

## Chapter Eight

### *Sādhana*

The *Bhagavat* does not allow its followers to ask anything from God except eternal love towards Him. The kingdom of the world, the beauties of the local heavens and the sovereignty over the material world are never the subjects of Vaishnav prayer. The Vaishnav meekly and humbly says, “Father, Master, God, Friend and Husband of my soul! ...

I have called You my God, and let my soul be wrapped up in admiration at Your greatness! I have addressed You as my Master; let my soul be strongly devoted to your service. I have called You my friend; let my soul be in reverential love towards You and not in dread or fear! I have called you my husband; let my spiritual nature be in eternal union with You, forever loving and never dreading, or feeling disgust. Father! Let me have strength enough to go up to You as the consort of my soul, so that we may be one in eternal love!”<sup>1</sup>

These words admonish us to pass beyond the mere worship of God out of fear or obedience and to embrace one of the *rasika* modes of worship as admirer, servant, friend, father, or lover. If there is one word that best denotes the essence of this prayer and describes Bhaktivinoda’s religious development, it is *rasa*, devotional sentiment. It is his desire for *rasa* that allows him to sort through the colliding speculations of nineteenth century philosophy and religion, and it is *rasa* that eventually leads him to embrace the religion of the Caitanya Vaiṣṇavas.

Religion as *rasika* experience may at first seem strange, particularly in the West, where religion is judged typically in terms of morality. But for Bhaktivinoda the moral basis of religion is only the preliminary stage in religious development.<sup>2</sup> Beyond morality is the cultivation of devotion (*sādhana-bhakti*), and beyond the cultivation of devotion is the *rasika* experience itself. The *rasika* experience, however, assumes one’s ability to taste that experience. Therefore Bhaktivinoda declares, “*Rasa* is not the subject of knowledge, but of taste (*āsvāda*). However, taste, which is the culmination of knowledge, does not arise until inquiry and attainment, the two preliminary aspects of knowledge are complete ... Without taste there can be no *rasa*.”<sup>3</sup>

In this chapter we examine Bhaktivinoda’s views on the religious practice (*sādhana-bhakti*), which is the principal means by which the embers of religious faith are fanned and nurtured into the full flame of *rasika*<sup>4</sup> experience. Most of Bhaktivinoda’s writings include a major discussion on this topic. His autobiography (*Svalikhita-jīvanī*) and journal (*Sajjana-toṣaṇī*)

show how religious practice was a major factor in his personal life. For Bhaktivinoda, life is the divine journey of the soul, an unfolding from one stage of development to successively higher stages. It is one that ultimately culminates in an unlimited expansion of eternal play and joy in communion with the Divine. This is the *rasika* experience.

### **Faith as the Natural Condition of the Soul**

The journey of the soul begins with faith. Faith in God is the natural condition of the soul and something that manifests at almost every stage of human development. Bhaktivinoda describes this condition:

From a careful consideration of the historical records and traditions of the inhabitants of this land and foreign countries, it is evident that faith in God is a common characteristic of human life. Even uncivilized tribes that eat flesh like animals offer worship and salutations to the sun and the moon, large mountains, rivers and great trees, with the belief that these things control the necessities of their lives. Why is this? It is faith in God, which is a symptom of the religious quality of consciousness.<sup>5</sup>

For Bhaktivinoda, human consciousness has a natural religious component that is indicated by faith in God. Again the influence of the American Unitarian, Theodore Parker, seems evidence. Parker insisted that man is by nature religious, “that he was made to be religious, as much as an ox was made to eat grass.”<sup>6</sup> Hence the existence of God is not something that human beings must discover. It is, as Parker continues, “a truth fundamental in our nature given outright by God; a truth which comes to light as soon as self-consciousness begins.”<sup>7</sup> As human consciousness evolves, human religious development similarly evolves. Bhaktivinoda notes:

All souls have the capability of worshipping the Divine, but how that Divinity is understood depends on the degree of impurity in the worshipper’s heart. According to the internal condition (*saiṅskāra*) of the worshipper the Divine is worshipped in five religious types: *śākta*, *saura*, *gāṅapatya*, *śaiva*, and *vaiṣṇava* ... From the doubtful stage, to those having full knowledge of the Absolute, every soul has the capacity to worship the Divine. The purity and elevation of love (*rāga*) are indications of the soul’s development. All souls should worship the independent Supreme Divinity, who is *sat cit ānanda*.<sup>8</sup>

In this passage the terms *śākta*, *saura*, *gāṅapatya*, *śaiva*, and *vaiṣṇava* do not refer to the corresponding religious sects of India. Instead they are

categories of religious typology or modes of personal religious consciousness. In his *Kṛṣṇa-saṁhitā* Bhaktivinoda points out, “In all countries and at all times these religious types are prevalent even though they may have different names. If we examine the religions that exist in this country as well as in foreign countries, we see that in one way or another they can be categorized according to these five religious types.”<sup>9</sup> For example, Buddhism and Jainism are *śaiva* type religions because they recognise human consciousness as the highest developmental principle; Islam and Christianity are *vaiṣṇava* type religions because they recognise a Supreme Godhead as the highest principle.<sup>10</sup> As Bhaktivinoda views history as a progressive evolution, he regards religious development as an evolution to higher stages of spiritual growth. The idea of progressive development through various stages suggests the influence of European thinkers such as Auguste Comte, whose ideas on human development viewed man as evolving through numerous stages of social and technological development. The *bhadrāloka* similarly viewed history, culture, and society as advancing through various phases.

Bhaktivinoda points out that as man passes through various stages of development certain impediments also arise. The rewards of civilization are not always supportive of religious faith. Consequently, the faithful yearnings of the soul are often thwarted. He writes:

After coming to the civilized state the soul cultivates various kinds of learning that often cover its natural faith with impure reasoning. This gives way to the state of atheism or the doctrine of *nirvāṇa*, which is a kind of “non-difference” doctrine. But we should realize that such ugly beliefs are the symptoms of an unhealthy condition of immature consciousness. In human life there are three intermediate stages between the base uncivilized stage and the beautiful stage of full faith in God. These stages are categorized as atheism, materialism, and agnosticism (or the *nirvāṇa* doctrine), which are diseases that block the soul’s development and so lead one to assume some very low positions.<sup>11</sup>

In this way the soul’s natural expression of religious faith is often subverted. However, even the atheistic and agnostic impositions of human civilization cannot endure forever. He cites the example of a Burmese Buddhist gentleman who talked of God as the creator who incarnates as the Buddha and who resides in heaven. “This man clearly knew nothing of the doctrine of the Buddha,” Bhaktivinoda writes, “Instead he was describing, in the name of Buddhist philosophy, what is natural for human nature.”<sup>12</sup> Even amidst the atheistic and agnostic tendencies of human civilization, faith in God ultimately prevails. And while a doctrine may initially be devoid of devotional qualities, human nature, being what it is, eventually adds the

elements of faith and devotion. No form of human endeavour ever remains long separated from the soul's natural faith.

Bhaktivinoda concludes: "The universal affection of Comte, Jaimini's God in the form of *apūrva*, based on the atheistic doctrine of karma, and the Buddhist's doctrine of materialistic extinction (*nirvāṇa-vāda*) are gradually transformed by their followers into the natural religion of the human being."<sup>13</sup> Faith and devotion to God are the two essential qualities of the soul that manifest in terms of the infinite varieties of human religious experience. Even though human culture is diverse, primary human nature is the same the world over.<sup>14</sup>

From another perspective, Bhaktivinoda categorizes human spiritual development in the following way: 1) life without morality, 2) moral life without God, 3) moral life with God, 4) regulated devotional life, and 5) spontaneous devotional life.<sup>15</sup> Immoral life and moral life without God have little regard for that is divine. The third stage, moral life with God, is of two types, one that imagines some form of God and the other that accepts a genuine form of God. Moral life that simply imagines a form of God does not focus on God directly but, for moral purposes, postulates a theoretical God. By contrast, moral life that accepts a genuine form of God recognizes the spiritual existence of a real God, Who is the foundation of all morality. The first three stages – immoral life, moral life without God, and moral life that simply imagines a form of God – all present a view of life that is limited to the realm of rational thought.<sup>16</sup> Such levels of development provide little spiritual satisfaction for want of divine vision and true religious faith. However, from the stage of moral life that accepts a genuine form of God, true devotional practice begins.<sup>17</sup>

### **The *Bhāgavata* and Religious Practice**

The question arises, what then is the best means to cultivate devotion? Bhaktivinoda answers by stating that the main characteristics of devotional practice (*sādhana-bhakti*) are inherent in the acts of hearing, glorification, and remembrance (of God). This reply is consonant with the *Bhāgavata's* observation that attraction and love for the things of this world develop naturally from the hearing and praising of an object.<sup>18</sup> In other words, the natural attributes of hearing, glorification, and remembrance form the basis of attraction and love in this world, and if these basic attributes can be turned in the direction of what is eternal and Supreme, instead of what is temporary and material, then absolute communion with the Supreme can result. Therefore, Bhaktivinoda writes, "The main characteristics of devotional practice are inherent in the acts of hearing, glorification and remembrance of the divine name, qualities, form and pastimes of *Kṛṣṇa*."<sup>19</sup>

We have seen how the *Bhāgavata* describes Absolute reality as undifferentiated knowledge and how that Absolute reality is differentiated

according to three grades of reality, namely *brahman*, *paramātna*, and *bhagavān*. According to the Caitanya Vaiṣṇavas, *bhagavān* is the highest reality and of all the various forms of *bhagavān* the form of Śrī Kṛṣṇa is the highest because it leads to the highest level of *rasika* experience. The narration of the *Bhāgavata*, therefore, culminates in its tenth canto with the *līlā* of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, who is described as the embodiment of all *rasa* (*akhīla-rasa-mūrti*). Bhaktivinoda writes, “The great Vyāsa, in his divine wisdom, delivered this ocean of *rasa* through the pages of the *Bhāgavata* with the aid of pictures from the material world.”<sup>20</sup> We are repeatedly invited to dive into this ocean of spiritual happiness by following the path of devotional practice called *sādhana-bhakti*.

However, explanation of devotional practice is not the main purpose of the *Bhāgavata*. Instead, its business is to present the basic spiritual substance for hearing, glorification, and remembrance, as well as the theological framework with which to understand this material.<sup>21</sup> Few details of devotional practice beyond what is most natural are mentioned in the *Bhāgavata*. Over the progression of time, it was the task of later theologians to arrange these natural processes into a formal system of mental and physical training called *sādhana-bhakti*.

### *Sādhana-bhakti*

For Bhaktivinoda three names stand out for their contributions to devotional practice: Rūpa Gosvāmī (1489-1564), Gopāla Guru (*ca.* 1550), and Dhyānacandra Gosvāmī (*ca.* 1600). Rūpa Gosvāmī is most famous for creating the very foundations of devotional practice amongst the Caitanya Vaiṣṇavas. Later Gopāla Guru and Dhyānacandra Gosvāmī added their thoughts to Rūpa’s system of *rāgānuṅgā-bhakti-sādhana*.

It is not necessary to describe the details of their system of devotional practice suffice it to say that *bhakti* may be divided into three divisions: *vaidhī-bhakti-sādhana*, *rāgānuṅgā-bhakti-sādhana* and *rāgātmikā-bhakti*.<sup>22</sup> *Vaidhī-bhakti-sādhana* entails the following of a specific set of devotional rules<sup>23</sup> and *rāgānuṅgā-bhakti-sādhana* involves following the moods of those who possess *rāgātmikā-bhakti*, or spontaneous love for God.<sup>24</sup> What we want to focus on is how Bhaktivinoda reinterpreted and presented this system of devotion to the *bhadraloka* in the context of nineteenth century modernity.

