū, bhara, varaṣana; B: kusama
- 4 A: rasa, hē; B: he

Beloved Mohana, steeped in delight,  
On meeting with the beautiful (and) shapely beloved Rādhā,  
is overpowered by emotion.  
The urbane woman, an ocean of beauty in every limb,  
made (him) her own (just by) looking (at him) with a smile.  
(He) wanders about, speaking, following (her),  
having drunk the nectar of love.  
Nanda's son, (like) a bee intoxicated by the essence of beauty,  
offers the happiness of the three worlds when (he) sees (her).  
The delight of the rāsa is resplendent throughout the ages,  
giving joy to Kevala.

The autumn moonlight is pleased indeed,  
(it has been) thirsting for the sight (of them throughout)  
a night which has lasted for six months.  
The young couple looked beautiful, Lāla with the fair Rādhā,  
(as they were) enjoying the delight of the rāsa,  
embracing passionately.  
All the elegant companions wandered about in all directions,  
gathering armfuls of flowers in order to shower down beauty.  
(They) sported in the groves, plunging into manifold delights,  
Kevala : now (they have) acquired the habit  
of making Maina suffer (from envy).

74 (kidārā)

rījhi bikala tana prema sō ho pyārī syāma aṃsa pari  
māno ahi caṃdana tara lapaṭe

pīya juga bhujā pakarike jakari  
kuhū kī nisā mō (māno) pragaṭi bhayo

sasi bhāna kamala (dui) dṛgana saṃgi dhari  
syāma cakora bhora taji kevala

caṃda kirāni driga rahye chabi ari

- 1 A: rījha, prēma, syāma, para; B: pyārī // syāma
- 2 A/B: mānō
- 3 A/B: mānō; A: pragaṭa bhāna, saṃga
- 4 A: kirāna, rahyo

75 (kānarā)

pyārī jīu ke rūpa kī caṭapaṭi pari

syāma bikala tana bana mē ḍolata

badana kī jhāi dekhi gāi kahū bhūli gai

bāsuri kāmarī giri sudhi jo bisarī

haṃsa gaja gāmuni dāmuni sī bhāmuni

syāma ghaṭā citavata māno ridi dhyānu dhari

kevala lāla bihāla hitu jānyo dulahani

kumjana mō meli līe lalitā (jiu) rasa bhari

- 1 A/B: ḍholatā; A: vikala; B: jī, syāma, omits mē
- 2 A: vadana, deṣa, kahū bhūla, visarī
- 3 A/B: mānō; A: hasa, dhyāna
- 4 A: vihāla hita, mela, lalatā



76 (kānarā)

ho rasīlī akhīyā unīdī bhāī

aruna capala chabi dekhi jo nai

gai nisu biti sabha khelata kunjana mo

amga amga rasa bhari rati jo lai

diragha dharari bhari amjana so duti dhari

bidhi racana te nyari piya hita sukhadi

kevala badana sara mano juga kamja phulye

syama ali arye sudhi bhuli jo gai

- 1 A: unida
- 2 A: nisa bita
- 3 A: darari, duta, vidhi, susadai
- 4 A/B: manō; A: sudha bhula

77 (kidāra)

sadana mo thadhi ghatā si sumdari navala kisori

amga amga chabi capala jaise bhāmuni rajita hai cahū ori

badana camda tare jata phuni phuni taha pragatu hota

atāki rahe mere naina sakati na chori

kevala salone lala pyari ko nihari lije dharahuge tinu tori

- 1 A: sumdara, kisorā
- 2 A: hai cau ora
- 3 A: vadana, pragata, ataka, chora; B: pragatu
- 4 A/B: salone; A: ko nihara, dārahuge tina tora

O (those) watery eyes are tired, (I have) seen (their)  
novel, red (and) flashing beauty.

The whole night has passed (while they were) sporting  
in the groves, every limb full of the emotion which  
passion brought.

Possessed of the beauty of collyrium, disturbing<sup>1</sup> ponderous  
steadfastness, unique in God's creation, bestowing love  
(and) joy (upon her) beloved.

Kevala: Śyāma (is) like a bee which has forgotten  
all cares (and is) fixed upon the pair of lotuses blossoming  
on the lake (of her) face<sup>2</sup>.

1 A has darāri, meaning 'split/crushed' (either as a past participle of the verb darār- < daráyati + -ād-, or as an adjective derived from \*darākāra-); the initial letter in B may be either dh-, t- or d- but is most probably a formation of the verb dhār-, as used in 116.13).

2 Alternatively: Kevala (is like) a black bee which...

The beautiful young maid is standing in (her) abode  
like a mass of cloud.

The beauty (of her) every limb is resplendent like lightning  
all around the woman.

(Her) moon-like face is lowered (and then) again becomes  
visible there; my eyes remain fixed (upon her),  
unable to desist.

Kevala: handsome Lāla, should you look at (your) beloved<sup>1</sup>  
you will snap a straw and throw it down<sup>1</sup>.

1 cf. note to 23.4

78 (gaudī)

bana tē āvata lālu rī māī

kara phaiṭo le gāīyana pāchē

dhori dhūmari leta bulāī

kaṭi kāchani bara basa dhūsara kaca

māthē laṭapaṭī pāga banāī

mora pākhu laṭakata maṭakata sakhī

naina capala suṁdara sukhadāī

mṛgamada tilaku kānana mai kūḍala

uri motyana mālā chabi pāī

āga āga chabi nirakhata kevalajana

manu aṭakyō muralī jō bajāī

- 1 A: lāla
- 2 A: gāīyana ke pāchē, dhūmara; B: dhōrī
- 4 A: paṅkha
- 5 A/B: kuṁḍhala; A: kānana, ura; B: jo written in margin

79 (kidārā)

sughaḍa rāī baiṭhe sukha sō kuṁjana

pyārī pyāro caṁda kī cāṁdanī mai gāvata kidāro

pyāro lagata hili mili rasu rahyo magana lagana

karata bilāsa hāsa atichabi pāvata benu bajāvata

nainana sō naina duti adhika badana

kevala navala jorī nirakhata ciṭu corī ṭhagorī parata

manamatha manu mohyo avara kavana

- 1 A: sughara; B: // sughaḍa rāī //
- 2 A: cāṁda kī, hila mila, omits second pyāro; B: cādanī, // pyārī pyāro //
- 3 A: baina, naina sō naina duta; B: pāvata
- 4 A: niraṣa cita, mana





80 (malāra)

e ghana ghora gāje māno imdra ke mṛdaṅga bāje  
nae (nae) bādara āe sakala sura pavana sajala dāmuni rāje  
pīta aruṇa harita māno rekhā patanī saṅgi navasata sāje  
kevala pyārī (jīu) lāla kō dikhāvata biharata brimḍābana birāje

- 1 A: gājē, bājē; B: mānō
- 2 A: vādara, rājē
- 3 A/B: mānō; A: pīta aru aruṇa, saṅgi navasaṅta sājē
- 4 A: jī, viharata vṛmḍāvipana virāje

81 (kidārā)

tere siri kaca gūthita aise bhāmuni  
māno ali milana kusama cali āe  
yaha to dekhī naī rīti prīti  
jo sasi kī bhāī naina saroja saṅgi urajhāe  
besara mai cūnī mukatā dui  
māno cakora dhāma priya pāe  
aisī chabi to kō sohe terī sō piya pyārī  
kevala ujārī duti madana kō lajāe

- 1 A/B: mānō; A: sira
- 2 A: rīta, bhāi, saṅgi
- 3 A: vaisara, priyā
- 4 A: duta; B: second kō deleted

O the menacing clouds are thundering  
as if Indra's drum is sounding.  
New clouds have come, (like) all the gods,  
(with) wind (and) rain, resplendent (with) lightning  
(And) with (their) wives decked (in all) sixteen (adornments)  
like the yellow, red (and) green lines (of the rainbow ?).  
Kevala: the beloved points (them) out to (her) lover,  
(both of them) resplendent (as they are) sporting  
(in) Vrindaban.

The hair on your head is plaited in such a way, (my) lady,  
(it looks) as if flowers have come forth to meet the bees.  
This (is) indeed a novel method of love (that I have) seen,  
such as of the moon entangled in lotus-eyes  
The two choice pearls in (your) nose ring  
(are) like partridges (which have) attained (their)  
loved-one's abode.  
Such beauty befits you, I swear to you beloved;  
Kevala: (such) brilliant radiance puts Madana to shame.

82 (kānarā)

kahā kahō kachu kahanu na āve

terī sō vṛṣabhāna namḍinī

tava mukha sama chabi caṃdu na pāve

china china mō duri jāta ghaṭā mahi

nikasata paisata heri lajāve

tribhuvana mahi to sī hai tūhī

kevala ratipati kahā kahāve

1 A: kahana, āvē

2 A/B: namḍanī; A: caṃda, pāvē; B: taba

3 A: dura, hera lajāvē

4 A/B: tribhavana; A: kahāvē

83 (kānarā)

dekhyo caṃdu hiṃdole jhūlata māī

catura pravīna nāikā pyārī

āga āga chabi kichu barani na jāī

āgē pāchē kirāṇi sācurī

kumjana kusama nakṣatra sukhadāī

yaha sukhu nirakhi nirakhi kevalajana

syāma cakora caṭapaṭī lāī

1 A: dekṣyo, hiṃdholē; B: dekṣo, hiṃdhole

2 A: kachu

3 A/B: niṣṭra; A: kirāṇa sācurī

4 A: suṣa, nirāṣa nirāṣa

What should I say ? - I am unable to speak.

I swear to you, daughter of Vṛṣabhānu,  
(that) the moon does not achieve the same (degree of)  
beauty as your face.

Momentarily (it) hides among the clouds,  
making (one) feel abashed on seeing (it) move  
in and out (of them).

There is none such as you in the three worlds;  
Kevala: what can Ratipati have to say?

I have seen the moon swaying in a swing, (my) friend.

The clever (and) skilful beloved nāyikā  
(possessed of) indescribable beauty in every limb.

In front (and) behind, (her) companions (are like) moonbeams  
(and) the flowers of the grove (are like) delightful  
constellations.

Kevalajana: Syāma, beholding this joy, (is like) a partridge  
(which has) acquired a taste (for the moonbeams).



(On each) hand the beloved (wears) a set of four choice bangles,  
Rings on (her) fingers, an armlet, bracelets,  
(and) most delightful silk tassels.

A saffron-coloured sari, a bodice, a satin skirt,  
a necklace of pearls (and) a nose ring of simple beauty.

Kevala: Gopāla Lāla is pleased on seeing (her)-  
Vṛṣabhānu's darling daughter (who) is brighter than brightness.

My Kānūyā, your eyes are bloodshot.

My Kānūyā, (you have) captivated (your) beloved all night long,  
Captivated your beloved (and) stayed awake in the bedchamber.

The ties (of your clothes) are broken,  
Kāma's *horde* has been routed, (your) lips are smeared  
with collyrium.

(You have) indulged in all the excitements  
(which) appeal (to your) mind (and have) savoured  
many kinds of delight.

My Kānūyā, your eyes are bloodshot.

mere k̄anūyā j̄iu terī s̄umdari seja bichāī  
mere k̄anūyā j̄iu coyā caṁdana phūla banāī  
coyā caṁdana phūla banāī sītala pavana jhakorē  
sabha rāga māni uṭhyē piya lālana bhora bhae tiha ṭhorē. 10  
sabha guna bhāre k̄are pyāre āga āga mahu caturāī  
mere k̄anūyā j̄iu terī s̄umdari seja bichāī

- 7 A: s̄umdara, vichāī; B: k̄anūyā  
10 A: māna, tihi ṭhaurē  
11 A: mō  
12 A: s̄umdara, vichāī; B: k̄anūyā

mere k̄anūyā j̄iu kaṁcana dīpaka joti ujārī  
mere k̄anūyā j̄iu rājita śrī brīṣabhāna dulārī  
śrī brīṣabhāna dulārī rādhe navasata sāja banāe 15  
uttama basa bhūṣana pahiryē āga sasi tē atichabi pāe  
nirakhi nirakhi taha una rasa bhīne mukha kī roca nirārī  
mere k̄anūyā j̄iu kaṁcana dīpaka joti ujārī

- 13 A: jota; B: k̄anūyā  
14 A: vṛṣabhāna; B: k̄anūyā  
15 A: vṛṣabhāna  
16 A/B: utyama; B: bhūṣana  
17 A: nirāṣa nirāṣa  
18 A: dīpa ujārī; B: k̄anūyā

mere k̄anūyā j̄iu yuga yuga karo bilāsa murāre  
mere k̄anūyā j̄iu jorī jīvani prāna hamāre 20  
jīvani prāna hamāre jorī nirakhi nirakhi sukhu pāvō  
jiu bhāve tiu karo kutūhala koṭi vāra bali jāvō  
kevalajana caranō raja vāṁchata nahi palu hovō nyāre  
mere k̄anūyā j̄iu yuga yuga karo bilāsa murāre

- 20 A: jīvana; B: k̄anūyā  
21 A: jīvana, nirāṣa nirāṣa suṣa pāvō; B: pāvō  
22 A/B: jāvō; A: katūhala koṭa; B: kātūhala  
23 A: carnō, vāṁchata, pala hovo  
24 A: juga (for yuga yuga, with caret mark following and the number 2, indicating repetition, or the letter ra written in the margin above)

My Kānūyā, your beautiful couch is spread,  
My Kānūyā, perfume, sandal (and) flowers have been prepared.  
Perfume, sandal (and) flowers have been prepared;  
the stirrings of a cool breeze.  
Having realised all delights, the dear loved one got up,  
it was dawn in that place.  
Dark lover, (you) are full of all virtues  
(and are possessed of) dexterity in every limb.  
My Kānūyā, your beautiful couch is prepared.

My Kānūyā, the light of a golden lamp has been lit.  
My Kānūyā, Vṛṣabhānu's darling daughter is resplendent.  
Rādhā, Vṛṣabhānu's darling daughter, has decorated (herself  
in all) sixteen (adornments),  
(And) has put on the finest clothes (and) ornaments,  
(she has) attained greater beauty than the moon.  
(One is) steeped in delight (while) watching her there-  
the unique beauty of (her) face.  
My Kānūyā, the light of a golden lamp has been lit.

My Kānūyā, disport yourself throughout the ages, Murāri.  
My Kānūyā, (as a) couple (you are) my life (and) soul.  
I attain happiness on beholding the couple (which is)  
my life (and) soul.  
Engage in whatever amusements you please,  
I dedicate myself (to you) ten million times.  
Kevalajana: desiring the dust of (your) lotus feet,  
may I never for a moment be apart.  
My Kānūyā, disport yourself throughout the ages, Murāri.



86 (naṭu)

ṭhādhī hai maṁḍala jorī    navala lāla kisorī  
  atisē chabi pāvata    gaura sāvara tana  
biharata cahū ora    sughara catura sakhi  
  sobhā ko sāgaru phailyo    subhaga brimdābana  
nācata gāvata gīta    tāna māna le saṁgīta  
  tata theī naī naī    gati jo sunī śravana  
kevala dekhata rāsu    bhayo jo mahābilāsu  
  sukha ko samūha dekhi    ṭhagorī parata mana

- 1 A/B: maṁḍhala; A: ṭhāḍhe hē, chavi pāvata hē; B: he, atichabi, sāvara
- 2 A: cau (for cahū), sāgara, vṛim̐dāvibana; B: vridābana
- 3 A: gāvati, thāī
- 4 A: rāsa, ~bilāsa, kō samudra deṣa; B: deṣata (for dekhi)

87 (pūravā)

bolata miṭhī sī bānī taturānī  
  lāla saṁgi rādhā jīu bana mē  
prathama samāgamu kīno lajīlī sī akhiyā  
  sakucita kachu ika mana mē  
cāhata bihāra syāma rasa lampāṭa  
  nava vai komala tana mē  
kevala aṁga aṁga jorī baiṭhe ika ṭhorī  
  māno lasata dāmuni ghana mē

- 1 A: taturānī, saṁga rādhe
- 3 A/B: kōmala
- 4 B: mānō

The couple is standing (in) the rāsa circle,  
the youthful Lāla (and) the maid, (their) fair (and) dark  
bodies attaining great beauty.

(Their) elegant (and) clever companions are wandering  
all around, an ocean of splendour spread out (over)  
the blessed Vrindaban.

Dancing, singing songs, measuring the phrasing of the music,  
(with) new movements- 'tata theī' which are heard by the ear.

Seeing the rāsa (and) the great rejoicing which arose,  
seeing the *essence* of happiness, Kevala's mind was spellbound.

In the forest Rādhā is speaking sweet (and) childlike words  
with Lāla.

(When she) first met (him her) eyes seemed bashful,  
(she felt) somewhat timid in (her) heart.

Syāma, craving pleasure, desired to sport (with her, being)  
so young in age (and) tender of body.

Kevala: the couple sits together in each other's embrace,  
like lightning flashing among the clouds.

88 (pūravā)

e karatāla bajāvata gāvata pīya saṃgi  
tata theī theī gati nyārī  
sughara rāi naṭa kō nacāvata (dikharāvata) dulahani  
naī naī tāna(na) hitakārī  
tāna māna saṃgīta sikhāvata [ dikharāvata ]  
sughara catura syāmā pyārī  
kevala nir(a)tata lāla bilāsa bimala bidhi  
bhalyē bhalyē bhalyē giridhārī

- 1 A: saṃga; B: tata theī theī theī
- 2 A: diṣarāvati
- 3 A: tāna
- 4 A: vidhi, bhalyē bhalye bhalyē bhalyē giradhārī  
B: bisāla (for bilāsa), repeats bhalyē four times

89 (pūravā)

kuṃjana mai poḍhī sukha sō nisu  
ho pyārī mohana lāla jagāī  
ārasa yuta āgarānī ṭhakurānī sī rādhe  
badana joti suhāī  
cibaku cāru gahi pīya citāvata  
bāta karata rasa bhāī  
kevala taba musakānī rati mānī parasapara  
baiṭhe haī ika ṭhāī

- 1 Both A and B give the order: mohana lāla jagāī ho pyārī  
kuṃjana mai &c.; A/B: jagāī; A: mē; B: mōhana
- 2 A: jota
- 3 A: omits bāta
- 4 A: parasapara, hē



90 (kidārā)

mero manu mohana terī sō tū pyārī  
māthe (ko) jarāu besari bhūṣana sabha  
tere saṅgi sobhita atiduti dhārī  
tava mukha sami nahī koṭi maina ravi sasi  
bapure kī kahā hai ujārī  
kevala tana mana dhana saravasa tuma  
tū nāgari jīvani ho hamārī

- 1 A: mana; B: mōhana
- 2 A: jarāya besara, saṅga
- 3 A: sama, koṭa, rava
- 4 A: saravāsa, tū nāgara jīvana

91 (kānārā)

pīu pyārī kō nirakhata cahū ori  
taha taha navala pravīna priyā jīu rākhata hai aṁcara paṭu jori  
hitu upajāvata premu badhāvata sugharāī kī avadhi kisori  
kevala tihi basi parye sāvare naina adhīna lāgi rahī ḍori

- 1 A: cahū ora
- 2 A: jī, aṁcara kahu jora
- 3 A: prēma kisora; B: prēmu
- 4 A: vasa, nāgarī (for lāgi rahī) ḍora; B: sāvare, ḍori

92 (kidārā)

muralī neku bajāi ho pyāre piya muralī neku bajāi  
muralī terī sakala jagu mohyo mīṭhī tāna sunāi  
inu bāsuri mahi kahata kou ṭono sabha manu leti curāi  
kevala adhara dhari lāla hita rāsa bhari  
liē tribhavana murachāi

- 1 A: bajāi // ho
- 2 A: jaga
- 3 A/B: bāsuri, ṭonō; A: ina, mana leta
- 4 A/B: tribhavana; A: liē

Charmer of my heart, I swear that you are dear (to me).

The jewel on (your) brow, the pearl nose ring  
(and) all (your other) ornaments are resplendent upon you,  
possessed of great brilliance.

Ten million Mainas, suns (and) moons are no match  
for your face- poor things! what is their brightness  
(compared to yours) ?

Kevala: you (are my) body, mind, wealth (and) everything,  
you, Nāgarī, are my very life.

The lover looks all around for (his) beloved.

Here and there the youthful (and) clever beloved  
keeps the edge (of her) veil drawn (over her face),  
Inspiring affection, increasing love - a maid (who is the)  
ultimate in elegance.

Kevala: Sāvare has fallen into her power,  
(and) stares (at her) with eyes enthralled.

You played your flute a little, dear beloved,  
played your flute a little.

Your flute enchanted the whole world, sounding sweet phrases.

(They) say that there is some magic in this flute,  
(that it) steals away every heart.

Kevala: (when) Lāla placed it (on his) lip,  
full of love (and) delight, (he) caused the three worlds  
to swoon.

93 (kānarā)

mohana lāla sō neharā lagyo

dekhyē binu kali na pare caṭakī sī lāgi rahī

prema phaṇḍa paryo ālī māthe ko seharo mero manu jo ṭhagyo  
musakani hiri līno tabahī apuno kīno

parī hai ṭhagorī siri roma roma hitu jagyo  
kevala bikānī ālī dasa disa jānī mānī

lāja tola jānī piya sō jīyaro pagyo

1 A/B: mōhana

2 A: deṣye bina, lāga, prēma; B: deksē, nā

3 A/B: rōma rōma; A: musakana hira, līnī, apunō,  
omits kīno, sira; B: līnō, kīnō

4 A: vikānī, disā

94 (kidārā)

kahā kuṃjana mai pyārī kharakatu hai

jau lalitā hama catura tihāre saṃgi

barahā kī parachāī paratu hai

kahā sudhi pāī na jānatu nāgari

hama nahī dekhī kinu kaha tē sunatu hai

kevala jānī hai bāta āe hai saṃketa bhae

terī to mai cerī rādhe mo sō na duratu hai

1 A: ṣarakata

2 A: saṃga, parata

3 A: kahā, jānata nāgira, kina

4 A: vāta, hai, tērī, durata; B: duratu hai

(I have) fallen in love with Mohana Lāla.

No peace of mind comes (to me) without seeing (him),  
(I) remain as if spellbound, the snare of love  
has been sprung, O friend, (he is) the chaplet  
on my brow<sup>1</sup> who has stolen my heart.

(He) captivated (me with his) smile, then made (me) his own,  
a spell has fallen upon (my) mind, love has woken in every pore.

Kevala: (I am) sold (to him, my) friend, (it is) known  
(and) realised far and wide, (my) honour has been  
weighed out (and) examined, (my) soul is steeped  
in (my) beloved.

1 An expression of endearment.

'What, (my) dear (friend), is rustling in the groves ?  
For I am with (such) a cunning (person as) you, Lalitā,  
(yet he has managed to follow us) the shadow of (his)  
peacock feather falls.'

'(I do) not know where (he) obtained awareness (of our  
whereabouts, he has) not seen me - from whom (and)  
whence (does he) hear (this)?'<sup>1</sup>

Kevala: he knew the situation, he came (and) there was  
an encounter; 'I am indeed your follower, Rādhā,  
(he) cannot conceal (himself) from me'.

1 Alternatively kahatē with the meaning '(as a result  
of) whose saying (this) ?'





Lalitā, why did you not tell me that Mohana .  
performed the rāsa today ?

I know that you received the information (this) morning,  
(but because I was) anxious (you did) not tell (me).

The radiant couple is possessed of great beauty,  
from them alone (was I) able to see.<sup>1</sup>

Kevala: the clever (and) skilful (*lover*)  
on meeting with (*his*) beloved inspires delight.

1 lakhi pāyo: alternatively 'did I understand' or  
'did I find my goal' (cf. 124.19)

The lover (and his) beloved look beautiful (in) the rāsa circle  
with Lalitā (and) the women of Braj.

Accordingly, Vrindaban is in bloom,  
the trees (of) the kadamba grove (possess) unique beauty.

A cool, gentle (and) fragrant breeze blows,  
(it is) a bright autumn night there.

Kevala: (while they were) dancing, singing (and) rocking  
in a swing, delight in abundance spread around.

97 (kalyāna)

barahā kī laṭakani mai ālī

aṭakī (rahī) morī akhīyā

ali (jaise) uḍi (jo) parī paṅkaja mukha ūpari

kaisē rahata nahi rakhīyā

urajhi rahī chabi mai nahi nikasata

bahuri na āvata lakhīyā

kevala ika ṭaka lāgī lalacānī (lāla saṅgi)

rūpa salono cakhīyā

- 1 A: aṭaka
- 2 A/B: paṅgaja; A: uṭhi, ūpara; B: uḍhi
- 3 A: nakasata, bahu (+ ḍa in margin ?) for bahuri
- 4 A: saṅga, salōnē; B: salōnō

98 (kidāro)

ṭhādhe kuṃjana kī chāu

bhujā gahi jhulavata parasapara rādhā mohana nāu

rasa bharye aṅga aṅga madhura musakani nirakhi nāhi aghāu

rahī chabi mahu urajhi kevala laṭikana pari bali jāu

- 1 B: chāu
- 2 B: mōhana
- 3 A: mādhurī, nirāṣa nāhi
- 4 A: para; B: laṭaki

metre: moric 14 + 11

3<sup>b</sup> read: nirakhata or nāhī

O friend, my eyes remain fixed upon the swaying  
of (his) peacock crest,  
Like bees which have flown up (and) settled  
on the face of a lotus, in no way can they be restrained.  
(They are) entangled in the beauty, cannot come out  
(and) no longer become visible.  
Kevala: desirous, (their) gaze fixed upon Lāla,  
(they are) intoxicated by (his) delicious beauty.

Standing in the shade of the groves,  
Holding arms (and) swinging each other-  
Rādhā (and) Mohana (by) name<sup>1</sup>.  
Full of delight (in) every limb, smiling sweetly,  
I am never sated by the sight (of them).  
Remaining engrossed in (their) beauty, I, Kevala,  
dedicate myself to (their) swinging.

1 nāu: perhaps to be understood as ' I bow down to... '.

99 (kānarā)

mohana lāla sō hasi milu calu māna jina karahu pyārī  
kuṃja bhavana sukhu dīje apuno kari līje

benatī māno hamārī

uha tero tuma vākī jīvani karahu bihāra

banata nahī nyārī

kevala taba musakānī urajhānī lāla saṃgi

nirakhi (nirakhi) balihārī

1 A/B: mōhana; A: mila

2 A: suṣa, kara, venatī

3 A: jīvana

4 A: urajhānī, saṃga, niraṣa niraṣa; B: urjhānī

100 (kidārā)

baiṭhī hai jharokhe pyārī kuṃja bhavana mō

mahalu na pāve pīya ṭhāḍhe darasana kō

ujārī tē ujārī māthe māga sohe gaṃgā jaise

jānī hari bhae atihetu parasana kō

jānī hai bāti gura bhāi lalitā jīu

lyāī hai lālu tahā nidhi barasana kō

milye hai mohana rādhā kevala chabi agādhā

meṭyo hai doū ura kāma tarasana kō

1 A/B: he; A: mahala

2 A: jāṭī emended to jānī (?). māga emended to māga (?);  
B: māga, gaṃga, jāṭī (? for jānī)

3 A/B: jānī he, lyāī he; A: bāta guru; B: jāṭi (for bāti)  
lyāī hē

4 A: dou; B: mōhana, dāū

*Mohana*

Go, meet Lāla with a smile, do not sulk, beloved.  
Grant (him) the joy (of the) bower, make (him) yours,  
consider my entreaty.  
He is your sustenance (and) you are his,  
sport (with him), nothing comes (from being) apart.  
Then, smiling, she embraced Lāla,  
seeing (which) Kevala pays tribute.

The beloved is sitting by the lattice-window in the bower,  
the lover does not reach the palace (but) stands  
(waiting to catch) sight (of her).

A strand (of jewels) on (her) head, brighter than brightness,  
sparkles like the Ganges, knowing (which) Hari was most  
desirous to touch (her).

Realising the situation, Lalitā acted like a charm<sup>1</sup>  
(and) brought Lāla there in order to shower down (his) treasure.

Kevala: Rādhā (and) Mohana met, the beauty (was) profound,  
the agitation of passion was erased from both (their) hearts<sup>2</sup>.

1 HSS and BBSK both define gura as meaning a spell or charm, equivalent to gurumantra or mūlamantra. Alternatively the interpretation is 'Lalitā acted as a guru in the love affair' or 'Lalitā played a valuable/important role'.

2 If this interpretation is correct one would expect ko rather than the rhyme kō.



Kānha, why have you come just at dawn, the sun has risen,  
(the fact that) today you have been making love to (her)  
cannot be concealed.

(You have) put (your) clothes on all awry,  
(and have) concealed the marks (of love-making),  
(but) more than them (it is) your eyes which speak.

(You are) weary in every limb, bless you, bless you,  
Tribhaṅgī, (you are) speaking sweet words (which)  
burn (my) body.

Kevala: Mohana Lāla, I am not that kind of girl,  
go to her whose love (you) desire.

Look at her, the beloved crest-jewel Śyāmā,  
approaching with (her) loved-one,  
(With) unique beauty in every limb, delighting each other,  
decorated spontaneously<sup>1</sup> (with all) sixteen (adornments),  
(With) arms placed on each other's shoulders  
like entwined golden (and) emerald jewels.

Kevala: the couple, moving like the swan (and) elephant,  
are overjoyed; (hear) the tinkling of (their) anklets.

1 sahaja is perhaps to be read as sāja/sāji, as found elsewhere with navasata.



103 (naṭu)

(māī rī) sāvare mohana sāgi brīdābana rājita navala kisori  
nakha sikha lo chabi uṭhata jhakore bhujā parasapara jori  
biharata rāsa bilāsa pīya sāgi śrī rādhe tana gori  
nācata gāvata karata kutūhala citavata hai mura mori  
bājata tāla pakhāu eka rasa mukhi muralī dhuni thori  
sarada raina kevala sukhu upajo lāgi rahī mana ḍori

- 1 A: saṅga vṛṇḍāvana rājata; B: sāvare, vridābana
- 3 A: sasi (for rāsa), pīya ke saṅga; B: rāsa (?) emended to sasa
- 4 A: katūhala cativata hē; B: kātūhala
- 5 A: muṣa, dhuna
- 6 A: suṣa, lāga; B: ḍhori

104 (kidārā)

pīya sāvare ke saṅgi banī bihārini atichabi pāve  
navasata sāje aṅga subhaga chabi taraṅga  
nirakhata mohinī lajāve  
badana imḍu lajāi mohana rahe lubhāi  
khelata rāsa maṇḍala atihitu upajāve  
kevala banī hai jori navala rādhā kisori  
dekhyē ratipati murachāve

- 1 A: saṅga, bihārni, pāvē; B: sāvare, bihārani
- 2 A/B: mōhanī; A: sājē, lagāvē; B: lagāve
- 3 A/B: mōhana, maṇḍhala; A: -hita
- 4 A/B: deksē; A omits 4<sup>b</sup> and pati

O friend, the youthful maid is resplendent in Vrindaban  
with the dark Mohana.

Flurries of beauty rise up from head to toe  
(as they) embrace each other.

Rādhā, of fair complexion, revels in the joy of the rāsa  
with (her) loved-one.

Dancing, singing, amusing themselves,  
turning to look (at each other),

Playing cymbals (and) drum in delightful unison,  
the gentle sound of the flute on (his) lips.

Kevala: (such) joy arose on that autumn night,  
(my) mind was engrossed.

With (her) dark lover the playful woman  
looks extremely beautiful,  
(Her) body decked (in all) sixteen (adornments)  
-waves of delicate beauty- seeing (her) Mohinī is put to shame.

(Her) face puts the moon to shame, Mohana remains desirous;  
as (they) play in the rāsa circle (they) inspire great love.

Kevala: the couple -the youthful maid Rādhā- look beautiful,  
on seeing (them) Ratipati swoons.

105.i (kidārā)

sum̐dara subhaga mukhu dekhye tē na rahe dukhu  
piya pahi citavi cukhu rukhu dhari pyārī  
benatī suno kisori mānu taji bhaī bhori  
am̐janu nainana kori banī chabi nyārī  
sobhā ko sāgaru bhāma sukha ko samūha dhāma  
ratipati kaune kāma sasi tē ujārī  
kevala milahu piya śrī rādhe jīvani jīya  
kāhe kō mauni le kiya cāhata bihārī

- 1 A/D: muṣa, duṣa, pai, cuṣa, ruṣa; A: dekṣē, raha, dhāro  
B: dekṣe; D: citava, dhāra
- 2 A/D: kisora, māna, bhora, am̐jana, kora; A/B: bhai;  
A: naina; D: venatī, taja, bhayo, duti (for chabi),  
gives 3<sup>c</sup> as nainana am̐jana kora
- 3 A: bhāma; D: sāgara
- 4 A/B/D: milo; A: kevalajana, rādḥā jīvana, māuna;  
B: māuni; D: rādḥake jīvana jīva kāhe kō mona leke kiya,  
vihārī

105.ii (rāmakalī)

dekhye sakḥī rāha dui sasi cāri 1  
saṅgi aṭhadasa kavala sobhita karata jugala bihāra  
cahū ori ali kula āi baiṭhe māno gaṁdha subhāi  
bimbaphala ṣaṭu tahā... 4  
rāma(karī) rāge  
deva deva apanā patī suni avagati nātha i  
rākhu rākhu kali pakhāḍa tē dhari mastaku hātha  
triguṇa rūpa dhari mohinī pasarī terī māyā  
anikana ko saravasū hiryō tava sarane āyā  
kāla rūpa kō dhārikē aṁtaru upajāve v  
nim̐da karamu tā tē baḍhe sevaku dukhu pāve  
trāhi trāhi darapyō adhika hari karo sahāi  
kevalajanu apunā cito manu anata na jāi

- 1 A/B: dekṣe; A: duha 2 A: saṅga aṭhidasa
- 3 A/B: mānō; A: cahū ora, baisē, omits kula, subhāi
- 4 A: ṣaṭa tahā rā rāma rāge; B: ṣaṭu
- i A: apatā; B: apanā/apatā (?)
- ii A/B: paṣaṁdha; A: rāṣa rāṣa kala
- iii A/B: mōhanī; A: pasarī te māyā
- iv A: savavasū, taba; v A: dhārake, aṁtara,
- vi-viii omitted in A

No sorrow remains after seeing (her) lovely, beautiful face,  
the beloved looked at (her) loved-one, turning (her) face  
(towards him).

Hear (my) plea, young maid, abandon (your) sulking,  
dawn has broken, the collyrium in the corner of (your) eyes  
looks uniquely beautiful.

Woman, an ocean of beauty, an abode of the essence of joy,  
-what is there for Ratipati to do ?- brighter than the moon.

Kevala, meet (your) beloved; Rādhā, (you are) his life  
(and) soul; why (do you) keep silent ? Bihārī desires (you).

O friend, (I) saw two Rāhus (and) four moons  
Resplendent with eighteen lotuses,  
engaged in (their) joint revelry.  
From all four directions a swarm of bees came (and) settled  
as if the fragrance had attracted (them).  
(There were) six bimba fruits there...

God, God, our master, hear, O Lord of the wretched !  
Preserve, preserve (me) from the impiety (of this)  
degenerate age, having placed (your) hand on (my) head.  
Mohinī, having assumed triple form, has spread your magic,  
Has stolen the wherewithal of many-  
(I have) come to your refuge.  
Assuming the form of Time (you) create discord.  
As a result of which misdeeds increase  
(and your) servant suffers.  
Save (me), save (me), (I am) much afraid, help (me) Hari.  
Look upon Kevala as your own,  
let not (my) mind go astray.

106 (kidārā)

kum̄jana mō baiṭhe pīya banye ṭhanye pyārī saṅgi  
nainana sō nainā jori palu nā lagatu hai  
cāhata parasapara ika rasa ika ṭaka  
caṁda kī cāṁdanī nisu hita sō jagatu hai  
citavi citavi musakata bolata bacana  
rasu upajata manu rasa mai pagatu hai  
kevala sobhā ko siṁdhu pyārī mukhu bhayo im̄du  
lagye haī syāma cakora taji na saghatu hai

- 1 A: beṭhe, saṅga, jora pali, hē
- 2 A: nisa, jagata hē; B: cādanī
- 3 A: citava citava, mē, hē; B: musakata bolata  
baca (? , words are partly obliterated and emended)
- 4 A: muṣa, lāgye hē, saghata hē; B: saghatu haī

107 (kidārā- mārū)

neku cito iha ora pyārī rasa bhari lādulī  
hari māthe dhari mora ṭhāḍhe hai darasana līe  
haṭhu taji mānu nicori kum̄ja bhavana sukhu dījie  
āi bhāī hai bhora musaki calo bali jāie  
kum̄ja bhavana niyu ṭhōra rahasa kela piya sō karo 5  
bacana kahata kara jora piya ko hetu vicārie  
citavi naina kī kora aṁtarapaṭu taji lāla sō  
parī prema kī ḍora suni baca dulahani uṭhi calī  
taha mili jugala kisora bhāti bhāti līlā ṭhaṭī  
suni nūpara kī ghora kevala manu aṭakyō tahā

- 1 C/D/E: neka cito piyā ora, raṅga (for rasa), for lādulī  
C and D have bhāmuni, E has bhāminī; A: hari (for iha),  
B: lādulī
- 2 A/B: ke (for dhari); B/D/E: he; C/D/E/: līye; E: dhara
- 3 A/C/D/E: haṭhi, nicora; C/D/E: māna, bhavana paga dījiye;  
C/E: taja; A: suṣa; B: haṭhū, dījie
- 4 A/E: musaka; A/C/D: bala; C/D/E: jāiye; D/E: he;  
C: musiki
- 5 A/C/D/E: nija; C/D/E: rahasya; D/E: piyā
- 6 A/C/D/E: heta; C/D/E: vicāriye; D/E: vacana; C/E: piyā  
A: kō; C: kari : C, D and E have lines 6 & 7 in reverse order
- 7 C/D/E: nirṣa (for citavi), aṁtarapaṭa taja; A: citava,  
aṁtarupaṭa; B: aṁtarupaṭū; E: nayana, so

The lover is seated in the groves with (his) beautiful  
and shapely beloved, (they are staring) without blinking  
into each other's eyes,  
Desiring each other, (with) one emotion (and) one gaze,  
awake with love on a moonlit night,  
Looking (at each other), smiling, speaking words,  
with love arising in the heart, (they are/he is)  
steeped in love.  
Kevala: an ocean of beauty, the beloved's face has become  
like the moon, Śyāma is attracted, (like) a partridge,  
(and) cannot tear himself away.

Just look in this direction, dear beloved, full of love.  
Hari, wearing a peacock (crest)  
stands (waiting) in order to see (you).  
Abandon (your) obstinacy, wring out (your) resentment,  
bestow happiness upon the bower.  
The dawn has already come, go with a smile, offer yourself (to him),  
Engage in the secret play with (your) lover in the bower,  
(your) own (special) place.  
(I am) saying (these) words with hands clasped,  
think of (your) lover's affection.  
Looking (from) the corner of (your) eye,  
remove the veil (which hides you) from Lāla.  
The bond of love was established  
hearing (these) words the bride rose (and) left.  
There the youthful couple met (and) performed many kinds of sport.  
Hearing the sound of the anklets  
Kevala's heart was riveted there.

- 8 A/C/D/E: vaca; C/D/E: dora suna, dulahana  
9 A/C/D/E: mila; B/C/E: tahā; C/D/E: bhāta bhāta;  
B: bhāti bhāti; D: tahā  
10 A/D/E: tahā; C/D/E: suna, mana; E: nūpari

108 (kidārā-mārū)

pyārī āpune badana mo sō (jī) kāhe na bolata  
bāri bāri māno hāri mānuni mānu nivāri  
amtarapaṭu kāhe na kholata  
auguna nā gano mere pāi[na] parata tere  
rasika rasu kāhe na jholata  
musaki nihāri lije citavi apuno ki je  
kumjana mahu kāhe na ḍolata  
benatī māno hamārī calahu laḍetī pyārī  
nūpara paga kāhe na colata  
uṭhi milye bhujā jorī kevala lāla kisorī  
khelata rasa nainā jo lolata

- 1 Both A and B have written 1<sup>b</sup> before 1<sup>a</sup>  
2 A: bāra bāra, hāra, mānuni, amtarapaṭa; B: amtarapaṭū  
3 A: rasa  
4 A/B: apunō, mō; A: nihāra; B: ḍhōlata  
5 A/B: laḍhetī; B: culata

109 (pamcama)

āju anamane ho kāhe lāla bolīe bali jāu  
nīce naina kara kapola baiṭhe kadama chāu  
kedhō bolata nahī pyārī nyārī bhai yāhī ṭhāu  
kevala prabha haso neku begi āni milāu

- 1 A: kāhē  
3 A: yāhī  
4 A: prabhu, neka vega, āva (fpr āni); B: āni

Beloved, why are you not speaking to me ?<sup>1</sup>

(I have) offered myself repeatedly (and am now) as if defeated,  
drive away (your) resentment, reproachful woman,  
why (do you) not lift (your) veil ?

Do not count my misdeeds, (I am) falling at your feet,  
why (do you) not plunge into the delight of lovers ?

Look (at me) with a smile, glance (at me), make (me)  
your own; why (do you) not wander in the groves ?

Consider my entreaty, come dear beloved,  
why not move the anklets (on your) feet ?

(She) got up (and they) met in an embrace;  
Kevala: Lāla (and) the maid play, (their) eyes rolling  
(with) delight).

1 literally: speaking with your mouth/face

Lāla, why are you dejected today, tell me, I beg you.

(You are) seated in the shade of a kadamba  
with eyes downcast (and your) cheek (in your) hand.

Or (is it because your) beloved does not speak  
(that you) are alone here in this place ?

Laugh a little, (my) Lord, let me quickly bring (her)  
to meet (you).



110 (kidārā)

pyārī mero lālu rāgīlo raṅgīlī ke basi paryo  
atigābhīra sobhā guna sāgara pāchē ḍolata rasa bharyo  
nirakhi nirakhi caṭakī sī lāgī naina neha ḍharanī ḍharyo  
kevala nit(y)a bihārī bihārini bāla sanehu ridahi ḍharyo

- 1 A: lāla, vasa
- 2 B: ḍholata
- 3 A: nirāṣa nirāṣa, ḍhara nīra ḍharyo; B: niriṣi nirāṣi
- 4 A: saneha; B: bihārana

111 (ḍholā)

alabelā ve naṁda dyā  
mora caṁdikā sīsi birājita galī asādī āudā  
syāma sarīra kavala dala locana gopījana mani bhāudā  
ṭeḍhī cāla cale manamohanu citu vitu hiri le jāudā  
benu bajāe ṭone lāe madhura madhura suri gāudā 5  
nācata khelata gopa sakhā sāgi aṅgi aṅgi chabi pāudā  
kuṁjana mai rādhā jiu pyārī carane lāgi manāudā  
subhaga salonā naṁda ḍhaṭonā gṛha kāraja bisarāudā  
yaha chabi nirakhi nirakhi kevalajanu phūlyā aṅgana māudā

- 1 A: dā
- 2 A: caṁdakā sīsa
- 3 A/B: syāma; A: manu bhāvadā
- 4 A: ~mohana cita, hira; B: ~mōhanu
- 5 A: baina, ṭōnē, sura; B: bēnu, ṭōne
- 6 A: sāga, aṅga aṅga
- 7 A: lāga; B: manāudā
- 8 A/B: salonā; B: ḍhaṭonā; A: visarāudā
- 9 A: nirāṣa nirāṣa, ~jana phūlā; B: aṅgina



112 (taliṅga)

mohi līno mohana mohi līno

lāi ṭhagorī kīnī baurī ṭonā koī kīno

kavala naina pyāre mere nainana ke tāre

ṭeḍhī cāla muralī mukhi rādhā rasa bhīno

nāsā motī jagamaga chabi pīta basana hasana maṃda

aruna adhara syāma rūpa bhāla tilaku dīno

aṃga aṃga kī nikāī mo pē baranī na jāī

kevala manu lāgi rahyo rūpa sudhā pīno

- 1 A/B: līno mōhana, līnō, ṭōnā, kīnō; A: moha (bis)
- 2 A: muṣa; B: repeats kavala naina in place of ṭeḍhī cāla, bhīnō
- 3 A/B: syāma, dīnō; A: omits hasana
- 4 A/B: pīnō; A: mana; B: raho

113 (bibhāsī-todī)

kāhe kō āe ho mohana mere

naī naī rīti prīti <sup>u</sup>vāhī sō kīnī

tihārī sō karata cihana durata nahī tere

nisu ke unīde naina pala sō palu milata jāta

alasanī bāta karata nīcē nīcē here

kevalajana pīya rasika siromaṇi

bhora bolē tamacara bheje ho kaune ke prere

- 1 A/B: mōhana; A: kāho kō
- 2 A: rīta prīta, caina (for cihana)
- 3 A: nisa, pala sō palī, alisanī, herē; B: alasanī, nīcē nīcē
- 4 A: hō, omits ke; B: saromaṇi

Mohan has enchanted (me), enchanted (me)  
has charmed (me), made (me) crazy, cast some spell.

(His) dear lotus eyes, the light of my eyes,  
(his) ambling gait, the flute (at his) lips,  
steeped in love for Rādhā.

The sparkling beauty of the pearl ring (in his) nose,  
yellow garments, gentle smile, red lips, dark complexion,  
the mark (which he has) applied (to his) forehead.

The beauty of (his) every limb cannot be described by me,  
Kevala's mind remained fixed (on him and) drank  
the nectar of (his) beauty.

Why have you come, my Mohana ?

(You have) performed new techniques of love with her,  
I swear to you that your marks (of love-making) are not hidden.

Eyes drowsy from the night, eyelids closing upon each other,  
speaking wearily, looking (with) downcast (eyes).

Kevalajana: loved-one, paragon of lovers,  
the cock crows at daybreak, upon whose instigation  
were you sent?

