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Devotional Friendship (*Sakhya*) in the Vaiṣṇavism  
of the Early Caitanya Tradition

Maya Chattopadhyay

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Religion

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Master of Arts at  
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Montreal, Quebec, Canada

May 1995

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## ABSTRACT

### Devotional Friendship (*Sakhya*) in the Vaiṣṇavism of the Early Caitanya Tradition

Maya Chattopadhyay

This study attempts to determine the characteristic features of devotional friendship as depicted in the early phase of the Caitanya tradition. The theologians in the Caitanya tradition have given the concept of friendship a new interpretation. For them, friendship as devotional love is a path of salvation and also a goal of religious life. Devotional friendship shows a unique relationship where God is equal to His devotees. Although God is equal to His devotees in friendship, the friends of God, the devotees, are not equal to each other. Division among the friends and friendships suggests a hierarchy among friends themselves. In the Caitanya tradition, the spiritual aspect of friendship in the form of an emotional love is recognized as the blissful state of "aesthetic enjoyment", the *rasa* of devotional friendship. The followers of the Caitanya tradition maintain that friends are the nourishers as well as the spectators of the beatific sports of Krsna, the blue Lord, in His romantic love in His manifested state in the rural Vraja. Thus devotional friendship holds a unique position in the metaphysics and aesthetics of the Caitanya tradition.



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## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>A. bh</i>	<i>Abhinavabhāratī</i> by <b>Abhinavagupta</b>
<i>A. K.</i>	<i>Alaṅkāra-kaustubha</i> by <b>Kavi Karnapūra</b>
<i>A. P.</i>	<i>Agni Purāṇa</i>
<i>A. V.</i>	<i>Atharva Veda</i>
<i>Bh.</i>	<i>Bhāgavata Purāṇa</i>
<i>Bha. K. L.</i>	<i>Kāvya-lamkāra</i> by <b>Bhāmaha</b>
<i>Bh. S.</i>	<i>Bhagavat Sandarbha</i> by <b>Jīva Gosvāmin</b>
<i>B. R. S.</i>	<i>Bhaktirasāmṛta sindhu</i> by <b>Rūpa Gosvāmin</b>
<i>B. S.</i>	<i>Bhakti Sandarbha</i> by <b>Jīva Gosvāmin</b>
<i>Br. UP</i>	<i>Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad</i>
<i>C. Bh</i>	<i>Caitanya Bhāgavata</i> by <b>Vṛndāvana Dāsa</b>
<i>C. C.</i>	<i>Caitanya Caritāmṛta</i> by <b>Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja</b>
<i>C. Can</i>	<i>Caitanya Candrodāya</i> by <b>Karnapūra</b>
<i>Ch. UP</i>	<i>Chandogya Upaniṣad</i>
<i>Dh.</i>	<i>Dhvanyāloka</i> by <b>Ānandavardhana</b>
<i>D. R.</i>	<i>Daśarūpaka</i> by <b>Dhanañjaya</b>
<i>G.</i>	<i>Bhagavad Gītā</i>
<i>G. G.</i>	<i>Gīta Govinda</i> by <b>Jayadeva</b>
<i>G. L.</i>	<i>Govinda Līlāmṛta</i> by <b>Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja</b>
<i>K. D.</i>	<i>Kāvya-darsā</i> by <b>Dandin</b>
<i>K. L. S. S.</i>	<i>Kāvya-lamkārasārasaṅgraha</i> by <b>Udbhaṭa</b>
<i>K. P.</i>	<i>Kāvya-prakāśā</i> by <b>Mammata</b>
<i>K. S.</i>	<i>Kṛṣṇa Sandarbha</i> by <b>Jīva Gosvāmin</b>
<i>L. M.</i>	<i>Lalita mādhyama</i> by <b>Rūpa Gosvāmin</b>
<i>N. S.</i>	<i>Nāṭya śāstra</i> by <b>Muni Bharata</b>
<i>Par. S.</i>	<i>Paramātma Sandarbha</i> by <b>Jīva Gosvāmin</b>
<i>Pr. UP</i>	<i>Prasna Upaniṣad</i>
<i>P. S.</i>	<i>Prīti Sandarbha</i> by <b>Jīva Gosvāmin</b>
<i>R. K. L.</i>	<i>Rudraṭa Kāvya-lamkāra</i>
<i>R. V.</i>	<i>RgVeda</i>
<i>S. D.</i>	<i>Śāhityadarpaṇa</i> by <b>Visvanātha</b>
<i>S. K. B.</i>	<i>Sarasvatīkañṭhābharana</i> by <b>Bhoja</b>
<i>S. P.</i>	<i>Śṛṅgāraprakāśā</i> by <b>Bhoja</b>
<i>S. P. B.</i>	<i>Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa</i>
<i>S. S.</i>	<i>Sarvasamvādinī</i> by <b>Jīva Gosvāmin</b>
<i>T. M. E.</i>	<i>Tāṇḍyamahā brāhmaṇa</i>
<i>T. S.</i>	<i>Tattva Sandarbha</i> by <b>Jīva Gosvāmin</b>
<i>T. UP</i>	<i>Taittirīya Upaniṣad</i>
<i>U. N.</i>	<i>Ujjvala nīlamanī</i> by <b>Rūpa Gosvāmin</b>
<i>V. F. M.</i>	<i>Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal</i> by <b>S. K. De</b>
<i>V. M.</i>	<i>Vidagdha mādhyama</i> by <b>Rūpa Gosvāmin</b>
<i>Y. V.</i>	<i>Yayurveda</i>

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

*piteva putrasya sakheva sakhyuḥ priyaḥ priyāyārhasi deva  
sodhum*//-Oh shining Lord, thou shouldst bear with me as  
father does with son, as friend does with friends and as  
lover does with his beloved. -*Bhagavad Gītā*, XI.44.<sup>1</sup>

This is a study of the development of *sakhya*, devotional friendship, in the early phase of the Caitanya tradition (sixteenth century to early seventeenth century C.E.). The religion of the Caitanya tradition is an emotional Bhakti movement in Vaiṣṇavism. Vaiṣṇavism had been a living faith in Bengal (Gauḍa) long before Caitanya (1485 to 1533 C.E), the God-intoxicated ascetic of Navadvīpa. But with Caitanya, the last of the Vaiṣṇava reformers who had succeeded Nimbārka and Vallabha, Bengal Vaiṣṇavism not only put aside its rigid ritualistic aspect, it also gave great impetus to the Bengali culture. Thereby, Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, also known as Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism became synonymous with the Vaiṣṇavism of the Caitanya tradition. The Bhakti movement of Caitanya, though primarily a religious movement, was a manifold expression of the human spirit which overflowed into many streams other than religion. Religion in the Caitanya tradition is the religion of love in its true sense, of human love intensified and sublimated into the divine, its central doctrine being that of knowing God (Kṛṣṇa) through love and human relationship. Here, Kṛṣṇa is not a metaphysical abstraction but a personal God to whom wholehearted devotion can be offered. In the Caitanya tradition the divine defines itself in the human, and the human perfects itself in the divine. In the Theravāda tradition, the Buddha is *kalyāṇamitra*, the benevolent well-wisher. Similarly in the

Caitanya tradition God is the eternal friend (*suhṛt*) of all animate as well as inanimate beings. He makes himself bound and subservient to his devotees through love only (*premavaśá*), and becomes melted as it were through love (*premārdra*). Because God is the friend of his own creation, all created beings become friends to each other through their loving relationship (friendship) with God.

Theologians in the Caitanya tradition have exhibited their analytical insight regarding the classification of devotional love into five categories: quietistic love, loving servitude, friendly disposition, parental affection and erotic or romantic love. These are not only classes of devotional love, these are also the different stages of spiritual development of the aspirant. The differences between these categories of devotional love find their origin in the devotees' conceit of being related to God in a particular way, and in the manifestation of a particular aspect of the personal God as master, friend, son or lover inspiring a corresponding sentiment in the devotee as servant, friend and the like.

Contemporary scholars have studied different aspects of the Caitanya tradition: social implications of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Movement (Joseph T. O'Connell),<sup>2</sup> drama as a mode of religious realization (Donna M. Wulff),<sup>3</sup> imitation in the *rāgānugā bhakti* context (David L. Haberman),<sup>4</sup> Kṛṣṇa, the divine player (David R. Kinsley)<sup>5</sup> and so on. Most of these scholars have shown their interest in devotion in the Caitanya tradition with respect to *madhurabhāva*, the romantic aspect of devotional love, or with respect to such devotional attitudes as *mañjarībhāva*, the loving servitude of the *mañjarīs* (maids of Rādhā). However, one important aspect seems to have been overlooked so far: in every loving relationship characterized by the quality of mine-ness (*mamatva*), friendship

is the starting point. In relation to the object of devotion, loving servitude is more concerned with thine-ness (= I am yours) than mine-ness (= you are mine), whereas friendship is replete with a special kind of affection called mine-ness, a sentiment of ownership for the object of love [PS,309].<sup>6</sup> And this sentiment of ownership is the stepping stone or the first stage of *madhura*, the romantic love. In other words, friendship or companionship is the base of *madhura* as well as *mañjarībhāva*. In the Caitanya tradition, love for the friends is a special quality of the heroine in *madhura*. Moreover, friends are the assistants and the inspirers of the hero and the heroine in the romantic love. Again, *mañjarībhāva* has its origin in the *sakhībhāva*, a particular attitude of the female friends of the rural Vraja where Kṛṣṇa, the blue Lord, spent his early life. Consequently in the absence of friendship there is no *madhura*. Therefore *sakhyabhāva*, devotional friendship, in the Caitanya tradition is not only a devotional stage it is also the inspiration of the highest stage of devotion, the love divine. Thus the total impact of friendship in this tradition deserves to be properly explored.

I. The concept of friendship is not a new idea created by the Caitanya tradition. The capacity for friendship seems to be a part of basic human nature. Friendship has been valued in India ever since the dawn of her civilization, as it is evident from the religious as well as secular literature. In the Vedic hymns, gods are believed to be the protectors, father, mother, brother, son and also the friends of their worshippers. In the *Rgveda*.I.75.4, the relationship between Agni, the divine fire, and his worshippers is friendship. He is eulogised here as a dear benevolent friend (*mitra*) and adorable

comrade (*sakhi*). In the *Rgveda*.X.7.3. the sage says: "I consider Agni as father, as relative, as brother and also as my eternal friend (*sakhi*)."<sup>7</sup> Vāta, the divine wind, is father, brother and friend to the Vedic seer: "Oh Vāta, thou art our father, thou art our brother and thou art our friend" [*RV*.X.186.2]. In the *Rgveda*.X.42.4, the Vedic seer maintains that Indra does not befriend those who do not offer him gifts: "Him who brings gifts the hero (Indra) makes his comrade; with him who pours no juice (*soma*) he seeks not friendship (*sakhya*)."<sup>8</sup> Indra has been imagined as a friend bestowing riches on his friends [*RV*.X.42.11]. In another hymn the sage praises Indra's friendship for his worshippers: "your friendship is indestructible; to him who longs for a cow you become a cow; the one who desires a steed you become a steed" [*RV*.VI.45.26]. Thus for the Vedic seers friendship is not only love, it is also concerned in exchange of gifts. The *Rgveda*.VIII.45.1 praises those sages who befriend Indra [*yeṣām indre yuvā sakhā...*]. The Vedic sages request Varuṇa, the presiding deity of truth, not to withdraw his friendship from them: "Oh, Varuṇa, what is that great offence of mine on account of which you desire to harm me, your friend and bard; declare that to me" [*RV*.VII.86.4]. In the *Rgveda*.VII.88.5, the Vedic sages ask Varuṇa for friendship: "What hath become of our those age old friendships when without enmity we walked together?" In the *Vedas* *mitra* and *sakhi* are very common words for friend. The word *Mitra* also stands for sun. Prof. A. Aiyappan has suggested that the life supporting attribute of the sun and its brightness are perhaps the semantic links that connect the sun with the attribute of friendship.<sup>8</sup>

It must be admitted here that the friendship of the *Rgvedic* poets for their deities



lacks intensity and fervour of feeling. We may call it a kind of attachment motivated by selfish desires for rewards. It is for this reason that friendship as depicted in the Vedic hymns does not appear to be on the same footing as the emotional expression in the friendship of the cowherd boys of Vraja for Kṛṣṇa, as depicted in the later Hindu scripture, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

The *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* seems to suggest the relationship between Paramātmān and *jīvātmān* as companionship: Two birds bound together as companions (*sakhis*) clasp close the self-same tree. One of these two eats sweet *pippala* fruit when another looks on without eating [III. 1. 1]. In the *Mahābhārata* we see the friendship between Kṛṣṇa and Paṇḍavas and Draupadī. In the *Gītā*, Kṛṣṇa appears as friend and intimate associate of Arjuna and even stoops to act as his charioteer. The relation between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna is so intimate and human that Arjuna is afraid that due to the negligence or love he has not demonstrated the proper reverence [*Gītā* XI.41-42]. However, Arjuna's friendship for Kṛṣṇa is not similar to the friendship of the cowherd boys for Kṛṣṇa as depicted in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* which shows us self-less love. Arjuna asks that Kṛṣṇa should bear with him as a father with his son, as a comrade with his comrade and as a lover with his beloved [*Gita* XI.44]. The *Gītā* puts more emphasis on the forgiving and gracious nature of Kṛṣṇa than on his sweet friendly love. The *Rāmāyaṇa* shows friendship between Rāma and Sugrīva and between Rāma and Vibhīṣaṇa. However friendship in both these cases aims at defeating Rāvaṇa, a common enemy, therefore we cannot call this friendship a pure unmotivated love.

The idea that two good people become friends if they walk seven steps together

is the basis of the "seven-steps rite" (*saptapadin*) in the Vedic marriage ceremonies. This manifests the belief that the married couple are the best friends to each other. In Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava*, Śiva, in disguise, claims Pārvatī's confidence as a comrade only because they have walked together seven steps [canto V]. The classical Sanskrit literature is replete with the pictures of pure unmotivated friendly love. Kālidāsa and Bhavabhuti have depicted the highest kind of friendship between husband and wife; between young girls, friendship with inanimate and animate beings; human friendship with nature. In the *Raghuvamśa*, Kālidāsa depicts Indumatī as the best friend of her husband, Aja [VIII.67]. Bhavabhuti's *Uttararāmacarita* is nothing but the depiction of the highest kind of conjugal friendship between Rāma and Sītā. *Abhijñāna Śakuntalā* and *Uttararāmacarita* show beautiful friendship among young girls, friendship of the heroines with animals and creepers. In the *Raghuvamśa* "The peacocks ceased their dance, the trees shed their blossoms and the reeds the Kusā grass that they had (scarcely) cropped: so a loud wail rose in the forest that had become an equal partner in her (Sītā's) grief" [XIV.69]. Bāṇabhaṭṭa has shown unconditioned friendship between a man (Candrāpīḍa) and a woman (Patralekhā), which is unprecedented in the whole classical Sanskrit literature. That friendship thrives best between equals is an ancient Indian belief. In the *Śakuntalā*, friendship between Śakuntalā and her friends is depicted as beautiful due to their equality in age and beauty [Act I.38].

Thus far we have seen that the concept of *sakhyā* in the Caitanya tradition is not an original one. In this regard, the Caitanya tradition has its heritage from the religious as well as the secular classical literature. However, the Caitanya tradition has given the

concept a new interpretation. The followers of this tradition have dealt with *sakhya* in all its subtlety. They have shown it as the path of salvation and also as an end in itself.

II. Friendship is not an acquaintanceship. It is a kind of loving relationship between two persons. It is a bond of love based on trust and confidence. For Aristotle, "A friend is he that loves and he that is beloved. ...A friend therefore is he: That rejoiceth at another's good. And that grieves at his hurt. And that wishes the same with us to a third, whether good or hurt. And that is enemy or friend to the same man."<sup>9</sup> Aristotle tells about several kinds of friendship: society, familiarity, consanguinity, affinity etc.<sup>10</sup> Similarly in Sanskrit there are several terms for friends suggesting different kinds of friendship. Kālidāsa (4th Century C.E.) has used *sagandha* (in *Meghadūta*) and *bandhu* (in *Raghuvamśa*) showing consanguinity in friendship. The lexicon of Amara (*Amarakośa*) gives six equivalents for friends: *snigdha*, affectionate; *vayasya*, equal in age; *savayas*, of the same age; *mitra*, benevolent; *sakhi*, comrade; and *suhṛt*, well-wisher having a good heart [II.8.12].<sup>11</sup> The term *snigdha* (literally oiliness) suggests an easy frictionless relationship where there is affection marked by tenderness. The friends in this category, being very affectionate, apprehend danger for their friends without any apparent reason - *atisneha pāpasānki* (vide *Śakuntalā*). In the case of *vayasya* and *savayas*, friendship presupposes equality in age among friends. However, the friendship termed *suhṛt* suggests the equal broad minded-ness among friends. Friendship in the case of a *mitra* has an altruistic nature which manifests the magnanimity of a person for whom equality in status etc. is no criterion for friendship. The term *sakhi*, comrade, seems

related to Aristotle's idea of friendship as "society." Pāṇini (4th century B.C.E.) describes *sakhya*, the *sakhi*'s friendship, as *saptapadin*, attained by walking seven steps together, - *saptapadinam sakhyam* [*Aṣṭādhyāyin*, V.2.22]. This suggests the emphasis on association or companionship for the *sakhis*. Although the followers of the Caitanya tradition have used almost all the Sanskrit terms regarding friends and friendship in their exposition as well as classification of devotional friendship, their most favorite terms seem to be *sakhi* and *sakhya*, companionship. This is because these Vaiṣṇavas put more emphasis on the association with God, which points directly to the cowherd boys' friendship in Vraja, as in this friendship those boys enjoy eternal association with God. Thus *Vrajasakhya*, the best kind of friendship, is considered as the best model of devotional friendship.

The concept of the *Vrajasakhya*, the friendship of the cowherd boys of Vraja, which came down to the Caitanya tradition through the *Bhāgavata Purāna* (the 10th century C.E.) had its origin most possibly from the Gopāla Kṛṣṇa sect of Vaiṣṇavism (the 4th century B.C.E.). R.G. Bhandarkar maintains that a boy-God was worshipped by a nomadic tribe called Āhira who had come to Mathurā from central Asia.<sup>12</sup> These people were mainly cowherds. therefore their god was also a cowherd boy. In about the second century B.C.E. this god was identified as Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa. The *Bālacaritanāṭaka*, ascribed to Bhasa (the second century C.E.), describes cowherd friends of Kṛṣṇa [Act III,3]. By the beginning of the 6th century C.E. Bengal had become one of the strongholds of Vaiṣṇavism. A large number of sculptures on the basement of the Pāhāḍpur temple (circa eighth century C.E.) [Bangladesh] depict the activities of the

cowherd (Gopāla) Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. This suggests the theme of Gopāla Kṛṣṇa's friendship with cowherds.

III. In this study of *sakhya*, devotional friendship, my focus is on the theory of friendship in the metaphysics and the aesthetics of *bhakti* as it relates to the "beatific sports" (*līlā*) of Kṛṣṇa in the early phase of the Caitanya tradition. This limitation makes me unable to bring to the limelight another important aspect: the friendship between Caitanya and his intimate associates - Nityānanda, Svarūpadāmodara, Rāmānandarāya and the like - as depicted in the biographies of Caitanya.

The early phase in the Caitanya tradition comprises the teachings of Caitanya and his immediate followers: the six Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana, who played the major role in the codification of the doctrine and ritual of the sect, Paramānandadāsa Sena Kavi Karnapūra, and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. In this study I have consulted mainly the works of Rūpa Gosvāmin (16th century C.E.), Jīva Gosvāmin (middle of the 16th century C.E.), Karnapūra (middle of the 16th century C.E.) and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja (late 16th to early 17th century C.E.). All the works of Rūpa Gosvāmin, Jīva Gosvāmin and Karnapūra are in Sanskrit. However Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's works are in Bengali as well as in Sanskrit. Tradition holds that Caitanya imposed the special task of propagating his doctrines of *bhakti*, devotional love, on the two brothers, Sanātana Gosvāmin and Rūpa Gosvāmin. These brothers were ably assisted in their task by the mystical-metaphysical scholarship of their nephew Jīva Gosvāmin. While Rūpa established the aesthetic of *bhakti rasa*, Jiva put the metaphysics of the Caitanya tradition on a sound footing. Rūpa's main

contribution in the Caitanya tradition is the exposition of *bhakti* as *rasa*, the sublime aesthetic relish of love divine. Kaṇapūra, as a Vaiṣṇava poet and rhetorician, established the supremacy of *bhakti rasa*, the sentiment of devotional love, in his works. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, a poet and theologian, propagated the theology of *bhakti* through literary compositions.

For these poet-philosophers *bhakti*, devotion, in the form of true love, renders the bliss of experiencing God, Kṛṣṇa. They maintain that to enjoy the relish (*rasa*) of the beatific sports of the Lord is the highest end of a devotee.

Etymologically *rasa* means "essence" or "taste" of something. In the Indian aesthetic of literary art, *rasa* means aesthetic enjoyment of a literary art, or more specifically aesthetic experience of a dramatic performance. The appreciators of a dramatic performance are endowed with a keen faculty of perception. These spectators are called connoisseurs of the blissful experience of a dramatic art. These connoisseurs through imagination and contemplation enjoy the drama and enter so deeply into the world of the drama, that they identify themselves with the dramatic characters, transcending their own limited selves. In a similar way, a devotee through his/her devotion, visualizes the beatific sports of Kṛṣṇa, or in other words, Kṛṣṇa drama, and enters into it as a participant. This is a blissful experience of devotional love - and that is *bhakti rasa*. This experience of *bhakti* becomes different due to the difference of the feelings of the devotees. In *bhakti rasa*, a particular dominant feeling of a devotee transforms itself into a blissful state of relish under certain conditions. This dominant feeling is termed as the permanent emotion of a *bhakti rasa*.

The understanding of friendship in a devotional context depends on the knowledge of devotion, its object and its subject. Therefore, I begin my study in Chapter 2 by examining the way in which the early Caitanya tradition regards God (the object of devotion), His relation with *jīva* (the subject), *bhakti* (devotion) and its nature, and Vraja *sakhya* (friendship in Vraja). The exploration of devotional friendship as a primary *rasa* in Chapter 4 is preceded by Chapter 3, which focuses on the concept of *rasa* in general and of *bhaktirasa* in particular which is relevant for our study of friendship as *bhaktirasa*. Chapter 5 deals with the role of friends and friendship in other *bhaktirasas* including *madhura* (romantic love). Chapter 6 concludes the study by pointing out the uniqueness of devotional friendship.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>I would like to mention that in my work all the translations from the Sanskrit as well as the Bengali sources, unless otherwise mentioned, are mine.

<sup>2</sup>Joseph T. O'Connell, "Social Implications of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava Movement." Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1970.

<sup>3</sup>Donna M. Wulff, *Drama as a Mode of Religious Realization: The Vidagdhamādhava of Rūpa Gosvāmin*. (Chico, California: American Academy of Religion, 1984).

<sup>4</sup>David L. Haberman, *Acting as a Way of Salvation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

<sup>5</sup>David R. Kinsley, *The Divine Player* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1979).

<sup>6</sup>Please see the list of abbreviations at the beginning of the text.

<sup>7</sup>The translations of the Rgvedic hymns are done by me in partial modification of the well known translation by Max Müller and Ralph T.H. Griffith.

<sup>8</sup>A. Aiyappan, "Sociology of friendship" in *Dr.V. Raghavan Shashtyabdapurti Felicitation Volume*. (Mylapore: The Dr. V. Raghavan Shashtyabdapurti Felicitation Committee, 1971),4.

<sup>9</sup>Thomas Hobbes, *Aristotle's Rhetoric - A Digest*, No. 901 of Every man's Library (London:J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1947), 114.

<sup>10</sup>Hobbes, *Aristotle*, 115.

<sup>11</sup>*snigdho vayasyaḥ savaya atha mitram sakhā suhṛt/-Amara*,II.8.12.

<sup>12</sup>See R.G Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems* (Poona:Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1982).



## CHAPTER TWO

### DEVOTIONAL FRIENDSHIP (SAKHYA BHAKTI) AND GOD

I know thee as my God and stand apart - I do not know thee as my own and come closer. I know thee as my father and bow before thy feet - I do not grasp thy hand as my friend's - Rabindranath Tagore, *Gītāñjali*, verse 77.

A proper study of any devotional love has four dimensions: the object (*viśaya*) of devotion (*bhakti*) - God or personal deity; the subject (*asṛaya*) of devotion - the individual soul (*jīva*) or devotee (*bhakta*); the relationship (*sambandha*) between the worshipped and the worshipper; and the very nature of devotion. Friendship (*sakhya*) as devotional love in the Caitanya tradition deserves to be studied through these four dimensions.

#### I. Bhagavat (God) and jīva, the individual soul:

In the Caitanya tradition, the cherished God, the object of devotion, is Kṛṣṇa, all love and sweetness, the blissful deity whom the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* has declared as Bhagavat, the Supreme Reality with all divine attributes and powers: Kṛṣṇa is Bhagavat himself (*Kṛṣṇastu bhagavān svayam - Bh.1.3.28*).<sup>1</sup> Therefore, Jīva Gosvāmin, one of the theologians of the early Caitanya tradition, says:

May that Kṛṣṇa, Bhagavat himself, who as pure consciousness is designated Brahman in certain *Vedic* texts [*the Upaniṣads*], a portion of whom manifests as his own partial incarnations, who as the indweller of all (Paramātman) rules over *māyā* and who in his one form named Nārāyaṇa sports in the highest heaven, bestow the boon of ardent love (*preman*) here on those who take refuge at his feet [TS,6].<sup>2</sup>

While proclaiming Kṛṣṇa as God himself, Jīva has cited the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* [Bh.1.3.28] as his authority [SS,4]. In Advaita Vedānta God is less than Brahman. In the Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta of Rāmānuja, Brahman and God are identical. However, Jīva places God above and beyond Brahman. Jīva's interpretation of the famous observation of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* [Bh.1.2.11] - "That Supreme Being is called by three different names: Brahman, Paramātmān and Bhagavat" - shows that these three names are not really synonymous. They convey a hierarchy of divine aspects gradually rising to the perfection brought forth by the term Bhagavat. In Jīva's doctrine of graded trinity, Bhagavat represents the one and indivisible (*akhaṇḍa*) Reality (*tattva*), the most perfect spiritual manifestation, in which all the divine energies come into full play. The attributeless Brahman, in which the powers remain undisplayed, represents the unmanifested state of Bhagavat [Bh.S,3]. Jīva maintains that there is no difference between Brahman and Bhagavat in essence. The difference is one of degree only, depending on the capacity and stage of realization of the devotee. Some devotees do not possess the proper capacity of realization. For these devotees, the Ultimate Reality appears in incomplete form as Brahman [Bh.S,119]. Paramātmān, the cause of creation, which enters the individual souls (*jīvas*) who constitute the part of the Supreme Reality (being God's marginal power - *taṭasthā śakti*), represents a partial manifestation of Bhagavat. This Paramātmān enlivens the bodies of living beings and of all objects because as the inner-controller it leads them to their respective functions [Bh.S,7]. Thus, Brahman, with powers remaining undisplayed, therefore inactive, is not predicable as a knower, though it is essentially knowledge. However Bhagavat being in possession of

activated *śaktis* is omniscient, omnipotent etc.<sup>3</sup> Following the method of the classic Vedic commentary *Nirukta*, Jīva by splitting up every syllable in Bhagavat, shows that the term Bhagavat indicates the Supreme Reality endowed with various attributes and energies (*śaktis*) which reside in it really and eternally in intimate relation. Thus *bha* in the name of Bhagavat indicates God's act of creating and sustaining the devotion of his devotees; *ga* signifies the concept of his making his devotees attain the bliss of divine love. The suffix *vat* indicates the possession of *bha* and *ga* (all the attributes) by God. The term Bhagavat also means one who is possessed of the six attributes of majesty (*aisvarya*), strength (*virya*), fame (*yasas*), beauty/prosperity (*śrī*), knowledge (*jñāna*) and detachment (*vairāgya*) in their completeness. Here, majesty suggests the power to subjugate all; strength is the magical potency; fame refers to glory on account of the excellent qualities of mind, body and speech, *śrī* stands for all kinds of prosperity. The term *jñāna* implies omniscience. Jīva uses detachment in the sense of non-attachment to the objects of the phenomenal world [Bh.S,5].

Jīva maintains that Bhagavat is endowed with infinite energies of which three are chief: *svarūpā śakti* or *antaraṅgā śakti*, essential power which constitutes the perfect selfhood of Bhagavat; *tatasthā śakti*, marginal power; and *māyā śakti*, extraneous power (*bahiraṅgā*) which manifests itself as the creation. The same Reality (Bhagavat) eternally undergoes fourfold manifestations through its inscrutable natural energy: the essential form (*svarūpa*); the incarnation (*vaibhava*); individual beings (*jīva*) and matter (*pradhāna*) [Bh.S,32-33]. The essential (*svarūpa*) manifestation has three aspects: *sandhinī* which corresponds to the attribute of existence (*sat*), *samvit* corresponding to

consciousness (*cit*) and *hlādinī* corresponding to bliss (*ānanda*). Although these three aspects eternally exist in Bhagavat, yet they are so graded that *samvit* is said to include and supersede *sandhini* whereas *hlādinī* is supposed to include and supersede both *sandhini* and *samvit*. Thus *hlādinī*, the power of bliss, enjoys the highest position. The combination of these three aspects which do not exist as isolated, is known as *śuddha sattva* (pure existence) [*Bh.S,152*], which assumes three different names in accordance with preponderance of any one of these three. When *sandini* predominates over *samvit* and *hlādinī*, *śuddhasattva* is *ādhāra śakti*, the receptive power; when *samvit* preponderates over the other two, it is *āmavidyā*, knowledge about *ātman*; when *hlādinī* being stronger supersedes the other two, *śuddhasattva* is called *guhya vidyā* or *bhakti*, loving devotion. When all these three aspects are simultaneously prominent, the result is the figure (*mūrti*) of Bhagavat through which God manifests himself [*Bh.S,156*]. However, the divine form of God is non-phenomenal and spiritual (*aprākṛtarūparahita*) in character as it consists of existence, consciousness and bliss (*saccidānandarūpa*) [*Bh.S,.56,93*]. This divine form is perceptible by the devotees only through devotion.

While delineating the essential nature of *jīva*, Jīva Gosvāmin accepts the authority of Jāmātmuni, an advocate of the Viśiṣṭādvaita view before Rāmānuja, and informs us that *jīva*, the individual soul, is neither a deity, nor a human being nor a movable animal, nor an immovable plant. It is neither the body, nor the senses, nor the mind nor life, nor intellect. On the other hand, it is neither an unconscious material object (*jaḍa*) nor is it liable to change, nor does it consist of mere consciousness. From the positive side, the *jīva* is self-luminous to itself, uniform (*ekarūpa*), remaining identical with itself

(*svarūpabhāk*), conscious, possessing the attribute of pervading, consisting of consciousness (*cit*) and bliss (*ānandātman*), the subject of self conceit, different in different bodies, atomic (*anu*) in size, always pure, the possessor of its own peculiar attributes of knowledge, action and enjoyment, and always possessing the natural tendency of resolving into a part of Paramātmān. For Jīva, *jīvas*, representing the marginal power (*tatasthā śakti*) of Bhagavat, are many in number. They fall into two groups: 1) some are eternally inclined to Bhagavat, and 2) some are eternally averse to Bhagavat and are subjugated to *māyā śakti* [*Par.S,32-33*].

According to Caitanya, as alleged by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, *jīva* is *śakti*, the power and Kṛṣṇa is *śaktimat*, the possessor of power. He maintains that Isvara, God, is like a roaring fire and *jīvas* are like so many sparks [*CC.I.7.117*].

For Jīva and his followers, the relation between the individual soul, *jīva*, and Bhagavat is an inscrutable relationship of difference in non-difference (*acintya bhedābheda*). In this regard, Jīva has relied on Rāmānuja's interpretation of the *Brahma Sūtra* from I.1.2 to I.1.12 [See *SS on Par.S.*] In his commentary on these aphorisms, Rāmānuja holds that individual soul is not absolutely different from Brahman, but stands to it in the difference in non-difference relation in so far as it is a part of Brahman. While the individual soul's non-difference from Brahman is essential (*svābhāvika*), its difference from Brahman is due to limiting adjuncts (*anupādhika*). However for Jīva, the individual soul is not a determinant of Brahman as Rāmānuja thinks, but it is a power of Brahman, an inscrutable power. Therefore, the relation between *jīva* and Brahman - the power and the possessor of the inscrutable power - is that of inscrutable difference

in non-difference [SS,146]. Jīva in his *Paramā̄tma Sandarbha* has explained that *jīva* is a part of Bhagavat as the ground or substratum of the marginal power, *jīvasākti*, but not of Bhagavat as the displayer of the essential power.<sup>4</sup> This *jīvasākti* is called marginal because it does not belong to the category of the external power (*māyā sākti*) of Bhagavat, or to his internal power which appertains solely to God.<sup>5</sup> It is analogous to the sea-shore constituting neither the sea nor the land, and hence it is marginal. Thus, for Jīva Gosvāmin, *jīva* is a part of Brahman because it is a part of the *sākti* of Brahman.<sup>6</sup> Therefore the relation between the individual soul and God being that of the power and its possessor, is a most intimate one.

Jīva differs from other Vaiṣṇava theologians such as Rāmānuja and Madhva in his interpretation of the statement *tat tvam asi* - that thou art - of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* [VI.8.7]. According to Rāmānuja, *tat* (that) stands here for the qualified (*saguna*) Brahman, the omniscient, omnipotent creator of the world, and *tvam* (thou) stands for Brahman existing in the form of a finite soul (*cit*) possessed of a material body. For Rāmānuja, "that thou art" is the identity of two terms - that and thou - which are in some respects different but identical at bottom.<sup>7</sup> Madhva on the other hand, maintains that *tat tvam asi* instead of identifying Brahman with *jīva*, simply means that *jīva* has for its essence, qualities similar to those of Brahman.<sup>8</sup> Jīva however, asserts that *tat* is Brahman (God) and *tvam* is *jīva*; but *asi* does not imply their identity, but indicates the loving bond (*premapara*) between Brahman and *jīva* [PS,21].<sup>9</sup> Jīva further explains that absolute identity between Īśvara, God, and *jīva* is never possible because while God is all wisdom, *jīva* is under the influence of *avidyā*, ignorance [PS,42]. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja

also holds the same view: God is the Lord of *māyā* (*māyādhīśā*) whereas, *jīva* is under the control of *māyā* (*māyāvasā*). Therefore, the identity sought by the Advaitins here on the strength of the word *asi* cannot be the only interpretation of this *Upaniṣadic* expression [CC.II.6.159]. In his *Tattva Sandarbha*, Jīva maintains that *tat tvam asi* implies that *jīva* being a part of the Universal Soul (Ātman) is eternal (*nitya*) and spiritual (*cidrūpa*) like the latter [TS, 120-123]. Suggesting an intimate loving relationship between God and the individual soul, the followers of the Caitanya tradition also explain *tat* as His, which implies that you (*tvam = jīva*) are His own.<sup>10</sup>

## II. Kṛṣṇa, the embodiment of Bliss, Beauty and Love.

In the Caitanya tradition, the Supreme God-head, Bhagavat, is a concrete person (*puruṣa*). He is called *uttama puruṣa*, the most exalted person. Following the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Jīva ascribes that aspect of Reality designated as Bhagavat to Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa is the source of all incarnations (*avatāras*). Although all the *avatāras* being aspects of Kṛṣṇa's manifestation, are each of them perfect (*pūrṇa*), yet Kṛṣṇa is the most perfect (*pūrṇatama*). He is the Lord of the lords (*īśvaresvara*). Kṛṣṇa as Bhagavat is not a formless entity, but an embodied substance possessing various powers and attributes [Bh.S,125].<sup>11</sup> However, his form is non-phenomenal (*visuddha sattva*) and spiritual which consists of pure being (*sat*), consciousness (*cit*) and bliss (*ānanda*) [Bh.S,93]. This form of Kṛṣṇa is identical with his essence (*svarūpa*). Jīva maintains that Bhagavat's essential nature is really bliss, *ānanda*, and all other *śaktis* are attributes to it [Bh.S,3].<sup>12</sup>

Jīva maintains that Kṛṣṇa, as the highest embodiment of divine bliss or sweetness (*mādhurya*), is superior to such lower expressions of the deity as Nārāyaṇa or Vāsudeva in whom only the divine majestic property (*aiśvarya*) is displayed. The poet Kaṇṇapūra (Jīva's contemporary) holds that God, being all delight, bestows delight to his devotees [C. Can., 10]. For Jīva and his followers, the two-handed form similar to that of a human being is the best and most essential form of Kṛṣṇa as Bhagavat. Kṛṣṇa never enters a gross body like an ordinary creature but appears to do so only to manifest his own essential natural energy. He incarnates only to delight his devotees through the manifestation of his essential powers [Par.S,67]. Kṛṣṇa being a loving God, has no hatred for any one. All his acts - the creation of the world and the like - have only one aim in view - the pleasure of the devotees [Par.S,78]. Dr. S.N. Dasgupta, however, sees some inconsistency in Jīva's theory of a loving God. He says:

the writer of the *Ṣaṭ-sandarbhā* is unable to explain the fact why the impartial and passionless God should destroy the demons for the sake of His devotees, and he plainly admits that the indescribable nature of God's greatness is seen when, in spite of His absolute impartiality to all, He appears to be partial to some.<sup>13</sup>

Kṛṣṇa has countless real attributes of which only sixty four have been mentioned by Rūpa Gosvāmin in his *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* [BRS.II.1.23-44]. In this regard, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja the author of *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, the famous biography of Caitanya, also follows Rūpas's view [CC.II 23.63]. None of the attributes is phenomenal (*prākṛta*) because phenomenal attributes are unable to touch the essential nature of Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa's attributes are supersensuous qualities (*aprākṛta*). Among the sixty four qualities, sixty qualities are common to Kṛṣṇa as well as Nārāyaṇa, whereas the four special



qualities belong to Kṛṣṇa only. These four special qualities are: 1) the sweetness of his beatific sports (*līlāmādhurya*), 2) an abundance of those beloved of him (*premapriyādhikya*), 3) the sweet melody of his flute (*veṇumādhurya*) and 4) the beauty and sweetness of his form (*rūpamādhurya*). Rūpa says:

Kṛṣṇa, the ocean of sweet jubilation, full of infinite waves of sports swelling upon it, creates a sense of charming wonder even in the gods who are themselves wonderful. He bestows incomparable sweet love to his beloved associates and devotees. The sweet melody of his flute enchants the hearts of everyone in the three worlds. His supernatural beauty which surpasses all description and intellectual comprehension, surprisingly attracts movable as well as immovable beings of the earth [BRS.II.1,42-3].

Kṛṣṇa's sweetness of beauty which is ever increasing, enchants even himself. In the *Lalita mādava*, Kṛṣṇa upon seeing his own reflection in a bejewelled pillar of his palace desired to embrace it saying:

Alas, I have never seen such a charming person before. Who is this enchanting one? The abundance of sweetness beyond comprehension, causing wonder, manifests itself as if before me in the form of this person. Just by looking at him, I wish to embrace him impetuously, exactly like Rādhā, and enjoy this beauty [BRS.II.1.217].

The thirst of one who always drinks Kṛṣṇa's nectar-like sweetness is never satisfied. Therefore, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja says: "The unskilful creator (*Brahmā*) does not know the real art of creation, therefore he has given (me) only two eyes, instead of giving me a million of eyes. And even in these two (eyes), he has caused winking. So tell me then how shall I be able to see the lovely face of Kṛṣṇa" [CC.I.4.151].

The Caitanya tradition maintains that Kṛṣṇa's revelation of all his sweetness has its best, highest and fullest manifestation in Vraja where Kṛṣṇa lived his youth among

the cowherds. His manifestation in Mathurā where he is a prince of Vṛṣṇin family, is second fullest, being partly sweet and partly majestic. In Dvārakā, where his majestic element is prominent, Kṛṣṇa as a king has his third fullest manifestation [BRS.II.1.223]. The sweetness of Kṛṣṇa is also relative to the love (*preman*) of his devotees. It increases in the same proportion in which the love of his devotees is free from the knowledge of Kṛṣṇa's majestic power. Kṛṣṇa is so loving that he is always eager to cast his power of blissful enjoyment (*ñilādinī*) in the heart of his worshippers and salve their bruised souls to make them fit to be his devotees [PS,208].<sup>14</sup> Jīva says that unlike the other incarnations of Bhagavat such as Parasúrama, Kṛṣṇa is the well-wisher and friend of all beings (*bhūtasuhṛt*) [PS,384]. Citing the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Jīva shows the compassion and friendship of Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa looks after the cattle of his cowherd friends in Vraja and becomes the charioteer and advisors of the Paṇḍavas [PS,388]. He becomes melted as it were through friendship: "The lotus-eyed One (Kṛṣṇa) became extremely delighted at the touch of the person of his beloved friend, the brahmin sage, and shed tears of joy from his eyes" [PS,392]. Kṛṣṇa, the beloved one, is subjugated only through ardent love (*premavasá*) [Bh.S,27]. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja says that this loving God becomes subordinate through love to those who consider him as their son, friend, beloved husband and so on [CC.I.4.21-2]. Kṛṣṇa is glad to admit: My friends climb on my shoulders in pure friendship, saying "What kind of greater person are you? You and I are equal." [CC.II.4.25]. Through her love Yaśodā, the foster-mother of Kṛṣṇa, makes Kṛṣṇa allow himself to be tied by her. The wives of the brahmins make him beg for food at their door. Cowherd girls make him dance with them.

