

CHAITANYA'S

Pilgrimages and Teachings

From his contemporary Bengali biography
the *Chaitanya-charit-amrita*:
Madhya-lila

Translated into English



BY

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To

Professor RAJA GOPALACHARIAR, M.A., B.L.,

who has done so much to make the Vaishnav saints
of the South known to us,

I dedicate this attempt to place the original life of Chaitanya—
the greatest Vaishnav teacher of the North—within
the reach of all readers of English who
know not the Bengali tongue.

PATNA COLLEGE, }
10 April, 1913.

J. SARKAR.

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THE AUTHOR AND HIS BOOK.

Krishnadas Kaviraj, the author of the *Chaitanya-charit-amrita*, was born in the Vaidya caste, at Jhámátpur, a village of the Kátwá subdivision of the Burdwán district in Bengal, (1496 A.D.) Having lost both his parents in early life, he was brought up by his late father's sister. He read Persian at the village school, and then began to study Sanskrit in order to qualify himself for practising Hindu medicine, the profession of his caste. Every part of his great poem bears evidence to his profound mastery of Sanskrit literature, particularly of the *Bhāgabat Purān*. The young orphan, while still unmarried, was converted to Vaishnavism by Nityananda, and begged his way on foot to Brindaban, where he spent the remainder of his long life in religious study, meditation and worship. He was initiated as a Vaishnav monk by Raghunath-das, who along with Swarup Damodar had been body-servant to Chaitanya during that saint's stay at Jagannath. From his *guru*, Krishnadas learned the particulars of Chaitanya's life and teaching which he has embodied in the present biography.

His first efforts at authorship were in Sanskrit and dealt with the mysteries of *bhakti* and the service of Krishna. The great work of his life was the composition of his old age, and was undertaken at the request of the faithful. Every evening the Bengali Vaishnavas

of Brindaban used to gather together and hear the acts of their Master read out from his poetical biography, the *Chaitanya Bhagabat* composed by Brindaban-das. But this book dealt with the saint's last years in too meagre and concise a fashion to satisfy the curiosity of his followers. They, therefore, led by Haridas Pandit, the chief servitor of the Govindji temple, pressed Krishnadas to write a new and fuller life of the Master. The poet was old and infirm, but he regarded the request as a solemn charge which he was not free to decline. That very evening he prayed to the image of Madanmohan, and the god's approbation was shown by a sign,—a garland of flowers slipping down from his neck at the end of the prayer! On the bank of the Radhákund, the aged Krishnadas completed his *Chaitanya-charit-amrita* in 1582 after nine years of unremitting toil. It is divided into three books, the Ádi Lilá, the Madhya Lilá, and the Anta Lilá, dealing with the three stages of Chaitanya's life, viz., (i) the 24 years from his birth to the time of his entering the monastic order, (ii) the six years of his pilgrimage, and (iii) the last eighteen years of his life, which were spent in residence at Puri. In spite of its epic length, prolixity, and repetitions, the *Chaitanya-charit-amrita* is a master-piece of early Bengali literature, and has the further merit of making the subtle doctrines of the Vaishnav faith intelligible to ordinary people. Indeed, the older school of Vaishnav Fathers, as represented by Jiv Goswami,

had at first objected to its publication, lest the merits and completeness of this vernacular work should cause the learned Sanskrit treatises on *bhakti* exegetics to be neglected by the public! The author's manuscript is still preserved in the Radha-Damodar temple of Brindaban, and worshipped as a holy relic.

The Second Book (*Madhya Lilā*), which is the longest and most detailed of the three and the foremost authority for Chaitanya's teachings, life and character, and contains the clearest and fullest exposition of Vaishnav philosophy,—has been here translated into English for the first time. Readers to whom the Bengali tongue is unknown, will here find an unvarnished account of Chaitanya as his contemporaries knew him, without any modern gloss, interpolation or criticism. My version is literal ; only, in certain places needless details have been curtailed, all repetitions have been avoided, and the texts so freely quoted by our author from the Sanskrit scriptures have been indicated by reference to chapter and verse, instead of being done into English. The word *Prabhu*, applied by the author to Chaitanya, has been rendered by me as 'Master'.

There are two other contemporary lives of Chaitanya in old Bengali. The earliest of them is the *Chaitanya Bhagabat*, composed in 1535 A.D., by the Brahman Brindaban-das, a sister's son of Sribas Pandit of Navadwip. This author (*b.* 1507, *d.* 1589) was a votary of God as incarnate in Nityananda ; to him Chaitanya was

almost a secondary object of adoration. His poem is encumbered with miracles and digressions, and far inferior to Krishnadas's work in wealth of philosophic exposition and description of men and events.

Trilochan-das (born 1523) wrote the *Chaitanya-Mangal* at the age of fourteen ! It is full of marvellous incidents and should be classed with romances rather than with sober histories. Its text is still sung by wandering minstrels and is appreciated by the lower ranks of the Vaishnav community.

A SHORT LIFE OF CHAITANYA.

Navadwip, a town in the Nadia district of Bengal, situated on the river Ganges, 75 miles north of Calcutta, was a great trading centre and seat of Hindu learning in the 15th century. Its Sanskrit Logic (*Nyaya*) for which Bengal is most famous among all the provinces of India, was very highly developed and studied here, and the fame of its scholars was unsurpassed in the land. But, if we may believe the biographers of Chaitanya, the atmosphere of the town was sceptical and unspiritual. There was a lack of true religious fervour and sincere devotion. Proud of their intellectuality, proud of the vast wealth they acquired by gifts from rich Hindus, the local *pandits* despised *bhakti* or devotion as weak and vulgar, and engaged in idle ceremonies or idler amusements. Vedantism formed the topic of conversation of the cultured few; wine and goat's meat were taken kindly by the majority of the people, and such *Shakta* ceremonies as provided them were performed with zeal and enthusiasm.

Jagannath Misra, surnamed Purandar, a Brahman of the Vaidik sub-caste, had emigrated from his ancestral home in Sylhet and settled here in order to live on the bank of the holy Ganges. His wife was Shachi, a daughter of the scholar Nilambar Chakravarti. One evening in February or March, 1485 A. D., when there was a lunar eclipse at the same time as full moon, a son was born to this couple. It was their tenth child; the

first eight, all daughters, had died in infancy, and the ninth, a lad named Bishwarup, had abandoned the world at the age of sixteen when pressed to marry, and had entered a monastery in the Madras presidency.

The new-born child was named *Bishwambhar*. But the women, seeing that his mother had lost so many children before him, gave him the disparaging name of *Nimai* or 'short-lived,' in order to propitiate Nemesis. The neighbours called him *Gaur* or *Gauranga* ('fair complexioned') on account of his marvellous beauty. That the child was born amidst the chanting of Hari's name all over Navadwip on the occasion of the eclipse, was taken to be an omen that he would prove a teacher of *bhakti*. Passing by the lucky signs of his horoscope, and the miracles and Krishna-like antics with which pious imagination has invested his boyhood, we may note that he showed great keenness and precocity of intellect in mastering all branches of Sanskrit learning, especially grammar and logic.

On the death of his father, Bishwambhar, while still a student, married Lakshmi, the daughter of Ballav Acharya, with whom he had fallen in love at first sight. He now became a householder, and began to take pupils, like many other Brahmans of Navadwip. As a *pandit* he surpassed the other scholars of the place and even defeated a renowned champion of another province, who was travelling all over India holding disputations.

On his return from a scholastic tour in East Bengal,

in which he received many gifts from pious house-holders, he found that his wife had died of snake-bite during his absence. After a while the widower married Vishnu-priya. At this time his head was turned by the pride of scholarship, and his victories in argument made him slight other men. During a pilgrimage to Gaya he met Ishwar Puri, a Vaishnav monk of the order of Madhavacharya and a disciple of that Madhavendra Puri who had first introduced the cult of *bhakti* for Krishna among the *sanyasis*. Bishwambhar took this Ishwar Puri as his *guru* or spiritual guide. A complete change now came over his spirit. His intellectual pride was gone; he became a *bhakta*; whatever subject he lectured on, the theme of his discourse was love of Krishna. Indeed, he developed religious ecstasy and for some time behaved like a mad man: he laughed, wept, incessantly shouted Krishna's name, climbed up trees, or raved in abstraction imagining himself to be Krishna. He now made the acquaintance of the elderly scholar and *bhakta* Adwaita Acharya, and was joined by a *sanyasi* named Nityananda, who became to him even more than what Paul was to Christ.

Many people of Navadwip now believed Chaitanya to be an incarnation of Krishna and did him worship, while Nityananda came to be regarded as Balaram, (the elder brother of Krishna). Religious processions were frequently got up, in which the devout, headed by the two, went dancing and singing through the streets.

or assembled in the courtyards of houses. This was the origin of the *nām-kīrtan* ('chanting God's name') which has ever been the most distinctive feature of this creed. Chaitanya's greatest achievement at this time was the reclamation of two dissolute ruffians, Jagái and Mádhái, who were a terror to the city. The apostles of *bhakti* had also to face mockery and persecution from scoffers and unbelievers (*pāshandi*),—which were overcome by supernatural signs. We pass over the scenes of ecstasy, tireless exertion in *kīrtan*, madness and miracles, which form the extant history of this period of Chaitanya's life. But the conversions among the learned were few, and Chaitanya at last in despair resolved to turn hermit for their salvation, arguing thus, "As I must deliver all these proud scholars, I have to take to an ascetic life. They will surely bow to me when they see me as a hermit, and thus their hearts will be purified and filled with *bhakti*. There is no other means." So, he induced Keshav Bharati to initiate him as a *sanyasi* (1509) under the name of Krishna-Chaitanya, usually shortened into CHAITANYA, which we have anticipated in this sketch. He was then 24 years of age. His mother, who had often before urged him not to desert her as his elder brother had done, was heart-broken at the loss of her sole surviving child, but Chaitanya consoled her in every possible way, and bowed to her wishes in many points in his after years as obediently as he had done before renouncing the life of a householder.

The next six years were passed by him in pilgrimages to Orissa, the Southern Land, and Brindaban, and in the preaching of *bhakti* in many parts of India, as described in detail in the present volume.

Thereafter, at the age of 30, he settled at Puri, and spent his remaining days in the constant adoration of Jagannath. Disciples and admirers from many places, chiefly Bengal and Brindaban, visited him here; and he edified them by his discourses, humility and penances. Towards the close of his life he had repeated fits of religious transport in which he acted in utter disregard of his life,—once leaping into the blue ocean, at another time battering his face against the stone wall of the temple. At last in June-July, 1533, his physical frame broke down under such prolonged mental convulsion and self-inflicted torments, and he passed away under circumstances over which the piety of his biographers has drawn the veil of mystery.

(In his lifetime his disciples had organised a mission. In Bengal the new creed was preached and spread far and wide by Nityananda, who afterwards came to be regarded as a god, co-ordinate with Chaitanya. Modern Brindaban, with its temples, Sanskrit seminaries and haunts for recluses, is the creation of the Bengali Vaishnavas, and it has eclipsed the older Mathura. Here the brothers Rup and Sanatan,—descended from a prince of Karnata who had settled in Bengal and whose descendants had become completely Bengalised, joined

Chaitanya's church. These two and their nephew Jiv Goswami were great Sanskrit scholars and their devotional works, commentaries &c. encouraged a revival of Sanskrit studies in general in that Muslim age. These three, with Gopal Bhatta, nephew of the celebrated Vedantist Prakashananda who was latterly converted to *bhakti* by Chaitanya and changed his name into Prabodhananda, and Raghunath Bhatta, son of an upcountry Brahman *bhakta*, and the last Raghunath Das, a Kayastha saint of the Saptagram zamindar family of the Hugli district and the *guru* of our author, formed the six Fathers of Chaitanya's Church. Besides Rup and Sanatan, most other disciples of Chaitanya adopted the Bengali tongue as their medium, and greatly enriched it with their songs, biographies, poems, travels, and translations of the *bhakti* literature from Sanskrit. The Vaishnav Goswamis, both at Brindaban and Navadwip, have kept up the study of Sanskrit to our own days. A classified list of Chaitanya's disciples is given in Book I. canto X and that of Nityananda and Adwaita's disciples in cantos XI and XII respectively.

GLOSSARY.

- Abadhuta*—an ascetic who has renounced the world.
- Acharya*—a family name or title of Brahmans.
- Adwaita Acharya*—an elderly scholar of Shantipur and associate in Chaitanya's devotions before he became a *sanyasi*.
- Arati*—divine service performed to a god in the early morning or after dusk, with lamps, incense, and instrumental music, especially bells.
- Baikuntha*—the heaven of Vishnu.
- Balaram*—the elder brother of Krishna ; the images of the two with that of their sister Subhadra between them, are worshipped in the temple of Jagannath.
- Bania*—grocer, (also acts as banker.)
- Baraha*—the "Boar," the 3rd incarnation of Vishnu.
- Bhagabat*—an adorer of Bhagaba'n or God ; the *Bhagabat*, the name of a *Puran*, regarded by the Vaishnavas as their Scripture.
- Bhakta*—a devotee, who seeks salvation through faith.
- Bhakti*—faith, devotion.
- Bhārati*—the title of an order of monks.
- Bhattacharya*—a title of Brahmans.
- Bhog*—see *prasad*.
- Bishwarup*—Chaitanya's elder brother, who turned a *sanyasi* under the title of Shankararanya and died in the monastery of Pandupur in Southern India.
- Dhoti*—a sheet of cloth worn round the lower limbs by Hindu males.
- Gandharba*—a class of celestial musicians.
- Garuda*—a bird ridden by Vishnu, sacred to the Vaishnavas.
- Gaur*—(1) a city in the Malda district, the capital of Bengal during the Pathan period ; also applied to the whole country of Bengal, (*Gaud*).
- (2) or *Gaurānga*, a title of Chaitanya.

- Gauriya*—a native of Bengal.
- Ghaghar*—a musical instrument.
- Ghat*—bathing stairs in a river, usually sacred.
- Ghee*—melted butter.
- Gopis*—milk-maids of Brindaban with whom Krishna disported.
- Goswami*—a title of respect, usually given to spiritual leaders among the Vaishnavas.
- Govardhan*—a sacred hill near Brindaban.
- Guru*—spiritual preceptor, initiator into learning or a faith.
- Hajipur*—a town north of the Ganges, nearly opposite to Patna ; it was the seat of the governor of Bihar appointed by the Sultans of Bengal. (*Riyas-us-Salatin*, tr. by A. Salam, 134 n.)
- Haridas*—a Muhammadan who had turned Vaishnav under Chaitanya's influence. There was another Haridas, a born Hindu, among Chaitanya's followers.
- Jagannath*—or 'Lord of the Universe,' name of the idol of Krishna worshipped in the temple at Puri ; also applied to the town of Puri.
- Jharikhand*—'the jungle country,' Chota Nagpur and the Santhal Parganahs.
- Kali yuga*—the present or iron age of the world.
- Katak*—the capital of Orissa and the seat of King Pratap Rudra of the Gajapati dynasty.
- Khol*—an instrument of music, being a long earthenware drum covered at both ends with leather ; distinctive of the Bengali Vaishnavas.
- Kirtan*—or *san-kirtan*, chanting God's name to the accompaniment of dance and song.
- Kulin*—(1) a man of blue blood (*kul*), descended from a mythical ancestor of high character or social position in a very far-off age.
(2) the name of a village in Bengal.

- Kunda*—a pool of water, sacred to some god or saint.
- Lila*—the antic or sport of a god, particularly of Krishna.
- Madhav Puri*—also Madhavendra, a monk, the spiritual guide of that Ishwar Puri who was the *guru* of Chaitanya.
- Maha-patra*—minister of the Rajah of Orissa.
- Mahaprasad*—food offered to Jagannath and thereafter considered as holy.
- Mangal-arati*—see *arati*.
- Mantra*—spell, sacred verse (usually in Sanskrit.)
- Mahant*—the abbot of a Hindu monastery.
- Niluchal*—‘the Blue Mountain,’ name of the mound on which the temple of Jagannath at Puri is situated.
- Nimái*—a nick-name of Chaitanya.
- Nupur*—bells tied to the feet in dancing.
- Odhra*—Orissa.
- Pandas*—attendants at a temple (such as Jagannath); they act as guides to pilgrims for a consideration.
- Pandit*—scholar, one versed in Sanskrit.
- Paricha*—the highest servitor of the temple of Jagannath.
- Prasad*—food dedicated to a god at his worship, and thereafter eaten by the faithful as something holy.
- Prayag*—the town of Allahabad, at the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna.
- Prema*—love, the highest form of *bhakti* or devotion.
- Puri*—(1) a town on the sea-coast in Orissa, containing the temple of Jagannath.
(2) the title of an order of monks.
- Purushottam*—a title of Vishnu; usually applied to the temple of Jagannath at Puri.
- Rarkh*—the upland of Burdwan and Birbhum districts, west of the Ganges.
- Sankirtan*—see *kirtan*.
- Sanyasi*—ascetic, monk, religious mendicant.
- Sarba-bhauma*—*i.e.*, “universal doctor,” a man of encyclopædic knowledge. In the book this title is applied to a great

scholar and Vedantic philosopher of Navadwip, who had settled at Puri and was held in high honour by the local king. His father was the scholar Bisharad, a fellow-student of Chaitanya's maternal grandfather. His sister's husband was Gopinath Acharya, who, too, lived at Puri. Also called 'the Bhattacharya', and *Bhatta*; not to be confounded with the Bhattacharya (*i.e.*, Balabhadra) of ch. XV-XXIII.

Shalagram—a round dark pebble, worshipped as an emblem of Vishnu.

Shantipur—a town on the Ganges, some miles below Navadwip.

Shastra—Scripture.

Shloka—a complete verse, couplet or quatrain.

Sikdar—the revenue collector of a district, local governor.

Sripad—a title of respect, applied to Nityananda.

Sri-Vaishnav—one of the four main sects of the Vaishnavas; they adore Narayan and Lakshmi (= *Sri*), instead of Krishna and Radha.

Subhadra—the sister of Krishna.

Sudra—the lowest caste among the Hindus.

Thug—a class of professional robbers who used to strangle or poison their victims, after mixing with them on the way, disguised as travellers.

Tirtha—sacred place.

Tulsi—(1) the Indian Basil plant, sacred to Vishnu, and venerated by the Vaishnavas as almost divine. "She is the Indian Daphne" (*Birdwood*). (2) the name of a minister of the king of Orissa.

Vaishnav—worshipper of Vishnu, the preserver, one incarnation of whom is Krishna. The *Shaivas* are the worshippers of Shiva the destroyer, while the *Shaktas* are the worshippers of Shakti or energy, the wife of Shiva.

Vidya nagar—Rajmahendri, in the Madras Presidency.

Vrihaspati—the teacher of the gods; hence, a man versed in all the branches of learning.



Chaitanya hearing the *Bhagabat* read.
(From an old picture in the possession of the zamindar of Kunjaghata.)

CHAITANYA-CHARIT-AMRITA

CHAPTER I.

At the House of Adwaita.

Glory to Sri Chaitanya ! Glory to Nityananda, to Adwaita, and to all followers of Gaur ! In the month of Mágh when the Master completed His twenty-fourth year, in the bright fortnight, He turned hermit. Then led by devotion He set off for Brindában, and wandered for three days in the *Rárh* country, hallowing it with His footsteps and chanting the following verse in rapture :

"I too shall cross the terrible and dark ocean of the world by means of devotion to the Supreme Being, as the sages did of yore,—by service at the lotus-like feet of Mukunda."

(From the Brahman mendicant's speech reported in the *Srimad-bhagabat*, XI. xiii. verse 53).

The Master said, "True are the words of this Bráhman, who chose the service of Mukunda as his life's task. The highest robe [in which a man can clothe himself] is devotion to the Supreme Soul,—the service of Mukunda which brings salvation. That robe he put on. Now shall I go to Brindában and serve Krishna in solitude."

So saying the Master moved, the picture of religious ecstasy, heedless which way He walked day and night. Nityánanda, Acharya Ratna, and Mukunda, all three followed Him. All who saw Him, cried "Hari ! Hari !" in devotion, and forgot sorrow and loss. The cow-boys shouted Hari's name, at the sight of the Master, who stroked their heads saying, "Go on with your chant," and thanked them saying, "Blessed are ye ! ye have gratified me by pouring Hari's name into my ears !" Nityananda took the boys apart and thus tutored them, "When the Master asks you about the road to Brindaban, show Him the path leading to the Ganges." This they did and He took that path. Nityánanda spoke to Acharya Ratna, "Hasten to Adwaita and tell him that I shall lead the Master to his house. He should keep a boat ready at the river side. Thence go to Navadwip and fetch Shachi and all the disciples."

Sending him off, Nityananda came before the Master and showed himself. "Whither are you going, Sripád ?" the Master asked. "With thee to Brindában" was the reply. "How far is Brindában ?" "Behold, yonder is the Jamuná !" So saying Nityánanda led the Master to the Ganges. This river He mistook for the Jamuna. He thanked His stars that He had beheld the Jamuna, sang its praise, and after bowing bathed in it. He had no second-clothing except His loin-cloth with him. Just then Adwaita arrived in a boat, with a fresh loin-cloth and upper garment, and appeared bowing before the Master,

who was puzzled to see him and asked, "You are the Acharya Goswami. Why have you come here? How did you know that I was at Brindaban?" The Acharya replied "It is Brindaban wherever you are. It is my good luck that you have come to the Ganges." The Master said, "So, Nityananda has played me a trick: he has led me to the Ganges and called it Jamuná!" The Acharya replied, "False are not the words of Sripád. You have now indeed bathed in the Jamuná, for the Ganges and the Jamuná flow in one channel, the eastern waters being called Gangá and the western (in which you have bathed) Jamuná. Change your wet cloth for a dry one. Four days have you fasted in fervour of love. Come to my house today, I beg thee. I have cooked a handful of rice, with a little dry coarse curry and green herbs." Saying this he took the Master on board to his house, and joyfully washed His feet. His wife had already done the cooking. The Acharya himself dedicated the food to Vishnu, and served it in three equal portions. [Description of the dinner omitted.]

The Master said, "Long have you made me dance, now leave it off. Dine with Mukunda and Haridas." Then the Acharya broke his fast with those two, to his heart's content. The people of Shantipur, hearing of the Master's arrival, flocked to gaze on His feet. In joy they cried "Hari! Hari!" and wondered at His beauty. His fair complexion, which eclipsed the Sun in splendour, was set off by his red robe. Endless streams of people

came and went throughout the day. At dusk the Acharya began a *sankirtan*; he danced, while the Master gazed on. Goswami Nityananda danced hand in hand with the Acharya, and Haridas behind them. This song accompanied their dance:

"How shall I speak of my bliss to-day?

The Beloved (Krishna) has entered my temple for ever!"

With perspiration, thrill, tears of joy, shout, and roar, they turned and turned, touching the Master's feet now and then. The Acharya embraced Him and said "Long did you wander after escaping from me. Now that I have got you in my house, I shall hold you fast!" So the Acharya continued dancing and singing for three hours after nightfall. The Master was in an attitude of longing as He had not yet gained union with Krishna, and this separation made His love burn the more fiercely. Impatiently He fell down on the ground, at which the Acharya stopped his dance. Mukunda, who knew the Master's heart well, began to sing verses apt for His passion. The Acharya raised Him to make Him dance. At the verses, the Master could no longer be held back. He was all tears, tremour, thrill, sweat, and broken accents,—now rising up, now falling down, now weeping.

THE SONG: [RADHA SPEAKS]

Woe is me, dear sister, for my present state!

The love of Krishna has caught my body and soul like a poison!

*My heart burns day and night ; I know no peace.
O that I could fly where Kahan (Krishna) is to be found !*

Sweetly did Mukunda sing the above ditty, which made the Master's heart burst, as the emotions of repentance, melancholy, rapture, frolicsomeness, pride, and humility struggled with it. He was stricken down by the force of His passion, and lay down breathless on the ground. The faithful grew alarmed, when lo ! He sprang up with a shout, overcome with ecstasy and saying "Chant, chant, [the name of Hari]." None could understand the strong tides of His emotion.

Nityananda moved on holding Him, while the Acharya and Haridas danced behind them. Three hours did He pass thus, now joy now sadness surging in His heart. The dinner had come after five days of fasting ; so the wild dance greatly fatigued Him, but He felt it not in His ecstasy. Nityananda held Him back by main force ; the Acharya ended the *kirtan*, and laid the Master in His bed with every care.

In the same way ten days were passed in dinners and singing. In the morning the Acharya brought mother Shachi in a litter followed by the faithful. All the people of Navadwip came,—old and young, men and women,—forming a vast crowd. The Master was dancing and singing the Name, when Shachi arrived at Adwaita's house, and He fell prone at her feet. She took Him up into her bosom and wept, both of them being rapt at seeing each other. Shachi was distracted at seeing His

shaven crown : she wiped His body, kissed His mouth, and looked carefully, but could not see [any hair on His head]. Tears filled her eyes, and she mourned, "My darling Nimai ! be not cruel to me as Bishwarup was, whom I never saw after he had turned hermit. If *you* too do so, it will be the death of me." The Master replied amidst tears, "Listen, mother ! This body is your gift and not my own. My birth is from you, my body has been nursed by you. In ten million births I cannot repay my debt to you. True, I have become a Sanyasi with or without your consent, but I shall never slight your wishes. I shall live wherever you bid me, I shall do whatever you command." So saying He bowed to her again and again, while she joyfully clasped Him repeatedly.

Then the Acharya led her in, and the Master made haste to receive the faithful, welcoming them, looking into their faces and embracing them, one after another. They grieved at the sight of His bare head, and yet delighted at His beauty. How can I name all the devotees—Srivas, Ramai, Vidyanidhi, Gadadhar, Gangadas, Vakreshwar, Murari, Shuklambar, Buddhimant Khan, Nandan, Sridhar, Vijay, Vasudev, Damodar, Mukunda and Sanjay? Graciously He smiled on meeting the people of Navadwip. They danced in delight singing "Hari, Hari." The Acharya's house was turned into Vishnu's Heaven. From many villages men flocked to see the Master. For many days the Acharya supplied them

all with food, drink and quarters ; his store was inexhaustible, the more he spent the more was it filled again. From that day forward Shachi herself did the cooking, and the Master dined in the company of the faithful. In the day they had the Acharya's love and the sight of the Master, at night His dance and song. While He was singing all passions swept over Him, now He stood still, now trembled, now shed tears of joy or uttered broken words, now He fainted. At times He fell down on the ground, at which mother Shachi wept, saying "Methinks Nimai's body has been shattered." Then she piteously prayed to Vishnu, "Grant me this reward for my worship of thee since my infancy, that when Nimai falls on the ground, it may not hurt him!" The loving mother Sachī was out of herself with transports of delight and meekness. Srinivas and other Brahmans wanted to feast the Master.

But Shachi entreated them saying, "Where again shall I see Nimai? You will meet him elsewhere, but for me, miserable one, this is his only visit. Therefore, so long as he lives with the Acharya, I shall feed him, if you all grant it."

The faithful bowed in assent to the mother's wish. The Master too, caught His mother's love-longing and said to His assembled followers: "I had started for Brindaban without your consent. So my journey was cut short by a hindrance. True, I have embraced the monastic life all of a sudden, yet I shall not be dead to

you all. I shall not leave you in life; nor shall I leave my mother. It does not, however, become a hermit to live with his kindred in his birth-place. Let me not lay myself open to this charge. Devise a means by which I can serve both ends."

At these sweet words, the Acharya and others went to Shachi and told her of His wish. Shachi, the mother of the world (জগন্মাতা), answered, "I shall be happy if he stays here; but if he is blamed it will grieve me. This plan strikes me as a happy solution: let him live on the Nilachal (Puri) which is as it were a next door house from Navadwip; men pass frequently between the two places, and I shall always get news of him. You all may come and go, and he too may sometimes visit Navadwip at the Ganges bath. I count not my own joy or sorrow. What makes him happy is happiness to me."

The faithful praised her, "Mother, thy words are like an oracle of the gods!" At their report the Master rejoiced, did reverence to the people of Navadwip and other adorers, and said, "You are my greatest friends. Grant this my prayer, all of you, that you may ever in your homes sing Krishna's *sankirtan*,—Krishna's name, Krishna's deeds, Krishna's worship. Now give me leave to go to the Nilachal; I shall visit you between whiles." Smiling He bade them farewell with due respect. But when He wished to start, Haridas cried piteously "You are going to the Nilachal, but what will be my salvation? I have not strength enough to go there. How can

this lowly one hold to his sinful life without getting sight of you?" The Master answered, "Have done with thy self-abasement. It agitates my mind. For thy sake I shall pray to Jagannath; I shall take thee to Purushottam." Then the Acharya meekly begged Him to stay for a few days more, and the Master listened to him and did not go away. So, the Acharya, Shachi, and the faithful rejoiced. Daily did the Acharya hold the grand celebration—the sweet discourse on Krishna in the company of the devout in the daytime, and the revelry of *sankirtan* at night. Joyfully did Shachi cook, and merrily did the Master dine with the faithful. The service of the Master fulfilled the Acharya's reverence, devotion, home, and wealth, while Shachi delighted in gazing on her son, and feasting Him to her heart's content.

Thus did the faithful beguile some days in the Acharya's house in great bliss. At last the Master told them, "Go you all to your own homes; there make Krishna's *sankirtan*. We shall meet again; sometimes you will go to Puri, at others I shall come to you at the Bathing in the Ganges." Goswami Nityananda, Pandit Jagadananda, Pandit Damodar, and Mukunda Datta,—these four* were sent by the Acharya to bear the Master company. Comforting His mother, He bowed at her feet, walked round her, and then set off. The cry of

* The *Chaitanya Bhagabat* mentions two others, Govinda and Gadadhar. (III. 2).

lamentation rose in the Acharya's house, but the Master quickened His pace, heedless of it. Adwaita followed Him some distance weeping, when He turned back with clasped hands, solaced him, and spoke these gentle words, "You should comfort my mother and look after the congregation, for if you give way to grief they will die!" Embracing He turned Adwaita back, and passed on freely. To the bank of the Ganges He went with the four, and then to Puri by way of Chhatrabhog.

CHAPTER II.

The Miracles of Madhav Puri.

So the Master went to the Nilachal, with His four companions, singing of Krishna. One day He entered a village and personally begged a quantity of rice as alms. On the way the ferrymen did not refuse Him a crossing. He blessed them and came to Remuna, where He devoutly visited the charming image of Gopinath. As He bowed down at the feet of the image, a bunch of flowers from its crown dropped on His head. The Master rejoiced and danced and sang long with the faithful. The attendants of Gopinath marvelled at His power, love, beauty, and accomplishments, and served Him in many ways. There He passed the night, in desire of the *kshir prasad* (condensed milk) of which He had heard from Ishwar Puri before. The god was known as the *Gopinath who stole the kshir*, because, as the devotees told the tale, he had once stolen *kshir* for Madhav Puri.

In days gone by Madhav Puri had wandered on to Govardhan, near Brindaban, in his ecstasy heeding not whether it was day or night, and falling down to the ground without caring what sort of place it was. After going round the rock, he came to the Govinda-kunda, bathed, and sat down under a tree in the evening.

A Cow-boy came and held a pail of milk before him, saying with a smile, "Puri! drink this milk. Why don't you take what you have longed for? What are you musing on?" The Child's beauty charmed the heart of the Puri, and his sweet words took away his hunger and thirst. The Puri asked, "Who are you and where do you live? How did you know that I was fasting?" The Boy answered, "I am a milk-man of this village. In *my* village none can remain fasting. Some beg for rice, some for milk. I convey food to those who do not beg. The women who had come to draw water saw you, and sent me with this milk for you. I must be off now to milk my cows, but I shall come again for my pail." Then the Boy went away and was not seen again. Madhav Puri wondered, laid the emptied pail down, and began to pray without sleep. Towards the end of the night he dozed off into senselessness, and dreamt that the Boy came and led him by the hand to a bower saying "Here I dwell, suffering much from cold and rain, wind and sun. Bring the villagers together, remove me from the bower to the hill-top and there lodge me properly in a monastery. Bathe me deeply in cold water. Long have I looked forward to the day when Madhav would come to serve me. Moved by thy love I have accepted thy service, and I shall appear in the flesh to save the world by my sight. I am Gopal, the Uplifter of Govardhan Hill. My image was installed by King Bajra, and is the guardian

deity of this place. My attendant, in fear of the mis-believers, removed me from the hill to this grove for concealment and then fled. Since then I have been here. It is well that you have come... Now bring me out carefully." So saying the Boy disappeared. Madhav Puri awoke, and judging that he had seen Sri Krishna without recognising him, he rolled in the ground in a transport of devotion. After some weeping he calmed his mind and set about to carry out the Lord's bidding. After his morning bath he went into the village, called the people together, and said, "The Lord of your village, the Uplifter of Govardhan, is in a grove. Let us seek him out. The grove is dense and hard to enter. Take hatchets and spades with yourselves to make a door. The villagers joyfully accompanied him, and cut an entrance into the grove, where they found to their joy and wonder the image lying hidden under earth and grass. Removing the covering they knew (the image). But it was very heavy, so the strongest men joined together to take it up the hill. There the idol was placed on a stone seat, with another big stone at its back. The Brahmans of the village fetched water from the Govinda-kunda in fresh pots. Nine hundred pots of water were brought; many musical instruments were played; the women sang. It was a great festival with dancing and singing. All the curd milk and *ghee* in the village were brought there with sweets, and all other articles of offering.

The Goswami Puri ordered the Brahmans to feast all the villagers, old and young. They dined, the Brahmans first, then the others in due order. The people who came from other villages looked at Gopal and got his *prasād*. Men wondered at the power of the Puri who had produced the heap of rice as of old. He brought all the Brahmans to Vaishnavism and employed them in various services (of the god). Again, at close of day he roused the god, offered some light refreshments as *bhog*. It was noised abroad that Gopal had appeared there, and people flocked from neighbouring villages to see the god. The villagers joyfully gave feasts in honour of him on different days, each building up a mound of rice. At night the image was laid to rest; the Puri drank a little milk.

Next morning the same kind of service began. The people of a village came with all their milk, curd, *ghee* and rice, and offered them to Gopal. The Brahman cooked as before and Gopal tasted of the heap of rice. The people of Brindāban love Gopal of themselves, and he too loves them. They all came, partook of the holy *prasād* and forgot their sorrow and loss at the sight of him. From other provinces men arrived with presents when they heard that Gopal had appeared there. The rich men of Mathura sent costly offerings out of devotion. Gold, silver, cloth, incense and food stuffs were daily presented in vast quantities and swelled the store (of the temple.) One very rich Kshatriya built the temple (at

his own cost), some one else the kitchen, another the walls. The citizens of Brindaban presented a cow each, and thus Gopal got a thousand cows. Two Brahman hermits came from Bengal, and the Puri received them with attention, made them his disciples, and entrusted them with the service of the god. So he waited on the god for some two years, glad to see him served right royally.

One night the Puri had a dream, in which Gopal spoke to him, "I burn, I burn! Rub me with sandal from the Blue Mountain, and from nowhere else, and then shall I be cooled. Go there quickly." The Puri, inspired by devotion, travelled to the eastern country to do the Lord's behest, leaving others to carry on the service, with his consent. At Shantipur he visited Adwaita Acharya, who was moved by his devotion to get himself initiated by him and became his disciple. Thence the Puri proceeded south [Orissa], and at Remuna saw the Gopinath, whose beauty threw him into ecstasy. After singing and dancing he sat down in the vestibule and asked the (attendant) Brahman about the different dishes served to the god. The splendour of the service made him infer that the *bhog* was excellent. So he resolved to inquire into the character of the *bhog* and appoint it for his Gopal too. The Brahman described to him how twelve earthen pots full of *kshir*, called *amrita-keli* (the cream of nectar) famous and unmatched in the world, were offered to the god:

every evening. Just then that *bhog* was presented. The Puri inly thought, "If I can get a little of the *kshir prasad* unasked, I may learn its taste for the purpose of establishing it as my Gopal's *bhog*." But the longing shamed him and he prayed to Vishnu.

Then the *bhog* was removed and the *arati* was celebrated. The Puri bowed and went out without saying a word. He was passionless, indifferent to the world, vowed not to ask for anything. If he got anything unasked he ate it, otherwise he fasted; the nectar of love was enough for him, he felt not hunger or thirst. That he had coveted the *kshir* struck him as a sin. So he sat in the deserted square of the village-market singing hymns.

In the meantime the priest laid the image to sleep, finished his duties, and went to bed, where he had a dream. The god came and told him, "Up, priest, and open my door. I have kept a pot of *kshir* for the hermit. You will find it concealed under the skirt of my under garment. You all did not notice it under my illusion. Take the *kshir* quickly to Madhav Puri, who sits in the market place." The priest arose, bathed, opened the shrine, and found the *kshir* under the lap-pet of the god's *dhoti*. He washed the spot and went into the village with the pot of *kshir* and walked through the market crying, "Take this *kshir*, whosoever is named Madhav Puri! For your sake Gopinath had

concealed this *kshir*. Take it and eat it, Puri, thou luckiest man in the three worlds."

At this the Puri disclosed himself. The priest gave him the *kshir*, bowed, and told the whole story, to the rapture of the Puri. The attendant priest said admiringly, "No wonder that such a pious devotee can influence Krishna !"

Lovingly did the Puri drink the *kshir*, then he washed the pot, broke it, and tied the sherds in a corner of his sheet, eating one of the broken pieces every day, at which he grew wonderfully enraptured. At the close of the night he set off for Puri (Jagannath), bowing to Gopinath then and there, in fear that a crowd would gather round him next morning, when they heard that the Lord had sent him *kshir*.

So he fared on, till he came to Puri in the Blue Mountain ; the sight of Jagannath threw him into an ecstasy, he rose up and fell down, he laughed, danced, and sang, in intense delight. It was noised abroad that Madhav Puri had come to the holy place : men flocked to do him reverence. Such is the nature of fame, it comes God-sent to those who seek it not. In fear of public notice the Puri had fled thither, but fame clung to this devotee of Krishna all the way. Eager as he was to escape from the place, the need of sandal for his god held him back. He told the story of Gopal to the attendants of Jagannath and the *mohants*, and begged sandal for him. The faithful exerted them-

selves for it. He interceded with those who knew the Rajah's minister, and through him secured the camphor and sandal. A Brahman and a servant for carrying the sandal were sent with the Puri, and supplied with their travelling expenses. Royal passports were given to the Puri by the minister, addressed to the officers of the frontier outposts and the ferries.

So he returned to Remuna after some time, made many bows to Gopinath, and danced and sang long in rapture. The servitors of the temple did him reverence and fed him on the *kshir prasad*. While sleeping in the temple, he had a dream at the close of night: Gopal came and told him, "Hark thee, Madhav! I have got all the camphor and sandal. Rub this sandal with camphor and annoint Gopinath with it daily. Gopinath's body is one with mine! Lay the sandal on *him* and *I* shall feel the cooling effect. Doubt not, hesitate not, believe and give up the sandal as I bid you." So saying Gopal vanished; the Goswami awoke, called together the servitors of Gopinath, and told them, "The Lord bids you rub all this sandal and camphor on Gopinath's person; for thus will Gopal be cooled. He is the Supreme Lord and his order is mighty. In summer Gopinath should be annointed with sandal paste." The servitors rejoiced at it. The Puri set the two men to rub the sandal, and hired two others. So he daily rubbed the sandal and the attending priests laid it on gleefully. He stayed there doing this till the sandal was all gone.

At the end of summer he again went to the Nilachal and passed there four months.

The Master told His disciples of the sweet life of Madhav Puri and remarked, "Think of it, Nityananda ; happiest of men is the Puri. Krishna appeared to him on the pretext of giving him milk. Thrice did he appear to him in dream to lay his commands. His love so influenced the god that he revealed himself, accepted the Puri's service, and saved the world. For his sake Gopinath stole the *kshir* and got the surname of "*kshir-stealer*." On the god's body did he lay camphor and sandal, and his love overflowed at it. Hard it is to carry camphor and sandal through a Muslim country (Bengal and Upper India). Gopal knew that the Puri would be put in distress in doing this task. So, the gracious god, ever tender to his devotees, himself took the sandal (at Remuna) in order that the Puri's task might be fulfilled. Think of the Puri's extreme devotion ! It transcends nature, it amazes the mind ! He is silent, passionless, indifferent to every earthly thing. He keeps with himself no companion, lest he should have to speak on any ungodly material subject. That such a man, on receiving Gopal's command, travelled two thousand miles to beg for sandal ! He lay fasting and yet did not ask for food ! Such a man carried the sandal—one *maund* of sandal and 20 *tolahs* of camphor, rejoicing that he would lay them on Gopal ! The frontier custom officer of Orissa stopped him but he showed

the royal pass and was set free. He never reflected how he would carry the sandal through the Muslim land, long distance, and countless hindrances. He had not a shell (*kowri*) with him to pay duty at the custom barrier, and yet in his enthusiasm he set forth to carry the sandal. Such is the natural effect of true love,—not to think of one's own sufferings and troubles! Gopal had bidden him bring the sandal, only to show to the world the Puri's deep devotion. And he brought it joyfully through all hardships to Remuna. Gopal had meant by it only to try him, and when the trial was over the god grew gracious. We are powerless to understand the depth of his love for Krishna and Krishna's graciousness to his devotee."

So saying the Master recited a stanza of the Puri's composition, which has lighted the world like the moon. Discourse on the stanza only revealed its full beauty, just as the odour of the sandal spreads with rubbing. I deem this stanza the rarest gem in poetry. Radha speaks it through the mouth of Madhavendra. How did Chaitanya relish it! None besides these three can know its full flavour. He finally attained to the supreme knowledge by reciting this stanza :

The stanza [Radhika speaks]:—

*"O Lord! Gracious to the lowly! thou art now in Mathura.
When wilt thou come to me? Darling mine! my heart runs about
in pain of longing to see thee. What shall I do?"*

On reciting the stanza the Master fell down on the

ground in a trance, senseless with the intensity of love. Nityananda hurriedly took Him up in his arms. Chaitanya rose weeping, and ran hither and thither in a transport of devotion, shouting, laughing, dancing, and singing. Oft did He repeat the first word of the stanza, His voice choked with emotion and tears running down His cheeks. He trembled, perspired, wept with joy, stood still, changed colour,—now showing remorse, now grief, now stupor, now pride or meekness. The stanza opened the gate of His love. The servitors of Gopinath gazed on the Master's outpouring of love. But He came back to Himself on seeing a crowd gathering. The *bhog* was performed, then the *arati*. The priest laid the god to rest, came out of the shrine and laid the twelve pots of *kshir* before the Master, who joyfully took five pots for Himself and His disciples and returned the other seven to the priest. True, the sight of Gopinath had been food enough for Him ; but He now drank the *kshir* as a mark of reverence. The night was passed in singing the Name. In the morning He attended the *mangal arati* and then departed.

CHAPTER III.

The Legend of 'Gopal the Witness'.

Glory to Chaitanya! Glory to Nityananda! Glory to Adwaita! and Glory to the followers of Chaitanya!

On His way the Master came to the village of Jajpur, where He bowed to the image of Baraha. He danced and sang in love and prayed long, passing the night in that village. To Katak He went to see the Sakshi-Gopal, whose beauty threw Him into a rapture. After dance and song He prayed to the Gopal with abstraction. That night during His halt there with His disciples He heard the legend of Gopal. Nityananda in his former pilgrimage had come to Katak, seen the Sakshi-Gopal, and heard the legends of the god, which he now narrated to the Master.

Once on a time two Brahmans of Vidyanagar set out on a pilgrimage, and after visiting Gaya, Benares, Allahabad, &c., reached Mathura. They made a tour of the [Maha-]ban, and beheld Govardhan and the Twelve Woods, known as *Dwadash ban*, finally going to Brindaban. In the great temple Gopal was worshipped with great pomp. They bathed in the Keshi ghat, the pool of Kaliya, and other places, and rested in the temple of Gopal, whose beauty ravished their hearts. There they blissfully passed a

few days. One of the Brahmans being old had been tended carefully by the younger one. The old man, pleased with his attendance, said, "Long have you served me, and through your help have I performed my pilgrimage. Even a son does not serve his father so lovingly. Through thy kindness I have been saved every trouble. It will be rank ingratitude if I do not honour you. So I shall wed my daughter to you." The youth replied, "Listen, sir! Why talk of that which cannot be? You are a high *kulin*, great in learning and wealth, while I am a non-*kulin* lacking in scholarship and riches. I am no worthy match for your daughter. Through love of Krishna have I served you, as he is pleased with attention to Brahmans. What pleases the Lord increases the store of faith." The elder answered, "Doubt not. What wonder is there in it that I should give you my daughter?" The younger Brahman rejoined, "You have a large circle of kindred, friends and sons, without whose consent you cannot possibly wed your daughter to me. Witness the case of Bhishmak, the father of Rukmini, who was opposed by his son in giving his daughter, as he wished, to Krishna." The old man answered, "My daughter is my property. Who can oppose me in giving away what is mine? I shall give you my daughter in despite of all. Don't doubt it, but give your consent." The youth said, "If you have really decided to give me your daughter, make a vow before Gopal." The old Brahman addressed Gopal and said,

"Know that I shall give my daughter to this man." The youth added, "Lord, be thou my witness, and I shall summon thee to give thy testimony if he breaks his promise."

So saying the two returned to their homes, the young man serving the other like an elder. The old man now reflected, "I pledged my word to this Brahman in a holy place, but how can I keep it? I shall ask my wife, sons, kindred and friends truly." So, one day he gathered his own folk and told them the whole story, at which they lamented and cried "Never utter such words again! You will lose your *kul* if you wed your daughter to a low-born man. You will be a laughing stock to all!" The Brahman urged, "How can I retract a promise made in a holy place? Come what may, I will give him my daughter." His kinsfolk threatened to boycott him, his wife and children to take poison. The Brahman pleaded, "He will make a case of it by calling his witness. When he wins my daughter by a decree, my faith will be proved worthless!" His son answered, "Oh! the witness is an idol in a far-off land. Who will bear testimony against you? Do not be alarmed. You need not tell the lie that you had never made him such a promise; you will only have to pretend forgetfulness. If you do that I shall beat the Brahman in court." At this the Brahman, full of anxiety, prayed intently to Gopal, "Gopal, to thee I appeal: save my faith and save my kindred,—save both sides!"

One day the younger Brahman visited him, bowed reverently, and said with folded hands, "You promised me your daughter, but are now silent on the point! Is this your sense of justice?" The old man remained silent; but his son ran with a stick to beat the visitor, crying, "Wretch! you want to wed my sister! Dwarf, you wish to catch the moon!" The youth fled, but another day he called all the villagers together, who summoned the old man. Then the younger Brahman spoke, "This man promised his daughter to me. Ask him why he does not give her up now. On being questioned by the people, the elder Brahman replied, "Listen, friends, I do not remember what I said so long ago." At this his son got the chance to put in his words boldly, "My father had much money with him during his pilgrimage. This villain, his only companion, coveted the money, intoxicated him with *dhutura*, robbed him and said that thieves had taken away his money, and then spread the tale that he had promised his daughter to him. Judge ye all, whether he is a worthy match for my sister." The assembled people were filled with suspicion, as greed often makes men commit sin. The younger Brahman pleaded, "Hear, my masters, he is lying to win the case. His father, pleased with my attendance, promised me his daughter voluntarily, and when I declined alleging my unworthiness and our disparity in wealth, learning and *kul*, he repeatedly pressed me to accept her,...and at my suggestion called

Gopal to witness his promise. I conjured the god to bear testimony for me, should this Brahman break his word. He is my witness, whose word is held true in the three worlds." The old man replied, "This is good. If Gopal appears here and bears testimony, I shall certainly give you my daughter." His son agreed to it. The old man inly thought, "Kind is Krishna. Surely he will bear my word out." His son was confident that the image would not come to act as a witness. So thinking diversely, they agreed. At the younger Brahman's request both parties signed a written deed of agreement to abide by this test, to prevent future disputes. It was left with an umpire. The youngman continued, "Listen, all ye here! This Brahman is pious and true of speech, never wishing to retract his word. It is only his fear of the suicide of his kinsfolk that has made him tell a lie. Thanks to his piety, I will bring Krishna as a witness and enable him to keep his word. At this the sceptics laughed; some said, "God is good, He may come."

Then the younger Brahman went to Brindaban, prostrated himself and prayed to the image, "God of the Brahmans, thou art ever kind. Have pity and save the honour of two Brahmans. I mind not whether I get the girl or not, but it would be a great pity if a Brahman's promise is broken. For this reason, do thou bear witness, for he who will not bear testimony to the truth that he knows, commits a sin." Krishna re-

plied, "Brahman! return home, assemble the public, and meditate on me. I shall appear and give my evidence. But my image cannot be taken there." The Brahman protested, "Even if you appear in your four-armed form, none will believe you. But if this very image goes there and speaks out of its mouth, then all will deem it true." Krishna said, "Nobody ever heard of an idol travelling!" The Brahman replied "Why do you speak of being an idol? You are not a mere image but the Darling of Brindaban. Do an unprecedented act for the sake of a Brahman." Laughingly Gopal said, "Hear, Brahman, I shall travel after you; but do not look behind, or else I shall stop there. You will hear (on the way) only the jingling of my *nupur*, and thus know that I am going on. Give me one *seer* of rice, which I shall eat when accompanying you." Next day, after taking the Lord's leave, the Brahman set out on his return, delighted to hear the jingle of the *nupur* behind him, and offering excellent rice to the image. So he arrived near his village and then thought, "Now have I come to my village and shall go home and tell the people of the arrival of my witness. But I cannot believe if I do not see him with my own eyes. It will be no harm if he stays here. So he looked behind him; and Gopal stopped there, saying with a smile, "Go home; here will I stay without going any further."

