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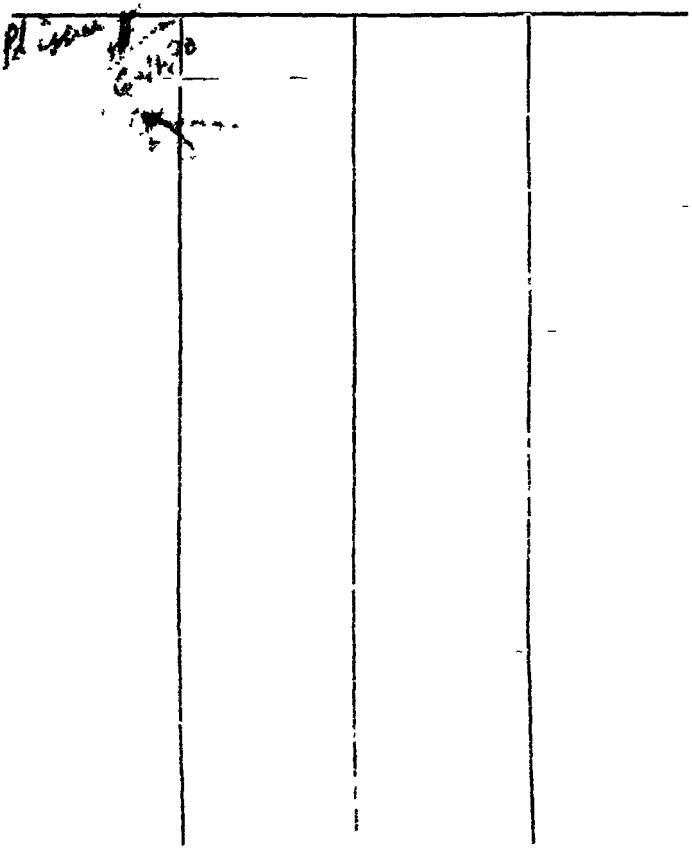
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THE SOUL OF INDIA

An Introduction to the Study of Hinduism, in its Historical Setting and Development, and in its Internal and Historical Relations to Christianity

BY

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Preliminary Note.

THE ANGUS LECTURESHIP has its origin in a Fund raised as a testimonial to the Rev. Joseph Angus, M.A., D.D., as an expression of the sense entertained by the subscribers of his character and services as President of the Baptist Theological College, formerly situated at Stepney and now at Regent's Park, London. Dr. Angus having intimated his desire that the Fund should be devoted to the establishment of a permanent Lectureship in connection with the College, a Trust has been constituted for the purpose; its income to be "administered and applied by the College Committee for the establishment and maintenance of a Lectureship, to be called the 'Angus Lectureship,' in connection with the said College, for the delivery of periodic lectures on great questions connected with Systematic, Practical, or Pastoral Theology, or the Evidences and Study of the Bible, or Christian Missions, or Church History, or Kindred Subjects."

It is further provided that the College Committee, in conjunction with the Trustees, shall once in two years, or oftener (should exceptional circumstances render it desirable) "appoint and engage a Lecturer, who shall ordinarily be a member of the Baptist denomination, but who may occasionally be a member of any other body of Evangelical Christians, to deliver a course of not more than eight Lectures, on some subject of the nature hereinbefore mentioned."

In accordance with these provisions, the Rev Dr. Angus delivered, at Regent's Park College, in the year 1896, a course of Six Lectures on *Regeneration*, afterwards published

The seventh course, delivered in 1909-10, is contained in the present volume.

The sentences above marked as quotations are from the Deed of Trust, executed March, 1896.

Preface.

THE main portion of the present work formed the course of Angus Lectures delivered in Regent's Park College, London, during the Winter Session of 1909-10 For the purposes of the lecture-room, considerable abridgment was found necessary The lectures are now published in full, with various modifications and further additions

My aim in writing the work has been to supply a comprehensive and readable introduction to Indian religious thought and life I can recall vividly my own struggles and difficulties, years ago, when I made my first attempts to unravel for myself the maze of Indian religion I tried earnestly to make a conscientious study of the standard works and the standard texts bearing on Hindu religion and philosophy All my reading, however, seemed to bring me very little nearer to the goal I had in view—an understanding of the inner heart and soul of India, and a clear grasp of the course of Indian religious development Light dawned only after I had devoted very considerable time to a study of the land and the people, the evolution of their civilisation, in its social, literary political, and religious bearings I am quite sure that I should have found my path a very much easier one if there had been available such an introduction to the subject as the present work seeks to supply

The whole work has been written, not from the standpoint of the specialist or advanced scholar,

but to meet the needs of the average student who may be face to face with just such difficulties as I had to encounter myself fifteen or twenty years ago Long experience in India convinces me that there is very little in the book that the student will need to unlearn, and, on the other hand, I trust I have not omitted much that is necessary as a solid foundation for his future studies.

My aim throughout has been to write from the historical and not from the controversial point of view, and, though I have given full expression to my convictions as a Christian missionary, I do not think there is any trace of the *odium theologicum* in any part of my work I have tried earnestly to avoid misrepresenting, in any degree, any phase of religious thought, and to make my criticisms above all things fair Such, at any rate, has been my sincere aim It is for others to judge how far I have succeeded

The task I have undertaken has only been made possible by the work of others, especially the great Oriental scholars of the West, dead and living, of whose writings I have made such liberal use that detailed acknowledgment has been impossible. The brief Bibliographies I have given at the beginning of each of the five Books into which the work is divided, indicate the main authorities to whom I have been indebted Special mention might be made of Holdich, Risley, and Grierson, for Book I , of Macdonell, Schroeder, Oldenburg, Weber, Frazer, Smith, Hunter, Thompson, and Dutt, for Book II , of Barth, Hopkins, Monier-Williams, Rhys-Davids, Menzies, Max Muller, and Garbe, for Book III , of Macculloch, Farquhar, Slater, Bernard Lucas, A G Hogg, Hume, Cuthbert Hall, and J P Jones, for Book IV , of Grierson, Burkitt, Richter, George Smith, C F. Andrews, and the

Edinburgh Conference Reports, for Book V; and of the new Encyclopædia Britannica, The Imperial Gazetteer, Hastings' Dictionaries and Encyclopædias, and the Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie, for invaluable aid throughout the work.

The general system I have adopted of transliteration of Indian words is that followed in the Imperial Gazetteer, but it is not carried out with rigid consistency in every case, independent of established usage

The greater part of what I have written, while my own in plan and scope, is frankly based on the writings of others, and it could only be of use or value in being so based My study, however, of the internal relations of Christianity and Hinduism, as set forth in Book III, may legitimately be regarded as in the main independent, and the greater part of that Book is the substance of a University Thesis which was accepted on the ground of its being an original contribution to learning. What I have written may, I hope, stimulate the researches of others in similar fields Indian missionaries, foreign or native, with a broad and historical outlook, have here a great opportunity The views I have expressed on missionary methods and policy are the outcome of my own experience and independent observation

My final words shall be words of acknowledgment of the great debt I owe to my Oriental teachers—Macdonell, Garbe, Grill, Rapson, and Fairbairn I have also to thank my colleague, Rev J N. Rawson, B D, B Sc, for reading the final proofs, and completing the Bibliographies, Index, and Synopsis of Contents. My departure for India before the actual publication of the work rendered this special service on his part a necessity The printing of the book owes much to the very

thorough way in which Mr H J. Cowell has attended to the proofs To Principal Gould and the Angus Trustees I am indebted for the opportunity of making this effort to help my fellow-students, European and Indian, to understand and better to appreciate the Soul of India.

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BOOK I.

India: The Land, its Languages, and its Races.

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(3) Paterson (Rev George), A Geography of India—Physical, Political, Commercial Pp 352, with 98 diagrams and two coloured maps Christian Literature Society for India, Madras, and 35, John Street, Bedford Row, London, W C 1/4 (Exceedingly useful)

(4) Strachey (Sir John), India, Its Administration and Progress Fourth edition, revised by Sir T W Holderness Pp xxiv–567 Macmillan & Co, London 10/- net 1911

(5) Risley (Sir Herbert), The People of India Pp xvi–289–clxxxix W Thacker & Co, London 21/- net 1908

(6) The Reports of the Geological, Ethnographical, and Linguistic Surveys of India, and the various Census Reports (All these are of first-rate importance for a detailed study of the land, its races, and its languages)

(7) The Imperial Gazetteer of India New edition, 1908 26 vols The first four volumes are descriptive, historical, economic, and administrative respectively They are of great importance, and contain valuable Bibliographies, which should be consulted by the student who wishes to specialise

(8) The numerous articles in the Encyclopædia Britannica on the land, the peoples, and the languages of India Especially helpful are the linguistic articles by Sir G A Grierson.

I. The Land of India.

AN earnest endeavour to gain an accurate conception of the broad outlines of the land itself, with its peoples and languages, what they originally were, and how they came to be what they now are, is essential, if we are to understand and enter into the mind and heart of India. Religion is no isolated factor in a people's life. It must rather be viewed as the expression of the spiritual genius of the people who profess it; and to be able to understand the mental and spiritual characteristics of a people, one must know enough to appreciate the essential elements in the geology and geography of their land, the comparative philology of their languages, and the ethnology of their tribal varieties.

Most works on India begin by emphasising the extremely varied character of the land and its people. It needs to be borne in mind, however, that there is ample justification for thinking of India as a geographical unit, encircled by mountains and seas. While its dominant type of civilisation and religion entitles us to think of India as essentially one, yet the vastness and variety of India are patent to all. In area and population it is about equal to the whole of Europe without Russia.

Its 320 millions of inhabitants comprise more than one-fifth of the human race. Practically every stage of civilisation is represented, from the rude savagery of certain hill-tribes to social communities that have been highly organised for untold centuries.

It has every variety of climate, from the dry, bracing cold of the Himalayan slopes to the humid and tropical heat of Lower Bengal and the Coromandel Coast.

Its varieties of scenery include sun-scorched arid

plains, tangled forests with luxuriant foliage, lofty mountains, and lowlying river deltas. Extending as it does from the eighth degree of north latitude, the hottest regions of the Equator, to the 37th degree, far within the Temperate Zone, India produces, in the way of fauna and flora, practically everything necessary for the service of man.

The whole land, apart from Burma, is naturally divided into three separate and well-defined tracts: the region of mountains, the region of plains, and the region of plateaux.

The region of mountains

is in the north and north-west, and includes the Himalayan range and its allied systems. The great mountain chain of the Himalayas is much more than a mere boundary. It is really a mountainous country extending some 1,500 miles in length and some 200 in breadth, and consists of several parallel and converging ranges intersected by enormous valleys and extensive tablelands. The Brahmaputra, called the Tsan-pu north of the Himalayas, enfolds the eastern portion of the Himalayan chain just as the Indus enfolds the western. The Himalayas, thus enclosed by two gigantic rivers, which rise close to each other amid the glaciers of Tibet, not only form a continuous and unbroken wall along the north of India, but at both their eastern and western extremities send out ranges to the south, which protect its north-eastern and north-western frontiers. The flanking range on the north-east forms a barrier between the civilised districts of Assam and the wild tribes of Upper Burma. On the north-western frontier of India, the offshoots known as the Sulaimān and Kīrthar mountains extend almost to the sea-shore. Though the Himalayas proper have a few passes which serve as trade routes between India and Central Asia, yet these passes are

of comparatively little account; and the whole mountain range, of which the Himalayas are only the southern wall, forms a northern rampart for India which no enemy has ever scaled. The flanking ranges, however, on the east and the west, though they possess a few peaks of considerable height, are of comparatively small elevation, and are traversed by many passes presenting no insuperable obstacles to traffic. Many of the north-western passes into Afghanistan have served as military roads through which invading hosts have at various times penetrated into India. From the military standpoint, it is these passes which are the cracks in India's armour, and the safety of India is only secured by the strength with which the passes are held.

Such is the region of mountains, the vast Himalayan range. These mountains have exerted an influence upon the history, the climate, and the rainfall of India which has done much to determine the character of the country and the development of its people. For many long centuries India was practically isolated from the rest of the world by these physical barriers, and it was only the improvement in the arts of shipbuilding and navigation, towards the close of the fifteenth century, that established direct intercourse between India and Europe. The Himalayas, too, protect the Gangetic plain from the devastating and icy north winds that blow in winter across Tibet, and they further serve to check the northward course of the raincloud, the collected moisture of the ocean which the seasonal winds, the south-west monsoons, drive over India from the southern ocean. These clouds, dashed against the rocky walls of the great mountain range, discharge their torrents of rain on the plains, making the parched land green with the luxuriance of vegetation.

The region of plains

lies immediately to the south of the region we have been considering, and includes the Indo-Gangetic plain formed of the silt brought down by three mighty rivers—the Indus, the Ganges, and the Brahmaputra—with an alluvial deposit varying from 600 to 1,800 feet, and stretching without a break from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal. The plain has a width varying from 100 to 300 miles, and supports a population of some 170 millions of people. The rainfall in the eastern section of the plain is ample, and the deposits of fertilising silts greatly enrich the soil of Lower Bengal and enable cultivators to dispense with manure of any sort over the inundated area.

The Ganges is by far the most important river in the history of ancient and modern India. It waters the most populous and the wealthiest provinces of the Indian Empire, the United Provinces and Bengal. Rising in the Garhwāl Himalayas, among the glaciers of Gangotrī, under the name of Bhāgirathi, it pursues its fertilising career through the great plain of Hindustan to the plains of Bengal. When it reaches its delta in Lower Bengal, the fall is so slight, that the river breaks into many channels, and slowly makes its way to the sea through a wilderness of forest and swamp. The river is inseparably bound up with the history and sacred traditions of the Indian people, and, according to popular tradition, the sanctity of other Indian rivers is derived from the Ganges through the agency of subterranean streams. To bathe in her waters is to wash away sin. Death and cremation on her banks assure eternal peace. Even the ejaculation of her sacred name from afar serves to blot out the misdeeds of many previous births.

The western part of the Indo-Gangetic plain, lying within the basin of the Indus and its numerous

tributaries and affluents, is of supreme importance in the history of the early Aryans of the Vedic period, who entered India through the passes of the north-west, and occupied the land of the five rivers between the Indus and the Sutlej. For the arid, rainless, alluvial plain of Sindh, the Indus does precisely what the Nile does for Egypt, watering and fertilising the land for many miles on both sides. In the lower part of its course it receives no more water, but loses much. Its bed is higher than the surrounding country, and streams flow from it instead of into it, with the result that widespread inundations take place when the river is in flood. In the lower part of its course it forms a delta, and pours its waters into the Arabian Sea by many ever-shifting distributaries.

The region of plateaux

includes practically the whole of Peninsular India. The dividing line between North or Continental India, and South or Peninsular India, is the broad belt of hill and forest known as the Vindhya mountains, running from the gulf of Cambay on the west to the mouths of the Mahānadī on the east. This great barrier was in former times practically impenetrable, being inhabited by savage men and beasts. Such intercourse as existed was either by sea, or by a land route along the eastern coast. The northern section of Peninsular India is known as the Deccan, and the Southern section is the land of the Tamils, the maritime plains of the South. The Deccan plateau is bounded on the east and the west by the Eastern and the Western Ghats respectively. These unite to form the Nīlgiri Hills, which extend south almost as far as Cape Comorin, as a central mountainous ridge. Most of the rivers of Peninsular India discharge into the Bay of Bengal. As they depend for their supply of water on the

rainfall, they become sluggish and shallow during the dry season, but with the coming of the rains they often flood the country for many miles around. The Mahānadī, when in flood, almost equals the Ganges in the volume of its waters. The greater part of Peninsular India consists of hilly tableland, with an average elevation of 1,500 feet above the sea, though twice that elevation in the far south. In the case of both the Eastern and Western Ghats, there is a more or less broad strip of lowlying land between them and the sea. On the west the alluvial land is but a narrow strip a few miles wide, but in the south and east there are the deltas of great rivers, and stretching far into the interior there are broad tracts of level country. These lowlying regions are generally hot and fertile, while the plateau proper enjoys a dry and comparatively cool climate. Peninsular India supports a population of more than 120 millions.

The geology of India determines the characteristic features of its three main geographical divisions. Geological conditions in India and the main stages of Indian geological development may be indicated in brief.*

*For the convenience of students not acquainted with geological terms, it may be pointed out that there are five great eras of geological development with various subdivisions or periods, representative of the chronological sequence of the earth's formations. In general the oldest formations are the lowest layers, and the most recent the topmost.

(1) Archæan { Eozoic / Pre-Cambrian }

(2) Palæozoic or Primary { Cambrian / Ordovician / Silurian / Devonian / Carboniferous / Permian }

(3) Mesozoic or Secondary { Triassic / Jurassic / Cretaceous }

(4) Cainozoic or Tertiary { Eocene / Oligocene / Miocene / Pliocene }

(5) Quaternary { Pleistocene or Glacial / Recent, Prehistoric or Human }

(1) The main system of the Himalayas is composed chiefly of crystalline and metamorphic rocks together with unfossiliferous sedimentary beds supposed to be Palæozoic. In the lower ranges to the south, there are clear marks of upheaval and violent crumpling, as crystalline strata are often found overlying sedimentary rock. With occasional breaks, the series of fossils from the Ordovician to the Eocene is almost entirely marine, thus showing that, during nearly the whole of this long period, the Himalayan region must have been to a considerable extent beneath the sea. The Siwāliks hills—a range at the southern base of the Himalaya mountains—are different from the Himalayas proper both in structure and age. They are composed of fresh-water deposits, the washings of the mountains of the loftier range, drained by rivers whose course has since been diverted from the Indus valley and the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal. The Siwāliks are well known for their remarkable deposits of fossil animals contained in Pliocene beds of the Tertiary era.

(2) The Indo-Gangetic plain, with its enormous thickness of alluvial and wind-blown deposits, belongs apparently to the Eocene period—antecedent, therefore, to the great upheaval of the Himalayas in Miocene times. There is no indication that the Indo-Gangetic depression was ever beneath the sea. The great forces that produced the upheaval of the mountain ranges caused the depression of the plain. The upheaval and the depression were simultaneous processes, parts of one great earth-movement acting slowly through long ages. It is probable that in later ages the eastern part of the plain underwent a further depression, which altered the slope of the plain, and changed from their western and south-western course the rivers that now flow into the Bay of Bengal. "There was probably a time when the Brahmaputra,

instead of making its placid way to the Bay of Bengal, swept round the base of the Himalayas right across India, and possibly joined the Indus before it found the sea. This was in days when its banks were lined with a tropical jungle, and gigantic animals stalked through the land, and left their bones in the Sīwālik system of recent deposits "*

(3) The region of southern tableland, Peninsular India, is geologically by far the oldest part of India as we now know it. Marine deposits, and those of the comparatively late Jurassic and Cretaceous times, are confined to the neighbourhood of the coasts. Crystalline rocks belonging to Archæan time cover more than half of Peninsular India. The eastern gneissic series of rocks includes all the peninsula south of a line drawn from Goa to Masulipatam and the eastern half of that part of the peninsula which lies north of that line. It includes, too, the Arāvallis and the Eastern Ghats, which are thus of great geological antiquity, the most ancient hills in India.

Another geological formation in Peninsular India of great importance is the vast area of basaltic rock known as Deccan Trap, igneous or volcanic in its origin. Towards the close of the Cretaceous period and in the early Tertiary, India was the scene of a succession of enormous igneous outflows or volcanic eruptions without parallel in geological history. The outflow covers an area of upwards of 200,000 square miles of Peninsular India, and in some places extends to a depth exceeding 6,000 feet. The Deccan Trap area includes the entire north-western part of the Deccan, and in addition two-thirds of the peninsula of Kāthiāwār. The fertility of the north-western Deccan as a cotton and wheat-growing tract is owing to the fertile black soil formed

*Holdich, *India*, p. 320.

by the rapid disintegration or weathering of the basaltic rocks.

There is a third geological formation in Peninsular India, known as the Gondwāna series, wide beds of alluvial deposit, scattered through Central India, formed by river action and containing vegetable remains and coal strata of considerable interest and value. Scratched boulders, indicating glacial action, have been found in some of the lower Gondwāna beds. Geologically the Gondwāna beds are older than the basaltic formations of the north-western Deccan plateau. It is noteworthy that their fossil fauna and flora are more nearly allied to the life-forms of South Africa and Australia than to those of the Eurasian Continent.

A consideration of geological conditions in India has led geologists to the conclusion that in Palæozoic and Mesozoic times there was a connecting belt of land (sometimes called "Gondwāna Land," from the name of the series) extending from India south-south-westward over the Indian Ocean, along the range of islands, the Laccadives, the Maldives, and the Seychelles, to Madagascar and Southern Africa. The Indian Peninsula was thus part of a large continent, and its northern shores were washed by a vast sea (sometimes spoken of as the Sea of Tethys) stretching across the Old World from east to west. The Eastern Ghats constituted the eastern boundary of this continent, connected as they probably were by an unbroken chain, including the Rajmahal Hills and the hills of Assam, with the eastern Himalayas, which are far more ancient than the western, and contain no marine sedimentary beds like those of the north-western Himalayas. The Arāvallis formed the north-western limit of this prehistoric continent. Drainage being cut off from the Eastern Seas, there was no Gangetic basin in those days, and the wide high-

lands of the north-west Himalayas, together with the great plateau of Tibet, were then under sea, undergoing quiet intervals of subsidence and upheaval. The rocks which now compose these great ranges were then being gradually formed at the bed of the sea, and the Gondwāna beds silently created by alluvial deposits.

From the fact of the existence of ice-worn boulders in Gondwāna beds, it has been concluded that glacial conditions existed in India some time in the course of Permian times, when Europe and America were under luxuriant vegetation. At the close of the Cretaceous period, the latest subdivision of the Mesozoic era, occurred those vast igneous eruptions of lava and tuffs which created the basaltic area of the north-western Deccan Following on this igneous ejection of the Deccan Trap, there began in early Tertiary times in the Eocene period a succession of earth-movements which led to the formation of the Indo-Gangetic depression, and culminated in the rising of the Himalayas to their present elevation by the end of the Pliocene or in the early Quaternary The Tertiary beds of the Sub-Himalayas, or the Siwāliks Hills, with their fresh-water Pliocene remains, were laid down during the progress of the uplift. The same earth-movements which culminated in the elevation of the Himalayas probably caused the submergence which separated India from Africa ; and so by a succession of elevations and depressions formed India into something of its present shape, with its three main divisions—first, the Himalayas, the abode of snow ; then the great river-plains of Northern India, and finally the southern tableland of the Deccan, with its irregular hill-ranges, rising out of undulating plains.

Each of the three geographical divisions we have described has its own linguistic and ethnic

character. As Sir Herbert Risley has pointed out, the main results of these external geographical factors in the problem of Indian ethnology are obvious enough :

> An unbroken chain of snow-clad peaks, and of passes only practicable at certain seasons, opposes an effectual obstacle to the fusion of contrasting types Ranges of lower elevations, intersected by frequent valleys, form no bar to hostile incursions, and yield but scanty protection to a weaker race Long stretches of fertile plains, traversed by navigable rivers, and lying open to the march of armies, lend themselves to that crushing-out of racial distinctions which conquest brings in its train Isolated hill-ranges and lofty plateaux, guarded by fever-haunted forests, and offering no prospect of profit or plunder, furnish an abiding refuge for tribes which are compact enough to emigrate *en masse* Lastly, a coast-line almost devoid of sheltering harbours, while it may invite a daring invader, fails to foster the maritime skill and enterprise which alone can repulse his landing.*

II. The Languages of India.

While India has a political history, and certain social and religious characteristics, as well as a geographical situation that justify us in treating the land and the people as in some important respects exhibiting a marked unity, nothing is clearer than that the vast mass of the people of India does not constitute a single nationality. The Punjabi and the Bengali, or the Gurkha and the Santāl, show as marked physical differences as the Englishman and the Italian, or the German and the Greek. All will agree that ultimately the most reliable tests of race are physical affinities ascertained with scientific precision. Language, however, though its evidence is not so reliable as that obtained by a study of physical types, yields such valuable testimony as to the origins of Indian races and tribes and their prehistoric movements, that it may be well, before

*Risley, *The People of India*, p 3

we deal with Indian ethnology, to give a brief review of the languages of the Indian Empire.

According to the Census Report of 1901, there are no fewer than 147 languages spoken in India. Twenty-three of these are spoken by people ranging in number from one million in the case of Kashmīrī, to forty-five millions in the case of Bengali and sixty millions in the case of Hindi (Eastern and Western). When we come to a classification of the languages, we find that four



great families of human speech are found in India as vernaculars—the Mundā or Kolarian, the Dravidian, the Indo-Aryan, and the Indo-Chinese.

I The Mundā Languages

are the least numerous of the linguistic families of India, the number of speakers being about three millions, aboriginal hill-tribes largely confined to Chota-nagpur and Orissa, and the adjoining districts of Bengal, Madras, and the Central Provinces. The

leading Muṇḍā tribes are the Santāls and Kols, and the principal Muṇḍā language (sometimes called Kherwārī), with its several dialects, is spoken by nearly ninety per cent. of the speakers of the Muṇḍā tongues. Another important member of the group is Kūrkū, a somewhat isolated language spoken in the Mahadeo Hills.

The Muṇḍā languages are, as a rule, found only in the hills and jungles of Central India, and we see them at the present time in process of being steadily superseded by the Aryan and, in some measure, the Dravidian, languages spoken in the adjoining valleys and plains.

The Mundā peoples are a simple folk, but in many respects the language they speak is highly complicated. For instance, by the addition of various affixes or infixes a single verbal form, to quote from our leading authority, Dr. Sten Konow,

> often corresponds to a whole sentence or series of sentences in other languages If we add that the most developed Muṇḍā languages possess different bases for the active, the middle, and the passive, that there are different causal, intensive, and reciprocal bases, which are conjugated throughout, and that the person of the subject is often indicated in the verb, it will be understood that Muṇḍā conjugation presents a somewhat bewildering aspect

There has been considerable controversy as to the linguistic and ethnic relations of the Muṇḍās. Their language was long considered a member of the Dravidian family, but in the light of further linguistic research this view has been abandoned. Racially, however, they are classed by Indian ethnologists as Dravidian. Dr. Konow's remarks on the linguistic relations of the Muṇḍā tongues are authoritative. He says :

> Though the Muṇḍā family is not connected with any other languages in India proper, it does not form an isolated group. It belongs to a widely-spread family, which extends from India in the west to Easter Island, in the eastern Pacific, in the east In the first place, we find a connected language spoken by

the Khasis of the Khasi Hills in Assam Then follow the Mōn-Khmēr languages of Farther India, the dialects spoken by the aboriginal inhabitants of the Malay Peninsula, the Nancowry of the Nikobars, and finally the numerous dialects of Austronesia, viz, Indonesic, Melanesic, Polynesic, and so on Among the various members of this vast group the Muṇḍā languages are most closely related to the Mōn-Khmēr family of Farther India Kūrkū, Kharia, Juāng, Savara, and Gadabā are more closely related to that family than is Kherwārī, the principal Muṇḍā form of speech We do not know if the Muṇḍās entered India from without If so, they can only have immigrated from the east At all events, they must have been settled in India from a very early period The Sabaras, the ancestors of the Savaras, are already mentioned in old Vedic literature The Muṇḍā languages seem to have been influenced by Dravidian and Aryan forms of speech In most characteristics, however, they differ widely from the neighbouring tongues *

All this has an important bearing on the ethnological problems we shall need to discuss at a later stage

II. The Dravidian Languages,

with some sixty millions of speakers, comprise all the principal forms of speech of Southern India. There are four great literary languages in the group—Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, and Malayālam, spoken by peoples who have attained a high degree of civilisation; and several minor ones, the most important being Gond, Kurukh, Tulu, and Kandh (or Kui). Important, too, is Brāhūī, on account of its peculiarly isolated position in the far north-western frontier in the central highlands of Baluchistan. The Brāhūī, though classed as Dravidian, has been so much influenced by other languages that it is no longer a pure Dravidian form of speech. It is a noteworthy fact that some of the languages in this group, like Kandh (or Kui) and Gonḍ, are spoken by tribes equally as rude and uncivilised as the tribes of the Muṇḍā group, Kols and Santāls. Like the Muṇḍā languages, the

* *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, Vol. XIX., pp 2&3.

uncultured Dravidian dialects spoken in the north-eastern part of the Dravidian territory, the hills of Orissa, Chota-nagpur, and the Central Provinces, are being steadily superseded by the Aryan forms of speech which prevail in the plains—Oriya, Bengali, and Hindi. There is, moreover, a Dravidian element in the Aryan languages of Northern India, more especially in colloquial forms, whose Sanskritic origin cannot be traced. Ethnologists, too, state that there is a strong Dravidian element in the population of Northern India—especially in the valleys of the Ganges and the Jumna, where the Aryans only settled at a later period. A Dravidian element is also traceable in the population of Western India, from Gujarat to Coorg. Although, for reasons which I shall subsequently state, I am inclined to the view that sufficient evidence has not been adduced to displace the theory of Sir William Hunter that the Dravidians came into India from the north-west, it is fair to say that the eminent Dravidian authority, Dr. Konow, is inclined to accept, on anthropological grounds, the conclusion of Sir Herbert Risley that the Dravidian race is the most primitive of the Indian types. Dr. Konow says:

It is thus probable that Dravidian languages have once been spoken in many tracts which are now occupied by Aryan forms of speech. The existence of a Dravidian dialect in Baluchistan seems to show that Dravidian settlers have once lived in those parts The tribe in question, the Brāhūis, are, however, now Eranians and not Dravidians by race, and it is not probable that there has ever been a numerous Dravidian population in Baluchistan The Brāhūis are most likely the descendants of settlers from the south. There is no indication that the Dravidians have entered India from outside or superseded an older population For all practical purposes they can accordingly be considered as the aborigines of the Deccan, whence they appear to have spread over part of Northern India Their languages form an isolated group, and it has not been possible to prove a connection with any other family of languages Such attempts have been made with reference to the Mundā family, the Tibeto-Burman languages, and the dialects spoken by the aborigines of the

Australian Continent The arguments adduced have not, however, proved to be sufficient, and only the Australian hypothesis can still lay claim to any probability Till it has been more closely tested, we must, therefore, consider the Dravidian family as an isolated group of languages, with several characteristic features of its own *

As a necessary consequence of the early connection with the superior Aryan civilisation, the Dravidian languages, especially in their literary form, have borrowed largely from the Sanskrit vocabulary. Such affinities as these languages show with Sanskrit are due to geographical contact and not to linguistic kinship. English has borrowed very largely from Latin and French, but it remains essentially a Teutonic and not a Romance language. As has been aptly pointed out (by Dr Downie in his article on the Dravidian Languages in the *Universal Encyclopædia*), what Trench says of the contribution of Anglo-Saxon and Latin to English may be said with equal truth respecting the relation and proportion which the Dravidian and Sanskrit elements bear to Tamil, Telugu, etc. : "All its joints, its whole articulation, its sinews and its ligaments, the great body of articles, pronouns, conjunctions, prepositions, numerals, auxiliary verbs, all smaller words which serve to knit together and bind the larger into sentences—these, not to speak of the grammatical structure," are exclusively Dravidian. The Sanskrit "has contributed its tale of bricks—yea, its polished hewn stones, but the mortar, with all that holds and binds these together, and constitutes them into a house," is Dravidian

III The Indo-Aryan Languages.

The Indo-Aryan languages of India are spoken by some three-fourths of India's vast population, and are found throughout the north-west, the west, the great Indo-Gangetic plain, and the deltas

**Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol VIII , p 551.

of the Indus, Ganges, and Mahānadī. They thus prevail universally in Northern India, predominate in Central India, and extend far down both the eastern and western coasts. They are divided by philologists into three groups—Midland, Intermediate, and Outer, on account of the special linguistic characteristics they exhibit :

(*a*) The language of the Midland is Western Hindi, occupying the Gangetic Doab (the land situated between the Jumna and the Ganges) and the country immediately to its north and south. From internal evidence it is generally agreed that the Rigvedic hymns were composed in the upper portion of the Gangetic Doab and the eastern part of the Punjab.

(*b*) Round the Midland language on three sides are the Intermediate group—a band of mixed languages, each having as its basis the linguistic characteristics of the outer band, and as its body those of the Midland To the west of the Midland language are Gujarātī, Rājasthānī (of Rājputāna and its neighbourhood), and Panjābī (of the Central Punjab) ; to the north and north-east is Pahārī ; and on the eastern side is Eastern Hindi (of Oudh and the country to its south).

(*c*) Beyond these again there is the band of the Outer languages, surrounding in a remarkable way the Inner languages or the Midland and Intermediate groups On the north-west are Kāshmīrī, Lahndā or Western Punjabi, and Sindhi ; on the south is Marāṭhī ; and on the east are Bihārī, Oriya, Bengali, and Assamese. A glance at a linguistic map of India makes it clear that the grouping is a significant one, and that the position of the various languages concerned—the surrounding of the Midland by a group of Intermediate or mixed languages, and the surrounding of the Inner languages, or the Midland and Intermediate groups

combined by the Outer languages—must be due to tribal movements in ancient India.

An attempt has been made to solve the problem by distinguishing two main periods of Aryan immigration. According to the ingenious hypothesis of Dr Hoernle, which has also obtained the support of Dr Grierson and Sir Herbert Risley, the linguistic and anthropological experts of the Census of 1901, the earliest wave of immigrants came from the west, and spread themselves over the greater part of western and northern India before the arrival of the second wave. The later settlers probably came across the northern frontier, and, entering the Punjab like a wedge, thrust the early comers outwards in three directions. The languages of the Outer band represent the speech of the earlier immigrants, and the language of the Midland the speech of the later immigrants. As time went on, the people inhabiting the Middle Land, through the expansive power of superior culture and more vigorous and larger forces, overcame or drove back on all sides representatives of the earlier immigration. Thus we find in territories of considerable area intermediate or mixed forms of speech formed by a fusion of the two varieties of Aryan speech.

Moreover, as we leave the Midland, and approach the external borders of this tract, the influence of the Midland language grows weaker and weaker, and traces of the original Outer language become more and more prominent In the same way, the languages of the Outer Band were forced farther and farther afield There was no room for expansion to the west, but to the south it flowed over the Marāthā country, and to the east into Orissa, into Bengal, and last of all, into Assam *

The differences of the Inner and the Outer groups of languages are shown in their phonetic laws, in vocabulary, in general character, but especially in the manner of declension and conju-

*Dr Grierson in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol XIV., p. 488.

gation.* In declension the language of the Midland, and the Inner languages generally, have almost entirely lost the original inflected endings, and have replaced them by auxiliary words which have not yet become a part of the root, such as the suffixes kā, kō, sĕ, etc. The Outer languages have gone a stage further in linguistic development, and have incorporated each help-word or post-position with the main word to which it is attached. "Thus the Midland *ghōrā*, a horse, has its oblique form, *ghore*, genitive *ghōrē kĕr*; but the Bengali has oblique form, *ghōrā*, genitive *ghōṛ ār*, contracted from ghōrā and (k)ar." In conjugation, too, the Outer languages, differing in this respect from the Inner, attach enclitic pronouns to the predicates to indicate the doer of action. (Bengali—mārilām, I, struck equals mārila + am, struck + by me.)

Most of the Indo-Aryan languages have numerous dialects, which sometimes exhibit a very wide degree of divergence from what is recognised as the standard type. Neighbouring dialects and languages, too, shade off into one another by almost imperceptible gradations, through the tendency to standardise as the result of the advance of popular education. Hindustani, a dialect of Western Hindi, developed in later times, largely under Muhammadan (and at a later stage under British) influence into the great *lingua franca* of India. Literary Hindustani, known as Urdū, is the language of educated Muhammadans, and has borrowed very largely from Persian and Arabic. It is written in a modified form of the Persian character.

The historical development of the Indo-Aryan languages is of the greatest interest from the standpoint of general ethnology and philology. After Alexander's invasion of India, the Greeks became

*For details see Dr Sten Konow's article on Mahārāshtri and Marāṭhī in *Indian Antiquary* (1903), XXXII, 180 *et seq*

acquainted to a certain extent with the learning and languages of the Hindus. In the Middle Ages the Arabs introduced into Europe a knowledge of Indian science, the so-called Arabic but really Indian numerals, among other things. The European merchants and trading companies that settled in India from the beginning of the sixteenth century onwards, sought material gain only, and paid little attention to the learning and literature of the country. A few European missionaries, however, at an early stage acquired some familiarity with Sanskrit, the ancient and sacred language of India, and a Dutch missionary, Abraham Roger, even translated and published 200 stanzas of the Sanskrit poet, Bhartrihari, as early as 1651. A Sanskrit Grammar, by an Austrian Jesuit, Wesdin, called Father Paulinus a Santo Bartholomæa, was printed in Rome in 1790, and again in 1804.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, some eminent scholars residing in India as servants of the East India Company thought it their duty to become familiar with the literary languages of the country they helped to govern, and Warren Hastings, the head of the executive Government, cordially patronised their efforts. Charles Wilkins, whose curiosity had been excited by the example of his friend Halhed (author of the first Bengali Grammar in English) to commence the study of the Sanskrit, was the first Englishman to gain a thorough grasp of the language. He translated from the Sanskrit the Bhagavad Gītā, a famous philosophical episode of the great national Epic, The Mahābhārata. He compiled, too, the first Sanskrit Grammar in English, though it was not printed until 1808. Sir William Jones, who stated that but for Wilkins's aid he would never have learned Sanskrit, was great as a jurist, a linguist, an orientalist, and a man. He translated the Indian

national code known as the Laws of Manu, and also S'akuntalā, the celebrated Sanskrit drama by Kālidāsa. He founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784, and his contributions to its researches mark an era in the study of the Indian languages, literature, and philosophy. Colebrooke, who owed much to the fact that he followed rather than preceded Sir William Jones, wrote masterly treatises on Hindu law, philosophy, literature, and mathematics, and did more than any other man to secure recognition for Indian studies among the scholars of Europe. The efforts of these men were ably seconded by the Serampore missionaries—Carey, with the aid of Marshman, editing in 1806 a new Sanskrit Grammar (Colebrooke's Grammar based on Pānini had been published in 1805 by the Serampore Press), and the second of India's great Epics, the Rāmāyana, and Ward writing a work of permanent value on The Religion of the Hindus Carey also for more than a generation served as Professor of Sanskrit in the Government College of Fort William. In the early years of the nineteenth century, the Serampore missionaries, with their grammars, dictionaries, translations, editions of texts, and their printing press, did pioneer work of inestimable value for the Indo-Aryan languages, classical and vernacular

Till the latter part of the eighteenth century it was the universal practice to regard Hebrew as the original language from which all others were descended. The science of comparative philology was as yet unborn. Sir William Jones was the first to gain a clear conception of the idea of an Indo-European community of languages, though there had been dim foreshadowings by the Jesuit Fathers and Wilkins. As early as 1786 Jones expressed himself as follows in his address to the Bengal Asiatic Society :

The Sanskrit language, whatever may be its antiquity, is of wonderful structure, more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could have been produced by accident, so strong that no philologer could examine all the three without believing them to have sprung from some common source which perhaps no longer exists. There is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and the Celtic, though blended with a different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanskrit *

It took many years before the full significance of this discovery was realised by philologists. In the meantime it had become generally recognised that there was a close relationship between Sanskrit and the language of ancient Persia, mainly as preserved in the Avesta, the Bible and Prayer Book of the Zoroastrian religion, which flourished in Persia many centuries before the Christian era, and is represented in India to-day by some 100,000 followers, Parsees driven from their ancient home by Muhammadan persecution, and some 10,000 still in Persia. The Avesta (often called, with its language, Zend-Avesta, though Zend properly applies to the paraphrase in Pahlavi, the Persian of the Middle Period) was first deciphered and translated by a Frenchman, Anquetil-Duperron, who paid a prolonged visit to India for the purpose, and published the results of his labours in Paris in 1771. Of necessity his translation, being the first attempt, was very defective, and not a few doubted the genuineness of the discovery. For fifty years little or no further work was done on the original texts, but in 1826, Rask, the Danish philologian, who had travelled in India and Persia, paid particular attention to the Avesta and its language, proving its antiquity, and demonstrating its kinship with Sanskrit. About the same time the Avesta was taken up by the French Sanskrit scholar, Eugène Burnouf,

* *Works of Sir William Jones*, I, p 26 (London 1799)

who laid a solid foundation for the scientific interpretation of the Avesta by using Sanskrit as a key for the interpretation and meaning of words when the Parsi tradition as contained in the Pahlavi translation was defective.