For the most part, Bhaktivinoda's interpretation of Rūpa Gosvāmī's system of *sādhana-bhakti* is orthodox. He adds to the discussion by commenting on the social side of *sādhana-bhakti*. Caitanya theologians such as Gopālguru Gosvāmī, Narottama Dāsa (ca. 1600), Dhyānacandra Gosvāmī, and Viśvanātha Cakravartī (ca. 1700) give only limited attention to *sādhana-bhakti* and its relationship to society (*varṇāśrama*). Their focus was on *rāgānuṅgā-bhakti-sādhana*. No doubt the changes that had occurred in the lives of the *bhadraloka* and the misuse of *sādhana-bhakti* by fringe groups of Vaiṣṇavas demanded Bhaktivinoda's commentary on *sādhana-bhakti* and society.

Bhaktivinoda begins his explanation of *sādhana-bhakti* by stating that devotional practice (*sādhana-bhakti*) best takes place within a supportive social and cultural environment – and the social and cultural environment that best supports that practice is *varṇāśrama-dharma*. He says, “*Vaidha-bhaktas* should always try to bring their hearts to the lotus feet of Kṛṣṇa while spending their lives situated in *varṇāśrama-dharma*. This is *bhakti-yoga*.”<sup>25</sup>

*Varṇāśrama-dharma* is the organization of society into four *varṇas* and four *āśramas*<sup>26</sup> fashioned according to scientific principles. This is what Bhaktivinoda calls *vaijñānika-varṇāśrama*, or scientific *varṇāśrama*. He writes: “Truly, all sympathetic and scientific persons will agree that social rules reached their climax at the hands of the *ṛṣis*, who, with scientific understanding, divided the rules of society in a two-fold way: according to *varṇa* and according to *āśrama*.<sup>27</sup> The *varṇas* were established in accordance with an individual's nature (*svabhāva*) and the *āśramas* were established with respect to an individual's relationship to society.<sup>28</sup> The system of *varṇas* and *āśramas* that Bhaktivinoda refers to is not the traditional caste system of his time. In his opinion the existing caste system was only a remnant of that ancient and scientific *vaijñānika-varṇāśrama* system.

Bhaktivinoda is critical of the prevailing caste system, particularly over the issue of birth as the selective criterion of *varṇa*. He equates this form of *varṇāśrama* with *smārta-dharma*.<sup>29</sup> He points out that originally the system of *varṇāśrama* was pure and based on scientific principles, but gradually from the time of Jamadagni and Paraśurāma, the system became corrupt and deviated from the original purpose. As a result, a quarrel broke out between the *brāhmaṇas* and the *kṣatriyas* so the scientific system of *varṇāśrama-dharma* gradually degraded. Due to the selfish desires of the *brāhmaṇas*, birth as the criteria of *varṇa* was inscribed into the *Manu-saṁhitā* and other *dharma-śāstras*.<sup>30</sup> In frustration, the rebellious *kṣatriyas* created Buddhism and the *vaiśyas* created Jainism and both tried to bring the downfall of *brāhmaṇism*. This weakened Vedic culture and eventually allowed outside *mleccha* kings to take control of India. The present caste system is the corrupted remnant of that originally pure scientific *varṇāśrama-dharma*.

Bhaktivinoda notes that there is a natural system of *varṇāśrama* that functions within all human societies. He writes:

When we consider the modern societies of Europe, whatever beauty exists in these societies depends upon the natural *varṇāśrama* system that exists within them. In Europe those who have system of traders are fond of trading and thereby advance themselves by trade. Those who have the nature of *ksatriyas* adopt the military life, and those who have the nature of *śudras* love doing menial service.<sup>31</sup>

In its broadest sense *varṇāśrama* is the system of rules of civilized life that pertain to physical, intellectual, social, and religious development. Every culture and every society has a set of cultural rules to regulate in civic life and the personal lives of its participants. No society can function without adopting the system of *varṇāśrama* to some extent. Bhaktivinoda writes, "In reality, no society can smoothly carry on unless the *varṇa* system is more or less adopted."<sup>32</sup> In Bhaktivinoda's opinion the ancient Greek, Roman and even the modern nineteenth century European societies are examples of natural *varṇāśrama* societies. However, even though these societies all show a natural form of *varṇāśrama*, he stops short of calling them scientific (*vaijñānika*) *varṇāśrama*. He continues, "Though the nations of Europe follow the *varṇa* system to some extent, it is not scientific<sup>33</sup> ... In Europe, and for that matter in all countries except India, it is the non-scientific *varṇa* system that guides them."<sup>34</sup>

What Bhaktivinoda calls scientific (*vaijñānika*) *varṇāśrama* is the original Vedic *varṇāśrama-dharma*. The most distinguishing feature of Vedic *varṇāśrama* is that *varṇa* is not based on birth but on the psychological makeup and qualifications of the individual. In Vedic *varṇāśrama*, the natural *varṇas* and *āśramas* are scientifically delineated to create a complex and highly specialized social system where the rules of society are directed not only towards the material advancement of society, but more importantly, towards its spiritual and ultimately its devotional development. In this way, *vaijñānika-varṇāśrama* becomes a part of *sādhana-bhakti*.<sup>35</sup>

The express purpose of Vedic *varṇāśrama-dharma* is to raise human society from the lowest stages of material life to the highest stage of devotional fulfilment. This is accomplished by managing mankind's physical, mental, social, and spiritual life in accordance with devotional culture. The cultivation of devotion is the ultimate purpose of the *varṇāśrama-dharma*. He writes, "The main purpose of *varṇāśrama-dharma* is to obey the laws of health, to cultivate and improve the faculty of the mind, to cultivate the social good, and to learn spiritual truth in order to cultivate devotion."<sup>36</sup> ...Therefore the observance of *varṇāśrama-dharma* is a necessity for the cultivation of devotion."<sup>37</sup> *Sādhana-bhakti* can best be undertaken within the culture of scientific or Vedic *varṇāśrama-dharma*.

The concern is raised that the practice of *varṇāśrama-dharma* can be overly elaborate and time consuming and often not in full harmony with the practice of devotion. It is asked: how much *varṇāśrama-dharma* should actually

be undertaken by the *sādhaka*<sup>38</sup> and what should be the course of action when conflict arises between *varṇāśrama-dharma* and *sādhana-bhakti*?<sup>39</sup> Bhaktivinoda answers by saying that if the body, mind, society, and spiritual life are not protected and nourished, there is little possibility that devotion can be cultivated. “If death is premature, or if mental disease arises, or if social revolution occurs, or if there is a lack of spiritual education, how can the seeds of devotion take hold in the heart?”<sup>40</sup> When *varṇāśrama-dharma* is abandoned arbitrarily without devotional purity, the bodily and mental demands of life lead to moral degradation. He insists that the practice of *varṇāśrama-dharma* is necessary for the cultivation of devotion in spite of its time consuming and elaborate nature.<sup>41</sup> In the end, he suggests that the cultivation of devotion will shorten the course of *varṇāśrama-dharma*<sup>42</sup> and he advises the devotional practitioner to progress slowly, step by step, and gradually leave those portions of *varṇāśrama-dharma* that are contrary to devotion.<sup>43</sup>

Just how the rules of *varṇāśrama-dharma* become sanctified through the process of *vaidhī-bhakti-sādhana* is explained in the following way. *Vidhis* are of two kinds, primary rules (*mukhya-vidhi*) and secondary rules (*gauṇa-vidhi*).<sup>44</sup> Those rules which pertain directly to devotion, such as hearing divine *līlā*, chanting the holy name, seeing the sacred image, and surrendering to guru are *mukhya-vidhi* because “the direct fruit of the *vidhi* is God’s worship (*upāsana*).”<sup>45</sup> The sixty-four element (*aṅgas*) of *vaidhī-bhakti-sādhana* that Rūpa Gosvāmī mentions fall within the category of *mukhya-vidhi*.

Secondary rules are those indirectly related to God’s worship. For the most part these are the rules of *varṇāśrama-dharma*. Bhaktivinoda gives the following example: By taking a morning bath the mind becomes calm because the body is cool and free of disease. Although the direct result of bathing is mental calmness and physical cleanliness, and not devotion *per se*, it does happen that the worship of God is improved through bathing. Consequently, when bathing is done in relation to the worship of God, it becomes a secondary aspect or *gauṇa-vidhi* of *sādhana-bhakti*.<sup>46</sup> Similarly, the other rules of *varṇāśrama-dharma*, when undertaken in relation to devotion, benefit devotional life and thereby are converted into *gauṇa-vidhi*. This can only take place when the rules of *mukhya-vidhi* have first been firmly established in the life of the *sādhaka*. The rules of *mukhya-vidhi* work in conjunction with *varṇāśrama-dharma*. Through *vaidhī-bhakti* the heart of the *sādhaka* is cleansed and prepared for the next step along the path of devotion, *rāgānuṅgā-bhakti-sādhana*. Until that time, however, Bhaktivinoda warns:

So long as deep attachment (*rāga*) for Kṛṣṇa has not arisen, the *sādhaka* must be devoted to Kṛṣṇa out of a sense of duty by adopting the primary and secondary rules of devotion.<sup>47</sup> ...*Rāga* is rare, but when it arises the *vidhis* no longer hold the *sādhaka*. However, until that time it is the main duty of a person to be guided by *vidhis*...It is only the most fortunate and highly competent person who is able to walk the path of *rāga*.<sup>48</sup>

In the initial stages the effectiveness of *vidhis* is based on a sense of duty, a hope of a future reward, or a fear of sin. Duty, hope, and fear, however, do not constitute pure motives of worship.<sup>49</sup> Eventually, the path of *vaidhī-bhakti-sādhana* matures and a state of internal desire called *rāga* arises as the practitioner wishes to practice devotion free of any sense of duty, hope, or fear. Bhaktivinoda further points out, “Fear and hope are contemptible. When the intelligence of the practitioner develops he gradually gives up fear and hope and begins to follow *śāstra* out of a sense of duty alone. That sense of duty cannot be abandoned until the state of *rāga* towards God develops.”<sup>50</sup> This is how the path of devotion gradually transforms itself from a state of obligation to a state of spontaneous passion, called *rāga*. The manifestation of *rāga* is the ultimate goal of *vaidhī-bhakti*. When *rāga* springs forth in the heart of the *sādhaka*, devotional life takes on a new vibrancy as the door to *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana* opens wide.

### ***Rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana***

As *rāga* arises in the heart of the *sādhaka* he is no longer content to follow the rules of *bhakti* in a passive state. Instead, he intensely desires to experience *līlā* directly as a participant. In such a condition the *sādhaka* is ready to adopt the path of *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana*.<sup>51</sup> Bhaktivinoda describes this condition: “When *lobha* for the path of *rāgānugā* arises, the *sādhaka* should approach the proper guru with great humility. Examining the disciple’s inclinations, the guru should instruct the disciple and introduce his *bhajana* along with the details of the disciple’s *siddha-deha*.”<sup>52</sup>

The term *siddha-deha* is significant. Literally, *siddha-deha* means “perfect body.” In the context of *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana* the *siddha-deha* is the “spiritual body” that the *sādhaka* uses to participate within *līlā*. This is where the influence of Gopālaguru Gosvāmī and Dhyānacandra Gosvāmī and the post Rūpa tradition of *sādhana-bhakti* becomes clear in Bhaktivinoda’s approach to *sādhana*.

There is no need to elaborate in the details of Rūpa Gosvāmī’s system. Instead we will summarize by saying that unlike *vaidhī-bhakti*, *rāgānugā-bhakti* involves the transformation of identity. This change of identity is accomplished as the *sādhaka* patterns his internal feelings and activities after one of the exemplary characters among the residents of eternal Vrindavan. By approximating the internal feelings and activities of these eternal residents the *sādhaka* learns to develop a frame of mind and mood similar to those within *Vṛndāvana-līlā*. In fact, the *sādhaka* learns to participate within *līlā* through one of the five primary relationships: *śānta*, *dāsya*, *salūya*, *vātsalya*, and *mādhurya*. Rūpa Gosvāmī, however, does not specifically mention the *siddha-deha* or “spiritual body” that the *sādhaka* uses to practice *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana*. This is a later development and one of the most prominent features of Bhaktivinoda’s *sādhana*.