When the Brahman reported the tale, the people marvelled at it, and came to see the witness. They

bowed to Gopal, delighted with his beauty and amazed to hear that the image had travelled thither. Then the old' Brahman in joy prostrated himself before Gopal, who gave his evidence before the people, and the young Brahman got his betrothed bride. The Lord spoke to the two Brahmans, "You will be my servants birth after birth. I am pleased with you ; beg a boon." They prayed together, "Grant us this that you remain here, so that all may know your favour to your servants." Gopal remained there, and the two served him. The people of the country flocked to see him. The King of the land heard the wonderful legend and beheld the Gopal with supreme delight. He built a temple and endowed the service of the god, who became famous under the name of GOPAL THE WITNESS. Thus has *Sakshi-Gopal* accepted worship and stayed at Vidyanagar for long. Purushottam, the Rajah of Orissa, conquered the country in battle and seized the many-jewelled throne named *manik-sinhasan*. Purushottam Dev was a great devotee and entreated Gopal to go to his capital. Gopal, pleased with his piety, consented and was taken to Katak, where his worship was installed. The Rajah gave the manik-sinhasan to Jagannath. His queen, when visiting Gopal, gave him many ornaments in devotion. A costly pearl hung from her nose, and wishing to give it too she reflected, "Ah, if there had been a hole in the Lord's nose, I, his hand-maid, could have made him put this pearl on!" With this thought

she bowed and returned home. At the end of the night Gopal appeared to her in a dream and said, "In my infancy my mother had bored my nose and very tenderly hung there a pearl. The hole is there still. Make me wear the pearl you wished to give." The queen spoke to her husband, and the two went to the temple with the pearl, hung it from the hole in the nose which was found out, and a great festival of joy was held. From that day on has Gopal stayed at Katak and been known as *Sakshi-Gopal*.

The master with all His disciples heard the legend of Gopal from Nityananda and was delighted. While He stood before Gopal, the faithful seemed to see them both as of one body, of one complexion, large-limbed, red-robed, grave of mien, beaming with glory, lotus-eyed, moon-faced, both of them in rapture for each other.

At the sight of both, Nityananda in great joy winked at the faithful and they all smiled. So the night was passed in great entertainment, and next morning, after witnessing the matin service, they set off. Brindaban Das has described fully how He visited Bhubaneswar on the way (to the Blue Mountain). At Kamalpur He bathed in the Bhagi river, and gave His mendicant's stick to Nityananda to carry. With his disciples He went to see Kapoteshwar [Shiva]. Here Nityananda broke the Master's stick into three and threw it (into the river). From that Shiva shrine the Master returned, and was thrown into ecstasy by the

sight of the spire of the temple of Jagannath. He prostrated Himself and danced in love ; the disciples too, in love, danced and sang, following the Master on the highway. He laughed, wept, danced, roared and shouted, and made a thousand leagues of those six miles. On reaching Atharanala (Eighteen Water courses) the Master came to His senses a little and asked Nityananda for His stick. But Nityananda answered, "It was broken into three bits. You fell down in a swoon of devotion, and as I caught you; we two tumbled on the stick which was broken by our weight. I know not where it was dropped. Through my fault was your stick broken. Punish me as you think fit." The Master was sad and spoke a little bitterly, "You have all done me great good, forsooth, by coming to the Blue Mountain! You could not even preserve the stick, my only property. You go before me to see Jagannath or let me go there before you. But we will not go together." Mukunda Datta said, "Master, go thou before us ; we shall arrive after and not in thy company." The Master hastened there. None could understand the cause why one Master broke the other's stick and why the latter suffered it to be done, or was angry at the result. The deep mystery of the breaking of the stick can be understood only by him who has constant faith in the two Masters.

CHAPTER IV.

The Conversion of Sarbabhauma.

The Master went in an ecstatic mood to the temple of Jagannath, and was beside Himself with love at the sight of the god. He rushed to embrace the image, but fell down on the temple floor, senseless with devotion. Happily Sárbabhauma noticed Him, and stopped the door-keeper who was about to beat the Master. Sárbabhauma marvelled exceedingly as he gazed on the beauty of the Master and His transport of love. The hour of *bhog* arrived, yet the Master did not come to his senses. Sarbabhauma then thought of a plan, and had Him conveyed by his disciple the door-keeper to his house and laid Him down on a clean spot. But the Master showed no respiration, no heaving of the chest. The Bhattacharya grew alarmed. He held a fine piece of cotton to the Master's nose; it stirred, and he was reassured. The Bhattacharya sat musing thus, "This is the *sattvika* form of the passion for Krishna. It is named the "bright-pure" (*sudipta sattvika*), and is displayed only by a devotee who has attained to constant realisation (*nitya-siddhi*). This ecstasy is possible only in one whose devotion is extreme. I wonder to see it manifested in an [ordinary] man's person".

While he was pondering thus, Nityananda and

others arrived at the main gate, and overheard the people talking among themselves, "A sanyasi came here and swooned away at the sight of Jagannath; he is still in a trance. Sarbabhauma has conveyed him to his house". They knew from this that it was the Great Master. Just then came there Gopinath Acharya, the son-in-law of Bishárad of Nadia, and a devotee and acquaintance of the Master. He knew Mukunda from before, and was surprised to see him there. Mukunda bowed, the Acharya embraced him and asked him news of the Master. Mukunda replied, "The Master has come here, and we with Him". The Acharya bowed to Nityananda Goswami, and again asked them all about the Master. Mukunda said, "After taking the monastic vow, the Master came to the Blue Mountain taking us with Him. Leaving us behind He came to visit this temple, and we have arrived now to seek Him. From what we have heard from others, we conclude that He is in Sarbabhauma's house, whither he was removed on fainting at the sight of the god. I have met you luckily, just as I was wishing for your sight. Let us go to Sarbabhauma's house, and after seeing the Master we shall visit the temple".

Gopinath in delight conducted them to Sarbabhauma's house, where he beheld the Master and felt mingled joy and grief. He introduced them all to Sarbabhauma, and took them inside. Sarbabhauma bowed to Nityananda Goswami and saluted the others

in the proper mode. Then he sent them all in charge of his son Chandaneshwar, to the temple. They joyed to behold the god. Nityananda went out of himself in devotion, but the others quieted him. The servitor of the shrine presented them with the garland and *prasād* of the god, to their great delight. Then they returned to the Master, and chanted the divine name loud and long. In the third quarter [of the day,] Chaitanya awoke, and rose up shouting *Hari! Hari!* Reverently Sarbabhauma took the dust of His feet [to place it on his own head], and entreated Him, "Take your midday meal soon. I shall feed you to-day with Jagannath's *mahā-prasād*." The Master quickly came back from His bath in the sea, and feasted with His followers on the golden dishes heaped with rice, broth and other kinds of *prasād*, which Sārbabhauma served to them. The Master said, "Help me with the hash of gourd (*lau*) and other vegetables, and serve these others with cakes and sweets." But the Bhattacharya entreated Him with folded palms, "How has Jagannath himself tasted all these? Do you too eat them," and so made Him eat the cakes and sweets too. After the dinner, he helped the Master to wash, then took leave to retire with Gopinath Acharya and eat their own meals. When they returned, [the Acharya] bowed saying "I salute Narayan," and the Master responded with "Be thy mind constant in Krishna!" At these words Sarbabhauma knew Him to be a Vaishnav hermit. He then asked

Gopinath Acharya about the wordly life of the Master. The Acharya replied, "His home was at Navadvip; his father Jagannath Misra, surnamed Purandar Misra, named him Bishwambhar. His maternal grandfather was Nilambar Chakravarti." Sarbabhauma added, "Nilambar Chakravarti! why, he was a fellow-student of my father Bisharad, who, I know, had a high regard for Purandar Misra, too. I honour both from their connection with my father."

Delighted to hear that Chaitanya was a man of Nadia, Sarbabhauma thus addressed Him, "You are of honourable birth, and a sanyasi in addition. Make me, therefore, your personal disciple." At this the Master cried, "O Vishnu! O Vishnu!" and then spoke humbly to the Bhattacharya, "You are the teacher of the world and the benefactor of mankind. You teach *Vedanta* and [thereby] qualify men for the monastic life. I am a young monk, ignorant of good and evil. I have sought your help to make you my teacher. For your society have I come here, hoping that you will train me in all ways. You saved me in my great danger today." The Bhattacharya said, "Never go to the temple alone, but always with me or one of my men." The Master replied, "I shall not enter the shrine, but gaze from the Garuda [pillar in the quadrangle]." Then Sarbabhauma addressed Gopinath Acharya, "You will be guide to this Goswami in visiting the temple. Lodge him in the house of my mother's sister, which

is a quiet place, and look to all his needs." So he did. Next day Gopinath took the Master to the temple to show Him Jagannath as he rose from his bed. Mukunda Datta led Him back to Sarbabhauma's house, who spoke thus, "This sanyasi is meek in disposition, lovely in form. I daily love Him the more. Tell me what order He has joined and what name He has chosen." Gopinath replied, "He has been named Sri Krishna-Chaitanya ; His spiritual guide is Keshav Bharati, blessed man !" Sarbabhauma remarked, "His name is well-chosen, but the Bharati order is not ranked high [among the ten classes of sanyasis.]"

Gopinath answered, "He does not care for outward [dignity]. Hence His indifference to the more famous orders of monks." The Bhattacharya joined in, "Ah, He is in the full bloom of youth. How can He keep the monastic rules ? However, I shall ceaselessly teach Him Vedanta, and lead Him on to the rank of a recluse of the Monist school (*advaita*.) If He then wishes it, I shall robe Him anew with the yellow robe of a *yogi*, purify Him, and enter Him into one of the higher orders."

Gopinath and Mukunda grieved to hear it ; and the former expostulated, "Bhattacharya ! You know not His greatness. The signs of divinity have reached their extreme limit in Him ! Hence He is famed as the Great God. But in a place of ignorance even the wise know nothing."

The [Sarabhauma's] disciples asked, "What proof is there of His divinity?" The Acharya replied, "The belief of the wise is proof of divinity." The disciples objected, saying, "It is by inference that God is recognised." But the Acharya answered, "No, God is not known by inference, but only by those on whom He bestows His grace,—even a particle of it. Witness Brahma's praise of Vishnu in the *Srimad Bhagabat*, Book X. canto xiv. verse 18 :

'Lord ! true it is that knowledge can gain salvation, but Thy glories can be known only by him who has been blessed even with a particle of favour from Thy lotus-like feet. O Perfect Being ! A man lacking Thy grace, may be free from earthly lusts, may have studied the scriptures for ages, but still he cannot know Thee fully !'

O Sarabhauma, you may be the World's Teacher, a master of theology, unrivalled in the world in scholarship. But you have not gained God's grace, hence you cannot know God. I do not blame you, but the scripture says clearly that the knowledge of God cannot come from mere scholarship."

Sarabhauma replied, "Weigh thy words well, Acharya ! How do you prove that you have gained God's grace?" The Acharya replied, "We know a material thing by observing it. Our knowledge of the nature of a thing is proved by grace. On this sanyasi's person are all the marks of divinity. You yourself witnessed his ecstasy of spiritual love. And yet you know not God !"

Such are the ways of God's illusion,—materialists see Him and yet recognise Him not!"

Smilingly spoke Sarbabhauma, "We are arguing in a friendly spirit. Don't get warm. Blame me not, I am only arguing from the strict point of view of theology. Chaitanya Goswami is [I admit] a great saint. But there is no incarnation of Vishnu in the Kali era. Hence Vishnu's epithet *Triyuga* or the Lord of Three Æons. But scripture tells us that the Kali era is without an incarnation."

Sadly did the Acharya answer, "You pride yourself on your knowledge of scripture, but you do not mind the *Bhagabat* and the *Mahabharat*, which are the chief of scriptures. Both of them assert that God will appear in the human form in the Kali era, and yet you maintain the contrary! As God will not appear in Kali for mere earthly exploits [but only for purifying faith], we call him *Triyuga*. In every era Krishna appears for the spiritual needs of the age. You are a logician, and yet you do not perceive this!

Texts quoted in support ;—*Bhagabat*, X. viii. 9, XI. v. 28, 29, *Mahabharat*, Anushasan Parva, Dan-dharma, canto 149, v. 75-92.

I need not waste these many words on you. They will bear no more fruit than seed sown on sterile soil. When His grace is on you, you will be convinced. Your disciple, who is plying me with all sorts of sophistic arguments, I blame him not; he is under illusion (*maya*).

As the *Bhagabat*, Book VI, canto iv. verse 26, puts it:—

[The words of Daksha to God] *I bow to the Omnipotent Supreme God, whose power of illusion raises endless controversies among logicians fond of dispute, and keeps their souls ever wrapt in delusion!*

Again, the *Bhagabat*, XI. xxii. 3, [Krishna's words to Uddhava].”

Then Sarbabhauma said, “Go to the monk [Chaitanya] and invite him and his followers to my house. First feed them with *prasad*, and then give me lessons [in theology]”! The Acharya being Sarbabhauma's sister's husband, could [boldly] blame, praise, laugh at or school him.

Mukunda was greatly pleased with the Acharya's reasoning, as he was inly grieved and angry at the speech of Sarbabhauma.

The Acharya came to Chaitanya's house and invited Him on behalf of the Bhattacharya. As he talked with Mukunda he spoke ill of Sarbabhauma in a pained spirit. But the Master broke in with, “Say not so. The Bhattacharya has really favoured me; he wants to safeguard my monastic life, and has taken pity on me out of tenderness. Why blame him for it?”

Next day, the Master visited the temple of Jagannath in the company of the Bhattacharya, and then accompanied him to his house. The Bhattacharya seated the Master first and began to teach Him *Vedanta*. With mingled tenderness and reverence he said, “It is

a *sanyasi's* duty to hear the Vedanta read. You should constantly attend to it." The Master answered, "Show me thy favour. Whatever you bid me is indeed my duty."

For seven days did the Master thus listen to the expounding of the Vedanta, without making any comment of His own. On the eighth day, Sarbabhauma asked Him, "For seven days have you heard me in unbroken silence. I know not whether you follow me or not." The Master replied, "I am ignorant, and have not studied [the subject]. I merely listen at your bidding. I listen only because such is a *sanyasi's* duty. But I cannot follow your interpretation." The Bhattacharya retorted, "He who is conscious of his own ignorance asks for a second explanation. But you remain ever silent as you listen. I know not your mind's workings." The Master replied, "I understand the verses clearly enough. But it is your commentary that troubles me. A commentary should elucidate the text, whereas your exposition conceals the text! You do not expound the plain meaning of the aphorisms, but cover them up with your fanciful interpretation. The primary meaning is the plain sense of the terms of the *Upanishad*, and Vyasa says it in his aphorisms. You [on the other hand] let the primary sense go, and give a conjectural secondary sense. You reject the meanings of words as given in lexicons, and attribute to them meanings evolved from your imagination. *Shruti* is the chief of proofs. The

primary meaning as given by *Shruti* can alone carry conviction.

What are conchshells and cowdung but naturally unclean things, viz., the bone and ordure of animals? And yet they are taken as very pure, because *Shruti* says so. Of the spiritual truth that is held forth [in Vedanta] the meaning is plain and self-evident. Fanciful interpretation only spoils the clear sense. The sense of Vyasa's aphorisms is clear like the sun; you are only enveloping it with the cloud of your conjectural commentary. The *Vedas* and the *Puranas* tell us how to discern Brahma. That Brahma is [only another name for] God in His totality. The Supreme Being is full of all powers, and yet you describe Him as formless? The *Shrutis* that speak of Him as abstract (*nirbishesha*), exclude the natural and set up the unnatural.

From Brahma originates the Universe, it lives in Brahma, and it is merged again in the same Brahma. The three attributes of God are that He is the three cases,—Ablative, Instrumental and Locative [in relation to the Universe]. These three qualities particularise God. When He desired to be many He looked at [=employed] His 'natural power'. The physical mind and eye could not have then existed. Therefore, the Immaterial Brahma *had* an eye to see and a mind to will with. The term 'Brahma' means the 'Perfect Supreme Being' (*Bhagaban*), and the scriptures affirm that Krishna is the Supreme Being. The meaning of the *Vedas* is too deep

for human understanding, the Puranas make their senses clear. Witness Brahma's address to God in the *Bhagabat*, X. xiv. 31 :—

'Blessed, blessed are Nanda the cowherd and other citizens of Mathura, whose friend is the Beatific Perfect Eternal Brahma.'

Shruti itself denies to Brahma material hands and feet, and yet it says that God 'moves. swiftly' and 'receives everything' ! Therefore, *Shruti* asserts Brahma to be particular (*sa-bishesha*). It is only a fanciful interpretation—as opposed to a direct one,—that speaks of Brahma as abstract (*nir-bishesha*.) How do you call that God formless who has the six qualities and is supremely blissful ? You conclude Him to be powerless, who has the three natural powers, as is evident from the *Vishnu Purana*, VI. vii. 60 and 61, and I. xii. 41.

God's nature consists of *sat*, *chit* and *ananda*. The *chit* power assumes three different forms in three aspects: it becomes *hladini* from the *ananda* aspect ; it becomes *sandhini* in the *sat* aspect, and *sambita* (known as 'knowledge of Krishna') in the *chit* aspect. The *chit* power is God's very essence [or inner nature] ; the life power (*jiba-shakti*) appertains to Him only occasionally ; *mdyd* is entirely outside Him [*i.e.*, affects creation only]. But all these three offer devotion in the form of love. The Lord's six powers are only manifestations of the *chit* power. And yet you have the presumption to deny such

a power? God and creation differ as the master and the slave of illusion; respectively, and yet you affirm that creation is identical with the Creator! In the *Gita* creation is recognised as a force exerted by God, and yet you make such creation one with God! See the *Gita*, vii. 4, the words of Sri Krishna to Arjuna :—

Earth, water, fire, air, ether, mind, sense, and self-consciousness—these eight powers (or natures) have emanated from me.

Again, the next verse in the *Gita* :—

“Valiant hero! the eight ‘natures’ (prakriti) about which I have already spoken to you, are inferior. Beyond them I have a higher or living ‘nature’ which upholds this Universe.”

God’s form is composed of *sat, chit* and *ananda*; and yet you assert that form to be a corruption of the *satwa* quality! He is a wretch who denies form to God; touch not, behold not that slave of Death. The Buddhists are atheists from not respecting the Vedas. Atheism in a believer of the Vedas is a worse heresy than Buddhism. Vyasa composed his aphorisms for the salvation of men, but the interpretation of these aphorisms by the ‘school of illusion’ (*maya badi*) is the cause of perdition.

Vyasa’s aphorisms hold the ‘theory of effect’ (*parinama*). God is an incomprehensible power, but He is manifested as creation. The philosopher’s stone produces gold without undergoing any change in itself, similarly God takes the form of creation without suffering any corruption. Objecting to this aphorism as an error of Vyasa, you have set up the theory of *bibarta* by a

fanciful interpretation [of it]. Error consists in a creature imagining 'I am one with the Creator'. But creation is not unreal, it is only perishable. The great word *Pranaba* is the self of God ; from that *Pranaba* all the Vedas have sprung in this world. The words 'Thou art That' (*tat-tvam-asi*) applied to creation are only fractional (*pradeshika*), but you, without minding the *Pranaba*, call these words the supreme truth."

Thus did the Master find a hundred faults with the fanciful interpretation [of the Vedantists]. The Bhattacharya supported his own position, using refutation, feint, pressure, and other logical devices. But the Master answered them all and established His own view. The Vedas [he maintained] assert only three things about God, *viz.*, our relation to Him, devotional exercises, and love (our need), the fruit of devotion. All the rest [attributed to Him] is mere conjecture. The words of the Veda are self-evident, and should not be interpreted with the help of conjecture. But Sarbabhauma was not to blame for it ; he was merely carrying out God's will, in expounding atheistical philosophy based on fancy. Vide the *Padma Purana*, Part II. canto 62, verse 31.

The Bhattacharya was speechless and motionless with wonder as he heard these words. The Master addressed him, "Marvel not, O Bhattacharya ! The supreme manhood consists in faith in God. Even those who directly commune with God (*atmārāma*) adore Him, the Supreme Being's attributes are so incomprehensible !

Witness the *Bhāgavat*, I. vii. 10, Suta's words to Saunaka and others :—

'Such are the attributes of Hari that even mystical and passionless recluses feel for Him unreasoning devotion.'

The Bhattacharya said, "Sir, I long to hear this verse interpreted." The Master replied, "Do you first explain it, and then I shall say what I think of it." The Bhattacharya expounded the verse, like a logician, in nine different ways in accordance with the scriptures. But the Master smiled as He said, "I know, Bhattacharya, that you are a veritable Brihaspati, and surpass all other men in interpreting the scriptures. But your interpretation shows mere scholarship. The verse has yet another sense!" Then at the Bhattacharya's request the Master gave His own interpretation; passing by the nine interpretations given by the Bhattacharya, He gave 18 other explanations of His own. First He determined the meanings of each of the eleven words contained in the verse, as taken separately; then He gave different explanations in connection with *ātma-rāma*, laying emphasis on each of the eleven words in succession. The Lord, His powers, and His attributes,—all three are incomprehensibly, unspeakably great! These three steal the heart of the devotee, to the neglect of all other forms of devotion. Sanaka, Shukadeva and others bear witness to this. His diverse expositions filled the Bhattacharya with wonder, and the self-abasing belief that the Master was Krishna indeed. "Alas!" thought

he, "He is Krishna incarnate, but I in my ignorance have grievously sinned by showing pride to Him." Penitently he sought refuge with the Master, who graciously appeared to him in His divine form,—first as four-armed (Vishnu), then as Krishna playing on the flute. At this vision Sarbabhauma fell prostrate on the ground, then rose again and prayed to Him with clasped hands. The Master's grace made spiritual knowledge illumine his heart,—he now knew the glory of God's name, faith, gift, the esoteric meanings of the letters of the alphabet, &c. In a moment he composed a hundred verses, such as even Brihaspati would have failed to frame. The delighted Master embraced him, and the Bhattacharya fainted in an ecstasy of joy,—weeping, standing still, tumbling down at the Master's feet.

The sight delighted Gopinath Acharya. The Master's disciples smiled at the dance of Sarbabhauma. Gopinath spoke to the Master, "You have so transformed that Bhattacharya !" The Master replied, "You are a devotee, your society has so wrought on him through the great grace of Jagannath." Then He composed Bhattacharya, who thereafter praised Him long, saying, "It was a light work to Thee to save the world, in comparison with the wonderful power Thou hast manifested in converting me. Logic had made me hard like an ingot of iron. Thou hast melted me. Oh Thy wondrous might !"

The Master returned to His quarters ; Sarbabhauma.

feasted Him by means of Gopinath Acharya. Next day He went to Jagannath's temple, and beheld the god rise from his bed. The attending priest presented to the Master the *garland* and offered rice of the god. The Master rejoiced at it, tied the gifts to the hem of his garment, and hastened to Bhattacharya's house. It was dawn; Bhattacharya awoke just then and cried out "O Krishna! O Krishna!" to the delight of the Master. Coming out Bhattacharya met the Master, bowed at His feet in a tumult of reverence, and seated Him. The Master untied the knot in His skirt and presented the *prasād* to Sarbabhauma, who joyously ate it after reciting the following verse, though he had not yet bathed, nor said his matin prayer, nor even cleaned his teeth,—because Chaitanya's grace removed all stupor from his mind.

From the *Padmapurana*,—*Taste the mahaprasad as soon as you get it, though it may be dry, stale or brought from a distance. Wait not for a more proper time in this case.*

Then, again, Hari has said, '*In tasting the mahaprasad no rule of time or place should be observed; a good man should eat it as soon as he gets it.*'

At this the Master was delighted and embraced Sarbabhauma in a transport. They both danced, Master and pupil, clasping each other, perspiring, trembling, shedding tears in ecstasy. The Master said, "Today have I conquered the three worlds lightly! Today have I ascended Baikuntha! Today all my wishes are realised! Because Sarbabhauma has shown faith in

the *mahāprasād*. Today you have taken refuge in Krishna with all your heart. Krishna has taken pity on you without any reserve. Today he has removed your bondage to flesh ; today you have torn off the meshes of illusion. Today your heart has been made worthy to gain Krishna, because you have eaten the *prasād* in violation of Vedic ceremonies. As the *Bhāgabat*, X. vii. 41, puts it :—

Those whom the Lord favours and who take refuge at His feet with all their heart and without reserve, can conquer illusion. Then they no longer look upon this fleshly body—the food of dogs and jackals—as ‘I’ or ‘mine.’

So saying the Master returned home. Thenceforth Bhattacharya lost his pride (of learning.) Thenceforth he knew of nothing except Chaitanya's feet, and expounded no scripture except that of faith. At his deep Vaishnavism, Gopinath Acharya danced, clapping his hands and crying *Hari ! Hari !* Next day Bhattacharya came to visit the Master, without having first gone to Jagannath. He lay prostrate, and thanked the Master much, penitently recounting his own former follies. As he wished to hear of the chief means of cultivating faith, the Master instructed him by chanting Hari's name.

“Hari's name, Hari's name, Hari's name alone, in the Kali era there is no other means of salvation, no other, indeed no other !”

In full detail did the Master hold forth on the meaning of the above verse. Bhattacharya was filled with

wonder. Gopinath Acharya said, "Bhattacharya ! I told you before that you would come to this !" Bhattacharya bowed to him thankfully and replied, "Through your connection the Master has blessed me. You are a great devotee, and I a blind logician. For your sake has the Master favoured me." Pleased with his meekness, Chaitanya embraced him and then said, "Now go and see the god." Bhattacharya, after visiting Jagannath, came home with Jagadananda and Damodar [two disciples of Chaitanya], and sent to Chaitanya many kinds of choice *prasāda* with his own cook in their company, and also put two verses of his own written on a palm leaf into the hands of Jagadananda for Chaitanya. When they arrived at the Master's house, Mukunda Datta took the letter from his hand, and wrote the two verses on the outer wall. Then Jagadananda took the letter inside to Chaitanya, who read and tore it up, but the followers learnt the verses by rote from the wall. The verses are given in *Chaitanya-Chandrodaya*, Act VI. Sc. 32.

I seek refuge with that unequalled supreme Man, who has become incarnate as Sri Krishna Chaitanya, in order to teach passionlessness (bairagya) and devotion through faith (bhakti-yoga). May my mind, like a bee, settle firmly on the lotus-feet of the Lord Sri Krishna Chaitanya, who has appeared in order to revive his own bhakti-yoga, which had perished through the wickedness of ages.

Sarabhauma became a disciple of the Master, attending to nothing but His service. Ever did he meditate,

pray, and recite the name 'Sri-Krishna-Chaitanya, the son of Shachi, the abode of virtues !' One day he came to the Master, bowed, and recited Brahma's hymn to God from the *Bhagabat*, changing the last two letters. The *Bhagabat*, X. xiv. 8.

'Lord! that man alone enters into the inheritance of Thy salvation like a true heir, who in eager longing for the day of Thy grace passes his life worshipping Thee with all his mind body and speech and enjoying the fruits of his actions without being attached to them.

The Master interrupted him saying, "The text has 'Thy salvation' (*muktipada*). Why do you read it as 'Thy faith' (*bhaktipada*)?" Bhattacharya answered, "Salvation is not the fruit at which the faithful fix their gaze ; as for those who lack faith in the Lord, salvation becomes a sort of punishment to them [as they are annihilated in the Lord without being able to serve and love Him]. He who does not admit the incarnate Krishna, and he who blames and fights against that incarnation,—both of them are punished by being merged in the Lord (*Brahma sayujya mukti*). The devotee does not long for emancipation. There are five kinds of salvation, *viz.*, *sālokya* (living in the same plane with God), *sāmīpya* (nearness to God), *sārūpya* (assuming the same form as God), *sārshī* (equalling the glory of God) and *sayujya* (absorption in the Deity). Though the first four afford means of serving the Lord yet true devotees seldom elect

them, but they dread and despise the *sayujya* emancipation, preferring hell to it. 'Absorption in the abstract God (*Brahma*)' and 'Absorption in the God clad in attributes (*saguna ishwara*)' are two forms of the same thing, indeed the latter is worse still. Vide the *Bhagabat* III. xxix. 11, Kapila's speech to Devahuti."

The Master objected, "The term *muktipada* has other senses too ; it means God Himself, i.e., 'He whose feet are the means of salvation.' It may also mean 'The abode of salvation,' which is the 9th object [mentioned in the *Bhāgabat*, II. x. 1]. Both etymologies yield the sense of Krishna. Why need you change the text to '*Bhaktipada*?' Bhattacharya replied, "No, I cannot adopt the reading. Though you interpret the term *muktipada* in the same sense as *bhaktipada*, yet the former is objectionable as ambiguous. Though *mukti* has five connotations, yet its principal meaning is 'absorption in God.' So, the word *mukti* fills me with fear and contempt, while *bhakti* kindles delight in the heart." At this the delighted Master smiled and clasped Bhattacharya firmly to His bosom. It was a pure act of grace on Chaitanya's part that Bhattacharya, who had been a student and teacher of the doctrine of illusion, spoke thus. We recognise the philosopher's stone only when it touches a piece of iron. So all men knew the Master for the veritable Darling of Braja (Krishna) when they saw the deep Vaishnava spirit of [His disciple] Bhattacharya. Then did Kashi

Misra and others of the Blue Mountain come and seek asylum at the Master's feet. I shall first describe how Sarabhauma served the Master, and how carefully he fed Him.

CHAPTER V.

Healing the leper Basudev.

The Master renounced the world in the bright fortnight of Magh, and came to reside at Puri in Falgun. At the end of the latter month He witnessed the swinging ceremony of Jagannath and danced and sang long in ecstasy. In Chaitra He liberated Sarbabhauma. Early in Baishakh He wished to travel to the South. He assembled His followers, embraced them, held them by the hand, and spoke humbly, "I know you to be dearer than life. Life I can part with, but not with you. You my friends have done me a good turn by bringing me here to see Jagannath. Now I beg one favour from you all,—give me leave to go to the South. I must set out to seek Bishwarup [my brother], and I will travel alone, taking none with me. Do you all stay at Puri till I return from Setubandh."

They all knew that Bishwarup had attained to liberation, and that the quest of him was only a ruse of the Master for giving salvation to Southern India. Greatly did they grieve on hearing His words, and sat silent with woe-begone faces. Nityananda said, "How can that be? We cannot let you go alone. One or two of us must bear you company, lest mishap

should befall you. Choose any two that you like. I know the roads to the holy places of the South. Bid me, Master, go with you." The Master replied, "I am as a dancer and you are like the manager (*sutradhar*) of the play. I dance as you make me. On turning hermit I set out for Brindaban, but you brought me to Adwaita's house. On the way to the Nilachal you broke my staff. Your deep love is marring my [life's] work. Jagadananda wants me to turn a worldling. In fear of him I have to do whatever he bids me. If ever I disobey him, he in anger speaks not to me for three days! Mukunda grieves at the rigours of my monastic life: the three baths daily even in winter, the sleep on the bare ground. He grieves inly, though he speaks not of it; but his sorrow makes me doubly unhappy. I am a *sanyasi*, Damodar is a Brahmachari, and yet he constantly reads lectures to me. I did not know of his habits before. His influence has changed my character. By gaining the favour of Krishna he cares not for other men; but I cannot be so regardless of the public. Do you all, therefore, stay behind at Puri, while I make my pilgrimage alone for some time."

Under the pretext of picking their faults the Master really pointed out the merits which had made them win His heart. Words cannot describe Chaitanya's love for His devotees. He himself bore the hardship of an ascetic's life, but when one of His devotees grieved at the

sight of these hardships, the Master could not bear the sight of his grief! He set forth on His pilgrimage as a solitary hermit. Four of them entreated Him hard for permission to accompany Him, but He followed His own will and did not listen to them. At last Nityananda urged, "As you please. It is my duty [to obey you], be the result my happiness or sorrow. But one further request I must make: consider whether you can accept it. Your loin-band wrapper and gourd of water,—these are the only articles that you will take with you. But your two hands are ever busy in counting your recitation of Hari's name [on the notches of your fingers]. How, then, will you carry your wrapper and gourd? Who will take care of these when you fall down on the road in a trance? Keep my word: take this honest Brahman Krishnadas with you. He will only carry your wrapper and gourd, and never say a word, whatever you may do." The Master consented. They took him to Sarbabhauma's house, who seated them all after salutation. After a varied discourse on Krishna, the Master said, "I have come to beg your permission. I must search for Bishwarup who retired as a hermit to the South. Give me leave to go South. Your permission will enable me to return in safety." At these words Sarbabhauma was much grieved at heart; clasping the Master's feet he said piteously, "Through the accumulated merit of many previous births have I gained your society. But Fate has now parted our

company. I can bear the death of a son through a stroke of lightning, but not the pang of separation from you! You are your own master and shall go; but stay some days more and let me gaze on your feet." His humility relaxed the Master's resolution and He lingered for some time longer. Eagerly did the Bhattacharya invite and feast Him with dishes cooked in his own house. His wife, called Shathi's mother, cooked the meal: her history is marvellous, and I shall narrate it in detail later on.

After a halt of five days at the Bhattacharya's place, the Master asked leave to start. His eagerness forced the Bhattacharya to consent. He went with him to the temple and sought the permission of Jagannath. The serving priest presented the Master with the god's garland, which He joyously took as a symbol of permission.

The Lord Gaur started for the South in joy, after walking round Jagannath in the company of His disciples and the Bhattacharya. He took the road of Alalnath, along the shore. Sarbabhauma sent Gopinath Acharya to bring from his house four loin-bands and wrappers and some *prasad*, to Bipradwar. Then he begged the Master, "You must keep my request. On the bank of the Godavari dwells Ramananda Ray, governor of Bidyanagar [modern Rajmahendri]. Despise him not as a Sudra and worldling. See him for my sake. He is worthy of your society. The world has

not another appreciative devotee like him. In him scholarship and faith have reached their extreme points. When you talk with him you will know his worth. I had laughed at him as a Vaishnava, because I failed to understand his superhuman words. But Thy grace has now made me know his true merit. Conversation with him will disclose his greatness." The Master agreed, embraced him and bade him farewell saying, "Worship Krishna at home and bless me, so that through your favour I may return to Puri!"

When the Master turned to go, Sarbabhauma fell down there in a faint, but the Master moved on quickly, without heeding him. Who can understand the heart and mind of the Master? The hearts of the great are at once tender as flowers and hard as the thunderbolt. Nityananda raised Bhattacharya and sent him home with his men. The faithful quickly overtook the Master, and Gopinath also arrived with the cloth and *prasad*. The Master went with them to Alalnath, where He sang hymns for a long time, dancing and singing in rapture. The persons present flocked to gaze on the scene: they shouted *Hari! Hari!* while the Master danced in ecstasy in their midst. The people marvelled as they gazed at His golden hue, His crimson robe, and His tears of delight, His tremour and perspiration, which set off His beauty. All who came to see it forget their homes and stayed to join in the dance and song of Sri Krishna Gopal; men and women, old and young,

all were swept away by the tide of spiritual love. Seeing it Nityananda said to the faithful, "He will dance thus at every village [on the way]." It was high time, but the people did not leave Him ; so Nityananda contrived a plan : He took the Master away for His noonday bath, the people rushing on all sides to look on. After the bath he led the Master to the temple, and as soon as his own men had entered he shut the door. He fed the Master, and they all ate His leavings. The crowd gathered outside the gate, shouting *Hari ! Hari !* Then he opened the door and the people entered in joy to gaze on the Master.

The stream of people thus passed and repassed till the evening. They all became Vaishnavas and danced and sang [with the Master]. He passed the night there with the faithful, in delightful discourses on Krishna. Next morning after the morning bath, He bade farewell to the faithful. They fainted, but He looked not at them. The Master wended His way grieving at separation from them, Krishnadas following Him with the gourd. The faithful passed the day there in a fast, and returned sorrowing to Puri the next day. Like a raging lion the Master walked forth, chanting God's name in a transport of love. His words were :

Krishna ! Krishna ! Krishna ! Krishna ! Krishna !

Krishna ! Krishna ! O !

Krishna ! Krishna ! Krishna ! Krishna ! Krishna !

Krishna ! Krishna ! O !

Krishna ! Krishna ! Krishna ! Krishna !

Krishna ! Krishna ! Save me !

Krishna ! Krishna ! Krishna ! Krishna !

Krishna ! Krishna ! Deliver me !

Ram Raghav ! Ram Raghav ! Ram Raghav ! Save me !

Krishna Keshav ! Krishna Keshav ! Krishna Keshav ! Deliver me !

As the Lord Gaur walked on reciting the above verses He met a wayfarer and asked him to chant Hari's name. Mad with love that man cried 'Hari ! Krishna !' and followed the Master longing to gaze at Him. After a long embrace the Master dismissed him, filled with spiritual power.

The man on returning home made all his village Vaishnava, talking of Krishna, laughing, weeping, dancing incessantly, and urging all to take Krishna's name. Chance visitors from other villages became like Him from the sight of Him, and spread Vaishnavism in their own villages. In this way was the whole Southern Country converted to Vaishnavism. In this way the Master made hundreds Vaishnava by embracing them in His travels. If He lodged and dined in anybody's house in a village, all the villagers flocked to see Him. Through the Master's grace they became great *bhaktas*, and acted as apostles for the deliverance of mankind. All the way to Setubandh, He did this ; connection with Him made all the land Vaishnava. The power He had not manifested at Navadwip, He now put forth for the salvation of the South. He who wor-

ships the Master, gains His favour, and realises the truth of these miracles. He who believes not in supernatural miracles, loses both this world and the next.

In this way the Master travelled to the shrine of the Tortoise [the Second Incarnation], saluted and praised the god, dancing, singing, smiling and weeping in rapture, to the wonder of by-standers. Crowds gathered to see Him ; the very sight of His marvellous beauty and devotion made them Vaishnavas. They danced with uplifted arms chanting Krishna's name in deep emotion. These very men converted other villages. Thus did the nectar of Krishna's name overflow the country, Vaishnavism spreading from man to man.

After a time the Master came back to His senses. The priest of the Tortoise did Him great reverence. This happened everywhere that He went. In that village a Vaidik Brahman named Kurma, very reverently invited the Master, brought Him home, washed His feet, and with his whole family drank the washing of His feet ; then he lovingly fed the Master with many kinds of dishes, and they all partook of the leavings. He praised the Master thus : "Thy lotus-like feet, which Brahma himself adores, have come to my house. O my boundless good fortune ! To-day my birth, race, and faith have been glorified. Lord, have mercy on me and take me with Thee ! I cannot bear the sorrows of this worldly life." But the Master replied, "Say not so ! Stay at home and recite Krishna's name ceaselessly.

Teach Krishna's lore to whomsoever you meet with.
At my bidding be thou an apostle and save this land !
The world will never entangle you, but you will see me
here again !"

Every one at whose house He dined, made this request, and received this charge from the Master. On the way, when He stopped at the temple in any village, He elevated the man from whom He begged alms ! Everywhere in His pilgrimage, till the return to Puri, it was exactly what He did at the Tortoise temple.

The night spent there, next morning the Master bathed and resumed his journey ; the Brahman Kurma followed Him long, but at last the Master persuaded him to return home. A high-minded Brahman named Bāsudev, was covered with leprosy, but as the maggots dropped from his rotting limbs he used to pick them up and restore them to their places. * At night he heard of Chaitanya's arrival, and next morning went to Kurma's house to see Him ; on hearing that the Master was gone, he fell down in a faint, and lamented in many ways. Just then the Master returned, embraced him, and lo ! his leprosy as well as grief was gone at the touch and his body became sound and beautiful ! He marvelled at the Master's grace and clasped His feet and praised Him by repeating the following verse from the *Bhagabat*

* In Christian hagiology the same story is told about a saint of Europe, who addressed the maggots as "Eat, brothers, eat !"

X. lxxxii. 14, (Rukmini's message sent to Krishna by the mouth of a Brahman).

Long did he thank the Master, saying, "Listen, Gracious One! No man has your virtue. Even wretches fled from me at the stench of my body. But thou, Supreme Lord, hast touched me! Better for me my former state of misery, because henceforth my heart will swell with pride." The Master soothed him, "No, you will not be puffed up. Ever take Krishna's name, and save men by teaching them about Krishna. Soon will Krishna accept you."

So saying the Master vanished. The two Brahmans wept with joy at His grace, clasping each other by the neck.

CHAPTER VI

The Meeting with Ramananda Ray.

The Master went on in His own way. On reaching the temple of the Nrisingha (Man-lion) Incarnation at Jiyad, He made His bow and rapturously sang and danced long in honour of the god, saying, "Glory to Nrisingha ! Glory to Nrisingha ! Prahlad's Lord ! Glory to you, O Lotus-lipped, O Bee of the Lotus !" [The *Bhagabat*, VII. ix. i. verse quoted in Sridhar Goswami's commentary].

Many such verses did the Master recite as He prayed to the god. The serving priest presented Him with the god's garland. As before, a Brahman invited and fed the Master, who passed the night there. Next morning He took up His journey again, His emotion of faith making Him heedless of outer things day and night. As before, He made the people turn Vaishnava, and after a long time reached the bank of the Godavari, which reminded Him of the Jumna, while the wood on the bank suggested Brindaban. After dancing in the wood, He crossed the river and bathed there. Sitting at the water's edge away from the *ghát*, the Master chanted Krishna's name. Just then arrived Rámánanda Ráy in a litter, attended by musicians and many Vaidik Brahmans, to bathe. He bathed and

performed other rites duly. The Master at first sight knew him for Rámánanda Ráy, and longed to meet him, but sat checking His eagerness. Ramananda Ray came up to Him on seeing a *sanyāsi*, and wondered as he gazed on His person beaming like a hundred suns, His ruddy robe, His large symmetrical limbs, His eyes like the lotus. As he prostrated himself before the Master, the latter stood up and said, "Rise, and chant Krishna's name" and though thirsting with desire to embrace him, He asked, "Art thou Ramananda Ray?" The man answered, "Yes, I am that slave,—a vile Sudra." Passionately did the Master embrace him, and both tumbled down on the ground in excess of devotion, senseless with love, inert or perspiring, weeping, trembling, with hair standing on end, pale of hue, and lisping 'Krishna! Krishna!'

The Vaidik Brahmans marvelled as they beheld it, and inly thought, "This *sanyāsi*, we see, is powerful like Brahmá. Why does he weep after embracing a Sudra? This noble is a grave and learned man; why then has he been maddened by the touch of the *sanyāsi*?" The Master checked Himself on seeing strangers. The two composed themselves and sat down there. Smilingly the Master began, "Sarabhauma Bhattacharya has spoken to me of your merits, and pressed me to see you. For that purpose have I come here. It is well that I have easily met you." The Ray replied, "Sarabhauma knows me for his servant, and

is ever careful to do me good even indirectly. Through his grace have I met you, and today my life has become a success. That you have graciously touched this untouchable Sudra is the proof of your mercy and that of Sarbabhauma. Thou art the God Náráyan himself, and I—a royal servant, a worldling, a wretch! In touching me thou didst not feel repulsion or fear of the Vedas! The Vedas forbid you even to touch me. Thy mercy leads thee to perform a forbidden act. Thou art God indeed; who can know thy ways? For delivering me hast thou come here, O Fountain of Mercy! O Saviour of the Fallen! Such is the habit of the great,—to save a wretch he goes out of his way to pay him a visit! Vide the *Bhāgavat*, X. viii. 2, Nanda's words to Gargā :—

'Master, that saints travel from their own hermitages is only for doing [spiritual] good to those householders who cannot leave their houses; there is no other purpose in it.'

The thousand men, Brahmans and others, in my train, have had their hearts melted by Thy sight. All of them are shouting Krishna! Hari! All are tremulous, all are weeping in joy. Verily you have every characteristic, internal and external, of God. No mortal can possess such supernatural power!"

The Master replied, "You are the greatest of devotees. It is *your* sight that has softened the hearts of all. Why impute it to another? I am only a *sanyasi* holding the

theory of illusion, but even I have been steeped in the love of Krishna by your touch. Knowing that my heart is hard to reform, Sarbabhauma had asked me to meet you."

Thus did the two praise one another, each delighted to see the other. Then a Vaishnav Vaidik Brahman bowed and invited the Master, who accepted the invitation knowing him to be a Vaishnav. Smiling, the Master said to Ramananda, "I wish to hear the discourse of Krishna from your lips. I hope I shall see you again." The Ray replied, "You have come here to save this sinner. But my wicked heart has not been cleansed by the mere sight of you. Stay for 5 or 7 days to purge my hard heart of its sins." Ramananda Ray bowed and went away, though loth to part, while the Master went to the Brahman's house to dine. Eagerly did the two look for their meeting in the evening. As the Master was sitting after his sunset bath, the Ráy arrived, with a servant. He bowed to the Master, who embraced him. The two conversed in a retired spot. The Master bade him recite verses to indicate the method of devotion (*sádhya*). The Ráy replied, "We acquire faith in Vishnu by doing the duties of our rank. As the *Vishnu Purana*, III. viii. 8, says, '*Worship the Supreme Being Vishnu by doing the prescribed duties of your caste. There is no other means of pleasing Him.*'" The Master objected, "This is only an external method. Mention another." The Ráy replied, "The highest form

of devotion is to confer on Krishna the fruits of our acts, as the *Gita*, IX. 27, puts it :

'O Son of Kunti, consign to me whatever you do, be it eating, performing the homa ceremony, alms-giving, or austerity.'"

The Master again objected, "This too is external. Tell me of some other." The Ray answered, "The highest devotion consists in abandoning one's religion [out of love for Krishna], as the Lord says to Uddhava in the *Bhāgabat*, XI. xi. 32 :

'He too is the highest of holy men, who knowing well the gain and loss of such a course, worships me by renouncing the Vedic rites and ceremonies of his caste, though these too were ordained by me.'

Also, as the *Gita*, XVIII. 66, has it :—

'Take refuge in ME alone, giving up all religions. Repine not ; I will deliver thee from all sins.'"

But to this the Master objected, "This too is external. Tell me of some other method." The Ray answered, "Faith based on knowledge is the highest devotion. As Sri Krishna says to Arjuna in the *Gita*, XVIII. 54 :

'The peaceful soul that dwells on Brahma, and feels not sorrow or desire, but is the same in all things, gains my supreme faith.'"

Again the Master objected as before. The Ray answered, "Faith that depends not on knowledge is the highest form of devotion. Witness Brahmá's words to God in the *Bhagābat*, X. xiv. 3 :

'Lord, hard as Thou art to be won in the Universe, yet they realise Thee who reject the quest of theological knowledge but stay at home, listening to Thy story as told by holy men and accepting it with all their mind, body and soul.'

The Master remarked, "It is so ; but mention another.' The Ray said, "The highest devotion is *love*." Witness the following verses of Ramananda Ray quoted in the *Padyabali*, cantos xi and xii respectively.

'We relish food and drink only so long as we have hunger and thirst. Similarly, the devotee delights not in worshipping his heart's darling with elaborate preparations, but in love alone.'

'Get a heart inspired with love of Krishna, if ever you can get it. Its only price is greed,—a price which we cannot acquire even by the accumulated merits of ten millions of births.'

The Master remarked as before. The Ray replied, "The love of a *servant* is the highest devotion. Witness of the speech of Durbasha in the *Bhāgabat*, IX. v. II :—

'What is too hard for the Lord's servants to gain, as the very listening to His name purifies all creatures ?'

The Master remarked, "It is so, but mention another." The Ray replied, "Love as for a *comrade* is the highest form of devotion. Witness Shukadeva's words to Parikshit, in the *Bhāgabat*, X. xii. 10 :—

'God is known to the good as the consciousness of divine pleasure (brahma-sukhamubhuti), and to His servants as the Supreme Object of Adoration. That such a God played with the deluded cowboys in the garb of a human child, was due to their excessive merit.'

The Master said, "This too is good. Mention

another." The Ráy went on, "The highest devotion is love as for a *child*. Witness the following verses of the *Bhāgabat* :

'O Shukadeva! what high-class meritorious deeds did Nanda perform, and what did the blessed Yashoda do that she suckled the Divine Being?' (X. viii. 38).

'The bliss that the cowherd's wife Yashoda derived from her Saviour-son was never gained by Brahmá; or Shíva or even by Lakshmi though clasped to His person.' (X. ix. 15.)

The Master said, "This is good, no doubt. But mention another." The Ray replied, "Passion as for a *lover* is the highest form of devotion. Witness the following verses of the *Bhāgabat* :

'Verily the favour shown by the Supreme Being to the fair ones of Brindaban, when in the rasa sport He clasped them round the neck with His arms,—was not enjoyed even by Lakshmi, who is held to His heart, nor by the heavenly nymphs though blooming and odorous like the lotus; what to speak of other women?' (X. xlvii. 53)''.

The Ray continued, "Many are the means of attaining to Krishna, and there are degrees of such attainment. By whichever of these means a man is inspired, it appears as the highest to him. It is only when we judge from a position of detachment that we can discriminate them as good, better, and best.

The preceding five passions are arranged in the order of their upward development. With the increase of quality there is an increase of deliciousness at each

step. The *shānta* passion attains its maturity in the *dāsya*, the *dāsya* in the *sakhya*, the *sakhya* in the *bātsalya*, and all of these four are concentrated in the *madhura*,—just as the properties of the four elements, viz., sky, air, &c. increase in an advancing order and are all united in the fifth element, the Earth. The full attainment of Krishna results from this last passion of conjugal love (*prema*). The *Bhāgabat* asserts that Krishna is a slave to devotion in the form of *prema*.

Krishna's purpose remains unaltered in all ages: He makes a return to our adoration in exactly the same form in which we offer it. But He cannot reciprocate this *prema* adoration to the full, and so remains our debtor, as the *Bhāgabat* affirms. (X. xxxii. 21, Krishna's words to the milk-maids).

True, Krishna is the highest type of beauty and grace, but even His charm increases when He is girt round by the beauties of Brindaban. Witness the *Bhāgabat*, X. xxxiii. 6 :

'As the beauty of the emerald is set off when it is placed amidst golden-coloured gems, so shines Krishna when girt round by the beaming girls of Brindaban.'

The Master remarked, "This is indeed the extreme stage of adoration. Kindly tell me of something beyond it!" The Ray said, "I did not know before that the earth contained any man who would inquire beyond this point! Of all kinds of conjugal passion Radha's love is sung of in all our scriptures as the highest.

The Master said, "Speak on ! I delight to hear. A wondrous stream of nectar is flowing out of your lips. Show how Krishna abducted Rádhá for fear of interruption by the other cow-herd girls ; because a love that extends to others than the beloved is not deep enough. If you can show that for Rádhá's sake Krishna openly forsook the other Gopis, then I shall know that he passionately loved her." The Ráy replied, "Hear, then, of this glorious power of love. The three worlds cannot match Radha's love. Krishna broke away from the circle of the *rāsa* dance of the Gopis and wandered through the woods mourning for Radha. Witness the *Gita Govinda*, canto III. verses 2 and 1, and the *Ujjwala-Nilamani*, verse 43.

Radha left the dance in anger and wounded pride. Krishna grew restless as he lost her. His whole heart was set on the *rāsa* dance, and Radha was the chain that bound his heart to it. In her absence, the *rāsa* dance palled on his taste. So he left the circle of dancers to seek her out. As he roamed hither and thither, without finding her, he grieved, stricken with Cupid's dart. A thousand million Gopis could not satiate his passion. From this you may infer Radha's merit !"