Thus far we have seen this loving God, Kṛṣṇa, eligible to be a real friend and lover to his devotees in every way. This Kṛṣṇa being *rasa* itself, is also the enjoyer as the connoisseur of the devotional *rasa*. For Rūpa Gosvāmin, Kṛṣṇa is the embodiment of all nectar-like *rasas* (*akhilarasāmṛtamūri*) [BRS.I.1.1].

### III. Devotional love and friendship: the way and the goal.

*na dhanam na janam na sundarim kavitam va jagadisā  
kāmāye/mama janmani janmaniśvare bhavatāt bhaktir  
ahaitukī tvayi//*-Oh, Lord of the universe, I seek not  
wealth, nor relatives (men), nor beautiful women, nor  
ornamental poetry (literary greatness). What I pray for is  
that I may have in life after life devotion to thee, my God,  
with no extraneous motive behind. -*Caitanya Sikṣāṣṭaka*,  
verse 4.

According to the Caitanya tradition, Caitanya appeared on this earth only to illuminate the world by shedding the glow of emotional fervour or bhakti. To the conventional four desired ends of the human life (*puruṣārthas*) - *dharma* (duty), *artha* (wealth), *kāma* (enjoyment) and *mokṣa* (salvation) - Caitanya has added a fifth one - *preman*, ardent love for God. This shows the overwhelming supremacy of love in the Caitanya tradition. This *preman* attains relishability in its highest stage as the devotional *rasa*. The concept of devotion in the Caitanya tradition is perfectly consistent with its concept of God, Kṛṣṇa. Love is the highest manifestation of divine nature. Hence it is only through the path of love that a devotee can reach Kṛṣṇa, the superb embodiment of sweet love. For the followers of the Caitanya tradition, final redemption does not consist of the knowledge of Absolute Brahman, or the comprehension of the Supreme Soul (Paramātmān). On the contrary, it consists in the direct vision (*sāksātkāra*) of the

Supreme Reality in his highest appearance as Bhagavat who is to be realized or attained only through devotion. Jiva asserts that only through *bhakti*, the Supreme Being is visible in its threefold manifestation as Brahman, Paramātmān and Bhagavat.<sup>15</sup> Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja through his imagery of the crow and the cuckoo has shown the superiority of devotion to knowledge:

A crow, not being a connoisseur of *rasa*, eats the bitter fruits of the *nimba*, while a cuckoo, a real connoisseur, tastes only the sweet blossoms of the mango; similarly the unfortunate wise person (*jñānin*) acquires dry knowledge while the devotee being a fortunate one, drinks to his/her heart's content the nectar of love for Kṛṣṇa.<sup>16</sup>

The concept of liberation in the Caitanya tradition presents a new concept of heavenly life. Here heavenly life is not a temporary bliss between rebirths on earth. The votary through devotion, disinterested and entire, the bondage of rebirth having been broken, assumes a celestial body befitting his/her devotional feeling like that of the cowherd maids or the associates of Kṛṣṇa and attains God (Kṛṣṇa) eternally engaged in his beatific sports at Vraja.<sup>17</sup>

The word *bhakti* derived from the root *bhaj* may take different connotations in different contexts.<sup>18</sup> In a religious context, *bhakti* may mean respect, reverence, loyalty and loving attachment for a personal god. *Bhakti* points out the intimate relationship between a devotee and his/her cherished God. Jīva Gosvāmin, accepting *bhakti* as the best means (*sādhana**bhūyasī*) of the realization of God, considers its basic meaning as *sevā*, loving service to God. Because, for him, the root *bhaj* means "to serve". Jīva then interprets this *sevā* or *bhakti* as subordination (*anugati*) to God and it is of the nature of complete submission to Him in body, mind and words [BS, 109]. This is the

offering of all bodily and mental actions to God. In the Caitanya tradition, *bhakti* is a mode of God's essential power of bliss (*hlāḍinī*), which makes Him as well as other beings experience bliss, infused into the minds of the devotees by God himself. So devotion is of the nature of supreme joy [BS,63].

In his *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*, Rūpa Gosvāmin defines *uttamā bhakti*, pure devotion, as follows:

Real devotion (*bhakti*) is constant meditation on Kṛṣṇa (*Kṛṣṇānuśīlana*) after exclusion of all other desires from the mind, being free from the inclinations to perform ritual actions and the attempt to realize God through knowledge. And this constant meditation or practice should be favourable (*anukūla*) to Kṛṣṇa [BRS.I.1.11].<sup>19</sup>

In support of his definition Rūpa cites a verse from the *Nārada Pañcarātra*: "Pure service to Kṛṣṇa, the lord of all senses, with all our senses and with all our faculties free from all material desires is called *bhakti*, devotion" [BRS.I.1.12].<sup>20</sup> Although the purport is almost the same, the difference between Rūpa and the *Nārada Pañcarātra* is this: Rūpa eliminates all influences of other known and approved methods of salvation - knowledge, action and the like - from *bhakti*. In his definition Rūpa shows *bhakti* as *anusīlana*. The term *anusīlana* may mean "constant meditation" which reminds us of Rāmānuja's concept of *bhakti* as "constant remembrance" (*dhruvānusmṛti*).<sup>21</sup> It also may mean "repeated practice." Jīva, while commenting on Rūpa's definition, asserts that here in the *bhakti* context, *anusīlana*, derived from the root *śīla*, encompasses both the meanings - "constant meditation" and "repeated practice" - , because the root *śīla* possesses the meaning of effort (*ceṣṭā*) as well as emotion (*bhakti*). Therefore *bhakti* as *anusīlana* is a contemplative technique that utilizes emotion and at the same time

generates a higher emotional stage. This has its support in Rupa's own words: "This emotion (*bhāva*, through which Kṛṣṇa is obtained) is born in two ways: from all - absorbing practice (*sādhana*) or, for extremely fortunate persons, through the grace (*prasāda*) of Kṛṣṇa and his devotees (*bhaktas*). However, the first is common, while the second is rare" [BRS.I.3.6]. Therefore we may conclude that the concept of *bhakti* for Rūpa and Jīva, is not really "the doctrine of salvation by faith alone, without one's own merit or work."

David L. Haberman has pointed out that Rudolf Otto and Nathan Söderblom, early twentieth century Lutherans who were important historians of religion, failed to recognize *bhakti* as *sādhana*, the means of salvation. For both these scholars, *bhakti* is only love, devotion and faith where "salvation is not attained as a reward of our own works, but as a gift of grace".<sup>22</sup> As Lutherans, these scholars were in search of a religion that offers a way of salvation in a manner similar to Christianity, when they discovered Hindu *bhakti*. One may argue that Otto and Söderblom's concept of *bhakti* may also have had a source in the doctrine of *bhakti* in the Teṅgalai School of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism where the emphasis is exclusively on salvation through grace.

Rūpa distinctly speaks of three varieties of *bhakti*: *sādhana* (means), *bhāva* (emotion) and *preman* (ardent love).<sup>23</sup> The *sādhana bhakti* is the means by which an emotional relationship is realized [BRS.I.2.2] It is of the nature of a means to an end. This *sādhana* is necessary because by means of some method one's mind should be fastened on Kṛṣṇa [BRS.I.2.4]. To achieve the goal a devotee has two ways: either to follow the scriptural injunctions or to follow the path of emotional experience of the

associates of Kṛṣṇa in Vraja. Thus *sādhana* has two divisions: *vaidhī* and *rāgānugā*. Rupa defines *vaidhī* as formalistic devotion urged by scriptural injunctions but not by spontaneous love for God [BRS.I.2.6]. The aim of formalistic devotion is to generate the emotional stage of *bhakti*, the starting point of *rāgānugā*. When *sādhana bhakti* is spontaneous it is called *rāgānugā* which follows the path of emotional love of the associates of Kṛṣṇa through imitation of that love [BRS.I.2.270]. Therefore it is replete with extreme attachment to God. The end of *vaidhī* is the beginning of *rāgānugā* unless some are so fortunate as to be born with an innate propensity and capacity for the latter. Rūpa maintains that friendship (*sakhya*) may be a *vaidhī bhakti* if it arises following the scriptural path, otherwise it is *rāgānugā* by nature. Therefore, friendship in the Caitanya tradition is *rāgānugā* as well as *vaidhī*.

The *bhāva* kind of *bhakti* is *bhakti* in its emotional stage, not yet developed as ardent love. Devotion in the form of *preman*, ardent love, indicates the more intensified and deeper stage of *bhāva*, emotional love. Jīva Gosvāmin modifies the view of Rūpa and classifies *bhakti* into two main groups: *sādhana*, the means, and *sādhyā*, the end. He includes *bhāva* and *preman* in the second group and observes that *sādhyā bhakti* has eight varieties: *bhāva* (emotion), *preman* (ardent love), *praṇaya* (intimate love), *sneha* (tender affection), *rāga* (passionate attachment), *māna* (sulking), *anurāga* (love as constant freshness) and *mahābhāva* (supreme emotional love.) *Sādhyā bhakti* being associated with emotion is of the nature of bliss [Jīva on BRS.I.2.1]. The term *rāgānugā*, the imitation of love, presupposes *rāgāmikā* (identical with emotion), the love of the associates of Kṛṣṇa, and follows the latter; *rāga*, attachment, is complete

absorption in one's cherished God, and its emotional basis is called *rāgātmikā* [BRS.I.2.272]. This *rāgātmikā bhakti*, devotional love of the eternal associates of Kṛṣṇa, is of two kinds: 1) amorous *bhakti* or the self-willed devotional love; 2) relational devotional love. The former springs from passionate desire to be Kṛṣṇa's beloved, and the other wants to establish with Kṛṣṇa various other kinds of relations as his servant, friend or parents. In relational devotion, the devotees cherish the conceit of being Kṛṣṇa's father, friend, servant etc. Although the Vṛṣṇins, the blood-relatives of Vasudeva - Kṛṣṇa's real father in his manifested state -, are Kṛṣṇa's real relatives, the cowherds possess the conceit of being Kṛṣṇa's true relatives, as they are related to the cowherd king, Nanda, the foster father of Kṛṣṇa in disguise. These cowherds are to be considered as the best exemplary representatives of the relational *bhakti* due to the excellence of their passion which is not conditioned by the awareness of Kṛṣṇa's majestic quality. The true nature of the self-willed devotional love as well as relational love is essentially ardent love because both these *bhaktis* are located in the eternally perfected ones of Vraja [BRS.I.2.288-9]. The concept of *rāgātmikā bhakti* is really based on the teachings of the *Bhakti Sūtras* of Nārada and Śāṅḍilya who maintain that devotion is supreme love or supreme attachment for God.<sup>24</sup>

The *rāgātmikā bhakti* is the natural emotion of the people of Vraja for Kṛṣṇa, therefore it is not *sādhana bhakti* but it is the end (*sādhya*) in itself. Those who develop an insatiable thirst for imbibing the sentiments of Kṛṣṇa's associates in Vraja are eligible for *rāgānugā bhakti*, which follows the path of *rāgātmikā* [BRS.I.2.291]. The eternal and spontaneous attachment of the associates of Kṛṣṇa towards Kṛṣṇa serves as the model



of *rāgānugā bhakti*. One desirous of the way of the *rāgānugā* devotion follows a particular emotion (mental attitude) of a particular favourite of Kṛṣṇa engaged in his beatific sports in Vraja. Consequently in the case of *rāgānugā bhakti*, the eternal associates of Kṛṣṇa in Vraja, the archetypes for the devotees, as exemplary models, possess the role of teachers (*gurus*). These special kind of *gurus*, as real participants in the beatific sports of Kṛṣṇa, show the path of participation to the devotees of the *rāgānugā* path, who through imitation of their *gurus* participate accordingly and achieve their goal. Thus *rāgānugā bhakti* is concerned with three parties: Kṛṣṇa, the archetype devotee, and the ordinary devotee. In other words, in *rāgānugā*, the devotee's relationship with Kṛṣṇa is not direct but through mediation and the whole relationship is depending on the grace of the third person, the associate of Kṛṣṇa. *Rāgānugā bhakti* as an imitation is an art where both action and emotion have important roles. *Rāgānugā* is divided into two subclasses: imitation of the passionate love of the cowherd maids of Vraja for Kṛṣṇa, and imitation of love expressed through non-romantic personal relationships [BRS.I.2.290]. Love of the cowherd maids is of two kinds: the desire for enjoyment, and the desire to share in the emotions of others (the *kāntās*, or sweethearts of Kṛṣṇa) [BRS.I.2.298-9].

In *rāgātmikā bhakti*, all the forms of emotional realization are classified in terms of human sentiment into five broad categories of devotional *rasa*: quietistic (*sānta*), loving servitude (*dāśya*), friendship (*sakhya*), parental love (*vātsalya*) and romantic love (*madhura*). Here the devotional feelings are considered as the permanent emotions. These permanent emotions united with suitable constituents attain the state of relish called

*bhakti rasa* in the aesthetics of *bhakti* [CC.II.23,41-42]. There are five primary *bhakti rasas* sublimated from the five basic feelings. Of these five *rasas* each succeeding one is superior to the preceding one.<sup>25</sup>

Thus far we have seen that in the Caitanya tradition friendship is not only a *sādhana bhakti*, it is also a *sādhya bhakti* which attains its sublime stage as a primary *bhakti rasa*.

#### IV. Vraja sakhya: friendship in Vraja.

Although Vraja *sakhya* may suggest the friendship of both male and female friends of Kṛṣṇa in Vraja, we are going to discuss here the friendship of the cowherd boys with Kṛṣṇa. This is because *sakhī bhāva*, female friendship, is a technical term which we would prefer to discuss in the *madhura* context.

In his *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*, Rūpa maintains that Kṛṣṇa, the well-wisher of his devotees (*bhakta suhṛt*), has two categories of friends: 1) some related to Kṛṣṇa's city-life (in Mathurā and Dvārakā) and 2) others belonging to his rural life in Vraja, the pasture land. Friends in the former group are called *pura sakhis* and those in the latter group are known as *sakhis* (male friends) of Vraja. Among these two groups of friends, the friends of Vraja are the most fortunate. They are the constant companions and playmates of Kṛṣṇa [BRS.III.3.10,16]. Their friendly disposition towards Kṛṣṇa is *rāgātmikā bhakti*; it is spontaneous, unmotivated and pure [PS,550]. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja quotes the *Bhāgavata Purāna* [Bh.X.12.11] in praise of their friendship with Kṛṣṇa:

In this way, the cowherd boys who had acquired extreme merit (in the past) played with Kṛṣṇa who is known to the

good as the consciousness of sublime pleasure, whom the devotees of loving servitude (*dāsyā*) regard as the Supreme Deity, and whom those deluded by *māyā* consider as a human child [CC.II.8,75].

The Caitanya tradition has accepted the friendship of the cowherd boys of Vraja towards Kṛṣṇa as one of the best kind of *sādhyā bhakti* [CC.II.8.74]. These friends, as the inhabitants of Vraja, become exemplary models for the devotees (*bhaktas*) who desire to follow the path of *rāgānugā sakhyā bhakti*. Their status as the exemplary models is third in rank among the five kinds of models in Vraja who possess five kinds of devotional love for Kṛṣṇa: quietistic (*sānta*), loving servitude, friendly love, parental love and romantic love. Rūpa maintains that the charming cowherd boys, the friends of Kṛṣṇa, are equal to Kṛṣṇa in every respect including age, beauty and dress. Kṛṣṇa with his two-handed most perfect (*pūrṇatama*) sweet form is all human to them, treating them as his equals.<sup>26</sup> Unlike Arjuna in the *Gītā*, these cowherd boys are unaware of Kṛṣṇa's awesome majestic power and form. They are not desirous like Arjuna (of the *Gītā*) to see Kṛṣṇa's universal majestic form (*viśvamūrti*). They are fully satisfied with Kṛṣṇa's loving friendly form. Therefore their love towards Kṛṣṇa is never constrained by the consciousness of his supremacy. In the Vraja context, Haberman observes: "What makes emotional relationships with the Godhead possible is the concealment of the awesome form by the gentle human form. In the language of Rudolf Otto, the *mysterium fascinans* dominates the *mysterium tremendum*."<sup>27</sup> However, it is interesting to point out here that the belief of the cowherd friends in Kṛṣṇa's humanness is so overwhelmingly deep that whenever they see the manifestation of Kṛṣṇa's supra-phenomenal power, they accept it as an extraordinary human power of their dear friend.

That is why at the time of his lifting up of the mount Govardhana they are much more concerned about Kṛṣṇa's trouble, instead of his super-natural power:

Oh my dear friend, you are standing here for seven days, without having any sleep. Alas, you look tired. Please, put the mountain in Śrīdāman's hand. We are sad at your trouble. Or, just for a moment keep it in your right hand so that we may massage your left-hand nicely [BRS.III.3.18].

Their trust and confidence in Kṛṣṇa's friendship is so deep that they never hesitate to serve him and get service from him in return. They carry Kṛṣṇa and also make him carry themselves when Kṛṣṇa is defeated in a game [CC.II.19.206]. They dance and sing to amuse Kṛṣṇa and inspire him in his dancing and singing saying "well done" "well done" [PS,548]. Thus they amuse Kṛṣṇa at the same time that they are amused by him.

All the time they are playing with Kṛṣṇa:

Sometimes they would play with *bel* and *kumbha* fruits, sometimes they would throw handfuls of myrobalan at one another, all the time laughing they would imitate the actions of the birds and beasts. Sometimes they would play leaping like frogs, exchange witty repartees. Sometimes they would play "Blind man's bluff." Sometimes they would make Kṛṣṇa a King and seat him on a throne made of a swing...<sup>28</sup>

These friends in Vraja are not mature persons. They are boys or adolescents. Therefore they are suitable for the friendship of Kṛṣṇa in his boyhood or adolescence. As they are not in their manhood they feel no social responsibilities. They are free like the animals and birds of the forest whom they imitate. They behave in whatever way they please. This friendship in Vraja shows an enchanting kingdom of God where all are Kings. In the language of the poet, Tagore, these friends of Vraja may claim: "We are all kings in the kingdom of our own King, otherwise how could we be the friends of our King."<sup>29</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Although this is the only verse in the *Bhāgavata Purāna* which declares Kṛṣṇa as God himself and thereby distinguishes him from other incarnations (*avatāras*), the followers of the Caitanya tradition have accepted it as the highest authority. Therefore, Rūpa in *BRS.II.1.17* says: "Kṛṣṇa, the crest jewel of all heroes, is God himself." In a similar manner Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja declares: "Kṛṣṇa is the Ultimate Supreme God himself, the cause of all incarnations (*avatārin*) and the root of all creation" [*CC.II.8.134*].

<sup>2</sup>*T.S.6: yasya brahmeti sanjām kvacidapi nigame yāti cinmātrasattāpyamśo yasyāmśakaiḥ svair vibhavati vaśāyanneva māyām pumāmśca/ekam yasyaiva rūpam vilasati paramavyomni nārāyaṇākhyam sa śrīkṛṣṇo vidhattām svayamiha bhagavan prema tatpādabhājām//*

<sup>3</sup>*śaktivargalakṣana taddharmātirikṣam kevalam jñānam brhameti śabhdhyate, antaryāmitvamaya māyāsakti pracura cicchakṛtyāmśa viśiṣṭam paramāmeti, paripūrṇasarvaśakti viśiṣṭam bhagavān/-BS,5.*

<sup>4</sup>*jīvasaktiviśiṣṭasyaiva tava jīvo'mśo na tu śuddhasya iti/-Par.S,30.*

<sup>5</sup>*atha taṣṭasthatvañca... ubhaya koṭāvapraviṣṭatvād eva/-Par.S,30.*

<sup>6</sup>*tatra śaktivenaivamaśatvam vyanjāyanti.../-Par.S,30.*

<sup>7</sup>*Śrībhāṣya on Brahma Sūtra, 1.1.1.*

<sup>8</sup>See Madhva's commentary on *Ch.UP.VI.8.16*.

<sup>9</sup>*tattvamasi ityādisāstramapi tatpremaparam eva jñeyam/-PS,21.*

<sup>10</sup>Murāri Gupta in his *Kaṣṭhācā* says: "Oh Lord, think of the words (*ta* and *tvam*) as forming a genitive compound and be at ease" [II.18.3-4].

Karnapūra in his *Caitanya caritāmṛta Mahākāvya* also shows Murāri's explanation [XI.42].

<sup>11</sup>*sa ca bhagavān pūrvoditalakṣana śrīmūrtyātmaka eva, na tvamūrtaḥ/-Bh.S,125.*

<sup>12</sup>*evañca ānandamātram viśeṣyam samastāḥ śaktayo viśeṣanāni, viśiṣṭo bhagavān iti.../-Bh.S,3.*

<sup>13</sup>Surendranath Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, volume IV (Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 1966), 412.

<sup>14</sup>*tasya hlādinyā eva kāpi sarvānandāiśāyini vṛttir nityam bhaktavṛndes.veva niṣpiyamānā bhagavat prityākhyayā vartate/-PS,208.*

<sup>15</sup>*tac ca tridhāvirbhāvayuktameva tattvam bhaktyaiva sāksāt kriyate/-BS,5.*

<sup>16</sup>*arasajñā kāka cuṣe jñānanimba phale/rasajñā kokila khāya premāmra mukule//abhāgiya jñāni āsvādāye śuṣkajñāna kṛṣṇapremāmṛta pūna kare bhāgyavān//CC.II.8.262-3.*

<sup>17</sup>*vrajalokera konabhāva lañā yei bhaje/bhāvayogya dehapāñā kṛṣṇe pāya vraje//CC.II.8.226.*

*ata eva gopibhāva kari aṅgikāra rātri dine cinte rādha kṛṣṇera vihāra//siddha deha cinti kare tahāni sevana/sakhībhāve pāya rādhakṛṣṇera caraṇa//CC.II.8.232-3.*

<sup>18</sup>There are several excellent studies on the etymology of bhakti. A brief but good bibliography on the subject is found in Mariasusai Dhavamony's *Love of God According to Śaiva Siddhānta* (Oxford:Oxford University Press, 1971), 11.

<sup>19</sup>*anyābhilāṣitā śūnyam jñānakarmādyanāvṛtam/ānukūlyena kṛṣṇānu-sīlanam bhaktiruttamā//BRS.I.1.11.*

<sup>20</sup>*sarvopādhivinirmuktam tatparaivena nirmalam/hṛṣīkeṇa hṛṣīkesāsevanam bhakti rucyate//BRS.I.1.12.*

<sup>21</sup>Rāmānuja's *Śrībhāṣya* on *Brahma Sūtra*, 1.1.

<sup>22</sup>David L. Haberman, *Acting as a way of salvation* (New York:Oxford University Press, 1988), 62-63.

<sup>23</sup>*sā bhaktiḥ sādhanam bhāvaḥ prema ceti tridhoditā//BRS.I.2.1.*

<sup>24</sup>*sā tasmin paramapremarūpā/-Nārada bhakti sūtra, verse 2. sā parānuraktirīśvare/-Śāṅḍilya sūtra, verse 2.*

<sup>25</sup>For the discussion on *bhakti rasa* see the next chapter.

<sup>26</sup>For the details see IV chapter.

<sup>27</sup>The reference here is from Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy* (London:Oxford University Press, 1923), 12-24 and 31-40, cited by Haberman, *Acting*, 46.

<sup>28</sup>See *Gopāla Campū, Pūrva*, Chapter sixteen (*ṣoḍaśa puraṇa*), Paragraph 10.

<sup>29</sup>*āmarā savāi rājā amādera ei rājāra rājatva/naile modera. rājāra sane milavo ki sartte//Rabindarnath Tagore.*

## CHAPTER THREE

### BHAKTI AS RASA AND ITS CLASSIFICATION

This chapter will serve as a background for our subsequent study of devotional friendship as a *rasa*. We will examine here some of the major theories of the classical aestheticians on *rasa*, focusing particularly upon their religious concerns. And then, after pointing out some views of the classical authors regarding the relishability of *bhakti* as a *rasa*, we will proceed to examine the concept of *bhaktirasa* itself in the Caitanya tradition. Consequently we will see how Rūpa, Jīva and others have utilized or criticized those previous theories to establish the relishability of *bhakti*.

#### I. The Aesthetics of Bhakti and the Caitanya Tradition

*raso vai sah/rasam hyevāyam labdhvānandī bhavati / He is rasa. Through attaining this rasa all beings are possessed with ānanda, with bliss. - T.Up II.7.1. [Quoted by Jīva, PS, 12-13]*

Emile Boutroux maintains that "Religion is neither an act of knowledge nor a rule: it is a life, it is an experience; and this life has its source in the deepest part of our being, viz. feeling. We cannot proceed through knowledge of religion to religion - this latter is an original fact".<sup>1</sup> Now, for the Vaiṣṇavas in the Caitanya tradition, religion is their very life - the existence as well as the experience. Their Kṛṣṇa-probing eyes, eventually, try to find out the Beloved One everywhere by all available means.<sup>2</sup> Their quest for Kṛṣṇa goes through all conceivable loving relationships of human understanding, through arts and music, literature and literary criticism. The philosophers

of the Caitanya tradition have recognized *bhakti* as a psychic state. The spiritual aspect of *bhakti* in the form of an "emotional love" for Kṛṣṇa attained its finest perfection when Caitanya recognized its sublime status of *rasa*-hood, the blissful state of "aesthetic enjoyment".

Generally metaphysics and aesthetics are considered as two different fields of human thought, opposite to each other. In the pre-Caitanya era, Rāmānuja, Nimbārka, and other Vaiṣṇava philosophers, while propagating *bhakti* as the means of God-realization and salvation, proclaimed its blissful nature, but never tried to explain the nature of *bhakti* as an "aesthetic enjoyment." Therefore Vaiṣṇava aesthetics was not their concern. Ācārya Vallabha (1481-1533 C.E.), on the other hand, paying equal attention to the ritualistic as well as aesthetic aspects of *bhakti*, had used the term "*bhakti rasa*" in his *Anubhāsyā* ["*rasātmakarvād bhakteḥ...*" III/3/37]. However, since his main concern was not the aesthetics of *bhakti*, he never attempted to write a separate book on this subject.

In the philosophy of the Caitanya tradition, metaphysics and aesthetics are blended together when Caitanya proclaims the capacity of *bhakti* to attain the status of "aesthetic sentiment," *rasa*. The outstanding contributions of the philosophers of the Caitanya school to the evolution of the Bhakti movement are their elaborate treatment of the *rasa* aspect of *bhakti* and the emphasis laid on the concept of the *rāgānugā bhakti*, devotion in the form of imitation of the emotional experience of the associates of Kṛṣṇa. In this school, philosophers have used the method of the classical aesthetics of Bharata and others to explore the sentiment (*rasa*) of *bhakti* with all its nuances, and clothed the



doctrine of *bhakti* towards Kṛṣṇa in the garb and phraseology of the *rasa* theory. Rūpa Gosvāmin in his composition of *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* and *Ujjvalanītamāṇi* has elevated *bhakti rasa* to the supreme relish of literary enjoyment, the *rasa* of classical Sanskrit rhetoric. Jīva Gosvāmin, Kaṇṇapūra, and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja have followed the path of Rūpa in their exposition of *bhakti rasa*.

Now, the question might arise as to why Rūpa and kindred scholars were motivated to undertake the method of the aestheticians as one of their paths to propagate the religion of love. Was this undertaking unwarranted? To answer this question, one may argue that there seem to be several reasons which might have inspired these Vaiṣṇava scholars in this undertaking. The tradition holds that Caitanya gave different instructions to different disciples according to their aptitudes and to suit his ends in disseminating the cult of devotion.

Ānandin, in his commentary on Prabodhānanda's *Caitanya-Candrāmṛta*, observes that although Caitanya did not write anything, yet he injected his own energy (*sākti*) into his disciples like Rūpa and others, inspiring them to reveal his doctrines.<sup>3</sup> Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja maintains that Caitanya taught Rūpa the truth (*tattva*) about Kṛṣṇa and devotion, the truth about the aesthetics of Vaiṣṇava *rasa*, and the spiritual truths contained in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Caitanya imparted to Rūpa whatever he heard from Rāmaṇanda Rāy, a Vaiṣṇava devotee from South India, regarding *bhakti rasa*.<sup>4</sup> Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja holds that Rūpa was inspired by Lord Caitanya to revive the forgotten history of Kṛṣṇa's love and beatific sport (*līlā*) at Vraja.<sup>5</sup> In this regard, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja obtained his strongest support from the evidence of Kaṇṇapūra's *Caitanyacandrodaya*. In this drama,

Kaṇapūra tells us that as the history of the sweet jubilation of Kṛṣṇa at Vraja was forgotten in the course of time, Caitanya wanted to revive this history through Rūpa and Sanātana, the elder brother of Rūpa.<sup>6</sup> Kaṇapūra maintains that Rūpa, the personification of "rasa par excellence" as it were [C.Can, 224], was Caitanya's great favourite (*priya*), his friend (*dayita*), or his second self in the form of his personified love. This being the case, Caitanya inspired him with his great power to accept the deep spiritual truths of love for Kṛṣṇa [C.Can., 225].<sup>7</sup>

Rūpa's epithet as the personification of "rasa par excellence as it were" given by Kaṇapūra seems to suggest that Rūpa was well versed in aesthetics as well as the Vaiṣṇava scriptures long before his conversion by Caitanya. *Bhaktiramānaka* (18th cent. C.E.) also informs us that both the brothers - Rūpa and Sanātana, were well acquainted with the scriptures and therefore predisposed towards Vaiṣṇavism before their meeting with Caitanya.<sup>8</sup>

Certainly Rūpa and Sanātana were men of great literary capacity, acute theologians, and passionate poets as well as devotees. Rūpa particularly, had a natural aptitude towards dramatic literature and dramaturgy. In other words, he was more a mystic-poet and aesthetician than a theologian. He composed several poetic works, religious as well as secular - *dūtakāvya*s and *Padyāvalī*, an anthology - probably before his conversion by Caitanya.<sup>9</sup> His *Vidagdhamādhava* (1533 C.E.), *Lalitamādhava* (1537 C.E.), *Nāṭakacandrikā* and some other compositions, which came long before *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* (1541 C.E.) and its supplement *Ujvalanīlamanī*, bear enough evidence of his poetic genius. Through *Nāṭakacandrikā*, a work on dramaturgy, Rūpa

supported the dramatic art of his two dramas. It is quite possible therefore, that Caitanya, in recognition of Rūpa's outstanding literary acumen, as reported by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja,<sup>10</sup> selected Rūpa for the special task of expressing the aesthetics of *bhakti*.<sup>11</sup> Rūpa, being a poet-dramatist as well as rhetorician, took up for the first time the task of the exposition of the aesthetic of *bhakti* with all the enthusiasm of a scholar. He took up his task as a challenge to the orthodox schools of Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta, who looked down upon emotional *bhakti* as weak and vulgar, showing the supremacy of *bhakti* in its sublime condition [BRS I.1.5].<sup>12</sup> Rūpa compared the scholars of the orthodox schools of Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta with submarine fire. This comparison suggests that those orthodox scholars had created an arid, narrow, and proud intellectual atmosphere. The *Caitanya Bhāgavata* [Adi.IX] and Karnaṇpūra [C. Can] report that Vedānta was the subject of conversation among the cultured few. These so-called followers of Vedānta despised emotional *bhakti*. Śrīvāsa, a Vaiṣṇava devotee, was turned out of Devānanda's house only because he showed his emotions after reading the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Therefore, Rūpa and his followers took the task of defending emotional *bhakti* against the criticism of the Mīmāṃsakas and the Vedāntins.

It should be noted here that Rūpa, in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛtasindhu*, speaks indeed of his inspiration from Caitanya.<sup>13</sup> It is certainly true, therefore, that Caitanya inspired Rūpa with a zeal for his special task. Caitanya might have also suggested to Rūpa and Sanātana his own ideas of devotional *rasa*, born out of his own religious realization. However, nowhere in Rūpa's work do we find any clear mention of the direct instruction by Caitanya as alleged by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. Very probably it was Caitanya's ecstatic

devotional life itself that provided Rupa and others a vivid text of *bhakti rasa* to enlarge and comment upon. According to the followers of Caitanya, Caitanya was Kṛṣṇa himself who appeared to illuminate the world by shedding the glow of emotional fervour, or *bhakti*.<sup>14</sup> In his *Bṛhadbhāgavatāmṛta*, Sanātana Gosvāmin at the very commencement of the narration makes a statement that the subject-matter of his book is not his own imaginary product but it is the very essence and substance of all the scriptures of *bhakti*, and here he is compiling what he has felt regarding the character of *bhakti* in the lord Caitanya himself.<sup>15</sup>

Due to his emotional fervour of *bhakti*, Caitanya was considered by Rūpa to be the ocean of *rasa* (*rasāmbudhi*);<sup>16</sup> and by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja to be the embodiment of the king of all *rasas* (*rasarāja*) as well as the condition of ecstatic love (*mahābhāva*).<sup>17</sup> According to Karṇapūra, Caitanya, Kṛṣṇa incarnate, appeared on this earth out of eagerness to drench himself with his own blissful *rasa* (*svānandarasasatṛṣṇa*).<sup>18</sup> Thus, undoubtedly, Caitanya became the great inspiration of his followers for their task of great exposition of *bhakti rasa*. Therefore these scholars had inspiration as well as motivation for their great task.

Many of the followers of Caitanya associate the name of Mādhavendrapurī with the early emotional *bhakti* movement of Bengal prior to Caitanya.<sup>19</sup> For example, Karṇapūra's *Gauraganoddeśādīpikā* clearly asserts that in Bengal the concept of *bhakti rasa* with its divisions such as *prīta*, the sentiment of loving servitude, *preyān*, the sentiment of friendly devotion, *vatsala*, the sentiment of devotional parental love, and *ujjala* (=śṛṅgāra), the sentiment of devotional romantic love, owes its origin to

Mādhavendrapurī.<sup>20</sup> Citing a verse composed by Mādhavendrapurī, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja shows Mādhavendra as a connoisseur of devotional romantic love.<sup>21</sup> It seems very likely that Caitanya and the Caitanya school's conception of *bhakti rasa* was influenced by Mādhavendrapurī's concept of emotional *bhakti*.

However, the seeds of the Neo-*rasa* cult of *bhakti* in Bengal might also have been sowed when Jayadeva in the 12th century C.E. composed his *Gītagovindam*, a dramatic lyrical poem. One of his introductory verses specifically expresses: "If in recalling Kṛṣṇa (Hari) to mind your heart becomes overpowered with emotional fervour, if his arts of beatific sport arouse your curiosity, then oh! listen to the Jayadeva's lyrical speech, the necklace of sweet tender lovely words."<sup>22</sup> We have to understand that Caitanya and his associates were the children of their own age. From the 12th century onwards, beginning with Jayadeva and his contemporaries, there was a great wave of literary activities, devotional as well as secular, in Bengal and its adjacent countries. Particularly, this was a golden age for devotional lyrics called *padāvalis*, and devotional musical dramas. Vidyāpati (Circa 1352 C.E.),<sup>23</sup> the pre-Caitanya court-poet of Mithilā, and his Bengal counterpart Candīdāsa (who was born probably towards the end of the 14th century C.E.)<sup>24</sup> heralded the new age of devotional vernacular poetry. Caitanya in company with his most intimate and responsive associates recited, appreciated and drew his inspiration from the lyrics of Candīdāsa and Vidyāpati along with the sweet melodies of Jayadeva and Bilvamaṅgala and other devotional texts.<sup>25</sup> It is quite possible that Caitanya was no less influenced by his own close associates many of whom were eminent devotional poets, dramatists, and musicians, well versed in aesthetics and

dramatic performances. Caitanya derived great joy from *Jagannāthavallabha*, a lyrical drama of Rāmānanda Rāya. His most intimate associates - Svarūpa-dāmodara<sup>26</sup> and Rāmānanda Rāya - were great performers as well as connoisseurs of music and musical dramas. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja informs us that Caitanya could not tolerate any kind of blemishes which might hinder the spontaneity of *rasa* realization in a literature.

Jīva Gosvāmin, the expounder of the metaphysics of the Caitanya tradition in *Bhaktisandarbhā* and *Prītisandarbhā*, was himself a poet-philosopher. Being a great connoisseur of literature, he used to appreciate the lyrical compositions (*padāvalī's*) of Govindadāsa and other contemporary poets. This is quite evident from one of his letters addressed to Govindadāsa: "The lyrics containing nectar-like descriptions of Kṛṣṇa which you sent before and have sent now, have quenched my thirst. So please send me more."<sup>27</sup> Therefore, it seems to us that Jīva also like Rūpa had an inclination towards aesthetics. For Rūpa, Sanātana, Jīva and other poet-philosophers of the Caitanya tradition we may put the great statement of Rabindranath Tagore - "My religious life has followed the same mysterious line of growth as had my poetical life" (*Religion of Man*) in a reverse way saying, "their poetical life has followed the same mysterious line of growth as had their religious life".

According to the Caitanya tradition, Kṛṣṇa, the Perfect One, is not only all sweetness (*madhura*) but also the embodiment of all immortal nectar-like *rasas* (*akhilarasāmṛtamūrti*). He is the relish as well as the relisher. The philosophers of this tradition traced back this concept of God from the statements in the Upaniṣads that Brahman is honey (*madhu*), *rasa* and bliss (*ānanda*).<sup>28</sup> This is a novel approach to the

interpretation of the Upaniṣadic concept of Brahman. While most philosophers including Saṅkara and Rāmānuja have put in the forefront the four well-known great sayings (*mahāvākyas*) of the Upaniṣads - "that thou art" (*tattvamasī*), "I am the totality" (*aḥam brahmāsmī*), "All this is Brahman" (*sarvaṃ khalvidaṃ brahma*), and "Consciousness is Brahman" (*prajñānaṃ brahma*) - the philosophers in the Caitanya tradition have focused on certain other Upaniṣadic texts. Although they never deny the importance of the four great sayings mentioned above, they regard the pithy statements "He is honey" (*so madhurūpaḥ*), "He is rasa" (*raso vai saḥ*), "Bliss should be known as Brahman" (*ānandaṃ brahmeti vyajānāt*), and such other texts which manifest the delightful nature of Brahman, as the supreme revelations (*mahāvākyas*) of the scripture. All other texts including "That thou art" (*tattvamasī*)<sup>29</sup> of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* should be interpreted by these fundamental texts. The *Brahmānandavallī* of the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* [T. Up. II] which presents Brahman as bliss and *rasa*, is considered as one great source of the *mahāvākyas*. When these philosophers have accepted "He is *rasa*" (*raso vai saḥ*) as one of the supreme revelations, they must, of necessity, explain the character of *rasa*.

The followers of Caitanya have imbibed Caitanya's reverence for the authority of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, their fifth *Veda*, which claims itself to be the rising sun among the *purāṇas* for those who have lost their vision as a result of the advent of the *Kali age*.<sup>30</sup> They consider this *Purāṇa* as the quintessence of the *Brahmasūtra*, the purport of the *Mahābhārata* and a poetical commentary on the Vedic *Gāyatrī* hymn<sup>31</sup>. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* has been composed for the welfare of women, *sudras* and the fallen twice-born (*dvijabandhu*) who are not entitled to listen to the three *Vedas* (*trayi*).<sup>32</sup>

Accepting this *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as a revealed text and scriptural authority along with the *Upaniṣads*, the *Brahma-sūtra* and the *Bhagavadgītā*, the philosophers of the Caitanya tradition have used some of its statements as supreme revelations (*mahāvākyas*). The text describing the Ultimate Reality (*parama tattva*) is one of these great sayings: "The learned transcendentalists who know the absolute truth say that the Ultimate Reality is of the nature of Undivided Consciousness and is called Brahman (the Impersonal), Paramātmān (the Indweller), and Bhagavat (the Personality of Godhead)." [*Bh.I.2.11*].<sup>33</sup> The aesthetic emotionalism of the Vaiṣṇavas of the Caitanya tradition has attained major inspiration from the gospel of emotional devotion of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* which contains the flavour of the beatific sport (*līlākathārasa*) of Kṛṣṇa.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, the early philosophers of the Caitanya tradition, instead of writing commentaries on the *Brahma-sūtra*, have composed commentaries on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*,<sup>35</sup> considered by them to be the essence of all the *Upaniṣads*.<sup>36</sup> They appreciate this *Purāṇa* not only because it contains the nectar-like *rasa* of the ripe fruit of the wish-yielding tree of the *Vedas* that flows from the lips of the sage Śuka,<sup>37</sup> but also because any connoisseur of the *bhakti rasa*, who is satiated by its nectar-like *rasa*, has no taste for anything else.<sup>38</sup> The connoisseur of *bhakti rasa* is fully satisfied with this *Purāṇa* which contains the blissful flavour of the Kṛṣṇa-episode because "the relish of the beatific sports of the Lord is the highest end of a devotee" (*'tādṛśalīlānubhavasyaiva paramapurusaṛthatvam avagacchanti'*-Jīva, *KS*).

