

THE << TRUE VAIṢṆAVA >> : A JAINA HERITAGE IN GUJARĀT*

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One of the best-known *pada*-s (devotional lyrics) in Gujarātī begins with the words “*Vaiṣṇavajana to tene kahīye, je...*” “He alone can be called a true Vaiṣṇava who..”. The *pada* is attributed to Narasimha Mahetā, the foremost Vaiṣṇava *bhakta* poet of Gujarat (15th c.)¹. It has become famous all over India thanks to Mahatma Gandhi whose favourite prayer it was. It is a simple description of what makes a Vaiṣṇava and it reads thus² :

Vaiṣṇavajana to tene kahīye,
je pīḍa parāī jāṇe³ re;
paradukhe upakāra kare,
ne mana abhimāna na āṇe re. 1

Sakaḷa lokamām sahune vande,
nindā na kare kenī re,
vāca-kācha-mana niścala rākhe,
dhana dhana janani tenī re. 2

Samadrṣṭi ne tṛṣṇātyāgī,
parastrī jene mātā re;
jihvā thakī asatya na bole,
paradhana na jhāle hātha re. 3

Mohamāyā lepe nahi tene,
drḍha vairāgya tenā manamām re;
rāmanāma śum tālī lāgī,
sakaḷa tīrtha tenā tanamām re. 4

Vaṇalobhī ne kapaṭarahita che,
kāmakrodha jeṇe māryā re;
bhaṇe Narasaiṃyo tenum daraśana karatām,
kuḷa ekotera tāryām re. 5

He alone can be called a true Vaiṣṇava
who does not ignore the sufferings of others,
who helps them in their miseries
and has no conceit. 1

He greets everyone everywhere,
slanders none,
he is steady in speech, deeds⁴ and mind :
blessed indeed is his mother. 2

Equally he looks on all, he is without desire,
another man's wife is a mother to him;
untruth he does not utter
nor grab the wealth of others. 3

Delusion does not touch him, nor deceit;
detachment is firm in his mind;
he is absorbed in the meditation of the name of Rāma,
he embodies all holy places. 4

Free from greed, and guileless,
he has defeated passion and anger.
Narasaimyo says : The sight of such a man
saves one hundred and one generations⁵. 5

The Definition of the Vaiṣṇava

Etymologically speaking, the meaning of *Vaiṣṇava* is clear “the one who belongs to Viṣṇu, a follower of Viṣṇuism”. It appears, however, from the text that a *Vaiṣṇava* is one who is able to practise a certain amount of virtues, such as compassion, humility, tolerance, control of passions, as well as to avoid a certain number of vices, such as lying, stealing, committing adultery, falsehood, lewdness, or anger. The devotion to Viṣṇu doesn't figure among the essential components of his behaviour. At the most, the stanza 4 tells the reader that “the *Vaiṣṇava* remains absorbed in the meditation of the name of Rāma” (*Rāmanāma sum tātī lāgi*), yet it is obviously not Rāma or Rāmacandra, the seventh *avatāra* of Viṣṇu who is meant but the Rāma of the Santa tradition conceived as the name of the all-pervading God who should be apprehended within, and is equivalent to the Upaniṣadic *Ātmanāma*⁶. No denominational affiliation, no sectarian adhesion seem to be implied by this definition of the *Vaiṣṇava*, and besides, if devotees of Śiva do exist, it has never seemed necessary to define the qualities of the perfect Śaivite *bhakta* ! What is proposed here is merely an ideal of conduct which, in accordance with the puritanic Santa *nirguṇī* tradition, is called *Vaiṣṇava*⁷. This definition is confirmed by the fate of the *pada* “*Vaiṣṇavajana*” in Gujarat as well as by the position of its presumed author towards Viṣṇuism in Gujarat and within the framework of the religious substratum of the area.

Who was the author of *Vaiṣṇavajana* ?

Due probably to the non-sectarian ideal expressed in “*Vaiṣṇavajana to...*”, the authorship of Narasimha Mahetā was questioned several times. Dalapatarāma (1820-1898) who inaugurated the modern period of Gujarātī letters, a reformist writer and a member of the Svāmī-nārāyaṇī sect⁸ was said to have written the *pada* under the name of Narasimha Mahetā⁹. It has even been considered to have been written by a Christian missionary¹⁰, again probably due to the ideal of conduct it advocated. These attributions, as well as the one to Dayārāma (1777-1852, the last author of the

medieval period)¹¹, had to be dropped after manuscripts anterior to 1780 were discovered, bearing the *chāpa* (signature) of Narasimha Mahetā¹².

