

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Oxford University Press, Inc., publishes works that further
Oxford University's objective of excellence
in research, scholarship, and education.

Oxford New York
Auckland Cape Town Dar es Salaam Hong Kong Karachi
Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Nairobi
New Delhi Shanghai Taipei Toronto

With offices in
Argentina Austria Brazil Chile Czech Republic France Greece
Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan Poland Portugal Singapore
South Korea Switzerland Thailand Turkey Ukraine Vietnam

Copyright © 2007 by Oxford University Press, Inc.

Published by Oxford University Press, Inc.
198 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016
www.oup.com

Oxford is a registered trademark of Oxford University Press

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise,
without the prior permission of Oxford University Press.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Krishna : a sourcebook / edited by Edwin F. Bryant.
p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 978-0-19-514891-6; 978-0-19-514892-3 (pbk.)

1. Krishna (Hindu deity)—Literary collections. 2. Devotional literature, Indic.
I. Bryant, Edwin.

BL1220.K733 2007

294.5'2113—dc22 2006019101

9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Printed in the United States of America

Contents

Contributors, ix

Introduction, 3

PART I Classical Source Material

1. Krishna in the *Mahabharata*: The Death of Karna, 23
Alf Hiltebeitel
2. Krishna in the *Bhagavad Gita*, 77
Robert N. Minor
3. The *Harivamsa*: The Dynasty of Krishna, 95
Ekkehard Lorenz
4. Krishna in the Tenth Book of the *Bhagavata Purana*, 111
Edwin F. Bryant

PART II Regional Literary Expressions

5. Orissa: Shri Krishna Jagannatha: The *Mushali-parva*
from Sarala's *Mahabharata*, 139
Bijoy M. Misra
6. Assam: Shankaradeva's *Parijata Harana Nata*, 163
William L. Smith

7. Tamil Nadu: Weaving Garlands in Tamil:
The Poetry of the *Alvars*, 187
Vasudha Narayanan
8. Maharashtra: Games with God: *Sakhya-bhakti* in Marathi
Sant Poetry, 205
Vidyut Aklujkar
9. Braj: Fishing in Sur's Ocean, 223
John Stratton Hawley
10. Rajasthan: Mirabai and Her Poetry, 241
Nancy M. Martin
11. Gujarat: Govinda's Glory: Krishna-*Lila* in the songs of
Narasinha Mehta, 255
Neelima Shukla-Bhatt
12. Sanskrit from Tamil Nadu: At Play in the Forests
of the Lord: The *Gopalavimshati* of Vedantadeshika, 285
Steven P. Hopkins

PART III Philosophy and Theology

13. Krishna in Advaita Vedanta: The Supreme *Brahman*
in Human Form, 309
Lance E. Nelson
14. Ramanuja and the Meaning of Krishna's Descent
and Embodiment on This Earth, 329
Francis X. Clooney, S.J.
15. Madhva Vedanta and Krishna, 357
Deepak Sarma
16. The Six *Sandarbhas* of Jiva Gosvami, 373
Satyanarayana Dasa
17. A Selection from the *Bhaktirasamritasindhu* of Rupa Gosvamin:
The Foundational Emotions (Sthayi-bhavas), 409
David L. Haberman
18. The Divine Feminine in the Theology of
Krishna, 441
Graham M. Schweig

PART IV Hagiography and Praxis

19. Kumbhandas: The Devotee as Salt of the Earth, 477
Richard Barz
20. The *Bade Shikshapatra*: A Vallabhite Guide to the
Worship of Krishna's Divine Images, 505
Paul Arney
21. Vaishnava Pilgrimage: Select Puranic Texts, 537
Paul H. Sherbow
22. Chaitanya Vaishnavism and the Holy Names, 549
Neal Delmonico

Contributors

Vidyut Akhujkar is a research associate at the Centre for India and South Asia Research at the University of British Columbia. Her bachelor's and master's degrees were in Sanskrit from Poona University, Pune, India, and her Ph.D. in Philosophy is from the University of British Columbia. She has taught Hindi, Indian literature, and Indian mythology at the UBC, and Sanskrit at Harvard University. Her areas of research are epics in Sanskrit, particularly Ananda-ramayana, and literature in Sanskrit, Hindi, and Marathi. In addition to more than twenty-five research publications in international journals and anthologies, she has six books of fiction, essays, and translations published to date. She has edited a book on Goan Konkani proverbs and an anthology of Marathi short stories. In 2005, she was honored by the BMM award of excellence for her writing in Marathi by the Brihan Maharashtra Mandal of North America. She has been the co-editor, editor, and now serves as the consulting editor for *Ekata*, the quarterly journal of Marathi literature published from Toronto, Canada.