The Master said, "I have now learned those spiritual mysteries for which I came to you. Now have I learnt how to ascertain the various methods of adoration. But I long to hear more : tell me of Krishna's form, of Radha's form,—what thing is *rāsa*, what secret is love (*prema*).

Be kind and tell me these truths ; none but you can expound them." The Ray answered, "I know nothing of these, but only utter what you inspire me with, as the parrot repeats what it has learnt by rote. You are God incarnate ; who can comprehend your artifice? You send your message to my heart, and make my tongue deliver it, without my knowing whether I am speaking well or ill !"

The Master answered, "I am merely a *sanyasi*, a slave to the theory of illusion and ignorant of the mysteries of faith (*bhakti*). The society of Sarbabhauma has purified my mind, and I asked him to speak on devotion to Krishna. But he replied that he knew not Krishna's lore, and referred me to you as a master of it. So I came to you, on hearing of your reputation, and yet you praise me because I am a *sanyasi* ! Be he a Brahman, be he a hermit, be he even a Sudra,—if he knows Krishna's mysteries, he is a *guru*. Cheat me not [of such knowledge] for my being a *sanyasi*. Fill my mind by holding forth on the mysteries of Radha and Krishna."

The Ray was a great devotee and lover, and his mind was proof against Krishna's illusion. But he yielded to the Master's pressing, and his will was shaken. So he said, "I am a dancer and you are the manager of the theatre I dance as you make me. My tongue is merely a harp, and you the musician who plays on it. I utter whatever you think of in your mind.

Krishna is the Highest God, the Perfect Being Himself, the source of all Incarnations, the chief of all causes. He is the source of the eternal Heaven, the eternal Incarnation, the eternal Universe. His body is composed of *sat*, *chit* and *ananda*; He is the Son of Mathura's lord,—full of all wealth, all power, all *rasa*. Vide the *Brahma-samhita* V. i.

At Brindaban He appeared as the supernatural youthful Cupid, at whose adoration the formula recited is Love, the offering presented is the seed of Love. There He drew all hearts—of men and women, of the animate and the inanimate. He was Cupid's self, the conqueror of hearts. Witness the *Bhagabat*, X. xxxii. 2.

He ravished the hearts of Incarnations like Lakshmi's husband, [Vide, the *Bhagabat*, X. lxxxix. 32]; He drew to Himself women like Lakshmi [Vide the *Bhagabat*, X. xvi. 32]

His own beauty charmed His own heart, and He wished to embrace Himself [Vide the *Lalita-madhava*, Act. VIII. verse 28].

Such in brief is Krishna's form. Now let me tell you a little of Radha's self. Krishna's powers are infinite, but three of them are the chief, viz., the *chit* power, the illusion power (*maya*), and the preservation power (*jiba*). These three I call the internal, the external, and the marginal (or adjacent). The highest is the internal *swarupa* power. Witness the *Vishnu Purana*, VI. vii. 60.

Krishna's self is composed of *sat*, *chit* and *ananda*.

Therefore His *swarupa* power must be of three kinds : in the *ananda* portion it is *hladini*, in the *sxt* portion it is *sandhini*, in the *chit* portion it is *sambita*. Witness the *Vishnu Purana*, I. xii. 48 :

What delights Krishna is named the *Ahladini* power, by which He enjoys delight. Krishna is Himself delight, and yet He tastes delight. *Hladini* has been created to give enjoyment to the faithful. The essence of *Hladini* is named *prema* (love). The story of *prema* is filled with the emotions of *ananda* and *chit*. The supreme emotion (*mahabhava*,) is the quintessence of *prema*. The lady Radha is the personation of that supreme emotion. [Vide the *Brahma-samhita*, V. 33].”

The Master spoke, “This is the limit of the thing adored. Through your grace I have learnt it of a verity. None can gain the Adorable without adoration. Tell me kindly the way to gain Him.”

The Ray answered, “I speak as you make me, without my knowing what I say. Where in all the three worlds can we find the constant man who cannot be shaken by your illusive play? You are speaking through my mouth; yet you are my listener! Hear, then, the deep mystery of adoration. The play of Radha with Krishna is extremely deep, and cannot be learnt from the *dasya*, *batsalya* and other moods. The *sakhis* (female associates) alone are qualified for it; from them has this play (*lila*) spread. This play cannot be kept up without

sakhis; they alone relish this *lila* in full. *Sakhis* alone have a right to this *lila*, i.e., those who adore Krishna in the spirit of His *sakhis*. Such votaries can practise devotion in the form of attending on Krishna and Radha in their secret bower. There is no other means of mastering this form of devotion. Witness the *Gita Govinda*, X. 17 :

'What man versed in the deepest mystery (rasa) will not take refuge in the feet of the sakhis,—the personations of the chit power, without whose help Radha and Krishna's pleasure-force and pleasure-manifestation, though self-expressive, cannot for a moment attain to fulness of development?'

The character of the *sakhis* baffles description. A *sakhi* does not long to play with Krishna all by herself; but she feels a keener delight in contriving Krishna's dalliance with Radha. Radha is verily the Wish-creeper (*Kalpataṭā*) of the love of Krishna, and the *sakhis* are the leaves, flowers, and shoots of this creeper! If the nectar of dalliance with Krishna waters the creeper, the leaves &c. delight in it ten million times more than if they themselves had been watered! Vide the *Gita Govinda*, X. 16.

The *sakhis* do not wish for Krishna's embrace, but they exert themselves to make Krishna embrace Radha. For this purpose they send Krishna to her under a thousand pretexts. Thereby they gain a pleasure ten million times sweeter than that of selfish enjoyment.

The pure devotion of these others strengthens Krishna's passion (*rasa*) for Radha, and the sight of such unselfish love delights Krishna. The love felt by the Gopis is not truly earthly lust ; for the sake of analogy we call it lust (*kāma*).

Earthly lust seeks sensual gratification for one's own self. The passion of the Gopis, on the other hand, seeks Krishna's enjoyment, abandoning all idea of self. They hanker not for their own pleasure, but if they embrace Krishna it is only to please *Him*.

He whose heart is tempted by the nectar of the Gopis' passion, adores Krishna abandoning Vedic worship. That man wins in Brindaban the Darling, who adores Him by following the path of passionate love (*rāga*). He who adores Krishna in the spirit of any of the people of Braja [contemporaneous with Krishna], is born at Braja in his next birth in the form of that person whose passion he imitated, and thus gains Krishna. This is proved by the *Upanishads* and the *Shrutis*. Witness the *Bhāgabat*, X. lxxxvii. 19.

In the above the term *samadrishā* indicates adoration in that spirit, the term *samāh* speaks of the acquisition by the *Shruti* (gods) of the persons of the Gopis, *anghri padma sudhā* means the delight of Krishna's society. At Braja you will not gain Krishna by following the path of prescribed ceremonies. Vide the *Bhāgabat*, X. ix. 16 :

'Ascetics proud of their conquest of the flesh, and scholars centred

in themselves, cannot gain the Supreme Lord so easily as His devotees (bhaktas) can.

Therefore, having chosen the attitude of the Gopis, we daily meditate on Krishna's dalliance with Radha. In the *siddhi* body we meditate and serve it, and in the next birth we gain Radha-Krishna's feet by being born as *sakhis*. You cannot gain Krishna, however much you adore Him, if you only meditate on Him as a divinity and not serve Him as a Gopi. See, how Lakshmi adored Him, but could not gain Him in Braja. Vide the *Bhāgavat*, X. xlvii. 53."

On hearing all this the Master embraced him, and the two wept holding each other by the neck. Thus did they pass the night in transports of devotion, and at dawn parted, each to his own work. When taking leave, Ramananda Ray clasped the Master by the feet and begged him, "You have come here out of pity for me. Stay here therefore for some ten days to reform my sinful heart. None but thou can deliver mankind; none else can impart love for Krishna."

The Master answered, "I came here on hearing of your merits, to purify my own mind by listening to your discourses on Krishna. You are indeed worthy of your reputation. You are the limit of human knowledge as regards the mystery of the love of Krishna and Radha. What of ten days? So long as I live, I cannot part with you. Let us two dwell together at Puri, passing

our days happily in talk about Krishna." So they parted. In the evening the Ray came again. The two sat together in seclusion and held a delightful dialogue, the Master asking and Ramananda answering through the night.

The Master asked, "Which science is the chief of sciences?" The Ray answered, "There is no [true] science except devotion to Krishna." "What is the greatest glory in a creature?" "The fame of being a devotee of Krishna's love." "What wealth is estimable among human possessions?" "He is wealthy indeed who loves Radha and Krishna." "What is the heaviest of sorrows?" "There is no sorrow other than lack of devotion to Krishna." "Whom should we consider as truly liberated?" "He is the foremost of the emancipated who loves Krishna." "What song is the special virtue of creatures?" "That ditty which speaks of the amorous sports of Krishna and Radha." "What is the best of right courses?" "There is no right course except the society of Krishna's devotees." "Whom does creation ceaselessly remember?" "The name, virtues, and exploits of Krishna are the chief things to be remembered." "What is the proper subject of meditation for mankind?" "The lotus-feet of Radha and Krishna are the chief object of meditation." "Where ought a man to live abandoning all else?" "Brindaban, the land of Braja, where the *rasa* play was performed." "What is the best thing for a creature to hear?" "The love-

dalliance of Radha and Krishna is a potent medicine to the ear." "What is the chief object of worship?" "The highest objects of adoration are the coupled names Radha-Krishna." "What are the respective destinations of those who desire liberation and devotion?" "One gets an immovable body, the other a celestial person. The foolish crow pecks at the ash-fruit (*nimba*), while the connoisseur cuckoo feeds on the mango-blossom of love. The luckless scholar tastes arid theological knowledge, while the lucky [devotee] drinks the nectar of Krishna's love."

Thus did the two while away the night in talking of Krishna, dancing, singing, and weeping. At dawn they returned to their respective business.

Next evening the Ray came again, and after discoursing on Krishna in a loving communion for some time, he clasped the Master's feet and implored Him, "The mysteries of Krishna, Radha, love, *rāsa*, and *līlā*, are diverse. But you have made them all clear to my heart. It has been as if Narayan taught the Vedas to Brahma. Such are the ways of the Searcher of Hearts; He does not outwardly tell us of a thing, but reveals it to our hearts. Vide the *Bhāgavat*. I. i. I.

There is one doubt still in my heart. Be good enough to resolve it. When I first saw you, you looked like a *sanyasi*; but now I behold in you Krishna, the cowherd! Lo, there stands before you a golden idol, the golden hue of which overspreads your body. That reveals the flute

held to your lips and your lotus-eyes glancing with many emotions! I marvel as I behold you in this form. Tell me truly the cause of it." The Master replied, "Deep is your love for Krishna. Know this to be the effect of love that when the true devotee gazes on any object, animate or inanimate, Krishna is manifested to him in that object. The object gazed at may be inanimate or animate, but he sees not its natural form; his adored deity appears in everything. Vide the *Bhagabat*, XI. ii. 43, Hari's words to Janak :—

He is the highest of devotees who beholds in every creature the God of his adoration, and all creation in the spirit of God.

Also, the *Bhagabat*, X. xxxv. 5, the speech of the Gopis to Krishna :—

Then the fruit and flower laden branches of plants and creepers felt as it were within themselves the God who was manifesting Himself, and with their limbs thrilling with delight began to shed drops of honey.

Deep is your love for Radha and Krishna ; hence you behold Them in everything." The Ray objected, "Master, leave thou thy tricks. Conceal not thy true form from me. Having taken on thyself the emotion and beauty of Radhika, thou hast become incarnate in order to taste thy own delight. Thy secret object is the enjoyment of love ; incidentally thou hast filled the universe with love. Thou hast come of thy own accord to deliver me. And now thou deludest me ! What sort of conduct is this ?"

Then the Master smiled and manifested His true form

in which were blended Krishna, the prince of dalliance, and God, the Supreme Emotion. In rapture Ramananda fainted and rolled on the ground. The Master touched his arm and brought him back to his senses. Then the Ráy beheld the Master looking like a *sanyasi*; but the latter embraced him and soothed him thus, "Who else than you can behold this form? You know fully my truth and mysterious exploits (*lila*), and hence have I shown you this form. My body is not of a fair complexion, but this complexion is due to contact with Radha's body. She touches none except the Prince of the Cowherds. I make my own heart imagine her emotions, and thus I taste the delicious sweetness of Krishna. My acts are not hidden from you. Even if I were to conceal any, you would know it by the compelling force of your love. Keep this matter a secret from the public, lest people should laugh at my endeavours as those of a mad man. I am a mad man, and so are you; we two are a match!"

Thus did the Master spend ten days happily in sweet discourse about Krishna with Ramananda Ray. Much did He discuss the secret pleasure-sport of Brindában, but could not come to the end of the subject. If a man discovers a mine with copper, bronze, silver, gold, gem, and the wishing stone deposited in successive layers, he comes upon better and better things as he goes on digging. Similarly did the Master question Rama Ráy.

Next day He took leave of the Ray and ordered him,

“Give up your business and go to Puri, where I shall soon return after finishing my pilgrimage. There we shall live together passing our days happily in talking about Krishna.”

So saying He sent Ramananda home with an embrace, and then lay down to sleep. At dawn the Master saw a Hanumán (monkey), bowed to it, and set out. All classes of people at Vidyapur, on meeting with the Master, quitted their own faiths and turned Vaishnava. Ramananda was distracted by the absence of the Master and ever meditated on Him, utterly disregarding all his own affairs...Chaitanya's character is by nature like thickened milk, Ramananda's character is sugar added to it, and the dalliance of Radha and Krishna is like camphor thrown into this compound, which only the fortunate can taste. He who once drinks it in through his ears, can never leave it for its deliciousness. All spiritual truths are learned if you hear it ; it creates faith and love in Radha-Krishna's feet.

Know the hidden truth of Chaitanya from this episode. Attend to it with faith ; do not reason. This supernatural deed is deeply mysterious. You can realise it if you believe, but reasoning will only set it afar off. This precious thing is for them only whose sole riches are the feet of Sri Chaitanya, Nityananda, and Adwaita..... I have celebrated the Meeting with Ramananda on the basis of Damodar Swarup's *Diary (Karchā)*.

CHAPTER VII.

The Pilgrimage to the] South.

The Master travelled very extensively in the South⁴ visiting thousands of holy places. At His touch they became the holiest of holy places. Under the pretext of a pilgrimage He delivered the people of that country. I shall only give a list of the places without arranging them in the order of their being visited.

As before, whoever met Him on the way and all the people of every village that He lodged in, were turned into Vaishnavas and made to chant Hari's name. *They* in their turn converted other villages. Diverse were the people of the South,—some scholars, some ritualists, some extreme sceptics. Lo ! the marvellous effect of the sight of the Master ! all such men gave up their own creeds and turned Vaishnava. Even among the Vaishnavas [of the South] some were worshippers of Vishnu in the incarnation of Rama, some the followers of Madhwacharya, some of Ramanuja's sect of Sri Vaishnavas. All of them, on meeting with the Master, became worshippers of Vishnu in the incarnation of Krishna, and began to chant Krishna's name.

The Master journeyed on, reciting the verse:

*O Rama Raghava ! O Rama Raghava ! O Rama Raghava !
Deliver me !*

*O Krishna Keshava ! O Krishna Keshava ! O Krishna Keshava !
Save me !*

He bathed in the Ganga Gotami (Godavari). At Mallikarjuna He visited the shrine of Mahesha, where He made all the people recite Krishna's name. He beheld the Rámadása Mahádeva, and also the Man-Lion at Áhobal, bowing to and glorifying the latter. At Siddhabat is the image of Sita's lord ; the Master bowed to the image of Ráma and sang hymns. There He was invited by a Brahman of the place, who incessantly took Ráma's name and no other. After passing the day in his house as his guest, the Master proceeded on. At Skanda Kshetra He visited Kártika, and at Trimatha the god Tri-bikrama, whence He returned to that Brahman's house at Siddhabata, but found him chanting Krishna's name ! After dinner the Master asked him, "Why, Brahman ! has this change come over you ? Formerly you used to cry 'Rama, Rama' and now you chant Krishna's name !" The Brahman replied, "This is the effect of your visit. The sight of you changed my life-long habit. From childhood have I been chanting Ráma's name ; but when I met you I once uttered the word 'Krishna,' and since then Krishna's name has settled on my tongue. It is Krishna's name that comes out of my mouth, while the name of Ráma has disappeared. It had been my practice since my boyhood to collect the texts bearing on the

glory of God's names. In the *Padma-Purāna*, we read :

'Yogis sport (rama) in the eternal God, whose self is composed of sat, chit, and ananda. Hence the term Rāma means the Supreme God.'

Again, the *Mahābhārata*, Udyoga Parba, Canto lxxi. 4, says *'The term "Krishna", meaning the Supreme God, has been derived from the verb krish meaning existence and the inflexion na meaning cessation.*

So, the two names *Rama* and *Krishna* appeared equal, but I next found texts making a discrimination between them. The *Padma-Purāna* has this :

'O perfect-featured Darling ! O my heart's Delight ! reciting the word Rāma thrice earns as much merit as taking [God's] name a thousand times !'

The *Brahmānda-Purāna* asserts,

A single utterance of the name of Krishna is as efficacious as reciting God's thousand sacred epithets three times in succession.

The last text proves the immeasurable excellence of Krishna's name. And yet I could not repeat it, only because I found delight in the name of *Rāma*, the god of my vows (*ishtadeva*), and took the latter incessantly. When at your visit the word *Krishna* rose [to my lips], my heart recognised its glory. And I truly inferred that you are Krishna himself." So saying the Brahman fell at the Master's feet, who after bestowing His grace left him the next day.

At Briddha Kashi the Master visited the Shiva, and thence went on to another village, where He lodged with the Brahmans. So great was His power that countless people,—hundreds of thousand, millions even,—came to see [Him]. Beholding the beauty and religious ecstasy of the Master they all chanted Krishna's name, and the whole region was converted to Vaishnavism. He refuted and proved faulty all the doctrines of the logicians, *mimāṃsakas*, illusionists, and the followers of Sankhya, Patanjali, Smṛiti, Purana, and Veda,—though they were strong in defending their tenets. Everywhere the Master established the dogmas of Vaishnavism, which none could refute. His vanquished antagonists accepted His creed, and so He made the South Vaishnava. On hearing of His scholarship the sceptics came to Him, boastfully bringing their pupils with them. A very learned Buddhist professor held forth on the nine doctrines of his church before the Master. Though the Buddhists are unfit to be talked to or even to be looked at, yet the Master argued with him to lower his pride. The very Buddhist philosophy of nine tenets, though rich in logical reasoning, was torn to pieces by the Master's argumentation. The Buddhist professor raised all his nine questions, but only to be refuted by the Master's vigorous logic. The great philosophers were all vanquished; the audience tittered; the Buddhist felt shame and alarm. Knowing that the Master was a Vaishnava, the Buddhists retired and hatched a wicked

plan : They placed before the Master a plate of unclean rice, describing it as Vishnu's *prasad*. But just then a huge bird swooped down and carried off the plate in its beak ! The rice falling on the bodies of the Buddhists was [openly] rendered impure ; the plate fell down slanting on the Buddhist professor's head, cutting it open, and throwing him down in a fit. His disciples lifted up their voices in lamentation, and sought the Master's feet imploring Him, "Thou art God incarnate ! O forgive us ! Out of thy grace restore our teacher." The Master replied, "Cry out, all of you, Krishna's name. Pour the word loudly into your teacher's ears, and he will recover." They did it, the professor rose up and began to chant *Hari ! Hari !* He did reverence to the Master saluting Him as Krishna, to the wonder of all. After this playful act the Son of Shachi vanished ; none could see Him.

He arrived at Tripati Tirumal, where He beheld the four-armed idol, and then advanced to Venkatar. At Tripati He beheld the image of Rama, to which He bowed and sang hymns. The people marvelled at His powers. Then He came to the Man-Lion of Pana, which He saluted and extolled in a transport of love. At Shiva Kanchi he visited Shiva ; His power turned the worshippers of Shakti and Shiva into Vaishnavas. At Vishnu Kanchi he beheld Lakshmi and Narayana, to whom He bowed and prayed long, danced and sang in fervour. His stay of two days bowed the hearts of

men to Krishna. Thence by way of Tirumal He went to Trikal Hasti, and bowed to the image of Mahadev there. And so on to the Paksha tirtha (the shrine of Shiva), the Briddhakal tirtha (the shrine of the White Boar), Pitambar (the shrine of Shiva), the Shiyali Bhairabi Devi, the bank of the Kaveri, Gosamaj (Shaiva holy place) and Bedawan, (where He adored the Amritalinga Shiva). Everywhere the worshippers at Shiva's shrines were turned into Vaishnavas. Thence He reached Devasthan, a Vaishnava shrine, and there kept constant company with the Sri-Vaishnavas. Proceeding further He visited the lake formed by Kumbhakarna's skull, the Shiva Kshetra, Papanashan (a shrine of Vishnu), and Seringham, where He bathed in the Kaveri and then adored Ranganath, bowing and hymning to the god to His heart's satisfaction, and dancing and singing in rapture, to the marvel of all beholders.

Here a Sri-Vaishnava named Venkata Bhatta invited the Master to his house, reverently washed His feet and with his whole family drank off the water. After feeding he besought the Master thus :—"Master, the four months of asceticism (*chaturmashya*) are at hand. I pray thee pass them in my house, and of thy grace save me by discoursing on Krishna." At his house the Master stayed for four months, passing the time happily in talking about Krishna with the Bhatta. Daily He bathed in the Kaveri, visited Sri Ranga, and danced in ecstasy. All men flocked to gaze on His

beauty and rapture of devotion, and at the sight they forgot sorrow and misery. From all quarters flocked hundreds of thousands, and as they beheld the Master they chanted Krishna's name and no other term. All became worshippers of Krishna, to the marvel of mankind. The Brahmans resident at Sri Ranga invited Him on successive days ; but when the four months were over there were some Brahmans left who had had no opportunity to entertain Him.

In that holy place dwelt a Brahman devoted to Vishnu, who recited the *Gita* in the temple. In the fervour of delight he read the 18 cantos, making mistakes, at which some scoffed, some laughed, some chid him, but he heeded them not and went on with his readings in a rapt mood. The Master delighted as He beheld the reader's tears of delight, tremour, and perspiration at his task, and asked him, "Hark you, Sir! what [deep] meaning inspires you with such rapture?" The Brahman replied, "I am an ignorant man, not knowing the meanings of words. The *Gita* I read at my *guru's* bidding, correctly or incorrectly as it may be. My heart is rapt when I behold [before my mind's eye] the dark beauty of Krishna as he sits as driver in Arjuna's chariot giving moral lessons. I can never bring myself to give up reading the *Gita*, because I ever behold HIM so long as I read the book." To him the Master thus, "Thou alone art truly worthy to read the *Gita*, as thou knowest the essence of its meaning." So saying

He embraced the Brahman, who, however, clasped His feet and prayed, "The sight of you gives me double the joy. Verily I think you are that Krishna." He could recognise the true nature of the Master, as the love of Krishna had purged his mind [of its grossness.] But the Master cautioned him not to tell it to any one else. The Brahman became a devout admirer of the Master and never parted from Him in those four months, which He spent at the Bhatta's house in blissful discourse about Krishna. The Bhatta's household gods were Lakshmi and Narayana. The Master, pleased with his devotion, ever treated the Bhatta like a friend, constantly joking with him, as is the manner of friendship. One day He asked, "Bhatta! your Lakshmi is the type of devoted and chaste wives. My god is Krishna, a cow-herd. How could such a chaste lady seek this other man's society? Why did she for this object discard pleasure and perform endless austerities? Witness the following verse of the *Bhagabat*, X. xvi. 32 :—

"Lord! out of a longing to be worthy to touch the dust of Thy feet, Lakshmi, though a [weak] woman, abstained from enjoyment and went through long penances, &c"

The Bhatta answered, "Krishna and Narayana are essentially one; only Krishna showed more of sportive-ness and charm. Hence Lakshmi's chastity was not marred when she, for the sake of delight, sought Krishna's company [Quotation from the *Bhakti-rasamrita-sindhu*]. Playful Lakshmi desired Krishna for the sake of the

greater gain and *rāsa* delight afforded by His society. What harm is there in it? Why are you joking?" The Master rejoined, "I know there is nothing to blame in it. The *Shāstra* asserts that Lakshmi never enjoyed the *rāsa* dance with Krishna [Vide *Bhagabat*, X. xlvii. 53]. But the Shrutis attained to Krishna's society by their austerities. [*Ibid*, X. lxxxvii. 19]. What was the reason of this difference?" "My mind fails to explain the reason as I am a petty creature with a weak understanding, while God's acts are infinite like the deep ocean. You are Krishna's self and know your own exploits. Their inner meaning is known only to those on whom you have bestowed such knowledge." The Master said, "Such is the natural characteristic of Krishna that by His sweetness He wins all hearts. The men of Brindaban knew Him not as God, because He came to them as one of themselves. One tied Him to the wooden pestle (*udukhal*), fancying Him to be her son. Some mounted on His back, taking Him to be a playfellow. The people of Brindaban knew Him as the son of Braja's chief, and not as the Godhead. He who adores Krishna in the manner of the people of Brindaban, can alone attain to Him there. Vide *Bhagabat*, X. ix. 16. The Shrutis imitated the milk-maids [*Gopis*] and by taking the form of the Gopis they obtained the Son of the Queen of Brindaban. They were incarnated in the bodies of the Gopis of Braja, and so disported with Krishna in the *rāsa* play. Krishna was of the milkman

caste; the Gopis were his dear ones ; so Krishna refused goddesses and other women. Lakshmi wanted to unite with Krishna in His form of a milkman, and yet she did not seek Him by assuming the shape of a Gopi. But in no other form than that of a Gopi can the *rāsa* pleasure be consummated, as Vyasa has said in his verses, viz, *Bhagabat*, X. xlvii. 53."

Before this the Bhatta used to think in his pride, "Narayana is God Himself, and the worship of Him is the highest stage. And therefore the worship offered by the Sri-Vaishnavas is the highest form of adoration." But the Master, to dash his folly down, opened all this controversy by means of a jest. He addressed him thus, "Bhatta, doubt not, know of a verity that Krishna is God Himself. Narayana is only the manifestation of the power (*bilāsa*) of Krishna. Therefore could Krishna steal the hearts of Lakshmi and others. (Vide *Bhagabat* I. iii 28). Krishna surpassed Narayana in power. Hence did Lakshmi ever long for Krishna. The verse you have read proves that Krishna is God incarnate. (Vide *Bhakti-rasamrita-sindhu*, Pt. I. ii. 32). Krishna stole the heart of Lakshmi, but Narayana could not (conversely) win the love of the Gopis. What to speak of Narayana ? Even Krishna himself, when He assumed the form of the four-armed Narayana to amuse the Gopis, failed to win their love in that shape! (Vide *Lalitamadhava*, VI. 13). Thus did the Master humble his pride, but then He gave a new turn to the conclusion to soothe the Bhatta's

feelings, saying, "Grieve not, Bhatta, I have only jested. Listen to the teaching of the *shastra* in which Vaishnavas believe: Just as Narayana and Krishna are one essence, so are Lakshmi and the Gopis identical and not diverse. Lakshmi in the garb of the Gopis tasted Krishna's company. In theology it is a sin to recognise a plurality of gods. The devotee meditates on one and the same God [diversely according to his fancy]; he gives different images to the same deity."

The Bhatta spoke, "I am a miserable creature, while thou art that Krishna, the Incarnate God. I know nothing of the unfathomable ways of God, but I hold to what you tell me as true. Fully have I been blessed by Lakshmi-Narayana, as His grace has enabled me to see thy feet. Thou hast graciously spoken to me of the glory of Krishna, whose beauty, qualities and powers are beyond human calculation. Now have I learnt that the adoration of Krishna passes all else. You have blest me by unfolding this truth." So saying the Bhatta clasped the Master's feet, who graciously hugged him to His bosom.

The four months ended. The Master took leave of the Bhatta and from Seringham set out for the South. The Bhatta wanted to leave his home and follow Him, but with great effort the Master turned him back. When He left, the Bhatta fainted away (in grief). Thus did Shachi's Son disport Himself.

To the Rishava peak He went and there prayed to

the deity Narayana, and visited Paramananda Puri, who was spending his "four months" there. The Master bowed at the feet of the Puri, who embraced Him. For three days they lived together in that Brahman's house, lovingly talking Krishna's delightful lore. The Puri said, "I am going to Jagannath, whence I shall proceed to Bengal to bathe in the Ganges." The Master answered, "Go to the Nilachal, where I shall shortly join you on my return from Setubandh. I long to keep company with you. Do kindly visit the Nilachal." So He parted from the Puri and joyfully proceeded further south. The Puri went to the Nilachal, while the Master visited Sri-shaila, where lived a Brahman named Shiva-Durga. Rejoicing to see the Master, he feasted Him for three days, and the two discoursed of mysteries in secret. After friendly association with him, the Master left him and went to the city of Kamakoshti, and thence to the Southern Mathura, where He was invited by a Brahman, noble-minded, detached from the world, and a worshipper of Rama. After bathing in the Kritamala, the Master went to his house; but as the Brahman never cooked, he could place no food before the guest. The Master asked, "Hark you, Sir, it is noon and yet you are not cooking? Why is it?" The Brahman replied, "Master, I live in the forest, where at present nothing can be had for cooking. But Lakshman will bring some wild herbs, fruits, and roots, and then will Sita cook them." The Master was pleased with the Brahman's devotion. The

host now hurried his cooking and the Master was fed in the third quarter of the day. But the Brahman himself fasted, at which the Master asked, "Why do you fast? What grieves you? Why mourn you?" The Brahman replied, "I have no need to live; I shall destroy myself by jumping into fire or water. The divine Sita, the mother of the world and the emblem of Supreme Goodness, was (rudely) touched by a demon, as I hear. So I ought not to live. This sorrow consumes me, though my spirit does not leave the body." To him the Master thus: "Think not so any longer. You are learned and yet you do not judge the matter in your mind! Sita, the beloved of God, is the embodiment of spirituality and bliss (*chid ananda*). Physical senses cannot see her, what to speak of touching her. Ravana abducted only an illusive image of Sita, while the true Sita had disappeared. The Vedas and the Puranas constantly teach this truth that the Material cannot take cognisance of what is non-Material. Believe my words, and never harbour such sad thoughts again." Reassured by the Master's words the Brahman dined and took delight in life.

After bathing in the Kritamala, the Master went to Durbesana, where he saw the image of Raghunath. Thence to Mahendra hill, where He adored Parashu Rama. At Setubandh He bathed in the Dhanu-tirtha (Bow shrine). Visiting Rameshwar, He rested there. An assembly of Brahmans was listening to the reading of

the *Kurmā Purana*, in the course of which the episode of chaste women was reached. The narrative declared that Ravana stole only a false image of Sita. At the sight of Ravana the true Sita sought refuge with Fire, who lodged her with Parvati, while he deluded Ravana by giving up to him a false image of Sita. After Rama had slain Ravana, and Sita submitted to the ordeal of fire, the false Sita vanished, while the real Sita was delivered to Rama by Fire. The Master was delighted to hear this theory. So He borrowed from the Brahman the leaf (containing the passage), and made a copy for being placed in the book, while He took the old leaf for creating conviction and returned to the Southern Mathura where He gave the leaf to the Brahman Rámadáś.

At this the Brahman was overjoyed and clasped the Master's feet weeping and saying, "Thou art Ráma incarnate, visiting me in the disguise of a *sanyasi*, and raising me from deep sorrow. Do consent to dine my house to-day, because on that day I was too melancholy to entertain thee worthily. It is my good fortune that thou hast come again!"

So saying the Brahman cooked deliciously and feasted the Master nicely. After passing the night under his roof, the Master went to the Tamraparni in the Pandya land, where He bathed in the river and beheld with wonder the Nine Tripadis on the bank.

Thence He visited Chiyartálá (the shrine of Ráma

Lakshmana), Tila Kánci (the shrine of Shiva), Gajendra-Mokshana (where there was an image of Vishnu), Pánágarhi (shrine of Ráma), Chámítapur (Ráma Lakshmana), Sri Baikuntha (Vishnu), the Malaya Mountain (Agastya), Kanya Kumári, Amlitalá (Ráma), the Malabar land (where the Bhattamári dwelt), and then after seeing Tamál Kártik, He reached Betápáni (Rámas shrine), where He passed the night.

The Master's companion, the Brahman Krishnadas, met a Bhattamari, who tempted the simple Brahman by showing him a woman. In the morning Krishnadas went away to the Bhattamari. Soon the Master came in quest of him and addressed the Bhattamari tribe thus, "Why have you detained my Brahman (follower)? I am, as you see, a *sanyasi*; and so are you too. It is unfair of you to put me in trouble."

At this the Bhattamaris took up arms and flocked round the Master to thrash Him. But the weapons dropped from their hands and struck their own limbs, so that they fled away on all sides. Lamentation rose in their houses. The Master dragged Krishnadas away by the hair, and that day reached the Payaswini river, in which He bathed and visited the temple of Keshava, where He bowed, prayed, danced and sang for a long while in rapture, to the amazement of the beholders. All the people treated Him very respectfully and He joined the assembly of the very devout there. Here He got a manuscript of the book *Brahma-samhitádhya*.

to His boundless delight, tremour, weeping, thrill, perspiration, stupor, and frenzy (of joy),—because the *Brahma-samhita* is unrivalled among works of exegetics (*siddhanta shastra*) and it is the chief instrument for teaching the glory of Govinda, as it expresses vast dogmas in a few words. It is the very cream of Vaishnava sacred writings.

Very carefully did He get the book copied. Thence He went to Ananta Padmanáva, where He spent two days, to Sri Janárdana, where also He hymned and danced for some two days, to Payoshni, where Shankara Narayana is worshipped, to the monastery of Singeri, the seat of Shankaráchárya, to the Fish shrine, to the River Tungabhadra, and to [Upidi], the seat of Madhwáchárya, the spokesman of spiritual truth. Here He gazed devotedly on the Udupa-Krishna. The image of Krishna in the form of the dancing young cowherd (*Gopála*) was very charming. Madhwacharya was moved by a dream to rescue this image from a cargo of consecrated earth (*Gopi-chandan*) in a sunken ship, and to instal it [at Udipi], where it is worshipped to this day.

The Master was overjoyed to see the image of Krishna, and in fervour of devotion danced and sang (before it) for many a day. The *tattwabādis*, taking the Master for a *māyābādi*, at first slighted Him, but afterwards they marvelled at His religious ecstasy, and venerated Him greatly as a (true) Vaishnava. Aware

of their pride in Vaishnavism, the Master began a discourse with them. The high priest of the *tattwabādis* was an expert in all the holy books. The Master, assuming the tone of a humble inquirer, put questions to him: "I do not clearly comprehend *sādhyā* (end) and *sādhān* (means). Do please enlighten me on the subject." The high priest replied, "To the worshipper of Krishna the highest *sādhān* is to resign to Krishna the religious system centring round caste and *āshrama*. Translation to Vishnu's heaven, after attaining to the fivefold salvation, is the supreme *sādhyā*. Thus speak the *Shastras*." The Master objected, "The *Shastras* assert that the supreme *sādhān* of the love and service of Krishna is listening to and singing His praise. Vide *Bhāgabat*, VII. v. 18.

From listening to and singing hymns, one comes to love Krishna. That is the fifth human end, the limit of human attainment. Vide *Bhagabat*, XI. ii. 38. All kinds of scripture condemn (devotion to) work and teach us to abstain from the fruit of our works. Therefore from work cannot spring love and devotion to Krishna. Vide *Bhagabat*, XI. xi. 32, also *Gita*, xviii. 66, *Bhagabat*, XI. xx. 9. Truly devoted men renounce the fivefold salvation; in their eyes salvation is worthless, no better than hell! Vide *Bhagabat*, III. xxix. 11, V. xiv. 43, VI. xvii. 23.

The devout abjure salvation and work alike. And you establish these two things as the end and means!

Ah! you are only befooling me as I am a [mere] *sanyasi*. You have not told me of the true characteristics of end and means."

At this the high priest of the *tattwa* School was inly ashamed, while he marvelled at the Vaishnava spirit of the Master. So he replied, "Your exposition is the true one. All *Shastras* declare this to be the Vaishnava dogma. Yet our order holds the views laid down by Madhwacharya." The Master rejoined, "The votary of work and the votary of knowledge are alike lacking in faith. In your order these two have been accepted! All of you have one characteristic, I see. Know of a verity the true image of God".

After thus humbling the pride of that sect the Master went to the Falgu shrine, then to Tritakupa (the shrine of Bishala), Panchapsara, Gokarna (where Shiva is worshipped), Dwaipayani, Suparak, Kolhapur (where He beheld Lakshmi and Kshir Bhagavati), Nanga-Ganesha, Chor Parvati, and Pandupur. Here before Vithal's image He sang and danced long.

A Brahman of the place invited and reverently fed the Master. Learning the good news that Sri Ranga Puri, a disciple of Madhava Puri, was residing in another Brahman's house in that village the Master went to see him. As He prostrated Himself before the Puri in devotion, He wept, trembled and was thrilled and covered all over with sweat. Sri Ranga Puri wondered at the sight and cried out, "Rise, blessed one. Surely

you are connected with my gūru, or you could not have displayed such fervour of devotion." So, he raised and embraced the Master, and the two wept clasping each other's neck. After a spell of rapture, the two came round, and the Master said how He was related to Ishwara Puri. (At this) their love welled out wondrously and each honoured the other. Day and night they held forth on Krishna for a week or so.

The Puri asked about His birth-place. The Master replied 'Navadwip'. Sri Ranga Puri had once visited that town in the train of Madhava Puri. He spoke how he had been feasted in the house of Jagannath Misra, how delicious the hash of green banana-flower (*mocha*) had tasted, what a chaste woman and tender to the world like a mother was Jagannath's wife, how she was matchless in the universe for her skill in cookery, and how she had feasted the sanyasis as lovingly as if they were her own sons, how one of her sons had turned monk in youth with the title of Shankararanya and had attained to death in that very place (viz, Pandupur). The Master broke in, "In his earthly life Shankara was my brother. Jagannath Misra was my father." So they had a friendly assembly, and then Sri Ranga Puri set out to visit Dwarka. The Master was detained for some four days by His Brahman host. He bathed in the Bhimarathi and visited the shrine of Vithal. Then He walked by the bank of the Krishna-binna, visiting the temples at the many holy places there. The Brahmans

of the country were Vaishnavas and studied the *Krishna Karnamrita*, of which book the Master joyfully made a copy. The world has nothing like the *Karnamrita*, which kindles pure devotion to Krishna. He who (wishes to) know the fulness of the beauty and sweetness of Krishna's exploits, must ceaselessly read the *Karnamrita*. He carried with Himself the manuscripts of the *Brahma Samhita* and the *Karnamrita* like two precious jewels.

After bathing in the Tápti, He went to the city of Maheshwati, and then visiting many holy places on the way, reached the bank of the Narmada. After visiting the Shrine of the Bow (*Dhanu tirtha*), He bathed in the Nirbindhya, and then passed on to the Rishyamukha mountain and the Dandaka forest, where He beheld a *saptatála* tree, very old stout and high. As the Master embraced the *saptatála*, the tree disappeared bodily, at which the people marvelled and cried out, "This sanyasi is an incarnation of Ráma, for lo! the *tála* tree has flown up to Vishnu's heaven. Who but Ráma can work such a miracle?"

Then the Master bathed in the lake of Pampá, and rested in the Panchabati wood. From Nasik and Trimbak He passed on to Brahma-giri, to Kushávarta (the source of the Godavari), the seven (branches of the) Godavari, and many other shrines, and finally returned to Vidyánagar.

On hearing of His arrival, Rámánanda Ray

joyfully hastened to Him and prostrated himself; but the Master raised him and clasped him to His bosom. Both wept in delight and their minds were unstrung by rapture. After recovering composure they talked of many things together. The Master gave a narrative of His pilgrimage, and showed him the *Karnāmrīta* and the *Brahma Samhitā*, saying "These two books bear out the theories of devotion (*prema*) which you had expounded to me." The Ray in delight tasted the books in the Master's company and took copies of them.

The whole village was agitated by the news of the sanyasi's return and all men flocked to see Him. At this Rāmānanda went back to his own house. At noon the Master rose for His breakfast. Ramananda returned at night and the two kept a vigil discoursing of Krishna. Thus five or six days were spent blissfully, the two holding forth on Krishna day and night. Ramananda said, "With thy leave, Master, I petitioned my King, and he has permitted me to visit the Nilāchal. I have already begun my preparations for departure." The Master replied, "I have come here only to take you to the Nilāchal." But the Ray objected, "Master, go you in advance. A noisy throng of elephants, horses and soldiers surrounds me. Let me first dispose of them, and then after ten days I shall follow you." The Master consented and returned to the Nilāchal by the route He had previously followed, the people everywhere chanting

Hari's name as they saw Him. He rejoiced at it. At Alálnath Krishnadas rejoined Him, and He called Nityánand and others of His own folk. At the news, for Nityánand Ray went to meet the Master, his devotion knowing no bounds. Jagadánand, Dámodar, Gopinath Acharya and Mukund Pandit went along dancing, unable to contain their delight. They all met the Master on the way, and He lovingly embraced them, all weeping in delight. Sárabhauma Bhattacharya joined the Master on the beach of the ocean, and fell at His feet ; but the Master raised him up and held him to the bosom, Sárabhauma weeping in rapture. The whole party went to visit Jagannath's shrine, where the Master had a transport of devotion, trembling, perspiring, weeping in delight, dancing and singing again and again. The servitors of the Temple offered Him the dedicated garland and food of the god, at which the Master regained composure. The attendants of Jagannath joyfully flocked together. Káshi Misra (the high priest) fell at His feet, but the Master honourably embraced him. The *Parichhát* of Jagannath, too, did Him obeisance.

Sárabhauma took the Master to dinner at his own house, and fed Him and His party at noon on sumptuous dishes from the Temple. Thereafter he made the Master lie down and rubbed His feet ; but the Master bade him go and dine ; and He passed the night also in Sárabhauma's house to please him, narrating the story of His pilgrimage all night to His followers

and host, and saying, "In all the holy places I have visited I did not meet with a single Vaishnava who can equal you. Only Rámánanda Ray gave me intense delight." The Bhatta replied, "It was just for that reason that I had asked you to see him."

CHAPTER VIII.

The Reunion of the Vaishnavas.

After the Master had set out for the South, King Pratap Rudra summoned Sarbabhauma, seated him after due salutation, and asked him concerning the Master, saying, "I hear that a very gracious person has come to your house from Bengal. People say that he has showed you much kindness. Do please help me to see him." The Bhatta replied, "True is what you have heard. But you cannot see him; he is a *sanyasi* withdrawn from the world, living in seclusion, and not visiting kings even in dreams. I could, however, have contrived somehow an interview between him and you: but he has recently gone to the South." The King asked, "Why did he leave Jagannath's shrine?" The Bhatta replied, "Such is one of the deeds of saints. They visit holy places on the plea of making pilgrimages, but they thereby bring salvation to worldly men. Vide *Bhagabat*, I. xiii. 8. Such is the unalterable character of a Vaishnava: he is not a man but rather a particle of God." The Raja rejoined, "Why did you let him depart? You ought to have clasped his feet and impertuned him to stay here." Bhattacharya answered, "He is a god and a free being. He is Krishna's self and not a dependent creature. Still I had

tried to detain him, but could not succeed as God is free."

The Raja said, "Bhatta ! you are the chief of wise men. As you call him Krishna, I must believe it. When he comes here again, may I see him once and gratify my eyes?" The Bhatta replied, "He will soon return. We want a suitable place for him to lodge in ;—it must be near the Temple and yet secluded. Choose such a lodging for him." The King said, "Kashi Misra's house is just that sort of place,—close to Jagannath and yet very retired." The King thereafter remained expectant. Bhattacharya informed Kashi Misra, who said, "Blessed am I that such a holy Master will lodge under my roof."

Thus did all the people of Puri live in ever-growing expectation of seeing the Master, when He returned from the South. All rejoiced at the news, and they all begged Sarbabhauma thus, "Lead us to the Master, that through thy mediation we may reach Chaitanya's feet." Bhattacharya replied, "Tomorrow the Master will go to Kashi Misra's house, where I shall introduce you to Him."

Next day the Master visited Jagannath in company with Bhattacharya, in great delight. The servitors met Him with the god's food and He embraced them all. After the visit Bhattacharya led Him to Kashi Misra's house. Kashi Misra fell at His feet, and gave up to Him not his house only but his soul also. The Master appeared to him in the four-armed shape,

and embraced him to make him one of His own followers.

Then the Master took His seat there. Around Him sat Nityanand and other devotees. The Master was pleased with the arrangements of the house, which satisfied all His needs. Then Sarbabhauma said, "Master, this house is worthy of you. Accept it, as Kashi Misra prays." The Master replied, "My body is under your control. What you bid me, I must do, as in duty bound." Then Sarbabhauma, seating himself at the right hand of the Master, began to introduce one after another all the people of Puri, saying, "All these men have been residing in the Nilachal in eager longing to meet thee. They have fared like the thirsty *chātak* bird that cries in anguish for water. All were determined [to see you]. This one is Janardan, a constant attendant on the person of Jagannath. This other is Krishnadas who holds the golden rod [in the Temple]. Here is Shikhi Mahati, the officer in charge of the [Temple] secretariate. This, Pradyumna Misra, is foremost among Vaishnavas, and he waits on Jagannath during the god's sleep. Murari Mahati, the brother of Shikhi Mahati, has no refuge save your feet. [These are] Chandaneshwar, Sinheshwar, Murari Brahman, and Vishnudas, all of whom meditate on your feet. Here are the high-minded Prahar Ráj Mahápátra, and his kinsman Paramánand Mahápátra. These Vaishnavas are the ornaments of this holy place, and all devotedly intent on your feet." They

all prostrated themselves on the ground before the Master, who graciously held them to His bosom.

Just then came there Bhabánand Ray, with his four sons ; and they all fell at the Master's feet. Sarbabhauma introduced them, "This is Bhabánand Ray whose eldest son is Rámánanda Ray." The Master embraced him and spoke in praise of Rámánanda adding, "One cannot adequately describe to the world the greatness of him whose son is a jewel like Rámánanda. Truly, you are Pándu, your wife is Kunti, and your five high-souled sons are the five Pandava brothers." The Ray replied, "I am a Shudra, a worldling and a wretch. That you have touched me is the only holy thing [about me]. I lay down at your feet myself with my house, belongings, servants, and five sons. This youth Bánínáth will constantly wait on you, to do whatever you bid him. Know me as your own, feel no delicacy, but order whatever you desire." The Master answered, "What delicacy can there be? You are not a stranger to me. In birth after birth you with your family have been my servants. In some five days Ramananda will arrive here. His society will complete my bliss." So saying He embraced the father, while the four sons laid their heads at His feet. They were all sent home, only Bánínáth Patta Nayak was retained by the Master.

Bhattacharya sent away the other people. Thereafter the Master called for black Krishnadás, and said "Listen, Bhattacharya, to the story of this man.

He had accompanied me to the South, but left me to join the order of Bhattamári. But I rescued him from their hands. Having brought him back here I give him his discharge. Let him go wherever he likes ; I have no longer any concern with him." At this Krishnadas set up a lamentation. When the Master went away for His noonday worship, Nityanand, Jagadánand, Mukunda, and Dámodar laid their heads together, saying, "We have to send a messenger to Bengal to report the Master's arrival to His mother. Adwaita, Sribas and others of the faithful will all flock hither on hearing of His return. Let us send Krishnadas (for the purpose)". With this they consoled Krishnadas.

Next day they prayed to the Master, "Allow us to send a man to Bengal, as mother Shachi, Adwaita and other devotees have all been plunged in concern since they heard of your setting out for the South. Let a man go and give them the glad tidings (of your safe return)". The Master assented, "Do as you like." So they sent Krishnadas to Bengal, with a present of the *mahāprasāda* for the Vaishnavas there.

Black Krishnadás reached Bengal, saw mother Shachi at Navadwip, bowed, and gave her the *mahāprasāda* and the news of the Master's return from the South. The mother rejoiced at the news, and so did the faithful led by Sribas. Then Krishnadás went to the house of Adwaita Acharya, gave him the *prasāda*, bowed, and told him all about the Master. The Acharya in

rapture danced, sang, and shouted for a long time. How shall I name all the flock who exulted at the news,—Haridás Thákur, Vásudev Datta, Murári Gupta, Shivanand, Acharya Ratna, Pandit Bakreshwar, Acharya Nidhi, the Pandits Gadadhar, Srirám, Dámodar, Srimán, and Rághav, Vijaya, Sridhar, and Acharya Nandan? They all went in a body to Adwaita, bowed at his feet, and were clasped to his bosom. Two or three days were spent by the Acharya in great rejoicing (with them), and then he confirmed the desire to make a pilgrimage to the Niláchal. Gathering together at Navadwip, they set off for Jagannath with mother Shachi's leave. At the report about the Master, Satyaráj and Rámánand from the Kulin village joined them, and so did Mukunda and Narahari from Raghunandan Khand. Just then Paramánand Puri arrived at Nadia from the South, travelling along the banks of the Ganges. He lodged in comfort in the temple of mother Shachi, who honourably fed him. On hearing there of the Master's return, the Puri too wished to hasten to the Niláchal. He set off thither with the Master's devotee, the Brahman Kamalákánt, and soon arrived before the Master, who rejoiced at the meeting and lovingly saluted his feet, while the Puri embraced Him. The Master said, "I long to live in thy company. Make the Nilachal thy abode, as thou lovest me." The Puri replied, "It is because I desire your society that I came hither from Bengal. The news of your return from the South has

gladdened the heart of Shachi. The other devotees are coming to see you, but as they made delay I had started quickly (before them)." The Master assigned to the Puri a retired room in Káshi Misra's house and an attendant.

Next day arrived Swarup Dámodar, who had touched the inmost recess of the Master's spirit. His name in the world was Purushottam Acharya, and he waited on the Master at Navadwip. Wild at the Master's renunciation of the world, he went to Benares and turned monk there. His *guru*, Chaitanyánand, bade him study the *Vedanta* and expound it to the people. He was totally withdrawn from the world and a deep scholar, having taken refuge in Krishna with all his body and soul. He had turned sanyasi, in a wild longing to worship Krishna in freedom from every (earthly) thought and care. As a sanyasi he cast off his sacred thread and took the tonsure, but did not put on the yogi's dress. Swarup was the new name given to him. With his *guru's* permission he came to the Niláchal, being day and night out of his senses in the bliss of loving Krishna. He was a perfect scholar, holding converse with none, and living in seclusion unknown to the world. He had known the mystery of the love of Krishna ; his very body was a picture of love ; he seemed the exact second self of the Master. Every book, verse, or song brought to the Master had to be first examined by Swarup before He would hear it.