Of more interest are two partially similar versions found in manuscripts under the names of Vācho and Nākara.

Vācho's text, discovered by M. B. Vyas¹³, has 8 stanzas in a sequence differing from the one adopted in the *pada* going under the name of Narasimha Mahetā; but this frequently happens in the case of orally transmitted lyrics in which the number of *antarā* (stanzas) between two *ṭeka* (refrains) and their sequence may fluctuate¹⁴. Neither the manuscript nor the text of Vācho, although apparently old, bear a precise date, and the author remains difficult to identify. K. K. Shastri¹⁵ proposes to equate Vācho with Vasto : the author of two *ākhyāna*-s : *Śukadeva*¹⁶ and *Subhadrāharana*; he is supposed to have lived before 1568¹⁷. There are also one or two authors named Vaccharāja¹⁸ belonging to the 16th century, one of whom wrote a *Rasamañjarinī vārtā*¹⁹ and the other a *Kabīrapada*²⁰, but neither the first nor the other two authors figure among the known Vaiṣṇava *bhakta*-s.

As far as Nākara is concerned, a prolific writer of *ākhyāna* belonging to the 16th century²¹, H. G. Bhayani has found in a passage of his Gujarātī version of the "Āraṇyakaparva" of the *Mahābhārata*²² formulas and phrases recalling those of "Vaiṣṇavajana..." used here to describe the qualities of a hero (*śūra*) in the *Yakṣa-Yudhiṣṭhira saṁvāda*²³.

Whatever the answer to the question of authorship, it appears from these texts that one need not be a sectarian Vaiṣṇava in order to praise the Vaiṣṇava ideal of conduct. And, conversely, a sectarian Vaiṣṇava need not abide exclusively by the universal ideal of the "Vaiṣṇavajana...". This becomes curiously evident if one considers the attitude of the Vallabhans, who form the major part of the Gujarātī Vaiṣṇava, towards Narasimha Mahetā and his *pada*.

How do the Vallābhan Vaiṣṇavas see Narasimha Mahetā ?

Narasimha Mahetā's name appears in none of the Braja *vārtā* (hagiographic biographies) of Vallabhan saints, although *Mīrā Bāī* herself is mentioned in the last of the "Eighty-four *Vārtā*" (*Caurāsī vaiṣṇavana ki vārtā*), but only to be denigrated²⁴. No *pada* of Narsī is used in the Vallabhan liturgy (with one astonishing exception in the *Bālakṛṣṇa mandira* at Surat²⁵). However, among the *dholā* songs in use with the Vallabhan laymen, there are a few *pada*-s by Narasimha Mahetā. Indeed he could not be entirely rejected and, although he is not admitted among the *puṣṭi-bhakta*-s, he, at least, has the quality of *maryādā-bhakta*, of one who follows the path of the 'dharmic' duties but does not abandon himself to the grace of Kṛṣṇa²⁶. This is illustrated by the belief, among Vallabhans, that Narasimha Mahetā could reach ultimate perfection only after having been reborn in Gopāladāsa, the author of the *Vallabhākhyāna*²⁷ or *Navākhyāna*, of the last quarter of the 16th century, the only Gujarātī Vallabhan work

to become known outside Gujarāt as it was instrumental in founding the cult of living Mahārājas, descendants of Vallabha, as constant reincarnations of Kṛṣṇa²⁸.

Whatever their doubts about Narasimha Mahetā, the Vallabhans approve of the “*Vaiṣṇavajana...*” as defined by him, and any commoner will recognize in Narasimha Mahetā, the author of “*Vaiṣṇavajana...*”, the oldest and most important Gujarātī Vaiṣṇava totally free from sectarian links, whose life conformed to the generous ideal given in his poem, and who was perceived as being anterior to the arrival of Vallabhism in Gujarāt.