Paul Arney was educated at Columbia University and the Australian National University. He is an independent scholar based in Perth, Western Australia.

Richard Barz has a Ph.D. in Hindi from the University of Chicago. He is a member of the Faculty of Asian Studies at the Australian National University where he teaches Hindi and Urdu. He is the author of *The Bhakti Sect of Vallabhacarya* (1992), *An Introduction to Hindi and Urdu* (2000), and other books and articles on

Hindi in India and Mauritius and on *bhakti* literature and philosophy. He is currently preparing a Hindi documentary film on the pilgrimage to Gangotri and Gomukh in the Uttarakhand Himalaya.

Edwin F. Bryant is Associate Professor of Hinduism at Rutgers University. His publications include: *The Quest for the Origins of Vedic Culture: The Indo-Aryan Migration Debate* (2001); *Krishna: The Beautiful Legend of God* (2004); *The Hare Krishna Movement: The Post-charismatic Fate of a Religions Transplant* (2004); and *The Indo-Aryan Controversy Evidence, Politics, History* (2005). He has recently completed a translation of the Yoga Sutras and their traditional commentaries.

Francis X. Clooney, S.J., is the Parkman Professor of Divinity and Professor of Comparative Theology at the Harvard Divinity School, and Professor in Harvard University's Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies. His areas of research interest include Vedanta, Tamil Vaishnavism, and the historical and comparative study of Hindu and Christian theologies. His most recent books are *Hindu God, Christian God* (2001), *Divine Mother, Blessed Mother* (2005), and *Fr. Bouchet's India: An 18th-Century Jesuit's Encounter with Hinduism* (2005). He is currently writing a study in comparative spirituality on the Shrimad Rahasyatrayasara of Vedanta Deshika, and the Treatise on the Love of God of Francis de Sales, and also a Christian commentary on the rahasya mantras of the Shri-vaishnava tradition.

Satyanarayana Dasa received his Ph.D. from Agra University and is founder and director of the Jiva Institute for Vedic Studies in Vrindavan. His publications include the *Bhagavata Mahatmya* from the *Padma Purana*; the *Hitopadesha* of Narayana Pandita; *In Vaikuntha Not Even the Leaves Fall*; *The Yoga of Dejection*; and *Nama Tattva*. He has completed a translation of the six-volume philosophical treatise *Shat Sandarbhas* of Jiva Goswami, and he is presently working on a translation of the *Tarka Samgraha*, along with its *Nyaya Bodhini* and *Dipika* commentaries, as well as Jiva Goswami's Sanskrit grammar, the *Hari-namamrita-vyakaranam*.

Neal Delmonico received his Ph.D. from the Department of South Asian Languages and Civilizations of the University of Chicago in 1990. He has taught in the Religious Studies Program at Iowa State University and in the Social Sciences Division, philosophy, and religion at Truman State University. He is the translator of numerous works from Sanskrit and Bengali. His publications include *First Steps in Vedanta* (2003) and *Nectar of the Holy Name* (2005) and he is a frequent contributor to the *Journal of Vaisnava Studies*. In addition to collaborating on an online text repository for Sanskrit and Bengali texts, available at www.granthamandira.org, he currently manages and edits for Blazing Sapphire Press.

David L. Haberman is Professor and Chair of the Department of Religious Studies at Indiana University at Bloomington. He received his Ph.D. in the history of religions from the University of Chicago Divinity School in 1984 and taught at the University of Arizona and Williams College before joining the faculty at Indiana University. Although he is a student of all religious traditions, he specializes in the religions of India, where he has lived for over six years studying the Hindu temple and pilgrimage cultures of that country. He has published many scholarly articles and several books, including the American Academy of Religion Prize-winning *Journey through the Twelve Forests: An Encounter with Krishna* (1994); *Acting as a Way of Salvation: A Study of Raganuga Bhakti Sadhana* (1988, 2001); an annotated translation, *The Bhaktirasamrtasindhu of Rupa Gosvamin* (2003), and *River of Love in an Age of Pollution: The Yamuna River of Northern India* (2006). He is currently working on a book about tree shrines in northern India.