According to the Caitanya tradition, the leading religious idea of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is a kind of mysticism which asserts the rights of the emotional as well as the



aesthetic in human nature, and proves that the mighty sex-impulse may be transfigured into a passionate religious emotion. In the 10th *skandha* of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, this emotionalism of *bhakti* attains its height through the glorification of the different beatific sports (*līlā*) of Kṛṣṇa such as *Rāsa* etc. in Vraja. In this context the term *Rāsa* means a particular kind of group-dance to be performed in a circle, but it also suggests the assimilation of different *rasas* (*rasānām samūhaḥ*) in Kṛṣṇa's activities among the cowherds. In the *Rāsa* context of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* not only do we find the extra-nuptial romantic love of the cowherd-maidens for Kṛṣṇa as the highest kind of devotion, we also come across all the devotional sentiments such as those of quietism, devotional servitude, friendship, and parental love. For example, in X.30.17 of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the devotional sentiment of friendship (*sakhyā*) is depicted where two cowherd-maids play the role of Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa and other maids behave like other cowherd-boys.<sup>39</sup> It is also evident from the *Bhāgavata* text that all the *rasas* are connected with Kṛṣṇa alone [*Bh.X.43.17*].<sup>40</sup>

Glorifying the emotional devotion of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* as the sublime stage of *bhakti*, the Vaiṣṇavas of the Caitanya tradition assert that to experience and relish this kind of *bhakti* one should participate in the beatific sport of Kṛṣṇa, a real divine drama in Vraja, through the imitation of the devotional love (*rāgānugā bhakti*) of the associates of Kṛṣṇa, thereby identifying oneself with those associates. Accepting *rāgānugā bhakti* as the way of salvation, these Vaiṣṇavas bring together dramatic sentiment (*nāṭyārāsa*) as well as poetic sentiment (*kāvya-rāsa*) in the *bhakti* cult of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. To formulate a systematic Vaiṣṇava theology of their own, the philosophers in the Caitanya

tradition need to explain the nature of *rasa*, the nature of the *rasa* realization (*rasaniṣpatti*) and the way to the *rasa* realization, to acknowledge the connoisseur of *rasa* and to show the application of *rasa* in literature. Their search for a schema of interpretation which would enable them to establish *bhakti* as *rasa* finds its foundation in the method of *rasa* realization in the classical aesthetics of Bharata and others. But a new turn is given to the already existing *rasa* theory and to the religious emotion underlying the older Vaiṣṇava faith. In India most of the philosophies are blended together with religion, and even the grammar of Pāṇini has a mixture of religion in its philosophy. The classical rhetoricians such as Bhaṭṭanāyaka, Abhinavagupta, Jagannātha and others have established their *dhvani* and *rasa* theory with the support of philosophical and religious concepts. Viśvanātha (14th cent. C.E.) gives a metaphysical explanation to the concept of *rasa* realization. But for the Vaiṣṇavas of the Caitanya tradition the method is reverse: they use aesthetics for the sake of religion. To the already-existing three *prasthānas*, the canonical approaches to the Ultimate metaphysical Reality, - namely the *Upaniṣads* (*śruti-prasthāna*), the *Bhagavad Gītā* (*smṛti-prasthāna*) and the *Brahmasūtra* (*nyāyaprasthāna*) - a fourth is added by the Caitanya tradition, namely the *rasa-prasthāna*, classical Sanskrit poetics sublimated into a spiritual science of love divine. The uniqueness of this *rasaprasthāna* in the field of religion enables the Caitanya tradition to attain pan-Indian recognition.

## II. Rasa, Bhakti and Classical Poetics

- A. The concept of *rasa*: *atra rasa iti kaḥ padārthaḥ/ucyate āsvādyarvāḥ/* What is the implication of the word *rasa*? It

is so called because it is worthy of being tasted (relished).  
[NS VI.31].

The Indian philosophy of beauty in literary art may be summed up in three concepts: *bhāva*, feeling; *rasa*, sentiment; and *dhvani*, the suggested sense or the poetry where the suggested sense dominates. Since *rasa* presupposes *bhāva*, these concepts may be reduced to two: *rasa* and *dhvani*. As "the theories of *rasa*" correlate *rasa* and *dhvani* and assert that *rasa*, the aim of all suggested sense, is the soul of poetry (*kāvya* *ātma*), *rasa* becomes the most important element in the Indian poetics.

The word *rasa* derived from the root *ras* primarily means "taste" or "savour". It is used in a variety of senses in the Vedic and the classical Sanskrit literature. The *Abhinava Bhāratī* (11th century C.E.) points out its several meanings: tastes like sweetness etc., mercury, essence, purification with water, concentration, decoction, humours of the body or the extracted juice of something.<sup>41</sup> The *Āyurveda* uses *rasa* for a certain white liquid extracted by the digestive system from the food. *Rasa* also stands for something liquid like water, juice of fruits, sap of plants and the milk of cows etc. Hemacandra (12th century C.E.), in his lexicon, adds a few more meanings to this word: house, love, emotion, soul (*ātman*) and pleasure (*sukha*). Our interest here is to find out how the physical sense of *rasa* gets transmuted into the experience of aesthetic pleasure or the flavour of a sentiment which is really the metaphorical extension of its primary meaning - taste or savour. In the Vedic *Samhitās*, *rasa* is not only a liquid [RV VIII 49.2], it is also the quality of joy-giving [RV IX 6.6], tastefulness [RV I 187.4,5; YV XXXIX.4], exhilaration [RV IX 96.21; 97.14] etc.<sup>42</sup> In a mystical hymn of the *Atharvaveda* [AV X 8.44] *rasa* seems to be the essence of the universe, the soul (*ātman*),

or bliss. It should be noted here that in this hymn, the sense of fulfilment and ecstasy are also associated with *rasa* (*rasena trptah*).<sup>43</sup> In spite of the fact that in the Vedic *Samhitās* *rasa* is sometimes an object of relish, a joy-giving essence, there is no clear reference in the *Vedas* to its use as the essence of poetry or of drama.

According to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, *rasas* in the aesthetic context are borrowed by the god Brahma from the *Atharvaveda* [NS I 17].<sup>44</sup> However we do not find any obvious relationship of the *rasas* in dramatic art with the hymns of the *Atharvaveda*. *Rasa* has various meanings in the *Brāhmaṇas*: the essence of speech; the essence of metre; the essence of the soul (*ātman*); mental disposition. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* asserts that the essence (*rasa*) of the *Ṛgveda* and the *Sāmaveda* resides in metre (the poetic composition in verse) and with this *rasa* of metre deities attain heaven or heavenly bliss [SPB IV 3.2.5].<sup>45</sup> In the *Śatapatha* IV 6.9.16, *rasa* is the essence of speech.<sup>46</sup> *Rasa* is also the soul (*ātman*) which pleases all with its blissful nature [SPB VII 2.3.4].<sup>47</sup> *Rasa* may be the Highest Soul (*paramāman*) when the *Śatapatha* takes it as limitless (*aparimita u vai rasah*) [SPB VIII 2.1.7]. In the *Tāṇḍyamahā Brāhmaṇa*, *rasa* is related to the *anuṣṭubh* metre [TMB V 7.1,2,3].<sup>48</sup> Thus the *Brāhmaṇas* like *Śatapatha* and *Tāṇḍya* bring *rasa* nearer to the sense of *Kāvya-rasa*.

Coming to the period of the *Upaniṣads* we find *rasa* used in its primary sense, and, in addition, in a mystical sense. In the *Praśnopaniṣad*, *rasa* is something to be tasted by the tongue: and when there is taste, it should be tasted - *rasaśca rasayitavyam*. The sense of mysticism is attached to it by the assertion of the *Upaniṣad* that the taste (*rasa*) and what can be tasted - all rest in the Highest *Ātman* [Pr. Up. IV 7,8].<sup>49</sup> This

Upaniṣadic concept of *rasa* as "taste to be tasted" (*rasayitavyam*) seems to be echoed by Bharata in the *Nāṭya Śāstra* when he says that *rasa* is so called because it is worthy to be tasted [NS VI 31]. The *Prāśnopanisad* gives us the word *rasayitā* in the sense of one who tastes and shows that the actual taster of *rasa* is the Highest Ātman [Pr.Up. IV 9].<sup>50</sup> The great utterance (*mahāvākya*) of the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* in its *Brahmānanda Vallī* where the Supreme Reality, the Soul (*ātman*) of the universe, is declared as *rasa*, the relishable flavour, runs thus: That which is Self-made (*sukṛta*) is *rasa*, for only by its attainment one is said to attain the highest bliss (*ānanda*) [T.Up. II 7.1]. This famous dictum seems to be the highest inspiration for the later aestheticians who proclaim *rasa* as the soul of poetry.<sup>51</sup>

When the Upaniṣadic seers declare Brahman, the Absolute Truth, the Soul (*ātman*) of the Universe, as existence (*sat*), pure consciousness (*cit*), bliss (*ānanda*), as well as relishable flavour (*rasa*), the problem of Knowledge (*jñāna*) and the problem of experience (*anubhava*) are bound together. The Self (*ātman*) which is to be realized subjectively in the innermost essence of its being in an act of intrinsic realization, is at the same time the essence of objective reality grasped in an act of total awareness. In other words, the intrinsic perception (*darsāna*) of Brahman is also an act of intrinsic experience (*anubhava*).

The Upaniṣadic sages seem to be more interested in finding a method to realize the *rasa*-hood of Brahman rather than to discover a notion of beauty in the concept of *rasa*. The aesthetic speculations in the concept of *rasa* lying implicit in Upaniṣadic thought are made explicit by the classical rhetoricians many centuries later. The earliest

technical discussion on *rasa* as a principle in art and aesthetics, found so far, is in the *Nāṛyaśāstra*, a treatise on dramaturgy (the approximate date of which may be placed between 100 B.C. to 200 C.E.), attributed to Muni (sage) Bharata. Bharata shows the evocation of a subjective state called *rasa* aroused out of the combined audio-visual effect of the drama. Here is his famous aphorism, the *rasasūtra*: *vibhāvānubhāvavyabhicārisamyogādrasaniṣpattiḥ* [NS VI.31]. Raneiro Gnoli's translation of the *sūtra* is: Out of the union of the determinants (*vibhāva*), the consequents (*anubhāva*), and the transitory mental states (*vyabhicāribhāva*), the birth of *rasa* takes place.<sup>52</sup> In this aphorism, the meaning of the word *niṣpattiḥ* ("birth") derived from the root *niṣpad* has caused a great controversy among scholars. Monier Williams has given us its English meaning as "completion, consummation, being brought about, coming from, being derived from and also as a particular state of ecstasy."

This *sūtra* is the pivot around which the whole *rasa* theory of the later aestheticians revolves. The knotty point of controversy is here the import of the two terms, *samyoga* ("union") and *niṣpatti*. Another notable point is the absence of the word *sthāyin*, the permanent emotion, in this *sūtra*. Here, Bharata clarifies that *sthāyibhāva*, the permanent emotion, being a dominant mood, accompanied by the determinants (*vibhāvas*), the ensuants (*anubhāvas*) and the auxiliary feelings (*vyabhicāribhāvas*), attain the state of aesthetic relish (*rasa*). [See Diagram 1 on page 73] Bharata's concern chiefly being *nāṛyarasa*, the aesthetic experience related to the dramatic art, he has to determine how particular emotions could be evoked in the audience of a drama. He has observed a wide range of psychological states or emotions called *bhāvas*. These are

believed to be the latent unconscious impressions (*vāsanās*) in the mind, gained through real experience of life, present or previous. Eight of these emotions having durable (*sthāyin*) effect on human mind are considered by him as the permanent emotions (*sthāyibhāvas*). These eight permanent emotions are love/passion (*rati*), humour/laughter (*hāsa*), grief (*śoka*), anger (*krodha*), enthusiasm/energy (*utsāha*), fear (*bhaya*), disgust (*jugupsā*) and wonder (*viṣmaya*). The determinant (*vibhāva*) usually denotes that which makes the permanent emotion capable of being relished. In Bharata, it stands for the emotive situation in a drama. Bharata maintains that the permanent emotions which ordinarily remain dormant in the form of impressions in everyone's heart, are roused by the employment of appropriate stimuli like dialogues, acting, music as well as meaningful words, and evolve a pleasurable state in the mind of the spectator or reader.

All the physical changes, the results of the rise of an emotion, which are looked upon in actual life as the effects of emotion, are called *anubhāvas*, the consequents, to differentiate them from the physical effect of emotion in real life. The transient emotions (*vyabhicāribhāvas*) are those which foster, support and give fresh impetus to the permanent emotions. Bharata explains the nature of relationship of the permanent emotion with the other components of *rasa* on the analogy of a beverage. In a beverage, the principal tasteful ingredient along with other subordinate tasteful ingredients becomes a relishable drink (*rasa*) in an integrated form. Similarly, the permanent emotions like passion (*rati*) etc. combined with the determinants, the consequents as well as the transitory mental states become *rasa*.<sup>53</sup> These are called *rasas* because, like beverages they are capable of being tasted.<sup>54</sup> Bharata asserts that *rasa* is a matter of tasting the

permanent emotions by the mental faculty of the spectators who are proficient in such tasting.<sup>55</sup> Just like Aristotle's *Catharsis*<sup>56</sup>, the much discussed and debated *rasasūtra* of Bharata was interpreted in several ways by different aestheticians. In the works of Abhinavagupta, Mammaṭa, Hemacandra and the like, we come across at least four interpretations: *utpattivāda* (the theory of production) or *upacitivāda* (the theory of intensification) of Bhaṭṭalollaṭa, *anumitivāda* (the theory of inference) of Śāṅkuka, *bhuktivāda* (the theory of enjoyment) of Bhaṭṭanāyaka and *abhivyaktivāda* (the theory of manifestation) of Abhinavagupta.<sup>57</sup>

For Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa (cir. 815 C.E.), the earliest among the four, permanent emotion by itself remains in a dormant condition (*anupacita*) in the form of a latent impression (*vāsanā*). Therefore, Lollaṭa maintains that *rasa* is nothing but the permanent emotion being intensified (*upacita*) by the determinants, the consequents and the transitory feelings.<sup>58</sup> According to Lollaṭa, *rasa* which is nothing but the permanent emotion in its intensified state, is located primarily in the original historical character represented on the stage (*anukārya*) and secondarily in the impersonating actor (*anukartr*) due to the power of congruous connection (*anusandhāna*).<sup>59</sup> For Gnoli, *anusandhāna* in the text means "the power thanks to which the actor becomes for the time being the represented or imitated personage."<sup>60</sup> K.C. Pandey shows a metaphysical touch here when he takes the word in its technical sense of *yojanā* (junction or union) current in the Śaiva Āgama.<sup>61</sup> From the evidence of *Abhinavabhāratī*, Pandey concludes that Lollaṭa does not have the spectator or reader in his mind.<sup>62</sup> But Mammaṭa, Hemacandra and some other later writers accepting *pratīti* as a part of Lollaṭa's view take cognisance of



the spectator also in *rasa* experience.

In Śaṅkuka's interpretation (9th century C.E.), *rasa* is actually the imitation of the permanent emotion as portrayed in the art of the actor, but not exactly the permanent emotion of the original Rāma and the like.<sup>63</sup> The psychological process in the mind of the spectator who experiences *rasa*, resembles the mode of inference.

For Ānandavardhana (9th century C.E.), *rasa* is indeed the cornerstone of the arch of *dhvani*, suggestion. The suggested sense (*pratiyamānārtha*) has three aspects: *vastu*, the mere fact, *alamkāra*, the figure of speech, and *rasādi* (*rasa* and the like). Among these three *rasa* is the soul of poetry [*Dh.1.5*]. Because, while *dhvani* is the quintessence of poetry, *rasa* is the quintessence of *dhvani*, the suggested meaning.<sup>64</sup> Thus *rasa* is the subject of *vyañjanā* (the power of suggestion) par excellence. The term *rasa*, in Ānanda, is nothing but the permanent emotion (*sthāyibhāva*) that has been heightened, or in other words, it is the permanent emotion at the point where it yields aesthetic delight. Ānanda holds that *rasa* abides in the character depicted by the poet or in the poet himself as well as in the spectator or reader.

The uniqueness of *rasa*, according to Ānanda, is that it can never be directly expressed (*vācya*) but it is exclusively conveyed by the suggestion (*vyañjanā*). It falls under the category of *alaksyakrama dhvani* in which no sequence is perceptible.<sup>65</sup> Thus *rasa* arises by suggestion without any conscious realization that our experience has gone through a sequence of perception of the determinants, ensuants and the transitory mental states.

Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka (9th century - 10th century C.E.), the third interpreter of the

*rasasūtra*, is the first to state that the nature of the emotional content in a literary art is ideal. It is therefore, able to induce in us self-forgetful, pure joy. He maintains that *rasa* is neither produced nor inferred nor suggested, but is relished or tasted, *bhogenabhujyate*,<sup>66</sup> a proposition already hinted at by Bharata.<sup>67</sup> Besides *abhidhā*, the primary power, Nāyaka recognizes two more powers of word: *bhāvanā*, aesthetic efficacy, a term borrowed from the Mīmāṃsakas; and *bhoga*, tasting. These two materialize in a poetry which is devoid of blemishes (*doṣa*) and charged with excellences (*guṇa*) and figures of speech (*alamkāra*). In a drama, they materialize due to the four kinds of presentation: physical, verbal, temperamental and related to make-up. When internal crisis or stupor (*moha*), clouding the psyche of a spectator or reader, is dissipated through *bhāvanā*, the determinants like Rāma and Sītā are represented to him/her stripped of their individual aspects (*sādhāraṇīkaraṇa*). The universalization of the characters and their external connections (*anubhāva* etc.) leads to the universalization of the emotions working in them. And then *bhoga* (tasting) produces melting (*druti*), expansion (*vistāra*) and blooming (*vikāsa*) of the connoisseur's psyche and creates internal repose (*samvidviśrānti*) accompanied by luminosity (*prakāśa*) and bliss (*ānanda*) on account of the predominance of *sattva* quality therein. Here *bhoga* assumes a variety due to the mixture of *rajas* and *tamas* qualities in a subdued form. Therefore the audience or reader enjoys a blissful thrill which is different from direct experience or recollection and is like the relish of communion with the Supreme Reality (*parabrahman*).<sup>68</sup> Nāyaka does not equate the bliss of *rasa* with the bliss of Brahman but likens it to the latter. Nāyaka asserts that we do not perceive *rasa* as belonging to

someone else, nor do we perceive it as belonging to ourselves because *rasa* is not perceived at all, it is simply enjoyed.<sup>69</sup>

For Abhinava Gupta (circa 980-1030 C.E.), the universalization and the experience of bliss in the *rasa* context, are not two separate stages, but are one and the same. He asserts that *bhoga* is nothing but the function of suggestion (*bhogo'pi --- dhvananavyāpara eva/Locana*). He maintains that love and other permanent emotions are present in a person in the form of latent tendencies (*vāsanā*) due to the experience of present or previous lives. These being roused by the stimulus of the determinants etc. reach the state of *rasa*.<sup>70</sup> For Abhinava, *rasa* becomes manifested through suggestion, it is not produced (*kārya*) or inferred (*jñāpya*).<sup>71</sup> Abhinava predicates that the appreciators of *rasa* are endowed with a keen faculty of perception (*vimalapratibhānasāliḥṛdaya*). [*Abh on NS,653*]. These persons, called *sahṛdayas*, possess a mirror-like power of intuition. These *sahṛdayas* as spectators, through their imagination (*pratibhā*) and contemplation, enter so deeply into the world of the play that they not only identify themselves with the characters affected by the emotion, they also transcend their own limited selves. Consequently the spectators' own corresponding permanent emotion, roused from its dormant state during this identification with the character, is without its personal features. Thus the spectators experience their emotion in an impersonal way because their consciousness of the emotion is now freed from egoism. Such a consciousness, rendered free from egoism, is named by Abhinava in terms of Kāsmīrī Śaivism as *camatkāra*, the wonder.<sup>72</sup> The essential condition for pure joy is the absence of ego-consciousness.

Aesthetic experience for Abhinava is therefore similar to the experience of Brahman. Because both are non-worldly (*alaukika*).

Dhanañjaya (the last quarter of the 10th century C.E.) maintains that *rasa* is not suggested by the literary composition (*kāvya*) and that it is experienced or enjoyed by the audience or reader.<sup>73</sup> He maintains that in the *rasa* experience, the universalization of the subjective as well as the objective aspects is caused by the two powers of the literary composition as assumed by Nāyaka.

The *Agni Purāna* in its *Alaṅkāra* section (probably later than the middle of the 9th century C.E.) connects *rasa* realization directly with Brahman. It asserts that *rasa* is the manifestation of *ānanda*, bliss, the inborn characteristic (the essential nature) of the Eternal Being. And this is known as consciousness (*caitanya*) and as wonder (*camatkāra*).<sup>74</sup> *Ahaṅkāra*, self-consciousness or the sense of individuality, is the first transformation of *rasa*. From the sense of individuality, *abhimāna*, conceit, originates. *Abhimāna* produces *rati* (love) which, when nourished by the accessories, is proclaimed as *śṛṅgāra*, the sentiment of love. This *śṛṅgāra* has many modifications, headed by *hāsyā*, the comic (or laughter), which arise out of the different attributes of the Supreme Soul.<sup>75</sup> Here we like to point out that only Bhoja and Saradātanaya among all the classical aestheticians, agree with the *Agni Purāna* regarding the theory of the *ahaṅkāra* *abhimāna* origin of *rasa*.

For Bhoja (11th century C.E.) who seems to have recognized three stages (*koṭis*) of *rasa*, *śṛṅgāra* is the only *rasa* (*śṛṅgāra eva eko rasaḥ*) in the first stage (*parā*). Here *śṛṅgāra* has a wider connotation. Bhoja sometimes identifies *śṛṅgāra* with *rasa*,

*abhimāna* and *ahamkāra*.<sup>76</sup> Sometimes he considers it as a characteristic of *ahamkāra*,<sup>77</sup> and sometime as an attribute of Ātman.<sup>78</sup> This *śṛṅgāra* is *rasa* because, the relishability is its own inherent power. For Bhoja, the *rasas* and the theory of *rasa* dealt with by other rhetoricians fall under the middle stage (*madhyamākoṭi*). In this second stage, *śṛṅgāra* manifests itself in any of the recognized emotions which shows its development as *rasa*. Here, for Bhoja, *rasa* is merely a manifest permanent emotion. He maintains that when the determinants and other components combine with and act upon the permanent emotion, *rasa* is produced.

For Bhoja, there is a developmental relationship between the permanent emotion and *rasa*. The process which would result in *rasa* is the process of development and intensification of emotions. This is similar to the *upaciti* (intensification) theory of Lollaṭa. Thus *rasa* is the elevation (*ukarṣa*) or the intensity (*prakarṣa*) of emotion. Now, in the process of development, Bhoja has also shown us a cyclic order of progress. Because, he maintains that in the last stage (*uttarā koṭi*) all the *rasas* (actually the emotions), the expressions of *śṛṅgāra*, merge into one *rasa* - the *rasa* of *preman* (love) - and thereby return to the original stage of *śṛṅgāra*, *rasa* or *ahamkāra*.

The *rasa* theory of Bhoja presents him as a follower of *pariṇāmavāda*, the theory of transformation or change.

Viśvanātha Kaviraja (14th century C.E.), in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, also explains *rasa* as a development of the permanent emotion. He maintained that as curd is a transformed state of milk so is *rasa* a transformed condition of the permanent emotion.<sup>79</sup> For Viśvanātha, *rasa* realization is almost the same as the blissful

realization of Brahman (*brahmāsvādasahodarah*). Because, in the aesthetic experience, through the intensity of the transcendent emotional appeal of the literary art, our mind becomes detached from the objective world. This separation of the mind from our objective world causes the subsidence of the elements of *rajas* (the energy-stuff) and *tamas* (the mass-stuff) and the emergence of *sattva* (the intelligence-stuff) quality. The emergence of *sattva* results in the spontaneous rise of an unique bliss in the form of pure consciousness untouched by the notion of any other knowable. Thus, the quintessence of this *rasa* is an emotion of supramundane sublimity and nicety which removes all the limitations of our mind and thereby expands it to a limitless extent [S.D.III.2]. The connoisseurs of *rasa* are virtuous persons like ascetics [S.D.III.2]. Viśvanātha also holds that the essence of *rasa* is *camatkāra* or *viśmaya*, the wonder, and therefore, *rasa* is always wonderful (*adbhuta*) [*vṛtti* on S.D.III.3].

So far we have surveyed some of the major theories on *rasa* developed before Rūpa Gosvāmin and other kindred souls, the advocates of *bhaktirasa*, appeared in the field. Now we examine the attitudes of the classical rhetoricians towards *bhaktirasa* before we proceed to *bhaktirasa* itself.

B. Bhakti and the classical aestheticians:

*ya vyāpāravatī rasān rasayitum kācit kavīnāṃ navā dr̥ṣṭirya  
pariniṣṭhitārthaviśayonmeṣā ca vaipaściti/te dve  
apyavālambya viśvamanisāṃ niryaṇayanto vyaṃ śrāntā  
naiva ca labdham abh̄dhisāyāna tvadbhaktitulyam  
sukham//* That fresh outlook of the poets whose function succeeds in relishing all the *rasas*, and that refined learned outlook which probes into the truth of objects verily - in both these outlooks we have taken our refuge for figuring out the universe so long, and become exhausted through our attempt. But, O Lord, reclining on the ocean, we have

never attained that kind of happiness which is comparable to the blissfulness of devotion towards thee. Ānandavardhana [Dh.III.43].

In the *Nāṭya śāstra* of Bharata we find no discussion regarding *bhakti* or devotion as a poetic emotion (*bhāva*) or as a *rasa*. Undoubtedly, among all the permanent emotions enlisted by Bharata, *rati* (love) having a delightful nature, has obtained the first place. However, this *rati* is only concerned with *śṛṅgāra rasa* (the *rasa* of erotic/conjugal love), a mundane sentiment. Therefore, it is different from the *rati* related to God or Kṛṣṇa. Although Ānandavardhana, who has accepted *śānta*, the quietistic, as a *rasa*, admits the supreme blissfulness of *bhakti* (as we see in our introductory verse, Dh.III.43), he never discusses it as a *rasa*. Dhanāñjaya considers *bhakti* as an emotional stage (*bhāva*) but not as a *rasa* [DR.IV.84].<sup>80</sup> For Abhinava who considers *śānta* as a *rasa* par excellence, *bhakti* is nothing but extreme devotion to an object held in high esteem and dedication of the whole being to it. It is only a subvariety of *rati*. Therefore, Abhinava refutes the view of those who admit *bhakti* as an independent *rasa*. He says that *bhakti* and *śraddhā* (faith) concerning God, are mixed up with memory, intellect, energy, etc. and therefore, they become part of *śānta rasa*. Therefore they should not be considered as separate *rasas*.<sup>81</sup> Mammaṭa (11th century C.E.), a staunch supporter of the *dhvani* school, maintains that *rati* towards deities and the like, as an implicit meaning (suggested sense), should be called a *bhāva*, the suggested emotional stage, but not a *rasa*.<sup>82</sup> The reason behind not accepting *bhakti* as a *rasa* may be this: in the case of a secular *rasa*, *rati* implies a relationship between two equal beings but in the case of *bhakti*, the subject and the object of love stand on unequal

levels, therefore, the permanent emotion remains in an under-developed condition.

Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, hold that *rati* towards Gods and the like, because of its not being duly developed by the determinants etc., is not eligible to attain the status of relish (*rasa*), and therefore stays as *bhāva* [S.D.III.260 and its *Vṛtti*]. Śāṅgadeva (13th century C.E.) and Bhanudatta (15th century C.E.) consider *bhakti* as a variety of *rati* (love) and accept it as a transitory state of mind (*vyabhicāri bhāva*). These two authors provide us with further important information: they say that some scholars consider *bhakti* as a *rasa* and in that context they view faith (*śraddhā*) as its permanent emotion. This information shows that these unnamed scholars maintain an opinion regarding the permanent emotion of *bhakti rasa* different from that of Rūpa and other Vaiṣṇava scholars, who accept love (*rati*), but not faith (*śraddhā*), as the dominant emotion in the devotional *rasa*.<sup>83</sup>

### III. *Bhakti rasa*.

*premādika sthāyibhāva samagrī milane/kṛṣṇa bhakti rasa (sva) rūpa pāya parināme//vibhāva, anubhāva, sātrvika, vyabhicāri/sthāyibhāva rasa haya mili ei cāri//* The permanent emotions, *preman* (the ardent love) and the like, united with suitable ingredients, mature in the form of aesthetic relish, *rasa*, of the devotional love towards Kṛṣṇa. The permanent emotion, being mingled with these four - the determinants, the ensuants, the spontaneous emotional expression and the auxiliary feelings -, is converted into a *rasa*. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, C.C.II.23. 41-42

Namisadhu (11th century C.E.), the well-known commentator of Rudraṭa's *Kāvyaḷamkāra*, maintains that "there is no such feeling in the human mind which, having proper nourishment, is not capable of attaining the state of *rasa*."<sup>84</sup> However, the



classical rhetoricians of the earlier school, as well as of the later school, generally deny the relishability (*rasatā*) of devotional love (*bhakti*) as a full-fledged *rasa*. In the sixteenth century, the neo *rasa* school of the Caitanya tradition, on the other hand, boldly asserts that devotional love for Kṛṣṇa (*Kṛṣṇa rati*) as a dominant underlying emotion, is transformed into *bhakti rasa*, the *rasa* of devotional love, through the operation of appropriate determinants, the ensuants, the spontaneous expressions of the emotions (*sāttvikas*) and the auxiliary feelings [Rūpa, *BRS*.II.1.4-5].<sup>85</sup> The scholars in this school proclaim *bhakti* as the supreme *rasa* (*paramo rasah*), the only *rasa*. For them, all secular *rasas* are really only the semblance of *rasa* (*rasābhāsa*), since in mundane life there is no *rasa* in its true sense (*prākṛte rasa eva nāsti*).

The exposition of *bhakti rasa* with all its paraphernalia and the nuances is indeed the great contribution of the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas. However, they cannot claim to be the pioneers in recognizing *rasatā*, the relishability, of *bhakti* itself. Long before the appearance of the Caitanya tradition, the Vaiṣṇava scriptures - the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, *Brahma Saṃhitā*, *Gopālottaratāpanī Upaniṣad* and so forth - had hinted at and displayed the relish of *bhakti*. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* considers those devotees who enjoy the relish of *bhakti* (*bhāgavata rasa*) as the "connoisseurs of *rasa* having imaginative power" (*rasika bhāvuka*) [*Bh*.I.1.3.].<sup>86</sup> The *Gopālottaratāpanī Upaniṣad* (of uncertain date) says: Kṛṣṇa, the concentrated consciousness, the concentrated bliss, resides only in the *yoga* of *bhakti* whose delightful nature is *rasa* only.<sup>87</sup> In the *Padma Purāṇa*, devotion towards Viṣṇu is held to be the essence of all *rasas* (*aśeṣarasaikasāra*) [*Pātālakhaṇḍa*, 85.33]. For the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*, devotion for Viṣṇu is the *rasa*

par excellence [*Kṛṣṇajanmakhaṇḍa*, 59.64]. Śrīdhara Svāmin (12th century C.E.) in his commentary on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* X.43.17 has enumerated *bhakti* as the tenth *rasa*.<sup>88</sup> However, he has not shown its definition.

The *Muktāphala* of Vopadeva (13th century C.E.) is really the pioneer work in presenting *bhakti* as a full-fledged *rasa*. For Vopadeva, devotees (*bhaktas*) are those persons who possess *bhakti* as *rasa* in their hearts and enjoy its delightful relish. This *bhakti rasa* has nine categories: the comic or the humorous (*hāsya*), the erotic or the amorous (*śṛṅgāra*), the pathetic (*karuṇa*), the furious (*raudra*), the terrible (*bhayānaka*), the abhorrent (*bībhatsa*), the quietistic (*sānta*), the marvelous (*adbhuta*) and the heroic (*vīra*). Vopadeva maintains that devotees are of nine kinds each associated with one of these nine *rasas*.<sup>89</sup> This wonderful (*camatkāra*) *rasa* of *bhakti* is produced (*janita*) in the heart through listening to the stories relating to Viṣṇu and his devotees which are full of nine *rasas*.<sup>90</sup> Vopadeva has given illustrations of all the nine kinds of *bhakti rasa* as found in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Hemādri in his *Kaivalyadīpikā*,<sup>91</sup> a commentary on Vopadeva's *Muktāphala* says: "That *bhakti* in its paramount state is *rasa*."<sup>92</sup> Hemādri briefly shows all the constituents of *bhakti rasa* - the permanent emotion, the determinants, the ensuants and the transitory mental states -, applying the method of Bharata. However, a new horizon has been opened when Rūpa, Jīva and others of the Caitanya tradition have displayed a detailed sophisticated exposition of emotional *bhakti* concentrated on Kṛṣṇa in the phraseology of the *rasa* concept of the classical aestheticians.

The classical rhetoricians hold the view that *bhakti* being a devotion towards

deities cannot be the basis of impersonal relish, therefore, remains as a devotional emotion (*bhāva*). Thus there is a fundamental question whether *bhakti* can at any stage be considered as *rasa*. Jīva answers the question vigorously. In his opinion the objection that *bhakti* to a deity cannot be the basis of *rasa* is only applicable in the case of ordinary deities (*prākṛta devādiviṣaya*) but not in the case of Kṛṣṇa, the supreme deity, who himself is *rasa*.<sup>93</sup> Jīva maintains that love for God (*bhagavatprīti*) deserves to be regarded as a permanent emotion because, as *prīti* it is an emotion. This love for God is essentially the blissful power (*hlādinī śakti*) of Kṛṣṇa thrown into the individual soul. It is an emotion of delightful nature. It has all the characteristics of a permanent emotion mentioned by the secular aestheticians. This emotion generally remains in a latent non-manifest condition. When this emotional love attains a particular state of manifestation through the appropriate stimuli it develops into a *rasa*. This *rasa* replete with devotion is called *bhakti rasa* (*bhaktimayo raso bhaktirasah*). The aestheticians say that emotions which are suitable to be converted into *rasa*, are transformed into them by the proper causes [PS,338]. Therefore, Jīva asserts that, just like an ordinary permanent emotion of a secular (*laukika*) *rasa*, love for God, a permanent emotional disposition, acquires the nature of a (devotional) sentiment when it combines with cause, effect and aids. The determinants are the cause. The ensuants are the effect. And the transitory mental states are called its aid [PS,337]. This Kṛṣṇa *prīti/rati* is a permanent emotion because it cannot be diminished either by antagonistic emotions or by friendly emotions and because it keeps all other emotions under its control [PS,338]. While recommending *bhakti* as the 12th *rasa* Karmapūra also holds that in the *rasa* context, love (*rati*) for Kṛṣṇa is a

suitable permanent emotion. He argues on behalf of *rati bhakti*:

In the quietistic (*sānta*) *rasa*, *nirveda*, indifference, in spite of its being a transitory mental state (*vyabhicāri*), has been accepted as the permanent emotion and thereby attains the status of a *rasa*. Similarly, love (*rati*) for God (Kṛṣṇa), although technically recognized only as an emotion (*bhāva*) due to its being a devotion to the deities and the like, becomes a permanent emotion and develops into *bhakti rasa* in association with the ingredients like determinants etc. [AK,147].<sup>94</sup>

Jīva Gosvāmin has also combatted the allegation of the rhetoricians who deal only with secular literature, that in absence of the necessary ingredients *bhakti* cannot become a *rasa*. By the necessary ingredients the classical rhetoricians mean: 1) the intrinsic propriety of the emotion (*svarūpa योग्या*); 2) the propriety of the causes (the determinants) and the effects (the ensuants) (*parikara योग्या*); and 3) the propriety of the subject of the feeling (*puruṣa योग्या*).<sup>95</sup> Jīva has observed that in Kṛṣṇa *rati* all these ingredients are present to the fullest extent: 1) fitness for being transformed into the devotional *rasa*; 2) fitness of its causes for exciting the love for God and transforming it into a *rasa*; and 3) fitness of a person for experiencing that devotional *rasa*. We have already seen how Jīva has pointed out that love for Kṛṣṇa possesses all the characteristics of a permanent emotion as prescribed by the aestheticians. Therefore, Jīva asserts that Kṛṣṇa *rati* cannot be said to be lacking in the ingredient (*sāmagrī*) of intrinsic propriety (*svarūpa योग्या*). Moreover, the blissful relish caused by the extraordinary (*alaukika*) Kṛṣṇa *rati* is higher than the blissful relish caused by the realization of Brahman, the likeness of which is emphasized by the classical aestheticians in an ordinary secular *rasa*.<sup>96</sup> As to the propriety of the causes and effects of Kṛṣṇa

*rati*, the determinants etc. (*vibhavādi*) which raise it to the state of relish, they are superior to those of secular *rati* confined to ordinary heroes and heroines. Being related to Kṛṣṇa and his associates (*parikara*) who are supra-phenomenal (*alaukika*) themselves, the causes and effects of Kṛṣṇa *rati* are by their very nature extraordinary (*alaukika*) and transcendental (*adbhuta*). On the other hand, the determinants etc. in a secular *rasa*, are mundane (*laukika*) and consequently unable to transform the permanent emotion into *rasa*. However, while appearing as extraordinary through the skill of expert poets, they are capable of arousing the permanent emotion and developing it into a *rasa*.<sup>97</sup> As to the propriety of the subject of the feeling (*puruṣa योग्या*) there can hardly be any doubt regarding the fitness of such devotees as Prahāda, who are the subjects of Kṛṣṇa *rati*. Thus, in fact all the requirements regarding the permanent emotion, the determinants etc., laid down by the classical aestheticians are fulfilled in the highest degree by Kṛṣṇa *rati*, which alone can bring about the highest *rasa*.

Jīva maintains that in a secular context the mundane *sattva* (intelligence-stuff) of *māyā* or *prakṛti*, the external power of God, is the cause of aesthetic enjoyment. But the spiritual intelligence-stuff (*visuddha sattva*) is the cause of devotional aesthetic enjoyment. This spiritual has been explained as a mode of God's essential power (*svarūpā śakti*) of being devoid of insentience.<sup>98</sup> Therefore, the bliss of the devotional *rasa* excels the bliss of the indeterminate Brahman, and consequently the transcendent wonder (*camatkāra*) which characterizes it exceeds that of Brahma realization. Jīva avers that mundane love as well as other emotions are characterized by scanty pleasure and they turn into pain if the real nature of their determinants is reflected upon. Jīva

therefore, concludes that it is unbelievable that the mundane determinants etc. can really awaken *rasa*, on the contrary, the only *rasa* they are capable of awakening is *bībhatsa rasa*, the abhorrent, due to their transient phenomenal nature.<sup>99</sup> While advocating *bhakti rasa* Jīva seeks the testimony of Sudeva, the *Bhagavannāmakaumudī*, Śrīdhara, and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* who speak of *bhakti* as a *rasa* related to God (*bhāgavata rasa*), and the *Upaniṣad*, which recognizes Brahman as *rasa* and bliss [Jiva, *PS.*, 341, 343, 347].

Longinus (1st century C.E.), the author of the treatise On the Sublime, has argued that only those whose imaginative sensitivity responds not to earthly and temporal things but to eternal glory can perceive what is beyond nature.<sup>100</sup> In a similar manner, the Vaiṣṇava scholars in the Caitanya tradition argue that the relish of this extraordinary (*alaukika*) *bhakti rasa* is not accessible to all. It is by the meritorious few that such a *rasa* is realized in its entirety. Rūpa Gosvāmin maintains:

Only those devotees (*bhaktas*) who possess *bhakti* as a latent impression (*vāsanā*) acquired from the previous births (*prāktanī*) and also from their present experience (*ādhunikī*) are eligible to enjoy this *rasa*. When devotion washes away all sins from the soul and makes it serene and bright, when a strong inclination arises for studying the *Bhāgavata (Purāṇa)*, when the society of the connoisseurs of *bhakti rasa* becomes extremely delightful, when devotion to Kṛṣṇa becomes as dear as life itself, and when all attempts run towards realizing the inner truth of ardent love (*preman*) for God, the devotional love (*rati*) gradually dawns upon the soul of the devotees. Such a love is acquired only through merits earned in the previous life as also in this life. This love attaining the state of *rasa*, yields infinite bliss.<sup>101</sup>

Jīva also holds the same view. He shows that the devotees who enjoy *bhakti rasa* fall

into two groups: 1) the intimate associates of Kṛṣṇa, the participants in his beatific sports (*līlā parikaras*), who experience this *rasa* by their very nature, and 2) others, not being associates of Kṛṣṇa, who identify themselves with the associates of Kṛṣṇa and hence enjoy the *rasa* [Jīva,PS,350].