A possible source of “*Vaiṣṇavajana...*” in old Gujarātī

Bhayani, in his article ‘*Vaiṣṇavajana*’ *padanī samasyāo*²⁹, discusses the different possible sources of the *pada* as proposed by anterior research. If he thinks it interesting to identify passages of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*³⁰ or of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*³¹, he prefers to stress the importance of an isolated text published by A. Bhojak³², the *Vaiṣṇava bhakta prabandha copāī* or *Viṣṇubhagata* by a certain Māvo Vaiṣṇava. This poem was written at Talājā, the birth-place of Narasimha Mahetā in Saurāshtra, in the year *Samvat* 1587 (1530 A. D.) for a certain Gorā Ṛṣi of Patan, the manuscript of which was kept in the collection of the Jaina Ācārya Śrī Vijaya Āmkārasūriji Mahārāja. In 51 stanzas written in the *copāī* metre, the poem lists the qualities of the Vaiṣṇava in a manner resembling the ideas and the vocabulary of “*Vaiṣṇavajana...*” to such an extent that Bhayani is inclined to see in Narasimha Mahetā’s *pada* a mnemonic summary of the *Viṣṇu bhagata* of Māvo Vaiṣṇava³³. Māvo starts with 15 *copāī* enumerating the characteristics of the *avaiṣṇava* “the one who is not a Vaiṣṇava” with the following *ṭeka* (refrain) : *Kahu śrīrāmani te kima gamaī ?* “How will he please Śrī Rāma ?” In stanzas 16 to 48 he describes the qualities of the Vaiṣṇava with the *ṭeka* of stanza 16 using the very word “*Vaiṣṇavajana...*”³⁴; *Kahi śrī rāma vaiṣṇava jana teha* “Says Śrī Rāma : This is a true Vaiṣṇava”. In the last three stanzas he states his name, date and place of writing, and the benefits rewarding the reader.

Māvo fits well into the tradition of non-sectarian saints of northern India, using the name of Śrī Rāma or the Nāthapanthī terminology, as in stanza 45 and 46 for instance³⁵. But what is more striking is the fact that he includes purely Jaina rules among the rites to be observed by the Vaiṣṇava, as for instance :

- stanza 16 : the Vaiṣṇava must observe *jīva-dayādharma*,
- stanza 20 : he must drop the evening meal,
- stanza 22 : he must never drink unfiltered water, and finally
- stanza 46 : he must restrain the eight kinds of *karma-s*.

Māvo knew the *Jaina dharma* and recommended its observance³⁶. These features, as well as the fact that he was preoccupied with a purely ethical ideal, show to which extent Jaina influence had penetrated into the pre-Vallabhan Viṣṇuism of Gujarāt³⁷. It is well known that the present-day Vaiṣṇava and Jaina faithful strive to outdo each

other in strictly observing *ahimsā* and severe vegetarian rules. Their aims, however, are different : the Vallabhans try to keep themselves free from any kind of pollution, whereas the Jainas want to annihilate the effects of *karma*. Yet in Māvo's text on the *Vaiṣṇava dharma* one finds a complete convergence of views on how to achieve moral perfection and how to determine the norms of human behaviour.

Conclusion

The ideal of "*Vaiṣṇavajana*..." of course does not belong exclusively to Gujarātī *bhakti*. From Kabīra³⁸ to Tulasīdāsa³⁹, there is a wealth of definitions in the devotional literature in new Indo-Aryan languages. But what may have been Jaina influence in Gujarat, may have been the work of Buddhist influence in the North⁴⁰. Whereas Buddhism disappeared, Jainism survived and became predominant in Gujarat, and this may explain why Gujarātī *bhakti* kept on a permanent interest in the theme of moral perfection and why non-sectarian forms of Viṣṇuism did not disappear. Dayārāma, who wrote in the 19th century and was a Vallabhan, gave a final description of what a *Vaiṣṇava* is not⁴¹. His composition⁴² is sung in *bhajana* sessions at least frequently as "*Vaiṣṇavajana to tene kahīye..*" :

*Vaiṣṇava nathī thayo tuṁ re, harijana nathī thayo tuṁ re,
sīda gumānamāṁ ghume.*

*Harijanane joī hayuṁ na harakhe, drave na Hari guṇa gāṭāṁ,
kāma dāma catakī nathī phatakī, krodhe locana rātāṁ. 1
Vaiṣṇava nathī tuṁ re,...*

*Tuja saṁge koī vaiṣṇava thāē, to tuṁ vaiṣṇava sāco,
tārā saṁgano raṁga na lāge, tahāṁ tuṁ kāco. 2
Vaiṣṇava nathī tuṁ re,...*

*Paradukha dekhī hṛdaya na dājhe, paranindā nathī ḍarato,
vhlā nathī Viṭṭhala śuṁ sācuṁ, hathe tuṁ huṁ huṁ karato. 3
Vaiṣṇava nathī tuṁ re,...*