John Stratton Hawley is Professor of Religion and Chair of the Department at Barnard College, Columbia University. His most recent books on India are *Three Bhakti Voices: Mirabai, Surdas, and Kabir in Their Time and Ours* (OUP, 2005) and *The Life of Hinduism* (2006), the latter co-edited with Vasudha Narayanan. Hawley's largest and longest-standing work, a verse translation and poem-by-poem analysis of lyrics attributed to Surdas in the sixteenth-century, is forthcoming from Oxford as *Sur's Ocean*. It draws on the critical edition prepared by Kenneth E. Bryant, with which it will appear conjointly.

Alf Hiltebeitel did his dissertation in the History of Religions at the University of Chicago on Krishna in the Mahabharata, and developed it into his first book (1976, 1990). He has worked widely on Indian religion and history, with work continuing to focus especially on the classical period and the Indian epics, and on the Tamil cult of the Mahabharata heroine Draupadi based on still ongoing fieldwork in Tamilnadu. He is currently working on a book titled *Dharma*, and on various essays on the epics following up his 2001 book, *Rethinking the Mahabharata*.

Steven P. Hopkins received his Ph.D. from Harvard University in the Comparative Study of Religion and is currently Associate Professor and Chair of the Department of Religion at Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania. He is a published author and poet, the recipient of the Eisner Prize in Literature at the University of California at Berkeley. His major field is South Indian Vaishnavism with special attention to the work of Vedantadeshika. In addition to *Singing the Body of God: The Hymns of Vedantadesika in Their South Indian Tradition* (OUP, 2002) and *An Ornament for Jewels: Love Poems for the Lord of Gods by Vedantadesika* (OUP, 2007), Hopkins has co-edited a book with John B. Carman entitled *Tracing Common Themes: Comparative Courses in the Study of Religion* (2000). He is currently working on a book about the history of the

time, love, and memory in Sanskrit sandesha-kavyas or “messenger poems” in medieval South Asia, and a comparative book on religious transformations of the love lyric from Southern France to South India.

Ekkehard Lorenz received his M.A. in Indology with a focus on medieval and ancient Sanskrit at the Institute for Oriental Languages at the University of Stockholm. He is specialized in the medieval Bhagavata Purana commentarial tradition and is presently researching the authenticity of Madhva’s unknown sources in the Bhagavatatparyanirnaya.

Robert N. Minor is Professor of Religious Studies at the University of Kansas. He holds a Ph.D. from the University of Iowa in the history of religions. Besides his interest in history of religions methodology, his research concentrates on Indian religious thought and texts, and their interpretations in the modern period, religion and the secular state, and religion and gender. Among his publications are eight books, three of which were published simultaneously in the United States and India: *Sri Aurobindo: The Perfect and the Good*; *Bhagavad-gita: An Exegetical Commentary*; and *Modern Indian Interpreters of the Bhagavad-Gita*. Most of his interests coalesced in his *The Religious, The Spiritual, and The Secular: Auroville and Secular India*.

Nancy M. Martin, associate professor of Religious Studies at Chapman University and co-founder and associate director of the Global Ethics and Religion Forum, is an historian of religion with expertise in South Asian religions, gender issues, and comparative religious ethics. She is the author of *Mirabai* (forthcoming) and is currently completing a book examining low-caste traditions of Mirabai and Kabir in rural Rajasthan, entitled *The Renunciant Rani and the Weaver of Protest*. In addition she is the editor of a series of volumes on ethical issues and the world religions and producer of the documentary “Patterns for Peace: India as a Model for Peace in a Multi-Religious Society.”

Bijoy M. Misra hails from Puri, India, and was raised in a family of scholars on Shri Jagannatha. He is a physicist and works as the Principal Scientist for General Dynamics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology Lincoln Laboratory. He is a writer in Oriya language and a scholar in Sanskrit. His edited *Sri Krishna Yoga*, a compilation of the lectures of the eminent monk Swami Sarvagatananda at MIT, was published by Advaita Ashrama in India in 2005. He is associated with the Department of Sanskrit and Indian Studies at Harvard University and acts as the Convener of the Outreach Program.