114 (dholā)

giridharu lālunī mere prema dā khilonā  
barahu suhāvaṇā mohanu syāmaṇī salonā  
benu bajāe dhenu carāe dekhata lāe ṭonā  
pītāmbara dhārī vanavārī naṇḍa kā dhaṭonā  
chabi sohe merā manu mohe ghāta kare gaja chaunā  
kevalajana vārī giridhārī vasi asāde honā

- 1 A/B: prēma; A: giradhara lālanī, khilōnā
- 2 A/B: syāmaṇī salōnā; A: bahuta (for barahu), mōhana;  
B: suhāvaṇā mōhanu
- 3 A/B: ṭōnā; A: bēna, dhēna; B: bēnu, dhēnu
- 4 A/B: dhaṭōnā; A: pitāmbara
- 5 A: mohē, karē
- 6 A: asādē; B: hōnā

115 (kidārā)

āpuna pē āe lāla hitu dhari hīe  
kuṃja ke bhavana pyārī ṭhādhi mānu kiē  
brimḍābana rānī rādhe āvata nihārye  
sācurī kō kahe baca tabahī nivārye  
sunahu sunahu lāla ṭhādhe rahu ihāhi 5  
pasaryo kapaṭu tero pyārī mana māhi  
tabahī bhabhaki bolī uā sō lalitā ri  
teu paṃkhī aura uḍē māryē karatārī  
tribhuvana jā kō dhyāvē sura siva dhātā  
pyārī jīu ke kela hiti dhari āe gātā 10  
tabahī musaki lāla ṭhādhe rahe dīnā  
pyārī jī sō jāhi kaho kahā mohi kīnā



mānuni na mānata jo niranau kiḥe  
taisehi mānu manāvo jaisehi patije  
dulahani baca sunye hita lapaṭāni 15  
nainana tē dhari calyo māno mānu pāni  
milye hai mohana rādhā hita rasa māhi  
karata bilāsa hāsa kachu miti nāhi  
eka rūpa eka prāna navala sanehi  
gaura syāma dekhana mai ujala hai dehi 20  
ika mukhi kahā kahō carita agādhā  
kevala nitya bihāra mohana śrī rādhā

- 1 A: apune, hīē
- 2 A: māna kiē; B: mānu
- 3 A/B: rāni; A: vṛmdābana
- 4 A: vacana vahī (for baca tabahī)
- 5 A: suno suno, rahyo ihāhi
- 6 A: pasara paryo kapaṭha teryo, māhi
- 7 A: uā kō lalatā rī
- 8 B: udhē
- 9 A/B: dhyāvē; A: tribhabana; B: tribhavana
- 10 A: hita dhara
- 12 A: jāi; B: omits jī
- 13 A: mānani, kiḥē; B: mānuni na mānu tajo
- 14 A: māna manāvō; B: manu manāvō
- 16 A/B: mānō, pāni; A: naina tē dhara; B: mānu
- 17 A/B: mōhana
- 18 B: nāhi
- 19 A/B: prāna
- 20 A/B: syāma; A: ujala emended to ujjala
- 21 A: muṣa, caritra
- 22 A/B: mōhana

metre: syllabic 8+6

- 5 requires pronunciation of ihāhi as yāhi; A perhaps intends:  
suno suno lāla ṭhādhe / rahyo ihāhi

The reproachful woman does not pay heed to  
whatever settlement is offered.

Appease (her) in such a way that you convince her.!

Hearing these words the bride was embraced by love,

Streams (of tears) flowed from (her) eyes  
like the water of resentment.

Mohana (and) Rādhā met in the emotion of love,

Sporting (and) laughing without restraint,

Young lovers (with) one form (and) one breath.

Their fair (and) dark bodies are brilliant to look at.

What can I say, with just one mouth,  
of (their) unfathomable exploits ?

Kevala: the eternal sporting of Mohana and Śrī Rādhā.



116 (kidārā)

ṭhāḍhī hai nāgari pyārī kuṃja bhavana  
sakhī bheṣu dhāro lālā karīe gavana  
saṃgi navīnī bālā karata bilāsā  
koṭi imda māno pyārī badana prakāsā  
navasata sāje aṃgi anamdu badhāyo 5  
sobhā ko sāgaru māno rūpu dhari āyo  
kasumbe kī sārī dhārī sīsaphūla saṃgā  
nisā tē pragatu ravi māno aruna raṃgā  
motyana kī māga sohe mohe maina minā  
rūpa jala jaṭa lāgi hoi rahe chīnā 10  
śravana taronā hema atichabi dhārē  
māno juga[la] cakora sasi kō nihārē  
bimala kamala nainā dīrigha dharāre  
bhaūa bhramara māno ṭarata na ṭare  
subhaga nāsikā motī besara sō jhūle 15  
amī hiti tapu kare adharana kūle  
dasana campe kī kalī atiduti dhārī  
adhara tambola rasu phaila paryo bhārī

- 1 A/B: he; A: nāgara
- 2 A: bheṣa
- 3 A: saṃga
- 4 A: koṭa imdu mānō; B: māno
- 5 A: sājē aṃga, anamda; B: aṃgā/aṃgō (?) emended to aṃgi
- 6 A: mānō rūpa; B: māno
- 8 A: te pragata; B: mānō
- 9 A: sohe
- 10 A: rūpā, chaṭa
- 11 A: tarōnā; B: tarōnā hēma
- 12 A: mānō; B: mānō
- 13 A: ṭharāre
- 14 B: māno
- 15 A: nāsakā, jhūlē
- 16 A/B: karē; A: hita
- 18 A: rasa

'The beloved Nāgarī is standing in the bower.

Adopt the guise of a companion (of hers), Lāla,  
(and) go (to her).

(As she) amuses herself with the young maids

The brightness of the beloved's face is like ten million moons.

(Her) body decked (in the) sixteen (adornments),  
heightened the joy,

As if an ocean of beauty had appeared, having adopted a form.

Wearing a saffron-coloured sari, with a forehead jewel,

(It seems) as if the sun has appeared red-coloured in the night.

A strand of pearls (in the parting of her hair) looks beautiful,  
enchanting *Maina's fish*.

The sparkle of the water of (her) beauty fell  
(upon the fish(?) and its own beauty) was diminished.<sup>1</sup>

Golden earrings (in her) ears are possessed of great beauty,

Like a pair of partridges looking at the moon.

Her clear lotus eyes dispel (all one's) composure,

(Her) eyebrows are like bees (fixed upon the lotus which)  
do not move away, even though urged (to do so).

From (her) delicate nostril a pearl dangles from a nose ring

As if performing austerities for the sake of the nectar  
(which flows) on the bank (of her) lips.

Teeth like jasmine buds are possessed of great brilliance,

Betel juice has spread abundantly (over her) lips.

1 chīnā here perhaps < ksīnā- meaning 'worn away'

cibaku dhiṭhonā lonā atichabi pāve  
kavala kalī mō māno bhavaru lubhāve 20  
tribalī rekhā grīvā mai dularī sō rāje  
biraha dahana māno paṃca bāna sāje  
aṃgiyā sohe bacitra ura pari hārā  
dadhi suta uday(a) māno dutīyā kī dhārā  
aṃga aṃga nīke sohe bhūṣana kī jhālā 25  
kiṃkanī kaṭi birāje mata gaja cālā  
lahago kaṭi birāje nūpara jhunakārā  
nakha sikha sobhā banī subhaga apārā  
dūtī baca sunye lāla sakhi bheṣu līno  
kuṃja bhavana āe vilambu na kīno 30  
bhāmuni jānye pachānye muri musakānī  
rasika rāi tribhaṃgī milye rādā rānī  
gāve sune ehī rasu atisukhu pāve  
kevala nirakhi chabi nāhina aghāve

- 19 A: pāvē; B: dhiṭhōnā lōnā  
20 A/B: māno; A: bhavara lubhāvē  
21 A: grīvā, so; B: tribulī  
22 A/B: bāna; A: daidana (for dahana); B: mānō  
24 A/B: māno  
25 A: sohē; B: nīkē  
27 A: kaṭa  
29 A: bheṣa  
30 B: vilabu  
31 A/B: pachānye, musakānī; A: mura; B: bhāmuni jānye  
32 A/B: rānī; A: mile  
33 A: rasa, -suṣa  
34 A: nirāṣa

*beautiful*

A black speck (on her) chin attains great beauty,

Like a bee craving (nectar) in the flower of a lotus.

The triple line around her neck is adorned with a  
double-stranded necklace,

Destroying the pangs of separation as if (like Kāma, it is)  
armed (with) five arrows.

A colourful bodice looks beautiful, (and on her) breast  
a necklace

(Forms) a crescent-shaped line, like the new moon.

The radiance of the ornaments (on her) every limb is beautiful,

A band of small bells is resplendent round (her) waist  
(as she moves with the) gait of a rutting elephant.

A skirt is resplendent round (her) waist,  
(and her) anklets (make) a jingling sound.

Unlimited elegance (and) loveliness grace (her) from head to toe.'

Hearing these words of the go-between, Lāla dressed himself  
as a handmaid,

(And,) without delay, came to the bower.

The woman realised, recognised (him), then turned with a smile.

Tribhaṅgī, the king of lovers, met Queen Rādhā.

(Whoever) sings (or) hears of this delight obtains great happiness.

Kevala, seeing this beauty, is not sated.

117 (kidārā)

āju baiṭhe kuṃjana mẽ rādhikā ravana  
jā kī ābhā jagu sohe sobhā ko bhavana  
madhura madhura mukhi bolata hai bānī  
navala laḍete lāla rādhikā jīu rānī  
citavi citavi pīya hasata bhāmuni 5  
syāma ghaṭā saṃgi māno lasata dāmuni  
kara sō karu āpuno dhari capaṭāyo  
māno ahi maṇi līe atisukhu pāyo  
ādhi sī rāti bhai sāsi joti kīnī  
āpune kara pīyā kō bīrī mukhi dīnī 10  
nāgari kahyo pīya pai bamsī kō bajāvo  
rāgu kidārā mo sō ika suri gāvo  
tabahu bajāyo hari gāyo hoi saṃgi  
chabi sukhu dekhi bhae lajita anaṃgi  
rājita rasa bihāra talapa navelī 15  
rādhā mādho vāhi līne kevala sahelī

- 1 A: āja baiṭhē
- 2 A: jaga sohē
- 3 A: muṣa, vānī; B: bānī
- 4 A/B: laḍhete, rānī
- 5 A/B: bhāmuni; A: citava citava
- 6 A: omits saṃgi; B: syāma, māno, dāmuni
- 7 A: kara sō kari apanō; B: apunō
- 8 A: -suṣa B: māno
- 9 A: rāta, jota; B: adhi
- 10 A/B: āpunē; A: muṣa
- 11 A: bajāvō
- 12 A: rāga, sura
- 13 A: gāyō
- 14 A: suṣa, lajjita
- 15 A: navelī

metre: syllabic 8+6

9<sup>a</sup> read bhai hai ?

Today the young woman Rādhikā is seated in the groves,  
(She) whose splendour beautifies the world, an abode of beauty.  
The queen Rādhikā, from (her) sweet mouth, speaks words  
to the youthful beloved Lāla.

Watching (her) beloved, the woman laughs,  
Like lightning flashing against a dark mass of cloud.  
Placing (her) hand in (his) hand, (she) made (him) embrace (her)  
(As when) a serpent entwined around a gem has found  
great happiness<sup>1</sup>.

Half the night has passed, the moon shone,  
With his hand he placed a roll of betel in the beloved's mouth.  
Nāgarī said to (her) lover, 'Play the flute,  
Play me something in rāga Kidāro'.  
Then Hari played (and his) companion sang.  
Anāṅga was put to shame on seeing the beauty (and) joy.  
(Their) delight (and) revelry were resplendent  
(as they reclined on) a fresh couch.  
Their companion Kevala led Rādhā (and) Mādho by the arm.

1 This refers to the belief that the cobra jealously guards a jewel which it keeps on its head.

118 (taliṅga)

loli devā mohana lāla kō loli  
dekhi dekhi jīvā maīyā jasumati mauli  
jhulu pighūde luḍu kanaiyā maidāḍī jholī  
vadā thīvē tē ciru jīvē bolata mithaḍī bolī  
dudhu pivāi subheṣu racāi supūta nā gholī 5  
naṃda ko naṃdanu daita nikaṃdanu gopa sakhā saṃgi ṭolī  
ridhi sidhi tere dvāre ṭhāḍhī lachamī goli  
aṃgani utē pera dede mukhaḍā colī  
syāma salone kavala naina musakanī tholī  
braja vadhū manu hirana hāra khasi pīve dudhu dolī 10  
rādhā saṃgi bana bihāra kuṃjana olī  
mora paṃkha māthe banyo mukāṭa kī kholī  
ādipurūṣa bāla rūpu gati na jāve toli  
kevala bali jāu gāu tere guna amolī

- 1 A/B: dēvā mōhana
- 2 A: deṣa deṣa jīvā , jasumata; B: bhaīyā (?)
- 3 A: laḍa kanhaiyā; B: ludu
- 4 A: cira, miṭharī; B: bolita
- 5 A: dudha, subheṣa, dyolī (for gholī)
- 6 A: naṃdana, nikaṃdana, saṃga
- 7 A: riddha siddha; B: lāchamī (?)
- 8 A: aṃgana ute
- 9 A/B: syāma; A: salonē; B: salōnē
- 10 A: mana harana, khasu pīvē
- 11 A: saṃga, kuṃjani (~ni added in margin)
- 13 A: rūpa, jāvē; B: ~purāṣu

Lines 10-14 have been deleted in B but are still legible.

metre:

irregular, ranging from 14-20 syllables per line and 21-29/30  
instants.

Let me offer Mohana Lāla a lullaby, a lullaby.  
Seeing (him) gives me life, mother Jasumati flourished<sup>1</sup>.  
Rock the cradle, swing Kanhaiyā in my lap.  
'May you grow big and live long', speaking (these) sweet words  
Feeding (him) milk, dressing (him) in fine clothes,  
she is devoted to (her) fine son.  
Nanda's son, confounder of demons, with (your) band of  
of cowherd friends,  
Ṛddhi (and) Siddhi (are) at your door,  
Lakṣmī stands by as (your) servant.  
He sets foot in (my) courtyard, has a bite to eat,  
Beautiful lotus-eyed Śyāma smiling slightly,  
Captivator of the hearts of the women of Braj,  
snatches and drinks a pot of milk.  
(His) woodland revelry with Rādhā on the edge of the groves.  
On (his) head a peacock feather looks beautiful  
in the cap (he wears as his) crown.  
The state of the Supreme Person in boyhood form is unfathomable.  
Kevala: I dedicate myself (and) sing of your priceless virtues.

1 Assuming maulī as a perfective participle of maul-  
(< mukulayati). Alternatively it may be equivalent  
to Sindhi mauli, hence 'Jasumati's diadem'.



119 (asāvarī)

āu nihāri rī nihāri prema magana bhaī guāri  
dadhi (ke) bīci syāmasuṃdaru rahī pukāri pukāri  
maṭakī giri dharana pari ṭhāḍhī bhuajā pasāri  
bhūšana basi ulaṭi paryē rahī nāhi sambhāri  
ḍolata gaja mata jaise loka lāja dhāri  
kevala piya lāla sō (rī) lāgī naina tāri

- 1 A: nihāra nihāra, guāra; B: omits prema...guāri
- 2 A/B: syāma; A: dadhi kō beca, suṃdara, pukāra (bis)
- 3 A: gira, pasāra
- 4 A: vasa ulaṭa, nāhi sambhāra
- 5 A: matta, ḍāra; B: ḍholata
- 6 A: nainana tāra

metre: moric 12+11

1 read: prema magana bhaī guāri āu nihāri nihāri

120 (kidārā)

mānunī na chāḍe mānu aba kahā kīje  
sāma dāma baca kahe kaise na patīje  
rasika rasīle naina neku na nihāre  
rākhyo hai karu kapola atichabi dhāre  
adhara dasana dīē khodata avanī 5  
dekhī na sunī mai kāhū aisī to ravānī  
sunata na mānata na jānata na to kō  
dekhata acambo ehī lāgi rahyo mo kō  
ādhī sī rāti gaī bhaī kaṭhanāī  
sasi tē ujārī pyārī chabi pasarāī 10  
cubhi rahe nainā mere āvanu bhulāno  
ulaṭi hamāro jīu bhayo kānu māno  
pheri pheri līno manu jatana na āī  
ika mukhi kahā kahō chabi kī nikāī

Come and see, O see, the cowherd girl is immersed in love.  
From the middle of the ocean she keeps calling out  
to Śyāmasundara.

(Her) pot has fallen (and) lies on the ground,  
she stands with arms outstretched.

(Her) ornaments (and) clothes in disarray,  
unable to take care (of herself),

(She is) wandering about like a rutting elephant  
having abandoned all sense of honour.

Kevala: (her) eyes are entranced by (her) beloved Lāla.

The reproachful woman does not shake off (her) resentment,  
now what is to be done?

Words of reason, persuasion, argument (and) censure<sup>1</sup>  
in no way convince (her).

(She does) not glance briefly (with her) amorous, passionate eyes.

(She) appears very beautiful (with her) cheek cupped in (her) hand,

Biting (her) lip, scraping the ground (with her toe).

Nowhere (have I) seen (or) heard of such a woman as you,

You do not hear, consider or realise (anything),

(Which) strikes me as such a wonder (when I) see (it).

Half the night has passed, there has been (such) obstinacy ..

The beloved, brighter than the moon, radiates beauty,

My eyes are transfixed, forgetting (his) arrival,

My soul is overturned, I have become like Kānha,

My mind spins around, (and there is) no resistance (within me).

What can I, with (just) one mouth, say of the exquisiteness  
of (her) beauty ?.

mānu na chāḍe kaise kahi akulānī 15  
kuṃja (ke) maṃdira paudhī rādhikā jīu rānī  
benatī suno hamārī ika caturāī  
sakhī bheṣu dhari milo kevala kanāī

- 1 A: mānanī, māna; B: mānuni, chāḍhe mānu
- 2 A/B: dāma; A: sāma, kahē; B: syāma
- 3 A: nā
- 4 A/B: rākṣo; A: kara
- 6 A: kāi (for kāhū), rabanī
- 7 A/B: mānata, jānata
- 8 A: lāga; B: deṣi
- 9 A: rāta
- 11 A/B: bhulānō; A: cuba, āvana; B: āvanu
- 12 A/B: māno; A: ulaṭa, kāna; B: kānu
- 13 A: phera phera, mana; B: līnō
- 14 A: muṣa, chabi kahā na jāi
- 15 A/B: chāḍhe, akulānī; A: māna, kaisē; B: mānu
- 16 A/B: rānī; A: kuṃja ke madira; B: omits ke
- 17 A: vēnatī; B: bēnatī
- 18 A: bheṣa dhara milye

metre: syllabic 8+6

9<sup>a</sup> read gaī hai ?

121 (kidārā)

raṭata pīu śrī rādhā śrī rādhā  
brīṃḍābana rānī ṭhakurānī sobhā siṃdhu agādhā  
bidhu badanī rāsa rasa sadanī hita radanī chabi bādhā  
kevala tuma binu braja nāika jīu nainana mō jalu ādhā

- 1 A: pīya
- 2 A/B: rānī; A: vṛṃḍābana, omits ṭhakurānī, siṃdha;  
B: ṭhakurānī
- 3 A: vidhi vadanī; B: repeats bādhā
- 4 A: bina, jala

(She) does not give up (her) sulking  
however agitatedly (I) speak.

Queen Rādhā is reclining in the bower.

Listen to my entreaty- a cunning scheme-

Kevala: adopt the guise of a companion (of hers), Kanhāī,  
(then go and) meet (her).

1 cf. pada 8; note 2

The loved-one repeats 'Śrī Rādhā, Śrī Rādhā'.

Queen and lady of Vrindaban, unfathomable ocean of beauty,

Moon-faced, abode of delight (and) emotion,  
bestowing love, increasing beauty,

Kevala: without you the nāyaka of Braj  
(has) eyes half-filled with water.

122 (āsā)

mohanu khele rādhā nāli  
brim̄dābana ke kuṃjana māhī suṃdara naina bisāla  
māthē mukaṭu banye basa adabhuta āga āga bhūṣana jhāla  
muralī bājē koilā gāje mohi lai braja bāla  
nācata gāvata nūpara bāje suṃdara sabada rasāla 5  
adabhuta jorī cita vita corī ura vaijaṃtī māla  
aṃsa aṃsa dhari bhujā parasapara karata rasīlī gāli  
kanaka bela śrī rādhā pyārī dūlaha syāma tamāla  
juga juga jorī sahaja vilāsī rasikani rasa pratipāla  
bali jāve kevala guna gāve cukhu asā do bhāli 10

- 1 A: mohana, nāla; B: mōhanu
- 2 A: vṛm̄dābana
- 3 A: mukaṭa; B: bhūṣana
- 5 A: bājē; B: risāla
- 6 A: baijaṃtī
- 7 A: gāla
- 8 A/B: kanika, syāma; A: dūlā
- 9 omitted in B
- 10 A: gāvē cuṣa asā do bhāla

123 (soraṭhi)

sāvāriyo raṅga bhīno hamaro sāvāriyo raṅga bhīno cukhu  
nainana aṃjanu dīno  
mora caṃdrikā sīsa birājita kōi paḍi ṭonā kīno  
madhura madhura mukhu bena bajāvata dhuni suni manu hiri līno  
nāsā besara kuṃdala dularī yaha chabi pāvata tīno  
jamunā taṭi biharata kuṃjana mō dūdhu hamāro pīno  
kevala balī bhae giridhārī gr̄ha gr̄ha mākhānu chīno

- 1 A/B: sāvāriyo (for the second occurrence); A: bhīnō  
cuṣa, aṃjana
- 2 A: caṃdrakā, ṭonā kīnō
- 3 A: muṣa bēna bajāvē, mana hira līnō;
- 4 A/B: kuṃdhala; A: baisara, tīnō
- 5 A: taṭa, mo, dūdha
- 6 A/B: giradhārī; A: māṣana; B: bhaī, gr̄ha gr̄ha

Mohana plays with Rādhā.

In the groves of Vrindaban, (with his) beautiful, broad eyes.

A peacock crest looks beautiful on (his) brow,  
wonderful clothes, radiance in every limb.

(He) plays the flute, the cuckoo sings,  
captivating the girls of Braj.

Dancing, singing, anklets resound  
(with) a delightful (and) beautiful noise.

(That) wonderful couple, stealers of (one's) mind  
(and) consciousness, (he, with) a victory garland (on his) chest.

(With) arms placed on each other's shoulders,  
(they) engage in amorous chatter.

Beloved Rādhā (is like) a golden creeper,  
the suitor (is) a dark tamāla tree.

(that) couple, performing (their) intrinsic sport  
from age to age, (are) protectors of those who savour  
the delight.

Kevala dedicates (himself), sings (their) praise-  
(may they) look in my direction.

Sāvārīyo is steeped in love, our Sāvārīyo is steeped in love  
(he has) applied collyrium (to his) eyes.

A peacock crest resplendent (on his) head,  
(he has) cast some kind of spell.

(With his) sweet lips (he) plays the flute,  
hearing the sound the heart is captivated.

A pearl ring in (his) nose, earrings, a two-stranded necklace,  
these three things attain beauty.

Wandering in the groves on the banks of the Yamuna,  
(he) drank my milk.

Kevala has dedicated (himself) to Giridhārī<sup>1</sup>  
(who) stole butter from every house.

1 Alternatively: Giridhārī was powerful

124 (kidārā)

navala kisorī rādhe hita rasa bhārī  
sakhī saṅgi sīsī dhārī kaṁcana gagarī  
ratana khacita tare nānī sī idhūrī  
dou kara saṅgi sohe cāru cāru cūrī  
chabi bhārī sādī sārī kuvari lajīlī 5  
calata rasīlī cāla gaja gati dhīlī  
jahā jahā pagu dhare harita avanī  
dekhī na sunī mai āgē aisī to ravani  
jehara kī dhuni suni magu taji āe  
lāla dekhyo lādulī kō hita lalacāe 10  
lāgi calye pāchē piya jānye rādhā rānī  
atisukumārī pyārī bahu sakucānī  
kāhū sō na bole baina naina nice kie  
basanu dasana dīno lajā ati hīe  
rūkhī bhaūā risi bhārī muri na nihāre 15  
dekhi dekhi sobhā lālu dhīri nahī dhāre  
ḍolata āvata pāchē bolata bacana  
hita kī batīyā bahu dharē na śravana  
aura sakhī lakhi pāe kuṁja oṭi dīnī  
dauri āe āgē syāma bāṭi roki līnī 20  
tabahī musaki bolī premu prīti jānī  
lagani ika tē ika ati pasarānī  
tā dina kō paryo premu rādhikā mohana  
kevala dekhyo bilāsu jāvata gohana

- 2 A: saṅga sīsa
- 3 A: nare (for tare); B: idhūrī
- 4 A: saṅga, cāra cāra
- 7 B: jahā jahā
- 9 A: jehari, maga
- 10 B: dekṣo lādulī
- 11 A: lāga
- 12 A/B: sakucānī; B: -sakumārī
- 13 A: kāhū
- 14 A: vasana, dīnō
- 15 A: risa, mura; B: bhaūā
- 16 A: deṣa deṣa, lāla dhīra; B: dhārē
- 17 A/B: ḍholata

The young maid Rādhā, full of love's delight,  
Along with (her) companions, has placed a golden pot on (her) head,  
Beneath (which is) a dainty pad studded with gems.  
Each of (her) hands is adorned by four bangles<sup>1</sup>.  
The bashful maid's abundant beauty (is offset by) a plain sari.  
Moving charmingly (with the) languorous gait of an elephant,  
The ground becomes verdant wherever (she) places (her) foot.  
Never before have I seen or heard of such a woman as you.  
Hearing the sound of (her) anklets, (he) left (his) path  
(and) approached.  
(When) Lāla saw the charming girl he was enamoured.  
The lover followed after (her)- (which) Queen Rādhā realised,  
The tender, young beloved felt very shy,  
(She) spoke to no one, kept (her) eyes down  
(And) clenched (her) veil with (her) teeth,  
(feeling) great modesty in (her) heart.  
(With) frowning eyebrows, full of anger, (she) did not turn to look.  
Lāla, beholding (this) beauty, could not maintain (his) composure.  
Meandering, (he) followed (her), saying (some) words,  
(But her) ear did not heed (his) copious sweet talk.  
The other companions chanced to see (and) sheltered (her) in a bower,  
(But) Śyāma ran up ahead (of them and) blocked (their) path.  
Then, smiling, she spoke, realising (their) love (and) affection.  
Attraction for one another overflowed,  
That (was) the day (on which) Rādhikā (and) Mohana fell in love.  
Kevala, on seeing the joy, follows after<sup>2</sup> (them).

1 cāru cāru: the spelling implies 'very fine', but probably 'two sets of four' was intended, cf. 84.1.

2 gohana: cf. HSS under gauhana/-i, and BBSK, where the meanings given are 'path', 'companion' or simply 'with' (cf. Old Awadhi gohana 'path' < godhana-). The alternative meaning 'concealing' does not seem appropriate here.





Blessed Jasodā, you are very fortunate.

Mohana plays in your yard,  
dark (and) beautiful, the light of (your) eyes.

Rocking (him) in the cradle, making (him) play in (your) lap,  
giving (him) milk to drink, (you) hold (him) in great affection.

(You) always kissed the lips of the darling little child,  
dearer (to you) than life (itself).

He whom Śiva, Brahmā, Sanaka and the others  
search for in many ways,

Kevala: he was your son, whose praise the four Vedas have sung.

126 (bilāvalu)

āju sakhī nirakhata na aghānī  
bolata lālu totarī vānī  
phūlī nakha sikha jasudā rānī  
vaṃchā saphalu āpunī jānī  
suni suni baca maiyā musakānī  
vāri vāri pīvata hai pānī  
līō uṭhāi sakala lapatānī  
kevala sobhā ati pasarānī

- 1 A/B: aghānī, vānī; A: āja, niraṣa, lāla
- 2 A/B: rānī, jānī; A: saphala
- 3 A/B: musakānī, pānī; A: vāra vāra
- 4 A/B: lapatānī, pasarānī; A: udhāi

127 (malāra)

apunī kamariyā dehu (ho lāla) mo kō apunī kamariyā dehu  
pavanu lāgata kāpata tanu mero barasata sītala mehu  
pātana ko chatano apune hiti begi hoi kari lehu  
kevala kuṃjana mai dōu biharata dina dina adhika sanehu

- 1 A: ko; W: lāla me kū apanī, deha
- 2 A/W: pavana, tana; W: lagata, ūpara varaṣata  
meha (for 2<sup>b</sup>)
- 3 A/W: hita, bega; A: chatanā; B: chatanō; W: chattanā  
apano, leha
- 4 W: saneha

Today, (my) friend, (I) cannot see enough (of him)-  
Lāla is speaking with childlike words.

Queen Jasodā swelled (with pride) from head to toe,  
knowing that her wishes had been fulfilled.

Hearing (his) words the mother smiled  
(and) drinks water time and time again<sup>1</sup>.

(She) picked (him) up (and) wrapped herself all around (him),  
Kevala: so pervasive (was) the beauty.

- 1 An action performed (or simply a phrase said) in order  
to ward off the evil eye.

Give me your blanket, O Lāla, give me your blanket.  
I feel the wind, my body shivers, cold rain is falling.  
Shelter of the fallen, for your own sake,  
quickly come and take my hands.  
Kevala: the two of them wander in the groves,  
(their) love increasing day by day.

128 (āsā)

rasanā jugala carana rasi basu  
gāu guṇānuvāda ati uttama sādha saṅga mili hasu  
karo abhyāsu raina dina tatapara niju visvāsa dhari ghasu  
parama uchāu bhāu dhari lije bhagati kasoṭī kasu  
līlā nita bihāra brimḍābana sadā karo yaha jasu  
rādhā lāla binā kachu gāve tinu vimukhana tē nasu  
naraga saraga kali pakḥāḍa kāla bhaya kinu ḍara nāhina trasu  
kevalajana dridha kari upāsanā sadā rākhu ridi rasu

- 1 C/F/W: jugala carana jasu vasu merī rasanā (C/F: jasa vasa); C/F: repeat merī rasanā at the end of each line; A: carna, vasu; B: yugala (?) obliterated
- 2 A/C/F/W: mila; A/B/W: utyama; C/F/W: nita (for ati); A/B: guṇānavāda; C/F: gāi guṇānavāda, hasa; F: utama, sādā; W: gāu guṇānavāda, hāmu (for hasu)
- 3 A/B/W: karo rī; A/C/F/W: abhyāsa, nija; C/F: rēna, visavāsa dhara ghasa; W; W: tatapari, visvasu
- 4 A/C/F: bhagata; C/F: parma, dhara, kasa
- 5 B/C/F: nitya; B/F: vridābana; C/F: vihāra, karo sadā jyāhī jasa; A: nisa emended to jisa; C: vṛimḍābana; W: līlhā, bramḍābamana
- 6 A/C/F: gāvē; A/C/F/W: tina; C/F: kucha, bimūṣana tē tū nasa; W: kachū
- 7 A/B: paṣaṁdha, ḍhaṣa; A: narga sarga kala, kina; C/F: sargā nargā (C: narka) ara kala paṣaṁda te tina dara nāhana trasa; W: naraga svaraga aru kāla paṣaṁdhi te ini ḍara nāhina trasu
- 8 A/C/F: drida; C/F/W: karo, omit sadā; C/F: ride rāṣo jāhī rasa; A: rāṣa rida; B: dridū; W: ridi rāṣo yaha jasa

(With your) tongue engrossed  
in the nectar of (their) lotus feet,  
Sing (their) highest praises,  
smile in the company of the righteous.  
(Be) devoted to (religious) discipline night (and) day,  
obliterate reliance on yourself (alone).  
Adopt the sentiment of supreme eagerness,  
rubbing the touchstone of devotion.  
Always praise the eternal delight  
of the (divine) play in Vrindāban.  
Ruin be to those (who are) ill-disposed  
(and) never sing anything about Rādhā (and) Lāla.  
Why do you not tremble through fear of heaven, hell,  
this degenerate age, heresy (and) dread ?  
Kevalajana: having worshipped resolutely,  
always keep rasa in your heart.



APPENDIX I

Four songs in praise of Kevalarāma  
(transcribed from manuscripts S and F)

- i. (kīrttana śrī kevalarāmaji ke janma ke, rāga sārīṅga)
- āja pragatye phuna lāla gusāi  
kevalarāma nāma suṁdara dhara saṁta janā suṣadāi  
pūrva kāja śeṣa siddha kīne dasa disa kiyō prakāsā  
hari rasa magana rahe nisa vāsara puravē mana kī āsā  
bhāgyo pāi sakala tihi avasara dharanī para paga dhārye  
varṣā bhajana karī atiniramala jaga ke tāpa nivārye  
yoga sāmṣya vedānta ādi maga siddha kīe jaga māhī  
madanamohana piya prema bhaktimaya aha nisa magana rahāhī  
(S f. 77<sup>v</sup>)

- ii. (kīrttana, rāga sārīṅga)
- pragatye kevalarāma svarūpa  
śrī lālana avatāra jānaho sabha saṁtana ko bhūpa  
aṁtarayāmī ranye rāmvata sabha jana ke suṣadāi  
bhajana pravāha jagata vistāryō ika muṣa kahyo na jāi  
caitra māsa sita pakṣa vāra guru yārasa titha vara jāno  
suṁdara yoga nachatra punarvasu janama mahochava māno  
deva sādhu dvija bhae anāṁdita phūlye aṁgana māi  
paramānāṁda patita kṛtya kṛta bhae sakala jīva haraṣāi  
(S ff. 77<sup>v</sup> - 78<sup>r</sup>)

- iii. (rāga paṁcama)
- namo kevalarāma prabhū mathureśa suta  
acala gosvāmi śrī lāla nātī  
parma yogī ghūrma nayana rasa prema mē  
bhajana mē juda rahe divasa rātī  
anika vānī karī sevakana tarana hita  
kiyo upadeśa kila viṣa gavāe  
saṁka nija kiyō taṭa siṁdhu parvata madhya  
asura sura jīva carnana lagāe



pare jaba bhīra kou jora kara prīti sō  
śarkarā māna kara nāma sore  
hoi sāhāi taba vilaba lāge nahī  
kaṭhina hē kāma teī vega jore  
putra dhana deha sukha bhajana māge kou  
tinē vaṃchā pūrna karē svāmī  
lāla avatāra te āsya pragatye rūpa  
jagata suṣa heta phuna apa nihakāmī  
iṣṭa śrī śrī gopīnātha sevā vikhe  
jāma āṭhe nipaṭa citra rāge  
aṃsa apanī jāna vṛddha kula kī karo  
krpā kī drṣṭa prabhadāsa māge  
(F ff. 76<sup>v</sup>-77<sup>r</sup>)

iv. (soraṭha)

kevalarāma hamāre svāmī  
kevalarāma svarūpa jagata mē pragatye aṃtarajāmī  
prema bhige aṃtarha bāhya mē samadarśī nihakāmī  
māyā jaya kṛta yoga mukuṭamaṇi jata kata sva ichatagāmī  
sarva sāmārtha prasanna ānana nitra guṇātīta pada vāsī  
je tumare caraṇāta patra tara suṣa pāve avināsī  
jaiso kaiso dāsa tihāro avaguna mama na vicāro  
prabhadāsē kō anuga jānake krpā kaṭācha nihāro  
(F f. 77<sup>r-v</sup>)

APPENDIX II

Metres used in the Rāsa māna ke pada

In the following list of readily identifiable metres found in the text moric verse is indicated by (m) and syllabic verse by (s). The number of instants or syllables in the first line is given in cases where it differs in length from the subsequent lines of a poem. The syllables used for the rhyme are listed for all poems except those in which the rhyme changes with each couplet or triplet, in which case the rhyming scheme is noted (the rhyming syllables being a spondee in all such poems apart from number 70 where they are trochaic and number 124 where the last foot is variable). Metre names are taken either from R.B. Jagannāthaprasāda or, if he does not describe them, from G. Miśra.

See section V.2 for additional details of some of the metres listed, V.3 for a description of the metres used in the chanda poems (numbers 1-4, 55 and 85) and V.4 for poems with irregular metre (numbers 37, 76, 77, 79, 81, 84, 87, 89, 93, 94, 102, 112, 113, 114, 118). For pada 21 see IV.1, p. 124.

<u>pada</u>	<u>no. of lines</u>	<u>metrical structure</u>	<u>first line</u>	<u>rhyme</u>	<u>name of metre</u>
5	6	(m) 16+16	16	-ārī	samāna savaiyā
6	6	(m) 16+12	20	-āve	sāra
7	6	(m) 14+10	14	-eta	rūpamālā
8	4	(s) 8+8+8+8	-	-abha	ghanākṣarī
9	14	(s) 8+6	-	AABBCC	payāra/lacārī
10	4	(m) 12+12+12+10	-	-orī	haripriyā
11	11	(m) 16+16	-	AABBCC	caupāī
12	8	(m) 16+11	16	-āla	sarasī
13	6	(m) 16+12	31	-ārī	sāra
14	8	(m) 16+12	17/18	AABBCC	sāra
15	6	(m) 16+11	16	-āta	sarasī
16	6	(m) 16+11	15+11	-aina	sarasī
17	4	(m) 16+11	21/22	-āla	sarasī
18	4	(m) 16+11	16	-āja	sarasī

<u>pada</u>	<u>no. of lines</u>	<u>metrical structure</u>	<u>first line</u>	<u>rhyme</u>	<u>name of metre</u>
19	6	(m) 16+12	22+14	-āve	sāra
20	6	(m) 12/13+10	19	-īje	kuṇḍala ?
22	6	(m) 16+16	-	AABBCC	laghimā ?
23	4	(m) 16+16	16	-ārī	samāna savaiyā
24	5	{ (m) 16+16 (s) 8+8+8+5/6	15 }	-anī	samāna savaiyā/ ghanākṣarī
25	4	(m) 16+13	20	-ā(h)ī	
26	6	(m) 16+12	15	-ā(h)ī	sāra
27	8	(m) 16+12	16	-ārī	sāra
28	6	(m) 16+16	16	-ari	samāna savaiyā
29	4	(s) 8+8+8+6	-	-olē	ghanākṣarī
30	6	(m) 16+12	16	-āje	sāra
31	6	(m) 16+12	21	-ā(h)ī	sāra
32	8	(m) 16+12	-	AABBCC	sāra
33	8	(m) 12+10	-	AABBCC	kuṇḍala
34	8	(m) 12+10	27	AABBCC	kuṇḍala
35	8	(m) 12+10	24	AABBCC	kuṇḍala
36	4	(s) 8+8+8+7	-	-āe ho	ghanākṣarī
38	8	(m) 12+9	13	-āla	
39	4	(s) 8+8+8+6	-	-āne	ghanākṣarī
40	5	(s) 11+9	6	-ere tē	
41	4	(m) 16+16	-	-ārī	samāna savaiyā
42	4	(m) 16+16	-	-āre	samāna savaiyā
43	4	(s) 8+8+8+7	-	-aṭu	ghanākṣarī
44	4	(m) 16+16	-	-īlī	samāna savaiyā
45	8	(m) 16+12	18-22	-aṃdā	sāra
46	4	(m) 12+12+12+10	-	AABB	haripriyā
47	8	(m) 16+11	-	-āla	sarasī
48	4	(s) 8+8+8+6/7	-	-ārī	ghanākṣarī
49	8	(m) 16+12	-	-āve	sāra
50	7	(m) 16+16+12	-	-āre	amarṣitā
51	4	(m) 16+16	16	-īje	samāna savaiyā
52	8	(m) 16+12	23	-āī	sāra
53	5	(s) 8+8+(8+6)	10+11	-ūlē	ghanākṣarī
54	4	(s) 8+8+8+7	-	-ahanī	ghanākṣarī

<u>pada</u>	<u>no. of lines</u>	<u>metrical structure</u>	<u>first line</u>	<u>rhyme</u>	<u>name of metre</u>
56	8	(m) 16+12	19/20	AABBCC	sāra
57	10	(m) 16+12	22	AABBCC	sāra
58	8	(m) 16+12	16	-ārī	sāra
59	4	(m) 16+16+8+11	22	-āma	
60	8	(m) 16+16	16	-ārī	samāna savaiyā
61	6	(m) 16+16	18	-ārī	samāna savaiyā
62	4	(s) 8+8+8+6	-	-arata	ghanākṣarī
63	4	(s) 8+8+8+6	-	-āe	ghanākṣarī
64	4	(s) 8+8+8+7	-	-āgye ho	ghanākṣarī
65	4	(s) 8+8+8+7	-	-ana mai	ghanākṣarī
66	4	(s) 8+8+8+6	-	-avana	ghanākṣarī
67	18	(m) 16+12	18+14	AAABBCC	sāra
68	12	(m) 16+12	13	AABBCC	sāra
69	6	(m) 16+11	13+11	-āsu	sarasī
70	21	(m) 16+11	-	AABBCC	sarasī
71	15	(m) 16+12	23	AABBCC	sāra
72	6	(m) 16+12/16	16	-īne	samāna savaiyā/ sāra
73	4	(s) 8+8+8+7	-	-ana kī	ghanākṣarī
74	4	(m) 16+16	27	-ari	samāna savaiyā
75	4	(s) 16+14	-	-arī	ghanākṣarī
78	6	(m) 16+16	17	-āī	samāna savaiyā
80	4	(s) 12+11	17	-āje	
82	4	(m) 16+16	16	-āve	samāna savaiyā
83	4	(m) 16+16	21	-āī	samāna savaiyā
86	4	(s) 8+8+8+7/8	-	-ana	ghanākṣarī
88	4	(s) 16+10	-	-ārī	
90	4	(m) 26	13	-ārī	
91	4	(m) 16+15	19	-orī	bīra
92	4	(m) (16-20)+11	-	-āī	
95	4	(m) 16+12 ?	-	-āyo	sarasī ?
96	4	(m) 16+14	-	-ārī	kukubha
97	4	(m) 16+12/13 ?	-	-īyā	
98	4	(m) 14+11	13	-āu	
99	4	(s) 24	21	-ārī	
100	4	(s) 8+8+(8+7) ?	-	-ana kō	ghanākṣarī

<u>pada</u>	<u>no. of lines</u>	<u>metrical structure</u>	<u>first line</u>	<u>rhyme</u>	<u>name of metre</u>
101	4	(s) 8+8+8+6	-	-ahata	ghanākṣarī
103	4	(m) 16+12	-	-orī	sāra
104	4	(s) 8+8+(10-16)	-	-āve	
105.i	4	(s) 8+8+8+6	-	-arī	ghanākṣarī
105.ii	3+8*	{(m) (14-16)+10 (m) 13+(9/10)	17	-ari	
			-	AABBCC	rādhikā/avatāra ?
106	4	(s) (8+8)+8+7	-	-atu hai	ghanākṣarī
107	10	(m) 11+13	-	-ora	sorathā
108	6	(s) 8+8+11	8+8	-olata	
109	4	(s) 9+7	-	-āu	
110	4	(m) 16+14	-	-aryo	kukubha ?
111	9	(m) 16+13	13	-āudā	
115	22	(s) 8+6	-	AABBCC	payāra/lacārī
116	34	(s) 8+6	-	AABBCC	payāra/lacārī
117	16	(s) 8+6	-	AABBCC	payāra/lacārī
119	6	(m) 12+11	13+13	-āri	
120	18	(s) 8+6	-	AABBCC	payāra/lacārī
121	4	(m) 16+12	18	-ādhā	sāra
122	10	(m) 16+11	15	-āla/-āli	sarasī
123	6	(m) 16+12	-	-īno	sāra
124	24	(s) 8+6	-	AABBCC	payāra/lacārī
125	6	(m) 16+16	16/17	-āre	samāna savaiyā
126	4	(m) 16+16	-	-ānī	caupāī
127	4	(m) 16+11	-	-ehu	sarasī
128	8	(m) 16+10	14	-asu	viṣṇupada

\* cf. IV.1 , pp. 125-8

APPENDIX III

Manuscript specimens

A f. 175<sup>v</sup>

७५  
 कविता। श्रीमजो श्रीमीनाके विस्तर  
 जीके श्री यतिव्यु। ए ए आम मध्यमसुख  
 जो श्री अमके। संभनरि तुदधिवसुध  
 ३८७६  
 रा माधवदी कीजरवि धमपुष्पदिष  
 श्री ति योग जानके वष्क कले वच  
 अंक पुस्तक सोधे निसेक लिप्यके रु  
 दे ए लोने सीधे पाए दानके। तो लो चि  
 रिं जीके जो लो गंगा गोघा गाय मया  
 दभ्रनिजकी अमी सा सुनो तुम का  
 नके ॥ १ ॥ श्री सप्त  
 ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥  
 ॥ श्री रुद्राय नमः ॥ श्री गोपालाय नमः  
 ॥ श्री गोपीजनवल्लभाय नमः ॥ श्री  
 गोविंदाय नमः ॥ श्री गोपाले नमः ॥  
 श्रीनारायणाय नमः ॥ श्री रामाय नमः  
 ॥ श्री रुद्राय ॥ श्री ॥ श्री रुद्राय ॥ श्री  
 श्रीरामाय ॥ श्री रुद्राय ॥ श्रीरामाय  
 श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥ श्री ॥

A ff. 86<sup>v</sup> - 88<sup>r</sup> (padas 3.16 to 6.4)