*Paropkāre prīta na tujane, svārtha chutyō che nāṁhiṁ,
kahenī tevī rahenī na maḷe, kyāṁ lakhyuṁ ema kahenī. 4
Vaiṣṇava nathī tuṁ re,...*

*Bhajanā rūḍha nathī mana niścaya, nathī Harino viśvāsa,
jagatatanī āṣā che jyāṁ lagī, jagata guru tuṁ dāsa. 5
Vaiṣṇava nathī tuṁ re,...*

*Manatāṇo guru mana karīśa to, sēcī vastu jaḍaśe,
Dayā duḥkha ke sukha māna, paṇa sācuṁ kahevuṁ paḍaśe. 6
Vaiṣṇava nathī tuṁ re,...*

*You are not a Vaiṣṇava
Hari's devotee you are not.*

why are you engrossed in your pride? (refrain)

At the sight of a devotee of Hari, you don't rejoice at heart,
to hear him sing the praise of Hari, your heart doesn't melt;
You did not keep yourself away from the charms of lust and wealth,
your eyes are red with wrath. 1

If someone in your company becomes a Vaiṣṇava,
only then you are a true Vaiṣṇava,
but as long as your company is not powerful enough to imbue him,
a raw devotee you remain. 2

Seeing the miseries of others does not set your heart on fire,
you are not afraid of speaking ill of others;
your love for Viṭṭhala is not true,
with obstinacy you only think of "Me ! Me !" 3

Generosity you do not love,
never you leave alone your own interest;
your deeds do not match your words,
where has this been written ? 4

Devotional singing isn't firmly established in your mind
and on Hari you do not put your faith;
so long as you place your expectations on the world,
the world is your guru and you are its slave. 5

But if you take for guru your own mind,
you will reach the true Reality;
says Dayārāma : calamity or bliss,
the Truth should be told. 6

Annotations :

- * A first draft to this paper was read at the "Third International Conference on Devotional Literature in New Indo-Aryan Languages", at Leyden (The Netherlands), in December 1985.
- 1. On Narasimha Mahetā, see F. Mallison, *Au point du jour, les prabhātīyām de Narasimha Mahetā, poète et saint vishnouite du Gujarāt (XVe siècle)*, Paris 1986 17-47 and bibliography 10-12; and J. Kothari, *Narsimha Mahetā*, Delhi 1994.
- 2. The Gujarātī text is taken from H. Bhayani " 'Vaiṣṇavajana' padanī samasyāo," *Bhāṣāvimarśa*, 5-4, Ahmedabad 1982, 163. This is an emended version of the edition by S. Jesalpara, *Narasimha Mahetāni kāvyakṛtīo*, Ahmedabad 1981, 382. Several translations into English and even into French were collected by D. Patel and J. N. Trivedi, Eds., *Love Poems and Lyrics from Gujarātī*, Ahmedabad 1977, [42]-[45].