The relationship between the language and religion of the Avesta and of the Rigveda is of deep interest to the student of theology and philology. Almost any Vedic Sanskrit word may be changed at once into its Avestan equivalent, or *vice versa*, merely by applying certain phonetic laws Whole Avestan stanzas may thus be rendered word for word into Vedic. The parallels of the Avesta show that several of the Vedic deities go back to the time when the ancestors of Persians and Indians were still one people. Iran, the native name of Persia in its broadest sense, is, with its middle Persian form, Eran, derived from the ancient Aryāna, the country of the Aryans ; a name that the Vedic Indians applied also to themselves. Of gods common to the Avesta and the Veda, mention may be made of Yama, god of the dead, identical with the Avestan Yima, ruler of Paradise ; the Vedic Mitra, the beneficent power of the sun, worshipped as the "friend" of man, corresponding to the Persian sun-god Mithra, and the later Mithra of the Roman Empire ; Soma, the fermented juice of a plant worshipped as a deity in the Veda, and identical with the Avestan Haoma—the *s* being changed with *h* by the well-known phonetic law. In the Rigveda, Asura has as its original meaning "possessor of occult power," and the term is applied to Varuṇa, the most exalted of the gods, but towards the end of the Rigvedic period it is applied generally to hostile demoniac powers, demons. In the Avesta, Asura appears as Ahura, and in combination with Mazda, "the wise" (Ahura Mazda), is used exclusively of the highest God of Zoroastrianism. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that the *devaṣ* or gods

of the Rigveda have degenerated into the demons of the Avesta.

The study of the relation of Sanskrit and its related vernaculars to the languages of Persia and Europe has given us a new science, Comparative Philology. While scholars in India like Wilkins, Jones, Colebrooke, and Carey did much to prepare the way, it was left to the great scholars of Germany to establish beyond the possibility of doubt the unity of Aryan or Indo-European speech by a detailed and systematic comparison of the languages in question. Franz Bopp, by his epoch-making works dealing with the conjugation system of the Sanskrit Language, and the Comparative Grammar of the Indo-European Languages, became the founder of scientific and comparative philology; and Jacob Grimm, by the discovery of the law that bears his name and that rules the changes of consonants in their passage from language to language, became the father of historical grammar. To Alexander Hamilton, a servant of the East India Company, and later, Professor of Sanskrit at Haileybury College, belongs the honour of introducing Sanskrit and Indian learning to the scholars of the Continent of Europe Being retained as a hostage in Paris on the breaking out of hostilities between France and England, he prepared a descriptive catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts at the Paris Imperial Library, and assisted a number of French and German students in their efforts to acquire the Sanskrit language. Among the distinguished men indebted to him were the brothers Schlegel (who later made notable contributions to Indian Philology and Philosophy) and Bopp. During his four years' residence at Paris, Bopp further had access to the rich collection of Sanskrit manuscripts in the Imperial Library, and to the Sanskrit books which had up to that time issued from the Serampore and Calcutta presses,

The task which Bopp endeavoured to carry out in his Comparative Grammar was threefold—to give a description of the original grammatical structure of the languages as deduced from their inter-comparison, to trace their phonetic laws, and to investigate the origin of their grammatical forms. The first and second points were subservient to the third Bopp's researches, carried with wonderful penetration into the most minute and almost microscopical details of linguistic phenomena, have led to the opening up of a wide and distant view into the original seats, the closer or more distant affinity, and the tenets, practices, and domestic usages of the ancient Indo-European nations, and the science of Comparative Grammar may truly be said to date from his earliest publication *

By the aid of comparative philology words have become the key to the study of prehistoric history, to the material and intellectual life of the early Aryan world. Such words as father and mother, brother and sister, daughter and widow, cow, mead, tooth, mind, seven, and a host of similar words in everyday use in a primitive stage of civilisation, are found, bearing in mind the regular phonetic changes, to be practically identical in the various branches of the Indo-European family of languages—Sanskrit, Persian, Greek, Latin, Teutonic, Celtic, and Slavonic. In the realm of religion, too, there is the well-known conception of Heaven as a Father, common to Sanskrit, Dyauspitar; Greek, Ζεὺς πατήρ, and Latin, Ju-piter or Diespiter; while we have the term for a god, in Sanskrit, deva; Latin, deus; Greek, Ζεύς, gen. Διός, Lithuanian, devas; Welsh, duw; Gaelic and Irish, dia; and in Anglo-Saxon, Tiw—the god whose name appears in Tuesday, all from a root implying brightness. All this points with absolute clearness to the common origin of the Indo-European peoples, and to a time when the ancestors of the authors of the Rigveda and the Avesta lived together in a state of primitive civilisation, with the ancestors of the great European nations, speaking a common language.

The location of the original home of the Indo-

Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. IV., p. 240.

Europeans has long been a vexed question. The earlier writers on this subject were agreed in regarding Central Asia as the home of the Indo-European race, and Max Müller maintained this to the last.

The view propounded by an English philologist, Dr R. G Latham, that the original home was in Europe, was scouted by one of the most eminent writers on the subject—Victor Hehn—as lunacy, possible only to one who lived in a country of cranks Latham's view was first put forward in 1851, and in half-a-century opinion had almost universally come over to his side *

Schrader locates the original home in Southern Russia, and this is the view that at present receives most support.

While a considerable body of Aryans settled in Persia, the rest marched south into what is now Eastern Afghanistan, where some settled, while others entered the Punjab by the valley of the river Kabul It is now the commonly accepted view that this last migration was a gradual process, extending over several centuries, and at different epochs, different tribes came in, speaking different dialects of the common language The literary records of the latest times of this invasion show us one Indo-Aryan tribe complaining of the unintelligible speech of another, and even denying to it the right of common Aryan-hood.†

In this connection attention needs to be drawn to a small group of languages spoken in the extreme north-west of India, immediately to the south of the Hindu Kush, and north of the frontier of British India. They are known as Pis'ācha languages, and include the languages of Kafiristan and Kashmir. Dr. Grierson has shown that, while they are Aryan in origin, they cannot be classed as Iranian or Indo-Aryan, but are partly both, with some phonetic laws of their own. The explanation seems to be that they represent a horde of invaders who crossed the Hindu Kush from the Pamirs after the main body of Indo-Aryans had separated from the Iranians, but before all the special phonetic characteristics of Iranian

*_Encyclopædia Britannica_, Vol XIV , p 497.

†_Ibid._, Vol. XIV., p. 487

speech had developed. The Pis'ācha languages retain many archaic forms which have disappeared in the Indo-Aryan languages. In later Indian literature legends grew around them as a race of demons and cannibals speaking a barbaric tongue—Paiś'āchī.

A brief review must suffice of the manifold developments of Indo-Aryan speech in India itself, as worked out by modern philologists.

I. *The Primary Prākrits.*—The language of Aryan India in the Vedic period has been preserved for us in the hymns of the Rigveda. Vedic Sanskrit differs from classical Sanskrit much as Homeric from classical Greek. With certain reservations, the language of the Rigveda may be regarded as representing the particular vernacular dialect spoken in the east of the Punjab and in the upper portion of the Gangetic Doab during the period when the Vedic hymns were composed. Several stages have been distinguished and dialectical variations discovered in the Vedic language, indicative of composition in different periods and districts. It is clear, however, that the use of the Vedic vernacular for literary purposes led to its soon becoming the scholastic dialect of the class of priestly singers, handed down from one generation to another.

The spoken language of the Vedic priests probably differed from this dialect of the hymns only in the absence of poetical constructions and archaisms.*

Thus we may regard the spoken Vedic language—a form of speech practically identical with, though somewhat less complex than, that of the hymns—with its contemporary dialects, as the primary vernaculars or Prākrits of India; the term "Prākrit," signifying "natural," being a term applied to the vernaculars as opposed to literary Sanskrit, which

* Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 20.

signifies "purified" or "refined," or more literally, "put together." It should, however, be noted that the term "Prākrit" is often limited in use to Indian vernacular speech of the Mediæval Period as the Prākrit *par excellence*; but the use of it in the wider sense for all Indian vernaculars, ancient and modern, is convenient and justifiable.

In all living languages there is a natural development that cannot be controlled by grammarians, and the development of Vedic Sanskrit presents no exception to this rule. In due time, as we shall see, there arose from the language of the Veda and its contemporary dialects—the Primary Prākrits—certain modified forms of speech known as Secondary Prākrits—the vernaculars of the Mediæval Period But before proceeding to consider this natural development, reference must be made to the more or less artificial development of the classical language from Vedic Sanskrit. Distinct from its popular development, the Vedic dialect underwent a literary development as the scholastic dialect of a class, the priests and the educated classes, and this development finds its culmination in the elaborate work of the great grammarian Pāṇini, who may be assigned to the fourth century B.C. So complicated and complete is the system of grammatical analysis and arrangement that finds expression in Pāṇini's work, that it is evident that he sums up into one comprehensive whole the laborious contributions of many generations of scholars. As an indication of the scientific way in which the learned Indian grammarians did their work, we may note their arrangement of the alphabet on phonetic principles, with simple vowels, short and long, coming first; then the diphthongs, followed by the surd breathing and the nasalisations; and finally the consonantal sounds, including the unaspirated and aspirated surd and sonant mutes, the nasals, semi-vowels, sibilants,

and the sonant guttural aspirate, all arranged according to the organs of speech with which they are pronounced—guttural (kaṇṭhya), palatal (tālavya), cerebral or lingual (mūrdhanya), dental (dantya), and labial (oshthya).

The system of sounds in the native order of arrangement is as follows :—

(1) Vocalic :

(*a*) Simple vowels.

Short.	*Long*	
a	ā	guttural.
i	ī	palatal
u	ū	labial
r	ṛ	lingual
ḷ	ḹ	dental

(*b*) Diphthongs

Short.	*Long.*	
ē	āi	palatal.
ō	āu	labial.

(*c*) Breathing

The surd aspirate h known as visarga and standing mostly for s and r

(*d*) The nasalisations.

ṁ or anusvāra

m̐ or anunāsika.

(2) Consonantal :

(*a*) Five series of mutes and nasals.

	Surd.	*Surd Asp.*	*Sonant*	*Son. Asp.*	*Nasal.*
Guttural	k	kh	g	gh	n
Palatal	c (ch)	ch (chh)	j	jh	ñ
Cerebral	ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ
Dental	t	th	d	dh	n
Labial	p	ph	b	bh	m

(*b*) Four semi-vowels.

y palatal.

ṛ cerebral.

l dental.

v labial.

(*c*) Three sibilants.
s' (ç) palatal.
ṣ (sh) cerebral.
s dental

(*d*) The sonant guttural aspirate : h.

The complete alphabet thus includes forty-nine sounds in all. ḷ, however, really never occurs in any genuine word, and ḷ is extremely rare. On the other hand, a cerebral l, generally transliterated as l, occurs in Vedic, and in certain vernaculars—*e.g.*, Oriya and Marāthī.

The scientific complexity of this arrangement of the alphabet is self-evident.

We Europeans, on the other hand, 2,500 years later, and in a scientific age, still employ an alphabet which is not only inadequate to represent all the sounds of our languages, but even preserves the random order in which vowels and consonants are jumbled up just as they were in the Greek adaptation of the primitive Semitic arrangement of 3,000 years ago*

The following points regarding Sanskrit as a language are worthy of note

(1) There is, properly speaking, no distinctive Sanskrit alphabet Natives of different parts of India generally write the language in the particular character used for writing their own vernacular The character, however, most widely understood and employed is the one used for Hindī, Marāthi, and other vernaculars in Northern and Western India It is called Nāgarī, "of the town" or "town script," and Deva-nāgarī, "the Nāgarī of the gods," on account of its sacred character From the fact that Albirūnī (in his *India*, written about 1030 A.D., ch. xvi.) mentions among the principal alphabets of India the Nāgara of Mālwā, it has been inferred that Nāgarī, "of the town," refers to the famous city of Ujjain, the ancient capital of Mālwā. Nāgarī and all the other modern Indian alphabets are derived from an ancient script known as Brāhmī. The

*Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p 17

precise origin of the Brāhmī alphabet is somewhat uncertain. In its later forms it is so unlike other alphabets that it was regarded by many scholars as an invention within India itself. There is literary evidence that writing was common in India in the fifth century B.C. and probably earlier. Professor Buhler (in his *Indian Studies*), attributing some of the special characteristics of the Brāhmī alphabet to the pedantry of Hindu scholars, contends—and in the judgment of most, proves—that the symbols of the earliest Brāhmī inscriptions are North Semitic in origin, and can be traced back to the forms of the Phœnician and Moabite alphabets as represented in the earliest alphabetic monument that can be dated with comparative certainty—the famous Moabite Stone, found in 1868, and now in the Louvre, containing an inscription recording the successes gained by the Moabite King Mesha against Israel in the first half of the ninth century B.C. There is good reason to believe that the alphabet was introduced into India about 800 B.C. by traders coming by way of Mesopotamia. A remarkable feature of the Brāhmī script and most of its modern derivatives is that the letters are hung from, and do not stand upon, a line. For some centuries before and after the Christian era another script, known as Kharoshṭhī, was current in the Northern Punjab. The most western of Aśoka's inscriptions are executed in this alphabet. It is written from right to left, and is manifestly Semitic in origin. Scholars regard it as a modified form of an ancient Aramaic alphabet, which was introduced into the Punjab during the period of Persian domination in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., by the staff of subordinate officials through whom Darius organised his conquests. It has left no traces on the subsequent development of Indian writing.

(2) A prominent feature of Sanskrit as a language

is the prevalence of a-sounds, these being about twice as frequent as all the others, including diphthongs, taken together A striking feature of Sanskrit grammar, and, in a minor degree, of the literary vernaculars, is the prevalence of Sandhi—a complicated system of laws for the euphonic junction of letters Somewhat similar changes occur in other languages—*e.g*, the passive participle passive of the Latin "rego" is not "regtus," but "rectus," the sonant g being changed to the surd c before the surd t So in English, "blackguard" is pronounced as if written "blagguard" In Sanskrit such laws apply not only in the interior of words when a stem is united with its termination and suffixes, but in combining words in the same sentence. Only a few general statements can be made here In general, hiatus, or the concurrence of two vowels in two successive words or syllables, without contraction, is forbidden, every syllable except the initial one of a sentence having to begin with a consonant An aspirate mute is liable to lose its aspiration, being allowed to stand unchanged only before a vowel, semi-vowel, or nasal The great body of euphonic changes falls under the head of assimilation, regressive or progressive. When a surd is concurrent with a sonant, either the surd is changed to a sonant, or else the sonant to a surd The permitted occurrence of consonants at the end of a word is quite narrowly restricted Of the non-nasal mutes, no palatal is allowed, and only the non-aspirate surd in each of the other four series; the others—surd, aspirate, and both sonants—whenever they would etymologically occur, are converted into this. Of the nasals only n and m are allowed. Most frequent as a final is the breathing h, visarga. All sibilants and practically all semi-vowels are disallowed. Apart from the vowels, then, the usual finals are: h, m, n, k, ṭ, t, p. The following

examples will illustrate the main principles enunciated above :

(1) Avoidance of hiatus.

adhika, *great* + amsa, *part*, = adhikāṃsa, *majority.*

parama, *highest* + īs'vara, *lord*, = parameś'vara, *the Supreme Lord.*

brahma + eka, *one*, = Brahmaika, *the sole Brahma.*

ati, *very* + anta, *limit*, = atyanta, *excessive.*

bho + ana = bhavana, *abode.*

(2) De-aspiration and transference of aspiration.

trishtubh becomes tṛishṭup

kāmaduh, *granting wishes* = kāmadhuk.

(3) Surd and sonant assimilation

dik + gaja = diggaja, *corner-elephant*—an elephant which supports one corner of the earth.

jagat + nātha = jagannātha, *world-lord*, lord of the world.

tat + s'āstra = tachchhāstra, *that scripture.*

(4) Restriction of permitted finals.

suhrd becomes suhṛt.

vāch „ vāk.

dis' „ dik

An interesting parallel to the elaborate use of Sandhi in Sanskrit is the principle of mutation of consonants that prevails so largely in Welsh as a regular system of the language Thus, the word for "head" in Welsh may be "pen," "ben," "mhen," or "phen," according to the word or syllable that precedes.

The differences between Sanskrit and Vedic are such as might be expected from the history of its development. Phonetically, Sanskrit is practically the same as the earliest Vedic. Scarcely any new grammatical forms, too, have appeared, but the subjunctive mood has been almost altogether elimi-

nated, and a dozen infinitives reduced to one; while in declension a number of synonymous by-forms have been dropped. The vocabulary of the language has been greatly expanded by derivation and composition according to recognised types. The euphonic modifications of Sandhi have been greatly elaborated in classical Sanskrit. Notwithstanding its artificial elaboration, Sanskrit continued to be spoken by the upper classes through the Mediæval Period, and is to-day used by thousands of learned Brāhmans in India practically as a vernacular.

II. *The Secondary Prākrits.*—The Vedic dialect and corresponding Primary Prākrits developed, in the course of centuries, into the Secondary Prākrits, in which three stages of growth are traceable:

(*a*) The earliest stage is known as Pāli, which became the sacred language of Buddhism. Pāli must not be regarded as a corruption of classical Sanskrit, but is derived directly from the speech of the Vedic Indians, retaining many Vedic forms lost in the later classical Sanskrit. It took long before Sanskrit as the learned dialect, elaborated by scholars, came into general use as the language of courts and of polite literature. For several centuries before and after the Christian era the vernacular known as Pāli was widely used both for colloquial and literary purposes. Its rise to importance as a great *lingua franca*, the Hindustani of the period, was due to two causes—the one political, the other religious. Literary traditions, going back as far as seven or eight hundred years before Christ, enumerate sixteen independent states in North India. Prominent among these were Kosala, the modern Oudh, and the neighbouring realm Magadha, the modern Bihār. These two states, though connected by many ties, were for a time rival powers. During the sixth and seventh centuries, Kosala enjoyed precedence as the premier

state. In the fifth century Magadha won suzerain power over Kosala, and in the third and fourth centuries B.C. there arose, under the Mauryan dynasty, the great Magadhan Empire of which Kosala formed an integral part The rise of the Kosala power to precedence amid a number of isolated and independent Aryan settlements had important linguistic results. To quote the words of our greatest authority, Professor Rhys Davids :

> The welding together of the great Kosala kingdom, more than twice the size of England, in the very centre of the settled country, led insensibly but irresistibly to the establishment of a standard of speech, and the standard followed was the language used at the Court of Sāvatthi, in the Nepalese Hills, the capital of Kosala) When Gotama the Buddha, himself a Kosalan by birth, determined on the use, for the propagation of religious reforms, of the living tongue of the people, he and his followers naturally made full use of the advantages already gained by the form of speech current through the wide extent of his own country A result followed somewhat similar to the effect, on the German language, of the Lutheran Reformation When, in the generations after the Buddha's death, his disciples compiled the documents of the faith, the form they adopted became dominant But local varieties of speech continued to exist *

From about the fifth century B C. to the second century A D., all the inscriptions and all the extant literature outside the Brāhman schools, which had their centre in the north-west in the Ganjetic Doab, are written in various forms of Prākrit, of which the literary and official form is called Pāli. The earliest and most interesting epigraphic monuments are the famous inscriptions of As'oka, more than thirty in number, incised upon rocks, boulders, cave walls, and pillars, and covering an area extending from the Himalayas to Mysore, and from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea. The canonical texts of Buddhism, divided into three collections, called Pitakas, or baskets (on account of baskets being used as a means of handing on the earth from one worker to another), are written in Pāli.

* *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol XX , p. 630.

It is this fact which gave to the language its name, Pāli, signifying a series (of sacred texts). These texts, belonging to various dates, 450-250 B.C., were carried to Ceylon by Mahendra (Pāli, Mahinda), the missionary brother of As'oka, and a native of Vedisa in the district of Avanti (or Mālwā), of which the capital is Ujjain. Research has shown that the particular form of the language used in the Avanti district is the basis of the language used in the sacred texts as we now have them. On the break-up of the Buddhist Empire through the fall of the Maurya dynasty, political power tended to centre in the west, nearer to the seat of Brāhman influence. There was a revival of Brāhmanical influence in the courts of the princes, and this led to a revival of Brāhmanical religion among princes and people, and the consequent diffusion and extension of Sanskrit, the language of the Brāhmans. In the middle of the second century A.D., a western satrap commemorates his achievements in an inscription composed in elaborate Sanskrit, which from this time on steadily superseded the vernacular in all documents of a formal and official character. The patronage of the great Gupta Emperors in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. resulted in a revival of Sanskrit in every department, until it firmly established itself as the sole literary language of Northern India. While Pāli was thus supplanted in India, it has remained to this day the sacred language of Buddhists in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam. Buddhists in mediæval India adopted Sanskrit as their literary language and for theological discussion, and most of the texts of Northern Buddhism have come down to us in Sanskrit.

(*b*) The Secondary Prākrits, of which Pāli is the earliest stage, underwent a later development, and it is this later stage of the Secondary Prākrits that is known as the Prākrit *par excellence*. Jainism,

a system of belief promulgated by Mahāvīra, a contemporary of Buddha, did not adopt Sanskrit as its literary language till between A.D. 1000 and 1100. Arising in the valley of the Ganges during the fifth and sixth centuries before the Christian era, it used Prākrit dialects for the propagation of its faith, and the writing of its sacred books. A collection of Prākrit lyrics, compiled by Hāla some time between the third and seventh centuries A.D., give evidence of the existence of a large Prākrit literature at the time when it was compiled. Grierson and other scholars believe that

> Sanskrit literature owes more than is generally admitted to works in the vernacular, and that even the Mahābhārata first took its form as a folk-epic in an early Prākrit, and was subsequently translated into Sanskrit, in which language it was further manipulated, added to, and received its final shape.

The Sanskrit drama is an important source of our knowledge of dialectic Prākrit. Special characters speak special dialects according to their supposed nationality or occupation.

> Sanskrit is employed only by heroes, kings, Brāhmans, and men of high rank, Prākrit by all women and by men of the lower orders. Distinctions are further made in the use of Prākrit itself. Thus, women of high position employ Mahārashṭrī, in lyrical passages, but otherwise they, as well as children and the better class of servants, speak Çaurasēnī. Māgadhī is used, for instance, by attendants in the royal palace, Avantī by rogues or gamblers, Abhīrī by cowherds, Paiçāchī by charcoal-burners, and Apabhramça by the lowest and most despised people as well as barbarians.*

S'aurasēnī, from S'ūrasēna, the name of the country round Mathurā or Muttra, was the language of the Midland, the territories having the Gangetic Doab for their centre. Other important Prākrits, Māgadhī, Ardhamāgadhī, and Māhārashṭri, belong to the Outer Band. The proper home of Māgadhī was Magadha, the modern Southern Bihār; but in very early times it extended far beyond these limits on account of the political extension of Magadhan rule.

* Macdonell, *Sanskrit Literature*, p 349.

Ardhamāgadhī (half-Māgadhī) lay between Māgadhī and S'aurasēnī, *i.e.*, in the modern Oudh and the country to its south. Mahārāṣhṭrī was the language of Mahārāshṭra, the great kingdom extending southwards from the river Nerbudda to the Kistna, and sometimes including the southern part of the modern Bombay Presidency and Hyderābād. The Mahārāshṭrī language lay, therefore, to the south of S'aurasēnī. Other Prākrits, of greater or less importance, also prevailed in other districts; but the four above mentioned, the Prākrit of the Midland, and the three Prākrits of the Outer Band, are the chief. Mahārāshṭrī is the best known of all the Prākrits, being the subject of long treatises by native grammarians, and the language of a considerable body of lyric, epic, and dramatic poetry, as well as of many later scriptures of the Jaina religion. The older Jaina writings were composed in Ardhamāgadhī. Our acquaintance with Māgadhī is mainly derived from short sentences scattered through Sanskrit plays. S'aurasēnī is the usual prose dialect of the plays, and is employed for the sacred writings of one of the Jaina sects. In due time these various Prākrits came to be regarded as literary languages, and their further development as vernaculars was checked by the rules of the grammarians. Thus, for example, Mahārāshṭrī lost its significance as a local form of speech, and a writer composed in it, not because it was his native language, but because it was the particular Prākrit employed for lyrics and in formal epics.

(c) The latest stage of development on the part of the Secondary Prākrits is that of the Apabhrams'a or "corrupt language." The Prākrits, as literary languages, ceased to grow, while as vernaculars they continued to develop, but in a way that was regarded by grammarians as corruption, and this accounts for their name in this special stage of development. We

have a detailed description of only one Apabhraṁs'a, the Nāgara Apabhraṁs'a of the S'aurasēnī, spoken in the neighbourhood of Gujarat, and therefore somewhat mixed with Mahārāshṭri. But it is safe to conclude that each Prākrit had its own Apabhraṁs'a. Again, in their turn the Apabhraṁs'as received literary cultivation and became stereotyped, but they developed as vernaculars into the Indo-Aryan languages of Modern India. This brings us to the Tertiary Prākrits.

III. *The Tertiary Prākrits.*—The modern vernaculars are directly descended from the Secondary Prākrits, known as Apabhraṁs'as, and so may be regarded as Tertiary Prākrits. From the S'aurasēna Apabhraṁs'a there sprung Western Hindi and Panjabi; from the Ardhamāgadha Apabhraṁs'a we have Eastern Hindi. The Eastern group of outer languages—Bihārī, Oriya, Bengali, and Assamese—are descended from the Māgadha Apabhraṁs'a; from the Mahārāshṭra Apabhraṁs'a sprang Marāṭhī, while Sindhi is descended from a local Apabhraṁs'a known to native writers as Vrāchaḍa. Local Apabhraṁs'as gave birth to the other Indo-Aryan vernaculars.

The native vocabulary of the modern vernaculars is made up of three classes of words: (*a*) Words derived from a primary Prākrit or vernacular Sanskrit but differing from it in accordance with such phonetic laws as rule the changes that occur in words in the course of their historic development. These words are known as *tadbhavas*, *i.e.*, "having that (sc. Sanskrit, or more correctly, the Primary Prākrit) for its origin." There is a large stock of such words in all the vernaculars. (*b*) There is another class of words which native writers refer to as "country-born," or *dēsya*. Very many of these are really *tadbhavas*, descended not from Sanskrit but from some old Primary Prākrit, a dialect not recognised by native scholars, who in this

connection take account only of Classical Sanskrit, the literary language of the Midland. Many *dêsya* words, too, are non-Aryan in origin. (*c*) There are many words—religious, technical, and general—borrowed direct from Sanskrit, and these are known as *tatsamas*, or "the same as that (sc. Sanskrit)." *Tatsamas* are found but little in the daily speech of the peasantry, but modern writers, especially in the eastern vernaculars, employ them very largely, often as much as ninety per cent. of their vocabulary consisting of pure Sanskrit words. For the overwhelming proportion of Sanskrit words thus used there are abundant *dêsya* or *tadbhava* equivalents which are freely used in the conversation even of educated men, but are not considered sufficiently dignified for purposes of literature.

The changes shown in the secondary Prākrits, as compared with Sanskrit, are allied to the changes which have produced the modern languages of Western Europe out of Latin. To quote Dr. Grierson :

> In India the dislike to harsh consonantal sounds, a sort of glottic laziness, finally led to a condition of almost absolute fluidity, each word of the Secondary Prākrits ultimately becoming an emasculated collection of vowels, hanging on to an occasional consonant. This weakness brought its own Nemesis, and from, say, A.D 1000, we find in existence the series of modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars, or, as they may be called, Tertiary Prākrits, closely corresponding to the modern Romanic languages. Here we find the hiatus between contiguous vowels abolished by the creation of new diphthongs, declensional and conjugational terminations consisting merely of vowels becoming worn away, and new languages appearing, no longer synthetic, but analytic, and again reverting to combinations of consonants under new forms, which had existed three thousand years ago, but which two thousand years of attrition had caused to vanish *

The following concrete examples of words, as they are found in Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary Prākrits, may help towards an understanding of the essential facts. The examples are taken from Sanskrit, Pāli, and Hindi, as in the main representing

**Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol XIV., p. 488.

the three stages of development in Indian Prākrit. The Hindi words are found in almost identical form in several other vernaculars, *e.g.*, Bengalı, Oriya, Marāṭhī.

Primary Prākrit (Sanskrit)		*Secondary Prākrit (Pāli)*	*Tertiary Prākrit (Hindı)*
vidyut	lightning	vijju	bīju, bīj, bijlī
vastra	clothing	vattha	bastar
sūrya	sun	surıya	sūraj
s'ushka	dried	sukkha	sūkhā
pṛshṭha	back	piṭṭha	pīṭh
gaura	fair	gora	gorā
taila	oil	tela	tel
sūtra	thread	sutta	sūt
siṁha	lion	sīha	siṁh
trayodas'a	thirteen	terasa	terah
bhakta	a meal of boiled rice	bhatta	bhāt
karṇa	ear	kaṇṇa	kān
adya	to-day	ajja	āj
karma	work	kamma	kām
hasta	hand	hattha	hāth
kles'a	pain	kilesa	kles'

Our survey of the Indo-Aryan languages may close with a definition of terms often confusedly applied to the languages of Northern India.

Hindi means literally "of or belonging to India," being formed from the Persian word Hind, meaning India (Avesta, hındhu; Sanskrit, Sindhu—the Indus). It is used by natives in a comprehensıve way to indicate the great Aryan vernacular language of Northern India, extendıng from the borders of Bengal to those of the Punjab and Sindh, and from the Himalaya mountains to the Nerbudda. Hındi thus comes into contact on the north-west and west with Punjābī, Sindhī. and Gujarātī; on the south with Marāṭhī; on the south-east with Orıya; on the east with Bengali—sister Aryan languages;

and on the north with the Paharī dialect and the languages of Nepal. Hindī, in this wide sense, may be divided into nearly sixty sub-dialects, which in the eastern portion of its district are approximate Bengalī, and in the south and west closely resemble Marāṭhī and Gujarātī. In this broad sense of the term, too, it may claim to be the vernacular of some 100 millions of people.

Hindu is a mediæval Persian word (Hindō), representing the ancient Avesta, hendava (Sanskrit, saindhava), a dweller on the Sindhu or Indus. It is now used of any native of India who retains the native religion, Hinduism. In Europe and America it is still often, though wrongly, applied to any native of India, or to his language.

Hindustan is a Persian word, meaning "place or country of the Hindus," and was applied by natives generally to India north of the Nerbudda exclusive of Bengal and Bihār. Foreigners, formerly under the name Indostan, have often used the term to indicate the whole of the Peninsula. The name is now but little used, and only in the narrower sense.

Hindustani (properly Hindōstanī, "of or belonging to Hindōstan or Hindustan") is the name given by Europeans to an Indo-Aryan dialect spoken in the neighbourhood of Delhi, which, owing to political causes, has become the great *lingua franca* of India. It needs to be borne in mind that Hindustanī is not a term employed by natives of India for any Indian language. It is only used by them in imitation of the English nomenclature, which began to come into use in the latter part of the eighteenth century. What is known as Hindōstanī is really a dialect of Western Hindi, spoken in the Upper Gangetic Doab and near the city of Delhi. Being the natural language of the people in the neighbourhood of Delhi, it became, under Mogul rule, the language of the bazaar and the Mogul camp, and so was carried

everywhere in India by the lieutenants of the Empire, and was used in the camp as a *lingua franca*, Persian being the official language of the Court. The language of the camp, though, in its grammar and essential characteristics, a dialect of Western Hindi, as spoken in the neighbourhood of Delhi, borrowed many Persian words, and in this form became known to natives as Urdū, or the camp language (Persian, *Zabāni-urdū*, language of the camp). Teachers at the College of Fort William, like Gilchrist, and English officials generally, felt the need of developing this form of language so that it might take the place of Persian as the official language, and could be understood and used everywhere by both Mussulmans and Hindus without prejudice to their religion or patriotism. The "language of the camp," or Urdū, thus was taken as the basis, and the result has been the rapid cultivation of a form of speech which has come to be widely known, especially among Europeans and educated natives, as Hindustani or Hindōstani. It avoids the excessive use of Persian words on the one hand, and Sanskrit words on the other. It has a large vocabulary of *tadbhava* words which are understood by Hindu and Mussulman alike. It can be written in Persian, Nāgari, or Roman characters, while Hindi, in its normal form, is written only in Nāgari, and Urdū only in Persian characters.

Urdū has been defined by Dr. Grierson as the Persianised Hindōstani of educated Mussulmans, and Hindi as the Sanskritised Hindōstani of educated Hindus. He further insists that while Hindōstani, Urdū, and Hindi are the names of dialects, Western Hindi and Eastern Hindi connote not dialects but languages. It seems to me that Dr. Grierson's restriction of the term "Hindi" to the modern literary development, High Hindi, admittedly an artificial product of the nineteenth

century, is unjustifiable, and likely to be very confusing to the average mind. Surely the general term for all the varieties of speech under consideration should be not the European term "Hindōstani," but "Hindi," a term in general use for the purpose among the natives of India. I would therefore define Urdū as a Persianised form of Western Hindi which has, through Mussulman cultivation, attained to the dignity of an independent language, the standard form of speech used by Mussulmans. The Sanskritised Hindi of educated Hindus I would refer to as "High Hindi," while I would retain the use of the term "Hindi" for the numerous recognised varieties of speech prevailing in Hindostan proper. Strictly speaking, no doubt, some of these varieties are languages rather than dialects, from the standpoint of linguistic science. On the other hand, speakers of these varieties of speech understand one another reasonably well; and there is no tongue in the world to which we cannot, with perfect propriety, apply the name of dialect, when considering it as one of a body of related forms of speech. Dr. Grierson writes on Hindōstani in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. The article that follows is on Hindōstani Literature, by Sir C. J. Lyall. The following paragraph from his article is a comprehensive summary of the main facts regarding "Hindi" as the term has been hitherto usually understood:

In this region (Hindōstan proper) several different dialects prevail. The people of the towns everywhere use chiefly *Urdū* or *Rēkhta*, stocked with Persian words and phrases, and ordinarily written in a modification of the Persian character. The country folk (who form the immense majority) speak different varieties of *Hindi*, of which the word-stock derives from the Prākrits and literary Sanskrit, and which are written in the Dēvanāgari or Kaithī character. Of these the most important, from a literary point of view, proceeding from West to East, are *Mārwārī* and *Jaipurī* (the languages of Rajpūtānā), *Brajbhāshā* (the language of the country about Mathurā and Agrā), *Kanaujī* (the language of the lower Ganges-Jumna Doab, and Western

Rohilkhand), *Eastern Hindī*, also called *Awadhī* and *Baiswāri* (the language of Eastern Rohilkhand, Oudh, and the Benares division of the United Provinces), and *Bihārī* (the language of Bihār or Mithilā, comprising several distinct dialects). What is called *High Hindī* is a modern development, for literary purposes, of the dialect of Western Hindi spoken in the sentence which is proper to the indigenous speech is more strictly adhered to than in Urdū, which under the influence of Persian constructions has admitted many inversions

No doubt it is more scientific to limit the term "Hindi" in the way Dr. Grierson has done, and apply the term "Hindōstani" to varieties of speech hitherto universally known as "Hindi," and so called by Dr. Grierson himself. In his article on "Indo-Aryan Vernaculars" in the *Calcutta Review* (October, 1895), he includes the following five dialects under the term "Hindi": (1) Braj, (2) Kanaujī, (3) Urdū, (4) Hindustani, (5) High Hindi; thus excluding the dialects of Rājputāna, Eastern Hindi (Awadhī or Baiswārī of Oudh), and the language of Bihār. In the interest of scientific accuracy, it is highly desirable that Indian linguistic terms be used less loosely; but it is not practicable or even scientific to outrage with undue violence established usage. Dr. Grierson's scientific precision, however, serves a useful purpose. His terminology makes it clear that Urdū, Hindōstani, and Hindi in its standard dialect, are not different languages but essentially one and the same, with really one grammar, though written in different characters, and differing largely in vocabulary. His terminology also emphasises the fact that other forms of speech that have hitherto been regarded as merely dialectical varieties of Hindi are really independent languages, and should be treated as such. I cannot but think that, while his facts are indisputable, his most recent terminology is likely to be very confusing to all

except such as wish to be above all things scientifically precise in their use of terms, even though such precision may do considerable violence to established usage. In this connection reference might be made to Dr. Grierson's ideas of Biblical Translation adapted for the people of Hindostan. He considers the translation should be not in High Hindi, which uses so many Sanskrit words, nor in Urdū, which has borrowed so largely from the Persian, but in a simple form of Hindōstani, that can be understood by and will be acceptable to Hindu and Mussulman alike. Many will agree with his main contention that Biblical translators in the past have greatly erred in using too largely the literary language of pundits, rather than the simple language actually used by the people. Even the simple stories of the Gospels have often been translated in such a way that the peasant of average intelligence cannot understand them unless they are elaborately paraphrased to him, and simple *tadbhavas* substituted for the difficult *tatsamas* of the text. Modern Indian vernacular writers in general seem to be possessed of an incurable habit of writing in a style entirely different from that in which they speak, using quite a new vocabulary; and their tendency is to regard the literary form of the language as the only true standard. Dr. Grierson's writings show nothing but contempt for those who would treat the vernaculars in this way. This contempt is sometimes excessive, but many will regard it as in general deserved. The following is a characteristic phrase of Dr. Grierson's:

> Modern Hindi prose is often disfigured by that too free borrowing of Sanskrit words instead of using home-born *tadbhavas*, which has been the ruin of Bengali, and it is rapidly becoming a Hindu counterpart of the Persianised Urdū, neither of which is intelligible except to persons of high education.