The Master took no delight in compositions that clashed with the theory of *bhakti* and lacked the spirit of devotion (*rasa*). So, Swarup Goswami tasted books and read to the Master only such as were correct. Vidyapati, Chandidas and *Gitagovinda* were the poetry that delighted the Master. Damodar surpassed others, as he was a veritable *gandharva* in musical skill and a Vrihaspati in Shastric lore. He was a darling to Adwaita and Nityanand, and the very life of Sribas and other faithful ones.

Such was Dámodar who came and prostrating himself clasped the Master's feet while he recited stanza 20 of Act VIII. of the drama *Chaitanya-chandrodaya*.

The Master raised and embraced him. The two swooned away in ecstasy. After a while regaining composure, the Master began thus : "I have dreamt that you would come today. It is good (that you have come) ; I am like a blind man who has got back his two eyes." Swarup answered, "Pardon my sin, Master I erred grievously when I left you and sought another (*guru*). I had not a particle of faith in your feet, but, sinner that I was, I had left you to go to another country ! I had no doubt left you, but *you* did not forsake me. Thy grace has been a chain round my neck, dragging me to thy feet."

Then Swarup bowed at Nityanand's feet, who lovingly embraced him. He also did due courtesy as he met Jagadánand Mukunda, Shankar, Sárabhauma, and

Paramánand Puri. The Master gave him a quiet room with a servant to draw water and do other services.

One day the Master sat surrounded by Sárba-
bhauma and other faithful ones, holding sweet discourse on Krishna, when Govinda arrived, prostrated himself, and said, "I am Govinda, a servant of Ishwar Puri, at whose bidding I have come to you. The Puri, when attaining to *siddhi* (death) told me to go and serve Krishna-Chaitanya. Káshishwara will come (here) after visiting holy places. At my master's bidding I have hastened to your feet." To this the Master replied, "The best of Puris loves me like a son, and has sent you to me as a favour." At this Sárbabhauma asked, "How could the Puri retain a Shudra attendant?" The Master answered, "God is supremely independent. His mercy is not bound by (the rules of) the Vedas. God's grace defies caste and family distinctions. Witness how Krishna dined at the house of Bidur. Love and service are mere instruments of Krishna's mercy. When actuated by mercy He acts independently [of the conventions of religion]. Loving treatment is a million times more blissful than dignity. The very hearing of it gives intense delight."

So saying the Master embraced Govinda, who then bowed at the feet of all. The Master spoke, "Bhattacharya, solve this problem : the very servant of my *guru* is honourable to me, and it is not seemly that he should serve me. And yet the *guru* has commanded

it. What should I do?" The Bhatta answered, "A *guru's* command is most strong, and the Shastras direct us not to violate it. Witness the *Raghuवंसा*, xiv. 53, and Valmiki's *Ramayana*, Ayodhya Kanda, xxii. 9."

Then the Master consented and permitted Govinda to serve His body. All honoured him as the Master's favourite attendant, while Govinda made arrangements for all the Vaishnavas. He was accompanied by the two Haridásés (who were surnamed the greater and lesser chanters),—Rámái and Nandái,—in tending the Master. Govinda's good fortune baffles description.

One day Mukunda Datta said to the Master, "Brahmánand Bhárati has come to see you. Permit me to bring him hither." But He replied, "The Bhárati is my *guru*. It is I who should go to him." So saying, He went to Brahmánand, with all His followers. At the sight of Brahmánand clad in deer skin, the Master grieved at heart, pretended not to have observed him, and asked Mukunda where the Bhárati was. Mukunda replied, "Here, before you!" But the Master objected, "You do not know. It is not he, but somebody else whom you are ignorantly pointing out. Why should the Bhárati Goswami wear a skin?" At this Brahmánand inly reflected, "He likes not my robe of deer skin. He has spoken well. A skin is worn as a mark of pride (of asceticism). The wearing of it cannot give me salvation from the world. Henceforth I shall

renounce this garment." The Master learnt of his thought, and had a cloth brought, which Brahmanand put on after discarding the skin. Then the Master bowed at his feet, but the Bháratí objected saying, "These your acts are for instructing the people. Never bow down to me again, it frightens me. Here are now two gods, viz., Jagannath the stationary, and you the moving god. You are the fair god, while Jagannath is the dark deity. These two (between them) have redeemed the world." The Master demurred, "The truth is that *your* coming has revealed two Brahmas at Purushottam : your name is Brahmánand. and (you are) the fair-coloured moving Brahma, while Jagannath is the dark and motionless one." The Bháratí cried out, "Be thou the judge between us, Sárabhauma, and attend to my logical dispute with Him. The Shastras tell us that creation is *vyápya*, while Brahma is *vyápak*. He has reformed me by taking away my skin robe. This shows that one is *vyápya* and the other is *vyápak*. Vide *Mahabharata*, Dánaparva, ch. 149, stanza 1091. To the Master truly belong these (divine) epithets,—sandal-pasted, *prasáddor*, two-armed *Angad*." Bhattacharya replied, "O Bharati, the victory is thine, as I see." The Master said, "Whatever you say must be true. In a logical disputation, the disciple must always yield to the *guru*." But the Bharati objected, "No, no, the reason (of my victory) is otherwise. It is thy nature to admit defeat at the hands of thy *bhaktas*." Listen to another feat of

thine. All my life I had worshipped the formless Deity, but when I saw thee, Krishna became manifest before my eyes. Krishna's name broke forth from my lips, Krishna's image was stamped on my heart and eye. My soul thirsts for thee as thou resemblest Krishna. My condition is truly like that of Billamangal, as described in the *Bhakti-rasāmrīta-sindhu*."

The Master rejoined, "Deep is your love of Krishna, so that whatever your eye glances on, you see a Krishna there." Bhattacharya replied, "Yes, but only after Krishna had first revealed himself in the flesh. Love alone can enable us to see him. His favour is the (only) means of seeing him." The Master cried out, "Holy God ! Holy God ! what art thou saying, Sārabhauma ? Your praise in hyperbole is satire in disguise." So saying He led the Bharati to His own house and lodged him there. Rām Bhattacharya and Bhagabān Acharya waited on the Master, leaving all other works.

Another day Kashishwar Goswami arrived and was honourably lodged by the Master with Himself. He used to escort the Master to the temple of Jagannath, removing the crowd from before Him. As all rivers and brooks unite in the ocean, so did the Master's worshippers, wherever they might have been, all come together at His feet. He graciously kept them at His house. Thus have I described the Master's assembling of Vaishnavas.

CHAPTER IX.

The Grand Chanting (Bera Kirtan)

One day Sarbabhauma said, "Master, may I make bold to submit a thing?" He replied, "Say thy say without hesitation. If it is a proper request, I shall keep it, if not, not." Sarbabhauma said, "Here is Pratap Rudra Ray, anxious to visit you." The Master clapped His hands to His ears, murmured an appeal to God, and replied, "Why such an improper speech, Sarbabhauma? I am a hermit withdrawn from the world. For me to meet a king or a woman is fatal like a draught of poison."

Sarbabhauma entreated, "True are thy words. But this Raja is a votary of Jagannath and the chief of devotees." "Still, a king is only the deadly snake in another form,—just as the touch of even the wooden statue of a woman causes mental perturbation. Say not so again. If you do, you will miss me from this place." Alarmed, Sarbabhauma retired to his own house.

At this time King Pratap Rudra of the Gajapati dynasty arrived at Puri. With him came Ramananda Ray, who first of all interviewed the Master in great delight. The Ray prostrated himself, the Master embraced him, and the two shed tears of joy. At this

loving intercourse, all the *bhaktas* wondered. The Ray said, "I reported your behest to my King, who relieved me of my business, as you wished. I told him that if he would let me I should remain at Chaitanya's feet, as I no longer wished to manage affairs (of state). At the mention of thy name the King in delight rose from his throne and embraced me. On hearing thy name he was enraptured; he held my hand and very graciously told me, 'Enjoy your salary as before, and adore Chaitanya's feet in freedom from all cares. I, worthless wretch, am unfit to behold Him. Blessed are they in life that adore Him. Right gracious is He, the son of Braja's lord. In some other birth He will certainly grant me the sight of Him.' I myself have not a tithe of the passion of devotion which I saw in the Raja."

The Master replied, "You are the foremost of the adorers of Krishna. He is fortunate who loves you. Krishna will accept the Raja because of the great favour he has shown to you. Vide *Bhāgabat*, XI. xix. 21, III. vii. 20, and two verses from the *Adi Purana* and the *Padma Purana*."

The Ray bowed at the feet of the four apostles, viz., the Puri, the Bharati, Swarup and Nityanand, and properly met Jagadānand, Mukunda, and the other faithful ones. The Master asked, "Ray! have you visited Jagannath?" The Ray replied, "I am going to see the god now." At this the Master cried out, "What

hast thou done, Ray? Why did you come to me before visiting the god?" The Ray answered, "My feet are my carriage, my heart is the driver; wherever they take me I, as rider, must go. What can I do? My heart brought me hither, and did not suggest the idea of visiting Jagannath first." The Master replied, "Hasten to see the god; go to your kindred and home afterwards." At the Master's command the Ray went to see the god. Who can fathom the mystery of the Ray's devotion?

On reaching Puri, the King summoned Sárba-bhauma, and after bowing to him asked, "Did you submit my prayer to the Master?" Sárbabhauma replied, "I have entreated Him hard, but He still refuses to interview kings. If we press Him further He will go away from this place." At this the King lamented, "His advent is for redeeming the sinful and the lowly. He has saved Jagai and Madhai. Has He incarnated Himself with the determination to deliver the whole world excepting Pratap Rudra alone? Well, He has vowed not to see me, and I now vow to give up this life if I cannot see Him. If I am not rich in the great Master's grace, what boots my kingdom, my body? Every thing is useless to me."

Hearing this Sarbabhauma grew alarmed, and he marvelled at the ardour of the King's devotion. So he said, "My liege! grieve not. The Master will

surely take pity on you. He can be compelled by love, and your love is most profound ; He cannot help doing you grace. Still, I suggest a device by which you can see Him. At the Car Festival, the Master with all His followers will dance in rapture in front of Jagannath's car, and enter the garden in an ecstatic mood. Just then, clad in a plain robe and reciting the *Krishnarāsa-panchādhyāyi* all alone, you will run and clasp the Master's feet. He will then be oblivious of the outer world, and on hearing Krishna's name will embrace you as a Vaishnava. Today Rāmananda Ray has lauded your devotion to the Master, whose mind has been turned by it."

At these words the King rejoiced and accepted this plan of interviewing the Master. He learnt from the Bhatta that the Bathing Festival would occur three days afterwards. Thus consoling the King, the Bhatta returned home.

At the Bathing Festival, the Master greatly rejoiced to see the ceremony ; but when Jagannath withdrew to retirement, He deeply mourned for it, and in anguish of separation, like the milkmaids during Krishna's absence, He retired to Alālnath, leaving His followers behind. They afterwards joined Him, and reported that many of the faithful had arrived from Bengal. Sārbabhauma brought the Master back to His quarters in Puri, and informed the King of the fact. Just then Gopinath Acharya arrived at the Court, blessed

the King, and said, "Hark thee, Bhattacharya, two hundred Vaishnavas are coming from Bengal,—all of them followers of the Master and very spiritual personages. They have appeared in the city. Arrange for their being given lodgings and consecrated food." The King replied, "I shall order the *Parichhā*, to assign them lodgings &c., as they require. Show me, Bhattacharya, the Master's followers arrived from Bengal, one by one." The Bhatta said, "Climb to the roof of the palace. Gopinath will point them out as he knows them all, I know none, though I long to do so. Gopinath will introduce each." So saying the three ascended the roof, while the Vaishnavas came near them. Damodar Swarup and Govinda, sent on by the Master, welcomed the Vaishnavas on the way with the god's garland and *prasād*. To the Raja's query Bhattacharya said, "This one is Swarup Damodar, the *alter ego* of the Master. That is His servant Govinda. By their hands has He sent the garland as a mark of honour." Swarup and Govinda successively garlanded Adwaita and bowed to him. But the Acharya knew not Govinda and asked who he was. Damodar Swarup answered "He is Govinda, a highly meritorious servant of Ishwar Puri, who had ordered him to tend our Master, and by Him is Govinda now retained."

The King asked, "Who is the high spiritual chief to whom both have given garlands?" The Acharya replied, "He is Adwaita Acharya, respected by our Master and

highly honoured by all. That one is Sribás Pandit, and those are Bakreshwar Pandit, Bidyánidhi Acharya, Gadadhar Pandit, Acharya Ratna, Purandar Acharya, Gangadas Pandit, Shankar Pandit, Murari Gupta, Narayan Pandit, Haridas Thakur (the purifier of the world), Hari Bhatta, Nrsinghánand, Vásudev Datta, Shivánand, —Govinda, Madhav, Vásu Ghosh (three brothers, whose chanting delights the Master), Raghav Pandit, Acharya Nandan, Srimán Pandit, Srikanta Narayan, Sridhar (the white robed), Vijay, Ballav Sen, Sanjay, Satyaraj Khan (a resident of Kulin village), Rámánand, Mukunda Das, Nara Hari, Raghunandan, Chiranjib (of Khanda), Sulochan, and many more. How can I name them all? They all follow Chaitanya and hold Him as their life.”

The King answered, “The sight fills me with wonder. I have never before beheld such radiance among Vaishnavas. They are all resplendent of hue like a million Suns. Never before have I heard such entrancing street singing. Nowhere have I seen such devotion, such dancing, such shouting of Hari’s name, and nowhere have I heard of them.”

Bhattacharya said, “True are thy words. Chaitanya has created this devotional procession singing (*sankirtan*). His incarnation is for preaching religion; in the *Kali* age the *sankirtan* of Krishna’s name is the (only) religion. Wise are those who worship Krishna by means of *sankirtan*; all other men are overpowered by the spirit of Kali. Vide *Bhāgabat*, XI. v. 29.

The King asked, "The Shastras prove that Chaitanya is Krishna (incarnate). Why then do scholars turn away from Him?" The Bhatta answered, "He alone whom Chaitanya favours even a bit can know Him as Krishna. He who has not Chaitanya's grace is nowise a scholar, as he sees and hears Chaitanya without recognising the God in Him. Vide *Bhagabat*, X. xiv. 28."

The King asked, "Why are they all hastening to Chaitanya's lodgings without first visiting Jagannath?" The Bhatta replied, "Such is the natural consequence of devotion. Their hearts are yearning to see the Master. They will see Him first, and then led by Him will visit Jagannath." The King next said, "Bárinath, the son of Bhabanand Ray, is conveying the *mahāprasād* by five or six porters to the Master's house. Why is such a huge quantity needed?" The Bhatta answered, "Knowing that the faithful were coming, the Master had bidden him bring the *prasād*." The King objected, "It is the custom for pilgrims to fast on reaching a holy place (before they see the god). But why are these men breaking their fast?" The Bhatta answered, "What you mention is the rule of religion. But in this path of devotion there is a subtle inner meaning. God's indirect (or general) command is that pilgrims should first shave their heads and fast. But the Master's direct (or immediate) order is feasting on the *prasād*. Where the *mahāprasād* is not available, fasting is the

rule ; but it is a sin to refuse the *prasād* when the Master bids one eat it ; especially when He is distributing it with His own hands, who will reject such blessedness in order to fast ? Before this He had one morning offered me the *prasād*, and I had eaten it before rising from my bed ! He whose heart receives Chaitanya's gracious call discards the Vedas and conventional religion, and seeks refuge in Krishna alone. Vide *Bhagabat*, IV. xxix. 43."

Then the King descended from the palace terrace. He summoned Kashi Misra and the *Parichhā* officer and bade them, "The Master's followers have come to Him. Give them food and board to their comfort, and make it easy for them to see the god. Heedfully obey the Master's behests. Even when He does not speak out, carry out His hinted purpose." So saying he dismissed them.

Sarbabhauma then went away to visit the Temple. Gopinath Acharya and Sārbabhauma from afar beheld how the Master met the Vaishnavas. The Vaishnavas (from Bengal) took the way to Kashi Misra's house, leaving Jagannath's lion-gate on their right. Just then the Master coming with His attendants met them on the way in great glee. Adwaita bowed at His feet, but He embraced him. In rapture of devotion the two were greatly excited, but in consideration of the occasion the Master composed Himself somewhat. The new arrivals all bowed to Him, and He embraced

and addressed each of them in turn, took them inside His house (which was filled with the throng of countless Vaishnavas), seated them by Himself, and personally gave them garlands and sandal-paste. Then Gopinath and Sárabhauma arrived there and saluted all in proper terms.

Sweetly did the Master address Adwaita, "Thy coming has made me complete to-day." But Adwaita objected, "Such is the nature of God. He is full and the source of all power, and yet He exults in the society of the faithful and ever disports in many ways with them."

The Master, delighted to meet Vasudev, stroked his body and said, "Mukunda has been my companion from my childhood. But the sight of you gives me even more delight." Vasudev replied, "That Mukunda has gained your society is a second birth to him. Therefore is his rank higher than mine, though I am his elder brother. Your grace has made him excel in all virtues." Then the Master added, "I have brought two manuscripts from the South for you. They are with Swarup ; take copies of them." Vasudev was pleased to get the books, and every Vaishnava (from Bengal) took a copy of them ; so that gradually the two works spread everywhere.

Lovingly did the Master address Sribás and others, "You four brothers have bought me (with your kindness)," to which Sribás replied, "Why do you speak just the

contrary of the fact? *We* four are bondsmen purchased by your grace."

Seeing Shankar, the Master spoke to Damodar [his elder brother], "My love for you is mixed with respect, whereas towards Shankar I feel pure affection. Therefore keep him in your company." Damodar replied, "Shankar was born after me, but your grace has made him my elder brother."

To Shivanand He said, "I knew before [this your first introduction to me] that you were ardently devoted to me." At these words Shivanand was enraptured; he prostrated himself on the ground and recited an extempore Sanskrit stanza.

Murari Gupta, without coming to the Master at first, lay prostrate out of doors. The Master searched for him, and many ran out to bring Murari in. Murari presented himself before the Master holding two blades of grass between his teeth as a mark of abject humility. As the Master advanced to welcome him, Murari stepped back shouting, "Touch me not, Lord, I am a sinner, my body is unworthy of your touch." The Master replied, "Away with your lowliness, Murari; the sight of it pierces my heart." So saying He embraced Murari, seated him by His side and patted his back.

Similarly, with words of praise and repeated embraces did the Master receive Acharya Ratna, the Vidyanidhi, Gadadhar Pandit, Gangadas, Hari Bhatta, and Purandar Acharya. Then He asked, "Where is

Haridas?" But Haridas lay prostrate far away on the edge of the public road, whence he had first beheld Chaitanya. He had not resorted to the Master's reception, but stopped at a distance. The devotees hurried there to lead him in, but Haridas said, "I am a low person, of no caste, and debarred from going close to the Temple. If I can get a little retired space in the garden, I shall lie there and pass my time in loneliness, so that no servitor of Jagannath may have any occasion to touch me. That is my prayer."

At the report of this speech the Master was pleased. Just then Kashi Misra and the *Parichhā* arrived and did obeisance to the Master. Delighted to see so many Vaishnavas, they were introduced to all with due courtesy. Then they entreated the Master, "Permit us to make arrangements for these Vaishnavas. We have chosen lodgings for all and shall serve them with the *mahāprasād*." The Master replied, "Gopinath! take the Vaishnavas with you and bestow them in the lodgings chosen for them. Deliver the *mahāprasād* to Bānināth, who will distribute it to all. Close to my place is a very lonely house in this flower-garden. Let me have it, as I need it for lonely meditation." The Misra said, "All is thine, and this begging is needless. Take whatever houses you please. We two are slaves waiting for your bidding. Be pleased to command us in whatever you wish for."

The two now left with Gopinath and Baninath;

the former was shown all the lodging-houses, and the latter was given immense quantities of the *mahaprasad* (for the whole party). Thereafter Baninath returned with the consecrated rice and cakes, and Gopinath after cleaning the lodgings. The Master said, "Hear, all ye Vaishnavas ! Go to your respective lodgings. After bathing in the ocean and gazing at the pinnacle of the Temple, come here for your dinner." After bowing to the Master, they were led away to their quarters by Gopinath.

Then He came to receive Haridas, who was chanting God's name in rapture. Haridas fell flat at the Master's feet, who clasped him to His bosom. Both wept in fervour of love,—the Master overcome by the disciple's merits and the disciple by the Master's. Haridas cried, "Touch me not, Master, I am a low un-touchable wretch." But the Master answered, "I touch you to be purified, because I lack your pure religion. Every moment you acquire as much piety as by bathing in all holy places, or by performing sacrifice, austerities, and alms-giving, or by reading the Vedas. You are holier than a Brahman or a sanyasi ! Vide *Bhāgabat* III. xxxiii. 7." So saying He took Haridas into the garden and gave him a room all apart, adding, "Live here, chanting His name. Daily will I come and join thee. Bow to the discus on the top of the Temple of Jagannath (which you can see from here). The *prasad* will be sent to you here." Nityanand, Jagadanand,

Damodar, and Mukunda rejoiced on meeting with Haridas.

After bathing in the sea the Master returned to His quarters. Adwaita and his party also bathed in the sea, gazed (reverently) at the pinnacle of the Temple, and came to the Master's house for dinner. Chaitanya seated them in proper order and Himself distributed the food. So lavish was His hand that He gave two or three men's food to each. But all the faithful held their hands back from the dinner so long as the Master fasted. Swarup reported this to Him, saying, "Unless you sit down to meal, none else will dine. Gopinath Acharya has invited the party of *sanyasis* to dine with you. He has brought the *prasad*, and the Puri and Bharati are waiting for you. Do you sit down to dinner with Nityanand, while I serve the Vaishnavas." Then the Master carefully sent the *prasad* to Haridas by the hand of Govinda, and Himself sat at meals with all the *sanyasis*, while the Acharya served them in delight. Swarup Damodar and Jagadánand served the Vaishnavas, who ate all sorts of cakes and syrups, joyously shouting Hari's name now and then.

After they had dined and washed their hands, the Master gave each a garland and a sandal-paste mark. They then retired to their lodgings for rest. In the evening they came to Him again, when Ramananda also arrived. The Master introduced him to all the

Vaishnavas. With the whole party He went to Jagannath's temple, and began to chant (*kirtan*). After the burning of evening incense He began a *sankirtan*. The *Parichhā* presented Him with a garland and sandal-paste.

Four parties sang on four sides, while in their midst danced Shachi's darling. Eight *dholes* and 32 cymbals were played on. All shouted "Hari ! Hari !" and cheered. The blissful sound of *kirtan* penetrated through the 14 regions to the *Brahmānda*. As the *kirtan* began, devotion welled out ; the people of Puri ran thither and marvelled at the singing, having never seen such intense love before.

Next the Master went round Jagannath's temple, dancing and singing, while the four parties of chanters preceded and followed Him. As He was falling down, Nityanand held Him up. Men wondered as they beheld His weeping, tremour, perspiration, and deep shouting. The tears ran down His cheeks like jets from a syringe and bathed the men around. After dancing round the Temple for a long time, He performed *kirtan* behind it, the four parties singing in a high pitch, while Chaitanya danced wildly in the middle. After dancing long He stopped and permitted the four Apostles to dance with the four parties,—Nityanand, Adwaita Acharya, Bakreshwar Pandit, and Srinibas—while the Master from the centre gazed on. Here He manifested a miraculous

power: every one who danced around Him saw that the Master was gazing only at him! He manifested this power only because He wished to behold the dance of the four. Every one noticed His attentive gaze but did not know how He could gaze on four sides! Just as at the feast on the Jamuna's bank, Krishna in the midst of his comrades seemed to be gazing at every one of them at the same time.

As each came up to Him dancing, the Master firmly clasped him to His bosom. The people of Puri swam in a sea of delight as they beheld such grand dancing, devotion, and *sankirtan*. The King himself on hearing of the splendour of the *kirtan*, ascended the terrace of his palace with his court to gaze at it. The sight increased his admiration and his eagerness to be introduced to the Master.

After finishing the chanting and beholding the ceremony of showering flowers on Jagannath, the Master returned home with all the Vaishnavas. The *Parichhitā* brought to Him plenty of *prasād* which He divided among all. Then He dismissed them and retired to bed. All the time they were with Him, they daily performed *kirtan* in this style.

CHAPTER X.

Cleansing Jagannath's garden-house.

Before this, when the Master returned from the South, King Pratap Rudra Gajapati, eager to see Him, wrote to Sárababhauma from Katak to get the Master's consent to an interview. On Bhattacharya replying that the consent was withheld, the King wrote again, "Entreat the *bhaktas* of the Master to intercede with Him for me. Through their favour I may reach His feet. I like not my kingship if I cannot gain His grace. If Chaitanya does not take pity on me, I shall give up my throne and turn a religious mendicant." Bhattacharya in great alarm went to the *bhaktas*, told them of the King's plight and showed them the letter.

They marvelled at the King's devotion to the Master and said, "He will never receive the King. If we entreat Him, it will only grieve Him." But Sárababhauma said, "Let us all go to Him. We shall tell Him about the King's conduct without pressing Him to grant an interview."

So they all repaired to the Master's presence, eager to speak and yet silent. He asked, "What is it that you have all come to say? I see you have got something in your minds. Why then do you not speak it out?" Nityanand replied, "We have a prayer to make.

We cannot keep it back, and yet we fear to speak. Proper or improper we shall report it all to you. If you do not see him the King wishes to turn a hermit." The Master's heart was secretly softened by the speech, but with a show of harshness He said, "I see that you all wish to take me to see the King at Katak ! Not to speak of the next world, even the people (of the earth) will blame me. What of other people, even Damodar will condemn me. If I ever receive the King it will be with Damodar's approval and not at your request." Damodar said, "You are God and a free being. You know best what is proper (for you) and what not. How can a petty creature like me lay down the rule to you ? I shall witness your granting him an audience of your own accord. The King loves you, love compels you, therefore his love will make you touch him. A free God as you are, it is your nature to be swayed by love."

Nityanand broke in, "Where is the man that dares bid you interview the King ? But it is the nature of devoted ones that they give up their lives if they fail to obtain the object of their adoration. Witness how the sacrificing Brahman's wife quitted her life on failing to obtain Krishna [*Bhagabat*, X. xxiii.] There is one way, however, if you will only listen to it, by which you will not see the King and yet his life will be saved : give him of thy grace thy wearing apparel, by getting which he will hold to life."

The Master replied, "You are all highly learned. Do whatever you think fit." Then Nityanand begged from Govinda one of the *dhotis* of the Master, and sent it by Sárabhauma to the King, who gleefully adored the cloth as if it were the Master Himself.

Thereafter when Rámánanda Ray came back from the South and entreated the King to let him stay with the Master, the King gladly consented, and pressed him to entreat the Master, whose favourite he was, to grant an interview to the King. Then the two arrived at Puri, and Ramananda waited on the Master and reported to Him the King's love and devotion. He repeatedly took occasion to mention the subject, being a minister expert in diplomacy, and succeeded in softening the Master's mind.

Pratap Rudra could not contain himself in his eagerness, and again pressed Ramananda, who begged the Master to show His feet only once to the King. But the Master replied, "Judge for yourself, Ramananda, whether a hermit ought to receive a king. Such an interview ruins a hermit in this world and the next, and makes him a butt of ridicule." Ramananda pleaded, "You are God and your own master; whom fear you? You are subject to none!" The Master replied, "I am a sanyasi living in human habitations, and I fear from my soul worldly dealings. Even the most trifling failing of a *sanyasi* is talked of by all men, just as a speck of ink on a white cloth cannot be concealed."

The Ray urged, "You have saved (by your touch) many a sinner, while this King is a devotee of God and your *bhakta*!" The Master parried the argument thus, "Just as a jar full of milk is shunned if it contains even one drop of wine, so is Pratap Rudra, clad in all the virtues, defiled by his title of king. Still, if you are keen about it, introduce his *son* to me. The Shastras say, the *son is one's own self born again*. My interview with the son will be equivalent to a meeting with the father."

The Ray reported it to the King and conducted the prince to the Master. The royal youth was handsome and dark, clad in a yellow robe and jewels,—so that he reminded one of Krishna. On seeing him, the Master thought of Krishna, lovingly received him, and said, "A very pious personage is this youth, the sight of whom makes all men remember the Darling of Braja's lord. Blessed am I that I have seen him." So saying He repeatedly embraced the prince, who was transported by the touch and began to perspire, tremble, weep, exult and stand inert, and (then) danced and wept chanting Krishna's name. The *bhaktas* present praised his good fortune. Then the Master composed him and bade him come there daily.

The Ray took the prince away to the King who rejoiced at his son's exploit, and in embracing his son felt the touch of the Master's person as it were.

Thenceforth the lucky prince was numbered among the Master's *bhaktas*.

So did He pass His time blissfully in ceaseless *sankirtan* with His followers. He was feasted with His companions by the Acharya and others successively. Thus some time passed and the day of the Car Festival approached. At the outset He called for Kashi Misra, the *Parichhā* minister and Sarbabhauma, and smilingly said, "I beg to undertake the service of cleansing the Gundichā temple." The *Parichhā* replied, "We are all your servants, bound to do whatever you wish for. On me has been laid the special command of my King to quickly perform whatever you bid. Cleaning the temple is not a task worthy of you ; but it is one of your playful acts ; do whatever you like. But many pitchers and brooms will be required. Permit me to bring them here to-day." So he delivered to the Master a hundred new pitchers and brooms.

Next morning the Master rubbed His followers over with sandal-paste, gave each a broom and went with them to the Gundicha temple to clean it. First He swept and cleaned the inside, the roof, and the throne. The two temples, large and small, were swept and washed, and then the dancing-hall in front. The hundred *bhaktas* plied their brooms, the Master in the middle guiding them by His own manner of sweeping. Following Him they gleefully chanted Krishna's name while at work.

The dust covered His fair form ; now and then His tears washed the ground. The god's dining-hall was swept and then the court-yard. At last all the rooms were cleaned. He made a bundle of the collection of straw, dust and pebbles in His cloth and threw them outside. So did His followers, too. The Master said, "I shall learn the amount of the labour done by each from the size of his bundle of sweepings." So their bundles were heaped together, but the Master's own bundle was seen to exceed the entire heap

After cleansing the interior, He divided the work again among them, telling them to make the place thoroughly tidy by removing all the fine dust, small straws and bits of stone. He rejoiced to see the cleansing finished a second time by His party of Vaishnavas. A hundred other followers had been waiting with a hundred pitchers of water from the outset, for their turn. As soon as the Master called for water they placed the hundred buckets before Him. He first washed the temple,—top floor, wall, and the throne in the interior. The water was dashed in earthen cups on to the top, and thus the upper walls were washed. He Himself washed the throne, while the *bhaktas* washed the inner shrine, and scrubbed it with their own hands. Some poured water on the Master's hands, some on His feet, and some covertly drank up the water (so consecrated). Some begged this water from others. After the temple had been cleansed they poured

water into the drain and thus the courtyard was submerged. With His own cloth the Master wiped the building and the throne. It took a hundred pitchers of water to wash the temple.

The purified temple became spotless, cool and delicious, like His own mind turned inside out. A hundred filled their pitchers at the tank, or, if crowded out, at the well. A hundred *bhaktas* brought the filled pitchers in, while another hundred ran off with the empty ones. Only Nityanand, Adwaita, Swarup, the Bháratí, and the Puri did not draw water. (In their hurry) many pitchers were knocked together and broken, but men brought hundreds of new pots to replace them. They shouted "Krishna! Krishna!", as they filled their pots, or broke them, delivered the filled pitchers or begged for new ones. No other word was uttered there; Krishna's name became a mystic word to express all their different purposes. In ecstasy of devotion the Master chanted Krishna's name and did alone the work of a hundred men, as if He had put forth a hundred arms in washing and scrubbing. He also went up to each to instruct him, praising those whose tasks were well done and gravely chiding those who were slovenly. "You have done well, teach others to do the like",—at these words of His they were put on the alert and did their work with all their heart. Then they washed the Jagmohan, the dining room, the dancing hall, the courtyard, the kitchen, the

environs of the temple, and all nooks and private places.

Just then an honest simple Bengali emptied his pitcher at the Master's feet and drank the water. At this the Master turned angry and sorry. He inly felt pleased, but for the instruction of others outwardly professed anger, calling out to Swarup, "Look at the conduct of your *Gauriyā*. He has washed my feet in God's temple and drunk the water. From this sin where can I hope for salvation? Your man of Bengal has caused me this misery." Then Swarup took the man by the nape of his neck, shoved him out of the temple, and on his return entreated the Master to pardon the man. The Master was now satisfied. He seated all in two rows and sat in the middle, picking up straws and brambles with His own hands. "I shall see what a heap the gleanings of each can make. He whose collection is small must forfeit his cake and syrup to me!" Thus was the temple made clean, cool and pure, like His own mind. The water running down the drain looked like a new river flowing to the ocean.

He then cleansed the Man-lion temple in and out, rested a little, and then set up dancing. And in the same manner He swept the roads in front of the temple. The *bhaktas* danced around, while the Master danced in their midst like a raging lion, perspiring trembling, turning pale, being thrilled, and roaring. After washing His body He marched in advance, showering down tears,

while the *bhaktas* washed themselves clean, like unto the deluge of rain from the clouds in the month of *Shrā-ban*. The loud *sankirtan* filled the sky, the vigorous dance of the Master shook the earth. The resonant singing of Swarup pleased the Master, who danced wildly in delight. After dancing thus, He took rest at the proper time.

Sri Gopal, the son of the Acharya, when allowed by the Master to dance, was so overcome by devotion that he fell down in a fit. The father hurriedly took him up in his arms, and was afflicted to see his breathing stopped. Uttering with a sky-splitting roar the "spell of Nrisinha" he dashed water on the youth's face. But the youth did not regain consciousness, in spite of all their efforts. The Acharya wept, the *bhaktas* wept too. Then the Master laid His hand on the youth's breast and cried out, "Rise Gopal!" and lo! at the cry Gopal came round. The *bhaktas* danced chanting Hari's name.

After a short rest, the Master departed with His followers in the tank. On rising from the water He put on dry clothes, bowed to Nrisinha, and went to sit in the garden, with His followers around Him. Then Baninath, accompanied by Kashi Misra and Tulsi *Parichhā*, brought to Him the *mahaprasad*, rice, cakes, and syrup, enough to feed five hundred men. The Master delighted at the sight. On the terrace He sat down to meal with the Puri, Brahmanand Bharati, Adwaita

Acharya, Nityanand, Acharya Ratna, Acharya Nidhi, Sribas, Gadadhar, Shankar Nyayácharya, Raghav, Bakreshwar and Sarbabhauma. Then the *bhaktas* sat down in the successive terraces below them, in due order. The garden was filled with them. The Master repeatedly called for Haridas, who from afar off replied, "Partake of thy repast with the *bhaktas*, Master. I am all too unworthy to sit with thee. Govinda will afterwards give me *prasad* outside the gate." Knowing his intent, the Master did not press him further. The food was served up by Swarup, Jagadanand, Damodar, Kashishwar, Gopinath, Baninath and Shankar, while the *bhaktas* shouted *Hari ! Hari !* at intervals. The Master remembered the picnic on the Jamuna bank which Krishna had held of yore. He checked, as inopportune, the rapture of devotion which seized His mind (at the thought), and said, "Serve me with sauce and fry only, and let the *bhaktas* have the sweets." Being omniscient He knew who liked which dish, and directed Swarup to serve each according to his taste. Jagadanand, in the course of his serving, dropped sweet things unawares on the Master's plate, and though the Master angrily protested, he supplied more by force or cunning, as such serving was his delight. As Jagadanand came there on his rounds again and gazed at the sweets he had served before, the Master in fear of him ate a little of them, lest Jagadanand should himself fast ! Swarup with his hands full of sweet *prasad* stood before the

Master praying "Taste a little of this *mahaprasad* and see what Jagannath has eaten!" He placed them on the plate, and the Master moved by his kindness, ate a little. Thus did these two *bhaktas* repeatedly show their wonderful tender regard for Him. Sarbabhauma, who sat at the Master's side, smiled at their loving conduct. The Master ordered sweets to be served to Sarbabhauma and repeatedly pressed him to eat. Gopinath Acharya placed nice dishes before Sarbabhauma and said sweetly, "Bhattacharya! where is your former line of conduct now? Whence do you feel such supreme bliss? Answer me that." Sarbabhauma replied, "I was a sophistical disputant. Your grace has made me attain to such bliss. The Master is the only Gracious One. Who else could have turned a crow (like me) into a *garuda* (the favourite bird of Vishnu)? Once I used to howl with the jackal sophists, and now out of the same mouth I utter Krishna's name! What was my former concourse with externalist logician disciples, and what is this society of saints like merging in the ocean waves!" The Master said, "Your devotion to Krishna had already matured (before I met you). It is *your* society that has made *us* all devoted to Krishna!" There is none like the Master, in the three worlds, to exalt the glory of the *bhakta* and to soothe a *bhakta's* heart. Then the Master sent cakes and syrup from the leavings of His plate, to each *bhakta* by name.

Adwaita and Nityanand, sitting together, began

a mock quarrel, the former saying, "I have dined in the same row with a hermit (*abadhuta*). Who knows what my fate will be in the next world? The Master Himself is a sanyasi, and as such is above defilement from food-contact (with a casteless man like an *abadhuta*), for so the Shastras say. But I am a Brahman householder, and therefore liable to defilement. It has been a great sin on my part to dine in the same row with a man whose birth, pedigree, conduct and character are unknown to me!"

Nityanand replied, "You are Adwaita Acharya. According to the theory of *Adwaita* (Monism), the only duty is *bhakti*. He who accepts your theory recognises only one principle and no second. With such a person as you have I dined! I know not what led me to do such a thing." So they wrangled, really praising one another in the garb of abuse.

After the dinner, the Vaishnavas rose up shouting 'Hari' loud enough to split earth and heaven. The Master gave to each of them a garland with His own hand. Next the waiters, Swarup and the other six, sat down to their repast within the room. Govinda laid aside the leavings of the Master's plate, to be given to Haridas. The *bhaktas* and even Govinda himself took a little of this hallowed food. Various are the sports of the free God, such as this ceremony of washing and cleaning.

For a fortnight the people had been denied sight of the god Jagannath [while his image was being painted anew]; and their grief changed into joy when, at the expiry of the period, the eye-painting (i. e. the last stage) being over, they could again see him. The Master went thither with all His followers. First marched Kashishwar, making a lane through the crowd, next went Govinda with a bowl of water. In front of the Master walked the Puri and the Bharati, and by His side Swarup and Adwaita, the other *bhaktas* bringing up the rear. Anxiously did He go to Jagannath's temple and in passion of longing stepped beyond the rules, asking to see the fair face of the god in the dining room. The thirsty eyes of the Master ardently drank in the face of Krishna, like a pair of bees sucking in a lotus. The god's eyes surpassed the blooming lotus in beauty, his cheeks flashed radiance like a polished turquoise mirror, his lip was sweet as the *Bāndhuli* flower, a light smile spread a ripple of nectar over his form. As the *bhaktas* gazed on, the charm of the god's countenance increased every moment; their thirst increased with its gratification; their eyes could not move from that face. Thus did the Master with His following gaze at the god till noon,—perspiring, trembling, weeping incessantly, and again checking these outbursts in order to have a clearer view of the deity. At the time of *bhog* He began to sing *kirtan*, forgetful of everything else in the bliss of gazing. The *bhaktas* led

Him back to His quarters at noon. The servitors offered to the god a double quantity of *prasad*, knowing that the Car Festival would take place next morning.

CHAPTER XI

The Dance before Jagannath's Car.

Next day the Master with His followers heedfully bathed before it was dawn. Pratap Rudra with his Court showed the Master's *bhaktas* the ceremony of Jagannath leaving his throne to take his seat in the car. Girt round by Adwaita Nityanand and other *bhaktas*, the Master delightedly witnessed the scene. The stout *pāndās*, like so many wild elephants, conveyed Jagannath in their arms, some holding the god's neck and some his feet. A strong thick rope was fastened to his waist, and the *pandas* raised the image by pulling at the two ends of the rope. Thick and high heaps of cotton were placed at different points, and the god was raised from one and quickly rested on another of them; but the touch of his feet broke up the heaps and scattered the cotton with a loud sound. (In fact) Jagannath supports the universe; who can move *him*? He moves of his own will, to disport himself. Shouts of "Great Lord! Master! Master!" rose up, but nothing could be heard amidst the clang of many instruments of music. Then Pratap Rudra, with his own hands, swept the path with a golden broom-stick, and sprinkled sandal water on the ground. He was a king seated on a throne, but in as much as being high he did such lowly

services, he gained Jagannath's grace. The Master rejoiced at the sight, and this lowly service of the King gained for him the Master's regard.

Men marvelled as they beheld the trappings of the car. It was covered with fresh gold and high as the Sumeru mountain. Hundreds of fly-whiskers and polished mirrors hung from it; above were flags and a pure canopy. The *ghāgar*, rattled, bells jingled on it. Many coloured silk cloths covered it. Jagannath mounted one car, Subhadra and Balaram two others.

For fifteen days had Jagannath remained (behind a screen), dallying in secret with Lakshmi, and now with her leave he came out for a ride in his car to give delight to his adorers. The fine white sand on the road suggested a river bank, and the gardens on both sides made the place look like Brindaban. Jagannath went along in his car, pleased with what he saw on both sides. Bengali athletes dragged the car joyfully. It sped at one time, slackened at another, and sometimes stopped altogether. In fact it moved of its own will, and not under the force of men.

Then the Master with His own hands gave to the *bhaktas* sandal paste and garlands.....Then He divided the chanters (*kirtanias*) into four parties,—consisting in all of 24 singers and eight men playing on the *khol*, their chiefs being Swarup and Sribas. Then He bade Nityanand, Adwaita, Haridas, and Bakreshwar dance. In the first party Swarup was the leading singer, while the other

five were Damodar, Narayan, Govinda Datta, Raghav Pandit and Sri Govindanand; with them danced Adwaita. Of the second party the spokesman was Sribas, his followers being Gangadas, Haridas, Sriman, Shuvanand, and Sri Ram Pandit. Here danced Nityanand. Mukunda led the third party, consisting of Vásudev, Gopinath, Murari, Srikánta, and Ballav Sen, with Haridas Thákur as the dancer. The fourth party was composed of Haridas, Vishnudas, Raghav, Madhav Ghosh and his brother Vásudev Ghosh, their leader being Govinda Ghosh, and their dancer Bakreshwar Pandit. Other parties of *kirtan* singers were formed by the pilgrims from Kulin village, (with Rámánand and Satyaráj as their dancers), the Acharyas of Shantipur (with Achyutanand as their dancer), the men of Khand (with Nara Hai and Sri Raghunandan as their dancers.) In short four parties preceded the car of Jagannath, two walked on the flanks, and one in the rear. These seven parties played on 14 *khol*s in all,—the music of which maddened the Vaishnavas present. The cloud of Vaishnava enthusiasm melted in showers,—their eyes dropped tears along with the nectar of *kirtan*. The shout of *kirtan* filled the three worlds and drowned all other sounds. The Master visited the seven positions shouting “Hari” and “Glory to Jagannath !” with uplifted arms.

Another miracle did He manifest : at the same moment He was present with all the seven parties, so

that each cried out, "The Master is with us. Out of His grace for us He has not gone elsewhere." No one can describe the inscrutable power of the Master, only the pure-souled esoteric *bhakta* can know it.

Jagannath, pleased with the *sankirtan*, stopped his car. At this Pratap Rudra marvelled exceedingly and became overcome with excess of devotion. He spoke of the Master's greatness to Kashi Misra, who replied, "You are, O King, fortunate beyond limit." The King and Sarbabhauma exchanged glances, as none else knew the secret manipulation of Chaitanya;—only those whom He favours can know Him; without His grace even Brahmá cannot recognise Him. He had been delighted with the lowly service done by the King, and for that reason had revealed His mystery to him. True, He had shown Himself to the King only indirectly; but who can pierce through this illusion of Chaitanya? Sarbabhauma and Kashi Misra were amazed at the grace shown to the King.

Thus did the Master play for some time, singing and making His followers dance,—now assuming one form, now many, ever putting forth His powers according to the work to be done. In the ardour of play He forgot Himself, and wished not to put a stop to it. Every moment did He do supernatural feats, as He had in a preceding birth performed *rāsa* and other sports at Brindaban.....

Dancing thus, the Master swept away the people

on the wave of enthusiasm..... As Jagannath was going to the Gundichá garden-house, the Master performed *kirtan* before the god for a long time. First He made His *bhaktas* dance, and then, wishing to dance Himself, united the seven parties, placed nine men (Sribas, Rámái, Raghu, Govinda, Mukunda, Haridas, Govindanand, Madhav, and Govinda) under Swarup to sing and move in the Master's company, while the other parties sang around Him. After bowing to Jagannath, with folded palms and uplifted face the Master prayed :

Salutation to Sri Krishna ! who is the divine God, the protector of Brahmans and king, and benefactor of the universe. To Krishna, to Govinda, I bow again and again !" (*Vishnu-Purana, Pt. I. XIX. 48.*)

"Victory attend Devaki's son, the Lamp of the Vrishni race, the lord ! Deep blue like the clouds is his colour, tender are his limbs. He is the Redeemer of the world from its load of sin. Victory to him ! Victory !" (*Padábali, C. 108.*) *Also Bhagabat, X. xc. 24. and Padabali, C. 63.*

Reciting these verses the Master bowed low again, while the *bhaktas* with folded palms adored God. Dancing impetuously with loud roars, He moved in circles, like a lathe. Wherever His feet touched the ground, the earth with its hills and oceans trembled. He manifested stupor, perspiration, joyous weeping, tremour, turning pale, all sorts of helplessness, pride, exultation and humility. Stumbling He rolled on the ground, like a golden hill thrown on the earth. Nityanand and Adwaita hastened to raise Him up in their

arms, shouting *Hari ! Hari*. Three circles were formed to keep the crowd back. The first was formed by Nityanand, the second was composed of Kashishwar, Mukunda and other *bhaktas* locking their hands together. Outside Pratap Rudra with his ministers formed another ring to keep the spectators in check. The King, with his hand resting on the shoulder of his prime minister, was gazing in absorption at the Master's dance. As Srinibas, sunk in devotion, was standing before the King, the prime minister touched him and said "Step aside." But Srinibas in the ardour of his dancing was forgetful of all else. He was pushed repeatedly and at last grew angry and slapped the minister to stop his pushing. At this the minister in anger wanted to rebuke him, but Pratap Rudra checked him saying, "Blessed art thou, to be touched by him. Such happiness has not been my share !"

What to speak of the people, even Jagannath wondered at the dancing of the Master, stopped his car, and gazed at the dance with winkless eyes. Subhadra and Balarám smiled in delight at the sight of the dance. A strange change came over the Master while dancing with all His might : all the eight spiritual phases (*sātvik bhāb*) manifested themselves at the same time. His hair stood on end, with their roots in the skin bulging out,—liké a *Shimul* tree girt round with thorns. His teeth clashed together fearfully, as if they would be dislocated. Blood and sweat ran over His body. He

liped ja—ja—ga—ga inarticulately. His eyes poured down tears like syringes, and moistened the men around. Fair was His complexion, at times turning into rosy, at times resembling the *Mallika* flower. At times He stood inert, at times He rolled on the ground ; at times motionless like a dry wood, at other times prostrate on the ground and breathing faintly, to the alarm of His *bhaktas*. At times water oozed out of His eyes and nostrils and foam out of His mouth,—as the moon sheds bubbles of nectar. Shuvánand, mad with passion for Krishna, collected and drank up that froth ; highly fortunate was he.

After dancing violently for some time the Master wished to manifest another mood. Leaving the dance He bade Swarup sing. Swarup, knowing His taste, began,—

“I have met the lord of my life,

For whose sake I had withered in the fire of Cupid.”

Loudly did Swarup sing this burden, while the Master in delight danced tenderly. Slowly Jagannath's car moved on, Shachi's son dancing before it. With eyes fixed on Jagannath all danced and sang. (At times) the Master walked behind the car with the party of *kirtan* singers,—His arms making the action of song. When Chaitanya lagged behind, Jagannath stopped his car ; when the Master walked ahead the god propelled his car slowly. Thus did the two urge each other on !

In the course of dancing another change of mood came over the Master: with uplifted arms He loudly recited the following stanza. (*Kavya prakash*, I. Canto. 4 and also *Padabali* C. 380).

Again and again did He read the stanza, of which the meaning was known to Swarup only. It meant in effect that as the milkmaids at Kurukshetra were delighted to see Krishna, so was the Master gratified at the sight of Jagannath. Under that emotion He had the burden sung (by Swarup). At last Radha prays to Krishna, "You are the same [beloved] and I am the same [lover, as during your incarnation as Krishna], and yet Brindaban steals my heart. Appear at Brindaban again! Here there are crowds and the din and bustle of elephants, horses and chariots;—there only flowery woodlands, the bee's murmur, the cuckoo's cooing! Here you are dressed as a King girt round by warriors,—there you were a cow-boy, in the company of flute players! Here I have not a drop of the ocean of bliss I had tasted in thy society at Brindaban. Take me with thee to dally at Brindaban again. Thus only can my heart be gratified." In the ardour of His devotion the Master recited the stanzas of the *Bhāgabat*, voicing Radhika's longing. But other people could not understand the verses; Swarup alone knew their meaning but spoke not. (Afterwards) Rup Goswami proclaimed the sense. Vide *Bhagabat* X. lxxxii. 35 and 31.)

In Swarup's company had the Master day and

night enjoyed the sense of these verses in His house. During His dance the same emotion overcame Him ; so He recited the stanzas and danced gazing at Jagannath. Swarup,—fortunate beyond expression in being absorbed body and soul in the Master,—sang, while the Master drank in his music in abstraction. Under passion's sway the Master sat down and with bowed head traced letters on the ground with His finger. Lest His finger should be hurt, Swarup prevented Him. Swarup's song was in exact accord with the Master's emotion ; he gave a vocal shape to every phase of the Master's] heart.