The following example, cited from the *Jaiwa-dharma*, shows how the path of *rāga-bhakti* is initiated, how *siddha-deha* is adopted, and how transformation of identity actually occurs. Vijaya Kumāra and Vrajanātha, two fictional but typical sixteenth century Vaiṣṇavas, are disciples of Raghunātha Dāsa Bābājī in Navadvīp. Vijaya is married with a family and Vrajanātha is about to get married. Raghunātha Dāsa is a *siddha-puruṣa* or a master of esoteric devotional practice. After learning the tenets of *vaidhī-bhakti* and becoming established in that *sādhana*, Vijaya and Vrajanātha approach their guru with the intention of requesting initiation into the path of *rāgānuṣāṅga-bhakti*.

The scene opens as follows: “A wonderful feeling arose in the minds of Vijaya Kumāra and Vrajanātha, both unanimously decided to be initiated by Bābājī Mahārāja who was a master in the spiritual field.... The next morning they finished their bath in the Ganges, put on twelve marks of *tilaka*, and went to Raghunātha Dāsa Bābājī where they prostrated themselves at his feet.”<sup>53</sup> Vrajanātha asks, “What is *rāga*?” Bābājī answers by explaining the many details of *rāgānuṣāṅga-bhakti-sādhana*. Finally, Vrajanātha asks the most important question, “What kind of *rāgānuṣāṅga-bhakti* are we qualified for?”<sup>54</sup> In other words: how is the *sādhaka* to know in which relationship he belongs and which *rāgātmikā-bhakti* he is to follow? Bābājī answers:

My child, minutely study your nature (*svabhāva*), and according to your nature and feelings (*ruci*), cultivate the appropriate sentiment (*rasa*). Attend to one who is eternally perfected in respect to that *rasa*. You must examine your feelings exclusively. If you have feelings for the path of *rāga*, then act according to those feelings, but so long as you have no feelings for the path of *rāga*, you should have firm faith in the path of *vaidhī-bhakti*.<sup>55</sup>

Accordingly, Vijaya Kumāra describes how he has been listening to the activities of Śrī Kṛṣṇa from the *Bhāgavata* for a long time and has become inclined to hear about the *līlā* of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in the mood of Śrīmatī Lalitā Devī.<sup>56</sup> To this Bābājī immediately replies, “You need say no more. You are a *mañjarī* following Lalitā Devī. What type of service do you like best?”<sup>57</sup> Vijaya responds, “I think I am ordered by Lalitā Devī to string garlands of flowers. I shall cut beautiful flowers and make garlands and hand them to her she will smile on me out of infinite grace and put them round the neck of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.”<sup>58</sup> Bābājī responds, “May your desire for service (*sevā*) be fulfilled, I bless you....My son, go on practicing *rāgānuṣāṅga-bhakti* in this way, but externally let the practice of the various limbs of *vaidhī-bhakti* continue.”<sup>59</sup>

Vrajanātha then says, “My master, whenever I study the loving activities of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, I feel the urge to follow in the foot-steps of Subala.”<sup>60</sup> Bābājī asks, “What things are you inclined to do?” Vrajanātha responds, “I would like to fetch the calves as a companion of Subala. Sitting nearby, Kṛṣṇa plays on His flute, and being favored by Subala, I let the calves drink water

and bring them to Kṛṣṇa – this is my heart’s desire.” Bābājī says, “I bless you that you may serve Kṛṣṇa in obedience to Subala. You are eligible to cultivate the sentiment of friendship (*sakhyā-rasa*).<sup>61</sup>

Here both Vijaya and Vrajanātha are preparing to follow what Rūpa Gosvāmī has defined as, “That (method of bhakti) which follows the *rāgātmikā-bhakti* clearly manifest in the inhabitants of Vraja.”<sup>62</sup> This, of course, is *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana*. Vijaya will follow the mood of *rāgātmikā-bhakti* demonstrated by Lalitā Devī according to the *mādhurya-rasa*, and Vrajanātha will follow the mood of *rāgātmikā-bhakti* expressed by Subala as *sakhyā-rasa*. They will respectively study the *līlā* activities of these *rāgātmikā-bhaktas* as they gradually internalise the feelings of these paradigmatic individuals.

There is just one more aspect to this story that reflects the further developments beyond Rūpa Gosvāmī’s original definition of *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana*. Both Vijaya and Vrajanātha ask, “What more remains to be done in this respect?” To which Bābājī replies, “Nothing at all, except that you must know the name, appearance, garment, and so on, of your spiritual body (*siddha-deha*). Come later and I will tell you.”<sup>63</sup> Bhaktivinoda concludes as follows:

On that day Vrajanātha and Vijaya considered themselves blessed, and with great delight, set themselves to follow the path of *raga*. Externally everything remains as before all their manners were like those of a man, but internally Vijaya Kumāra was imbued with the nature of a woman and Vrajanātha assumed the nature of a cowherd boy.<sup>64</sup>

The final statement of Bābājī, “You must know the name, appearance, garment, and so on, of your spiritual body (*siddha-deha*),” is indicative of that part of the later tradition of *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana* that has to do with how transformation of identity takes place. This is a key element.

After Rūpa Gosvāmī, the tradition of *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana* is dominated by many important personalities, among whom are Gopālaguru Gosvāmī, Dhyānacandra Gosvāmī, Narottama Dāsa Thākura, Viśvanātha Cakravartī and Siddha Kṛṣṇadāsa Bābā.<sup>65</sup> Gopālaguru Gosvāmī, Dhyānacandra Gosvāmī and Siddha Kṛṣṇadāsa Bābā have each composed a *paddhati*, or manual, outlining the details of *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana*.<sup>66</sup> Collectively these works are known as the *paddhati-traya*, and they comprise the *bhajana-paddhatis* for the Caitanya Vaiṣṇavas.<sup>67</sup> We have mentioned that among these personalities, Gopālaguru Gosvāmī and Dhyānacandra Gosvāmī are prominent in Bhaktivinoda’s writings.

None of these followers of Caitanya discusses the path of *vaidhī-bhakti* to any extent; instead they focus their attention on *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana*. Under their influence three new developments are introduced. The first is the creation of a specialized form of spiritual practice called *mañjarī-sādhana* in

which the *sādhaka* in meditation assumes the identity of a young maidservant (*mañjarī*) in *Kṛṣṇa-līlā*. The second development affects the manner in which spiritual identity is assumed, called *siddha-praṇālī-dīkṣā* or sometimes *ekādaśa-bhāva*. The third is a formalization of the process of remembrance (*līlā-smaraṇa*) called *aṣṭa-kāliya-līlā-smaraṇa*. Each of these developments is represented in the *sādhana* of Bhaktivinoda.

Gopālaguru and Dhyānacandra are specifically mentioned in Bhaktivinoda's *Jaiva-dharma* when Vijaya Kumāra and Vrajanātha travel to Puri to meet them for instruction.<sup>68</sup> Vijaya and Vrajanātha are told to find Gopālaguru, "in the house of Kāśī Miśra at Śrī Puruṣottama." There they hear that, "At the house of Kāśī Miśra in Puri, Śrī Gopālaguru Gosvāmī, the disciple of Śrī Vakreśvara, now occupies the honored seat of Śrīman Mahāprabhu."<sup>69</sup> They are told to have *darśana* of his lotus feet and take his instruction respectfully. Bhaktivinoda tells us that, "Śrī Dhyānacandra Gosvāmī was a past master in all subjects, and in the matter of worship of Hari especially he was second to none. He was the first and foremost of all the disciples of Śrī Gopālaguru Gosvāmī. He gave instructions on all the principles of *bhajana* to Vijaya and Vrajanātha, considering them competent to learn the matter of worship."<sup>70</sup> There is no question that Bhaktivinoda held both Gopālaguru and Dhyānacandra Gosvāmīs in high esteem.<sup>71</sup>

When Bābājī says to Vijaya Kumāra and Vrajanātha, "You must know the name, appearance, garment, and so on, of your spiritual body," he is referring to the specific manner in which the transformation of identity takes place as described in the *paddhati-traya*. In these works a third level of initiation called *siddha-praṇālī-dīkṣā* is described where eleven aspects (*ekādaśa-bhāva*) of a spiritual identity are given to the *sādhaka* by the guru.<sup>72</sup> These eleven aspects characterize the internal spiritual persona, usually of a *mañjarī*, that allows the *sādhaka* to participate within *Kṛṣṇa-līlā*. The word *mañjarī* refers to a young maid who serves the needs of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in *mādhurya-rasa*.<sup>73</sup>

### *Siddha-praṇālī*

In the final chapter of the *Hari-nāma-cintāmaṇi* (1900), Bhaktivinoda describes *siddha-praṇālī-dīkṣā* as follows: "In order to fulfil one's ambition for attaining *ujjvala-rasa* [*mādhurya-rasa*] there are eleven items that form one's spiritual identity: relationship (*sambhandha*), age (*vayasa*), name (*nāma*), form (*rūpa*), group (*yūtha*), dress (*veśa*), assignment (*ājñā*), residence (*vāsa*), service (*sevā*), highest ambition (*parākāṣṭhā*), and feeling one's self protected and maintained (*pālyadāsī*)."<sup>74</sup> These eleven items are conferred on the disciple by the guru during initiation to define an internal spiritual identity that the *sādhaka* gradually uses to participate within *Kṛṣṇa-līlā*.

Just how such a spiritual identity is implemented is described as follows: "The *sādhana* is executed in five progressive stages: *śravaṇa-daśā* (the stage of hearing), *varaṇa-daśā* (the stage of accepting), *smaraṇa-daśā* (the stage of remembering), *āpana-daśā* (the stage of maturing), and *sanpatti-daśā* (the stage of attainment)."<sup>75</sup>

Regarding the first stage, *śravaṇa-daśā*, Bhaktivinoda writes: “One should approach a guru who is considered more advanced than one’s self and hear the principles of *bhavā* from him. This is the stage of hearing. There are two aspects of *bhavā-tattva* that you must consider: the eleven components of your own spiritual identity, and *Kṛṣṇa-līlā*.”<sup>76</sup>

After this comes *varaṇa-daśā*, or the stage of accepting the eleven aspects of a spiritual persona. This is the most interesting stage. Bhaktivinoda writes: “When *lobha* arises upon hearing Rādhā’s and Kṛṣṇa’s *līlā*, the disciple may ask at the feet of his Guru, ‘Oh reverend sir, how is it possible to attain such *līlā*?’ If pleased with the disciple, the guru will then mercifully explain the principles of *līlā* in relation to the *sādhaka*’s internal identity saying, ‘You may enter *līlā* in this way. After hearing with innocence about this sacred mood, you shall accept this within your own heart.’ This is the stage of acceptance called *varaṇa-daśā*.”<sup>77</sup>

*Varaṇa-daśā* is the stage when the *ekādaśa-bhāva* or the eleven aspects of internal identity are conferred: The first item is called *sambandha* or relationship. According to Bhaktivinoda *sambandha* means serving Kṛṣṇa through one of the five primary relationships known as *śānta*, *dāsyā*, *sakhyā*, *vātsalyā*, and *mādhuryā*. In the *Caitanya-saṁpradāya*, the main emphasis is on *mādhuryā-rasa*; consequently, the *pāddhatis* discuss *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana* only in relation to *mañjarī-sādhana*. In fact, Vrajanātha’s adoption of *sakhyā-rasa* is a rare instance and one that shows that the aspects of an internal spiritual identity may be applied to all of the major *rasas*. However, the later tradition does not accommodate any of the relationships other than *mādhuryā-rasa*, and even within that relationship the focus is on a very specific form of *mādhuryā-rasa* called *mañjarī-sādhana*. But according to Bhaktivinoda, the *ekādaśa-bhāva* could be applied to any of the relationships.