And again:

> The vocabulary of Punjabi and Eastern Hindi is very similar

to that of Western Hindi Punjabi has no literature to speak of, and is free from the burden of words borrowed from Persian or Sanskrit, only the commonest and simplest of such being found in it Its vocabulary is thus almost entirely *tadbhava*, and, while capable of expressing all ideas, it has a charming rustic flavour, like the lowland Scotch of Burns, indicative of the national character of the sturdy peasantry that employs it Eastern Hindi is very like Punjabi in this respect, but for a different reason In it were written the works of Tulsī Dās, one of the greatest writers that India has produced, and his influence on the language has been as great as that of Shakespeare on English The peasantry are continually quoting him without knowing it, and his style, simple and yet vigorous, thoroughly Indian and yet free from purism, has set a model which is everywhere followed except in the large towns where Urdū or Sanskritised Hindi prevails

IV. *The Indo-Chinese Languages.*

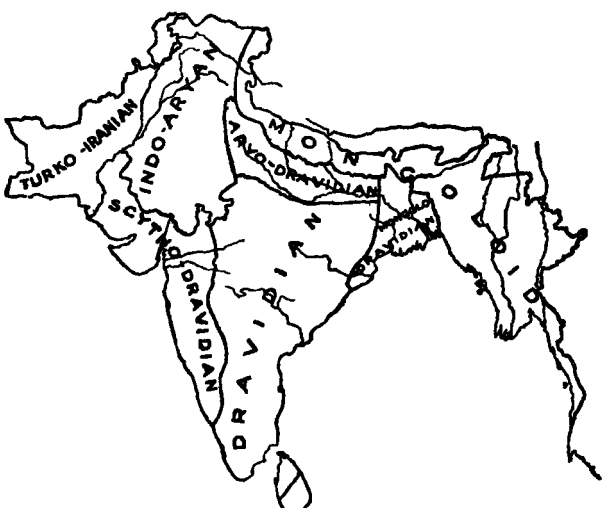
The languages belonging to the Indo-Chinese family, spoken in India, belong to two distinct groups—the Mōn-Khmēr and the Tibeto-Burman. The Mōn-Khmēr languages are numerous in Indo-China. The most important, so far as British India is concerned, is Khāsi, spoken in the hill country south of the Central Assam Valley, where it has survived as an island amid a sea of Tibeto-Burman speech. It is important to note that philologists maintain that the Mōn-Khmēr group has a common element with the Mundā languages. The Tibeto-Burman languages are very numerous, but most of them are spoken by mere handfuls of people. By far the most important member of the family is Burmese. The alphabet in which the Burmese language is written is borrowed from the Aryan Sanskrit through the Pāli of Upper India, which came to Burma by way of Ceylon and Southern India. The Indo-Chinese languages are called tonic-monosyllabic, each sound being raised or lowered in pitch, shortened or prolonged, according to the idea which it is intended to convey.

III. The Races of India.

The thorny question of the relation of language to race, of philology to ethnology, is nowhere more to the front than in India. Our review of Indian languages has made this clear—that we have in India four very definite types of speech, with a great multiplicity of subdivisions. In the first place, there is the *Muṇḍā* group, spoken exclusively by rude uncivilised hill-tribes like the Santāls, Kols, and Kūrkūs. Then we have the *Dravidian* family, some members of the group like Kuī and Gōndī spoken by tribes equally as rude and uncivilised as the Santāls, but in the main containing languages spoken by peoples like the Tamils and the Telugus, who have attained a high degree of civilisation. Further, we have the great *Indo-Aryan* family, spoken by the overwhelming majority of the civilised nations of India, and containing elements which have striking affinities with the European languages. Finally, we have the *Indo-Chinese* family of languages, some spoken by primitive aboriginal tribes in the north-eastern frontier of India, and others by cultured races like the Burmans; and all having definite affinities with the languages spoken by the Mongolian peoples of Tibet and China. In connection with the above, two or three supplementary facts, already noted, may be again referred to. The Muṇḍā languages have a common element with the Khāsi language, spoken by a hill-tribe on the north-eastern frontier, and a member of the Mōn-Khmēr sub-group of the Indo-Chinese family. The Brāhūīs of Baluchistān, on the north-western frontier, speak a Dravidian dialect. In the Nilgiri hills there is a small hill-tribe, the Todas, with almost European features, speaking a Dravidian tongue. The hypothesis that the Dravidian languages are connected with the dialects spoken by the aborigines

of the Australian Continent, while not as yet proved, can, in the words of an eminent authority, Dr. Konow, still lay claim to some probability.

Now, all this is highly suggestive when we attempt to fix the historic basis of Indian civilisation, and a generation ago, Indian historians like Sir William Hunter attempted to reconstruct the whole development of early Indian civilisation on the basis of philology. In point of chronological order it was maintained that the Kolarians—ancestors of



the modern Santāls, Kols, and others speaking the Muṇdā family of languages—came into India from the north-east, countless ages ago, and stretching across the north of the Peninsula, occupied the highlands of Orissa and the northern portion of the Vindhya tableland. Following them came the invading swarms of Dravidians through the north-western passes into the Punjab, and pressed towards the south. In proof of the Dravidian invasion from the north-west, emphasis was laid on

the existence in the far north-west, in Baluchistān, of a Dravidian language—the Brāhūī, a linguistic island cut off from the main body of Dravidian tongues by nearly 1,000 miles. Following the Dravidians came the Indo-Aryans on their march from their original home in Central Asia or elsewhere, and in the victorious advance they made their way through the north-west passes into the Punjab, and then downwards into the Gangetic basin, driving to the mountains, or reducing to serfdom, the black aboriginal tribes, and in time imposing their religion and culture on the Dravidian peoples of the South.

This theory of the stages of development in Indian civilisation is admittedly based on philological and cultural considerations, and it certainly has the merit of appearing reasonable and consistent. Among other things, it assumes a large Aryan element among the Brāhmans and higher castes of India, an element assumed to be predominant in the north and of considerable extent in the south. In recent years, however, the whole theory has been declared by the experts of the ethnographic survey of India altogether untenable in view of the established results of their own anthropological researches.

As a result of the elaborate investigations made by ethnologists in connection with the Indian Ethnographic Survey, the people of the Indian Empire have been tentatively divided into seven main physical types: (1) The Turko-Irānian of the north-west frontier; (2) The Indo-Aryan of the Punjab, Rājputāna, and Kashmīr; (3) The Scytho-Dravidian of Western India; (4) The Aryo-Dravidian of the United Provinces and Bihār; (5) The Mongolo-Dravidian of Lower Bengal and Orissa; (6) The Mongoloid type of Assam, Burma, and the north-east frontier; (7) The Dravidian type of Peninsular India.

Apart from the Turko-Irānian type, prevailing in

the far north-western frontier—hardly a part of India proper—it will be seen that four main varieties are distinguishable among the Indian people :

(1) The Dravidian, distinguished physically by his long head, broad nose, and dark complexion, and generally short stature, with wavy hair, showing a tendency to curl.

(2) The Aryan, with long head, narrow nose, fair complexion, and of tall stature : found to-day in the purest form in Kashmīr, Punjab, and Rājputāna.

(3) The Scythians, descendants of the fierce and warlike Asiatic tribes that invaded India in the early centuries of the Christian era, a people with broad heads, red or yellowish complexion, and rather short stature. Ethnologists suppose the Marāthās of Western India to be a fusion of Scythian and Dravidian elements.

(4) The Mongoloid, found all along the foot of the Himalayas, and at the head of the Bay of Bengal, and possessing broad heads, yellowish complexion, flat noses, flat faces, oblique eyes, and of short stature.

In Lower Bengal and Orissa the people are regarded as a mixture of Dravidian and Mongolian elements, with only a slight Aryan element in the upper castes ; while in the United Provinces and Bihār a mixed type of Aryans and Dravidians prevails. In the Andamans there is a people of Negrito type.

Such are the official results of the Indian Ethnographic Survey so far as it has proceeded, and the more important conclusions of the Survey have been accepted by ethnologists in all countries. Some of Sir Herbert Risley's theories, however, are keenly questioned. He assumes that the Dravidian is the original type of the population of India, now modified to a varying extent by the admixture of Aryan, Scythian, and Mongoloid elements. If this be so,

the result is distinctly perplexing in many ways, as it seems to preclude the possibility of any consistent theory of the distribution of races in India, and the growth of Indian civilisation in prehistoric times.

The view held hitherto by all Indian historians, including Sir William Hunter, that the Kolarians entered India from the north-east, and occupied the northern portion of the Vindhya tableland, and that they were subsequently conquered and separated into fragments by the Dravidians, who entered India through the north-western passes—this view is now altogether set aside. Sir Herbert Risley disposes of it in the following words :

The basis of this theory is obscure Its account of the Dravidians proper seems to rest upon a supposed affinity between the Brâhûî dialect of Baluchistân and the languages of Southern India, while the hypothesis of the north-eastern origin of the Kolarians depends on the fancied recognition of Mongolian characteristics among the people of Chotâ-Nâgpur. But, in the first place, the distinction between Kolarians and Dravidians is purely linguistic, and does not correspond to any differences of physical type Secondly, it is extremely improbable that a large body of very black and conspicuously long-headed types should have come from the one region of the earth which is peopled exclusively by races with broad heads and yellow complexions With this we may dismiss the theory which assigns a Trans-Himalayan origin to the Dravidians Taking them as we find them now, it may safely be said that their present geographical distribution, the marked uniformity of physical characters among the more primitive members of the group, their animistic religion, their distinctive languages, their stone monuments, and their retention of a primitive system of totemism, justify us in regarding them as the earliest inhabitants of India of whom we have any knowledge *

While accepting all the established facts ascertained by the Indian Ethnographic Survey, I confess that the theories of Sir Herbert Risley, in regard to the origin and distribution of the Dravidian and aboriginal races in India, strike me as inconclusive. Too many awkward facts are left unexplained, and the existence of many facts is practically ignored.

* *The Indian Empire*, Vol I., pp 298, 299

(1) In the extract given above (taken from Sir Herbert Risley's article on Ethnology in Vol. I. of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*), reference is made to "a supposed affinity between the Brāhūī dialect of Baluchistān and the languages of Southern India." The suggestion here is that there is insufficient evidence for recognising any affinity. On page 381 of the same work Dr. Grierson, writing of the Languages of India, says of Brāhūī: "It is undoubtedly a Dravidian language." It is fairly clear that the ethnologist is casting doubts on the conclusions of the philologist regarding a purely philological question, because such a conclusion is inconvenient from the ethnographic point of view. On questions of Indian philology we have no hesitation in following Dr Grierson rather than Sir Herbert Risley. This, then, is a factor in the situation that must be taken into account—although, so far as consistent theory is concerned, it might be advantageous to ignore it—that far away in the north-west, in the central highlands of Baluchistān, there is an isolated linguistic island of Dravidian speech. Dr. Grierson, while frankly admitting that the speakers of the Brāhūī language have none of the Dravidian ethnic characteristics, proceeds to say:

> Ethnologists differ as to whether the speakers of Dravidian languages entered India from the north-west, or from the hypothetic Lemurian continent, now under the Indian Ocean, in the south. If they came from the north-west, we must look upon the Brāhūīs as the rear guard, but if from the south, they must be considered as the advance guard of the Dravidian immigration. Under any circumstances, it is possible that the Brāhūīs alone retain the true Dravidian ethnic type, which has been lost in India proper by admixture with other aboriginal nationalities such as the Mundās. This is suggested by the linguistic circumstances, and is worthy of investigation.

I am inclined, with Dr. Grierson, to think that the Dravidian in India has lost the true ethnic type by admixture with aboriginal races, but I do not agree with him in thinking it probable that the

Brāhūī retains the true Dravidian characters. In fact, he has the physical characters of the Turko-Irānian tribes around him as shown by the Ethnographic Survey. The more probable thing is that the Brāhūī, too, has gradually changed his physical type, while retaining his original speech. Such comparatively exceptional instances would not impugn the general accuracy of the statement that physical characters are more persistent than linguistic.

We have in Europe definite linguistic or historical evidence of peoples whose physical type has changed, their speech persisting. The Magyars were originally of Mongolian or Finno-Ugrian origin. They have, however, as Dr. Haddon points out, "assimilated to a European type."* Here history leads us irresistibly to the conclusion that language has been more persistent than physical characters, and such as deny this come perilously near to making a fetish of physical characters.

Evidence is accumulating in the direction of demonstrating the great influence of environment in modifying so stable a structure as the human head. As Mr. Crooke, in his address before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, (1910), pointed out, the recent American Commission under the presidency of Professor Boas reports, in regard to immigrants into America from the Continent of Europe, that racial and physical characteristics do not survive under the new climate and social environment. Children born even a few years after the arrival of their parents show essential differences as compared with their European parentage. Every part of the body is influenced, even the shape of the skull, which has always been considered to be the most permanent hereditary characteristic. Similar results appear from a comparison of the American negro with his African

* *The Races of Man*, p 43.

ancestor. What we know to have happened in historic Europe, and to be happening at the present time in America, may well have taken place in prehistoric India.

As to the origin of the Dravidians, it has been denied that they could have entered India from the north or north-west, on the ground that the immigration of a dolichocephalic race from a brachycephalic area is impossible. Some have sought to overcome this difficulty by referring the Dravidians to one of the long-headed races of Central or Western Asia or North Africa, or by suggesting that their skull-form has become modified on Indian soil by environment or miscegenation. The suggestion* that the eastern branch of the Hamitic peoples of North Africa (belonging to the so-called Mediterranean branch of the Caucasian race), as represented by such peoples as the Egyptians, ancient and modern, and the Somalis, are connected with the Dravidian peoples of India, seems to me the most plausible that has hitherto been made, but further researches are required before we can speak with any definiteness. The emigration, assuming its occurrence, from North-East Africa by way of Arabia, Persia, and Baluchistan, must have taken place at an exceedingly remote period in prehistoric times.

(2) Another awkward fact left unexplained by Sir Herbert Risley is the existence of the Muṇḍā family of languages in India spoken by a number of aboriginal tribes like the Santāls, Kols, and Kūrkūs. These languages, as we have seen, form a very definite family, having no affinities with the Dravidian. The simple fact that Kolarians and Dravidians correspond in physical type is, in Sir Herbert Risley's view, decisive against the theory that the Kolarians entered India from the north-east. But surely the

* See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XII., p. 893.

very existence of these tribes in the wilder and more remote districts of Central India, speaking languages utterly different from their Dravidian neighbours, makes it impossible to resist the conclusion that they are surviving representatives of a people who were in India before the Dravidians proper, just as it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the Basques are the survivors of a pre-Aryan race once prevalent in Europe. Further, we cannot ignore the fact that the Muṇḍā languages have a common element with the Mōn-Khmēr languages of the north-east frontier and of Further India.

Notwithstanding all anthropometrical evidence pointing in another direction, the most reasonable conclusion seems to be that the Kolarians came into India from the north-east, ranged over the Peninsula, and were followed by the more civilised Dravidians, who came through the north-western passes, and intermingled with, and largely absorbed, the so-called Kolarians. This is, too, the view, substantially, of Dr. Haddon, who writes:

> The Mundā-speaking peoples are a very ancient element in the population, and appear to have been the original inhabitants of the valley of the Ganges in Western Bengal, after many wanderings they settled mainly in Chotā-Nāgpur Everywhere they have been more or less modified by the Dravidians, and while scattered relics of the languages are preserved, the original physical type appears to have been assimilated to that of the Dravidians, but perhaps it was originally a closely-allied type They may belong to the primitive Indonesian race The more important tribes are the Mundās, Bhumij-o, Juangs, etc Most are divided into exogamous septs, probably originally totemic There is a vague supreme sun-god, human sacrifices were once offered Memorial stones are erected *

(3) Another fact that Sir Herbert Risley does not explain is the existence of a group of Negritos in the Andaman Islands, and the appearance of distinctly Negrito physical characters in certain Indian jungle-tribes and the lower elements of the Dravidian population. Sir Herbert Risley is of opinion that the

* *The Races of Man*, pp. 64, 65.

Negritos had no share in the making of the Indian people. Expert ethnologists, he points out,

agree in describing the Andamanese as short-headed and broad-nosed, with a low cranial capacity Their heads differ in essential particulars from those of the Dravidians, and Sir William Turner considers that no direct evidence of either a past or a present Negrito population in India has yet been obtained

Direct evidence of a conclusive character there may not be, for it must be remembered that the whole region of ethnology is full of probabilities. Sir Herbert Risley himself, speaking of the Dravidian type, says :

Labour is the birthright of the pure Dravidian whether hoeing tea in Assam, the Duārs, or Ceylon, cutting rice in the swamps of Eastern Bengal, or doing scavenger's work in the streets of Calcutta, Rangoon, and Singapore, he is recognisable at a glance by his black skin, his squat figure, and the negro-like proportions of his nose In the upper strata of the vast social deposit which is here treated as Dravidian, these typical characteristics tend to thin out and disappear, but even among them traces of the original stock survive in varying degrees.*

Dr. A. H. Keane has in this connection pointed out that

there is good evidence to show that the first arrivals were a black people, most probably Negritos, who made their way from Malaysia, round the Bay of Bengal, to the Himalayan foothills, and thence spread over the Peninsula At present there are no distinctly Negrito communities in the land, nor has any clear trace of a distinctly Negrito language yet been discovered But distinctly Negrito features crop up in all the uplands from the Himalayan slopes to Cape Comorin, over against Ceylon. The Negritos, in fact, have been absorbed or largely assimilated by the later intruders, and as of these there are four (*i e*. Kolarian, Dravidian, Aryan, and Mongolian), we may call the Negritos "the submerged fifth" There has been ample time for the submergence, since they arrived, if not in the early, certainly in the late, Tertiary period, many thousands of years ago Not only are there dolmens and menhirs of the New Stone Age, but also rude stone implements and flint-workshops of the Old Stone Age, while in the Dekkan, artificial markings have been found on petrified trees buried beneath the lavas of extinct volcanoes. Thus we have here the whole series of transitions from the earliest appearance of man upwards

The ordinary intelligent observer of the races in India will, I think, be inclined to agree with this view

* *The Indian Empire*, pp. 296, 297.

of Dr. Keane rather than with Sir Herbert Risley. It has the advantage of giving due recognition to all the facts, both linguistic and ethnological; while Sir Herbert Risley rests his case entirely on anthropometrical considerations, and leaves as an insoluble riddle important cultural and linguistic factors in the case. Mr. William Crooke, an eminent Indian ethnologist, in his address before the British Association, supported this view of the case:

> The most primitive type identifiable in the population of South India is the Negrito. In all the modern tribes, the distinctive Negrito marks—woolliness of hair, prognathism, lowness of stature, and excessive length of arm—have become modified by miscegenation or the influences of environment. The resemblances in culture of the Indian Negrito with the cognate races to the east and south east of the Peninsula are too striking to be accidental. The Kadirs of Madras climb trees like the Bornean Dayaks, chip their teeth like the Jakun of the Malay Peninsula, and wear curiously ornamented hair-combs like the Semang of Perak, among whom they serve some obscure magical purpose.

(4) A few other points in connection with Indian ethnography require brief reference. The existence of a zone of relatively broad-headed people in Western India, the country of the Marāthās and the Canarese, is regarded by Sir Herbert Risley as evidence of a large Scythian settlement in the early centuries of the Christian era. Extending over a period from the second century B.C. to the sixth century A.D., successive swarms of nomadic people, marauding hordes of horsemen, variously designated as Sakas, Yuechi, Kushans, Hunas, Gūrjuras—a variety of names conveniently summed up in the generic term Scythian—forced their way into India through the passes of the north-west, and established their dominion over considerable portions of Indian territory—the Punjab, Sind, Gujarāt, Rājputāna, and Central India. They came from the regions of Central Asia—the home of broad-headed races—and in some cases their wanderings are

traceable to tribal upheavals in China. It has been supposed that they settled permanently in large numbers in India, and some modern scholars have conjectured that they are represented by the Jāts and Rājputs. But, according to Sir Herbert Risley, the grounds for this opinion are of the flimsiest description.

In their original homes on the Central Asian steppes, their manner of life was that of pastoral nomads, and their instincts were of the predatory order It seems, therefore, unlikely that their descendants should be found among tribes who are essentially of the long-headed type, tall, heavy men, without any natural aptitude for horsemanship, settled agriculturists with no traditions of a nomadic and marauding past Still less probable is it that waves of foreign conquerors, entering India at a date when the Indo-Aryans had long been an organised community, should have been absorbed by them so completely as to take rank among their most typical representatives, while the form of their heads, the most persistent of racial distinctions, was transformed from the extreme of one type to the extreme of another without leaving any trace of transitional forms in the process Such are the contradictions which beset the attempt to identify the Scythians with the Jāts and Rājputs The only escape seems to lie in an alternative hypothesis which is suggested by the measurements. These data show that a zone of broad-headed people may still be traced southwards, from the region of the Western Punjab, in which we lose sight of the Scythians, right through the Deccan, till it attains its farthest extension among the Coorgs Is it not conceivable that this may mark the track of the Scythians, who first occupied the great grazing country of the Western Punjab, and then, pressed upon by later invaders, and finding their progress eastwards blocked by the Indo-Aryans, turned towards the south, mingled with the Dravidian population, and became the ancestors of the Marāthās? The physical type of the people of this region accords fairly well with this theory, while the arguments derived from language and religion do not seem to conflict with it For, after entering India, the Scythians readily adopted an Aryan language, written in the Kharosthi character, and accepted Buddhism as their religion Their Prākrit speech would have developed into Mārāthī, while their Buddhistic doctrines would have been absorbed into that fusion of magic and metaphysics which has resulted in popular Hinduism On this view, the wide-ranging forays of the Marāthās, their guerilla methods of warfare, their unscrupulous dealings with friend and foe, their genius for intrigue, and their consequent failure to build up an enduring dominion, might well be regarded as inherited from their Scythian ancestors.*

* *The Indian Empire*, Vol. I., pp. 307-8.

Clearly there is strong *primâ facie* evidence in support of Sir Herbert Risley's view, but it has been by no means generally accepted. Dr. Haddon, in discussing this view, remarks that

> Evidence seems to be lacking that the "Scythians" penetrated far into the Deccan, and, apart from brachycephaly, there is little to associate these people with Scythians It seems quite possible that these brachycephals are the result of an unrecorded migration of some members of the Alpine race from the highlands of south-west Asia in prehistoric times.*

Mr. William Crooke, too, in his British Association address, points out that

> Mr. D R. Bhandakar has recently proved that a group of Gūrjuras, who entered India in the train of the Huns in the fifth or sixth century of our era, possibly the tribal priests or genealogists, were admitted first to the rank of Brāhmans, and then, by a change of function, of which analogies are found in the older Sanskrit literature, becoming Rājputs, are now represented by Guhilots, one of the proudest septs Thus we can trace the blood of Huns among the Rājput, Jāt, and Gūjar tribes, and herein is a fresh impulse for the quest of survivals in belief and custom connecting with their Central Asian kinsfolk.

We thus seem to have another instance in which anthropometrical evidence must give way before historical and cultural evidence of a more reliable character.

* *The Races of Man*, pp 60-1.

BOOK II.

Historical Survey of Indian Civilisation.

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Introductory.

The history of religion is an integral part of general history. There can be no rigid line of demarcation drawn between the secular and the religious in the history of the onward movement of the fortunes of the human race. All phases of human life and thought have a religious basis, while, on the other hand, there is no historical justification for regarding any religion as a purely external product imposed upon its followers from without. No religion can thus be studied as an independent entity. It is inextricably bound up with the civilisation and culture, indeed, with the whole life and thought, of the people who profess it.

All this is peculiarly true of the religious history of India. Here, in a pre-eminent degree, religion is the foundation of the whole social structure, and enters into every detail of the individual, domestic, and social life. One can only enter into the heart and soul of Indian religion through an understanding of the course of Indian literary, social, and political development through the ages. In the present survey it is our intention to direct the student's attention to the great landmarks in Indian historical development from the earliest times to the present day. Many works of great learning and research have been written bearing on the history of Indian civilisation ; but popular, yet withal comprehensive, introductions are scarce. Nothing is easier than for the beginner, at the very threshold of his studies, to get lost in the mazes of Indian history and thought. The present survey is an effort to supply such an outline as I myself needed at the outset of my own study of things Indian. I have made literal use of the works of the great scholars

—European, American, and German—but I am especially indebted to the large variety of able articles on things Indian in the new editions of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* and the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

The Main Departments of Indian Literature.

India lacks, in an extreme degree, literary works that supply reliable accounts of her own historical development with any chronological exactness. Yet India is rich in literary works of a very varied character which may be dated with sufficient exactness for the student of civilisation, and which render him invaluable aid, however lacking in value they may be to the student of political history seeking exact chronological details. The following may be regarded as the successive stages and departments of Indian Literature.

(1) *The Vedic Literature,* consisting of (*a*) the Hymns, (*b*) the Brahmāṇas and Upanishads, (*c*) Sūtras. The hymns have been preserved in four different collections or Samhitās, known as the Rigveda, Sāmaveda, Yajurveda, and Atharvaveda Saṃhitās. The Rigveda Saṃhitā is by far the most important collection, the other collections being in large measure recastings of the earlier Rigveda hymns. Each collection of hymns has a considerable supplementary literature connected with it, viz., Brāhmaṇas or prose works explanatory of the sacrifice in all its details; Āraṇyakas—works chiefly ritualistic, intended to be read by those who had retired to the forest; and Upanishads—works of a purely speculative nature, devoted to the discussion of metaphysical questions. (*c*) The Sūtras are strings of rules in the shape of aphorisms intended to help the memory in regard to Vedic rites and regulations.

(2) *The Sectarian Literature of Buddhism and Jainism* is of great importance in the history of

Indian civilisation. There is extant a large body of Buddhistic literature, consisting of Sermons, Discourses, Precepts, and Histories, written not in Sanskrit, but in Pāli, the dialect native to Buddha. These Pāli books, in three Piṭakas or Traditional Collections, were first found in Ceylon, and are sometimes, though rather incorrectly, called the Southern, in distinction from the later Northern records, written in Sanskrit. The literature produced by the Jain sect of the teacher Mahāvīra is written partly in a Prākrit dialect and partly in Sanskrit.

(3) *The Classical Sanskrit Literature of India* is of a varied character. (*a*) *Epic Poems* · The two great national epics are the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, the main plot of the former consisting of the rivalry and varying fortunes of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas, and the latter dealing with the adventures of the noble Rāma and his faithful spouse Sītā. (*b*) *Purānas and Tantras:* The Purāṇas, said to be eighteen in number, have much in common with the Mahābhārata, and are partly legendary, partly speculative, histories of the Universe compiled in the interests of special Brāhmanical sects. The Tantras are the sacred writings of the S'āktas, worshippers of the female energy of some god. (*c*) *Artificial Epics and Romances* There are six standard artificial epics, Mahākāvya, or great poems; all are composed in ornate diction, richly embellished with flowers of rhetoric, their subject-matter being almost entirely derived from the old epics. These "great poems" are Raghuvaṃs'a, Kumāra-sambhava, Kirātārjunīya, S'is'upālabadha, Bhaṭṭikāvya, Naishadha-charita. The first two are attributed to the famous poet Kālidāsa. Written, too, in the Kāvya style are other well-known works—Rājatarangiṇī (a chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir, and the only important historical work in the Sanskrit language), and the prose romances Das'akumāracharita, Vāsava-

dattā, Kādambarī, and Harshacharita. (*d*) *The Drama* · The following are the best-known Indian Dramas—Mṛichchhakaṭikā, or "Little Clay Cart," by King S'ūdraka; the S'akuntalā, Vikramorvas'ī, and Mālavikāgnimitra, all three by Kālidāsa; the Ratnāvalī and Nāgananda, both ascribed to King Harsha, but perhaps composed by poets patronised by him, such as Bāṇa; the Mahāvīracharita, Uttararāmacharita, and Mālatīmādhava, all three by the famous Bhavabhūti; the Veṇīsaṃhāra, by Bhaṭṭanārāyana; the Mudrārākshasa, by Vis'ākhadatta; the Prabodhachandrodaya, by Kṛishṇamis'ra; and the Gītagovinda, by Jayadeva—the one example of religious drama in Sanskrit literature. (*e*) *Lyrical, Descriptive, and Didactic Poetry:* Noteworthy among lyrical and descriptive poems are the Meghadūta and the Ṛitusaṃhāra of Kālidāsa. Didactic poetry, consisting of moral maxims, abounds, and among the more notable authors are Bhartṛihari and Amaru. (*f*) *Fables and Narratives* Famous examples of this class of literature are the Pañchatantra, Hitopades'a, Vetālapañcha-vims'ati, S'uka-saptati, Bṛihat-kathā-mañjarī, and Kathāsaritsāgara. (*g*) *Law:* The most important are Manu, or the Mānava-Dharmas'āstra, the Yājñavalkya-Dharmas'āstra, the Nāradīya-Dharmas'āstra, and the Mitākshara of Vijñānes'vara. (*h*) *Philosophy:* A large literature has arisen in connection with the interpretation of the Dars'anas or systems of philosophy, six in number—(1) Pūrvamīmāṃsā, (2) Uttaramīmāṃsā (Vedānta), (3) Sānkhya, (4) Yoga, (5) Nyāya, and (6) Vais'eshika. S'ankara and Rāmānuja are regarded as the most famous philosophical writers India has produced. (*i*) *Grammar:* Pāṇini's great work on Sanskrit Grammar stands unrivalled in the grammatical literature of any nation. Hardly less important is the Mahābhāshya, or "Great Commentary" on Pāṇini, by Patañjali.

(4) *The Vernacular Literature of India* is extensive, and some of it quite ancient. Among the vernaculars that possess literature of considerable importance may be mentioned Tamil, Telugu, Hindi, Bengali, and Marāṭhī. To the student of civilisation the vernacular literature is not less important than that of Sanskrit.

The Main Types of Indian Architecture.

The development of architectural art in India is of the highest importance for the history of Indian civilisation. Some of the main landmarks may be noted in the very briefest form:

(1) Wood was solely, or almost solely, employed in the early architecture of India. Brick and stone were in use previous to the third century B.C. only for foundation and engineering purposes.

(2) The invasion of Alexander, and the western spread of Buddhism, brought India into contact with Persia. Ambassadors, missionaries, and merchants brought back the report of rock-hewn mausolea, and stone-built palaces and pillars. The result was imitation. About the middle of the third century the famous As'oka erected great stone pillars, with capitals of Persian type, engraved with his religious edicts. To Buddhist architecture belong also the stūpas or topes, monumental mounds constructed to enshrine relics of Buddha or of his more notable disciples. The mound, enclosed by a massive stone railing with lofty gates on four sides, had a hemispherical dome at the top. Examples are still found at Sānchu (in Bhopal) and Buddh-Gayā. Another characteristic of Buddhist architecture is the rock excavations. (*a*) The *chaitya* or chapel caves with vaulted roofs of considerable height, and with a mode of lighting by a great arch over the entrance, that has attracted considerable attention. (*b*) The *vihāras* or mon-

asteries devoted to the residence of monks or ascetics.

They usually consisted of a hall surrounded by a number of cells—the earliest with stone beds in them In the later *vihāras* there was a shrine in the centre of the back wall containing a large image of the Buddha In the Orissa caves near Cuttack we have a series of excavations that do not conform to these arrangements; they are early, dating as far back as the second century B C, but they belong to the Jain sect, which dates from the same age as the Buddhist

Almost all parts of the architecture are adorned with notable carvings of men, women, and animals. The Gandhāra remains on the north-west frontier of India, dating from the last years of the century B.C. till the fourth century A D., abound in sculptures belonging to the Buddhist cult, and show marked indications of being modelled after Greek and Western patterns.

(3) In the time of the great Gupta dynasty, from about A.D. 320 to 500, the architectural forms developed in variety and richness of decoration. Among its characteristics may be mentioned flat roofs, and pillars with massive square capitals. In Kashmīr from the eighth century we find a style of architecture possessing a certain quasi-classical element. The temple of Mārtand, erected as a temple of the sun, is the best example of the Kashmīr style, and the pillars and pilasters of the portico and temple bear a close resemblance to some of the later forms of the Roman Doric.

(4) The Dravidian style prevails in the southern peninsula. Its temples are marked by a usually rather small interior sanctuary with pyramidal crowning, preceded by an enclosed porch, and accompanied by pillared halls called choultries, and gopuras or elaborate pyramidal gateways to their enclosures. The Kailas temple at Ellora, and the great temple at Tanjore, and that of Madura, are among the best examples of this style. The ornamentation is exceedingly profuse.

(5) The Chālukyan style is named after a Hindu dynasty that reigned in the Central Deccan from early in the sixth century. The Chālukyan architecture exhibits Dravidian and northern characteristics, and is exemplified mainly in star-shaped temples with the roof rising in steps, pierced slabs for windows, and decorated pillars. Among Chālukyan temples a prevalent form is that of three shrines round one central hall. Many of the finer temples are completely overlaid with sculptural ornament. The style extended to Mysore, where its noblest works were arrested in their construction by the Muhammadan invasion.

(6) The Indo-Aryan or Hindu style is applied to a North Indian type of architecture, "invented and used in a country which Aryans once occupied, and in which they have left a strong impress of their superior mental power and civilisation." In one variety or another this style is found all over Northern India, between the Himalayan and Vindhyan mountains. The most elegant examples may be assigned to the period between A.D. 950 and 1200, but Fergusson dates some of the Orissan temples from A.D. 600. The temples at Bhuvanes'wara in Orissa exhibit the Indo-Aryan style in its greatest purity. The style "is characterised by the bulging steeple with curvilinear outlines which surmounts the shrine or sanctuary containing the image, and frequently is repeated in other parts of the design. In Orissa an early temple sometimes consists of nothing more than the steepled shrine, with a low-roofed porch, devoid, or almost devoid, of pillars; but larger examples have additional pillared chambers. The great temples at Khajurāho in Bundelkhand, dating from the time of the Chandel dynasty, are built on a cruciform plan, with naves and transepts, which results in buildings of imposing dignity." The sun

temple of Kanārak, known as the Black Pagoda, on the coast of Orissa, for its size is "the most richly ornamented building—externally at least—in the whole world." The Jain style of architecture is a development or variety of the Indo-Aryan order, and was used by Hindus and Jains all over Rājputāna, Mālwā, and Gujarāt. Extensive remains are discovered on hill-tops far removed from one another—Mount Abu in Rājputāna, with its famous marble temples, S'atrunjaya in Gujarāt, and Parasnath in Bengal.

(7) The Muhammadan architecture, also known as Indian Saracenic, begins in India with the thirteenth century, and varied much at different periods and under various dynasties, imperial and local. The earlier style is termed Pathān, and the later Mogul. The Pathāns nobly developed the dome, the arch, and the minaret, and some of the Mogul tombs and mosques are unsurpassed for delicate elegance and refinement of detail. Notable examples are the Taj Mahal and the Motī Masjid or Pearl Mosque at Agra, and the Jama Masjid at Delhi and Lahore.

Leading Periods in the History of Indian Civilisation.

No definite dates can be fixed in Indian history until about the seventh century B.C., but the groundwork of the historical development of Indian civilisation may be traced mainly from literary documents and archæological remains, even though exact chronology be lacking. For Indian history 2000 or 1800 B.C. there are no literary documents of any kind available. The whole course of Indian civilisation may be conveniently divided into nine

main periods, each period, except the first and last, being roughly about 500 years' duration.

I. *The Age of Prehistoric Antiquity before the coming of the Aryans.*

II. *The Age of the Vedas* (1800-1300 B.C.).

III. *The Age of the Mahābhārata* (1300-800 B.C.).

IV. *The Age of Brāhmanical Expansion, with Buddhist Revolt and Ascendency, and Greek Invasion* (800-231 B.C.).

V. *The Age of Bactrian and Scythic Settlements with Buddhist and Hindu Evolution* (231 B.C.-250 A.D.).

VI. *The Age of Hindu Empire, with Hunnic Invasions, Buddhist and Brāhmanical Rivalry, and Literary Revival* (250 A.D.-700 A.D.).

VII. *The Age of the Rājputs and Rival Hindu Kingdoms, with Muhammadan Incursions, Buddhist Decay, and Hindu Philosophic and Sectarian Development* (700 A.D -1206 A.D.).

VIII. *The Age of Muhammadan Ascendency and Empire, with Marāthā Revolt and Hindu Religious Reform* (1206 A.D.-1707 A D.).

IX. *The Age of European Settlements, British Supremacy, and National Revival.*

I. The Prehistoric Period.

Relics have been found in various parts of Southern India which are undoubtedly palæolithic, remnants of the Old Stone Age, when men used as their only tools rude chipped flints or other hard stones. In the Narbada valley there has been found an instrument of chipped quartzite lying in gravels containing the bones of extinct animals. Similar discoveries have been made in other parts of India, revealing the existence of a race of men contemporary with animals now extinct. These men made no pottery and built no tombs, and they have left behind them no trace even of their skulls and skeletons.