In classical aesthetics, most scholars like Abhinava maintain that only spectators with refined taste are the appreciators of *rasa* but not the actors and the original characters. Bhoja and Viśvanātha allow limited scope to the actors under certain ideal conditions. However, the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas who have accepted *rāgānugā bhakti* as the way of salvation, grant special preference to the actor's position which was first suggested by Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa. The reemphasis on the actor as an appreciator of *rasa* is the real contribution of the Caitanya tradition. Here the Vaiṣṇava scholars maintain that the love of God or divine love (Bhagavat *prīti*) as a *rasa* exists in all the three - the original character (*anukārya*), the actor (*anukarṭr*) and the spectator (*sāmājika*) - because by virtue of the supra-phenomenal (*alaukika*) nature of the *rasa* itself, they are all divested of mundane characteristics [see Jīva,PS,351-2]. Moreover, we have to understand that in the *bhakti rasa* context, the original characters are Kṛṣṇa and his associates; and the actors as well as the spectators are the devotees. The ultimate locus of *rasa* however is Kṛṣṇa in whom the fullest enjoyment of supernatural bliss eternally goes on. In *bhaktirasa*, the spectators are not really the passive audience who experience *rasa* in an impersonal way but through their identification with the associates of Kṛṣṇa they enjoy it as a personal experience. Therefore, their participation is here active and in a sense they are also the actors. Rūpa in his scholastic fashion has carefully outlined

the various kinds of *bhakti rasa*. Since all *bhakti rasas* are the outcome of the same permanent emotion, Kṛṣṇa *rati*, then all these *rasas* are truly the one and the same. However, *bhakti rasa* manifests itself differently due to the different kinds of devotees who possess different kinds of conceit (*adhimāna*) regarding their relationship with Kṛṣṇa. Against the nine conventional *rasas* of the classical rhetoricians, Rūpa mentions twelve *rasas*, all included in the *bhakti rasa*. He arranges them into two subdivisions as primary (*mukhya*) and secondary (*gauṇa*). The primary *rasas* based directly upon the permanent emotion of love for Kṛṣṇa are five in number: quietistic (*śānta*), loving servitude (*prīta*; elsewhere *bhaktimaya* or *dāsyā*), friendship (*preyān* or *sakhya*), the parental (*varsala*) and romantic love (*madhura/śuci/vijvala*). The subjects of these five *bhakti rasas* are the five exemplary characters for the devotees. The remaining seven *rasas* - the comic (*hāsyā*), the pathetic (*karuṇa*), the furious (*raudra*), the heroic (*vīra*), the terrible (*bhayānaka*), the marvellous (*adbhuta*) and the abhorrent (*bībhatsa*) -, are secondary because they are not always present (*kādācitka*). Thus heroism is not essential for the love of God but heroism which involves love of God develops into *rasa* for that very reason. Rūpa and his followers also maintain that these seven secondary *rasas* can be easily included in the scope of the five primary *bhakti rasas*. Thus the marvellous is included in all the five; the comic in friendship; the pathetic in the parental *rasa*; the heroic, in its different forms, in friendship as well as in the parental; the terrible in the parental and in loving servitude; the furious partly in the parental and partly in romantic love; the abhorrent in the quietistic.

These twelve *bhakti rasas* are supposed to react on the mind in five different



ways. The quietistic fills the mind completely (*pūrti*); loving servitude, friendship, parental love, romantic love and the comic develop (*vikāśá*) the mind; the heroic and the marvellous expand (*vistāra*) it; the pathetic and the furious distract (*vikṣepa*) it, whereas the terrible and the abhorrent repel (*kṣobha*) the mind [Rūpa, *BRS.II.5.120-1*]. This seems to be the further development of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's concept of the attributes of expansion (*vistāra*), blooming (*vikāsa*) and melting (*druṭi*) of the mind. Among the five primary *rasas* Rūpa and his followers have given prominence to *madhura*, the romantic devotional love. There is a hierarchy among the five primary *rasas* regarding their relishability. Rūpa maintains that among these five - *śānta*, *prīta*, *preyān*, *vatsala* and *madhura* -, the following one excels the previous one in sweetness because the following one possesses its own special attribute as well as all the attributes of the preceding one [Rūpa, *BRS.II.5.115*]. Thus *preyān*, the sentiment of friendship, has all the excellences of *śānta* (the quietistic) as well as *prīta* (loving servitude) and its own special quality. Therefore it excels *śānta* and *prīta* in relishability. As in the case of Bhoja all *rasas* in their last phase resolve into *prema rasa*, so in Rūpa all *rasas* have their last confluence in the *madhura* (romantic) or Kṛṣṇa *prema rasa*, the *bhakti rasa* par excellence. Rūpa and his followers have also shown a developmental process in Kṛṣṇa *rati* itself through seven stages: *preman* (ardent love), *sneha* (affectionate tenderness), *māna* (sulks), *praṇaya* (intimate love), *rāga* (passionate attachment), *anurāga* (love as constant freshness) and *mahābhāva* (supreme emotional love). However all the *rasas* do not possess all these stages of love.

Thus far we have seen that Bengal Vaiṣṇavas present the relationship between the

permanent emotion and *rasa* in the typical manner of *śaktipariṇāmvāda*, the theory of transformation of the power of God, but not as *bhrahmapariṇāma*, the transformation of Brahman itself. And therefore, *bhaktirasa* is nothing else but the sublime transformed state of God's own power of bliss.

#### IV. Summary

The equation of *rasa* with Brahman which had started its journey from the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* [II.7.1.] reached its goal in the concept of Kṛṣṇa in the Caitanya tradition. Kṛṣṇa, Brahman himself, is not only the embodiment of all nectar-like *rasas*, as Rūpa Gosvāmin puts it, but is also eager to taste his own delightful *rasa* the *rasa* of *bhakti*. Just as Brahman in the *Prāśnopaniṣad* is the only relisher, *rasayitā* [IV.9], similarly Kṛṣṇa in the Caitanya tradition is the real connoisseur (*rasika*) of all devotional *rasas*.

The relish of *rasa* is considered by most of the aestheticians previous to the Caitanya tradition to be the nearest analogue to the delightful experience of Brahman. The condition of pure joy in both these cases is the absence of ego, therefore the bliss is experienced here by rising above the subject-object relationship. This is called universalization (*sādhāraṇīkaraṇa*) in the secular *rasa* context. Viśvanātha points out the kinship between *rasa* realization and Brahman realization when he describes the relish of *rasa* as the brother (*sahodara*) of the relish of Brahman. In the *Angni Purāna*, *rasa* realization seems to be the same as Brahman realization. But for the Vaiṣṇava aestheticians, *bhakti rasa* being the *rasa* par excellence, is more delightful than Brahman

realization; because it is the relish of Kṛṣṇa realization. In the realization of *bhakti rasa*, universalization is quite different from that of secular *rasa*. For Rūpa, Jīva and the like, who maintain a position of differentiation within non-differentiation (*acintyābheda*), the individual is real and separate from, while yet maintaining a sameness with, Brahman. In the Caitanya tradition therefore, *rasa* realization of *bhakti* is not an impersonal experience as we find in Abhinavagupta and others. The experience of *bhakti rasa* is the experience of love which requires an object and a subject. The aim of *bhakti* is the transformation of identity of an individual into a servant, a friend or a lover of Kṛṣṇa through his/her identity with the associates of Kṛṣṇa but never with Kṛṣṇa himself. This identification comes through imitation (*rāgānugā*) of the emotions of the associates of Kṛṣṇa. Since Śaṅkara no one except the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas put so much emphasis on the imitation of the emotion. In the secular *rasa* the permanent emotions are common to all connoisseurs having a keen faculty of perception, but in devotional context love for Kṛṣṇa is an extremely rare and special something. In secular *rasa*, the constituents of *rasa* are transitory and mundane; therefore the bliss of this *rasa* realization is temporary. Whereas in *bhakti rasa* all the constituents are supraphenomenal and hence the pleasure is unending. In the Caitanya tradition the relationship between the permanent emotion and *rasa* shows a developmental process. This reminds us Bhaṭṭa Lollāṭa's theory of intensification (*upacitivāda*).

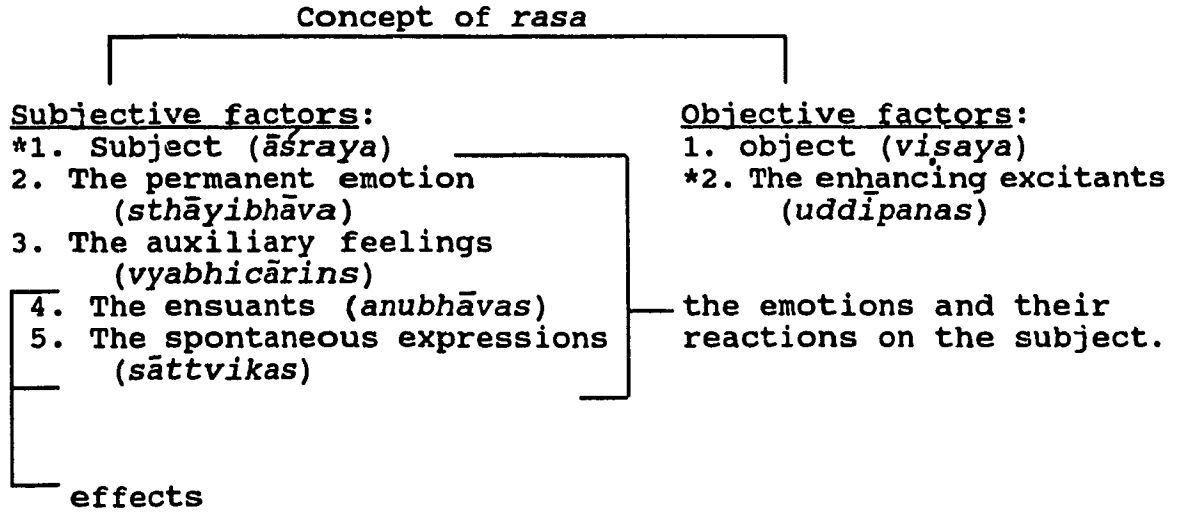
In the *Agni Purāṇa* and Bhoja, conceit (*abhimāna*) or ego-consciousness plays an important part. Similarly, in the Caitanya tradition the conceit of being related to God has a great role in *rasa* realization. The Vaiṣṇava aestheticians replace the literary

*sahrdaya*, as the recipient connoisseur, by the devotees of fine sensibility. These devotees are not passive spectators, as in Abhinava and the like, but are active partners of Kṛṣṇa's beatific sport through imitation. They are at the same time spectators as well as actors.

The quintessence of *bhakti rasa* is undoubtedly *ujjvala* (bright) or *madhura*, romantic love. The term *ujjvala* has apparently been suggested by Bharata in his description of *śṛṅgāra*.<sup>102</sup> The term *madhura*, a synonym of *śṛṅgāra*, already found in the *Dhvanyāloka*, shows its sweet and intoxicating character.<sup>103</sup>

Although Jīva generally follows the analysis of Rūpa, his treatment of *bhakti rasa* is somewhat different due to his bringing in a great deal of theological and metaphysical matter to explain the subject. Both Rūpa and Jīva seem to follow the line which comes through Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, the *Agnipurāṇa*, Bhoja, the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* and the *Rasārṇava sudhākara* simply because it suited their own purpose. They seem to have utilized Nāyaka's concept of expansion, blooming and melting of the mind to depict the reaction of different *bhakti rasas* on the mind in different ways. They seem to have their legacy of self-conceit in the *rasa* context from the *Agni Purāṇa* and Bhoja. *Sāhityadarpaṇa* shows them the path of metaphysical explanation of *rasa* realization, while *Rasārṇava Sudhākara* provides the format of Rupa's *Ujjvalanīlamanī*. For Rūpa and Jīva, the *rasa* which has no relation with Kṛṣṇa is not really a *rasa* but an *anurasa* [Rūpa, BRS.IV.9.33]. Kaṇṇapūra being more inclined toward the classical rhetoricians holds a different view. For him there are three categories of *rasa*: the secular (*prākṛta*); the supernatural (*aprākṛta*) which is *bhakti*, and the semblance (*ābhāsa*).

Diagram - 1



\* causes

causes + effects = rasa

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Quoted by Shivaprasad Bhattacharya, *Alaṅkāra-kaustubha* (Delhi:Parimal Publications, 1981), 136.

<sup>2</sup>Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja says: *sthāvara-jangama dekhe, nā dekhe tāra mūrti/sarvatra haya nija istadevasphūrti*//-C. C. II. 8.274.

<sup>3</sup>The text runs thus: *bhagavatā sāksād granthakaraṇābhāvād hṛdā brahmani brahmaprakāśitavac chri-rūpādiṣu sveṣu hṛdi śaktim sañcārya tattadvāreṇa sarvamparakāśitamiti*//-Quoted by De, VFM, 114.  
- "As Brahman manifests Itself through innerself, our Lord, without ever composing a book by himself, transfers his own energy through heart into his disciples like Rūpa and others, who were no other than his own self, thus inspiring them to reveal all the doctrines."

<sup>4</sup>Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja says: *Kṛṣṇatattva bhaktitattva rasatattvaprānta/sava siksāila probhu bhāgavata siddhānta//rāmānanda pāsē yaia siddhānta śunila/rūpe kṛpā kari tāhā sava sañcāriḷa*//-C. C. II. 19.115-116.  
- "The Lord taught him everything - the truth regarding Kṛṣṇa, the principle of devotional love (*bhakti*), the principle of *rasa* in its sublime state, as ascertained by the *Bhāgavata*. Whatever truth he heard from Rāmānanda, he imparted the same to Rūpa out of compassion."

<sup>5</sup>*Vṛndāvanīyam rasakelivārtām kālena luptām nijaśaktimutkaḥ/sañcārya rūpe vyatanot punaḥ sa prābhurvidhau prāgiva lokasṛstim*//-C. C. II. 19.1.  
- "The history of the jubilation of Kṛṣṇa in Vṛndāvana was forgotten in the course of time. Therefore, being desirous to revive the whole history through Rūpa, our Lord infused his own power into him (Rūpa), as he had previously injected his own power into Brahma before the creation of the universe. And he did revive it."

<sup>6</sup>Kaṛṇapūra's text runs thus: *Kālena vṛndāvanakelivārtā lupteti tāṁ khyāpayitum viśiṣya/kṛpānṛtenābhīṣeṣa devastatraiva rūpaṅca sanātanañca*//-C. Can, 227 [IX.48].  
- "The legend of Kṛṣṇa's sweet jubilation at Vṛndāvana was forgotten in the course of time. The glorious Lord decided to revive the same fully by his own efforts through Rūpa and Sanātana. Therefore, for this very purpose, he consecrated Rūpa and Sanātana by his nectar-like mercy to perform the task."

<sup>7</sup>Kaṛṇapūra tells us: *rasa iva para mūrta evāpyamūrtaḥ*//-C. Can, 224 [IX.42].  
- "Although, the devotional *rasa* par excellence, *madhura*, has no visible form, it manifests itself as it were, in the form of Rūpa." and also: *priyasvarūpe dayitasvarūpe premasvarūpe saha jābhi-rūpe/nijānurūpe prābhurekarūpe tatāna rūpe svavilāsa-rūpe*//-C. Can, 225 [IX.43].  
- "The Lord had a great favourite who was a cherished friend, second self of his own, his own love personified as it were. He was Rūpa, the manifestation of Lord's pastime form, none other than his identical form and equal to him in the preaching. Caitanya inspired this same Rūpa with his holy power to accept the doctrine of spiritual love for Kṛṣṇa."

<sup>8</sup>*sadā sarvasāstracarcā kare dui jana*//-These two spend most of their time in the study of the scriptures. - Bhaktiratnākara, quoted by De, VFM, 98.

<sup>9</sup>Here in these works we find no obeisance or reference to Caitanya. For further information see De, VFM, 160-163.

<sup>10</sup>*Madhura prasanna inḥāra kāvya sālankāra/aiche kavitva vinu nahe rasera pracāra//sabhe kṛpā kari inḥāre deha eivara/vrajalīlāpremarasa varṇe nirantarā*//-C. C. III. 1.199-200.  
- "His composition is sweet and lucid and also brilliant with figures of speech; without such a poetic genius, the exposition of *rasa* is impossible. All of you, being merciful, grant him a boon so that he may have

the power of depicting the *rasa* of love-divine, manifested through the beatific sport of Lord Kṛṣṇa at Vraja, without any interruption."

<sup>11</sup>*Vraje rasasāstra tumi kara nirūpaṇa*/-C. C. III. 1. 218.

- "You propagate the aesthetics of *bhaktirasa* in Vraja."

<sup>12</sup>*mīmāṃsakavādabāgneḥ, kathināmapi kuṅṭhayannasau jihvām/sphuratu sanātana/suciraṃ tava bhaktirasāmrtāmbhodhiḥ*//-BRS I. 1. 5.

- "After extinguishing all the flames of criticism even from the Mīmāṃsakas as powerful as the submarine fire, oh Sanātana, the Eternal One, let your ocean of the nectar-like *bhaktirasa* be manifested forever and forever."

<sup>13</sup>*hṛdi yasya preraṇayā, pravartito 'ham varākarūpo 'pi /tasya hareḥ padakamalam, vande caitanyadevasya*//-BRS I. 1. 2.

- "I worship the lotus like feet of the glorious Lord Caitanya who is indeed Kṛṣṇa himself. Getting inspiration in my heart from him, I although an insignificant person, have engaged myself in this task."

<sup>14</sup>(i) Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma says: *kālānnaṣṭam bhaktiyogaṃ nijam yaḥ pradūskartum kṛṣṇacaitanyanāmā/āvīrbhūtaṣṭasya pādāravinde gādham gādham liyatām cittabhṛṅgaḥ*//-Quoted by Natha, *Sri Sri Caitanya Caritamrter Bhumika* (Calcutta: Sadhana prakasani, 1977), 247.

- "Let my mind, a humble-bee, reside more and more in the white lotus-like feet of the person named Kṛṣṇa Caitanya who has appeared in this earth only for bringing back to light his own *bhaktiyoga* which disappeared in the course of time."

(ii) In his *vidagdhamādhava*, Rūpa says: *anarpitacarīm cirāi karuṇayāvātīrṇaḥ kalau samarpayitum unnatojjvalarāsām svabhaktiśriyam/hariḥ puraṭa sundara dyutikadambasandīpitaḥ sadā hṛdayakandare sphuratu vaḥ śacīnandanah*//I. 2.

- "May the dearly beloved son of Śacī (= Caitanya) be always transcendently situated (= manifest) in the inner cavity of your heart. That Kṛṣṇa (= Hari), resplendent with all the splendours of molten gold, has appeared out of compassion in this *Kali* age for bestowing that which no one had ever offered before, the treasure of his own *bhakti* in the form of the sublime spiritual *rasa* of divine love."

Rūpa in his *Stavamālā* says: *apāram kasyāpi pranayijanavṛndasya kutuki rasastomaṃ hṛtvā madhuramupabhoktum kamapi yaḥ/rucam svāmāvavre dyutimiha tadyam prakatayan sa devaścaitanyaḥkṛtiratītarām naḥ kṛpayatu*//-Quoted by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, C. C. I. 4. 52.

- "In his earnest desire to taste the inexpressible sweetness of sublime love of a very special one among the multitude of his own beloved, the Supreme Personality stole all the limitless rasas of devotional love, and so while hiding his own dark complexion with her lustrous beauty, he has assumed the form of Caitanya. May that Lord bestow his great mercy on us."

(iii) Sanātana Gosvāmin in his *Bṛhad Bhāgavatāmṛta* asserts: *svadayita nijabhāvam yo vibhāvya svabhāvāt umadhuram avatīrno bhaktarūpeṇa lobhāt/jayati kanakadhāma Kṛṣṇacaitanyanāmā harirīha yativesāḥ śrīśacīsunuresaḥ*//-I. 1. 3.

- "After considering the depth of his own beloved one's deepest emotional love towards him, Kṛṣṇa was tempted to fathom the same through his own experience of love. And therefore, he has taken the sweetest incarnation in the role of a devotee (Rādhā) being known by the name of Kṛṣṇacaitanya, whose hue is of molten gold. All glory to this son of Srisaci, who is none other than Kṛṣṇa himself in his attire of an ascetic."

<sup>15</sup>*bhāgavatabhaktiśāstrānām ayaṃ sārasya saṃgraha/anubhūtaṣya caitanyadeve tatprijarūpataḥ*//-*Bṛhad Bhāgavatāmṛta* I. 11.

- "This is the very essence and substance of all the *Bhaktiśāstras* related to Bhagavān Kṛṣṇa. It was tasted by the Lord Caitanya himself and was infused into him by Him because Caitanya was His most favourite one (form)."

<sup>16</sup>*na yat kathamapi śrutav-upaniṣadbhir apyāhitaḥ svayaṃ cavivṛtaḥ na yad gurutarāvataṛāntare/ḥṣipannasi rasāmbudhi tad iha bhakiretnaḥ kṣitau śacīsūta mayi prabhō kuru mukunda mande kṛpām//*-Quoted by A.K. Majumdar, *Caitanya* (Bombay:Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1969), 217.

- "That jewel of *bhakti*, not found in any way in the *Vedas* or in the *Upaniṣads*, which you never revealed in your former incarnations, now oh ocean of devotional *rasa*, you are distributing on earth. Oh *Kṛṣṇa*! Oh son of *Saci*! have mercy on an insignificant human being like me."

<sup>17</sup>*tave hāsi tāre prabhu dekhāila svarūpa/rasarāja mahābhāva dui ekarūpa//*-C. C. II. 8. 282.

- "Then, with a smile the Lord showed him his true self, his two sacred personalities, - the one as *rasarāja* and the other as *mahābhāva*, combined together in his one form."

<sup>18</sup>*svānandarasarṣnah kṛṣṇacaitanyavigraho jayati//*-AK. I. 1.

- "Glory to *Kṛṣṇa* who, in the form of *Caitanya*, is eager to drink his delightful *rasa*."

<sup>19</sup>*Sanātana Gosvāmin*, in his *Vaiṣṇavatoṣaṇī*, a commentary of the *Bhāgavata Purāna*, states that the sapling of the *rasa* of *Kṛṣṇa bhakti* has been germinated by *Mādhavendrapurī* in three worlds (*lokeṣvaṅkurito yena Kṛṣṇabhaktirasāṅghripah*). *Caitanyabhāgavata* of *Vṛndavanadāsa* holds: *Mādhavendra* is the first path-finder in the field of *bhakti rasa* as it has been told by *Caitanya* (*Gauracandra*) again and again [*C. Bh. Adī*, chapter VIII]. *Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja* suggests that the emotional *bhakti* cult originated with *Mādhavendrapurī*, has been transmitted to *Caitanya* through *Īśvarapurī* [C. C. I. 9. 10-11].

<sup>20</sup>As mentioned by S. K. De, *VFM*, 23.

<sup>21</sup>*syāmam eva param rupam purī madhupurī varā/vayaḥ kaisōrakam dhyeyam ādya eva paro rasaḥ//*-C. C. II. 19. 106.

- The sublimest beauty is the Beauty of the Blue Lord. The sublimest city is the city of *Madhu* (*Mathura*). The sublimest age should be understood as the adolescence and the sublimest devotional *rasa* is of course the first one, *madhura*, the *rasa* of romantic love.

<sup>22</sup>*yadi harismarane sarasam me no yadi vīlāsakalāsu kutūhalam/madhura-komala-kānta-padāvalim śrīv tadā jayadevasarasvatīm//*-G. G. I. 4.

<sup>23</sup>For the date of *Vidyāpati* see W. G. Archer, *Love Songs of Vidyāpati* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987), 17.

<sup>24</sup>See R. C. Majumdar, *An Advanced History of India* (Delhi: MacMillan India, 1974), 400.

<sup>25</sup>*Caṇḍidāsa vidyāpati, rāyera nāṭaka-gīti, karnāmṛta śṛgītagovinda/svarūpa-rāmānandasane, mahāprabhu rāṅridine, gāya śune parama ānanda//*-C. C. II. 2. 77.

- "All through the nights and the days, the great master along with *Svarūpa* and *Rāmānanda* used to sing or listen to songs of *Caṇḍidāsa*, *Vidyāpati*, the lyrical dramas of *Rāya* (*Rāmānanda*), *Karnāmṛta* and *Gītagovinda* with great delight."

and also: *Vidyāpati caṇḍidāsa śṛgītagovinda/ei tin-gīte kare prabhura ānanda//*-C. C. II. 10. 115.

- "The three kinds of songs - the songs from *Vidyāpati*, *Caṇḍidāsa* and *Gītagovinda* -, make the master delighted."

<sup>26</sup>*saṅgīte gandharvasama śāstre vṛhaspati/dāmodara sama āra nāhi mahāmatī//*-C. C. II. 10. 116.

- "There is no one nobler than (*Svarūpa*) *Dāmodara*, a master of music like the *Gandharvas*, a master of the scriptures like *Vṛhaspati* himself."

In C. C., *Caitanya* declares that he has learned the aesthetics of *bhakti* from *Rāmānanda Pāya*: *e sava sikṣāila more rāya rāmānanda/* [C. C. III. 7. 36]. He also says that from his association with *Svarūpa*-



dāmodara, the personification of *madhura rasa* as it were, he has acquired the knowledge of the loving *rasa* of Vraja: *dāmodara-svarūpa prema rasamūrtiman/tyāra saṅge haila vrajera madhura-rasa jñāna//* [C. C.III.7.38].

<sup>27</sup>*samprati yat kṛṣṇavarṇanāmaya-svīyāni gītāni prasthāpitāni pūrvamapi yāni, tairahamamṛtairiva trpta vartāmahe punarāpi nūtanatattvadāsāyā muhurapyatṛptiṅca labhāmahe, tasmāttatra ca dayābadhānaṃ kartavyam//*-Quoted by A. Dasgupta, *Lyric in Indian poetry* (Calcutta:Firm K.L.M., 1962), 98.

-The text and the translation both are taken from Dasgupta with a slight modification of the sanskrit text which seems to contain some printing mistakes.

<sup>28</sup>*ayamātma sarveṣāṃ bhūtānāṃ madhvasyātmanaḥ sarvāni bhūtāni madhu yaścāyamasminnātmani tejomayo'mrtamayaḥ puruṣo yaścāyamātma tejomayo'mrtamayaḥ puruṣo'yameva sa yo'yamā'medamamrtamidaṃ brahmedaṃ sarvam//*-Br. Up. II.5.14.

-This self (*atman*) is the honey (*madhu*) of all beings, and all beings are the honey of this Self. Likewise this luminous immortal person residing in this Self, and that all-shining immortal being, the Self (both are *madhu*, the honey). He indeed is the same as that Self, that Immortality, that Brahman, that all."

*ānandam brahmeti vyajānāt//*-T. Up. III.6. - "He perceived that bliss is Brahman."

*ānandaṃ brahmaṇo vidvān na vibhethi kutaścana//*-T. Up. II.4.1 and also II.9.1. - "He who knows the bliss of that Brahman, fears nothing." - Quoted by Jiva, *PS*, 10.

<sup>29</sup>See *Ch. UP.* VI.8.7, VI.9.4, VI.10.3, VI.11.3, VI.12.3, VI.13.3, VI.14.3, VI.15.2, VI.16.2.

<sup>30</sup>*kalau nastadrśām eṣa purāṇāko-dhunoditaḥ//*-Bh. I.3.45. Quoted by Jiva, *TS*, 45.

<sup>31</sup>*artha'yam brahmasūtrānāṃ bhāratārḥavinirṇaya//gāyatṛibhāṣyarūpo'sau vedārthaparibṛmhitāḥ//* - This is the saying of the *Garuda Purāṇa*. Quoted by Jiva, *TS*, 34.

<sup>32</sup>*strisūdradvijabandhunām trayī na śrutigocarā//*-Bh. I.4.25 also quoted by Jiva, *TS*, 39.

<sup>33</sup>*vadantitat tṛtva-vidastatṛvaṃ yaj jñānam advayam/brahmeti paramāmeti bhagavān iti śabdyate//*-Bh. I.2.11.

-This verse has been quoted by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, *C. C. I. 2. 11*.

<sup>34</sup>The text "*līla kathā-rasa-niṣevanam*", a part of *Bh. XII.4.40*, is quoted by Jiva, *PS*, 349.

<sup>35</sup>I mention here some such commentaries on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*:

(i) *Bṛhad vaiṣṇavatoṣaṇī* by Saṅātana Gosvāmin.

(ii) *Bṛhatkramasandarbhā* and *Laghukramasandarbhā* by Jiva Gosvāmin.

(iii) *Śrī Caitanyamatamañjūsā* by Srinātha Cakravartī, the preceptor of Karmapūra.

<sup>36</sup>*sarvavedāntasāram hi śrībhāgavatam isyate//*-Bh. XII.13.15. Quoted by Jiva, *TS*, 50.

<sup>37</sup>*nigamakalpataror galitaṃ phalam śukamukhād amṛtadravasamṛtam//*-Bh. I.1.3. Quoted by Jiva, *TS*, 50 and *PS*, 346. While explaining this verse in *PS*, Jiva says that the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is called *rasa* because it has *rasa* only, and that *rasa* is in the form of love towards God (*sa ca rasa bhagavadprītimaya eva* - *PS*, 346).

<sup>38</sup>*tadrasamṛtatṛptasya nānyatra syād ratiḥ kvacit//*-Bh. XII.13.15. Quoted by Jiva, *TS*, 50.

<sup>39</sup>*kṛṣṇarāmāyite dve tu gopāyantyāśca kāścena---*/Bh. X.30.17.

<sup>40</sup>*mallānāmasānir nṛnām naravaraḥ strīnām smaro mūrtiman gopānām svajano'satām kṣitibhujām śāstā svapitroḥśisuh/mṛtyurbhojapater virāda viduṣām tattvaṃ param yoginām vṛṣṇīnām paradevateti vidito raṅgam gataḥ sāgrajaḥ//Bh X.43.17.*

- "While entering the arena with his elder brother, Kṛṣṇa appeared as a thunderbolt to the wrestlers, a super human being to the men, the god of love incarnate to the ladies, a kinsman to the cowherds, a chastiser to the evil kings, a little darling to his parents, the veritable Death to the King of Bhojas, an inadequate competitor to the ignorant people, the Supreme principle of the ascetics and the Supreme God-head to the Vṛṣṇīs."

<sup>41</sup>*madhurātau pārde viṣaye sāre, jalasamkāre abhiniveśe kvāthe dehadhātau niryāse va'yam prasiddho na tvanyatra//A.bh on NS,679.*

<sup>42</sup>*RV.VIII.49.2: śatānīkeva pra jigāti dhṛṣṇuyā hanti vṛtrāni dāsūse/gireriva pra rasā asya pinvire datrāṇi purubhojasah//[vālakhilya sūktā]*

*RV.IX.6.6: iam gobhir vṛṣanām rasam madāya devavitāye/sutam bharāya saṅgī sṛja//*

*RV.I.187.4,5: tava tye pito rasa rajānsy anu viśhitāḥ/divi vāta iva śrītāḥ//tava tye pito dadatas tava svādīstha te pito/pra svādmāno rasānām tuvigṛvā īverate//*

*YV.XXXIX.4: manasaḥ kāmamākutim vācaḥ satyamasīya/pasūnām rūpamannasya raso yasāḥ śrīḥ śrayatām mayi svāha//*- "The wish and purpose of the mind and the truth of speech may I obtain. Bestowed on me be cattle's beauty, relishable taste of food, and fame as well as grace. svāha."

*RV.IX.96.21: pavasvendo pavamāno mahobhiḥ kanikradat pari vārāṅyaraṣa/kṛilāñ camvor ā visā pūyamāna indram te raso madiro mamattu//*

*RV.IX.97.14: rasāyayaḥ payasā pinvamāna īrayann eṣi madhumantam aṅsum/pavamānaḥ samtanim eṣi kṛṇvann indrāya soma pariśicyamānaḥ//*

<sup>43</sup>*AV.X.8.44: akāmo dhīro amṛtaḥ svayambhū rasena tṛpto na kutaścanonah/tameva vidvān na bibhāyu mṛtyorātmānaḥ dhīramajaram yuvānam//*

<sup>44</sup>*jagrāha pāṭhyam rgvedāi sāmabhyo giameva ca/yajurvedāi abhinayān rasānātharvanādapi//NS.I.17.*  
-He took the recitals from the Ṛgveda, music from the Sāman, representation (acting) from the yajurveda and the rasas from the Atharvan.

<sup>45</sup>*SPB.IV.3.2.5: deva rksāmayoḥ sthitam rasam chandaḥsvādhāya tai rasamayacchandobhiḥ svargalokam prāpuḥ... mado vai pratigiro yo vā rci mado yaḥ sāmān raso vai sa.../-*"The sap what there is in the ṚK and that which is in the sāmān: this sap gods put into the metres, and then by the strength of those metres full of sap (rasa) they (gods) attained the world of heaven... What ecstasy there is in every words of the ṚK and that which there is in the sāmān, that is sap, that is rasa."

<sup>46</sup>*SPB.IV.6.9.16: ...iyam vai vak tasya esa raso yadosadhayo yadvanaspatayastayetena sāmnapnuvan.../*

<sup>47</sup>*SPB.VII.2.3.4: ...sarvasya asyaīsa raso yadāyam apām ca hyeṣa ośadhīnām ca raso'syai vāinayeta sarvasya rasena prīnāti yāvanu vai rasastāvānātmā nenaivāinametatsarveṇa prīnāti.../-*"That melted butter is the life-sap (essence) of this universe, because, the same is the life-sap of both the waters and medicinal plants; he thus gratifies himself with the life-sap of this universe. As far as the life-sap extends, so far extends the soul; he thus gratifies himself by this universe."

Here, prīnana, the pleasure, shows the blissful nature of rasa.

<sup>48</sup>*TMB.V.7.1,2,3: devā vai vācam vyabhajanta tasyā yo raso'tyaricya: a tadgaurivitamabhavadanuṣubhamanupariplavate.../rasavad vācā vadati ya evaṃ vedeti//*-Quoted by Dr. Krishnavihari Misra, *Sanskṛta kāvyasāstre Bhaktirasavivecanam* (Vṛndavanam: Harinama Press, 1978), 40.

<sup>49</sup>Pr. UP. IV.7,8: *sa yathā somya vayāmsi vāsoṽrksam sampratiṣṭhante/eva ha vai tatsarvaṃ para ātmani sampratiṣṭhate//7//...cakṣuśca draṣṭavyam ca śrōtraṃ ca śrōtavyam ca ghrāṇaṃ ca ghrātavyam ca rasaśca rasayitavyam ca...//8//*-"Oh gentle one, as birds resort to a tree for a resting-place, thus all this takes resort in the Highest Soul, *param ātman*.- ...The eye and that which can be seen, the ear and what can be heard, the smell and what can be smelled and the taste and what can be tasted - all resort in That."

<sup>50</sup>Pr. Up. IV.9: *esa hi draṣṭā spraṣṭā śrōtā ghrātā rasayitā mantā boddhā kartā vijñānātmā puruṣaḥ/sa pare 'Kṣare ātmani sampratiṣṭhate//*-"It is this person, the conscious self, who sees, touches, listens, smells, tastes, contemplates, perceives and acts. And this one has the resort in the Highest indestructible soul (*ātman*)."

<sup>51</sup>According to Jacobi "Udbhata was the first to designate *rasa* as the soul of poetry", but for Daniel H.H. Ingalls "this is saying too much." Ingalls maintains: Udbhata was the first of the literary critics to concern himself seriously with the concept of *rasa*. - Ingalls, Masson and Patwardhan, *The Dhvanyāloka of Ānandavardhana* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1990),7.

Here I mention some views of the Ālaṃkārikas who consider *rasa* as the soul of literature:

i) Ānandavardhana, the propounder of Dhvani School, says that the suggested sense in the form of *rasa* is the soul of poetry: *kāvyaśyātmā sa evārthaḥ...Dh.1.5*. In this context Abhinavagupta in his *locana* comments: Therefore in reality *rasadhvani* is the soul and *vastudhvani* as well as *alaṃkāradhvani* are nothing but the nourishers of *rasadhvani* (*tena rasa eva vastutaḥ ātmā vastvalaṃkāradhvani tu sarvathā rasam prati paryavasyete*).

ii) *Agnipurāna* says: *vagvaidagdhyapradhāne'pi rasa evātra jīvitam/-* "Although the skill in speech is here predominant, *rasa* is indeed the soul" [CCCXXXVII,33].

iii) *āsvādajīvātuh padasandarbhah Kavyam/-* "poetry is a group of words containing *āsvāda* as its soul."- Caṇḍidāsa in *Kāvya prakāśādīpikā*.

iv) Viśvanātha in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa* says: *vākyam rasātmakam kāvyam/-* "Poetry is a linguistic expression, the soul whereof is *rasa*."

v) Kaṇḍapūra says: *sārīram śabdārthau dhvanirasava ātmā kila rasa.../-* "The body of *Kāvya* is word and its meaning; *dhvani* the suggested sense, is its *elan vital*" or the life force whereas *rasa* is the very soul of poetry." *Ak.1 Kārikā 1*

<sup>52</sup>Ranciro Gnoli, *The Aesthetic Experience According to Abhinavagupta* (Roma,1956), 29.

<sup>53</sup>See NS,677-80.

<sup>54</sup>See the quotation at the beginning of the sub-chapter 3/B.

<sup>55</sup>*evanete sthāyino bhāva rasasamjñāḥ avagantavyāḥ/ NS,802 [VII,28].*

One should understand that these permanent emotions thus obtain the name of *rasa*.

Also: *...nānābhāvābhinayavyañjitān vāgaṅgasattvaupetān sthāyibhāvān āsvādayanti sumanasah preṣakāḥ harsādīmscādhiḡacchanti/ NS,680*

- "The sophisticated onlookers of the theatre enjoy the permanent emotions manifested through the gesticulation of the emotions by the verbal, physical and temperamental activities and thereby attain pleasure."

and also: *bhāvābhinaya sambandhān sthāyibhāvamstathā budhāḥ/āsvādayanti manasā...// NS,683 [VI.33]*

- "Thus the learned persons enjoy the permanent emotions in combination with the gesticulations of the emotions with their mental faculty."

<sup>56</sup>*Catharsis*, a literary term introduced by Aristotle in his description of the effect of tragedy, was interpreted differently by Lessing, Milton, Croché, Bucher and others. It refers to any emotional discharge which brings about a moral or spiritual renewal or welcome relief from tension or anxiety.

<sup>57</sup>Unfortunately, the original works of (Bhatta-) Lollata, Saṅkuka, and Bhaṭṭanāyaka are not yet found. We have to rely upon the summaries of their doctrines furnished by their adverse critics like Abhinavagupta and Mammata. Even though Abhinva and others have tried to be as objective as possible in presenting these views, we are not sure that these views are presented in their completeness.

<sup>58</sup>See *A. bh.* on *NS,623*: *tena sthāyeva vibhāvānubhāvādibhirupacita rasaḥ/sthāyi bhāvatvanupacitaḥ/* and also *Locana* on *Dh.II.4*: *tathāhi pūrvāvasthāyām ya sthāyi sa eva vyabhicārisampātādīnā prāptaparipoṣo'nukaryagata eva rasaḥ/nāṭye tu prayujyamānatvāt nāṭyarasa iti kecit/*

<sup>59</sup>*sa cobhayorapi/[mukhyayā vṛtṭyā rāmādau] anukārye; anukartaryapi cānusandhāno'balāt/A. bh.* on *NS,623*.

<sup>60</sup>Gnoli, *The Aesthetic Experience* (Varanasi:Chowkhamba, 1968), P.xviii.

<sup>61</sup>K.C. Pandey, *Indian Aesthetics* (Varanasi:Chowkhamba, 1959),39-40.

<sup>62</sup>Pandey, *Indian Aesthetics*,40.

<sup>63</sup>*tasmāt hetubhir vibhāvākhyaiḥ kāryaiscānubhāvāimabhiḥ sahacārirūpaiśca vyabhicāribhiḥ pṛc vatnūrjitatayā kṛtrimairapi tathānābhimananyamānairanukarṣṭhatvena liṅgalataḥ pratiyamānaḥ sthāyi bhāvomukhyarāmādigatasthāyanukaraṇarūpaḥ/anukaraṇarūpatvādeva ca nāmāntareṇa vyapadiṣṭorasah/-* *A. bh.* on *NS,625*.

<sup>64</sup>*rasabhāvatadābhāsataprasānryādirakramaḥ/dhvanerātmanāṅgibhāvena bhāsamāno vyavasthitaḥ//* "Sentiment, emotion, the semblance of sentiment or emotion, the cessation of emotion and the like, categorized as undiscerned sequentiality, appearing as a predominant element constitute the soul of suggestion." *Dh.II.3*

<sup>65</sup>*Dh.II.3.* For the text see note 64.

<sup>66</sup>*raso na pratiyate/notpadyate/nābhivyajyate/...bhogenaparaṃ bhujyate/-A. bh.* on *NS,641-645*.

<sup>67</sup>*NS, 680.* See note 55.

<sup>68</sup>*tasmāt kāvyē doṣābhāvagunālamkāramayatvalakṣanena, nāṭyē caturvidhābhinayarūpeṇa nibidanijamohasaṅkatakāriṇā vibhāvādisādhāraṅīkaraṇātmanā'bhidhāto'dvitiyēnāṃśēna bhāvakatvavyāpāreṇa bhāvyaṃmāno raso'nubhavasmrtyādivilakṣanena rajastamo'nuvedhavaicitryabalād drutivistāravikāśalakṣanena sattvodrekaprakāśānandamayanijaśamvidviśrānti lakṣanaparabrahmāsvāda savidhena bhogena paraṃ bhujyata iti/A. bh.* on *NS,644-5*.

<sup>69</sup>*na tāsthyena nāmagatatvena rasaḥ pratiyate.../KP,98.*

<sup>70</sup>*sāmājikānāṃ vāsanātmatayā sthitaḥ sthāyi ratyādiko... ..śṅgārādiko rasaḥ/KP,103-4.* and also: *sarveśāmanādivāsanācitrīkṛtacetāsām vāsanāsamvādāt/A bh.* on *NS,655*.