तराजही गोपीजनसमेदनन वसतसा  
 जही ॥ तनसाज नवमतचलीभां मिनपिय  
 मुजापरिभुजधरी ॥ रसभने आणसमेट  
 तभेमसूनतिदिनरी ॥ नालेवेनमृदेगसु  
 लीमाजवृविधिवाजही ॥ बलजाइकेवल  
 जुगलछविपरकोठमनमथलाजही ॥ र  
 ताषी ॥ रसिकविहारीभांमुनीविहरतइर  
 मकेलि ॥ नाचतगावतंभेसो रागरंगनीमे  
 लिरुणुणनूपरबाजहीथेथेमदतयुय  
 लाकेवलषलेनातिबडु सुमवेलीवेहाल  
 धेद ॥ विहरतभसिकविहा रविहारीभां  
 मिनी ॥ लटकतगावतगीतचलतगजगा  
 मिनी ॥ गजवालचलतसुधंगनाचतपर  
 थईरुपररौलभकेलकोतकुदधसुर  
 पतिनाककेनहोफिरिहटे ॥ सुमवेलमदि  
 तभनेगसुधितलटगईसभजांमिनी  
 बलिजाइकेवलजुगलछविपरिभने

उधनदीमुनीप्रभाषीप्रभाणकुंजमदल  
 प्रभयसुतदिनरुना नवलकुंभरनवलो  
 डलीसुधसिजाकियसदन सोभानियमने  
 टिकलकितरोधनेगाकेवततहीविना  
 लीलाकुंभिकेयोग ॥ रसभनेउनीदे  
 प्रनसदनकोश्रवही सुधसिजाकियस  
 नमसनमुरधेवही ॥ भए सुधितमदननि  
 रबतदकसूनमाधुरी ॥ गोरसावरनवल  
 गारीकुंजमंदिरमइडरी ॥ कनकलतातम  
 सुमजितउरकउउलपयोवही ॥ त्रिजाइ  
 किंकरजुगलछविपरपुर्णमोदबढावही  
 धांभेदु ॥ ३ ॥ रामकलीगो ॥ ७७ ॥ मानके  
 किहृषीपीयसोभामिनीगिरधरलालआ  
 निलिगचलोगजगांमनी तर्फतविजुजल  
 विनाजलजितमीनआतुरसामतु  
 मविनइउभए पलकिउटविनीतमानो  
 मरजुगधरनगए बलिजाइकेवलप्रान

83

प्यारीमहाचतुरप्रवीणातजि  
 मुनीगिरधरलालश्रीधीनाशकुंजल  
 केतुदिवितवनपरध्याना ॥ मइलसुनकुं  
 वही इरिक्कोरिममान ॥ तजिमानसक्ति  
 मुदिहृवलीवेरकबकीहमभईहृदीक  
 कुनरिसतुमासी रडलमकलीघटगई ॥ व  
 जाइकेवलप्रानप्यारीचलोदीमेदानाकुं  
 जलनायोसावरेतुदिवितवनपरध्याना  
 रशनवचनसुनलाडुलीमुभकचलीव  
 नमोदि ॥ अंमनेहदितिजानीउ उरकभिले  
 दोऊनाहि ॥ मिलेअंमबडाइरसुजांकेति  
 कैतकुवडुकरौ रभिकलालप्रवानजो  
 वीरामसमेदलरितुधरो ॥ बलिजाइकेवल  
 सोनप्यारीकतडममकोऊनाहि ॥ दीनव  
 कसुमिनाडुलीमुभककीवनमोदि ॥ ३  
 धेलनमिजयोगमतहउनाभुजापरिभो  
 तिभनेमिजिजिवनोषधेथईथई

रतमुशतिकेना  
 धनअनेदमयो  
 अनकोश्रुगयो ॥ बलिजाइकेवल  
 रोदनरोचविहाराभिलतमितियउसाग  
 हनुनाभुजापरिधोशिधा ॥ अंदपरधाम  
 केनेदारोगातिममकेप्यारिनदीप्यारी  
 ममनधनतुमप्रानलालकेसमजितसु  
 नरितुजिअरी ॥ १ ॥ निउदांमनिविनधम  
 सोभानसेतुमविनकुंजविहारी ॥ वेग  
 मतजिमिलकुलालसो जम्भकीविनयो  
 भांप्यारी ॥ २ ॥ उयहोचतुरप्रवीनलाडुलीक  
 पसोबानतिहारी ॥ केवलरभिलरसुपंधा  
 के उदनठ त्रुदधभानडलारी ॥ ३ ॥ पदारवि  
 गारुगो ॥ प्यारीतेरोसुभिकमिलनपीयभांये  
 मिनवेनतनउरजितेरोजभकुंजभवनमो  
 गोवो ॥ ४ ॥ धयामानददकीउहरीमीकरोनि  
 वनेत्रीआवे ॥ नोमीप्रियार ॥ चीनरीरच  
 विधिरविपविनसुहावो ॥ ५ ॥ ददन





D ff, 146<sup>v</sup> & 147<sup>r</sup> (padas 5.5-6, 6, 13, 25, 26)

श्री

सारा तुमहे चतुरप्रवीनलाहुली कपडि  
 मुसावानतिलारी केवलरसमिलरस  
 प्रजावोप्री तमहृषभानडुलारी ९  
 प्यारितोमिलनपीयाके  
 नावे मदनचदनतनउरउतेरोजस  
 कुजनवनमेगावे चयामानहचकी  
 पोहवालीकरोइवेनुमुहावे तोशीती  
 पारवान हाकबहुविधमुपनेनह  
 वि ईदुवदनतुममदनमुधाकोमु  
 ममहृषुजावे केवलचलदुमिल  
 पायनामिल बहुविधलाफलडावे ३  
 तुमचलनावोमिधारी म हा  
 मानओपोपायप्यारी मुषतेपेतेक  
 वेनतीरवतउरउतहउहारी जवनन  
 नेचितनहीधारेदुषपावेमननारी  
 बकबखिजउयुजीतेरेतेअदचुतदे  
 मारी २ अहवचमुनमोहनउवआ  
 मिलमनअपदावारी रसविलास  
 लरसकेवलनिरमभिरमवकि ति

१३ प्यारितोमानमनवि ९  
 नकाई रसिकलालनेयीकरुणक  
 रवारवारपयोपाई १ एतोहृषभके  
 तुसहीकीयोउनसोमेनेननहेना  
 केवलपलकउरतुमहाविमयाकमा  
 कुलमनमाही २ तोहृषभ  
 ललेलेआई अजहतेहृषभनेन  
 मिनकेसेतोहिसनाई १ २हृषभ  
 मदनचकाएसमफसोचमसिंधी  
 एतोमानकोयोनहाकबहुदेयोमुने  
 नकाही २ तुमहेचतुरप्रवीनशिपा  
 जीवानकरिपसमाई केवलरसमिल  
 मितिसतोहृषवानरउरनसमाई ३  
 कनकीआईहीमाननिमा ३  
 २ नवललालतेरोमगधितननवेन  
 चलनचितधार १ धितप्रपाथकी  
 पोतोहृषभिसरुसतोविपार केव  
 लपलकउरधायमानोबाताएतुग  
 वाद २ नाभिनवचनकाह  
 तहमहारी करकपोलधुपुतर  
 देकोअदचुतदेवतुपारी ३ तुम

E ff. 3<sup>v</sup> (padas 107.6-10 and 46 with dohas by Prabhudāsa)  
 4<sup>r</sup> (containing pada 67.1-8)

नकरन करजोर पायाको हेनविचभाये  
 का प्रेगकीवोरमुनवेडलहनउतिवली ७  
 नहामिललुगलकिमोर भोतभोतलीलाहृ  
 ८ मननूपदिकीधोरकेवलमनअरको  
 नहो ९ अथपकीमिनपकीमाकदिनकनमके  
 अथमेलसमके ११ मम सुरलीमधुरबज  
 के कनीकदराम प्रमुदासेअनेदबदो  
 वेदावननास ३ रागसमकली राधामेग  
 रसिकलालमेलतरसकुंजे आसपासफ  
 लरहृषवानकुंजे अंसअसबाहुधने  
 ५ अफउमंगपरेकुसमनकीमालासोअमरा  
 बडुयेजे धेषगानकरतमदनचदननाह  
 ६ उतिबटकीभीलगरह नहीआनमुने भो  
 नभोतकरीकेलअनंदरसमिधकेल प्रेम  
 कोप्रसादपाकेवलजनउंचे १ साधी १ सरद  
 शर्माजानके रसकरागोपाल प्रभदमे  
 मुनिनादकलि आइसुमजनवाल  
 ११ पागानकन १ भानकताकतउभनाच  
 नजनान संगराकाकजानसेक परकिरा

कटमज लरकबंककुंरुलपरछाड  
 ककनकटिलसत मभ निहकेनियुके  
 कदरजनतीयग्राम गावनमिलगतम  
 गतनरुविबीनउठतउरमुपनबाजविह  
 अंकभरतकेलकरतमोदभूरभेसोमौरमि  
 तुषसाभसयुगरहोदिसाछाज करतला  
 मसाहसमो नवलतीयाधिधकधिधकप  
 दरनकोपुतेकिमप्रमुदमेआज ११ अ  
 कनकनगारसमकनका सुरलीधुनकन  
 मभसुवन धावलीबनमाहि उलतेकीए  
 अंगारमन प्रमुदासेउमगाइ ममगा  
 वेदावनरासबनाईमोहन वेदावनरासब  
 नाईहे जमनातटिबटि कुसमप्रफुलन  
 कधमितकहोनगाई ब्रजपतिताकलेहो  
 पिकवातिकअनमोरकरुके सरदेरेनउज  
 आरी सीतलमेदसुगधपवनवहितहृ  
 देवसवारी सुरलीधुनिकीनीहिरलीनए  
 हृहतेब्रजनारी २ भोतभोतनाईब्र  
 जवाभिनहृषभरसनकीप्यसी उलतेकीए  
 प्रभनअंगअंगमे धालेकेकुलेहकी



APPENDIX IV

WORD INDEX

The index gives the pada and line number for all occurrences of words appearing in the edited text. Cross-references are provided to parts IV - VI in cases where a particular form is discussed. Root forms are given for verbs and stems for tatsama nouns and adjectives. Extended nouns and adjectives are listed under the masculine direct singular form or, if it is lacking, under whichever form occurring in the text comes first in alphabetical order. Occurrences of the different terminations and pronominal forms are indicated (cf. part VI for paradigms and explanations of the various terminations). All tatsama words, including those in which anusvāra is used to indicate a homorganic nasal, are indicated by the abbreviation (S.). The sign = is used to indicate the tatsama form of a semi-tatsama word. Etymologies are provided for tadbhava words wherever they are traceable, those which are found in CDIAL being given without any additional signs or abbreviations. Other suggested etymologies are preceded by the sign < , and the sign × is used to indicate 'contaminated by', \* a hypothetical form and // a parallel form found in modern standard Hindi or one of the dictionaries consulted (cf. bibliography section 4 for abbreviations and works cited). An asterisk following a pada and line reference indicates that the particular occurrence is discussed in a footnote to the text.

Abbreviations used in the word index:

absol.	absolute	prec.	preceding word
adj.	adjective	pron.	pronoun
adv.	adverb	pronom.	pronominal
anal.	analogical(ly)	q.v.	quod vide
Ar.	Arabic	r.	rhyme
caus.	causative	refl.	reflexive
cf.	confer	rel.	relative
conj.	conjunction	rep.	repeated
correl.	correlative	S.	Sanskrit
dat.	dative case	sg.	singular
dimin.	diminutive	t.	transitive
dir.	direct case	v.i.	verb, intransitive
emph.	emphatic	v.t.	verb, transitive
ext.	extended by		
f.	feminine		
fn.	cf. footnote to text		
fr.	from		
gen.	genitive		
hon.	honorific		
i.	intransitive		
imper.	imperative		
indef.	indefinite		
interr.	interrogative		
loc.	locative case		
m.	masculine		
metr.	metrical(ly)		
n.	noun		
n.f.	noun, feminine		
n.m.	noun, masculine		
obl.	oblique case		
onom.	onomatopoeia		
pass.	passive		
Pers.	Persian		
Pk.	Prakrit		
pl.	plural		
postp.	postposition		
pp.	past participle (passive)		

- amka n.m. (S.) 'breast, body': -i, 1.22; -na, 1.5
- amga n.m. (S.) 'limb, body': 3.11, 68.5, 70.3, 85.16, 104.2; -i, 38.2, 116.5; amga amga 'every limb', 2.9, 2.27, 12.5, 19.5, 22.2, 34.4, 47.5, 60.4, 67.8, 68.11, 72.3, 76.2, 77.2, 78.6, 83.2, 85.11, 87.4, 98.3, 101.3, 102.2, 112.4, 116.25, 122.3; -i -i, 9.13, 11.10, 30.2, 111.6; -na, 111.9
- amgarā- v.i. (caus. fr. ānga-?) 'twist the body, stretch': -nī, 89.2
- amgana n.m. (S.) 'courtyard': 9.1; amgani, 118.8; cf. āmgana
- amgiyā n.f. (āngikā-) 'bodice': 84.3, 116.23
- amgura n.m. (ānguli-) 'finger': -na, 84.2
- amcara n.m. (āncala-) 'border or end of garment': 91.2
- amjana n.m. (S.) 'collyrium': 64.2, 76.3, 85.4; -u, 2.19, 9.8, 11.5, 39.2, 105.i.2, 123.1
- amtara n.m. (S.) 'difference': -u, 7.4, 105.ii.v
- amtarapata n.m. (S.) 'veil, screen': -u, 107.7, 108.2; cf. IV.3.3.1.2, p.
- ābīra n.m. (same as abīra, < Pers. abr, S. abhra-?) 'red (or white) powder (used at the Holī festival)': 52.4; -u, 57.5; cf. V.2.2, p.173, and Ja'far Sharif pp.310-11 for ingredients.
- amsa n.m. (S.) 'shoulder': 24.2, 74.1; amsa amsa, 36.4, 46.3, 67.13, 122.7
- akāsa n.m. (= ākāśa-) 'sky': -u, 69.2
- akulā- v.i. (ākula-) 'be confused or restless': -nī, 120.15; -ne, 14.5
- akhiyā n.f., dir.pl. (akṣi-) 'eyes': 76.1, 87.2, 97.1
- aghā- v.i. (āghrāpayati) 'be full, be sated': -(ā)u, 98.3; -nī, 126.1; -vata, 14.8; -ve, 1.15, 116.34
- agādha adj. (S., with -ā as rhyme) 'unfathomable, deep': 100.4, 115.21, 121.2
- acambo n.m. (\*ācchambha-) 'wonder': 120.8
- acala adj. (S.) 'immovable, stationary': 55.23, 69.2
- acav- v.t. (cf. ācāmati) 'sip, eat': -ata, 31.6, 71.10
- ajahū adv. (adya + emph. suffix -hū) 'today': 4.10, 26.2; cf. āju

- atak- v.i. (\*attakk-) 'stop, stick': -i, 35.4, 67.17, 68.8, 77.3; -ī, 2.17, 47.2, 97.1; -ye, 69.3; -yo, 42.2, 78.6, 107.10
- atapati adj. (Platts: at + pat) 'wavering, faltering': 15.5, 21.2.
- athadasa adj. (astādaśa) 'eighteen': 105.ii.2
- ati adv. & prefix (S.) 'beyond, very': 1.19/24, 32.7, 55.10, 68.3, 68.10, 70.14, 124.4, 124.22, 126.4; +uttama, 128.2; ~gābhīra, 110.2; ~chabi, 2.19, 2.22, 17.2, 50.6, 79.3, 85.16, 95.3, 104.1, 116.11, 116.19, 120.4; ~duti, 90.2, 116.17; ~pramudita, 102.4; ~bhārī, 60.6; ~rasu, 67.14; ~sumdara, 12.2; ~sukumārī, 124.2; ~sukha, 116.33, 117.8; ~sūkhakārī, 84.2; ~hitu, 104.3, 125.3; ~hetu, 100.2
- atilasa n.f. (Ar. atlas) 'satin': 84.3
- atisai adj. (= atīśaya-) 'superior': 55.14; -ē, 86.1
- adabhuta adj. (= adbhuta-) 'wonderful': 1.5, 1.22, 13.4, 16.4, 34.4, 50.3, 60.5, 70.3, 70.8, 122.3, 122.6
- adhara n.m. (S.) 'lower lip': 2.6, 2.22, 35.2, 92.4, 112.3, 116.18, 120.5; -na, 39.2, 64.2, 85.4, 116.16
- adhika adj. & adv. (S.) 'surpassing(ly), abundant(ly)': 55.15, 56.3, 68.6, 79.3, 105.ii,vii, 127.4
- adhikatā n.f. (S.) 'excess': 49.5
- adhīna adj. (S.) 'dependent': 4.1/6, 18.2, 91.4
- anamga n.m. (S.) 'bodiless' (epithet of Kāma): 3.29, 3.33; -ī (r.), 117.14
- ananda n.m. (= ānanda-) 'joy, happiness': -u, 4.21, 116.5; cf. ānamda
- anata adv. (anyatra) 'elsewhere': 105.ii.viii
- anamane adj., m.dir.pl. (anyamanas-) 'dejected, troubled': 61.4, 109.1
- anika adj. (= aneka-) 'several': 125.5; -na, 105.ii.iv
- anurāgī adj. (S.) 'impassioned, enraptured': 55.14/15, 67.17
- anūpa adj. (<anupama-?) 'matchless': 70.15
- apara adj. (S.) 'unequaled, unexcelled': 1.3, 70.20
- aparādha n.m. (S.) 'fault': 44.2

- aparimita adj. (S.) 'unlimited': -i, 2.29
- apuna pronom.adj. (\*ātmanaka-) 'own': 37.4; -ā, 105.ii.i, 105.ii.viii; -ī, 127.1 (rep.); -e, 48.1, 51.1, 65.2, 85.3, 108, 1. 127.3; ~ kar-, ~ kari le- 'make one's own': ~ kara line, 72.3; -o kiije, 108.4; -o kiṅq, 93.3; -o kari lije, 99.2; cf. apuno
- aba adv. (anal. formati'on fr. jaba, taba ?) 'now': 59.4, 120.1
- abhyāsa n.m. (S.) 'discipline, practice, repeated study': -u, 128.3
- abhra n.m (<abhra-?) 'cloud': 36.3
- amī n.f. (amṛta-) 'nectar': 116.16
- amolī adj. (<a+maulya-with -ī for rhyme?) 'priceless': 118.14
- ar- v.i. (\*ad-) 'stick fast, be fixed upon': -i, 74.4; -ye, 34.2, 76.4
- arasaparasa adj. (formed from absolutes of verbs aras- + paras-, <alasa- + sparśa- ?) 'touching, embracing': 48.2
- arasā- v.i. (alasa-) 'be tired': -ta, 15.2; cf. alasa-
- ari n.m. (S.) 'enemy': 14.5
- aru conj. (aparam) 'and': 1.8, 2.30, 16.3, 50.6, 69.3, 125.5; cf. avara
- aruna adj. (S.) 'red': 50.4, 80.3, 85.1/6; -n-, 15.2, 64.1, 76.1, 112.3, 116.8
- alakāvali n.f. (S.) 'curls, locks': 2.11
- alabelā adj. (HSS: alabhya-+-lā-) 'playful, lively, handsome': 111.1; -ī, 64.3; -e, 50.4
- alasa- v.i. (alasa-) 'be tired': -nī, 113.3, -ne, 39.2, 101.3; cf. arasā-
- ali n.m. (S.) 'bee': 1.7/12, 3.3, 55.5, 57.8, 67.4, 69.3, 70.4, 76.4, 81.1, 97.2, 105.ii.3
- ali cf. ālī
- avagati n.f. (S.) 'plight, miserable condition': 105.ii.i
- avadhi n.m. (S.) 'period, limit (of time)': 71.3, 71.9, 91.3; (masc. in S. but here w. fem. concord)
- avani n.f. (S. with -ī for rhyme) 'ground': 120.5, 124.7
- avara adj. (apara-) 'different, other': 79.4, 101.2; as conj.: 54.3; cf. aru, aura
- avasara n.m. (S.) 'opportunity': -u, 27.7

- avināsi n.m. (= avināsin-) 'imperishable': 67.9
- asā/asā- pron.,obl. (asmad-) 'me, us': 122.10; -dī, 111.2; -de, 114.6
- asva n.m. (= aśva-) 'horse': 31.5\*
- ahi n.m. (S.) 'snake': 74.2, 117.8
- ahi nisu adv. (< ahar- + niśā-) 'day and night': 27.2
- aho vocative particle: 70.1
- ā- v.i. (āpayati) 'come': 13.5; -i, 67.9, 70.20, 105.ii.3, 107.4; -ī, 20.2, 42.3, 55.4, 67.7, 120.13, (ā)ī (r.) 25.1, 26.1; -u, 71.1, 119.1; (ā)udā, 111.2; -e, 1.19/24, 3.13, 3.18, 3.31, 32.8, 36.1, 39.1, 44.1, 59.1, 63.1, 71.14, 80.2, 81.1, 94.4, 101.1, 113.1, 115.1, 115.10, 116.30, 124.9, 124.20; -ē, 26.3; -yā, 105.ii.iv; -yo, 9.10, 32.5, 40.3, 116.6; -vata, 15.1, 16.1 (rep.), 37.1, 59.4, 72.4, 78.1, 97.3, 102.1, 115.3, 124.17; -vahi, 15.6; -vahi, 3.35; -ve, 1.16, 2.25, 6.3, 9.14, 19.1 (rep.), 27.4, 49.5, 71.2, 71.4, 82.1; -vē, 71.12; -vo, 13.1; cf. āvana
- āṅgana n.m. (āṅgana-) 'courtyard': 59.2, 125.2; cf. aṅgana
- āgara adj. (agra-, ext. -la) 'foremost': 67.11  
-ī, 55.20/21
- āge/āgē postp. (agre(na)) 'in front': 83.3, 101.2, 124.8, 124.20
- ācho adj. (accha-) 'good, white': 29.3
- āju adv. (adya) 'today': 17.2, 47.1, 52.1, 55.1, 59.1, 60.1, 62.1, 62.2, 95.1, 101.1, 109.1, 117.1, 126.1; cf. ajahu
- ātura adj. (S.) 'suffering': 4.3, 14.6; -u, 27.8, 40.2
- ādara n.m. (S.) 'respect, regard': 26.3
- ādika cf. brahmādika, lalitādika, sanakādika
- ādipurusa n.m. (S.) 'first man, supreme person': 118.13
- ādihā adj. & adv. (ardha-) 'half': 121.4; -ī, 117.9, 120.9
- ān- v.t. (ānayati) 'fetch, bring': -i, 109.4
- ānaṃda n.m. (S.) 'joy, happiness': 10.4, 26.6, 29.4, 46.4, 72.6; + kamda 'root of joy' (epithet of Kṛṣṇa): 1.21, 45.6; -u, 1.20, 55.9; cf. anaṃda
- āpadā n.f. (S.) 'misfortune, calamity': 13.5
- āpuna refl. pron., obl. (ātman-) '(your)self': 115.1.
- āpuno pronom. adj. (\*ātmanaka-) 'own': 117.7; -ī, 126.2; -e, 117.10; cf. apuna
- ābhā n.f. (S.) 'splendour, reflection': 54.3, 68.6, 117.2



- ārasa adj. & n.m. (ālasya-) 'weary, weariness': 16.2, 36.2, 89.2 (+ yuta)
- ālī n.f. (S.) 'a woman's female friend': 19.1, 40.2, 49.5 (ālī), 93.2, 93.4, 97.1
- āvanu n.m. (āpana-) 'arrival': 63.3, 71.8 (rep.), 120.11
- āvāli n.f. (S.) 'row, group': cf. alakāvali, mukatāvali, romāvali
- āsipāsi adv. (āsri- + pārśvatas) 'around, about': 29.1, 46.1, 58.3, 69.5
- iu pronom.adv. (esa-) 'in this way': 4.3, 95.2
- īdhūrī n.f. (induva-, cf. vīta-) 'roll of grass or cloth to put under a head burden': 124.3
- imdu n.m. (S.) 'moon': 104.3, 106.4; -a, 1.4, 6.5, 51.2, 116.4
- indra n.m. (S.) Indra: 80.1
- indrī n.m. (indriya-) 'sense organ': 53.4\*
- ika adj. & n. (\*ekka-) 'one': 3.33, 9.4, 12.2, 31.3, 49.8, 52.6 (bis), 54.2, 56.5, 68.12, 70.5, 87.2, 87.4, 89.4, 97.4, 106.2 (bis), 115.21, 117.12, 120.14, 120.17; -u, 50.2; ~ tē ~ 'one by one, increasingly': 10.2, 23.2, 56.3, 60.3, 124.22
- inu cf. yaha
- istati n.f. (= sthiti-) 'state, condition': 50.2
- iha cf. yaha
- uā cf. vaha
- ughat- v.i. (<\*udghatati ?) 'call out or indicate the first beat (sama) of a rhythmic cycle (tāla)': -ata, 58.6
- uchāu n.m. (utsāha-) 'eagerness, exertion, joy': 128.4
- ujala adj. (ujjala-) 'bright, beautiful': 115.20
- ujāgara adj. (\*ujjāgrat-) 'awake, restless': 65.1
- ujār- v.t. (\*ujjvālayati) 'light, kindle': -ī, 85.13/19
- uj(i)ārī adj. (\*ujjvālayati) 'bright': 5.2, 22.5, 23.3, 48.2, 58.3, 60.2, 61.5, 66.2, 67.4, 70.18, 81.4, 95.3, 96.3, 105.1.3, 120.10; n.f. 'brightness': 90.3; ~ tē ~ 'brighter than brightness': 54.2, 84.4, 100.2
- uth- v.i. (\*ut-sthāti) 'stand up, rise': -ata, 12.6, 30.2, 39.3, 103.2; -ī, 13.5, 44.3, 107.8, 108.6; -ī, 54.3; -(y)e, 29.4, 54.4, 85.10

<u>uthā-</u>	v.t. (* <u>ut-sthāpayati</u> ) 'pick up': - <u>i</u> , 126.4
<u>ud-</u>	v.i. ( <u>uddayate</u> ) 'fly up': - <u>i</u> 97.2; - <u>ē</u> , 115.8
<u>udā-</u>	v.t. ( <u>uddāpayati</u> ) 'throw': - <u>ī</u> , 52.4; - <u>vata</u> , 57.5
<u>utē</u>	postp. (Bahri, p.21:< <u>uttare</u> ) 'in, on': 118.8
<u>uttama</u>	adj. (S.) 'highest, best': 85.16, 128.2 ( <u>ati</u> +); cf. IV.3.4.11
<u>udaya</u>	n.m. (S.) 'rising': 116.24
<u>udita</u>	adj. (S.) 'risen': 9.10
<u>una</u>	cf. <u>vaha</u>
<u>unīde</u>	adj., m.dir.pl. ( <u>unnidra-</u> ) 'sleeples, tired': 3.31, 3.35, 36.1, 63.1, 64.1, 113.3; - <u>ī</u> , 76.1
<u>upaj-</u>	v.i. ( <u>utpadyate</u> ) 'arise, spring up, be produced': - <u>ata</u> , 70.13, 106.3; - <u>ī</u> , 13.4; - <u>o</u> , 32.2, 32.7, 58.6, 67.14, 69.4, 103.6
<u>upajā-</u>	v.t. (caus. fr. prec.) 'produce': - <u>yo</u> , 95.4; - <u>vata</u> , 24.3, 32.2, 37.2, 91.3; - <u>ve</u> , 6.5, 104.3, 105.ii.v; - <u>vo</u> , 5.6
<u>upajāno</u>	pp. (pass. fr. <u>upaj-</u> ) 'produced': 32.3
<u>upamā</u>	n.f. (S.) 'comparison, simile': 11.11, 24.2, 62.2
<u>upāsana</u>	n.f. (S.) 'worship': 128.8
<u>ubhaya</u>	adj. (S.) 'both': 15.4, 70.6; - <u>o</u> , 1.21
<u>umagi</u>	absol. & n.f. (* <u>unmagna-</u> ) 'be elated, elation': 1.4, 14.8
<u>umad-</u>	v.i. (* <u>unmadd-</u> ) 'swell, overflow': - <u>i</u> , 10.1, 28.5, 46.2
<u>urā</u>	n.m. ( <u>uras-</u> ) 'breast, chest': 2.23, 3.39, 11.8, 24.5, 50.6, 100.4, 116.23, 122.6; - <u>i</u> , 26.6, 47.5, 78.5
<u>urajh-</u>	v.i. ( <u>uparudhyate</u> ) 'be entangled'; - <u>a</u> , 3.39; - <u>i</u> , 1.17, 4.14, 6.2, 53.4, 70.6, 97.3, 98.4; - <u>e</u> , 70.5, 102.3
<u>urajhā-</u>	v.i. (pass. fr. prec.) 'be entangled': - <u>i</u> , 2.1; - <u>e</u> , 81.2; - <u>nī</u> , 28.6, 99.4
<u>urapatirapa</u>	n.m. (combination of <u>urap</u> , a kind of dance (< <u>ud-</u> ?) and <u>tirap</u> , a kind of ( <u>trisama/tihāī</u> ) rhythm used in dances ?) 'a kind of dance': 60.4
<u>ulat-</u>	v.i. (* <u>ullatya</u> ) 'return, be upset, be overturned': - <u>i</u> , 43.4, 67.8, 119.4, 120.12; - <u>yo</u> , 28.3
<u>ulāsū</u>	n.m. ( <u>ullāsa-</u> ) 'merriment': 55.20
<u>uvā/uvā</u>	cf. <u>vaha</u>

- usvāsa cf. sāsa
- uha cf. vaha
- ūpari postp. (\*uppari) 'above, on': 97.2
- e vocative particle: 80.1, 88.1
- eka adj. & n. (\*ekka-) 'one': 1.4, 33.8, 41.2, 56.5, 103.5, 115.19 (bis); cf. ika
- eta pronom.adj. (iyattaka- with e- fr. esa- &c.) 'so much': 7.1; -ī, 37.2; -o, 25.3, 26.4
- ehī cf. yaha
- aina n.m. (<ayana- ?) 'abode': 16.6
- aiso pronom.adj. (īdrśa-, with ā- after tādrśa-, yādrśa- and their later forms) 'such, like this': 8.4, 43.2; -ī, 81.4, 101.4, 120.6, 124.8; -e, 25.3, 34.8, 43.4, 81.1
- ota n.f. (\*ottā-) 'screen, cover, veil': 1.15, 4.4, 7.2, 25.4; -ī, 124.19
- odh- v.t. (\*oddh-) 'put on, wear': -ī, 49.1, 54.2
- odhanī n.f. (\*oddh-) 'garment covering head, shawl': 54.2
- otapota adj. (= otapota-) 'interwoven, embracing': 62.3
- op- v.i.&t. (\*opp-) 'shine, polish': -ī, 55.8/9
- obhā n.f. (<avabhāsa- ?) 'splendour, lustre': 12.4
- ora n.f. (avarā-) 'side, direction, proximity': 73.3, 86.2, 107.1; -ī, 36.4, 77.2, 91.1, 105.ii.3
- olī n.f. or postp. (rhyming form of prec. unless postp. avara- or n.f. avali-) '(on the) edge (of)'/ 'towards': 118.11
- auguna n.m. (= avaguna-) 'fault': 108.3
- aura adj. (apara-) 'other, different': 42.4, 115.8, 124.19; in constr. with na kachu, 'nothing else': 2.2, 37.3, -u, 49.3; -u na kisi 'no-one else', 71.11; cf. avara
- kamcana adj. & n.m. (kāncanā-) 'gold(en)': 62.2, 65.3, 85.13/18, 102.3, 124.2
- kamja n.m. (S.) 'lotus': 53.3, 76.4

- kamṭha n.m. (S.) 'throat, neck': 68.9; -i, 2.23
- kamḍā n.m. (S., with -ā for rhyme) cf. ānamḍa
- kamp- v.i. (S.) 'tremble, shiver': -ata, 127.2
- kaca n.m. (S.) 'hair': 68.3, 78.3, 81.1
- kachū indef.pron. (kimcid) 'something, anything': 2.9, 59.4, 82.1, 128.6; aura na ~ 'nothing else', 2.2, 37.3, 49.3; in constr. with miti and na 'to no extent': 52.2, 55.16, 56.2, 67.2, 68.6, 70.20, 115.18; adv. 'somewhat': 8.2, 24.2, 63.3, 87.2; kichu: 83.2
- kaṭi n.f. (S.) 'hip, waist': 11.9, 19.3, 34.5, 47.6, 68.10, 78.3, 116.26, 116.27
- kathanāī n.f. (formed fr. kathina-) 'difficulty, obstinacy': 120.9
- kata adv. (<kutah ?) 'where ?': jata ~ 'wherever': 42.2; with ~hū and na 'nowhere at all': 4.17, 31.2, 57.2, 67.15
- kadama n.m. (= kadamba-) 'the tree Nauclea cadamba': 35.2, 96.2, 109.2
- kanaka adj. (S.) 'golden': 3.39, 37.2, 122.8
- kanāī n.m. (<kr̥ṣṇa-) Kṛṣṇa: 120.18 (r.)
- kanaiyā n.m. (dimin. of prec.) Kṛṣṇa; 118.3; kanaie: 68.1
- kapata n.m. (S.) 'deceit' : -u, 115.6; adj. with -ī, 63.4
- kapola n.m. (S.) 'cheek': 68.6, 109.2, 120.4
- kaba adv. (anal. formation fr. jaba, taba ?) 'when ?': 4.9, 8.4, 13.4, 27.4, 71.4, 71.12; ~hū, 26.4, 43.2, [43.3]
- kamariyā cf. kāmari
- kamala n.m. (S.) 'lotus': 74.3, 116.13; cf. kavala
- kamāna n.f. (Pers. kamān) 'bow': 33.6
- kar- v.t. (karoti) 'do, make': -a, 72.3; -ata, 1.11, 1.13/18, 2.31, 3.3, 3.12, 4.21, 8.4, 17.3, 21.3, 23.2, 30.4, 38.7, 46.3, 55.17, 56.2, 58.2, 59.3, 62.4, 64.2, 66.4, 67.10, 67.14, 67.15, 69.4, 69.5, 70.4, 70.17, 71.13, 79.3, 89.3, 103.4, 105.ii.2, 113.2, 113.3, 115.18, 116.3, 122.7; -ahi, 3.7; -ahu, 6.3, 7.1, 7.3, 65.3, 99.1, 99.3; -ī, 14.6, 25.2, 28.4, 28.5, 32.6, 50.4, 54.2, 54.3, 56.5, 59.4, 61.2, 70.14, 99.2, 128.8; -ī, 1.17, 4.22, 10.4, 13.2, 40.4, 46.4; -īe, 116.2; -e, 114.5, 116.16; -ē, 4.15, 29.2; -o, 4.8, 26.5, 41.2, 44.1, 44.3, 85.19/24, 85.22, 105.ii.vii, 107.5, 128.3; -ōgī, 42.3; kīe, 1.7/12, 1.20, 55.8, 67.8, 70.11, 85.5, 101.2, 124.13; kīē, 115.2; kīo, 3.32, 3.36, 6.3, 13.1, 16.5, 18.1, 25.3, 26.4, 41.4,

43.1; kījīe, 37.4; kīje, 14.3, 20.1, 22.6, 39.3, 51.1, 108.4, 115.13, 120.1; kīna, 1.21, -ā, 115.12 (r.); kīnī, 34.8, 41.1, 50.2, 54.4, 56.6, 67.6, 73.4, 112.1, 113.2, 117.9; kīne, 44.4, 72.2, 85.2/3; kīno, 33.2, 63.3, 87.2, 112.2, 116.30, 123.2; kīya, 105.i.4

kara<sup>1</sup> n.m. (S.) 'hand': 9.3, 16.3, 24.2, 32.4, 34.5, 78.2, 84.1, 107.6, 109.2, 117.10, 124.4; -i, 127.3; -u, 120.4; kara sō karu 'hand in hand': 15.15, 117.7

kara<sup>2</sup> n.m. (S.) 'tax': -i, 59.2

karatāla n.m. (S.) 'clapping of the hands, finger cymbals, a kind of percussion instrument consisting of two pieces of wood fitted with small cymbals, one held by the fingers and the other by the thumb': 17.3, 88.1; karatāri, 115.8 (r.); cf. tāla

karama n.m. (= karman-) 'action, deed': -u, 105.ii.vi

karunā n.f. (S.) 'pity, compassion': 25.2, 61.2

kala adj. (S.) 'low, soft, melodious': -i, 3.7

kali<sup>1</sup> n.f. (S.) 'strife, quarrel, the (present) iron age': 105.ii.ii, 128.7

kali<sup>2</sup> n.f. (kalya-) 'ease, relief': 93.2

kalī n.f. (kali-) 'bud': 116.17, 116.20

kalola n.m. (kallola-) 'gambol, frolic': 3.7

kavana interr.pron. (kah punar) 'who, what?': 2.30, 66.2, 79.4; kaune: 50.3, 105.i.3, 113.4; cf. VI.4, pp. 191-2

kavala n.m. (kamala-) 'lotus': 1.8, 11.7, 28.2, 34.2, 48.3, 68.2, 68.12, 105.ii.2, 111.3, 112.2, 116.20, 118.9; cf. kamala

kas- v.t. (kasati) 'rub (on a touchstone)': -u, 128.4

kasumbe n.m. & adj., obl. sg. (= kusumbha-) 'safflower, saffron-coloured': 84.3, 116.7

kasoti n.f. (kasapattikā-) 'touchstone': 128.4

kah- v.i. & t. (kathayati) 'say, speak': -ata, 12.3, 21.1 (bis), 71.7, 92.3, 101.2, 107.6; -anu, 70.20, 82.1; -āve, 82.4; -i, 2.10, 7.6 (rep.), 8.3, 43.3, 120.15; -ī, 11.11, 62.1, 67.2, 68.6; -īe, 59.3; -e, 43.4, 115.4, 120.2; -o, 32.6, 40.2, 115.12; -ō, 7.4, 35.7, 49.5, 59.1, 59.4, 82.1, 115.21, 120.14; -yo, 7.4, 40.4, 43.2, 95.1, 117.11

kahā adv. & rel.pron. 'where?': 12.8, 71.3; kaha: 94.3\*; emph. forms: kāhū, 62.2\*, 75.2, 120.6, kāhī, 26.4 (r.)

- kaḥā interr.pron. & adj. (kim) 'what?': 32.6, 35.7, 49.5, 59.1, 82.1, 82.4, 90.3, 94.1, 115.12, 115.21, 120.1, 120.14; kaha (metr.), 49.8; obl. kāhe 'why?', 109.1; kāhe kō, 37.2, 39.2, 65.2, 95.1, 101.1, 105.i.4, 111.1; kāhe na 'why not?', 108.1-5; kiha, 18.1
- kahū cf. kaḥā
- kā gen.postp.: 59.2, 114.4; ko, 1.4, 2.22, 3.8, 3.9, 4.22, 6.5, 11.7, 11.10, 14.2, 14.3 (bis), 14.5, 16.6, 20.1, 20.3, 20.6, 22.1, 44.1, 45.1 (rep.), 46.4, 49.7, 49.8, 65.1, 68.3, 69.1, 84.3 (bis), 86.2, 86.4, 90.2, 93.2, 105.i.3 (bis), 105.ii.iv, 106.4, 107.6, 116.6, 117.2, 118.6, 125.6, 127.3; kī, 1.2, 4.9, 5.3, 5.4, 8.1, 9.2, 9.12, 10.3, 11.2, 11.7, 11.10, 11.11, 12.4, 14.2, (15.3), 15.6, 16.4, 18.2, 18.3, 19.3, 27.1, 36.3, 39.4, 46.2, 47.5, 48.2, 51.4, 53.1, 54.2, 55.11, 56.7, 60.7, 62.1, 65.3, 67.7, 67.13, 67.17, 68.10, 70.2, 70.7, 71.9, 73.1-4, 74.3, 75.1, 75.2, 79.2, 81.2, 84.3, 84.4, 85.17, 90.3, 91.3, 94.2, 95.2, 97.1, 98.1, 99.3, 102.4, 106.2, 107.7, 107.8, 107.10, 112.4, 116.7, 116.9, 116.17, 116.24, 116.25, 117.12, 118.12, 120.14, 124.9, 124.18; ke, 2.26, 2.27, 2.28/29, 5.2, 9.4, 11.2, 11.4, 11.5, 11.6, 11.8, 11.9 (bis), 12.8, 14.7, (26.2), 36.1, 38.2, 39.1, 39.3, 42.4, 45.3, 45.7, 48.1, 49.6, 50.3, 53.2, 53.4, 62.4, 63.1, 63.4, 64.4, 65.3, 65.4, 70.17, 71.13, 75.1, 80.1, 84.2, 110.1, 112.2, 113.3, 115.2, (115.10), (119.2), (120.16), 122.2, 125.2; + māhi, 1.9, 67.13, 70.12; + maddhi, 15.3; + saṅga/-i, 3.34, 17.1, 31.5, 104.1
- kāi cf. ko/kōi/kōū
- kānti n.f. (S.) 'splendour, beauty': 1.2, 1.22
- kāhi cf. kaḥā
- kāchani n.f. (kakṣyā-) 'garment worn over loincloth, kind of skirt': 2.30, 11.9, 19.3, 34.5, 47.6, 50.7, 68.10
- kāja n.m. (kārya-) 'work, business': kiha ~ 'for what purpose?', 18.1; cf. karaja
- kāna n.m. (karna-) 'ear': -i, 11.4; -na, 78.5; cf. kān(h)a
- kānana n.m. (S.) 'forest, grove': 52.7, 55.3, 67.9
- kānaro n.m. (< kānadā- (rāginī)) the name of a rāga: 24.4
- kānūyā n.m. (var. of kānha < kṛṣṇa-) Kṛṣṇa: 85.1/2/6/7/8/12/13/18/19/20/24
- kān(h)a n.m. (kṛṣṇa-) Kṛṣṇa: 1.15, 63.4, 101.1; -u, 35.6 (rep.), 120.12; cf. kanāi, kanaiyā, kānūyā
- kāma<sup>1</sup> n.m. (S.) Kāma, '(the god of) love or desire': 2.28/29, 44.4, 85.4, 100.4

- kāma<sup>2</sup> n.m. (karman-) 'action, task, work': 59.3, 105.i.3; -i, 42.1
- kāmarī n.f. (kambala-) 'woollen cloth or blanket': 75.3; dimin. kamariyā, -127.1 (rep.)
- kāraja n.m. (kārya-) 'work, business': gr̥ha + 'household affairs, chores', 27.3, 47.7, 111.8
- kāraṇe postp. (S.) 'on account of': 3.12
- kāre adj., m.pl. (kāla-) 'black, dark-blue': 63.4, 85.11
- kāla n.m. (S.) 'time, fate, death': 105.ii.v, 128.7
- kāhe cf. kahā
- kāhū cf. kahā and ko/kōi/kōū
- kiu interr. particle (kim) 'why?': 14.1
- kimkanī n.f. (= kinkini-) 'small bell': 70.12, 116.26; + jhālā, perhaps meaning 'a band of small bells or cymbals round the waist or wrist' (cf. Monier-Williams, kinkinjālamālin, MBh.), 50.6
- kimnarī n.f. (S.) 'musical instrument' (either a kind of lute, cf. the classical kimnarī vīṇā, or the percussion instrument made from metal which is also called karkarī/kirakarī/kimgarī): 30.3, 45.5, 60.5
- kichu cf. kachū
- kidārā n.m. (= kedāra-) the name of a rāga: 117.12; -o, 79.2
- kinu interr. particle (<kim+na?) 'why not?': 128.7; cf.
- kirani n.f. (kirana-) 'ray, beam': 5.2, 8.3, 74.4, 83.3
- kisī cf. ko/kōi/kōū
- kisora n.m. (kiśorā-) 'boy, youth': 2.25, 3.4, 12.1, 55.6/12/18/24, 57.9, 107.9
- kisori n.f. (f. of prec.) 'maiden': 10.2, 77.1, 86.1, 91.3, 103.1, 104.4, 105.i.2, 108.6, 124.1
- kī cf. kā
- kuara n.m. (kumārā-) 'boy, youth': 3.32; kūara, kuari cf. kuvari
- kumkama n.m. (= kunkuma-) 'red powder': 52.5, 57.6
- kumja n.m. (S.) 'arbour, bower, grove': 1.10, 3.2, 3.9, 3.15, 4.21, 22.5, 35.2, 36.4, 43.1, 48.1, 54.1, 58.4, 96.2, 124.19; + kela, 41.3; ~bihārī, an epithet of Kṛṣṇa, 5.3, 61.5; + bhavana, 6.2, 11.1, 24.1, 66.1, 99.2, 100.1,

107.3, 107.5, 115.2, 116.1, 116.30; + mamdira, 3.38, 120.16; + mahala, 3.31; + lata, 3.11, 4.7/12, 55.5; -ē (r.), 1.13/18, 46.2; -na, 15.1, 31.6, 62.4, 63.2, 65.2, 73.4, 75.4, 76.2, 79.1, 83.3, 89.1, 94.1, 98.1, 106.1, 108.4, 111.7, 117.1, 118.11, 122.2, 123.5, 127.4