As He gazed at Jagannath's lotus-like face, flashing in the sunlight, his beautiful eyes, his perfumes, robes, garlands and ornaments, the ocean of joy surged up in the Master's heart,—a wild storm swept through Him ; rapture and wildness raised a tumult, the different emotions fought in Him like hostile armies. A passion rose, a passion subsided, it came to terms with another, and at last His normal mood of spirituality (*satwik*) asserted itself. The Master's body was a pure hill of gold ; His emotion a tree with every flower in bloom. The sight drew the hearts of all ; with the nectar of love He moistened their minds. All the servitors of Jagannath, all the courtiers of the King, the pilgrims, and the residents of Puri,—all marvelled at the Master's dance and rapture, and all felt devotion to Krishna. In enthusiasm they danced, sang, and set

up a din. The pilgrims by joining the dance increased the happiness fourfold. Jagannath himself moved on slowly to witness the Master's dance.

Thus dancing, the Master advanced to where Pratap Rudra stood, and was about to fall down when the King held Him up. On seeing him the Master recovered composure and cried shame on Himself for having touched a king, a worldling, adding, "In his rapture Nityanand has ceased to be heedful. Kashishwar, Govinda and others, too, are at a distance." True the Master had been pleased to see Pratap Rudra humbly serving Jagannath as a sweeper, and had meant to meet the King, yet He professed anger in order to warn His followers against consorting with worldly minded men. The King grieved at the Master's speech, but Sarbabhauma told him not to lose heart, "The Master is pleased with you ; He is only instructing His followers by means of you. I shall seize a proper time for entreating Him. You will then go and meet Him."

Then the Master walked round the car, and standing behind it pushed it with His head. At His push the car ran on with a clatter ; the people around shouted Hari ! Hari ! Next the Master led His followers away to dance before the cars of Subhadra and Balaram, and when that was done He returned to dance before Jagannath's car. So the cars reached Balgandi, where they stopped, and Jagannath looked on both sides : on the left were the abodes of Brahmans in

cocoonut groves, on the right a flower garden resembling Brindaban.....It is the rule that Jagannath breakfasts here on ten million dishes. Every devotee of Jagannath, whatever his position, offers his best food to the god. The King, his wives, ministers and courtiers, all citizens of Puri, great and small, the pilgrims from various lands, the people of the province,—all offered him their respective *bhog*. No order was observed, each deposited his offering of food in front, behind, on the two sides of the god, or in the garden, wherever he could find a spot. The crowd grew immense at the time of the *bhog*, and so the Master stopped dancing and entered the garden, where He lay prostrate on the *verandah* of the garden house, overcome with love ; the exertion of dancing made Him perspire copiously and He enjoyed the fragrant cool wind. All the *bhaktas* who had been singing *kirtan* came and rested under the trees.

CHAPTER. XII.

The Hora-Panchami Procession of Lakshmi.

As the Master lay thus overcome with love, Pratap Rudra entered the garden alone, disguised as a (simple) Vaishnava, according to the advice of Sarbabhauma. With folded hands he took permission of every *bhakta* and then mustered courage to fall down clasping the Master's feet. The Master lay on the ground, His eyes closed in love ; the King eagerly nursed His feet. Pratap Rudra recited the stanzas of the *Rāsa* dance, (*Bhagabat*, X. xxxi. 1.) Infinite was the Master's delight as He heard the verses, and He repeatedly cried "Go on." When the King proceeded to the stanza beginning with "*The nectar like discourse of thee*" the Master in devotion rose up and embraced the King, saying "You have given me many priceless gems. I have nothing to give in return, save this embrace." So saying He read the verses over and over again, both quivering and showering tears.

"The nectar-like discourse of thee, O darling ! is life to the afflicted, the theme of praise to sages, and the antidote to sin. The hearing of it does good and gives peace. Blessed are they who spread it far and wide on earth, for they are truly givers of much alms." (*Bhagabat*, X. xxxi. 9.)

Crying 'the giver of much alms', the Master

embraced the King, not knowing now who he was. The King's lowly service had won for him the Master's pity, who now made him a gift of His grace without any inquiry. Lo! the power of Chaitanya's grace, which bears fruit without questioning. The Master asked, "Who art thou, my benefactor, that hast poured by surprise into my ears the nectar of Krishna's deeds?" The King replied, "I am the slave of thy slaves. My only desire is that you may make me the servant of your servants." Then the Master revealed His godhead to the King, forbidding him to tell it to anybody. Though knowing everything at heart, He outwardly showed as if He did not know that the visitor was a king. The *bhaktas* extolled the King for his good fortune. Pratap Rudra took leave after prostrating himself, and then with folded palms bowed to all the *bhaktas*, and went away. At noon the Master with His followers breakfasted on the plentiful *prasād* sent by the King with Baninath, Sarbabhauma and Rāmānanda. The *prasād* from the Balgandi *bhog* was excellent and of infinite variety, but none of them was cooked food. [Details of the dishes.].....

Knowing the fatigue of the *kirtan* singers, Chaitanya resolved to feast them. He seated them in rows and began to serve the food Himself. Each man was given one leaf and ten cups of *Kṛpā* leaves. Swarup informed Him that as none would dine before the Master, He ought to sit down to meal. Then the Master sat down

with His circle and fed all to their fill. The excess of *prasad* that was left over sufficed to feed a thousand men. Govinda, at the Master's bidding, brought in beggars to eat this food. At the sight of the beggars' feast the Master taught them to chant Hari's name, and they were carried away on the stream of love as they shouted *Hari-bol*.

Now came the time for dragging the car of Jagannath. The Bengal athletes pulled at the rope, but the car did not move. So they gave up the work in despair. The King and his Court hastened thither in alarm. He set the wrestlers to draw the car and applied his own hand to it; but still the car did not move. Then powerful elephants were harnessed to the car, but it did not advance a step in spite of their utmost efforts. Hearing this the Master arrived with His followers and gazed at the furious elephants pulling at the car. The elephants shrieked at the blows of the goad, but the car stirred not, and the people lamented.

Then the Master took away the elephants, gave the ropes to His followers, and Himself pushed the car from behind with His head. The car sped along rattling. The *bhaktas* merely held the ropes; they had not really to pull, as the car advanced of itself. In delight the people shouted "Glory! Glory to Jagannath!" No other sound was heard. In a twinkling the car reached the gate of the Gundichá garden, the people marvelling at the power of Chaitanya. They set up a roar of "Glory to Gaur-chandra! Glory to Krishna-

Chaitanya !” At the sight of the Master’s might, Pratap Rudra and his courtiers swelled with enthusiasm. Then the servitors performed the ceremony of dismounting Jagannath from his car and conveying him to the Gundicha temple. The three images were placed on their thrones, and the ceremony of the gods’ bath and dinner began. The Master began a joyous dance and *kirtan* in the courtyard in delight. His love welled out in blissfulness, and the sight of it swept away the beholders in a current of love. In the evening He witnessed the adoration with lamps, and came to the *Ai-totā* garden for reposing. Adwaita and eight other leading followers invited Him for nine days. Among the rest as many got a chance of entertaining Him as there were days in the “four months”, while the rank and file of His followers had no day free for each individually ; so two or three of them combined to give Him a joint entertainment on one day.

Thus did the Master play at dining out. After His morning bath He visited Jagannath, where He danced and sang with His followers, now bidding Adwaita dance, now Nityanand, Haridas, Achyutanand, Bakreshwar or some other *bhakta*. Thrice in the day did He sing *kirtan* in the Gundichā garden, imagining that Krishna had come to Brindaban and that the period of separation was over. Cherishing in His heart the idea that Krishna was then dallying with Radha there, He remained absorbed in that emotion

(of gratification), acting in many gardens the feats of Krishna at Brindaban,—disporting in the tank of Indra-dyumna, splashing His *bhaktas* with water, while they splashed Him from all sides, now forming one circle, now many, and clapping their hands while croaking like frogs. Sometimes a pair of them wrestled in the water, the Master looking on to see who would win. Adwaita and Nityanand tried to overwhelm each other with water ; the former was beaten and vented his feelings in abuse. Bidyanidhi struggled with Swarup, Sribas with Gadadhar, Raghav Pandit with Bakreshwar, Sarbabhauma with Ramananda Ray. The gravity of the last two vanished and they became boys again ! Seeing their excitement the Master smiled and said to Gopinath Acharya, "Both are grave scholars and venerable men, but they are acting like wild boys. Stop them." Gopinath replied, "When the ocean of your grace surges up, a single drop of it can easily drown tall mountains like Meru and Mandar,—what to speak of these two small stones ? It is thy grace only that has given the nectar of *lila* to one whose life was formerly spent in chewing the dry husks of logical disputation." Laughing, the Master brought Adwaita there and made him lie on his back on the water like the *Shesha* serpent, while He Himself reclined on him (like Vishnu). Thus did He act the *lila* of Vishnu resposing on the serpent. Adwaita, putting forth his powers, began to float on the water bearing the Master.

After the water-sport He returned with His followers to the *Ai-zotā*. At the Acharya's house He dined with His leading followers. The *prasad* brought by Baninath served to feed the other followers. In the evening He visited the god and danced before him, and at night returned to the garden to sleep.....

In the garden, in company with His *bhaktas* He sported as at Brindaban. The trees and creepers blossomed at His sight, the bee and the black-bird sang, the zephyr blew. Under each tree He danced, Vasudeva Datta alone singing. Each (*bhakta*) sang under a different tree ; Chaitanya alone danced in supreme rapture. Then He bade Bakreshwar dance, while He sang. Swarup and other *kirtanias* joined the Master in singing, forgetful of all else in the vehemence of their love.

After performing this woodland sport, He went to the Narendra tank for water-sport. Thence He returned to the garden and dined out with His *bhaktas*. For the nine days that Jagannath remained at Gundicha, such was the Master's life. He lodged in the large flower garden named *Jagannath-ballav*.

When the time came for the ceremony of *Hora Panchami*, the King spoke heedfully to Kashi Misra, "To-morrow is Hora Panchami, the day of Lakshmi's triumph. Let the celebration be of unprecedented splendour, so that the Master may be filled with wonder. Let extraordinary arrangements be made for the ceremony. Let coloured cloths, bells, fly-whiskers and

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umbrellas be brought out of my wardrobe as well as Jagannath's, and let the flagstaff, flag, bell &c. be decorated. Let (Lakshmi's) litter be set forth with varied music and dance. The expenditure should be double (the ordinary), so that the ceremony may eclipse the Car Festival. Act so that the Master may be drawn to come out with His followers to behold it."

Next morning the Master with His party visited Jagannath at Gundicha, and then returned to the Temple eager to behold the Hora Panchami Festival. Kashi Misra with great honour seated the Master and His party in a good position. Chaitanya wished to hear about a particular emotion and smilingly asked Swarup, "Though Jagannath lives at Dwarka, manifesting his natural benignity, yet once in the year he feels a keen longing to visit Brindaban. The parks here resemble Brindaban; he longs to see them therefore, and leaves his Temple on the pretext of a ride in his car. From the Temple he goes to Gundichá and there disports day and night in the many gardens. But why do s he not take Lakshmi with him?" Swarup answered, "Listen, Master, to the reason. Lakshmi has no access to Brindaban, as Krishna's playmates there are milk-maids. So none but the latter can ravish Krishna's heart." The Master continued, "Krishna sets out on the plea of a ride. Subhadra and Baladev accompany him. His dalliance with the milk-maids is done in secret in the parks, unknown to others. Krishna

does no overt offence. Why then does Lakshmi fly into a rage at his journey to Gundicha?" Swarup replied, "Such is the nature of a loving mistress. Indifference on the part of her sweetheart rouses her anger."

Just then Lakshmi arrived in an angry mood at the Lion Gate,—riding a golden litter set with many gems, and accompanied by rows of men bearing flags, fly-whiskers, umbrellas and standards, with many musicians, and preceded by the dedicated dancing girls (*devadasi*.) A hundred richly dressed hand-maids bearing betel-leaf caskets, gogglets of water, fans and fly-whiskers, and much display of wealth and retinue came in her train. Her maids chained the chief servitors of Jagannath and dragged them to her feet, punishing them like thieves and fining them heavily. She beat them till they fainted, and abused them in feigned anger. The Master's followers laughed in their sleeves as they beheld the rough temper of Lakshmi and her maids. [Swarup gave a long explanation of Lakshmi's mood, with illustrative quotations from Sanskrit treatises on love.]

At his words Sribas laughed and said "Hark you, Damodar! behold the vast wealth of my Lakshmi. Brindaban can boast of only flowers, leaves, hills, peacock plumes, and the *Gunchhā* flower. And yet Jagannath has gone to visit Brindaban! Lakshmi might naturally suspect Krishna's motive in leaving such wealth for poor Brindaban." As he was laughing Lakshmi turned to chastise him, saying "Behold, your god has left such

splendour and gone to the Gundicha garden for the sake of flowers, leaves and fruits! Why does the chief of the wise act thus? Bring your lord before Lakshmi!" So saying, Lakshmi's handmaids brought the Master's attendants tied with waist-bands, made them bow at her feet, fined them and forced them to beg her mercy. They beat (Jagannath's) car with their sticks, and treated Jagannath's officers like thieves, until they cried with folded hands, "Tomorrow shall we produce Jagannath before you." Then Lakshmi was pacified and returned to her abode...[Swarup again shows Lakshmi's conduct as natural in a true lover].

The Master listened with absorption to his exposition of the pure emotion of Radha, and began to dance in rapture while Swarup sang. "Sing on! Sing on!" He cried with ears on the alert. His enthusiasm welled forth on hearing the song of the love-making at Brindaban, and He flooded the village of Puri with devotion. Lakshmi went back to her own place in time, but the Master danced on till the third quarter of the day. The four parties grew tired with singing, but His ardour became doubly intense. Under the influence of Radha's love He became an image of the passion. Nityanand seeing Him from afar prayed to Him, but came not near in consideration of His ecstasy. None but Nityanand could hold the Master [and force Him to stop dancing]. His ecstasy did not cease, and the *kirtan* therefore; had to continue. So, Swarup by

gesture informed Him how the party was exhausted. At this the Master came to Himself, and returned to the garden. After taking rest He had His midday bath, and dined pleasantly with His party on 'the many dishes sent from Jagannath's and Lakshmi's *prasad*. In the evening He bathed again and visited Jagannath, dancing and singing before the god.

He sported in the Narendra tank with His *bhaktas*, and held a picnic in the garden. Thus He spent eight days, after which came the return journey of Jagannath in his car to his Temple, at which the Master in supreme delight danced and sang as during the outward ride...

When Jagannath again occupied his throne, the Master returned with His followers to His quarters.

CHAPTER XIII.

Dinner at Sarbabhauma's House.

Thus did the Master live at the Nilachal with His followers, engaged in dancing, singing, and delight. In the first year (of His stay) He used to visit Jagannath, to whom He bowed, hymned danced and sang greatly. When the god's *upalabhog* was offered, He issued from the Temple and took Haridas home with Himself, and there chanted Hari's name.

Adwaita arriving there adored the Master, washed His feet with perfumed water, rubbed Him all over with fragrant sandal paste, placed a garland round His neck and the tufted *Tulsi* flower on His head, prostrated himself at the Master's feet, and adored Him with folded palms. The Master adored the Acharya with the flowers and *Tulsi* leaves left over on the ritual tray, and recited the verse "I bow to thee, that art what thou art!" Then He made a playful sound with His lips and had a laugh at the Acharya. Thus did the two honour each other. The Acharya repeatedly asked the Master to dinner.....The Master with His party dined at the houses of the different *bhaktas* on successive days. Thus did they spent four months in His company, witnessing all the festivals of Jagannath.

On Krishna's Nativity Day took place the ceremony of Nanda's grand festival, at which the Master with His *bhaktas* personated the cowherds [of Mathura.] On His own shoulders did He carry the loads of milk and curds to the place of the ceremony, shouting Hari's name. Kánái Khuntiá played the *role* of Nanda and Jagannath Máhánti that of the queen of Braja. With Pratap Rudra himself, Kashi Misra, Sarbabhauma and the *Parichhá* (minister) Tulsi, the Master danced and sported, spattering all their bodies with milk, curds and yellow liquid. Adwaita said, "Bear with me when I tell the truth. I shall know you for a cowherd only if you can brandish a staff!" At this the Master began to play with the staff. He tossed it in the air and caught it repeatedly as it fell. He swung it round His head, behind, before, on the two sides, and between the legs,—the spectators laughing. The stick circled round and round like a lathe, all men wondering at the sight. Similarly Nityanand too played with his staff. Who can fathom the deep cowherd mood of these two? At the King's command, Tulsi Parichhá brought out a costly cloth, once worn by Jagannath, and tied it round the Master's head. [Other clothes] were presented to the Acharya and other followers of the Master. Kánái Khuntiá and Jagannath Máhánti, in their enthusiasm, gave away all the wealth of their houses. At this the Master greatly delighted, and bowed to them as his parents (*i.e.*, as Nanda and his

wife, the foster parents of Krishna). In deep spiritual exaltation did He return to His quarters. Thus did Chaitanya play.

On the *Bijaya dasami*, the day of the storming of Lanká, the Master with His followers played the part of the monkey army [of Rama]. Transported by the spirit of Hanumán, He seized a branch and broke it off as if it were the citadel of Lanká, shouting in a rage, "Where art thou, Rávana! Thou hast kidnapped the Mother of the World, wretch! I shall destroy thee with thy kith and kin." The people marvelled at His passion and exclaimed "Glory! glory!" So, too, did He witness the celebration of *Rás-yátrá*, *Dipábali* and *Uthán dwádashí*. One day He and Nityanand formed a plan in secret, the nature of which His followers afterwards guessed only from the result. Calling all His *bhaktas* together, He said, "Return ye all to Bengal. Come here every year and visit the Gundichá garden with me." On Adwaita Acharya he honourably laid His command, "Teach the lesson of faith in Krishna to all men, down to the Chandals." Nityanand was bidden, "Go to Bengal. Freely proclaim the gospel of devotion and love. Ramdas, Gadadhar and some others will assist you. Now and then I shall be with you, and standing unseen shall witness your dancing." Embracing Sribas Pandit, He clung to his neck and said tenderly, "In the *kirtan* at your house I shall always dance. You alone of all men will be able to see me. Give my mother

this cloth and all this *prasad*; bow to her and beg her pardon for all my faults. I have turned a monk leaving her service; this has been an act of irreligion and not of religion on my part. I am bound by her love; service to her is my religion. It has been madness on my part to quit it. Tell her to have pity on me, as 'No mother finds fault with a crazy child'. What need have I of monachism? Love is wealth to me; I must have gone out of my mind when I turned *sanyasi*. At her command I am staying at the Nilāchal. I shall occasionally go home to see her. Daily do I go and behold her feet; she felt a delighted sensation but did not admit it as true. One day [for instance] she cooked rice, five or six vegetable soups, *sāk*, *moḥūghant*, fried *patal*, *nim* leaves, lemon, bits of ginger, curds, milk, and bits of cream, and offered these many dishes to *Saligrām*. Taking up the *prasad* she lamented, 'All these were Nimai's favourite dishes. He is not here. Who will eat these?' In my meditation I was filled with tears [at her grief.] So I went there quickly and ate up everything. On seeing the empty dish she wiped her tears and asked, 'Who has eaten the rice and soups? Why is the dish empty? Has the young Gopal (idol) eaten them up? Or has an illusion seized my mind? Has some animal come in and devoured them? Or did I by mistake serve no food on the plate at all?' So thinking she looked again at the cooking pots and found them full, to her wonder and suspicion [of defilement by some

beast or demon.] She then called Ishan, had the place cleaned, and offered rice to the god Gopal afresh. Thus, whenever she cooks nice dishes, she weeps in eager desire to feed me on them. Her affection compels me to eat (the food there); and she is pleased at heart, though outwardly she is disconsolate. This happened on the last *Bijayā dashami* day. Say unto her and make her believe." Though overcome in making this speech, the Master composed Himself in order to bid farewell to the *bhaktas*.

To Raghav Pandit He spoke feelingly "Your pure devotion has made me your servant. Hear, all ye, the story of his serving Krishna in the most pious and excellent manner. Let me speak of one thing only, namely his offering of cocoanut as *bhog*. In his place cocoanut sells at 20 (per rupee.) Though his orchards have hundreds of cocoanut palms yielding *lakhs* of fruits, yet wherever he hears of very sweet cocoanuts, he buys them at four-fold price even from 20 miles' distance. Everyday he strips the fibre off five or six fruits and cools them in water. Then at *bhog* he smoothes them and making small holes in them offers the fruits to Krishna, who drinks the milk within, and leaves the fruits empty or full of liquid at different times. When the fruit is empty of milk, the Pandit rejoices, cracks the nut and spreading the kernel on a hundred dishes, offers them to Krishna, while he prays outside (the god's dining room.) Krishna eats the offering, and leaves the

dishes bare, or fills them again with the kernel. At this the Pandit's devotion grows and he swims in the ocean of love.

One day his servants brought ten cleaned cocoanuts to be offered to the god ; but while waiting outside the door he happened to touch the wall above with his hand and then placed the same hand on the fruits. At this the Pandit threw away the fruits as defiled and unworthy of offering to the god because the dust raised by the feet of people entering at the door sticks to the wall above. By such pure loving service he has surpassed the world.....Similarly whenever he hears of any good fruit like plantain, mango, or jack, in far off villages, he carefully buys them dear, washes, cleans, and offers them to the god. So, too, vegetables, roots, fruits, *chirā*, *hurum*, confects, cakes, sweet drinks, condensed milk, *kāshandi*, pickles, scents, cloth, ornaments, and the pick of all things he offers clearly to the god. His loving service is unmatched and soothes the eyes of all who behold it."

So saying the Master embraced Raghav, and showed due respect to the other *bhaktas*. To Shivanand Sen he spoke in terms of honour, "Do you look after Vasudev Datta, who is so charitable that everyday he spends all his day's earnings, saving nothing. But he is a householder and ought to save, for without saving a man cannot support his kinsmen. You have the charge of the income and expenditure of his house. In your

capacity as headman arrange (his affairs properly.) Come every year with all the *bhaktas* to the Gundicha garden, taking care of them."

To the pilgrims from Kulin village He said, "Come here every year with striped silk cloth (for Jagannath.) Gunaraj Khan wrote the *Sri Krishna Vijay*, one devotional sentence of which, 'Nanda's darling Krishna is the lord of my life,' has made me the bondsman of his line. What to speak of you, even a dog of your village is dear to me, above all others."

At this Satyaraj Khan and Ramanand too entreated the Master, "I am a worldly man ; how can I practise devotion ? I beg thee to lay commands on me." The Master replied, "Ever serve Krishna, ever serve Vaishnavas, ever sing Krishna's name." Satyaraj asked, "How shall I know a Vaishnava ? Tell me of his common characteristics." The Master answered, "Whosoever utters Krishna's name even once is to be honoured above all other men....Krishna's name alone washes away all sins and kindles many forms of faith. It does not make a man wait for religious initiation or priestly ministrations, but as soon as the word is formed on the tongue, it redeems all men down to the Chandál caste. Along with that, Krishna's name destroys our bondage to the world and draws the heart to the love of Krishna. Vide Sridhar Swami's stanza in the *Padabali*, xviii. Therefore, he who utters Krishna's name alone is truly a Vaishnava. Honour him as such."

Of the pilgrims from Khanda the leaders were Mukunda Das, Raghunandan, and Nara Hari. To the first, Shachi's son spoke thus, "Tell me truly whether you are the father and Raghunandan your son, or the converse? Dispel my doubt." Mukunda replied, "I verily believe that Raghunandan is my father and I his son, because our devotion to Krishna has been imbibed from him." The delighted Master broke out, "True are thy words. He who gives us faith in Krishna is our *guru*, Bliss it is to the Master to unfold the greatness of *bhaktas*, and He holds forth on the subject with five mouths as it were. Turning to His followers He said, "Hark ye about Mukunda's faith. It is a pure and deep love, like unalloyed gold. Outwardly he is a physician royal and serves his master. But who can fathom his heart's devotion? One day the Musalman king was talking with him about medicine, on a high dais, when a servant held a peacock-feather fan over the Nawab's head. At the sight (of Krishna's crest), Mukunda in a rapture of devotion tumbled down from the height. The Nawab, thinking that he was overcome by death, dismounted, restored him to his senses, and asked where he had been hurt. Mukunda replied that he did not feel much pain. Then to the Nawab's query about the cause of his fall, he replied that he was subject to epilepsy. The Nawab was very wise, he discerned the real reason and thenceforth regarded Mukunda as a great devotee."

Raghunandan served at Krishna's temple, in front of which there was a tank with a *Kadamba* tree blooming all the year round on its *ghāt*. Daily two flowers blossomed there (as if) derived from Krishna. The Master continued, turning to Mukunda, "Your business is to earn money, Raghunandan's to serve Krishna. His heart has no other desire. Let Nara Hari remain with my *bhaktas*. Do you three ever perform these duties respectively."

Graciously He addressed the two brothers, Sarbabhauma and Vidya Vachaspati, "Krishna is at present manifest in the form of wood and water, the sight and ablution of which saves mankind. As the wooden god he lives at Puri, while the deity as water is the river Bhagirathi. Let Sarbabhauma worship the wooden god and Vachaspati the water-deity."

Embracing Murari Gupta, the Master extolled his sincere devotion thus, "Listen, O ye *bhaktas*! I had formerly often tempted him saying, 'Passing sweet is the lad of Braja's lord, O Gupta! Krishna is God himself, in all His fulness, the refuge of all. Love is pure, clean, the source of all passions (*rasa*), the ocean in which all virtues are stored like gems. He is wise, expert, sedate, the chief of the masters of emotions. Sweet is his character, sweet is his fascination; his sports are marked by cleverness and skill. Worship that Krishna, seek refuge in him. The heart cannot accept any other object of adoration.' His respect for me somewhat influenced him

and he replied that he was my servant, ready to do my bidding, without freedom of will. Going home, he was restless at the thought of giving up his idol Raghunath, and cried, 'How can I quit the feet of Raghunath? Kill me to-night, O Lord!' So he spent the whole night watching and weeping, sore at heart. In the morning he returned, clasped my feet and cried, 'I have sold my head at Raghunath's feet, and cannot draw it away now, so great would be the pain of it. I cannot leave Raghunath's feet, and on the other hand thy command will be disobeyed. I have no help for it. Take pity, therefore, on me, O Kind One; and let me die before thee, so that the conflict within me may be ended.' At these words I rejoiced exceedingly, raised and embraced him, saying, 'Excellent! Excellent! deep is your devotion, O Gupta, as my words have not shaken your purpose. The Lord Himself seeks the love of servants like you, and when the Lord draws away His feet, the devotee does not let go his grasp. That I urged you repeatedly was only to test this your earnest faith. You are Hanuman himself, the servant of Ram. Why then should you leave his lotus feet?' This is that Murari Gupta [addressing the other *bhaktas*], the very life of me. My heart breaks at his meekness of spirit."

Then He embraced Vasudev, and dwelt on his merits with a thousand tongues. The Datta, blushing to hear his own praise, begged at the Master's feet, "Thou hast come down to deliver the world. Grant one prayer

of mine. It can be easily done, if thou wilt, O Gracious One! My heart breaks to see the sorrows of mankind. Lay thou the sins of the rest of mankind on *my* head; let *me* suffer in hell under the load of their sins, so that, Master, thou mayest remove the earthly pangs of all other beings." These words melted the Master's heart. Trembling and weeping He answered in broken accents, "This request is no surprise, coming from you who are a Prahlád. Full is Krishna's grace on you. Krishna turns true whatever his servants ask for; he has no other work than to gratify his servants' wishes. You have prayed for the salvation of all the creatures of the universe. (I say) they will all be delivered, without suffering for their sins. The task is not too much for Krishna, who is omnipotent. Why should he make you (alone) undergo the due chastisement for (their) sins? Those whose good you desire are Vaishnavas, all of whose sins are removed by Krishna. Witness the *Brahma Samhita*, V. 60.

At your mere wishing, the universe will be redeemed. It is no labour to Krishna to deliver all men. Ten million figs (*dumbur*) can grow on one tree; similarly ten million universes float in the water of the Pure. The tree knows not the loss, if a fruit drops and perishes. So, too, if one universe is set free [from re-birth], Krishna does not regard it even as a trifling loss. Endless are Krishna's possessions. Baikuntha and other

places belong to him. They are girt round by the ocean of the Cause of Creation. Countless illusive universes float in that ocean, just as a pot of oil-seeds may float in the ditch round a city. The loss of one seed-grain out of it matters nothing. So, too, Krishna does not feel the loss if one universe is gone. Even if illusion and *all* the universes subject to it perish, Krishna does not mind the loss. The illusion [-created world] is no more to Krishna than a she-goat is to the owner of ten millions of cows giving inexhaustible milk. Vide *Bhagabat*, X. lxxxvii, 10."

In such terms did the Master speak of the different merits of all His followers, embrace and give them leave. They wept at parting from Him, while His mind, too, was saddened. Gadadhar Pandit stayed with Him and was settled by Him at Jaleswar. The Puri, Jagadánand, Swarup Damodar, Damodar Pandit, Govinda, and Kashishwar,—these lived with the Master at Puri. He visited Jagannath every morning.

One day Sarbabhauma solicited Him with folded palms thus, "Now that all the Vaishnavas have returned to Bengal, I have got an opportunity of entertaining you. Be pleased to be a guest at my house for a month." The Master replied, "It is opposed to religion. I can't do it." Sarbabhauma persisted, "Let it be for twenty days only." But the Master objected, "No, that too is opposed to the rules of a *sanyasi*." Sarbabhauma came down to fifteen days, but the Master insisted on dining

with him for one day only. Then Sarbabhauma, clasping His feet, begged for ten days out of which the Master gradually reduced five, and accepted the invitation for five days only. Then Sarbabhauma made another prayer, saying, "There are ten monks with you, out of whom the Puri will dine with me for five days, as I told you before. Damodar Swarup, my friend, will go to my house with you and at times alone. The other eight will be my guests dining singly for two days each. Thus a month is filled up with engagements. I fear lest I should fail to show due hospitality if so many monks come to me together. You, too, will visit me with your shadow, and sometimes in the company of Swarup Damodar." Glad of the Master's nod [of assent] he invited Him that very day. The Bhattacharya's wife was called *Shāthi's mother*; she was greatly devoted to the Master and a very mother in tenderness. [The cooking, the courses, and the dinner described in great detail.]

The Master said, "It is impossible to eat so much rice" [i.e., three maunds.] The Bhatta replied, "I know what is a sufficient quantity for you. At Puri you [as Jagannath] eat *bhog* 52 times a day, and the quantity for each time is hundreds of loads. At Dwaraka you [as King Krishna dine daily] at the houses of your 16,000 queens, 18 mothers, and the Yādava clan. At Brindaban you dine twice daily at the houses of your many kinsmen and cowherd comrades. At the Govardhan sacrifice heaps of rice were brought for you,

in comparison with which my dishes form less than a mouthful. You are God indeed. I am a wretched little creature. Consent to take only a little mouthful of alms at my house." Smiling, the Master sat down, the Bhatta serving Him with the *prasād* of Jagannath. Just then there came Amogh, the son-in-law of Bhattacharya and the husband of Sháthi. He was a *Kulin* and a fault-finder. He wished to see the feeding, but could not come, as Bhattacharya watched the door stick in hand! When Bhattacharya was busy serving the *prasād*, Amogh came in and looking at the rice began to criticise, "What! a single monk is eating this rice, on which ten or twelve others can feed to their fill!" Hearing these words Bhattacharya looked over his shoulders, and Amogh fled away.....His father-in-law cursed him and his mother-in-law prayed for his death.....

That night Amogh spent in hiding, and next morning he was seized with cholera. At the news that he was dying, Bhattacharya exclaimed, "The gods are on my side, and are doing my work. A sin against God bears immediate fruit. Witness the *Mahabharat*, Bana Parva, cclxi ; 17, and *Bhagabat*, X. iv. 31."

When Gopinath Acharya went to see the Master, in answer to a question about Bhattacharya, he said, "The couple had fasted at night. Amogh is dying of cholera." At this the merciful Master hastened there, laid His hand on Amogh's breast and said, "Pure

by nature is this Brahman's heart,—a fit place for Krishna to sit on. Why have you seated the Chandál Envy here, and thus defiled a very holy spot? Your sins are ended by the society of Sarbabhauma. When sin is gone, men recite Krishna's name. Rise, thou, Amogh! chant Krishna's name. Soon will God have mercy on you." At these words, Amogh rose up with the cry of *Krishna! Krishna!* and began to dance in an ecstasy of devotion,—weeping, trembling, standing stockstill, perspiring, lisping. The Master smiled at seeing the surging up of his love. But he entreated the Master, holding His feet, "Gracious Master! forgive my fault." With this he slapped his own cheeks till they were swollen. Gopinath Acharya held his hand to stop him, and the Master stroked his body to console him saying, "You are an object of affection to me, being related to Sarbabhauma. Even the very servants and dogs of his house are dear to me above all others. Thou hast not offended. Chant Krishna's name."

So saying the Master came to Sarbabhauma's house, who clasped His feet, but the Master embraced him, took His seat and began, "Amogh is a child. He cannot offend. Why are you fasting, why are you angry with him? Up, bathe, visit Jagannath, and break your fast soon, if you want to please me. I shall wait here so long as you do not return with the *prasad* (for your dinner)." Clasp His feet Sarbabhauma asked "Amogh was dying. Why did you revive him?" The Master replied, "Amogh is

your child. The father, especially if he is the nourisher, does not consider the offence of his boy. Now he has turned Vaishnava; his sin is gone; do you then look kindly on him." The Bhatta said, "Go, Master, to see the god. I shall quickly join you there after taking my bath." But He replied, "Gopinath! stay here. When the *prasad* comes to him, inform me of it." Then He went to see the god, while the Bhatta bathed, prayed, and dined.

That Amogh became extremely devoted to the Master. A very sedate man, he incessantly recited Krishna's name.

episode
CHAPTER XIV.

The Return to Bengal.

Pratap Rudra grew sad when he heard that the Master wished to visit Brindaban ; calling Sarbhauma and Ramananda, the King entreated them, "The Master's mind is inclined to go away from Puri. Try to keep Him here. Without Him this kingdom is of no delight to me. Try every means to detain the hermit." When the Master was taking counsel with the two about making a pilgrimage to Brindaban, they said, "Wait to see the Car Festival, and set out in the month of Kártik." In Kartik they urged, "It is mid-winter now. Better set out after witnessing the Swinging Festival." So they plied all arts to put off His departure ; and gave not their consent in fear of parting with His company. True, the Master was a free agent, under nobody's control. Yet He did not depart against the wishes of His followers.

In the third year of His stay, the Bengal followers wished to go to Puri. So, they all resorted to Adwaita Acharya, who set out joyfully to see the Master. Nityanand, though charged by Him to stay in Bengal and preach the faith of love, nevertheless went to see Him. Who can understand the display of Nityanand's love ? Who can number the *bhaktas* that started ?— Acharya

Ratna, Vidyanidhi, Sribas, Ramai, Vasudev, Madhav, and Govinda (the three brothers), Raghav Pandit with his casket fitted up, the residents of Kulin village with their striped silk cloth (for Jagannath), Nara Hari and Raghunandan of Khanda,—in short all of them. Shivanand Sen made arrangements about the stages of the road, and guided the whole party in comfort, supplying all their needs and securing lodgings, as he knew all about the road to Orissa.

That year the ladies too set out to visit the Master : With the Acharya went Achyuta's mother, Malini with Sribas Pandit, with Shivanand his wife and son named Chaitanya-das, with Acharya Ratna his wife. All the ladies took from their houses all kinds of choice things formerly dear to Him, to feed the Master with. Shivanand looked after their needs, provided them with lodgings by winning over the officers of the halting stations (*ghāṭiāḷ*), and everywhere nourished them with provisions.

At Remuna they saw Gopinath (idol), at whose temple the Acharya danced and sang. Nityanand knew all the servitors of the god ; so they highly honoured the party. The night was passed there ; Nityanand distributed among them all the twelve pots of condensed milk (*bhog*) presented by the servitors. Then Nityanand told them the whole story of Madhav Puri, the installation of the Gopal, the begging of sandal by Gopal, the stealing of *kshir* by Gopinath for the Puri,—

as he had heard it from the Master. The Vaishnavas rejoiced.

So they wended their way to Katak. After visiting the Witness Gopal they spent the night there. Nityanand told the legend of the god, to the increased delight of the Vaishnavas, who pushed on to Puri, eager at heart to meet the Master. When they reached "the Eighteen Nullahs" (Bridge of 18 spans), Govinda, sent by the Master with two garlands to welcome them, met the party and placed the garlands on the necks of Adwaita and Abadhuta Goswami, to their intense bliss. There the two began the *sankirtan* of Krishna and advanced dancing. Next Swarup and other followers, sent by the Master, received them with garlands at the Narendra Tank. When they reached the Lion Gate, Chaitanya Himself came out to meet them all. He took them to see Jagannath, and then led them to His own lodgings. With His own hands He served them the *prasad* brought by Baninath and Kashi Misra. They were then sent to take rest in the houses respectively occupied by them in the previous year.

Thus the *bhaktas* spent four months at Puri, joining in His *kirtan*. When the season of the Car Festival arrived, He took them, as on the last occasion, to wash the Gundichá temple, presented to Jagannath the striped silk brought by the people of Kulin village, danced long before the car, and then returned to the garden. While He was reposing on the bank of the

tank, Krishna-das, a man of West Bengal (Rarh) and a disciple of Nityanand, was so fortunate as to pour on the Master's head a pot of water, to His great relief.

The Master dined with all His followers on the numerous dishes of *Balgandi bhog* sent to Him. As before, they witnessed the Car Procession and the *Horā Panchami* Procession with Him. The Master was invited to dinner by Acharya Goswami, at which a rain storm burst. Then Sribas invited Him, and the Master's favourite dishes were cooked by Málini, who was His handmaid in devotion, but a mother in tenderness. Acharya Ratna and other leading disciples gave dinners to the Master at intervals. When the four months were over He again took counsel in secret with Nityanand. The Acharya whispered to the Master mystic hints ; he seemed to be muttering and none could know his meaning. Chaitanya laughed at seeing the gestures of his face. This the Acharya took to be a mark of assent, and he began to dance in delight ;—none knew what the request and the consent were. But the Master embraced and dismissed him.

Then He addressed Nityanand, "Listen, Sripad ! I pray thee grant this request of mine. Don't come to Puri every year, but stay in Bengal to carry out my will, for I see none else who can do the work. You alone can accomplish my hard undertaking." Nityanand replied, "I am but the body ; you are the life of it. It is admitted that the body cannot live apart from life ; yet

you, by your incomprehensible power, are performing such an impossibility. Well, I shall do whatever you make me. I am not subject to any [other] law." The Master embraced and gave him leave, and so to the other *bhaktas* too.

The pilgrims from Kulin village begged, as before, "Master, appoint us our duty," to which He replied, "Serve Vaishnavas, chant Krishna's name. These two will lead you soon to Krishna's feet." The men asked, "By what signs can a Vaishnava be known?" The Master knew their real thoughts, smiled, and answered, "He is the true Vaishnava, who has Krishna's name ever on his lips. Adore his feet." Next year they put the very same question, and the Master by His answer taught them the gradations of Vaishnavas: "Know him to be the best of Vaishnavas, the sight of whom brings Krishna's name on your tongue." Thus did He describe in succession the three grades of Vaishnavas: good, better, and best.

All the Vaishnavas returned to Bengal. Vidyānidhi alone stayed at Puri that year. He formed a close friendship with Swarup, and the two lived together engaged in discourse on Krishna. He gave *mantra* anew to Gadādhara Pandit. On the day of *Orani Shashthi* he witnessed the procession, and felt contempt at beholding Jagannath wearing a cloth with the size not washed out of it. That very night Jagannath and Balaram visited him and laughing slapped his cheeks

[in his sleep]. Vidyānidhi was inly glad at finding his cheeks swollen.....

Thus did the *bhaktas* of Bengal come every year and witness the god's procession in the Master's company. I shall describe only the years in which something special happened. Four years did the Master pass in this way : two years [after He took the monastic vow] were taken up by the pilgrimage to the South and the return ; the next two years He [stayed at Puri] wishing to go to Brindaban, but unable to stir at Ramananda's opposition. In the fifth year the Bengal pilgrims returned home immediately after witnessing the Car Festival without staying [for four months.]

Then the Master embraced Sarbabhauma and Ramananda and said, "Very eager am I to visit Brindaban. At your objection I have not set out these two years. I *must* go now. Do you both consent, for I have no other refuge save you. In Bengal my two objects of reliance are my mother and the river Ganges, both gracious ones. On my way I shall see them. Permit me freely to depart."

At these words they reflected, "It is not good to oppose Him too much," and then told Him, "It is now the rainy season, which makes travel impossible. You will certainly depart on the *Vijayā Dashami*."

On that day the Master set out, taking with Himself all the *prasād* of Jagannath that had been given Him, and also the sandal and coloured threads. Taking leave

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of Jagannath, He started in the morning, and sent back the Uriya disciples who were following Him. With His men He reached Bhabanipur, Ramananda Ray coming behind in his litter. They spent the night there, feeding on the copious *prasad* sent by Baninath. Next day the Master reached Bhubaneshwar. At Katak He saw the Gopal image. Here a Brahman named Swapneshwar bade Him to dinner, while Ramananda Ray invited His followers. The Master lodged in the outer garden, and after dinner reposed under the *Bakul* tree.

Ramananda Ray went to inform King Pratap Rudra, who hastened thither in joy and repeatedly prostrated himself at the Master's feet in ecstasy, and prayed to Him with tremour and tears. The Master, pleased with his faith, rose up and embraced him. The King hymned and bowed to Him again, his body bathed with the tears of the Master's grace. Ramananda composed and seated the King, and the Master showed His favour to him in body mind and speech. So great was the favour shown that He became famous in the world as "the Saviour of Pratap Rudra." The royal ministers adored the Master, who then dismissed the King. Coming out Pratap Rudra sent letters to all officers in his kingdom, bidding them, "Build new houses in different villages [on the route]; fill six or seven such rooms with provisions. There lodge the Master and wait on Him day and night with your rods [of authority] in hand." His ministers Harichandan and Mangraj he ordered, "Con-

duct all this business. Bring a new boat to the river bank. When the Master after bathing crosses the river, plant a staff there to mark it as a holy *tirtha*. I shall daily bathe at that spot. May I die there. Hang out fine new cloths at the four gates. Ramananda, go you back to the Master." The King heard that the Master would resume His journey in the evening. So he mounted his wives in covered litters on the backs of elephants, which were drawn up in a line along the route. In the evening the Master proceeded with His followers and bathed at the *ghāt* of the Chitrotpala river. The queens bowed when they saw Him, and at the sight of Him they were filled with devotion, chanting Krishna's name with tears in their eyes. In the three worlds has not been heard of such another gracious saint, whose very view from a distance inspires love of Krishna.

Then He crossed over in a boat, and in the moonlit night reached "the four gates" (*chatur dvar*). Here He passed the night, and next morning bathed and ate the *mahaprasad* of Jagannath, which the Parichha used to send Him daily in huge quantities at the King's command by means of a host of servants.

Then the Master wended His way, served by Ramananda, Mangraj, and Hari Chandan, the three [officers of the King]. He was accompanied by the Puri, Swarup Damodar, Jagadanand, Mukunda, Govinda, Kashishwar, Haridas Thakur, Bakreshwar Pandit, Gopinath

Acharya, Damodar Pandit, Ramái, Nandái and many other *bhaktas*, of whom I have named the chief only, for who can count them all? When Gadadhar Pandit followed Him, the Master forbade him to quit the seat of his monastic devotions. The Pandit pleaded, "Where you are, there is my Puri. Let my 'seat of monachism' go to wrack and ruin." The Master said, "Stay here, worshipping Gopinath;" but the Pandit insisted, "The sight of thy feet is worth ten million worship of gods." The Master argued, "If you give up the worship, mine will be the sin. Stay here and worship, if you want to please me." The Pandit answered, "Let the entire sin rest on me. I shall go alone, and not in your company. I am going [to Nadia] to see the Mother, and not to bear you company. I am ready to bear the sin of quitting the worship I had vowed to perform." So saying the Pandit proceeded alone. At Katak the Master called him. The Pandit's devotion to Chaitanya passes comprehension: he gave up the vowed worship of Krishna as lightly as a straw. The Master was inly pleased at his conduct, but in loving anger He told him, holding his hand, "Your object of quitting your promised worship has been fulfilled, as you have already arrived far [from the temple of your god at Puri.] By wishing to stay with me, you are seeking your (selfish) pleasure. I grieve to see you losing both virtues. If you wish to make me happy, return to Puri. I shall swear on oath, if you insist any further." So saying the Master

embarked, while the Pandit swooned away on the bank. He bade Sarbabhauma lead the Pandit away. Sarbabhauma said, "Get up ! such is the Master's play. You know how Krishna broke his own vow to keep the vow of his adorer Bhishma. Vide *Bhāgabat*, I. IX. 34. Similarly the Master has endured separation from you in order to keep your vow sacred." So saying he consoled Gadadhar, and the two returned full of grief to Puri. For His sake His *bhaktas* renounced their religious and earthly duties, but the Master could not bear that they should sin thus.

At Jajpur He dismissed the two royal ministers who had been escorting Him, talking day and night about Krishna. At every village (on the way) the royal officers, under orders, entertained the Master with various things in the newly built houses. So faring forth He reached Bhadrak, where He dismissed Ramananda Ray. The Ray fell down on the ground in a dead faint ; the Master took him up in His arms and wept.

Then He reached the boundary of the Odhra country where the royal officer met Him, tended Him for three or four days, and told Him about the path in front, "Before you lies the land of a wine-bibbing Muslim King, through fear of whom none can travel on the road. His territory extends to Pichhalda. None dares cross the river in awe of him. Stay here for some days, while we negotiate with him to secure a safe voyage for you." Just then an Uriya servant of the Muslim had come to

Katak in disguise. This Hindu spy witnessing the wonderful deeds of the Master, reported to his king, "A monk has come from Jagannath, with many pious persons in his train. Theysing of Krishna incessantly,—laughing, dancing, singing, weeping. The people flocked in *lakhs* to see Him, but after once seeing Him they could not return home, as they became almost mad, chanting Krishna's name, dancing, weeping and rolling on the ground. He cannot be described in words, but has to be seen, to be understood fully. His power shows that He is God." So saying the spy chanted 'Hari! Krishna!', laughing, weeping, and dancing like mad. This turned the Muslim king's mind. He sent his own confidential Hindu minister to the Uriya king's [frontier] officer. The man bowed to the Master and became overwhelmed with love as he cried *Krishna! Krishna!* Then he composed himself and spoke to the Uriya king's officer, "The Muslim governor has sent me to you to seek your permission for him to come here and meet the Master. He is very anxious to do it, and entreats you. Fear not any attack, it will be a peaceful journey." At this the frontier officer cried out in wonder, "A Muslim's heart! Who could have done it? Surely the Master Himself turned his heart, as the sight and (even) thought of Him saves the world." Then he turned to the confidential minister and said, "He is lucky. Let him come here to see the Master,

unarmed and with only six or seven attendants, if I am to trust in him."

On hearing this, the Muhammadan governor arrived in a Hindu dress, and prostrated himself with tears of joy on seeing the Master from afar. The frontier officer led him forward with due honour, and the governor with folded palms stood before the Master reciting Krishna's name and saying, "Why have I been born in a low Muhammadan family? Why did not Fate send me to earth as one of the Hindu race, for then I could have come near thy feet? My life is useless. Let me die!" The frontier officer, moved by these words, praised the Master after clasping His feet, "This man has got a view of thee, whose very name when heard purifies a Chandál. What wonder that he will be saved? Such is the efficacy of looking at thee!" Witness the *Bhagabat*, III. xxxiii. 6.

Then the Master looked benignly at the Muslim and in soothing terms told him to repeat Krishna's name. The governor replied, "As I have found acceptance with thee, bid me serve thee. Let me earn deliverance from the sin of hurting Brahmans cows and Vaishnavas, of which I have been too much guilty." Then Mukunda Datta broke in, "Listen, Sir, our Master wishes to reach the bank of the Ganges. Help Him to go there. That will be a great request and a good service."

The Muslim bowed to the Master and His party and set off gleefully. The frontier officer embraced

him, formed a friendship with him, and gave him many presents. Next morning the Muslim governor sent out many decorated boats with his Hindu minister to escort the Master. The Uriya frontier officer, too, accompanied Him. The Master placed His men in the cabin of a new boat, and dismissed the frontier officer, who stood on the bank gazing at the voyagers with tears in his eyes. The governor after bowing at the Master's feet, started the flotilla, with ten boat-loads of soldiers as a defence against pirates. He crossed the terrible river Mantreshwar, and proceeded to Pichhaldá, at which (frontier) village the Master sent him back. The new disciple's expressions of devotion on the occasion were indescribable.

In that boat the Master reached Pániháti, and robed the captain in the robe of His favour. The report of His coming created a sensation : men crowded together on land and water. Raghav Pandit came and led the Master to his house, making their way through the press of men with great difficulty. The Master halted there one day. Next morning He reached Kumárháti, where Sribas dwelt. Thence He proceeded to the houses of Shivanand and Vasudev. When lodging with the Váchaspati, He one night fled to Kuliá village shrinking from the crowd. Here in the house of Madhav Das millions had a view of Him, and here He stayed a week saving all the sinners. Thence He went to the Acharya's house at Shantipur, where He met

mother Shachi for soothing her grief. Thence He visited Rámkeli and the dancing hall,.....returning to Shantipur for a ten days' halt.....Here Raghunath Das met Him. There were two brothers, Hiranya and Govardhan Das, the owners of seven villages and twelve *lakhs* of rupees. Both were very charitable and rich Brahmans, well-behaved, high-born, and foremost in piety,—the support of the Brahmans of Navadwip, whom they helped with land and money. Their *guru* was Nilambar Chakravarti, who treated them like his brothers. As they had formerly served Purandar Misra, they were well-known to the Master. Raghunath Das was the son of this Govardhan, and averse to the world from his childhood.

On the Master's coming to Shantipur after turning hermit, Raghunath had come and fallen down at His feet in a rapture of love. The Master had graciously touched him with His toe. Raghunath's father always did good turns to the Acharya who did Raghunath a favour, helping him to eat the leavings of the Master's dinner. After staying at the Master's feet for a week, he had been sent away by the Master when He went to Puri. Raghunath returned home, turned mad with love, and repeatedly ran away from his father's house to go to Puri. But his father seized him on the way and kept him tied up, with five watchmen to guard him day and night and four servants and two cooks,—in all eleven guards.