Bhaktivinoda builds on Rūpa Gosvāmī’s original idea of *sambandha* as one of the five primary relationships and thereby broadens the meaning of *sambandha* to include all primary relationships. If the primary relationship is *vātsalyā*, for example, then the nature of that relationship will determine the details of the other ten items of internal identity. This is an important innovation or perhaps restoration by Bhaktivinoda and it shows how the tradition of *rāgānugā-sādhana* can be expanded beyond just the *mādhuryā-rasa*. Unfortunately, Bhaktivinoda does not discuss the specific details of attaining an internal persona within any of the relationships other than *mādhuryā-rasa*. In the case of Vrajanātha, who chooses *sakhyā-rasa*, Bābājī asks him to return later to hear the eleven items of his spiritual persona as a cowherd. But that is the last we hear of the matter. It would have been interesting to hear the details of Vrajanātha’s spiritual persona within the *sakhyā-rasa*. Because Bhaktivinoda does not elaborate on the matter the balance of our discussion is only in reference to the *mādhuryā-rasa*.

The second aspect of persona is age (*vayasa*). Referring to the age of the *mañjarī* Bhaktivinoda writes, “The age of *kaiśora* is between ten and sixteen years. This is known as *vayasa-sandhi*.” In *mañjarī-sādhana* the *sādhaka* will have

an internal identity as a young girl between ten and sixteen years.<sup>78</sup> In fact we will find that age becomes very specific. Bhaktivinoda, for instance, has an age of twelve years, six months and ten days in his *mañjarī-svarūpa*.

The third item is name (*nāma*). Bhaktivinoda writes, “If you are inclined to follow in the footsteps of a particular *sakhī* of Śrī Rādhā, your name will follow her name. Your guru knows your spiritual sentiments and accordingly he will select a suitable name as your eternal name.”<sup>79</sup> Bhaktivinoda’s *mañjarī* name is Kamalā Mañjarī.

The fourth item is bodily complexion or form (*rūpa*). This is described as follows: “When you have identified yourself as an adolescent damsel with beaming youth and beauty, then your guru will indicate your bodily complexion. Ah! Without brilliant effulgence and personal beauty how can you become a maid in the group of Śrī Rādhā?”<sup>80</sup> Bhaktivinoda’s bodily complexion is that of lightning.

The fifth item is group (*yūtha*). This is described as follows: “Śrīmatī Rādhikā is the leader of the group. In Rādhārāṇī’s group each of the eight chief *sakhīs* form subgroups called *gaṇas*.<sup>81</sup> According to your internal feelings, Śrī Gurudeva will place you under the protection of Śrī Lalitā’s *gaṇa*.”<sup>82</sup> There are eight chief *gopī* friends of Śrī Rādhā known as *parama-preṣṭha-sakhīs*, and each *mañjarī* is a member of one of these groups. Bhaktivinoda is within Śrī Rādhikā’s group (*yūtha*) and Lalitā’s subgroup (*gaṇa*).<sup>83</sup>

The sixth item is dress (*veśa*). Bhaktivinoda describes this as follows: “According to the *sevā* that you are to perform you will be instructed in the appropriate fine arts. Your guru will instruct you in the most suitable qualities and dress.”<sup>84</sup> Bhaktivinoda’s dress is like a cluster of stars.

The seventh item is assignment (*ājñā*). He writes, “Assignment is of two kinds, permanent and occasional. Whatever permanent *sevā* your most compassionate *sakhī* has requested of you, you should do in respect to *aṣṭa-kāliya-līlā* without hesitation; besides that, if she sometimes instructs you in some other service, that is occasional *sevā* which you should similarly attend to.”<sup>85</sup> Bhaktivinoda’s *siddha-praṇālī* chart<sup>86</sup> also includes the following statement regarding assignment: “My group leader is Lalitā, who is graceful and skilled in all arts. She is a constant companion of Śrī Rādhā. I always follow her orders and consider myself her *dāsī*.”<sup>87</sup>

The eighth item is residence (*nivāsa*). Bhaktivinoda explains residence as follows: “To eternally reside in Vrindavan is the meaning of *nivāsa*. The *sādhaka* takes birth as a *gopī* in a particular village in Vraja. Then she will marry some *gopāla* from another village. But being attracted to the sound of Kṛṣṇa’s flute, she will take up residence in a cottage near Rādhā-kuṇḍa in the grove of the *sakhī* to whom she is devoted. This is the perfect home for a *mañjarī*. *Parakīya-bhāva*<sup>88</sup> is her eternal mood.”<sup>89</sup> Bhaktivinoda’s residence is at Svānanda Sukhada Kuñja.

The ninth item is service (*sevā*). He writes, “You are a servant of Rādhikā; therefore to render pure service to Her is your permanent duty. When you go to meet Śrī Kṛṣṇa at a solitary place by Her command, if He

expresses a desire to consort with you, you must not yield to Him, as you are a maid, confidante to Śrī Rādhā alone. Without Her permission you cannot independently serve Śrī Kṛṣṇa. Although you possess equal love for both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, your love for the service of Kṛṣṇa is subservient to your love for the service of Rādhā. This is the meaning of *sevā* and your *sevā* is to assist the *aṣṭa-kāliya-līlā* of Śrī Rādhā."<sup>90</sup> In Bhaktivinoda's *mañjarī-svarūpa* as Kamalā Mañjarī, he brings camphor to be used in a variety of preparations that he may help prepare and offer. Camphor is used in sweet rice; it is mixed with *aguru* and burned (the fragrant smoke is used to dry Rādhā's hair); camphor is also mixed with sandalwood paste (*candana*) and applied to the bodies of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa for a cooling effect.

The tenth item is divine cherished ambition (*parākāṣṭhā*). Bhaktivinoda describes this as follows: "Let me attain the *sevā*, form, and qualities of Śrī Rūpa Mañjarī."<sup>91</sup> By following in Her footsteps along with the other *sakhīs* and *mañjarīs*, let me begin Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa's *nitya-sevā* this very day. This mood is called divine cherished ambition."<sup>92</sup>

The eleventh and final item of one's *siddha-deha* is the feeling of being protected and maintained (*pālyadāsī*) by one of the *aṣṭa-sakhīs* (group leaders-*gaṇeśvarīs*). Bhaktivinoda's *dikṣā-patra* reads as follows: "I am looked after by Lalitā-devī, for she knows the essence of everything. I reside in her Śrī *kuñja mandira* and follow her every order, for by doing so, instantly Rādhā Kṛṣṇa's *sevā* will be available to me."<sup>93</sup> The *mañjarī-sādhaka* feels submission to a particular *gopī* who acts as her maintainer. This completes the eleven items of the *ekādaśa-bhāva* that form the basis of a spiritual persona within *Kṛṣṇa-līlā*. Through these eleven items the *sādhaka* is able to focus on an internal reality that is eventually meant to surpass the *sādhaka's* external physical reality.

To this description Bhaktivinoda adds one important qualification: the spiritual persona must match the natural feelings and psychology of the *sādhaka*. He writes, "At the time of acceptance, after discerning one's own *ruci* or taste for devotion you should humbly declare at the guru's feet: 'Lord, my full delight is in whatever identification you mercifully give. By nature my hankering is for this feeling, thus I am satisfied in accepting your command.'"<sup>94</sup> Bhaktivinoda explains that the *siddha-deha* is the soul's most precious possession so it must correspond in every way to the *sādhaka's* personal choice. If not, the required motivation to attain such a spiritual body will be lacking. He advises, "If there is no liking for the assignment of the spiritual body then one should candidly declare one's own liking at the feet of the guru. Upon reflection the guru will give a different persona. If there is liking for it, then one's proper persona will become manifest."<sup>95</sup> He continues, "At that time, the disciple must take full shelter of his guru and say, 'I accept this [*ekādaśa-bhāva*] which you have given me as my own, not only in this life, but also after death.'"<sup>96</sup>

The manner in which Bhaktivinoda regards the conferment of the *siddha-deha* is according to the emotional and psychological makeup of the *sādhaka*.<sup>97</sup> In contrast, David Haberman mentions two theories that illustrate

how the *siddha-deha* is traditionally received. He calls one the “inherent theory” and the other the “assigned theory.”<sup>98</sup> According to the “inherent theory” every *jīva* already has an existing eternal *siddha-deha*. During initiation, the guru “sees” the initiate’s eternal identity in *līlā* by meditation and reveals this true identity to the *sādhaka*, who then begins the practice of *rāgānugā-bhakti* and eventually discovers for himself the reality of his eternal identity.

According to the “assigned theory” the guru assigns the appropriate *siddha-deha* to the initiate. The *siddha-dehas* are like “shiny new cars,” as Haberman quotes one modern commentator, that are assigned to the appropriate candidate according to the design of God through the mystic perception of the guru. In both theories, numerous inspiring stories abound to prove and illustrate how the *sādhaka* receives his actual inner form. While visiting Vrindavan, I, like David Haberman, heard many of these amazing and mystical anecdotes.

According to Bhaktivinoda, the act of receiving a *siddha-deha* is an attempt to match the psychological and emotional temperament of the *sādhaka* with the mood of the particular *rasika* relationship. It is less the result of a mystical intervention by the guru and more a mutual decision between the guru and disciple. At the time of *siddha-praṇālī-dīksā*, the candidate approaches the guru and together they decide on the appropriate spiritual persona for the disciple according to the internal *ruci* or feelings of the *sādhaka*.

Bhaktivinoda’s approach seems to include more psychological and empirical input than what traditionally may be the case. As one becomes more and more purified through devotional practice one’s natural (*sahaja*) spiritual condition develops. Such an emotional and psychological condition may be taken as a reflection or indication of one’s inherent spiritual condition. The devotional feeling that one experiences in the phenomenal body is used to help decide the appropriate spiritual identity.

And, most important of all, if after some time the *sādhaka* feels that his identity is not suited to his internal disposition he may again approach the guru for an adjustment or a new identity altogether.<sup>99</sup> Thus the disciple receives an appropriate *siddha-deha* through a cooperative effort between the guru and disciple rather than by a flash of spiritual revelation by the guru alone.

For Bhaktivinoda the *ekādaśa-bhāva* is a meditative system, perhaps we could even suggest a technical device, used to lead the disciple to a realization of his or her true inner identity. What the guru bestows on the disciple is not the *siddha-deha* directly, but a working model of a *siddha-deha*. This seems to be a significant empirical innovation, and certainly it is one that fits well with Bhaktivinoda’s task of interpreting the process of *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana* in the context of modernity.

The final stages of the *siddha-praṇālī* process, *smaraṇa-daśā*, *āpana-daśā*, and *sampatti-daśā* simply involve the practice, maturing, and fulfilment of *līlā*-

*smaraṇa* in one's *mañjarī-svarūpa*. These final stages describe a gradual strengthening of the meditative process as the *sādhaka* becomes increasingly adept in the use of *siddha-deha* during meditation.

Interestingly, Bhaktivinoda provides a letter of initiation (*dīkṣā-patra*) that outlines the details of his *siddha-deha*. I include a reproduction of a handwritten copy of the *dīkṣā-patra* in Bengali (p.202) along with its transcription and translation (p.232-233) that I originally obtained from Bhaktivinoda's maternal family home. The *dīkṣā-patra* gives both the *siddha-praṇālī* and the *ekādaśa-bhāva* for Bhaktivinoda's entire *dīkṣā* line running back to Śrī Jāhnavā Mā, the wife of Nityānanda Prabhu.