Vasudha Narayanan is Distinguished Professor in the Department of Religion and Director, Center for the study of Hindu Traditions (CHiTra) at the University of Florida. She is a past president of the American Academy of

Religion (2001–2002). She is the author and editor of six books, including, most recently, *Hinduism* (2004) and *A Hundred Autumns to Live: An Introduction to Hindu Traditions* (OUP forthcoming). She is currently working on Hindu temples and Vaishnava traditions in Cambodia. Her fields of interest include the Sri Vaishnava tradition; Hindu traditions in India, Cambodia, and America; and gender issues.

Lance E. Nelson is Professor of Theology and Religious Studies and chair of the department at the University of San Diego. His research focuses on medieval Hindu theology, particularly Advaita Vedanta, and his writings on aspects of South Asian religion have appeared in books, reference works, and scholarly journals published in North America, Europe, and India. He edited *Purifying the Earthly Body of God: Religion and Ecology in Hindu India* (1998) and is a past president of the Society for Hindu-Christian Studies.

Deepak Sarma is an assistant professor of Religion at Case Western Reserve University. He has a Ph.D. in the philosophy of religion from the University of Chicago. Madhva Vedanta has been the focus of his research since his undergraduate days at Reed College. He is the author of *An Introduction to Madhva Vedanta* (2003) and *Epistemologies and the Limitations of Philosophical Inquiry: Doctrine in Madhva Vedanta* (2005). He has published articles in the *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, the *Journal of the American Academy of Religion*, *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion*, and the *Journal of Vaishnava Studies*, as well as other journals. His areas of interest include Madhva Vedanta, comparative philosophy of religion, Hindu and Jain bioethics, and theory and method in the social sciences and in religious studies.


Graham M. Schweig did his graduate studies at Harvard University and the University of Chicago and received his doctorate in Comparative Religion from Harvard. He has taught at Duke University and the University of North Carolina and is currently Associate Professor of Philosophy and Religious Studies and director of the Indic Studies Program at Christopher Newport University, as well as Visiting Associate Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Virginia. His work focuses on the devotional theistic traditions of India, forms of love mysticism in world religion, especially Christian and Vaishnava traditions, and the psychology of religion. He is the author of *Dance of Divine Love: India’s Classic Sacred Love Story: The Rasa Lila of Krishna from the Bhagavata Purana* (2005); *Bhagavad Gita: The Beloved Lord’s Secret Love Song* (Harper San Francisco, forthcoming); *Bhagavad Gita Concordance: Comprehensive Word Reference* and *The Bhakti Sutra: Concise Teachings of Narada on Divine Love* (both forthcoming).

Paul H. Sherbow holds a B.A. in Middle Eastern Studies from Columbia University and is renowned as a Sanskritist. He served as Sanskrit editor at the

Bhaktivedanta Book Trust during the 1970s, and was cofounder as well as senior editor of the *Journal of Vaishnava Studies*. Active in interreligious initiatives, he has been assisting the director general of the International Shinto Foundation (ISF) in its United Nations and academic programs since 1997. He is presently senior researcher for the International Secretariat of the World Conference of Religions for Peace (WCRP) in New York City, with special assignments in India.

Neelima Shukla-Bhatt is a Visiting Professor in South Asia Studies at Wellesley College. She received her Ph.D. in Study of Religion from Harvard University (2003). Her doctoral dissertation was titled "Nectar of Devotion: Bhakti-Rasa in the Tradition of Gujarati Saint-Poet Narasinha Mehta." She has contributed articles on modern Hindu female religious leaders to the second edition of the *Encyclopedia of Religion* (2005). Several of her articles are forthcoming in books and journals. Her research focuses on *bhakti*, cultural/religious forms that open space for women and other marginalized groups as well as religion and globalization. She is presently examining garba, a dance form of Gujarat, as a ritual for Goddess worship and as a cultural form.

William L. Smith received his doctorate in Indology at the University of Stockholm, where he taught until 2004. His books include *The One-Eyed Goddess* (1980); *The Ramayana in Eastern India* (1988); *Bengali Reference Grammar* (1997); *W. L. Smith on Shankaradeva* (2000); and *Patterns in Indian Hagiography* (2004) and he has edited *Maithili Studies: Papers Presented at the Stockholm Conference on Maithili Language and Literature* (2003). He has published numerous articles on the medieval languages and literatures of Eastern India. He is at presently Professor of South Asian Languages at the University of Uppsala.



Krishna