- kumdala n.m. (S.) 'earring': 2.14, 11.4, 50.5, 68.3, 78.5, 123.4
- kumtala n.m. (S.) 'hair, lock': 9.11, 68.3
- kutūhala n.m. (S.) 'mirth, enjoyment': 67.14, 85.22, 103.4; cf. IV.3.3.2.5
- kubajā n.f. (= kubjā-) Kubja ('hunchbacked', a woman of Mathura whom Kṛṣṇa cured): 71.13
- kula n.m. (S.) 'family, community': 33.7, 67.8, 105.ii.3
- kulāhala n.m. (= kolāhala-) 'uproar': 85.5; -u, 3.8, 55.10
- kuvari n.f. (kumārī-) 'maiden': 124.5; kuari, 3.34; kūara (for kuari), 20.1
- kusama n.m. (= kusuma-) 'flower': 1.11, 48.3, 52.3, 67.2, 70.4, 81.1, 83.3; -na, 46.2, 55.7, 73.3
- kuhamk- v.i. (<kuhumkāra-) 'cry (of birds)': -e, 67.4
- kuhū n.f. (S.) 'new moon': 48.2, 74.3; cf. 62.3 fn.
- kū kū onom. for bird song: 57.8
- kūla n.m. (S.) 'bank': 70.17; -e, 116.16; -ē (r.) 53.2
- ke conj. (<kim ?) 'or': 56.8; cf. kā
- keta pronom.adj. (\*kiyatta-) 'how much?': 7.6
- kedhō adv. (related to krta- ?) 'whether, otherwise': 109.3
- kel- v.i. (kelati) 'play, sport': -ahī, 3.6
- keli n.f. (S.) 'play, amorous sport': 3.21, 4.15, 55.3; -a, 1.13/18, 1.21, 3.1, 3.28, 10.4, 13.6, 20.6, 38.7, 41.3, 44.3, 46.4, 52.7, 58.8 (parama-), 62.4, 73.4, 107.5, 115.10; -e (r.) 50.4
- kevala n.m. (S.) 'only, alone', the poet's name occurring in the last or penultimate line of each poem and of each stanza of the longer poems. The form kevalajana is used in padas 15, 16, (29), 31, 32, 34, 35, 47, 49, 52, 53, 55, 56-60, 62-71, 78, 83, 85, 113, 114, 128, and kevalajanu in 11, 17, 19, 33, 46, 50, 105.ii.11
- kesa n.m. (keśa-) 'hair': -na, 9.11



- kesara n.m. (S.) 'saffron, yellow or red powder': 52.5
- kaise pronom.adv. (kīdrśa-) 'of what kind, how?': 26.2, 28.3, 54.4, 61.6, 97.2, 120.2, 120.15; Cf. IV.3.3.5.5
- ko gen.postp. cf. kā
- ko/kōi/kōu indef.pron. (kaścid) 'some one, anyone': ko, 5.1, 20.3, 23.4, 49.8; kōi, 1.9, 71.9, 112.1, 123.2; kōu, 1.23, 4.17, 33.2, 92.3; obl.f. kāi, 35.3, 63.3, 71.7; obl.m. kāhū, 124.13; obl. kisi, 71.11; cf. V.2.2, p. 173
- koila n.m. (kokilā-) 'the Indian cuckoo *Cuculus indicus*': 122.4; cf. kokilā
- kō postp. (= Old Hindi kahū < kāksa) accusative/dative marker: 1.2, 3.1, 3.28, 3.35, 9.6, 11.3, 22.6, 29.2 (bis), 32.3, 32.5, 37.2, 39.1, 39.2, 39.3, 40.4, 41.3, 42.1, 48.2, 49.1, 54.2, 56.7, 57.4, 65.2, 71.2, 71.3, 77.4, 80.4, 81.4 (bis), 88.2, 91.1, 100.1-4\*, 101.1, 101.3, 101.4, 105.i.4, 105.ii.v, 113.1, 115.4, 115.9, 116.12, 117.10, 117.11, 118.1, 120.7, 120.8, 124.10, 124.23, 125.4, 125.5, 127.1; kau, 12.8, 15.4, 16.5
- kokilā n.f. (S.) 'female of the Indian cuckoo': 3.7, 57.8; cf. koila
- koti n.f. (S.) 'ten million': 85.22, 90.3, 116.4; -a, 2.13, 3.20, 3.33, 9.4, 49.2, 51.2,
- komala adj. (S.) 'tender, charming': 87.3
- kori n.f. (kōti-) 'edge, corner': 105.i.2; -a, 107.7
- kosa n.m. (kośa-) 'pod, seed vessel': 34.2
- kau cf. kō
- kaue n.m., obl.sg. (<kośa- ?) 'pot, dish': 71.8
- kautaka n.m. (= kautuka-) 'festivity, celebration': 3.7, 29.1; -u, 3.28, 4.15, 4.21
- kaustubha n.m. (S.) 'jewel' (viz. the one on the breast of Visnu/Kṛṣṇa which was obtained when the ocean was churned): 2.28, 50.6
- kaune cf. kavana
- kripā n.f. (= krpā-) 'mercy, grace, kindness': 41.2, 44.1
- kriṣṇa n.m. (= krṣṇa-) Kṛṣṇa: 1.1/6, 1.22
- krīdā n.f. (S.) 'play, amorous sport': 4.22, 56.5

- khamjana n.m. (S.) 'wagtail' (Montacilla alba): 9.8, 11.5, 22.2
- khamjarīta n.m. (S.) 'wagtail': 1.8
- khaga n.m. (S.) 'bird': 70.10
- khac- v.i. (\*khacyate) 'be set, be studded': -ita, 124.3; -o, 55.2
- kharak- v.i. (khatakhatāyate) 'crackle, rustle': -atu, 94.1
- khass- v.t. (\*khass-) 'snatch': -i, 118.10
- khiji n.f. (formed fr. v.i. khij- < ksiyate) 'irritation, arrogance': 13.4
- khir- v.i. (\*khil-) 'be scattered, open out, expand': -ye, 16.2; -yo, 39.2
- khilā- v.t. (caus. fr. \*khel-) 'play with': -vata, 125.3
- khilonā n.m. (cf. Pk. khilāvāna < \*khil-) 'toy': 114.1
- kheda n.m. (S.) 'exhaustion': 8.3, [43.3]
- khel- v.i. (\*khēl-) 'play': -ata, 4.19/24, 10.2, 11.1, 19.1 (bis), 23.2, 31.1, 45.1, 46.1, 52.4, 52.6, 53.1, 55.19, 57.2, 60.4, 67.14, 73.2, 76.2, 104.3, 108.6, 111.6, 125.2; -ahi, 3.5; -e, 122.1; -ē, 21.4; -o, 40.5; -ye, 3.24
- khod- v.t. (\*khodd-) 'dig, scrape (the ground)': -ata, 120.5
- khobhī n.f. (derived fr. v.i. khub- < \*skubhyate ?) 'a kind of jewel (stud for the ear)': 2.14
- khora n.f. (related to \*khōṭayati ?) 'horizontal mark on the forehead of sandal paste (esp. in which a pattern is scratched with the fingernails)': 19.3, 68.10
- khol- v.t. (\*kholl-) 'open': -ata, 108.2; -i, 33.8; -e, 71.9; -ē, 29.2
- kholi n.f. (dimin. of khola-) 'hat, cap': 118.12
- gaṅgā n.f. (S.) the Ganges: 100.2; -a, 9.12
- gamjana adj. (S.) 'contemning, putting to shame': -u, 2.19
- gamdha n.m. (S.) 'odour, fragrance': 105.ii.3; -u, 70.11
- gambhīra adj. (S.) 'deep': 31.3, 110.2 (ati-)
- gagari n.f. (gargara-) 'jar, waterpot': 124.2

- gaja n.m. (S.) 'elephant': 1.5, 2.8, 3.26, 3.27, 4.2, 12.2, 22.3, 33.4, 47.2, 75.3, 102.4, 114.5, 116.26, 119.5, 124.6
- gajare n.m.,obl.pl. (Platts:<garjara-, 'a wrist-ornament (orig.'carrot-shaped')') 'bracelets' (esp. with gold or bead work): 84.2
- gada n.m. (S.) 'spear': -u, 64.4
- gati n.f. (S.) 'movement, gait, condition, salvation': 10.2, 19.2, 23.2, 34.8, 44.4, 56.6, 58.1, 60.3, 86.3, 88.1, 118.13, 124.6
- gan- v.t. (ganayati) 'count': -ī, 2.9, 2.30, 24.2; -o, 108.3
- garaj- v.i. (garjati) 'thunder, roar': -ata, 24.4; cf. gāj-
- gali n.f. (\*galī-) 'street, alley': 111.2
- gavana n.m. (gamana-) 'going, coming': 65.4, 116.2
- gah- v.t. (\*grahati) 'grasp, seize': -anī, 54.3\*; -i, 59.4, 89.3, 98.2; -e, 18.2
- gaharu n.m. (Platts: // gah(a)rī < Pk. gahadio < graha+ra+ikā) 'delay': 51.1
- gāī n.f. (gāvī-) 'cow': 31.5, 75.3; gāīyana; 78.2, cf. gau
- gā- v.i. & t. (gāpayati) 'sing': -i, 33.2, 125.6; -īe, 56.1, 70.1; -u, 128.2; -(ā)u, 118.14; -(ā)udā, 111.5; -e, 71.14; -yo, 55.10, 57.10, 117.13; -vata, 3.22, 3.26, 10.1, 17.2, 23.2, 24.4, 30.4, 31.4, 37.4, 38.7, 45.5, 55.16, 57.5, 60.3, 67.10, 79.2, 86.3, 88.1, 96.4, 103.4, 122.5; -ve, 6.2, 19.2, 49.8, 116.33, 122.10, 128.6; -vē, 53.2; -vo, 117.12
- gāj- v.i. (garjati) 'thunder, roar': -e, 80.1, 122.4; cf. garaj-
- gātā n.m. (gātra-) 'body': 115.10
- gāna n.m. (S.) 'singing, song': 4.21, 46.3
- gāmuni adj. (= gāminī) 'going, moving': 2.8, 3.26, 4.2, 75.3, 102.4; cf. IV.3.3.2.3
- gāli n.f. (S.) 'abusive speech, taunt': 122.7
- gir- v.i. (\*girati) 'fall': -i, 12.7 (rep.), 40.4, 119.3; -ī, 75.2
- giridhara n.m. (S.) 'holding up the [ Govardhana ] mountain' (epithet of Kṛṣṇa): 4.1/6; -u, 114.1; -(na), 22.4
- giridhārī n.m. (S.) same as prec.: 13.1, 27.8, 61.2, 67.5, 88.4, 114.6, 123.6

- gīta n.m. (S.) 'song': 3.26, 55.16, 58.6, 86.3
- gumj- v.i. (guñjati) 'hum, buzz': -ata, 55.5; -ahī, 3.3; -ē, 1.14, 46.2
- gumjā n.f. (S.) 'humming, buzzing': 1.15
- gūthita adj./pp. (formed fr. gūth-, q.v., on anal. with grathita ?): 'plaited': 81.1
- gunānuvāda n.m. (S.) 'extolling of virtues, eulogy': 128.2
- guna n.m. (guna-) 'virtue, good quality': 37.3, 37.4, 44.2, 50.5, 55.8/9, 85.11, 110.2, 118.14, 122.10
- gupāla n.m. (= gopāla-) 'cowherd' (epithet of Kṛṣṇa): 3.23, 17.1, 29.1 (+ lāla), 33.1 (+ lāla), 38.2, 84.4
- gura adj. or n.m. (= guru- ?): 100.3 \*
- gulāla n.m. (<gundaka- ?) 'red powder (used at the Holī festival)': 52.4, -u 57.5
- gūth- v.t. (guphati × gamthai < granthāyati): 'thread, entwine': -i, 55.8; cf. gūthita
- grha n.m. (S.) 'house, home': 26.3, 28.4, 35.6, 53.5, 55.4 (rep.), 67.6 (rep.), 68.7, 71.4, 71.14 (rep.), 123.6 (rep.); + kāraja 'household affairs, chores', 27.3, 47.7, 111.8; + dhamdhā idem, 45.8; -i, 59.4; cf. ghara
- gaina n.m. (gagana-) 'sky': 16.4
- gokha n.m. (gavākṣa-) 'window': 35.3
- goda n.m. or f. (\*goddī-) 'breast, lap': 73.3; -i, 125.3
- gopa n.m. (S.) 'cowherd, herdsman': 111.6, 118.6
- gopikā n.f. (S.) 'cowherdess, milkmaid': 57.3
- gopī n.f. (S.) same as prec.; 55.4, 55.7
- gopījana n.f. (S.) same as prec. (esp. collectively as followers of Kṛṣṇa): 3.12, 3.16, 40.3, 45.6, 58.3, 67.17, 69.5, 111.3
- gopinātha n.m. (S.) 'lord of the cowherdresses' (epithet of Kṛṣṇa): 29.4
- gorī cf. gaura
- golī n.f. (<gola- ?) 'servant, slave': 118.8
- gohana cf. 124.24\*
- gau n.f. (\*gāvā-) 'cow': 29.2; cf. gāī

- gaura adj. (S.) 'white, fair': 3.38, 70.3, 86.1, 115.20;  
gorī, 73.2, 103.3
- gyāna n.m. (= jñāna-) 'knowledge': 27.2
- griha cf. gr̥ha
- grīvā n.f. (= grīvā-) 'nape of the neck': 44.3, 48.2, 116.21
- gvāla n.m. (gopāla-) 'cowherd, herdsman': 29.2
- guāri n.f. (f. of prec.): 119.1
- gvārani n.f. (= gvārin, or obl.pl. of prec.) same as prec.: 27.7
- ghat- v.i. (ghatate ?) 'happen': -i, 4.10
- ghata n.m. (S.) 'pot': -u, 8.4, 43.3
- ghatā n.f. (S.) 'mass of cloud': 75.3, 77.1 (+ sī), 82.3,  
117.6
- ghana n.m. (S.) 'cloud': 2.7, 3.30, 5.3, 15.6, 31.3, 63.2,  
70.16, 80.1, 87.4; -ī (r.), 24.4
- ghara n.m. (gr̥ha-) 'house': 55.17\*; -i, 9.10, 28.2; -e, 71.1;  
gharo ghari 'from house to house', 27.4; cf. gr̥ha, sughara
- ghas- v.t. (gharsati/\*ghrsati) 'rub': -u, 128.3
- ghāta n.m. (formed fr. \*ghat̥tati ?) 'bad behaviour, shortcoming':  
42.4
- ghāta n.m. (S.) 'blow, injury': 114.5\*
- ghora<sup>1</sup> adj. (S.) 'tremendous, menacing': + ghana, 31.3, 70.16,  
80.1
- ghora<sup>2</sup> n.f. (\*ghora-< ghur ?) 'sound': 107.10
- ghol- v.i. (<gholayati ?) 'sacrifice oneself, be devoted to':  
-ī, 118.5
- caū cf. ca(h)ū
- camda n.m. (S.) 'moon': 24.5, 54.2, 74.4, 77.3, 79.2, 106.2;  
-ā (r.), 1.22, 45.2; -u, 71.6, 71.7, 82.2, 83.1
- camdana n.m. (S.) 'sandalwood, paste or powder made from ~':  
19.3, 52.5, 68.10, 74.2, 85.8/9; -u, 57.6
- camdramā n.m. (= candramas-) 'moon': 2.13
- camd(r)ikā n.f. (S.) 'moonlight, crescent-shaped jewel worn on the  
head, peacock feather': 22.5, 111.2, 123.2

- campa n.m. (S.) 'jasmine': -e, 116.17
- cakora n.m. (S.) 'partridge' (Perdrix rufa, fabled to subsist on moonbeams): 74.4, 81.3, 83.4, 106.4, 116.12
- cakrita adj. (= cakrita-) 'alarmed, astonished': 58.7
- cakhiyā (rhyming participial formation fr. cakh- < \*caksati?) 'tasted': 97.4
- caṭak- v.i. (\*cata-) 'crackle': pp.f. -ī 'thunderstruck, amazed'; 34.3, 46.3, 47.2, 93.2, 110.3
- caṭapaṭī n.f. (cf. \*caṭṭ-) 'desire to taste': 75.1, 83.4
- caḍh- v.i. (\*caḍhati) 'rise, ascend': -i, 70.19
- catura adj. (S.) 'clever, cunning': 1.14, 5.5, 22.1, 26.5, 30.6, 39.2, 53.1, 83.2, 86.2, 88.3, 94.2, 95.4; mahā~, 4.5
- caturatā n.f. (formed fr. prec.) 'cunning, skill': 56.3
- caturāī n.f. (formed fr. catura-) same as prec.: 63.3, 85.11, 120.17
- capaṭ- v.t. (cf. \*capp- etc.) 'squeeze, embrace': -ī, 70.3
- capala adj. (S.) 'flashing, darting (of eyes)': 19.2, 33.6, 76.1, 78.4; cf. capalā
- capalā n.f. (S.) 'lightning': 77.2; -a (for -ā ?), 36.3
- carana n.m. (= carana-) 'foot': 68.12, 128.1; -e, 111.7; -ō, 85.23
- carā- v.t. (caus. fr. car- < carati) 'graze': -e, 114.3, -vata, 31.5
- carita n.m. (caritra-) 'exploits': 115.21
- cal- v.i. (calati) 'move, go': -ata, 1.5, 2.8, 3.26, 3.27, 8.2, 10.3, 17.2, 47.2, 124.6; -ahu, 4.11, 6.6, 7.6, 9.14, 43.1, 108.5; -i, 13.1, 28.3, 81.1; -ie, 18.4; -ī, 3.17, 4.13/18, 14.7, 35.3, 57.3, 107.8; -u, 99.1; -e, 111.4; -o, 2.4, 2.5, 4.2, 57.3, 107.4; -ye, 1.19/24, 3.1, 12.8, 14.8, 124.11; -yo, 28.5, 34.3, 115.16
- cala adj. (S.) 'moving': 55.23, 69.2; cf. bolicalu
- calana n.m. (S.) 'motion': 3.8
- calā- v.t. (caus. fr. cal-) 'make move, shoot': -vahī, 2.15
- cahata cf. cāh-
- ca(h)ū adj. (cf. caturah) occurring with ora/-i 'on all four sides': 73.3, 77.2, 86.2, 91.1, 105.ii.2

- cāṃdanī n.f. (\*cāndraṇa-) 'moonlight': 73.1, 79.2, 106.2
- cātika n.m. (= cātaka-) 'the bird Cucculus melanoleucus' (fabled to subsist on raindrops falling during svāti nakṣatra): 3.3, 3.8, 31.4, 57.8, 67.4, 69.3, 70.13; cf. IV.3.3.2.2
- cāri adj. (catvāri) 'four': 4.4, 84.1, 105.ii.1; -u, 124.4\* (rep.); -e (r.) 50.6, 125.6
- cāru adj. (S.) 'pleasing, beautiful': 2.27, 24.5, 38.4, 89.3; cf. 124.4 fn.
- cāla n.f. (\*calyā-) 'motion, gait': 1.5, 3.27, 12.2, 15.5, 17.2, 22.3, 33.4, 38.1, 47.2, 111.4, 112.2, 124.6; -ā (r.), 116.26
- cāh- v.t. (\*cāh-) 'desire, look for': -ata, 65.1, 87.3, 101.4 (with -a- for rhyme), 105.i.4, 106.2; -yo, 32.7
- cāha n.f. (\*cāh-) 'desire': 27.2
- cāhata n.f. (<\*cāh- ?) 'desire, love': 101.4
- cikano adj. (cikkaṇa-) 'smooth, oily': 8.4\*, 43.3
- cit- v.t. (citta-) 'look, pay attention to': -o, 61.2, 105.ii.viii, 107.1
- cita n.m. (citta-) 'mind': 2.26, 122.6; -u, 13.3, 16.6, 65.4, 79.4, 111.4; ~cora 'stealer of the mind', 55.17 (mahā-), ~corī, f.adj., 70.21; ~vita corī 'stealing mind and wherewithal', 122.6
- citav- v.t. (citta-) 'look at': -ata, 4.7/12, 7.5, 34.7, 41.1, 45.7, 66.1, 71.12, 75.3, 103.4; -i, 44.1, 105.i.1, 106.3 (rep.), 107.7, 108.4, 117.5 (rep.)
- citavani n.f. (derived fr. prec.) 'glance': 50.2; -a, 60.8, 28.4 (~hī)
- citāv- v.t. (caus. fr. citav-) 'make some one look at': -ata, 89.3
- citralkhi n.f. (= citralkhā-) 'painting': 70.19
- cibaku n.m. (= cibuka, metathesis or -u for dir.sg.?) 'chin': 2.22, 89.3, 116.19
- ciru adv. (cira-) 'for long': 118.4
- cihana n.m. (= cihna-) 'mark, sign': 16.5, 101.2, 113.2
- cīra n.m. (S.) 'strip of cloth, scarf': -u, 44.3\*
- cumb- v.t. (cumbati) 'kiss': -ata, 125.4
- cukhu n.m. (<caksus- ?) 'eye': 105.i.1, 122.10, 123.1

- cubh- v.i. (\*cubhyate) 'be pierced': -i, 120.11
- curā- v.t. (caus. fr. cor-) 'steal': -i, 92.3
- cūk- v.t. (\*cukk-) 'forget': -ie, 26.3
- cūnī (pp.f. fr. cun- < cinoti with -u- fr. tunnā-, guphati or \*vunati ?) 'threaded, slected, choice': 81.3
- cūrī n.f. (cūda-) 'bracelet, bangle': 124.4; cūrīyā, 84.1
- ceṭaku n.m. (related to cit ?; Platts: n.f. < citra + kā): 'spell, deception': 68.1
- cerī n.f. (\*cella-) 'female pupil, follower': 94.4
- caina n.m. (< cayana- ?) 'repose, peace of mind': 1.7/12, 1.20, 4.8, 16.5, 24.6, 36.2, 46.3, 61.3, 62.3, 63.2
- coā n.m. (< caturvaya- ?) 'fragrant paste, unguent' (Platts: 'of four ingredients, viz. sandal, agallochum, saffron, and musk; or ambergris, saffron, musk, and the juice of the flowers of the Arbor tristis'): 52.5, 57.6, 85.8/9 (coyā)
- cōpa n.m. (related to ksubh ?) 'desire, enthusiasm, attraction for': 71.13; cf. 54.3 fn. (caupa)
- coyā cf. coā
- cor- v.t. (corayati) 'steal': -ī, 79.4; -yo, 16.6; cf. cita
- cora n.m. (S.) 'thief': 2.26; cf. cita
- col- v.t. (cf. \*cul-/\*col-) 'move, agitate': -ata, 108.5; -ī, 118.8; -ē, 29.4\*
- caupa cf. 54.3 fn.
- chāgana māgana adj. (< caṅga- or utsaṅga- + magna- ?) an expression of endearment for a young child: 125.4
- chak- v.i. (\*chakka-) 'be astonished, be intoxicated': -ye, 1.16, 49.3
- chatano n.m. (< \*chatt- ?) 'shelter': 127.3
- chabi n.f. (= chavī-) 'beauty': 1.1/6, 1.2, 1.8, 1.9, 1.15, 2.5, 3.10/20/30/40, 9.13, 10.3, 11.10, 11.11, 12.6, 16.4, 19.3, 24.2, 30.2, 34.4, 36.4, 38.5, 47.7, 48.4, 49.3, 53.4, 55.6/12/18/24, 56.3, 58.7, 60.4, 62.2, 64.3, 67.17, 68.8, 70.3, 70.14, 70.18, 72.5, 73.3, 74.4, 76.1, 77.2, 78.5, 78.6, 81.4, 82.2, 83.2, 84.3, 86.1, 96.2, 97.3, 98.4, 100.4, 102.2, 103.2, 104.2, 105.i.2, 111.6, 111.9, 112.3, 114.5, 116.34, 117.14, 120.10, 120.14, 121.3, 123.4, 124.5; ati-, 2.19/22, 17.2, 50.6, 79.3, 85.16, 95.3, 104.1, 116.11, 116.19, 120.4; mahā-, 9.7, 11.2, 22.4; chabana (r.), 66.1



- chabīlī adj.,f. (chavī- ext. -lla- or <chādmika-) 'sprightly, pretty': 9.2, 44.3, 51.2, 54.1, 66.1
- chāu n.f. (chāyā-) 'shade': 98.1, 109.2
- chāj- v.i. or t. (\*chadyati) 'look good' or 'spread around' (chā- < chādayati ?): -e, 11.2
- chād- v.t. (chardati) 'leave, abandon': -i, 33.7, 35.3, 67.8; -e, 120.1, 120.15; -o, 20.5
- chānī adj.,f. (channa-) 'hidden, concealed': 63.3, 101.1
- china n.m. (<ksana- ?) 'moment': 82.3 (rep.); adv. -u, 1.16
- chip- v.i. (\*chipp-) 'be hidden': -ata, 8.4, 43.3
- chimāsī adj. (ṣanmāsika-) 'occurring after six months': 73.1
- chirak- v.t. (\*chiṭ-) 'sprinkle': -ata, 52.5, 57.6
- chīj- v.i. (chidyate) 'waste away': -e, 20.3, 32.5
- chīn- v.t. (chinna-) 'steal, snatch': -ā 116.10\*; -o, 123.6
- chudraghamṭikā n.f. (= ksudraghamṭikā-) 'girdle of small bells': 2.30, 11.9
- chūt- v.i. (\*ksutyate) 'leave, get loose, be separated': -e, 42.2
- chaila adj. (chavī- ext. -lla-) 'handsome, elegant': 9.2, 44.3
- chor- v.t. (ksotayati) 'abandon, let go': -i, 77.3
- chaunā n.m. (\*chāpa- ext. -nn-) 'young one': 114.5
- jakar- v.t. (yata- ext. -ḍ-) 'clasp': -i, 74.2
- jag- v.i. (jāgrati) 'be awake': -ata, 65.1\*; -atu, 106.2; -yo, 93.3; cf. jāg-
- jaga n.m. (S.) 'world': so.7; -u, 12.4, 92.2, 117.2
- jagamaga adj. (\*jag-) 'glittering, sparkling': 9.7, 11.6, 68.9, 112.3
- jagā- v.t. (caus. fr. jag-) 'waken': -ī, 89.1
- jaṭā n.f. (S.) 'matted hair': 9.12; see also 116.10
- jadata adj. (pseudo-S. pp. fr. jad- < \*jadati) 'studded': 62.2
- jata adv. (yatra) where: ~ kata 'wherever', 42.2

- jatana n.m. (= yatna-) 'effort, resistance': 8.4, 120.13
- janaka n.m. (S.) Janaka (father of Sītā): 12.3
- janu conj. (fr. imper. of jān- ?) 'like, as if': 15.3
- jaba adv. (Bloch, p.92: \*javva < yāvat): when: 54.4;  
~hū 'whenever', 49.y; + kaba, 'whenever': 13.4
- jamala n.m. (= yamala-) 'twin, pair': 95.3
- jamunā n.m. (= yamunā-) the Yamuna (Jumna): 3.8, 30.4, 45.3,  
53.2, 58.4, 60.2, 67.2, 69.2, 70.17, 123.5
- jar- v.i. (jvarati / jvalati) 'be feverish, burn': -i, 28.6  
(mahā~)
- jarāu n.m. (\*jadati) 'a kind of ornament inlaid or studded  
with gems': 90.2
- jala n.m. (S.) 'water': 4.2/3, 14.3, 14.6, 70.9, 71.2, 116.10;  
-u, 39.3, 121.4; śrama + 'perspiration', 15.3
- jasa n.m. (yaśas-) 'splendour, renown': -u, 6.2, 20.1, 128.5;  
sujasu, 125.6
- jasumati n.f. (= yaśomati-) alternative name for Yaśodā (Kṛṣṇa's  
foster mother): 59.3, 118.2
- jasodā n.f. (= yaśodā-) Yaśodā (Kṛṣṇa's foster mother): 71.12;  
jasudā, 125.1, 126.2
- jahā adv. (fr. ihā with rel. j- ?) where: 124.7 (rep.)
- jā- v.i. (yāti) 'go, approach, come to': -i, 2.8/16/24/32,  
4.5/11/17/23, 32.6, 105.ii.viii; -i, 34.3, 52.2, 55.16,  
67.2, 68.6, 70.21, 83.2, 112.4; -ie, 56.2, 59.3, 107.4  
(-ie); -(ā)u, 98.4, 109.1, 118.14; -(ā)udā, 111.4;  
-ta, 15.4, 70.6, 77.3, 82.3, 113.3; -vata, 24.2, 124.24;  
-vahu, 8.2; -vaho, 40.1; -ve, 2.9, 2.30, 9.13, 11.11  
(bis), 19.6, 60.4, 118.13, 122.10; -vo, 40.1; -vō, 57.3,  
61.4\*, 65.4, 85.22; -hi, 3.10/20/30/40, 39.4, 40.2,  
40.4, 45.8, 55.6/12/18/24, 115.12; gai, 3.29, 4.10, 8.3,  
28.6, 35.6, 47.7, 75.2, 76.2, 76.4, 120.9; gae, 4.4;  
gayo, 2.14, 4.22, 27.3
- jā/jā cf. jo
- jāg- v.i. (jāgrati) 'be awake, wake up': -aho, 29.1, 29.3;  
-i, 48.4; -i, 54.1; -ye, 63.1, 64.1, 85.3
- jāc- v.i. & t. (yācyate) 'beg': -ana, 20.2
- jān- v.i & t. (jānāti) 'know': -ata, 56.8, 95.2, 120.7;  
-atu, 94.3; -i, 1.19/24, 8.1; -ike, 3.11; -io (for -yo),  
4.14; -i, 40.5, 66.3, 93.4, 94.4, 100.2, 100.3, 124.21,  
126.2; -e, 50.7; -ye, 39.2, 64.1, 64.2, 116.31, 124.11;  
-yo, 75.4

- jāma n.f. (= yāma-) 'night': 21.3
- jāmunī n.f. (= yāminī-) 'night': 3.29, 55.2; cf. IV.3.3.2.3
- jiu/jīu conj. (fr. iu, q.v., with rel. j- ?) 'as, like': 2.7, 3.30, 3.39, 4.3, 5.2, 5.3, 16.4, 71.2 (jīu), 85.22
- jīu hon. particle (jīva-): 18.2, 26.5, 50.1 (rep.), 65.1, 75.1, (75.4), (80.4), 85.1/2/6/7/8/12/13/14/18/19/20/24, 85.2, 87.1, 91.2, 100.3, 111.7, 115.10, 117.4, 120.16, 121.4; cf. jī, jīu, ju and V.2.2 p.172.
- jina particle of prohibition (yathā na): 99.1; see also jo
- jivē adv. (fr. ivē < evam eva with rel. j- ?) 'just so': 6.3
- jihi cf. jo
- jī hon. particle (jīva-): 101.3, 102.1, (108.1), 115.12; cf. jīu
- jī- v.i. (jīvati) 'live, be pleased': -je, 20.5\*; -vā, 118.2; -vē, 118.4
- jīu n.f. (jīvá-) 'life, soul': 51.4, 120.12; cf. jīya, jīyaro, jīu
- jīt- v.t. (jīta-) 'win, conquer': -o, 24.6
- jīp- v.t. (cf. jīta-, anal. pres. stem after MIA. type litta ~ lippai 'win, conquer': -i, 36.1
- jīya n.f. (jīvá-) 'life, soul': 5.4, 39.4 (bis), 105.i.4; cf. jīu, jīyaro
- jīyaro n.m. (jīvá- + ext.) 'life, soul': 93.4; cf. jīu, jīya
- jīvani n.f. (= jīvanī-) 'life, livelihood, sustenance': 5.4, 14.5, 39.4, 85.20/21, 90.4, 99.3, 105.i.4; -a, 50.1
- ju metr. form of jīu or jo?: 12.3
- juga<sup>1</sup> n.m. (= yuga-) 'age, era': 4.4, 12.8; juga juga 'from age to age', 10.4, 56.4, 58.8, 72.6, 85.19/24 (y- y-), 122.9
- juga<sup>2</sup> n.m. or adj. (yugma-) 'pair, both': 70.4, 74.2, 76.4
- jugama n.m. (= yugma-) 'pair': 38.3, 53.3
- jugala n.m. (= yugala-) 'pair, couple': 3.10/20/30/40, 11.10, 48.3, 53.5, 57.9, 70.15, 105.ii.2, 107.9, 128.1; juga[la], 116.12
- jurīyā adj., f.pl. (fr. v.i. jur-/jur- < \*yutati ?) 'arranged, assembled' (esp. with reference to a set of bangles): 84.1
- jūtha n.m. (= yūtha-) 'flock, band': 9.4; jūthi jūthi, 57.3
- jeta pronom. adj. (fr. eta with rel. j- ?) 'so much, as much': 7.4

- jehara n.f. 'a kind of anklet': 124.9
- jai n.m. (= jaya-) 'victory' (used as interj.): 55.10 (rep.) (rep.), 57.10
- jaikāra n.m. (formed fr. prec.) 'praise, rejoicing': -u, 67.15
- jaiso pronom.adj. (yādrśa-) 'such as, of which sort': 7.3, 8.4, 43.3; -ī, 10.3; -e, 51.4, 77.2, (97.2), 100.2, 115.14 (~hī), 119.5
- jo rel.pron. (ya-) 'who, which': 24.3, 24.6, 75.2, 76.1, 76.2, 76.4, 78.6, 81.2, 86.3, 86.4, 93.2, (97.2), 101.2, 108.6; jā/jā, 39.3 (~hū), 63.4, 101.4, 115.9, 115.13, 117.2, 125.5, 125.6; jinahū, 2.17, 39.4; jihī, 42.3; see also jau
- jo- v.i. & t. (dyotate) 'look at, watch': -vata, 61.2
- joti n.f. (jyotis-) 'light, brightness, moonlight': 11.6, 68.9, 85.13/13, 89.2, 117.9
- jor- v.t. (\*yotayati) 'join': -a, 107.6; -i, 36.4, 91.2, 106.1; -ī, 103.2, 108.6
- jorī n.f. (\*yota-) 'pair, couple': 3.38, 4.16, 10.4, 16.6, 24.1, 30.1, 55.11, 60.2, 67.17, 69.6, 70.21, 73.2, 79.4, 85.20, 85.21, 86.1, 87.4, 102.4, 104.4, 122.6, 122.9
- jau conj. (yat) 'if': 42.3, 94.2; jo, 59.4
- jhābhāī n.f. (formed fr. jābhā- < jṛmbhatē ?) 'yawn': 16.3, 39.3
- jhakorē n.f., dir.pl. (\*jhakkōl-) 'buffet, flurry, shower': 30.2, 85.9, 103.2
- jharokhe n.m., obl.sg. (< jālagavākṣa- ?) 'lattice-window': 100.1
- jhāī n.f. (jhāmaka-) 'dusty colour, radiance': 75.2
- jhābe n.m., dir.pl. (// jhābbā; related to drbh ?) 'tassels': 84.2
- jhāla n.f. (\*jhāla-) 'heat, radiance, golden colour': 1.5, 2.17, 12.6, 38.4, 47.4, 70.8, 122.3; -ā (r.), 116.25
- jhālā n.m. or f. (onom. or related to \*jhāra-/\*jhāla- ?): 50.6; cf. kimkanī
- jhunakārā n.m. (jhanatkāra-) 'jingling, tinkling (of anklets)': 68.11, 116.27; -ī, n.f., 67.12, 102.4
- jhul- v.i. & t. (\*jhulyati) 'swing, wave, rock': -ata, 70.7; -u, 118.3; cf. jhūl-

- jhulā- v.t. (caus. fr. prec.) 'rock, swing': -vata, 125.3; jhulavata (metr.), 98.2
- jhūmaka adj. (\*jhumma- ext. -kk-) used to describe a sari decorated decorated with clusters or pendants of gold, pearls etc. etc. on the portion worn over the head: 9.5
- jhūl- v.i. & t. (\*jhulyati) 'swing, roek': -ata, 83.1, 96.4; -e, 116.15; -ē, 53.4
- jhel- v.i. (\*jhelati) 'splash, plunge': -a, 10.4, 46.4, 73.4; -ahi, 3.10
- jhol- v.t. (\*jholayati) 'stir, shake, splash': -ata, 108.3
- jholī n.f. (\*jhola-) 'lap': 118.3
- taka n.f. (tarkayati) 'stare, gaze': 97.4, 106.2
- tar- v.i. (talati) 'move aside, be displaced': -ata, 8.1, 43.4, 116.14
- tahak- cf. 70.9 fn.
- tār- v.t. (tālayati) 'displace, remove, push aside': -ī, 8.1, 13.5, 43.4; -e, 116.14
- tedhī adj.,f. (\*treddha-) 'crooked, slanting': 111.4, 112.2
- teva n.f. (\*tev-) 'habit': 8.1, 13.4, 21.2, 73.4
- tonā n.m. (\*tona-) 'sorcery, spell': 19.5, 112.1, 114.3, 123.2; -e, 111.5; -o, 33.2, 92.3
- toli n.f. (\*ṭola-) 'band, gang': 118.6
- thakurānī n.f. (thakkura-) 'honoured lady, goddess': 66.3, 89.2, 121.2
- thag- v.t. (\*thag-) 'cheat, rob': -i, 39.4; -yo, 93.2
- thagāne pp. (pass. fr. prec.) 'robbed': 39.4
- thagorī n.f. (related to \*thag- ?) 'trick, charm': 35.1 (rep.), 53.5, 79.4, 86.4, 93.3, 112.1
- that- v.t. (formed fr. \*thattha-/tasta- ?): establish, perform': -ī, 107.9
- thatu n.m. (<\*thatta-/tasta- ?) 'scheme, ploy, affectation: 8.4, 43.2
- than- v.t. (= thān- < \*sthānya-) 'begin, establish': -ī, 24.3; -ye, cf. banye; -yo, 53.3

- thāu n.f. (sthāman-) 'place': 109.3
- thāhī/thāī n.f. (rhyming variant of prec.): 31.3, 89.4
- thādho adj. (stabdha-) 'fixed, standing': 44.3; -ī, 9.1, 40.3, 66.1, 69.5, 77.1, 86.1, 115.2, 116.1, 118.7, 119.3; -e, 31.3, 36.4, 61.2, 67.5, 98.1, 100.1, 107.2, 115.5, 115.11
- thōra/thaura n.f. (sthāvara-) 'residence, place': thōra, 107.5; -ī (r.), 87.4; -ē (r.), 85.10; thaura, 42.4, 55.11
- ḍaḡaru n.m. or f. (\*ḍaḡ-; usually f. but -u implies m.): 'path, road': 51.3
- ḍara n.m. (dara-) 'fear, alarm': 128.7
- ḍār-/ḍāl- ? cf. dhār-
- ḍē- v.t. (dadāti) 'give': pera ḍēde 'sets foot', 118.8; cf. IV.3.4.4
- ḍori n.f. (davara-) 'string, thread' (used in expressions with mana and lāḡ- meaning 'with fixed attention'): 91.4; -a, 55.23, 107.8; -ī (r.), 103.6
- ḍol- v.i. (dolāyate) 'wander, roam': -ata, 27.6, 31.6, 72.4, 75.1, 108.4, 110.2, 119.5, 124.17; -ahe, 1.10; -ē, 29.1; -ō, 33.7, 35.5, 71.4
- ḍhaṭonā n.m. (fr. v. dīth- < dr̥ṣṭa-) 'black mark or patch put on a child's face to avert the evil eye': 111.8, 114.4, 116.19; cf. IV.3.4.4
- ḍhar- v.i. (\*ḍhalati) 'flow': -yo, 110.3
- ḍharanī n.m. (formed fr. prec. ?) 'flow, flood': 110.3
- ḍharārī cf. 76.3 fn.; -e, 116.13
- ḍhari n.m. (formed fr. ḍhar- ?) 'flow': 115.16
- ḍhār- v.t. (\*ḍhālayati) 'cast away, throw down': -ahuge, 77.4; -ī, 119.5; -ī, 54.2; -ō, 71.8; -yo, 59.2
- ḍhitonā cf. ḍhaṭonā
- ḍhīlī adj., f. (\*ḍhilla-) 'slack, loose': 44.4, 124.6
- ḍhūdh- v.t. (\*ḍhūndh-) 'search for': -ata, 125.5
- tambola n.m. (tāmbūla-) 'betel leaf': 2.22, 116.18

- taj- v.t. (= tyaj) 'abandon, leave, give up': -ata, 8.2; -ahu, 7.4, 26.2; -i, 4.1/6, 4.9, 5.4, 12.8, 27.5, 41.2, 41.4, 44.1, 61.6, 65.4, 69.3, 74.4, 105.i.2, 106.4, 107.3, 107.8, 124.9
- tata n.m. (S.) 'bank': 67.2; -i, 45.3, 58.4, 123.5
- tataṅka n.m. (= tāṅka-) 'a kind of ear ornament': 11.4
- tata cf. thai
- tatapara adj. (= tatpara-) 'devoted, eagerly engaged in': 128.3
- taturānī adj.,f. (// tuturānī, onom. based on trut/thut ?): 'stuttering, burbling, talking like a child': 87.1; totarī, 126.1
- tanu n.m. (tanū-) 'body': 2.21, 37.3, 127.2; -a, 3.9, 3.17, 5.2, 6.2, 9.5, 19.6, 27.6, 47.4, 47.7, 61.3, 65.3, 66.2, 68.7, 74.1, 75.1, 86.1, 87.3, 90.4, 101.3, 103.3; -i, 32.2
- tapati n.f. (= tāpti-) 'burning, fever, torment': 71.15
- tapu n.m. (= tapas-) 'religious austerity': 116.16
- taba adv. (Bloch, p.92: \*tavva <tāvat) 'then': 1.17, 89.4, 99.4; ~hī, 93.3, 115.4, 115.7, 115.11, 124.21; ~hu, 117.13
- tamacara n.m. (<tāmracūda- ?) 'cock': 51.4, 113.4
- tamāla n.m. (S.) 'the tree Xanthochymus pictorius': 3.39; syāma + (a rarer variety of tamāla with red flowers and a dark trunk, hence associated with Kṛṣṇa): 37.1, 122.8
- tara n.m. (= taru-) 'tree': 70.2, 74.2, 96.2
- tare adv. & postp. (tala-) 'beneath': 35.2, 77.3, 124.3
- taraṅga n.m. (S.) 'wave': 53.4, 104.2; -ani, 12.6\*
- taraki n.f. (= tarkā-) 'reasoning, argument': 40.4
- taraph- v.i. (\*tadapphad-) 'toss about, be anxious': -ata, 4.2, 71.2
- tarasana n.m. (= trasana-) 'alarm': 73.4, 100.4
- taruna adj. (= taruṇa-) 'young, tender': 1.7/12
- taronā n.m. (related to tāṅka- ?) 'earring': 116.11
- talapa n.m. (= talpa-) 'couch, bed': 2.25, 48.3, 61.5, 117.15
- tava cf. tū/tū

- tahā/tahā/tahā adv. (<tatsthāne ?) 'there': 1.14, 3.4, 3.34, 4.19/24, 47.2, 52.4, 55.19, 55.22, 57.3, 58.5, 61.5, 66.3, 67.5, 68.12, 70.10, 70.15, 77.3, 85.17, 91.2 (rep.), 96.3, 100.3, 105.ii.4, 107.9, 107.10; tāhī (emph. & r.), 4.14, 31.4, 67.14; cf. V.2.2 p. 172
- tā/tā correl.pron.,obl. of so, 'he, that': 14.2, 14.5, 39.4, 42.1, 105.ii.vi, 124.23; ~hī, 63.4, 101.4; tina, 12.2, ~hū, 39.3; tinu, 12.3, 14.3, 14.4, 14.5, 14.7, 128.6; tipi (metr. tihi + pa(h)i ?), 42.3; tisi, 14.3; tiha, 85.10; tihi, 91.4; tēu, 16.5, 115.8, 125.6
- tāhī cf. tahā &c.
- tādī cf. tārī
- tāna n.m. (S.) 'musical phrase': 10.2, 19.4, 23.3, 55.15, 67.12, 86.3, 88.3, 92.2; -(na), 88.2
- tārā n.m. (tāraka-) 'star, pupil of eye': 16.4; -e, 50.3, 112.2, 125.2
- tārī n.f. (related to \*taddha- ?) 'meditation, trance': 67.16 (-ḍ), 70.18; -a, 70.5; -i, 119.6
- tāla n.m. (S.) 'beat, rhythmic cycle, cymbal, a kind of percussion instrument (cf. karatāla)': 3.19, 30.3, 38.6, 45.5, 60.5, 103.5
- tiu conj. (fr. iu/kiu with correl. t- ?) 'just as': 85.22
- tina/tinu cf. tā/tā
- tinu cf. t(r)inu
- tipi cf. tā/tā
- tilaka n.m. (S.) 'forehead mark': 68.3; -u, 2.11, 47.4, 78.5, 112.3
- tisi,tiha/tihi cf. tā/tā
- tihārī/-e cf. tū/tū
- tīni n.m. & adj. (trīni) 'three': 20.3; -e, 72.5; -o, 123.4
- tucā (<tvac- ?) 'skin, complexion': 70.8
- tujhe cf. tū/tū
- tuma pron. (yusmad- with t-fr.tuvam) 'you': 4.3, 5.2, 5.3, 5.5, 6.5, 13.1, 25.3, 26.5, 27.1, 37.3, 39.1, 41.4, 42.2 (bis), 42.4, 61.6, 90.4, 95.2, 99.3, 121.4; ~hī, 7.3, 8.2, 25.4, 27.8, 37.3 (bis); tumārī, 4.10, 13.4, 27.2, 65.3; -e, 42.2, 125.1
- tulya adj. (S.) 'comparable': 1.9