To substantiate the information found in the *dīkṣā-patra*, we find that in the *Siddhi-lālasā* section of the *Gītā-mālā*, one of Bhaktivinoda's song books, he includes a selection of verses where he describes his *mañjarī-svarūpa* as follows:<sup>100</sup>

My bodily complexion is like lightning and the color of my dress is like a cluster of stars. My name is Kamalā Mañjarī, I am eternally 12½ years old, and my residence is called Svānanda Sukhada Kuñja. My *sevā* is to bring camphor and I am in Lalitā's group. Our party leader is Śrī Rādhā, and the Lord of my Goddess is Śrī Nandanandana [Kṛṣṇa]. They are the treasure of my life. My greatest hope is to attain *yugala-sevā* like that of Śrī Rūpa and the other *mañjarīs*. Certainly I shall reach that goal because I have strong faith. When will this *dāsī* attain perfection and make her residence at Rādhā-kuṇḍa? Always serving Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, she will give up the memories of the past. While serving the lotus feet of the daughter of Vṛṣabhānu [Śrī Rādhā], I shall be protected and maintained by Her. I shall always try to make Śrī Rādhikā happy. I know that Kṛṣṇa's happiness lies in seeing Rādhā happy. I shall never desire to give up the lotus feet of Rādhā to mix personally with Kṛṣṇa. The *sakhīs* in my group are my best friends, as well as my teachers in the art of loving Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Following them, I shall serve Rādhikā's lotus feet, which are like wish-fulfilling trees."<sup>101</sup>

If we compare this description found in Bhaktivinoda's *dīkṣā-patra* we find that they match perfectly. All this evidence shows that Bhaktivinoda personally participated in and promoted the path of *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana* that included the process of *siddha-praṇālī* as defined by Gopālaguru and Dhyānacandra Gosvāmīs.

### *Aṣṭa-kāliya-smaraṇa*

The adoption of the *siddha-deha* and *mañjarī-sādhana* are still not complete unless there is a setting in which to activate one's spiritual identity. This is accomplished by the use of *aṣṭa-kāliya-līlā-smaraṇa*. We have seen how the *Bhāgavata* recommends the hearing, glorification and remembrance of the name and activities of *bhagavān* Śrī Kṛṣṇa, called *līlā-smaraṇa*. In its most basic form *līlā-smaraṇa* involves meditating on the worship and activities of Kṛṣṇa as described in the *Bhāgavata* and related texts.

The system of *aṣṭa-kāliya-līlā-smaraṇa* is a formalization and extension of *līlā-smaraṇa* whereby Kṛṣṇa's day in Vrindavan is divided into eight time periods – night's end, early morning, forenoon, midday, afternoon, sunset, late evening and night – and where each period includes a particular pastime activity that the practitioner earns to visualize and meditate upon.<sup>102</sup>

Here is one example of morning (*prātaḥ*) *līlā*. Vijaya asks Gopālaguru Gosvāmī, "What are Kṛṣṇa's morning activities?" Gosvāmī answers:

In the morning Śrī Kṛṣṇa is awakened by Mother Yaśodā, and after quickly rising from bed, He brushes His teeth along with Śrī Baladeva. Then, with His mother's permission, He eagerly goes to the *gośālā* to milk the cows.

Śrī Rādhā is awakened by some of the older *sakhīs* and rises from bed. Then She brushes Her teeth, and after being massaged with oil, etc., She goes to the *snāna-vedi* (bathing platform). She is bathed by Lalitā and the other *sakhīs*, and then enters the dressing room, where She is adorned with a beautiful dress and ornaments, delightful perfume, garlands and ointments.

After that, Mother Yaśodā sends one of her maidservants to ask Rādhā's mother-in-law to allow Śrīmatī and Her *sakhīs* to come quickly and cook.

Śrī Nārada said, "O Devī, why does Mother Yaśodā call for Śrī Rādhā when Śrī Rohiṇī is known as the foremost of all cooks?"

Śrī Vṛndā replied, "Maharṣi Durvāsā has personally given a boon to Śrī Rādhā. I previously heard this from the mouth of Śrī Kātyāyani. Durvāsā has said, 'O Devī (Rādhē), by my grace, whatever food You cook shall be very delicious and challenge the taste of nectar. Whoever eats this food will have his longevity increased.' For this reason, Mother Yaśodā always calls Śrī Rādhikā for cooking. She considers, 'By my son eagerly eating the delicious and pure food prepared by the hand of Śrī Rādhā, He shall have a long life.'"

After receiving the permission of Her mother-in-law, Śrī Rādhā and Her *sakhī-gaṇa* proceed in ecstasy to the home of Nanda Mahārāja to do the cooking.

Kṛṣṇa and the others milk all the cows, and then, by the request of Nanda Mahārāja, Kṛṣṇa returns to His home surrounded by His *sakhas*. There, some of the servants blissfully massage Him with oil, etc., and assist Him with His bath. Then, after the bath, they offer Him clean clothing, a fresh garland, and sandalwood paste. In this way, He looks very beautiful. Then, the hair above His forehead and neck is tied into a topknot, and on His forehead *tilaka* in the shape of a glowing moon is painted. His beautiful hands and arms are adorned with bangles, bracelets, armlets, and a jewelled seal ring. He wears an attractive necklace on his chest, and *makara* shaped earrings on His ears. After being called repeatedly by His mother, He takes her hand and enters the dining hall along with Śrī Baladeva and the *sakhas*.

Surrounded by His mother and the *sakhas*, Kṛṣṇa eats various kinds of food preparations. At this time, Kṛṣṇa and the *sakhas* crack funny jokes and make each other laugh. Submerged in this *hāsya-rasa*, they gradually finish their meals. After rinsing His mouth, Kṛṣṇa rests for a short while, lying comfortably on a soft bed. Then He and the *sakhas* divide and eat the *tāmbūla* offered by the servants. Śrī Rādhā secretly watches while Kṛṣṇa blissfully eats His meal, and then, when called by Mother Yaśodā, She shyly takes Her meal while surrounded by Śrī Lalitā and the other *sakhīs*. In this way, *prātaḥ-sevā* is performed.<sup>103</sup>

The system of *Aṣṭa-kāliya-līlā-smaraṇa* provides a structured framework around which the *sādhaka* learns to meditate. It becomes the setting for the *sādhaka's* participation within *līlā*. The eight time periods of *aṣṭa-kāliya-līlā-smaraṇa* form a meditative cycle that allows the *sādhaka* to track the activities of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa throughout their entire day and night, and thereby include himself within these activities. The goal is to perfect the *smaraṇa* process until it can be performed without interruption and raised to the intensity of *samādhi*. *Mañjarī-sādhana*, *ekādaśa-bhāva*, and *aṣṭa-kāliya-līlā-smaraṇa* combine to form a meditative system that alters one's identity and allows entry into a *rasika* level of reality known as *Kṛṣṇa-līlā*.

The *sādhaka*, however, is not restricted solely to these activities described in received texts. Once the basic framework is learned, the *sādhaka* is free to create activities as long as they do not conflict with each other in terms of *rasa*. Understanding the relationships between the various *rasas* and knowing what can be mixed with what is extremely important. The Caitanya theologians have discussed in great detail the particulars of combining the numerous *rasas*.

What I have described in the form of *mañjarī-sādhana*, *siddha-praṇālī-dīkṣā*, and *aṣṭa-kāliya-līlā-smaraṇa* are highly specialized and technical

approaches to Kṛṣṇa bhakti that are solely based on the cultivation of *rasa*. From Narottama Dāsa and the discussions of *siddha-praṇālī* and *aṣṭa-kāliya-līlā-smaraṇa* as taught by Gopālaguru and Dhyānacandra Gosvāmīs till the time of Viśvanātha Cakravartī in the eighteenth century, this type of *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana* became the main form of *sādhana-bhakti* in the Caitanya-sampradāya. It was this kind of *sādhana*, developed in this early period of the Caitanya-sampradāya, that was actively practiced and promoted by Bhaktivinoda.

In Bhaktivinoda's middle and later writings, he regularly refers to *mañjarī-sādhana*, *ekādaśa-bhāva* and *aṣṭa-kāliya-līlā-smaraṇa*.<sup>104</sup> Considering that these practices are standard for those following *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana* within the Caitanya-sampradāya, we conclude that Bhaktivinoda's *sādhana* is entirely orthodox, but with important differences: First, the manner in which he interprets the awarding of the *siddha-deha* by the guru; and second, his expansion of the system of *ekādaśa-bhāva* to the *rasas* other than *mādhurya-rasa*.

If we return briefly to the incident that is described in the *Jaiṅva-dharma* where Vijaya and Vrajanātha receive their *siddha-deha* there are some important conclusions about Bhaktivinoda's interpretation of *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana* that we can learn. It appears that the path of *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana* is not beyond the reach of the so-called ordinary *sādhaka*, but is a path of devotion any serious *sādhaka* may hope to enter upon. Recall that Vijaya Kumāra is a married man and Vrajanātha is a young man about to become married. In fact, immediately after Vrajanātha's acceptance of *siddha-deha*, Vijaya begins to arrange for Vrajanātha's marriage. At first Vrajanātha expresses his desire not to marry, but after consulting their guru, he agrees.<sup>105</sup> Speaking to Vrajanātha, Bābājī Mahāśaya says, "You are the subject of Kṛṣṇa's mercy; you may serve Kṛṣṇa by making your household the household of Kṛṣṇa. Let the world carry on according to the teachings of Mahāprabhu....Do not think that while living as a householder one cannot attain the supreme state of love of Kṛṣṇa. Most of the recipients of Mahāprabhu's mercy are householders."<sup>106</sup> It is clear from this incident that marriage is no bar to *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana* if one has the aptitude. Bhaktivinoda's own life as a householder with fourteen children is a prime example of a married devotee practicing *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana*.

In this respect, Vrajanātha is typical. He is a young man with a mother who is concerned about his marriage. Yet he is a serious *sādhaka* who has been practicing *vaidhī-bhakti-sādhana* for some time and now has become ready to take the next step into *rāgānugā-bhakti*. This shows that *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana* is not a path exclusively for devotees of the caliber of the six *gosvāmīs* of Vrindavan, but is a path within the reach of all serious *sādhakas*, when and if they reach the point of *raga*. The main criterion for adopting this path is *raga*. The moment *raga* arises in the heart of the *sādhaka*, the path of *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana* may be adopted.

This story shows how *vaidhī-bhakti-sādhana* and *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana* are sequential. One path naturally flows into the other. At the same time, they

are concurrent, in the sense that *vaidhī-bhakti* becomes subsumed and transformed as a part of *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana*. Bhaktivinoda points out:

The practice of *rāgānugā* has two sides, one external and the other internal. Externally the *sādhaka* performs *śravaṇa* and *kīrtana* as an exoteric practitioner, whereas internally, in the mind, he possesses the body of an accomplished devotee, who serves Kṛṣṇa in Vraja day and night. Following always the dearest servitor of his choice, he performs the service in his innermost mind.<sup>107</sup>

Thus the practice of *vaidhī-bhakti* is incorporated into the practice of *rāga* as its external aspect.

To Bhaktivinoda, *vaidhī-bhakti* embodies what is preliminary. Its course is slow. *Rāgānugā-bhakti*, on the other hand, is the easiest means to attain *bhāva* and *prema-bhakti* – the very essence of devotional life.<sup>108</sup> Comparing the two paths, Bhaktivinoda writes:

The difference between *vaidhī* and *rāgānugā* is that the former reaches the stage of *bhāva* after some delay, whereas in *rāgānugā*, the delay in attaining the stage of *bhāva-bhakti* is very short. This is because from within the hearts of those *bhaktas* who practice *rāgānugā-bhakti* firm faith arises and takes the form of *ruci*, extreme hankering. Therefore, *bhāva* is never delayed."<sup>109</sup>

Indeed the path of *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana* has found the greatest prominence in the writings of Bhaktivinoda, even more than the path of *vaidhī-bhakti*. Virtually all of his middle and later works including the *Caitanya-śikṣāmrta* (1886), *Jaiḥva-dharma* (1893), *Hari-nāma-cintāmaṇi* (1900) and many of his songs deal with the details of *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana*.