Raghunath was brooding over his failure to go to Puri, when he heard of the Master's present visit to Shantipur and begged his father thus : "Let me go and see the Master's feet, or my life will quit my body." His father then sent him with many men and things and an order to return soon. Raghunath spent a week at Shantipur in the Master's company, ever pondering on his heart's wish, "How shall I escape from my guards? How shall I go to Puri with the Master?" The omniscient Chaitanya, knowing his mind, told him soothingly by way of instruction, "Peace! go home. Turn not wild. It is only gradually that men reach the shore of the worldly ocean. Don't ape renunciation of the world, in order to make a show before the people. Enjoy your worldly possessions duly, without setting your heart on them. Cherish piety in your heart, while outwardly you discharge your temporal affairs. Soon will Krishna deliver you. When I return here from Brindaban on my way to Puri, come to me by some device. Krishna will at that time inspire you with the device. Who can hold back one whom Krishna favours?"

Raghunath returned home, followed the Master's advice, outwardly gave up his mania and other-worldliness, and did his proper work without being absorbed in it. His parents were pleased at the change and relaxed their rigour.

Here at Shantipur, the Master embraced Adwaita

and other *bhaktas* one by one and said, "Permit me, ye all, to go to Puri. As I have met you all here, you need not go to Puri this year. From this place I will proceed to Brindaban. Grant your permission, so that my journey may be safe." Holding His mother's feet He long entreated her and got her consent to visit Brindaban, and then sent her back to Navadvip.

He then set out for Puri with His followers, being served on the way by the same men as before.....On His arrival at Puri there was a bustle in that village : His joyful *bhaktas* came and were all embraced by Him,—Kashi Misra, Ramananda, Pradyumna, Sarbhauma, Baninath, Shikhi, Gadadhar Pandit and others. To them He said, "I wanted to go to Brindaban by way of Bengal, after seeing my mother and the Ganges. When I arrived in Bengal a thousand followers gathered round me ; myriads of people flocked there to see the fun. The crowd blocked the roads. Wherever I put up, the houses and walls were broken down by their pressure. Wherever the eye rested there was a sea of heads. With great difficulty I reached Rámkeli village, where two brothers Rup and Sanátan came to me. They were foremost of devotees, winners of Krishna's grace, outwardly royal ministers and governors, old in knowledge, faith, and wisdom, and yet behaving as meeker than grass. Their humility could have pierced a stony (heart). Highly pleased I gave them leave saying, 'It is good to be lowly and curb one's own

pride. Soon will Krishna deliver you.' When going away Sanatan spoke a riddle: 'To be followed by a million men is not the right manner of visiting Brindaban.' At that time I did not mind the saying, and next morning reached a village named Kanai's Dancing Hall. Here at night I pondered over Sanatan's dark saying and it struck me, 'He has spoken well. With so many men following me, people will point at me as parading saint-ship. Lonely is that Brindaban, hard to win, difficult of access. I must go there alone or with only one companion. Madhavendra Puri had gone there all alone, and (hence) had Krishna appeared to him on the pretext of serving him with milk. And I,— I am going there like a travelling showman. It is unfit to visit Brindaban with a host. A pilgrimage thither accords only with solitary travelling. Instead of my going there alone (as is proper), an army is accompanying me beating drums! O Shame on me! Shame on me!' So saying I became unsettled, gave up the journey and returned to the Ganges. Leaving my *bhaktas* at different places I have arrived here with only five or six. Favour me and give me your counsel how I may peacefully go to Brindaban. I have failed to reach Brindaban because I left Gadadhar behind here and thus pained him!" At this Gadadhar in rapture seized the Master's feet and spoke meekly, "Wherever you are, there is Brindaban, there Jamuna, Ganges and all holy places. You are going to Brindaban only to give an object-lesson to

men. You will do what your heart likes. The rainy season is coming. Spend these four months at Puri. Thereafter do as you list. Go or stay as you like. Who can prevent you?" The other *bhaktas* joined in and said, "Gadadhar has voiced our thoughts." Yielding to their wishes, the Master stayed there four months. Pratap Rudra was glad to hear of it. That day Gadadhar feasted the Master and His *bhaktas*.

CHAPTER XV.

The Pilgrimage to Brindaban.

With the coming of early autumn the Master's mind turned to His pilgrimage. He secretly took counsel with Ramananda and Swarup, saying, "If you two help me, I can visit Brindaban. At night I shall quit my bed and escape by the forest path without taking a single attendant. If any one afterwards seeks to follow me, do you detain him, letting none depart. Mind not the sorrow. Be of good cheer and give me leave. If I leave you pleased, my way-faring will be happy."

The two replied, "You are God and a free agent; you act your will, subject to none. But listen to one request of ours. You have just now said that our happiness would make you happy. Well, then, Sir, grant this our prayer. You must take a good Brahman with you. He will cook your food and carry your pots. In the forest path you will not meet with any Brahman whose cooking is fit to be eaten. Bid us supply you with a Brahman."

The Master replied, "No, I shall take none with me. If I take one, the others will be grieved. Some sweet-souled stranger will be my companion. I can take one such if I can get him." Swarup suggested, "Here is Balabhadra Bhattacharya,—tender to you, a scholar, a pious

man and a gentleman. He had come from Bengal with you during your first advent. He wishes to visit all the *tirthas*. He has a Brahman servant; he will do your cooking on the way. We shall all be happy if you take him with you, as then you will feel no hardship in making your way through the forest. The Brahman servant will carry your cloth, water, and pots, while Bhattacharya will cook your food." The Master agreed to it and took Balabhadra Bhattacharya with Him.

The night before, He visited Jagannath and took the god's leave, and before sunrise He slipped away unperceived. In the morning the *bhaktas* missed Him and ran about anxiously seeking Him. Swarup stopped them, and they stayed, knowing such to be the Master's wish. Leaving the beaten track the Master took to by-paths, and passing by the left of Katak entered the jungle. In the lonely forest He fared forth, chanting Krishna's name,—elephants and tigers moved away from the path at the sight of Him. In an ecstatic mood He passed through herds of tigers, elephants, rhinoceroses and boars. Bhattacharya shrank in terror, but they stepped aside, cowed by the Master's power.

One day a tiger was lying across the path. The Master in abstraction trod on it and cried, "Speak Krishna's name!" And lo! the tiger stood up and began to dance, while chanting *Krishna! Krishna!* Another day He was bathing in the river, when a herd of wild elephants came there to drink. They arrived

before Him as He was offering the oblation of water. Bidding them repeat Krishna's name He rushed sprinkling the water on them. Every elephant touched by that water shouted *Krishna* and danced and ran about in love. Some rolled on the ground, some bellowed,—to the marvel of Bhattacharya.

On the way the Master sang *kirtan* aloud. The deer flocked thither, drawn by His sweet voice, and marched with Him on two sides, while He patted their backs and playfully recited the verses, *Bhagabat*, X. xxi. 11. Just then six or seven tigers came up and joined the deer in accompanying the Master. The sight reminded the Master of Brindaban and He recited the verses descriptive of the virtues of Brindaban. *Bhagabat*, X. xiii. 55.

When the Master shouted "Chant Krishna's name," the deer and the tigers danced together (peacefully) shouting *Krishna ! Krishna !*—a wonderful sight to Balabhadra Bhattacharya. The tigers and deer embraced and kissed each other, the Master smiling at the fun of it. Leaving them there He went on. The peacock and other birds, on seeing Him, proceeded in His company singing *Krishna !* and dancing like mad. The Master shouted, 'Say *Hari !*' Trees and creepers rejoiced at the sound. To all the animate and inanimate things in the jungle of Chota Nagpur (*Jhārikhand*) He communicated the name of Krishna and maddened them with love. In every village that He passed through,

or halted in, all the men were filled with devotion. If one heard the name of Krishna from His lips, he spread it to a second, the second to a third, and so on. All chanted Krishna-Hari's name, danced, wept, and laughed; from one to another the whole land became Vaishnava. Though for fear of drawing a crowd the Master concealed His devotion and gave no outward exhibition of it, yet the very sight of Him, the hearing of His words, and His power made all the people Vaishnava. Travelling in Central Bengal, East Bengal, West Bengal, and Orissa, He had delivered the people there. Now, on the pretext of a pilgrimage to Mathura, He came to Jharikhand and saved the ruffianly bearish people by teaching them the faith that springs from Krishna's name. The wood suggested Brindaban, every hill looked like Govardhan, every river seemed to Him a Jamuna. There He danced in ecstasy, and fell down weeping.

Bhattacharya gathered all green leaves, roots and fruits wherever he found them on the way. When they halted at a village, six or seven Brahmans would invite Him; one supplied Bhattacharya with rice, another with milk, curds, *ghee*, or sugar. Where there was no Brahman inhabitant, all the Sudra merchants invited Bhattacharya. He cooked the wild vegetables, which delighted the Master. He kept a store of rice to last for three or four days. In the lonely parts of the jungle, where there was no human habitation,

Bhattacharya cooked that rice with soup of wild vegetables. The picnic delighted the Master exceedingly and the solitude gratified Him. Bhattacharya served Him as tenderly as a slave, his Brahman carrying the water-pot and clothing. Thrice daily He bathed in the hot springs, twice He warmed Himself by the fire, as fuel was abundant ; ever did He move in solitude rapt in love. Feeling the bliss (of such a life) He said, "Much have I travelled, but nowhere have I found any trace of the (alleged) hardships of journeying in forests. Passing gracious has Krishna been to me : He has directed me to this forest path to give me varied delight. Previously when I had resolved to visit Brindaban after seeing my mother, the Ganges and my *bhaktas*, and taking a party of my followers with me, and with that aim went to Bengal, and after delighting myself with the sight of those dear ones, I set out joyfully with my followers,—a million people joined me. Then Krishna instructed me through the mouth of Sanatan ; He hindered that journey and brought me to this forest path. O Ocean of Mercy ! gracious unto this humble wretch ! There is no pleasure without thy grace !" Then embracing Bhattacharya He said, "All this pleasure have I through thy help." But Bhattacharya replied, "You are Krishna, you are the gracious one ! I am a despicable being ; you have taken pity on me ; you have (deigned to) take me with you, and to eat food cooked by me. I am a wretch. But you have

ennobled this crow to the rank of *Garuda*. You are God Himself, a free being !”

Thus did Balābhadrā hymn the Master and please His mind by his loving service. Thus enjoying much bliss He reached Benares and bathed at noon at the Mani-Karnika ghat. Tapan Misra was then bathing there, and felt some surprise on seeing the Master, as he had previously (only) heard of Chaitanya having turned hermit. When the recognition became certain, he was filled with rapture, and wept clasping the Master's feet, but He raised and embraced him. The Misra guided the Master to the temple of Vishweshwar and Bindu Madhav, and at last brought Him to his own house, where he served Him, danced (in ecstasy) with his garment fluttering, drank with his whole family the washings of the Master's feet, fed Him, honoured Balābhadrā Bhattacharya, and arranged for his cooking.

After taking His meal the Master lay down, the Misra's son, Raghu, shampooing His feet. The Misra family ate the leavings of the Master's plate. Chandra Shekhar, a scribe of the Vaidya caste, resident in Benares, a friend of the Misra and a devotee of the Master, came there on hearing of His arrival. As he wept at His feet, Chaitanya lifted up and graciously embraced him. Chandra Shekhar said, “Great is thy grace, Master that thou hast appeared to thy servant ! At my first coming to Benares I used to hear nothing but the words

'illusion' and 'Brahma'. Here nothing was preached except expositions of the six systems of philosophy. Then the Misra kindly told me of Krishna, and we two meditated ceaselessly on thy feet. Omniscient God ! thou hast appeared to us. Let us both serve thee for some days before thou goest to Brindaban, as we hear." The Misra added, "Master, during your stay at Kashi donot consent to dine anywhere except in my house." Thus the Master, compelled by His two devotees, stayed there for some ten days against His will. A Maratha Brahman came to see Him, marvelled at His beauty and devotion, and invited Him, but He declined saying that He was already engaged for the day. With the same plea He put him off day after day in fear of some *sanyasi* joining His company.

Prakashanand used to deliver public lectures on Vedanta to his many pupils. The Maratha Brahman, after having viewed the Master, described Him to Prakashanand thus, "A *sanyasi* has come here from Jagannath, whose glory and power I cannot adequately describe. Big of limbs, fair as the purest gold, long-armed, lotus-eyed, clad in all the marks of God-head, as one can see. O, marvel ! The sight of Him convinces one that He is Narayan. Whosoever beholds Him chants Krishna's *sankirtan*. All the marks of a great *bhāgabat* as described in the *Bhāgabat* are evident in Him. Ever does His tongue sing Krishna's name, His eyes run tears like the Ganges stream. Now He dances, now laughs, now sings and

now weeps, or at times roars like the lion. The world's benefactor is He, named Krishna-Chaitanya. His name, appearance, and virtues,—all are matchless. To see Him is to know Him as fashioned in God's mould. Hearing this report will not make one credit this marvellous tale."

The philosopher laughed much and scoffed at the Brahman, saying, "I have heard that there is a *sanyasi* in Bengal, an emotionalist, a disciple of Keshav Bharati and a fraud on the public. He is named Chaitanya, and with his emotional band he roams over the country dancing. Everyone who sees him calls him God. Such is his spell, all beholders are bewitched. I hear that the great scholar Sarabhauma Bhattacharya has turned mad in this Chaitanya's company. He is a *sanyasi* in name only, but really a great wizard. But his stock in trade of sentimentality will not sell at Kashi! Attend to Vedanta; do not resort to him! The companionship of the wild man will ruin you in life and death." Grieved at these words, the Maratha Brahman left the place appealing to Krishna. His mind having been purged by the Master's sight, he came to Him and unfolded the tale of his sorrow. The Master smiled. The Brahman continued, "When I first mentioned you to him, he said that he knew you. When he uttered your name in the course of his abuse of you, he thrice used the form *Chaitanya* without adding *Krishna*! It grieved me to hear him

• speak your name in such a contemptuous manner. Tell me the reason of his conduct, for *my* lips uttered Krishna's name as soon as I saw you." The Master replied, "The philosophers who hold the doctrine of illusion sin against Krishna. They constantly prate about *Brahma*, *Atma* and *Chaitanya*, and cannot utter the name of Krishna, because that is equivalent to Krishna's self. The name, the image, and the self of a god are all one ; there is no distinction between them ; the three are of the form of soul's bliss (*chidānand*). Between Krishna's body and personality, between his name and Krishna himself there is no difference. In the case of creatures, no doubt, name, body, and personality are different from one another. Vide *Hari Bhakti Bilas*, XI. 269.

Therefore Krishna's name, body, and action (*brās*) cannot be comprehended by the natural senses ; they manifest themselves. His name, qualities, and antics are the soul's bliss (*chidānand*) like Krishna's own form..... From delight in God comes the fuller pleasure of appreciating Krishna's actions (*līlā*), which attract and conquer the spiritual man. Vide *Bhagabat*, XII. xii. 52.

From delight in God comes the fuller pleasure (of relishing) Krishna's merits, which attract the inmost spirit of the soul. Vide *Bhagabat*, I. vii. 10. Not to speak of Krishna's feet, even the odour of the *Tulsi* plant captivates the inmost sense of the soul. Vide *Bhagabat*, III. xv. 43.

Therefore does Krishna's name fail to rise to his lips ; the Illusionists are mere phenomenologists. He has said that I have come to Kashi with a parcel of sentiments for which there is no customer here, and I must take it all back ! Well, how shall I carry away this heavy load ? I can sell it here even for a trifle !” So saying and making that Brahman His own, next morning He set out for Mathura. The three followed Him, but He sent them home from a distance. In His absence they used to meet together and sing His praise, mad with love. At Allahabad He bathed in the Tribeni, and danced and sang in devotion before the image of Madhav. In rapture at the sight of the Jamuna, He jumped into it, but was hurriedly dragged out by Bhattacharya. Three days He spent thus at Allahabad saving men by imparting to them the love and name of Krishna. On the way to Mathura wherever He halted, He made the people dance to Krishna's loved name. He now made the people of the West Vaishnavas, as He had formerly done those of the South. Wherever He came to the Jamuna on the way, He leapt into it, senseless with love.

On approaching Mathura, He prostrated Himself in an ecstasy of devotion at the sight of the city. Here He bathed in the Vishram *ghat*, and bowed to Kesav's image at the place of his nativity. He danced, sang, and shouted in rapture,—men marvelling at his fervour. One Brahman clasped His feet and then began to dance

with Him overcome with love. Both danced in rapture, embraced each other, and cried *Hari ! Krishna !* with uplifted arms. The spectators shouted *Hari ! Hari !*—there was a tumult ; the attendant of the image garlanded the Master. Marvelling at the sight of the Master, the people said, “Such beauty and such devotion can never be human. Verily He is the incarnation of Krishna, come to Mathura to save mankind,—because at the sight of Him men are intoxicated with love and laugh weep dance and sing Krishna’s name !”

Then the Master took the Brahman apart and asked him secretly, “You are a Brahman, noble-minded, simple and old. Whence did you acquire such wealth of love ?” The man replied, “When Madhavendra Puri came here on his travels, he was pleased to be my guest ; he made me his disciple and ate of my cooking. That great soul revealed the (concealed) Gopal, who is worshipped at Govardhan to this day.” At this the Master touched his feet, but the Brahman in alarm fell down at the Master’s feet. The Master explained, “You are my *guru*, and I am almost a disciple to you. The *guru* should not bow to the disciple.” The Brahman in fear and surprise asked, “Why do you, a *sanyasi*, use such language ? But stay ! Your fervour makes me infer that you are connected with Madhavendra Puri (by the tie of initiation). He was filled with love of Krishna : nowhere do we find even the savour of such love except among those connected with him.” Then Bhatta-

charya explained the Master's relation to the Puri, at which the Brahman began to dance in rapture. He conducted the Master to his own house, and of his own will served Him in many ways. He made Bhattacharya cook (the Master's meal), but He smilingly said, "The Puri has dined with you. Do thou feed me. This is an instruction for me. Vide the *Gita*, III. 21."

Though the Brahman was a *Sanoria*, at whose house *sanyasis* do not dine, yet the Puri, drawn by his truly Vaishnava behaviour, had initiated and dined with him. Now that the Master begged to eat of his cooking, the Brahman humbly said, "Great is my fortune that I shall feast you. You are God, unfettered by rule and practice. But the ignorant will blame you, which I cannot bear to hear." The Master answered, "The *Shruti*, the *Smriti* and all the sages are not of one opinion, but at variance with one another. The actions of good men are for confirming religion. The Puri's action is the essence of that religion. Vide the *Ekádashi tatwa*, Vyása's words :

Logical reasoning cannot establish our duty. The Shrutis are conflicting. Not a rishi whose views do not differ from those of others. The truth of religion is hidden in a cave. Follow therefore the path trodden by good men."

Then the Brahman feasted the Master, to see whom the citizens of Mathura came in *lakhs*. The Master appeared to them outside the house, and with uplifted

arms cried "Chant Hari! Hari!" The men raised a shout of *Hari!* and danced mad with love. He bathed at the 24 ghats of the Jamuna, and was shown by that Brahman all the holy sites: Swayambhu, Vishram, Dirgha-Vishnu, Bhuteshwar, Mahavidya, Gokarna, &c.

Wishing to see the woods, He took the Brahman with Him and visited the Madhu-ban, the Tál-ban, Kumud and Bahulá, in all of which He sang in a fervour of love. The cows grazing by the way surrounded the Master with loud bellowings, but grew still at the sight of His overflowing devotion, and licked His limbs tenderly. When He became quiet, He rubbed their backs, and they would not leave Him as He advanced. The cowherds stopped them with great difficulty.

His voice drew to Him herds of deer, which gazed at His face, licked His body, and followed Him on the way without fear. The black-bird and the bee sang sweetly on seeing Him; the peacocks strutted dancing before Him. At His coming the trees and creepers of Brindaban put forth sprouts (as if they were thrilled) and shed honey like tears. Branches laden with flowers and fruits, bowed to His feet, as friend hastens to greet friend with a present. At the sight of Him, the animate and inanimate things of Brindaban rejoiced, as on meeting with their friend. Seeing their affection, the rapt Master played with them all, coming under their influence. Each tree and creeper He embraced; in thought He offered every flower and

fruit to Krishna. Weeping, trembling, shaken with love, He shouted, 'Say *Krishna! Krishna!*' The living and the inert shouted *Krishna* as if echoing His deep voice. Claspings the necks of the deer He wept, while the deer trembled and shed tears. The green parrot with its mate appeared on the branches, and on His wishing to hear their speech they flew on to His hand and recited verses in praise of Krishna. Vide *Govinda-lilāmrita*, XIII. 29 &c.

Wonder and enthusiasm seized the Master at these words, and the birds flew back to the branch. Delighted He gazed at the dance of the peacocks, the neck of the bird reminding Him of Krishna, and He swooned away in rapture. The (local) Brahman and Bhattacharya nursed Him, sprinkled Him with water and fanned Him with His cloth. Loudly they poured Krishna's name into His ears, (at which) He awoke and rolled on the ground. The brambles of the rough jungle path scratched His limbs, but Bhattacharya took Him in his lap to soothe Him. Krishna's love had filled His mind, so he sprang up with the cry of "Chant! Chant!" and began to dance. Bhattacharya and the (Mathura) Brahman sang Krishna's name, while the Master wended His way dancing. The Brahman marvelled at the fervour of His love and grew concerned about His safety. His passion of devotion on the way to Brindaban grew tenfold of what it had been at Puri ; it increased a thousandfold on seeing Mathura, and a

hundred thousand times when He roamed the woods of Brindaban. When He was in other lands the mention of Brindaban had caused His love to well out ; and now He had actually come to that Brindaban ! His soul was steeped in love day and night, and He bathed and dined (unconsciously) as a matter of habit.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Master's doings at Brindaban.

Dancing thus the Master reached the village Arith, where He suddenly recovered His senses. He asked the people about the Radha pool ; but they knew it not, nor did the Brahman guide. But the omniscient Master discovered the hidden *tirthas* and bathed in shallow pools in two rice-fields. The villagers wondered at the spectacle. The Master began to praise the Radha pool in love : "Radha is dearest to Krishna among all the milk-maids. So is the Radha-kund dear (to him) as the bathing-place of his darling. In this pool Krishna ever sported in the water with Radha and on the bank he dallied in the *rāsa* dance. Whosoever bathes once here gets from Krishna a love rivalling that of Radha. The pool is charming like Radha's self ; its glory is great like Radha's."

Recollecting Krishna's acts in the pool, He danced in rapture on the bank, and painted His forehead with its mud. Bhattacharya took a little of the mud. Next, the Master went to the Suman tank. At the sight of the Govardhan hill He was affected, prostrated Himself before it, and madly embraced a rock. In a frenzy of devotion He proceeded to the village of Govardhan, where he bowed to the god Hari Dev

Narayan, the first incarnation, who dwelt on the western edge of Mathura. Before the god He danced in rapture, the people at the wondrous news flocking to see Him, and admiring His beauty and devotion. The attendant of the image entertained Him. Bhattacharya cooked in the Brahma-kund and the Master bathed, dined, and passed the night in the temple. At night He cogitated, 'No, I must not ascend Govardhan. How then can I get the sight of Gopal ?' He remained silent over the matter, but Gopal knowing His mind, played a trick. The god Gopal was installed at Anna-kut, a village of Rajputs. Some one informed the headman at night that the Turks were arming to sack the village, and so they should all flee at night with their god. The villagers in alarm first transferred Gopal to the Ganthuli village, where the god was worshipped in secret in a Brahman's house. Then they all fled, leaving the village empty. Thus did Gopal migrate repeatedly in fear of the Muslims, being removed from temple to bower or to another village.

In the morning the Master after bathing in the Mánas Ganga, set out to walk round Govardhan. Moved to rapture at the sight of the hill, He advanced dancing and chanting the verses, *Bhagabat*, X. xxi. 18.

Bathing at the Govinda-kund and other holy spots, He learnt that Gopal had gone to Ganthuli, whither He proceeded to see the god, before whom He danced and sang in a transport of devotion. Moved by Gopal's

beauty He recited a *shloka* and danced to the close of the day.

For three days did He view Gopal ; on the fourth day Gopal came away with Him, as He walked singing and dancing, and went back to his former temple [on the hill], while the Master stayed at the foot of it. The people in delight cheered aloud 'Hari ! Hari !' Thus does the tender Gopal descend from the hill on some pretext, in order to show himself to the devotee who passionately longs to see him and yet declines to set foot upon Govardhan. Thus did he appear to Rup and Sanátan. When Rup was too old to walk and yet longed to see Gopal's charms, the god took refuge for a month in the Vithaleshwar temple at Mathura in fear of the Muslims. Then Rup with his disciples saw him there for a month. [Rup's disciples named] After a month Gopal went back to his temple, while Rup returned to Brindaban.

Then the Master visited the Kámya forest, and all other places in Brindaban in the manner described before. Thence to Nandishwar, at the sight of whom He fell into an ecstasy. After bathing in the Pában and other pools, He climbed the hill and asked if there was any temple on the top. Being directed by the local people, He entered the cave and there beheld the image of the fair dancing Child between his robust parents. He bowed at the feet of Nanda and Yashoda, and in rapture touched all the limbs of the child Krishna. After

dancing and singing there all day, He visited the Khadir wood, the Vishnu reposing on the Sesha Snake, Khelá tirtha, the Bhandir wood, the Bhadra wood (across the Jamuna), the Sriban, the Lauhaban, the Mahaban, (the birth-place of Radha), where He beheld the site of killing Yamalarjun, to the overflowing of His love. After visiting Gokul He returned to Mathura. Here He stayed at that Brahman's house, visiting Krishna's birth-shrine; but He left Mathura on account of its press of people and dwelt in seclusion at Akrur tirtha.

Another day He visited Brindaban, bathed in the Kaliya lake and Praskandan. From the Twelve Deities (*Dwádash Aditya*) He went to the Kashi tirtha. At the place of *rasa* He fainted away in love, and on recovering rolled on the ground,—laughed, wept, danced, recited verses, and sang. In such deeds was the day spent there; in the evening He returned to Akrur for breakfast.

Next morning He bathed at the Chiraghat of Brindaban, and rested under a very ancient tamarind tree of the age of Krishna's exploits, with a smooth platform built round its trunk. Close by flowed the Jamuna; cool breezes blew; the water of the Jamuna gazed at the beauty of Brindaban. After singing the holy names under the tamarind tree, the Master performed His noonday prayer and breakfasted at Akrur. The people of the village crowded in such numbers to

see Him that He could not dance freely. So He came back to Brindaban, and sitting apart sang the holy names till noon. In the third quarter of the day He appeared to the people and advised them all to make *sankirtan* of Krishna's name.

Then arrived a Vaishnava, of the Rajput race, named Krishna-das, a householder living in a village on the other side of the Jamuna. After bathing in the Keshighat he was going to the Káli lake when he suddenly beheld a holy man sitting under the tamarind tree. Admiring the beauty and fervour of the Master, he bowed to Him in devotion. To the Master's query as to who he was, he replied, "I am a miserable householder, a Rajput from across the river. I long to be servant to a Vaishnava. Last night in sleep I saw a vision which exactly agrees with you." As the Master graciously embraced him, the Rajput mad with love danced crying *Hari! Hari!* He followed the Master at noon to the Akrur tirtha, and ate His leavings. Next morning he bore the Master's water-pot [to Brindaban] and kept His company, leaving his wife children and home.

Everywhere men began to say that Krishna had again appeared at Brindaban. One morning the citizens of Mathura were returning from Brindaban with a great noise, when the Master met them and asked them whence they were coming. They replied, "Krishna has appeared in the water of the Káli-daha lake.

He is dancing on the hood of the snake Káliya, whose jewel is flashing in the water. We have seen it with our own eyes. It is beyond doubt." The Master smiled and remarked, "It is all very true." Thus for three nights people flocked there, all saying on their return that they had beheld Krishna. When they said in the Master's presence that they had seen Krishna, Saraswati indeed moved them to speak the truth, for in seeing *Him* they were beholding the true Krishna ; while they were neglecting the real before their eyes in order to behold the unreal [apparition of Krishna in the lake.] When Bhattacharya begged leave to behold Krishna there, the Master slapped him and said, "You are a learned man, and yet you have turned a fool, believing the story of fools ! Why should Krishna appear in that lake ? Fools in their delusion are making a fuss [about nothing.] Don't lose your senses. Stay at home. To-morrow at night go and see Krishna."

In the morning a quiet man came to the Master, and He asked him if he had seen Krishna. The man replied, "A fisherman was catching fish in the lake with a lamp in his boat. People seeing him from a distance mistook him for Krishna dancing on the snake ; the boat was regarded as the snake's hood, and the lamp as its crown-jewel ! True, Krishna *has* come to Brindaban, but it is not true that people have seen him. Far from seeing him they are holding a false

notion, just as an imbecile (*sthanu*) man takes things in a contrary light." The Master asked, "Where have *you* seen Krishna ?" The man replied, "You are a *sanyasi*—a walking Narayan. You have come to Brindaban, as the incarnation of Krishna, to deliver all men by your appearance." The Master invoked God in horror and cried, "Say not so ! Never regard this, the humblest of creatures, as Krishna. A *sanyasi* is a particle of *chid*, a creature is like a single ray of light ; but Krishna, full of all the six powers, is like the Sun. A creature and the Creator can never be equal, any more than a blazing fire and a solitary spark can be....."

The fool who speaks of a creature as equal to God is a sinner, destined to be punished by Yama....."

The man replied, "You have not the human mind. Your appearance and character are like Krishna's. In form you resemble the Son of Braja's lord ; your bright complexion eclipses your yellow robe. The musk's fragrance cannot be concealed even if it is tied up in a cloth ; so too your Godly nature cannot be kept hidden. Supernatural is your character, your wisdom unfathomable, the sight of you has driven the world mad with love of Krishna. Woman, child, old man, a Chandál, or even a Muslim,—whosoever once beholds you, dances madly, chanting Krishna's name. He becomes a teacher unto others and converts the world. What to speak of seeing you, the mere hearing of your name throws a man into a frenzy of devotion to Krishna

and makes him a spiritual deliverer to all others. Your name sanctifies even Chandáls. Superhuman are your powers,—beyond description. Vide *Bhagabat*, III. xxxiii. 6. Such is your glory, you have the attributes of detachment. Your form and attributes prove you to be Krishna !”

The Master favoured these men, and they returned home wild with love. Thus did He stay a few days at Akrur, saving men by imparting to them the love of Krishna's name. That disciple of Madhav Puri invited every householder in Mathura. The people of Mathura, Brahmans and good men, in parties of ten or twenty every day invited Bhattacharya, who could accept only one of the invitations. The people, getting no opportunity of giving dinners, pressed that Brahman to accept their hospitality. Kanauji, Deccani, and Vaidik Brahmans all humbly asked the Master to dinner. They came to Akrur in the morning, cooked, offered the food to the *Shālagrām*, and fed the Master on it. One day, sitting on the Akrur ghat, the Master reflected, “Here did Akrur see Vaikuntha, and the people of Brindaban got a view of heaven.” So saying He jumped into the water ; Krishnadas set up a loud lamentation ; Bhattacharya hurried there and dragged the Master out. Then he took secret counsel with the (local) Brahman, saying, “The Master was rescued only because I was at hand. But if He is drowned at Brindaban who will save Him ? Here we

have crowds of visitors and the plague of invitation every day. It is not good for Him to be constantly in an ecstasy. The best plan would be to remove Him from Brindaban." The Brahman (host) replied, "Let us take Him to Prayág; we shall enjoy the journey along the bank of the Ganges. You should ask His consent to bathe in the Ganges at Soron and then start with Him by the same route. It is now the month of Mágh; if we start now we shall reach Prayag in time for bathing during Capricorn. After complaining of your own sorrows, broach to him the request to lead you to Prayag during Capricorn. Tell Him also of the joy of following the bank of the Ganges."

* Then Bhattacharya besought the Master thus "I cannot bear this press of people. They worry me to accept their invitations. When people come in the morning and fail to find you, they plague me to death. I shall be happy if I follow the bank of the Ganges, and starting now reach Prayag in time for bathing in Capricorn. My mind is restless. I cannot bear (our life here.) I submit to whatever the Master may be pleased to command." Though unwilling to leave Brindaban, the Master, to gratify His *bhakta*, said sweetly, "Never shall I be able to repay my debt to you for your having escorted me to Brindaban. I shall do your wish. Take me wherever you desire."

In the morning He bathed and became overcome with devotion at the thought of leaving Brindaban.

Unconscious of the things outside, He fell into a trance of love. Bhattacharya took Him in a boat across the river to Mahaban. The devoted Krishnadas and that Brahman knew the route along the Ganges. On the way He sat down under a tree with His party, in order to refresh them from fatigue. Many cows were grazing there, and the sight filled Him with delight. Suddenly a cowherd played on his flute, and at once rapture seized the Master ; He fell down in a swoon, foaming at the mouth and hardly breathing.

Just then ten Pathan cavalymen arrived there, dismounted, and gazing at the Master jumped to the conclusion that His five companions were sharpers who had poisoned Him with *dhutura* in order to rob Him of His gold. So they tied up the five and threatened to behead them. The Bengalis began to tremble ; only Krishnadas was fearless and that Brahman bold of speech. The Brahman cried out, "Pathan ! I appeal to your Padshah ! Take me with you to the *sikdar*. This hermit is my *guru* ; I am a Brahman of Mathura. I have a hundred acquaintances at the royal Court. This hermit has a disease which makes Him fall down in a fit. He will soon recover consciousness. Wait a little here. Keep us tied up. After inquiring of Him, slay us if necessary." The Pathan replied, "You two are up-country men ; here are three Bengali *thugs* quaking in fear." Krishnadas said, "I live in this

village, with 100 troopers and 200 bowmen under me. If I raise a shout they will come here, kill you, and take away your horses and accoutrement. The Bengalis are not sharpers. You are rogues, as you want to rob pilgrims and to kill them!" At this the Pathan hesitated. Just then the Master came to His senses, rose up with a shout of 'Hari! Hari!' and danced in rapture with uplifted arms.

His devotional cry pierced the heart of the Muslim, who in fear released the five, so that the Master could not see the captivity of His followers. Bhattacharya held and seated the Master, who became aware of the things around Him when He saw the Muslims. The Pathans bowed at His feet and charged the five with having poisoned Him with *dhatura*. But He replied, "They are not *thugs*, but my companions. I am a begging hermit, with no wealth to be robbed. Occasionally I fall into epileptic fits, when these five kindly nurse me." One of the Muslims, a grave man clad in black and called a Pir, was melted at heart on seeing the Master. He propounded monotheism and one common God, on the basis of his holy book (viz. the *Quran*.) But the Master refuted all his propositions by arguments based on the Muslim scripture, till the man was silenced. The Master continued, "Your scripture establishes one common God [in the beginning] and refuting that theory sets up in the end a particular God, who is full of all powers, dark of hue, the embodiment of *sat chid* and

ananda, the perfect Spirit, the soul of all, all-pervading, eternal, the self of every thing, the source of creation life and destruction, the refuge of all universes whether gross or fine, the most excellent, adorable by all, the first cause of everything. Men are saved by faith in Him, and freed from the bondage of the world only by serving Him. Delight in Him is the supreme human attainment, while salvation can give only a particle of that bliss. The highest beatitude comes only from serving His feet. After first insisting on work, knowledge and mental abstraction, these are then set aside and the service of God is laid down as the final duty. Your theologians have no knowledge of their own scriptures; they forget that where there are two injunctions, the latter is stronger. Decide after studying your own holy books, and see what is laid down as the final conclusion."

The Muslim replied, 'True are your words. What is written in the scriptures cannot be changed by men. The abstract God (*Gosāin*) is discussed by theologians; nobody thinks of adoring the incarnate God. You are such, God's own self. Have mercy on me, unworthy sinner! Much have I read, but cannot ascertain the *sādhyā* and *sādhān* from the Muslim scriptures. At the sight of you my tongue utters Krishna's name, and I have been cured of my proud confidence in my own wisdom. Tell me graciously what are *sādhyā* and *sādhān*." So saying he fell at the Master's feet, who

said, "Rise ! In repeating Krishna's name you have been washed pure from the sins of million births. Say *Krishna ! Krishna !*" They chanted the name and were filled with rapture. The Master renamed him Ramdas.

There was another Pathan named Bijuli Khan, a young prince and the master of Ramdas and other Pathan troopers. He too fell down at the Master's feet, with the cry of *Krishna !* The Master touched his head with His toe, and went on His way. All the Pathans turned *Bairagis* and were famous as "Pathan Vaishnavas." They roamed everywhere singing the Master's praise. This Bijuli Khan became a very spiritual person honoured in every *tirtha*.

At Soron He bathed in the Ganges and walked along the bank to Prayag. When He dismissed the Mathura Brahman and Krishnadas, they begged with folded palms, "Let us follow you to Prayag. Where again shall we see your feet ? It is a Muslim country, you may be oppressed anywhere. Your companion, Bhattacharya, is a mere pandit and does not know how to address people." The Master smilingly consented and they followed Him. Everyone who beheld Him turned frantic with love and sang *sankirtan* aloud. They communicated their faith to others, and these to others again, so that the whole land became Vaishnava, just as the Master had previously converted the South during His pilgrimage.

So walking He reached Prayag, where He bathed for ten days at the junction of the three rivers during the Sun's progress through Capricorn.

CHAPTER XVII.

How the Master favoured Rup.

Rup and Sanatan, after meeting the Master at the village of Ramkeli, went back to their own quarters. The two brothers devised how to get rid of their worldly ties. They secured two priests with costly gifts, and performed two ceremonies preparatory to a journey (*purashcharan*) in the *mantra* of Krishna,—hoping thereby to attain speedily to Chaitanya's feet. Then Rup came to his own house by boat with much wealth, of which he distributed one half to Brahmans and Vaishnavas, one quarter to his kinsmen for their support, and laid by the other quarter for buying release (from his sultan's wrath). The money was lodged with good Brahmans, and ten thousand rupees were deposited with a grocer at Gaur, subject to expenditure by Sanatan. When Rup heard of the Master's journey to Puri and of His intention to go to Brindaban by the forest route, he sent two agents to Puri to bring quickly word about the date of the Master's starting for Brindaban, as he wanted to shape his own course accordingly.

At Gaur Sanatan thought within himself, "The sultan's love for me is a tie (keeping me here). If he were only to turn angry, it will be my deliverance."

On the plea of illness he stayed at home, gave up his official work, and discontinued his visits to the Court. The greedy writers (*Kayastha*) transacted the business of state (in his absence), while he at home discussed the *shastras*. With twenty or thirty Bhattacharya pandits he discussed the *Bhagabat* in assembly. One day the sultan with only one attendant suddenly entered Sanatan's meeting. At the sight of the king, all hurriedly stood up, and seated him with due honour. The sultan said, "I sent a physician to you, who reported that you were in perfect health. All my affairs depend on you, and yet you are staying at home neglecting them! You have ruined all my business. Tell me what you really mean by it?" Sanatan replied, "I am unable to do the work. Get some one else for the purpose." The sultan in anger cried out again and again, "Your elder brother is acting like a robber. He has desolated the district (*chākhlā*) under him by killing men and cattle. And here you are ruining all my affairs!" Sanatan pleaded, "You are the free king of Bengal; you punish all offenders."

At this the sultan returned to his palace and imprisoned Sanatan lest he should escape. When the king set out to invade Orissa, he asked Sanatan to accompany him. The minister replied, "I cannot bear you company, as you are going to molest my gods." Then the sultan set out, leaving Sanatan in prison.

When the Master set out for Brindaban, the two

messengers brought news of it to Rup. At this Rup wrote to Sanatan, "Chaitanya has started for Brindaban. We two brothers are going to join him. Do you run away from Gaur by hook or crook, I have left ten thousand rupees with a grocer there. Spend it to secure your release soon, and fly to Brindaban in any way you can." Then Rup went to Prayag with his youngest brother, Anupam Mallik (surnamed?) Sri-Ballav, a devout Vaishnava.

The Master delighted at the news. As He was going to visit Bindu Madhav, *lakhs* of men came to meet Him,—some weeping, some laughing, some singing and dancing, others rolling on the ground while shouting *Krishna! Krishna!* The Master drowned Prayag in the flood of Krishna's love, while the Ganges and the Jamuna between them had failed to submerge the land! Seeing the crowd, Rup and his brother stood apart. The Master was thrown into ecstasy when beholding Madhav, and danced with uplifted arms shouting 'Say *Hari! Hari!*' Men marvelled at His greatness. His feats at Prayag baffle description. A Deccani Brahman who knew Him, took Him to his house, where the Master was sitting down in seclusion when Rup and Ballav came to Him. With two blades of grass between their teeth, they fell down prone on seeing Him from afar. Again and again they rose up and fell down, reciting many verses, overcome with love at the sight of Him. Graciously did the Master speak,

“Rise, rise! Rup, come to me! Krishna’s grace passes all speech: He has plucked you from the well of worldliness in which you were sunk. Witness the *Hari Bhakti Bilasa*, X. 91; the words of God:

‘It is not by studying the four Vedas that one can become my bhakta. Even low-caste Chandals can win my love by their faith. To such bhaktas I grant my love and accept their love, and they are worthy of adoration like myself.’

Repeating the above verse He embraced both and placed His feet on their heads as a favour. At this they praised Him humbly with folded palms. [Verses].

Then the Master seated them by Himself and asked for the news of Sanatan. Rup answered, “He is in the king’s prison. If you save him then only can he be released.” The Master said, “Sanatan has been set free and will soon join us all.” The Brahman invited the Master to dinner. Rup passed the day there. Balabhadra Bhattacharya bade both the brothers to dinner, and the two ate the leavings of the Master’s plate. The Master lodged in a house on the junction of the rivers; Rup and Ballav took a house near it.

There was then one Ballav Bhatta at the village of Ambuli. He came on hearing of the Master’s arrival, bowed to Him, received His embrace, and the two discoursed long on Krishna, at which the Master’s devotion surged up, but He checked Himself in the presence of the Bhatta, who detected the uncontrollable fervour

within Him and marvelled exceedingly. Then the Bhatta invited the Master, who introduced to him the two brothers. They very humbly bowed to the Bhatta from a distance, and as he ran to meet them they receded further crying, "Touch not untouchable sinners like us!" The Bhatta marvelled; the Master was delighted and told their story to the Bhatta, adding, "Touch not these; they are of a low caste, while you are a Vaidic Sacrificial Brahman, old and a *kulin*." Hearing Krishna's name incessantly on their lips, the Bhatta, catching certain gestures of the Master, remarked, "Krishna's name is dancing on their tongue. They cannot be low; they are the best of men. Witness the *Bhagabat* III. xxxiii. 7."

The Master, pleased to hear it, praised him much and in rapture recited these verses :

"Wise men will honour even a Chandāl who has been purified by his sins of low birth being burnt away by the blazing fire of pure faith; while an atheist is not to be honoured even though learned in the Vedas. Vain are high pedigree, scholarship, repetition of the holy name, and austerities, in a man who lacks faith in God. As a lifeless doll is dressed up only for show to people, so are the virtues of a faithless man futile. (Haribhakti-Sudhodaya, III. xii. 11.)"

The Bhatta wondered as he gazed at the Master's passion of devotion, power, true faith, and beauty. He took Him with His followers in a boat to his own house

for dinner. Beholding the sparkling blue waters of the Jamuna, the Master was overcome by love, and leaped into the river with a roar. They were all seized with concern at it and hurriedly pulled Him out of the water. He began to dance on the boat, which rolled right and left under His weight and shipped a good deal of water, being ready to sink. His love was uncontrollable; still in the presence of the Bhatta the Master checked Himself, as His transport was inopportune, and disembarked at the Ambuli ghat. The anxious Bhatta, after keeping His company at bath, brought Him to his own house, gave Him a fine garment, washed His feet and poured the water on the heads of himself and his family. He clothed the Master in a new waist-band and *dhuti*, and adored Him with scents, flowers, incense and lights. Bhattacharya cooked and the Master dined; so did Rup and his brother; Rup and Krishnadas were given the leavings of His dinner. After chewing spices the Master lay down to repose, the Bhatta rubbing His feet. Sent away by the Master, the Bhatta despatched his dinner and came back to His feet.

Now came there Raghupati Upadhyaya, a great scholar and Vaishnava of north Bihar (Tirhut.) As he bowed, the Master greeted him with "Be thy mind fixed on Krishna,"—to the great delight of the Upadhyaya. At the Master's request he recited the verses of his own composition describing Krishna's deeds. [Verses.]

The Master had a transport of love as He listened

and urged the poet to proceed further. The Upadhyaya marvelled at such fervour, and knew Him to be Krishna himself and not a mortal. The Master asked, "Upadhyaya! what do you consider most excellent?" The poet replied, "Black in the best of colours." "Where is the best abode of the black complexion?" The poet answered, "Mathura is the best of cities." "Which is the best age—boyhood, maturity, or adolescence?" The Upadhyaya replied, "Adolescence is fit for our meditation." "Which do you think is the best among emotions?" "Sweetness (*madhur*) is the highest of all emotions (*rasa*.)" The Master remarked, "Thou hast taught me the true lore", and then in a tremulous voice recited Madhavendra Puri's verses (embodying the above answers.) In rapture He embraced the Upadhyaya, who began to dance in a frenzy of love.

Ballav Bhatta marvelled at the sight. With his two sons he fell down at the Master's feet. The villagers flocked thither to see Him, and at His sight became worshippers of Krishna. Ballav Bhatta stopped the Brahmans who were inviting the Master, saying, "This holy man jumped into mid-Jamuna in ecstasy. I must not detain Him here, but convey Him back to Prayag. Invite Him there, if you list." So saying he carried the Master across in the boat.

Avoiding the press of the people, the Master went to the Dashashwamedh ghat and there taught Rup about Krishna's essence, the path of *bhakti*, the lore of emo-

tions, the conclusions of the *Bhāgavat*. He imparted to Rup all the doctrines He had learnt from Rāmānanda, and infused (His own) force into Rup's heart, in order to make him a perfect doctor of Vaishnava theology. (Verses quoted from the *Chaitanya-chandrodaya*.)

Thanks to the Master's grace on them, Rup and Sanatan became objects of favour and pride to all His leading devotees and associates. Chaitany's attendants used to ask every one who returned to Bengal from Brindaban, "Tell us how Rup and Sanatan are living there. Tell us of their asceticism, their meals, their adoration of Krishna all day." Then praising the two, the returned pilgrims would answer, "The two are living homeless, sleeping every night under a different tree. In the Brahman houses they get coarse food, in contrast with the sweetmeats they formerly fed upon. They chew dry bread or gram, leaving all enjoyments. In their hands is the beggar's gourd, they are wrapped in tattered quilts ; they speak of Krishna, chant His name, dance, and exult. Throughout the day and night they recite Krishna's praise, and sleep for two hours, and sometimes, absorbed in the passion of chanting the name, they deny themselves even that short sleep. At times they compose works on *bhakti*, hear discourses about Chaitanya, and meditate on Him." These words greatly pleased the Fathers of the Church. What wonder [that such should be their life], when Chaitanya's grace was on them ?

Thus passing ten days at Prayag, the Master taught Rup and inspired him with strength, adding, "Listen, Rup! to the signs of a *bhākta*, which I shall describe in brief sentences, without going into detail. I speak to you only of one drop of the shoreless profound ocean of *bhakti*, in order to give you a smack of it. Behold in the universe countless beings that pass through 84 lakhs of births. The nature of a creature is as minute as a hundredth part of a hundredth part of the point of a hair. [Verses from the *Shruti-byākhyā*, and the *Panchadashi*, 83.]

O, immutable God! if we admit that bodied beings are measureless, eternal and omnipresent, then we cannot maintain the law that they are subject to you. Then the creatures, though subject to birth, will be law-givers unto themselves, even though they have not risen above their mortal nature. Those who say that God and beings are equal, know not thy true nature and their doctrines are false. (Bhagabat, X. lxxxvii. 26.)

Among creatures we must distinguish between the animate and the inanimate. Among the animate are many classes, such as sky-dwellers, land animals, water animals &c., men being only a minority of them. Eliminate from men the Mlechchhas, Pulindas, Baud-dhas, and Shabars; and from the followers of the Vedas one-half who follow the Vedas in lips only, doing sins condemned by the Vedas and disregarding piety. Among religious people many are devoted to

work [as the means of salvation.] For ten million men devoted to work we have one devoted to knowledge, and therefore superior to the former. Among ten million men devoted to knowledge we have only one liberated soul. And among ten million liberated souls hardly one devotee of Krishna is found. The *bhakta* of Krishna is passionless and tranquil,—while those who covet enjoyment, salvation or *siddhi* are perturbed. Witness the *Bhagabat*, VI. xiv. 4.

In roving through the universe, lucky is the man who gets the seed of the creeper of faith (*bhakti*) through the grace of his *guru* and Krishna. He sows the seed like a gardener, waters it with hearing and chanting [the holy name.] As the creeper grows it pierces through the universe, passes beyond the *Birajā Brahma* world to the *Parabyom*, and above that to the heavenly Brindaban, where it creeps up the wishing-tree of Krishna's feet, spreads and bears fruit in the form of love (*prem*).....If any sin against Vaishnavism is done, it uproots or tears the creeper like a wild elephant, its leaves wither. Then the gardener on earth carefully covers it, to save it from the elephant of sin. But if parasites, like love of enjoyment or salvation and countless others,—or forbidden practices like rubbish,—slaughter of living beings,—thirst of gain or fame, adhere to the creeper,—then these parasites flourish from the watering, while the main creeper's growth is arrested. Cut off the parasites first ; then only will the

main branch reach the heavenly Brindaban. When the mature fruit of love drops down, the gardener tastes it, and proceeding up the creeper he reaches the wishing-tree. There (in Vishnu's heaven) he tends the wishing-tree, and blissfully tastes the juice of the fruit of love. That is the highest fruit, the supreme human bliss, in comparison with which the four human attainments are as straw.....From pure faith is born love. Therefore I tell you of the signs of pure faith : Leaving all other desires, worship of others, knowledge and work, devote all your organs to help the cultivation of Krishna. This is pure faith, the source of love. Its signs are described in the *Narada Pancha Ratra* and the *Bhagabat*, III. xxix. 10—12 &c.