- tuhi cf. tū/tū
- tū/tū pron. (tuvam) 'you'(sg.): 5.6, 18.3, (22.1), 90.1, 90.4, 82.4 (~hī); tava, 18.3, 82.2, 90.3, 105.ii.iv; tihārī, 5.5, 8.1, 21.2, 113.2; tihāre, 20.2, 94.2; tuhī, 4.7/12, 41.1, 61.4; tujhe, 2.4; tero, 6.1, 6.2, 25.1, 37.4, 99.3, 115.6; terī, (22.3), 63.3, 81.4, 82.2, 85.7/12, 90.1, 92.2, 94.4, 105.ii.iii; tere, 13.2, 13.4, 22.2, 37.4, 40.5, 42.4, 81.1, 85.1/6, 90.2, 101.2, 108.3, 113.2, 118.7, 118.14, 125.2, 125.6; to, 5.1\*, 6.4, 23.4, 81.4, 82.4, 120.6, 120.7, 124.8; tohī, 2.5, 2.10, 8.2, 26.1, 26.2; cf. IV.3.3.5.5
- tūt- v.i. (trutyati) 'be broken': -ī, 36.2; -e, 64.2, 85.4
- tēū cf. tā/tā
- tē<sup>1</sup> postp. (for uses cf. VI.3): 3.8, 10.2, 13.2, 13.4, 14.2, 15.1, 23.2, 26.2, 27.6, 32.3, 32.4, 37.2, 37.3, 40.2-5, 42.2 (bis), 45.8, 49.2, 49.5, 55.4, 55.21, 56.3, 60.3, 67.6, 67.11, 76.3, 78.1, 84.4, 85.16, 94.3 (bis), 95.3, 100.2, 101.2, 105.i.1, 105.i.3, 105.ii.ii, 105.ii.vi, 115.16, 116.8, 120.10, 124.22, 125.4, 128.6
- tē<sup>2</sup> conj. (= te < tathāpi) 'and': 118.4
- teta pronom.adj. (from eta with correl. t- ?) 'so much': 7.3
- tero/-e/-ī cf. tū/tū
- telu n.m. (taila-) 'oil': 27.3
- taise pronom.adv. (tādrśa-) 'thus, in such a way': 5.3; ~hī, 96.2, 115.14
- to conj. (tatas) 'if, then, but': 81.2, 94.4
- to(hī) cf. tū/tū
- tor- v.t. (trotayati) 'break': -i, 23.4, 77.4; -ī, 10.3
- tol- v.t. (tolayati) 'weigh': -a, 93.4; -ī, 118.13
- tras- v.i. (S.) 'fear': -u, 128.7
- trāhi v. imper. (S., trai) 'protect, save': 105.ii.vii (rep.)
- triguna adj. (S.) 'threefold': 105.ii.iii
- t(r)inu n.m. (= trna-) 'blade of grass, straw': 23.4\*; tinu, 77.4
- tripati n.f. (= trpti-) 'satisfaction': 1.15
- tribalī adj. (S.) 'threefold': ~ rekhā 'three lines (or creases in the skin round the neck)', 116.21
- tribhamgī adj. (S.) 'bent in three places' (epithet of Kṛṣṇa, referring to his way of standing with neck, waist and ankle bent): 71.1, 116.32; -a (r.) 101.3

- tribhuvana n.m. (S.) 'the three worlds': 51.3, 82.4, 92.4, 115.9;  
cf. bhuvana
- triyā n.f. (stri-) 'woman': 6.4
- trividha adj. (S.) 'threefold': 52.3\*, 57.7; cf. IV.3.3.1.11
- tretā n.f. (S.) 'age of triads' (the second or silver age):  
12.8
- trailoka n.m. (S.) 'the three worlds': 1.4
- thakita adj. (pseudo-S. pp. fr. thak- < \*sthakk-) 'motionless':  
69.2
- thī- v.i. (sthita- or sthiyate) 'be, become': -vē, 118.4
- thori adj., f. (stokā-) 'small': 10.1, 31.3, 50.5, 103.5;  
tholi, 118.9
- thaĩ/theĩ a dance term (bol), used when calling out dance steps;  
occurring (with or without tata, another bol) in the  
following combinations: tata thaĩ, 58.1, 67.12 (rep.);  
tata theĩ, 86.3; tata teĩ theĩ, 88.1; thaĩ thaĩ, 3.23,  
3.27, 4.20/21, 23.2, 30.4, 38.1, 45.6, 46.3, 60.3;  
thaĩ thaĩ tata thaĩ, 10.1; cf. V.2.2. p. 172
- damḍa n.m. (S.) 'stick, punishment': 8.3\*, 43.3
- dadhi n.m. (= udadhi-) 'sea, ocean': 119.2; + suta, 'moon',  
14.5, 116.24
- dapha n.m. (Ar. daffun) 'tambour; a kind of bass tambourine  
without cymbals': 38.6
- darap- v.i. (formed fr. darpa- ?) 'be afraid': -yo, 105.ii.viii
- darapanu n.m. (= darpana-) 'mirror': 9.3
- darasa n.m. (= darśa-) 'sight, glimpse': 14.2
- darasana n.m. (= darśana-) 'sight, seeing': 67.7, 73.1, 100.1,  
107.2
- dala n.m. (S.) 'band, detachment, petal': 28.2, 48.3, 68.2,  
85.4, 111.3; -u, 24.6
- dasa n. & adj. (daśa) 'ten': 31.2, 93.4
- dasana n.m. (daśana-) 'tooth': 116.17, 120.5, 124.14
- dah- v.i. (dahati) 'burn': -ata, 101.3
- dahana n.m. (S.) 'fire, burning': 116.22
- dahĩ n.m. (dadhi-) 'curd, thick sour milk': 71.10; cf. dahyo

<u>dahyo</u>	n.m. (variant of prec.) same as prec.: 27.4, 29.5
<u>dā</u>	gen.postp.: 114.1; voc. <u>dyā</u> , 111.1
<u>dāg-</u>	v.t. (Pers. <u>dāg</u> ) 'mark, stain': - <u>ye</u> , 64.2
<u>dāna</u>	n.m. (S.) 'gift': - <u>u</u> , 4.11, 7.6, 20.2, 61.6
<u>dāma</u>	n.m. (= <u>dāman-</u> ) 'gift': 8.3*, 43.3, 120.2
<u>dāmuni</u>	n.f. (= <u>dāmini-</u> ) 'lightning': 2.7, 3.30, 5.3, 15.6, 24.4, 63.2, 75.3, 80.2, 87.4, 117.6; cf. IV.3.3.2.3
<u>dāsī</u>	n.f. (S.) 'female servant': 29.3
<u>dikhā-</u>	v.t. (caus. fr. <u>dekh-</u> ) 'show': -( <u>ā</u> ) <u>u</u> , 2.5; - <u>vata</u> , 80.4; - <u>ve</u> , 49.1, 49.6; - <u>vō</u> , 2.4
<u>dikharā-</u>	v.t. (ext. form of prec.) 'show': - <u>vata</u> , (88.2), [88.4]
<u>dina</u>	n.m. (S.) 'day': 124.23, 127.4 (rep.), 128.3
<u>dinakara</u>	n.m. (S.) 'sun': 2.13
<u>divasa</u>	n.m. (S.) 'day': 71.2
<u>disā</u>	n.f. ( <u>diś-</u> ) 'direction': 48.4, 93.4
<u>dīna</u>	adj. (S.) 'depressed, miserable, poor': 1.3, 4.13/18, 7.5, 18.2; - <u>ā</u> (r.), 1.2, 115.11
<u>dīnatā</u>	n.f. (formed fr. prec.) 'humility, wretchedness': 41.1
<u>dīpaka</u>	n.m. (S.) 'lamp': 85.13/18
<u>dīragha</u>	n.m. (formed fr. adj. <u>dīrgha-</u> ) 'steadfastness, concentration': 76.3, 116.13
<u>dīs-</u>	v.i. ( <u>drśyate</u> ) 'be seen, appear': - <u>e</u> , 27.6
<u>dui</u>	cf. <u>dōū</u>
<u>dukha</u>	n.m. ( <u>dukhā-</u> ) 'pain, sorrow': 13.3; - <u>u</u> , 20.3, 32.2, 71.3, 71.10, 105.i.1, 105.ii.vi
<u>duti</u>	n.f. (= <u>dyuti-</u> ) 'brightness': 2.8, 2.16, 2.24, 2.32, 76.3, 79.3, 81.4, 102.2; <u>ati-</u> , 90.2, 116.17
<u>dutiya</u>	n.f. (= <u>dvitīyā-</u> ) '(the crescent moon on the) second day of the lunar fortnight': 116.24
<u>dur-</u>	v.i. ( <u>dūra-</u> ) 'hide, be hidden': - <u>ata</u> , 113.2; - <u>atu</u> , 94.4; - <u>i</u> , 2.14, 66.1, 82.3; - <u>ī</u> , 3.38; cf. <u>dūri</u>
<u>durā-</u>	v.t. (caus. fr. prec.) 'hide, conceal': - <u>i</u> , 101.2
<u>dularī</u>	n.f. & adj. (<* <u>du</u> + * <u>lada-</u> ?) 'double strand(ed)': 2.23, 68.9, 85.15, 116.21, 123.4

- dulahanī n.f. (formed fr. n.m. dūlahā, q.v.) 'bride': 1.17, 3.14, 54.1, 75.4, 88.2, 107.8, 115.15
- dulāro n.m. (<dul/dus + \*lād(y)a- ?) 'darling child': 57.1; -ī, 5.6, 23.1, 61.1, 84.4, 85.14, 85.15; -e, 71.11
- duh- v.t. (\*duhati) 'milk': -o, 29.2
- dūtī n.f. (S.) 'female messenger, go-between': 1.14, 116.29
- dūdhā n.m. (dugdha-) 'milk': 31.6, 71.10; -u, 29.2, 59.2, 71.10, 118.5, 118.10, 123.5, 125.3
- dūri (cf. IV.3.3.1.11, fn.10) + kar-, 'put away, dispel': 1.7/12, 4.8
- dūlahā n.m. (durlabha-) 'bridegroom': 3.14, 20.4, 71.14, 122.8
- drgana cf. driga
- de v.t. (dadāti) 'give': -ta, 16.3, 19.6, 70.14; -vā, 118.1; -hu, 127.1 (rep.); dīē, 7.2, 120.5; dīo, 47.4; dījīe, 107.3; dīje, 4.11, 7.6, 14.4, 20.2, 22.6, 42.1, 51.3, 61.6, 99.2; dīnā, 11.5, 71.3; dīnī, 41.1, 117.10, 124.19; dīne, 72.6; dīno, 112.3, 123.1, 124.14
- dekh- v.i. & t. (\*deksati) 'see': -ata, 10.3, 11.10, 30.6, 69.1, 71.7, 71.10, 86.4, 114.3, 120.8; -ana, 115.20; -i, 2.12, 2.13, 3.28, 4.22, 23.3, 28.4, 44.4, 55.10, 70.18, 72.5, 75.2, 84.4, (rep.), 86.4, 117.14, 118.2 (rep.), 124.16 (rep.); -ī, 62.2, 67.18, 76.1, 81.2, 94.3, 120.6, 124.8; -o, 102.1; -ye, 45.8, 47.1, 71.5, 105.i.1, 105.ii.1; -yē, 9.14, 93.2, 104.4; -yo, 26.4, 43.2, 83.1, 124.10, 124.24
- deva n.m. (S.) 'god': 105.ii.1 (rep.)
- deha n.m. (S.) 'body': 56.5; -ī (r.), 115.20
- daita n.m. (= daitya-) 'demon': 118.6
- do postp. 'towards': 122.10
- dōū n. & adj. (dva-) 'two': 1.17, 1.19/24, 3.1, 3.5, 3.13, 3.37, 4.14, 4.19/24, 10.1, 11.1, 12.1, 15.1, 17.2, 36.4, 55.17, 60.8, 62.1, 69.4, 70.17, 100.4, 124.4, 127.4; dui, 56.5, 70.10, (74.3), 81.3, 105.ii.1; cf. V.2.2 p. 173
- dolī n.f. (dimin. fr. \*dola- ?) 'pot': 118.10
- doṣa n.m. (S.) 'fault, offence': -u, 44.2
- daur- v.i. (dravati) 'run': -ata, 52.6; -i, 124.20; -yo, 32.3
- dyā cf. dā

- driga n.m. (= dr̥g-) 'eye': 49.3, 68.8, 74.4; dr̥gana, 74.3
- dridha adj. (= dr̥dha-) 'firm': 128.8
- dr̥ṣṭi n.f. (= dr̥ṣṭi-) 'sight': 19.2, 34.1 (rep.)
- druma n.m. (S.) 'tree': 3.24, 3.29, 3.39, 17.4, 21.4, 45.4, 57.7, 60.7, 67.16, 69.2
- dvāra n.m. (S.) 'door': 20.2; -e, 118.7
- dhamdhā n.m. (dhandha-) 'business, work, chore': 45.8
- dhana n.m. (S.) 'wealth': 5.2, 90.4
- dhanuṣa n.m. (S.) 'bow': 2.15, 9.9, 68.4; cf. IV.3.3.2.5
- dhanya adj. (S.) used as a blessing 'be fortunate': -u, 125.1
- dhar- v.t. (dharati) 'hold, support, place': -ata, 46.3, 62.3; -i, 1.13/18, 2.11, 4.7/12, 14.7, 27.4, 28.3, 35.2, 67.13, 68.4, 74.3, 105.i.1, 105.ii.ii, 105.ii.iii, 107.2, 115.1, 115.10, 116.6, 117.7, 120.18, 122.7, 128.3, 128.4; -ī, 3.17, 54.3, 92.4; -e, 124.7; -ē, 4.16, 29.2, 46.2, 124.18; -ō, 28.3; -yo, 110.4; cf. dharā-
- dharani<sup>1</sup> adj.,f. (= dharanī) 'possessing': 1.1/6
- dharani<sup>2</sup> n.f. (= dharanī-) 'earth, ground': 1.23; -a, 119.3
- dharā- v.t. (variant form of dhar-) 'hold, support': -vahī, 2.16; -āve, 50.3
- dhātā n.m. (S.) 'founder, supporter' (epithet of Brahmā): 115.9
- dhāma n.m. (S.) 'abode': 53.5, 81.3, 105.i.3
- dhār- v.t. (dhārayati) 'hold, support, maintain, place': -ata, 1.9, 24.2, 59.4; -i, 2.28, 3.13, 4.19/24, 7.5; -ike, 105.ii.v; -ī, 33.3, 58.5, 60.5, 67.10, 75.4, 76.3, 84.3, 90.2, 95.3, 102.3, 114.4, 116.7, 116.17, 124.2; -e, 2.22, 9.7, 13.3, 50.4, 120.4, 124.16, 125.3; -ē, 116.11; -o, 65.4, 116.2
- dhārā n.f. (S.) 'stream, flood, rim, edge': 70.16, 116.24
- dhīra n.m. (S.) 'resolve, patience, composure': 1.8, 1.9, 1.16, 2.16, 2.25, 50.3, 124.16
- dhīraja n.m. or f. (dhīrya-) 'firmness of mind': 29.2
- dhuni n.f. (= dhuni-/dhvani-) 'sound': 1.17, 3.7, 19.2, 24.3, 35.4, 47.6, 58.5, 60.5, 67.6, 67.10, 68.7, 70.13, 103.5, 123.3, 124.9
- dhūmari n.f. (dhūmra-) 'smoke-coloured, dusky' (name for a cow): 78.2

- dhūsara adj. (S.) 'dusty': 78.3
- dhenu n.f. (S.) 'cow': 114.3
- dhoriī n.f. (dhavala-, rather than n.m. <dhaurēya-) 'white, light grey' (name for a cow): 78.2
- dhyā- v.i. & t. (dhyāyati/dhiyāyati) 'meditate upon':  
-vē, 115.9
- dhyāna n.m. (S.) 'meditation, reflection': -u, 4.7/12, 46.3, 75.3
- na negative particle (S.) 'not': 2.2, 2.25, 4.10, 5.5, 6.4, 7.1, 7.4, 8.1, 8.2 (bis), 9.13, 11.11, 13.3, 21.2, 24.2, 26.2, 26.3, 26.4, 26.6, 34.3, 35.3, 35.5, 37.3, 43.2 (bis), 49.3, 51.1, 51.2, 51.4, 52.2, 54.3, 54.4, 55.16, 56.2, 59.4, 60.4, (61.6), 62.1, 62.2, 64.3, 65.2, 66.2, 67.2, 68.6, 68.12, 70.20, 71.2, 71.7, 71.9, 71.11, 71.13, 77.3, 82.1, 83.2, 93.2, 94.3, 94.4, 95.1, 97.3, 100.1, 101.1, 105.i.1, 105.ii.viii, 106.4, 108.1, 108.3, 108.4, 108.5, 112.4, 115.13, 116.14, 116.30, 118.13, 120.1, 120.2, 120.3, 120.6, 120.7 (ter), 120.13, 120.15, 124.8, 124.13, 124.15, 124.18, 126.1; nā, 106.1, 108.3
- naī, nae cf. nayo
- namda n.m. (S.) Nanda (foster father of Kṛṣṇa): 28.2, 71.12, 111.1; used in combination with various terms as an epithet for Kṛṣṇa, viz. + kisora, dhātōnā, dulāro, namdana, namdā, nāgara, lāla, 2.25, 3.4, 32.8, 45.1, 55.6/12/18/24, 57.1, 57.4, 59.2, 70.1, 71.11, 72.5, 111.8, 114.4, 118.6
- namdana n.m. (S.) 'son': 32.8, 57.4, 59.2, 72.5; -ā, 70.1; -u, 118.6
- namdā n.m. (=nandin-, with -ā for rhyme) 'son': 45.1 (rep.)
- namdiniī n.f. (=nandinī-) 'daughter': 82.2
- naksatra n.m. (S.) heavenly body, stars, asterism: 55.2, 83.3
- nakha n.m. (S.) 'toenail', used in combination with sikha (=śikhā-, 'topknot') to mean 'from head to toe': 1.22, 12.6, 103.2, 116.28, 126.2
- nacā- v.t. (caus fr. nāc-) 'make dance': -vata, 88.2
- nata n.m. (S.) 'actor, dancer, strolling player': 42.4, 70.17, 88.2; -u, 5.6
- nabha n.m. (S.) 'sky': 8.3, 11.7, 70.19
- nayo adj. (naviya-) 'new': 49.6 (rep.); naī, 76.1, 81.2, 86.3 (rep.), 88.2 (rep.), 113.2 (rep.); nae, 64.3, 80.2 (rep.)

- nara n.m. (S.) 'man': 9.6, 12.7
- naraga n.m. (= naraka-) 'hell': 128.8
- nava adj. (S.) 'new, fresh': 3.2, 3.32, 12.1, 52.3, 58.1, 58.1, 87.3
- navanīta n.m. (S.) 'fresh butter': 29.3
- navaramgī adj. & n.m. (fr. navarāṅga-? 'a kind of multicoloured garment') an expression for a dandy or colourful person who dresses to make himself attractive to the opposite sex: 71.1
- navala adj. (\*navalla-) 'new, fresh, youthful': 3.9, 3.32, 3.38, 20.1, 20.4, 23.1, 48.1, 52.2, 56.1, 61.1, 73.2, 77.1, 79.4, 86.1, 91.2, 103.1, 104.4, 115.19, 117.4, 124.1; navelī (f., r.) 117.15
- navasata adj. (< nava + sata < saptā) 'sixteen' (referring to the sixteen kinds of śrṅgāra, viz. śauca, ubatana, snāna, keśabandhana, angarāga, añjana, jāvaka, dantarañjana, tāmbūla, vasana, bhūsana, sugandha, puspahāra, kuṅkuma, bhālatilaka, cibukabindu): 3.11, 3.16, 3.17, 11.8, 18.4, 30.2, 55.11, 80.3, 85.15, 102.2, 104.2, 116.5
- navinī adj. (S., with f. -ī) 'new, fresh': 116.3
- navelī cf. navala
- nasu n.m. (= naśa-) 'ruin, destruction': 128.6
- nahī, nāhī, nāhī, nāhina, nāhina adv. (< nahi) 'not': nahī, 1.8, 1.9, 1.23, 2.10, 3.28, 5.1, 6.4, 13.3, 26.4, 27.2, 27.6, 28.3, 42.1, 43.3, 44.2, 46.3, 49.4, 50.7, 59.3, 70.6, 85.23, 90.3, 94.3, 97.2, 97.3, 99.3, 101.4, 109.3, 113.2, 124.16; nāhī/nāhī, 1.9, 1.16, 2.16, 4.17, 14.8, 25.3, 29.2, 31.2, 37.2, 46.3, 56.7, 57.2, 57.7, 63.3, 67.15, 70.13, 71.5, 95.2, 98.3, 115.18, 119.4; nāhina/nāhina, 1.15, 8.4, 20.5, 23.4, 43.4, 50.2, 116.34, 128.8
- nā cf. na
- nāika n.m. (= nāyaka-) 'leader, hero (in drama): 121.4
- nāikā n.f. (= nāyikā-) 'heroine (in drama), noble lady, mistress, courtesan': 83.2
- nā acc./dat. postp.: 118.4; cf. VI.17, fn. 13
- nāu cf. 98.2 fn.
- nāhina cf. nahī etc.
- nāka n.m. (S.) 'heaven': 3.28
- nāgara adj. & n.m. (S.) 'town-born, urbane, clever': 3.4, 55.6/12/18/24; 67.11; -u, 65.1

- nāgarī adj. & n.f. (S.) f. of prec.: 50.6, 55.19, 72.3, 90.4, 94.3, 116.1, 117.11
- nāc- v.i. & t. (nṛtyati) 'dance': -ata, 3.22, 5.27, 10.1, 38.2, 45.6, 52.6, 55.17, 58.1, 67.14, 86.3, 96.4, 103.4, 111.6, 122.5; -ē, 53.2
- nātha n.m. (S.) 'lord': 105.ii.i
- nānā adj. & adv. (S.) 'different(ly), various(ly)': 3.6, 57.7
- nānī adj., f. (// nanhī/nannī < ślakṣṇa-) 'small, tiny, delicate': 124.3
- nāma n.m. (S.) 'name': -u, 12.3; cf. 98.2 fn.
- nārī n.f. (S.) 'woman': 12.7, 27.1, 57.9, 67.6, 96.1
- nāli postp. 'with': 122.1
- nāsā n.f. (S.) 'nose': 2.20, 9.7, 11.6, 50.5, 68.9, 112.3, 123.4
- nāsikā n.f. (S.) 'nostril, nose': 116.15
- nāhī, nāhina cf. nahī etc.
- nimda adj. (formed fr. nindā-) 'blameworthy': 105.ii.vi
- nikamdana adj. (S.) 'confounding, destroying': -u, 118.6
- nikas- v.i. (\*niṣkasati) 'go out, come out': -ata, 82.3, 97.5; -i, 35.3
- nikāī n.f. (formed fr. adj. nikā < nikta-) 'clarity, beauty': 62.1, 112.4, 120.14
- nicor- v.t. (\*niścotayati) 'wring, squeeze, press out': -i, 107.3
- niju adj. (= nija-) 'innate, one's own, constant': 1.23, 41.2, 45.8, 56.5, 107.5, 128.3
- nithura adj. (niṣthura-) 'hard, cruel': 71.13
- nit(y)a adj. & adv. (S.) 'continual(ly)': 70.10, 71.12, 110.4, 115.22, 128.5; + prati, 125.4; cf. V.2.5
- nidhāna n.m. (S.) 'residence, receptacle': 37.3
- nidhi n.m. (S.) 'treasure': 100.3
- niber- v.t. (< nirvrta-, or a dialectal form allied to Sindhi niberanu < \*nirvarati) 'settle, put an end to': -ī, 22.3



- nirakh- v.t. (nirīksate) 'look at': -ata, 3.37, 11.11, 12.4, 19.5, 28.1 (~hi), 52.8, 70.15, 78.6, 79.4, 91.1, 104.2, 126.1; -i, 1.2, 1.3, 1.8, 1.15, 2.8/16/24/32, 2.14, 13.6 (rep.), 14.8, 34.6, 35.8, 36.4, 38.8, 47.7 (rep.), 53.5, 55.6/12/18/24, 57.4, 57.10 (rep.); 58.7, 60.7, 67.16, 68.8 (rep.), 70.21 (rep.), 83.4 (rep.), 85.17 (rep.), 85.21 (rep.), 98.3, 99.4, 110.3 (rep.), 111.9 (rep.), 116.34; -ike, 1.10; -ikē, 2.2, 2.25; -ī, 2.17; nirikhi, 33.4
- nir(a)t- v.i. (= nrt) 'dance': -ata, 53.1, 88.4; cf. V.2.5
- niradaya adj. (= nirdaya-) 'pitiless, cruel': 71.7
- niranau n.m. (= nirṇaya-) 'decision, settlement, consideration': 115.13
- nirāri adj., f. (\*nirālaya-) 'unequaled, separate, unique': 85.17
- nivār- v.t. (nivārayati) 'ward off, restrain': -i, 108.2; -ī, 60.7; -ye, 115.4
- nisamga adj. (= nihsamga-) 'indifferent to worldly attachment, carefree': 67.9
- nisā n.f. (niśā-) 'night': 15.2, 16.5, 48.2, 54.1, 62.3, 66.2, 74.3, 116.8
- nisu n.f. (niśā-) 'night': 27.2, 36.3, 39.1, 48.1, 51.4, 63.1, 76.2, 85.2, 89.1, 106.2, 113.3
- nihachāvāra n.m. (HSS: nyāsāvartta-; Platts: niyam + ksaya + vara) 'offering (made by waving offered object around the head of the recipient)': 19.6
- nihār- v.t. (\*nibhārayati) 'look for, expect': -a, 49.3; -ata, 51.3; -i, 4.23, 72.3, 77.4, 108.4, 119.1 (rep.); -e, 9.3, 64.1, 71.6; -ē, 116.12, 124.15; -ye, 42.4, 115.3, 120.3; -yo, 33.5
- nihāla adj. (Platts: Pk. nehaālo) 'sated, exalted': 12.4, 38.8
- nīke adv. (obl. of adj. <nikta-) 'well': 116.25; ~hī, 39.1, 63.1
- nīce/nīcē adv. (nīca-) 'below, down': 109.2, 113.3, 124.13
- nītina (?) cf. 14.3 fn.
- nīda n.f. (nidrā-) 'sleep': 71.2
- nīra n.m. (S.) 'water': 14.6
- nīlāmbara n.m. (S.) 'blue garment': 11.3
- nūpara n.m. (= nūpara-) 'anklet': 2.31, 3.22, 3.27, 10.3, 22.4, 38.1, 47.6, 50.7, 67.12, 68.11, 70.12, 102.4, 107.10, 108.5, 116.27, 122.5

- neku adv. (<na + eka ?) 'a little, somewhat': 14.2, 33.5, 61.2, 92.1 (rep.), 107.1, 109.4, 120.3
- nerē adv. (nikatam) 'near': 40.3
- neha n.m. (sneha-) 'love': 1.21, 14.6, 49.5, 110.3; -u, 4.14
- neharā n.m. (as prec. with ext.) 'love': 93.1
- naina n.m. (= nayana-) 'eye': 1.7/12, 2.1, 2.4, 2.15, 3.31, 3.35, 12.5, 15.2, 16.2, 22.2, 33.6, 34.2, 35.8, 36.1, 38.5, 39.2, 42.2, 47.1, 50.4, 51.3, 57.4, 63.1, 67.13 (rep.), 68.4, 70.4 (bis), 77.3, 78.4, 81.2, 85.1/6, 91.4, 107.7, 109.2, 110.3, 112.2, 113.3, 118.9, 119.6, 120.3, 122.2, 124.13; -ā, 101.2, 108.6, 116.13, 120.11; -na, 9.8, 11.5, 19.2, 28.5, 50.3, 105.i.2, 112.2, 115.16, 121.4, 123.1, 125.2; nainana sō nainā, 62.3, 79.3, 106.1
- nautana adj. (= nūtana-) 'fresh, new': 23.2, 60.3
- nyāi postp. (jñāyate) 'like, as if': kī +, 11.7
- nyārā adj. (\*anyākāra-) 'different, special': 68.12; -ī, 5.4, 22.1, 23.2, 24.6, 27.6, 28.2, 37.2, 48.4, 58.1, 60.3, 61.6, 70.14, 76.3, 88.1, 96.2, 99.3, 102.2, 105.i.2, 109.3; -e, 50.2, 85.23
- paṁkaja n.m. (S.) 'lotus': 12.5, 97.2; cf. IV.3.4.1
- paṁkha n.m. (paṁsā- × paṁkha- ?) 'wing, feather': 118.12; -u, 78.4
- paṁkhī n.m. (paṁsin-) 'bird': 3.38, 115.8
- paṁca adj. (S.) 'five': 116.22
- paṁtha n.m. (paṁthā-) 'path': -u, 7.5
- paṁkar- v.t. (\*paṁkad-) 'seize, grasp': -ike, 74.2
- paṁkhamḍa n.m. (= paṁkhamḍa-/paṁsaṁḍa-) 'heresy, impiety': 105.ii.ii, 128.7
- paṁkhāu n.m. (<\*paṁsātodya- ?) 'drum': 30.3, 45.5, 60.5, 103.5
- paṁg- cf. paṁg-
- paṁga n.m. (paṁga-) 'foot': 47.6, 50.7, 68.11, 108.5; -u, 34.3, 35.5, 59.4, 124.7
- paṁci cf. paṁci-
- paṁchān- cf. paṁchān-

- paṭa n.m. (S.) 'cloth, veil': 7.2; -u, 91.2; cf. am̐tarapaṭa
- paḍi cf. par-
- paṭanī n.f. (= paṭnī-) 'wife, mistress': 80.3
- paṭi n.m. (S.) 'master, husband': 14.3, 14.4, 35.6, 67.3; -ī (metr.?), 105.ii.i; cf. ratipaṭi, brajapaṭi
- paṭīj- v.i. (pratyāyati) 'trust, be convinced': -e, 115.14, 120.2
- paṭra n.m. (S.) 'leaf': 70.7
- par- v.i. (paṭati) 'fall': -ata, 12.5, 12.7, 19.5, 62.1, 79.4, 86.4, 108.3; -ati, 8.2, 38.4; -atu, 94.2; -i, 43.2, 123.2 (-d-); -ī, 36.3, 40.4, 54.3, 70.11, 73.4, 75.1, 93.3, 97.2, 107.8, 119.3; -e, 35.3, 35.5, 66.2, 93.2; -ē, 46.2; -ye, 34.1 (rep.), 45.7, 48.4, 64.4, 91.4, 119.4; -yo, 25.2, 49.4, 55.22, 93.2, 110.1, 116.18, 124.23
- parachāī n.f. (praticchāyā-) 'reflection, shadow': 94.2
- parabasi adj. (= paravaśa-) 'subject to another's will, subservient': 2.18
- parama~ adj. used as prefix (S.) 'supreme': + uchāu, 128.4; ~kela rati, 58.8; ~bilāsi, 55.3; ~moda, 3.40; ~samāja, 18.3; ~sukhu, 32.8, 70.20; ~hita, 55.9; ~heta, 56.4
- parasana n.f. (<sparśana-) 'touch': 73.2, 100.2
- parasapara adj. & adv. (= paraspara-) 'mutual(ly), reciprocal(ly)': 3.12, 17.4, 24.4, 52.7, 60.6, 67.13, 70.10, 89.4, 98.2, 102.2, 103.2, 106.2, 122.7; -i, 15.5
- pari postp. (\*uppari) 'on': 3.10/20/30/40, 3.13, 3.17, 4.19/24, 24.5, 50.4, 54.3, 74.1, 98.4, 102.3, 116.23; cf. ūpari
- pala n.m., also used as adv. (S.) 'moment, instant, for a moment': -u, 28.3, 50.2, 68.12, 85.23; 'eyelid' (= palaka-); -u, 106.1; pala sō palu, 39.3, 64.3, 65.2, 113.3
- palaka n.m. (S.) 'eyelid': + oṭa 'in the twinkling of an eye', 25.4; -i oṭa, 4.4
- palane n.m., obl.sg. (<palyānka- ?) 'in the cradle': 125.3
- pallava n.m. (S.) 'bud': 70.7
- pavana n.m. (S.) 'wind, breeze': 14.7, 66.4, 67.5, 80.2, 85.9; -u, 96.3, 127.2; trividha (cf.67.5), 52.3, 57.7
- pasar- v.i. (prasarati) 'stretch, spread': -ī, 8.3, 105.ii.iii; -yo, 115.6

- pasarā- v.t. (caus. fr. prec.) 'spread out, stretch out':  
-ī, 120.10; -nī, 124.22, 126.4
- pasār- v.t. (prasārayati) 'spread out': -i, 119.3
- pasu n.m. (= paśu-) 'beast, animal': 38.8
- pahir- v.t. (paridadhāti) 'wear, put on': -ye, 70.8, 85.16
- pā- v.t. (prāpayati) 'obtains, finds': -i, 46.4; -ī, 35.4, 78.5, 94.3, 95.2; -(ā)udā, 111.6; -e, 63.2, 81.3, 85.16, 124.19; -yo, 27.7, 32.8, 95.3, 117.8; -vata, 17.2, 79.3, 86.1, 123.4; -vahe, 2.19; -ve, 13.3, 19.3, 22.4, 49.4, 82.2, 100.1, 104.1, 105.ii.vi, 116.19, 116.33; -vē, 50.6; -vō, 57.4, 71.10, 85.21
- pāī n.m. (pāda-) 'foot': 25.2; pāina, 43.2; pāina, 8.2, pāi(na), 108.3
- pāta n.f. (pañkti-) 'row': 15.3
- pāg- v.i. (Smith: pragāhate) 'be steeped in': -ī, 55.15; -ye, 64.4; variant stem pag-: -atu, 106.3; -yo, 93.4
- pāga n.f. (\*paggā-) 'turban': 33.3, 78.3
- pāchē adv. & postp. (\*paśca-) 'behind, after': 33.7, 72.4, 78.2, 83.3, 110.2, 124.11, 124.17
- pāna n.m. (= pāni-) 'hand': 70.6
- pātana n.m., obl.pl. (<pāta-) 'the fallen, downcast': 127.3
- pānī n.m. (pāniya-) 'water': 115.16, 126.3\*
- pāra n.m. (S.) 'the further bank or shore': -u, 49.4
- pika n.m. (S.) 'cuckoo' (*Cuculus indicus*): 3.3, 31.4, 55.5, 67.4, 69.3, 70.13
- picakāī n.f. (formed fr. v.t. picak- <piccayati ?) 'syringe (used for squirting coloured water during the Holi festival)': 52.5
- pichorī n.f. (\*paścapāta-) 'head-kerchief, shawl or a garment for children worn round the waist, (cf. Sūrasāgara 464.5): 11.3, 50.5
- pighūde n.m., obl.sg. (preṅkhola-, cf. preṅkha-) 'cradle': 118.3
- pita n.m. (= pitā) 'father': 14.3
- pīya n.m. (priya-) 'beloved, lover': 1.2, 3.17, 4.1/6, 6.1, 6.6, 7.4, 8.1, 11.3-9, 13.1, 14.8, 20.6, 22.1, 23.4, 25.4, 39.4, 40.5, 41.1, 41.3, 47.1, 48.1, 49.3, 54.3, 55.1, 56.1, 58.5, 61.1, 63.1, 64.1, 65.4, 66.1, (66.3),

69.5, 70.1, 74.2, 76.3, 81.4, 85.3, 85.10, 88.1, 89.3, 92.1, 93.4, 96.1, 100.1, 102.1, 103.3, 104.1, 105.i.1, 105.i.4, 106.1, 107.5, 107.6, 113.4, 117.5, 117.11, 119.6, 124.11; -ā, 117.10; piu, 71.5, 91.1, 121.1; cf. priya

- pilā- v.t. (caus. fr. pī-) 'give to drink': -vō, 71.11
- pivā- v.t. (variant of prec.) 'give to drink': -i, 118.5; -vata, 125.3
- pī- v.t. (pibati) 'drink': -o, 59.2; -je, 20.6; -na, 1.21(r.) -ne, 72.4; -no, 112.4, 123.5; -vata, 126.3; -ve, 118.10
- piu cf. piya
- pī(ya) pī(ya) onom. for bird song: 70.13
- pika r.f. (\*pikkā-) 'saliva (esp. when stained with betel)': 39.1, 64.2
- pita adj. (S.) 'yellow': 2.7, 11.3, 34.7, 47.5, 50.5, 68.5, 20.3, 112.3
- pītāmbara r.m. (S.) 'yellow garment': 33.3, 114.4
- pīra r.f. (pīdā-) 'pain, anxiety': 28.6
- pīrī adj.,f. (pītala-) 'yellow': 49.1
- pumja r.m. (S.) 'heap, mass': 3.1, 4.21; -ē (r.), 1.17, 46.1
- pukār- v.i. & t. (\*pukkār-) 'shout, call': -i, 119.2 (rep.)
- puravāsī adj. (S.) 'town-dwelling': 12.7
- pulika adj. (= pulaka- with -ika as metathesis of -aki, anal. absol. formation after musaki ?) 'bristling with delight': 50.2 (rep.)
- pulina r.m. (S.) 'sandbank': 30.4, 60.2
- pūch- v.t. (prcchati) 'ask': -a, 27.4; -ati, 71.4; -i, 71.9
- pūta r.m. (putra-) 'son': 14.6, 118.5 (su-)
- pūrana adj. (= pūrṇa-) 'full': 3.18, 30.2, 44.2, 50.5; -u, 4.4, 4.22, 50.4
- pē cf. pai etc.
- pera r.m. (// pair < \*padada-) 'foot': 118.8
- perē r.m., obl.sg. (\*padada- or \*padadaṇḍa-) 'path': 40.4
- pel- v.t. (\*prelayati) 'penetrate, push into': -ahī, 3.9

- pai/pahi/paī/pē postp. (< prati ?) 'to towards' (for uses cf. VI.3): pai, 2.30, 101.4, 117.11; pahi, 105.i.1; paī, 26.1, 59.3, 61.1; pē, 63.4, 112.4, 115.1
- paichān- v.t. (pratyabhijānāti) 'recognise': -ye, 64.1; pachānye, 116.31
- pais- v.i. & t. (praviśati) 'enter': -ata, 82.3
- podh- cf. paudh-
- pota n.m. (\*pottī-) 'glass bead': 2.23
- pothī n.f. (\*postaka-) 'book': 71.9
- paudh- v.i. (pravardhate) 'recline': -ī, 89.1 (-o-), 120.16; -ye, 48.1
- pyāro adj. & n.m. (priyakāra-) 'beloved': 5.1, 37.4, 52.1, 57.1, 65.1, 79.2 (bis); -e, 1.3, 16.4, 39.4, 44.4, 49.7, 50.1 (rep.), 71.6, 85.11, 92.1, 112.2, 125.4
- pyārī adj. & n.f. (f. of prec.): 4.5/11/17/23, 5.1, 6.1, 8.1, 9.13, 11.4, 11.6-8, 13.1, 14.8, 16.4, 17.1, 20.5, 22.1, 23.4, 24.6, 25.1, 37.2, 37.4, 40.4, 41.1, 43.1, 43.4, 48.1, 54.1, 55.21, 58.2, 60.1, 62.4, 63.1, 64.4, 65.1, 66.1, 66.2, 67.11, 72.2, 74.1, 75.1, 77.4, 79.2, 80.4, 81.4, 83.2, 84.1, 85.2, 85.3, 88.3, 89.1, 90.1, 91.1, 94.1, 96.1, 99.1, 100.1, 102.1, 105.i.1, 106.1, 106.4, 107.1, 108.1, 108.5, 109.3, 110.1, 111.7, 115.2, 115.6, 115.10, 115.12, 116.1, 116.4, 120.10, 122.8, 124.12
- pyāsī adj. & n.f. (= pipāsin, cf. pyāsa < pipāsā-) '(one who is) thirsting for': 67.7, 73.1
- prakāre n.m., dir. pl. (= prakāra-) 'manners, ways': 125.5
- prakāsa n.m. (= prakāśa-) 'light, brightness': -ā (r.), 116.4; -u, 24.5; adj. f. -ī, 21.3, 55.2, 55.3
- pragaṭ- v.i. (formed fr. pragata-) 'appear, become manifest': -ye, 101.1; -yo, 11.7, 49.2
- pragaṭa adj. (= prakata-) 'apparent, manifest': -i, 16.5, 74.3; -u, 77.3, 116.8
- prati cf. nit(y)a
- pratipāla adj. (= pratipālin-) 'protecting': 122.9
- prathama adj. (S.) 'first': 87.2
- praphul(1)ita adj. (S.) 'blossoming': 3.6, 45.4, 52.3, 55.5, 58.4, 67.2, 96.2
- prabha n.m. (= prabhu-) 'lord': 2.29, 8.2, 109.4
- pramudita adj. (S.) 'delighted': 102.4 (ati-)

- pravāhu n.m. (S.) 'flow, flood, stream': 28.5
- pravīna adj. (= pravīna-) 'skilful, clever': 4.5, 4.16, 10.2, 38.3, 52.2, 83.2, 91.2, 95.4; -ā (r.), 1.5; -i, 5.5, 22.1 (mahā-), 26.5, 30.6, 55.22
- prasāda n.m. (S.) 'grace, favour, food received back after having been offered to a deity': -u, 46.4
- prācī adj., f. (S.) 'eastern': 48.4
- prāta adv. (= prātar) 'early in the morning, at daybreak': 15.1, 39.1 (~hu)
- prāna n.m. (= prāna-) 'breath of life, soul, being': 2.21, 4.5/11/17/23, 5.2, 19.6, 34.6, 37.3, 50.1, 56.5, 69.6, 71.6, 85.20/21, 115.19; -na, 125.4
- prānanātha n.m. (= prāna-) 'lord of life': 29.2
- priya n.m. (S.) 'beloved': 14.3; also 14.1 & 81.3, but perhaps intended for priyā; cf. piya
- priyā n.f. (S.) 'beloved': 1.1/6, 1.9, 1.22, 11.2, 11.9, 26.5, 40.2, 52.2, 69.5, 91.2, 95.4; cf. priya
- prītama n.m. (= priyatama-) 'most beloved, lover': 14.4, (95.4)
- prema n.m. (S.) 'love': 1.3, 1.4, 3.18, 3.22, 4.14, 10.1, 15.6, 36.3 (~hū), 44.1, 45.7, 46.4, 52.7, 53.2, 53.4, 70.7, 72.4, 74.1, 93.2, 107.8, 114.1, 119.1; -u, 4.15, 49.6, 55.14, 91.3, 124.21, 124.23; mahāprema, 27.5, 28.5; mahāpremu, 3.14
- prere n.m., obl.sg. (<prerana- ?) 'instigation, sending': 113.4
- phamda n.m. (spāśa- × bandha-) 'snare, trap': 93.2; -ā (r.), 67.8
- phab- v.i. (\*sparvati) 'be fitting, look good': -e, 68.5
- phāsī n.f. (spāśa-) 'fetter, noose': 67.8
- phir- v.i. (\*phirati) 'turn around, return': -ata, 59.3; -i (absol. as adv.), 3.28, 42.3
- phuni adv. (punar × \*phirati) 'again': 59.4, 69.2, 71.7, 77.3 (rep.)
- phulelu n.m. (\*phullataila-) 'oil of flowers, scent': 27.3
- phūl- v.i. (phullati) 'bloom, blossom': -i, 3.2, 46.2; -ī, 126.2; -ē, 53.3; -yā, 111.9; -ye, 57.7, 76.4; -yo, 30.5
- phūla- n.m. (phulla-) 'flower': 3.6, 70.16, 85.8/9; phula, 70.8

- pheri absol. as adv. (\*pherayati) 'turned': 120.13 (rep.)
- phaito n.m. (\*phetta-) 'strip of cloth' (used as a turban or tied round waist): 78.2
- phail- v.i. (Pk. pahia- ext. -lla-, < prathita-) 'spread': -a, 55.22, 70.11, 116.18; -yo, 60.6, 86.2, 96.4
- phailā- v.t. (caus. fr. prec.) 'spread': -yo, 56.6
- phod- v.t. (sphotayati) 'split, break': -yo, 85.4
- banda n.m. (Pers. band) 'belt, fastening, tie': 85.4
- bandhana n.m. (S., or obl.pl. of bandha) 'tether': 29.2
- bandhāna n.m. (S. ?) 'the first beat (sama) of a rhythmic cycle (tāla)': 23.3
- bamsī n.f. (vamsī-) 'flute': 35.1, 52.6, 55.4, 117.11
- baça n.m. (= vacas-) 'speech, talking': 4.9, 8.3 (v-), 13.5, 43.3, 43.4, 66.3, 101.3, 107.8, 115.4, 115.15, 116.29, 120.2, 126.3
- baçana n.m. (= vacana-) 'speaking, words': 4.13/18 (v-), 21.1, 106.3, 107.6, 124.17
- baçitra adj. (= vicitra-) 'colourful': 116.23
- baça n.m. (vatsa-) 'calf': 29.2
- baç- v.i. (vādyate) 'sound': -ata, 2.31, 38.6, 55.16, 70.16; cf. bāç-
- baçamtra n.m. (< vādyayantra- ?) 'musical instrument': 70.16
- baçitra n.m. (Smith: < vāditra- with anal. -j- fr. bāç-) 'musical instrument': 4.20, 52.6, 55.13, 57.5, 58.5
- baçā- v.t. (caus. fr. bāç-) 'sound, play (music)': -i, 2.6, 33.2, 92.1 (rep.); -i, 35.2, 52.6, 55.4, 78.6; -e, 111.5, 114.3; -yo, 117.13; -vata, 24.3, 67.10, 79.3, 88.1, 123.3; -vana, 55.13; -vahī, 4.20; -ve, 50.6; -vē, 53.2, 57.5; -vo, 117.10
- baça n.m. (= vaça-) 'banyan' (*Ficus indica*): 58.4, 67.2
- baça adj. (vadra-) 'great': 125.1; cf. vadabhāgī & IV.3.4.4
- baçh- v.i. (vardhate) 'increase': -e, 105.ii.vi; -yo, 1.3(-ā-), 17.4
- baçhā- v.t. (caus. fr. prec.) 'increase': -i, 4.15; -i, 52.7, 55.3; -yo, 55.9, 116.5; -vata, 91.3; -vahī, 3.40
- baçiyā cf. bāça<sup>1</sup>