In one of my conversations with Shrivatsa Goswami in Vrindavan,<sup>110</sup> he summed up the relationship between all these forms of bhakti as follows: *Vaidhī-bhakti-sādhana* is the grammar of love, *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana* is the poetry of love, and *rāgātmikā-bhakti* is the poetic experience itself. One process flows into the other: Both *vaidhī-bhakti* and *rāgānugā-bhakti* prepare the way for the fulfilment of the *rasika* experience, *rāgātmikā-bhakti*.

<sup>1</sup> Kedarnath Datta, *The Bhagavat, Its Philosophy, Ethics and Theology*, ed. Bhaktivilas Tirtha, 2nd ed. (Madras: Madras Gaudiya Math, 1959), 29-30.

<sup>2</sup> CS, pt. 1, 233-234: *nara-jivana pañca-prakāra yathā: 1. nīta-sūnya jivana/ 2. kevala-naitika jivana/ 3. seśvara-naitika jivana/ 4. sādhana-bhakta jivana/ 5. bhāva-bhakta jivana/*

<sup>3</sup> CS, pt. 2, 6: *rasa jñāta haibāra viśaya naya, kevala āsvādanera viśaya/ jijñāsā o saṅgraha ye duiṭi jñānera-prāthamika vyāpāra, tāhā samāpta nā haile jñānera caramavyāpāra ye āsvādana, tāhāhaya nā ... āsvādana vyatīta rasera splūrta haya nā/*

<sup>4</sup> For a good explanation of the concept of *rasa* as it is understood within the Caitanya Vaiṣṇava schools see: David L. Haberman, *Acting as a Way of Salvation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 23-39. Also see O.B.L. Kapoor, *The Philosophy and Religion of Śrī Caitanya* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1977), 213-230.

<sup>5</sup> CS, pt. 1, 8: *deśa-vidēśa o dvīpa-dvīpāntara nivāsī mānava-ṅndera itihāsa o vṛttānta ālocanā kariyā dekhile spaṣṭai pratīta haibe ye, īśvara-viśvāsa mānava-jātira ekaṭi sādharmaṇa dharmā/ asabhya vaniya-jātiṅa paśudigera nyāya paśumānisa sevana dvārā kālātipāta kare, tathāpī sūrya o candra, bṛhat bṛhat parvata sakala, baḍa baḍa nada-nadi evani prakāṇḍa taru sakaleke daṇḍavat-praṇāma-pūrvaka tāhādigake data o niyantā baliyā pūjā kare/ ihāra kāraṇa ki? Jīva nitānta baddha haileo ye paryanta tāhāra cetana ācchādita haya nāi, se paryanta tāhāte cetana-dharmera paricaya-svarūpa kiyat parimāṇa īśvara-viśvāsa avaśyāi prakāśita haibe/*

<sup>6</sup> Quoted from Conrad Wright, *Three Prophets of Religious Liberalism: Channing-Emerson-Parker* (Boston: Unitarian Universalist Association, fourth printing, 1980), 33.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> ST, vol. 8 (1896), TS p. 176-177: *para-brahmā bhajane sarvo-jīverai adhikāra āche kevala sādhakera cittera malinatā prayukta bhagavānera āvirbhāva pañca-prakāra prasidha/ śākta, saura, gāṇapatya, śaiva o vaiṣṇava ei pañca-prakāra bhagavad-upāsanā sādhakera saṅskāra-krame haiyā thāke/... sandihān haite para-tattva-jñā paryanta sakalei para-brahmā bhajane adhikāri/ rāgera nirmalatā o unaitii upāsanāra lakṣaṇa/ ataeva sarva jīvera svatantra sac-cid-ānanda paramēśvarera upāsanā karā ucita/*

<sup>9</sup> 1. KS, *Upakramaṇikā*, 10: *ataeva sarva-deśei ei sakala-dharma kāle kale bhinna name pracalita haiyā āsiyāche/ svadeśa-vidēśe ye sakala dharma pracalita ache, ei dharmagulike vicāra kariyā dekhile ei pañca prakārerā kona nā kona prakāra rākhā yāya/*

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 11: *khriṣṭā o mahammādera dharma sāṃpradāyika vaiṣṇava-dharmena sadṛśa/ bauddha o jaina-dharma śaiva-dharma sadṛśa/*

<sup>11</sup> CS, pt. 1, 8-9: Appendix V, 53. *sabhya avasthā prāpta haiyā tini yakhana nānā-vidhana vidyāra ālocanā karena, takhanai kutarka-dvārā ai viśvāsake kiyat parimāṇe ācchādana pūrvaka haya nāstikatā, naya abheda-vādera antargata nirvāṇa-vādake mane sthāna radāna karena/ ai sakala kadarya-viśvāsa kevala aprāpta-bala cetanera avasthāya-lakṣaṇa, -ihai bujhite haibe/ nitānta asabhya avasthā o sundara īśvara-viśvāsoyogī avasthāra madhye mānava-jīvaenra tinaṭi avāntara avasthā lakṣita haya/ sei tina avasthāte nāstikya-vāda, jaḍa-vāda, sandeha-vāda o nirvāṇa-vāda-rūpa piḍā-akala jīvera unmatira pratibandhaka-rūpe kona kona vyaktike kadaryāvasthāya nīta kare/*

<sup>12</sup> ST, vol. 4 (1892), TV., 69: *brahmā-deśīya bauddha-mahāśaya yāhā balilenatāhāte bodha haya ye tini bauddhamātera ālocanā karena nāi/ kevala tāṇhāra nara-svabhāva yāhā cāya tāhāi tini bauddhamāta baliyā vyākhyā karena/*

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., TV, 70: *kaṇṭi pracārita viśva-prīti, jainini prakāśita nirīśvara karmāntargata apūrvā-rūpi īśvara o śākya-sīṃha pracārita jaḍa-nirvāṇa mataṭi tattat-matopāsakaṅa kartṭṛka svābhāvika dharmera ākāre avaśyāi pariṇata haibe/*

<sup>14</sup> CS, pt. 1, 10: *mānavera mukhya-prakṛti sarvatrai eka/ gauṇa-prakṛti pṛthah pṛthah/*

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 234: *nara-jivana pañca-prakāra yathā: 1. nīta-sūnya jivana/ 2. kevala-naitika jivana/ 3. seśvara-naitika jivana/ 4. sādhana-bhakta jivana/ 5. bhāva-bhakta jivana/*

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 234: *mukti paryanta manovṛtti tāhāte parilakṣita haya/*

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 235: *ataeva vāstāvika seśvara-naitika jīvane sādhana-bhaktimāya jīvane vikāceta-cetana jīva parilakṣita hana/*

<sup>18</sup> Bhāg. 1/19/39: *yac chrotavyam atho japyani yat kartavyani nṛbhiḥ prabho/ smartavyani bhajanīyani vā brūhi yad vā viparyayam//*

<sup>19</sup> CS, pt. 1, 62: *kṛṣṇera nāma, guṇa, rūpa, līlā-kathā śravaṇa, kīrtana, smaraṇa ityādi kāryai sādhanā-bhaktir svarūpa-lakṣaṇa/*

<sup>20</sup> Datta, *The Bhagavat*, 33.

<sup>21</sup> For example, Bhakta Prahlāda describes the process of bhakti as a combination of nine devotional practices. He prays, “Hearing and glorifying Lord Viṣṇu, remembering and serving His lotus feet, offering worship and praying to Him, serving Him, considering Him one’s best friend, and surrendering everything to Him are the nine ways of pure devotion.” (BP 7/5/23-24)

<sup>22</sup> BRS, 1/2/5: *vaidhī rāgānugā ceti sā dvidhā sādhanābhidhā//* The simple distinction between the two is that *vaidhī-bhakti* is followed according to the commands or rules (*vidhis*) of *śāstra* and guru whereas *rāgānugā-bhakti* is followed out of a spontaneous longing (*lobha*) for devotion.

<sup>23</sup> The word *vaidhī* is derived from “*vidhi*” meaning “rules.” Specifically, *vidhi* refers to the sixty-four limbs (*aiṅgas*) of bhakti that Rūpa Gosvāmī enumerates.

<sup>24</sup> Rūpa Gosvāmī defines *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhanā* as, “that method of bhakti which follows the mood of the *rāgātmikā-bhakti* [that] clearly manifests itself in the residents of Vraja.” Thus the term *rāgānugā* appropriately means “following the passion.” Here the residents of Vraja, mother Yaśodā, Nanda Mahārāja, the various *gopālas* and *gopikās* and so on, become the role models, who exhibit a perfect love for Kṛṣṇa that Rūpa Gosvāmī calls *rāgātmikā-bhakti*. The *rāgātmikā-bhakti* of the Vrajaloka, the residents of Vrindavan, is a spontaneous love that totally binds the worshipper and the worshiped. Thus the love of the Vrajaloka is a fit model for those engaged in *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhanā*. In this way, the *sādhanā* studies the emotional status of the Vrajaloka and, by hearing the stories involving these individuals, learns to follow the mood of their *rāgātmikā-bhakti*.

<sup>25</sup> CS, pt. 1, 140: *varṇāśrama-rūpa dharmā sthita haiyā jīvana yātrā nīrvāha karite karite cittake kṛṣṇa-pāda-padme nīta karibāra janya vaidhā-bhaktā nīrantara yatna karibena, ihākei bhakti-yoga bale/*

<sup>26</sup> The four *varṇas* are *brāhmaṇas* (the priestly class), *kṣatriyas* (the martial class), *vaiśyas* (the mercantile community) and *śūdras* (the labourers). The four *āśramas* are *brahmacārīs* (student), *gṛhasthas* (householders), *vānaprasthas* (retired) and *sannyāsīs* (renounced).

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 83: *yathārtha balite gele, ṛṣidigera haste samāja-niṣṭha-vidhira carama unnati haiyāchela, ihā samasta sahādaya o vaijñānika vyakti-gaṇai svikāra karibena/ tāṅhārā vaijñānika vicāra-krame samāja-niṣṭha-vidhike dui bhāge vibhaktā kariyāchilena: yathā varṇa-vidhi o āśrama-vidhi/*

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*: *samāj-niṣṭha mānavera dui-prakāra avasthā arthāt: svabhāva o avasthāna/ jana-niṣṭha dharmā haite svabhāva o samāja-niṣṭha dharmā haite avasthāna*

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 131: *ye paryanta dharmā arthake mātra uddeśa kare, se paryanta ai dharmā ārthika baliyā abhilīta haya/... ārthika dharmā anyatara nāma naitika vā smārta-dharmā/*

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 109-110: *kale manvādi śāstre ai asvābhāvika vidhi gupta-bhāve pravīṣṭha haile ucca-varṇa-prāptira āśārahita haiya ... brahma-svabhāva-vihīna nāmanātra brāhmaṇerā svārthapare dharmā-śāstra racanā kariyā anyānya varṇae bañcana karite lāgilena/*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 107: Appendix V, 61. *iuropiya jātidigera vartmāna samāja ālocanā karile dekhā yāibe ye, ai samāje yataṭuku saundarya ache, tāhāo svabhāva janita varṇa-dharmake āśraya kariyā āche/ iurope ye vyakti vañik-svabhāva, se vāñijyai bhālavāse o vāñijya-dvārā unnati-sādhanā kariteche/ ye vyakti kṣatra-svabhāva se “militārī laīna” vā sainika-kriyā avalambana kare/ yāhāra śūdra-svabhāva, tāhārā sāmānya sevākārya bhālavāse/*

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 107: *vastutaḥ varṇa-dharmā kiyat-parimāṇe avalambita nā haile kona samājai cale nā/*

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 107: *varṇa-dharmā kiyat-parimāṇe avalambita avalambita haiyā iuropiya jāti-nicayera samājai sanisthāpita haileo ai dharmā tāhādera madhye vaijñānika-rupe sampūrṇa ākāra prāpta haya nāi/*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 108: *varṇa-vidhānera avaijñānika prāgavasthāyai iurope (sainikṣepataḥ bhārata chāḍā sarvatrai) samājera cālaka haiyā ache/*

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 131: *yakhana ai dharmā paramārthā paryanta uddeśa kare, takhana ai dharmā nāma pāramārthika dharmā/... pāramārthika vaidhā-dharmā nāma-sādhanā-bhakti/*

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 174: *pūrei kathīta haiyāche ye, śuddha-bhakti-sādhana uddeśe uttama-rūpe śārīra pālana, mānasavṛttir sundara anuśīlana o unmati-sādhana, sāmājika maṅgalacarcā o ādhyaत्मika śikṣāi varṇāśrama-dharmera mukhya tātparyā/*

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.: *ataeva sei dharmera ānukūlye bhaktir anuśīlana karibe/ bhakty-anuśīlanera janyai varṇāśrama-dharmera pālana karā prayojana haiyāche/*

<sup>38</sup> A *sādhaka* is a person who performs *sādhana*, religious practice.