If one desires enjoyment, salvation, &c., he cannot kindle love, even by means of devotion (*sādhana*.) From the culture of *bhakti* ardour is born ; when ardour deepens it is called love (*prem.*) As love grows it is successively called *sneha*, *mān*, *pranaya*, *rāg*, *anurāg*, *bhāb*, *mahā-bhāb*,—just as we have successively cane-seed, sugarcane juice, molasses, sugar, and fine sugar-candy. All these are the enduring forms of *bhakti* in Krishna, if they are joined by provocation and addiction of mind. When the spiritual (*satwik*) and extensive (*byabhichāri*) emotions mingle together, *bhakti* in Krishna becomes a veritable nectar in taste,—just as curd, when mixed with sugar, ghee, pepper, and camphor, becomes deliciously sweet. In different *bhaktas*

the inclination (*rati*) assumes different forms, viz., the *hānta*, the *dāsya*, the *sakhya*, the *batsalya*, and the *madhur*. From these differences in the nature of the passion, the mood (*rasa*) of Krishna's love assumes five forms of the same name, which are called the chief *rasas*, while there are seven minor *rasas*, viz., the comic, the grotesque, the heroic, the pathetic, the rude, the horrible, and the fearful. The five former moods permanently occupy the minds of *bhaktas*; while the seven minor moods rise fitfully when they get a favourable occasion. The nine sages [who instructed king Nimi] and Sanak and others are examples of *bhaktas* of the *shānta* mood. Countless are the *bhaktas* everywhere who illustrate the *dāsya* mood. The *sakhya* mood is typified in Sridām and other [cow-boys] and in Bhim and Arjun of Hastinapur. The *bhaktas* of the *bātsalya* mood are father mother and other elders. Of the *madhur* mood of *bhakti*, the examples are chiefly the milkmaids of Brindaban, Krishna's queens, Lakshmi and countless others.

Again, ardour (*rati*) for Krishna is of two kinds : (1) accompanied by a sense of his Godhead, and (2) pure and simple. At Gokul the latter was displayed, free from any consciousness of his Godhead, while at Mathura, Dwarka, Baikuntha and other places the former prevailed. Where the sense of his Godhead is predominant, love [for him] is contracted; whereas the way of pure ardour is to disregard his Godhead even

when it is openly shown. In the *shanta* and *dasya* emotions this consciousness is shrunk up. When Krishna bowed at the feet of Basudev and Devaki, they were frightened by the sense of his Godhead. Witness the *Bhagabat*, X. xlv. 35.

Arjun was awe-struck at beholding the vision of Krishna as God, and begged his pardon for having treated him freely in the notion of a friend. Vide the *Gita*, xi. 41. When Krishna jested with Rukmini, she became mortally afraid lest he should quit her. Vide the *Bhagabat*, X. lx. 23.

The pure love called *kebalā* (unmixed) ignores his divinity, and in case it does recognise him as God, it disavows its loving connection with him. Vide the *Bhagabat*, X. viii. 35, ix. 12, xviii. 14, xxx. 32, xxxi. 16.

The *shānta rasa* consists in recognising the true nature of Krishna and fixing the mind on him only. Krishna has himself said, "Devoting the mind exclusively to me is the virtue of *shama*." Vide the *Bhagabat*, XI. xix. 33 :

'Shama consists in fixing the mind on me ; dama is control of the organs of the senses ; titikshā is endurance of sorrow ; and dhriti is checking what rises on the tongue.'

It is the duty of a *shānta* votary to give up thirst for everything except Krishna ; hence a *shānta* and a *bhakta* of Krishna are identical terms. Krishna's

devotee regards heaven and even salvation as no better than hell. Vide the *Bhagabat*, VI. xvii. 23.

Devotion to Krishna and conquest of desire are the two marks of a *shānta bhakta*. All the five kinds of *bhaktas* are necessarily marked by these qualities, just as sound, the attribute of the sky, is possessed by the other four elements also. A *shānta* votary's attachment to Krishna is like an odourless flower ; he has *only* acquired a true sense of God's nature, as the supreme spirit and divinity. The *dāsya* mood better develops the cognition of Krishna as the Lord of full powers. A *dās bhakta* constantly gratifies Krishna by serving him with a sense of his divinity, honour, and great glorification ; *dasya rasa* has the merit of the *shanta rasa* plus service, *i e.*, it has *two* merits. The *sakhya rasa* possesses these two merits [plus absolute trust in Krishna]. In *dasya* Krishna's service is marked by honour and glorification ; in *sakhya* by reliance.

A *sakhā bhakta* sits on Krishna's back, or carries him on his shoulders, or has a mock fight with him ; he serves Krishna and at times makes Krishna serve *him* ! The chief characteristic of the *sakhya rasa* is free comradery, without any feeling of respect or awe. So this *rasa* has *three* qualities ; in it Krishna is loved more ardently, as he is held equal to the *bhakta's* self ; hence this *rasa* captivates the good. In the *batsalya rasa* there are the above three qualities, plus tenderness, which in its excess leads to chiding and chastisement. Such a

devotee regards himself as the patron and Krishna as the *protegee*; his service takes the form of paternal care. This *rasa*, therefore has *four* qualities, and is like nectar....

In the *madhur rasa* all the above four qualities are present in a heightened form, and in addition to them the votary serves Krishna as a lover offering him his or her own person. Here *five* qualities are present. All the [four] emotions find their synthesis in the *madhur*, just as in the case of the five elements (sky, air, light, water and earth) the attributes of the first four are all united in the fifth. Hence is the *madhur rasa* of wondrous deliciousness. This emotion has been fully described. Reflect how to spread it. While meditating, Krishna will illuminate your heart. Through Krishna's grace, even an ignorant man reaches the furthest shore of the emotions."

So saying the Master embraced Rup and started for Benares next morning. Rup begged leave to accompany Him as he could not bear the pang of parting. But the Master objected, "Let me lay down your duty. You are now within easy reach of Brindaban; go there. Thence return to Bengal and join me at Puri." After giving him a (parting) embrace the Master embarked. Rup fell down there in a swoon. The Deccani Brahman took him to his house.

Then Rup and his brother went to Brindaban. When the Master reached Benares, Chandra Shekhar met Him

outside the village, as he had dreamt the previous night that the Master had come to his house and so he had come out of the village to wait for Him. Delighted to see the Master, he bowed at His feet and took Him home with him. At the news, Tapan Misra came to the Master; forming a select assembly he invited Him and made Him dine at his house. Chandra Shekhar invited Bhattacharya. After the feast Tapan Misra begged Him, "Grant me kindly one favour that I beg of thee. So long as thou stayest at Kashi do not dine anywhere except in my house." The Master accepted his invitation as He knew that He would stay for a week only and would not dine with hermits. He lodged with Chandra Shekhar. The Maratha Brahman and many good men of the Brahman and Kshatriya castes visited the Master.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Sanatan meets the Master and is taught of God's forms.

At Gaur Sanatan lay in prison, when to his delight he received Rup's letter. Then he spoke to his Muslim jailor : "You are a living saint, a very pious man, well-read in the *Quran*. [There it is written that] if a man ransoms a captive with his wealth, God gives him salvation. Formerly I had done you good turns ; now show your gratitude by releasing me. I offer you five thousand rupees. Accept the sum, and by setting me free gain both money and religious merit."

The Muslim replied, "Hark you, Sir, I can let you off, but I fear the sultan." Sanatan rejoined, "Fear not the sultan. He has gone to Orissa. If he comes back, tell him that when Sanatan was sent to the bank of the Ganges to ease himself, he jumped into the river, sank down with his fetters, and could not be traced after much search. Fear not, I shall not live in this country, but turn *darvesh* and go to Mecca." The Muhammadan was still reluctant. So Sanatan heaped up seven thousand rupees before him, at the sight of which his greed was roused. At night (he connived at) Sanatan's escape across the river after filing off his fetters. Sanatan avoided the road by Teliya Garhi, the gate of Bengal, and travelling day and

night entered the Pátrá hills. There he besought a landowner to guide him over the hill. A palmist present with the landowner whispered to him that Sanatan had eight gold coins with himself. At this the man gladly promised to convey Sanatan over the hill by his own servants at night and asked him to prepare his meal in the meantime. With marks of honour he gave him rice. Sanatan bathed in the river, broke his two days' fast, and reflected, "Why does this landowner show respect to me?" Then he asked [his attendant] Ishán if he had any property with himself, Ishan replied, "Seven gold coins". At this Sanatan rebuked him saying, "Why have you brought this deadly thing with yourself?" Then he gave the seven pieces to the landowner and sweetly said, "Take these from me and honestly conduct me over the hill. I am a run-away from the king's prison and cannot take the Telia Garhi road. You will acquire merit if you help me to cross the hill." The landowner replied, "I knew before that your servant had eight gold pieces with him, and I had determined to murder you at night for the money. It is well that you have told me of the money, and so I have been saved from the sin of murder. I am so pleased that I shall not take the coins, but guide you gratis for the sake of merit."

But Sanatan urged, "Some one else will murder me for the money. Accept it and save my life." Then the landowner sent four footmen of his own, who led Sana-

tan across the hill by the forest paths at night. Emerging from the hill Sanatan asked Ishan, "I know you have still something left." "Yes, one gold coin," answered Ishan. Sanatan said, "Return home with it." So, leaving him, the holy man set out alone, a bowl in his hand, a tattered quilt on his back, and (therefore) fearless (of robbers).

In course of time he reached Hajipur, and in the evening sat down in a garden. His brother-in-law, Srikánta, a royal officer, lived here, entrusted by the sultan with three lakhs of rupees to buy and despatch horses. From a height he discerned Sanatan, and at night came to him with only one attendant. The two had a friendly meeting, and Sanatan told the tale of his escape. Srikanta said, "Stay here a day or two. Put on decent robes and cast off your rags." Sanatan replied, "No, I shall not linger a minute here. Help me to cross the Ganges, I shall go away at once." Srikanta with care gave him a Bhutia blanket and ferried him over.

Sanatan in time reached Benares, where he was glad to hear of the Master's arrival. Going to Chandra Shekhar's house, he sat down at the gate. The Master, knowing it, told Chandra Shekhar, "There is a Vaishnava at the gate. Bring him in." Chandra Shekhar reported to the Master that there was no Vaishnava but only a *darvesh* at the gate. The Master replied, "Well, bring him in." Glad to be called, Sanatan entered. When he was in the court-yard, the Master rushed out and

embraced him in rapture. At His touch Sanatan was overcome by love and cried out in a faltering voice, "Touch me not! touch me not!" The two wept ceaselessly, clasping each other's necks, to the wonder of Chandra Shekhar. Then the Master took him by the hand and seated him by His side on the *verandah* of the house, stroking Sanatan's body with His own hands. Sanatan cried, "Touch me not, Master!" but the Master answered, "I touch you to purify myself. Through the strength of your faith you can cleanse the whole universe. Witness the *Bhagabat*, I. xiii. 8, VII. ix. 9. By seeing, touching, and praising a *bhakta* like you, all my senses are gratified, as the scripture asserts. Vide the *Hari-Bhakti-Sudhodaya*, XIII. 2."

The Master continued, "Listen, Sanatan! Krishna is very kind, the saviour of the fallen. He has delivered you from the worst hell (*rauraba*). Limitless and profound is the ocean of his mercy." Sanatan objected, "I know not Krishna. I recognise your grace as having effected my deliverance." Then at the Master's request he told the whole story of his flight. The Master told him, "I met both your brothers, Rup and Anupam, at Prayag. They have gone to Brindaban." Then He introduced Sanatan to Tapan Misra and Chandra Shekhar. Tapan Misra invited him, the Master adding, "Go, Sanatan, shave yourself," and telling Chandra Shekhar to take away the rags of Sanatan. They made him bathe in the

Ganges, and Chandra Shekhar gave him a new garment, which he refused to accept. At this the Master was delighted exceedingly.

After His noon-day prayer, the Master went with Sanatan to dine at Tapan Misra's house. As He sat down to His meal He ordered the Misra to serve Sanatan also, but he replied, "Sanatan has some rites to perform. You dine first. I shall give him your *prasāda*." After dinner the Master rested. The Misra gave Sanatan His leavings and offered him a new cloth, which Sanatan declined to accept, asking instead for one of the Misra's old clothes. So the Misra gave him an old cloth, which he cut into a waistband and wrapper.

Sanatan was introduced by the Master to the Maratha Brahman, who gave him a general invitation to dinner during the whole of his stay at Kashi. But Sanatan declined saying, "I shall rove (begging alms) like the bee. Why should I procure all my food from one Brahman's house?"

Exceedingly pleased was the Master at Sanatan's detachment from the world, and He often cast glances at the Bhutia blanket, from which Sanatan guessed that He disapproved of it. So Sanatan planned to get rid of the blanket. When he went to the Ganges to perform his noon-day rites, he met a Bengali drying his quilt, and asked him to exchange it for his blanket, as a favour. The man retorted

"Why are you, a venerable man, mocking me? Why should you exchange your costly blanket for a quilt?" Sanatan replied, "I am not joking but am in earnest. Do make the exchange." So saying he gave up the blanket, placed the quilt on his shoulders and came to Chaitanya. At the Master's query he told the whole tale. The Master remarked, "I have thought of it. Krishna, who has delivered you from attachment to earthly goods, cannot have left a remnant of that attachment in you. No good physician leaves even a trace of the disease unremoved. You were living on alms from door to door, and yet there was a three rupee blanket on your back! It spoiled your virtue and made you a mock unto the beholders." Sanatan replied, "He who has released me from worldly ties has also cured this last remnant of worldliness in me."

The pleased Master showed grace to him, and thus emboldened him to put questions. Formerly the Master had put questions to Ramananda Ray, which the latter had answered under His inspiration. So, now, inspired by the Master, Sanatan put questions, while He established spiritual truths.

Then Sanatan, biting a blade of grass as a token of abjectness, clasped the Master's feet and said, "Low-born, with low comrades, a fallen wretch, I have wasted my life, plunged in the well of vile worldliness. I know nothing of my own good or evil,

but I have held as truth whatever was approved in vulgar practice. As you have graciously saved me, tell me of your grace what my duties are. Who am I? Why are the three afflictions (*topa*) oppressing me? I know not what will do me good. I know not even how to ask about the truth of *sadhya* and *sadhan*. Do you of your own accord, unfold all these truths to me." The Master replied, "Full is Krishna's grace to you. You know all the truths and are not subject to the three afflictions. You are strong in Krishna's strength, you know the truths already. It is the nature of *sadhus* to inquire about what they know, only to confirm it.

You are a proper agent for preaching *bhakti*. Listen to all the truths as I tell them in due order :

The soul of man is the eternal servant of Krishna. The *tatasthā* power of Krishna manifests differences [between the creator and his creatures],—just as a ray of the sun transforms itself into a flame of fire. Krishna has by nature three powers : viz., the *chid*, the life, and the illusion powers. Vide the *Vishnu Purana* I. xxix. 50, VI. vii. 60, I. iii. 2, VI. vii. 61, the *Gita* VII. 5, 14, and the *Bhagabat*, XI. ii. 35.

When a creature forgets Krishna, his face is ever turned to external things, and therefore under the influence of illusion he undergoes the misery of being born in the world, now rising to heaven, now sinking to hell, just as a criminal is ducked in water by royal command.

If under the teaching of true scripture, a man turns to Krishna, he is saved, he gets rid of illusion. A creature labouring under illusion remembers not Krishna. So Krishna kindly created the Vedas and Puranas. He makes himself known through scripture, *guru*, and the soul; and man comes to realise 'Krishna is my lord and saviour.' The Vedas treat of Relation, Epithet, and Needs; that Relation is the attaining of Krishna, faith is the means of this attainment; the epithets are his names; love is the (supreme) need, the most precious treasure and the highest achievement of humanity. *Madhur* service is the means of gaining Krishna; by serving him we can enjoy the relish of him. The following parable will illustrate it: An all-knowing seer visited a poor man and seeing his misery said, 'Why are you so poor? Your father has left you a large legacy. He died elsewhere and therefore could not inform you of it.' At these words the man began to hunt for his treasure. In the same manner the *Vedas* and *Puranas* instruct men about Krishna.....The counsel of the seer is the source, the treasure is the consequence. By his own knowledge the man could not attain to his father's treasure—the seer had to tell him the method of discovering it: 'Here lies the treasure. If you dig in the south, hornets will rise and not money. If you dig west a gnome will show itself and hinder you. In the north your diggings will discover a dark serpent, which will swallow you up. But by

digging a little on the east side you will get the pots of treasure.' Similarly the *shastras* assert that leaving work, knowledge and abstraction (*yoga*), one can influence Krishna by faith alone. Vide the *Bhagabat*, XI. xiv. 19 & 20.

Therefore is faith the only means of gaining Krishna, and it is described in all *shastras* as *avidheya*. As wealth gives pleasure and drives away sorrow of itself, so *bhakti* kindles love of Krishna, and when love is turned to Krishna man is freed from bondage to the world. The fruit of love is not riches or the cessation of re-birth, but its chief object is the enjoyment of the beatitude of loving.....

In the *Vedas* and other *shāstras* Krishna is asserted as the chief relation (*sambandha*); knowledge of him incidentally removes the chain of illusion.....

The propositions of the *Vedas* proclaim Krishna only, except in regard to the main and minor courses (*britti*) and *anwaya*. Vide the *Bhagabat*, XI. xxi. 40-42.

Infinite is the nature of Krishna, infinite his powers viz., *chid*, illusion, and life. Heaven and the universes are the works of his powers. Krishna is the repository of essence, power and work. Vide the *Bhagabat*, X. i. 1. Sridhar Swami's commentary.

Listen, Sanatan! to a demonstration of Krishna's nature. In Braja, the darling of Braja's lord is (the embodiment of) the truth about the recognition of one God without a second. He is the beginning of all

a particle of all, the best of youths, the incarnation of *chid* and *ānanda*, the refuge of all, the lord of all! Vide the *Brahma samhita*, V. 1.

Krishna is God Himself. Govinda is the name of the Most High. His eternal abode, *Goloka*, is full of all divine attributes. Vide the *Bhagabat*, I. iii. 28.

By means of the three *Sadhanas*, viz, knowledge, abstraction (*yoga*), and faith, Krishna manifests himself in the three forms of Brahma, Atma, and Bhagabān. Vide the *Bhagabat*, I. ii. 11.

Krishna as Brāhma appears in a general (or universal) form, just as the Sun appears to our eyes as an (indistinguishable) mass of light. Vide the *Brahma Samhita*, V. 46.

The Supreme Atma is the particle of Krishna, who is the soul of souls. Vide the *Bhagabat*, X. xiv. 53, and the *Gita*, X. 42.

Full is the perception of God through *bhakti*. One God, he assumes countless forms, of which the first three are (1) the *swayam* form, (2) the *tadekātma* form, and (3) the *ābesh* form. In the first form he appeared as Krishna, the cowboy of Brindaban, and as such he was perceived in two ways: (1) *prabhāb* and (2) *baibhāb*. In the former of these, his one body multiplied itself into many identical ones, as during the *rāsa* dalliance and the marriages with his queens. Vide the *Bhagabat*, X. lxix. 2.

But if that body and shape are multiplied in diverse

ways [instead of being exact reproductions], under the influence of different passions, it is called *baibhaba*. In the infinite manifestations, Krishna's image is not changed; only his shape, colour, and weapons differ and so he gets a different name in each case. Vide the *Bhagabat*, X. xl. 7.

Krishna's *baibhaba* form is Balarám, who was just like Krishna, differing in complexion only. Another case is Krishna as Devaki's son; now appearing with two arms, now with four: here the two-armed form is an example of the *baibhaba* manifestation, and the four-armed that of the *prābhava*.

In the *swayam* form he appeared as a cow-herd, and believed himself to be a cow-herd; or when as Basudeva's son he gave himself out as a Kshatriya and dressed as such. In Krishna as the cow-herd, his beauty, divinity, sweetness, and wisdom were most displayed. But Krishna as the son of Basudeva envied the sweetness of Krishna the cow-herd, and longed to taste it; as at beholding the *Gandharba* dance at Mathura, (Vide *Lalita Madhava*, IV. 10), or, again, at beholding the pictures at Dwarka (*Ibid*, VIII. 28).

The same body assumes different shapes under different emotions (*ābhāsa*.) The difference of appearance due to difference of emotions is called the *tadekāṭma* form. It manifests itself in two ways, viz., (a) *bilāsa* and (b) *swāmsha*, each of which has different phases. *Bilāsa* can take the forms of *prābhava* and

baibhāba ; and the *bilāsa* forms of *bilāsa* are infinite. Of the *prābhāba bilāsa* the chief examples are Vāsudev, Sankarshan, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha. In Brindaban he took the form of a cow-herd, in the city of Balaram that of a Kshatriya. These differences of caste and dress are examples of *bilāsa*. In the *baibhāba prakāsha* and the *prābhāba bilāsa* the same figure becomes Balaram. The first "four figures" cannot equal him (Balaram?); he is the cause of the manifestation of infinite "four figures". These four *prābhāba bilāsa* forms of Krishna dwell eternally in Dwarka and Mathura. From these four are derived 24 figures, named differently according to differences of weapons, by the operation of *baibhāba bilāsa*.

Again, Krishna drawing the "four figures" within himself, sits as his former self, Narayan, in the highest sphere. From this (Narayan) four other figures appear and dwell on the four sides as screens. Each of these four has three figures, such as Keshav and others, as expressions of *bilāsa*. These bear different names according to the weapons they hold : Vasudev's forms are Keshav, Narayan, and Madhav ; Sankarshan's forms are Govinda, Vishnu, and Madhusudan. This is another Govinda and not the darling of Braja's lord. Pradyumna's manifestations are Tribikram, Vaman, and Sridhar ; Aniruddha's Hrishikesh, Padmanāv, and Dāmodar. These twelve are the tutelary gods of the twelve months of the year, e. g., Keshav in Agrahayan, Narayan

in Paush, Govinda in Falgun, Vishnu in Chaitra, Madhusudan in Baishakh, Tribikram in Jyaishta, Vaman in Ashadh, Sridhar in Sraban, Hrishikesh in Bhadra, Padmanav in Ashwin, and Damodar in Kartik. The last is different from the Child of Braja, the Damodar of Radha. These twelve names are *mantras* for 12 *tilaks*; at the time of ablution touch each spot [of the body] at the mention of its respective name [out of the above].

Each of the four has eight *vilasas*, which I shall name to thee, O, Sanatan! The *vilasas* of Vāsudev are Adhokshaja and Purushottam; those of Sankarshan, Upendra and Achyuta; those of Pradyumna, Nrisinha and Janardan; those of Aniruddha, Hari and Krishna. These twenty-four figures are the chief examples of the *prābhava vilāsa*, and assume different names according to the weapons they hold. Those out of them who have different figures and dresses, are differentiated by the *baibhava vilāsa*. Padmanāv, Tribikram, Nrisinha Vaman, Hari, Krishna, etc. are distinct (*vilakshan*) in shape.

Krishna's *prabhava vilasa* forms are Vāsudev and the other three. Twenty are the *vilasas* of these four. Each of them has a separate heaven in the highest sphere, every three occupying one of the eight points (of the compass).

Though the highest sphere is the permanent abode of them all, yet some of them live on earth (*brahmānda*). Narayan ever dwells in the centre of

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the supreme sphere. Krishna's abode is above that sphere. This Krishna-world is of three kinds: named Gokul, Mathura and Dwarka. At Mathura Keshav dwells, at Puri dwells Purushottam surnamed Jagannath, at Prayag Madhav, on the Mandar (hill) Madhusudan, in the Anand forest Vasudev, Padmanav and Janardan, in Vishnu-Kanchi dwells Vishnu, at Mayapur Hari, and so other figures dwell in other spots of the earth. Thus, they manifest themselves in the world, and sport in the seven islands and nine continents (which make up the world). Everywhere he appears to give bliss to his devotees, and to establish the true religion in the world after destroying the false. Some of these are called incarnations, namely Vishnu, Tribikram, Nrisinha, and Vaman.

They get different names from differences in their weapons. Listen, Sanatan, to the particulars about the bearing of weapons. From the lower right arm to the lower left arm is the order of proceeding in furnishing weapons. The *Siddharta Samhita* describes 24 images, according to which I tell you the arrangement of weapons:—

VASUDEV wields the club, conchshell, discus, and lotus [counting from the lower right to the lower left arm].

SANKARSHAN—club, conchshell, lotus, and discus.

PRADYUMNA—conchshell, discus, club and lotus.

NIRUDDHA—discus, club, conchshell, and lotus. In the highest sphere, Vasudev and others have their peculiar weapons which I now describe.

- KESHAV—lotus, conchshell, discus, and club.
 NARAYAN—conchshell, lotus, club and discus.
 MADHAV—club, discus, conchshell and lotus.
 GOVINDA—discus, club, lotus, and conchshell.
 VISHNU—club, lotus, discus, and conchshell.
 MADHUSUDAN—conchshell, discus, lotus, and club.
 TRIBIKRAM—lotus, club, discus, and conchshell.
 VAMAN—conchshell, discus, club, and lotus.
 SRIDHAR—lotus, discus, club, and conchshell.
 HRISHIKESH—club, conchshell, lotus, and discus.
 PADMANAV—conchshell, lotus, discus, and club.
 DAMODAR—lotus, conchshell, club, and discus.
 PURUSHOTTAM—discus, lotus, conchshell, and club.
 ACHYUT—club, lotus, conchshell, and discus.
 NRISINHA—discus, lotus, club, and conchshell.
 GADADHAR—conchshell, lotus, discus, and club.
 HARI—conchshell, discus, club, and lotus.
 KRISHNA—conchshell, club, discus, and lotus.
 ADHOKSHAJA—club, lotus, conchshell, and discus.
 UPENDRA—conchshell, club, lotus, and discus. In the *Haya-
shirsha Pancharatra* the sixteen figures are des-
 cribed in a different manner, viz.;
 KESHAV—lotus, conchshell, club, and discus.
 MADHAV—discus, club, lotus, and conchshell. And so also in
 the other incarnations the arrangement is different.

The darling of Braja's lord bears the two names "God Himself" and "The Perfect Man in play." The names [he bore] when manifesting himself in the city [of Dwarka, are well known] everywhere: his nine figures appeared as a *nava-byuha*.

Thus far as regards the *prakāsh bilās*. Now I shall speak of the *swāmsha* forms viz., *sankarshan*, *matsya*

purusha, lilā, gūna, manwantar, yuga, shakti-abesh, bālya, pauganda, etc. Endless are the incarnations of Krishna, beyond numbering, like the petty moons that appear on taking a bird's eye view. *Bhagabat*, I. iii. 26. First Krishna appears as *purusha*, which again has three forms (*Ibid*, II. vi. 40, Sridhar Swami's commentary). Among the endless powers of Krishna three are chief, viz., will, action, and knowledge. Will predominates in Krishna, who creates everything by his will ; in Vasudev knowledge preponderates. Without these three powers creation is impossible ; their union has created cosmos (*prapancha*) In Sankarshan Balaram action-power prevails ; he creates the natural and unreal worlds. In Krishna's will is the seat of self-consciousness (*ahamkāra*), and he creates the Golak Baikuntha by means of the *chid* power. Though the *chid* power is eternal and uncreatable, yet at the will of Sankarshan it manifests itself. (*Brahma Samhita*, V. 2.) By means of illusion he creates the species of the world. Inanimate Nature is not the creative cause of the world, as the inanimate cannot create without the aid of God's power. Sankarshan pours his own power forth into Nature, who creates by means of God's power, just as iron gets from fire the power of burning. (*Bhagabat*, X. xlvi. 22)

For the purpose of creation that figure descends to cosmos. That divine image takes the name of incarnation. All [forms of God] dwell in the supreme sphere beyond the reach of illusion, but when any of

them descends to earth, it is called an incarnation. In order to behold illusion, Sankarshan first descends to earth as *purusha*. (*Ibid*, I. iii. 1, II. vi. 40.)

That *purusha* reclines in *birajā* ; he is the sleeper in the *kāraṇa* ocean, and the cause of the world. On the shore of that ocean illusion ever dwells. It cannot go beyond *birajā* to the highest sphere. (*Ibid*, II. ix. 10.) Illusion has two methods (*britti*), viz., illusion and the chief (*pradhān*).

He dwells in the hearts of all creatures of the worlds. He reclines in the ocean of cause (*kāraṇ*) and is the lord of the whole universe. Such is the character of the First *Purusha*. Listen now to the glory of the second *Purusha*. He created endless millions of worlds and in a moment entered into them in many forms. Entering there, he found it all dark, without space to dwell in. So he reflected and filled half the world with his own sweat. In that water he lay on the Shesha serpent. A lotus sprouted up from his navel, in which Brahma was born. Fourteen worlds constitute the stem of that lotus.

As Brahma he (the Second *Purusha*) created the world. As Vishnu he supports it. Vishnu is beyond attributes (*guṇa*), untouched by illusion. As Rudra he destroys the world. Creation, support and destruction follow from his will ; Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva are the incarnations of his (different) attributes for these three purposes. The Vedas hymn him as Hiranya-garva, Antar-yāmi, Garvodakashāyi, Sahasrashirsha, etc. Such

is the Second *Purusha* lord of the universe, the refuge of illusion and yet himself beyond illusion. The Third *Purusha* is Vishnu, the embodiment of attributes. He is comprehended in two incarnations. He dwells in the heart of the vast *byashti* creation. He reclines in the ocean of thick milk, and is the supreme nourisher.

So far as to the *Purusha* incarnations. Now listen about the *lilā* incarnations. Krishna's *lilā* incarnations are beyond count. I shall give a general view of the chief ones. The *Puranas* mention the Fish, the Tortoise, Rám, Man-lion, Dwarf, Boar, and [four] others. (*Bhagabat*, X. ii. 34)

Such is the rapid survey of the *lilā* incarnations. Now let me describe the *guna* incarnations. They are Brahmá Vishnu and Shiva, who by assuming the three attributes (of creation, support and destruction) perform creation and other feats. Some most excellent man by the merit of his *bhakti* inspires Krishna's mind with the *rajas* quality. (Then) Krishna assumes the form of Brahma and makes the *byashti* creation, after impregnating that man with power by means of the Garvodaka-sháyí. (*Brahma Samhita*, V. 50). If in any epoch such a worthy man is not to be had, then God Himself becomes Brahma in part. (*Bhagabat* X. lxxviii. 26).

In the phase of *swámsha*, Krishna assuming the *tamas* quality, joins Illusion and takes the form of Rudra the Destroyer. This transformation he under-

goes as the result of his conjunction with Illusion, just as an acid turns milk into curd, but no substance other than milk can be transformed into milk. (*Brahma Samhita*, V. 51). Shiva is the comrade of the Illusion power and subject to the *tamas* quality, while Vishnu is the Supreme God, above Illusion, above quality. (*Bhagabat*, X. lxxxviii. 2 and 4).

For the work of supporting [creation] he is incarnate as *swámsha* Vishnu,—an example of the *satwa* quality, but beyond quality and illusion. This Vishnu is full of *swarup* divine nature, and almost the equal of Krishna, as both Krishna and Vishnu are parts (of the Supreme God) according to the *Vedas*. (*Brahma Samhita*, V. 52).

Brahma and Shiva are obedient and devoted incarnations [of Krishna], while Vishnu the Preserver is the essential [or identical] form of Krishna. (*Bhagabat*, II. vi. 30).

Sanatan! attend now to the account of the *manwantar* incarnations, which are numberless. One day of Brahmá constitutes fourteen cycles (*manwantar*), in which God manifests fourteen incarnations,—*i.e.*, there are 14 in one day, 420 in a month, and 5040 incarnations in one year of Brahmá. Brahma's life extends to 100 years, and therefore the cycle-incarnations during it number 5 lakhs and four thousands.

Count [if you can] the number of such incarnations in the numberless Brahmá's worlds. A single breath of the

Great Vishnu is a lifetime to Brahma. There is no limit to the breath of Great Vishnu. Hear the name of each of the fourteen *manwantar avatārs* (cycle incarnations) :—

In the SWAYAMBHUBA—Yajna.

- „ SWAROCHISHA—Bibhu.
- „ UTTAMA—Satyasena.
- „ TAMAS—Hari.
- „ RAIBATA—Baikuntha.
- „ CHAKSHUSHA—Ajita.
- „ BAIBASWATA—Vaman.
- „ SABARNA—Sarbabhauma.
- „ DAKSHA SABARNA—The Rishavas.
- „ BRAHMA SABARNA—Bishwaksena.
- „ DHARMA SABARNA—Dharma setu.
- „ RUDRA SABARNA—Sudhama.
- „ DEVA SABARNA—Yogeshwar.
- „ INDRA SABARNA—Brihadbhanu.

Now listen to the *yuga-avatars*. In the four ages, Satya, Tretá, Dwápar, and Kali, Krishna assumes the four colours, white, red, black, and yellow, to do the needful of the age. (*Bhagabat*, X. viii. 9.)

In the Satya Yuga, he, in a white form, enforces meditation as *dharma*, and blessed Kardam [the son of Brahmá,] while people of knowledge meditate on Krishna. In the Treta Yuga, he makes men perform sacrifices, by himself assuming a red complexion. In the Dwápar Yuga, man's duty is to adore the feet of Krishna, and in this age he assumes a black complexion. (*Bhagabat*, XI. v. 25 and 27.) This *mantra* should be followed in Dwápar in adoring Krishna.

In the Kali Yuga man's duty is the singing of Krishna's name. This he inculcated by assuming a yellow colour, and in the company of his *bhaktas* taught men love and faith. The darling of Brajás lord instituted the religion (of the age); and men in love sang and danced. (*Bhagabat*, XI. v. 29).

The (chanting of the) name of Krishna produces the same fruit in the Kali Yuga, that meditation &c., did in the previous three ages. (*Bhagabat*, XII. iii. 43 and 44, *Vishnu Purana*, VI. ii. 17, *Bhagabat*, XI. v. 33).

The *guna avatars* are beyond computation."

Hearing the above, Sanátan with pretended ignorance asked, "I am a petty creature, low-born and low-mannered. How shall I recognise the true incarnation of the Kali Yuga?" He was a royal minister, clever like Brihaspati. Through the Master's grace he put the question without any hesitation. The Master replied, "We know the other incarnations from the scriptures. So, too, is the case with the incarnation of the Kali Yuga. We creatures know only from the words of sages proving the *shastras*. No incarnation ever says 'I am the incarnation'; it is the sages who knowing all discern the marks of incarnation (*Bhagabat*, X. x. 30).

Swarup and *tatastha* are two signs by which sages recognise a thing. The appearance and character are

the *swarup* sign and the actions form the *tatastha* sign. (Vyása in the hymn at the beginning of his *Bhagabat*, I. i. i.).

In the above verse the word *param* points at Krishna, while the term *satyam* describes his nature (*swarup*). After creating the universe, Krishna taught the Vedas to Brahma. By his *swarup* force of 'knowledge of meaning' he dispelled illusion. These acts are his *tatastha* marks. So, too, do sages recognise the marks in other incarnations. When he incarnates himself, the world recognises him by these two signs."

Sanatan urged. "He in whom God's marks are manifest, *vis.* a yellow complexion and actions like the preaching of love and *sankirtan*, is certainly the incarnation of Krishna in the Kali Yuga. Confirm it and dispel my doubt."

The Master replied, "Away with your tricks, Sanatan! Listen to the account of the *shakti-ābeshā* incarnations, which are endless in number, so that I shall take a rapid survey and mention the chief ones only. It is of two kinds: major and minor. In the actual power he is an incarnation, in *ābhāsa* we see only his attributes (*bibhuti*.) Sanak, Narad, Prithu, Parashuram and others are the *ābeshā* incarnations of Brahmā as Creature. In Baikuntha the Shesha snake and on earth the Ananta snake support him. These major *ābeshā avatars* have no limit as regards their extent. In Sanak and others the knowledge-power

[of God] is manifested, in Narad the faith-power, in Brahmá the creative power, in Ananta the earth-supporting power, in Shesha the self-sucking power, in Prithu the supporting-power, in Parashurám the power to destroy the wicked. His *bibhuti* has been described in the *Gita*, canto XI., where Krishna overspread the whole world by his *shakti-bhāba-abesha* (*Gita*, X. 41 and 42)

So much for the *shakti-abesha* incarnations. Now listen to the account of the childhood and manhood cults (*dharma*.) The darling of Braja's lord is the child God. When he wishes to perform this *lilā* openly he first sends down (to earth) his parents and followers, and then manifests himself by assuming birth. He goes through the slaying of Putná and other feats one after another. Numberless are his worlds. Who can narrate what feats he performs in each of them? These feats are (countless) like the billows of the Ganges, and all of them are performed by the darling of Braja's lord. From childhood he advances to youth and adolescence, performing the *rasa* and other sports; but [to the *bhakta*] he ever remains a lad (*kishor*).

All the *shastras* speak of Krishna's *lilās* as eternal. But it passes your understanding how feats can be eternal? An example will make it clear to men. It can be proved from the analogy of astronomy that Krishna's *lilās* are eternal. In the Zodiac the Sun revolves incessantly round the seven Islands and Oceans

in 60 *dandas*, equal to 3 600 *palas*. Counting from the sunrise, eight *dandas* make one *prahar*, and four *prahars* the period after which the Sun sets. Similarly Krishna's *lilas* go through a cycle in the fourteen æons (*manwantar*) during which he completes the circle of the universe. One hundred and twentyfive years are the duration of Krishna's evident incarnation (*prakat prakash*), like his life at Brindaban. The cycle of *lilas* turns round and round like a lathe, all the *lilas* from birth [in prison] to the *maushal*, being performed in the different worlds in succession. When a *lila* happens in a particular world, the *Vedas* and *Puranas* speak of it as constant there. The Golok [heaven] and Gokul are like Krishna himself ; at his will [the attributes of] these places are communicated to every world. Hence we can say that Krishna lives eternally in Golok, while his successive manifestations take place in the worlds.

Krishna of Brindaban is *fullest* as regards the expression of divine attributes ; in the two cities [Mathura and Dwarka] and in the highest sphere he is respectively *fuller* and *full*. (Vide the *Bhakti-rasamrita sindhu*, II. 110, 111, and 112).

Krishna of Brindaban is the most perfect [manifestation of] God. His other forms are less perfect in comparison."

CHAPTER XIX.

On the sweetness of Krishna's attributes.

[The Master continued His teaching of Sanatan thus :]

“God in His all-embracing form dwells in the highest Space (*para-byoma*). The diverse Baikunthas are beyond count. The extent of each Baikuntha is millions and millions of miles. *Ananda* inspired by *chid* fills all the Baikunthas. All of [His] attendants are filled with the six attributes (*aishwaryya*). The endless Baikunthas and Space are His retinue ; above all of them is Krishna's Heaven, like the seed-pod of the lotus. Thus, [Krishna's] six attributes are [only] places of [His] incarnation. Even Brahma and Shiva cannot count them, what to speak of men ! Vide the *Bhagabat*, X. xiv. 21, Brahma's hymn to Krishna.

Thus Krishna's celestial attributes are endless ; Brahmá, Shiva, Sanak and others cannot see their end. Vide the *Bhagabat*, X. xiv. 7.

What to speak of Brahma and others, even Ananta with his thousand tongues, is eternally singing [of his attributes] without being able to finish them. Vide *Bhagabat*, II. vii. 40.

Even Krishna, the omniscient and supreme being, cannot find the end of his own attributes, but remains

eagerly longing [to know of them]. Vide *Bhagabat*, X. lxxxvii. 37.

The mind fails to comprehend his exploits, even of the time when he incarnated himself in Brindaban. At one and the same time he created the natural and the supernatural groups of cow-herds and kine, as described in *Bhagabat*, X. xiii and xiv], countless Baikuntha-born embryos, with their respective Lords. Such a marvel is heard of no other [god]. The hearing of it makes the heart overcome [with rapture]. In that miracle of his every one of the millions and millions of calves, cowboys, their rods, pipes, horns, clothes and ornaments,—all assumed the form of the four-armed Lord of Baikuntha, each with a separate universe, and Brahma adored him. From the body of *one* Krishna *all* these appeared! And after a moment they all disappeared in that body! The sight amazed and fascinated Brahmá, and after hymning [to Krishna], he declared this, 'Let him who says that he knows the full extent of Krishna's power, know it. But as for me, I admit with my all my body and mind that not a drop of this endless ocean of your power is cognisable by my speech or intellect!' Vide *Bhagabat*, X. xiv. 36.

Many are the glories of Krishna ; who can know them? Think of the wondrous quality of the place Brindaban : the *shastras* speak of it as 32 miles in extent, and yet in one corner of it the embryos of the universe floated ! Krishna's divine power is boundless beyond calculation..

The Master, Himself the ocean of divine attributes, was seized with ecstasy in speaking of Krishna's divine attributes; His mind became absorbed in the subject and He lost consciousness. He (then) recited *Bhagabat*, III. ii. 21, and expounded it, relishing with delight its sense. "Krishna is the Supreme Deity, God Himself. None else is greater than He or even equal to Him. Vide *Brahma Samhita*, V. 1. Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva,—the lords of creation, [preservation, and destruction],—all obey Krishna; He is their suzerain. Vide *Bhagabat*, II. vi. 30.

Hear the meaning of the phrase *unequalled Supreme Lord*: Three *purusha* incarnations are the causes of the universe, *viz.*, Maha-Vishnu, Padmanava, Kshirodak Swami. These three occupy the souls of everything, gross or subtle. These three are the refuge of all, and the lords of the universe. And yet they are mere particles of Krishna, who is supreme [over them]. Vide *Brahma Samhita*, V. 54.

This interpretation is only external. Listen to the esoteric sense. The shastras speak of three abodes of Krishna, *viz.*, Antahpur, Goloka, and Brindaban, in which [last] ever dwell [His] parents and friends; where He manifested His sweet attributes, tenderness, mercy, &c; where the illusion of *yoga* was His bondmaid, and where *rāsa* and other exploits took place.

Below it the Supreme Space named Vishnu's Heaven, where dwell Narayana and other eternal forms

of Him, is situated. The middle abode of Krishna is the store-house of the six attributes, where He dwells in His eternal form (*ananta*). The Baikunthas are endless, and there the rooms and attendants (even) are full of the six attributes. Vide *Brahma Samhita*, V. 49, [and other Sanskrit verses].

Below it is His external abode, beyond the *Birajā*, where the universes are endless, and the rooms are illimitable. It is named Debidham, where creatures dwell. The Lakshmi of the Universe nourishes it ; illusion dwells there as His slave.

In these three places does Krishna dwell as the Supreme Lord, viz., Goloka, the Supreme Space, and Nature. The region where He manifests His *chid* power is called the Three-fold Divinity (*tripād aishwaryya*), whereas the places of the display of His power of illusion are called One-fold (*ekapād*).

The Three-fold Divinity of Krishna is beyond speech. Hear, therefore, of the One-fold Divinity. All the Brahmas and Shivas of the eternal universe are embraced by the term 'eternal rulers of spheres' (*chira-loka-pāla*). One day Brahmá came to Dwarka to see Krishna ; the porter took the message to Krishna, who asked "Which Brahmá ? What is his name ?" The porter returned and asked Brahmá, who replied in amazement, "Go, tell him, it is the four-headed father of Sanak." After taking Krishna's permission, the porter introduced him. Brahma prostrated himself

at Krishna's feet, who showed him honour and reverence and asked for the reason of his visit. Brahma replied, "I shall tell you of that afterwards. First solve one problem of my mind. What did you mean by asking 'Which Brahma?' What Brahma other than I can there be in the universe?" At this Krishna smiled and plunged in meditation, and immediately innumerable troops of Brahmas came there,—some with ten heads, some with twenty, hundred, thousand, million, even a milliard, beyond the power of counting. Rudras came with millions of millions of heads. Indras appeared with millions of eyes. At the sight the four-headed Brahma became senseless, like a hare surrounded by a herd of elephants. All these Brahmas prostrated themselves before Krishna's seat, which was touched by their crowns. None can [adequately] describe the unimaginable power of Krishna. In one body there were as many images as there were Brahmas. His seat, struck with the crowns of the Brahmas, set up a sound, as if the crowns recited the praises of His seat! With folded palms, Brahma Rudra and other deities hymned Krishna thus: "Lord! Great is thy mercy to us, as thou hast shown us thy feet. Oh our good fortune! thou hast called and accepted us as thy slaves. Bid us, and we shall place thy behest on our heads." Krishna replied, "I longed to see you, and so called you all together. Be ye all happy! Have you anything to fear from the demons?" They said, "Thanks to thy

grace, we are everywhere triumphant. Latterly thou hast, by incarnating thyself, destroyed the load of sins which used to weigh the Earth down." This proves the divine nature of Dwarka and other [spheres], each of which imagines 'Krishna dwells in *my* region.' The presence of Krishna made Dwarka feel glory (*baibhaba*); they had all met together, and yet none could see the others. Then Krishna gave leave to all the Brahmas, and they returned home after bowing to Him. The four-headed Brahmá was amazed at the sight, and again bowed at Krishna's feet, saying, 'I have today witnessed an example of what I had previously known for certain in my mind'. Vide *Bhagabat*, X. xiv. 38.

Krishna replied, 'This universe, though 500 million leagues in extent, is very small; hence you have four heads only. Other universes are a thousand million, a *lakh crore*, or even a *crore crore* leagues in extent, and *their* Brahmas have heads proportioned to these sizes. Thus do I uphold the whole system of universes. Even my one-fold divinity cannot be measured. Who will measure my three-fold divinity?'.....So saying Krishna dismissed Brahmá. The divine form of Krishna cannot be explained. The phrase *Supreme Lord* has another deep meaning: the term *tri* means the three regions of Krishna, *viz.*, Gokula (named Goloka), Mathura, and Dwarka. In these three He always dwells naturally. These three places are full of His

inner complete divinity. Of these three Krishna Himself is the lord. The guardians of directions in all the aforesaid universes, and the eternal guardians of creation in *Ananta* and *Baikuntha*,—all bow to Krishna's seat, touching it with the jewel of their crowns.... In His own *chid* power Krishna dwells ever. This property of *chid*-power is called 'the six divine attributes' ; it is also styled 'Lakshmi in the form of supreme bliss.' Hence, the Vedas declare Krishna to be God Himself. I cannot plunge in the boundless nectar-ocean of Krishna's divine power, but have touched only a drop of it"... The Master paused for a while, and after composing Himself continued to teach Sanatan.

CHAPTER XX.

Discourse on Devotion as the Aim.

[The Master continued His address to Sanatan thus] :—

“The Vedas teach that Krishna is the sole Essence. Now let me speak of the signs of the aim (*abhidheya*), from which one can get Krishna and the treasure of Krishna’s love. All the shastras speak of faith in Krishna as the aim. Hence the sages declare,

‘We know for certain that thou, O Lord, art our refuge, because the mode of thy worship that Mother Shruti lays down in answer to our questions, is also indicated by Sister Smritis and Brother Puranas.’

This truth is taught by the Monist school that Krishna is God Himself; He dwells in the form of the *swarup* power; spreading out in the forms of *swamsha* and *bibhinnamsha*, He disports Himself in Ananta, Baikuntha, and Brahmanda. The four-sided incarnations are His *swamsha* extension. The created world is the example of His *bibhinnamsha* power. Such creatures are of two classes, *viz.*, one ever liberated, the other ever fettered to the world. The ‘ever liberated’ are ever eager for Krishna’s feet; they are named Krishna’s followers and they enjoy the bliss of serving Him. The ‘ever fettered’ are ever excluded from Krishna, and ever feel the sufferings of Hell; the Fury,

Illusion, ever torments them for that reason ; the three internal agonies scourge them ; they are kicked at by Lust, Anger [and other deadly sins] whose slaves they are. If in the course of their life's wanderings they meet with a saint as their healer, his teaching like a charm exorcises them of the demon (Illusion) ; then they feel *bhakti* for Krishna and come to Him. Faith in Krishna is the supreme end (*abhidheya*). Worthless are the fruits of other kinds of devotion, such as deed, *yoga*, and knowledge,—in comparison with the bliss of *bhakti* ; the former cannot give us Krishna unless we have *bhakti* in Him. Vide *Bhagabat* I. v. 12 and II. iv. 16. Knowledge dissociated from *bhakti* cannot give salvation ; but a man devoted to Krishna can gain salvation without knowledge. Vide *Bhagabat*, X. xiv. 4 and the *Gita*, vii. 14.

Creation, the eternal slave of Krishna, forgot this fact ; hence Illusion tied it round the neck. If a creature adores Krishna and serves his *guru*, he is released from the meshes of Illusion and attains to Krishna's feet. If, while observing the rules of his caste, a man does not adore Krishna, he will be plunged in hell inspite of his doing his caste-duties. Vide *Bhagabat*, XI. v. 2 & 3. The votary of knowledge imagines that he has attained to the condition of one 'liberated even in earthly life' ; but in truth his mind cannot be purified without faith in Krishna. Vide *Bhagabat*, X. ii. 26. Krishna is like the Sun, while Illusion is as darkness ; hence Illusion has no

power to remain where Krishna is. Vide *Bhagabat*, II. 13. Even if a man prays once 'Krishna I am thine,' he is saved by Krishna from the bonds of Illusion. If he seeks after enjoyment, salvation and attainment (*siddhi*), is wise, he adores Krishna with deep *bhakti*. Vide *Bhagabat*, II. iii. 10. If a man adores Krishna in longing for other [material] gains, He gives the votary His own feet unasked, arguing, "In adoring me he is soliciting for material joys. What a great fool is he, in thus begging for poison instead of nectar! I am wiser, why then should I grant this fool [his coveted] earthly pleasures? Let me give him the nectar of my feet, so that he may forget earthly joys." Vide *Bhagabat*, V. cix. 28. If a man adores Krishna even for fleshly lusts, he [soon] longs to abandon his desires and become a slave of Krishna. In going through this worldly life, some are fortunate enough to gain salvation, just as a log of wood drifting down the current now and then lands on the bank. Vide *Bhagabat*, X. xxxviii. 4. By good luck some men's bondage to the world is about to be severed, [when] they are emancipated by the society of holy men, and are inspired with devotion to Krishna. Vide *Bhagabat* X. li. 35. If Krishna favours any blessed man, He teaches him as his *guru* seated in the heart. Vide *Bhagabat*, XI. xxix. 6. If in the company of holy men a man feels inclined towards *bhakti* in Krishna, he gets love, the fruit of *bhakti*, and is freed from the world. Vide *Bhagabat*, XI. xx. 8. Save through the favour of

the noble a man cannot feel *bhakti* in anything ; not to speak of his gaining devotion to Krishna, he is not even freed from bondage to the world. Vide *Bhagabat*, V. xx. 12 and VII. v. 25. All shastras recommend the companionship of the holy. As soon as such society is resorted to, it gives success in everything. Vide *Bhagabat*, I. xvii. 13. The gracious Krishna, in addressing Arjuna [in the *Gita*], has laid down instructions for the salvation of mankind. Vide the *Gita*, xviii. 64 and 65.