<sup>71</sup>*sa ca na kāryaḥ, vibhāvādivināśē'pi tasya sambhavaprasaṅgāt, nāpi jñāpyaḥ siddhasya tasyāśambhavāt, api tu vibhāvādivihirvyañjitasācarvanīyaḥ/KP,105.*

<sup>72</sup>*sā cavignā samvit camatkāra.../-A. bh.* on *NS,655*.

<sup>73</sup>*ato na rasādināmkāvyena saha vyaṅgyavyaṅjīkabhāvah/kiṃ tarhi/bhāvvyabhāvakasambandah/kāvyaṃ hi bhāvakam bhāvya rasādayah/Dhanika* on *DR.IV.37*.

<sup>74</sup>akṣaram paramam brahma sanātanamajam vibhum/vedānteṣu vadantye kam caitanyam jyotiṣīśvaram//ānandaḥ sahujaṣṭasya vyajyate sa kadācana/vyaktiḥ sa tasya caitanyacamatkārarasāhvayā/-  
"The imperishable supreme Brahman, the eternal, unborn and mighty being, is the one called consciousness, light and the supreme power in the Vedānta. Bliss is inborn to Him. It is sometimes manifested. And that manifestation (of bliss) is called consciousness, wonder and sentiment."  
AP,CCXXXIX,1-2.

<sup>75</sup>See AP,CCCXXXIX,3-5.

<sup>76</sup>rasobhimāno'hamkāraḥ śṛṅgāra iti gīyati/[S.KB.V.1]. Quoted by Chinmāyee Chatterje, *Bhaktirasera vivartana* (Calcutta:Sanskrit College,1972),52.  
and also: *ahamkārabhimānaśṛṅgārādyaparānāmno rasasya...*[S.P.]. Quoted by Pandey, *Indian Aesthetics*,649.

<sup>77</sup>ātmaśthitam guṇaviśeṣamahamkṛtasya śṛṅgāramāhuh/[S.P.VI]. Quoted by Pandey, *Indian Aesthetics*,649.

<sup>78</sup>taccātmano'hamkāraguṇaviśeṣam brūmah/sa śṛṅgāra, so'bhimānaḥ, sa rasaḥ/[S.P.]. Quoted by Pandey, *Indian Aesthetics*,650.

<sup>79</sup>vyakto dadhyādinyāyena rūpāntaraparīnato vyaktikṛta eva rasaḥ.../Viśvanātha's own exposition (vṛtti) of S.D.III.1.

<sup>80</sup>prītibhaktiādayo bhāvā mṛgayākṣādayo rasāḥ/harsotsāhādīṣu spaṣṭamantarbhāvānna kīrtitāḥ//D.R.,250 [IV.84].

<sup>81</sup>īśvarapranidhānaviṣaye bhaktiśṛaddhe smṛimatidhṛtyutsāhādyanupraviṣṭe aṅgamiti na tayoh pṛthagrasatvena gaṇanam/A.bh. on NS,777.

<sup>82</sup>ratirdevādiviṣayā vyabhicārī tathāñjitaḥ//bhāvaḥproktaḥ.../K.P.IV.34-35.

<sup>83</sup>bhaktim sneham tathā laulyam kecit trin manvate rasān/śṛaddhārdratābhilāṣaṃśca sthāyīnasteṣu te viduḥ//tadasat, ratibhedau hi bhaktisnehau nṛgocarau/vyabhicāritvamanāyoh, ...//Śārngadeva, *Saṅgītaratnākara*,839

and also: *nanu vātsalyam laulyam bhaktiḥ Kārṇyam vā katham rasaḥ, ārdratābhilāṣaśṛaddhāprhānām sthāyībhāvānām tatra sātvāditi cenna, teṣāṃ vyabhicāriratyāmakatvāi*/Bhanudatta, *Rasa Tarāṅgīnī*, cited by Pandey, *Indian Aesthetics*,648.

<sup>84</sup>nāsti sā kāpi cittavṛtiryā pariṣoṣam gatā na rasībhavati/ [commentary on *Kāyālamkāra*] - cited by Chinmayi Chatterjee, *Bhaktirasera vivartana*,77.

<sup>85</sup>athasyāḥ keśavarat...sāmagrīpariṣoṣeṇa paramā rasa rūpataḥ//vibhāvairanubhāvaiśca sātvikairvyabhicāribhiḥ/svādyaivam hrdi bhaktānāmānītā śṛavanādibhiḥ/eṣā kṛṣṇaratīḥ sthāyī bhāvo bhaktiraso bhavet//BRS.II.1.4-5.

<sup>86</sup>pibata bhāgavatam rasamālayam muhuraho rasikā bhuvī bhāvukaḥ//Bh.I.1.3.

<sup>87</sup>vijñānaghana ānandaghanaḥ saccidānandaikarase bhaktiyoge tiṣṭhati/Gopālottaratāpanī, verse 63.

<sup>88</sup>...mallādīṣvabhiḥvyakta rasa krameṇa śloke na nibadhyante,- raudrodhbhutaśca śṛṅgāro hāsyam viro dayā tathā/bhayaṅnakaśca bibhatsaḥ sāntaḥ sapremabhaktikaḥ/-Sridhara on Bh.X.43.17.

<sup>89</sup>sa navadhā bhaktiḥ/bhaktirasasyaiva hāsyaśrngāra karuna-  
raudrabhayānakabībhatsasāntādbhūtavīrarūpenānubhavat/-Muktāphala, XI.1.

<sup>90</sup>...visnorviṣnubhaktānām vā caritrasya navarasāmakasya śravaṇādīnā janitāścamatkāro bhaktirasah/  
Muktāphala, XI.2.

<sup>91</sup>There is a great controversy regarding whether this commentary is really composed by Hemādri or by  
Vopadeva himself.

<sup>92</sup>saiva parām prakāṣarekhāmāpannā rasah/-Kaivalyadipikā on Mu' āphala, XI.2.

<sup>93</sup>yattu prākṛtarasikāḥ rasasāmagrīvirahād bhaktau rasatvaṃ neṣṭam, tat khalu prākṛtadevādiviṣayameva  
sambhavet/-P.S., 338.

<sup>94</sup>yathā 'yam nirvedo vyabhicāri sannapi sāntarase sthāyitaṃ prāpya rasatūmāpnoti tathā saiva devādiviṣayā  
ratirbhāva iti paribhāṣiko 'pi bhavah sthāyī san tattadvibhāvādisāmagrīsamaveto bhūtvā bhaktirasa iti  
dvādaśa rasa bhavanti/-AK, 147.

<sup>95</sup>sāmagri hi rasatvāpattau trividhā - svarūpa योग्या, parikarयोग्या, puruṣयोग्या ca/-P.S., 338.

<sup>96</sup>bhagavatprītau tu sthāyibhāvatvaṃ tadvidhāśeṣa sukha taraṅgārṇavabhrahmasukhādadhikatamatvañca  
pratipāditameva/-P.S., 339.

<sup>97</sup>tathā tatra kāraṇādayastatparikarāśca laukikatvādvibhāvanādīṣu svato'kṣamāḥ, kintu  
satkavinibandhacāturyyādevalaukikatvaṃ āpannastatra योग्या bhavanti/tatra tu te svata  
evālaukikādbhūtarūpatvena darśita darśaniyaśca/-P.S., 339.

<sup>98</sup>atra tvaprākṛtaviśuddhasattvaheturvaṃ -(Bha. IV/3/23) 'sattvaṃ viśuddham vāsudeva śabditam...'/-P.S., 340  
and also: atra sattva śabdena svaprakāśatālakṣaṇasvarūpa śaktivṛthiviśeṣa ucyate/-Bh.S., 20  
Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇavas allots a spiritual body to God. In order, to account for this spiritual body they  
recognize the spiritual matter or viśuddha sattva.

<sup>99</sup>laukikasya ratyādeḥ sukhārūpatvaṃ yathākathañcīdeva vastuvicāre dukkhaparyavasāyitvat/-P.S., 343  
and also: tasmāllaukikasyaiva vibhāvādeḥ rasa janakatvaṃ na śraddheyam/tajjanakatve ca sarvatra  
bībhatsajanakatvameva sidhyati/-P.S., 344-5.

<sup>100</sup>Longinus, *On the Sublime* 9.4: "And in this way what is beyond nature falls to those who most presume  
to have this sensibility..."

<sup>101</sup>prāktanyādhunikī cāsti yasya sabbhaktivāsanā'eṣa bhaktirasāsvādestasyaiva hṛdi  
jāyate//bhaktinirdhutadosānām prasannojjvalacetasām/śrībhāgavataraktānām rasikāsaṅga  
raṅgiṇām//jīvanībhūta govindapādabhaktisukha śrīyām/premāntaraṅgabhūtāni  
krīyānyevānutiṣṭhatām//bhaktānām hṛdi rājanti saṃskārayugalojjvala/ratirānandarūpaiva nīyamānā tu  
rasyatām//BRS. II.6-9. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja also says: ei rasa āsvāda nāhi abhaktera  
gane/kṛṣṇabhaktaganakare rasa-āsvādane//CC. II.23.93. -"The relish of this rasa is not to be attained by  
those other than the devotees. Only the devotees of Kṛṣṇa are eligible to be the connoisseurs of this rasa."

<sup>102</sup>yat kiñcit loka śuci medhyam ujjaḥḥ darsāniyam vā tac chṛṇ gārenopamiyate/ -whatever is clean,  
bright (pure) and worth looking at in this earth is compared with śrngāra.- NS, 704-6 [VI.45]

<sup>103</sup>śṛṅgāra eva madhuraḥ paraḥ prahlādanoraḥ/ -The erotic is indeed the sweetest and the most delectable of all rasas. - Dh.II.7.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### SAKHYA BHAKTI IN THE FIELD OF AESTHETIC ENJOYMENT

In this chapter we are going to explore the uniqueness of devotional friendship as a primary *rasa* in the Caitanya tradition. In this regard we would examine how far the theologians in the Caitanya tradition are original, and how far they are influenced by the classical aestheticians. In his *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*, Rūpa Gosvāmin has termed his sentiment of devotional friendship as *preyorasa* or *preyān*, the "second pleasing one", because some connoisseurs have a particular preference for this delightful sentiment. Now, we cannot say that Rūpa's use of the term *preyas* or *preyān* is very original, because long before his time, the classical rhetoricians had used the same term in their poetics, although not exactly in the same sense. We find a developing process in the concept of *preyān* through the ages, which attained its final stage in the sixteenth century as a full fledged *rasa* in the Vaiṣṇava aesthetics of Bengal.

#### I. Preyān and Classical Poetics

*Preyaḥ priyatarākyānam / Preyas (=preyān) is felicitous expression [Dandin, K.D. II 275].*

A. Bhāmaha (last quarter of the 7th century C.E. to the middle of the 8th century C.E.),<sup>1</sup> in his *Kavyālaṅkāra*, has treated *preyān* (*preyas*) as an *alaṅkāra*, a figure of speech, (lit. an ornament), of poetry.<sup>2</sup> This is a figure of sweet flattery which comprises affectionate praise. Ānandavardhana holds that this figure predominates in verses known as *catuḥ* or complimentary addresses where *rasa* has a subordinate position.<sup>3</sup> The



significance of describing this as an *alamkāra* is that it is an attribute of poetry. As poetry is defined by Bhāmaha as "words accompanied with meaning" (*śabdārthau sahitaū*--I.16), an *alamkāra* may embellish either its form (*śabda*) or its meaning (*artha*). We have to understand that *preyān* being an *arthālamkāra*, contributes to the beauty of poetry on its meaning (*artha*) side. Although Bhāmaha never attempts to give a definition of *preyān*, his illustration is able enough to show *preyān* as an emotion-based *alamkāra*. Abhinavagupta in his *Locana* maintains that Bhāmaha defines *preyān* (*preyas*) as a loving celebration of elders, gods, kings and sons [*Locana* on *Dh.*II.5].<sup>4</sup> The text of Bhāmaha as we find it now contains no such definition; it only cites an example which refers to god (*deva*). Bhāmaha's illustration of *preyān* is Vidura's statement to Kṛṣṇa when the latter came to the former's house: "Oh Govinda, the pleasure that I have obtained today from your coming to my home will arise, in the course of time, only when you will arrive again".<sup>5</sup> Here Vidura gives expression to his sense of supreme happiness at the arrival of Kṛṣṇa and wishes that the same may be renewed frequently. This illustration manifests a cordial relationship (*prīti*) between Vidura and Kṛṣṇa.

With Ācārya Daṇḍin (1st half of the 8th century C.E.),<sup>6</sup> this emotional aspect of *preyan* is more clear. Daṇḍin defines *preyān* thus: "*Preyān* is felicitous expression (*priyatarākhyānam*)" [*K.D.* II 275]. The same verse, found in Bhāmaha, has been quoted by Daṇḍin as an illustration of *preyān*. This illustration as well as Daṇḍin's own words regarding *rasavadalāmkāra* - where *rasa* is used as an attribute of poetry - show that, for him, *preyān* occurs in the case of the suggestion of emotional feelings (*bhāvas*) in the form of affection (*prīti*). Daṇḍin also expresses clearly that this affection (*prīti*) in

*preyān* is quite different from the affection called *rati*, passionate love, which transforms itself into *śṛṅgāro* (love between a young couple).<sup>7</sup> This suggests that, according to Daṇḍin, all emotional love other than the erotic (*śṛṅgāra*) may be included in *preyān*. Therefore, the commentator Taruṇavācaspati seems to be right in his saying that the *preyān* of Daṇḍin is the "manifestation of love towards God, teacher, father and the like (*devagurupitrādiviśayaḥ prītiprakāśaḥ preyāḥ*)," which is quite different from erotic love. However, Daṇḍin's treatment of *preyān* also exhibits the fact that he admits this affection (*prīti*) in *preyān* only as an emotion (*bhāva*) but not as a *rasa* (sentiment), whereas he accepts *śṛṅgāra* of *rasavat* as a fully developed *rasa* in the form of an *alamkāra*.

In the *Kāvyaalamkārasārasaṃgraha* of Udbhāṭa (the end of the 8th century C.E. and the beginning of the 9th century C.E.),<sup>8</sup> the conception of *preyān* is more developed. Udbhāṭa says "Poetry which has been composed so as to contain the indications of emotional feelings (*bhāvas*) such as *rati* (passionate love) and others through the ensuants (*anubhāvas*) and the like, is said to contain *preyān* (*preyasvat*) by the scholars."<sup>9</sup>

Rājānaka Tilaka (circa 1100/1125 C.E.) maintains that Udbhāṭa distinguishes between two types of *alamkāra*: *rasavad* (possessor of *rasa*) which comprises erotic love and *preyān* which comprises other kinds of love. In his commentary on the *Kāvyaalamkārasārasaṃgraha* he says:

*rati*, passionate love, and other emotional feelings (*bhāvas*) of *preyān* mentioned here should not be confused with those associated with *rasavadalamkāra* because, Udbhāṭa clearly argues that in *preyān*, *rati* (passion/love) should be taken with reference to God, teacher, king, etc., but where the beloved lady (*Kāntā*) is concerned (in other words,

where the erotic love is concerned), the passionate love (*rati*) is related to *rasavat*.<sup>10</sup>

Thus for Udbhata, *preyān* has an emotional aspect (*bhāva*) which has got its ensuants (*anubhāvas*) as well.

B. Coming to Rudrāta (middle of the 9th century C.E.),<sup>11</sup> we find a greater leap in the ideas pertaining to *preyān*. Rudrāta does not include *preyān* in the enumeration of the *alamkāras*, instead he recognizes it as a *rasa*. He enumerates ten *rasas*: romantic love or the erotic (*śṛṅgāra*), the heroic (*vīra*), the pathetic (*karuṇa*), the abhorrent (*bībhatsa*), the terrible (*bhayānaka*), the marvellous (*adbhuta*), the comic (*hāsya*), the furious (*raudra*), the quietistic (*śānta*) and the pleasing one - *preyān*.<sup>12</sup>

Rudrāta maintains that *śānta* and *preyān* should be considered as *rasas* because their permanent emotions (*sthāyibhāvas*) - *nirveda* (quietude/indifference) and *sneha* (affection) respectively - have the capacity to be relished.<sup>13</sup> *Sneha* or affection, the permanent emotion in *preyān*, is nothing but friendly feeling, which is called by the rhetoricians "*mitraviṣayakarati*" or *rati* (love) where the object of love is a friend (*mitra*).

Rudrāta's own words assert this:

*Sneha* (affection) is the basic emotion or the very nature of *preyān*. Here *nāyaka*, the hero, is a suitable person, cultured and righteous by nature. And *sneha* signifies a cordial (friendly) behaviour (relationship) towards each other. This is spontaneous mental attitude (tendency), accrued through regular companionship, enriched with confidential delightful conversations of a benevolent nature. This is everywhere recognised as '*sneha*', because (whenever this emotion is roused) as a result of the melting of the heart, wide open eyes, full of deep affection, shed tears of joy (at the sight of the object of love).<sup>14</sup>

Here, in a nutshell, Rudrāta's definition aptly provides us with all the constituents of

*preyān* as *rasa*: the permanent emotion (*sthāyī bhāva*) as *sneha* (affection); the substantial determinant (*ālambana vibhāva*) as the hero (*nāyaka*); the enhancing excitants (*uddīpana vibhāvas*) as conversations etc., and the ensuants (*anubhāvas*) such as wide opening of the eyes and shedding delightful tears etc.

Although Rudraṭa has shown no illustration of *preyān*, his words such as "friendly behaviour towards each other" [RKL XV 18] prove that in *preyān*, the basic emotion *sneha* is reciprocal affection, therefore both the substantial determinants (*alambanas*) - the subject and the object - enjoy the same kind of emotional experience. This is rather different from the previous rhetoricians' idea of feeling toward God, teacher, father, king etc. where the question of reciprocity does not arise. Thus Rudraṭa has become the pioneer in admitting the *rasa*-hood (*rasatā*) of friendship and paved the path for the concept of *sakhya bhakti rasa* in the thought of eminent Vaiṣṇava teachers such as Rūpa Gosvāmin some 700 years later. Rūpa's *sakhya rasa* shares the same name *preyān* and shows that here also both the subject and the object of love experience the same kind of delightful emotion.<sup>15</sup> However, the difference between Rudraṭa and Rūpa lies in the fact that when Rudraṭa's substantial determinants are suitable persons, Rūpa's substantial determinants of *sakhya bhakti rasa* are restricted to Kṛṣṇa and his associates.

C. Abhinavagupta holds that the *rasas* are only nine in number. In his view, there is no justification in placing affection (*sneha*) in the category of *rasa*, because affection with heart-melting as its permanent emotion is really a subsidiary feeling or attachment (*abhiśaṅga*) which transforms itself as love (*rati*), energy (*utsāha*) and so on. Thus a child's affection to his parents is reducible to terror, young men's and women's affection

for their friends becomes absorbed in passionate love (*rati*), and the brotherly affection of Lakṣmaṇa and the like transforms itself as the heroic virtue (*dharmavīra*).<sup>16</sup>

Dhanañjaya (last quarter of the 10th century C.E.) in his *Daśarūpaka*, a treatise on dramaturgy, says that *prīti* (affection) and *bhakti* cannot be considered as *rasas* because, these are actually part of joy (*harṣa*) and energy (*utsāha*) etc. So they should be regarded as emotional stages (*bhāvas*) only.<sup>17</sup> Following the view of Abhinavagupta, Hemacandra (12th century C.E.) tells us that affection (*sneha*), devotion (*bhakti*) and parental love (*vātsalya*) are really only variations of love (*rati*), because love (*rati*) between equals is affection (*sneha*); the superior person's love towards an inferior is parental love (*vātsalya*), and an inferior's love towards a superior is *bhakti*. Therefore one should enjoy them as emotional stages (*bhāvas*), but not as *rasas*.<sup>18</sup> Śārngadeva (13th century C.E.), the author of *San̄gītaratnākara*, holds the same view, and asserts that affection (*sneha*) is a kind of love (*rati*) and when its object is not someone of the opposite sex it is only considered as an auxiliary feeling (*vyabhicāri bhāva*), which has no capacity to be a permanent emotion (*sthāyi bhāva*) in *rasa* realization. On the other hand, when its object is a person of the opposite sex, it becomes a permanent emotion.<sup>19</sup>

Thus, the rhetoricians such as Abhinavagupta, Hemacandra and others, in considering affection, devotion and parental love as the varieties of *rati*, have actually denied the independent existence of friendly love and parental love.<sup>20</sup>

D. For Bhoja, who recognises three levels (*koṭis*) of *rasa* realization, in the first stage (*parā koṭi*) and the last stage (*uttarā koṭi*) *rasa* is only one, but in the middle stage

(*madhyamā koṭī*) there is no such limitation to the number of *rasas*. In this middle stage, Bhoja places *preyan* in the *rasa* category.<sup>21</sup> It should be noted, however, that for Bhoja *rasas* in the middle stage are actually *bhāvas*, emotional stages, and they are called *rasas* in a secondary sense. This *preyān* is quite different from Rudraṭa's *preyān*. Although, in Bhoja, *preyān* as a sentiment is tender (*vatsala*) by nature and its permanent emotion is affection (*sneha*), it is really a variety of *śṛṅgāra rasa* (romantic love) where the hero belongs to the brave and sportive category (*dhīralalita*).<sup>22</sup> This *preyān* is the base of both *rati* (passionate love) and *priti* (love in general).<sup>23</sup> Bhoja explains that the true nature of *preyān* is "partiality without any reasonable cause" (*ahetupaḥṣapāta*) or, in other words, "affection without cause." In this regard he follows Bhavabhūti and quotes from Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita*: "That partiality, which rises out of no cause, has no remedy. This thread, in the form of tender love (*sneha*) stitches the inner hearts (of the lovers) together."<sup>24</sup>

This affection without cause arises only when the substantial determinant is the beloved lady (*priyā*). Therefore this affection (*sneha*) is of different nature from that described by Rudraṭa in the context of *preyān*. This fact seems to suggest that *preyān* or *sakhya bhakti rasa* of the Vaiṣṇava devotional tradition may have its legacy from Rudraṭa's conceptions, and not from those of Bhoja or of Abhinavagupta, Dhanāñjaya and Hemacandra.

It is interesting to observe here that although there is a striking similarity between Rudraṭa's *preyān* and the *sakhya bhaktirasa* of Vaiṣṇava aestheticians, Rūpa Gosvāmin and Jīva Gosvāmin never mention Rudraṭa. On the other hand, Jīva, in support of his

*sakhya rasa* mentions Bhoja's *preyān* and cites his illustration which shows a special friendship between husband and wife [PS.,343]. Actually Jīva ignores the fact that Bhoja's *preyān* is related to romantic love only and that this friendly affection has been shown from the husband's side to depict the peculiarity of the hero as brave and sportive (*dhīralalita*). On the other hand, we have to admit that Bhoja's conception of *preyān* as affection without cause is the very nature of the friendship that Rūpa describes as part of *madhura* in the case of the female friends (*sakhīs*) of Kṛṣṇa in Vraja and the friendship of the beloved ladies (*kāntās*) of Kṛṣṇa. However, this tender affection of the female friends and the beloved ladies is in reverse position compared to that of Bhoja who has put more importance on the affection of the hero. But the *preyān* of the Vaiṣṇava aestheticians is not connected to the Vraja *sakhīs* and the *kāntā*.

## II. Preyān or Maitrīmaya rasa, the sentiment of devotional friendship.

The sentiment of devotional friendship (*sakhya*) is one of the five primary *bhakti rasas* in the Caitanya tradition. Because of its blissful nature, Rūpa Gosvāmin calls it *preyān*, the pleasing one. Jīva Gosvāmin's naming it as *maitrīmaya* (all-friendship), perhaps suggesting (through the suffix *mayat*) the transformation of the permanent emotion into a *rasa*, shows the innate nature of relishability of friendship (*maitrī*) itself. Kṛṣṇadāsa calls it *sakhya* (companionship) which points out the similar mental dispositions (*samaprāṇa*) of the friends in this *rasa*. Rūpa defines his *preyān* in the following way: "Friendly affection (*sakhya*) as a permanent emotion, nourished by the determinants and other stimuli appropriate to its own nature, when it arises as relish

(*rasa*) in the heart of the connoisseur is termed as *preyān* [BRS.III.3.1].<sup>25</sup> Here the stimuli other than the determinants are the ensuants (*anubhāvas*), the spontaneous expressions (*sātrvikabhāvas*) and the auxiliary feelings (*vyabhicāri bhāvas*). A proper consideration of the permanent emotion and the four stimuli is indispensable for the study of devotional friendship as a *rasa*. First I will discuss the four constituents, and then the *sthāyi bhāva*, the permanent emotion, as these are presented in the writings of Rūpa Gosvāmin, Jīva Gosvāmin, Karnaṇpūra and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja. Here I prefer to follow the Rūpa's order beginning with *vibhāvas*, the determinants.<sup>26</sup> [See Diagram 1 on page 73 and Diagram 2 on page ?]

A. *Vibhāvas*, the determinants:

*Vibhāvas*, the determinants, which cause the permanent emotion to be capable of being relished are of two kinds: 1) *ālambana*, the substantial determinant, and 2) *uddīpana*, the enhancing excitant or the stimulative determinant.<sup>27</sup>

1. The *ālambana vibhāva*: The substantial determinant is called *ālambana* (lit. resort) because the very existence of the permanent emotion depends on it. This substantial determinant has two aspects: a) *viśaya*, the object of the emotion and b) *āśraya* (abode), the subject of the emotion. According to Jīva, the real substantial determinant of love for Kṛṣṇa is Kṛṣṇa himself due to his being the object of the emotion, but the beloved ones of Kṛṣṇa are also considered as *ālambanas*, in an indirect way, as the abode (*ādihāra*) or the subject of love.<sup>28</sup> Kṛṣṇa's relation with the permanent emotion, *rati*, is direct, it being a part of his own "power of bliss", whereas his associates' relation with *rati* is indirect.



Both Rūpa and Jīva maintain that Kṛṣṇa and his comrades are the substantial determinants in *preyān*.<sup>29</sup> However Jīva categorically asserts that in *preyān*, Kṛṣṇa manifesting himself as friend is the object of friendship and his comrades, the participants in his beatific sports (*līlā*), endowed with similar emotions of friendly love, are the subject of friendship. Rūpa's position seems to be quite different here. He simply says that Kṛṣṇa, and also his comrades of his own age (*vayasyas*), are the *ālambanas* in *preyān* [BRS.III.3.2].<sup>30</sup> He gives no further clarification whether Kṛṣṇa and his friends both are equally eligible to be the object as well as the subject, or whether Kṛṣṇa is exclusively the object and his friends are exclusively the subject of friendship. Even in his *vibhāva* section [BRS.II.1.16] Rūpa only says that Kṛṣṇa and his devotees are the *ālambanas*, being the object as well as the subject of *rati* but shows no such watertight compartment for Kṛṣṇa as the object, and for his devotees as the subject of the emotion.<sup>31</sup>

The commentary of Jīva in this regard, maintaining that Kṛṣṇa should be considered here as the sole object of the emotion,<sup>32</sup> seems to lead us far from Rūpa's position. Mukundadāsa's assumption in his commentary on Rūpa's *Bhaktirasāmṛta sindhu*, on the other hand, seems to be nearer to Rūpa's own views when he says that Kṛṣṇa and his devotees are the substantial determinants sometimes as the object and sometimes as the abode (*ādharma*) to each other's emotions whichever is appropriate.<sup>33</sup> There is ample evidence in the *Bhaktirasāmṛta sindhu* and *Ujjvalanīlamanī* which convinces us that for Rūpa, Kṛṣṇa and his associates are sometimes, on appropriate occasions equally eligible to be the object as well as the subject of the emotion. This is

evident, for instance, in *Bhaktirasāmṛta sindhu* III.3.20, which shows Kṛṣṇa's friendship through his own words. The verse runs thus:

Oh brother! seeing all my companions entering quickly inside the belly of the demon Agha, my two eyes shed warm tears without cessation and washed my dry cheeks and then for the moment I became paralysed and vacant minded.

Here Kṛṣṇa is undoubtedly the subject of friendly love towards his cowherd friends.<sup>34</sup> In *Bhaktirasāmṛta sindhu* IV.8.35 Kṛṣṇa is the subject of *preyān* and *madhura* and his associates are therefore naturally the objects of the emotions.<sup>35</sup> Mukundadāsa, in his commentary, aptly points out that in *Bhaktirasāmṛta sindhu* IV.8.40, Śrīdāman, the friend of Kṛṣṇa, is the object of *preyān* and Kṛṣṇa is the subject. The verse runs thus:

After defeating with a weak stick Pralamba's enemy Baladeva considered as extremely powerful in fighting with clubs - even though he was surrounded by his own group of friends -, Śrīdāman was making fun of him loudly at his face. Observing this boastful skill of Śrīdāman in the playful fight Kṛṣṇa looked beautiful with his thrilling cheeks and wide open eyes.<sup>36</sup>

Jīva as a true theologian tries to focus on *bhakti rasa* from the subjective point of view of a devotee and explains this verse in a different way. He maintains that the context here is a devotional sentiment and this verse is an utterance of some other friend. Therefore, that friend should be considered here as the subject but not Kṛṣṇa.<sup>37</sup> However this explanation does not seem to be plausible, because here all the expressions of Kṛṣṇa such as wide open eyes and thrilling of the cheeks manifest clearly Kṛṣṇa's own friendly love and other emotions. These emotions being so charming are capable of being relished. Therefore it is hard to deny the relishability of Kṛṣṇa's own emotions

when he has already been accepted as the embodiment of all the nectar-like *rasas* (*akhilarasāmṛtamūrti*, Rūpa) and as *rasayitā*, the relisher of *rasa* (*svānandarasaśrīṣṇa*, Kāṇṇapūra).<sup>38</sup>

Jīva recognizes Kṛṣṇa's friendly love (*sakhyā*) for his friends, as an enhancing excitant (*uddīpana*) in *preyān*, but not as a permanent emotion. This reluctance to admit its relishability as a permanent emotion may be due to Jīva's greater concern about the subjective experience of the devotees, which leads him to overlook or de-emphasize the relishability of Kṛṣṇa's own feelings. The difference between Rūpa and Jīva is this: Jīva focuses on the relishability of *bhakti* without adhering too closely to the *rasa* concept of the classical aestheticians because he is more concerned with his exposition of *bhakti* as the subject-matter (*abhidheya*) of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. Rūpa, on the other hand, is more concerned with the sublime relishability of *bhakti rasa* and therefore sticks closer to the method and theories of the classical aestheticians.

Now, the question may arise here: If Kṛṣṇa becomes the subject of love in *preyān* or other *rasas* then how the permanent emotion *rati* in such and such cases could be called Kṛṣṇa *bhakti*, devotion to Kṛṣṇa. Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that the associates of Kṛṣṇa are actually the expansion of Kṛṣṇa's own power of wisdom (*samvit śakti*) and power of bliss (*hlāḍini śakti*) [Jīva, *B.S.*, para 118; *KS*, para 117]. Therefore, Kṛṣṇa's own love towards his associates is also Kṛṣṇa *bhakti* in a wider sense being favourable (*anukūla*) or pleasing to his own self. However, we cannot call it *bhakti* as *Kṛṣṇānuśīlana*, the devoted service to Kṛṣṇa, in its technical sense [See Rūpa, *BRS.1.1.11*].

Rūpa maintains that in the quietistic *rasa*, loving servitude and parental love, the emotional dispositions of Kṛṣṇa and his associates are quite different from each other in nature therefore, the permanent emotion has only one single resort (*ekaniṣṭha*).<sup>39</sup> Thereby Kṛṣṇa is really the object of the emotion. However in *madhura*, romantic love, and in *preyān* the permanent emotions are reciprocal by nature, and therefore in these cases *rati* has a dual resort (*ubhayaniṣṭha*). In *preyān* and *madhura*, Kṛṣṇa and his friends on the one hand, and he and his lady-loves on the other, enjoy the same kind of emotional experience (*sajātīya bhāva*).<sup>40</sup> It shows that Kṛṣṇa and his devotees exchange their own emotions and, therefore, they are object as well as subject to each other's emotions. According to the aestheticians, in *madhura* and *preyān*, the absence of response from Kṛṣṇa's side in love causes damage (deformation) to the permanent emotion because when the resort is only one, love becomes weak.<sup>41</sup> Therefore, Rūpa says that if there is no manifestation of friendship in Kṛṣṇa for his friends, the sentiment of *preyān* totally vanishes.<sup>42</sup>

Rūpa also maintains that *preyān* has an excellent charm of its own unlike parental love and loving servitude. This charm lies in the fact that Kṛṣṇa and his comrades joyfully share here the same kind of delightful emotional experience.<sup>43</sup> Thus, that is the reason why connoisseurs of this *rasa*, whose hearts are full of friendship, consider it to be the second most delightful *rasa* amongst all the *rasas* and therefore it is called *preyān*, the second pleasing one [BRS.III.3.136].<sup>44</sup> However, previously in his *sthāyibhāva* section [BRS.II.5.115], Rūpa has held that among the five primary *rasas*, arranged sequentially as *śānta*, *prīta*, *preyān*, *vatsala* and *madhura*, the *rasa* which

comes later is always better than the one which comes earlier.<sup>45</sup> Accordingly *preyān* has the third position here. And this seems to be Rūpa's own view. Now the difference between the two statements [BRS.II.5.115 and III.3.136] of Rūpa suggests the difference of opinion between Rūpa and those unnamed scholars who hold *preyān* in the second place. This makes it further clear that among the scholars in the Caitanya tradition there is a real controversy regarding the position of friendship and parental love in the scale of *rasas*.

a) Kṛṣṇa, the substantial determinant (*ālambana*):

*Barhāpidaṃ natavaravapuḥ karṇayoḥ karṇikāram  
bibhradvāsah kaṇakakapīśam vaijayantiñca  
mālām/ranḍhrān venuradhara sudhayā pūrayan  
gopavṛndair vṛndāranyam svapadaramaṇaṃ prāvisād gīti  
kīrtiḥ//* - Kṛṣṇa entered the forest of Vṛndā, which was  
already embellished with his own foot-prints, he having a  
charming personality like an accomplished actor, with  
peacock-feathers on his crown, ear-rings of *karṇikara*  
flowers on his ears, wearing golden clothes and the garland  
Vaijayanti made of flowers of five different colours,  
lovingly indulging the holes of his flute, thus fulfilling  
them with the nectar of his lips, accompanied by the  
cowherd boys who were singing in his praise. *Bh.X.21.5*.  
[Quoted by Jīva, *PS*,540].

Both Rūpa and Jīva maintain that in *preyān*, generally, Kṛṣṇa is the object determinant (*visaya*) in his beautiful human form. Here, he appears with two arms (specially in Vraja) or on rare occasions, with four arms (in Dvārakā etc.)<sup>46</sup> However, his thousand-armed, awe-inspiring universal form (*viśvamūrti*) is not suitable to be the object of friendly love. Therefore, Jīva points out that (in the *Gītā*, XI.46) Arjuna, the friend of Kṛṣṇa, wishes to see Kṛṣṇa in his four-armed form which he considers as the friendly human form of Kṛṣṇa, instead of his thousand-armed form [Jīva, *PS*,538-39].<sup>47</sup>

In Vraja (scene of Kṛṣṇa's juvenile adventures in his country life), Kṛṣṇa in his two-armed form is all sweetness. His complexion is more beautiful than sapphire. The smile on his face is purer and brighter than the *kunda* flower (a variety of Indian jasmine). His yellow silken clothes are as beautiful as the fully bloomed golden *keraki* flower, Kṛṣṇa, the player of the flute, the slayer of the demon Agha, with a beautiful garland of forest-flowers on his chest, is always the enchanter of his friends [Rūpa, *BRS*.III.3.4.].<sup>48</sup> In some places other than Vraja, Kṛṣṇa may manifest himself in his four-armed majestic form [Rūpa, *BRS*.III.3.5.].

Rūpa asserts that in *preyān*, Kṛṣṇa has all the qualities in their best form appropriate for pure friendship. Accordingly, Rūpa says that Kṛṣṇa is beautifully dressed in *preyān*. With all the auspicious marks on his body, he is physically stronger than anyone else; he is well versed in different strange languages and eloquent in his speech. Kṛṣṇa is a great scholar; an unmeasurable meritorious and skilful person; he is compassionate by nature and the crest jewel of the heroes. He is intelligent, intellectual, forgiven by nature, beloved of the people, prosperous, self-contented, the foremost in everything, and equipped with all possible best qualities beneficial for friendship [Rūpa, *BRS*.III.3.6-7].<sup>49</sup> All these qualities of Kṛṣṇa are supernatural as well as eternal.

Rūpa maintains that Kṛṣṇa should be considered as the most perfect (*pūrṇatama*) in Gokula (the pasture land or Vraja), second most perfect (*pūrṇatara*) in Mathurā and third most perfect (*pūrṇa*) in Dvārakā and other cities [*BRS*.II.1.223]. Rūpa says that in *preyān*, Kṛṣṇa is also able to be the object of friendly love in forms other than his own [*BRS*.II.1.17]. Accordingly, in *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* II.1.18, we find Kṛṣṇa as the

object of friendly love of Baladeva after taking the forms of cows, calves and cowherd boys.<sup>50</sup>

Rūpa asserts that in most situations, Kṛṣṇa is a brave and sportive type of hero (*dhīralalita nāyaka*) in *preyan* as in other *rasas* [BRS.II.1.232]. According to Karmapūra, Kṛṣṇa is always a brave and sportive (*dhīralalita*) kind of hero in Vraja [AK,173].<sup>51</sup> This suggests that for friendship in Vraja (Vraja sakhya) he is always a *dhīralalita* hero, but in other places he may appear otherwise. For example, in Rūpa's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* II.1.234, we find Kṛṣṇa as an advisor of duty to Yudhiṣṭhira, Kṛṣṇa's city-friend (*purahskhi*). Thus he appears as brave and spiritually calm (*dhīrasānta*).

b) The friends of Kṛṣṇa as the subject-determinant (*āsrāyalambana*):

Generally speaking, the comrades of Kṛṣṇa are the subjects (*āsrāya*) of *preyān*. Rūpa calls them Kṛṣṇa *vayasyas*, the friends of Kṛṣṇa of his own age. For Jīva, they are *mitras*, the associates who have the conceit that they are the friends of Kṛṣṇa [Rūpa, BRS.III.3.3. and Jīva, PS,253,539].<sup>52</sup>

Rūpa maintains that these friends are equal to Kṛṣṇa in beauty, dress, qualities and all other respects. Their spontaneous loving relationship with Kṛṣṇa is unconditional. There is no obstacle to the free growth of their loving service. Here, in *preyān*, their love is full of trust and confidence and devoid of reverence and feeling of Kṛṣṇa's superiority present in the devotional sentiment of loving servitude [BRS.III.3.8. and Jīva's commentary on it].<sup>53</sup> While rendering their loving service to Kṛṣṇa, the friends look upon him as their equal in every respect and never hesitate to have their own

services reciprocated in a similar way by their loving friend Kṛṣṇa himself. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja cites the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* X.10.24 to show that when Kṛṣṇa was defeated in a game, he had to carry his friend Śrīdāman on his shoulders [CC.II.19.206].<sup>54</sup>

All the friends of Kṛṣṇa have been divided by Rūpa into two broad camps according to their location: 1) Those who are related to Kṛṣṇa in his urban life (*purasambandhins*) and 2) those who are related to him in his rural life in Vraja (*vraja sambandhins*). The first group includes Arjuna, Bhīmasena, Draupadī, the brahmin friend Śrīdāman and the like. Arjuna is the best friend among these residents of city [BRS.III.3,10-13]. Between these two groups of friends, the residents of Vraja hold the main place. They have the privilege of enjoying eternal constant companionship with Kṛṣṇa. They always roam with him. Even a momentary separation from Kṛṣṇa makes them miserable because, they consider Kṛṣṇa as their very life [BRS.III.3.16].<sup>55</sup>

As viewed by Rūpa, the friends of Kṛṣṇa in the pasture land (in Vraja) may be *suhṛt* (benefactors), *sakhi* (companions), *priya sakhi* (dear friends), and *priyanarma vayasya* (bosom friends), according to differences in age, circumstances, or the depth and nature of love they maintain for Kṛṣṇa.<sup>56</sup> There is an extensive list of their names, duties and characteristics in the *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*. The friends termed *suhṛt* are a little older than Kṛṣṇa in age and therefore their friendly love has a touch of tender affection (*vātsalyagandhin*) for Kṛṣṇa. They always carry weapons to protect Kṛṣṇa from harmful persons. Among all the friends in the *suhṛt* group Balabhadra and Maṇḍalibhadra are the most loyal [BRS.III.3.22-25]. The friends of the *sakhi* group, being a little younger than Kṛṣṇa in age, are like younger brothers to him. Their



friendship towards Kṛṣṇa has a little touch of adoration (*prītigandhin*) or loving servitude. They are always eager to serve Kṛṣṇa in some way or other. Among the *sakhis* Devaprastha is the most prominent [Rūpa, *BRS*.III.3.30-33].