Of the Neolithic or New Stone Age, characterised by the prevalence of a higher type of implements, commonly ground or polished, and associated with the remains of animals now existing, there are abundant relics in India. It was during this period that men learned how to make pottery, at first by hand only, and then with the aid of the wheel. The neolithic men, too, honoured their dead by building for them elaborate tombs, often of massive stones. In a cemetery in the district of Mirzāpur, a grave enclosed in a stone circle contained a skeleton lying on a thick stone slab. A flat dish of smeared pottery was placed at the head of the skeleton, and a similar one at each corner of the tomb. In an adjoining grave were found two stone hammers and sundry flint flakes; while in Rājputāna rude stone implements have been found in cairn-tombs, all belonging to the Neolithic Age In fact, there are wild tribes in India to-day that know nothing (or until recently knew nothing) of the use of metal, and have no name for it, and have remained in the low stage of culture attained by the ancestors of the civilised races many thousands of years ago. It should be noted that there are many megalithic tombs in India, but they generally belong to a later age, and often contain iron implements.

Most parts of Europe, Western Asia, and Egypt passed through a stage of civilisation known as the Bronze Age, before entering on the Iron Age. In India generally, the Bronze Age is missing, the first metal to become known being copper. Hundreds of curious implements made of pure copper have been found in the Central Provinces, in old beds of the Ganges near Cawnpore, and in other places from Eastern Bengal to Sind. Such discoveries warrant the assumption that in India a Copper Age intervened between the Neolithic and the Iron Ages.

The large treasure of copper instruments—in the judgment of Sir John Evans, the most important discovery of instruments of copper as yet recorded in the Old World—which was found carefully packed in a pit near Gungeria, a village of the Central Provinces, in the year 1870, contains specimens almost identical with Irish copper celts, and other examples which recall Babylonian, Egyptian, and even Peruvian patterns. The Irish copper celts are assigned to the period between 2000 and 1500 B.C., and it is quite possible, says Mr. Vincent Smith, that the Indian copper implements and weapons may be as old as the Irish. The reddish *ayas* of the Veda was, in all probability, copper. There is reason to believe that some of the Rigvedic hymns date from this age.

In process of time the use of iron became familiar in India. It was probably introduced into Northern India from Babylonia, where it was known from remote antiquity. It is clear that, at the time of Alexander's invasion of Northern India (326 B.C.), the use of iron and steel for purposes of war was as familiar to the Indians as to the Greeks, and in this regard India was far in advance of the other nations of Asia. All this presupposes a long period of development in the arts of civilisation in prehistoric India, and it may well be that the Iron Age in the North may pre-date the invasion of Alexander by more than 1,000 years. Matters are different as regards Southern India, which was separated from the North by an almost impassable barrier of mountain and forest. From very early times, however, the South was in communication with Egypt by sea, and may well have introduced iron from there, as well as from Northern India any time after 800 B.C.*

* For further particulars regarding Prehistoric India, see *Indian Empire*, Vol. II., ch 2.

II. The Age of the Vedas (1800-1300 B.C.).

No definite date in Indian history can be fixed until about the seventh century B.C., but the Vedas and the Epics give us a fairly clear picture of the civilisation of ancient India extending back more than a thousand years earlier than the time when exact chronology begins. The hymns of the Rigveda—1,028 in number—must have been composed at different times during a period extending over several centuries. They must have been composed at a time when their authors were limited to the river-basin of the Indus with its tributaries. With these hymns they praised their gods, the deified powers of Nature, and accompanied their religious rites. The precise date of their composition cannot be determined, but some of them may have been made and sung as early as 2000 B.C. For long they were handed down by oral tradition, and increased by the additions and imitations of succeeding generations. In course of time, as the liturgical needs of their increasingly elaborate and intricate ceremonial developed, a great collection was made of over a thousand hymns and ten thousand verses, arranged according to traditional authorship, and to subject and length and metre of hymn. The following are some of the more important items of interest and importance that the student of Indian civilisation should note in regard to these Vedic hymns and the Rigvedic times.

(1) The Vedic hymns are the earliest literary monuments of Indo-European peoples. The people to whom these hymns refer call themselves Aryans or kinsmen. An examination of the Vedic language and the Vedic worship makes it evident that the Aryans were closely related to the ancient Persians, and also to the great European races—Greeks, Latins, Kelts, Teutons, Slavs. The Aryans must

have come into the valleys of the Punjab through the north-western passes after separating from their Persian kinsmen at the end of their long journey through Central Asia from their original European home. The higher races and castes of modern India trace their descent in greater or less degree from these early invaders, and thus it may be confidently asserted that there is a kinship of a very definite character between the peoples of India and the peoples of Europe. Extended reference has already been made to these points in our discussions of the languages and races of India.

(2) The Aryans may be regarded as the first white invaders of India of whom we have anything like definite knowledge. They sharply distinguish themselves as of fair complexion from the primitive tribes, the aborigines of the land, whom they speak of as black monsters and demons. The hymns of the Rigveda are full of references to interminable wars with the aborigines, who are called now Dasyus or "enemies," now Dāsas or "slaves," and who are scornfully reviled as "disturbers of sacrifice," "gross feeders on flesh," "without gods," "without rites." Yet all of them could not have been without culture or civilisation, for the Vedic hymns speak much of the "seven castles" and "ninety forts" belonging to the Dasyus; and at a later stage, when we come to historical times, we find some of the most powerful kingdoms of India ruled by the descendants of these black monsters and demons. Without doubt, the early Aryans found in India savage aboriginal tribes as well as the more cultured Dravidian races, and possibly a race of early Scythic invaders, but they evidently regarded them all without discrimination in the light of "curséd niggers"—a spirit not altogether dead in certain exclusive sections of the dominant conquering races of modern civilisation, distinguished by

their pride of race and colour. As we have seen, it seems probable that the Kolarian tribes from the east or north-east were the earliest settlers, and were followed by the more vigorous and progressive Dravidians from the north-west, while it is probable that older than both there was a Negrito aboriginal population which became almost altogether absorbed by Dravidians and Kolarians alike.

(3) While the Aryans carried on fierce wars against the barbarian Dasyus, and sought to exterminate them or reduce them to subjection, it must be remembered that they were not always at peace amongst themselves. The Rigveda gives many indications of rival kings, tribes, and priests among the Aryans. Frequent mention is made of the Five Tribes, and also of Sudās, lord of the Tṛitsu tribe, and a mighty conqueror. In the famous Battle of the Ten Kings, Sudās, aided by the invocations of his priest Vasishtha, and by the kindly help of the gods Indra and Varuna, overcame the united armies of the allied kings who had been aroused to combat by the priest Vis'vāmitra. The poet sings:

Both parties invoked Indra and Varuna for wealth at the time of war But in this battle you protected Sudās with the Tṛitsus who were attacked by ten kings

O Indra and Varuna! the ten kings who did not perform sacrifices were unable, though combined, to beat Sudās

You bestowed vigour, Indra and Varuna, on Sudās when surrounded by ten chiefs, when the white-robed Tṛitsus, wearing braided hair, worshipped you with oblations and hymns.

These differences among the Indo-Aryan tribes suggest that there were various stages of Indo-Aryan immigration extending over a long period, and, as we have seen, modern scholars thus account for the notable differences in the Indo-Aryan vernaculars of modern India.

(4) A study of the Rigveda leads us to a very considerable knowledge of the civilisation of the Aryans when they were first settled in the north-

west of India. The principal industry was agriculture. Ploughing was done by means of horses, and the irrigation of fields by means of wells and canals was practised. Wheat and barley were the principal produce, and animal food was in common use, especially at sacrifices. All the common industries of civilised life were known and practised. We have frequent mention of the building of cars and chariots, of spinning and weaving, and of the use of metals, armour, and weapons of war. Gold and silver were extensively used for ornaments, and a gold piece (known as nishka) of specified weight was used as money. Cows, goats, sheep, and buffaloes were used for domestic purposes, and commerce was carried on by boats which sometimes visited the sea. In the early Rigveda there were no fixed caste distinctions, the different professions not being hereditary as in later times. The father was the head and patriarch of each family, and performed the domestic rites. Kings and chiefs employed professional priests for the performance of the more elaborate sacrifices. Women enjoyed an honourable place in society, and their seclusion was quite unknown. The customs of infant marriage and enforced widowhood were not in vogue, and marriage was largely a matter of free choice. It was believed that the righteous dead went to the realms of the kindly king Yama, who was the first of mortals to die. There they dwelt in bliss, enjoying the company of the fathers and the gods. In describing the Vedic political organisation, Professor Macdonell points out that

> In the absence of political cohesion, the tribe appears in the Rigveda as the political unit, organised much as the Afghans of to-day, or the Germans of the time of Tacitus. The tribe (*jana*) consisted of a group of settlements (*vis'*), which were again formed of aggregates of villages (*grāma*) The houses of the village seem to have been built entirely of wood, as they still were in the time of Megasthenes Each house had its domestic fire As a refuge from foes or floods, fortified enclosures were constructed

on rising ground These strongholds were called *pur*, a term there is no reason for believing meant a town or city, as it did in later times Vedic society being founded on the patriarchal family, the government of the tribe was naturally monarchical The king (*rāja*) was often hereditary, but sometimes he was elected by the districts (*vis'*) of the tribe In return for his protection he received from the people obedience and voluntary gifts—not regular taxes—and his power was limited by the popular will expressed in the tribal assembly (*samiti*) In war, he was, of course, the leader, and on important occasions, such as the eve of a battle, he also offered sacrifice on behalf of his people, either personally or represented by a priest. *

It needs to be borne in mind that a wide interval of several centuries separates the earliest from the latest hymns of the Rigveda, and one of the latest hymns refers to the existence of four castes—the priest, the warrior, the agriculturist, and the serf. Warriors, priests, and husbandmen formed the three chief strata of Aryan social life, and the serfs were the aboriginal Dasyus reduced to subjection by their Aryan conquerors. The characteristic physical difference between the two races was that of colour (*varna*), and that this physical difference formed the original basis of caste is shown by the fact that the modern name for caste is *varṇa*.

(5) In conclusion, it may be mentioned that the early Aryans of India were optimistic in their outlook on life. There is no indication that they resolved man into pure spirit. They were not unmindful of the spiritual, and were in their own way truly religious, but apparently they were never tempted to forget that men have bodies with clamant needs, and so we find them constantly praying for a large measure of the good things of life—cattle and more abundance of wealth, long life and offspring, not to mention the exhilarating juice, the bright effused dew of the soma plant, fit drink for gods. A characteristic Vedic prayer is the beautiful hymn to Ushas, goddess of the dawn, and spouse of the sun, depicted as borne on a brilliant

* *The Indian Empire*, Vol II, p. 223

car, drawn by ruddy steeds or kine. Ushas is thus addressed (VII. 75) :

Born in the heavens the Dawn hath flushed, and showing her majesty is come as Law ordaineth,
She hath uncovered fiends and hateful darkness, best of Angirases* hath waked the pathways.
Rouse us this day to high and happy fortune, to great felicity, O Dawn, promote us.
Vouchsafe us manifold and splendid riches, famed among mortals, man-befriending Goddess!
See, lovely Morning's everlasting splendours, bright with their varied colours, have approached us
Filling the region of mid-air, producing the rites of holy worship, they have mounted
She yokes her chariot far away, and swiftly visits the lands where the Five Tribes are settled,
Looking upon the works and ways of mortals, Daughter of heaven, the world's Imperial Lady
She who is rich in spoil, the spouse of Sūrya, wondrously opulent, rules all wealth and treasures.
Consumer of our youth, the seers extol her lauded by priests, rich Dawn shines out refulgent
Apparent are the steeds of varied colour, the red steeds carrying resplendent Morning,
On her all-lovely car she comes, the Fair One, and brings rich treasure for her faithful servant
True with the True, and Mighty with the Mighty, with Gods a Goddess, Holy with the Holy,
She brake strong fences down, and gave the cattle the kine were lowing as they greeted Morning.
O Dawn, now give us wealth in kine and heroes, and horses, fraught with manifold enjoyment
Protect our sacred grass from man's reproaches Preserve us evermore, ye Gods, with blessings

This hymn may perhaps be regarded as fairly typical of the spirit and temper of the Vedic Aryans. The gods are duly reverenced, and wealth and worldly welfare are deemed the chief object of religion. It is clear, too, that the priestly element is even now strong, and the Vedic religion is by no means altogether primitive.

III. The Age of the Mahabharata (1300-800 B.C.)

For this period we have to rely, in the main, on the earlier portions of the great Indian Epic, the

* A group of Vedic priests

Mahābhārata. Most of the incidents described are no doubt legendary, yet the great Epic is based on traditions that must have had their origin in historical fact. In any case, the Mahābhārata will always remain a highly valuable and unique record of the civilisation of ancient India during the so-called Epic period. In its present form the Epic is of enormous bulk, equal to about eight times as much as the Iliad and Odyssey put together, and is by far the longest poem known to literary history. The text, as we have it to-day, was not completed till after the commencement of the Christian era, and is a gigantic compendium of Hindu religion, morality, and political science. But the historic germ of the Epic is to be traced to a very early period which cannot well be later than the tenth century B C. Old songs about the ancient feud between two prominent tribes the Bhāratas (or Kurus) and the Pañchālas and the heroes who played a part in it, must have been handed down by word of mouth, and recited in popular assemblies or at great public sacrifices, and these disconnected battle-songs were worked up by some poetic genius into a short Epic which, in the course of time, received interminable additions of a most multifarious character The story is so exceedingly well known in India that students of Indian civilisation should acquaint themselves with its main incidents All we can do here is to give in very briefest form the plot of the poem, and then in slightly more detail one of its best-known incidents.

In the capital city of Hastināpura, midway between Delhi and Simla, lived two royal brothers, of the tribe of the Bhāratas or Kurus. On account of his blindness, the elder brother, Dhritarāshtra, gave over the goverment of the realm to his younger brother Pāndu. On the death of Pāṇḍu, the blind Dhṛitarāshtra again assumed the power, but though

he had a hundred sons himself, he made his nephew, Yudhishṭhira, the eldest of the five sons of Pāndu, heir to the throne. The inevitable result was considerable jealousy and dissension between the five Pāṇḍava brothers and their cousins, the one hundred Kauravas, as they were called on account of their descent from Kuru, the first Bhārata ruler. The chief characters of the Epic are worthy of note. Yudhishṭhira, the eldest of the Pāndavas, was no great warrior, but was distinguished for his justice, truth, and piety. Bhīma, the second, was renowned for his gigantic size and giant strength, and has been called the Ajax of the poem. Arjuna, the third, excelled all others as an archer and swordsman. He is the Achilles of the Indian Epic. Duryodhana, the eldest of the Kauravas, was a proud and vindictive man, and was a rival to Bhīma as a stout fighter and in his proficiency in the use of the club. One of his helpers was Karna, a man of unknown parentage. As an archer and swordsman, Karṇa was equal to Arjuna, and he is the Hector of the Indian poem. The rivalry between Arjuna and Karṇa, in the Mahābhārata, may be compared with the rivalry between Achilles and Hector, in the Iliad. Bhīshma, leader of the Kauravas, was renowned for his continence, wisdom, bravery, and fidelity to his word. Duryodhana devised a plan to kill his hated cousins by setting fire to the house in which they were living, but the Pāṇḍavas escaped, and wandering in disguise for a time found sanctuary in the Pañchāla kingdom, where Arjuna won the hand of the Princess Draupadī by his skill as an archer. She became the common wife of the five brothers. The Pāṇḍavas, now in alliance with Draupada, king of the Pañchālas, demanded a share of their father's kingdom, and Dhṛitarāshtra, in the interests of peace, divided his realm, assigning Hastināpura to his own sons, and the southern district to the Pāṇḍavas, who

built a new capital, Indraprastha, on the Jumna, the site of which is marked by modern Delhi. The prosperity of the Pāṇḍavas was not destined to last long. Duryodhana conceived a plot to ruin his cousins. Dhritarāshtra was induced to invite the Pāṇḍavas to pay a visit to Hastināpura. With all his piety, Yudhishṭhira was fond of gambling, and being challenged to a game of dice by the wily Duryodhana, he lost everything, his kingdom, wealth, army, brothers, and finally Draupadī. In the end, it was agreed, by way of compromise, that the Pāṇḍavas should go into banishment for twelve years, pass the thirteenth year in concealment, after which they might return and regain their kingdom. In due time the Pāndavas returned, taking refuge with the king of the Matsyas, south of the Jumna, and in accordance with the conditions of the compromise, demanded back their kingdom. The Kauravas stubbornly refused, and both sides prepared for war and summoned their allies. The most famous of the Pāndava allies was Krishṇa, the king of the Yādavas, with whom the Pāṇḍavas had first become acquainted at the time of the coming of Draupadī. He now came from his capital of Dwārakā, in Gujarāt, to the aid of the Pāṇḍavas. The battle between the rival parties raged for eighteen days on the plain of Kuru-kshetra. The sons of Dhritarāshtra were slain, and the Pāndavas, aided by Krishna, triumphed, Yudhishthira being crowned king at Hastināpura. The Pāṇḍavas themselves, at last weary of life, and after seating Parīkshit, a grandson of Arjuna, on the throne, retired into the Himalayas, and ascended to heaven with their faithful spouse. Krishṇa, too, on the breaking out of an internecine conflict between two sections of his people, the Yādavas, who had taken different sides in the great war, sadly retired to the wilderness, where he was accidentally shot dead by a hunter.

A more detailed recital of a characteristic incident in the Epic may be of interest. It was a custom in ancient India for Hindu maidens of high birth to have their suitors invited to a military tournament. The gallant knight who proved himself champion in military prowess and games of chivalry received the hand and heart of the fair maiden as his reward. This ceremony of the public choice of a husband was known by the name of *svayamvara*. The five young Pāṇdava princes, who had been sent into exile owing to the spite and intrigues of their cousin, Duryodhana, were concealed in the woods when a proclamation was issued that the daughter of a neighbouring king, the fair princess Draupadī, was going to hold a *svayamvara*, and had resolved to choose as husband the knight most skilled in archery. The proclamation aroused the interest of one of the five brothers, Arjuna, a master archer, and so he proceeded in due time to the capital where Princess Draupadī dwelt. The streets and houses of the ancient city were gaily decorated with festoons of flowers, and tapestry of many hues. Arjuna came in the disguise of a Brāhman, and joined the happy throng that surrounded the palace court The arrival of the eager suitors was announced by a great flourish of trumpets and martial instruments, and as these gallant combatants entered the lists they were welcomed with great shouts of acclamation by the interested throng of spectators. And the concourse of princes and denizens of the city and surrounding country, gay with the performances of actors and dancers, increased daily until finally Princess Draupadī entered the arena, richly attired, and bearing in her hand a golden dish, on which lay offerings to the gods, and a garland of flowers. Then a priest of the lunar race ignited the sacrificial fires, and poured libations, uttering benedictions, and all the musical instruments that were

playing stopped, and in the whole amphitheatre was perfect stillness. The brother of the princess, taking his sister by the hand, cried in a voice low and deep as the kettle-drums of the clouds: "Hear, all ye assembled princes, hear! This is the bow, there are the arrows, yonder is the mark! Given beauty, strength, lineage, he who achieveth the feat hath Princess Draupadī to wife." Then, for the sake of her unrivalled beauty, the young princes vied with each other in jealousy, and rising in their royal seats, each exclaiming, "Princess Draupadī shall be mine!" began to exhibit their prowess. So heavy was the bow on which the gallant combatants had to try their skill, that several strong yeomen of the King's household guard were required to carry it. One after the other, the princes failed to string the mighty bow, until, amid much merry laughter, a young Brāhman came forth to test his prowess, and, to the amazement of all, shot the arrow through the revolving ring into the target set up on high. The fair damsel, deeply blushing, placed the fragrant wreath around the victor's neck, and so her royal pleasure was shown that she publicly accepted him as the husband of her choice. The merry laughter of the rejected suitors, who all belonged to the Kshatriya or military caste, suddenly died away, and their lips quivered in resentment as they came to realise the fact that a priest had been accepted in preference to a noble. Prince Arjuna now threw off the surplice of the Brāhman in which he had been concealed, and made himself known to the astonished crowd of spectators as a trueborn Kshatriya prince. The five brothers in due time appeared before their mother, bringing Draupadī as a present, and it being dusk, she was unaware of the character of the present, and as was her wont, she bid them share the gift among themselves. Despite much heart-questioning—for there

is no evidence that polyandry was customary in ancient India—the fivefold wedding took place. The five brothers swore to set aside jealousy for ever, and when, at a later stage, they were again banished from home and kindred for a period of twelve years, the devoted Draupadī went with them to the wild and lonesome jungle, no longer in rich garments, but as a bare-footed beggar maid.

To the Age of the Mahābhārata belong the remaining three Vedas. The *Sāmaveda* has but little historical importance. It contains only about a sixth as much material as the Rigveda, and ninety-five per cent. of its verses are found in the Rigvedic collection, though there are numerous differences of reading. This Veda consists of passages put together exclusively for chanting at the Soma sacrifices. The *Yajurveda* is indebted to the Rigveda for about one-fourth of its text. About one-half of its matter consists of prose formulas. It was compiled not for one part of the ritual only, but for the whole sacrificial ceremonial, and is thus a liturgical collection of sacrificial formulas. The *Yajurveda* has been preserved in several recensions or texts which have their mutual differences. The most important is the Vājasaneyi Samhitā, also called the White Yajurveda, on account of its clear arrangement, a severance being made between the sacred texts or mantras, and the exegetic discussions thereon, the former being collected in a Samhitā, the latter in a Brāhmana. The Black Yajurveda represents the older school, the most important divisions of which are the Taittirīyas and the Maitrāyanīs. Here there is a confused mixture of the sacrificial formulæ and dogmatic explanations. The older and the younger schools are therefore not without reason called the Black and White Yajus respectively. Finally we have the *Atharvaveda*, a collection of great historical importance, though it took long to attain to canonical

rank. It contains about 6,000 stanzas, one-fifth of which are derived from the Rigveda. The other three Vedas were connected with the great sacrificial ceremonial. The hymns of the Atharvaveda were applied to domestic rites. Taken as a whole, it is a heterogeneous collection of spells directed mainly against hostile agencies. With its sorcery and witchcraft, its spirit is more superstitious than that of the Rigveda, and it represents the backward notions of the masses rather than the comparatively advanced religious beliefs of the priestly class. Some of the spells belong to prehistoric antiquity. All these three Vedas bear the stamp of an age later than the Rigveda, and the scene of action is not around the Indus and its tributaries, but in the territory of the Kurus and the Pañchālas.

In regard to Indian civilisation in general during the Age of the Mahābhārata, a few conclusions may be drawn.

(1) Having established their rule in the Punjab, the Aryans pushed further east, and founded kingdoms for some considerable distance down along the Gangetic valley in the direction of the modern Delhi and Agra, possibly with the co-operation of other Aryan tribes who had more recently made their way into India by way of Chitral. The chief scene of activity in the early Mahābhārata period is evidently Kuru-kshetra, the modern Sirhind, and Patiāla, between the rivers Sutlej and Jumna. The later Mahābhārata episodes, which belong really to a later age, refer to kingdoms throughout the Doab, and the Gangetic valley as far as Patna.

(2) There is a great increase in wealth and luxury as compared with the simple treasures in grain and herds of cows in the Rigveda. Life has become in every respect much more artificial, as it did with their kinsmen in the early days of Greece

and Rome. Rich and populous cities have arisen where the princes hold magnificent courts.

(3) Monarchy has become a recognised institution during this period, and we now have absolute monarchs ruling in their own right, and transmitting their sovereignty to their sons, in contrast with Vedic conditions, when the chieftain was often leader by the vote of an assembly.

(4) Caste is assuming more definite shape; soldiers are the hired servants of the king, as distinct from the volunteer system of the Vedic period, and the priests are a more definitely recognised order, but still the system is not so rigid as to prevent a Brāhman marrying a maiden of the warrior caste.

(5) Woman still retains her freedom, and, in the disposal of her own person and fortune, is on an equality with man to a degree beyond even the wildest dreams of the modern suffragette.

IV. The Age of Brahmanical Expansion, Buddhist Revolt and Ascendency, and Greek Invasion (800–231 B.C.).

The periods we have hitherto been discussing are admittedly lacking in exact chronology, though not in ascertained facts of great historical importance. For the period we are at present considering, dependence has to be placed very largely on literary tradition embedded in epical and philosophical works, and Buddhistic literature, up to the time of Alexander the Great, 327 B.C. So far as Indian history is concerned, for some length of time after Alexander's invasion, we have the inestimable advantage of contemporary documents in the writings of the Greek ambassadors partially preserved in the works of many Greek and Roman authors. For the third century B.C. we have those wonderful rock and pillar inscriptions of the Buddhist Emperor

As'oka, sermons on stone, ethical exhortations engraved on the rocks, to endure for all time. From the time of Alexander's invasion onwards, old coins afford invaluable aid to the researches of the historian, and for many of the later foreign dynasties they constitute almost the sole evidence. Several items of more than ordinary interest need particular reference in the age we have now to deal with.

(1) The Rāmāyana, the second great Epic of India, is of much interest and value as evidence for the extension of Aryan civilisation and Brāhmanical culture throughout the Gangetic valley and into Southern India. In extent the Rāmāyana is less than a quarter of the encyclopædic Mahābhārata. The great bulk of the Epic is manifestly the work of one author, Vālmīki, who probably lived in the sixth century B.C., though the events to which he refers, so far as they are historical, are of much earlier date. The Mahābhārata shows the centre of civilisation to have been around Delhi and Agra, on the banks of the Jumna. In the Rāmāyaṇa it is farther east, in the country of Oudh, on the banks of the Gandak, while the geographical range of the poem extends as far south as the Deccan, and the island of Ceylon.

In briefest outline the story of the Rāmāyaṇa is something as follows. In Ayodhyā, the modern Oudh, there lived a mighty king, Das'aratha of Kos'ala, grandson of Raghu. Rāma, his favourite son, had won as his bride Sītā, the beautiful daughter of a neighbouring king, Janaka of Videha, the modern Tirhut, by a great feat in archery, the bending of an enormous bow, formerly the dreaded weapon of the god Rudra. Das'aratha had become old and feeble, and desired to place his son Rāma on the throne, and to pass his old age in peace and retirement. But one of his three queens, Kaikeyi, insisted that the son she had borne to him, Bhārata,

should become heir-apparent The feeble old king yielded to his strong-minded queen, and Rāma was sent into exile for fourteen years. He wished his young wife Sītā to stay at home, but she refused to entertain the suggestion for a moment. She insisted on leaving home and kindred, and following her lord into the pathless wilderness. Mr. R. C. Dutt's graceful translation in verse runs thus :

For the faithful woman follows where her wedded lord may lead,
In the banishment of Rāma, Sītā's exile is decreed
Sire, nor son, nor loving brother, rules the wedded woman's state,
With her lord she falls or rises, with her consort courts her fate.
If the righteous son of Raghu wends to forests dark and drear,
Sītā steps before her husband, wild and thorny paths to clear
Car and steed and gilded palace, vain are these to woman's life,
Dearer is her husband's shadow, to the loved and loving wife,
And my mother often taught me, and my father often spake,
That her home, the wedded woman doth beside her husband make,
As the shadow to the substance, to her lord is faithful wife,
And she parts not from her consort till she parts with fleeting life
Therefore bid me seek the jungle, and in pathless forests roam,
Where the wild deer freely ranges, and the tiger makes his home
Happier than in father's mansions, in the woods will Sītā rove,
Waste no thought on home or kindred, nestling in her husband's love
And the wild fruit she will gather from the fresh and fragrant wood,
And the food by Rāma tasted shall be Sītā's cherished food
Heaven conceals not brighter mansions in its sunny fields of pride,
Where, without her lord and husband, faithful Sītā should reside
Therefore let us seek the jungle where the jungle rangers rove,
Dearer than the royal palace, where I share my husband's love
And my heart in sweet communion shall my Rāma's wishes share,
And my wifely toil shall lighten Rāma's load of woe and care

Rāma ultimately consented, and, accompanied by Sītā and his loyal half-brother Lakshmaṇa, made his way to the wilderness. Separation from his favourite son soon broke the heart of King Das'aratha, and the young Bhārata succeeded to the throne. He could not, however, conscientiously assume the reins of government under such distressing circumstances, and set out with a cavalcade to recall the rightful

king.' But Rāma felt that his lamented father's death did not cancel the royal decree and his own promise to abide the allotted time of banishment. When Bhārata reluctantly departed, the saintly Rāma gently admonished him not to feel angry with his royal mother, but ever treat her with filial respect and tenderness.

True is Rāma, great of soul
Bountiful is he and modest, every sense does he control,
Gentle, brave—all creatures love him, keeping in the righteous way,
Numbered with the holy hermits, pure and virtuous as they

After a ten years' residence in the forest, Rāma attracted the attention of a female demon, and made her furious through his rejection of her advances. In revenge for this, and her mutilation by Lakshmaṇa, she inspired her brother Rāvaṇa, the evil and self-indulgent demon King of Ceylon, with a passion for Sītā. One day the evil-minded Rāvaṇa succeeded in enticing the two brothers from their hut by causing an accomplice, Mārīcha, to assume the form of a beautiful golden deer, which so captivated Sītā as to induce first Rāma and ultimately Lakshmaṇa to leave her in quest of the deer. Rāvana, seizing the opportunity, approached Sītā in the form of a religious mendicant, and thus securing her confidence he took her in his arms, and carried her off by main force in his aerial car to his capital, Lankā. The two brothers forthwith set out to rescue her. After numerous adventures, and a long search, Rāma obtained a clue of his wife. He proceeded to make an alliance with Sugrīva, king of the monkeys, the poet's intention being, no doubt, to refer to the wild aboriginal people of the south, who made their home largely in the woods. During his stay among these aboriginal tribes, Rāma, devout by nature, and chastened by misfortune, frequently paid visits to the forest sages, and more especially to the sage Agastya, still reverenced in the Tamil country

as the first teacher of Aryan science and civilisation to the peoples of the south. From Agastya Rāma received a magic arrow, a never-failing weapon. In due time, in alliance with the monkey general Hanumān, and with the assistance of a brother of Rāvaṇa, Rāma prepared to assault Lankā with a huge army. The monkeys, tearing up rocks and trees, constructed a passage across the straits—the so-called Adam's Bridge, still known in India as Rāma's Bridge. Lankā was duly besieged, and for seven days the contending forces fought with varying success. At last the monster Rāvaṇa made a sally, and with raised battle-axe rushed against Rāma, but before the deadly blow could fall, Agastya's magic arrow flashed from Rāma's bow, and killed the demon king, whose brother Rāma now placed on the throne. Sītā was free, but her trials were not yet ended. Rāma thought her purity must be sullied by Rāvana's contact. Saddened and offended with Rāma's misgivings, Sītā had a funeral pile erected, and leaped into the burning flame; but Agni, the god of fire, restored the unsullied Sītā unhurt to her overjoyed husband:

> In his tears the contrite Rāma clasped her in a soft embrace,
> And the fond, forgiving Sītā in his bosom hid her face

Returning to Ayodhyā, Rāma is installed as king after a triumphant entry. To allay the suspicions of his people regarding her purity, Rāma, though himself entertaining no doubts, agrees to the exile of the unhappy Sītā. In due time, however, Sītā, after giving birth to twin sons, who in physical beauty and princely attainments abundantly proved themselves the offspring of Rāma, is, by the intervention of Vālmīki, restored once more to her royal husband, who gladdens his subjects with a new golden age.

Rāma is the ideal knight of India. Millions of hero-worshippers feel inspired by the records of his

saintliness and chivalry—the very qualities which made King Arthur the idol of romantic hearts. And regarding Sītā, Mr. R. C Dutt has truly said :

To the millions of the people of India Sītā is not an allegory, but the model of wifely devotion, womanly love, and female self-abnegation To the millions of Hindu women, the story of Sītā and her sufferings and faithfulness is a moral lesson, imparted at the cradle and remembered till death The world's literature has produced no loftier ideal of woman's love and woman's devotion

Beautiful and inspiring as the story of the Rāmāyaṇa is, a study of its contents leads to the conclusion that the spirit of the people is undergoing a real change. We miss the sturdy, rough strength which marked the warlike jealousies of the early Mahābhārata period. The further south and east these Indo-Aryans come, the more appreciable are the inroads of the soft climate of the Gangetic valley on their manly vigour and conquering energy. As they mingle and make alliances with the aboriginal races, they seem to lose much of the energy of real warriors With the growth of culture and civilisation the influence of the priesthood increases, and the heroes of the Rāmāyana reveal boundless reverence for the priestly class. Hitherto the priest has been the companion and servant of the king. Now he has become his superior, claiming for himself and his order the first position in the State. This growth of priestly power had momentous results in the future of Indian civilisation.

It is clear that in the Rāmāyana we have, as in all knightly romances, a vast amount of fancy and allegory mingled with plain historical fact. The body of the poem represents Rāma as a perfect man and model hero, and the older parts of the Epic reflect political and social conditions in pre-Buddhistic times. In regard to the Indian Epics in general, Professor Eggeling has remarked :

To characterise the Indian epics in a single word—though often disfigured by grotesque fancies and wild exaggerations,

they are yet noble works, abounding in passages of remarkable descriptive power, intense pathos, and high poetic grace and beauty, and while, as works of art, they are far inferior to the Greek epics, in some respects they appeal far more strongly to the Romantic mind of Europe, namely, by their loving appreciation of natural beauty, their exquisite delineation of womanly love and devotion, and their tender sentiment of mercy and forgiveness.*

Brāhmaṇas, Upanishads, and Sūtras.

(2) We now need to give some short account of the Brāhmaṇas, Upanishads, and Sūtras, and the prevalence of religious and speculative thought in early India during pre-Buddhistic times.

Reference has already been made to the Vedic Mantras or Hymns as contained in the four collections known as Saṃhitās. The several Saṃhitās have attached to them certain theological prose works called *Brāhmaṇas*, referring, as they do, to the *brahman*, the Vedic word for worship or devotion. These Brāhmaṇas are dogmatic expositions of the sacrificial ceremonial of the Vedas, and they furnish explanations of the mystic import of the different rites and utterances included therein. As Eggeling points out, the gradual elaboration of the sacrificial ceremonial, as the all-sufficient expression of religious devotion, and a constantly-growing tendency towards theosophic and mystic speculation on the significance of every detail of the ritual, could not fail to create a demand for explanatory treatises of this kind, which, to enhance their practical utility, would naturally deal with the special texts and rites assigned in the ceremonial to the several classes of officiating priests. From the standpoint of general literature, the Brāhmaṇas are dry and uninteresting to a degree difficult to describe. It must, however, be borne in mind that they are not meant to be literary compositions, but strictly professional treatises of an esoteric character. Their ritualistic discussions, mystic and etymological

* *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XXIV., pp 169, 170.

speculations, appeal in no way to the modern mind, nevertheless they afford us a real insight into the nature and gradual development of sacrificial ceremonial in general, and of the stupendous system of Brāhmanical ritual and worship. They are of considerable importance, too, as the oldest body of Indo-European prose. The period of their composition probably dates from about 800 to 500 B.C., but some of the numerous myths and legends they contain are clearly of great antiquity.*

Two of the most important Brāhmanas are the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and the S'atapatha Brāhmana. The former, like its sister work, the Kaushītaki, is connected with the Rigveda, and contains several interesting myths and legends.

The Satapatha Brāhmana, the Brāhmana of the hundred paths, (*i.e.*, lectures) attached to the White Yajurveda, is, next to the Rigveda, the most important work in the whole range of Vedic literature Its geographical data point to the land of the Kuru-Pañchālas still being the centre of culture, but it is clear that the Brāhmanical system had by this time spread eastwards of Madhyades'a ("midland") to Kosala and Videha, with their respective capitals, Ayodhyā and Mithilā The court of King Janaka of Videha is here described as thronged with Brāhmans from the Kuru-Pañchāla country, and the dialectic contests held there are a prominent feature in the Brāhmana From the evidence of this work, the inference may be drawn that Videha was the region in which the White Yajurveda was edited Yet the book contains reminiscences of the days when the country of Videha was not as yet Brāhmanised, for it relates a legend in which three stages in the eastward immigration of the Aryans can be clearly distinguished There are indications in the Satapatha Brāhmana that it was composed before the rise of Buddhism, though only a short time before Its internal evidence in general shows that it belongs to a late period of the Brāhmana age. It is here, too, for the first time, one or two names famous in the epics are met with Taken as a whole, this Brāhmana is a mine of important data and noteworthy narratives. †

It should also be noted that the theory of the transmigration of souls, in its earliest form, is found in the S'atapata Brāhmaṇa, where the notion of

* See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Article Brāhmana.

† Macdonell in *The Indian Empire*, Vol II., p 230.

repeated birth and death is coupled with that of retribution.

Attached to the Brāhmaṇas there are supplementary treatises known as Āranyakas and Upanishads. The *Āranyakas*, "relating to the forest," are in character and style much like the Brāhmaṇas, and treat in a supplementary way of special ceremonies. They are, however, intended for those who have retired from the world to the seclusion of the forest, and lead the life of anchorites. The *Upanishads*, on the other hand, are of a purely speculative nature, and constitute a distinct class of works devoted to the discussion of metaphysical questions. The Brāhmanas teach that correct sacrifice to the gods, in accordance with definite formulæ, secures worldly happiness and subsequent bliss in the abode of Yama. The Upanishads show us man eager to secure, through correct knowledge, release from mundane existence by absorption in the World-Soul. They teach that the world has been evolved from the Universal Soul, and that the Universal Soul is none other than the self within us, while a man's social station in life is made to depend on Karma, or the accumulated effects of actions in previous existences. On the strength of internal evidence, scholars have divided the Upanishads into four chronological groups. There are altogether some 170 of these writings, but there are twelve generally recognised as the most important. Six of these twelve appear in the first group, four in the second, and two in the third.