- badana n.m. (= vadana-) 'face, mouth': 1.4, 7.2, 16.2, 51.2, 75.2, 76.4, 77.3, 79.3, 89.2, 104.3, 108.1, 116.4; -ī, adj. f., 6.5, 121.3; -u, 4.23, 9.3, 11.7; cf. baina
- ban- v.i. (vanati) 'be made, be fitting, look beautiful': -ata, 25.3, 61.6, 99.3; -ahi, 7.3; -i, 6.3, 9.14, 49.5; -ī, 2.9, 2.29, 24.1, 24.6, 60.1, 68.6, 73.2, 104.1, 104.4, 105.i.2, 116.28; -ye, 1.22, 2.7, 3.30, 62.1, 70.15, 96.1, 122.3; -ye thanye 'adorned and well set-up' 72.2, 106.1; -yo, 2.12, 52.1, 53.3, 118.12
- bana n.m. (= vana-) 'forest': 1.11, 4.13/18, 70.11, 70.16, 71.4, 75.1, 78.1, 87.1, 118.11
- banani n.f. (formed fr. ban-) 'scheme, ploy': 7.3\*
- banamālā n.f. (= vanamālā-) 'garland of forest flowers' (esp. as worn by Kṛṣṇa): 2.23, 11.8, 50.6
- banā- v.t. (caus. fr. ban-) 'make, make beautiful': -i, 2.15; -ī, 67.1 (rep.)/3, 78.3, 85.8/9; -u, 7.3; -e, 11.4, 85.15; -yā, 68.2; -yo, 9.9, 45.3, 95.1
- bapure adj., m.pl. (\*bappudā-) 'wretched, poor': 90.3
- bara adj. (= vara-) 'choice, fine': 1.4, 38.5, 58.5, 70.7, 78.3; vari, 84.1
- baran- v.t. (<varṇayati) 'describe': -i (absol.), 1.23; -ī (pp. in pass. constructions), 9.13, 52.2, 55.16, 56.2, 60.4, 83.2, 112.4
- baras- v.i. (varsati) 'rain, shower down': -ata, 70.16, 127.2; -ana, 73.3, 100.3; barasye, 63.2; cf. IV.3.4.2
- barasā- v.t. (caus. fr. prec.) 'shower down': -e, 36.3
- barahā n.m. (= barha-) 'peacock feather' (as worn by Kṛṣṇa): 2.5, 11.2, 34.5, 45.3, 47.3, 50.4, 94.2, 97.1; -u, 114.2
- bala n.m. (S.) 'strength, power': -u, 8.2
- balabhadra n.m. (S.) Balabhadra (alternative name for Balarāma): 29.4
- balarāma n.m. (S.) Balarāma: 59.2
- bali n.f. (S.) 'sacrificial offering', used with jā- to mean 'sacrifice oneself, dedicate oneself': 2.8/16/24/32, 3.10/20/30/40, 4.5/11/17/23, 11.11, 19.6, 55.6/12/18/24, 65.4, 70.21, 85.22, 98.4, 107.4, 109.1, 118.14, 122.10; ~harī 'paying tribute', 13.6, 57.10, 58.8, 61.4, 99.4; ~hāre, 50.7
- balī adj. (S.) 'powerful': 123.6\*

- balaiyā n.f. (dimin.fr. Ar. balā 'affliction, evil spirit'?) 'the act of drawing one's hands over the head of another in token of taking his misfortunes upon oneself' hence 'devote oneself': 29.3
- bas- v.i. (vasati) 'dwell, remain': 1.5 (v-), 20.4\*; -e, 2.31; -ye, 101.1
- basa n.m. (<vastra-?) 'dress, clothes, garment': 16.2, 68.5, 70.8, 78.3, 85.16, 122.3; -i, 119.4
- basanta n.m. (= vasanta-) 'spring': 52.4, 57.2; -u, 57.6
- basana n.m. (= vasana-) 'dress, apparel, garment': 34.7, 47.5, 101.2, 112.3; -u, 124.14
- basi n.m. & postp. (= vaśi or vaśa- with loc. -i) 'power, control, subjugation, subject to another's will': 20.4\*, 26.6, 37.4, 39.1, 44.4, 49.6, 51.4, 54.2, 62.4, 64.4, 71.13, 72.2, 85.2/3 (v-), 91.4, 110.1, 114.6 (v-); -u (r.), 128.1; cf. IV.3.3.1.3
- basīle adj.,m.pl. (Pers. vasīlā) 'dependent': 62.4
- bah- v.i. (vahati) 'flow, blow': -e, 67.5 (v-), 96.3
- bahu adj. & adv. (S.) 'much, many': 3.3, 3.24, 4.15, 31.4, 46.2, 55.5, 57.8, 67.15, 69.3, 124.12, 124.18
- bahutu n.m. & adv. (bahutva-) 'much': 1.14
- bahurī adv. (absol. of bahur- <\*vyāghutati?) 'further, again': 41.1, 97.3
- bahavidha adj. (S.) 'manifold, various': 1.11, 3.19, 4.20, 6.6, 14.7, 16.5, 55.13, 57.5; cf. IV.3.3.1.11
- bahavidhi adv. (S., or same as prec.) 'in many ways': 21.3
- bākī adj.,f. (vaṅka-) 'crooked, slanting': 19.2
- bāṁdh- v.t. (bandhati) 'fasten, tie up': -ōgī, 59.4
- bāvārī adj.,f. (vātula-) 'mad, crazy': 35.5; baurī: 112.1
- bāsūrī n.f. (vaśī- ext. -l-) 'flute': 75.2, 92.3;
- bāj- v.i. (vādyate) 'sound, make a noise': -ata, 45.5, 103.5; -ahī, 3.23; -ahī, 3.19; -e, 30.3, 47.3, 80.1, 122.4, 122.5; -ē, 47.6
- bājūbanda n.m. (Pers. bāzūband) 'armlet': 84.2
- bāṭi n.f. (vartman-) 'track, path': 124.20
- bādh- cf. badh-

- bāta<sup>1</sup> n.f. (vārttā-) 'matter, affair, talk': 21.2, 26.5, 41.2, 89.3, 94.4, 113.3; -i, 33.8, 101.3; -e, 39.4; -ē, 40.5; -ni, 20.5; dimin. batīyā, 124.18
- bāta<sup>2</sup> n.f. (= vāta-) 'wind, breeze': 15.6, 70.7; -i, 36.3
- bādara n.m. (vārdala-) 'cloud': 80.2
- bādhā adj. (vardha-) 'increasing, augmenting': 121.3
- bāna n.m. (= bāna-) 'arrow': 2.15, 33.6, 68.4, 116.22
- bānī n.f. (= vānī-) 'speech, sound': 51.4, 87.1, 117.3, 126.1 (v-)
- bābhana n.m. (brāhmaṇa-) 'brahmin': 71.9
- bār- v.t. (vārayate) 'ward off, avert evil, offer, dedicate oneself': -a, 12.1; -ata, 51.3, 72.5; vārī, 114.6; vāre, 1.4, 9.4, 9.8
- bāri n.f. (vāra-) 'time, occasion': 108.2, 126.3 (v-, rep.); -a, 25.2 (rep.), 33.8, 85.22 (v-)
- bārī n.f. (bāla-) 'girl, daughter': 70.14
- bāla n.m. (S.) 'boy, youth': 12.1, 29.2, 110.4, 118.13; cf. bālā
- bālā n.f. (S.) 'girl, maid, young woman': 2.24, 116.3; -a (r. or metr.), 10.3, 38.7, 47.8, 53.1, 101.4, 122.4
- bāsa n.m. or f. (vāsa-) 'odour': 70.5; cf. subāsa
- bāsu<sup>1</sup> n.m. (vāsas-) 'garment, clothing': 2.7
- bāsu<sup>2</sup> n.m. (vāsa-) 'abode': 69.3
- bāhu n.f. (S.) 'arm': 36.4, 46.2; -a, 18.2; vāhi, 117.16
- bioga n.m. (= viyoga-) 'separation': 61.4
- bimdulā n.m. (<bindu- ext. -l-) 'small round mark on forehead': 9.9
- bimbaphala n.m. (S.) 'the bimba fruit' (Momordica monadelpha): 105.ii.4
- bikala adj. (= vikala-) 'confused, agitated, weary': 27.2, 74.1, 75.1
- bikā- v.i. (<\*vikrāpayati with pass. -ā- ?) 'be sold': -i, 49.6; -nī, 68.8, 93.4; -ne, 14.6, 39.3
- bigasa adj. (derived fr. vikas) 'spread out, blossoming': -i, 45.4
- bichā- v.t. (\*vicchādayati) 'spread': -ī, 85.7/12

- bitīta adj. (<vyatīta- ?) 'elapsed': 4.4
- bidhi n.m. (= vidhi-) 'the Creator (Brahmā)': 6.4 (v-), 14.1, 53.3, 76.3; 'manner, way': 88.4
- bidhu n.m. (= vidhu-) 'moon': 121.3
- binu postp. (vinā) 'without': 4.2, 4.3, 5.3 (bis), 25.4, 27.1, 27.8, 29.3, 32.2, 32.6, 40.2, [43.3], 44.2, 68.8, 71.5, 71.11 (v-), 93.2, 121.4; bina, 8.3; binā, 4.3, 128.6
- bibasi adj.,f. ( vivaśin-) 'powerless': 2.21, 28.3, 34.6
- bibāna n.m. (//H.bewān, Old Awadhi bevānū <vimāna-) 'flying car of the gods': 70.19
- bibidha adj. (= vividha-) 'diverse, various': 22.2
- bimala adj. (= vimala-) 'clear, pure, white': 22.5, 48.3, 88.4, 116.13
- bimukha adj. & n.m. (= vimukha-) 'ill-disposed towards, not caring for': -na, 56.7, 128.6 (v-)
- biraha n.m. (= viraha-) 'separation (esp. of lovers)': 28.6, 33.6, 35.4, 61.4, 116.22
- birahina adj. (= virahin-) 'separated, desolate': 71.3; -ana, 27.1
- birāj- v.i. (= virāj) 'reign, shine forth, be resplendent': -ahī, 3.4/34; -ahe, 2.11; -e, 9.11, 11.2, 11.9, 30.4, 68.9, 80.4, 116.26, 116.27; -ē, 2.27; -ita, 45.2, 55.11, 58.2, 72.6, 111.2, 123.2
- bilasata adj. (participle fr. vilas ?) 'gleam, shine forth': 70.20
- bilāsa n.m. (= vilāsa-) 'sport, diversion, pleasure, radiance': 13.6, 17.3, 30.5, 58.2, 70.10, 72.6, 73.2, 79.3, 85.19/24, 88.4, 103.3, 115.18; -ā (r.), 116.3; -u, 16.5, 69.5, 124.24; mahābilāsu, 24.5, 86.4
- bilāsi adj. (= vilāsin-) 'sportive, playful, wanton': 55.3 (parama~), 122.9 (v-)
- bilok- v.t. (= vilok) 'look at': -ahī, 3.2; -i, 3.15
- biṣai adj.,f. (from viṣaya-) 'intently engaged in': 14.1
- bisar- v.i. (vismarati) 'forget': -i, 27.3, 34.6, 45.8; -ī, 75.2
- bisarā- v.t. (caus. fr. prec.) 'cause to forget': -(ā)udā, 111.8
- bisār- v.t. (vismārayati) 'cause to forget': -ī, 33.4, 58.7, 61.3

- bisāla adj. (= viśāla-) 'broad, spacious': 10.3, 12.5, 38.5, 47.1, 70.9, 122.2; -ā (r.) 11.8
- bihar- v.i. (from vihr) 'roam, wander about for pleasure, divert oneself': -ata, 3.21, 3.25, 57.9, 58.3, 58.5, 60.2, 62.3, 73.3, 80.4, 86.2, 103.3, 123.5, 127.4
- bihāna n.m. (\*vibhāna-) 'dawn, morning': 95.2
- bihāra n.m. (= vihāra-) 'amusement, wandering, revelry, pleasure': 3.25, 10.2, 10.4, 15.2, 17.3, 22.6, 27.5, 38.7, 55.17, 56.2, 64.2, 66.4, 67.10, 69.4, 70.4, 70.17, 87.3, 99.3, 105.ii.2, 115.22, 117.15, 118.11, 128.5
- bihārini n.f. (= vihārini-) 'one engaged in bihāra' (referring to Rādhā): 104.1, 110.4
- bihārī n.m. (= vihārīn-) (one engaged in bihāra' q.v. (referring to Kṛṣṇa): 3.21, 3.25, 41.3, 43.1, 45.7, 48.3, 51.4, 53.1, 105.i.4, 110.4: cf. kumja-
- bihāla cf. behāla
- bīdā n.m. (< bindu- ?) 'round mark on forehead': 2.12, 15.4 (-ī-)
- bīci postp. (\*vicya-) 'in, amid': 9.12; ke +, 119.2
- bīt- v.i. (vr̥tta-) 'pass (of time)': -i, 76.2; -ī, 51.4, 54.1, 71.3
- bīthuna n.f.,obl.pl. (< vīthi-) 'paths, lanes': 71.4
- bīdā cf. bīdā
- bīdh- v.i. (viddha- or vibaddha-) 'be pierced' or 'be entangled': -ī, 27.7; cf. bedh-
- bīn- v.t. (vicinoti) 'gather, pick': -i, 55.7
- bīri n.f. (vitā-) 'roll of betel leaf and areca nut': 41.1, 42.1, 117.10; alternative meaning 'earring' (// bīrani 'an ear ornament with two pearls', cf. HSS): 9.5
- budhi n.f. (= buddhi-) 'intelligence, awareness': 50.2, 65.3
- burī adj.,f. (\*bura-) 'bad': 42.3
- bulā- v.t. (caus. fr. bol-) 'call, summon': -ī, 78.2; -e, 66.3
- būdi n.f. (\*bundu-) 'drop': 15.3; -a, 31.3
- begi adv. (< vega-) 'quickly': 4.2, 5.4, 22.6, 27.8, 65.4, 109.4, 127.3
- bedh- v.t. (formed fr. bīdh- viddha-) 'penetrate, pierce': -ī, 35.7; -ye, 2.10 (v-)

- benatī n.f. (viñāpti-) 'request, plea': 13.2 (v-), 21.3 (v-), 99.2, 105.i.2, 108.5, 120.17
- benu n.m. (= venu-) 'flute': 24.3, 50.6, 53.2, 79.3, 111.5, 114.3; -a, 1.17, 2.6, 3.19, 38.6, 123.3; cf. IV.3.3.3, p. 155
- beri n.f. (velā-) 'delay': 4.9
- belī n.f. (velli-) 'creeper': 3.24, 17.4, 21.4, 38.8, 45.4, 57.7, 60.7, 67.16, 69.2, 70.2; -a, 3.29, 122.8
- besari n.f. 'nose ring (with one or two pearls attached)': 50.5, 90.2; -a, 2.20, 11.6, 81.3, 84.3, 116.15, 123.4
- behāla adj. (Sakṣena, p.307: Pers. bēhāl, but the variant bihāla suggests either contamination with, or derivation fr. vihvala-, cf. Pk. vebbhalo and Beames, I p.359) 'agitated, out of sorts, swooning': 3.24, 17.4; bihāla, 12.7, 75.5
- baith- v.i. (upavista-) 'sit': -ī, 54.1, 100.1; -e, 11.1, 79.1, 87.4, 89.4, 105.ii.3, 106.1, 109.2, 117.1; cf. bais-
- baina n.m. (vacana-) 'words, speech': 6.2, 16.3, 124.13; alternatively 'face' (<vadana->), but ambiguous: 16.3, 36.2, 39.2; cf. IV.3.3.3, p. 155
- bairī n.m. (= vairin-) 'enemy': 32.1
- bais- v.i. (upaviṣṭa-) 'sit': -ī, 65.2; cf. baith-
- bor- v.t. (\*bodayati) 'drown, cause to sink': -yo, 32.4
- bol- v.i. & t. (\*boll-) 'speak': -ata, 27.6, 31.4, 48.4, 70.12, 72.4, 87.1, 101.3, 106.3, 108.1, 109.3, 117.13, 118.4, 124.17, 126.1; -ahe, 1.10; -ī, 115.7, 124.21; -īe, 109.1; -e, 54.4, 71.3, 124.13; -ē, 29.1, 113.4; -o, 33.8, 35.6; -ye, 23.4
- bolicalu n.m. (formed fr. \*boll- + cal- ?) 'talk, conversation': 51.2
- bolī n.f. (\*boll-) 'speech, words': 118.4
- baurī cf. bāvarī
- braja n.m. (= vraja-) 'cattle shed', Braj: 2.6, 2.24, 27.1, 31.1, 38.7, 47.8, 53.1, 56.8, 57.9, 67.6, 71.4, 96.1, 118.10, 121.4, 122.4; -i, 27.8; ~pati 'lord of Braj' (Kṛṣṇa), 67.3; ~vāsina 'inhabitant of Braj', 67.7, 71.15
- brahmādika n.m. (S.) 'Brahmā and the other gods': 125.5
- brimḍābana n.m. (= vrndāvana-) Vrindaban: 3.1, 3.5, 10.4, 30.5, 45.2, 46.1, 52.3, 55.7, 56.4, 57.1, 58.4, 67.1(bis)/3, 80.4, 86.2, 96.2, 103.1, 115.3, 121.1, 122.2, 128.5

- brisabhāna n.m. (= vrsabhānu-) Vrsabhānu (father of Rādhā): 5.6, 20.1, 23.1, 57.4, 61.1, 70.1, 82.2 (vr-), 84.4, 85.14/15
- bhañā cf. bhañ[ā]
- bhagata n.m. (= bhakta-) 'devotee': -na, 56.8
- bhagati n.f. (= bhakti-) 'devotion': 128.4
- bha[c]cha adj. & n.m. (= bhaksya-) 'eating, food': 14.7, 15.4
- bhabhak- v.i. (\*bhabh-) 'be angry, flare up': -i, 115.7
- bhaya n.m. (S.) 'fear': 128.7
- bhar- v.i. & t. (bharati) 'fill, be filled': -i, 28.5, 52.5, 73.3; -ī, 3.18, 75.4, 76.2, 92.4, 107.1, 124.1, 124.15; -ye, 3.18, 3.35, 98.3; -yo, 110.2
- bhalo adj. (bhalla-) 'auspicious, good': 20.2; -e, 71.8 (rep.); as a blessing with -ye/-yē, 63.1, 88.4, 101.3
- bhavana n.m. (S.) 'house': 28.2, 65.2, 117.2; -i, 44.1; cf. kumja
- bhavaru n.m. (bhramara-) 'large black bee': 116.20; cf. bhramarā
- bhā- v.i. (bhāti) 'look good, be pleasing': -(ā)ī (r.), 26.5; -(ā)udā, 111.3; -e, 1.20; -yo, 1.21; -vata, 37.3, 85.5; -vanā, 2.6; -ve, 2.3, 6.1, 19.4, 22.4, 49.3, 85.22
- bhāi n.m. (<bhāva- ?) 'love, thought, feeling': 66.3
- bhāu n.m. (<bhāva- ?) 'feeling, sentiment': 128.4
- bhāti n.f. (bhakti-) 'sort, way, manner': 1.22, 3.24; repeated with the meaning 'manifold, many kinds of': 10.4, 30.3, 38.5, 46.4, 60.5, 67.7, 67.10, 73.4, 85.5, 107.9
- bhāgya n.m. (S.) 'fortune': 125.1; cf. vadabhāgī
- bhātu n.m. (bhakta-) 'boiled rice': 31.6
- bhāna n.m. (= bhānu-) 'sun': 74.3, 101.1
- bhāma n.f. (S.) 'a passionate or seductive woman': 36.3, 105.i.3
- bhāmuni n.f. (= bhāminī-) 'an angry or passionate woman': 1.13/18, 3.17, 3.21, 3.25, 4.1, 4.6, 6.6, 11.3, 11.5, 18.4, 21.1, 26.2, 38.2, 41.4, 54.4, 55.1, 58.5, 63.2, 64.1, 75.3, 77.2, 81.1, 116.31, 117.5; cf. IV.3.3.2.3
- bhāri adj. & adv. (bhārika-) 'heavy, full of': 13.3, 27.7, 41.4, 58.6, 60.6 (ati-), 76.3, 96.4, 116.18, 124.5; -e, 50.5, 85.11

- bhāl- v.i. (bhālayate) 'open eyes, look': -i, 122.10
- bhīno adj. (<bhinna- ?) 'steeped in': 112.2; -e, 72.1, 85.1/6, 85.17, 123.1 (rep.)
- bhīri n.f. (<bhīru- ?) 'pain, torment': 35.4
- bhumc- v.i. & t. (bhuñjate) 'enjoy, eat': -ē, 46.4
- bhuja n.m. or f. (S.) 'arm': 1.13, 48.2, 67.13, 68.10, 74.2, 98.2, 103.2, 108.6, 119.3, 122.7; repeated in expressions meaning 'arm in arm': 3.13, 3.17, 4.19/24, 60.6, 62.3, 102.3
- bhūl- v.i. & t. (\*bhull-) 'forget': -i, 35.6, 47.7, 75.2, 76.4; -e, 28.4; -ē, 53.5
- bhulā- v.t. (caus. fr. prec.) 'cause to forget': -nī, 28.4, 68.7; -no, 120.11
- bhuvana n.m. (S.) 'world': 72.5; cf. tribhuvana
- bhūkyē adj. (\*bubhuksaka-; -yē termination on anal. with absolutive use of pp.? cf. VI.14) 'hungry': 59.3
- bhūṣana n.m. (= bhūṣana-) 'ornament, jewellery': 2.27, 16.2, 22.2, 47.5, 55.8, 67.8, 68.11, 70.8, 85.16, 90.2, 116.25, 119.4, 122.3; cf. IV.3.4.2
- bhej- v.t. (\*bhejj-) 'send': -ī, 25.2; -e, 113.4
- bheda n.m. (S.) '(winning over by sowing) dissension': 8.3\*, 113.4
- bhedana adj. & n.m. (S.) 'breaking, cleaving, destroying': 14.4
- bheṣu n.m. (related to veṣa- ?) 'dress, disguise': 116.2, 116.29, 120.18; subheṣu 'fine clothes', 118.5
- bhojana n.m. (S.) 'food': 71.8
- bhora n.m. or f. (bhorā-) 'dawn, daybreak': 29.1, 48.4, 54.1, 62.3 (~hī), 74.4, 85.10, 101.1 (~hī), 107.4, 113.4; -i, 105.i.2
- bhaū[ā] n.f. (\*bhrumu-) 'eyebrow'; bhaū, 33.6; bhaū[a], 68.4; bhaūa, 2.15, 116.14; bhaūā, 124.15; bhaūa, 9.9; bhauana, 124.15 cf. IV.3.3.3. p. 154
- bhramarā n.m. (= bhramara-) 'large black bee': 46.2; cf. bhavaru
- bhrānti n.f. (S.) 'error, false opinion, pride': 10.3, 22.3, 60.7



- maiyā cf. maiya
- maṅgala n.m. (S.) 'auspicious song': 71.14; -u, 55.10, 57.10
- māgana cf. chāgana
- maṁdana adj. (S.) 'adorning, embellishing': 3.16
- maṁdala n.m. (S.) 'circle' (in which the rāsa dance is performed): 40.3, 86.1, 3.13, 3.18, 4.16, 10.1, 30.1, 53.3, 55.11, 60.2, 70.14, 96.1, 104.3; sakhā maṁdalī 'circle of friends', 45.2
- mamda adj. & adv. (S.) 'slow(ly), gentle, gently': 1.5, 2.32 (rep.), 34.7, 45.5 (rep. with -ā, r.), 64.3, 67.5, 68.5, 96.3, 112.3
- maṁdira n.m. (S.) 'dwelling': cf. kumja
- makaramdā n.m. (S., with -ā for rhyme) 'flower': 45.4
- makarākṛita adj. (= ~kr̥ta-) 'shaped like a sea-monster': 68.3
- makhatūla n.m. (HSS: mahārg̃ha- + tūla-), 'black silk': 84.2
- maga n.m. (mārga-) 'road, path': 27.6, 35.5; -u, 41.3, 44.1, 61.2, 71.12, 124.9
- magana adj. (= magna-) 'immersed, overwhelmed': 79.2, 119.1
- mat̥ak- v.i. (\*mat̥-) 'twinkle': -ata, 2.4, 78.4
- mat̥akī n.f. (mr̥dā- ext. -tk-) 'clay pot': 119.3
- mani n.m. (S.) 'jewel': 50.6, 62.2, 67.11, 102.1, 102.3 (bis), 117.8; manī (r.) 24.5
- mat(t)a adj. (S.) 'ruttish, intoxicated, excited': 12.2 (mahā-), 33.4, 72.5, 116.26, 119.5
- mati n.f. (S.) 'devotion, thought, desire': 35.6
- math- v.t. (mathnāti) 'churn': -yo, 29.3
- mathanī n.f. (= manthanī-) 'vessel for churning': 29.3
- mada adj. (S.) 'ruttish, excited': 1.5, 2.8
- madana n.m. (S.) 'passion, the act of intoxicating' (epithet of Kama): 81.4; cf. maina
- ma(d)dhi cf. madhya
- madhura adj. (S.) 'sweet, mellifluous, pleasant': 1.10, 16.3, 98.3; rep.: 24.3, 111.5, 117.3, 123.3; -i, 60.3
- madhuratā n.f. (S.) 'sweetness': 34.4
- madhupa n.m. (S.) 'large black bee': 1.14, 1.15, 3.6/7, 34.2, 53.4, 68.12, 72.5

- madhya postp. (S.) 'in': 45.2; derivatives: maddhi, 15.3(ke+); madhi, 9.1, 9.9, 9.11, 30.1; mahi, 67.12, 67.17, 82.3, 82.4, 84.2, 92.3; mahu, 11.1, 15.4, 67.8, 67.9, 70.5, 70.19, 85.11, 98.4, 108.4; māudā (r.), 111.9; māhi, 1.9 (ke +), 4.13/18, 11.7, 14.7, 25.4, 26.3, 31.1, 31.6, 56.8, 57.1, 67.13 (ke +), 70.12 (ke +), 71.4, 115.6, 115.17, 122.2; mai, 3.38, 10.2, 32.7, 59.2, 65.1-4, 78.5, 79.2, 81.3, 89.1, 94.1, 97.1, 97.3, 106.3, 111.7, 115.20, 116.21, 127.4; mē, 19.4, 32.1, 47.5, 75.1, 87.1-4, 117.1; mō, 1.10 (bis), 1.11, 1.16 (bis), 2.1, 4.7/12, 4.15, 6.2, 7.5, 12.2, 17.3, 20.4, 24.1, 32.4, [38.3], 43.1, 44.3, 48.1, 49.3, 49.4, 50.3, 50.7 (bis), 54.1, 56.4, 60.2, 70.16, 73.4, 74.3, 75.4, 76.2, 77.1, 82.3, 85.3, 100.1, 106.1, 116.20, 121.4, 123.5
- mana n.m. (= manas-) 'mind, heart': 1.7/12, 1.9, 2.14, 4.22, 5.2, 7.5, 8.1, 11.3, 13.3, 19.6, 20.3, 22.3, 25.4, 26.3, 50.2, 55.20/21, 55.23 (bis), 60.7, 65.3, 69.6, 70.10, 71.15, 85.5, 86.4, 87.2, 90.4, 103.6, 115.6; -i, 2.6, 19.4, 111.3; -u, 1.1/6, 2.21, 7.2, 9.6, 11.10, 22.1, 27.2, 28.1, 28.3, 33.1, 35.4, 36.4, 37.3, 41.3, 47.8, 49.4, 68.4, 68.7, 70.15, 78.6, 79.4, 90.1, 92.3, 93.2, 105.ii.viii, 106.3, 107.10, 112.4, 114.5, 118.10, 120.13, 123.3; -hi, 1.20/21
- manamatha n.m. (= manmatha-) 'the god of love' (Kāma): 2.19, 3.20, 11.10, 15.2, 30.6, 49.2, 58.7, 64.4, 67.16, 68.4, 69.6, 70.18, 79.4
- manamohana n.m. (S.) 'enchanter of the mind' (epithet of Kṛṣṇa): 71.11; -u, 111.4
- manasā n.f. (S.) 'mind, thought, wish, desire': 10.3
- manā- v.t. (caus. fr. man-) 'persuade, placate, soothe': -(ā)ī (r.), 26.2; -(ā)udā (r.) 111.7; -vana, 25.1, -vani, 37.1, 43.1; -vo, 115.14
- manī cf. maṇi
- manohara n.m. (S.) 'stealer of the mind' (epithet of Kṛṣṇa): 26.6
- marakata n.m. (S.) 'emerald': 62.2, 102.3
- marāla n.m. (S.) 'a kind of duck, goose or flamingo': 12.8, 17.2, 38.3, 47.6
- maṣṭi n.f. (?), used with kar- to mean 'keep silent': 59.4
- mastaka n.m. (S.) 'head': -u, 105.ii.ii
- mahala n.m. (Ar. maḥall) 'place, palace: -u, 105.ii.ii; cf. kumja, raṅga
- mahā- adj. (S.) 'great', prefixed to catura, citacora, chabi, jari, pravīni, prema/-u, bilāsu, matta, manu, mudita, ragamaga, saṭu, haṭhu and hulāsu, q.v.

- nahi/mahu cf. madhya
- māi n.f. (mātr-) 'mother' (a term used to address a female friend): 31.1, 35.7, 52.1, 59.3, 62.1, 69.1, 71.6, 78.1, 83.1 (103.1)
- māudā cf. madhya
- māga n.f. (mārga-) 'line of red powder or pearls, gems etc. worn in the parting of the hair': 9.11, 11.2, 100.2, 116.9
- māhi cf. madhya
- mākhanu n.m. (mrakṣaṇa-) 'butter': 71.10, 123.6
- māthe n.m., obl.(loc.)sg. (masta-) 'on the (fore)head': 2.11, 19.3, 68.2, 78.3, 90.2, 93.2, 100.2, 107.2, 118.12, 122.3
- mādhuri n.f. & adj. (S.) 'sweet(ness), loveliness': 2.26, 3.37, 12.5, 19.5, 28.4, 38.4, 98.3
- mādhō n.m. (= mādhava-) 'scion of Madhu' (epithet of Kṛṣṇa): 49.8, 52.8, 117.15
- mān- v.i. (manyate) 'consider, be appeased, agree to':  
-a, 1.15; -ata, 115.13, 120.7; -i, 1.19/24, 85.10;  
-ī, 66.3, 89.4, 93.4; -e, 43.2; -o, 99.2, 108.5, 120.12; cf. māno
- māna<sup>1</sup> n.m. (S.) 'pride, anger, indignation': 13.5, 99.1;  
-u, 4.8, 4.9, 5.4, 6.3, 7.1, 13.1 (mahā-), 18.1, 20.5, 25.1, 26.4, 37.1, 41.2, 41.4, 43.1, 44.1, 61.6, 65.4, 105.i.ii, 107.3, 108.2, 115.2, 115.14, 115.16, 120.1, 120.15
- māna<sup>2</sup> n.m. (S.) 'measure' (in music): 10.2, 17.3, 19.4, 55.15, 67.12, 86.3, 88.3
- māno conj. (imper./subj. form of mān-) 'like, just as': 4.4, 9.4, 9.8, 9.10, 9.12, 16.1, 24.4, 36.3, 38.3, 48.2, 49.2, 53.2, 53.3, 53.4, 53.5, 62.2, 74.2, (74.3), 75.3, 76.4, 80.1, 80.3, 81.1, 81.3, 87.4, 102.3, 105.ii.3, 108.2, 115.16, 116.4, 116.5, 116.8, 116.12, 116.14, 116.20, 116.22, 116.24, 117.6, 117.8
- mānuni n.f. (= mānini-) 'an indignant or angered woman': 7.1, 14.1, 18.1, 103.2, 115.13, 120.1; cf. IV.3.3.2.3
- māyā n.f. (S.) 'magic, illusion, deception': 105.ii.iii
- mār- v.t. (mārayati) 'kill, beat, strike': -a, 55.23, -ī, 27.5; -yē, 115.8; -yo, 33.6; cf. māra
- māra adv. (fr. prec.) 'eagerly, with gusto': 64.2

- mālā n.f. (S.) 'garland': 46.2, 78.5; -a (r.), 47.5, 122.6
- mitā- v.t. (caus. fr. mit- < mrṣṭa-) 'rub out, dispel':  
-i, 71.15
- mithadī adj.,f. (ext. form of mīthā mrṣṭa-) 'sweet, smooth, soothing': 118.4
- miti n.f. (S.) 'measure', used in expressions meaning 'to no extent': 52.2, 55.16, (56.2) 57.7, 67.2, 68.6, 70.20, 115.18
- mil- v.t. (milati) 'meet': -ata, 32.8, 113.3; -ahu, 5.4, 6.6, 105.i.4; -(ā)u, 109.4; -i, 1.14, 3.6/7, 4.19/24, 11.1, 13.5, 20.6, 21.4, 29.4, 31.3, 31.4, 44.4, 63.2, 70.4, 71.15, 72.2, 79.2, 95.4, 107.9, 128.2; -ī, 67.9; -u, 5.6, 22.6, 65.4, 99.1; -e, 27.8; -o, 18.4, 61.4, 120.18; -ye, 1.17, 4.14, 4.15, 26.6, 54.4, 66.4, 100.4, 108.6, 115.17, 116.32; -yē, 35.8
- milana n.m. (S.) 'meeting': 6.1, 81.1
- misa n.m. (mrṣā-) 'pretext, trick': 59.1
- mij- v.t. (\*mrñjati) 'rub (the hands)': -ata, 16.3
- mīthī adj.,f. (mrṣṭa-) 'sweet': 87.1, 92.2
- mīna n.m. (S.) 'fish': 1.7/12, 4.2/3, 49.4; -ā (r.), 11.5, 71.2, 116.9
- mumc- v.i. or t. (<muñcati, if t. then <mucyate × muñcati?) 'free, be set free': 46.6
- mumdarī n.f. (mudrā-) 'ring': 84.2
- mukatā n.f. (= muktā-) 'pearl': 2.21, 81.3; mukatāvala (kī) pāta 'string of pearls', 15.3
- mukata n.m. (= mukṭa-) 'crown, headdress': 118.12; -u, 19.3, 68.2, 122.3; + maṇi 'crest jewel', 67.11, 102.1
- mukha n.m. (S.) 'face, mouth': 12.6, 13.2, 16.3, 19.2, 29.4, 33.5, 34.2, 38.4, 39.2, 40.2, 47.3, 55.16, 61.4, 62.1, 82.2, 85.17, 90.3, 97.2, 125.4; -i, 49.8, 68.7, 103.5, 112.2, 115.21, 117.3, 117.10, 120.14; -u, 53.3, 105.i.1, 106.4, 123.3
- mukhadā n.f. (fr. prec. ext. -d-) 'face, mouth': 118.8
- mujhe cf. mai
- mudita adj. (S.) 'delighted, joyful': 1.10, 3.10, 53.2, 55.20 (mahā-), 55.21, 57.2, 58.5
- muni cf. mauni
- mur- v.i. (mutati) 'be turned, be twisted': -a, 103.4 (cf. mori); -i, 49.7, 116.31, 124.15

- murachā- v.i. ( mūrchatī ) 'swoon': -i, 92.4; -e, 36.4; -vahī, 4.8; -vahī, 3.36; -ve, 104.4
- murālī n.f. (S.) 'flute': 3.19, 19.2, 33.2, 34.5, 38.6, 47.3, 67.6, 68.7, 78.6, 92.1 (rep.), 92.2, 103.5, 112.2, 122.4
- murāri n.m. (S.) 'enemy of Mura' (epithet of Kṛṣṇa): 4.20; -e, 85.19/24
- mula n.m. ( mūlya- ) 'price': 68.8
- musak- v.i. ( \*muss- ext. -kk- ) 'smile': -ata, 106.3; -āve, 49.7; -ānī, 89.4, 99.4, 116.13, 126.3; -i, 14.7, 18.4, 51.2, 61.4, 72.3, 107.4, 108.4, 115.11, 124.21; musika (metathesis of absol.?), 4.13/18
- musakani\* n.f. (formed fr. prec.) 'smile': 1.5, 15.5, 47.2, 50.5, 93.3, 98.3, 118.19
- mūrati n.f. ( = mūrṭi- ) 'embodiment, image': 2.3, 2.26, 3.37, 16.1 (rep.), 28.4, 71.5
- mūrchita adj. (S.) 'stupefied, in a swoon': 3.29, 3.37
- mūla n.m. (S.) 'ground, vicinity': 70.12\*
- mr̥ga n.m. (S.) 'deer': 1.7/12, 22.2; -mada 'musk', 47.4, 78.5
- mr̥nāla n.m. (S.) 'lotus fibre, stem': 68.10
- mr̥danga n.m. (S.) 'drum': 3.19, 38.6, 80.1
- mē cf. madhya
- met- v.t. (t. with -e- fr. mit- < mr̥ṣṭa- ) 'rub out, dispel': -yo, 100.4
- merā &c. cf. mai
- mel- v.t. ( melayati ) 'bring together': -i, 3.22, 44.3, 70.2, 75.4
- mehu n.m. ( megha- ) 'cloud': 127.2
- mai postp., cf. madhya
- mai pron. ( ma- ) 'I': 94.4, 95.2, 120.6, 124.8; mujhe, 2.3, 2.10; merā, 114.5; merī, 34.8, 50.1; mere, 34.1, 40.2, 59.1, 77.3, 85.1/2/6/7/8/12/13/14/18/19/20/24, 108.3, 112.2, 113.1, 114.1, 120.11; mero, 19.1, 32.5, 71.10, 90.1, 93.2, 110.1, 127.2; morī, 97.1; maidadi, 118.3; mo, 63.3, 71.2, 94.4, 95.1, 108.1, 112.4, 117.12, 120.8, 127.1; mohi, 2.9, (4.9), 8.2, (20.2), 43.4, (61.6), 64.2, 115.12; cf hau

- maina n.m. (madana-) 'the god of love' (Kāma): 1.8, 3.9, 3.36, 3.37, 4.8, 6.2, 9.4, 10.3, 16.1 (rep.), 24.6, 36.1, 46.3, 61.3, 73.4, 90.3, 116.9; cf. madana
- maiya n.f. (mātr-) 'mother': 118.2, maiya: 126.3
- mo cf. mai
- mō cf. madhya
- motī n.m. (mauktika-) 'pearl': 2.20, 9.7, 11.6, 68.9, 112.3, 116.15; motiana/motyana, obl.pl., 36.2, 47.5, 78.5, 116.9; mutyana, 84.3
- moda n.m. (S.) 'joy, delight, pleasure': 3.40 (parama-)
- moni cf. mauni
- mor- v.t. (moṭati) 'turn, twist': -ī, 103.4
- mora n.m. (\*mora-) 'peacock, peacock crown (as worn by Kṛṣṇa)': 3.3, 29.1, 48.4, 55.5, 57.8, 67.4, 69.3, 70.12, 78.4, 107.2, 111.2, 118.12, 123.2; maura (mayūra-), 3.8, 31.4
- mol- v.t. (maulya-) 'buy': -i, 68.8; molē, 29.6\*
- moh- v.t. (mohayati) 'allure, charm, enchant': -i, 1.1/6, 28.1, 47.2, 112.1 (rep.), 122.4; -e, 9.6, 11.3, 11.5, 11.10, 68.4, 68.11, 114.5, 116.9; -yo, 69.6, 79.4, 92.2
- mohi cf. mai
- mohana n.m. (S.) 'enchanting' (epithet of Kṛṣṇa): 1.3, 7.5, 13.5, 18.2, 21.3, 34.2, 37.1, 47.1, 49.4, 53.2, 58.1, 67.1, 71.1, 71.3, 72.1, 89.1, 90.1, 93.1, 95.1, 98.2, 99.1, 100.4, 101.4, 103.1, 104.3, 112.1, 113.1, 115.17, 115.22, 118.1, 124.23, 125.2; -u, 114.2, 122.1; cf. manamohana
- mohita adj. (S.) 'enchanted, infatuated, deluded': 12.7
- mohinī n.f. (S.) 'a fascinating woman, nymph' (Mohinī is the name given to Viṣṇu when he adopted the form of a beautiful woman in order to delude the demons during the churning of the ocean): 9.6, 104.2, 105.ii.iii
- mauni (cf. IV.3.3.1.9) '(vow of) silence': 105.i.4; muni, 65.2; moni, 51.2
- maura cf. mora
- maulī cf. 118.2 fn.
- yaha proximate demon. pron. (esa-) '(s)he, this': 2.5, 2.8/16/24/32, 2.31, 13.5, 31.2, 42.1, 44.4, 45.8, 53.5, 56.7, 57.2, 58.7, 59.3, 67.15, 67.18, 70.13, 81.2, 83.4, 111.9, 123.4, 128.5; iha, 107.1; inu, 20.5, 31.1, 50.3, 71.10, 92.3; ehī, 1.23, 71.7, 116.33, 120.8; yāhī, 95.3  
yāhī, 109.3

- yuga cf. juga
- yuta adj. (S.) 'possessed of, filled with': 89.2
- raṅga n.m. (S.) 'colour, diversion, mirth, rapture, love': 1.11, 3.12, 54.1, 72.1, 85.10, 123.1 (rep.); + mahala 'a chamber set apart for voluptuous enjoyment', 85.3
- raṅgilo adj. (\*raṅgita- ext. -ll-) 'coloured, joyful': 110.1; -ī, 54.1\*, 110.1
- rakhiyā cf. rākh- & VI.16
- ragamage adj., m.pl. (<rag- <rakta- + maga <magna-) 'impassioned, bloodshot': 16.2 (mahā-)
- rac- v.t. (\*racyate) 'make, prepare': -i + paci (absol. of pac- <pacyate) 'made with great effort or skill', 6.4, 53.3, 61.5 (~kē); -ī, 6.4, 48.3; -o, 55.1
- racanā n.f. (S.) 'creation': 6.4, 76.3
- racā- v.t. (caus. fr. prec.) 'make, prepare': -i, 118.5
- raja n.m. (S.) 'dust': 85.23
- rat- v.i. (\*ratyati) 'cry out, repeat': -ata, 13.2 (rep.), 65.2, 121.1; -ī, 3.7; -ē, 3.27
- ratana n.m. (= ratna-) 'jewel, gem': 124.3
- rati n.f. (S.) 'pleasure, sexual passion or union': 1.19/24, 49.8, 52.8, 58.8, 73.2, 76.2, 89.4; -pati (epithet of Kama), 22.3, 60.7, 82.4, 104.4, 105.i.3
- radanī adj., f. (<rad) 'bestowing, dispensing': 121.3
- rabāba n.m. (Ar. rabāb) 'a kind of lute, rebeck' 30.3, 60.5
- ram- v.i. (S.) 'rejoice, sport. make love': -ata, 55.22, 67.9
- ramanī n.f. (= ramanī-) 'beautiful young woman, mistress, consort': 58.7, 67.15, 70.19
- ravanī n.f. (<ramanī-) same as prec.: 12.2, 55.23, 120.6, 124.8; -a (r. & metr.) 117.1
- ravi n.m. (S.) 'sun': 2.12, 9.10, 90.3, 116.8
- ras- v.i. (S.) 'relish, be full of rasa': -ye, 3.31
- rasa n.m. (S.) 'sap, essence, love, affection, desire, charm, delight, flavour, sentiment': 1.16, 1.21, 2.10, 3.1 (bis), 3.5, 3.10 (rep.), 3.12, 3.16, 3.18, 3.21, 3.28, 3.35, 4.15, (4.22), 10.2, 10.4, 13.6, 14.6, 20.4,

20.6, 22.6, 23.2, 26.5, 27.7, 35.7, 36.2, 38.3, 38.7, 46.1, 46.4, 48.3, 50.4 (bis), 52.4, 54.4, 55.1, 55.15, 55.22 (bis), 56.2, 57.9, 58.2, 60.6, 61.3, 63.2, 64.1, 69.4, 70.17, 72.4, 72.5, 75.4, 76.2, 85.1/6, 85.5, 85.17, 87.3, 89.3, 92.4, 98.3, 101.1, 103.5, 106.2, 106.3, 107.1, 108.6, 110.2, 112.2, 115.17, 117.15, 121.3, 122.9, 124.1; -i, 5.6, 26.6, 37.4, 39.1, 51.4, 72.2, 128.1; -u, 1.23, 2.22, 5.6, 17.4, 20.6, 56.6, 56.7, 58.6, 67.14 (ati~), 73.4, 79.2, 95.4, 96.4, 106.3, 108.3, 116.18, 116.33, 128.8

- rasanā n.f. (S.) 'tongue': 128.1
- rasāla adj. (S.) 'tasty, sweet': 2.12, 12.3, 47.3, 122.5
- rasika adj. & n.m. (S.) 'tasteful, elegant, amorous, one who delights in rasa, lover': 1.17, 3.5, 3.21, 3.25, 4.16, 9.1, 11.1, 17.1, 21.4, 25.2, 41.3, 44.2, 45.7, 46.1, 48.3, 55.1, 57.9, 60.8, 108.3, 113.4, 116.32, 120.3; -ana, 56.7; -ani, 122.9
- rasīlī adj., f. (rasin- ext. -ll-) 'full of rasa, voluptuous': 9.1, 37.4, 44.2, 76.1, 122.7, 124.6; m.dir.pl. -e, 36.2, 62.4, 120.3
- rah- v.i. (\*rahati) 'stay, remain': -ata, 18.2, 65.2, 70.12, 97.2, 101.1; -ī, 3.2, 7.6, 8.1, 34.3, 43.2, 46.1, 47.2, 55.23, 67.17, 70.18, 71.9, 73.1, 91.4, 93.2, (97.1), 97.3, 98.4, 103.6, 119.2, 119.4; -u, 115.5; -e, 2.1, 45.4, 47.8, 49.3, 49.6, 51.3, 52.7, 52.8, 68.8, 71.3, 77.3, 84.4, 104.3, 105.i.1, 115.11, 116.10, 120.11; -ōgī, 59.4; -ye, 74.4; -yo, 35.4, 70.5, 79.2, 112.5, 120.8
- rahanī n.f. (<\*rahana- ?) 'behaviour, practice, love, attachment': 54.4
- rahasa n.m. (rahasya-) 'secret, mystery': 62.4, 107.5
- rāi n.m. (rājan-) 'king': 17.1, 79.1, 88.2, 116.32
- rākh- v.t. (raksati) 'guard, keep': -ata, 91.2; -u, 105.ii.ii (rep.), 128.8; -ye, 2.15; -yo, 56.7, 120.4; rakhiyā (cf. VI.16) 97.2
- rāga n.m. (S.) 'musical scale or mode': 3.22; -u, 117.12
- rāginī n.f. (= rāginī-) f. of prec.: 3.22
- rāj- v.i. (rajyate) 'shine, be adorned, appear splendid': -ahī, 3.15; -ahe, 1.22; -e, 9.12, 11.9, 30.1, 34.5, 68.10, 80.2, 116.21
- rājita adj. (S.) 'resplendent, adorned, brilliant': 2.23, 3.21, 48.3, 52.2, 56.4, 58.8, 62.1, 70.10, 77.2, 85.14, 103.1, 117.15
- rāti n.f. (rātrī-) 'night': 117.9, 120.9