<sup>39</sup> CS, pt. 1, 174-175: *ekhāna vīvecyā ei ye, varṇāśrama-dharme yārūpa dīrgha-sūtrī kārya, tāhā karite gele bhaktyanuśīlanera avakaśa pāoyā yāya ki nā?*

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.: *ati śīghra mṛtyu haile, vā citta vibhramādi vyādhi upasthīta haile, aprākṛta tattva śikṣānā pāile bhaktira aikura ye śraddhā, tāhā kirūpe hṛdaye jāgarita haite avakaśa lābha karibe?*

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.: *ataeva varṇāśrama kiyat-parimāṇe dīrgha-sūtrī haileo bhakti-sāadhanera anukūla-rūpe svikāra karā kartavya/*

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.: *vaidhi-bhaktira anuśīlana-krame tāhāra dīrgha-sūtritā kramaśaḥ kharva haiyā paḍibe/ tāhāra aṅga-sakala kramaśaḥ bhaktyaṅge pariṇati lābha karibe/*

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.: *ukta dharmera ye aṅga bhaktira pratikūla haya, se aṅgake kramaśaḥ parityāga karite thākibe/*

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 20: *īśvarera tuṣṭi-sāadhanai yakhana jīvanera ekamāta tātparyā, takhana ye vidhi ukta tātparyake avyavahīta-rūpe lakṣya kare, se vidhir nāma mukhya-vidhi/ ye vidhi kichu vyavahānera sahita sei tātparyake lakṣya kare, se vidhi-gauṇa/*

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 21: *mukhya-vidhira sākṣāt phalāi bhagavad upāsana/ vidhi o upāsana māध्ये avāntara phala nāi/hari-kīrtana o hari-kathā śravaṇake mukhya-vidhi balā yāya/*

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 20: *ekaṭi udāharaṇa dilei e viśaya spaṣṭa haibe/ prātaḥ-snāna ekaṭi vidhi/ [rātaḥ-snāna kariyā śārīra snigdha o roga-śūnya haile mana sthira haya/ mana sthira haile īśvaropāsana karā yāya/ esthale jīvanera tātparyā ye īśvaropāsana/*

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 19: *ye paryanta viśuddha rāgera udaya nā haya, se paryanta sādhaka avāśyai kartavya-buddhi-sahakāre gauṇa o mukhya-rūpa vidhi avalambana-pūrvaka kṣṇānuśīlana karate thākibena/*

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.: *raga virala/ rāgera udaya haile vidhira āra bala thāke nā/ yekāla paryanta rāgera udaya nā haya, se paryanta vidhike āśraya karāi mānava-gaṇera pradhāna kartavya/... yānhāra atyanta bhāgyavān o uccādhikārī, tānhārāi kevala ai mārgē calite samartha/*

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 7: *bhaya, āśā o kartavya-buddhi-dvārā ye sakala upāsaka īśvara-bhajane pravṛtta hana, tānhādera bhajana tata viśuddha haya/*

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 7: *bhaya o āśā nitānta heya/ sādhakera yakhana buddhi bhāla haya, takhana tini bhaya o āśā parityāga karena evaṇi kartavya-buddhi takhana tānhāra ekamātra āśraya haya/ paramēśvarera prati rāgera ye paryanta udaya nā haya, se paryanta kartavya-buddhi sādhaka parityāga kare nā/*

<sup>51</sup> For an overview of *rāgānugā-bhakti-sādhana* see *Journal of Vaiṣṇava Studies* vol. 1. no. 3. This issue is dedicated to the topic.

<sup>52</sup> CS, pt. 1., 315: *sādhakera yakhana rāgānuga-mārgē lobha haya, takhana sad-gurura nikaṭa prārthanā karile tini sādhakera ruci parikṣā kariyā tānhāra bhajana-nirṇayera saṅge saṅge siddha-dehera paricaya kariyā dibena/*

<sup>53</sup> JD, 369: *vijaya kumara o vrajanāthera cite eka-prakāra āścarya bhava udaya haile-ubhayai eka mane sthira karilena ye, siddha-bābājī mahāśayera nikaṭa dikṣā grahaṇa karā avāśyaka/... paradina prate gaṅga-snāna samāpti karataḥ pūroopadiṣṭa dvādaśa tilaka dhāraṇa-pūrvaka śrīla raghunāthadāsa bābājī mahāśayera caraṇe giyā sāṣṭaṅga-daṇḍavat praṇāma karilena/*

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 381: *āmādera ki prakāra rāgānugā-bhaktira adhikāra ache?*

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.: *bābā, nijera svabhāva vicāra kariyā dekha/ ye svabhāva haite ye rucira udaya haya, tadanusāre rasake svikāra kara, sei rasāvalambana-pūrvaka tāhāra nitya-siddhādhikārīra anugamana kara/ ihāte kevala nijera rucira parikṣā karā avāśyaka/ yadi rāga-mārgē ruci haiyā thāke, tabe sei ruci anusāre kārya kara ye paryanta rāga-mārgē ruci haya nāi, kevala vidhi-mārgē niṣṭhā kara/*

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 381-2.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 382: *tomāra āra balite haibe nā, tumi śrī-lalitādevīra anugatā mañjari-viśeṣa/ tomāra kon sevā bhāla lāge? (Lalīta Devī is one of the chief gopīs.)*

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., *āmāra mane haya ye, śrī-lalīta devī āmāke puṣpa-mālā gumphana karate ājñā dena – āmi sundara puṣpa cayana kariyā mālā gumphana kariyā tānhāra śrīhaste diba tini āmāra prati kṛpā-hāsyā kariyā rādhā-kṣṇera galadeśe arpaṇa karibena/*

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.: *tomāra sei sevā-sādhana siddha hauka-āmi āśīrvāda kari... bābā, tumi nirantera ei bhāve rāgānugā-bhaktira sādhana kara, bāhye nirantera vaidhī-bhaktira sādhana-aṅga-sakala śobhā pāite thākuka/*

<sup>60</sup> *prabhī, āmi yakhana yakhana kṛṣṇa-līlā anuśīlana kari, takhana takhana subalera anugata haiyā thākite vāsanā janmāya/* (Subala is one of Kṛṣṇa's cowherd friends.)

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.: *āmi tomāke āśīrvāda kari, tumi subalera anugata haiyā kṛṣṇ-sevā karate thāka tumi sakhya-rasera adhikāri/*

<sup>62</sup> BRS, 1/2/168: *virājantīm abhivyaktāni vraja-vasi-janādiṣu/ rāgātnikām anuśṛta vā sā rāgānugocyate/*

<sup>63</sup> JD, 383: *vāki āra kicluī nāi, kevala tomāra siddha-śarirera nāma, rūpa, paricchada, ityādi tomāra jānā āvaśyaka/*

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.: *vrajanātha o vijaya seidina āpana āpanāke kṛta-kṛtārtha jāniyā paramānande rāgānuga-mārgera sevāya niyukta hailena bāhye pūrvaavat samastai rahīla-puruṣera nyāya samasta vyavahārai rahīla, kintu vijaya-kumāra antare strī-svabhāva haiyā paḍilena vrajanātha gopa-bālakera svabhāva lābha karīlena/*

<sup>65</sup> Gopālaguru Gosvāmī (ca. 1550) was a disciple of Vakreśvara Paṇḍita, a contemporary of Caitanya. Dhyānacandra Gosvāmī (ca. 1600) was a disciple of Gopālaguru Gosvāmī. Both were from Orissa. Narottama Dāsa Thākura (ca. 1600) was a disciple of Lokanātha Gosvāmī of Vrindavan. Viśvanātha Cakravartī (ca. 1700) lived in Vrindavan sometime between 1654 and 1754. He was one of the most prominent commentators of Rūpa Gosvāmī. Siddha Kṛṣṇadāsa Bābā (ca. 1800) was from Govardhan, near Vrindavan. Bhaktivinoda makes no mention of him, so considering that Kṛṣṇadāsa was so close to Bhaktivinoda's time it may be that Bhaktivinoda was unaware of Siddha Kṛṣṇadāsa's work. In his *Guṭikā* Kṛṣṇadāsa lists himself as the ninth from Narottama Dāsa. Therefore we place him *circa* 1800.

<sup>66</sup> The compositions of both Gopālaguru and Dhyānacandra Gosvāmī bear the same title, *Śrī Gaura-govindārcana-smaraṇa-paddhati*. The *Śrī Gaura-govindārcana-paddhati* is by Siddha Kṛṣṇadāsa Bābā.

<sup>67</sup> Dhyānacandra's *paddhati* is identical to Gopālaguru's work except that he has added items about *gaura-līlā-smaraṇa*, including *siddha-deha-dhyāna* for *Gaura-līlā*. Siddha Kṛṣṇadāsa's *paddhati* shows more details of Kṛṣṇa's life in the *mādhurya-rasa*.

<sup>68</sup> The narrative time setting of the *Jaiva-dharma* is about AD. 1600.

<sup>69</sup> JD, 435: *śrī puruṣottame kāśīnīrera bhavane śrīman-mahāprabhura gadite ājakāla śrī-vakreśvarera śiṣya śrī-gopālaguru virājamāna/* Apart from this statement Bhaktivinoda does not appear to discuss anymore details concerning the *paramparā* or line of succession coming from Caitanya.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 484: *śrī-dhyānacandra gosvāmī sarva-sāstre paṇḍita chīlena/ viśeṣataḥ hari-bhaktjana-tantre tānhāra tulya pāradarśī āra keha chīla nā/ śrī-gopāla guru-gosvāmīra śiṣya-gaṇera madhye tini agragaṇya/ vijaya o vrajanāthake bhajana-viṣaye parama yogya jñāna kariyā bhajana-paddhatira samasta tattva śikṣā diyāchīlena/*

<sup>71</sup> That Gopāla Guru and Dhyānacandra are intimately associated with the *siddha-praṇālī* process in Bhaktivinoda's writings is significant. It shows the connection between Bhaktivinoda's *sādhana* and the process of *siddha-praṇālī*.

<sup>72</sup> The *Jaiva-dharma* describes *dīkṣā* (initiation). The first step is *hari-nāma* initiation or giving of the holy name wherein the initiate formally receives the *mahā-mantra*: *hare kṛṣṇa hare kṛṣṇa kṛṣṇa kṛṣṇa hare hare hare rāma hare rāma rāma rāma hare hare*. After time, when the *dīkṣā-guru* feels that the disciple has matured, *mantra-dīkṣā* is offered. Here the disciple formally receives the 18-syllable *Kāma Gāyatrī mantra*. The final rite is *siddha-praṇālī-dīkṣā*, wherein the initiate receives eleven characteristics (*ekādaśa-bhāva*) of a spiritual persona known as the *siddha-deha*.

<sup>73</sup> *Mañjarī-sādhana* is a unique form of *mādhurya-rasa* in which the *sādhaka* assumes the identity of a *mañjarī* or female servant. The *mañjarī* is a kind of *gopī* who serves as maidservant. Usually a *mañjarī* is between the ages of 12 and 16 years and is under the care of a main *sakhī* (female friend) such as Lalitā or Viśākhā. The *mañjarī* serves the needs of both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa by serving betel nut, bringing water, fanning, combing and braiding hair, entertaining with music and dance, and so on.