(*a*) The oldest group is composed in prose of much the same type as the Brāhmaṇas. The two longest and most important Upanishads belong to this group—the Bṛihadāranyaka and the Chhāndogya. The *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* forms the concluding portion of the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa of the White Yajurveda. It is a treatise of considerable

size, divided into three parts, each containing two chapters, the last of the three parts being supplementary. The polemical attitude adopted in the first part, in regard to the worship of the gods as compared with an inner knowledge of the Supreme Soul in relation to the individual self, is characteristic of the attitude of the early Upanishadic thinkers. The second part consists of a series of philosophical discussions between the sage Yājnavalkya and various other speakers, including King Janaka. The conclusion of all is that the Supreme Self can only be described negatively, being intangible, indestructible, independent, immovable. A considerable portion of the sixth chapter, dealing as it does in a detailed way with certain sexual subjects, does not bear translation into English. The *Chhāndogya Upanishad* is almost as extensive as the Brihadāraṇyaka, and is in some respects the most important of all the Upanishads. It is attached to the Sāmaveda, and consists of eight chapters, each forming an independent whole. While there is considerable variety of material and method, underlying all there is the fundamental Upanishadic conception of the identity of the Universal Soul and the individual self: by way of example, one of the parables taught by a man named Uddālaka to his son S'vetaketu, who had returned from the Brāhmanical schools vain-minded, and full of useless Vedic lore, but wholly ignorant of the nature of the true reality. The two were standing before a nyagrodha tree—"that species of fig-tree which keeps constantly sending roots to the earth from its branches, thus developing new trunks, until, in the course of time, the one tree resembles a green hall with many pillars, capable of affording shade to hundreds and even thousands of men." Before such a tree, a beautiful symbol of the fundamental unity of life, amid all its seeming variety, the

following conversation takes place between father and son :

"Bring me a fruit of the nyagrodha tree"
"Here it is, my Lord," said the pupil
"Break it"
"It is broken, my Lord."
"What do you perceive in it?"
"Nothing, my Lord"
Unto him said the father "Where, my child, you perceive nothing, there dwells invisibly a mighty nyagrodha Mind it, my child, that particle which is the soul of all, that is Truth—it is the Universal Soul O Svetaketu, thou art that"*

Other members of the first group are the *Taittirīya Upanishad*, which forms a part of the Black Yajurveda, and is more formal and systematic in its arrangement, with a consequent lack of freshness and vigour; the *Aitareya Upanishad*, which belongs to the second Āraṇyaka of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa of the Rigveda, and extends to only about four octavo pages, greatly resembling the Taittirīya in the nature of its ideas, such as the creation of the material world and of man by Brahma, and spiritual knowledge as the means of liberation. It teaches with particular definiteness some of the germinal ideas of the Vedānta system. The *Kaushitaki Upanishad*, which belongs to the Kaushitaki Āraṇyaka of the Rigveda, extends to some six times the length of the Aitareya, and is a work of much interest and importance. It contains four chapters. The first chapter is important on account of the ideas it contains regarding the path to the world of the blessed; while the second is of interest because of the pleasing picture it gives us of family ties of that period. The fourth chapter repeats in a somewhat different form the Chhāndogya Upanishad story of a self-conceited Brāhman being instructed in metaphysical doctrines by a member of the warrior caste. The *Kena Upanishad* (also called the

* *Chhāndogya Upanishad*, VI., 12 (Rājendra Lāl Mitra's translation).

Talavakāra Upanishad, from the school to which it was attached) belongs to the Sāmaveda, and being composed partly in prose, partly in verse, stands on the border-line of a later group. It is quite short—only some four octavo pages. The second part, composed in prose, and older than the metrical portion, represents the Vedic gods as dependent on and deriving their power from Brahma. It is evident that the oldest group of Upanishads—the group we have been considering—do not offer any complete and consistent system of religious philosophy logically developed. They rather deal tentatively, and in a manner partly poetical, partly philosophical, with the great problems of man, God, and the Universe.

(*b*) The Upanishads of the second group are composed in verse. The *Kāthaka Upanishad*, which belongs to the Black Yajurveda, consists of two chapters, each having three sections The second chapter, with its more developed notions, is often regarded as a later addition. The Kāṭhaka, in its elevation of thought, depth of expression, and beauty of imagery, takes rank as one of the most remarkable and beautiful of the Upanishads, though it resembles the other Upanishads in its lack of orderly and consistent thinking. Its introductory legend regarding Nachiketas, a young Brāhman, deals with the question of life after death. Visiting the world of Yama, he was offered three boons. For the third he chose the answer to the question whether the soul exists after death. Death used every effort to induce him to choose another boon, offering him wealth, pleasure, and long life. Nachiketas remained firm, spurning the pleasures of the world in his longing for a knowledge of the Truth. The essence of Yama's reply is that the individual soul is identical with the World-Soul, and so he who possesses this knowledge is placed

beyond the power of birth, death, and decay, for amidst fleeting things he becomes one with the all-pervading reality. The *Is'ā Upanishad*, which belongs, like the longest of the Upanishads, the Bṛihadāranyaka, to the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā of the White Yajurveda, is very short, consisting of only eighteen stanzas. Its leading idea is the contrast it presents between the enlightened man and the ignorant, and this it does in a typically Vedāntic manner. The *S'vetās'vatara Upanishad* is traditionally assigned to the Black Yajurveda, but it derives its name not from a Vedic school as the others, but from a single author. It is a comparatively late work, for it mentions by name the philosophical systems—Sāṃkhya, Yoga, and Vedānta; it definitely explains the world as an illusion, and in a sectarian manner regards S'iva as supreme. The *Mundaka Upanishad*, one of the original Upanishads of the Atharvaveda, derives its name from being one of the Upanishads of the tonsured (muṇḍa), an association of ascetics who shaved their heads. "It is," remarks Macdonell, "one of the most popular of the Upanishads, not owing to the originality of its contents, which are, for the most part, derived from older texts, but owing to the purity with which it reproduces the old Vedānta doctrine, and the beauty of the stanzas in which it is composed." In general, it may be remarked that, in this second group of Upanishads we have been considering, the Upanishadic doctrine has already taken a more fixed and systematic form in accordance with the teachings of some of the developed systems—Sāṃkhya, Yoga, and Vedānta.

(*c*) In the third group, written in prose, we have the *Pras'na Upanishad*, which, like the Muṇḍaka, is an original and legitimate Upanishad of the Atharvaveda. It is so called because it treats, in so many chapters, six main points of the Vedānta

doctrine, such as the origin of life, in reply to questions (pras'na) addressed by six students of Brahma to the sage Pippalāda. The *Māṇḍūkya Upanishad*, which is also reckoned among the comparatively older Upanishads of the Atharvaveda, is in prose, and very short, extending about one and a-half pages only. It deals, in abstruse phraseology, with the four modes of existence of Brahma or the soul, and with the sacred syllable, Om, as the verbal representative of Brahma, and the expression of the Universe. This work was much used by the author of the well-known later epitome of the Vedānta doctrine—the Vedānta-Sāra, as well as by Gauḍapāda in his Kārikā. It may thus be noted that the third class of Upanishads deals in a more concise and systematic form with some of the main features of the Vedānta system.

(*d*) The fourth and last group, written in verse, consists of a large and indefinite number—often referred to as twenty-seven—of Upanishads regarded as belonging to the Atharvaveda. They are, for the most part, of very late origin, being sectarian in character, and contemporaneous with the Purāṇas.

It should be noted that the Veda with the supplementary treatises attached—*i.e.*, Brāhmaṇas, Araṇyakas, and Upanishads—are regarded as *S'ruti*, "hearing," a term implying that they are direct revelations, or what the ṛishis or seers directly heard from God. The Sūtras, the Epics, the Law Books, and other religious literature are spoken of as *Smriti*, or "memory," being regarded as venerable traditional matter embodying the tradition derived from ancient sages.

An important class of works in Smriti literature is known as *Sūtras*, the last stage of Vedic literature. The very name of this class of works, *sūtra*, or "thread," points to its main characteristic or chief object, extreme conciseness. The Brāhmaṇas in-

creased so much in volume, and preserved so large a mass of details in ritual and custom, that their contents were in danger of being lost, at a time when memory was the vehicle of all teaching and learning. The main object of the Sūtras is thus to prepare, in the most concise and systematic form, abridgments or manuals for the use of students. Macdonell writes :

> The prose in which these works are composed is so compressed that the wording of the most laconic telegram would often appear diffuse compared with it. Some of the Sūtras attain to an almost algebraic mode of expression, the formulas of which cannot be understood without the help of detailed commentaries A characteristic aphorism has been preserved, which illustrates the straining after brevity. According to it, the composers of grammatical Sūtras delight as much in the saving of a short vowel as in the birth of a son. The full force of this remark can only be understood when it is remembered that a Brāhman is deemed incapable of gaining heaven without a son to perform his funeral rites.*

The Sūtra literature, which may be assigned to the period between 500 and 200 B.C., is of a varied character. Collections of Sūtra aphorisms were made on all manner of subjects, such as sacrificial and domestic ritual, law, philosophy, and grammar. The S'rauta- or Kalpa-Sūtras take up the great sacrificial ceremonies, with which the Brāhmaṇas have to do ; the Gṛihya-Sūtras give the rules for the numerous ceremonies connected with the domestic life of a man and his family from birth to death. The Dharma-Sūtras deal with custom, sacred and secular, supplying rules regarding such matters as purification, penances, forbidden food, marriage, inheritance, and crime. Then there is a class of Sūtras dealing with matters linguistic and grammatical. There are extant a number of Prātis'ākhya Sūtras, each treatise having for its subject one principal Vedic text, and noting all its peculiarities of form, grammatical and phonetical. The Brahma-Sūtras ascribed to Bādarāyaṇa inquire into the nature of

* *Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 35, 36.

Brahma and systematise the teaching of the Upanishads. The Sāṃkhya-Sūtras ascribed to Kapila—though quite wrongly—are of modern origin, as late as the fourteenth century. The Sūtra style of literature reached its climax in the grammarian Pānini, whose Sanskrit Grammar, composed in Sūtra style, is so compressed that, although it deals with the whole Sanskrit language, it could be printed in thirty-five small octavo pages. Pāṇini had some famous predecessors like Yāska, the author of the Nirukta, a Vedic commentary on an etymological basis. His most famous successor is Patañjali, author of the Mahābhāshya, the most authoritative commentary on Pāṇini's work; but Pānini's work remains to this day the standard textbook on Sanskrit grammar in India.

We thus see that there is abundant evidence of the existence of a large measure of philosophical and scientific activity in early India in pre-Buddhistic times. There is evidence of an intellectual revolt against the Vedas and the doctrine of sacrifice as contained in the Brāhmaṇas. Kapila was the founder of a dualistic school of thought known as the Sāṃkhya. Soul in infinite plurality and matter are eternal entities, and all life is the evolution of unconscious primordial matter. Quite different from this is the monistic theory of the early Upanishads, which makes all life but the reflection of the Universal Spirit, Brahma. This developed later into the Vedānta school of philosophy.

The Institutes of Manu.

(3) Reference must now be made to the Institutes of Manu, and the dominance of caste and priestly rigidity. In the ancient Vedic period there were, as we have seen, few or no traces of caste distinction. During the days of the Epics the four main castes—priest, warrior, merchant or agriculturist, and serf—

had become fairly well-defined social divisions. In the period of expansion among the non-Aryan races, Aryans and Dravidians inevitably mingled, and steps were taken to preserve the purity of Aryan blood by the institution of a more rigid social organism. A place was found in the system for the numerous families of mixed descent. In course of time every social distinction created by race, sect, language, or occupation, hardened under priestly guidance into caste divisions, and communities were formed which confined the ordinary modes of social intercourse—the common meal and the marriage relationship—strictly within their own borders. The result is that we have to-day in India 2,378 main castes, all with their distinctions so rigid that it is impossible for a man to pass from one social grade to another.

It is in the Institutes of Manu we get in the most definite form the Brāhman ideal of the political and social organism. Probably the Mānavadharmas'āstra in its present form was composed somewhere between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D.; but the ordinances themselves are based on ancient usages of a much earlier date. They present a picture of life, no doubt idealised from the priestly standpoint, on the shores of the Ganges several hundred years before Christ. The Code is divided into twelve chapters or books. The subjects treated of include the creation of the world, the four stages of a Brāhman's life, rules regarding food and other things domestic, rules of government and judicature, precepts and regulations on offspring, inheritance, and property, lawful occupations for the various castes, laws of expiation and penance, and a multitude of other topics of the most diversified character.

The pre-eminence of the Brāhman is very rigidly maintained in Manu He is declared to have proceeded from the mouth of Brahma, as the kshatriya or warrior did from his arm, the vais'ya or merchant

from his thigh, and the s'ūdra from his foot. Never to recede from battle, to protect his subjects, and pay due honour to the priestly caste, are the highest duties of a king. In criminal matters monstrous punishments were meted out to s'ūdras, especially if they committed any offence against Brāhmans, while Brāhmans were treated with the utmost leniency, and were allowed to abuse s'ūdras with impunity. Minute regulations are given for the whole conduct of life, and a due and strict observance of religious ceremonies is throughout required.

It is clear that, in the life and thought of ancient India, there were cross-currents of a varied character. On the one hand, there is an extraordinary development of sacrificial ceremonial and priestly dominance, as represented, first, in the Brāhmaṇas and later in the Code of Manu. The tendency is to make religious thought and social life artificial in the highest degree. On the other hand, there were many earnest seekers who found no satisfaction in the ceremonial regulations of the priests. They gave their minds to a study of the great problems of God, the soul, and human destiny. Many Brāhmans contributed to this intellectual and religious ferment; but some of the kings and nobles were also leaders. The result was the abstruse theological and philosophical speculations embodied in the Upanishads. The Vedic gods are ignored, and the Brāhman rites and social regulations are rejected as useless. The foundations of religion are destroyed, and men are left to the consolations of philosophy. Philosophy may satisfy the intellectual few, but it contains no message of hope for the masses of men, any more than an elaborate ceremonialism does.

Jainism and Buddhism.

(4) This brings us to the next stage of development, viz., the rise, spread, and significance of

Jainism and Buddhism. With such intellectual and religious conditions prevailing as we have described, it is manifest there was room for a religious reformer, and it was at this crisis that Gautama, the founder of Buddhism, appeared on the scene, as well as his contemporary, Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism. This system, which is still represented in India by more than a million followers, teaches that, as evil is inherent in matter, the body must be subjugated by the practice of utter starvation, that deliverance from evil may be obtained by right faith in teacher and scripture, by right knowledge of matter and spirit, and by right conduct, including abstinence from injuring any living creature. But the followers of Mahāvīra, the Jains, *i.e.*, "the men who have conquered the flesh," though in the centuries before and after the Christian era they exercised a considerable religious and political influence in widely separated parts of India, practically confined their efforts to India itself, and are now a dwindling body, and to all intents and purposes a Hindu sect. Unlike the Buddhist theory, which is put together without the hypothesis of "soul" at all, the Jain view is extremely animistic, and conceives even particles of earth to possess minute souls; and, as Professor Rhys Davids points out, there is much analogy beween many of the expressions used by the Jains, and the view that the ultimate cells and atoms are all, in a more or less modified sense, alive. In concluding his article on Jainism in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, he quotes Professor Jacobi, the best authority on the history of this sect, who thus sums up the distinction between the Mahāvīra and the Buddha:

> Mahāvīra was rather of the ordinary class of religious men in India He may be allowed a talent for religious matters, but he possessed not the genius which Buddha undoubtedly had The Buddha's philosophy forms a system based on a few fundamental ideas, whilst that of Mahāvīra scarcely forms a system, but is

merely a sum of opinions (*pannattis*) on various subjects, no fundamental ideas being there to uphold the mass of metaphysical matter. Besides this it is the ethical element that gives to the Buddhist writings their superiority over those of the Jains. Mahāvīra treated ethics as corollary and subordinate to his metaphysics, with which he was chiefly concerned.

In Gautama, the Buddha, we have one of the greatest religious teachers of mankind. He saw religion around him reduced either to an elaborate and expensive sacrificial system, or to a vague philosophical speculation. In either case, for the majority of the people, the future was hopeless; and they turned for succour to astrology, witchcraft, and animism. Moreover, unhappy political conditions prevailed, for the land of the Aryans was parcelled out among a number of petty chieftains who waged internecine war one against the other. The great feature of his message is this: Sacrificial worship and ceremonial observance count for nothing, rigid asceticism is a delusion and a snare, philosophical speculation is profitless or unnecessary. The one thing needful is to lead a moral life. Buddha's religion was the deification of morality.

The story of his life has often been told.* The now generally accepted date for his birth is 568 B.C. The son of a petty prince at the foot of the Himalayas, he is said to have enjoyed, in his early years, all that a life of sensuous ease could provide. It is related that, in his twenty-ninth year, driving to his pleasure-grounds one day, he was struck by the sight of a man utterly broken down through old age; on another occasion he was moved by the sight of a man suffering from a loathsome disease; and some months afterwards he was horror-struck by the sight of a decomposing corpse. His conscience became stirred by a profound sense of the vanity of human life. He left his home, forsaking wife and child, in

* See Professor Rhys Davids in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. IV., p. 737.

search of truth and peace. He became a disciple of two Brāhman sages, but found no rest in their teaching. For several years he wandered about as an ascetic, and put his body to the severest tortures. This, too, was in vain. At last, after a long course of seeking, and a night of dreadful conflict, the great truth dawned upon him as he sat under a sacred fig-tree at Gayā, to be known from that time as the sacred Bo-tree, or tree of wisdom. He came to realise that the road to salvation is not the mechanical use of cultus and formula, uninterrupted from birth to death, but the extinguishing of passion and desire by the living of a pure life. Thenceforward, Gautama, now become the Buddha or "enlightened one," moved from place to place, teaching his doctrine to all willing hearers. He who hitherto had merely desired, like the Brāhman ascetics, to win salvation for himself, now became consumed with the desire to save his fellow-men. The substance of his Gospel is in the four great truths which he proclaimed :

I. All human existence is suffering ; life is the vanity of vanities.

II. Desire is the cause of suffering It is thirst for pleasure, thirst for life, thirst for prosperity, that leads to new birth.

III. Release from suffering is attained by extinguishing desire and thirst.

IV. The pathway which leads to the extinction of passion and desire, and so to the cessation of suffering, is eightfold : Right belief and resolve, right word and act, right life and effort, right thinking and meditation.

Buddha gave no answer to the insoluble problem of human destiny, but there can be no doubt that his view of salvation as freedom of transmigration through the dying out during life of all sensuality, ill-will, and stupidity in the heart, involves the

conviction on his part that before all lies peace, *forgetfulness, personal annihilation, Nirvāṇa.* He *lived to the age of eighty, dying in the year 488 B.C.*

From these small beginnings arose the great Buddhist religion, which exerted a powerful influence in India, the land of its birth, for many centuries, and still flourishes abundantly in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Nepal, Tibet, Mongolia, China, and Japan. Its success was due, no doubt, largely to the personality of Buddha, but supremely to the way of salvation he propounds. The highest wisdom of the Brāhmans was knowledge, of the Jain ascetism, of the Buddhist purity and love. Manifestly, this is a standpoint calculated to appeal strongly to the average layman. While it is true that Buddha did not specifically condemn caste and much else in the Brāhmanical system, his teaching really ignored as unnecessary, or unworthy of attention, such matters as caste and social position, sacrifices and ceremonies, asceticism and philosophical speculation, popular gods and the Absolute Brahma. Such a position could not fail to receive widespread approval and support among a people steadily being brought under the domination of the priesthood. The ecclesiastical organisation or Sangha, the congregation of the monastic order which he founded, proved a powerful instrument in the extension of the faith. The use of the vernacular, too, by Buddha himself, and in the religious literature, the Tripiṭika, dealing with canon law, doctrine, and moral law, and the Jātakas, or stories of the previous births of Buddha—all that was an important contributory cause in the success of the new religion.

Alexander the Great.

(5) We next come to the invasion of India by Alexander the Great, with political conditions before and after. We find that the most ancient Buddhist

books give a list of sixteen states or tribal territories which existed in Northern India in the sixth century B.C. Among these sixteen states two are specially prominent in tradition, Kosala (the modern Oudh) and Magadha (South Bihār). Two other monarchies of importance were the kingdom of the Vamsas, south of Kosala, and the kingdom of Avanti, south of that. Besides these kingdoms there existed a number of tribal republics, exercising considerable influence. The history of these states presents a confused record of war and inter-marriages. Ten Kings of Magadha are spoken of. The fifth in the line, Bimbisāra, annexed new territories to his own dominions, and laid the foundations of Magadha's future greatness After a reign of twenty-eight years, he was cruelly starved to death by his son Ajātas'atru, who made a confession to Buddha that he committed the sin in his love of sovereignty. With a view to checking the inroads of neighbouring tribes, Ajātas'atru built a great fort, which developed into the magnificent city of Pāṭaliputra, the future capital of India as it was then known, and the modern Patna and Bankipur. The S'aiś'unāga dynasty, as this line of Kings is called, came to an ignominous end about the middle of the fourth century B.C.

About 500 B.C., in the reign of Ajātas'atru or his father, Darius, the son of Hystaspes, King of Persia, sent an expedition to explore the rivers of the Punjab. The Indus valley became a province of the Persian Empire, to which it yielded a large revenue. Indian archers were included in the Persian army defeated at Platea in Greece in 497 B.C.

Alexander the Great, in his quest of world-conquest, invaded India in the year 327 B.C. The story has been often told how, in the spring of 326, after his long march through Persia, Afghanistan, and the

Hindu Kush, he passed into the Punjab by a bridge over the Indus at Ohind, some sixteen miles above Attock; how, after being sumptuously entertained by the King of Taxila, he reached the Hydaspes (or Jhelum) just as the river was already swollen after the breaking of the rains; how another native King, Porus, who held the opposite bank with a powerful army, including two hundred elephants, fell into the hands of Alexander and his forces after they had succeeded in crossing the river in a night of torrential rain; how Alexander, pleased with the courage and kingly dignity of Poros, not only granted him his life, but restored his kingdom to him, how the Macedonian troops, after further much toilsome marching, became worn out by the heat of the Punjab summer, and sullenly demanded to be allowed to return home, refusing to go any farther; how, after three days' sharp conflict between the will of the people and the king, Alexander, in bitter mortification, gave way, just as the unknown world of the Ganges and its splendid kingdoms were beckoning him on to further conquest and glory; and finally, how he reached the Persian city of Susa, in 325 B.C, after terrible losses from drought and famine on the march. During his two years' campaign in the Punjab and Sind, Alexander, taking adequate measures for the permanent annexation of these provinces to his empire, made alliances, founded cities, and planted garrisons Upon his death in Babylon, in 323 B C, the great empire he had won fell asunder, and was divided among his principal generals. The arrangements he made for the government of India fell through and all traces of his rule disappeared.

Thus Alexander appears on the page of Indian history as a meteor that flashes across the darkness of the night and is gone He effected a brilliant raid, but no settled occupation or government of Indian territory, and the influence of the Greek civilisation that came through him was slight indeed There was

a realm of thought in India that Alexander did not enter and could not subdue We shall see that small semi-Greek dynasties arose later in Afghanistar and the Punjab They were the indirect results of Alexander's eastern conquests, but we cannot prove that even these affected in any appreciable degree the course of Indian history *

If Alexander had lived, the Hellenisation of India, as of Rome and Western lands, might have taken place, and the whole course of Indian history might have been changed. The ancient Indian polity was far too firmly rooted to be swept away by a passing storm. Even Alexander's name is not mentioned by any ancient Indian writer As Mr. Vincent Smith, the most eminent of the historians of early India, writes :

India remained unchanged The wounds of battle were quickly healed The ravaged fields smiled again as the patient oxen and no less patient husbandmen resumed their interrupted labours, and the places of the slain myriads were filled by the teeming swarms of a population which knows no limits save those imposed by the cruelty of man or the still more pitiless operations of nature India was not Hellenised She continued to live her life of "splendid isolation," and soon forgot the passing of the Macedonian storm

"The East bowed low before the West,
In patient, deep disdain,
She let the legions thunder past,
And plunged in thought again" †

Buddhist Empire.

(6) We now pass to a consideration of the great Mauryan and Buddhist empire, which closes the period under review. About the middle of the fourth century, the last king of the S'aiś'unāga dynasty of Magadha is said to have been murdered by a barber, who, in guilty association with the queen, usurped the throne, and founded the Nanda dynasty, which enjoyed, however, only two reigns. When Alexander's death dispelled all fears of his return, the native princes took steps to assert their independence and extirpate the weak foreign garrisons. The leader of the revolt against the

* E W Thompson, *History of India*, p 40
† *History of India*, Vol II, p 102

foreigners was a young man named Chandragupta. He was a kinsman of the King of Magadha, Mahāpadma Nanda, though his mother appears to have been a woman of low caste named Mura, and so Chandragupta and his successors are spoken of as the Maurya dynasty. Chandragupta, incurring the displeasure of the King of Magadha, was sent into exile, and during his banishment he had the good fortune to meet Alexander. The death of the Macedonian king gave him his opportunity. With the aid of a wily Brāhman adviser, Chānakya, Chandragupta succeeded not only in overcoming the Macedonian garrisons in the Punjab, but in seizing, in 321 B.C., the throne of Magadha after exterminating every member of the royal house, and finally in making himself the first paramount sovereign or emperor of India, with dominions extending from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea.

When Alexander's empire was finally partitioned, in 321 B.C., among his generals, one of them, Seleukos Nikator, obtained as his share Syria, Asia Minor, and the eastern provinces. When he had laid the foundations of his power in Central and Western Asia, after a long conflict with his rival Antigonos, Seleukos, with a view to recovering Alexander's conquests in India, crossed the Indus in 305 B.C., and proceeded to subdue the country, hoping to duplicate Alexander's victorious march. But the forces of the emperor Chandragupta were too strong for him, and Seleukos was obliged to retreat, and compelled to abandon not only all thought of conquest in India, but to surrender all claim to the provinces west of the Indus. Seleukos was content to take five hundred elephants as compensation for three rich provinces, and at the same time he concluded a matrimonial alliance with Chandragupta, giving a daughter to the Indian

king. These provinces, the capitals of which were respectively the cities now known as Kabul, Herat, and Kandahar, passed under the sway of Chandragupta, whose empire thus included the country now called Afghanistān.

In due time (302 B.C.) Seleukos, the Syrian monarch, sent an ambassador, named Megasthenes, to reside at the Court of Chandragupta (known to the Greeks as Sandracottus) in Pāṭaliputra, the modern Patna. The historians and the men of science who accompanied Alexander were the first to make India east of the Indus known in Europe. Their narratives, although now lost, are preserved in condensed form in Strabo, Pliny, and Arrian. Megasthenes was resident ambassador at the Magadhan court for many years (306-298 B.C.), and having opportunities for the closest observation, he spent his leisure time in compiling a careful account of the geography, products, and institutions of India. Although his book, in its original form, has been lost, copious extracts from it have been preserved in Greek and Latin writers, which give us the pith of the work. The statements of this foreign observer make it clear that the country in his time was a well-ordered state, governed in stern severity by a capable despot. The main instrument of authority was a powerful standing army of infantry and cavalry, numbering some seven hundred thousand men; an enormous force when we consider that the standing army maintained by the British to-day is hardly more than one-third the size. The imperial capital (and probably other great cities of the empire like Taxila and Ujjain) was administered by six municipal boards, which looked after foreigners, supervised the manufactures of the artisans, regulated weights and measures, market prices, excise duties, and kept a register of births and deaths. The mainstay of finance was the land revenue, which generally

amounted to one-fourth of the gross produce of the fields. The subject of irrigation had a special department, officers being appointed to supervise the irrigation channels and levy the water-cess. A regular system of excise was in force, the drink-shops being under official supervision. Theft and perjury were punished by mutilation, and a death penalty was inflicted for injury to a sacred tree, the evasion of specific taxes, and intrusion on the royal procession going to the hunt. Caste was a recognised institution, though seven divisions, instead of the ordinary four, are referred to. "No one," he writes, "is allowed to marry out of his own class, or to exercise any calling or art except his own. A soldier, for instance, cannot become an husbandman, nor an artisan a philosopher." The imperial court was maintained with barbaric splendour and luxurious ostentation. The king's residence, built largely of wood, overlaid with gold, stood in the midst of gardens and fish-ponds, and in the magnificence of its construction, and the luxury of its appointments, is said to have surpassed the palaces of Persia. When the king appeared in public, he was carried in a golden palanquin, adorned with tassels of pearls, and was clothed in fine muslin embroidered with purple and gold. Combats and races of animals, gladiatorial contests, and chariot races were favourite diversions, but the principal royal amusement was the chase. The king gave audience once a day, and while hearing plaints, indulged in the luxury of a massage with ebony rollers by four attendants. An Amazonian bodyguard attended to the personal protection of the king, both in the inner precincts of the palace, and when hunting. Yet, in the midst of all the magnificence, the king was in constant danger of his life at the hands of conspirators, and did not dare to run the risk either of sleeping in the daytime or of

occupying the same bedroom two nights in succession. The distant provinces were ruled by viceroys, and over these and other remote functionaries the court kept careful watch by means of newswriters, who sent reports regularly to their imperial master. In general, the people were eminently honest, no locks being considered necessary for the doors; and lying was practically unknown. Lawsuits were rare. Megasthenes refers with admiration to the absence of slavery, the chastity of the women, and the courage of the men. The Brāhmans are referred to, being described as philosophers, and the stages of their life are indicated. One of their special duties was to forecast the weather in the interests of husbandry, so dependent on the periodical rains. "The philosopher who errs in his predictions observes silence for the rest of his life." Chandragupta, unlike his famous grandson, As'oka, followed the Brāhmanical religion, though there is a tradition among the Jains that he was a member of their sect.

After a reign of twenty-four years, Chandragupta died in 297 B.C., before he was fifty years of age Very little is known of his son and successor, Bindusāra, who reigned for twenty-five years, but he probably continued his father's career of annexation and conquest within the borders of India. Like his father, he continued to maintain friendly relations with the Hellenistic powers.

In As'oka, the third of the Maurya line, and Chandragupta's grandson, we have one of the most illustrious monarchs of India, and like another Indian monarch, Akbar, he takes rank among the great rulers of the world. He is not referred to by the Greeks, and the Brāhman books ignore him, but the Buddhist chronicles and legends speak much of him and his work. The most remarkable and interesting of his monuments, however, are the edicts which he

caused to be engraved on stone pillars or enduring rock or in caves. Thirty-five of these inscriptions have been discovered, and they contain altogether about five thousand words. They are almost entirely of religious import, and form a record of As'oka's work, and reveal the character of the man. They are found in all parts of India, north, south, east, and west. He succeeded to the throne in 272 B.C., though his coronation did not take place till three years later, and it is from the year of his coronation that his reign is dated in the inscriptions. These inscriptions relate that, in the ninth year of his reign (*i.e*, 261 B.C.), he undertook the conquest of Kalinga, the country on the coast of the Bay of Bengal, between the Mahānadi and the Godaveri rivers. After hard fighting, in which 150,000 prisoners were taken, 100,000 persons slain by the sword, and many times that number destroyed by the calamities that accompany and follow devastating wars and armies, he overcame all resistance and conquered that country. But he was horrified at the suffering caused by his ambition, and has recorded his "remorse on account of the conquest of the Kalingas, because, during the subjugation of a hitherto unconquered country, slaughter, death, and taking away captive of the people necessarily occur, whereat His Majesty feels profound regret."

As'oka's first war was his last, and for the rest of his life he devoted himself to winning "the chiefest conquest, the conquest by the law of piety." His whole-hearted conversion to the teaching of Buddha appears to have been the cause of the change that came over his life. He forthwith gave evidence of his conversion by abolishing the royal hunt, forbidding animal sacrifices, and the destruction of life, except under very stringent regulations. The high-roads were marked with mile-stones, and shaded by avenues of trees. Camping-grounds were furnished

with wells, mango-groves, and rest-houses for travellers. Hospitals were founded, and medicinal herbs, wherever they were lacking, were freely imported and planted. All his viceroys and great officers were required to give religious instruction to the people, though no compulsion was exercised, and the various sects were required to abstain from violence towards one another. Missionary monasteries were multiplied throughout the Empire, and missionaries despatched to many foreign lands east and west. As a means of diffusing knowledge of the sacred law, the main principles of the Buddhist doctrine were engraved in the vernacular tongues on the everlasting rocks, that these might speak for him as long as sun and moon endured. An inscription on a rock in Mysore may be quoted as an example:

Thus saith His Majesty Father and mother must be obeyed, similarly respect for living creatures must be enforced, truth must be spoken These are the virtues of the law of piety which must be practised Similarly, the teacher must be revered by the pupil, and proper courtesy must be shown to relations This is the ancient standard of piety, and leads to length of days, and according to this men must act

In India conversion proceeded at a very rapid rate, and by the efforts of As'oka, Buddhism, which had hitherto been a merely local sect in the valley of the Ganges, was transformed into a great world-religion. This is As'oka's claim to be remembered. This it is which makes his reign an epoch, not only in the history of India, but in that of the world, and the man himself an object of admiration and reverence for all time. "If a man's fame," says a modern writer, "can be measured by the number of hearts who revere his memory, by the number of lips who have mentioned and still mention him with honour, As'oka is more famous than Charlemagne or Cæsar."

In concluding our review of the Age of Brāhmanical Expansion, Buddhist Revolt and Ascend-

ency, and Greek Invasion, an age extending from 800 to 231 B C, and probably the most momentous in the history of Indian civilisation, one or two brief observations may be made:

(1) There is a great advance in the direction of serious religious thinking. The happy outlook on life that characterised the Rigveda and the Epics has gone, never again to return to the religious thinkers of India. The early Vedic Aryans were content and happy in the prospect of a larger share in the good things of life by the bounty of the immortal gods, and a happy existence in the immortal and imperishable abode where light dwells eternal. Their successors in the Gangetic valley became oppressed with the seriousness of life, with the reality of religion; and the relationship of man to God became the only problem worth thinking of.

(2) To the people of the new age, life became infinitely more severe, and even artificial. "Everything that was confused," writes an eminent Indian scholar, Mr. R. C. Dutt, "during the epic period, was brought to order; everything that was discursive, was condemned; opinions were arranged and codified into bodies of laws; and the whole social system of the Hindus underwent a similar rigid treatment." These words have perhaps a fuller application to the following age than the age we have been considering. A very marked tendency has, however, already set in in the direction of rigidity of treatment as applied to social life and religious thought, though counteracting tendencies of a strong kind made themselves felt. The tediousness of the ritualistic treatises known as the Brāhmaṇas is unparalleled in the annals of literature. To-day, a sniff of incense, and the sight of a few candles, convince us that we are in the presence of ritualism of the deepest dye, but we must go to the Brāhmaṇas if we wish to know what full-blown ritualism means.

Time and eternity, life and death, heaven and hell, are made to depend on the minutest detail of the most trivial ceremonial During the period, too, the Brāhman priesthood attained large success in their effort to oust the nobles from their highest grade. If the whole course of the world is moved and controlled by sacrifice, the priest becomes the real god, and wields the powers of the Universe. As ritual developed, the sacrifices became so costly that only princes could procure them, and only highly-trained priests could perform them, and so the inevitable tendency was for the race of sturdy and happy warriors to pass hopelessly under the control of its priesthood. The account given by Megasthenes of life at the Court of Chandragupta, guided and controlled as it was by Brāhmanical advisers, closely corresponds to the rules and regulations laid down in the Code of Manu for the guidance of Kings. A nation that surrenders itself, bound hand and foot, to its priests, may indeed develop great ecclesiastical and political systems of government ; it may be able to enforce rigid religious and civil discipline ; but it is never destined to play a great part in the advancement of human liberty and civilisation, or in the enlightenment of the masses of mankind

(3) Buddha gave full recognition to the moral intuitions of humanity, and we cannot but regard his emphasis on the importance of the moral, as distinct from the ceremonial, as a breath of God on the dry bones of Indian religious life His protest was a very necessary one, but his system made no provision for the satisfaction of man's religious craving. He made the fatal mistake of forgetting that man's religious instincts are as strong as, and, indeed, often stronger than, his moral. Even in the palmiest days of Buddhism, Brāhman schools were numerous and influential, and though Buddhism

made many conversions, it seems that the common people as a whole, generally more drawn to the religious than the ethical, continued to walk in the old paths, and to worship their favourite local gods and demons. Buddhism for a time basked in the sunshine of royal favour, and made great conquests, not only in India, but far beyond India's borders. Brāhmanism, however, still remained a great power in the land.

(4) The untold miseries that Alexander's stay of nineteen months in India brought on its people are vividly described in the words of Diodorus : "The fury of war was at once let loose over the whole land ; conflagration, pillage, and massacre ran riot in every place ; the soldiers' vast booty, and the number of inhabitants slain by the sword, amounted to many myriads." His invasion was indeed a masterpiece in military tactics, but it must be regarded in the light of a merely military incursion, which left no appreciable mark upon the institutions of India.

V. The Age of Bactrian and Scythic Settlements, with Buddhist and Hindu Evolution (231 B.C.-230 A.D.).

During the period now under review, there are no great names in political or religious history that can at all be compared with some of the great figures of the preceding period, like Chandragupta and As'oka, Mahāvīra and Buddha. The period witnessed the rise of no great empire, nor any revolutionary religious movement. Yet there were dynasties and kings, native and foreign, of considerable local importance in various parts of India, to which reference must be made, and in religious and literary matters it is a period of considerable activity and steady development. No great figure, like Alexander,

came with his devastating hordes through the passes of the north-west on to the plains of India, yet many invading kings and generals—Indo-Greek, Parthian, and Scythian—crossed the north-west frontier, and established kingdoms and settlements in Northern India, and ordinarily became merged in the general population. The period is thus seen to be, comparatively speaking, uneventful. A somewhat more extended reference must now be made to its more important details and features.

(1) The Mauryan dynasty rapidly dwindled in importance after As'oka's death. His descendants were able to retain only Magadha and the neighbouring home provinces. As'oka's sway extended far down into the Dravidian south, but one of the earliest defections after his death was the Āndhra protected state between the Kistna and Godaveri rivers—a state which rapidly extended its power, and to which further reference must needs be made later on. The last of As'oka's descendants to claim the imperial title, and rule Magadha, was a weak prince named Brihadratha. In 184 B.C. he was assassinated by his commander-in-chief, Pushyamitra, who founded the S'unga dynasty. Descendants of As'oka continued as local rājāhs in Magadha and parts of Western India for several centuries afterwards.