3. The formula *Pīḍa parāi jāṇe* is also found in the *Barvai* n.79 of the poem 'Barvai' in Early Hindi of Rahim (1536-1627) : *Pīra parāi jānāi* "who can perceive another's pain", cf. R. Snell, " 'Barvai' Metre in Tulsidās and Rahim," *Studies in South Asian Devotional Literature* Eds. A. W. Entwistle and F. Mallison, New-Delhi-Paris 1994, 394.
4. *kācha* : M. A. Mehendale (*Samskṛti*, 26-7, Ahmedabad 1972, 219-220) proposes to understand *kācha* as "act, deed" and not as "body" or "sex" as it is often translated, duplicating the meaning of the following stanza. He proposes the etymology : Skt. *kṛtya* > Pkt. *kacca* > Guj. *kāca* or *kārya* > *kāja* > *kāca*.
5. *Ekotera* : according to H. Bhayani in "Śabdaprayogonī pagadaṇḍī," *Forbes Gujarati Sabhā Traimāsika*, 54-2, Bombay 1989, 93 : "*bāḍotera so, bilamtara so*," *ekotera* is to be read as *ekotara so* (i.e. as a Sanskrit copy of *ekottara śata*) and to be translated into Gujarati as *so upara eka* 'one plus one hundred' or 'one hundred and one' and not as *ekotera*, usually translated as 'seventy one'.
6. Ch. Vaudeville, *L'Invocation, le Haripāṭh de Dñāṇdev*, Paris 1969, 62-65.
7. Ch. Vaudeville, *Kabir*, Oxford 1974, 99.
8. The Svāmī-nārāyaṇī sect is a Krishnaite movement which was founded at the beginning of the 19th century and which subsequently developed Guru worship in a separate branch. It always showed a strong reformist and puritanical tendency.
9. K. K. Shastri, *Narasimha Maheto, eka adhyayana*, Ahmedabad 1971, 263.
10. *Vaiṣṇavajana* was even compared with the Bible's Ten Commandments by M. H. Bhatt in "Vaiṣṇavajana to tene kaḥiye," *Narasimha Mahetā āsvāda ane svādhyāya*, Ed. R. Chaudhari, Bombay 1988, 296.
11. See below *Conclusion*.
12. Shastri, *Narasimha Maheto*, 264 and S. Jesalpura, "Vaiṣṇavajananuñ pada Narasimhanuñ che, e viṣe śaṁkā nathī," *Forbes Gujarati Sabhā Traimāsika*, 49-1, Bombay 1984, 78f.
13. M. B. Vyas, *Vimalaprabandha*, Surat 1913, *Introduction*, 44.
14. See M. Lath, "Bhajan as Song : Towards an Oral Stemma of Namdev's *padas*", *Bhakti in Current Research, 1979-1982*, Ed. M. Thiel-Horstmann, Berlin 1983, 231-233.
15. Shastri, *Narasimha Maheto*, 263.
16. Ed. I. S. Desai, *Bṛhat Kāvyaḍohana*, IV, Bombay 1890, 247-288.
17. K. K. Shastri, *Kavicaritra (bhāga 1-2)*, Ahmedabad 1952, 318-323; R. Sh. Desai, *Prācīna kavio ane temanī kṛtio*, Baroda repr. 1977, 414.
18. A third one is actually mentioned by K. M. Munshi, *Narasimhayuganā kavio*, Bombay 1962, 111.
19. Ed. Desai, *Bṛhat Kāvyaḍohana*, IV, 199-246.
20. Shastri, *Kavicaritra*, 356-361; Desai, *Prācīna kavio*, 300. It was not possible to consult the manuscript published by M. B. Vyas, but it would be interesting to check whether *Vācho* was not misread (or eventually miscopied) instead of *Narachaio*, one of the possible

bhaṇitā of Narasimha. K. K. Shastri quotes the example of an old version of *Vaiṣṇavajana* bearing this signature (Shastri, *Narasimha Maheto*, 264).