<sup>74</sup> HC, 15/27, p.153: *sādhite ujjoala rasa, ache bhāva ekādaśa, sambhanda, vayasa, nāma, rupa/ yūtha, veśa, ājñā, vāsa, sevā, parākāṣṭhāvāsa, pālya-dāsi ei aparūpa//*

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 15/28, p.154: *ei ekādaśa bhāva sampūrṇa sādhanē/ pañca-daśa lakṣya haya sādhanā-jīvanē// śravaṇa, varaṇa, āra smaraṇa, āpana/ sanipatti e-pañca-vidha daśāya gaṇana//*

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 15/29, p.155: *nijāpekṣā śreṣṭha-śuddha-bhāvuka ye jana/ bhāva-mārge gurudeva sei mahājana// tāñhāra śrīmukhe bhāva-tattovera śravaṇa/ haile śravaṇa daśā haya prakāṭana// bhāva-tattova dvi-prakāra karaha vicāra/ nija ekādaśa bhāva, kṛṣṇa-līlā āra/*

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., *rādhā-kṛṣṇa aṣṭakāla sei līlā kare/ tāhāra śravaṇe lobha haya atalpare// lobha haile gurupade jījñāsā udaya/ kemane pāiba līlā kaha mahāśaya// gurudeva kṛpā kari' karibe varṇana/ līlā-tattova ekādaśa bhāva-saighaṭana// prasanna haiyā prabhu karibe ādeśa/ ei bhāve līlā madhye karaha praveśa// śuddha-rupe siddha-bhāva kariyā śravaṇa/ sei bhāva svīya citte karibe varaṇa//*

<sup>78</sup> JD, 616: *kaiśora vayasai vayasa-daśa vatsara haite cola vatsara paryanta kaiśora/ ihākei vayaḷ-sandhi bale/*

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.: *vraja-lalanādigera varṇanāte tomāra rucigata sevāra anurūpa ye rādhikā-sakhāra paricārikā, tāñhāra nāmai tomāra nāma/*

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.: *tumi yakhana rūpa-yauvana-sampannā kiśorī, takhana tomāra siddha-rūpa ruci anusārei śrī-gurudeva nirṇaya kariyāchena/ acintya-cinnaya-rūpa-viśiṣṭha nā haile śrīrādhikāra paricārikā ke haite pare?*

<sup>81</sup> Rādhā's eight closest friends (*aṣṭa-sakhīs*) are known as *parama-preṣṭha-sakhīs*.

<sup>82</sup> JD, 616: *śrīmatī rādhikāi yūtheśvarī; rādhikāra aṣṭa-sakhīra madhye kāhāra o gaṇe thākite haibe/ tomāra ruci-krame śrī-gurudeva tomāke śrī-lalitāra gaṇe rākhīyāchena/*

<sup>83</sup> The order and content of *ekādaśa-bhāva* varies slightly from one *paramparā* to another. In Bhaktivinoda's succession there is this extra category called *gaṇa*.

<sup>84</sup> JD, 617: *ye sevā karibe sei sevāra upayogī nana-vidha- śilpa-kalāya tumi abhijñā tad anurūpa-guṇa o veśa tomāra gurudeva nidiṣṭha kariyāchena/*

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.: *ājñā dui prakāra arthāt nitya o naimittika/ karuṇāmayī sakhī ye nitya-sevā tomāke ājñā kariyāchena, tāhā tumi nirapekṣa haiyā aṣṭakālera madhye yakhana yāhā kartavya tāhā karibe/ ābāra upasthitha anya kona sevā prayojana-mata ājñā karena, tāhā naimittika ājñā; tāhāo viśeśa yatnera sahita pālana karibe/*

<sup>86</sup> The *siddha-praṇālī* chart is an initiation letter called *dīkṣā-patra* that describes the chain of gurus and the *mañjarī-svarūpa* of each guru.

<sup>87</sup> Cited from the *siddha-praṇālī* chart.

<sup>88</sup> *Parakīya-bhāva* is a particular *rasika* relationship that involves having a lover who is married to someone else.

<sup>89</sup> JD, 617-618: *vraje nitya-vasai vāsa/ vrajera madhye kona grāme tomāra gopī haiyā janma haya, ābāra grāmāntarera kona gopera sahita tomāra vivāha haya kintu kṛṣṇera muralābhe ākṛiṣṭa haiyā, tumi sakhāra anugata haiyā tāñhāra rādhā-kuṇḍastha kuñje ekaṭī kuṭīre vāsa karitecha-ei abhimāna-siddha vāsai tomāra vāsa/ tomāra parakīya bhāvāi nitya-siddha-bhāvā/*

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 618: *tumi rādhikāra anucarī-tāñhāra sevāi tomāra sevā/ tāñhāra dvārā prerita haiyā nirjane kṛṣṇa-sannidhāne gele, kṛṣṇa yadi tomāra prati rati pradāna karena, tumi tāhā svīkāra karibe nā/ tumi rādhikāra dāsi, rādhikāra anumati vyatīta kṛṣṇa-sevā svatantra haiyā karibe nā/ rādhā-kṛṣṇe samāna sneha rākhīyāo, rādhikāra dāsya-prema kṛṣṇera dāsya-prema apekṣā adhikātara āgraha karibe ihārai nāma 'sevā'/ śrī rādhāra aṣṭakalīna sevāi tomāra sevā/*

<sup>91</sup> Śrī Rūpa Mañjarī is Rūpa Gosvāmī in his *siddha-deha*.

<sup>92</sup> Cited from the *siddha-praṇālī* chart.

<sup>93</sup> Taken from Bhaktivinoda's *siddha-praṇālī-dīkṣā-patra*.

<sup>94</sup> HC, 15/30, p. 156: *varaṇa-kālete nija ruci vicāriyā/ gurupade jānāibe sarala haiyā, prabhu, tumi kṛpā kari' yei paricaya dile more tāhe mora pūrṇa prīti haya// svabhāvata mora ei bhāve ache ruci/ ataeva ājñā śire dhari haye śuci//*

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 15/30, p.157: *ruci yadi nahe tabe akapaṭa mane/ nivedibe nija ruci śrīguru-caraṇe// vicāriyā gurudeva dibe anyabhāva/ tāhe ruci haile prakāśibe nija-bhāvā//*

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 15/31, p.158: *śrī-guru-caraṇe paḍi balibe takhana/ tavādiṣṭa bhāva āmi karinu varaṇa// e-bhāva kakhana āmi nā chāḍiba āra/ jīvane maraṇe ei saigī ye āmāra//*

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<sup>97</sup> In fact the *paddhatis* do not describe how *siddha-praṇālī* is given. The only indications that Dhyānacandra makes in this regard occur when he uses the terms “*guru-prasāda-janani*” (vs. 87, p.28) “born from the mercy of Guru” and “*guru-dattam*” (vs. 108, p. 32) “given by the guru.” It seems that the *paddhatis* only describe how the *sādhaka* meditates, not how he gets *siddha-praṇālī*.

<sup>98</sup> David L. Haberman, *Acting as a Way of Salvation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 119-121.

<sup>99</sup> HC, 115.

<sup>100</sup> We should also note Narottama Dāsa’s warning that, “One should be careful not to mention the details of one’s *bhajana* in public.” In spite of this, knowledge of Bhaktivinoda’s personal *siddha-deha* appears throughout his songs.

<sup>101</sup> Kedarnath Datta Bhaktivinoda, *Gītā-mālā*, ed. Śrīla Bhaktikusuma Sramana (Sridham Mayapur, Nadiya: Shri Caitanya Math), 498 Śrī-gaurābda: *Siddhi-lālasā* VIII/1-4; IX/1-3. (Translation by Haridhāma Dāsa.)

*varaṇe taḍit, bāsa tārābalī,  
kamala mañjarī nāma  
sāde vāra varṣa vayasa satata,  
svānanda-sukhada-dhāma (1)*

*karpūra sevā, lalitāra gaṇa  
rādhā yūtheśvarī hana  
mameśvarī-nātha, śrī nandanandana  
āmāra parāṇa dhana (2)*

*śrī rūpa mañjarī, prabḥṭira sama,  
yugala sevāya āśa  
avaśya se rūpa, sevā pābo āmi  
parākāṣṭhā suviśvāsa (3)*

*kabe bā e dāsī, saṁsiddhi lābhibe,  
rādhā-kuṇḍe bāsa kari’  
rādhā-krishna-sevā satata karibe,  
purva smṛti parihari’ (4)*

*vṛṣabhānu-sutā, caraṇa sevane,  
haibo je pālyadāsī  
śrī rādhāra sukha, satata sādhanē,  
rahībo āmi prayāsī (1)*

*śrī rādhāra sukhe, kṛṣṇera je sukha,  
jānībo manete āmi  
rādhā-pada chāḍī’, śrī kṛṣṇa-saṅgame,  
kabhu nā haibo kāmī (2)*

*sakḷī gaṇa mama, parama suḥṛt,  
yugala-premera guru  
tad anuga ha ‘ye, sevībo rādhāra,  
caraṇa kalpa-taru (IX/3)*

<sup>102</sup> JD, 598: *arthāt nisānta, prātaḥ, purvāhna, madhyāhna, aparāhna, svāyanti, pradoṣa o rātri-lilā-bede lilā aṣṭa-kālīna/*

<sup>103</sup> Translation by Haridhāma Dāsa. See Dhyānacandra Gosvāmī, *Śrī Gaura-govindārcana-smaraṇa-paddhati*. Translated and edited by Haridhāma Dāsa (Los Angeles: SRI, 1993.) 96-98.

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<sup>104</sup> For examples see: CS, Eng., pp. 211, 213, 214, JD, Eng., pp. 562, 548, HC, p.114.

<sup>105</sup> JD, Eng., 349.

<sup>106</sup> JD, 397-8: *tomārā kṛṣṇa-kṛpā-pātra, tomādera saṁsārake kṛṣṇa-saṁsāra kariyā kṛṣṇa-sevā kara/ ānāra mahāprabhu jagatke yāhā śikṣā diyāchena, jagat sei ājñānusāre caluka/... erūpa mane kario nā ye, gṛhasthāśrama-avasthāya kṛṣṇa-premera parākaṣṭhā lābha haite pare nā/ mahāprabhu adhikāmsā kṛpā-pātraḥ gṛhastha*

<sup>107</sup> CS, pt. 1, 67: *bāhya abhyantara ihāra dui ta' sādhanā/ bāhye sādhanā-dehe kare śravaṇa-kīrtana/ mane nija siddha deha kariyā bhāvāna/ rātri-dina kare vraje kṛṣṇa-sevāna/ nijābhīṣṭa kṛṣṇapreṣṭha pācheta lāgiyā/ nīrantara sevā kare antarmanā hañā?*

<sup>108</sup> JD, 374: *vaidhī-niṣṭhāra sahita bahu-kāla sevā karile ye phala nā haya, rāgānugā-bhaktite svalpa-kāle sei phalera udaya haya/ vaidha-mārgera bhakti vidhi-sāpekṣa haoyāya durbalā, rāgānugā-bhakti svatantra prakṛti thākāra svabhāvataḥ prabalā...*

<sup>109</sup> CS, pt. 1, 70: *vaidhī o rāgānugā sādhanera dharmā-bheda ei ye, vaidhī kichu vilambe bhāvāvasthā prāpta haya/ rāgānugā bhakti ati alpei bhāvāvasthā pāiyā thākena/ śraddhā rāgānugā bhaktadeigera hṛdaye niṣṭāke kroḍībhūta kariyā ruci-rūpe udaya haya/ sutarāni bhāva haite tāhāte vilamba haya nā//* A similar passage also exists in JD, 374.

<sup>110</sup> Conversations with Shrivatsa Goswami in Vrindavan in 1987.