(2) The three native dynasties—the S'unga, the Kānva, and the Āndhra—will need but brief mention. The founder of the S'unga line, to which tradition assigns a duration of one hundred and twelve years, was Pushyamitra, who, as already quoted, slew the last of the Mauryas. His reign appears to have been long and eventful. He drove back some Greek invaders from Bactria, with their king, Menander, and thus frustrated the last attempt by a European general to conquer India by land. On the other hand, Khāravela, king of Kalinga,

claims to have achieved a victory over the Magadhan army, but the advantage he gained could only have been temporary. Pushyamitra's southern provinces, extending to the Narbada river, were administered by the crown prince, Agnimitra, who waged a successful war with his neighbour, the Rājāh of Vidarbha, the modern Berar. The king now resolved to crown his military successes by formally establishing the claim to be Lord Paramount of Northern India. This he did by reviving the ancient rite of the horse sacrifice (*as'vamedha*), which could only be performed by a paramount sovereign, and required as a preliminary a successful challenge to all rival claimants "A horse of a particular colour," so runs the explanation of the *as'vamedha* ceremony, "was consecrated by the performance of certain ceremonies, and was then turned loose to wander for a year. The king, or his representative, followed the horse with an army, and when the animal entered a foreign country, the ruler of that country was bound either to fight or to submit. If the liberator of the horse succeeded in obtaining or enforcing the submission of all the countries over which it passed, he returned in triumph with all the vanquished rājāhs in his train; but if he failed he was disgraced and his pretensions ridiculed After his successful return a great festival was held, at which the horse was sacrificed."* The story runs that the King's grandson, Vasumitra, who had been put in charge of the consecrated steed in its wanderings, encountered and routed a band of Yavanas, or western foreigners, on the banks of the Indus, when they took up the challenge and attempted to carry the horse off. In due course Pushyamitra established his claim by a magnificent celebration of the sacrifice at Pāṭaliputra. He was a patron of the Brāhmans, and the revival of this

* Dowson's *Classical Dictionary*

important ceremony marked the beginning of the Brāhmanical reaction. There is no evidence to support the legend that he persecuted Buddhists. It is very probable that the Buddhist cause now began to lose ground with the withdrawal of royal favour. Very little is known of the remaining nine Kings of the S'unga dynasty. The brevity of the reigns indicates a period of confusion, with frequent palace revolutions. The later Kings appear to have been puppets in the hands of their Brāhman ministers. The last of the line, Devabhūmi, a man of licentious habits, was stabbed to death by a slave-girl, at the instigation of the Brāhman minister Vāsudeva, who usurped the throne, and established the Kānva dynasty.

The new Kānva dynasty established by Vāsudeva, comprising four reigns, covers a period of only forty-five years (B C. 72 to B C. 27). Nothing is known about the reigns of the Kānva Kings, but the figures indicate that the times were disturbed. The last of the line, Sus'arman, was slain by the Āndhra monarch, and with him the story of the first Magadhan Empire ends.

The Āndhra dynasty began as an independent power about 220 B.C , not many years after the death of As'oka, and at the height of its prosperity it possessed wide dominions stretching across the table-land of the Deccan from sea to sea, its chief seat being the deltas of the Godaveri and Kistna, or the modern Telugu country. In the time of Megasthenes, the Āndhra realm was populous and wealthy, maintaining a large army. It became one of the feudatory states of the Mauryan empire, throwing off its allegiance as soon as the Mauryan power declined. As already related, one of the kings of this line slew the last of the Kānvas in B C 27, and annexed such territory as still remained to the Magadhan dynasty. The Āndhra Kings are distin-

guished by the title S'ātavāhana, often without mention of the personal name. Two monarchs of the line—there appears to have been in all some thirty of them—require mention. Hāla, the seventeenth king, is represented in tradition as a great patron of vernacular literature. He is credited with the authorship of the *Sapta S'ataka*, or "Seven Centuries," an anthology of erotic verses written in the ancient Mahārāshṭrī tongue. Other vernacular works are attributed to his ministers. He probably reigned in the first century A.D. In the year 126 A.D. another king, Gautamīputra Vihivāyakura, waged successful warfare against his western neighbours—S'akas, Pahlavas, and Yavanas—foreign invaders who had established themselves in Mālwā, Gujarāt, and Kāthiāwār. The Āndhra dynasty came to an end about 236 A.D., having endured, in round numbers, four centuries and a-half, a period of unusual length. The cause of its downfall is unknown. "The third century A.D.," writes Mr. Vincent Smith, "is one of the dark spaces in the spectrum of Indian history, and almost every event of that time is concealed from view by an impenetrable veil of oblivion, . . and so we must be content to let the Āndhras pass away in the darkness." He notes, however, as an interesting coincidence, which may not be merely fortuitous, that the fall of the Āndhras, as well as of the last of the great Kushan kings of Northern India, Vāsudeva, occurred at the same time as the rise of the Sassanian dynasty of Persia (226 A.D.).

(3) Reference has already been made to the invasion of India by the Greeks of Bactria. During this period, the north-west of India was a prolonged scene of turmoil for a considerable part of the time. A number of invading hordes, Greek and Scythian, descended through the passes of the north-west upon the plains of India. We have seen that Alexander's

campaign in India led to no permanent result. Seleukos Nikator's attempt to recover India for Greece in Chandragupta's time failed. Thenceforward, for a hundred years, no other attempt was made. About the middle of the third century B.C., Bactria, a Greek colony between the range of the Hindu Kush and the river Oxus, and Parthia, another province of the Macedonian Empire, comprising the mountainous country south-east of the Caspian Sea, separated themselves from the Græco-Syrian kingdom of Antiochos Theos, grandson of Seleukos Nikator, and assumed the rank of independent states. The Bactrian satrap, Diodotos, asserted his independence, conquered the neighbouring province of Sogdiana, to the north, between the Oxus and the Jaxartes, and became the founder of the Græco-Bactrian kingdom. He and his successors were able to maintain themselves against the attacks of the Seleucids. The third king of the new Bactrian monarchy, Euthydemos, became engaged in a long conflict with Antiochos the Great of Syria, which ended in Antiochos giving his daughter to Demetrios, the son of Euthydemos. Shortly afterwards, Antiochos, crossing the Hindu Kush, made a successful invasion into India, and secured a considerable number of elephants, and large treasure. Several of the Bactrian kings, Euthydemos, Demetrios, the usurper Eukratides, and Menander, following the example of Antiochos, invaded India, and acquired much territory. A great many of their coins are found in Afghanistān and in India. Some of the later kings, abandoning the Attic standard of coinage, adopted the native standard, with the use of the native language side by side with the Greek. The Brāhmī alphabet is used on coins struck in India, and the Kharoshṭhī on coins struck in Afghanistān and the Punjab. The Græco-Bactrian Empire became torn by internal dissensions

and continual usurpations, and finally, after some of their western districts had been taken by the Arsacids of Parthia, they suffered complete overthrow at the hands of the Scythians, who conquered Bactria in 139 B.C., and put an end to Greek rule in India a century later. The Punjab, or parts of it, with some of the adjoining regions, thus remained under Greek rule for nearly two centuries and a-half, from the time of Demetrios, who, in 190 B.C., conquered a considerable portion of Northern India, to the overthrow of Hermaios by the Kushans about 50 A.D. A capable general, Eukratides, successfully rebelled against Demetrios, and made himself master, first of Bactria, and finally, after a severe struggle, of the Indian possessions of Demetrios. Soon after his triumph, Eukratides was barbarously murdered by his son. "It is evident," writes Mr. Vincent Smith, "from the great variety of royal names in the coin legends, which are nearly forty in number, that, both before and after the death of Eukratides, the Indian borderland was parcelled out among a crowd of Greek princelings, for the most part related to the family of Euthydemos and Demetrios, or to that of their rival, Eukratides." One outstanding name, that of Menander, has already been mentioned. Soon after the death of Eukratides, the Scythians took possession of the countries to the north of the Hindu Kush belonging to the Græco-Bactrian kingdom, and by 120 B.C. almost the whole of Eastern Iran was in the hands of Parthians or Scythians. But for some time longer Greek rule continued to prosper in the Indus district and beyond Menander appears to have belonged to the family of Eukratides. Issuing from his capital at Kabul in 55 B.C., he made the raid already referred to, penetrating as far east as Pātaliputra, but was forced to retire by Pushyamitra, the founder of the S'unga dynasty. In Indian

tradition, Menander appears as Milinda. He seems to have been a convert to Buddhism, and is immortalised in one of the most notable books of Buddhist literature, "The Questions of Milinda." A Greek tradition preserved by Plutarch relates that "when Menander, one of the Bactrian Kings, died on a campaign after a mild rule, all the subject-towns disputed about the honour of his burial, till at last his ashes were divided between them in equal parts." No materials are at hand to decide in any definite way the extent of Hellenic influence in Northern India during this period, but the indications are that, far from exercising any very potent influence in the spread of Hellenic culture in India, the Greeks themselves to a very large extent were powerfully influenced by Indian life and thought.

(4) The extent of Parthian domination and influence in India during this period now requires consideration. In 248 B.C., Arsaces, a chief of the Parni, a Scythian nomad tribe, made himself master of the district of Parthia, on the steppes east of the Caspian Sea. Making common cause with the native Iranian Parthians, he and his successors, after a hard struggle, shook off the Seleucid supremacy, formed a Parthian Kingdom, which, a century later, on the final downfall of the Seleucid dynasty, developed into the Parthian Empire, with Media and Babylonia added as conquests. The Arsacid rule, though known as Parthian, was thus a mixture of Scythian and Iranian elements united with some veneer of Greek civilisation. The Parthians are known in Hindu tradition as Pahlavas. It is clear that they came to exercise considerable influence in the Western Punjab, and made many conquests with their fierce cavalry so skilled in archery. The earliest of the Indo-Parthian Kings, apparently, was Maues, who attained power in the Kabul valley and the

Punjab about 120 B.C., and adopted the title of "Great King of Kings." Coins indicate that the Indian borderland had a long line of princes of Parthian origin. There is special interest attaching to the name of one of these Kings, Gondophares, who ruled over the Kabul valley and the Punjab. By means of his coins his accession may be dated with practical certainty at A.D. 21, and his reign lasted some thirty years. Very early Christian tradition associates the name of the apostle Thomas with India and Parthia He is said to have come to the country of Gondophares, and after converting a great number to Christianity, to have suffered martyrdom there. The chronology of Gondophares, as established by modern research, seems to indicate that the tradition has a basis of fact. The later Indo-Parthian chiefs of the borderland were, like the Indo-Greek Princes, swept away by the advancing Yuehchi horde. The Arsacidian Empire was overthrown in 226 A.D., being replaced by the Sassanian dynasty.

(5) This brings us finally to the Indo-Scythian dynasties that exercised great influence in various parts of India during this period. Scythian, in this connection, is a general term used to designate various Turki-nomad tribes connected with the political fortunes of India at this time. As we have already seen, a nomad tribe of Scythian stock founded the Parthian Empire. Nomad tribes of Scythian stock, in political alliance with the Parthians of Persia, invaded Bactria between 140 and 130 B.C., finally extinguishing the Hellenistic monarchy there. Heliokles, son of Eukratides, was the last Greek prince to exercise rule north of the Hindu Kush. In Asiatic and Indian history these so-called Scythian tribes are known as S'akas. It is clear that they were compelled by pressure from other eastern tribes, notably the Yuehchi, to leave their

home territories and move to the south and west in search of pasturage for their herds, and subsistence for themselves. After these S'akas had overwhelmed the Greek kingdom of Bactria, they forced their way into the Punjab, and penetrated as far as Mathurā, while another section founded a S'aka dynasty at Kāthiāwār. They appear to have owned allegiance to the Parthian King, and bore the Persian title of Satrap. The Hindus hated them as barbarians who disregarded the caste system and despised the holy law, and for centuries there was an intermittent struggle between the Satraps and the Āndhras.

About the middle of the second century B.C., a tribe of Turki-nomads, known to Chinese authors as Yuehchi, occupying the province of Kansuh in north-western China, sustained a decisive defeat at the hands of a neighbouring tribe of the same stock, and were forced to migrate westwards in search of fresh pasture-grounds. They had a large force of bowmen, and the whole company must have comprised nearly a million persons of all ages and both sexes. In the course of their march they encountered the S'akas, who were forced to migrate southwards, and made their way into Seistan and India. For many years they had as their headquarters the district north of the Oxus, and in course of time abandoned their nomad habits and took possession of the Bactrian lands south of the river, becoming a settled territorial nation with five principalities. For a century or so little is known about their fortunes, but about 45 A.D. the chief of the Kushān section of the horde, Kadphises I., made the confederacy of five principalities into a united people, with Kushān as their new national name. Kadphises entered the Kabul valley, and annihilated the remnants of Greek dominion on the frontier by ousting the last Greek prince. Mr. Vincent Smith writes :

The last of these Indo-Greek rulers was Hermaios, who succumbed to the Yuehchi chief, Kadphises I, about 50 A.D., when that enterprising monarch added Kabul to the growing Yuehchi Empire. The Yuehchi chief at first struck coins jointly in the name of himself and the Greek prince, retaining on the obverse the portrait of Hermaios, with his titles in Greek letters. After a time, while still retaining the familiar portrait, he substituted his own name and style in the legend. The next step taken was to replace the bust of Hermaios by the effigy of Augustus, as in his later years, and so to do homage to the expanding fame of that Emperor. Still later, probably, are those coins of Kaphises I. which dispense altogether with the royal effigy, and present on the obverse an Indian bull, and on the reverse a Bactrian camel, devices fitly symbolising the conquest of India by a horde of nomads. Thus the numismatic record offers a distinctly legible abstract of the political history of the times, and tells in outline the story of the gradual supersession of the last outposts of Greek authority by the irresistible advance of the hosts from the steppes of Central Asia.

Like that of his predecessor, the reign of Kadphises II. was long and prosperous, lasting from 85 A.D. to 120 or 125 A.D. He made himself master of a large part of India, where his coins are found in abundance, many of them in gold after the Roman pattern. He sent an embassy to Trajan after his arrival in Rome in 99 A.D., to announce his conquest of north-western India. During his reign, too, occurred the final extinction of the Indo-Parthian power in the Punjab and the Indus valley. His successor appears to have been Kanishka, who has left a name in tradition far beyond the limits of India. There is, however, much doubt regarding the date of Kanishka, some eminent scholars placing him as early as 58 or 57 B.C., regarding him as the founder of the Vikrama era, and others as late as 278 A.D.; but the date given above is that followed by Mr. Vincent Smith and Prof. Rhys Davids. From his capital, Purushapura, the modern Peshawar, he ruled Kabul, Kashmir, and northern India, perhaps as far as the Narbada. Shortly after his accession, Kanishka, possibly influenced by political reasons, professed himself a Buddhist, and spent vast sums in the construction of Buddhist monuments. Like

As'oka, he assembled a great council of Buddhist monks, which had commentaries on the Scriptures composed, probably in the Sanskrit language. These commentaries exist now only in Chinese translations or adaptations. Kanishka is almost as celebrated in the Buddhist legends of China and Tibet, as As'oka is in those of Burma and Ceylon. His successor, Huvishka, was a liberal patron of Buddhist ecclesiastical institutions, and built a splendid monastery at Mathurā. The next king of the line bore an Indian name, Vāsudeva. His coins exhibit on the reverse the figure of the Indian god S'iva, attended by his bull Nandi, and accompanied by the horse, trident, and other specifically Hindu insignia. All this indicates how rapidly the foreign invaders were succumbing to the influence of their environment. It would appear that Kanishka's great empire broke up into fragments before the close of, or soon after, Vāsudeva's reign, and the Kushān dynasty, like that of the Āndhras, came to an end in India in the third century just at the time when the Arsacidian dynasty of Persia was superseded by the Sassanian. Possibly an unrecorded Persian invasion of India is the explanation, though there is no direct evidence to support the conjecture. The Kushān kings continued to be a considerable power until the fifth century, when they were finally overcome by the Huns.

Having sketched the political history of the period, we may sum up some of its characteristics from the point of view of civilisation and religion.

(1) During this period the peoples of the north-west came into close contact with foreign civilisations. The language and some of the arts of Greece were introduced into India by the Bactrian princes. The language used on their coins is Greek, and the effigies stamped upon them are clearly the work of the skilled Greek artificer.

Greek influence, too, can be traced in architecture and sculpture, as shown in the ruined Buddhist buildings in the Peshawar district. Hindu astronomy owes something to the Greeks, and the Sanskrit drama may have been influenced by Greek models to a slight extent. Some of the Indo-Scythian princes sent embassies to Rome, and issued coins after the type of those minted by the Roman emperors. The Dravidian merchants of Southern India maintained an active maritime trade with the Roman Empire, and the large quantities of Roman coin found in Southern India show that they were used there for currency purposes, just as English sovereigns now are in many parts of the world. Yet there is no evidence that the inner life of India was at all affected by contact with the civilisation of the west.

(2) Another noteworthy feature of the period is the way in which the foreign invaders were gradually absorbed The coins show how, at first, the Scythian invaders adopted the Greek language for their coin inscriptions, and then, in due time, substituted a Persian or an Indian language in its place. The coins of the Kushān kings show a strange medley of gods—Greek, Persian, and Indian—Herakles with his club, and Śiva with his trident. The coins of the Kushān king, Vāsudeva, have already been referred to in this connection. Tribe after tribe, during this period, marched through the passes of the north-west on their career of conquest, but their descendants in large part are merged in the teeming population below. They became orthodox Hindus, having their own special standing in the all-embracing Hindu caste system. Eminent Indian ethnologists contend that the Marāthās have a large Scythian element in their blood, and they are one of the most conservative of Hindu nationalities to-day.

(3) During this period the system of Buddha underwent a very significant evolution. Buddha taught a simple morality independent of God and the future world. The Buddhism patronised by Kanishka belongs to the later Mahāyāna or Great Vehicle type, as distinct from the older, simpler, and purer Hīnāyāna or Lesser Vehicle, preserved in the ancient Pāli literature. In the later Mahāyāna sect Buddha has been elevated into a god, and there is a great host of deified saints, deities, and demons, with spacious temples and images, pompous ceremonial, and noisy festivals. This development took place clearly as a result of popular demand, for, after all, the religious instincts of the multitude are stronger than their moral. Though Buddhism was destined to remain a great power in India for several centuries longer, there is evidence that the seeds of decay had already taken root. There has been much speculation as to the cause of the decline of Buddhism in India. Formerly the supposition was that it was persecuted out of existence by the Brāhmans. There is no evidence to support this view. The truth rather seems to be that the conversions to Buddhism on a large scale in the time of As'oka led to the introduction of popular superstitions and popular gods to satisfy the numerous nominal converts; while the nominal conversion to Buddhism of many of the Asiatic nomad hordes, with kings like Kanishka, largely pagan at heart, proved in reality an element of weakness rather than strength, and led ultimately to the downfall of the Buddhist civilisation and the rise of Hinduism with its accommodating pantheon. The difference between the later Buddhism and mediæval Hinduism was so small that a separate organisation for Buddhism became unnecessary.

Indian Buddhist literature has been preserved partly in Pāli—an ancient vernacular dialect—partly

in Sanskrit. Pāli, the sacred language of Ceylon, and of Burma and Siam, is the literary vehicle of the early Buddhist sacred books preserved in Ceylon. Buddha gave his religious teaching in the vernacular dialect current in Magadha, but there are indications that Pāli is the particular form of the vernacular used in and about the Avanti district where Mahinda, As'oka's brother, who introduced Buddhism and the Buddhist texts to Ceylon, was born. The Pāli canon, equal in bulk to about twice the English Bible, is called the Tripitaka or "Three Baskets." The first "Basket" is the *Vinaya Pitaka*, and deals with Vinaya or disciplinary rules of the order. The second "Basket" is the *Sutta Pitaka*, containing aphorisms, discourses, and doctrines. It consists of five *Nikāyas* or collections, four principal and one supplementary. The four principal Nikāyas give the dialogues of Buddha, and arrange the doctrinal matter contained in the dialogues in groups of ethical concepts. The fifth Nikāya is a later and supplementary collection of treatises on a variety of subjects, including the well-known Buddhist text, the *Dhammapada*, which gives the quintessence of Buddhist morality in 423 verses on twenty-six selected points of Buddhist self-training or ethics; and also the Jātakas or Birth Stories of the Buddha in previous existences. The third and last "Basket," the *Abhidhamma Pitaka*, contains an exposition in detail of the moral law. It expands, classifies, and tabulates the moral teaching of the more popular treatises. The three *Pitakas* forming the sacred canon date from the time of Buddha himself to the third Council under As'oka. Later there grew up a vast subsidiary canon in Pāli, consisting of commentaries, manuals, treatises, works on legendary and semi-historical subjects, and religious poetry.

Hardly anything has been preserved of the older Buddhist canonical works in Sanskrit, corresponding

to the Pāli canonical writings. There are, however, Chinese translations of some of the early canonical works in Sanskrit. During the period under review there arose, as we have already seen, the two conflicting schools of Buddhist thought, the Mahāyāna and the Hīnāyāna, the Greater and the Lesser Vehicles, differing from each other much as Catholicism and Puritanism differ. The new Canon of the Mahāyāna—a school of thought which developed from the simpler and individualistic form of Buddhism much as Roman Catholicism developed from the simple form of religion in the New Testament—consists of the Vaipulya-Sūtras written in Sanskrit. Other Buddhist Sanskrit treatises of the Mahāyāna school are the two poems, the *Lalita Vistara* and the *Buddha-charita*, dealing with the life of Buddha like the earlier Sanskrit work, the *Mahā-vastu*. Important, too, are the *Saddharma Pundarīka*, "The Lotus of the Good Law," and the *Prajnā Pāramitā*, a later treatise on the Mahāyāna system. A large number of Buddhist Sanskrit books from the first century A.D. onwards were translated into Chinese, and after A.D. 600 made their way to Japan.

(4) Notwithstanding the unfavourable political conditions characteristic of the period under review, it was a time of considerable literary, religious, and philosophical activity in Brāhmanical circles. For several centuries Pāli, with its Buddhistic associations, had been the chief medium of literary intercourse. From the reign of Kanishka in the second century A.D., Sanskrit, which hitherto had been largely confined to the Brāhmanical schools, began to replace the vernacular Pāli as the language of the official and educated classes. This in itself is evidence of a remarkable change in the intellectual life of India. In the meantime, the Brāhmanical schools had not been idle. Most of the later additions to

the Epics were made during this period. In their present shape and form they represent the growth of several hundred years. To somewhere near the beginning of the Christian era must be assigned the Bhagavad Gītā, a remarkable Episode interpolated into the Mahābhārata, setting forth, in the form of a dialogue between Krishna and Arjuna, the conception of Krishna as both the absolute Brahma and a personal god, approachable with sacrifices and prayer. It is essentially eclectic in spirit, and presents a remarkable combination of philosophy and practical religion. In this respect it may be regarded as a pioneer work in the development of Hinduism out of Brāhmanism. To this period, too, must be ascribed the Code of Manu in its present form, though the ideal of social and political life that it presents is characteristic more of the preceding period. It was probably taken in hand by the Brāhmans as a corrective to the loose thinking, and still looser practice, that had become prevalent on account of the pressure of Buddhist and foreign influences. The work is not a mere law-book in the European sense of the word, but is a Brāhmanical code and guide in all matters religious, social, political, and legal, and is intended for Hindus in all ranks and conditions of life. It was during this age, too, that the six systems of philosophy took definite shape. In general, they deal with the nature of, and the pathway to, reality. The roots of the Sāṃkhya philosophy go far back to the seventh century B.C. It teaches that Nature and Soul are eternal and self-existent. The Yoga supplements the Sāṃkhya by presupposing the existence of a Supreme Being, and it treats of various ascetic exercises and practices. The Nyāya is logic, dealing with proof and the thing to be proved. The Vais'eshika is a school of atomic philosophy, and regards atoms as eternal and indestructible. The Mīmāmsā

insists on those Vedic rites which philosophy had neglected. The Vedānta, which has exercised so great an influence on the religious thought of India, ancient and modern, affirms that Brahma, the all-pervading Being, the Universal Soul, is the one reality in the external as well as in the internal world. All these schools of philosophy, with their abundant technical literature of a very varied character, pre-suppose a long period of minute philosophical discussion and elaborate thought. Much of this was accomplished during the period under review.

VI. The Age of Hindu Empire, with Hunnic Invasions, Buddhist and Brahmanical Rivalry, and Literary Revival (230 A.D.-700 A.D.).

The period between the fall of the Āndhra and Kushān dynasties, about 220 or 230 A.D., and the rise of the imperial Gupta dynasty nearly a century later, is one of the most obscure in Indian history. In the fourth century the darkness again lifts, and we witness once again the expansion of Magadha into a great empire.

(1) At the beginning of the fourth century A.D., a prince of Pāṭaliputra, bearing the famous name of Chandragupta, enhanced his power by taking to wife a princess named Kumāra Devi, belonging to the ancient and influential Lichchhavi clan in Tirhut, celebrated centuries before in the early annals of Buddhism. Chandragupta struck coins in the joint names of himself, his queen, and the Lichchhavis. It is clear that, in some way or other, this marriage secured for the Magadhan prince a paramount position in Magadha and the neighbouring countries. He extended his dominion along the Ganges valley as far as Prayāg or Allahābād, at the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna. His territory thus in-

cluded Tirhut, Bihār, Oudh, and certain adjoining districts. In 320 A.D., to commemorate his coronation, he established the Gupta era, which continued in use for several centuries.

(2) About 326 A.D., Chandragupta was succeeded by his son Samudragupta. He was a prince of many accomplishments and great achievements. His conquests rival those of Napoleon. He subdued the Gangetic provinces as far as the Sutlej, and marched his armies with unbroken success down as far as Madras. Crossing over to the western side, he compelled the princes of the Malabar coast and the Marāthā country to yield to the force of his arms and acknowledge him as their Lord Paramount—a truly wonderful campaign, involving more than 3,000 miles of marching through difficult country. It has been estimated that it must have occupied three years at least. The date of its probable conclusion is 340 A.D. Samudragupta ruled an empire by far the greatest that India had seen since the days of Aś'oka. He conquered practically the whole of India, and had alliances extending from Ceylon in the south to the Kushān kingdom on the banks of the Oxus. It was fitting that he should celebrate his victories and proclaim his claim to paramountcy by reviving, like Pushyamitra centuries before, the ancient rite of the horse-sacrifice. It is said that lavish gifts, amounting to millions of coins and gold pieces, were bestowed on the Brāhmans in honour of the event. Not only was he a great warrior, but highly proficient in music and poetry. On some of his coins he is engaged in playing the Indian lyre, and he is referred to as a king of poets and the author of numerous metrical works. He took much delight in the society of the learned, and in the study and defence of the sacred Scriptures. This great ruler, of such exceptional talents, gifts, and influence, is unknown to the early historians of

India even by name. His lost fame has been recovered in recent years by the minute study of inscriptions and coins. Highly important to a knowledge of Samudragupta's reign is the Kaus'āmbi pillar inscription, a record composed by his poet-laureate, which furnishes a detailed contemporary account of the events of the reign, and in this respect holds a very high place in the multitude of Indian inscriptions. It is interesting to note that this Sanskrit inscription was engraved on one of the stone pillars set up six centuries before by As'oka, and incised with one of his edicts in Pāli. The victorious reign of Samudragupta lasted for about half a century—326-375 A.D.

(3) The successor of Samudragupta was Chandragupta II., who took the title of Vikramāditya ("sun of power"). Probably this king is the original of the Vikramāditya of Ujjain, famous in Hindu legend, at whose Court shone the nine gems of literature and science The difficulty, however, is the matter of the date. The Vikram Samvat is the era used all over Northern India except in Bengal, and is reckoned from the year 58 B.C. It is clear that this date can have no connection with Chandragupta Vikramāditya, and there is no evidence that the date corresponds with any event in the life of any actual king, though some eminent scholars connect it with Kanishka. Down to the tenth century, however, the name of King Vikrama is not mentioned in connection with the era. It is rather spoken of as "the reckoning of the Mālavas," *i.e.*, of the Kings of Mālwā. Professor Kielhorn has suggested that, in the first place, *vikrama-kāla* or "war-time" was a term first applied to this era in view of the fact that it originally began in the autumn, and the autumn was the season for commencing campaigns. To poets the transition would be easy from *vikrama-kāla* to the era of Vikrama or Vikramāditya, the great king. In the

course of centuries the connection became firmly established. All historical evidence points to the fourth century as the era when the Sanskrit Literary Revival took place, and Chandragupta, who is known to have assumed the title of Vikramāditya, corresponds in all essential respects to the original of Hindu tradition.

Chandragupta extended his empire in the west and brought to an end the power of the S'akas, known as the Western Satraps. The territories of Sindh, Kāthiāwār, Mālwā, and the Konkān were thus added to his dominions, and he probably made the famous city of Ujjain, once the capital of the Satraps, a seat of residence, thus accounting for the association of Vikrama with Ujjain in Hindu tradition. The powerful kingdom of the S'aka Satraps of Surāshtra, thus overthrown, had endured for three centuries.

There are indications that Chandragupta made Ayodhyā his capital instead of Pātaliputra. At any rate, Ayodhyā seems to have been sometimes used by the Gupta dynasty as the headquarters of government He appears, like other members of the dynasty, to have furthered a revival of Brāhmanism at the expense of Buddhism, and to have given an impulse to art and literature. Distinguished alike for his military prowess and capable and benevolent administration, he ruled an empire more extensive than that conquered by his father. A posthumous inscription thus celebrates his military glory in elegant Sanskrit verse :

> By him with his own arm sole worldwide dominion was acquired and long held Although, as if wearied, he has in bodily form quitted this earth, and passed to the other world-country, won by his merit, yet, like the embers of a quenched fire in a great forest, the glory of his foe-destroying energy quits not the earth

His reign lasted for nearly forty years (375-413 A.D.).

In this reign, a notable Chinese pilgrim, Fa Hien, visited India, and spent six years travelling and sojourning in Chandragupta's wide dominions. His especial concern was the exploration of the scenes of Buddha's life, the copying of Buddhist texts, and converse with Buddhist monks and sages. His account shows that the festivals of the Buddhist Church were celebrated with much magnificence and splendid ceremony. He made an extended visit to Pātaliputra, spending three years in the study of Sanskrit. He was deeply impressed by the sight of As'oka's palace at Pāṭaliputra, and regarded the work as clearly beyond the skill of mortal hands. He describes also two great monasteries there, one occupied by followers of the Mahāyāna, and the other by those of the Hīnāyāna sects. The monks of both establishments, numbering six or seven hundred, were famous for their learning, and their lectures were attended by students and enquirers from all quarters. He found the religion of Buddha everywhere flourishing, though not dominant. Between it and Brāhmanism there seems to have been no open enmity. His record is highly valuable as a contemporary account of the administration of Chandragupta as it appeared to a devout, sensible, and learned pilgrim-traveller from a foreign country at the beginning of the fifth century. Charitable institutions were numerous, and Pāṭaliputra possessed an excellent free hospital endowed by benevolent and educated citizens. "Hither come," he writes, "all poor or helpless patients suffering from all kinds of infirmities. They are well taken care of, and a doctor attends them, food and medicine being supplied according to their wants. Thus they are made quite comfortable, and when they are well, they may go away." Fa Hien thinks that to Indians it is a matter of congratulation that they have not to register their households, or attend

to any magistrates and rules. As he puts it, "Those who want to go, may go; those who want to stop, may stop." The administration of criminal law was mild, judicial torture was not practised, and capital punishment seems to have been unknown. The sacredness of life was generally observed. "Throughout the country," he observes, "no one kills any living thing, or drinks wine, or eats onions or garlic. . . . They do not keep pigs or fowls; there are no dealings in cattle; no butchers' shops or distilleries in their market-places." Outcaste tribes dwelt apart like lepers, and were required to give warning of their approach by striking a piece of wood. These were the only hunters, fishermen, and butchers. The roads were safe for travel, for during all his wanderings in India, the pilgrim suffered nothing from brigands, like his successor, Hiuen Tsang, in the seventh century. It is clear that the government was both capable and popular, and that it did not interfere unduly with the daily life of the people. The main part of the revenue came from crown lands; and the royal officers, having fixed salaries, were not required to live on the people. Mr Vincent Smith expresses the opinion that "probably India has never been governed better, after the Oriental manner, than it was during the reign of Vikramāditya."

In A.D. 412 Chandragupta was succeeded by his son, Kumāragupta I, surnamed Mahendra, who reigned until A.D. 455. The details of his reign are but little known, but he succeeded in maintaining the integrity of the empire he inherited, and even felt justified in celebrating the horse-sacrifice as an assertion of paramount sovereignty. The later years of his reign were, however, troubled by the incursions of the foreign barbarians, the White Huns, aided by a tribe known as the Pushyamitras. His son Skandagupta, who reigned from 455 to 480 A.D., for a time succeeded in beating back the invaders, but

towards the close of his reign he was overwhelmed, and with his death the Gupta Empire fell to pieces. His brother, Puragupta, continued the dynasty in the eastern provinces, and he was succeeded by his son, Narasimhagupta, known otherwise as Bālāditya, to whom belongs the honour of inflicting a decisive defeat on the White Hun chief, Mihiragula. A local line of Gupta Rājās retained a limited authority until the eighth century.

(4) The Hunnic invasions, and their significance in Indian history, require more explicit notice. According to the Chinese chronicles, the Huns were originally a tribe of the great Yuehchi, living to the north of China's Great Wall. Driven westwards to seek support for their growing multitudes, these nomad Mongol tribes divided into two main streams, one directed toward the valley of the Oxus, and the other to that of the Volga. The latter poured into eastern Europe, and spread terror far and wide by the savagery of their manners and the uncouthness of their appearance. Gibbon's description may well be applied to the Huns who invaded India:

> The numbers, the strength, the rapid motions, and the implacable cruelty of the Huns, were felt and dreaded and magnified by the astonished Goths, who beheld their fields and villages consumed with flames and deluged with indiscriminate slaughter. To these real horrors they added the surprise and abhorrence which were excited by the shrill voice, the uncouth gestures, and the strange deformity of the Huns. They were distinguished from the rest of the human species by their broad shoulders, flat noses, and small black eyes, deeply buried in the head, and as they were almost destitute of beards, they never enjoyed the manly graces of youth, or the venerable aspect of age.

To the caste-bound Hindus, so fastidious in their ideas, these Huns were specially repulsive, with their bone-tipped javelins, skin clothes, and diet of herbs and half-raw meat, which they first made tender by using it as their saddle!

The Huns who invaded India and Persia in the fifth and sixth centuries were known to the

Byzantine writers as Ephthalites, and to Hindu writers as White Hūnas, though there can be little doubt that originally they belonged to the same stock as the Huns who swooped down upon Europe in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., and who, under the savage leadership of Attila, were able to defy and dictate terms to the courts of the Western and Eastern Empires of Europe at Ravenna and Constantinople. After overcoming the resistance of Persia, swarms of these invaders attacked the Kushān kingdom of Kabul, and then poured into India. For a time the Guptas were able to hold them in check. Towards the end of the fifth century their chief, Toramāṇa, penetrated as far as Mālwā in Central India, and succeeded in holding it for some time. On Toramāṇa's death, about 510 A.D., he was succeeded by his son, Mihiragula, who has the reputation of being a bloodthirsty tyrant, the Attila of India, which at this time was only one province of the Hun Empire extending as it did from the frontier of Persia, on the west, to Khotan, on the borders of China, on the east. Of Mihiragula it is recorded that his favourite amusement in Kashmir was watching elephants goaded into impassable precipitous hill-paths, so that he might laugh like a hend when they fell, with a wild shriek of terror and anger, to be dashed to pieces thousands of feet below. The savage invader, who, with a true sense of the fitness of things, worshipped as his patron saint Śiva, the god of destruction, exhibited ferocious hostility against the peaceful Buddhist cult, and remorselessly overthrew *stūpas* and monasteries, which he plundered of their treasures. We can hardly be surprised at the way in which Buddhist saints greeted his death. "For having killed countless victims and overthrown the law of Buddha, he has now fallen into the lowest hell, where he shall pass endless ages of retribution."

One of the most obscure incidents is the defeat which broke the power of the Huns in Western India in or about 528 A.D. Inscriptions found at Mandasor give the glory of the achievement to Yas'odharman. Who this Yas'odharman was, whence he sprang, and what became of him, is uncertain. He is described as one who "delivered the earth when it was oppressed by the kings of the present age." "The head of the fierce Mihiragula knew the pain of making a forced obeisance to his conqueror, the glorious Yas'odharman." On the other hand, Hiuen Tsang gives the credit for the victory over the Huns to Bālāditya, King of Magadha. The victory was probably due to a confederation of princes with Bālāditya and Yas'odharman at the head. Mihiragula's life was spared, and he was allowed to take refuge in Kashmir, where, after a few years, he seized the throne, and then attacked the neighbouring kingdom of Gandhāra, perpetrating terrible massacres. He died about 540, and soon afterwards the empire of the White Huns in the Oxus valley collapsed. In the middle of the sixth century they were attacked by Turkish tribes, and the gradual weakening of the Sassanian power in Persia enabled the Turks to annex the countries which had been included in the Hun Empire In India the Huns appear to have survived in small principalities and communities, and to have added a new element to the population. Among the thirty-six royal clans of Rājputāna the Hūnas form one. The Gūrjaras, too, appear to have entered India in connection with the Hunnic invasions.

(5) The sixth century was, like the third, a period of confusion, and between the fall of the Gupta Empire and the accession of Harsha of Kanauj there is a gap of nearly a century in our knowledge. The ancient polity had been dislocated by the shock of barbaric invasion, and there is no trace of

historical unity. Harsha was the younger son of the King of Thānes'ar, the Hindu holy land near Ambalā. The elder son succeeded to the throne on the death of the father, but soon after he was treacherously slain by Sasānka, the king of Eastern Bengal, in a conference to which he had been invited. In 606 A D Harsha ascended the throne, and after rescuing his hapless sister from her royal abductor, the King of Mālwā, who had as an ally Sasānka, King Harsha devoted himself to the subjugation of India. In the height of his power his military force consisted of 60,000 war elephants and 100,000 cavalry, besides infantry. After six years' incessant warfare, he made himself undisputed master of Northern India, and founded an era called after his name About 620 A.D, following in the steps of Samudragupta, he tried to conquer the south, but the attempt proved unsuccessful. He suffered a reverse at the hands of the powerful Chālukyan monarch, Pulakes'in II., lord paramount of the Deccan, and was obliged to retire As late as the year 643 he was engaged in conflict with the inhabitants of Ganjam on the Orissa coast. The few remaining years of his life were devoted to piety and deeds of benevolence in accordance with Buddhist teaching. He set himself to emulate As'oka and became a liberal patron of religion, art, and literature, and he himself was an author of no mean merit, the well-known drama *Ratnāvali* being ascribed to him. Harsha ruled a great Empire, which included the whole basin of the Ganges from the Himalayas to the Narbada river. He was the last native monarch, Buddhist or Hindu, to wield paramount power as an Emperor. His death in 648 A.D., after a reign of more than forty years, was followed by an immediate collapse of his Empire, and there followed an era of petty states and chaos. The events of his reign are related by Hiuen Tsang, the famous Chinese pilgrim,

and by Bāṇa, a Brāhman of his Court. He made the ancient city of Kanauj, famous from prehistoric times, his capital.