Rūpa maintains that the friends of the *priyasakhi* groups are equal in age with Kṛṣṇa, therefore they are the abode of pure friendship (*kevala sakhya*). Most of the well-known friends of Kṛṣṇa such as Śrīdāman, Sudāman etc. fall in this group. The friends of the *priya sakhi* group always try to amuse Kṛṣṇa through various sports and pastimes such as mock-fight etc. They tease him, embrace him, give him companionship in sleep and waking. The chief of these friends is Śrīdāman [*BRS*.III.3.36-40]. The position of the *priyanarma vayasya* group, the most intimate group of friends is far better than were any former groups. Because, the friends in this group help Kṛṣṇa in his most secret intimate affairs. They possess a special kind of friendly love towards Kṛṣṇa which in *Ujjvalanīlamanī* Rūpa describes as *sakhibhava*, the emotional attitude similar to that of a female friend [*UN*.II.23]. Among all the friends in this group Subala and Ujjvala are the most powerful assistants of Kṛṣṇa [*BRS*.III.3.43-45].

Jīva's classification of the friends into two groups is purely from the psychological point of view. He divides them broadly into two groups: 1) *suhṛt*, the benefactors as well as well-wishers, who cherish love for Kṛṣṇa in the form of fondness of doing some good to him disinterestedly; and 2) *sakhi*, the friendly comrades, who seek Kṛṣṇa's constant companionship. The friends in the last group are most intimate comrades who walk and play with Kṛṣṇa [*PS*,253]. The first group, *suhṛt* may include relatives (*sambandhin*) or unconditional well-wishers [*PS*,261]. In Jīva's division Bhīma and

Draupadī are *suhṛt* whereas Arjuna is *sakhi*. Rūpa has shown no difference of friendly love among Bhīma and Arjuna, or among Draupadī and Arjuna in the context of the city, but has instead shown differences between friends in the Vraja context. Jīva again shows three subdivisions in the *sakhi* group: *sakhi* (companions), *priya sakhi* (dear friends) and *priyanarma sakhi* (intimate playmates or bosom friends) similar to Rūpa's *sakhi*, *priya sakhi* and *priyanarma vayasya*. In other respects their views are similar. According to Jīva, among all these friends (*sakhi*) Śrīdāman and the like are the most praise-worthy owing to their charming intimate companionship with Kṛṣṇa [PS,540]. Jīva maintains that Dāman, Sudāman, Vasudāman and Kiṅkiṇi - these four friends -, mentioned by Rūpa in the *priya sakhi* context, should be considered also in the *priyanarma sakhi* context. They are eligible to be included among all the groups of the friends because they are the "very heart of Kṛṣṇa." In this regard, Jīva cites from the *Gautamīya Tantra* to assert that these four friends should be worshipped as identical with Kṛṣṇa [Jīva on *BRS.III.3.36*].<sup>57</sup>

While enumerating the names and groups of the friends, Jīva is very particular to show his authentic scriptural sources: the *Mahābhārata*, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, the *Āgamas* and the *Gautamīya Tantra* [PS,539]. Rūpa, on the other hand, without mentioning his scriptural sources simply says that all these friends are well-known in the scriptures as well as among the common people [*BRS.III.3.52*].<sup>58</sup>

According to Rūpa, all the friends of Kṛṣṇa may fall into three categories: 1) *nitya priyas*, the eternal beloved friends of Kṛṣṇa; 2) *suracaras*, the friends who were gods in their previous birth; and 3) *sādhakas* (the souls who have graduated from the

conditioned state), the friends who have attained success as Kṛṣṇa's friend through worship. Among the first category the friends of Vraja are the most beloved comrades (*preṣṭha*) of Kṛṣṇa [BRS.III.3.53]. Rūpa further maintains that all these friends are nice and sweet by nature. Some of them amuse Kṛṣṇa through their fickleness. Some, sober by nature, give him advice like ministers. One may please Kṛṣṇa by his naivety, while another surprises him with his opposition or debates with him. All of them are beloved by Kṛṣṇa [BRS.III.3.54-56].

2. The *uddīpana vibhāvas*, the enhancing excitants:

The *uddīpana vibhāvas*, the enhancing excitants, foster the permanent emotion. According to Rūpa, in all the *bhakti rasas*, Kṛṣṇa's qualities (*guṇa*), exploits (*ceṣṭā*), dress and ornaments (*prasādhana*), smile (*smita*), fragrance (*saurabha*) of the body, footprints, places of sports and so on, serve as the common enhancing excitants [BRS.II.1.301-2]. Rūpa maintains that for *preyān*, Kṛṣṇa's (youthful) age, beauty, horn, flute, conch, pastimes, humour (*narma*), deeds of valour, extraordinary qualities, his beloved ones, Kṛṣṇa's games of "make-believe" - all these should be considered as the special *uddīpanas* [BRS.III.3.57].<sup>59</sup>

Jīva asserts that in *bhakti rasa*, all the characteristics of Kṛṣṇa, which manifest his eligibility of becoming the object of love, are regarded as the *uddīpanas* due to their power of stimulating the emotions [PS, 375-6]. He shows his own analytical method in his classification of all the *uddīpanas* into five categories: a) qualities, b) species or class (*jāni*) as opposed to the individual, c) action (*kriyā*), d) individual substance (*dravya*) and e) time (*kāla*) [PS,376].

Both Rūpa and Jīva agree that the enhancing qualities may be physical, mental and verbal [Rūpa, *BRS.II.1.303*; Jīva, *PS,376*]. Rūpa says that the physical qualities such as age, beauty, tenderness and others, are really inseparable from Kṛṣṇa, being part of his very nature. Therefore these qualities are basically considered as the substantial determinants. However, when considered separately from Kṛṣṇa, these are enumerated as the enhancing excitants [*BRS.II.1.305*].<sup>60</sup> Jīva maintains that the enhancing qualities are encompassing Kṛṣṇa's manifested friendly dispositions (*abhivyakta mitra bhāvanā*), naivety, gratefulness, intellect, prowess, strength, forgiveness, compassion, quality of being beloved of the people, beauty of his physique as well as of his (youthful) age, all the excellent auspicious marks on his body etc. Jīva says that naivety and other innate qualities play the prominent part in the *sauhrdamaya* variety of *preyān*, the *rasa* of friendly benevolence, whereas in the *sakhyamaya* variety, the *rasa* of intimate companionship, these innate qualities are mixed with Kṛṣṇa's beauty and intellectual qualities like his proficiency in the arts and sports etc. In the mixed variety of *preyān*, where *sauhrda* and *sakhya* are blended together, all the qualities would appear to be mingled together in appropriate proportions [*PS,540-411*].

Regarding Kṛṣṇa's friendship, compassion and other qualities, Jīva quotes extensively from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. He shows Kṛṣṇa's intimate comradeship, friendly affection (*maitrī*) and benevolence for Arjuna on the occasion of the lamentation of Arjuna in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* I.15.4. Similarly, Kṛṣṇa's friendly affection and compassion for his cowherd friends have been shown with illustrations from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* X.13.13,16 and X.15.52 [*PS,541,554*].

The second type of *uddīpana* in Jīva's system is *jāti*, which comprises properties peculiar to a species. It has two categories: a) attributes relating to Kṛṣṇa such as Kṛṣṇa's characteristic as a cowherd or as a member of the *kṣatriya* caste, or his peculiarities in his infancy, boyhood or adolescence etc.; and b) those attributes connected with his beloved ones like cows and cowherd boys [PS,415]. Kṛṣṇa's being really a *kṣatriya* is chiefly the *uddīpana* in the *sauhrda maya* variety. His being reared as a cowherd (*gopa*) is chiefly the *uddīpana* in the *sakhyamaya rasa* [PS,543].

Action (*kriyā*), the third type of enhancing excitant, consists of Kṛṣṇa's beatific sport (*līlā*) which has two varieties: 1) the sport of Kṛṣṇa's intrinsic energy (*antarāṅgā śakti*) and 2) the sport of his extrinsic energy (*bahirāṅgā śakti*). The sport of Kṛṣṇa's intrinsic energy sometimes displays his majestic properties (*aiśvarya*) or sometimes his sweetness (*mādhurya*); or sometimes both majestic properties and sweetness act to nourish one other [PS,417]. Among all the actions of enhancing excitants, Kṛṣṇa's deeds of prowess (*vikrānti*) etc. play a major role in the *rasa* of friendly benevolence; but for the *sakhyamaya*, Kṛṣṇa's humorous functions (*narma*), singing, speaking different languages, calling cows loudly, playing on the flute and other musical instruments, sports appropriate for childhood, boyhood and adolescence, are considered as the prominent enhancing excitants [PS,543-5].

Jīva maintains that substance (*dravya*) in the context of *uddīpanas* consists of Kṛṣṇa's clothes adornments, conchshell, disc (*cakra*) horn, flute, stick, nearest and dearest ones and so on [PS,546]. Citing from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Jīva shows that sometimes Kṛṣṇa dresses himself up as a cowherd [Bh.X.21.19] or as a wrestler

[*Bh.X.35.6*], or sometimes as an excellent dancer and actor (*nata*) [*Bh.X.23.22*], and also as a king or a dutiful householder [*Bh.X.15.45*].

In rural Vraja Kṛṣṇa, as an excellent imitator, puts on all these five kinds of garments appropriate for the occasions. At Dvārakā (Kṛṣṇa's capital city) in particular situations, he is more often dressed up as a king. In both village and city, Kṛṣṇa sometimes appears as a householder, wearing upper and lower garments [*PS 545-46*].

Time (*kāla*) implies auspicious lunar days for festive occasions such as Kṛṣṇa's birthday, particular times of the day (morning etc.) and specific seasons of the year conducive to certain sports. Citing the *Bhāgavata Purāna* [*Bh.X.20.25-31*], Jīva points out to the role of the rainy season as the *uddīpana* in the *rasa* of friendship in rural Vraja. This suggests his own preference for Vraja *sakhya* because this season is more agreeable in rural life than in city life. The verses from the *Bhāgavata Purāna*, as quoted by Jīva, show that the rainy season is the nourisher of the forests and pasture lands. Therefore, it is beneficial for the cows and the cowherd boys. All the inhabitants of the forest (*vanaukas*) become exulted with joy. The trees are laden with ripe dates and rose-apples (*jambu*) and therefore Kṛṣṇa, surrounded by cows, cowherd boys and Balarāma, enters into the forest for sporting. In this season, sometimes when it rains, Kṛṣṇa and his friends take shelter under a tree or enter a cave and sport joyously eating bulbs, roots and fruits. Sometimes they sit on a slab of stone near water and eat rice mixed with curd. Thus this rainy season seems to be more delightful and comfortable for the boys of Vraja. These playful boys just like the birds and the beasts of the forest become part of nature itself. Therefore, in all respects, the rainy season is a more

appropriate time for Vraja friendship than city friendship.

Rūpa Gosvāmin maintains that in *preyān*, Kṛṣṇa's age may be childhood (*kaumāra* = infancy up to five years), boyhood (*paugāṇḍa* = up to ten years) or adolescence (*kaiśora* = up to fifteen years) [BRS.III.3.58]. However, boyhood is considered by Rūpa as the best age for friendship being suitable for most of the friendly sports [BRS.II.1.310]. We have to understand that adolescence of Kṛṣṇa is also appropriate for *preyan* as for all other *rasas* because Rūpa asserts that for almost all of the devotees, Kṛṣṇa remains eternally in his adolescence. Therefore, Rūpa admits that for this reason, nowhere in the *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* has he tried to show the beauty of Kṛṣṇa in his manhood [BRS.III.3.80].<sup>61</sup>

Rūpa says that Kṛṣṇa's childhood and boyhood are found only in the pasture-land but his adolescence is common both to cities and to pasture-land. Rūpa subdivides Kṛṣṇa's adolescence into three periods as *ādya*, the commencement, *madhya*, the middle, and *śeṣa*, the end [BRS.II.1.312]. Rūpa minutely describes all the characteristics of the beauty and the decorations of Kṛṣṇa at different ages in *preyān*. For example, Rupa shows Kṛṣṇa's childhood in *preyān* by citing the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* [X.13.11]. Here, Kṛṣṇa, as a child, is carrying his flute inside the cloth covering his stomach, with a horn and a stick under his armpits, a handful of oily curd-mixed rice in his left palm, and in between his finger, he is carrying different fruits. Sitting in the midst of his friends, he is amusing them with his humorous deeds. All the denizens of heavens are surprised, looking at this wonderful childish beatific sport of Kṛṣṇa, the divine child [BRS.III.3.60].

B. Anubhāvas, the ensuants:

In the *Nāṛyaśāstra*, *anubhāvas*, the ensuants, are the expressions of the mental states by means of verbal as well as bodily acting [NS.VII.5]. Therefore the ensuants may be identified with bodily expressions including vocal expressions which show the mental states produced by the determinants. For Kaṇapūra, the determinants, which make the emotions capable of being relished, are the causes of the stimulation of the emotions, whereas the ensuants are the consequents, the results, of that stimulation [AK,115]. Both Rūpa and Jīva maintain that the ensuants are the expressions which follow and strengthen an emotion and comprise its outward manifestation [BRS.II.2.1; PS,431]. In other words, these are really the outward expressions of the inward feelings. These manifestations include different kinds of actions such as dancing, singing and throwing ones arms about. Although some actions are counted among the enhancing excitants as well as the ensuants, we have to understand that the actions related to the object of the emotion should be considered as the enhancing excitants whereas, those related to the subject are the ensuants. Rūpa divides all the ensuants into two categories: *śītas* (cold or mild) with mild bodily movements, and *kṣepaṇas* (lively) like dancing etc. which need more lively movements [BRS.II.2.3.].

In *preyān*, as Rūpa says, various friendly sports and pastimes such as mock-fights with bare hands, playing with hand balls, playing with dice, carrying one other on the shoulders, amusing Kṛṣṇa by fighting with him with sticks, sharing the same bed, seat or swing with Kṛṣṇa, plesantry, roaming together, water-sports, singing and dancing together are the common ensuants for all friends [BRS.III.3.86-8]. However, according to Jīva, unrestricted actions of love - various kinds of play, singing, playing on flutes,



practicing of fine arts together, eating, sitting and lying together, making jokes, secret activities, talking in private and so on - are the ensuants of intimate comradeship [PS,547]. Rūpa and Jīva agree that telling Kṛṣṇa what is right and wrong thereby inspiring him to do what is good for himself, conversing with a smile, doing something for Kṛṣṇa's welfare without any selfish-motive etc. are the ensuants of friendly benevolence [Rūpa, BRS.III.3.90; Jiva, PS,547].

Rūpa maintains that bestowing betels into the mouth, decorating Kṛṣṇa's forehead with beautiful motifs, besmearing his body with sandal pastes, drawing leafy motifs on his body with saffron or red ointments (*Kuṅkuma*) and so on are the actions of the companions (*sakhi*). However to defeat Kṛṣṇa in a friendly fight, to draw him by the clothes, to take away flowers and other things from his hands by force, to be decorated by Kṛṣṇa himself, to draw each other by the hands etc. are the actions of the dear friends (*priya sakhi*). To assist Kṛṣṇa in secret affairs as a messenger, to support the group leader (*yuthes'vari*) of his chosen group of the *gopīs* (cowherd girls), to converse with Kṛṣṇa in private and to support him in his love-quarrels - all these are the actions of the bosom friends [BRS.III.3.91.94]. Rūpa says that some actions are common both to friends and to loving servants of Kṛṣṇa such as decorating Kṛṣṇa with ornaments of wild-flowers and jewels, amusing Kṛṣṇa by dancing, singing and playing on different musical instruments, nursing his cattle, massaging his body, stringing garlands for him and also fanning him [BRS.III.3.95-6].

Jīva gives the illustrations of the ensuants from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* depicting the companionship in Vraja:

When Kṛṣṇa was dancing, some (of his friends) sang, some played on flutes or blew their horns and others applauded and cheered him up... Sometimes, while other friends were dancing, Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma sang personally, played on musical instruments and cheered them up saying "well done, well done". Sometime they would play with an wood-apple (*bilva*), sometime with a *kumbha* fruit [Bh.X.18.10,13,14 in PS,548].<sup>62</sup>

Some of these ensuants have been depicted beautifully by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in his *Govindalīlāmṛta*:

The cowherd friends are dancing, singing, laughing, jumping, amusing each other, falling down together on the ground and making humorous jokes. These boys are in every way like young elephants free from their bondage. Some of these friends imitate Kṛṣṇa's different acts - how he stays near his mother with steadfast eyes; how he looks at the young damsels with playful eyes and so on [VI 4,5].<sup>63</sup>

All the ensuants, discussed by us, are also termed as *udbhāsvaras*, the radiants ("the highly manifested"), by Rupa and Jiva to differentiate them from the *sātvika bhāvas*, the spontaneous expressions.

C. The *sātvika bhāvas*:

The *sātvika bhāvas*, spontaneous expressions, are a class of eight so called *bhāvas* holding a middle position between the permanent emotions and the auxiliary feelings. Although named as *bhāvas*, emotions, the *sātvikas* are not really emotions; they are, instead, the external manifestations of the emotions. Jīva Gosvāmin divides all the ensuants into two classes: *udbhāsvaras*, the radiants, and *sātvikas*, the spontaneous expressions or the inner symptoms. Thus, for Jīva, *sātvikas* are one kind of the ensuants. However, Rūpa recognizes only the *udbhāsvaras* as the ensuants; and for him

*sāttvikas* are quite different from the ensuants,

In spite of the fact that both the *udbhāsvaras* as well as the *sāttvikas* are regarded as external signs of internal feelings, there is a subtle distinction between the two. Both originate from the inner emotions (*bhavaja*) but the *udbhāsvaras* comprise outward manifestations (*bahirvikriyāprāya*) like dancing, singing, throwing hands about and so on which need bodily efforts through movements [BRS.II.2.1-3]. Therefore, Jīva says that the *udbhāsvaras* are mostly the expressions through external acts (*bahisṣeṣṭāprāyasādhyā*) [PS,431].

The *sāttvikas*, according to Rūpa, spring from *sattva*, the mind totally absorbed by the feeling towards Kṛṣṇa, directly or indirectly, therefore, these are the direct involuntary expressions of the internal virtue [BRS.II.3.1-2].<sup>64</sup> This becomes more clear through Jīva's commentary on Rūpa's statement. Jīva maintains that the *sāttvikas* are only from the *sattva*, the mind completely seized by the emotional feeling (*sattvat kevalā*). Therefore, no external efforts from the body or from the intellect (*buddhi*) are needed for their manifestations. The *udbhāsvaras* such as dancing on the other hand, in spite of their origin from the same *sattva*, need external efforts and the inspiration through the intellect whereas, *sāttvikas*, like stupor, etc, spring spontaneously without any effort whatsoever from the body or the intellect.<sup>65</sup> Therefore, Rūpa Gosvāmin defines the *sāttvikas* as *bhāvas*, the emotional expressions, but not as the emotional actions (*kriyā*). He argues that when mind (*citta*), as a result of its being seized by feelings toward Kṛṣṇa (*sattvībhavāt*), becomes agitated and thereby surrenders itself into the vital air (*prāṇa*), then that vital air in its turn, being agitated causes the agitation of

the entire body including its constituent elements such as earth, water, fire etc. At that moment, when the intellect and all other powers of the body are totally overwhelmed, *sātrvikas*, the indicators of that overwhelming condition, spring as involuntary expressions of the inner feelings, uncontrollable by the subject [BRS.II.3.15]. On the other hand, the *udbhāsvaras* as voluntary active expressions inspired by the intellect, are controllable by the subject.

Now, from the evidence of the above discussion we may conclude that both Rūpa and Jīva with their analytical method seem to be clear enough to show the difference between the *udbhāsvaras* and the *sātrvikas*. Therefore, it is difficult for me to agree with Dr. S.K. De's opinion regarding Jīva, that the distinction between the *udbhāsvaras* and the *sātrvikas* is not clearly made out.<sup>66</sup>

All the eight *sātrvika bhāvas* (recognized already by the classical rhetoricians) - stupor, perspiration, thrill of the body (*romañca*), breaking voice, trembling, change of colour, tears and loss of consciousness or death - are appropriate for the *rasa* of friendship as and when the occasion arises. Jīva cites the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* X.16.10 to show that loss of consciousness is more appropriate for companionship (*sakhya*). Here, on seeing Kṛṣṇa caught by the serpent, his friends became unconscious through grief. However, the same verse [Bh.X.16.10] has been quoted by Rūpa as an illustration of the pathetic *rasa*, but not as that of friendship [BRS.IV.4.8]. Jīva points out that the loss of consciousness, which generally suggests total inaction, in the context of Kṛṣṇa *rati*, suggests the cessation of outward actions only but not the inward feeling for Kṛṣṇa as well [PS,432].

As observed by Dr. S.K. De, Rūpa is extremely original in his classification of the *sātvikas* according to the nature of the permanent emotion and its relation to Kṛṣṇa. Rūpa classifies these as 1) tender (*snigdha*) which may be connected with Kṛṣṇa directly, or indirectly, 2) saturated (*digdha*) and 3) harsh (*rukṣa*) [BRSII.3.2-3].

The *sātvikas* in *preyān* are naturally tender and direct, because these originate from the mind captured directly by the primary emotion of friendship toward Kṛṣṇa. Therefore, these *sātvikas* are directly connected with Kṛṣṇa [BRS.II.3.4.]. Now, in *preyān*, the *sātvikas* may be smouldering (*dhūmāyita*) when only one *sātvika* is present (as in BRS.III.3.97), or flaming (*jvalita*) when two or three are present; or burning (*dīpta*) when four or five *sātvikas* are present (as in BRS.III.3.100); or brightly burning (*uddīpta*) when six to eight *sātvikas* are present at a time [BRS.II.3.80].

D. *vyabhicāri bhāvas*, the auxiliary feelings:

The auxiliary feelings are also known as *sañcāri bhāvas* due to their more or less transitory nature. These are really subsidiary feelings which accompany the permanent (dominant) emotion. The word *vyabhicārin* with *vi* and *abhi* as prefixes and the root *car* meaning to go or move, means those mental states which in a variety of ways move towards the principal emotion and play the part of the accessories. These auxiliary feelings sometimes interrupt the flow of the progress of the permanent emotion but finally contribute to its nourishment making it stronger. Rūpa maintains that if the permanent emotion is the ocean of nectar, the auxiliary feelings are its waves which contribute to its charm [BRS.II.4.3.]. These feelings are also manifested through the ensuants (including *sātvikas*). For Rūpa, the auxiliary feelings are named as *sañcārin*

(wandering and impelling) because they give momentum (*gati*) to the permanent emotion [BRS.II.4.2].

These auxiliary feelings are generally thirty-three in number: self-disparagement, despondency, depression, debility, weariness, intoxication, arrogance, apprehension, alarm, flurry, madness, dementedness, sickness, distraction, death, indolence, stupefaction, shame, dissembling, recollection, doubt, reflection, resolve, equanimity, joy, longing, sternness, impatience of opposition, envy, unsteadiness, drowsiness, dreaming and awakening [BRS.II.4.4-6]. All except sternness, alarm and indolence are suitable for *preyān* [BRS.III.3.102]. Rūpa holds that among the remaining thirty auxiliary feelings, intoxication, joy, arrogance, drowsiness and equanimity are not accepted in friendship in separation (*ayoga*), whereas, in friendship in union (*yoga*) death, weariness sickness, dementedness and depression should be avoided (BRS.III.3.103).

E. The *sthāyibhāva*, the permanent dominant emotion.

The *Daśarūpaka* of Dhanañjaya maintains that the permanent emotion is so called because it cannot be terminated by contradictory or non-contradictory emotions, instead it makes all other emotions subservient to its own nature, as the ocean with its saline nature renders salty everything which comes into its contact [IV.34].<sup>67</sup> This view, already accepted by the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* and by Rūpa, has been echoed by Jiva in his *Prīti Sandarbha* [PS,338].

Among all the ingredients or components of *rasa*, the permanent emotion is the main one. In the words of Bharata, as king is to his subjects, teacher is to his disciples,

so is *sthāyibhāva* to other constituents of *rasa* [NS.VII.8]. Karmapūra says: "As all other components - the determinants, the ensuants and the auxiliary feelings - contribute towards the development of the permanent emotion, the root of the sapling of relishment (*āsvāda*), the permanent emotion transforms itself into *rasa*" [AK,120]. Karmapūra holds that for the manifestation of *rasa*, the permanent emotion is the material cause (*samavāyikāraṇa*), the determinants are the instrumental cause (*nimitta kāraṇa*) and the transformation of the permanent emotion into *rasa* is the accidental cause (*asamavayikāraṇa*) [AK,121]. Karmapūra further explains that the permanent emotion, the root cause of the relish, is in reality an inexplicable virtue of the mind, when mind is in its state of pure consciousness (*śuddha sattva*) from where all *tamas*, the quality of dullness, and *rajas*, the active quality (the energy stuff), have been totally relegated. Although its nature is always the same, the permanent emotion becomes different due to the differences of the determinants [AK,121-22].<sup>68</sup>

In *preyān*, the permanent emotion is friendly disposition towards Kṛṣṇa. This is termed as *sakhya* (by Rūpa) or *maitrī* (by Jīva). This dominating love keeps other emotions under its control. For Karmapūra, this friendly feeling, *sakhya*, is a variety of love (*rati*) named *prīti*, where consummation is not the aim (*asamprayogaviṣayā rati*). Being a *rati* (love), it makes the mind melt and purges it of its impurities and hardness. In its experience the mind is totally engrossed in "supreme pleasure" [AK,124]. Rūpa holds that the love or emotional attachment (*rati*) between two almost equal persons, which is full of confidence and devoid of reverence, is *sakhya* [BRS.III.3.105].<sup>69</sup> In the *bhakti* context, those associates who are equal to Kṛṣṇa in all respects are his friends

(*sakhi*) and their emotional attachment towards their friend Kṛṣṇa is called *sakhyā* [BRS.II.5.30].<sup>70</sup> Jīva's commentary explains it further: "equals means those who have the loving conceit of being his equals. Their emotional attachment due to their belief in Kṛṣṇa as their equal, is full of trust and confidence and also devoid of reverence and feeling of his superiority" [Jiva on BRS.II.5.30]. Therefore this is a love of an unconstrained nature [BRS.III.3.106],<sup>71</sup> which differentiates it from the loving servitude. This being a love between two equals, jesting and even mocking etc. are possible here. As Rūpa illustrates in the *Bhaktirasāmṛta sindhu* II.5.32, friends are mocking Kṛṣṇa for his false vanity.

Jīva maintains that in their friendly love Kṛṣṇa's associates nourish one particular kind of conceit - the conceit of being a friend (*mitratvābhimāna*) - thinking "Kṛṣṇa is my equal in his sweet lovable nature (*śīla*) and he is the abode of unconditional special intimate friendship for me" [PS,253]. Jīva also says that this friendly love is sometimes restricted by the consciousness of Kṛṣṇa's majestic power (*aiśvarya*) as in the case of Kṛṣṇa's brahmin friend Śrīdāman and the like. Sometimes this love restricts that consciousness as in the case of Arjuna etc. In both these cases, there is a blending of the knowledge of Kṛṣṇa's sovereignty, which produces the emotion of awe, with friendly love. Therefore, these are not really the cases of pure (*śuddha*) friendly love. On the other hand, the friendly love of the cowherd boys is pure and unmixed and not distorted by any other emotion [PS,550].

Jīva has shown two sub-varieties of *maitrī*: friendly benevolence (*sauhrda* or *sauhrdaya*) and companionship (*sakhyā*). He has his illustrations in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*



[X.71.27 for *sauhr̥dyā*; and X.58.13, X.12.2,6 and X.14.45 for *sakhya*]. From the evidence of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Jīva points out that in *sakhya*, Kṛṣṇa is the very life of his friends: After seeing Kṛṣṇa captured by a big crane, children like Balarāma became stupefied, as if the organs and senses of his body had been deprived of vital breath [*Bh.X.11.49*].<sup>72</sup>

Karṇapūra for whom friendly disposition is a love of non-consummation, is more analytical in his specification of friendly love. he classifies it into *pr̥itī*, *maitrī* and *sauhārda*. For him *pr̥itī* means friendship between two persons of the opposite sex where the question of consummation does not arise. This *pr̥itī*, although a spiritual kind (*manovrttimayī*) of love, is also a relational (*sambandharupā*) friendship as we find between Draupadī and Kṛṣṇa. The object of this kind of friendly love may be the wife of a friend or the husband of a friend [AK,125]. It seems to suggest that for Karṇapūra and kindred authors, some kind of social sanction in the form of relationship is necessary for admitting a regular kind of friendship between two persons of the opposite sex. This may be the view of Rūpa also, who puts Draupadī's love towards Kṛṣṇa in the context of *preyān* where devotional love is relational (*sambandharupā*) for him. However, Rūpa never considers the friendly love of the *sakhīs*, the female friends of Vraja, as the permanent emotion in *preyān*. Because their friendship for Kṛṣṇa is not relational but self-willed (*kamarupā*) and extraordinary, which transcends all limits of social norms and injunctions. It is a blend of friendship and romantic love which we would rather term as romantic friendship. Therefore, Rūpa never tries to put it in the category of pure normal friendship. Instead he deals with this *sakhībhāva* as an excitant of *madhura*,

romantic love.

According to Kaṇapūra, *maitrī* is the friendly affection between two persons of the same sex. It is a friendship between two female friends (*sakhi*) or between two male friends. In this friendship physical touch such as embrace and so on is acceptable. On the other hand, *sauhārda*, friendly benevolence, being unchanging by nature, remains the same on all occasions [AK,126].

In the *madhura* context of the *Ujjvala Nīlamanī Rūpa* has shown us the difference between *maitrī* and *sakhya*. He says that when confidence is blended with reverence or in other words, when friendship is characterized by humility, it is *maitrī*, whereas unconstrained confidence free from awe and reverence is the nature of *sakhya* [UN.XIV.111.114].

Thus far we have seen that regarding *maitrī* Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavas are not of the same opinion. For Jīva *maitrī* is friendly love in general; for Kaṇapūra, it is the friendship between persons of the same sex. Rūpa however, considers it as confidence blended with reverence.

Rūpa maintains that the permanent emotion of *preyān* may be exclusive (*kevalā*) being unmixed with any other emotions such as loving servitude or parental love, or mixed (*saṅkulā*), when it is mingled with other emotions. The love of Śrīdāman and other rural friends is of an exclusive kind, whereas Bhīma's love having a touch of tender affection (*vātsalya*) is of a mixed variety of friendship [BRS.II.5.25,26].

Now, *sakhya rati*, friendly love as pure devotion, is continuous, unconditional and uninterrupted. It increases gradually in intensity developing through different stages of

love. For Rūpa, the developing stages of love in *preyān* are five in number and their gradation is *rati* (nascent love), *praṇaya* (intimate love), *preman* (ardent love), *sneha* (affectionate tenderness), and *rāga* (passionate attachment). Among these stages the previous one contributes to the development of the succeeding one [BRS.III.3.106]. For Jīva, these stages are six in number and the gradation is not quite the same as in Rūpa: *rati* (nascent love), *preman* (ardent love), *praṇaya* (intimate love), *māna* (sulking), *sneha* (affectionate tenderness), and *rāga* (passionate attachment). Jīva keeps intimacy (*praṇaya*) and sulking in reserve for the companions and the lady-loves among all the associates of Kṛṣṇa. He also maintains that depending on the depth of intimacy, passionate love (*rāga*) becomes more intense in the companions (*sakhi*) [PS,268]. Jīva seems to be more psychologically correct in thinking that intimacy (*praṇaya*) is the outcome of ardent love. For both Rūpa and Jīva, the upper limit of the friendly love should be passionate attachment, but Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja holds that its upper limit is the stage of *anurāga*, transcendent attachment, where love is constant freshness. He thinks that for friends such as Subala and the like, whose friendly disposition is similar to that of the female friends (*sakhībhāva*), the upper limit should be *bhāva*, the supreme realization of holy love [CC.II.23.49]. Jīva maintains that among all these stages or degrees of love that which gives the mind extreme delight is called *rati* [PS,244]. Ardent love (*preman*) has been defined by Rūpa as emotional bondage (*bhāvabandhana*) [UN.XIV.63]. For Jīva, *preman*, the indestructible seed of love, causes a sense of attachment which regards the object of love as one's own. Ardent love full of trust and confidence in the object is called *praṇaya*, intimate love [PS,244]. While discussing

*preyān* Rūpa says that in intimate love, although Kṛṣṇa is worthy of reverence, there is a total absence of that reverence [BRS.III.3.108]. However, the same Rupa, in the context of *madhura* (romantic love) says that intimate love may be friendship (*maitrī*) in which confidence is blended with humility, or companionship (*sakhya*) free from apprehension. Now, this apparent contradiction seems to suggest that, in his view, for *preyān* only the *sakhya* kind of intimate love is admissible, whereas for *madhura* both are applicable.

In sulking (*māna*), intimate love assumes an appearance of crookedness (*kaṅṭhīya*) owing to the conceit of being extremely beloved of the object. When sulking arises, Kṛṣṇa, although he is God, is overcome with fear blended with ardent love owing to his friends' anger. Affectionate tenderness (*sneha*) causes the melting of the heart, which manifests itself through shedding tears and other ensuants. This affection apprehends danger for its object even without foundation [PS,246]. In this state, even a momentary separation from the beloved one is intolerable [BRS.III.2.84]. Jīva and Rūpa agree that affection in the form of eager longing for its object of desire is called *rāga*, passionate attachment. In this state, when united with the desired object, even great pain is felt as pleasure, and separation from the object, causes even great pleasure to be felt as pain. Consequently, in this state, friends of Kṛṣṇa may dedicate their lives for the pleasure of Kṛṣṇa [BRS.III.2.87; PS,247]. Rūpa as well as Jīva hold that transcendent attachment (*anurāga*) renders the beloved ever apparent [Rūpa, UN.XIV.146; Jiva, PS,247]. According to Rūpa, the supreme realization of holy love (*bhāva*) has the capacity to stir the hearts of all present [UN.XIV.154].

For Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, *sakhya* has three special qualities: trust and confidence, "mine-ness for the object" and believing Kṛṣṇa as one's equal [CC.II.19.222-223].

Rūpa maintains that the friends' love for another friend of Kṛṣṇa cannot be considered as the permanent emotion in *preyān*. Because these friends are not in themselves the objects of friendly love divorced from Kṛṣṇa. In *bhakti rasa*, the devotees' love for one another is an auxiliary feeling which nourishes their Kṛṣṇa *rati*, the permanent emotion. Therefore, Rūpa writes: "The love for a friend which is less than or equal to the love for Kṛṣṇa is an auxiliary feeling. If this love is greater than the love for Kṛṣṇa, then it is called *bhāvollāsa*, the delightful state of an emotion" [BRS.II.5.128].

### III. Classification of *preyān* or *maitrīmaya rasa*:

Jīva's *maitrīmaya* has two subdivisions: *sauhṛdamaya* where friends are benefactors and *sakhyamaya* where friends are companions.

According to Rūpa, Jīva and their followers, *preyān* in general falls into two categories: *ayoga* or *aprāpti*, friendship in non-union, and *yōga*, friendship in union. In the *bhakti* context *ayoga* means absence of union with Kṛṣṇa [BRS.III.2.94]. To be absorbed in thought regarding Kṛṣṇa and his qualities, to try to find out a way to meet Kṛṣṇa are the ensuants in *ayoga* friendship. This *ayoga* may be *utkaṇṭhita* when there is an ardent longing for seeing Kṛṣṇa who is yet unseen [BRS.III.2.96], or *viyoga*, separation, which occurs after the union with Kṛṣṇa [BRS.III.2.114]. In separation, the friendly emotion goes through ten stages (*daśa daśā*): 1) heat on the body (*tāpa*), 2)

thinness (*kr̥s̥ata*), 3) wakefulness (*jāgaryā*), 4) helplessness (*ālambana śūnyatā*), 5) unsteadiness (*adhṛti*),<sup>73</sup> 6) stupefaction (*jadatā*), 7) sickness (*vyādhi*), 8) madness (*unmāda*), 9) swooning (*mūrccita*) and 10) death. All these stages of friendship in separation are similar to those found in the case of *prīta rasa*, the *rasa* of loving servitude [*BRS.III.3.117* and *III.2.116*].

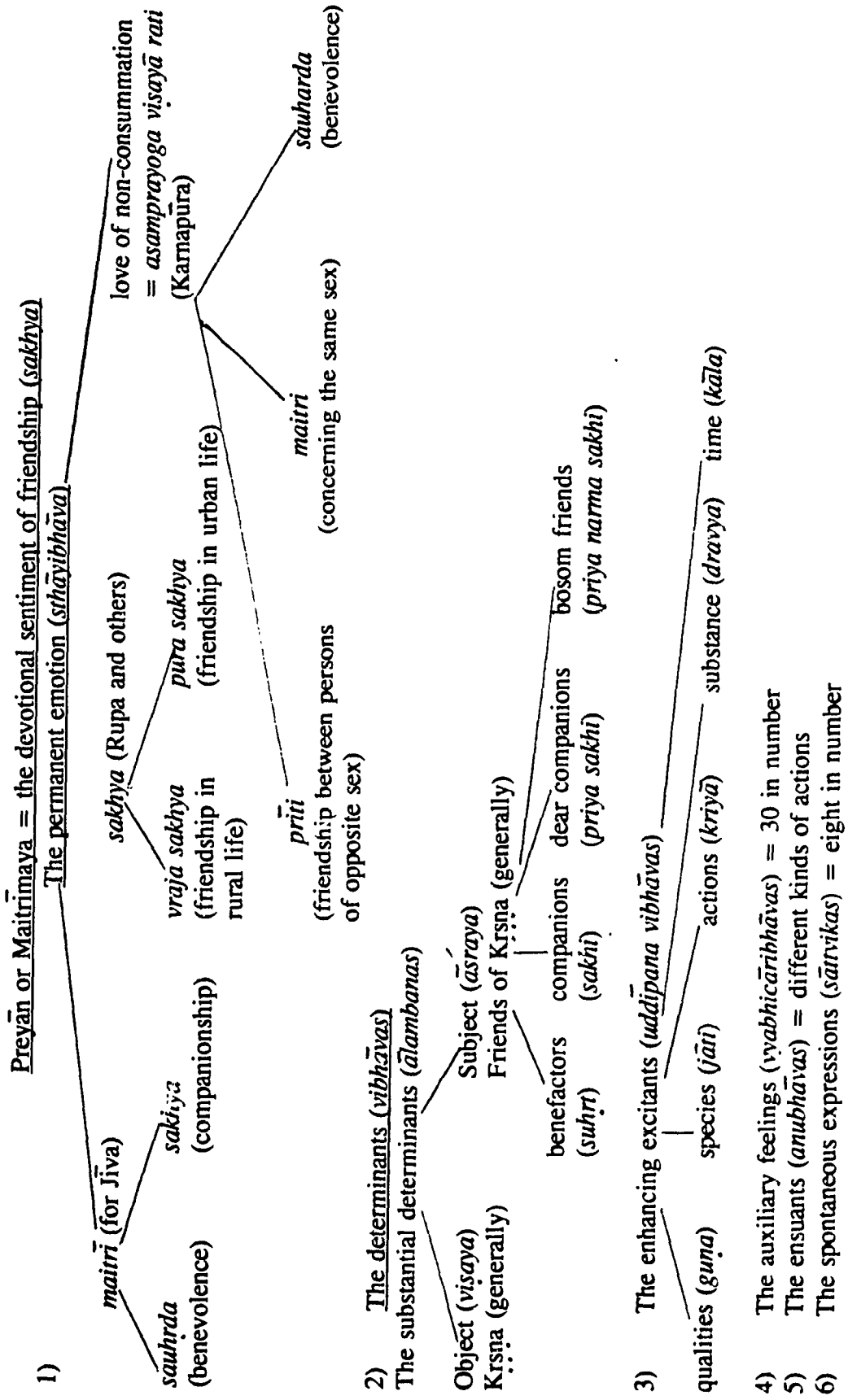
Rūpa gives us ample illustration to show all these stages of separation in friendship [*BRS.III.3.115-127*]. However, in his conclusion he says that he has shown these stages of separation in accordance with the manifested beatific sports (*prakāṣa līlā*) of Kṛṣṇa; in reality for the dwellers of Vraja there is no such separation from their beloved Kṛṣṇa [*BRS.III.3.128*]. In this context he gives evidence from the *Skanda Purāna* in support of this conclusion: "Kṛṣṇa is always playing in the forest of Vṛndā (in Vraja), with his cows and calves surrounded by Balarāma and other boys (his playmates)."<sup>74</sup> For Rūpa, Jīva and the like, Vraja *sakhya* is the pure sublime friendship. They have shown their favouritism all the time for the Vraja *sakhya* due to its being self-less, unmotivated totally dedicated pure love.

Union with Kṛṣṇa is called *yoga* which has in its turn three varieties: attainment of Kṛṣṇa after ardent longing, is called *sidhhi* (attainment) [*BRS.III.2.130*]; union after separation is *tusti* (contentment) [*BRS.III.2.133*]; and constant co-existence with Kṛṣṇa is named *sthiti* (stability) [*BRS.III.2.136*].