God had first commanded the Vedic religion, deed, *yoga*, and knowledge. After these had been observed, He finally commanded *bhakti*, which must, therefore, prevail [over the former]. If in accordance with this [latest] dispensation, a devotee feels *shraddha*, he leaves all works and adores Krishna. Vide *Bhagabat* XI. xx. 9. The term *shraddha* means firm and unquestioning faith. If one adores Krishna, it is equivalent to his doing all deeds [of religion]. Vide *Bhagabat*, IV. xxxi. 12.

Men who have *shraddha* are qualified for *bhakti*, and are ranked as superior, average, and inferior, according to the quality of their *shraddha*. He whose *shraddha* is confirmed by listening to the reasoning contained in the shastras is a superior 'entitled to *bhakti*', and he is liberated from the world. He whose *shraddha* is strong in spite of his ignorance of shastric arguments, is an average 'entitled to *bhakti*'; he, too, is very fortunate. He whose *shraddha* requires a visible object [of adora-

tion] is an inferior 'entitled to *bhakti*' ; in time he will advance to the stage of a superior *bhakta*. There are different grades of *bhakti*, according to differences of ardour and passion, as has been described in the eleventh *skanda* of the *Bhagabat*, (XI. ii. 43-45).

All the high attributes are found in the persons of a Vaishnava, because Krishna's attributes spread to His *bhaktas*. (*Ibid*, V. xviii. 12). The following qualities mark a Vaishnava ; they cannot be exhaustively named, I only take a rapid view :—he is compassionate, spiteless, essentially true, saintly, innocent, charitable, gentle, pure, humble, a universal benefactor, tranquil, solely dependent on Krishna, free from desire, quiet, equable, a victor over the six passions (*sharguna*), temperate in diet, self-controlled, honouring others and yet not proud himself, grave, tender, friendly, learned, skilful and silent. Vide *Bhagabat*, III. xxv. 20, V. v. 2. The society of holy men is the root of the birth of devotion to Krishna. (*Bhagabat*, X, li. 35, XI. ii. 28, III. xxv. 22). The principal limb that springs up from it is love of Krishna. It is proper conduct for a Vaishnava to abjure the society of the wicked. The man who consorts with women is one kind of sinner, while the man lacking in faith in Krishna belongs to another kind. *Bhagabat* III. xxxi. 33, 34 & 35). Leaving these [temptations] and the religious system based on caste, [the true Vaishnava] helplessly takes refuge with Krishna. Vide the *Gita*, xviii 66, *Bhagabat*, X. xlviii. 22. If a learned man happens

to sing Krishna's praise, he adores Krishna to the exclusion of all other deities, as is proved by the case of Uddhava. Vide *Bhagabat*, III. ii. 23. The helpless and the refugee [among devotees] have the same characteristics. Then comes resignation in. After taking refuge in Krishna, the votary gives himself entirely up to Krishna, who then elevates him to His own nature. Vide *Hari-bhakti-bilas*, XI. 417 & 418, *Bhagabat*, XI. xxix. 32.

Give ear, O Sanatan, while I turn to speak of the attainment (*sādhana*) of *bhakti*, which gives us the rich treasure of love for Krishna. Hearing (chant) and other acts [of the physical organs] are the *swarup* signs of it; while in the *tatastha* sign love is born. Love for Krishna is ever mature (*siddha*); it is never cultivable (*sādhyā*). It is kindled in a pure heart by listening [to Krishna's praise], and other acts of the organs. The *sādhana* of *bhakti* is of two kinds: one following the ordinances of religion, the other following the [heart's] inclination. The man without a natural desire [for Krishna] adores Him in obedience to the bidding of the shastras; such *bhakti* is called regular (*baidhi*).

'King! It is the duty of the man who seeks liberation to hear, to praise, and to meditate about God, the universal Soul, the supremely Beautiful, and the Liberator from bondage.' (*Bhagabat*, III. i. 5. and also XI. v. 2.)

The modes of cultivating *bhakti* are many; I shall only tell you briefly of the chief of them:—[they are]

taking refuge at the feet of the *guru*, initiation, service of the *guru*, inquiry into the true religion, following the path of saints, renunciation of enjoyment out of love for Krishna, residence at holy places associated with Krishna, accepting alms no further than suffices [for one's sustenance], fasting on the 11th day of the moon, reverence to foster-mothers, fig trees, kine, Brahmans and Vaishnavas, shunning from a distance all offences against adoration and the holy name, abjuring the company of non-Vaishnavas, taking only a few disciples, avoiding the study and exposition of too many books and arts, looking at loss and gain as alike, control of grief and other passions, abstention from abusing other gods and scriptures, never listening to scandal about Vishnu or Vaishnavas nor to village gossip, giving no shock by thought or speech to any creature that lives, listening [to chant], hymn-singing, keeping God in remembrance, worship, adoration [in words], attendance [on idols], assuming the attitudes of servant and comrade [to Krishna], dedication of one's own self [to God], dancing, singing, petitioning and prostration before [Krishna's image] rising to welcome [His image] and following it as a mark of respect, visiting shrines at *tirthas*, walking round shrines, hymning, reading scriptures, reciting the holy name, *sankirtan*, enjoying incense garlands perfumed essence and the *mahaprasad*, witnessing the *arati* grand celebration and the divine image, giving up whatever is dear to one's own self, meditation, and serving Him.

The service of the following four is approved by Krishna :—*Tulsi* plant, Vaishnavas, Mathura, and the book *Bhāgabat*.

Direct all your efforts to [the service of] Krishna, witness His mercies, celebrate His Nativity and other days in the company of *bhaktas*. Ever fly to him for refuge, celebrate Kārtik and other *bratas*.

These are the sixty-four modes of cultivating *bhakti*. The five chief of them are (1) the society of holy men, (2) *kirtan* of Krishna's name, (3) listening to the reading of the *Bhagabat*, (4) dwelling at Mathura, and (5) reverential service of His image. Even a little of these five creates love for Krishna.

Some *bhaktas* pursue only one of these modes, some many. When the mind has become steady, the wave of love surges up [in it]. Many *bhaktas* have attained to success by following one mode only. Anwarisha and other *bhaktas* cultivated many modes. (Vide *Bhagabat*, IX. iv. 15-17.) The man who by renouncing desire adores Krishna in obedience to the injunctions of the shastras, is not indebted to the gods the *Rishis* or to the manes of his ancestors. (*Bhagabat*, XI. v. 37). He who adores Krishna's feet rejecting shastric rites, feels nevertheless no temptation for forbidden sins. Even if he commits a sin unwillingly, Krishna purifies him and he need not practise penance for it. *Bhagabat*, XI. v. 38.) Theological knowledge and monachism are not at all necessary means of cultivating *bhakti*; Krishna's society

gives inoffensiveness and discipline. Vide *Bhagabat*, XI. xx. 31.

Hitherto I have held forth on the cultivation of *bhakti* in accordance with the shastric teaching. Now, let me tell you, Sanatan, about *bhakti* in compliance with natural inclination. This latter kind of *bhakti* is chiefly found in the people of Brindaban, and those who cultivate it are called *rāgānuga* ('inclination-led'.) A passionate longing for the object of desire is the *svarup* characteristic of inclination (*rāga*); absorption in the object of desire is its *tatastha* feature....The nature of an 'inclination-led' *bhakta* pays no heed to shastric reasoning.

Its two types are *external* and *internal*. In the external, the devotee through his physical organs performs listening (to chant) and chanting, while in his mind he imagines himself to be identical with his ideal [such as any *sakhi* or cowherd mate of Krishna], and thus [in fancy] serves Krishna at Brindaban day and night. Withdrawing himself into his own mind, such a votary ever remains close to his object, the dearest Krishna, and thus serves Him incessantly. In the path of inclination (*rāga*), he takes Krishna as the object of his chief emotion, viz., as master, comrade, child or sweetheart. (*Bhāgabat*, III. xxv. 35)...

From the sprout of love (*prema*) issue two things, *rati* (addiction) and *bhāva* (emotion). These two conquer the Lord for us. Thus have I expounded *abhidheya*, from which we gain the treasure of love for Krishna."

CHAPTER XXI.

On Love, the fruit of Devotion.

[The Master continued]—"Listen now, Sanatan, to love, the fruit of *bhakti*, the hearing of which gives knowledge of the spirit of *bhakti*. When passion (*rati*) in Krishna is deepened it is called *prema* (love,) the permanent form of *bhakti* in Krishna. It also has two aspects, viz., *swarup* and *tatastha*. If any man has the grace to feel *shraddha*, he consorts with pious men, from which companionship result the hearing and chanting of Krishna's name. From the attainment of *bhakti*, all his troubles are removed, and as a consequence of the latter, his faith becomes constant, which gives him a taste for the listening and [hymning of Krishna's name]. From taste (*ruchi*) comes strong inclination (*asakti*), which gives birth to the sprout of passion for Krishna in the soul. When this emotion is deepened, it takes the name of love (*prema*). That love is the (ultimate) fruit, the source of every bliss. Vide *Bhagabat*, III. xxv. 22. The man in whose heart this emotion sprouts up, is marked by the many qualities named in the shastras. (*Bhakti-ras-amrita-sindhu*, I. Rati-bhakti, verse 11, *Bhagabat* I. xix. 13). No earthly affliction can disturb his mind. Such a man never wastes his time without communing with Krishna. He never fears

[attack by] enjoyment, material success, or the objects of sensual gratification. *Bhagabat*, V. xiv. 42). Even the noblest *bhakta* considers himself as lowly, and firmly believes that Krishna will take pity on him. He is ever expectant, ever passionately longing [for union with Krishna]. Ever does he relish the work of singing Krishna's names, and ever engage in it. At all times is he addicted to holding forth on Krishna's charms. Ever does he reside at the scenes of Krishna's exploits.

So far I have described the marks of *rati* for Krishna. Now let me describe the characteristics of love for Krishna. Even the wise fail to comprehend the speech, acts and gestures of the man whose heart is full of love for Krishna. (*Bhagabat*, XI. ii. 38). As love develops, it takes the forms of *sneha*, *māna*, *pranaya*, *rāga*, *anurāga*, *bhāba*, and *mahābhāba*,—just as, from the same source of sugar-juice we have molasses, *gur* (*khandā*), black sugar, [yellow] sugar-candy, and white sugar-candy. As these grow successively purer and more delicious, so too do the above stages in the development of love. In relation to its subject, *rati* is of five kinds viz., *shānta*, *dāsya*, *sakhya*, *bātsalya*, and *madhur*. These five permanent emotions (*bhāba*) have five different flavours, which delight the *bhakta* and overpower Krishna. The permanent emotions of love etc., on meeting with the proper ingredient, mature in the form of Krishna-*bhakti rasa*. The permanent emotion (*bhāba*) on being mingled with *rasa* is changed into these

four,—*bībhāba*, *anubhāba*, *sātwika*, *byabhichāri*;—just as curd, on being mixed with *gur*, black pepper, and camphor, becomes a thing of matchless deliciousness named *rasāl*. *Bībhāba* is of two kinds,—(i) *ālamban*, which is kindled by Krishna, etc., and (ii) *uddipan*, by the notes of His flute, etc. *Anubhāba* is stimulated by smile, dance and song. Stupor and other sensations are included in *sātwika anubhāba*. *Byabhichāri* is of 33 kinds, such as delight, rapture, &c.

Rasa is of five kinds,—*shānta*, *dāsya*, *sakhya*, *bātsalya*, and *madhur*. In the *shānta rasa*, *rati* advances to the stage of *prema*; in the *dāsya* to *raga*, *sakhya* and *bātsalya* attain to the limit of *anurāga* (as was the case with Subal and others' love for Krishna.).....

Krishna, the darling of Braja's lord, is the chief of lovers, while the lady Radha is at the head of mistresses. Krishna's qualities are endless, even a single one of them when unfolded can soothe the ears of a *bhakta*...

Countless are Radhika's qualities, of which 25 are the principal ones, which have conquered Krishna...

The lover and his mistress are the themes of two *rasas*, and the foremost of the class are Radha and Krishna. Similarly, in the *dāsya rasa*, the subject is a servant, in the *sakhya* a comrade, in the *bātsalya* the parents.

This *rasa* is tasted only by Krishna's *bhaktas*; those who are not devoted to Him have not the lot to enjoy

it...Before this, at Allahabad I discoursed on *rasa* and inspired with my power your brother Rup Goswami. Do you preach the lore of *bhakti* ; do you discover the lost shrines of Mathura. At Brindaban teach the adoration of Krishna, the proper conduct of Vaishnavas, and the scriptures of the creed of *bhakti*."

Thus did the Master teach Sanatan all about temperate conquest of passions (*bairāgya*) and condemned arid *bairāgya* which consists of (mere) knowledge. Vide the *Gīta*, xii. 13^{et seq} and *Bhagabat*, II. ii. 5.

Then Sanatan asked about all the paradoxes in Krishna's life, and the Master clearly explained them. At last Sanatan clasped His feet and biting a wisp of grass in sign of abjectness prayed to Him thus : "I am a wretch, of low caste, and the servant of the unclean. And yet thou hast taught me theological expositions which even Brahma knows not ! My despicable mind cannot contain even a single drop of this ocean of exposition that thou hast poured into it. Thou canst make even the lame dance, if so thou wishest. Lay thy feet on my head and pronounce on me the blessing that all that thou hast taught me may become bright within me. May I derive power from thy power !" And the Master blessed him accordingly.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Master expounds the couplet on Atmaram.

Again did Sanatan clasp the Master's feet and ask Him, "I have heard that you explained to Sarbabhauma in eighteen different ways the following couplet of *Bhagabat*, I. vii. 10.

आत्मरामाश्च सुनयो निर्यत्या अप्युक्तमे
कृषन्त्यहैतुकीं भाक्तमित्यभूतगुणो हरिः ।

My mind, on hearing of it, has been seized with wonder and curiosity. If thou tellest it [again] graciously, my ears will be charmed." The Master answered, "I am a mad man ; Sarbabhauma took my mad words for truth. I do not remember what ravings I uttered in his house. But should your company inspire me I may possibly recollect a little of it. My mind is not of itself enlightened by the sense of the verses ; what I shall say is only the outcome of the influence of your company. This bright couplet contains eleven words, each of which sparkles with various meanings when taken separately.

Atma may mean Brahma, the body, the mind, effort, patience, intelligence and character (Vide the *Vishwa-prakāsha*). Those who revel in these seven are called *atmārāms*. Let me enumerate them first.

Muni means a man devoted to contemplation, a silent man, a man engaged in *vrata*, a religious mendicant, or a *rishi*. *Nirgrantháh* means men freed from the knot of error, (or illusion),—men independent of the prohibitions of ordinance and of the knowledge of the Vedas and shastras ; ignorant, low, *mlechchha* and other people who abjure the Shastras ; those who save money ; and also paupers. (Vide *Vishwaprakasha*).

Urukrama means one with big *kramas* ; the latter term means stepping....When Vishnu assumed the Tribikrama form He shook the three-fold Universe to its roots by taking one step. (*Bhagabat*, II. vii. 39). The term *krama* (also) means power, orderliness, moving, and tremour (according to the *Vishwa-prakasha*). Krishna as the Lord, upholds and nourishes [the universe] by His power ; His *mādhurya* power [is manifested in] Goloka, and His divine power (*āishwaryya*) in the uppermost space. By His illusion power He creates the Universe in due order. This determines the meaning of *urukrama*. The verb *kurbanti* is used in the *parasmai pada* mood, to imply that the devotee engages in the adoration of Krishna not for his own enjoyment but for Krishna's delight. (Vide Panini).

Hetu means enjoyment and such other desires, chiefly three in number, viz., enjoyment (*bhukti*) ; success (*siddhi*) and emancipation (*mukti*). Enjoyment is of infinite variety ; *siddhi* is of 18 kinds, and *mukti* of 5 kinds. Where these are absent we can

speak of the devotion as disinterested (*ahaituki*), which fascinates the playful Krishna. The word *bhakti* has ten different meanings, one *sādhana* and the other nine are the forms of *prema-bhakti*. [Described in the preceding chapter]..... *Ittham-bhūta* means the Source of Perfect Bliss ; in comparison with Him spiritual delight (*brahmānanda*) is as grass. He is the all-attractor, the all-rejoicer, the source of high *rasa*, making [men] forget everything for His own form ; the aroma of whom makes men give up [the quest of] enjoyment, success, liberation and pleasure ; whose supernatural power ties us in Krishna's grace. In this [adoration] there is no shastric reasoning, no solution of theological problems ; because in His nature sweetness predominates.

Now for the senses of *guna*. Krishna's *gunas* (qualities) are infinite....His qualities include supernatural beauty, taste, smell, etc. Different hearts are captivated by different qualities. For instance, Sanak and others were fascinated by His fragrance etc. (*Bhagavat*, III. xv. 43) ; Shukadeva by the hearing of His exploits (*I bid*, II. i. 9) ; the milkmaids by His personal beauty (X. xxix. 36) ; Rukmini and others by the report of His beauty and accomplishments (X. lii. 29) ; Lakshmi and others by the music of His flute (X. xvi. 32) ; the young women of the world by His fitness [to be their husbands] (X. xxix. 37) ; venerable matrons by the *bātsalya* spirit, men by the

dāsya and *sakhya* feelings. In short, Krishna's qualities attract birds, beasts, trees and creepers, the animate and the inanimate creation alike, intoxicating them with love for Him. Of the many meanings of *Hari* two are primary : (1) He who steals away all evils and (2) He who steals hearts by creating love for Him. Whoever remembers Him, in any circumstance whatever, is saved from the four classes of affliction by Him. (*Bhagabat*, XI. xiv. 18). When a man so appeals to Krishna, his *bhakti* destroys his impediments and errors, and love appears in him as the result of listening to [the chanting of Krishna's name]. Krishna by his own qualities fascinates the man's mind and body ; so kind is He. He makes us renounce the four pursuits of men. *Api* and *cha* are two conjunctions, bearing any meaning that we apply to them [from the context]. Yet each of the two has seven primary senses. (Vide *Vishwaprakasha*).

Thus have I expounded the significations of the eleven words taken separately. Now let me expound the meaning of the couplet applying these significations in their proper places. The term *Brahma* means 'the greatest of all,' 'matchless in *swarup* and *aishwaryya*' Vide *Vishnu Purana*, I. xii. 57, and *Bhagabat*, XI. ii. 43, I. ii. 11). That word *Brahma* must mean God Himself, who alone is without a second. These two circumstances prove Krishna to be God, as the shastras have declared in the three æons. (*Bhagabat*, II. ix. 32).

Ātmā means Krishna's immense form,—all-embracing, all-witnessing, the supreme form. (XI. ii. 43). For attaining to that Krishna there are three means (*sādhana*), viz. knowledge, abstraction and devotion, each with its different signs. In the three modes God manifests Himself in three different forms, viz., Brahma, *Param-ātmā*, and *Bhagabān*. (I. ii. 11). The term *Brahma-ātmā* means Krishna; but its etymological meaning is 'the formless Dweller in hearts.' By the pursuit of knowledge we attain to the formless God, by that of abstraction to the Dweller in hearts, while His *Bhagabān* form is manifested to those who follow the two paths of *bhakti* according to inclination and according to shastric teaching. The inclination-led *bhakta* attains to Bhagabān in Brindaban (X. ix. 17), while the shastra-guided *bhakta* is translated to Baikuntha as a courtier of Vishnu. (III. xv. 25).

Krishna's votaries are of three classes: desireless, salvation-seeking, and all-coveting. (II. iii. 10).....If a man is wise he will adore Krishna even for the realisation of his earthly desires. Unless a man has *bhakti*, no pursuit can bring fruit to him; *bhakti* alone has power to achieve all results. Therefore the wise adore Hari (The *Gīta*, vii. 16)..... If a man adores Krishna for the realisation of his desire, he (soon) gives up his material desires, and cherishes pure (i. e., disinterested) (*bhakti* (*Bhagabat*, I. x. 11, I. x. 2, V. xix. 28)... God is gracious; knowing His passion-led *bhakta* to

be ignorant, God grants him His feet and thus destroys his desire [of earthly joys].

The society of the pious, the service of Krishna, and the emotion of *bhakti*,—these three make us leave all things else and incline to Krishna.....

After these preliminary remarks, let me explain the root-meaning of the couplet. The worshippers in the path of knowledge are of two kinds : some are pure adorers of God, others are seekers after liberation. The former, again, may be of three types,—*sadhaka*, *Brahma-maya-pratap*, and *Brahma-laya*. Mere knowledge without *bhakti* cannot cause salvation..... The nature of *bhakti* attracts God ; it gives [the votary] a celestial body and makes him adore Krishna. When one gets the person of a *bhakta*, he recollects Krishna's qualities, and drawn by them performs pure adoration. From their birth Shuka, Sanak and others were full of God. Attracted by Krishna's good qualities they adored him disinterestedly. (*Bhagabat*, III. xv. 43. See other instances of *bhaktas* in I. vii. 11, and *Bhakti-rasamrita-sindhu*, II. 7.)

The liberation-seeking men of knowledge are of three classes,—seekers after liberation, emancipated in life, and invested with *swarup*. There are many seekers after liberation in society, who adore Krishna with *bhakti* in the hope of gaining emancipation. (*Bhagabat*, I. ii. 26.) The society of the holy develops their quality, and makes them adore Krishna by abandoning

their longing for liberation. (E. g. Sanak as changed by the company of Narad).

The 'emancipated in life' may follow either *bhakti* or knowledge. The former adores Krishna by [his] merits, while the latter is dragged down into sin by his dry knowledge. (*Bhagabat*, X. ii. 26, the *Gita*, xviii. 54). ...The 'invested with *swarup*' gets a celestial body by the force of his *bhakti*, and adores Krishna being attracted by His qualities.) (*Bhagabat*, II. x. 6.) Illusion causes the sin of aversion to Krishna, while *bhakti* inclining us towards Krishna releases us from illusion. (XI. ii. 35. and the *Gita*, vii. 14.) There is no liberation save through *bhakti* (*Bhagabat*, X. xiv. 4, and ii. 26, XI. v. 2.

These six kinds of *atmaramas* [i.e., the three kinds of pure adorers of God and the three classes of liberation-seekers] adore Krishna.....The word *atmaramah* in the text, though standing alone, applies to all the six (according to a grammatical rule quoted from the *Vishwa-prakasha*)...... The first six constructions of the couplet are yielded by taking these six kinds of adorers (separately,) and regarding *munayah* and *nir-granthah* as their epithets. But taking these two words as nouns and coupling them to *atmaramah* we get the seventh interpretation.

The adorer of the 'heart-seated Deity' is called an *atmarama yogi*; of such men there are two classes, viz., *sagarbha* (lovingly meditating on Hari) and *nigarbha*

(abstractly meditating).....(*Bhagabat*, II. ii. 8, III. xxviii. 43, the *Gita*, vi. 3 and 4). These *yogis* are of three kinds, 'about to ascend to the seat of meditation,' 'engaged in meditation,' and 'attained to success.' These three, multiplied by two, give six different types of *atmarama*. These six classes of *yogis*, on securing the society of holy men, adore Krishna after being drawn by His qualities....

Thus six other interpretations of the couplet are obtained, making a total of thirteen... *Atma* also means 'the mind'; he who revels in the mind adores Krishna's feet on falling into the company of holy men. (*Bhagabat*, X. lxxxvii. 14. 'Such a man, attracted by Krishna's qualities, becomes a *muni* and *nirgrantha*, and shows to Krishna distinterested *bhakti*,'—we get such a meaning too. If we take *atma* to mean 'care.' The meaning is 'Even *munis* becoming *nirgrantha*, adore with care. *Bhagabat*, I. v. 18).

If we take *atma* to mean 'patience', then *atmarama* would mean 'patiently.' *Muni* may also mean 'bird' and 'bee'; *nirgrantha* has the sense of 'ignorant man' also. Both these may adore Krishna, if they receive His grace or the favour of holy men. *Bhagabat*, X. xxi. 14, xv. 6, xxxv. 11, II. iv. 17.

Or, *dhriti*, the synonym of *atma*, may mean 'a sense of satiety, i.e., a feeling of fulness at the absence of regret and the attainment of the *summum bonum*. The worshipper of Krishna is free from repining and has no

[ungratified] desire ; the service of Krishna gives him the fulness of bliss. (IX. iv. 50).....

If we take *atama* to mean 'intelligence,' then as the creatures possessed of some amount of sagacity are countless, the term *atmarama* would include all men, scholars as well as fools. All adore Krishna, by which means in time they incline to pure *bhakti* and attain to Krishna. The *Gita*, X. 8 and 10, *Bhagabat*, II. vii 45.

.....Consorting with the pious, service of Krishna, study of the *Bhagabat*, chanting Krishna's name, and residing in Brindaban,—these five are the chief means of attaining to *bhakti*. When a man has even a particle of any *one* of these, he feels love for Krishna. Even if a very wise man adores Krishna for the sake of some [object of earthly] desire, the force of *bhakti* makes him abandon that desire, and draws him to the adoration of Krishna's feet [without hope of any reward]. *Bhagabat* II. iii. 10, I vii. 10, V. xix. 28).

Similarly, if we take *atma* to mean 'nature,' the sense of the passage will be that all creation, animate and inanimate, adores Krishna. (*Bhagabat*, X. xv. 8, xxi. 19, xxxv. 5, II. iv. 17. Add these six interpretations to the previous thirteen.

If *atma* is taken to mean 'the body' (*deha*) the word *atmarma* will mean four things according to the four senses of *deha*, *viz* men devoted to rituals and sacrifices (*yajna*), ascetics, men subject to all earthly desires, and

adores of Brahma. *Bhagabat*, X. lxxxvi. 14, I. xviii. 12, IV. xxi. 29.)

These four interpretations bring the total to 23. There are three other interpretations dependent on the various senses of *ahi* and *cha*.

Nirgrantha also means 'hunter', and 'pauper'. Even a hunter may be reverent and the best of devotees, as the following legend will show :—One day Narad, after a visit to Narayana, went to the Tribeni *ghat* at Allahabad. In the woods on the way he found a deer lying pierced with an arrow, broken-legged, and gasping. A little on there was a hog in a similar condition, then a hare. The sufferings of the animals disturbed the heart of Narad. Advancing he saw the hunter lying in ambush behind a tree with his bow-string drawn for shooting at a deer. The fellow was dark of hue, with blood-shot eyes, ferocious looking, like the god of death armed with his mace. Leaving the path, Narad went up to him. At the sight of Narad all the deer fled, upon which the hunter tried to abuse him, but by Narad's power the abuse on his tongue found no utterance. The man said, 'Holy sir! why did you come here leaving the beaten track? At the sight of you the deer aimed at by me fled.' Narad replied, 'I have come to ask you after losing the way. Resolve this doubt of mine. The [wounded] hog and deer on the path belong to you?' The hunter told him that it was so. Narad continued, 'If you shoot at animals, why do you

leave them half dead, why not kill them altogether?' The hunter answered, 'Hear, holy sir! I am named Mrigári (Deer's Foe), and I act thus at the teaching of my father. The throes of half-dead animals delight my heart.' Narad said, 'I beg a boon of you.' The hunter replied, 'Take any animal that you like. If you want a deer skin come to my cottage, and I shall give you a deer skin or tiger skin as you like.' But Narad said, 'I want none of these. I only want you to promise me that in tomorrow's hunt you will kill your prey altogether, and not leave them dying.' The hunter cried out, 'What a boon thou hast asked! Tell me what harm there is in leaving an animal half dead.' Narad replied, 'Animals feel pain when wounded. You are hurting creatures; your fate will be the same [in the next birth]. For a hunter, such as you are, to kill game is a light sin; but that you prolong their agonies is a measureless sin. The animals that you torture will torment you in the same way in your future births.'

The companionship of Narad cleared the mind of the hunter [of error]; his words filled him with fear. He then asked, 'This has been my trade since my childhood. How can a wretched sinner like me be salved? What means is there for removing this sin from me? I fall at thy feet; save me!' Narad replied, 'If you follow my word, then only can I save you. The hunter agreed to do his bidding. Narad told him

to break his bow. The hunter objected saying, 'How shall I live if I break my bow?' Narad replied, 'I shall give you your daily bread.'

Then the hunter broke his bow and fell at the feet of Narad, who raised him up and gave him this counsel: 'Go home and give to the Brahmans all your wealth, and leave your house with your wife, taking only one cloth each. Build a thatched hut on the river bank, plant a Tulsi plant there, walk round the plant, attend on it, and ceaselessly chant Krishna's name. I shall daily send you plenty of food; take as much of it as you two can eat.' Then Narad healed the stricken deer, hog and hare, which fled away on recovery. At this the hunter marvelled.

Returning home, the hunter followed Narad's counsel in every detail. It was noised about in the village that the hunter had turned Vaishnava, and so all the other villagers began to offer him rice. If ten or twelve men made him the offering in one day, he accepted only enough for a couple. One day Narad said, 'Listen, Parbat [a *deviarshi*]! I have a disciple. Let us go and see him.' So, the two holy sages came to the hunter, who on seeing his *guru* afar off, began to run to him in excitement. On the way his feet touched some ants and at once he stopped, brushed the place clean with his cloth and prostrated himself [in view of Narad]. Narad cried out, 'Hunter!' This is no matter of surprise, because devotion to Hari makes a man

free from animosity and converts him into the chief of saints.

Then the hunter brought the two sages to his yard, reverently seated them on mattresses of the *Kusha* grass, washed their feet with water, which he and his wife drank and sprinkled on their heads. The hunter was thrilled and shed tears of rapture as he sang Krishna's name, dancing with uplifted arms and fluttering his garment. At the sight of the hunter's love of Krishna, the sage Parbat cried out, 'Narad, you are a philosopher's stone indeed.' Narad asked the hunter, 'Vaishnava, are you getting any rice?' The man replied, 'Whosoever is sent by you brings me rice. Don't send me needlessly such a heap of rice. I want only enough for two.' Narad bade him remain so, and then the two sages vanished.

The legend of the hunter illustrates the effect of the society of pious men.

Taking the last three interpretations, you have got twenty six.

Again *atma* means 'God in every form;' hence *atmarama* signifies 'one who revels in God,' a devotee. In the two paths of ordinance and inclination there are altogether thirty-two different classes of *bhaktas*, i.e., *atmarama* has 32 different meanings.....Thus you get a total of 26 and 32 or 58 interpretations in all....Similarly by forming a *samasa* with *cha*,...and taking *api* in the sense of 'pointing out' we get the 59th meaning. By

joining all the [three nominative plural] terms together by means of *cha* and applying the word *api* to each of the succeeding four words, we get the 60th meaning.

Atma according to the *Amarakosha* also means the Consciousness or Soul within all that lives (*kshetra-jna*); in his power are comprehended [the whole creation] from Brahma to a worm. Even he adores Krishna abandoning all else, if he joins a holy man's society in the course of his wanderings. This sixty-first interpretation is an example of the sixty others that I have already given. The sixty-one interpretations have flashed in my mind through thy society; thy *bhakti* has had the power to raise the waves of exposition [in my mind]."

Listening to these [diverse] explanations, Sanatan was filled with wonder, and praised the Great Master, clinging to His feet, "Thou art God incarnate, the darling of Braja's lord. Thy breath called into being all the *Vedas*. Thou art the speaker in the *Bhagabat*, and thou knowest its meaning, which none else can understand!" The Master objected, "Why praise *me*? Why not consider the nature of the *Bhagabat*, which is like Krishna, embracing, the refuge of all. Every couplet, nay every letter of it utters a variety of senses. By means of a dialogue this fact has been established in the *Bhagabat* itself. (I. i. 23 and iii. 43.) These my interpretations of the *sloka* are like the ravings of a mad man. Who will accept them? If any one be mad

like me, he will understand the meaning of the *Bhagavat* from this [specimen].”

Again did Sanatan with folded palms entreat Him, “Master, thou has bidden me write the sacred code (*smṛiti*) of the Vaishnavas. I am a man of low caste, ignorant of ceremonial cleanness (*āchāra*). How can *smṛiti* be taught by me? If by framing an outline you teach me the right emotion (*dishā*), if you yourself enter my heart, then the (appropriate) emotion for it will inspire the mind of a low man like me. Thou art God; whatever thou makest me speak will prove true. The Master replied, “Whatever you wish to do, Krishna will inspire your mind with [knowledge of it]. I, however, give you a rapid survey of the different points [which you should deal with in compiling the Vaishnava sacred code] (*A long list, not translated here*). In every case quote as your authority the sayings of the *Puranas*:When you will write, Krishna will inspire you.”

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Master converts the people of Benares and returns to Jagannath.

Thus did the Master in two months instruct Sanatan in the entire lore of the philosophy of faith. Chandra Shekhar's comrade, Paramánand Kirtaniá, an expert artist, performed *kirtan* before the Master.

As the Master had slighted the *sanyasis*.....they everywhere spoke ill of Him. At this the Maratha [Brahman] sadly reflected, "Whosoever has a close view of the Master's character feels Him to be God indeed, and admits Him as such. If I can bring them and Him together, they will perceive this [quality] and become His followers. I have always to dwell in Káshi, and if I do not effect this, it will be a matter of everlasting regret to me."

So, he invited all the *sanyasis*, and himself went on a visit to the Master. Chandra Shekhar and Tapan Misra, grieved to hear Him defamed, were humbly entreating Him, and His mind, too, was thinking of the conversion of the *sanyasis*, in order to remove the grief of His *bhaktas*. Just then the Maratha Brahman arrived and clasping the Master's feet by much entreaty induced Him to accept his invitation. At noon He went to His

host's house, and bestowed salvation on the *sanyasis* in the manner described in Part I. of this book.

From the day on which He blessed the *sanyasis*, a sensation was created in the village; crowds flocked to behold the Master; scholars of various schools came to discuss theology with Him, but He refuted all their philosophies and established faith as the final truth. By His reasoned speech He turned the minds of them all, and they followed His instruction and began to chant Krishna's name. All men laughed, sang, and danced. The *sanyasis* submitted to Him; quitting their studies they formed assemblies of their own [to discourse on faith].

A disciple of Prakáshánand, equal to him in attainments, spoke reverently of the Master in open meeting thus, "Chaitanya is Narayan himself. He explains the aphorisms of Vyása most charmingly. His exposition of the root meaning of the *Upanishads* gratifies the hearing and mind of scholars even. Our teacher [Prakáshánand] gives a fanciful explanation of the aphorisms of the *Upanishads* leaving their essential meaning out. On hearing his fanciful explanations scholars pretend to approve, but are not inwardly convinced, whereas Chaitanya's words we feel to be truth indeed. In the Kali Yuga, one cannot vanquish the World by asceticism; the highest conclusion and true source of bliss is contained in the exposition which He gave of the verses '*Harī's name alone &c.*' The *Bhagavat* asserts that there cannot

be salvation without faith, and that rapture in the name [of Hari] can give an easy deliverance in the Kali Yuga. (*Bhagabat*, X. xiv. 4 and ii. 26).

The term *Brahma* connotes God full of the six divine attributes. To describe Him as abstract is to impair His fulness. The *Shruti Puranas* deal with the manifestations of Krishna's *chid* power. Philosophers laugh at it irreverently. They look upon Krishna's *chidānand* image as a mere piece of illusion. In this they sin grievously. Chaitanya's view is the true one. (*Bhāgabat*, III. ix. 3 and 4, *Gita*, IX. 11 and XVI. 19). The *aphorisms* teach the theory of *parinām* (result), but our teacher disregards it, calls Vyāsa ignorant, and asserts the theory of *bibarta*. This fanciful interpretation does not satisfy the mind. Fancies at variance with scripture indicate a man as a wretch. Engaged in vain disputation, I have hitherto forgotten to know the Supreme Essence. Oh! how shall I merit Krishna's grace? Our teacher has obscured the meaning of Vyasa's aphorisms, whereas Chaitanya has revealed it. True are His words; all other theories are false and futile."

So saying he began to sing Krishna's *sankirtan*. At this Prakashanand remarked, "The Acharya was eager to establish Monism, and he had therefore to twist the sense of the aphorisms. If you admit God's *bhagawān*-ship, you cannot establish Monism. So the Acharya had to refute all the *shāstras*. No author who wishes to set up his own theory can

give the plain meaning of the scriptures. A philosopher of the *Mīmāṃsā* school speaks of God as a part and parcel of [His] work ; the Sankhya speaks of Him as the cause of Nature all over the universe. The Nyaya asserts that the world was composed out of atoms ; the Illusionist speaks of the abstract Brahma as the Cause. Patañjal (alone) tells us of the true nature of Krishna ; so He is the true God, according to the *Vedas*. None recognises God as the Supreme Cause ; each school of philosophy only sets up its own theory by refuting the views of its rivals. Thus from the six schools of philosophy we cannot know the [spiritual] truth. Only the words of great men are reliable. Chaitanya's words are a stream of nectar. What He says is the essence of spiritual truth."

Hearing all this, the Maratha Brahman in delight went to report it to the Master, whom he met going to visit Bindu Madhav after His bath in the five streams. At the Brahman's narration He was pleased. Beholding the beauty of Bindu Madhav He was enraptured and danced in the courtyard [of the temple] in love, while Chandra Shekhar, Paramanand, Tapan, and Sanatan joined in a *sankirtan* chanting,—

"Hail to Hari and Hara ! to Krishna the Yādava, to Gopāl, Govinda, Rāma and Madhusudan."

Lakhs of men surrounded them shouting *Hari ! Hari !* The blessed cry filled earth and heaven. Hearing it near him, Prakashanand came there with his pupils, moved by curiosity. Beholding the Master's

charm of person and dancing, he with his disciples joined the cry of *Hari! Hari!* The Master trembled, spoke in a choking voice, perspired, changed colour, or at times stood rigidly inert, bathing the bystanders with His tears, His body thrilled with ecstasy like the *Kadamba* tree. He displayed every passion,—exultation, abjectness, lightness &c., to the marvel of the people of Benares.

On seeing the crowd the Master recovered His senses, and stopped His dance before the *sanyasis*. He bowed very low to Prakashanand, who, however clasped His feet. The Master cried out, "You are the instructor of the world, and beloved [of all], while I am not worthy to be your pupil's pupil. Why should a high one like you bow to a low one like me? As you are God-like, by so doing you are destroying me [in sin]. Though everything becomes you, as it becomes God, yet, for the sake of holding up a lesson before the people, you should cease acting thus [humbly]." Prakashanand replied, "By touching your feet I have washed away all the sin of my former abuse of you!" (*Bhagavat*, I. v. 12, Chakravarti's commentary, quotation from the appendix of the *Bāsana-vāshya*, also X. xxxiv. 7).

The Master cried out, "O God! O God! I am a despicable creature. It is a sin to regard any creature as Vishnu. Even if a God-like person holds a creature to be Vishnu, then God will rank him among the infidels. (*Haribhaktibīlāsa*, I. 71)."

Prakashanand replied, "You are God himself. But even if you insist on being regarded as God's slave, you are still worthy of being honoured above us. That I once abused you will be the cause of my ruin. (*Bhagabat* VI. xvi. 4, X. iv. 31, and VII. v. 25). I now bow at your feet, that I may kindle faith in them."

So saying he sat down there with the Master, and asked Him, "The errors you have pointed out in the theory of illusion, are, I know, the fanciful interpretations of Shankara Acharya. Your exposition of the essential meaning of the aphorisms has charmed the minds of all. You are God and can do everything. Tell me then briefly, I long to hear [your interpretation of Vyasa's aphorisms]." The Master protested, "I am a creature insignificant in knowledge. Vyasa was God's self and his aphorisms have a deep meaning, which no creature can know. Hence he has himself explained his aphorisms. When the writer is his own commentator, men can understand his meaning. The meaning of *pranaba* in the *Gāyatri mantra* is explained at length in the four verses of the *Bhagabat*, II. ix. 30-33. First God imparted these four verses to Brahmá, who taught them to Nárada, and the latter to Vyása, who reflected, "I shall make the *Bhāgabat* itself a commentary on my aphorisms." So he accumulated the teaching of the four *Vedas* and the *Upanishads*. Every *rik* which is the subject matter of a particular aphorism, is formed into a particular verse in the *Bhāgabat*. The *Bhāgabat*

and the *Upanishads*, therefore, speak with one voice ; the former is nothing more than a commentary on the latter. *Bhagabat*, VIII. i. 8, says,—

Everything that exists in the world is the abode of God. Therefore enjoy what God has given you, and covet not another's possessions.

The above verse takes a bird's eye view of the whole subject. Similarly every verse of the *Bhagabat* is like a *rik*. In the "four verses" the *Bhagabat* has unfolded the characteristics of Connection, Means (*abhidheya*), and Need. Connection with 'I' is the truth ; perception of 'I' is the highest knowledge, the devotion and faith necessary to attain to 'I' is called the Means. The fruit of devotion is love, which is the radical Need. That love enables a man to enjoy 'I.' Vide the *Bhagabat*, II. ix. 30, God's words to Brahmá :

The knowledge of me is deeply mysterious. Accept as spoken by me whatever is united to supreme knowledge (bijñāna), attended by mystery, and a part of tat. Or in other words, God says here, 'These three truths have I explained to you, because being a creature you could not have understood them,—viz, my nature, my dwelling (*sthiti*), and my attributes, works, and six powers. My grace will inspire you with all these.' So saying God imparted the three truths to Brahma : (1) *Bhagabat*, II. ix. 31,—

May you, through my grace, at once attain to true knowledge about the nature of my form (svarup), my

component element (*sattwa*), and my attributes and acts.' (God's speech to *Brahmā*).

Or in other words God says, 'Before creation, being myself endowed with the six divine powers, and drawing into myself *Prapancha*-Nature, I create while dwelling within it. The *Prapancha* that men behold is no other than me. In destruction my remaining attributes manifest themselves, completing me and so *Prapancha*-Nature finds absorption in me.'

(2.) Again, *Bhagabat*, II. ix. 32, God speaks to *Brahma* :—

'This I alone existed before creation, and none else. Nature, the cause of the gross and subtle universes, did not then exist. This I alone exist even after creation; this universe is indeed myself. Whatever will survive the destruction (pralaya) of the world will also be this I.'

In this verse the phrase 'This I' occurs thrice and determines the dwelling of the full-power divine incarnation (*bigrāha*). He has (clearly) pronounced on this point in order to rebuke those (philosophers) who do not admit incarnations (*bigrāha*). The term 'this' indicates *jñān*, *bijnan*, and *bibeka*. Illusion is God's work, therefore God's self ('I') is different from illusion, just as a faint glow shines in the sky where the Sun was, but it cannot appear of itself without the aid of the Sun. It is only by going beyond illusion that we can perceive 'I'. Here the truth of Connection [with God] has been unfolded.

(3.) Next in *Bhagabat*, II. ix. 33, God tells Brahma,—
'Know that to be my illusion which being unreal appears to the (human) mind as real, or being real is not recognised by the mind ; just as the reflection in the water of the moon of the sky, though unreal, seems to be a second moon indeed ; or as the Rāhu of darkness, though real, escapes man's perception.'

Listen to an exposition of faith as a means of devotion. In religious rites we have to observe distinctions according to person, locality, time and condition. But in the practice of *bhakti* no such difference has to be made ; it is the duty of all in every place, condition and time. Ask a *guru* about faith, and learn its nature from him. (*Bhagabat*, II. ix. 35).

'The man who seeks spiritual truth will admit that that substance alone is the Soul (ātmā) which dwells at all times and within everything by acting as the anwaya (necessary) and byatireka (non-necessary) causes [of things].'

'Attachment to 'I' is love, the Needful thing. I shall describe its marks by means of actions. As the five spirits (*pañchabhūta*) dwell within and without all creation, similarly I inspire my *bhaktas* within and without.' (*Bhagabat*, II. ix. 34),—

'As the Great Spirits (maha-bhūtani) enter material objects after their creation, but remained outside them as causes before their creation,—so I too remain at once within and without all created things.'

“My *bhakta* has confined me to his lotus-like heart. Wherever he glances he beholds me.” (*Bhagabat*, XI. ii. 50 and 43, X. xxx. 4).

Thus does the *Bhagabat* explain three things,— Connection, Means, and Need. (*Bhagabat*, I. ii. 11).

Now listen to the *abhidheya* faith, which inspires every line of the *Bhagabat* (XI. xiv. 20).

Now hear about love, the radical Need, whose marks are joyous tears, dance and song. (XI. iii. 32 and ii. 38).

Therefore is the *Bhagabat* the author's own commentary on the *Brahma Sutra* ; it settles the meaning of the [*Mahā*] *Bhārat*, explains the *Gāyatri*, and amplifies by gloss the meaning of the *Vedas*, as is said in the *Garuda-Purāna*. Vide also the two verses from the same *Purāna* quoted by Sridhar Swami in his commentary on the *Bhagabat*, I. 1, also *Bhagabat*, I. 1. 1-3 and 19, the *Gita*, xviii. 54, *Bhagabat*, II. i. 9, III. xv. 43. I. vii. 10).”

Then the Maratha Brahman told the assembled people how the Master had explained the last mentioned verse in sixty-one different ways. The men wondered and pressed the Master, who gave His interpretation again. They marvelled exceedingly and concluded that Chaitanya was Krishna incarnate.

This said, the Master left the place. Men bowed to Him and shouted *Hari! Hari!* All the people of Benares began to make *sankirtan* of Krishna's name, laughing, dancing and singing in love. The *sanyasi*

philosophers took to the study of the *Bhagabat*. (In short) the Master saved the city of Benares, which became a second Navadwip [in fervour].

Returning to His quarters with His attendants, the Master said jestingly, "I had come to Benares to sell my sentimental stuff, for which there was no purchaser here. I could not carry my merchandise back to my country, as you would have been grieved to see me carrying the load! So, to please you all, I have distributed my goods freely!"

They all replied, "You have come to deliver mankind. Before this you had carried salvation to the South and the West. Benares alone was adverse to you, and now you have redeemed it, to our satisfaction."

The sensation at Benares spread. Millions of country people began to come to the city. They could not see the Master at the place of *sankirtan*, but formed lines on both sides of the road to watch Him going to bathe or visit Bishweshwar. With uplifted arms He ordered them to chant Hari's name; they prostrated themselves and shouted *Hari! Hari!*

Five days were thus passed in delivering the people, and then the Master grew anxious. When He started walking away at night, His five *bhaktas* followed Him,—viz., Tapan Misra, Raghunath, the Maratha Brahman, Chandra Shekhar, and the singer Paramanand,—all wishing to accompany Him to Puri. But the Master sent them back gently, giving them leave to come afterwards,

as He was returning alone by the Jháríkhanda route. To Sanatan He said, "Go to Brindaban, to your two brothers. If my *bhaktas* beggars, clad in quilt and bowl in hand, go there, cherish them." So saying He embraced and left them, while they all fell down fainting. Recovering they sadly took the way back to home.

When Rup reached Mathura, at the Dhruva *ghat* he met Subuddhi Ray, who had once been governor of Gaur with Syed Husain Khan as his servant. Husain was ordered to dig a tank, and on his committing some fault, his master, the Ray, flogged him. When, afterwards, Husain Shah became sultan of Bengal, he greatly promoted Subuddhi Ray.

But the sultana, noticing the scar of the lash on Husain's back, pressed him to murder the Ray. The sultan declined saying that the Ray was his former patron, a father unto him. But the queen urged him to destroy the Ray's caste while sparing his life. Husain answered that Subuddhi would not survive the loss of his caste. The king was hard pressed by the queen, and at last forced water from his own goglet into the Ray's mouth. At this the Ray left all his possessions, fled to Benares, and asked the *pandits* there, about the proper penance. They replied, "Give up your life by drinking steaming *ghee*. This is not a venial sin!" The Ray remained perplexed, but when the Master arrived there, he told Him all. Chaitanya advised him to go to Brindaban and ceaselessly chant

Krishna's name, as one utterance of the name would wash away all his sins and a repetition of it would gain him Krishna's feet.

The Ray reached Mathura by way of Prayag, Ayodhyá, and the Naimish forest (where he lingered some days). In the meantime the Master returned from Brindaban to Prayag, and Subuddhi on reaching Mathura grieved to miss Him. The Ray sold dry faggots at Mathura, at five or six pice per bundle. He lived by chewing one pice worth of grain and lodged the rest of his earnings with a *bania*. Whenever he met a poor Vaishnava, he fed him, and to Bengali pilgrims he gave curd, rice and oil for anointing the body. Rup greatly favoured him, and took him through the "Twelve Woods" in his own company.

After a month at Brindaban, Rup hurriedly left to search Sanatan out. Hearing that the Master had taken the Ganges route to Prayag, Rup and his brother Anupam followed that path. But Sanatan from Prayag went to Mathura by the king's highway, and so missed Rup, who had taken a different route, as Subuddhi Ray told Sanatan on his arrival at Mathura. Tenderly did the Ray treat Sanatan, who cared not for tender treatment; being very averse to the world, he roamed through the woods, passing a day and night under each tree and grove. Securing a copy of the holy book named *Mathurá Mahatmya*, he searched the forests to discover the forgotten shrines.

Rup with his youngest brother came to Kashi and there met the Maratha Brahman, Chandra Shekhar, and Tapan Misra. He lived with Chandra Shekhar, dined with the Misra, and heard from the latter how the Master had taught Sanatan. Delighted was he to hear from them about the Master's doings at Kashi and His grace to the *sanyasis*, and to see the devotion of the people to Him, and hear them chanting *kirtan*. After a ten days' stay there, Rup left for Bengal.

The Master wended His way to Puri, feeling intense bliss in the lonely jungle path. Balabhadra accompanied Him, and He sported with the deer and other animals as during His first journey. Reaching the "Eighteen Nullahs" He sent Bhattacharya in advance to summon His followers. At the news of His return, they got a new life as it were, ran to Him in rapture and met Him at the Narendra tank. The Master touched the feet of the Puri and the Bharati, who embraced Him lovingly. Damodar Swarup, Gadadhar Pandit, Jagadanand, Kashishwar, Govinda, Bakreshwar, Kashi Misra, Pradyumna Misra, Damodar Pandit, Haridas Thakur, Shankar Pandit, and all other *bhaktas* fell down at His feet. He embraced each and was overcome with love. The faithful swam in the ocean of bliss. With them He went to visit Jagannath, before whom He with His party danced and sang long in rapture. The servitor of the god presented Him with a garland and *prasad*, while Tulsi Parichhá bowed at His feet.

The Master's arrival was [soon] noised abroad in the village. Sarbabhauma, Rámánanda, and Bánínáth joined Him. With them all He repaired to Kashi Misra's house. Sarbabhauma bade Him to dinner, but He declined, and ordering some *mahaprasad* to be brought, feasted there with all His followers.

ERRATA.

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