(6) Of great importance for Indian history and religion are the records of the Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang (Hsuan Tsiang). His writings throw much light on the geography, history, manners, and religion of the people of India during a very dark period. He spent some fifteen years of the best part of his life in India (630-645 A D.), from the age of twenty-five to forty, mastering Sanskrit and the depths of Buddhist philosophy, visiting sites consecrated by the history of Sakya Muni, the Buddha, and collecting books, relics, and other sacred objects. On his return to his native land, he carried with him great collections of books, precious images, and relics, sufficient to form a load for twenty-two horses. A few extracts from the pilgrim's memoirs will give some idea of the character of the work :

With respect to the ordinary people, although they are naturally quick-tempered, yet they will not take anything wrongly, and they yield more than justice requires In money matters they are without craft, and in administering justice they are considerate They dread the retribution of another state of existence, and make light of the things of the present world They are not deceitful or treacherous in their conduct, and are faithful to their oaths and promises In their rules of government there is much gentleness and sweetness The law of the state is sometimes violated by base persons, and plots are made against the ruler When the matter has been fully sifted, the offenders are imprisoned for life There is no infliction of corporal punishment, they are simply left to live or die, and are not counted among men Where the rules of propriety or justice are violated, or when a man fails in loyalty or filial piety, they cut off his nose or his ears, or his hands and feet, or expel him from the country, or drive him out into the desert wilds For other faults, except these, a small payment of money will commute the punishment In the investigation of criminal cases, there is no use of rod or staff to obtain proofs (of guilt) In questioning an accused person, if he replies with frankness, the punishment is proportioned accordingly, but if the accused obstinately denies his fault, or, in spite of it, attempts to excuse himself, then, in searching out the truth to the bottom, when it is necessary to pass sentence, there are four kinds of ordeal used—ordeal by water, by fire, by weighing, and by poison When the ordeal is by water, the

accused is placed in a sack connected with a stone vessel, and thrown into deep water. They then judge of his innocence or guilt in this way—if the man sinks and the stone floats, he is guilty, but if the man floats and the stone sinks, he is pronounced innocent

The other ordeals are on similar lines. And again :

As the administration of the government is founded on benign principles, the executive is simple The families are not entered on registers, and the people are not subject to forced labour contribution The private demesnes of the Crown are divided into four principal parts the first is for carrying out the affairs of state and providing sacrificial offerings, the second is for the endowment of the ministers and chief officers of state, the third is for rewarding men of distinguished intelligence, learning, or ability, and the fourth is for charity to religious bodies, whereby the field of merit is cultivated (planted) In this way the taxes on the people are light, and the personal service required of them is moderate Each one keeps his hereditary occupation as he pleases, and attends to his patrimony Those who cultivate the royal estates pay a sixth part of the produce as rent The merchants who engage in commerce come and go in carrying out their transactions The river-passages and the road-barriers are open on payment of a small toll When the public works require it, labour is exacted but paid for The payment is in strict proportion to the work done.

In cultivating the land, those whose duty it is sow and reap, plough and harrow, and plant according to the season, and after their labour they rest awhile Among the products of the ground, rice and wheat are most plentiful With respect to edible herbs and vegetables, we may name ginger and mustard, melons and pumpkins, the heun-to plant (Skt *kunda*, properly the olibanum tree), and others Onions and garlic are little grown, and few persons eat them, if anyone uses them for food, they are expelled beyond the walls of the town The most usual food is milk, butter, cream, soft ginger, sugar-candy, the oil of the mustard-seed, and likewise all sorts of cakes made of corn Fish, mutton, the flesh of the gazelle, and venison they eat generally fresh, sometimes salted, they are forbidden to eat the flesh of the ox, the ass, the elephant, the horse, the pig, the dog, the fox, the wolf, the lion, the monkey, and all the hairy kind Those who eat them are despised and scorned, and are universally reprobated, they live outside the walls and are seldom seen among men

Speaking of the change that the doctrines of Buddha had undergone, he says :

As the time is now remote since the Holy One lived, his doctrine is presented in a changed form, and is therefore understood orthodoxly or heterodoxly, according to the intelligence of those who inquire into it The different schools are constantly at variance and their contending utterances rise like the angry waves of the sea. The different schools have their separate

masters, but they aim to reach one and the same end, though by different ways There are eighteen schools, each claiming pre-eminence. The tenets of the Great and the Little Vehicle differ widely There are some of the followers who give themselves up to meditation, and devote themselves, whether walking, standing still, or sitting down, to the acquirement of wisdom and insight Others, on the contrary, differ from these in raising noisy contentions about their faith

In 643 A.D., the Chinese pilgrim visited the Court of the Emperor Harsha, and was received with great honour and favour. So pleased was the Emperor with the preaching of the Chinese Master of the Law, that he published a decree to the effect that "if anyone should hurt or touch the master, he shall be forthwith beheaded ; and whosoever speaks against him, his tongue shall be cut out ; but all those who desire to profit by his instruction, relying on my goodwill, need not fear this proclamation." Under the circumstances, we are not surprised to read that "from this time the followers of error withdrew and disappeared, so that, when eighteen days had passed, there had been no one to enter on the discussion." In the memoirs of the Chinese scholar there is an account of a great Buddhist festival at Kanauj, specially intended by King Harsha for the exaltation of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism as taught by Hiuen Tsang himself. The adherents of the Hīnāyāna, in jealous rage, made an attempt on the life of the Chinese visitor; similarly certain Brāhmans organised a conspiracy against the king's person ; on the plot being defeated, the chief conspirators were detected and 500 Brahmans banished to the frontiers. At Prayāg, the modern Allahābād, in January, 644 A.D., the pilgrim witnessed a still more splendid spectacle, attended by half a million of people and twenty kings, including the king of Vallabhi in Kāthiāwār in the extreme west, and the king of Kāmarūpa (Assam) from the extreme east. On the first day an image of Buddha was set up and honoured with rich

offerings; on the second day, the Sun, the tutelary deity of the king's father, was accorded similar honours, though less in amount; on the third day the veneration fell to Śiva, the patron god of the king's remote ancestor. For the space of seventy-five days the time of the royal officers was taken up in the distribution of gifts to holy men of all sects. The Buddhist monks were accorded precedence, then a vast number of Brāhmans, followed by Jains and other sectarians, and lastly the wants of the poor and destitute. The rich accumulation of five years, piled up in several hundred storehouses, were thus given away. "Except the horses, elephants, and military accoutrements, which were necessary for maintaining order, and protecting the royal estate, nothing remained. Besides these, the king freely gave away his gems and pearls, his clothing and necklaces, ear-rings, bracelets, chaplets, neck-jewel, and bright head-jewel—all these he freely gave away without stint." From Hiuen Tsang's memoirs it is clear that Buddhism in the seventh century A.D. had still considerable power in the land of its birth, though one gets the impression that it had fallen below the position which it held in Fa Hien's day. The followers of the two rival creeds seem to be fairly evenly matched. As a moral power, however, Buddhism is clearly on the wane.

(7) During this period there was a notable revival of the Sanskrit language, and a golden age of Sanskrit literature. As the influence of the Brāhman pundits increased in matters of religion and social observance, Sanskrit, the sacred language of the Brāhmans, and a highly artificial modification of the vernacular speech of the Eastern Punjab, became more widely diffused, and gradually superseded the vernacular in all formal and official writings and documents. The transition period

appears to be the second century A.D. The Western satraps fostered the new tendencies in the third century, and in the fourth and fifth centuries the Gupta emperors, though tolerant of Buddhism and Jainism, were zealous Hindus, guided by Brāhman advisers, and skilled in Sanskrit. Through their powerful patronage, a general literary impulse extended to every department of Sanskrit literature. In the seventh century, King Harsha, though, in his later years at any rate, a devout Buddhist, was a liberal patron of Sanskrit literature and himself an accomplished Sanskrit writer. No more than a very brief review is possible of some of the main departments of Sanskrit literature represented in the period. For convenience sake, several works of importance in the preceding and succeeding periods are referred to here under their appropriate headings.

(a) Artificial Epics and Romances.

As the Purānas, two or three of which are assigned to this period, are the continuation of the Mahābhārata, so the Rāmāyana became the prototype of a number of artificial or court Epics, known as *kāvyas*, poems of a religious-erotic character. The best known and most important of these are ascribed to Kālidāsa, India's greatest dramatic author (*a*) His *Raghuvams'a*, or "Race of Raghu," describes the life of Rāma (a descendant of Raghu), together with an account of his forefathers and successors. It consists of nineteen cantos. The story of Rāma himself occurs in cantos ten to fifteen. The work abounds in striking similes, and contains much genuine poetry. (*b*) The *Kumārasambhava* of Kālidāsa, "The Birth of the War God," consists of seventeen cantos, the firsts even being entirely devoted to the courtship and wedding of S'iva and Pārvati, the parents of the youthful

war-god Kumāra or Skanda. The last ten cantos are usually omitted from the manuscripts and editions of the poem, probably on account of their specially erotic nature rendering them unsuitable for educational purposes, for which the works of Kālidāsa are so largely used in India. There has been much discussion concerning the date of Kālidāsa. "We have good reason to believe," writes Professor Macdonell, "that he flourished not later than A.D. 450. On the other hand, his knowledge of the scientific astronomy borrowed from the Greeks shows that he can hardly have lived earlier than A.D. 300." In view of the fact that Hindu tradition regards him as the most famous of the nine gems—authors and scientists who adorned the Court of King Vikramāditya of Ujjain—it is reasonable to assume that he was a contemporary of Chandragupta Vikramāditya, who, early in the fifth century, annexed the territories of the Western Satraps, and probably adopted Ujjain, once the capital of the Satraps, as a royal residence. At any rate, Hindu tradition must be wrong in assigning him to the first century B.C., as we have already observed. (*c*) The *Kirātārjunīya* is a poem in eighteen cantos by Bhāravi, who is mentioned, together with Kālidāsa, in an inscription dated A.D. 634. It describes a combat between the Pāṇḍava prince Arjuna and the god S'iva, in the guise of a kirāta or wild mountaineer. The artificial character of the poem is shown from the fact that each half-line of one of its stanzas is identical with the other half, if its syllables are read backward. (*d*) The *S'is'upāla-badha*, or "The Slaying of S'is'upāla," a poem of twenty cantos, is ascribed to the poet Māgha, and is often called *Māgha-kāvya*. Its date is about the second half of the seventh century. The poem describes how S'is'upāla, a prince of Chedi and a cousin of Kṛishṇa, was slain in combat by the

latter at the inauguration service of Yuddhisṭhira, because he had been reviled for carrying off the intended wife of the slain prince. (*e*) The *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya*, ascribed to the poet and grammarian Bhartṛi-hari, who died in A.D. 651, relates the story of Rāma and the slaying of Ravāna, and was written with the sole object of illustrating the less common grammatical forms of Sanskrit grammar, and the figures of rhetoric and poetry. (*f*) The *Naishadha-charita* deals with the well-known episode of the Mahā-bhārata, the story of Nala, King of Nishadha, who, like Yuddhisthira, lost his all in gambling, and then was driven to wander in the forest with his faithful spouse Damayantī. The poem is ascribed to S'rihaisha, who may have lived in the twelfth century. These six poems are known as Māhakāvyas, or "Great Poems," and have all been commented on by Mallināṭha. The *Nalodaya*, describing the restoration to power of King Nala after he had lost his all, is full of artificial metres and elaborate tricks of style. Certain prose romances, dating from the sixth and seventh centuries, and classed by Sanskrit writers as Kāvyas, require mention here. The style of these works is rendered specially difficult by the elaborate use of immense compounds, and lengthy descriptions full of long strings of comparisons. (*a*) The *Dasakumāra-charita*, or "Adventures of the Ten Princes," written by Dandin, the author of the *Kāvyādarś'a*, a manual of poetics, dates from the sixth century. It contains stories of common city life, and reflects a corrupt state of society. (*b*) *Vāsavadatta* takes its name from a princess of Ujjain, who, in a dream, fell in love with Udayana, King of Vatsa, and on the latter being decoyed to that city and kept in captivity by her father, was carried off by him from a rival suitor. (*c*) The *Kādambarī*, a poetical romance relating the fortunes of a princess of that name, was written by Bāṇa in

the beginning of the seventh century. (*d*) *Harsha-charita* is an historical romance in which Bāna gives some account of the life of his patron, King Harsha of Kanauj. The work contains a number of data which are of historical importance.

(*b*) *The Drama.*

The origin of the Indian Drama is involved in obscurity, but a rude form of pantomime, with dancing, appears to have been the starting-point. Singing and dialogue were in due time added. The Sanskrit name of the curtain, *yavanikā*, suggests the possibility of Greek influence on the Indian drama during the rule of Greek dynasties in North-West India. The influence, however, could have been of only a slight character, as the drama in India gives evidence of independent development on national lines

The earliest references to the drama date from about the second century B.C, being found in Patanjali's *Mahābhāshya*, or "Great Commentary" on Pāṇini. It is clear that, at that early period, there were representations of episodes in the history of Krishna, such as the death of Kaṃsa or the capture of Bali. The earliest drama may have thus taken the form of a religious play, which enacted scenes from the life of Krishna, mainly by means of song and dance, supplemented by improvised prose dialogue, much on the lines of the modern Bengali jātrās (Skt. yātrās). The lyrical stanzas are an important element in the standard drama, forming, in *S'akuntalā*, for instance, about one-half of the whole piece. The prose is often of a commonplace character, and takes a subordinate position in the play. A noteworthy feature of the Indian drama is the employment of different dialects according to the social position of the persons represented; Saṇskrit being spoken by men of rank, and Prākrit

by women, and by men of the lower orders. Tragedy, in the sense of a play ending sadly, is unknown to the Sanskrit Drama. There is always a happy termination to the story. The court jester usually plays a prominent part. The main theme is love, and the hero is often a king, already the husband of one or more wives, in accordance with oriental custom. He falls in love with some beautiful girl, and finally succeeds in his quest. The following plays, twelve in number, are considered the best specimens of the Indian Drama, and were written between about A.D. 400 and 800. (*a*) The *Mrichchhakatikā*, or "Little Clay Cart," is pre-eminent among Indian plays for its vigour, life, and action. It is attributed to a king named S'udraka, but may have been composed by Dandin, a poet patronised by him. The scene of the play is laid in Ujjain and its neighbourhood, and it probably belongs to the sixth century, though some date it considerably earlier. It may be described as a comedy of middle-class life, treating of the courtship and marriage of a poor but noble Brāhman merchant, Chārudatta, who has been ruined by his excessive liberality. The woman he loves and ultimately marries is a wealthy and large-hearted courtesan, Vasantasenā, whom an evil-minded prince pursues with his addresses, and ultimately strangles when his addresses are rejected. Chārudatta is held guilty of the murder, and is about to be executed when his lady-love again appears on the scene, having been discovered apparently dead by a Buddhist mendicant, and nursed back to life in a neighbouring convent. Chārudatta is released and raised to high office by a new and friendly king who had just seized the throne, who also raises Vasantasenā to the position of an honest woman to enable her to become the wife of Chārudatta. The Buddhist mendicant is made chief of all the Buddhist monas-

teries in the land. The play is a long one, divided into ten acts. The name "Little Clay Cart" is derived from an unimportant episode of the sixth act. The great value of the play is contained in the side-light it throws on the history of the people, and the social life of the period. (*b*) Kālidāsa is the most eminent of Indian dramatists, and *S'akuntalā* is the most famous of his plays (the other two being *Vikramorvasi* and *Mālavikāgnimitra*). It was the translation of *S'akuntalā* by Sir William Jones in 1789 that first revealed to the western world the existence of an Indian Drama, and by common consent it is admitted to be one of the masterpieces of the poetic literature of the world It describes the romance of King Dushyanta, a celebrated king of ancient days, and the daughter of a celestial nymph. While engaged in the chase, pursuing a gazelle, he catches sight of S'akuntalā watering her favourite trees in the sacred grove of her guardian, the sage Kanva In admiration he exclaims :

> Her lip is ruddy as an opening bud,
> Her graceful arms resemble tender shoots
> Attractive as the bloom upon the tree,
> The glow of youth is spread on all her limbs

The two fall in love with each other and are duly wedded according to the Gandharva form of marriage—a simple plighted troth. The king has soon to leave S'akuntalā on an urgent summons to return to his kingdom ; but as a sign of future recognition he leaves her his token ring. Dreaming of her husband, she neglects to receive with due rites of hospitality a great sage, who became so enraged by the neglect that he cursed S'akuntalā, declaring that the king would never more recollect her face. He afterwards relented to the extent of declaring that the king's memory would be restored on sight of the token ring. The remainder of the play is concerned with the working out of the sage's curse.

S'akuntalā lost the ring when bathing, and it was swallowed by a fish. When she arrived at the court, with her child, she was disowned by the king, who had no recollection of her. The play ends with the recovery of the ring by two fishermen, the restoration of the king's memory, and the recognition of S'akuntalā as queen, and of her son Bharata, mythical inventor of the Drama, as heir to the kingdom. The play, which has seven acts, is idealistic in conception, full of lofty sentiment and elaborate diction. It does not profess to mirror the social conditions of the people, but is unsurpassed for the music of its poetry. (*c*) The *Vikramorvas'ī*, "Urvas'ī won by valour," is a drama by Kālidāsa, containing five acts. It deals with the story, foreshadowed in the Rigveda, of King Purūravas and the nymph Urvas'ī. The king goes to the rescue of the nymph Urvas'ī, who had been carried off by demons. He succeeds in his effort, and is enraptured by her beauty, while she too is no less captivated by her deliverer. The lovers are soon obliged to part, as the nymph is summoned before the throne of Indra. The lovers, who have against them a wrathful, jealous queen, had to undergo many trials of separation, on account of the curse of Bharata, dramatic teacher of Urvas'ī, but they have Indra on their side. On one occasion she is instantly transformed into a creeper for having heedlessly wandered into the grove of Kumāra, god of war. The king, beside himself with grief, inquires of various insects, birds, beasts, and even a mountain peak, to tell him where she is. Thinking he sees her in the mountain stream, he exclaims:

> The rippling wave is like her frown, the row
> Of tossing birds her girdle, streaks of foam
> Her flutt'ring garment as she speeds along,
> The current, her devious and stumbling gait
> 'Tis she turned in her wrath into a stream

Under the influence of a magic stone, a creeper

which he clasps is transformed into Urvas'ī in his arms. After still further separation, the nymph is finally allowed to remain with the king for good. (*d*) The *Mālavikāgnimitra*, or "Mālavikā and Agnimitra," another play of Kālidāsa in five acts, is distinctly inferior to his other two plays in poetic merit, but supplies a specially good picture of the social life of the times, derived from the ordinary palace life of Indian princes. The hero is a historical king of the dynasty of the S'ungas, who reigned at Vidis'ā (Bhilsa) in Central India in the second century B.C. King Agnimitra, who has two wives, falls in love with Mālavikā, maid to the first queen. Every effort is made to keep the maid out of the king's sight, on account of her great beauty. The king, in pressing his suit, acts with much delicate consideration for the feelings of his spouses. In the end, Mālavikā turns out to be of royal birth, and is accepted by the queens as their sister. (*e*) The *Ratnāvalī*, or "The Pearl Necklace," is ascribed to King Harsha of Kanauj, a patron of poets, but the real author may have been Bāṇa, a poet resident at the king's court The play represents the love-story of Udayana, King of Vatsa, and Sāgarikā, an attendant of his queen Vāsavadattā. It turns out that the heroine is Ratnāvalī, princess of Ceylon, sent by her father to become the second wife of Udayana, who had found her way to Udayana's Court after suffering shipwreck. Thus, as in Kalidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, which the play resembles in many points, obstacles to the marriage are removed, and Ratnāvalī is recognised by the queen as a sister. It is an agreeable play, with well-drawn characters, and many poetical beauties. According to H. H. Wilson, who has translated the play into English, "the manners depicted are not influenced by lofty principle or profound reflection, but they are mild, affectionate, and elegant. It may

be doubted whether the harems of other Eastern nations, either in ancient or modern times, would afford material for as favourable a delineation." (*f*) The *Nāgānanda*, or "The Joy of the Serpents," is ascribed to King Harsha. It is notable as the only Indian Buddhist drama which has been preserved. The scene is laid in semi-divine regions. A certain prince, Jīmūtavāhana, imbued with Buddhist principles, resolves to exemplify in his action the supreme virtue of self-sacrifice. Learning that Garuḍa, the mythic bird, is in the habit of consuming one serpent daily, he offers himself to the divine bird as a victim, and finally succeeds in converting Garuda to the principles of *ahiṁsā*, or abstention from doing injury to living beings. The princess is a votary of the goddess Gaurī, wife of S'iva, and through the timely intervention of the goddess, the prince is restored to his former condition, just as he is about to succumb from the wounds he has received. The drama begins with a benedictory stanza to Buddha, and ends with one to Gaurī. The doctrines of the play are in keeping with the religious views of King Harsha. It has been suggested that the real author may have been Dhāvaka, who is known to have lived at the court of Harsha. (*g*) The *Mālatī-mādhava* is the most popular of the plays of a very eminent Indian dramatist, Bhavabhūti, who flourished in the earlier part of the eighth century and disputes with Kālidāsa the palm of pre-eminence as a dramatist. While he is more artificial in language than his rival Kālidāsa, and in general is more bound by rules, he is usually regarded as quite his equal in dramatic genius. The *Mālatī-mādhava* is a powerful melodrama, with love as its theme, and has been called the *Romeo and Juliet* of the Hindus, though the ending is a happy one. The scene is laid in Ujjain. The subject of the play is the love-story of Mālatī, daughter of a minister of

the country, and Mādhava, a young scholar studying in the city, the son of a minister of a neighbouring king. The two have been destined for each other from childhood, and when they meet they fall in love. The king has, however, resolved that the heroine shall marry an old and ugly favourite of his, and the plan is only frustrated by Makaranda, a friend of Mādhava, personating Mālatī and going through the wedding ceremony with the bridegroom. Two amiable Buddhist nuns, too, aid the lovers in their project until they are finally united. (*h*) The *Mahāvīra-charita*, or "The Adventures of the Great Hero," another play by Bhavabhūti, follows closely the story told in the Rāmāyana, and concludes with the coronation of Rāma (*i*) The *Uttara-Rāma-charita*, or "Later Adventures of Rāma," is the third and final of Bhavabhūti's dramas. The plot begins with the banishment of Sītā, and ends with her restoration, after ten years of grievous solitude, to the throne of Ayodhyā, with her twin sons born after her banishment, and reared in the wilderness by the sage Vālmīki without any knowledge of their royal descent. The work is a dramatic poem rather than a play, and contains some of the finest poetical passages in Indian literature. There are three other Sanskrit plays of importance belonging to the next period, but mentioned here for the sake of completeness. They are (*j*), (*k*), and (*l*) as given below. (*j*) The *Mudrā-rākshasa*, or "Rākshasa and the Seal," is a drama of political intrigue, partly based on historical events. It belongs probably to the ninth century, the author being Viśākhadatta. The action of the piece takes place in the time of Chandragupta Maurya, who, soon after Alexander's invasion of India, deposed the last king of the Nanda line, and with the help of his minister, the Brāhman Chāṇakya, founded a new dynasty at Pāṭaliputra. Rākshasa, the minister of the Nanda King, refused to

recognise the usurper, and was making efforts to avenge the ruin of his master. The plot turns on the successful diplomacy of the Brāhman Chānakya in winning over to his master's cause the noble Rākshasa. The plot is worked out with considerable dramatic skill (*k*) The *Veṇīsamhāra*, or "Binding of the Braid of Hair," is by Bhatta Nārāyaṇa, and dates from the earlier half of the ninth century. According to tradition, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyana was one of the five Kanauj Brāhmans whom King Adisūra of Bengal, desirous of establishing the pure Vaishnava doctrine, invited to his Court, and from whom the modern Bengali Brāhmans are supposed to be descended. The play consists of six acts, and is based on an incident in the story of the Mahābhārata when Draupadī, having been lost at dice by Yudishthira, is dragged by the hair of the head into the assembly by a brother of Duryodhana, one of the Kauravas. The insult is avenged by Bhīma slaying the offender, and Draupadī's hair is tied up again as becomes a married woman. The play is not noted for poetic merit, but its partiality for the cult of Krishna has made it popular in India. (*l*) The *Prabodha-Chandrodaya*, or "Rise of the Moon of Knowledge," is by Krishna Mis'ra, and dates from about A.D. 1100. It contains six acts, and is remarkable as being an allegorical play, the *dramatis personæ* of which consist entirely of abstract ideas, divided into two conflicting hosts. The plot is developed with remarkable life and vigour. Professor Macdonell writes:

It aims at glorifying orthodox Brahmanism in the Vishnuite sense, just as the allegorical plays of the Spanish poet Calderon were intended to exalt the Catholic faith The Indian poet has succeeded in the difficult task of creating an attractive play with abstractions like Revelation, Will, Reason, Religion, by transforming them into living beings of flesh and blood The evil King Error appears on the scene as ruler of Benares, surrounded by his faithful adherents, the Follies and Vices, while Religion and the noble King Reason, accompanied by all the Virtues,

have been banished. There is, however, a prophecy that Reason will some day be re-united with Revelation, the fruit of the union will be True Knowledge, which will destroy the reign of Error. The struggle for this union, and its consummation, followed by the final triumph of the good party, forms the plot of the piece.

(c) *Lyrical Poetry.*

The lyrical poetry in Sanskrit literature is for the most part contained in the Dramas. There are, however, a few independent productions of importance, among them two of the most perfect works of Kālidāsa—the *Meghadūta* and the *Ritu-samhāra*. (*a*) The *Meghadūta*, or "Cloud Messenger," is a lyrical work, consisting of forty-five stanzas, composed in the Mandākrānta metre of four lines of seventeen syllables. The theme is a message which an exile in Central India sends by means of a cloud to his wife in the Himalayas. The exile is a Yaksha or attendant of Kubera, the god of wealth, and he has been banished to the groves on the slopes of Rāmagiri for some neglect of duty. On seeing a cloud move northward at the approach of the rainy season, he is filled with the desire to use the cloud as a messenger to convey a message of hope to his wife in the remote Himalayas. In the first part of the poem, the Yaksha describes with much power the scenes of beauty to be traversed by the cloud on its northward course, till finally Mount Kailāsa is reached; while in the second half, he describes the charms of his own home, and the loveliness, the occupations, and the grief of his wife. The cloud shall proclaim to her the love and longing of his heart.

In creepers I discern thy form, in eyes of startled hinds thy glances,
And in the moon thy lovely face, in peacocks' plumes thy shining tresses,
Thy sportive frown upon thy brow, in flowing waters' tiny ripples
But never in one place combined can I, alas! behold thy likeness

Finally he begs the cloud to return to him with reassuring news, and expresses the hope that he

may never be divided from his lightning spouse. The poem won the warm admiration of Goethe. (*b*) The *Ritu-saṃhāra*, or "The Cycle of the Seasons," another work by Kālidāsa, consists of 153 stanzas in six cantos, composed in various metres. It describes, in highly poetical language, the six seasons into which classical Sanskrit poets usually divide the Indian year. Interwoven with glowing accounts of the beauties and changes of Nature, is the expression of the change in human emotions and hopes. The poet dwells longest on the delights of spring, the last of the six seasons in the Indian year, when the blossoms of the mango-tree serve as the sharp arrows wherewith the god of the flowery bow inflames the hearts of maidens to love. (*c*) The *Chaura-panchās'ikā*, or "Fifty Stanzas of the Thief," is a lyric of much beauty by the Kashmirian poet Bilhaṇa, who flourished in the latter half of the eleventh century. According to tradition, the poet was condemned to death for stealing the love of a princess. The thief thereupon composed fifty stanzas, each beginning with the words, "Even now I remember," in which he describes with ardour the joys of the love he had experienced. The king was so affected that he pardoned the author, and bestowed on him the hand of his daughter. (*d*) The *Amaru-s'ataka*, or "Hundred Stanzas of Amaru," is an important lyrical collection ascribed to a King Amaru. The author shows great skill in depicting varying moods, and the various stages of estrangement and reconciliation. Like other Indian lyrists, however, his tendency is to describe the sensuous rather than the romantic and ideal type of love. (*e*) The *S'ṛingāra-s'ataka*, or "Century of Love," is by Bhartṛihari, grammarian, poet, philosopher, man of the world, and monk, who seven times alternated in his choice between the pleasures

of the world and the rigorous asceticism of the Buddhist cloister. In graceful verse he muses on the charms of women and the arts with which they captivate the hearts of men. The *S'ringāra-tilaka*, or "Ornament of Love," is a short collection of twenty-three charming love stanzas ascribed by tradition to Kālidāsa. (*f*) One other work, partly dramatical, partly lyrical, needs to be mentioned here, the *Gītagovinda*, which may be regarded as the Indian Song of Solomon. Professor Macdonell says :

> The transition from pure lyric to pure drama is represented by the Gītagovinda, or "Cowherd in Song," a poem which, though dating from the twelfth century A D , is the earliest literary specimen of a primitive type of play that still survives in Bengal, and must have preceded the regular drama There is no dialogue in the proper sense, each of the three characters merely engaging in a kind of lyrical monologue, of which one of the other two is generally supposed to be an auditor The subject is the love of Krishna and the beautiful Rādhā, their estrangement and final reconciliation It is a highly artificial poem, but its author, Jayadeva, has attained great perfection of form by combining grace of diction with ease in handling the most intricate metres Making abundant use of alliteration and very complex rhymes, the poet has adapted the most varied and melodious measures to the expression of exuberant and erotic emotions with a skill which could not be surpassed *

The author, Jayadeva, was probably a native of Bengal. Hindu commentators give the poem a mystic interpretation, for, "as Krishna, faithless for a time, discovers the vanity of all other loves, and returns with sorrow and longing to his own darling Rādhā, so the human soul, after a brief and frantic attachment to the objects of sense, burns to return to the God from whence it came."

(*d*) *Fable Literature and Proverbial Philosophy.*

Indian literature is rich in fairy tales and fables, into which verses containing moral reflections and

* *The Indian Empire*, Vol II , p 243

proverbial philosophy are introduced. (*a*) The most important work of this class is the *Pañchatantra*, so called because divided into five books. It is impossible to say when this interesting collection took definite shape, but we know that, in the sixth century A.D., a translation into Pahlavi, the literary language of Persia under the Sassanids, of a number of these old fables, was made by a physician at the Court of the Persian King, Khosru Ānūshīrvān. No traces of the Pahlavi translation can now be found. A Syriac translation, however, made from the Pahlavi in the same century, under the title of "Kalīlag and Damnag"—from the Sanskrit Karaṭaka and Damanaka, two jackals who play an important part as the lion's counsellors—has been discovered and published. An Arabic version (made before 760 A.D.) entitled "Kalīlah and Dimnah," has also survived. Numerous European editions of the work were derived directly or indirectly from the Arabic translation. Through the Latin version, which was derived from the Hebrew translation, the work became known all over Europe as the Fables of Pilpay or Bidpai (from the Sanskrit vidyā-pati or "chief scholar"). Many of these Indian stories appear in the well-known Fables of La Fontaine, and have found their way into the fable literature of nearly every land. The literary influence of the Pañchatantra has thus been of a very far-reaching character.

There is a very close connection between the stories contained in the Pañchatantra, and those found in the Jātakas, or the stories of the previous births of the Buddhas. The early Buddhist teachers adopted, with but little change, the folklore and fables already current in India, and made the hero of each story into a Bodhisatta—that is, a being who is destined, after a number of subsequent births, to become a Buddha. The Jātakas, which

include 547 birth-stories, are the most ancient and most complete collection of folklore now extant in any literature in the world. The collection was made in the fourth, or at latest in the third, century B.C., though it did not assume the shape it now has in the Sutta-pitaka (a part of the Pāli canon) till the fifth century A.D. There is no evidence that the Pañchatantra is based on the Buddhist collection. It is more probable that they both drew their materials from the same source, the folklore and fables current in the mouths of the people at the time There are two main recensions of the Pañchatantra, the northern and the southern. The oldest form of the original Sanskrit text appears to have been preserved by the *Tantrākyāyika*, probably written in Kashmir by a Vishṇuite Brāhman in the second century B.C. Professor Macdonell writes :

> The work is pervaded by a quaint humour, attributing all sorts of human action to the brute creation Thus, animals devote themselves to a study of the Vedas, and to the practice of religious rites, they engage in disquisitions about gods, saints, and heaven, or exchange views regarding subtle rules of ethics, suddenly their natural characters break out With abundant irony and satire various human vices are exposed, such as the hypocrisy and caprice of Brāhmans, the intriguing character of courtiers, and the faithlessness of women Altogether a sound and healthy view of life prevails, in refreshing contrast to the exaggeration so common in other branches of Indian literature

(*b*) Similar to the Pañchatantra, and largely based on it, is the *Hitopades'a*, or "Salutary Advice," one of the most popular works in India, especially as a class-book for beginners in Sanskrit. Of its forty-three fables, twenty-five occur in the Pañchatantra. The tales are somewhat loosely strung together, though they form something of a continuous story. Moral maxims are freely interspersed, sometimes to such a great extent as to impede the progress of the prose narrative. The stories, too, are so interwoven that before one is

finished another is commenced. Nothing is known of the date of the Hitopades'a, except that it is more than five centuries old. Its authorship is assigned to one Nārāyana. The fables of the Hitopades'a are supposed to be narrated by a learned Brāhman named Vishṇu-S'arman for the instruction of some idle and dissolute princes. It is divided into four books, the framework and title of the first two agreeing with the first two of the Pañchatantra in inverted order. (*c*) The *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*, or "Ocean of Rivers of Stories," is a collection of fairy tales of great length—no less than 22,000 s'lokas, or almost twice as much as the Iliad and the Odyssey put together. It was written by a Kashmirian poet, Somadeva, about A.D. 1070. It is a vast storehouse of entertaining stories, and has much poetic merit. Like another work, *Brihat-Kathā-manjarī*, written by a contemporary, and about one-third as long, it derives its materials from the Brihat-Kathā, which was composed in some popular dialect, and rivalled the Mahābhārata in extent. There are other smaller collections of Indian fairy tales, *e.g.*, the *Vetāla-pañcha-vims'ati*, or "Twenty-five Tales of the Goblin," stories supposed to be told to King Vikram of Ujjain by a demon inhabiting a corpse. Sir Richard Burton, in his "Vikram and the Vampire," has made known these stories to English readers. (*d*) The *Nīti-s'ataka*, or "Century of Conduct," by Bhartrihari, is a collection of one hundred ethical maxims, while another collection, *Vairāgya-s'ataka*, or "Century of Renunciation," is by the same gifted and versatile author. All that is best in this branch of literature, sententious maxims, is found in Bohtlingk's *Indische Sprüche*, a collection of some 8,000 stanzas gathered from the whole range of classical Sanskrit literature. The edition includes Sanskrit text with German translation.

VII. The Age of Rajput Clans and Rival Hindu Kingdoms, with Muhammadan Incursions, Buddhist Decay, and Hindu Philosophic and Sectarian Development (A.D. 700-1206).

The death of King Harsha in A.D. 648 was followed by the collapse of the Kanauj Empire. The throne was usurped by his minister, Arjuna. Owing to the unfriendly way in which he treated a Chinese embassy, the usurper was attacked by a Chinese force, and suffering a crushing defeat, was sent as a prisoner to the Chinese Emperor. The removal of the strong hand of Harsha, as Mr. Vincent Smith points out, "loosened the bonds which restrained the disruptive forces always ready to operate in India, and allowed them to produce their normal result: a medley of petty states with ever-varying boundaries, and engaged in unceasing internecine war."

The period now under review practically covers the Middle Ages, and it may be well to indicate the main characteristics of the period in a few introductory words, before proceeding to deal, in somewhat greater detail, with some of the leading matters requiring our attention. For some five hundred years—from the sixth to the eleventh centuries—India was practically free from foreign invasion, with ample opportunities to work out its own destiny. The sixth century was, as we have seen, a period of internal confusion, with no historical unity. In the first half of the seventh century, the great figure of Harsha, of Kanauj, appeared on the scene, the last native paramount sovereign of Northern India. The history of the next three hundred years, 650 A.D. to 950 A.D., is obscure, with little to guide us but tradition and a few coins and inscriptions. It is clear, however, that there was no political cohesion, no dominating personality to

give some degree of unity to the scattered and too often warring elements of which India is composed. As Mrs. Steel has remarked, "a thousand names jostle each other in commonplace confusion. In the chaos of conflicting claims, any attempt at classification is hopeless." In the north, however, the Gūrjaras and various Rājput tribes came into prominence; and in the south the Chālukyas were powerful until the middle of the eighth century, when they were eclipsed for more than two centuries by their feudatories, the Rāshtrakūtas. From 950 to 1200 is a period of reconstruction, and the political history of the north revolves around a number of powerful Rājput clans which stretched from the Rann of Cutch to Rohilkhand, and ultimately succumbed to the Muhammadan invaders after a long and brave resistance. In the Deccan, towards the end of the tenth century, the Chālukyas again rose to power, but in the latter part of the twelfth century their power was crushed by the Hoysalas in the south, an enterprising and warlike race of Mysore, professing the Jain faith, and by the Yādavas to the north, descendants of their own feudatory nobles with territory in the direction of Nāsik. In the extreme south there are the three Dravidian kingdoms of very ancient tradition, Pāndya, Chola, and Chera, as well as the realm of the Pallavas, an intrusive foreign and non-Dravidian race, of Scythian or Parthian origin. Towards the close of the tenth century, a Chola king overran almost the whole of Southern India. Throughout the whole of this period Buddhism steadily decayed, until it became practically extinct. Jainism flourished in particular localities, while Hinduism, in its sectarian and philosophical aspects, firmly established itself in the minds and hearts of the people throughout the length and breadth of the land Of great influence in this direction was the vigorous proselytism of Kumārila-

Bhaṭṭa of Bihār, in the eighth century, and of the great South Indian philosophers, with their rival schools of Hindu thought—S'ankara, who flourished in the ninth century, and Rāmānuja in the twelfth. Politically, India was hopelessly divided during the mediæval period; and during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, on account of Muhammadan raids The plains of Northern India were a battlefield, but it is clear that religiously the north and the south exercised a powerful religious influence on each other. Such seem to be the main facts, political and religious, to be borne in mind in the period now under consideration These we shall now refer to in more detail.