Our above discussion shows that although *preyān* as a *rasa* had received recognition by Rudraṭa in the ninth century C.E., it obtained its full-fledged shape in the concept of *sakhya bhakti* as a primary *rasa* of the Caitanya tradition. Accepting

devotional friendship as a primary *rasa*, the Vaiṣṇavas in the Caitanya tradition have given importance to friendship itself, and at the same time defied Abhinavagupta and others who consider *bhakti* as well as *sakhya* as emotions (*bhāvas*) only. The followers of the Caitanya tradition are not original in calling the devotional sentiment of friendship *preyān*. However, their contribution and originality are manifested in the exposition of *preyān* with all its paraphernalia and nuances in minute details. Their analytical insight into human psychology is shown in their classification of the friendly love into different categories. In this regard, they have demonstrated their profound knowledge of child psychology. The Vaiṣṇavas in the Caitanya tradition pay lip service to urban friendship, but all their love is for the friendship of rural Vraja where children are held to have more importance as friends than adults. In the Vraja context, children's imitation of the adult world shows how the boys look at the adults' world. The imagery of the Vraja friendship leads us to another world - the world of eternal enchanting boyhood -, the "second paradise" which one may regain through pure devotional friendship.

Diagram - 2





## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>S.K. De, *History of Sanskrit Poetics* (Calcutta:Firma KLM, 1960), 49-50

<sup>2</sup>Bhāmaha is generally considered as the oldest extant exponent of the Alamkāra school of poetics. He actually has used the term *preyas*. For the sake of consistency, I am using *preyān* all through my work.

<sup>3</sup>Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka* says: *tad yathā cātuṣu preyo'laṅkārasya vākyaṛthatvepi rasādayo'ṅgabhūtā drśyante/-*prose exposition (*vṛtti*) on II.5.

<sup>4</sup>*bhāmahena hi gurudevanṛpatiputraviṣayapṛītivarṇanam preyo'laṅkāra ityuktavā/-*Locana on *Dh.*II.5.

<sup>5</sup>*preyo grhāgataṃ kṛṣṇamavādid viduro yathā/adya yāmama govinda jātā tvayi grhāgate/kālenaiṣā bhavet pṛīstavaivaḡamanāt punaḥ/-*Bha.K.R. III.5.

<sup>6</sup>De, *History*, 67.

<sup>7</sup>*prākṛītirdarśitā seyam ratiḥ śṛṅgaratāṅgatā/-*K.D.II.278. -The affection which I have shown earlier (in *preyān*) is *pṛīti*; now that *pṛīti* as erotic love becomes *śṛṅgāra*.

<sup>8</sup>De, *History*, 73.

<sup>9</sup>*ratyādikaṅām bhāvānāmanubhāvādisūcanaiḥ/yat kāvyam badhyate sadbhistatpreyasvad udāhṛtam/-*KLSS.IV.2.

<sup>10</sup>*ratirīha devagurunṛpādiviṣayā grhyate/kāntāviṣayāyāḥ tu rateḥ sūcane rasavadalamkāro vakṣyate/-*Rājānakatilaka's commentary (*vivṛiti*) on KLSS.IV.2.

<sup>11</sup>De, *History*, 85.

<sup>12</sup>*śṛṅgāra vīrakarūṇa bībhatsabhayānakādbhūtā hāsyāḥ/raudraḥ śāntaḥ preyān iti mantavyā rasaḥ sarve/-*RKL.XII.3.

<sup>13</sup>*rasanād rasatvameṣāṃ madhurādināmivoktam ācāryaiḥ/nirvedādiṣvapi tannikāmam astiti te'pi rasaḥ//*RKL.XII.4.

<sup>14</sup>*snehaprakṛtiḥ preyān saṅgataśīlāryanāyako bhavati/snehastu sāhacaryaprakṛterupacāra sambandhāi//nirvyājamanovṛtti sanarnmasadbhāvapeśālālapāḥ/anyonyam prati suhrdorvyavahāro'yam matastatra//prasyandipramādāśruhsusnidhgahsphāralocanālokaḥ/ārdraṅtaḥkaraṇatayāsnehapadebhavati sarvatra//*-RKL.XV.17-19.

<sup>15</sup>*dvayorapyekajātiyabhāvamādhuryabhāgasau/-*BRS.III.3.134.

<sup>16</sup>*evam te navaiva rasāḥ/...ārdraśāsthāyikaḥ sneho rasa iti tvasat/sneho hyabhisangah/sa ca sarvo ratyutsāhādāveva paryavasyati/tathāhi bālasya mātāpitrādau sneho bhaye viśrāntaḥ/yunor mitrajane ratau/lakṣmaṇādau bhrātari sneho dharmamaya eva/...evam bhaktāvapi vācyam iti/-*A.bh. on NS,781.

<sup>17</sup>*pṛītibhakṛyādayo bhāvāmrḡgayāksādayo rasaḥ/harṣotsāhādiṣu spaṣṭamantarbhāvānnakīrtitāḥ//*DR.IV.84.

<sup>18</sup>*sneho bhaktirvātsalyam iti hi ratereva viśeṣaḥ/tulyayoh ya parasparaṃ ratiḥ sa snehaḥ/anuttamasya uttame ratiḥ prasaktiḥ, saiva bhaktipadavācya/uttamasya anuttame ratiḥ vātsalyam/evamadau ca viśaye bhāvasyaiva āśvādyatvam/Kāvyaṅuśāsana. Quoted by Chinmayi Chatterjee, Bhaktirasera vivartana, 50.*

<sup>19</sup>*...ratirbhedaḥ hi bhakti snehaḥ nṛgocarau/vyabhicāritvamanayoh, nṛnāryoh sthāyinau tu tau//Saṅgītaratnākara, 839.*

<sup>20</sup>Against the views of Abhinava and Hemacandra, who deny the independent existence of friendly love and parental love, I am inclined to agree with V. Raghavan: "This is not a commendable attitude. To have less distinctions is no great aim. If it is said that friendship is only a variety of Rati, can we call the Rasa in the association of Rāma and Sugrīva, Śṛīgāra? ...Do Abhinava and Hemacandra mean that Friendship, Brotherly attachment, parental affection and the like are only Bhāvas that cannot be nourished into a state of Rasa with attendant accessories? Literature is only too full of these types of attachment." -*The Number of Rasas* (Madras:Adyar, 1975), 123-24.

<sup>21</sup>*na caṣṭāveveti niyamah, yataḥ sāntam preyāṃsam, uddhatam, ūrjasvinaṃ ca kecid rasamācāksate/tanmūlāścakilanāyakānām dhīrasāntadhīralalitadhīroddhatadhīrodattavyapadesāḥ/-SP.vol II, 377. Quoted by Chatterjee, Bhakti rasera vivartana, 55.*

<sup>22</sup>*atra vatsalaprakṛteḥ dhīratayā lalitanāyakasya priyānubhāvād utpannah snehasthāyibhāvah... preyāniti pratiyate/-SKB.V, vṛtti 261. Quoted by Chatterjee, Bhaktirasera vivartana, 57.*

<sup>23</sup>*ratipriyoraṇi cāyameva mūlaprakṛtirīyate/-SKB. Quoted by Chatterjee, Bhaktirasera vivartana, 57.*

<sup>24</sup>*ahetuḥ pakṣapato yastasya nāsti pratikriyā/sa hi snehātmakastanturantarmarmāṇi sīvyati//Uttararāmacarita, V.16.*

<sup>25</sup>*sthāyibhāvo vibhāvādyaiḥ sakhyamātmacitairiha/nītaścitte satām puṣṭim rasaḥ preyānudīryate//BRS.III.3.1.*

<sup>26</sup>I like to point out that Rūpa in his exposition of all the constituents of *bhakti rasa* has followed the order of Dhanañjaya, Śaradātanaya, Śingabhūpāle and Viśvanātha who have treated *sthāyin* last after *sāttvikas* and *vyabhicārins*.

<sup>27</sup>*atra jneya vibhāvāstu ratyāsvādanahetavaḥ/te dvidhālanā eke tathāivoddīpanāḥ pare//BRS.II.1.14.*

<sup>28</sup>*prītiṣayātvena svayam bhagavān śrīkrṣṇaḥ tatprītyādhāratvenu tatprīyavargaśca/-PS,366.*

<sup>29</sup>*harīśca tadvyasyāśca tasminnālanā matāḥ/-BRS.III.3.2. mitratvena sphuran maitrīviśayaḥ śrīkrṣṇastadāśrayarūpāṇi tallilāgatāni svajātīyabhāvāni tadīya mitrāṇi ca/-PS,538.*

<sup>30</sup>Rūpa, in BRS.III.3.2, has used two *cas* (and, also) to put together Kṛṣṇa and his friends as *ālambanas* without showing further clarification.

<sup>31</sup>*krṣṇaśca krṣṇabhaktāśca budhairālanā matāḥ/ratyāderīyātvena tathādhāratayāpica//BRS.II.1.16.*

<sup>32</sup>*krṣṇaśca krṣṇabhaktāścetryatrāyam vivekaḥ, yāmuddīśya ratiḥ pravartate sa viśayaḥ/sa ca śrīkrṣṇa evatra/-Jīva on BRS.II.1.16.*

<sup>33</sup>*ratyāderīyātvena tathādhāratayāpī ceti yathāyogyaparaspā ratyādibhāvāsya kadācid viśayādhārā upi te ālanā ityarthah/-Mukindadāsa on BRS.II.1.16.*

<sup>34</sup>sahacara nikurambam bhrātarārya! praviṣṭam drutamaghajaḥharāntaḥkoṭare preksamāṇaḥ/skhaladaśīśirabāspa kṣālitakṣāmaganḍaḥ, kṣaṇamahamavaśīdan sūnyacittastadāsam//BRS.III.3.20.

<sup>35</sup>BRS.IV.8.35: mukundo'yam ca-drāvalīvanacandre caṣulabhe smara smerāmārdṣāmasakalām arpayati ca/bhujāmamse sakhyuḥ pulakini dudhānaḥ phanibham ibhārikṣvedābhīrvṛṣadanujam udyojayati ca//

<sup>36</sup>BRS.IV.8.40: mitrānikavṛtam gadāyudhi gurummanyam pralambadvīṣam, yaṣṭyā durbbalayā vijitya purataḥ solluṅṅham udgāyataḥ/śrīdāmnaḥkila vikṣya kelisamarātopotsave pātayam, kṛṣṇaḥ phullakapolakāḥ pulakavān viṣhāradṣṣīrvabhau//—Here Mukundadāsa's commentary says: śrīdāmna iti viṣayāmbanokṛyā preyān, ...mitrāniketyatṛānyatra ca bahutra śrīkṛṣṇasyāpi bhaktaviṣayo ratyādirdarśita iti/

<sup>37</sup>Jīva's commentary on BRS.IV.8.40: mitrānikavṛtam iti kasyacid anyasya sakhyurvākyaḥ/asyaiva caite rasa udāhāryāḥ, na tu śrīkṛṣṇasya, bhaktirasasyaiva prakṛtatvāt/

<sup>38</sup>i) akhilarasāmṛtamūrṭiḥ.../BRS.I.1.1.

ii) svānandarasatṛṣṇaḥ kṛṣṇasacitanyavigraho jayati/AK,1.

<sup>39</sup>prīte ca vatsale cāpi kṛṣṇatadbhaktayoḥ punaḥ/dvayoranyonyabhāvasya bhinnajatyata bhavet//BRS.III.3.135.

<sup>40</sup>For preyān, BRS.III.3.134 says: dvayorapyekajātīyabhāvamādhurya bhāgasau/preyān kāmapi puṣṇāti rasascittacamatkṛtim//

Regarding madhura UN.V.97 says: bhāva syāduttamādinām yasya yāvān priye harau/tasyāpi tasyām tāvān syāditi sarvvatra yujyate//

<sup>41</sup>madhurapreyasoḥ kṛṣṇakarṭṛkaraterabhāvāt sthāyivairūpyam syāt/-Mukundadāsa on BRS.II.1.16 and also: ekatra rati varṇane sthāyivairūpyam syāt/-Mukundadāsa on BRS.IV.8.40.

<sup>42</sup>apratitau harirateḥ prītasya syāt apuṣṭatā/preyasastu tirobhāvaḥ/vatsalasyasya na kṣati//BRS.III.4.79.

<sup>43</sup>See BRS.III.3.134 in my note 40.

<sup>44</sup>preyān eva bhavet preyān atāḥ sarvaraseṣvayam/sakhyasamprkṭahṛdayaiḥ sadbhīrevānubudhyate//BRS.III.3.136.

<sup>45</sup>mukhyastu pañcadhāśāntaḥ prītaḥ preyāḥśca vatsalaḥ/madhuraśceryami jñēyā yathāpūrvvamanuttamāḥ//BRS.II.5.115.

<sup>46</sup>dvibhujatvādibhāgatra prāgvadālbano hariḥ/-BRS.III.3.3. tatra śrīkṛṣṇaḥ kvaciccatruhja api śrīmunnarākāratvenaiva pratitih.../-PS,538.

<sup>47</sup>enaiva rūpeṇa caturbhujena sahasrabāho bhava viśvamūrte/-G.XI.46. Quoted by Jiva, PS,538.

<sup>48</sup>BRS.III.3.4: mahendramanimāñjuladyutiramandakundasmītaḥ, sphuratpuraṅketakikusumaramyapaṭṭāmbaraḥ/srag ullasad uraḥsthalāḥ kvāṇitaveṇuratṛvrajan, vrajād aghaharo haratyahaha naḥ sakhīnām manāḥ//

<sup>49</sup>*suveṣaḥ sarvasallakṣmalakṣito baḥināmvaraḥ/vividhādabhutabhāṣāvidvāvadūkaḥ supañḍita//vipulapratibho daksah karuṇo vīrasēkharah/vidagdho buddhimān kṣantā rakṭālokaḥ samṛddhimān/sukhī varīyānityādya guṇāstasyeḥa kīrtitāḥ//BRS.III.3.6,7.*

<sup>50</sup>*BRS.II.1.18: hanta me katham udeti savatse, vatsapālapāṭale ratiratra? ityanis̄citamatirbaladevo, viṣmaya stimitamūrti rivāsit//*

<sup>51</sup>*niyatamasau vrajapuryāṁ dhīralalitah syāt/-AK,173.*

<sup>52</sup>See my note 29.

<sup>53</sup>*rūpaveṣagunādyaistu samāḥ samyag ayanritāḥ/viśrambhasambhṛtāmāno vayasyāstasya kīrtitāḥ//BRS.III.3.8. Here Jīva's commentary says: samyagayanritā dāsavadyantraṇāsūnyāḥ/...viśrambho gādḥavisvāsviśeṣo yantraṇojjhita iti/*

<sup>54</sup>*Bh.X.18.24: uvaha kṛṣṇo bhagavān śrīdāmānaṁ parājitah/*

<sup>55</sup>*BRS.III.3.16: kṣanād adarśanāto dīnāḥ sadā saḥavihāriṇāḥ/tadekajivitāḥ proktā vayasyā vrajavāsinah/ataḥ sarvavayasyeṣu pradhānatvaṁ bhajantyaṁ//*

<sup>56</sup>*BRS.III.3.22.*

<sup>57</sup>*dāmavasudāma sudāmakiṅkiṇīn (pūjayed) gandhapuṣpakaiḥ antaḥkaraṇarūpāste kṛṣṇasya parikīrtitāḥ/-Gautamiya tantra. Quoted by Jīva in his commentary [BRS.III.3.36].*

<sup>58</sup>*BRS.III.3.52: eteṣu kepi śāstreṣu kepi lokeṣu visrutah/*

<sup>59</sup>*BRS.III.3.57: uddīpana vayo-rūpa-śṛṅga-venudarā hareḥ/vinoda-narma-vikrānti-guṇāḥ preṣṭhajanāstathā/rājadevātārādiceṣṭānukaraṇādayah//*

<sup>60</sup>*BRS.II.1.305: Guṇāḥ svarūpamevāsya kāyikādyā yadapyami/bhedam svikṛtya varṇyante tathāpyuddīpanā iti//*

<sup>61</sup>*Rūpa says: prāyah kiśora evāyaṁ sarvabhakteṣu bhāṣate/tena yauvanasōbhāsyā neha kācit prapañcitā//BRS.III.3.80. Sanātana Gosvāmin also tells us that kṛṣṇa ever remains in his adolescence at Vraja. Therefore, he is known as "kiśoragandhin", almost an adolescent. The super transcendental beauty of his adolescence, though eternal, increases in everfresh magnitude, to a point beyond all human comprehension. -Bṛhadbhāgavatāmṛta.II.5.112.*

<sup>62</sup>*kṛṣṇasya nṛtyataḥ kecijjaguḥ kecidavadayan/veṇupāṇidalaiḥ śṛṅgaiḥ praśaṁsurathāpare//...kvacinṛtyatsu cānyeṣu gāyakau vādakau svayam/śaśaṁsaturmahārāja sādhu sādḥviti vādinau/kvacidbilvaiḥ kvacit kumbhaiḥ...//Bh.X.18.10,13.14.*

<sup>63</sup>*nṛtyanti gāyanti hasanti gopāḥ kurddanti nandanti pariskhalanti/narmāni tanvanti lasantyathaite bandhādvimuktāḥ kalabhottamā vā//sthitim sthīrām māṭpuro vakāreke'ṅganā svasya dṛṣṭvāncā lolām/saṅghattadrṣṭāmanukurvate'nye.../-G.L. VI.4,5.*

<sup>64</sup>*kṛṣṇasambandhibhiḥ sākṣāt kiñcidvā vyavadhānataḥ/bhāvaiścittamihākṛāntam sattvamityucyate budḥaiḥ//sattvād asmāt samutpannā ye ye bhāvaste tu sātṭvikāḥ/-BRS.II.3.1-2.*

<sup>65</sup>sattvāditi kevalādeveti bhāvaḥ/tataśca nṛtyādīnām satyapi sattvotpannatve, buddhipūrvikā pravṛtīḥ, stambhādīnāntu svata eva pravṛtīritiyasya lakṣaṇasya nṛtyādiṣu nāitivyāptiḥ//Jīva on BRS.II.3.2.

<sup>66</sup>De, VFM,407.

<sup>67</sup>viruddhai raviruddhairvā bhāvairvicchidyate na yaḥ/ātmabhāvam nayatyanyān sa sthāyi lavanākarah//DR.IV.34.

<sup>68</sup>āsvādāṅkurakando'sti dharmah kaścana cetasaḥ/rajastamobhyāṃ hīnasya śuddhasattvatayā sataḥ//sa sthāyi kathyate vijñāir vibhāvasya pṛthaktayā/pṛthagvidhatvam yāryeṣa sāmājikatayā satām//AK,121-122.

<sup>69</sup>vimuktasambhramā yā syādviśrambhātā ratirdvayoḥ/prāyaḥ samānayoratra sā sakhyam sthāyīśabdabhāk//BRS.III.3.105.

<sup>70</sup>ye syustulyā mukundasya te sakhāyaḥ satām matāḥ/sāmyādvīśrambharūpaisām ratiḥ sakhyamihocyate/-BRS.II.5.30.

<sup>71</sup>viśrambho gādhasiśāsaviśeso yantraṇojjihitah/-BRS.III.3.106.

<sup>72</sup>Jīva says: śrīkṛṣṇa eva teṣāṃ jīvanamityāha, [Bh.X.11.49] kṛṣṇam mahāvakagrastam dṛṣṭvā rāmādayo 'rbhakāḥ/babhūvurindriyānīva vinā prāṇam vicetasah//PS,552-3.

<sup>73</sup>adhṛti, unsteadiness, is technically used here in the sense of detachment regarding any other object except Kṛṣṇa.

<sup>74</sup>vatsairvatsataribhiśca sadā kriḍati mādavaḥ/vṛndāvanāntaragataḥ sarāmo vālakairvṛtaḥ//Skānda, Mathurākhaṇḍa. Quoted by Rūpa, BRS.III.3.129.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### FRIENDSHIP IN BHAKTI RASAS OTHER THAN PREYĀN

In our previous chapter we have examined devotional friendship as an independent *rasa*, which has its status as the third best (or, according to some, the second best) among all the *bhakti rasas*. In this chapter, however, we shall observe the role of the friends as well as friendship in *rasas* other than *preyān*. Consequently we shall see how the concept of friendship holds an ubiquitous, therefore important, role in *madhura*, devotional romantic love, the sublime *bhakti rasa* of the Vaiṣṇava aestheticians. This would help us understand the overall importance of friendship in the Caitanya tradition.

#### I. Friendship In The Secondary *Bhakti rasas*

The friends of Kṛṣṇa and friendship with Kṛṣṇa have roles in *bhakti rasas* other than *preyān*. In the case of the secondary (*gauṇa*) *bhakti rasas*, the friends of Kṛṣṇa sometimes appear as the substantial determinants, as the subject, or as the object of the permanent emotion [Rūpa, *BRS IV/1/5*]. It should be stressed that this participation of friends in the secondary *rasas* does not in any way disturb their original status of friendship with Kṛṣṇa. In other words, these friends, should not be called "comic-devotees" etc. because, in these secondary *rasas*, the so called permanent emotions, such as laughter, are permanent only in relation to the friends' love towards Kṛṣṇa.<sup>1</sup> In Rūpa Gosvāmin's *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu IV/1/10*, there is an illustration of *hāsya rasa*, the comic, in which Kṛṣṇa, fooled by an elderly lady, is the object, and his playmates of

Vraja are the subject of the permanent emotion, laughter (*hāsa*). In the marvellous or *adbhuta rasa*, Kṛṣṇa is the object of wonder (*viṣmaya*) due to his supernatural activities, whereas his friends are, occasionally, the subject [Rūpa, *BRS IV/2/2*]. For example, in the *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu IV/2/11*, we see that the cowherd boys of the pasture land, Kṛṣṇa's playmates, are astonished to find, after opening their eyes, that they are completely free from an attack of blazing fire, because of Kṛṣṇa's supernatural power. Thus, they become the subject of the marvellous.

In *rasas* such as the comic and the marvellous, the role of the friends is not exclusive, compared to that of other associates of Kṛṣṇa, because, sometimes, other associates are also capable of being the subject. However, for the *rasa* of heroic fighting (*yuddha vīra rasa*), Kṛṣṇa's friends are the privileged class as the substantial determinants of the *rasa* [Rūpa, *BRS IV/3/4*]. Rūpa Gosvāmin maintains that in heroic fighting, a dear companion (*sakhi*) or a most intimate friend of Kṛṣṇa, enthusiastic to fight lovingly for Kṛṣṇa's pleasure in a mock-fight, is called the combatant-hero (*yuddha vīra*) [*BRS IV/3/4*]. Because of his friend's love for him, Kṛṣṇa himself joins in this mock-fight as the counter-combatant (*prati yoddhā*) of his dear friend. This is really a beatific sport (*līlā*) of Kṛṣṇa. When Kṛṣṇa stays aloof as a spectator, another friend of Kṛṣṇa, in accordance with Kṛṣṇa's wish, becomes the counter-combatant [Rūpa, *BRS IV/3/5*]. In a real fight, which is the concern of the furious (*raudra rasa*), Kṛṣṇa is the combatant against his enemy. However, in the *rasa* of heroic fighting, an enemy of Kṛṣṇa has no scope to be the substantial determinant, only Kṛṣṇa's dear comrades are eligible to be the combatants. Thus, in this devotional sentiment, Kṛṣṇa and his friends

are the subject, as well as the object determinants. Rūpa (in *BRS* IV/3/7) shows that Kṛṣṇa and his dear friend Śrīdāman are fighting against each other, in a mock-fight, as rivals. Sometimes, these playful friends are great warriors in their practical life [Rūpa, *BRS* IV/3/9]. In this context, Rūpa puts forward an example from the *Harivaṃśā*, showing a mock-fight between Kṛṣṇa and his bosom friend Arjuna, the well known warrior-prince of the *Mahābhārata* war [*BRS* IV/3/10]. In the *Bhaktirasāmṛta sindhu* IV/3/8, we find Kṛṣṇa only as a spectator, whereas his friends, Dāman and others are the participants in the combat.

Rūpa, unlike classical rhetoricians, never allows a real fight into the category of his "heroic fighting" (*yuddha vīra rasa*). Jīva Gosvāmin, however, includes real fighting (*sākṣād yuddha*) in this category, although it is not as prominent as the mock-fight, where the dearest ones (*priyatama*) of Kṛṣṇa are the fighters. Jīva maintains that when heroic fighting concerns a real fight, Kṛṣṇa is the basic (*mūla*) object determinant, whereas his enemy is the external (*bahiraṅga*) object, or the object in relation to Kṛṣṇa only [*PS*,443].

Both Rūpa and Jīva agree that in the *rasa* of heroic fighting, fighting enthusiasm (*yuddhotsāha*) springing from the love for Kṛṣṇa is the permanent emotion. The counter-combatant's challenge, his loud laugh, boasting of his own prowess, throwing up his arms, taking up weapons and so on, are the enhancing excitants. The similar kind of challenge and other expressions from the side of the hero are the enuants.<sup>2</sup> According to Rūpa, in the absence of anger in a friendly fight, red eyes and such other external manifestations of anger, the traits of the furious (*raudra rasa*), are not present here.



Heroic fighting thereby, shows its difference from the furious [Rūpa, *BRS IV/3/24*]. Both Rūpa and Jīva agree that in "heroic fighting" (*yuddha vīra rasa*), pride, excitement, equanimity, shame, resolve, joy, dissembling, impatience of opposition, longing, envy, recollection, etc. are the auxiliary emotions [Rūpa, *BRS IV/3/17* and Jīva, *PS,444*]. These auxiliary emotions also belong to *raudra rasa*. According to Rūpa, all the spontaneous expressions (*sāitvikas*) are also appropriate in the case of heroic fighting.

Regarding the scope and nature of heroic fighting, Kaṇapūra, in his *Alaṅkāraustubha*, maintains an opinion that is quite different from Rūpa's and Jīva's. According to him, in the context of the heroic *rasa*, only real fighting should be considered, but not the mock-fight. When friends are fighting against friends - that being a sport (*līlā*) it is not really a fight. Therefore, the friendly fight should not be considered as a proper instance of the heroic *rasa* [*AK,140*]. This view seems to suggest that the friendly mock-fight, as a manifestation of pure friendship, should be considered only in the context of *sakhya rasa*).

Rūpa in the *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* tells us that sometimes in a heroic *rasa* called the "gift for love" (*prītidāna*), a sub-variety of heroic generosity (*dānavīrarasa*), Kṛṣṇa as a friend or relative is the object determinant, and his friends are the subject determinants [*BRS IV/3/35*]. For instance, (in *BRS IV/3/36*) Rūpa describes Yudhiṣṭhira as the subject and Kṛṣṇa, being a friend, as the object of the "gift for love." Here, Yudhiṣṭhira, performing a Rajasūya sacrifice, has already given Kṛṣṇa unguents, a garland named Vaijayanti, valuable clothes, gold ornaments decorated with bright precious gems, and elephants, chariots and horses bedecked with gold ornaments. And

now, deciding to give up his kingdom, his family, and even his own self, he is searching eagerly for something more precious as largesse for Kṛṣṇa.<sup>3</sup> In this instance, the permanent emotion is the enthusiasm for relinquishment (*tyagotsāha*), springing from the love for Kṛṣṇa.

Rūpa maintains that for the *rasa* of heroic virtue (*dharma vīra rasa*), friends are often the substantial determinants. They perform different religious rites for the welfare of Kṛṣṇa, or just for his pleasure. In the *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* IV/3/58, Yudhiṣṭhira is performing his sacrifices only for Kṛṣṇa's satisfaction. Generally, in the *rasa* of heroic virtue, the friends of Kṛṣṇa are "brave and spiritually calm" (*dhīra-sānta*) type of heroes [Rūpa, *BRS* IV/3/55]. On the other hand, as is evident from the illustrations offered by Rūpa (*BRS*) and Jīva (*PS*), in heroic fighting, friends as heroes are more often of the brave and sportive (*dhīra lalita*) type. I would like to point out here, on the basis of the illustrations cited in the *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* and the *Prīti Sandarbha*, that the friends in heroic fighting (*yuddha vīra*) are exclusively companions (*sakhi*), whereas in the case of heroic generosity (*dāna vīra*) and heroic virtue (*dharma vīra*) they are mostly benefactors (*suhṛd*) and mature persons.

In the pathetic (*karuṇa rasa*), Kṛṣṇa as well as his friends are eligible to be the object and also the subject of the emotion. In this context, Rūpa cites *Bhāgavata purāṇa* X/16/10 as an illustration:

"His dear friends, the cowherd boys... when they saw him (Kṛṣṇa) in a motionless state, enveloped by the hoods of the many headed serpent (*Kāliya*), their intelligence became deranged by grief, lamentation and fear, and thus they fell on the ground" [*BRS* IV/4/8].<sup>4</sup>

Here, these friends, who apprehended Kṛṣṇa's danger, appear as the subject determinants, whereas Kṛṣṇa becomes the object determinant of their grief.

Both Rūpa and Jīva agree that in the furious (*raudra*) *rasa*, sometimes Kṛṣṇa becomes the object of his female friends' (*sakhī*) loving anger, if their group leader - their dear friend (*sakhī*), Kṛṣṇa's own beloved lady, is much offended by Kṛṣṇa through his inadvertence [*BRS IV/5/3; PS, 445*]. In this regard Rūpa cites his *Vidagdhamādhava* to show Lalitā's anger towards Kṛṣṇa, for the sake of her dear friend Rādhā whom Kṛṣṇa has put into a deplorable condition [*BRS 4/5/4*]. This kind of anger in a female friend actually manifests her deeper love for her own friend and Kṛṣṇa.

## II. The Relationship Of *Preyān* With Other *Rasas*

Both Rūpa Gosvāmin and Jīva Gosvāmin agree that there may be conflict, neutrality or harmony among the five primary (*mukhya*) as well as the seven secondary (*gauṇa*) *bhakti rasas* [*Rūpa, BRS IV/8/1; Jiva, PS P452*]. Similarly, according to Jīva, there may be conflict, neutrality or harmony among the permanent emotions, the auxiliary emotions, the ensuants, the determinants, as well as the spontaneous expressions (*sātrvikas*) of the above mentioned twelve *bhakti rasas* [*PS,452*]. Let us consider the relationship of *preyān* to other *rasas*.

Rūpa maintains that *preyān* is in harmony with the erotic or romantic love (*sūci/madhura*), the comic, heroic fighting, and the marvellous. Jīva comments that, in this context, the erotic should be concerned with Kṛṣṇa only, but not with others. Rūpa also says that *preyān* conflicts with parental love (*vātsalya*) and the abhorrent (*bibhatsa*).

When Kṛṣṇa is the sole object (*ekavibhāvaka*) of anger in the furious (*raudra rasa*), and the only object of fear in the terrible (*bhayānaka*), these two sentiments never agree with *preyan* [Rūpa, *BRS IV/8/5*; also Jīva's comments on *BRS IV/8/5*]. Even though, Rūpa does not say anything regarding the relationship of the quietistic (*sānta*), loving servitude (*prīta*) and the pathetic (*karuṇa*) to *preyān* we could infer from the *Bhaktirasāmṛta sindhu* [*BRS IV/8/15*] that these three *bhakti rasas* are neither agreeable nor disagreeable to *preyan*. The *Bhaktirasāmṛta sindhu* [*BRS IV.8.15*] points out that the *rasas* other than those whose relationship has already been told, are considered by the scholars as indifferent to each other.

*Rasas* sometimes appear as being blended together. Consequently, one person may be the abode of more than one permanent emotion. Therefore, Balarāma is the abode of friendship, and loving servitude (*prīti/dāśya*) and tender affection (*vātsalya*). Yudhiṣṭhira and Bhīma are the ground of friendship, tender affection as well as loving servitude. In Uddhava and Arjuna, there is a mixture of friendship and loving servitude.<sup>5</sup>

According to Rūpa, when *rasas* agreeable to each other are blended together in harmony, aesthetic enjoyment becomes more relishable (*āsvādyā*). In this blending, each one of the *rasas* makes a contribution to the development of the other. However, when two or more *rasas* are mingled together, it is quite impossible to see them as equals in the scale of relish (*āsvāda*) [*BRS IV/8/16,17*].<sup>6</sup> The one which seems to be more delightful is considered as the principal (*aṅgin*), and the others, subservient to its charm, contributories to its nourishment, are regarded as its parts (*aṅgas*) [*BRS IV/8/18*].

Consequently, the principal or the prominent *rasa* (whether it is a primary (*mukhya*) one, or a secondary (*gauna*) one) is taken as the permanent *rasa* (*sthāyi rasa*), and its tributaries are considered as the auxiliary or the accessory *rasas* (*sañcāri/vyabhicāri rasa*) [BRS IV/8/42/43].

A. Preyān as a permanent *rasa*:

When some other *rasas*, agreeable to *preyān*, are blended together with *preyān*, contributing to its nourishment, so that *preyān* becomes more charming than these *rasas*, *preyān* is regarded as the permanent *rasa* and the subservient *rasas* are considered as the auxiliary *rasas*. Sometimes, the erotic *rasa* (*madhura*), in its subservient position is the enhancer of *preyān*, as in the *Bhaktirasāmṛta sindhu*, IV/8/26. The verse runs thus: "O Subala, the most blessed beings are those damsels of Vraja, who kiss the lip of Kṛṣṇa, the one with the crest of peacock's feather." In this case, the speaker is seeking support from Subala, a friend of Kṛṣṇa, regarding his opinion on romantic love. Therefore the romantic love (erotic) is not in a prominent position. Here *preyān* is the principal as well as the permanent *rasa* and the erotic is the auxiliary *rasa*. Similarly, on occasions, the comic alone [as in BRS IV/8/27], or in accompaniment with the erotic [as in BRS 4/8/28], may be auxiliary to *preyān*.

B. Preyān as an auxiliary *rasa*:

Sometimes, *preyān* being agreeable to the erotic, plays the role of an auxiliary *rasa*. In *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* IV/8/33, the friendship (towards Kṛṣṇa) of Subala in disguise as Rādhā is the nourisher of Rādhā's love towards Kṛṣṇa. Here, *preyān* thus becomes acts as an auxiliary *rasa* when the erotic is the permanent one. Occasionally

acts as *preyān* an auxiliary *rasa* together with the heroic, in relation to the erotic as principal *rasa* [BRS IV/8/35]. Rūpa also maintains that, sometimes, *preyān* may play the role of an auxiliary *rasa* in relation to the heroic [as in BRS IV/8/38] or the furious [as in BRS IV/8/39], or the marvellous [BRS IV/8/40].

### III. Friendship and *Rasābhāsa*, the apparent sentiment

According to Rūpa, "The conflict between the *rasas*, antagonistic to one another, being brought together, often renders them less delightful in the same way as a sweet beverage becomes less enjoyable through its contact with pungent and bitter taste" [BRS IV/8/53].<sup>7</sup> In the *Bhaktirasāmṛta sindhu* IV/8/56, for example, the delightfulness of *preyān* is constrained by the *rasa* of parental love (*vatsala*).<sup>8</sup> Such a conflict between different *rasas*, most of the time, is included in the category of *rasābhāsa*, the apparent sentiment or the semblance of a *rasa* [BRS IV/8/62]. Rūpa also admits that there are certain conditions where union between diverse antagonistic *rasas* does not decrease the delightfulness of the relish, instead, it brings a special flavour to the *rasa* realization. Such is the case if two conflicting *rasas* are blended together in such a way that the excellence of one is proven beyond doubt in comparison with that of another. Then, there will be no hindrance in the delightfulness of the relish [BRS 4/8/63-64]. In this context Rūpa takes his illustration from *Vidagdha mādhava*: "Oh see, the foolish girl wishes to banish from her heart that person a little bit of whose manifestation in the heart is eagerly waited upon by the ascetics [BRS IV.8.65]." Here romantic love transcends *śānta* in excellence. Similarly, when two antagonistic *rasas*, one primary and the other

secondary, are blended together, having different objects and subjects, delightfulness remains the same. Rūpa has his illustration in the *Bhāgavata Purāna* X.60.45:

The stupid woman bereft of tasting the fragrance of the honey in your lotus-feet, resorts as a beloved to a living corpse covered from outside with skin, moustaches, beard, hair on the body, nails and filled inside with flesh, bones, blood, worms, refuse, flegm, bile and wind [BRS IV.8.71].

Here the object and the subject (Kṛṣṇa and Rukminī) of *madhura* are different from those (mortal man and woman) of *bībhatsa*, the abhorrent. Therefore, no hindrance occurs in the relish. However, if both the *rasas* are primary, delightfulness in the relish decreases [BRS IV/8/64,74].

For Rūpa, conflicting emotions are not really harmful to the relish, if they arise at different times in a person like Yudhiṣṭhira, who maintains intermittent conflicting emotions, such as loving servitude (*prīti*), tender love (*vatsalya*) as well as friendship (*sakhya*) for Kṛṣṇa. Further, at the stage of *adhiruḍamahābhāva*, a special sublimation of love in which all the emotions have attained their most exalted position, Rūpa says that the conflicting emotions are charming. Therefore, in the romantic love (*ujjvala/madhura*) between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, the permanent emotion is never hampered, either by the conflicting or by the harmonious emotions [BRS 4/8/81,82 and 3/5/21].

According to Rūpa, in the case of Kṛṣṇa, the inconceivable super personality, sometimes the blending of all the *rasas* becomes charming and therefore appropriate [BRS IV/8/83]. Rūpa, citing *Lalitāmādhava*, shows that Kṛṣṇa may be the object (*viṣaya*) of all the *rasas* at one time. After slaying the elephant Kuvalayāpīda, Kṛṣṇa in his blood-stained appearance becomes the object of the abhorrent for the priests of

Kaṁsa, the object of the furious for the wrestlers, the object of friendship and the comic of the friends, the object of the terrible for the crooked, the object of the quietistic for the sages, the object of parental love and the pathetic for Devakī and others, the object of the heroic for the warriors, the object of the marvellous for Indra and other deities, the object of loving servitude of the servants, and the object of the romantic love for the blue-eyed girls [BRS IV/8/84]. This illustration reminds us of the famous verse of the *Bhāgavata Purāna* [Bh X.43,17] which, according to Sanātana Gosvāmin's *Vaiṣṇavatoṣini*, depicts twelve *bhakti rasas* at a time. [For the text of Bh X.43.17, see my note 40 in chapter 3]. Rūpa's verse seems to be an echo of this *Bhāgavata* verse.

Rūpa also says that in certain conditions Kṛṣṇa may be the subject (*āśraya*) of all the *rasas* at one time, and this situation enhances the delightfulness of the relish. Thus, in the *Bhaktirasāmṛta sindhu* IV/8/85, Kṛṣṇa is the abode of all the *rasas* at once:

At the time of his lifting of the mountain Govardhana, Kṛṣṇa is the subject of the quietistic sentiment regarding himself, the subject of the comic and parental love with regard to the children who try to support the mountain, the subject of the abhorrent with regard to the rotten yogurt, the subject of friendship and the heroic with regard to his friends, the subject of the furious with regard to Indra, the subject of the pathetic with regard to the deplorable condition of the cowherds in the rain, the subject of loving servitude and the terrible with regard to the elderly venerable persons, the subject of the marvellous with regard to the torrential rain, and the subject of romantic love with regard to the young damsels.<sup>9</sup>

For Rūpa, *rasābhāsa*, the apparent sentiment, appears where the components of the *rasa* are imperfect (*vikala*) [BRS IV/9/1].<sup>10</sup> Jīva and other commentators explain that here "imperfect" means insufficient (*aṅgahīna*), or improperly developed (*virūpa*).