- rādhā n.f. (S.) Rādhā: 3.2, 3.15, 19.4, 45.7, 46.1, 49.8, 52.8, 55.21, 57.2, 65.2, 66.3, 67.11, 72.2, 87.1, 98.2, 100.4, 104.4, 111.7, 112.2, 115.17, 115.22, 117.16, 118.11, 121.1 (rep.), 122.1, 122.8, 124.11; -e, 73.2, 85.15, 89.2, 94.4, 103.3, 105.i.4, 115.3, 116.32, 124.1
- rādhikā n.f. (S.) endearing form of prec.: 10.2, 117.1, 117.4, 120.16, 124.23
- rānī n.f. (rājñī-) 'queen': 115.3, 116.32, 117.4, 120.16, 121.2, 124.11, 126.2
- rāma n.m. (S.) Rāma: 12.3
- rāsa n.m. (S.) 'round dance performed by Kṛṣṇa and the gopīs, sport, play': 3.5, 11.1, 13.6, 17.3, 21.4, 22.6, 23.2, 30.5, 56.2, 58.2, 67.1 (rep.)/3, 70.17, 72.6, 73.2, 121.3; -u, 4.19/24, 40.3, 45.3, 53.1, 55.1, 55.19, 69.1, 86.4, 95.1, 103.3; cf. mamdala
- rāha n.m. (= rāhu-) Rāhu (a demon said to seize the sun, and moon and thus cause eclipses): 105.ii.1
- rida n.m. (<hrdaya-) 'heart': -hi, 54.3 (bis), 110.4; -i, 2.28, 3.18, 50.3, 55.9, 56.7, 67.18, 75.3, 128.8; -e, 1.3, 1.10, 1.16, 2.31
- ridhi n.f. (= rddhi-) 'prosperity' (name of the wife of Kubera/attendant of Gaṇeśa): 118.7
- ripa n.m. (= ripu-) 'enemy, adversary': 14.6
- risi n.f. (riṣ-) 'anger': 37.2, 124.15; -a, 4.8, 4.10, 54.3
- rī vocative particle: 32.2\*, 35.1, 40.1, 47.8, 59.1, 69.1, 78.1, 95.1, (103.1), 115.7, 119.1, (119.6)
- rījh- v.i. (rdhyati) 'be pleased': -ata, 23.3; -i, 10.1 (rep.), 24.4, 46.2 (rep.), 52.7, 60.6, 73.1 (rep.), 74.1, 84.4; -ī, 69.1
- rīti n.f. (S.) 'custom, practice, method': 81.2, 113.2
- rukhu n.m. (Pers. rukh) 'face, aspect': 105.i.1
- ruc- v.i. (rucyate) 'be pleasant, appeal': -ata, 27.2
- ruci n.f. (S.) 'lustre, beauty, attractiveness': 12.5, 19.5, 56.7
- rucira adj. (S.) 'brilliant, radiant, attractive': 38.4
- runujhunu n.m. (< rana- + jhan) 'jingling (of anklets): 2.31, 3.23, 22.4; runajhuna, 10.3

- rūpa n.m. (S.) 'shape, form, grace, beauty': 1.2, 1.9, 1.16, 2.1, 5.5, 9.2, 16.6, 49.4, 53.4, 56.5, 70.5, 75.1, 97.4, 105.ii.iii, 105.ii.v, 112.3, 112.4, 115.19, 116.10; -u, 116.6, 118.13
- rūma cf. roma
- re vocative particle: (27.5)
- raina n.f. (rajanī-) 'night': 4.10, 8.3, 30.5, 36.1, 58.3, 66.2, 67.4, 69.1, 71.2, 73.1, 96.3, 103.6, 128.3
- rok- v.t. (\*rokk-) 'stop': -i, 124.20
- roca n.f. (S.) 'brightness': 4.23, 85.17
- rop- v.t. (ropyate) 'plant, sow': -ī, 55.9
- roma n.m. (S.) 'hair' (esp. on the body), repeated with the meaning 'in every part': 2.17, 27.7, 28.6 (rūma rāma) 35.7, 93.3; romāvali, 70.7.
- lampata adj. (S.) 'desirous, lustful': 56.2, 61.3, 87.3
- lakuta n.m. (S.) 'stick': -na, 31.5; f. dimin. -ī, 31.5
- lakh- v.i. & t. (laksati) 'see': -i, 1.2, 95.3\*, 124.19; -iyā (cf. VI.16), 97.3
- lag- v.i. (lagyati) 'adhere to, begin': -ata, 79.2; -atu, 106.1; -ye, 106.4; -yo, 2.22, 93.1; cf. lāg-
- lagani n.f. (\*lagni-) 'attachment': 1.23, 124.21; -a, 79.2
- lachana n.m. (laksmaṇa-) Lakṣmaṇa: 12.3
- lachamī n.f. (laksmi-) Lakṣmī : 118.7
- lajā- v.t. (lajjāpayati) (put to shame': -i, 22.3, 104.3; -e, 81.4; -ve, 49.2, 82.3, 104.2
- lajilī adj.,f. (lajjita- ext.-ll-?) 'bashful': 87.2, 124.5
- laj(j)ita adj. (S.) 'ashamed, abashed': 2.13, 3.33, 47.6, 117.14
- laṭ- v.i. (\*latta-) 'dangle': -i gai 'wasted away, became exhausted', 3.29
- latak- v.i. (\*latta- ext. -kk-) 'hang down, dangle': -ata, 2.4, 3.26, 11.6, 33.4, 78.4; -amdā (r.), 45.3; -ī, 2.20, 2.21; -ye, 70.9; cf. latakā-
- latakani n.f. (formed fr. prec.) 'swaying': 97.1; -a, 98.4
- latakā- v.i. (variant of latak-) 'dangle': -vahe, 2.20
- laṭapaṭī adj.,f. (\*latta- + patta- ?) 'loosely tied (with regard to a turban)': 33.3, 78.3
- ladā- v.t. (caus. fr. lad) 'fondle, caress': -ve, 6.6; -vē, 57.6

- ladetī n.f. (<\*lāda- ?) 'darling': 49.6, 56.1, (61.6), 65.4, 70.1, 108.5; m. -e, 66.4, 117.4
- lata n.f. (S.) 'creeper': 1.13/18, 3.11, 3.39, 4.7/12, 37.2, 55.5
- lapat- v.i. (cf. lapatā-) 'be wrapped around': -ī, 70.3; -e 74.2
- lapatā- v.t. (\*lappett-) 'embrace, clasp': -ī, 56.4; -e, 36.2; -ta, 15.5; -ni, 115.15, 126.4; -vahi, 3.39
- lara n.f. (\*lada-) 'string, necklace': 36.2, 64.2; cf. dularī
- larikā n.m. (\*laddikka-) 'boy': 31.2, 59.3
- lalacā- v.t. (formed fr. lālac < lālitya-) 'crave, desire': -e, 63.4, 124.10; -ni, 97.4
- lalana cf. lāla
- lalitā n.f. (S.) Lalitā (the foremost of Rādhā's companions): 1.11, 66.3, 75.5, 94.2, 95.1, 100.3, 115.7; ~ādika, 96.1
- lava adv. (= lavam) 'a little, slightly': 7.2
- lāhago n.m. 'skirt': 84.3, 116.27
- las- v.i. (lasati) 'shine, flash': -ata, 87.4, 117.6; -ana, 64.3
- lā- v.t. (labhate × dadati) 'bring': -ī, 35.1 (rep.), 83.4, 112.2; -ve, 111.5, 114.3; -yā, 68.1; -ve, 19.5;
- lāg- v.i. (lagyati) 'adhere to, begin': -ata, 39.3, 53.5, 127.2; -ī, 34.3, 46.3, 47.2, 51.3, 55.23, 70.5, 70.18, 91.4, 93.2, 103.6, 111.7, 112.4, 120.8, 124.11; -ī -ī, 55.13, 64.2, 67.16, 97.4, 110.3, 116.10, 119.6; -e, 64.3; 65.2; -ye, 64.3, 85.4; cf. lag-
- lāj- v.i. (lajjate) 'be modest, be ashamed': -ahī, 3.20; -ahe, 2.12; -e, 14.2, 22.2, 30.6
- lāja n.f. (lajjā-) 'modesty, honour': 18.2, 33.7, 93.4, 119.5; -e (r.), 34.6
- lāda n.m. (\*lādyā-) 'fondling, affection': 6.6
- lādulī n.f. (\*lādyā-) 'darling': 3.32, 4.13/18, 5.5, 43.2, 66.4, 107.1, 124.10; m. -e, 67.3, 72.1
- lālu n.m. (lālya-) 'darling infant' (referring to Kṛṣṇa): 4.1/6, 19.1 (rep.), 26.1, 78.1, 100.3, 110.1, 124.16, 126.1; -a, 2.3, 2.18, 3.2, 3.15, 3.34, 4.16, 5.2, 5.4, 7.4, 9.14, 11.2, 20.4, 22.1, 22.4, 22.6, 23.1, 23.4, 25.2, 29.1, 31.1, 33.1, 34.8, 35.8, 37.1, 39.1, 43.1, (44.1), 46.1, 47.7, 53.1, 54.4, 55.19, 56.1, 63.1, 64.1, 66.4, 70.1, 73.2, 75.4, 77.4, 80.4, 84.4, 86.1,

87.1, 88.4, 89.1, 92.4, 93.1, (97.4), 99.1, 99.4,  
101.4, 107.7, 108.6, 109.1, 115.1, 115.5, 115.11,  
116.29, 117.4, 118.1, 119.6, 124.10, (127.1), 128.6;  
lālana, 8.1, 24.6, 48.1, 51.1 (lalana), 60.1, 85.10;  
lalanā, 125.4; lālunī, 114.1

- lāhago cf. lāhago
- lie postp. (pp. of le-) 'for, in order to': 107.2
- lilāta n.m. (lalāta-) 'forehead': 47.4
- līna adj. (S.) 'merged in, absorbed in': 1.3, 1.21, 70.10
- līlā n.f. (S.) 'sport, play': 56.6, 67.18, 107.9, 128.5
- lud- v.i. & t. (ludati) 'swing, rock': -u, 118.3
- lubadhu adj. (= lubdha-) 'desirous, eager': 41.3
- lubhā- v.t. (lubhyati) 'arouse, excite desire': -i, 104.3;  
-ī, 52.8; -yo, 53.4; -ve, 116.20
- lūt- v.t. (\*luttati) 'steal, rob': -yo, 64.4
- le- v.t. (labhate × deti and neti) 'take': 26.1, 29.3,  
32.3, 32.4, 32.5, 65.2, 78.2, 86.3, 105.i.4, 111.4;  
-ta, 7.2, 17.3, 59.3, 61.3, 70.15, 78.2; -ti, 92.3;  
-hu, 127.3; lēhu, 29.3; lai, 1.17, 2.24, 47.2, 70.2,  
76.2, 122.4; liē, 1.11, 55.7, 55.13, 75.4, 92.4,  
101.2, 117.8; liē, 15.6, 59.2; līo, 28.1, 126.4;  
lije, 20.4, 32.6, 51.2, 77.4, 99.2, 108.4, 128.4;  
līnā, 1.1/6 (r.); līnī, 1.15, 2.18, 12.6, 34.7,  
50.2, 56.5, 60.8, 65.3, 67.6, 124.20; line, 72.3,  
85.5, 117.16; linē, 29.4; līno, 9.3, 3.31, 49.7,  
68.7, 93.3, 112.1 (rep.), 116.29, 120.13, 123.3;  
cf. lie, lyāī
- lekh- v.t. (<likh) 'write': -ī. 67.18
- lo<sup>1</sup> postp. (<lagita- ?) 'up to, towards': 12.6, 62.2,  
103.2
- lo<sup>2</sup> vocative particle: 55.1/2/7/8/13/14/19/20
- loka n.m (S.) 'world, society': 20.3, 33.7, 34.6, 67.8,  
119.5
- locana n.m. (S.) 'eye': 28.2, 64.1, 68.2, 111.3
- lonā adj. (\*lavanya-) 'tasty, charming': 116.19
- lol- v.i. (lodayati) 'roll': -ata, 108.6
- lola adj. (S.) 'rolling, dangling, lustful, desirous,  
tremulous': 68.6
- loī n.f. (\*loda-) 'lullaby': 113.1 (bis)

- lyāi v.t., pp. (cf. VI.15) 'brought': 100.3
- vamchā n.f. (vāñchā-) 'wish, desire': 126.2
- vaca(na) cf. baca(na)
- vadabhāgi n.m. (<vadra- + bhāgin-) 'fortunate': 67.18;  
cf. IV.3.4.4
- vad- v.i. & t. (S.) 'speak, say': -ata, 1.9, 3.23, 4.20,  
45.6, 60.3
- vadā adj. (for vaḍā <vadra- ?; cf. IV.3.4.4) 'big': 118.4
- vadhāi n.f. (vardhāpayati) 'rejoicing': 71.14
- vadhū n.f. (S.) 'young woman': 2.6, 118.10
- vanavāri n.m. (<vanamālin-) 'wearing a forest garland' (epithet  
of Kṛṣṇa): 27.4, 55.22, 60.4, 60.8, 71.12, 114.4
- vari cf. bara
- vas- cf. bas-
- vasi cf. basi
- vah- cf. bah-
- vaha remote demon.pron. (asau) '(s)he, that': 18.3, 41.4,  
102.1; uha, 5.6, 99.3; una, 14.6, 25.3, 39.1, 51.3,  
61.6, 65.3, 85.17 (~hi), 40.5, 64.4 (~hū), 101.2;  
uā, 115.7; uvā, 101.1, 113.2 (~hi); uvā, 12.4, 64.4;  
vā, 49.5 (~hi); vā, 18.3, 99.3; binu, 54.2\*; cf. V.2.2
- vānc- v.t. (S.) 'wish for': -ata, 85.23
- vār- cf. bār-
- vāhi cf. bāhu
- vicār- v.t. (<vicārayati) 'think about, consider': -ie, 107.6
- vita n.m. or f. (either <vitta- or vitti-) 'possessions,  
wherewithal' or 'consciousness': 2.26, 122.6; -u, 111.4
- vidha n.m. (S.) 'sort, kind': 57.7
- vidhi cf. bidhi
- vimukhana cf. bimukha
- vilamba n.m. (S.) 'delay': -u, 116.30
- viśrāma n.m. (S.) 'rest': 21.4
- viṣe postp. (viṣaye) 'in': 3.31

- viseṣī adj.,f. (<viśeṣa-)&#39;special': 62.2
- vistāri adj. (= vistārin-, unless absol. of verbal derivative):  
'spreading': 3.14
- visvāsa n.m. (= viśvāsa-) 'faith, reliance': 128.3; -u, 69.6
- vrthā adv. (S.) 'in vain': 6.3, 32.6, 41.4
- vr̥ṣabhāna cf. br̥ṣabhāna
- ve vocative particle: 111.1
- vedhye cf. bedh-
- venatī cf. benatī
- vai n.m. (<vayas-) 'age, prime of life': 87.3
- vaijantī n.f. (<vaijayantī) + māla (r.), 'a kind of garland  
prognosticating victory, the necklace of Viṣṇu':  
122.6
- vyākula adj. (S.) 'bewildered, troubled, agitated': 25.4, 28.5
- śrama n.m. (S.) 'fatigue, exhaustion': -ā (r.), 2.14;  
-u, 4.22; + jala 'perspiration': 15.3
- śravana n.m. (= śravana-) 'ear': 2.14, 11.4, 21.2, 66.3, 86.3,  
116.11, 124.18; -i, 13.3; -na, 50.5
- śrī n.f. (S.) used as an epithet for Rādhā or as an  
honorific particle: 1.1/6, 18.4, 19.4, 29.4, 37.1,  
45.2, 71.6, 85.14/15, 103.3, 105.i.4, 115.22,  
121.1 (rep.), 122.8
- śruta n.f. (= śruti-) 'the Vedas': 125.6
- śrota n.m. (S.) 'ear, current, river': 14.4
- ṣaṭu n. & adj. (= ṣaṭ) 'six': 31.2, 105.ii.4
- saṃketa n.m. (S.) 'meeting, meeting place': 1.19/24, 94.4
- saṃgi postp. (<saṅga-) 'with': 1.22, 17.1 (ke +), 31.2, 31.5  
(ke +), 38.2, 46.1, 47.8 (ke +), 52.2, 55.19, 55.22,  
57.2, 57.9, 58.2, 59.2, 60.1, 63.1, 72.2, 73.2, 74.3,  
80.3, 81.2, 87.1, 88.1, 90.2, 94.2, 95.4, 96.1, (97.3),  
99.4, 102.1, 103.1, 103.3, 104.1 (ke +), 105.ii.2,  
106.1, 111.6, 116.3, 117.6, 118.6, 118.11, 124.2,  
124.4; -a, 1.11, 3.34 (ke +), 70.2, 128.2; -ā (r.),  
116.7; -ī (r.), 117.13
- saṃgīta n.m. (S.) 'music': 55.16, 58.6, 86.3, 88.3

- sampati n.f. (= sampatti-) 'welfare, fortune, fulfilment': 18.3
- sambhār- v.t. (sambhārayati) 'maintain, take care of':  
-i, 119.4
- sak- v.i. (śaknoti) 'be able': -ati, 77.3; -e, 1.23;  
-ō, 2.10
- sakala adj. (S.) 'all, entire': 8.3, 55.8/9, 55.14/15, 56.6,  
57.9, 80.2, 92.2, 126.4; -ī, 4.10
- sakuc- v.i. (saṁkucyate) 'shrink, tremble, be shy':  
-āni, 124.12
- sakuca adj. (formed fr. prec.) 'confused': 39.3
- sakucita adj. (= saṁkucita-) 'contracted, cowering': 87.2, 95.2
- sakuni n.m. (= śakuni-, or śakuna- with m.pl. -i ?) 'omen,  
auspicious song, bird (of good omen)': 48.4, 69.3
- sakhā n.m. (sakhi-) 'friend': 29.4, 45.2, 59.2, 111.6  
118.6
- sakhī n.f. (S.) 'woman's confidante': 1.11, 2.3, 2.17,  
32.1, 34.1, 47.1, 57.3, 70.3, 70.9, 78.4, 86.2,  
105.ii.1, 115.2, 116.29, 120.18, 124.2, 124.19, 126.1
- sagh- v.i. (saghnōti) 'be able': -ata, 28.3; -atu, 106.4;
- saghana adj. (S.) 'dense': 43.1
- sajani n.f. (sajjana-) 'good woman': 21.2
- sajala adj. (S.) 'containing water': 80.2
- sathu n.m. & adj. (= śatha-) 'deceitful': 43.4 (mahā~)
- sata adj. & n.m. (= śata-) 'hundred': 31.2
- sadana n.m. (S.) 'seat, dwelling, abode': 1.4, 6.5, 48.1,  
77.1; f. -ī, 121.3
- sadā adv. (S.) 'always, for ever': 59.3, 128.5, 128.8
- sanakādika n.m. (S.) 'Sanaka and the others' (i.e. the four  
sons of Brahmā): 125.5
- sanehu n.m. (= sneha-) 'love, attachment': 110.4, 127.4
- sanehī adj. (= snehin-) 'fond of, attached to': 115.19
- sapata adj. & n.m. (= sapta) 'seven': 23.3, 30.4, 58.6
- sapat[h]a n.m. (= śapatha-) 'vow, oath': 54.5
- saphala adj. (S.) 'fruitful': -u, 126.2

- sabada n.m. (= śabda-) 'words, sound, call': 3.3, 29.2, 47.3, 57.8, 122.5
- sabha adj. (sarva-) 'all, whole': 1.7/12, 1.20, 2.29, 3.29, 8.1, 12.4, 14.2, 22.3, 28.6, 31.4, 37.3; 40.3, 40.4, 42.2, 44.2, 45.4, 50.5, 55.4, 55.21, 57.3, 60.7, 65.3, 67.11, 67.16, 69.2, 70.11, 73.3, 76.2, 85.2, 85.5, 85.10, 85.11, 90.2, 92.3; -e, 45.6
- sama<sup>1</sup> adj. (S.) 'equal to, even, smooth': 1.4, 2.6, 4.17, 5.1, 20.3, 23.4, 50.7, 51.2, 70.19, 82.2; -i, 90.3
- sama<sup>2</sup> n.m. (S.) 'first beat of a rhythmic cycle (tāla): 10.2
- samajh- v.i. (sambudhyate) 'understand': -i, 26.3; -o, 44.2
- samā- v.i. (sammāti) 'be contained': (ā)i (r.), 26.6; -yo, 53.4
- samāgama n.m. (S.) 'union, encounter': -u, 87.2
- samāja n.m. (S.) 'meeting, assembly, society': 18.3 (parama-), 33.7; -e, 30.5
- samāna adj. (S.) 'equal to, similar': -i, 22.2
- samīra n.m. (S.) 'air, breeze, wind': 3.9
- samudra n.m. (S.) 'sea, ocean': 60.6; -u, 56.6
- samūha n.m. (S.) 'heap, multitude, essence': 6.5, 86.4, 105.i.3
- samau n.m. (= samaya-) '(appointed) time': 40.3
- sara n.m. (saras-) 'lake': 76.4; -u, 12.8
- saraga n.m. (= svarga-) 'heaven': 128.7
- sarada n.f. (= śarad-) 'autumn': 21.3, 22.5, 23.3, 24.5, 30.5, 55.2, 55.3, 58.3, 60.2, 61.5, 66.2, 67.4, 70.18, 73.1, 96.3, 103.6
- sarana n.m. (= śarana-) 'refuge': -e, 105.ii.iv
- saravasa n.m. (= sarvasva-) 'entire property, all and everything': 90.4; -u, 37.3, 49.7, 105.ii.iv; cf. IV.3.4.2
- sarasa adj. (S.) 'elegant, charming, beautiful': 52.4, 69.4, 70.9; -u, 19.4
- sarasi n.f. (S.) 'lake, pond': 15.4
- sarīra n.m. (= śarīra-) 'body': 28.2, 68.2, 111.3
- sarūpa n.m. (= svarūpa-) 'character, image, form': 70.15; -u, 2.31
- saroja n.m. (S.) 'lotus': 81.2



- sarovara n.m. (S.) 'lake, large pond': 53.3
- salonā adj. (salavana-) 'having salt, beautiful': 111.8, 114.2; -e, 2.1, 50.3, 63.2, 77.4, 118.9; -o, 52.1, 65.1, 97.4
- savaya adj. (= sarve ?) 'all': 31.2
- savār- v.t. (samvārayati) 'prepare, arrange': -ī, 22.5, 61.5
- sasi n.m. (= śāsin-) 'moon': 5.2, 9.10, 11.7, 16.4, 49.2, 55.2, 74.3, 81.2, 85.16, 90.3, 105.i.3, 105.ii.1, 116.2, 117.9, 120.10
- sahānī adj.,f. (S., with -ī for rhyme) 'powerful, enduring': 54.3
- sahaja adj. (S.) 'innate, intrinsic, spontaneous': 1.23, 57.6, 102.2\*, 122.9
- sahāi n.m. (= sahāya-) 'help': 105.ii.vii
- sahita adj. (S.) 'with, accompanied by': 3.29
- sahelī n.f. (sakhī- ext. -ll-) 'companion, friend': 117.16
- sācurī n.f. (<sahacari- × samcarati ?) 'companion, follower': 73.3, 83.3 (-a-), 115.4
- sāvāra adj. (śyāmala-) 'dark-coloured': 3.38, 86.1; -i, 71.5; -ī, 2.3; -īyo, 123.1 (rep.); -e, 1.16, 4.7/12, 19.4, 33.1, 63.2, 70.3, 91.4, 103.1, 104.1; -o 22.4; cf. IV.3.3.5.3
- sākhā n.f. (= śākhā-) 'branch': ~ sō ~, 70.6
- sāgara n.m. (S.) 'sea, ocean': 110.2; -i, 55.21, 72.3; -u, 86.2, 105.i.3, 116.6,
- sāj- v.t. (sajjayati) 'prepare, adorn': -a, 18.4, 55.11; -ahī, 3.16; -i, 3.17; -e, 3.11, 14.1, 22.2, 30.2, 80.3, 104.2, 116.5, 116.22
- sāja n.m. (sajya- or Pers. sāz) 'equipment, accoutrement, musical instrument': 3.19, 88.15
- sātha adv. (sārthena) 'with': 1.14, 63.2
- sādī adj.,f. (Pers. sādah) 'plain, unadorned, white': 84.3, 124.5
- sādha n.m. (= sādhu-) 'righteous person': 128.2
- sāma n.m. (S.) 'conciliation, persuasion': 8.3\*, 43.3, 120.2
- sāringa n.m. (= sāraṅga-) occurs 19 times in pada 32 with various meanings, including + suta, 'collyrium, lampblack

- sāri n.f. (śāta-) 'garment, sari': 9.5, 49.1, 66.2, 84.3, 116.7, 124.5
- sāsa usvāsa n.n.f. (śvāsa + \*ut-śvāsa-) 'deep or heavy breathing in and out, sighing': 61.3; cf. V.2.5
- siṅgār- v.t. (\*śrṅgārayati) 'decorate, adorn': -ī, 102.2
- siṅgāru n.m. (śrṅgāra-) 'decoration, toilette': 27.5
- siṃc- v.t. (siñcati) 'sprinkle': -i, 1.11
- siṃdhu n.m. 'S.) 'sea, ocean': 5.5, 10.4, 46.7, 49.4, 106.4, 121.2; -a, 1.16
- sikha cf. nakha
- sikhā- v.t. (caus. fr. sikh- < śiksate) 'teach': -e, 53.3; -vata, 88.3
- sijā n.f. (\*śeyyā-) 'bed, couch': 3.32/36; cf. seja
- sithala adj. (= śithila-) 'loose, languorous, unsteady': 15.2, 16.3, 36.2, 60.7, 67.16, 101.3; IV.3.3.2.3
- sidhār- v.i. (siddha- with kr) 'move, go': -o, 63.4, 101.4; -ye, 42.3
- sidhi n.f. (= siddhi-) 'success' (name of a female attendant of Gaṇeśa)': 118.7
- sira n.m. (śiras-) 'head': -i, (33.3), 81.1, 93.3
- sirā- v.t. (śītalayati) 'cool, moisten': -ī, 35.8
- siromani n.m. (= śiromani-) 'crest jewel': 60.8, 113.4
- siva n.m. (= śiva-) Śiva: 9.12, 115.9, 125.5
- sī adjectival suffix, f. (<sama-) 'like, ~ish': 6.4, 34.3, 35.5, 46.3, 70.2, 75.3, 77.1, 82.4, 87.1, 87.2, 89.2, 93.2, 110.3, 117.9, 120.9, 124.3; se, m.obl.sg., 12.1; m.dir.pl. 65.3
- sītala adj. (= śītala-) 'cool, cold': 3.9, 66.4, 67.5, 85.9, 96.3, 127.2
- sivā n.f. (sīman-) 'limit, edge': 5.5, 9.2, 48.2; cf. IV.3.3.5.3
- sīsa n.m. (śīrsa-) 'head': 34.5, 47.3, 123.2; -i, 2.5, 11.2, 27.4, 45.3, 50.4, 111.2, 124.2
- sīsaphūla n.m. (fr. prec. + phūla) 'flower-shaped ornament worn on the head': 116.7
- sumdara adj. (S.) 'beautiful': 2.7, 33.5, 47.1, 47.3, 50.4, 70.9, 78.4, 105.i.1, 122.2, 122.5; -i, 12.2 (ati~), 51.2, 77.1, 85.7/12

- sumdaratā n.f. (S.) 'beauty': 56.3, 68.5
- sukumārī adj.,f. (S.) 'young, tender': 124.12 (ati-)
- sukha n.m. (S.) 'bliss, joy, happiness': 1.20, 2.28/29, 3.32, 3.36, 6.5, 48.1, 66.4, 72.5, 79.1, 86.4, 89.1, 105.i.3; -u, 14.4, 22.6, 31.2, 32.8 (parama-), 41.4, 44.4, 45.8, 51.3, 53.5, 57.2, 57.4, 58.6, 62.4, 67.15, 70.13, 70.20 (parama-), 71.5, 83.4, 85.21, 99.2, 103.6, 107.3, 116.33 (ati-), 117.8 (ati-), 117.14
- sukhakārī adj. (S.) 'causing happiness, creating joy': 58.4, 84.2 (ati-), 102.2
- sukhadāī adj. (= sukhadāyin-) 'giving pleasure or delight': 34.4, 52.3, 56.3, 68.5, 76.3, 78.4, 83.3
- sugamḍha adj. (S.) 'fragrant': 67.5, 96.3; -u, 70.11
- sughara adj. (sughata-) 'clever, elegant, well-formed': 55.17, 73.3, 79.1 (-d-), 86.2, 88.2, 88.3
- sugarāī n.f. (formed fr. prec.) 'elegance, gracefulness': 55.15, 91.3
- sujasu cf. jasa
- sujāna adj. (= sujñāna-) 'possessing good knowledge': 63.4
- sudhāra adj. (su + dhār- ?) 'graceful': 10.2
- suta n.m. (S.) 'son': 14.2, 14.3, 14.4, 14.5, 14.7, 28.4, 116.24, 125.6; -i, 14.4; -u, 14.2, 14.3, 14.5 (bis), 32.1, 32.4; -na, 27.5
- sutā n.f. (S.) 'daughter': 12.3, 14.2, 57.4, 70.1
- sutī n.m. (= sutin- or sutī ?) 'having a son or sons' or 'one who wishes for a son or treats any one like a son': 14.4
- sudhamga adj. (HSS: su + dhāg or śudhi + ānga-) 'gracefully': 3.27
- sudhi n.f. (= śuddhi-) 'awareness, concern, care': 27.3, 33.4, 35.3, 47.7, 50.2, 59.3, 65.3, 66.2, 75.2, 76.4, 94.3, 95.2
- sudhā n.f. (S.) 'nectar': 1.4, 1.11, 5.2, 6.5, 9.2, 16.6, 72.4, 112.4
- sun- v.i. & t. (śrnoti) 'hear': -ata, 56.6, 120.7; -atu, 94.3; -ahu, 8.1, 115.5 (rep.); -aho, 47.8; -i, 1.17, 3.8, 4.9, 4.13/18, 13.5, 35.4, 47.6, 105.ii.i, 107.8, 107.10, 123.3, 124.9, 126.3 (rep.); -ī, 86.3, 120.6, 124.8; -īje, 51.4; -e, 13.3, 21.2, 116.33; -o, 41.2, 105.i.2, 120.17; -ye, 66.3, 115.15, 116.29; -yo, 26.4, 43.2

- sunā- v.t. (caus. fr. prec.) 'tell, make sound': -i, 92.2; -e, 1.23; -yo, 95.2; -hī, 57.8
- subāsa n.m. & adj. (= suvasa-) 'fragrance, fragrant': 2.7, 70.5, 70.11
- subha adj. (= śubha-) 'bright, beautiful, fitting, auspicious': (49.1), 70.8
- subhaga adj. (S.) 'fortunate, lovely, pretty, delicate': 33.5, 36.3, 43.4, 47.4, 50.7, 67.9, 70.2, 70.8, 86.2, 104.2, 105.i.1, 111.8, 116.15, 116.28, 125.2
- subhā- v.t. (\*śubhyati 'make beautiful, make attractive': -i, 105.ii.2
- subheṣu cf. bheṣu
- sumera n.m. (= sumeru-) mount Sumeru: 49.2
- sura<sup>1</sup> n.m. (S.) 'god': 55.23, 58.7, 67.15, 70.19, 80.2, 115.9; -i, 9.6; cf. surapati
- sura<sup>2</sup> n.m. (= svara-) 'sound, musical note': 23.3; -i, 1.10, 2.6, 10.1, 24.3, 30.3, 30.4, 45.5, 58.6, 60.3, 111.5, 117.12.
- surajh- v.i. (formed fr. urajh ?) 'be entangled': -i, 70.6
- surati n.f. (<smṛti- ?) 'memory, recollection': 58.7, 61.3, 68.7; cf. Beames, I p. 165
- surapati n.m. (S.) 'lord of the gods' (epithet of Indra): 3.28
- suhā- v.i. (śubhāyate) 'be pleasing': -i, 2.2; -ī, 89.2; -e, 11.4; -vanā, 114.2; -vanā, 2.5; -ve, 6.4
- sūdhe adj., m.obl.sg. (śuddha-) 'true, straight': 27.6, 35.5
- se cf. sī
- seja n.f. (\*śeyyā-) 'bed, couch': 85.7/12; cf. sijā
- sevaka n.m. (S.) 'servant, worshipper': -u, 105.ii.vi
- seharo n.m. (śekhara-) 'chaplet, garland of flowers on the head or hanging over the face': 93.2
- saina n.m. (= śayana-) 'repose, rest, sleep': 3.32/36, 3.35
- sō<sup>1</sup> postp. (sama- or sahita-?) 'with, by means of': 1.13/18, 3.22, 4.1/6, 5.4, 7.4, 14.5\*, 15.5, 20.4, 20.6, 25.3, 27.5, 29.1, 29.4, 32.4, 39.3, 39.4, 40.5, 42.1, 42.3, 46.2, 48.1 (bis), 50.2, 51.1, 51.4, 54.1, 60.6, 61.6, 62.3 (bis), 63.3, 64.1, 64.2, 64.3, 64.4, 65.2, 66.4, 68.4, 70.4, 70.6, 70.9, 74.1, 76.3, 79.1, 79.3, 89.1, 93.1, 93.4, 94.4, 95.1, 99.1, 101.1, 106.1, 106.2, 107.5, 107.7, 108.1, 113.2, 113.3, 115.7, 115.12, 116.15, 116.21, 117.7, 117.12, 119.6, 124.13

- sō<sup>2</sup> n.f. (śapatha-) 'oath, vow': 81.4, 82.2, 90.1, 113.2;  
cf. sōsa
- sōca n.m. (or v.i. absol. <śocyate) 'anxiety, worry': 26.3
- sōdhā n.m. (sugamdha-) 'perfume': 27.3
- sōsa n.f. (variant of sō<sup>2</sup>) 'oath, vow': 65.3; cf. RSK sūs
- sone n.m.,obl. (sauvarṇa-) 'gold': 70.2
- sobhā n.f. (= śobhā-) 'beauty': 2.2, 2.9, 2.13, 2.25, 2.29,  
3.33, 5.3, 5.4, 12.4, 18.3, 22.1, 24.6, 28.2, 50.3,  
50.7, 55.21, 70.14, 72.3, 86.2, 105.i.3, 106.4, 110.2,  
116.6, 116.28, 117.2, 121.2, 124.16, 126.4
- sobhita adj. (= śobhita-) 'splendid, beautiful, adorned with':  
24.5, 38.5, 70.11, 90.2, 105.ii.2
- soh- v.i. (śobhate) 'shine, look beautiful': -e, 2.23, 9.5,  
11.3, 11.8, 11.10, 33.3, 64.3, 68.3, 68.11, 81.4,  
100.2, 114.5, 116.9, 116.23, 116.25, 117.2, 124.4
- syāma adj. & n.m. (= śyāma-) 'dark, dark-blue' (epithet of  
Kṛṣṇa): 2.1, 2.27, 4.3, 7.2, 9.5, 22.6, 24.2, 28.2,  
33.5, 34.1 (rep.), 35.2, 36.3, 37.1, 47.4, 48.4, 49.1,  
50.3, 52.1, 55.1/2/7/8/13/14/19/20, 55.4, 59.4, 64.4,  
65.1, 66.2, 67.11, 68.2, 70.2, 74.1, 74.4, 75.1, 75.3,  
76.4, 83.4, 87.3, 106.4, 111.3, 112.3, 115.20, 117.6,  
118.9, 122.8, 124.20, 125.2; -nī, 114.2; ~sumdaru  
(epithet of Kṛṣṇa), 119.2
- syāmā n.f. (= śyāmā-) an epithet of Rādhā: 24.2, 41.1, 48.4,  
49.1, 88.3, 102.1
- haṃsa n.m. (S.) 'goose, swan': 15.4, 22.3, 75.3, 102.4
- haṭ- v.i. (\*hatt-) 'move out of the way': -ī, 3.8, 4.10;  
-ē, 3.28
- hatha n.m. (S.) 'obstinacy': -u, 4.1/6, 6.3, 8.2, 20.5, 25.3,  
26.2, 43.2 (mahā~), 107.3
- hathīlī n.f. (formed fr. prec.) 'obstinate woman': 4.9, 6.3,  
41.2, 44.1
- hama pron. (asmad-) 'I, we': 4.9, 40.2, 42.2 (bis), 42.4,  
71.1 (~hī), 94.2, 94.3, 101.4; hamārā, 71.5; hamārī,  
41.2, 71.13, 85.20/21, 90.4, 99.2, 108.5, 120.17;  
hamāre, 2.21, 42.1, 50.1, 71.6; hamāro, 32.1, 33.1,  
120.12, 123.1 (hamaro), 123.5
- harani cf. hirana

- hari n.m. (S.) Hari (epithet of Kṛṣṇa): 28.1, 47.8, 50.1 (rep.), 67.7, 69.1, 71.6, 100.2, 105.ii.vii, 107.2, 117.13
- haras- v.i. (= hr̥s-) 'be glad, rejoice': -ata (perhaps for harsita), 71.15
- harasu n.m. (= harsa-) 'bristling, rejoicing': 55.10
- harita adj. (S.) 'green': 80.3, 124.7
- has- v.i. (hasati) 'laugh': -ata, 19.1 (rep.), 24.6, 117.5; -i, 33.5, 99.1; -u, 128.2; -e, 2.32; -o, 109.4
- hasana adj. & n.m. (S.) 'laughing, laughter': 2.32, 34.7, 64.3, 112.3; -i, 58.5; -ī, 24.6
- hātha n.m. (hasta-) 'hand': 29.4, 105.ii.ii; -i, 31.5
- hār- v.i. (hārayati) 'lose, be defeated, be exhausted': -i, 108.2; -ī, 8.4, 13.2, 21.1 (rep.), 27.3
- hāra n.m. (S.) 'necklace': 11.8; -ā (r.), 116.23; -u, 24.5, 84.3
- hāsa n.m. (S.) 'laughter': 79.3, 115.18
- hiṃdole n.m., loc.sg. (S.) 'in a swing': 83.1, 96.4 (-r-)
- hita n.m. 'benefit, affection, love': 3.15, 27.5, 63.4, 64.3, 66.3, 70.9, 76.3, 92.4, 106.2, 115.15, 115.17, 121.3, 124.1, 124.10, 124.18; -i, 1.4, 22.5, 52.7, 115.10, 116.16, 127.3; -u, 1.19/24, 3.11, 4.14, 4.16, 24.3, 42.1, 42.3, 75.4, 91.3, 93.3, 104.3 (ati~), 115.1, 125.3 (ati~); -kāri, 88.2; cf. heta
- hir- v.t. (= har-) 'steal, rob, seize': -i, 2.18, 2.24, 7.2, 12.6, 34.7, 49.7, 50.2, 60.8, 65.3, 67.6, 68.7, 70.15, 93.3, 111.4, 123.3; -ye, 2.28/29; -yo, 2.21, 9.6, 105.ii.iv
- hirata cf. her-
- hirana adj. (= harana-) 'seizing, stealing': 22.1; -i, 1.1/6; ~hāra, 118.10
- hil- v.i. (\*hilati) 'become accustomed to', used with mil- to mean 'united with': hili mili, 72.2, 79.2, 95.4
- hīe n.m., obl.(loc.)sg. (hr̥daya-) 'heart': 1.8, 55.14, 124.14; hīē (r.), 115.1; ext.-r-, hīyare, 37.2; cf. rida
- hulāsu n.m. (ullāsa-) 'excitement, mirth': 69.4 (mahā-)
- heta n.m. (metr. for hita rather than = hetu-) 'love, affection': 7.5; -u, 56.4 (parama~), 100.2 (ati~), 107.6

- hema n.m. (S.) 'gold': 116.11
- her- v.i. & t. (\*herati) 'look, look at, watch': -ata, 41.3, 66.2 (hirata); -i, 82.3; -e, 113.3
- hairī (?) cf. 32.2 fn.
- ho<sup>1</sup> vocative particle: 31.1, 74.1, 76.1, 89.1, 91.1, (127.1); alternatively as imper. of v.i. ho-, 67.3, 71.1
- ho<sup>2</sup> v.i. (bhavati) 'be, become': imper. ho (cf. ho<sup>1</sup>), 5.5, 26.5, 36.1-4, 63.1 (rep.), 63.4, 64.1-4, 90.4, 101.1, 109.1, 113.1, 113.4; hō, 20.2, 43.2, 95.2; hoi, 2.13, 3.33, 68.12, 116.10, 117.13, 127.3; -ī, 1.10, 28.5, 70.19; hoe, 1.3; hota, 39.2, 62.3, 77.3; honā, 114.6; hovō, 85.23; hai, 1.4, 8.4, 9.1, 10.3, 12.3, (16.5), (17.4), 18.3, (24.4), 24.5, 24.6, 25.3, (28.6), 29.4, 32.2\*, 36.3, 38.3, 38.4, 38.6, 39.2, 40.4, 41.1 (bis), 41.4, 43.1, (44.1), [46.1], 47.4, 51.4, 54.1, 54.4 (bis), 55.20, 66.2, 66.3, 73.1 (bis), 73.2, 73.4, 82.4, 84.4, 86.1, 90.3, 91.2, 93.3, 94.1-4, 100.1, 100.3, 100.4 (bis), 103.4, 104.4, 106.1-4, 107.2, 107.4, 115.17, 115.20, 116.1, 117.3, 120.4, 126.3; hai, 1.13/18, 1.16, 1.17, 1.20, 2.26, 3.21, 11.1, 12.8, 48.1, 50.4, 71.13, 77.2, 94.4, 100.3, 106.4; bhai, 2.18, 4.9, (22.5), 27.2, 28.3, 45.4, 48.2, 48.4, 55.5, 60.7, 67.16, 69.2, 71.14, 73.1, 76.1, 81.2, 100.3, 105.i.2, 107.4, 109.3, 117.9, 119.1, 120.9; bhae, 1.2/3, 3.37, 4.3, 12.4, 12.7, 15.2, 34.6, 53.4, 71.13, 85.10, 94.4, 100.2, 117.14, 123.6, 125.6; bhayo, 1.20, 4.21, 24.5, 29.3, 41.3, 42.1, 42.3, 55.10, 55.20, 74.3, 86.4, 106.4, 120.12; cf. IV.3.3.5.9
- hodā hodi n.f. (<\*hodda- ?) 'a kind of competitive dance': 53.2
- hau pron. (aham) 'I': 2.18, 13.2, 21.1 (rep.); cf. mai

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Descriptive list of Eighth Gaddī manuscripts

The following list includes all manuscripts consulted which were found to contain works attributable to Kevalarāma or to provide information on the authors or history of the Eighth Gaddī. Those manuscripts which have not been donated to the Vrindaban Research Institute are in the possession of either Goswami Ratan Lal or Goswami Shyam Lal of Śrī Gopināthajī kā Mandira, Vrindaban, apart from one manuscript (T) which is now only available on microfilm at the K. Munshi Institute, Agra University, and another (W) which is in the Houghton Library, Harvard University, and was consulted on a microfilm acquired by the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

The following abbreviations and symbols are used in the list:

Go.	Goswami
(inc.)	incomplete
(S)	text in Sanskrit (all other texts are in Braj unless stated otherwise)
V.R.I. acc. no.	Vrindaban Research Institute accession number
[ ]	title, name, omitted or missing letters etc. supplied
[...]	letters missing due to loss of part of a folio
[?]	illegible or indecipherable character
/ or //	use of one or two <u>daṇḍas</u> to punctuate a colophon
~	repetition of formulae (such as <u>śrī</u> , <u>śrī kṛṣṇa</u> )

Colophons are transcribed verbatim but titles have been somewhat standardized (e.g. puṣṭimārgī for puṣṭamārgī, -kh- where it is denoted by the graph < ṣ >). Use of parentheses for an author's name against a title indicates a form occurring in the text as a chāpa and is given either in cases where a name is not provided in the colophon or where the colophon and chāpa forms differ. Colophons which merely state the



title and author of the work with such words as atha/iti and likhyate/likhitam are given only in cases where a spelling or accompanying invocation is of particular significance or helps to identify the manuscript. Since the foliation of some manuscripts is irregular, and sometimes different sections of a manuscript are foliated separately, raised commas are used to denote numbers written by a scribe, thus 59/'1<sup>r</sup>-69/'11<sup>r</sup> indicates that the folios counted from the beginning as 59<sup>r</sup>-69<sup>r</sup> are foliated '1-11'.