21. Shastri, *Kavicaritra*, 203-216, and Desai, *Prācīna Kavio.*, 254-260.
22. Ed. K. K. Shastri, *Śrī Mahābhārata (Gujarātī prabandha)*, II, Bombay 1933, 274.
23. Bhayani, "Vaiṣṇavajana," *Bhāṣāvimarśa*, 165.
24. This *vārtā* records the life-story of Kṛṣṇadāsa, the fourth of the eight *aṣṭachāpa*, himself hailing from Gujarat. The account of Mīrā-bāī is in the first episode (*prasaṅga*) : in order to prove his exclusive faith in the community of Vallabhācārya, Kṛṣṇadāsa refuses Mīrā's offer of hospitality and her gifts (see Ed. G. D. Parekh, *Caurāsī vaiṣṇavana kī vārtā*, Mathura 1970, 530f., and R. Barz, *The Bhakti Sect of Vallabhācārya*, Faridabad 1976, 41 and 213f.)
25. Pada : 'Padhāryā Hari Kumkumane pagale', Ed. Jesalpura, *Narasimha Mahetānī*, 241. The Vallabhan *gaddī* at Surat which serves the *svārūpa* of Bālakṛṣṇa was not always acknowledged by the other *gaddī* of the *saṃpradāya*. It owes its installation at Surat in the year 1670 more to internal problems of inheritance than to Muslim persecution.
26. In fact, I was even told once at Mālīā, a small town near Junagadh in Saurashtra where Narasimha Mahetā is supposed to have spent his life, that Narsī was not a 'puṣṭi-puṣṭi-bhakta' but a 'maryādā-puṣṭi bhakta' !
27. Ed. I. S. Desai, *Bṛhat Kāvyaḍohana*, VIII, Bombay 1913, 458-470.
28. See the introduction of M. T. Teliwala to his edition of the *Vidvanmaṇḍanam of Śrī Viṭṭhalesvara*, the son of Vallabhācārya, Kāman 1926, 3f.
29. Bhayani, "Vaiṣṇavajana," *Bhāṣāvimarśa*, 163-167.
30. K. N. Joshi, "Narasimha Mahetāe Vaiṣṇavajanani vyākhyārūpe sarjelā padanī mīmāṃsā," *Svādhyāya*, 11-4, Baroda 1973, 326-328.
31. Shastri, *Narasimha Maheto*, 264f.
32. Ed. A. N. Bhojak, "Kavi Māvā-Māvājī racita Vaiṣṇavabhaktaprabandhacopāī," *Sambodhi*, 6-3,4 Ahmedabad 1977-78, 1-5.
33. Bhayani, "Vaiṣṇavajan," *Bhāṣāvimarśa*, 166.
34. According to K. N. Joshi, "Narasimha Mahetāe," *Svādhyāya*, 324f., the word *Vaiṣṇavajana* might have been coined by Narasimha and is less frequent than *harijana*.
35. Bhayani in "Narasimha-svādhyāya-3 : Vaiṣṇava Narasimha," *Bhāṣāvimarśa*, 7-3, Ahmedabad 1984, 4, lists the different aspects of the Vaiṣṇavism of Narasimha Mahetā which includes Jainism, Nāthism and the *sambhoga-śṛṅgāra* type of *bhakti*.
36. In fact the unique manuscript of this poem was produced for a Jaina collection, according to the colophon.
37. It is remarkable that the influence is mutual. Instances of Jaina monks composing Gujarātī verses on the Kṛṣṇa legend and miracles can be quoted; see, for instance, H. Bhayani, "Jalakamala prabhāṭiyānī prācīnatā ane tenuṇ kartṛva," *Anusandhāna*, Ahmedabad 1972, 55-78 (reprinted from *Svādhyāya*, 7, Baroda 1969 398-412); or the *Somakṛta Sudāmāsāra*,

most probably a version of the *Sudāmā caritra* in Old Gujarātī by a Jaina author, edited by M. R. Majmudar, *Sudāmā caritra*, Baroda 1922, 105-109.

38. Kabīra, *sākhī* 4, 24, Ed. Vaudeville, *Kabīr*, 183.
39. See the *pada* quoted by K. N. Joshi, "Narasimha Mahetā." *Svādhyāya*, 330f.
40. It is interesting to note that the *Section XXVI* of the *Dhammapada* which bears the title of *The [true] Brāhmaṇa* lists in 41 verses (v.383-423) the qualities of the perfect follower of the Buddha. The description of the [true] Brāhmaṇ recalls our definition of the true Vaiṣṇava : dispassionate, merciful, pure, free from anger, bereft of ill intention towards anybody, without attachment..., and in the same way as "Vaiṣṇava" does not mean a mere devotee of Viṣṇu but one who observes a high ideal of conduct, likewise "Brahman" does not mean one who is born into the brahmanic caste, but only one who embodies all the virtues of a perfect renouncer. Moreover, the same definition does exist in the Jaina Scriptures : *Uttarādhyāyana*, XXV, 19ff. (ed. *Sacred Books of the East*, XLV, 138ff.) which describes the [true] Brahman as no more the specialist of rites and sacrifices but as one pure in mind, words, and deeds, without any attachment, a *nirgrantha*. I thank Mr J. P. Ozier for having brought to my notice these points (J. P. Ozier, "Le jainisme", *Un monde de eligions*, I. *Les traditions de l'Inde*, Ed. M. Boisvert, Québec 1997, 95f., and the author's French translation of the *Dhammapada* to appear in Paris in 1997, 75-81).
41. See D. Dholakiya, "Vaiṣṇavajana : be bhinna dṛṣṭibinduo", *Parab*, 31-4, Ahmedabad 1990, 36-38.
42. The text given here is taken from an oral version collected during a *bhajana* at Surat (August 18, 1984, Bālakṛṣṇa Mandira). It varies slightly from the old edition of Kavi Narmadāśaṁkara (*Dayārāma kṛta Kāvyaśaṁgraha*, Bombay 1887, 299) and from the current edition by Sh. Ch. Raval (*Dayārāma-rasasudhā*, sec. ed., Bombay 1953, 153). See F. Mallison, "Les chants *dhola* au Gujarāt et leur usage pour la dévotion vallabhite", *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, LXXV, Paris 1986, 91-93.