Rūpa's treatment of the apparent sentiment is undoubtedly original, specially when he classifies the apparent sentiment into three categories: *uparasa*, where the determinants, the ensuants and the permanent emotion are improper (*virūpatāprāpta*) [BRS IV/9/3]: *anurasa*, where the determinants and other constituents have no relation with Kṛṣṇa (*Kṛṣṇasambandhavarjita*) [BRS IV/9/33]; and *aparasa*, where Kṛṣṇa and the persons hostile to Kṛṣṇa (*tat-pratipakṣa*) are the object and the subject of laughter (*hasa*) etc. [BRS IV/9/38]. Among these three divisions, friendship is concerned only with *uparasa*, the best kind (*uttama*) of the apparent sentiment. In this context, Rupa holds that *preyān* becomes an *uparasa*, near to a *rasa*, or a little less than a *rasa*, (1) if the permanent emotion has only one abode (*āśraya*), in other words, when friendly affection is not reciprocal, or (2) if there is some contempt for the friends of Kṛṣṇa and also (3) when there is too much fighting [BRS IV/9/9]. For instance, when Kṛṣṇa manifests his friendly love towards his son's father-in-law, that king only expresses his humility (*vinaya*) and loving servitude (*prīti/dāśya*) for Kṛṣṇa. Therefore, *preyān* in its underdeveloped form appears as an *uparasa* [BRS IV/9/10].<sup>11</sup>

S.K. De rightly observes that Jīva Gosvāmin seems to be more comprehensive in his definition of the apparent sentiment.<sup>12</sup> Jīva says that, in a literary composition (*kāvya*) concerned with Kṛṣṇa, the restraint of the relish (*bādhyamānasvādyarvam*) in the permanent *rasa*, due to the conflict with an improper (*ayogyā*) *rasa* as well as with the improper determinants, ensuants and auxiliary emotions etc. is known as the apparent sentiment (PS,453). Jīva also says that when the commingling of the conflicting *rasas* in a particular way is intended only to cause the excellence of the permanent *rasa*, there

is no apparent sentiment; instead, there is *rasollāsa*, the springing up of the permanent *rasa*. On the contrary, if by chance, the excellence of some improper *rasa* is proven, that should be considered as *rasābhasollāsa*, the springing up of an apparent sentiment [PS,453]. The singularity of Jīva is manifested when he includes the opposition of incongruous *rasas*, technically known as *rasa-viredha* in classical aesthetics, in the category of the apparent sentiment. This inclusion shows his difference of opinion not only from that of the classical rhetoricians, but also from that of Rūpa whose treatment of the apparent sentiment appears to be more in consonance with that of the classical authors. Rūpa seems to be more compromising when he gives the view of some other scholars, although he does not mention their names. According to Rūpa, these scholars, as the authorities on *rasa* (*rasābhijña*), include all the emotions (*bhāvas*), the apparent emotions (*bhāva-bhāsas*) as well as the apparent sentiments in the category of *rasa* due to their capacity to be relished. We find almost the similar view of Visvanātha Kavirāja in his *Sāhityadarpaṇa*.<sup>13</sup>

The fact that Rūpa never deliberately tries to deny the capacity of the apparent *rasa* to be relished and also that he shows the apparent sentiment as best (*untama*), middle (*madhyama*) and lowest (*kanisṭha*) [BRS IV/9/2], suggests that Rūpa seems to believe that the apparent sentiment has its own charm, and, that therefore, it is not a real blemish in a literary expression. According to Jīva, on the other hand, the apparent *rasa* is not possible in the verses of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the essence of all the *Vedāntas*, which as a revealed scripture is the possessor of only the immortal *rasa* (*amṛtarasa*).<sup>14</sup> Jīva boldly asserts that the so-called apparent sentiments, depicted in certain verses in the

*Bhāgavata Purāna*, are really *rasābhāsābhāsas*, the seeming-apparent sentiments. He cites many such verses from the *Bhāgavata Purāna* and tries hard to show that these verses only maintain *rasollāsa*, the springing up of the permanent sentiment, but not the apparent sentiment. This denial of the apparent sentiment by Jīva in the *Bhāgavata* context, implies that for him, the apparent sentiment is a defect and not a relish. However, Jīva holds that both Kṛṣṇa as well as his associates, the participants in his beatific sport, possess inconceivable power, therefore, they are apt to be the receptacle of all the conflicting emotions at the same time. Thus, Baladeva, the brother of Kṛṣṇa, maintains friendship, parental love and loving servitude for Kṛṣṇa [PS,460]. Similarly, Śrīdāman, the brahmin friend, sustains friendship as well as loving servitude for Kṛṣṇa [PS,456-457]. In these cases, the co-existence of conflicting sentiments is the cause of *rasollāsa* only.

#### IV. Friends and friendship in *madhura*, the *rasa* of devotional romantic love.

Rūpa in his *Ujjavalanīlamanī* has shown us that friends as well as friendship play an important and ubiquitous role in *madhura*, devotional romantic love. Friends, both *sakhis* (male friends) and *sakhīs* (female friends), participate in *madhura* as the assistants (*sahāya*) of Kṛṣṇa and his most beloved ladies, *kāntās*, and also on occasions as the *uddīpanas*, the enhancing excitants, of love. Particularly, in the extra-nuptial (*parakiyā*) kind of romantic love, the love par excellence, in Vraja, these friends hold the most vital part because without their co-operation the consummation of romantic love is inconceivable. Consequently, the friends of rural Vraja are the most privileged class in

this regard.

A. The male friends as the assistants.

Kṛṣṇa, the hero in *madhura*, has five kinds of assistants who help him in his most intimate affairs without being themselves personally involved in such romantic affairs. These assistants are extremely loyal to Kṛṣṇa. They know how to converse humorously, the proper time and place for the conversation and the right way to propitiate the angry cowherd girls. They are able to advise in the most serious matters. For Rūpa, these assistants are: *ceta* (the servant), *viṭa* (the bon-vivant), *vidūṣaka* (the jester), *pīthamarḍḍa* (a friend of an impudent kind), and *priyanarma sakhi* (the bosom friend) [UN.II.1.2]. All these assistants except the servant (*ceta*), are actually Kṛṣṇa's own beloved companions [UN.II.16]. According to Kaṛṇapūra, Kṛṣṇa's assistants are none other than his comrades (*sahacara*). Kaṛṇapūra says that these comrades are: the companions (*sakhi*), the dear friends (*priya sakhi*), the intimate friends (*narma sakhi*) and the bosom friends (*priya narma sakhi*). For Kaṛṇapūra, the last group, the bosom friends, act as the messengers of Kṛṣṇa to his lady-loves. They may be friends who act independently without waiting for any instruction and know how to fulfill the wish of Kṛṣṇa (*nirṣṭarthas*). Some messengers may be friends, who achieve success using a few words (*mitārthas*) or, the bearer of certain information (*sandesāhāraka*) [Ak.175-6].

In the classical sanskrit literature, *viṭa*, the bon-vivant, is a skilful but unscrupulous person acting as a mediator between the hero (or other person) and the heroine [vide *Mṛcchakatikam*]. Rūpa, following the path of the classical rhetoricians, says that the *viṭa* is conversant in the art of embellishment and disguises. He is cunning

as well as apt in group-conversation and well versed in the science of love. The friends of Kṛṣṇa such as Kadāra, Bhāratibandhu and the like are *viṭas* [UN.II.5]. Rūpa in his concept of *vidūṣaka* also is not very original. He maintains that *vidūṣaka*, the jester, is a glutton who tries to make quarrels between other people. This jester amuses others by his humorous deeds through his deformed figure, improper speech and unsuitable dress. He is named after the season of spring (*vasanta*) or the name of someone or something closely associated with the spring time [UN.II.7]. In this regard, Rūpa mentions Madhumaṅgala, a friend of Kṛṣṇa, having humorous proclivities, whom Rūpa has presented as the *vidūṣaka* in his *Vidagdhamādhava* as well as in the *Lalitamādhava*. In his dramas, Rūpa has depicted him almost like a stereotyped *vidūṣaka* of the Sanskrit dramas although there are a few exceptional traits: Madhumaṅgala, being an adolescent, is unlike the *vidūṣakas* of the classical dramas who are grown-up people; he is a real friend of the hero of equal status, but not a professional jester like the jesters of Bhāsa, Kālidāsa and Śrīharṣa; apparently he is neither ugly nor deformed as the buffoons are supposed to be in the classical dramas. In the *Vidagdhamādhava*, he is a stereotyped jester in all other ways. He is a simple-minded brahmin boy and enjoys his food as a glutton. This gluttony is shown through his earnest desire to return to Gokula only for enjoying the food prepared by Yaśodā [Act I]. He is ever ready to help Kṛṣṇa. However, his well-intentioned assistance in the form of humorous acts, more often makes the situation more difficult and embarrassing for Kṛṣṇa, rather than solving the real problem. Although the comic elements in his acts bring relief to the whole situation. In his mistake he brings Candrāvalī rather than Rādhā, making the situation awkward for

Kṛṣṇa [Act IV]. In Act V Madhumaṅgala, confusing Rādhā with Subala, addresses her as Subala by mistake. In this drama Madhumaṅgala is querulous and therefore, frequently argues with Lalitā and Viśākhā, the most intimate friends of Rādhā. In the *Lalitāmādhava*, Rūpa through the conversation between Madhumaṅgala and Kṛṣṇa shows how Kṛṣṇa appreciates all the qualities of the cowherd girls [Act I].

According to Rūpa, *pīṭhamardda* is an accomplished person. He is the companion of the hero in any great enterprise. He serves the hero in the context of *madhura* as well as in the heroic *rasa*. Although he is equal in every respect to the hero, he follows his friend, the hero, only because he loves him dearly. Kṛṣṇa's dear friend Śrīdāman, who is equal to Kṛṣṇa in every way, helps Kṛṣṇa as a *pīṭhamardda* [UN.II.10.16]. As a *pīṭhamardda*, Śrīdāman is brave and haughty. He defends Kṛṣṇa when Govardhanamalla accuses Kṛṣṇa of seducing his wife Candrāvalī. Śrīdāman then threatens to teach him a lesson if he keeps on criticizing Kṛṣṇa [UN.II.11].

For Rūpa, *priya narma sakhi* (mentioned as *priya narma vayasya* in *BRS*), the bosom friend, is the best among all the loyal friends of Kṛṣṇa. The friends of this category know all about the secret affairs of Kṛṣṇa and consequently help him in his most intimate matters. They cherish a special kind of love for Kṛṣṇa called *sakhībhāva*, the loving attitude of a female friend, *sakhī*. This shows that their consciousness about their own male personality is covered by the *sakhībhāva*. Rūpa maintains that in Vraja (Gokula), Subala, Arjuna and the like are the bosom friends of Kṛṣṇa [UN.II.13]. Rupa shows that when some beloved lady of Kṛṣṇa becomes angry due to a love-quarrel and forsakes Kṛṣṇa for that reason, Kṛṣṇa's male friend Subala beseechingly propitiates her

and brings her back to Kṛṣṇa. He arranges a bed appropriate for the love-sport of Kṛṣṇa and his beloved lady in the arbour. He fans Kṛṣṇa as he seems to be tired in his beatific sport of *madhura* [UN.II.14]. Sometimes when Rādhā is unable to meet Kṛṣṇa, Subala due to his being as beautiful as Rādhā, adopts the disguise of Rādhā for the consolation of Kṛṣṇa [VM, Act V]. Occasionally, he serves as a messenger and helps Kṛṣṇa to arrange a rendez-vous between him and Rādhā [VM, Act IV].

Jīva, taking his evidence from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, points out that the comrades of Kṛṣṇa are always the spectators of his romantic love. Even when Kṛṣṇa was collecting all the garments of the young girls of Vraja he put his friends as witnesses so that they might enjoy the whole humorous situation [Bh.X.22.9,11]. Kṛṣṇa is inseparable from his friends because these friends - Dāman, Sudāman, Vasudāman and the like - are in reality identical with Kṛṣṇa, being his very heart. Therefore, these comrades are eligible to relish the *madhura rasa* as spectators. All these friends of Kṛṣṇa are boys only but not adults [PS,646-48].

B. The female friends (*sakhīs*), *sakhībhāva* and the *kāntās*.

*sakhi he keśimathanam udaram ramaya mayā saha/Oh my  
friend, unite the noble vanquisher of Keśi with me.  
Jayadeva, Gītāgovinda II.11.*

In romantic love, Kṛṣṇa and his beloved ladies have many female friends, *sakhīs*, who help them in their most intimate affairs. For Rūpa and his followers, the role of the female friends excels that of the male friends in *madhura*. According to Rūpa, the heroines of Kṛṣṇa in *madhura* fall into two groups: 1) *svakīyās*, Kṛṣṇa's wives; 2) *parakīyās*, unmarried girls or others' wives. The last group which is related to

*parakiyāraṭi*, extra-nuptial love, the love par excellence, comprise *gopīs*, the damsels of Vraja. These *gopīs* are also known as *sakhīs* of Kṛṣṇa because they are the eternal companions of Kṛṣṇa [UN.III.18,19]. Although, all the *gopīs* cherish romantic love for Kṛṣṇa some of them are recognized as the heroines while others are recognized as the *sakhīs*, the friends. Because the emotional dispositions of the two groups are different. Jīva has pointed out that the permanent emotion of the *nāyikā*, the heroine, is direct enjoyment whereas for the *sakhīs* it is vicarious consisting of an approval of the enjoyment [PS,629].<sup>15</sup> The relation between Kṛṣṇa and the cowherd girls is not a social relation. It is not a relation sanctified by the Vedic rituals. It is not a blood-relation or a relation through marriage. It is a bond of pure love and friendship. Jīva puts the evidence from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* [X.47.61] to show the excellence of the *gopī*'s love towards Kṛṣṇa:

Oh, how I wish to be one of these shrubs, creepers, plants or herbs of Vṛndāvana which possess the great fortune of coming in contact with the dust on the feet of these cowherd girls who have forsaken their relatives (*svajana*) so difficult to abandon, and the traditional path followed by the noble and the good (*āryapatha*) and have taken the only path which leads to Kṛṣṇa who is sought after by the Vedas [PS,317].

Therefore, Rūpa designates this devotional love of the *gopīs* towards Kṛṣṇa as self-willed spontaneous love (*kāmarūpā*) which is apparently passionate love [BRS.I.2.283-4]. This love in the case of the heroines is called *sambhogecchāmayī*, meaning that there is a desire for enjoyment; and in the case of the *sakhīs* it is called *tattadbhāvecchāmayī*, meaning that there is the desire to support and enjoy the union of Kṛṣṇa with his heroine, their own friend [BRS.I.2.298 and its commentary by Jīva].



The mental disposition of the *sakhīs* known as *sakhībhāva* is a unique friendly love towards Kṛṣṇa. This love with its complex nature stands in between pure friendship (*sakhya rati*) and pure romantic love (*madhurā rati*). The relationship of the *sakhīs* with Kṛṣṇa is neither pure *sakhya* (as in *preyān*) nor pure *madhura*. Because the mental dispositions of the subject and the object are quite different here, whereas in *sakhya* and *madhura*, both the subject and the object possess similar kind of mental dispositions. Sometimes, there is a desire for enjoyment from Kṛṣṇa's side but from the side of the *sakhīs* there is an absence of such desire [UN.VIII.88]. Therefore, the *sakhīs'* love for Kṛṣṇa is a kind of spiritual or platonic love. They cherish the highest kind of love for Kṛṣṇa - *mahābhāva*, the supreme emotional love, - which is higher than the love of Kṛṣṇa's wives, *anurāga* [PS,268-9]. These *sakhīs*, being the direct constituents of Kṛṣṇa (*hlādinīśakti*), are as much Kṛṣṇa's own as Kṛṣṇa is their own. Although these friends possess the conceit of mineness for Kṛṣṇa they also possess the conceit of being the friend of Kṛṣṇa's heroine, the leader of their own friend-group (*yūthesvarī*). Their attitude seems to be like this: Kṛṣṇa is mine but I am my friend's. Due to their friendship and loyalty for their *sakhī* (female friend), they never entertain the sentiment of ownership for Kṛṣṇa. They have no tendency to dominate. Their selfless love knows no bound. They have dedicated themselves to the happiness of Kṛṣṇa and his heroine, their loving friend. Although the friends like Viśākhā, Lalitā, Padmā and Śaivyā possess all the qualities of a group-leader, they abstain from being so for the sake of their friendly love for their own group-leaders and remain subordinate to them [Rūpa, UN.III.60-61].

Actually only the *sakhīs* have the right to appreciate the transcendental pastimes of Kṛṣṇa and his heroines in Vraja. Among all the *sakhīs*, the *sakhīs* of Rādhā are deemed to be the best. They are equal to Rādhā in every way because they are none but Rādhā in her expanded forms [CC.II.8.165].

Rūpa maintains that the female friends are the treasure-box of trust and confidence as it were. Only these female friends are able to expand the love-sport of Kṛṣṇa [UN.VIII.1]. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja also holds that the beatific sport of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is too confidential. It cannot be understood by the followers of loving servitude, friendly love (*sakhya*) and parental love. The loving *sakhīs* alone are capable of being the connoisseurs of this *madhura rasa*. The love-sport of Kṛṣṇa does not grow without their help. These *sakhīs* are the nourishers, spreaders and enjoyers of this sport. Although the love between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is self-revealed, delightful and sublime, it cannot be seen and realized except through the aid of *sakhīs*. Only with their help and following their path, can the devotee enter into the bower of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, witness their sport and serve them as a *sakhi* [CC.II.8.201-5]. Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in his *Govinda Lilāmṛta* says:

All the *sakhīs* of Rādhā are equal to her. The moon is pleasing to the water-lilies, so is Kṛṣṇa, the moon of Vraja, to the flower-like damsels of Vraja. The essence of his power of bliss is Rādhā, the very impersonation of loving devotion. If she is likened to a creeper, her *sakhīs* are all sprouts, leaves and flowers of the creeper. And it is for this reason that when Rādhā, the creeper, is soaked with the nectar of Kṛṣṇa's loving sport, all the *sakhīs*, the sprouts and leaves and the flowers of the creeper, immediately receive a pleasure that is a hundred times sweeter than what they could receive if they were sprinkled themselves by the same nectar. Actually this is not at all

wonderful [X.16].<sup>16</sup>

Kṛṣṇadāsa maintains that the loving nature of the *sakhīs* is indeed inexplicable. They never want to enjoy themselves with Kṛṣṇa personally. Their happiness increases ten million times when they unite Rādhā with Kṛṣṇa [CC.II.8.207-8]. Rādhā on the other hand, due to her great affection for her *sakhīs*, causes the union of Kṛṣṇa with her friends. She sends Kṛṣṇa to her *sakhīs* under some pretence, and gets hundred times more joy from this union of her loving friends than from her own [CC.II.8.212-13].

The image of Rādhā as well as other heroines is imperfect in the Caitanya tradition without their loving *sakhīs*. Rabindranath Tagore in his *Prācīna sāhitya* has maintained that the image of Śakuntalā, the heroine of Kālidāsa, is perfect only in association with her two friends - Anasūyā and Priyaṃvadā. Without these two friends, Śakuntalā is half of her own self. Similarly, in the Caitanya tradition, Rādhā's picture is not perfect without her companions - Lalitā, Viśākhā and the others. Therefore, Kṛṣṇadāsa says: "Rādhā's beauty is her *kuṅkuma*, the reddish powder, and her loving friendship with her friends is the scented sandal-wood paste. Her smiling grace is the odorous camphor. And all these three - beauty, friendship and smile - are in her the sweetest unguent for her limbs" [CC.II.8.170].

Rūpa has divided all the *sakhīs* of Rādhā into 5 categories: *sakhī*, *nityasakhī* (eternal companion), *prāṇasakhī* (intimate companion), *priya sakhī* (dear intimate friend) and *paramapreṣṭha sakhī* (the most dear intimate friend). Rupa gives the names of the friends who fall in these groups. Among all the friends Lalitā, Viśākhā and a few others are Rādhā's *paramapreṣṭha sakhīs* [UN.IV.50-54].

For Kaṛṇapūra, *sakhīs* in general, as the assistants of the heroines, fall into four groups: *sakhī*, *priya sakhī*, *narma sakhī* and *priyanarma sakhī*. The *sakhīs* are the friends of equal age who know each other's heart very well. They maintain unselfish love for their friends in their weal and woe. The friends who follow the heroine like her shadow are *priya sakhīs*. Those who enjoy the secret matters with the heroine are *narma sakhīs*. The *priyanarma sakhīs* are like the second self of the heroine therefore, they are present at the time of the union of their friend with the hero [AK,214]. Kaṛṇapūra maintains that these female friends sometimes act as the messengers, sometimes as the attendants in heroine's dressing up. When the heroine is angry or sulky, these friends advise her and rebuke her if she is very inconsiderate [AK,215].

For Rūpa, *sakhīs* are those friends of equal age who love each other more than their own selves. They are equal to each other in dress and beauty. They are trustworthy. They act as the messenger of the heroine [UN.VII.70]. All the female friends help the hero and the heroines in different ways. Sometimes they act as the messengers or send messengers on behalf of the hero or the heroine. In Rūpa's *Haṃsa sandeśa*, Lalitā sends a swan as a messenger to Kṛṣṇa in Mathurā, on behalf of her friend Rādhā. These friends arrange the time and the place of a rendez-vous for the hero and the heroine. They praise Kṛṣṇa near the heroine or praise the heroine near Kṛṣṇa and thereby stimulate their love for each other. They cover the faults of the heroine, and protect her from the anger of her older relatives. They console the hero and the heroine in separation, bring them to the groves for union. They teach the heroine how to act at the time of union or how to treat the hero when he has deceived her. They rebuke the

hero and the heroine equally if they do something improper. They serve them but their service is not conditional. They think of themselves as being of equal status to the hero and the heroine [UN.VIII.97-99]. Sometimes, these female friends sustain unequal love (*asama snehā*) for Kṛṣṇa and their group leader. Some of them maintain more affection for their *priyasakhī* or some for Kṛṣṇa. The friends of the *sakhī* group cherish more love for Kṛṣṇa whereas the friends of the *prāṇasakhī* group and the *niryasakhī* group are more affectionate to the heroine. Some of the friends maintain equal affection (*samasnehā*) for Kṛṣṇa and the heroine. The friends of the *priya sakhī* group and the *paramapreṣṭha sakhī* group, however, cherish equal love for Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, maintaining the sublime conceit of being Radha's own friends [UN.VIII.124-137]. All these female friends are eternal companions of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Their love is not restrained by any condition as in the case of loving servitude. In the works of Rūpa, Jīva, Kaṇapūra and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja we do not meet with *mañjarīs*, the subordinate adolescent *gopīs* as a type of Rādhā's *sakhī*, who have greater love for Rādhā and appear in the later Vaiṣṇava literature. Some contemporary Vaiṣṇava scholars, as pointed out by David L. Haberman,<sup>17</sup> identify them with the *prāṇasakhīs* and the *nirya sakhīs* described by Rūpa, in spite of the fact that Rūpa has not used the term *mañjarī* himself.

The romantic love of Vraja has a special flavour because it is mixed up with friendly love and is therefore different from conjugal love. Jīva points out that the love of the queens of Kṛṣṇa towards Kṛṣṇa is mixed with loving servitude (*dāsyamiśra kāntābhāva*) whereas the love of the damsels of Vraja for Kṛṣṇa is blended with friendship (*sakhyamiśra*) [PS,260]. Therefore, the difference between the queens' love

and the gopīs' love is not only of degree but also of quality. Rūpa also shows that the intimate love (*pranaya*) of the heroine in romantic love is a kind of confidential friendship (*maitra/sakhya*). And due to this *sakhya*, this love is full of trust and therefore non-restrained by nature [UN.XIV.108-114]. Friendship in a *kāntā* (a lady-love) is a special quality. Therefore, although the leaders of the different groups are rivals to each other, their rivalry is not real. Because when all of them are separated from Kṛṣṇa, they console each other as dear friends. As for example, we find that Rādhā in her separation from Kṛṣṇa, taking her own image reflected on a stone as Candrāvalī, is addressing her as dear friend [LM.III.39]. The difference between the *kāntā*'s love and the *sakhī*'s love towards Kṛṣṇa is this: In the case of *kāntās* the love is brightened by the mixture of friendship (*sakhyabhāva miśra*), whereas in the case of the *sakhīs* friendly love is mixed with romantic love (*kāntābhāva miśra sakhya*). Therefore it is not the difference of quality, but quantity.

C. Friendship as the enhancing excitant:

Sometimes, the very presence of friends (male as well as female) functions as the enhancing excitant (*uddīpana*) in romantic love. As we see in the *Lalita Mādhava* of Rūpa Gosvāmin, the presence of Lalitā, the most intimate friend of Rādhā, stimulates the love for Rādhā in Kṛṣṇa [VI.43]. Similarly, at the sight of Subala, Kṛṣṇa's dear friend, Rādhā's love for Kṛṣṇa is stimulated [UN.X.85].

Thus far we have seen that friends as well as friendship have permeated the *madhura* in an inconceivable way. In a nutshell we may conclude that the beatific sports (*līlā*) of Kṛṣṇa in *madhura* are for the friends (as spectators), by the friends (as

assistants), and of the friends (as heroines). The friends as the witnesses remind us of the Upanisadic (*Muṇḍaka*) concept Brahman as witness (*sakṣin*), when Jīva Brahman is enjoying. Here, in the Vaiṣṇava concept of *madhura*, Kṛṣṇa, the Rasa Brahman, is enjoying and enjoyed, when his blissful associates (the expansion of his own power of bliss) are the witnesses. In other words, dramatic performance is meaningless without the connoisseurs as spectators. In a similar manner, the beatific sports of Kṛṣṇa in *madhura* become meaningless without spectators. As Rūpa and Jīva already have told us, all of Kṛṣṇa's acts have only one aim in view - bestowing delight on his devotees. Therefore, *madhura*, in the absence of friends as witnesses, is without charm.

The female friends become the highest models for *rāgānugā bhakti*. They are the gurus of the followers of *rāgānugā* path since, in the *rāgānugā* path, devotees should follow the archetypal devotees only, but not Kṛṣṇa (*bhaktavad ācaritavyam na tu kṛṣṇavat*). To imitate Rādhā is impossible as she is the personification of God's own power of bliss and thus identical with God. Her *adhiruḍhamahābhāva*, where all emotions attain their sublime relishability, is inaccessible even by her own associates in Vraja. Therefore, the female friends are the best models for the devotional path.

It is interesting to point out here that in the *madhura* context friendship is unmotivated and unconditional, and therefore, in most cases, friends are the givers to God, but not the receivers from God.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>See BRS IV.1.5 and the commentary of Viśvanātha Cakravartin on the same.

<sup>2</sup>BRS IV.3.13-14.

<sup>3</sup>cārccikyam vaijayantiṃ paṭam urupuratodbhāsuram bhūṣaṇānām --- dattvā rajyam kuṭumbam svanapi bhagavate ditsu --- vyākulaḥ paṇḍavo 'bhūt//BRS IV.3.36.

<sup>4</sup>tam nāgabhogaparivītam adṛṣṭaceṣṭam ālokyā tatpriasakhāḥ paśupā bhṛṣārtiāḥ/ --- duḥkhābhīśokabhayamūḍhadhiyo nipetuḥ// [Bh. X.16.10] quoted by Rūpa in BRS IV.4.8.

<sup>5</sup>See BRS III.4.81; BRS III.4.82-3; BRS IV.8.81.

<sup>6</sup>suhṛdāmiśraṇām samyagāsvādam kurute rasam//dvayostu miśrane sāmīyam duḥśakam syātūlādṛtam/BRS IV.8.16,17.

<sup>7</sup>janayatyeva vairasyam rasānām vairiṇā yutiḥ/sumṛṣṭa pānakādīnām kṣāratikādīnā yathā//BRS IV.8.53.

<sup>8</sup>dorbhyām argaladīrghābhyām sakhe! parirabhasva mām/sīraḥ Kṛṣṇa tavāghrāya viharīsyē tatas tvayā//

<sup>9</sup>svasmin dhurye'pyamāni śīśusu giridhṛtāvudyateṣu smitāsyā, sthūkārī daddhni visre praṇayīsu vivṛta praudhirindre'runākṣah/ gosiḥe saśrūrvidūne guruṣu harimakham praśya kampah sa pāyādāsūre sphāradrṣṭīr yuvatisu pulakī vibhrad ardrim vibhurvaḥ//BRS IV.8.85.

<sup>10</sup>vikatā rasalakṣmaṇū/rasa eva rasābhāsāḥ/BRS IV.9.1.

<sup>11</sup>suhṛdityudito bhiyā cakampe, chalito narmagirā stutiñcakāra/sa nṛpaḥ pariripsito bhujābhyām, hariṇā daṇḍavad agrataḥ papāta//BRS IV.9.10.

<sup>12</sup>De, VFM,407.

<sup>13</sup>rasabhāva tadābhāsa bhāvāsya praśamodayausandhisābalatā ceti sarvepi rasanādrasāḥ//Sahityadarpana.

<sup>14</sup>See PS,452-87.

<sup>15</sup>esa ca sthāyī sāksād upa bhogātmakastadanumodanātmakaśca/pūrvaḥ sāksāt nāyikānām, uttarāḥ sakhinām/PS,629.

<sup>16</sup>sakhyah śrīrādhikāyā vrajakumudavidhorhlādinīnāmasākteḥ sārāmśapremavallyāḥ kiśalayadalapuspādītulyāḥ svatulyāḥ/siktāyām kṛṣṇa līlāmrtarasanīcayairullasantyām amuṣyam jātolāsah svasekācchatagunāmadhikam santi yattanna citram//G.L.X.16.

<sup>17</sup>David L. Haberman, "The Religious Aesthetics of the Bengal Vaiṣṇava Community at Rādhākūṇḍa: The Dual Love-Object of Mañjarī Sādhanā" in *Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, Orientalism, Society and the Arts* (Michigan: Asian Studies Center, 1985), 50.



## CHAPTER SIX

### CONCLUSION

In the understanding of the Caitanya tradition, the emotions and sentiments of a religious heart are too real and too precious to be dismissed by the censures of the intellect. The advocates of the Caitanya tradition have observed that to acknowledge God as great is something, but not much. They maintain that one can enter into a loving relationship with God and become God's friend. Human love perishes. However when one loves God he/she never loses a friend. God, Kṛṣṇa, through his loving nature manifests himself as friend (*mitratvena sphuran, Jīva*). Kṛṣṇa is the eternal friend of all beings - *bhūta suhṛt*. He is the friend of his devotees - *bhakta suhṛt*. Therefore the image of God as friend is no superimposition, but reality. In the *Gītā*, Kṛṣṇa shows his universal form to Arjuna because Arjuna is his "very dear friend". However, upon seeing Kṛṣṇa, the Lord of the universe, in his all majestic form, Arjuna actually asks Kṛṣṇa to forgive the familiarity of his friendship. Caitanya and his followers go beyond this point. They have shown that individuals can become the friends of Kṛṣṇa through *rāgānugā bhakti*, imitation of the devotional path of the associates of Kṛṣṇa in Vraja, and then there is no limit to this friendship. One can become the friend of Kṛṣṇa not in awe or adoration but in complete freedom. In this regard Arjuna or others who are conscious of Kṛṣṇa's majestic attributes are not the best models for the devotees of the *rāgānugā* path, but Kṛṣṇa's cowherd friends in Vraja are the best models.

In every case, love begins through self-love. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*

maintains: "Self is dearer than a son, dearer than wealth and dearer than anything else" [I.4.8]. Thereby the *Upaniṣad* concludes that everything is dear only when related to the self [*Br. Up. II.4.5*]. Jesus Christ has recognized the fact that love of self is a prerequisite for the love of a friend. Therefore, his authentic formula for friendship is: Love thy neighbour as thyself [*St. Luke, X.27*]. In a similar way, the friendship with God in the Caitanya tradition begins with mine-ness (*mamatā*), the result of the self-conceit (*abhimāna*) of being God's own friend. In the view of the Caitanya tradition, this concept originates through the equation of mine-ness with thine-ness in the Upaniṣadic statement *tat tvam asi*, understood to mean you are his own.

Haberman has pointed out that "Rūpa Gosvāmin maintains that salvation by grace alone is extremely rare and, therefore, that most do not achieve the ultimate goal without *sādhana*".<sup>1</sup> While recommending two kinds of *sādhana* - *vaidhī* and *rāgānugā* - Rūpa Gosvāmin and his followers have shown their preference for *rāgānugā* path, which Haberman views as "acting" similar to that of a dramatic performance. We wish to add here that votaries in *rāgānugā* are only concerned with temperamental (*sātrvika*) acting, imitation of emotions. The Caitanya tradition has shown us that friendship as a *sādhana bhakti* is to be cultivated through practice and discipline. In the *vaidhī* category of *bhakti*, friendship is not spontaneous. In the *rāgānugā* category, the friendship is spontaneous because this love already present in the devotee's heart as an emotion (*bhāva*) comes to the surface as an ardent love (*preman*) through imitation of *rāgātmikā bhakti*. In the *rāgānugā bhakti* context, friendship being an imitation or acting, is an art. And this friendship as an art is not cultivated without discipline. The method is to

imitate properly and constantly the friendship of the associates of Kṛṣṇa in Vraja. It shows that friendship as *rāgānugā* devotion is not a relationship only between the two - the subject and the object, the devotee and God. It needs a third one, a middle person. This third person is also a devotee, an archetype of the friend, found in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. This third one, the male or female friend of Kṛṣṇa, now becomes the teacher, *guru*, the forerunner of devotional friendship. This unconventional kind of *guru* is not a *śravaṇa guru* from whom one may hear and learn the sacred hymns, the *mantras*. There is no direct contact between this *guru* and the devotee of the *rāgānugā* path. The contact is only through mental visualization. However, this is a special kind of *guru* who through his/her participation in the Kṛṣṇa *līlā*, as an original character, shows the path of devotional friendship. And then, imitating the activities of the *guru*, the archetypal friend, the devotee of the *rāgānugā* path achieves the goal. When the conventional *gurus* are the brahmins, in the *rāgānugā* context they are *gopas*, the cowherds, and *gopis*, the cowherdesses, of the so-called *śūdra* caste. Nevertheless, the imitation of these *gurus* is able enough to bring to the surface the devotional friendship already present within the novice.

The friendship in the *rāgātmikā bhakti* is a direct relationship between the two - Kṛṣṇa and his eternal associates. This is the only relationship where God manifests himself as equal to his friendly devotees. For friendship in the *rāgātmikā* context, Rūpa emphasizes equality (*sāmya*) of the friends with Kṛṣṇa in every respect - in age, beauty, dress and the like. Rūpa's selection of the term *vayasya*, of equal age, for the friend of Kṛṣṇa, shows his more emphasis on the equality in age. The equality in age is a great

factor in friendship because it points out a similar sensitivity and mental disposition. Equality of beauty, status etc. is the requirement for the absence of any kind of inferiority complex among the friends. The Caitanya tradition maintains that Kṛṣṇa is a cowherd boy among the cowherd friends. He is Kṣatriya among Kṣatriya friends such as Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma and Arjuna who believe him as their own cousin from mother's side. In the Vraja context we find a new world of friendship which is quite different from the friendship of adult worldly persons. Rūpa and his followers assert that boyhood or adolescence is the best age for the best kind of friendship, the self-less love. David Kinsley in the *Divine Player* has observed that God like a boy belongs to another world not bound by social norms and moral responsibility.<sup>2</sup> Kṛṣṇa as a boy or adolescent truly manifests his own wilful sportive nature in Vraja through friendly play with his friends.

It should be pointed out here that although God through devotional friendship becomes equal to his devotees, the classification in friendship itself shows the hierarchy among the friends. This hierarchy is just opposite to the social hierarchy. Here in the *bhakti* context, the best male friends are rural cowherd boys of the so-called lower caste. Brāhmins, Kṣatriyas and other urban friends have a secondary place. Seniority of age and experience is denied. The boys of Vraja become the best exemplary models in the *rāgānuṅgā bhakti* but not the mature friends like Arjuna and Yudhiṣṭhira. Not only this, but some of the cowherd boys - Dāman, Vasudāman etc. - through their identification with Kṛṣṇa become the object of worship. But among male and female friends, it is the female friends of Vraja, the cowherd girls, who become the highest exemplary models

for the devotees of the *rāgānugā* path.

Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja has stressed *sakhī bhāva* as the best means for realizing divine love. Because the female friends of Vraja through their self-willed love for Kṛṣṇa have denied all possible social and scriptural injunctions. Although the *sakhīs* in the Caitanya tradition apparently resemble the *sakhīs* of the classical Sanskrit literature, they are essentially different because in the classical literature, the female friends' friendship towards the hero generally comes through their relationship with the heroine, thus it is relational (*sambandhātmikā*) and, at the same time, without the sense of mine-ness. Consequently, their friendship towards the hero is neither self-willed nor spontaneous. In the Vraja context, *sakhīs'* love is *rāgātmikā*, therefore, self-willed and spontaneous. They have forsaken everything for the sake of Kṛṣṇa. These friends are rebels against society because they have abandoned the traditional path. The *sakhī's* loyalty for both Kṛṣṇa and his heroine suggests a dual object of love, which is gradually going to be developed as a dual object of worship in the later period in *mañjarīsādhanā*. Donna M. Wulff, in *Drama as a Mode*, finds a trend towards *mañjarībhāva* in the friendly service of the friends like Paurṇamāsī and Vṛndā in the *Vidagdhamādhava*.<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps, the self-less character of the *sakhī* was introduced into the religious literature for the first time by the poet Jayadeva and subsequently followed by Vidyāpati. Caṇḍidāsa and Rāmānandarāya. However, for Rūpa and his followers, the term *sakhī* has an extended meaning: "the beloved lady who desires to support, and enjoy Kṛṣṇa's union with his heroine." The female friends also fall into the *kāntā* group (group of the heroines) because they are the expansion of the power of bliss; they should be identified

with Rādhā. Thus the *sakhībhāva*, the attitude of a female friend, possesses a complex nature, being a mixture of romantic love and self-less friendship.

In their exposition of *preyān* as a *bhakti rasa*, Rūpa and Jīva have shown a new horizon of the *rasa* concept where children, boys and adolescents are more important than adults. Nowhere in the whole of classical Sanskrit literature have we seen so much emphasis on boys and boyhood. Even in the heroic mode, for Rūpa, playful boys are the heroes, but not the veteran warriors. We have already pointed out how friends and friendship have obtained an important and ubiquitous role in *madhura*, the devotional romantic love. This fact seems to be overlooked by the scholars who are more enthusiastic about *rāgānugā bhakti* than *rāgāmikā*. For us, the beatific sports of Kṛṣṇa in *madhura* are by the friends (as nourishers), for the friends (as spectators), and of the friends (as heroines). These sports of Kṛṣṇa would have been meaningless without the presence of the friends as the connoisseurs of *madhura rasa*. The whole structure of *madhura* seems to be based on friendly love, as the female friends are the nourishers, spreaders and the inspirers of *madhura*. Rādhā's imagery is perfected in association with the *sakhis*. These *sakhis* are the mediators between Kṛṣṇa and his heroines in their separation or union.

In the exposition of devotional friendship, Jīva is more concerned about analysing it as a subject matter of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, his revealed Vaisnava scripture. Therefore, his focus on *preyān* as a *bhakti rasa* is from the subjective point of view of a devotee. Jīva's greater concern about the subjective experience of the devotees seems to lead him to overlook the relishability of Kṛṣṇa's own love towards his friends as a

*rasa*. Therefore, he emphatically denies that Kṛṣṇa can be the subject of the permanent emotion in the *rasa* of friendly devotion. Rūpa, however, seems to be more concerned with the sublime relishability of a friendship as *bhakti rasa*. The *Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu* convinces us that, for Rūpa, Kṛṣṇa and his friends are equally eligible to be the object as well as the subject of the permanent emotion. As a true poet and aesthete, Rūpa sticks closer to the method and theories of the classical rhetoricians. Therefore, for him, "apparent *rasa*" is not a real blemish in a literature, on the contrary, it has its own charm. However, for Jīva, "apparent *rasa*" is a blemish, and therefore he attempts hard to show that such a blemish is not possible in a revealed scripture like the *Bhāgavata Purāna*. Both Rūpa and Jīva, on the other hand, agree regarding the importance of friendship in the *bhakti* context. Both these scholars agree in accepting *preyān* as the third best among all the *bhakti rasas* and differ from some other Vaiṣṇava scholars who consider *preyān* as the second best. However, accepting friends as the assistants and the enhancing excipients in *madhura*, they recognize friendship as the focal point in devotional love, where female friends become the highest exemplary models for the devotees.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>David L. Haberman, *Acting as a Way of Salvation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 146.

<sup>2</sup>David R. Kingsley, *The Divine Player* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1979), 67.

<sup>3</sup>Donna Marie Wulff, *Drama as a Mode of Religious Realization* (Chico, California: American Academy of Religion, 1984), 176.



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## GLOSSARY

<i>abhidheya:</i>	The subject-matter
<i>acintyabhedābheda:</i>	The doctrine of unthinkable unity within difference. It shows the supra-logical nature of relationship between God and His creation which comprises individual beings.
<i>anubhāva:</i>	The ensuants. The expressions of the mental states.
<i>anurāga:</i>	The transcendent attachment, where love is constant freshness.
<i>antarāṅgā śakti/svarūpā śakti:</i>	The internal, or essential power of God. It consists of three aspects: existence, knowledge, and bliss.
<i>āśraya:</i>	The ground or substratum. In the rasa context, <i>asraya</i> , means the subject of emotion.
<i>Ātman:</i>	The Self or Supreme Soul. This is considered to be identical with Brahman, the Supreme Reality.
<i>avatāra:</i>	Incarnation of God on earth.
<i>avidyā:</i>	Primal ignorance, generally identified with <i>māyā</i> .
<i>Bhagavat:</i>	God, the highest conception of the Supreme.
<i>bhakti:</i>	Devotion.
<i>bhāva:</i>	Emotion.
<i>Brahman:</i>	The Ultimate Reality in its indeterminate state.
<i>jīva:</i>	The individual soul.
<i>Kṛṣṇa:</i>	The blue Lord of the Vaiṣṇavas. He is identified with Bhagavat, God.
<i>līla:</i>	The beatific sports of God. Sometimes these sports are visible, and sometimes invisible.
<i>māyā:</i>	The power of illusion. This is the material and

	efficient cause of the universe.
<i>preman:</i>	Ardent devotional love considered to be the highest goal of life.
<i>preyān/maitrīmāya:</i>	Sentiment of devotional friendship.
<i>rāga:</i>	Devotional love in the form of passionate attachment.
<i>rāgānugā:</i>	Devotion in the form of imitation of the original emotional love of the associates of Kṛṣṇa.
<i>rāgātmikā:</i>	Emotional devotion of the associates of Kṛṣṇa.
<i>rasa:</i>	Taste, savour, or essence of something. Technically it means the aesthetic enjoyment or the blissful experience of a literary art called sentiment.
<i>Rāsa:</i>	A group dance.
<i>sādhana:</i>	Spiritual practices as means of salvation.
<i>sādhya:</i>	The goal of spiritual practices.
<i>sakhya/maitrī:</i>	Friendship.
<i>sātrvikabhāva:</i>	Spontaneous expressions of the internal virtue.
<i>sthāyibhāva:</i>	The permanent emotion.
<i>vibhāva:</i>	The determinant which causes the permanent emotion to be capable of being relished.
<i>viśaya:</i>	The object of emotion.
<i>vyabhīcārī bhāva:</i>	The auxiliary feelings. These are transitory by nature.