A ANTHOLOGY ('GOSVĀMĪ BĀKE BIHĀRĪJĪ KE GRAMTHA')

Collection of Go. Ratan Lal, dated VS 1876 (= AD 1819).  
Scribe: Mūlacanda Josī (at Leiah, Distt. Muzaffargarh ?).  
Ff. 182 (bound). Foliation '1-175', first seven ff. unnumbered.  
16.5 x 25.5 cm. 18 lines.

The first seven folios contain a sūcīpatra and miscellaneous verses by Kevalarāma, Madanamohana, Kṛṣṇadāsa, Gadadhara and others in a different hand from the rest of the volume.

- |   |   |                           |
|---|---|---------------------------|
| (a) '1 <sup>r</sup> -4 <sup>v</sup> '   | <u>Dvidalātmakasvarūpa</u>                              | by Harirāya               |
| (b) '4 <sup>v</sup> -6 <sup>v</sup> '   | <u>Śrī thākuraḥ śrī svāminījī kī svarūpa kī bhāvanā</u> | by Harirāya               |
| (c) '6 <sup>v</sup> -7 <sup>r</sup> '   | <u>Garbhitastotra (S)</u>                               |                           |
| (d) '7 <sup>v</sup> -9 <sup>v</sup> '   | <u>Brahmasvarūpavyākhyāna</u>                           | by Harirāya               |
| (e) '9 <sup>v</sup> -30 <sup>r</sup> '  | <u>Svarūpanirṇaya</u>                                   | [by Harirāya ?]           |
| (f) '30 <sup>v</sup> -35 <sup>v</sup> ' | <u>Vṛndāvanarajamahātmya saṭikā</u>                     |                           |
| (g) '35 <sup>v</sup> -45 <sup>r</sup> ' | <u>Puṣṭimārgī vaiṣṇavō ke nityakṛtya</u>                | [by Harirāya ?]           |
| (h) '45 <sup>r</sup> -61 <sup>r</sup> ' | <u>Vanayātrāparikramā</u>                               |                           |
| (i) '61 <sup>r</sup> -64 <sup>v</sup> ' | <u>Vrajamaṇḍala ke vana, upavana, sthala</u>            | (by Jagatananda)          |
| (j) '65 <sup>r</sup> -71 <sup>v</sup> ' | <u>Premaparīkṣā</u>                                     | (by Bālakṛṣṇa)            |
| (k) '72 <sup>r</sup> -73 <sup>r</sup> ' | <u>[Jogīlīlā]</u>                                       | (by Kevalajana)           |
| (l) '73 <sup>r</sup> -75 <sup>r</sup> ' | <u>Dānalīlā</u>   | by Harirāya               |
| (m) '75 <sup>v</sup> -77 <sup>r</sup> ' | <u>Dānalīlā</u>   | (by Mādhodāsa)            |
| (n) '77 <sup>r</sup> -80 <sup>v</sup> ' | <u>Mānalīlā</u>   | by Kevalarāma<br>(Kevala) |
| (o) '80 <sup>v</sup> -84 <sup>r</sup> ' | <u>Dānalīlā</u>   | by Kevalarāma<br>(Kevala) |

- (p) '84<sup>r</sup>-119<sup>r</sup>' Rāsa māna ke pada by Kevalarāma  
(Kevala/~jana)
- (q) '119<sup>v</sup>-137<sup>v</sup>' Manamañjarī nāmamālā by Nandadāsa
- (r) '137<sup>v</sup>-145<sup>r</sup>' Śrī Gopīnāthajī kī vārtā
- (s) '145<sup>r</sup>-151<sup>r</sup>' Śrī Lālaḥjī ko janma caritra by Paramānanda
- (t) '151<sup>v</sup>-175<sup>v</sup>' Kīrtana samūha  
Miscellaneous verse by Tulasīdāsa, the Aṣṭachāpa  
and other poets, including Śrī Lālaḥjī kī stuti  
by Bhagavandāsa.

Ends ('175<sup>v</sup>): kavitta //

śrīmadgosvāmī bāke bihārījī ke graṁtha liṣye //  
lae grāma madhya mūlacamda josi ānake //  
saṁvat ritu dadhi vasu dharā māgha vadī bīja  
ravi ghasra puṣya riṣa prīti yoga jānake  
vañja karṇa pañca aṅka pustaka sodhye nisamka  
liṣye ke rupaie līnē sīdhe pāe dāna ke //  
to lō ciraṁ jīvō jo lō gaṁgā gotrā gāya gayā  
dāsa nija kī asīsā suno tuma kāna ke // 1 //  
śrī kṛṣṇa // ~ śrī kṛṣṇāya namaḥ // śrī gopālāya  
namaḥ // śrī gopījanavallābhāya namaḥ // śrī  
govindāya namaḥ // śrī gopāle namaḥ // śrī  
nārāyaṇa namaḥ // śrī rāmāya namaḥ ~

The scribe's kavitta, written in the syllabic ghanākṣarī metre (here with a 16 + 15 structure and requiring vañja karṇa for vañja karana) states that this anthology compiled by or for Gosvāmī Bāke Bihārī was written in VS 1876 (ritu dadhi vasu dharā) in lae grāma, presumably the town of Leah just over a hundred miles upstream from Dera Ghazi Khan. The scribe says that he received a fee in cash as well as a gift of sīdhā (uncooked lentils, grain etc.).

## B. ANTHOLOGY

V.R.I. acc.no. 11337 (donated by Go. Ratan Lal). Contains works by Kevalarāma with a few pieces by other Eighth Gaddī poets copied by different scribes on various kinds of paper. Ff.171 (bound out of sequence with some folios missing or blank, cf. IV.1, Table 1). 14.5 x 14 cm. 12-14 lines.

Ff. 1<sup>v</sup>-15<sup>r</sup> contain verse by various poets including one poem by Kevalarāma (f.11<sup>v</sup>).

- (a) 16<sup>r</sup>-19<sup>r</sup> Priyā-prītama vivāha by Kevalajana
- (b) 19<sup>r</sup>-71<sup>v</sup>, 74<sup>v</sup>-79<sup>v</sup>, 91<sup>r</sup>, 92<sup>r</sup>, 115<sup>v</sup>-117<sup>r</sup>, 119<sup>r</sup>-119<sup>v</sup>, 120<sup>r</sup>-123<sup>r</sup>  
[Rāsa māna ke pada] (by Kevala/~jana)  
79<sup>v</sup>-80<sup>v</sup>, 91<sup>v</sup>, 97<sup>v</sup>-99<sup>v</sup>, 102<sup>r</sup>-115<sup>v</sup>, 117<sup>r</sup>-119<sup>r</sup>, 119<sup>v</sup>-120<sup>r</sup>, 123<sup>v</sup>-136<sup>v</sup>  
Miscellaneous verse by Kevalarāma including didactic  
verse and poems dealing with holī and the story of  
Draupadī. A recipe appears on f.123<sup>v</sup>.
- (c) 72<sup>r</sup>-74<sup>r</sup> Rasamañjarī (by Kevalajana)
- (d) 81<sup>r</sup>-88<sup>v</sup> Untitled poem (inc., dohās 17-94)  
(by Kevala)
- (e) 89<sup>v</sup>-90<sup>v</sup> Nārāyanastotra
- (f) 92<sup>v</sup>-97<sup>r</sup> Mathurānāthajī kī stuti by Kevalajana
- (g) 99<sup>v</sup>-102<sup>r</sup> Sāra pacīsī (by Kevalajana)
- (h) 137<sup>r</sup>-139<sup>v</sup> Bāraha māha (inc.) by Kevalarāma  
(Kevalajana)  
140<sup>r</sup>-148<sup>r</sup> Miscellaneous verse by Kevalarāma and others.
- (i) 148<sup>v</sup>-150<sup>v</sup> Mānakeli ke savaie by Kevalarāma  
(Kevala)  
An incomplete sequence of savaiyā and kavitta.
- (j) 151<sup>v</sup>-152<sup>r</sup> Sākhi by Kevalarāma  
(Kevalajana)
- (k) 153<sup>v</sup>-161<sup>r</sup> Aniruddhajī kī stuti (by Dulaharāma)
- (l) 163<sup>r</sup>-165<sup>v</sup> Dharaṇīdharajī kī stuti (by Caturbhujā)  
161<sup>v</sup>-162<sup>v</sup>, 166<sup>r</sup>-171<sup>v</sup>  
Miscellaneous verse by various poets.

C ANTHOLOGY

V.R.I. acc.no. 9600 (donated by Go. Ratan Lal), dated VS 1854  
(= AD 1797). Contains miscellaneous verses, mainly by Eighth  
Gaddī poets, and some short texts in Sanskrit.  
Scribe: Rupacanda, at Lakki (Distt. Bannu).  
Ff.210. The ms. was originally bound but the folios have been  
separated during repair on account of their brittleness. Several  
folios had become detached from the binding, some are missing  
and others have broken into fragments resulting in loss of  
portions of the text and most of the original foliation.  
16 x 17.5 cm. 18 lines (between margins ruled in red ink).  
Circular designs in black, red, yellow and green on four folios.

- (a) 1<sup>r</sup>-67<sup>v</sup> Collection of verse by various authors  
Begins: śrī prabhu gopīnāthajī // atha prastāva kavitta // savaiyā // doharā // chapā // chaṇḍa // liṣyate // (circular diagram in centre of folio)  
Ends (after verse numbered 410):  
iti [sa]mūha kavita savaiye dohaḍā chaṇḍa chapā gu[...]daḍī saṃmāptam // saṃmat // 1854 // bhādra[va] pratipadāyaṃ // budhavāsarānvitāyaṃ // [śrī] madgosvāma raṇachoḍarājajī // śrī śrīma[dgosvā]majī haradevajī paṭhanārthaṃ // lippīkṛta[ṃ rā]macaṇḍa ātmajena rūpacāṇḍena puṣkarṇa jñā[ti]ye paṇiyā // lakī nagare // gambīlā taṭe // yādṛśaṃ pustakaṃ drṣṭvā tādrśaṃ liṣataṃ may[ā] [yad v]ā śuddhamaśuddhaṃ vā mama doṣo na [dīyate]
- (b) 68<sup>r</sup>-147<sup>r</sup> Collection of kavittas etc. by various authors  
Begins: śrī prabhu gopīnāthajī // atha kīrtana prastāva liṣyate //  
Ends on f.147<sup>r</sup> after a pada numbered 238. F.147<sup>v</sup> has a coloured circular design with names of the sevakas of Śrī Lālaajī written around it.
- (c) 148<sup>r</sup>-155<sup>r</sup> Vidhi prakāra  
Contains six short texts: Śrī Lāla surataru catuḥślokī (S), Guru kesarasnāna vidhi (partly in Sanskrit), Āratī, Pātra kā vidhi, Ācāra aparsatā and Navagrahavidhi (S).
- (d) 155<sup>v</sup> Ṣaṭpadī (S) by Viṭṭhala  
Written by a different scribe.
- (e) 156<sup>r</sup>-187<sup>v</sup> Collection of ślokas (S)  
A sequence of ślokas from dharmaśāstra etc. numbered '1-320' with additional verses describing the sixteen śṛṅgaras.
- (f) 188<sup>r</sup>-193<sup>r</sup> Vinaya pacāsa by Navanītarāya  
Begins: śrī kṛṣṇāya namaḥ // atha stotra liṣyate // atha vinaya // atha vinaya pacāsakā liṣyate //  
Ends: saṃvat aṣṭādaśa śataka sapta tīsa adhakāsa pūṣa vadī titha saptamī pūrāna vinaya pacāsa // iti śrīmadgosvāmi navanītarāya viracitam vinaya pacāsa saṃpūrṇam // saṃmāptam //

- (g) 193<sup>r</sup>-194<sup>v</sup> Bhavānyastaka (S)  
(h) 194<sup>v</sup>-195<sup>r</sup> Untitled stava in praise of Kṛṣṇa (S)  
(i) 195<sup>r</sup>-199<sup>r</sup> Svapnādhyāya (S) of Bṛhaspati  
(j) 199<sup>r</sup>-206<sup>v</sup> Gāṅgāmāhātmya (S)

Ends (206<sup>v</sup>, colophon written around a circular design with a seal in the centre reading: śrī kṛṣṇa śaraṇe ranachodaraya):

iti śrī aṣṭādaśa pu[rā]ṅokta gāṅgāmāhātmyaṃ  
sam[āptam] //  
yādṛśaṃ pustakaṃ [dṛṣṭvā] tādrśaṃ li[śataṃ] mayā  
[yad] vā śu[ddham] śuddhaṃ [vā] mama [do]ṣo na dī[yate] //  
1854 [bhā]drava śudi catu[rthī] śanivāsa[rānvitā]yāṃ //  
śrī śrīmadgosvāma ra[ṇa]chodarājajī śrī śrīmad-  
gosvāma haradevajī [pa]ṭhanārthaṃ lippikṛtam  
rāmacaṇḍa ātmajena [rū]pacāṇḍena jñātiye paṇīyā //  
lakī nagare // gaṃ[bī]lā nadyopatīre // śrī kṛṣṇāya  
namaḥ //

Ff.207-210: four folios of Braj verse which belong to the volume but, due to absence of other folios, cannot be placed in their original sequence.

## D ANTHOLOGY

Collection of Go. Ratan Lal. Written by various scribes. Ff.185  
(with 3 preceeding and 6 following blank leaves unnumbered).  
15 x 25 cm. 18-24 lines.

1<sup>r</sup> Verse with the chāpa 'Harijana'

- (a) 1<sup>v</sup>-16<sup>v</sup> Virahabhedavivarana (inc.) by Harideva

Begins: śrī gaṇeśāya namaḥ śrī viprayogātmanena namaḥ //  
atha śrī gosvāmi haridevajī kṛta virahabhedavivarṇa likhyate //

- (b) 17/'11<sup>r</sup>-104/'88<sup>v</sup>

Collection of verse (mainly kavitta and savaiyā) by the Eighth Gaddī poets Sundara, Giridhara, Tara, Khema and others on such themes as sneha, naitra guna, samasya purta, types of nāyaka and nāyikā, the seasons, festivals and the sixteen śṛṅgāras.

- (c) 105/189<sup>r</sup>-112<sup>r</sup> Collection of verse by the Aṣṭachāpa and other poets.
- (d) 112<sup>v</sup>-135<sup>r</sup> Neha sata by Kuñjabihārī  
Begins: śrī gopījanavallabho jayati //atha neha sata śrī  
gusāi kuñjabihārījī kṛta likhyate //  
Ff.128<sup>v</sup> and 129<sup>r</sup> are blank and partly stuck together. This text is followed by a few verses with the chāpas 'Lāla' and 'Laladāsa'.
- (e) 135<sup>v</sup>-143<sup>r</sup> Māna ke kīrtana  
Verses by Madanamohana, Hita Harivaṃśa, the Aṣṭachāpa and other poets.
- (f) 144<sup>r</sup>-160<sup>r</sup> Collection of verse by Kevalarāma, Kesodāsa, Nandadāsa, Suradāsa and others. F.156<sup>r</sup> contains the Eighth Gaddī's ardas hymn and f.156<sup>v</sup> a list of the various branches of śāstra. These folios may be considered to constitute one section of the ms. though on f.144<sup>r</sup> there appears the heading atha pada māna ke likhyate and on f.151<sup>r</sup> the heading: atha pada rāsa de likhyate.
- (g) 161<sup>r</sup>-177<sup>r</sup> Ādesa ko aṅga by Sundara  
A sequence of 107 savaiyās and kavittas.
- (h) 178<sup>r</sup>-183<sup>r</sup> Dīnatā ke pada  
Verse by Tulasīdāsa and others.
- (i) 183<sup>v</sup>-185<sup>v</sup> Dohe by Kuñjabihārī

E ANTHOLOGY

V.R.I. acc.no.10849 (donated by Go. Ratan Lal). Written by various scribes on different kinds of paper.  
Ff.67 (bound).  
16.3 x 26 cm. 18-23 lines.

Begins (1<sup>v</sup>) śrī gopīnāthaya namaḥ // atha kīrtana māna ke  
śuklapakṣa kī caturdasī rātra ko gāna karane  
sāṣī //  
mānina chabi deṣo prathama // kara pē dīyo kapola  
prabhudāsē jana kamala para // soyo caṃda aḍola //1//

Contains verses by Eighth Gaddī poets (including Kevalarāma and Prabhudāsa), the Aṣṭachāpa, Suradāsa Madanamohana and others, and a poem in 119 couplets entitled Vyākhela.

F ANTHOLOGY

V.R.I. acc.no. 11316 (donated by Go. Ratan Lal). Written by various scribes with two folios dated VS 1845 (= AD 1788, f.9<sup>r</sup>) and VS 1850 (= AD 1793, f.128<sup>v</sup>).

Ff.126 (bound). Foliated up to '143' with two folios numbered '21' and ff.'35-38, 67-69, 120-127, 130-132' missing. 15 x 16 cm. 10-15 lines.

The volume contains verse by Eighth Gaddī poets (including Kevalarāma), Nandadāsa, Rasakhāna, Sūradāsa, Sūradāsa Madana-mohana and others, interspersed with Sanskrit ślokas (from dharmasāstra etc.) and Persian gazals and rekhtas (in Nagari script). The contents include:

- 2<sup>r</sup> A list of items belonging to [the deity] Śrī Gopināthajī and a seal reading: śrīgopijana-val[1]abhaya.
- 9<sup>r</sup> (begins) śrī gopināthāya namaḥ // saṃvat 1845 mitī āśvina dī 29 pustaka prastāve dā joḍyā //  
(followed by some ślokas and gazals)
- '42, 53<sup>r</sup>-55<sup>v</sup>' Verses in praise of Gopināthajī (by Prabhudāsa)
- '72<sup>r</sup>-74<sup>r</sup>' Ācāra asparsatā ko  
Some regulations for maintenance of ritual purity.
- '76<sup>v</sup>-77<sup>v</sup>' Two verses in praise of Kevalarāma (by Prabhudāsa)
- '90<sup>r</sup>-96<sup>v</sup>' Vinaya pacāsa by Navanītarāya
- '96<sup>v</sup>-137<sup>r</sup>' Miscellaneous texts including verse in praise of Śrī Lalajī and his lineage (ff.104<sup>v</sup> f. and 129<sup>v</sup> f.), some padas of Kevalarāma (ff.104<sup>r</sup>, 108<sup>r</sup> and 114<sup>v</sup>-116<sup>r</sup>) and a Sanskrit text entitled Śrīgurukesarasānavidhi (106<sup>v</sup>-107<sup>v</sup>). On f.128<sup>v</sup> the birth of Gosvāmī Harideva is recorded as follows:  
śrī gaṇeśāya namaḥ śālavāhana śākā 1715  
saṃvat 1850 mitī māgha dī 16 tithi māgha vadi 9  
śanivāra viśākhā nakṣatra dvitīya pāda gaṇḍa  
yoga / karaṇa kaulava śubhadine ciraṃjīva  
śrīmadgosvāmī haridevajī k[ā] janmābhūt  
sa śrī prabhu gopinātha prasādādayuṣmān bhūyāt //  
janma lagna makara prātaḥ samaye //
- '137<sup>v</sup>-138<sup>v</sup>' Bhavanyaṣṭakam padmapuṣpāñjali (S)
- '142<sup>v</sup>-143<sup>r</sup>' Recipes for remedies.

The back cover of the ms. has been made by pasting together folios containing padas of Kabīr.

G ANTHOLOGY

Collection of Go. Ratan Lal. Verse in praise of Śrī Lālaḥjī by Anantadāsa, Kalyāṇadāsa, Kṛṣṇadāsa, Kevalarāma, Keśodāsa, Khemadāsa, Gangādhara, Trilokinātha, Paramānanda, Pradyumna, Prabhudāsa, Premadāsa, Mathuranātha, Madanamohana, Mādhodāsa, Rasajagadīśa, Rasikadāsa, Vanavārī, Vīrū, Santadāsa and Navanīta. The padas in sections (a) and (b) are numbered consecutively '1-125' and are linked with sākhīs by Prabhudāsa. Ff.86 (bound). Foliation from '4' begins on f.1<sup>v</sup>. The last four folios seem to have been added when the ms. was rebound. 14.5 x 19 cm. 13 lines.

(a) 1/'4'<sup>r</sup>-12/'15'<sup>r</sup>

Śrī Lālaḥjī janmotsava vadhāyā

Begins: śrī prabhu gopināthajī // atha janmotsava śrī  
lālaḥjī dyā vadhāyā // chappā sāṣī //

(b) '15'<sup>r</sup>-73'<sup>v</sup>

Śrīngārī tathā dīnatā ke pada

Begins: atha śrī lālaḥjī ke pada śrīngārī tathā  
dīnatā ke samūha liṣyate // sāṣī //

Concludes with an ārati poem which ends:

iti āratī paramāṇḍa bhāṭye kṛta samāptam

(c) '74'<sup>r</sup>-80'<sup>r</sup>

Śrī Lāla janmapūjanavidhi

Eleven padas of which the last two (by Mādhōjana and Prabhudāsa, ff. '79r-80r') have been added in a different hand.

Ff.80<sup>v</sup>-86<sup>r</sup> contain miscellaneous verses written by a later hand with blue-black fountain pen ink.

H ANTHOLOGY

V.R.I. acc.no. 11327 (donated by Go. Ratan Lal). A collection of kavittas and savaiyās with a few sākhīs in Braj and Panjabi copied by various scribes.

Ff.133 (bound) with irregular foliation, the anthology proper beginning on f.4/'10'<sup>r</sup> after three folios written by a later hand. Some blank or partially filled folios towards the end. Two kinds of paper have been used, one with margins ruled in red and black inks with five horizontal red lines along which the text has been written, the other with eight lines of text written on a smoother paper with a thicker nib and in a more cursive hand.

16 x 12.5 cm. 5-8 lines.

Poets include Kevalarāma (f.8<sup>r</sup>) and Prabhudāsa from the Eighth Gaddī, along with poems by Kabīr, Kumbhanadāsa and Suradāsa and others.



I ANTHOLOGY

Collection of Go. Shyam Lal. Written by various scribes. Ff.48 from a bound volume with first, last and some other folios missing. The first 24 folios are numbered '18-41'. 17.5 x 13 cm. 8 lines.

(a) 1/'18<sup>r</sup>-3/'20<sup>r</sup>

Śrī Lālaḷajī ko janma caritra by Paramānanda  
Contains only the last 16 couplets beginning:  
kamalā prati śrī viṣṇu kahē suṃdara muṣa vānī  
merā ehī svarūpa jāna tū satya pramānī

(b) 3/'20<sup>v</sup>-9/'26<sup>r</sup>

Dīnatā [ki] sākhyā by Kevalarāma  
(Kevala)

Begins: śrī gopīnāthajī // śrī lālaḷajī sahāī // atha sāṣyā  
dīnatā dyā śrī gusāī kevalarāmājī kṛta

(c) 9/'26<sup>v</sup>-24/'41<sup>v</sup>

Sāre śrī bhāgavata kī sūcanā

A work by an Eighth Gaddī poet (Śrī Lālaḷajī is mentioned in verse 33) in two sections, the first containing 33 couplets, the second ending half way through the 66th quatrain.

(d) 25<sup>r</sup>-26<sup>v</sup>

Yamunāṣṭaka (S) by Vallabha

First two and a half ślokaḥ missing.

(e) 26<sup>v</sup>-27<sup>v</sup>

Siddhānta catuḥśloki (S)

Followed by other ślokaḥ in praise of 'Vallabha-nandāna' [Viṭṭhalanātha].

(f) 28<sup>r</sup>-30<sup>v</sup>

Bālalīlā aṣṭapadī (S) by Śankarācārya

(g) 31<sup>r</sup>-48<sup>v</sup>

Miscellaneous pieces by various scribes including verse by Hita Jagadīśa (some in praise of Śrī Lālaḷajī), Gadādhara, Paramānanda, Vṛnda, Tulasīdāsa and others. Ff.38<sup>r</sup>-39<sup>r</sup> give a list of Eighth Gaddī gōsvāmīs from Śrī Lālaḷajī to Raṇachōṛa which ends:

śrī raṇachōḍajī sahāī śrī śatraghaṇajī sahāī  
śrī duarakādāsa rataḍa sevaka śrī lālaḷajī dā

Ff.47<sup>r</sup>-48<sup>r</sup> contain Sanskrit ślokaḥ giving the twelve names of Sarasvatī and a stotra in praise of her. Ff.37<sup>v</sup>, 42<sup>v</sup>-45<sup>r</sup> are blank.



This hymn is followed by savaiyās and other verses numbered '1-75' with the chāpas of Kevalarāma, Lāladāsa (= Śrī Lārajī), Keśavadāsa Ālam and others. F.101 contains a verse copied by Go. Shyam Lal.

(g) 102/'1<sup>r</sup>-127/'26<sup>v</sup>

Bait, gazal and rubā<sup>cī</sup>

Persian verses numbered '1-91' written in Nagari script with space left in between for Hindi translations which have been supplied only for the first few verses.

K RATNASĀGARA

by KEVALARĀMA  
(KEVALA/~JANA)

Collection of Go. Ratan Lal.

Ff.100 (bound out of sequence). Contains padas grouped into three sections according to the rāga in which they are intended to be sung (viz. Bilāvala, Sāranga and Sorāṭha). Each section must have originally contained 101 padas but nos.30-32 are missing from the first section (due to loss of folios) and those in the last section are numbered 2-95 (last folios missing). The first section has been copied by a single scribe, the rest of the text by two alternating scribes with less refined and consistent handwriting.

13.5 x 20 cm. 16-18 lines.

Begins: śrī gopināthajī sahāi // śrī lāla mathurānāthajī  
sahāi atha ratanasāgara liṣyate pada kevalarāma  
kṛta //

L SNEHASĀGARA

by KEVALARĀMA (KEVALA)

V.R.I. acc.no. 11341 (donated by Go. Shyam Lal who copied the text himself while at Dera Ghazi Khan from a ms. dated AD 1904).

Pp.295. Written with a fountain pen in a lined exercise book, the text beginning on f.6 where pagination '1-295' begins.

Several blank pages at the end.

16.5 x 19.5 cm. 17 lines.

Begins: śrī kṛṣṇāya namaḥ // atha snehasāgara śrī  
kevalarāmajī kṛta likhyate //

Ends ('295'): iti śrī gosvāmī kevalarā[ma]jī kṛta nehasāgara  
sampūrṇam // atha śubhakṣa 1961 prathama jyeṣṭha  
sudi paśobhāyāṃ ravivāsare kṛṣṇadāsa guruṇa  
ḍerā gājī khā vāsinena pustakamidam likhatam //

M SNEHASAGARA

(by KEVALA)

Collection of Go. Ratan Lal.

Ff.58 (bound). Irregularly foliated '43-69, 73, 70-72, 77-78, 75-76, 79, 74, 80-82, 93-95, 83-92, 96-98', plus two loose folios unnumbered. Despite the foliation the text on the bound and numbered folios runs in sequence from dohās 650-1775. The two loose folios contain dohās 1887-1934. There is a hole in the centre of the first nine folios and some letters are missing from the last two folios due to broken margins.  
22 x 30 cm. 20-23 lines.

N JÑĀNADĪPAKA

(by KEVALA)

Collection of Go. Shyam Lal, dated VS 1923 (= AD 1866).

Ff.190 (bound). Foliated '3-191' with one loose folio '211'. Ff. '1-2' and '192-210' are missing. Brittle blue-tinted paper for ff. '3-99', the rest on white paper.  
19 x 14.5 cm. 10 lines.

Ends ('211'<sup>v</sup>) iti śrī jñānadīpaka samāptam śloka saṅkhyā 19  
sau me pothī lekhū rāma tarṇeje āpaṇe vāste  
liṣavāi saṃvat 1923 mitī sāban bada 13.

O JÑĀNADĪPAKA

by KEVALARĀMA (KEVALA)

Collection of Go. Ratan Lal, dated VS 1952 (= AD 1895).

Ff.208 (bound). Ff.1<sup>r</sup>-2<sup>v</sup> contain a sūcīpatram giving an index of titles of the first 44 anḡas of the text. Foliation from '1-208' begins on f.4<sup>v</sup> (f.3 is blank), with simultaneous pagination from '1-277' added to ff.'1-141'. Some missing portions of the text have been replaced by a different scribe on folios inserted into the volume (ff.5 and 36).  
17 x 13 cm. 10 lines.

Begins: śrī kṛṣṇāya namaḥ // atha jñānadīpaka aṅga  
kevalarāmajī kṛta likhyate //

Ends ('208'<sup>r</sup>) iti śrī jñānadīpaka śrī kevalijī kṛta aṅgaṃ  
samāptam // śubham saṃvatsara 1952 phālguna sudi  
/ 4 / śrī 1,000 śrīmat suṃdara lālaḡī ke [a]valok-  
anārthaṃ bhavatu / śrī kṛṣṇaḡ //

P EKĀDĀSĪVRATAVIDHIKATHĀ (and other works) by ŚRĪ LĀLAJĪ (LĀLADĀSA)

Collection of Go. Shyam Lal, dated VS 1851 (= AD 1794).  
Ff.79 (bound). Foliation from '1-55' on ff.4-58 and from  
'1-21' on ff.59-79.  
24.5 x 32.5 cm. 30 lines.

First 6 ff. mainly blank but with some odd verses and  
notes in a different hand from the rest of the ms.

7/'4<sup>r</sup>                      Sūcipatra  
(a) 8/'5<sup>r</sup> -38/'35<sup>r</sup>

Ekādaśīvratavidhikathā

Also deals with Janmāṣṭamī, Vāmana dvādaśī,  
Rama navamī and Nṛsiṃha caturdaśī.

(b) 43/'40<sup>r</sup> -50/'47<sup>v</sup>

Bhagavadgītāmāhātmya

Ends:

saṃvata saē varakha ūpara aṭhatīsa  
raco graṃtha vaiśakha māsa mē yathā manīsa 34  
yiha gītā kō kachu mahātama mohi sunāyo  
lāladāsa yaduvaṃṣa ke tu hari ko jasa gāyo 35  
iti śrī brahmapurāṇe gītāmāhātmya śrī gusāi  
lālajī kṛta aṣṭādaśodhyāyaḥ 18 samāptaṃ  
gītāmāhātmyaṃ // saṃvat 1851 pauṣa vadi 6  
likhitaṃ śrīmadgosvāmi raṇachorarājajī  
pāṭhārthaṃ śubhamastu śrīrastu

(c) 51/'48<sup>r</sup> -58/'55<sup>r</sup>

Nāmamāhātmya

(d) 59/'1<sup>r</sup> -69/'11<sup>r</sup>

Bhāgavatamāhātmya

(e) 69/'11<sup>v</sup> -75/'17<sup>r</sup>

Sahasranāma

The ms. ends with a verse in praise of Śrīnāthajī added by  
a different scribe and continued on f.75<sup>v</sup>. Ff.76-79 are  
blank.

Q EKĀDĀŚA CATUŚPADĪ

by ŚRĪ LĀLAJĪ (LĀLADĀŚA)

V.R.I. acc.no. 11328 (donated by Go. Ratan Lal).  
Ff.9, with two blank folios preceding.  
19 x 28 cm. 18 lines.

Begins: śrī gopīnātho jayati atha iṣṭa catuśpadī  
likhyate

Ends: iti śrī gusāi lāla�ī kṛta śṅgāra catuśpadī  
samāptā

Ff.8<sup>v</sup>-9<sup>r</sup> contain three padas by Govindaprabhu, Sūradāśa  
and Nandadāśa.

R SAPTAGRANTHĪ (and other works)

by ŚRĪ LĀLAJĪ (LĀLADĀŚA)

V.R.I. acc.no. 9602 (donated by Go. Ratan Lal), dated VS 1983  
(= AD 1926).  
Ff.33, with foliation up to '26'. Written with a fountain  
pen and blue-black ink in a lined exercise book.  
16 x 20 cm. 18 lines.

(a) 1<sup>v</sup>-18<sup>v</sup> Saptagranthī by Śrī Lāla�ī (Lāladāśa)  
Contains Nāmaratna, Kṛṣṇastotra, Daśamaskandha,  
Saptaślokiġitā, Laghupacīsī, Vinayachanda and  
Avatāranibandha (by Mathurānātha).

(b) 19<sup>r</sup>-24<sup>r</sup> Dharmasaṃvāda by Śrī Lāla�ī (Lāladāśa)

(c) 24<sup>v</sup>-26<sup>r</sup> Harināmamālā by Nandadāśa

Ends: iti śrī harināmamālā śrī naṃdadāśa�ī kṛta  
sarpūrṇam saṃ 1983 cetra sudi 6 bṛhaspatavāra  
likhī svapaṭhanārtham.

(d) 26<sup>v</sup>-31<sup>v</sup> Sahasranāma (inc.) by Śrī Lāla�ī (Lāladāśa)  
First 147 verses only.

Ff.32-33 contain miscellaneous padas by Sūradāśa, Hita  
Harivaṃśa and Kabīr.

S UTSAVARATNAMĀLA (also called VARṢOTSAVARATNAMĀLĀ)

Collection of Go. Ratan Lal, dated VS 1944 (= AD 1887).  
Ff.105 (bound and foliated).  
17.5 x 27 cm. 20 lines.

Begins (1<sup>r</sup>): śrī prabhu gopinātho jayati atha śrī lājajī  
[for 'lālajī'] kṛta varṣotsava sarvasva  
anukramaṇi śrī madanamohanajī kṛta likhyate  
Ends (105<sup>v</sup>): kavitta

utsava svahū kō nirṇaya vidhi citravara  
sāṣī ora kīratana sūcanā su karī he 1  
śrī gosvāmi lālajī śrī gopita kevalarāma  
madanamohanajī ne śaradā uccarī he 2  
śrīmadgosvāmi raṇachorarājajī ne saravae  
kaṭhora kara āpa vānī vīca dharī he 3  
sūcanādi krama ṭhāna saṃpradāya rīta māna  
utsavaratanamala karī prema bhari hai 4  
kavitta  
prāṇa bhūta vasahu iṃdu saṃvata āṣāḍha māsa  
mithuna saṃkrāṃta kṛṣṇapakṣa vara pekṣie 1  
harideva tithi vāra caṇḍa bharaṇī nachatra  
sukarma yoga karṇa taitala su deṣie 2  
śrīmadgosvāmi raṇachorarājajī kī ājñā pāi  
utsavaratanamāla sabha sō viseṣie 3  
siṃdhu deśa dakṣiṇa su dera mē mukundadāsa  
bhīṣma sū girīśa jāti yathā mati leṣie 4  
iti varṣotsavaratanamālā samāptā śubhasaṃvat 1944  
kārttika vadi 8

The two kavittas which the scribe has copied from an earlier ms. are in the manaharaṇa ghanakṣarī metre (having lines of 16+15 or 8+8+8+7 syllables), which seem to require the following modifications: two syllable pronunciation for nirṇay(a) and vas(ah)u three syllable pronunciation for saṃvat(a) and for either sukar(a)ma or kar(a)ṇa, and śrī for śrīmad in both occurrences. In the first kavitta the first line is two syllables short in the second carana and the third line is one syllable short in the third carana. The first kavitta states that Gosvāmi Raṇachorārāya revised a work originally compiled by Madanamohana who (as it also appears from the beginning of the ms. and the text itself) incorporated verse by his grandfather Śrī Lālajī and father Kevalarāma. The second kavitta, written by the earlier scribe Mukundadāsa, gives the date of his copying the ms., along with astrological detail, as VS 1855 (prāṇa, bhūta, vasu, indu, = AD 1798), and says that it was copied at Dera [Ghazi Khan] on the orders of Gosvāmi Raṇachorārāya.





U ŚRĪ LĀLA CARITAM and DVĀDAŚA BHAKTA KATHA by D.C.ŚARMĀ

Collection of Go. Ratan Lal. An account in Kharībolī Hindi of the life of Śrī Lālajī and stories of his twelve disciples written by a sevaka from Leiah of Go. Sundar Lal. Ff.66 (bound). Foliated '2-5' and '1-62', with most verso sides blank.

20 x 32.5 cm. 24-28 lines.

1/'2'-2/'3' Prose introduction.

3/'4'<sup>v</sup> Genealogy naming the ancestors of Śrī Lālajī and the gosvāmīs descended from him.

Begins: ab śrī lāla vaṃśa kā likhtā hū jo kuch mujhe ḍerā gājī khā śrī gopināthajī ke maṃdira śrī gosvāmījī ke dvārā prāpta huā hai

Followed by invocatory verses and, at the foot of f.4/'5'<sup>v</sup>:

nivedaka ha[stākṣara] dayālu candra śarmā  
kāṣṭapāla jyo[tiṣī] mahalā maṃdira śrī lālajī  
jillā majaphargaḍ

(a) 5/'1'<sup>r</sup>-23/'19'<sup>r</sup>

Śrī Lāla caritam

(b) 24/'20'<sup>r</sup>-66/'62'<sup>r</sup>

Dvādaśa bhakta kathā

V GOSVĀMĪ RAṆACHORARĀYAJĪ KĪ VĀRTĀ / SUKHA BĀG by GOVARDHANA BHATṬA (ĀNANDA)

V.R.I. acc. no. 9603 (donated by Go. Ratan Lal). An account in prose interspersed with verse of the sevā, travels and encounters of Gosvāmī Raṇachorāraya, with particular emphasis on a chappan bhoga feast he organised.

Ff.197 (bound). Foliation from '4-124' and then from '71-75' (remaining folios unnumbered) but with text running continuously. First three and last folios missing, f.'93'<sup>v</sup> blank.

20 x 33 cm. 26 lines.

A colophon appears on f.'139'<sup>r</sup>:

saṃvata hai unīsa sai satāīsa pramāna  
miti caitra śudi dvādaśī chappana bhoga hī jāna

iti pañca nadī govarddhana bhāṭajī chapa nāma  
kavi ānaṇḍa kṛta suṣa bāg nāma graṁtha saṁpūrṇam

The text then continues the account of the deeds of Gosvāmī  
Raṇachorārāya.

W ANTHOLOGY

Houghton Library, Harvard University, ms. Indic 1754. Contains the Caurāsī pada of Hita Harivaṁśa followed by Nāmamālā of Nandadāsa copied in VS 1860 (= AD 1803) and a collection of verse by various poets, some from the Eighth Gaddī. The three texts are foliated separately, the latter two having been copied by a different scribe who gives his name as Harirāma Rāval, an Udīcya brahmin.

7-8 lines.

- (a) '1<sup>r</sup>-47<sup>r</sup>'      Caurāsī pada      (by Hita Harivaṁśa)  
Begins:      śrī rādhākṛṣṇajī // atha śrīmacaurāsī āra[m]bha //  
The text is followed by two additional padas.
- (b) '1<sup>r</sup>-49<sup>v</sup>'      Nāmamālā      (by Nandadāsa)  
Ends:      iti śrī nāmamālā saṁpūrṇam // saṁvat 1860 nā  
jyeṣṭha vidi 2 gujarāti harirāma rāvale //  
brahmaṇa udīcya likhitaṁ ga[?] rāmacaṁdrāya  
namaṁ subhyaṁ // śrī hariharāya namaḥ //
- (c) '1<sup>r</sup>-87<sup>r</sup>'      A collection of verses beginning simply with the invocation śrī rāmacaṁdrāya namaḥ and containing verse with the chāpas of Kevalarāma, Śrī Lalājī, Suradaśa Madanamohana, Tulasidāsa, Kabīr, Mira, Bhagavaṇ Rāmarāya, Ugradāsa, Vyāsa, Gadadhara, Kevalarāma Vṛṇḍavana Jīvana, the Aṣṭachapa poets and others. Some verse in Panjabi is included as well as some poems in praise of Vallabha and Śrī Lalājī and one (ff. 4<sup>r</sup>-10<sup>v</sup>) with the chāpa 'Madanamohana' in praise of Kṛṣṇa as Gopinathajī. On f. 73 there is a list of some of the ancestors of Śrī Lalājī and his descendants up to Raṇachorārāya. No colophon at the end.

2. Texts published by the Eighth Gaddī Gosvāmīs

Some gosvāmīs have from time to time edited texts for publication. Apart from the two editions of Jñānadīpaka they are in the form of small pamphlets intended primarily for circulation among devotees.

- Kevalarāma Jñānadīpaka (lithographed edition in Gurumukhī script published in the time of Gosvāmī Kuñjalāla. Title page missing).
- " Jñānadīpaka, published in two parts by Go. Braj Ratan Lal Das, Faridabad (no date).
- Śrī Lālaḥ Dharmasamvāda, published by Śrī Lāla Satsamga Maṇḍala, Mandira Śrī Gopināthajī, New Delhi, VS 2021 (= AD 1964).
- " Dharmasamvāda tathā vinayachanda, published by Go. Shyam Lal, Dera Ghazi Khan, VS 2000 (= AD 1943). Introduction gives a brief account of the life of Śrī Lālaḥ.
- " Dharmasamvāda tathā vinayachanda, published by Go. Shyam Lal and Go. Dhanwesh Lal, Vrindaban, 1977. Introduction gives a brief account of the life of Śrī Lālaḥ and the transfer of the deity Gopināthajī from Dera Ghazi Khan to Vrindaban.
- " Ekādaśacatuspadī, published by Go. Bankey Lal and Go. Ratan Lal, Vrindaban, VS 2013 (= AD 1956).
- " Saptagramthī (lithographed edition; place and date of publication not given). Contains Gurustuti, Bhagavatstuti, Iṣṭabhāva, Nāmaratna, Kṛsnastotra, Daśamaskandha, Śaptaśloki gītā, Laghu pacīśī, Avatāranibandha (by Mathurānātha) and a kavitta entitled Saptam grantha pāthaphala by Pandita Bodha Rāja Śarma. Probably published in the time of Gosvāmī Kuñjalāla.
- " Saptagramthī, published with Hindi tīkā by Go. Braj Ratan Lal Das, Faridabad, VS 2028 (= AD 1971). Contains Vinayachanda, Bhagavatstuti, Iṣṭabhāva, Puruṣottama aṣṭottara śatanāma, Gurustuti, Laghu pacīśī, Śikṣā pacīśī and a brief account of the life of Śrī Lālaḥ.
- " Śrī Lāla granthamālā, published by Go. Bankey Lal, Vrindaban, 1955. Contains Bhagavan stuti, Iṣṭabhāva, Gurustuti, Vinayachanda, Puruṣottama aṣṭottara śatanāma, Kṛsnastotra, Laghu pacīśī, Śikṣā pacīśī, Śrī Lāla ke ghar ki paddhati and a vamsāvalī of the main gosvāmīs of Dera Ghazi Khan.
- Prabhudāsa Śrī Lāla cālīsā, published together with Vinaya pacāśakā of Navanitarāya by Go. Ratan Lal, Vrindaban, VS 2030 (= AD 1973).

Periodicals

Dharmajyoti, varsa 3 aṅka 1, published by Go. Ratan Lal, Vrindaban, 1957. Contents include an article by Baba Kanhaiya Das entitled Śrī Lāladāsa-jī kā jīvana evam sāhitya, a pada by Harideva and an extract from Madana-mohana's Daśamaskandha.

Śrī Lāla Samdeśa, varsa 1 aṅkas 1 - 4, published monthly from February to May 1971 by Go. Braj Ratan Lal, Faridabad. Besides various articles each issue contains extracts from Jñānadīpaka and Snehasāgara by Kevalarāma. The first issue contains Śrī Lāla-jī's Vinayachanda and Bhagavatstuti.

3. Unpublished theses

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4. Published sources

The following abbreviations have been used to refer to certain titles (see under author's name for further details):

KKI	<u>Kāṃkarolī kā itihāsa</u> , Śāstrī 'Viśārada', Kaṅṭhamani
SK	<u>Sampradāyakalpadruma</u> , Viṭṭhalanātha Bhaṭṭa
SPV	<u>Śrī Govardhananāthajī ke prākāṭya kī vārtā</u> , Harirāya
VKP	<u>Vallabha kula ko prāgaṭya</u> , anon. (cf. Caturbhujadāsa)
84V	<u>Caurāsī vaiṣṇavan kī vārtā</u> , Harirāya
252V	<u>Do sau bāvan vaiṣṇavan kī vārtā</u> , Harirāya
BBSK	<u>Brajabhāṣā Sūra-kośa</u> , Gupta, D. and P. Tandan
HSS	<u>Hindī śabdasaḡara</u> Śyāmasundaradāsa
RSK	<u>Rājasthānī sabad kos</u> , Lāḷas, Sītārāma
CDIAL	<u>A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages</u> , Turner, R.L.

1. Published texts and general secondary sources

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Anon	[Karsendas Mulji], <u>History of the Sect of the Mahārājas</u> , London (Trubner & Co.) 1865.
Bahri	Hardev, <u>Lahndi Phonetics (with special reference to Awāṅkarī)</u> , Allahabad (Bharati Press Prakashan) 1963.
Barthvāl	Pītāambaradatta, <u>Khoja mē upalabdha hastalikhita himdī gramthō kā pamdrahavā traivārsika vivarana (San. 1932-34)</u> , Kāśī (Nāgari Pracārini Śabha) 1954.
Barz	Richard, <u>The Bhakti Sect of Vallabhācārya</u> , Faridabad (Thompson Press, India Ltd.) 1976.
Beames	John, <u>A Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India</u> , Delhi (Munshiram Manoharlal, reprint) 1966.
Bloch	Jules, <u>Indo-Aryan from the Vedas to Modern Times</u> (English edition, largely revised by the author and translated by Alfred Masters), Paris (Adrien-Maisonneuve) 1965. (References are to the pagination of the original French edn. as indicated in the margin)
Brajabhūṣaṇa	Gosvāmī, <u>Śrī Dvārakādhiśa kī prākāṭya-vārtā</u> , Kankaroli (Vidya Vibhaga) 1956.
Brent	Peter, <u>Godmen of India</u> , Harmondsworth (Penguin Press) 1972.

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