(1) *The Rajputs and the Kingdoms of the North.*—The Empires of Magadha and Kanauj represented the achievements of the Aryan race and genius. Harsha's death left the subject kings and tribes masterless These tribes, mainly aboriginal or foreign, were split up into innumerable small communities in perpetual conflict, unable to establish any political cohesion, and without any genius for empire

The absorption and assimilation of these aboriginal or foreign masses within the Hindu fold was the task of Neo Hinduism, a task mainly accomplished between the seventh and eleventh centuries A D , and it was so thoroughly done that we now find throughout Northern India a Hindu population fairly homogeneous in blood, culture, and religion, and differing markedly from the degraded tribes that still haunt the outskirts of civilisation The transition was effected by a threefold movement religious, social, and political The religious movement consisted in the substitution of the popular and non-Aryan cults for the Vedic or Aryan *

Under Brāhmanical guidance, aboriginal deities, demons, and cults found shelter under the wing of Vedic or Brāhmanical gods and forms of worship. The evolution of Neo-Hinduism as a religion had been taking place for many centuries, making great progress in the Gupta period. The social move-

* Mr. J Kennedy, in *The Indian Empire*, Vol II , p 305.

ment, resulting in the assimilation of aboriginal and foreign elements, took place in the mediæval period. To quote again an illuminating passage from Mr. Kennedy :

The history of caste is very obscure, and much still remains in dispute, but the main outlines may be sketched as follows The original constitution of both Aryan and Dravidian society was tribal, but while the Aryans were exogamous, and readily married the women they captured even from the aborigines, the Dravidians were endogamous, and although they married outside their village, yet they married within their tribe Now, caste is the solvent of the tribe, and it is a creation of the Aryans Proud of their ancestry, their fair complexion, their superior civilisation, and their possession of the Vedas, they styled themselves the twice-born Those aborigines whom they permitted to associate with themselves were Śūdras Outside these were the unspeakable barbarians The same pride which dictated the privileges of the twice-born created an aristocracy of priests and warriors This fourfold division of Brāhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras remained not altogether intact, but still in force, until the seventh century A D After that we find a new division Instead of twice-born Aryan and the Śūdra Dravidian, we have only the pure and the impure Purity of blood, of food, of occupation, form the new standard of society And the standard by which this new society is judged is the standard of the kingdom of Kanauj From Kanauj kings invited Brāhmans to Gujarāt, to Bengal, to Orissa, to reform the barbarous customs of their people The farther we depart eastwards or westwards from Kanauj and the Doāb, the famous "middle country," the lower is the caste, by whatsoever name it may be called The process by which the tribal divisions were split up may be seen at work in the present day Under the attractions of the superior Hindu civilisation, and the teaching of vagrant Brāhmans or ascetics, the upper classes separated themselves from the lower, imitated Hindu modes of life, assumed the status of a caste, were supplied with a mythical genealogy by the Brāhmans, and were recognised as an integral part of some Hindu community The process was repeated until the lowest alone were left, and they were reduced to the condition of serfs The transition was effected under the supervision of the Rājā, who, guided by the Brāhmans, became the source not only of precedence but of caste But this change does not imply an immediate abandonment of the ancient Dravidian endogamy That depended upon time and circumstance The ancient Aryan exogamy had always allowed men to marry women of a lower class under certain conditions, and as the Aryan influence prevailed among the upper classes of the new society, so the tendency to exogamy spread Throughout the Middle Ages we find a certain freedom of exogamy in full force, as it is in some places at the present day. The new society thus formed rested mainly upon a classification of occupations

The higher the caste the more numerous and more honourable were the occupations open to it So completely did this classification by occupation supersede the old racial divisions, that even among the Brāhmans we find septs which have no claim to the rank except their priestly avocations The lower castes, on the other hand, remained endogamous trade guilds, with inherited rights and a corporate government Thus, between the seventh and tenth centuries A D, the old racial divisions passed away, and a new division came in, founded upon status and function.*

The political movement that helped to effect the assimilation of the aboriginal and foreign elements was the rise of the Rājputs. There is an ancient Indian tradition that when the Brāhman Paras'u-Rāma—"Rāma with the axe"—had destroyed the race of the ancient Kshatriyas for disputing with the Brāhmans, and men were left masterless, the gods, with a view to repair the evil, brought forth out of the cauldron of fire in Mount Abu, the abode of the holy Rishis, in Rājputana, the four most famous of the Rājput clans, the Parihārs, the Ponwārs, the Solankis, and the Chauhāns. The legend is probably intended to show that the pure Aryan Kshatriyas of Aryan times were replaced in the Middle Ages by the Rājputs—"sons of kings," warriors of foreign or mixed origin. It is highly probable that the Rājputs represent a considerable body of the ancient Kshatriya clans of the Aryan tribes, but modern research indicates that there are large Scythian or Hun elements in certain Rājput clans. It would appear that Brāhmans, Bhars, Ahīrs, Jāts, Gūjars, and Huns have all contributed to the Rājput clans. This much is certain, that though they are of mixed origin, all these clans in due time became homogeneous through intermarriage and the adoption of common customs. In religion they were zealous Hindus, and reverenced the Brāhmans. Mr. Kennedy writes :

They were all distinguished by their clan feeling, their implicit obedience to their chief, while claiming the equality of blood relations, their sense of communal property They

* *The Indian Empire*, Vol. II., pp. 206-8.

married their daughters into a higher clan, and took their wives from a lower one They had the same feeling regarding the honour of their women, the same customs of widow-burning and of the *johar*, the holocaust of females in a beleaguered fort They all refused to perform the manual work of an agriculturist It is this code of honour, these common customs, which made them homogeneous and unique

The Rājput clans made their first appearance in the eighth and ninth centuries. From Rajputana they entered the Punjab, and in the tenth century made their way to Kashmir. About the same time they spread north and east from Southern Oudh, and later made themselves masters of the central Himalayas. Throughout the mediæval period, the Rājput clans were the Kshatriyas of Hindustan, and the whole political history of the time centres around them.

Every tribe which exercised sovereign power or local rule for a considerable period joined itself to them They recognised no title-deeds except their swords, and were constantly seeking for new settlements They are found everywhere, from the Indus to Bihār, but their original homes were two—Rājputana and the south of Oudh

All we can do is to refer very briefly to a few of the more important states and dynasties of the period.

(*a*) *The Gurjaras and Rāthors of Kanauj*—The kingdom of Kanauj, which had reached the height of its prosperity in the seventh century under King Harsha, retained much of its importance during the mediæval period, although in territory it was confined to the Doāb and Southern Oudh as far as Benares In the second half of the ninth century A.D., it was ruled over by a powerful Gurjara King, Bhoja (to be distinguished from Bhoja of Mālwā, who belonged to the eleventh century), who made himself master of the whole country from Gwalior to the Himalayas. The capital city of Kanauj on the left bank of the Ganges became unrivalled for its greatness and its wealth, and its fame as a civilising influence increased by the migration of large bands of Brāhmans, Kāyasths, and other castes, to as far as Gujarāt on the western coast, and Bengal

and Orissa on the east. In 1019 the city fell before Mahmūd of Ghaznī, and twenty years later Jaichand, a chieftain of the Gaharwār or Rāthor clan—(during this period the Rāthor dynasty ruled at Budaun)—seized the throne, and his line continued to rule at Kanauj down to 1194 A.D., when the last of them, also named Jaichand, was defeated and slain by the Muhammadans under Muhammad Ghorī. His descendants moved westward and founded the Jodhpur State.

(*b*) *The Ponwārs of Mālwā and the Solankis of Gujarāt.*—The historic kingdom of Mālwā, the ancient Avantī, with its capital Ujjain, associated with the name of Vikramāditya, was during the mediæval period in possession of a famous Rājput clan, the Paramāras or Ponwārs, who ruled for about four centuries (800 to 1200 A.D.), with their capital at Ujjain and afterwards at Dhārā or Dhar. Another famous Mālwān city was Chandravatī, in the vicinity of Mount Abu. The most renowned of the Mālwān monarchs during this period were (*a*) Munja (974-995), in whose reign the authors Dhanañjaya, Dhanika, and Halāyudha flourished, and who was ultimately defeated and slain by Taila, the Chālukyan king, on his southern border; and (*b*) his more famous nephew Bhoja, who reigned from about 1010 to 1050 A.D., and whose fame in Indian literary tradition as warrior, author, and patron of letters is second only to that of Vikramāditya. A treatise on poetics is ascribed to King Bhoja himself, as well as one on astronomy. The *Simhāsana-dvātrimsatkā*, or "Thirty-two Tales of the Throne," are laudatory stories regarding Vikramāditya of Avantī, related by thirty-two statues standing round the old throne of that famous monarch, to King Bhoja of Dhārā, to discourage him from sitting down on it. The work is ascribed to Kshemankara, and was probably composed in the time of Bhoja

from older stories in the Maharāshtra dialect. At the Court of Bhoja, too, lived Dāmodara Mis'ra, author of the *Hanumān-nāṭaka*, or "The Play of Hanumān," dealing with the story of Rāma in connection with his ally Hanumān, the monkey chief. In the twelfth century, the Ponwār kingdom of Mālwā was overthrown by another powerful Rājput clan, the Solankis of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār, and in the course of the conflict the captured Mālwān king was carried about in a cage by the Solankis and their celebrated king and magician Siddharājā. In the previous century the Solankis had suffered severe reverses, their capital being taken by the Ponwārs, and the famous temple of Somnāth on the Kāthiāwār coast plundered by Mahmūd.

(*c*) *The Tomars of Delhi.*—The country around Delhi was occupied by a Rājput clan, the Tomars. According to Hindu tradition, Delhi has, from time immemorial, been the site of a capital city The city of Indraprastha was, according to the story of the Mahābhārata, founded by Yudhishthira and his five brothers, the Pāndavas, and the neighbouring village of Indarpat preserves the name. So far as verifiable history, however, is concerned, the importance of Delhi begins about the middle of the eleventh century A D., when the fort of Delhi, Lālkot, was built by a chieftain, Ānang-pāl, who may have belonged to the dispossessed Gurjara family of Kanauj. His descendants, known as Tomars, reigned at Delhi for more than a century. The last Tomar king of Delhi had no son, and he married his daughter to the son of the Chauhān Rājā of Ajmir, with the result that, in the son of this marriage, the celebrated Pṛithvīrāja, the union of the two kingdoms was effected about 1170 A.D.

(*d*) *The Chauhāns of Ajmir and the Chandels of Bundelkhand.*—The large and powerful clan of the Chauhāns had their power centred around the

famous salt lake Sāmbhar, in Rājputana (between Jaipur and Jodhpur), with Ajmir as their capital. Their chief cities, like Sāmbhar and Ajmir, were centres of a great caravan trade Towards the end of the eleventh century the disunited Chauhān septs were consolidated under a cultured and powerful king, Visala-deva (Bisaldeo), who, among many other similar conquests, took Delhi, and had his son married to the Tomai king's daughter. The product of this union, as already stated, was Prithvīrāja, who became ruler of Sāmbhar, Ajmir, and Delhi. He is the hero of popular legend in Northern India, and his fame is celebrated in the sixty-nine books of the *Prithirāj Rāsau* of the poet Chand Bardāi. Among his many exploits was his abduction of, and romantic elopement with, the not unwilling daughter of the Rāthor Jaichand of Kanauj. Refusing to appear as a tributary king at the Court of Kanauj when Jaichand, in the pride of his heart, was celebrating the horse-sacrifice and setting up the claim to be universal sovereign, Prithvīrāja visited Kanauj in disguise, and fell in love with the king's daughter. That nothing might be lacking in the due performance of the *aswamedha* ceremony, Jaichand had set up a statue of the absent prince and assigned to it the menial office of doorkeeper. To the consternation of all, the fair princess, passing by the living princes present, placed her marriage garland round the statue of the gallant Chauhān prince, who duly carried her off, hewing his way through the masses of his enemies Another exploit of Pṛithvīrāja was his overthrow of the Chandel King of Mahobā and Kālinjar in the country of Bundelkhand. During this period, until their overthrow by Pṛithvīrāja in 1182, and the capture of their chief cities Mahobā and Kālinjar by the Mussulmans in 1203 A.D., the Chandel Rājputs exercised paramount power in Bundelkhand, and their dominions extended from

the Jumna to the Nerbudda. Their principal cities, notably Khajrāho, were adorned with beautiful temples covered outside and inside with elaborate sculptures. The neighbourhood of Mahobā is covered with architectural antiquities, prominent among which are artificial lakes, formed by banking up valleys with masonry dams. On an isolated rock at the termination of the Vindhya range, and overlooking the plains of Bundelkhand, is the famous fort of Kālinjar, which has played a prominent part in history from the period of the Mahābhārata down to the time of the Sepoy mutiny in 1857. Closely connected with the Chandels are the Kalachuris of Chedi (whose kingdom lay to the south of that of the Chandels, around the modern town of Jabalpur) and the Kachwāhas of Gwalior and Narwar, a Rājput clan to which belong the modern chiefs of Jaipur and Alwar, kings of very ancient lineage. The Kachwāhas ruled in Gwalior for three centuries, but in 1129 A.D. Taj Karon (Dhula Rai), the bridegroom prince, for love of the fair Marori, devoted a whole year to his honeymoon, and as a result his throne was usurped during his absence by his nephew, a member of the Parihār clan Dhula Rai then migrated westwards and founded the Jaipur State. Returning to the story of Prithvīrāja, he was for a time the champion of the Hindus against the Muhammadan invaders, and he succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat on the forces of Mahomed Ghori, but the Muhammadan raiders ultimately proved too strong for him, and he and his son were slain in battle, and Ajmir and Delhi were taken (1193 A.D.). He was the last Hindu king of Delhi, and with his fall, and, later, that of his rival Jaichand of Kanauj, the mediæval period of Neo-Hinduism was at an end.

As to the characteristics of the Rājput civilisation, we cannot do better than quote in full the admirable summary of Mr. Kennedy :

The eleventh and twelfth centuries were the golden age of the new civilisation That civilisation was founded partly on a theocracy, partly on a military despotism The Brāhmans were divine by birth They sometimes deigned to hold the highest offices of state, but their special business was the pursuit of literature, science, and philosophy, and the Rājput courts vied with each other in their patronage of learning Brāhmans of a lower rank were the spiritual guides (*purohits*) of the people, and they even condescended to act as priests of the more respectable popular deities But while Brāhmans of the highest rank were above politics, the lower classes were keen politicians, enforcing their interests by the threat of the curse and of religious penalties The kings assumed a kind of semi-divinity, and surrounded themselves with a host of mercenaries or slaves The nobles followed the example of the kings, built strong forts for themselves in inaccessible places, and supported their power by companies of bravoes The town guilds were strong enough to hold their own, but the rural population was reduced to serfdom Public and private wars were the universal fashion But despite these wars, and the jealousy with which foreigners were regarded, there was considerable communication between the different parts of the country. Commerce flourished, poets and pundits went from Court to Court, flowers from Kashmir and water from the Ganges are said to have been daily offered at the shrine of Somnāth Kings and temples were immensely rich Pilgrimages were in fashion, and the greatest sovereigns proclaimed themselves protectors of the holy places

Two points deserve special notice (1) The earliest stone temples of Northern India date, two or three from the sixth, but mostly from the eighth and ninth centuries A D Prior to this, all buildings, even the most sacred, had been of brick and wood But between the tenth and twelfth centuries magnificent stone temples, of delicate though fantastic workmanship, sprang up in all the Rājput States The temples of Delhi, Ajmer, Kanauj, Budaun, and Jaunpur, and, indeed, of every place where the Muhammadans held permanent dominion, were utilised for mosques, but the existing temples or ruins at Mount Abu, Chandravati, Barolli, and Khajrāho, give us some idea of their former splendour Even earlier than these temples are the massive fortifications with which the Rājputs crowned the tops of hills All the great forts of Rājputana date from this period It was the palmy age of Rājput architecture (2) The impulse to the new civilisation came largely from the Deccan. From the Deccan issued the two great philosophies which divide the Hindu world—the philosophy of Sankarāchārya in the ninth century, and of Rāmānuja in the twelfth, and both of these teachers spent a large part of their lives in Northern India The impulse to the new stone architecture also came probably from the south, where stone temples had been for some time in fashion, and the manners and customs of the Deccan found imitators even in Kashmir North and south exercised a reciprocal influence on each other *

* *The Indian Empire,* Vol II, pp 315, 316.

We have passed in review the chief Rājput dynasties and kingdoms—Kanauj, Mālwā, Gujarāt, Delhi, Ajmir, and Bundelkhand; and have made brief reference to the activities of some of the principal Rājput clans—Rāthors, Ponwārs, Solankis, Tomars, Chauhāns, Chandels, and Kachwāhas. Reference has also been made to the kindred Gurjaras, originally foreign tribes who came into India at the time of the Scythic and Hun invasions, and exercised considerable power in the early part of this period in the Punjab, Central Rājputana, and Gujarāt. To a large extent outside of the direct influence of the Rājput States were the frontier lands Kashmīr and Nepal, and the eastern countries Bihār, Bengal, and Orissa. During the period Kashmīr was ruled by strong dynasties, Hindu in religion, some of them renowned as warriors, builders, and administrators. The Kashmīr historian, Kalhana, wrote in 1148 A.D. the *Rājatarangini*, or "River of Kings," the only Sanskrit work claiming a directly historical character. There is a large legendary element, however, in that part of the work which deals with events remote from the author's own time. In Nepal there were apparently some Rājput dynasties during this period. In Bihār there reigned a line of Pāla Kings, the last known Buddhist Kings of India. The Senas, with their capital at Nuddea, were zealous Hindus, and introduced high-caste immigrants from Hindustan. Orissa continued to be governed by the Kesari dynasty until 1132, when a new line, the Gajapati dynasty, took its place. Under the former dynasty the great Sivaite temple at Bhuvanes'wara was constructed, and under the latter, in 1174-88, the temple of Jagannath at Puri, in honour of Vishnu. The period of Yavana occupation and Buddhist influence, during which the numerous rock monasteries of Orissa were excavated, lasted from the first century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. The capital of Orissa,

under the Kesari dynasty, until the eleventh century, was Jājpur. It was then superseded by Cuttack. In Jājpur are numerous ruins of temples and sculptures, and a large and beautiful sun pillar.

(2) *The Chālukyas and the Kingdoms of the South.*—Our first concern is briefly to sketch the political history of the Deccan.

(*a*) *The Āndhras.*—In our review of the preceding period we saw that the Āndhra kingdom of the south, in the height of its prosperity, stretched across the whole breadth of India south of the Vindhya range, and that the dynasty came to an end in the first part of the third century, after exercising power for some four and a-half centuries.

(*b*) *The Pallavas.*—Then follows a period of obscurity, but we know that in the fifth century the Pallavas, a foreign tribe from the north, had overspread large tracts of country formerly under the Andhras, and become the most powerful nation of the south.

(*c*) *The Early Western Chālukyas.*—Towards the middle of the sixth century the power of the Pallavas was reduced by the ascendency of the Chālukyas, who claimed to be Rājputs from the north, and probably were originally a branch of the foreign Gurjaras. The Pallavas duly retired to their eastern and southern possessions in the direction of Kānchi or Conjeeveram. The Chālukyas established their capital at Bādāmi, in the Bijāpur district, and became the most important dynasty of this period, their first term of paramount power lasting from A.D. 550 to 750. A powerful Chālukyan monarch was Pulakesin II., who defeated the Emperor Harsha in 620, and overcame the Chola Pāndya and Kerala Kings of the far south. The Chālukya power met a temporary reverse in 642, when Pulakesin was killed and his capital taken by the Pallavas, under Narasiṃha-varman, King of Kānchi. His son, however,

after some years, fully re-established the Chālukyan power, and humbled his foes, Pallavas, Cholas, and Pāndyas.

(*d*) *The Eastern Chālukyas.*—It should be noted that, in 615, Vishṇuvardhana, Pulakesin's brother and viceroy, founded an independent dynasty at Vengi, between the Godaveri and the Krishna. This dynasty of Eastern Chālukyas lasted till 1070 A.D., when they became merged into the Cholas of Kānchi, the former Pallava capital.

(*e*) *The Rāshtrakūtas.*—Though the eastern branch of Chālukyas thus flourished, the Western Chālukyas were, in A.D. 750, completely overthrown by the Rāshṭrakūtas under Dantidurga, feudatories of the Chālukyas, and a long-established chieftain family of the Marāthā country. Dantidurga was succeeded or supplanted, some ten years later, by his uncle Kṛishṇa, whose reign is memorable for the execution of the wonderful Kailasa temple cut out of the solid rock at Ellora—one of the most interesting monuments of architectural art in India. The great Hindu philosopher, S'ankarāchārya (788-820 A D.), lived during the Rāshtrakūta supremacy. The Jains flourished during this epoch, and were patronised by some of the Rāshtrakūta sovereigns.

(*f*) *The later Western Chālukyas of Kalyāna.*—Finally, in 973, the Rāshtrakūtas were overthrown by Taila, who belonged to a branch of the old Chālukya house. He founded a new dynasty, known as the Chālukyas of Kalyāna, this city being their capital. Like the two preceding dynasties, the early Western Chālukyas and the Rāshtrakūṭas, this dynasty endured for more than two centuries (973-1200 A D.) Kings of this line were engaged in conflict with the rulers of Mālwā (Munja and Bhoja), and also had to resist the attacks of the Cholas, notably that under the Chola king Rājarājā the Great. Concerning one of the Chālukya kings, Sōmes'vara, the story is told

that, "when he observed his end approaching, he caused himself to be taken to the banks of the Tungabhadra. He bathed in the waters of the river, and gave away a great deal of gold in charity. Then, entering the river again, he proceeded until the water reached his neck, and in the din caused by the waves and a number of musical instruments, drowned himself." His younger son, Vikramāditya or Vikramānka, after deposing his elder brother, had a long and comparatively peaceful reign, coming to the throne in 1076 A.D. and reigning for fifty years. Vikramānka was a liberal patron of learning. The Kashmīrian poet Bilhana, and Vijnānes'wara, the compiler of the standard law treatise, Mitāksharā, were patronised by him, and given honours and high office at his Court. Bilhana composed, in his patron's honour, the *Vikramānka-deva-charita*, a chronicle of Vikramānka's life, written in Sanskrit verse, full of imagination and romance, as, *e.g.*, when he relates that, at the birth of Vikramāditya, his patron, "flowers fell from the sky, Indra's drum resounded, and the gods rejoiced in heaven"; but he gives no date of the event. The *Mitāksharā*, too, concludes with this ascription of praise: "On the face of the earth there has not been, there is not, and there never will be, a town like Kalyāna; never was a monarch seen or heard of like the prosperous Vikramānka." Rāmānuja (1017-1137 A.D.), the great Vaishnava reformer, lived during this reign. In 1157 A.D. the Chālukyan commander-in-chief, a Kalachuri chieftain, and a Jain in religion, declared himself independent. His brief spell of power is noteworthy for the rise of the Lingāyat or Vīra S'aiva sect, who are regarded as heretically orthodox Brāhmans, and are distinguished outwardly by the wearing of the *linga* or phallic emblem round their necks and by their exclusive worship of S'iva and his bull Nandi. The founder of the sect is said to have

been Basava, the Brāhman prime minister of the Jain king. They are still a powerful body in Southern India. The Chālukyan dynasty now began to decline, and by the end of the twelfth century their princes exercised only subordinate authority.

(*g*) *Yādavas and Hoysalas.*—Before the end of the twelfth century the Western Chālukyas were swept out of existence by their vassals and feudatories, the Yādavas of Deogiri from the north and by the Hoysalas from the south. The Yādavas, who claimed to have come from the kingdom of Krishna, Mathurā, and Dwārka, exercised sovereign power in the Deccan during the thirteenth century, and ruled over an empire as wide as that of any of their Rāshtrakūṭa or Chālukya predecessors. The Hoysalas were either Jains or S'aivas in religion, and during the thirteenth century ruled over the greater part of Mysore and other adjoining territories. Early in the fourteenth century both Yādavas and Hoysalas were reduced to subjection by the Muhammadan invaders.

We have now to briefly indicate the kingdoms of the far south—the Pāndyas, Cholas, Keralas, and Pallavas.

(*a*) The Pāṇḍyas, Cholas, Cheras or Keralas, Dravidian kingdoms of the extreme south, are referred to as early as the fourth century B.C. by the grammarian and sage, Kātyāyana. In As'oka's time they remained independent. The Pāṇḍya kingdom occupied the extremity of the kingdom south of Pudukottai, and was thus co-extensive with the present districts of Madura and Tinnevelli. A Pāṇḍya king sent an embassy to Augustus Cæsar, and the Greeks and Romans of the first century A.D. were well acquainted with the pearl fishery in the Pāṇḍya kingdom. The large hoards of Roman coins found in various localities show that an extensive trade was carried on with the West. No continuous history of the Pāṇḍya dynasties prior to

the twelfth century can be written. Although the local administration continued to remain in the hands of the native Rājās, the Pāndya State was reduced to a state of tributary dependence about 1000 A.D., and continued under Chola control for about a century and a-half. The Pāṇḍyas favoured the Jain religion. Towards the latter part of the twelfth century there was an invasion of the Sinhalese armies under the command of two generals of the King of Ceylon.

(*b*) The Chola country, according to tradition, extended along the eastern coast from Nellore to Pudukottai. On the west it extended to the borders of Coorg. From about the middle of the second century A.D., the intrusive Pallava clans disputed with the Cholas the lordship of much of the traditional Chola country, and for several centuries after, Conjeeveram or Kānchipuram was the Pallava capital. When Hiuen Tsang visited the Chola country in 640, it was wild and mostly deserted, and the people were addicted to open brigandage. He speaks of the Pallava capital, on the other hand, as being inhabited by a people superior to any he had met in piety and courage, love of justice, and reverence for learning In the ninth century the Chola Rājās seem to have begun to recover their authority, and towards the end of the tenth (985 A.D.) Rājārājā the Great ascended the throne, and passing from victory to victory, succeeded in making himself the leading power of the south. He conquered and annexed the island of Ceylon. His reign lasted for 27 years, and he was succeeded by four equally vigorous members of the dynasty. The Muhammadan invasion, under Malik Kafur, practically extinguished the Chola dynasty.

(*c*) The Kerala or Chera territory comprised the country now contained in the Malabar district, with Travancore and Cochin. There is evidence of a

lively trade, mainly in spices, carried on by sea with the Roman Empire in the early centuries of the Christian era. Little is known of the political history of the Kerala kingdom until the tenth century, when the struggle began with the Cholas, by whom it was conquered and held till their overthrow by the Muhammadans in 1310.

(*d*) The origin of the Pallava clan or tribe is obscure. The name, however, is identical with Pahlava, and ultimately with Parthiva or Parthian. They must have come originally from the countries beyond the north-western frontier of India about the beginning of the Christian era, and gradually worked their way down to Malabar and the Coromandel Coast. In the second century A.D. they are classed in native writers with the S'akas and Yavanas as objects of hostility to native kings. They do not seem to have actually colonised and directly administered much territory of their own, but, like the Marāthās in later times, they appear to have imposed tribute on the territorial governments of the country. The three principalities at Kānchi, Vengi, and Palakkada (in Malabar) were, however, known as the three Pallava dominions. Kānchi was regarded as the headquarters of the clan. Three of the eleven kings of the south conquered by Samudragupta in the fourth century were Pallavas. The visit of the Chinese pilgrim to Kānchi in 640 A.D., and the temporary overthrow of the Chālukya power by the Pallava monarch two years later, have already been referred to. The conflict between the Chālukyas and Pallavas became perennial, and the successors of the Chālukyas, viz., the Rāshtrakūṭas, took up the old quarrel with the Pallavas. Rājarāja the Great, the victorious Chola monarch, towards the end of the tenth century, destroyed the Pallava power, which had lasted for nearly ten centuries. The later Pallava chiefs were feudatory nobles and officials in

the service of the territorial kingdoms. The Rājā of the Pudukottai tributary State still styles himself Rājā Pallava, and claims descent from the ancient royal family. The Pallava kings were generally orthodox Hindus, though one was a Buddhist. Several were devoted to the cult of Vishnu, but in later times they became inclined to the S'iva cult.

(3) *Islam and the Muhammadan Incursions.*—Up to the seventh century of the Christian era, many successive invaders—Greeks, Parthians, Scythians, and Huns—had entered India through the north-western passes; they exercised, however, but little influence on Indian life in general. They all either returned whence they came, or were in due time absorbed in the general population. The religious and social life of the Indian people has remained through all the centuries under the direction and control of the Brāhman priesthood. For some centuries it seemed as if the Buddhist revolt would succeed in introducing a leaven into Indian life and thought destined to change permanently Indian social and religious conditions; but the Brāhmanical influence proved too strong. But just at the time when Buddhism was being steadily superseded in India by the accommodating Brāhmanical faith, a new prophet had arisen in Arabia and launched on the world a new faith destined to supply a youthful energy and fanaticism which should sweep the country from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and from the western to the eastern seas. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang was still on his travels in India when Muhammad, the founder of Islam, died in Medina (632 A D.). Islam had taken on a military aspect even before the death of its founder. The political work of Muhammad consisted in the subjugating and uniting of Arabia, until this time a varied collection of cities and tribes under different governmental systems in perpetual

conflict. The prophet took the further step of summoning the great kings of the surrounding nations to recognise Islam, and threatening them with punishment in case of refusal. The task of carrying out these threats fell to the lot of his successors. In a few years Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Babylonia, Egypt, and Persia were compelled to submit to the Khalifas, the successors of Muhammad, and to embrace the new religion.

From the first the Arabs must have looked with longing eyes in the direction of India, and as early as the reign of the Khalifa Omar, the second successor of Muhammad, forays were made into the province of Sindh or through the regions bordering on the Persian Gulf. In 712 A.D, eighty years after the death of Muhammad, an army under Muhammad Kāsim, son-in-law of Hajāj, Governor of Persia and Viceroy of the Orient during the Khalifate of Walīd, advanced through Makrān and Baluchistan and entered India. At Dībal, the site of the modern Karachi, the invading army was joined by an Arab fleet conveying reinforcements and some powerful engines for the siege. The town was taken and sacked, and in due time the most powerful prince in Sindh, Dāhir, was slain and the country taken. After having spent three and a-half years in Sindh, Muhammad was recalled by Sulaimān, brother and successor to Walīd, and in spite of his brilliant achievements, was disgraced and put to death It seems that he was accused of having made too free with the captive daughters of Dāhir before presenting them to the Khalifa's harem, and for this presumption he was punished by being sewn up alive in a raw cowhide. The Indian princesses then confessed that this tale was deliberately invented to avenge their father's death upon his conqueror. The Khalifa, in his impotent fury, had them dragged at horses' tails through the city till

they perished miserably. The Arab conquest of Sindh led to no permanent results. The Khalifas sent no forces that were at all adequate to such a formidable project as the conquest of India. Probably the internal differences among the Arabs themselves, and the resistance that Arab domination was meeting among foreign converts to the faith of Islam, to some extent explain the situation; but perhaps the most obvious explanation of the Arabs' failure to take up the conquest of India is found in the great military strength of the Rājput Kings on the north and east. The Arab settlers formed independent dynasties, and settled down in peaceful co-operation with the Hindu population around them.

The Arab invasion of India thus proved to be a failure. The Arabs ceased to hold exclusive control over the movement of Islam, and they had no hand in its spread into India. Another race, the Afghan Turks, advancing from another direction, assumed the burden of conquering India in the interests of the new faith and the great store of plunder awaiting them. In the latter part of the tenth century, Sabuktagīn, a former Turkish slave, in connection with the Sāmānid dynasty of North-East Persia and Transoxiana under the suzerainty of the Khalifas of Bagdad, succeeded to the semi-independent rule which his father-in-law, Alptagīn, another Turkish slave, had established at Ghaznī, between Kabul and Kandahar in Afghanistan. Sabuktagīn's son and successor, Mahmud, began his reign in 998 B.C., and became the greatest Muhammadan ruler of his time. Soon after succeeding to his father's dominions, Qādir, Khalifa of Bagdad, recognised his sovereignty, and conferred on him the titles *Yamīn-addaula* ("Right hand of the state") and *Amīn-ul-millat* ("Guardian of the faith"). These new honours aroused in Mahmud a new zeal on behalf of Islam,

and he resolved on an annual expedition against the idolaters of India. He did not carry out to the full this intention, but during the thirty-two years of his reign he made no fewer than fifteen (or according to another estimate seventeen) incursions into India. The Arabs had come by way of the sea and the Baluchistan route, and as a result found little in India but the desert of Sindh. Mahmud and his successors made their way through the north-western passes into the rich cities and plains of the Punjab and the Ganges valley. The first raid took place in 1000 A.D., the last in 1026, and during these campaigns he ranged across the plains of Northern India from the Indus to the Ganges, taking the strong and wealthy cities of Peshāwar, Thānes'ar, Kanauj, Mathura, and Kālinjar. Everywhere he slaughtered multitudes of idolaters, smashed their idols, plundered and burned to the ground their sacred temples, and returned to Ghaznī to enrich his capital with much booty and many captives. He routed the forces of his father's enemy, Jaipāl, Hindu Rājā of Peshāwar, who, with the proud despair of his race, preferred death to dishonour, and cast himself upon a funeral pyre. All the Rājās of the Punjab, backed by allies from other parts of Hindustan, now mustered to resist him, with Anandpāl, son of Jaipāl, at their head, and in 1009 A D., Mahmud and the Rājput princes met in battle array. For some time victory seemed to incline towards the Hindu league, until Anandpāl's elephant, unable to bear the smart of flaming arrows, took fright and bolted from the field. The Hindus supposed that their leader was fleeing from the field, and a general stampede ensued For two days the Muhammadans slew, captured, and despoiled to their hearts' content. "They had come through fire and through water, but their Lord had brought them into a wealthy place." The most

famous of Mahmud's invasions of India was that undertaken in 1025-6 against Gujarāt. The goal of this expedition was the famous temple of Somnāth on the shores of the Indian Ocean, in the peninsula of Kāthiāwār. When at last he came in view of the famous fortress and holy place, washed by the waves of the Arabian Sea, he saw its ramparts crowded with incredulous Brāhmans,

mocking the vain arrogance of the foreign infidels, whom the god of Somnāth would assuredly consume The foreigners, nothing daunted, scaled the walls, the god remained dumb to the urgent appeals of his servants, fifty thousand Hindus suffered for their faith, and the sacred shrine was sacked to the joy of the true believers The great stone was cast down, and its fragments carried off to grace the conqueror's palace The temple gates were set up at Ghazni, and a million pounds' worth of treasure rewarded the iconoclast The sack of Somnāth has made Mahmud of Ghazni a champion of the faith in the eyes of every Moslem for nearly nine centuries, and the feat, signal enough in itself, has been embellished with fantastic legends *

The story is often told of how Mahmud followed the Brāhman priests into the inmost shrine, and rejected all their entreaties and all their offers of ransom that he might spare their idol, how he smote the hollow image with his club, and forthwith a fountain of precious stones gushed out. But the idol in this Sivite temple was only the phallic emblem, consisting of a tall block or pillar of hewn stone, which, however, was no doubt enriched with a crown of jewels, the gifts of wealthy worshippers. Mahmud's Indian conquests enriched the Ghazni treasury, but they produced no permanent results in the way of establishing Muhammadan rule in India. Mahmud died at Ghazni in 1030. He was a great warrior, but his tastes were not purely military. He was a patron of literature and art, and gathered around him many distinguished men of letters, including Bīrūnī, the astronomer and historian, who spent several years in India, and wrote on its history; and Firdausi, author of

* Professor Stanley Lane-Poole.

the historical epic, Shāhnāma. Mahmud's own acquaintance with Moslem theology was recognised by the learned doctors. Contemporary historians give glowing descriptions of the magnificence of his capital, and during his lifetime he exercised sway from the borders of Kurdistan to Samarkand, and from the Caspian to the Ganges Some fourteen kings of his house came after him. The empire of his successors, however, was overshadowed by the Seljūk Turks, and the dynasty was ultimately extinguished by a neighbouring foe, the Afghan chieftains of Ghor, a mountainous country in the south-western highlands of Afghanistān. In 1155 A.D., 'Ala-ud-dīn, of Ghor, overthrew Bahram, the last of the Ghaznivide Turks, and razed to the ground the wealthy and populous city of Ghazni. Little but the tomb of Mahmud was spared.

The Afghans of Ghor thus rose to power on the downfall of the Turks of Ghazni. 'Ala-ud-dīn's nephew, Muhammad Ghori, is the second of the great Muhammadan conquerors of India, and it was he, rather than Mahmud, that laid the foundations of permanent Muhammadan rule in India. Becoming Sultan of Ghazni in 1174 A.D., he at first made a number of incursions into India after the manner of Mahmud, but in 1191 he gathered together a great host for the conquest of India, and met in battle Pṛithvīrāj, the famous ruler of Delhi and Ajmir. The scene of the conflict was Tarāin, about a hundred miles north of Delhi. This was the first great clash of Mussulman and Rājput. Muhammad was severely wounded, and the whole Muhammadan army took to flight. The following year (1192 A.D.), when all was once more ready, he returned with a mightier host, eager to avenge the disasters of the previous year. The armies met again in the same place, when the brave Pṛithvīrāj was taken prisoner and put to death. His capital

of Delhi became the centre of Muhammadan rule. Aibak Kutb-ud-dīn, an able and trusted slave of Muhammad, was made Viceroy of Delhi. Muhammadan power became rapidly extended in the south, east, and west. Kanauj was stormed, and Jaichand, its king, slain. Kālinjar, Mālwā, and Gujarāt were reduced, and Muhammad Bakhtiyar, the lieutenant of the Ghori king, conquered Oudh, Bihār, and Bengal by 1204. The entire northern plain, from the Indus to the Brahmaputra, thus lay under the Muhammadan yoke. In 1206 Muhammad Ghori was assassinated by some Ghakka tribesmen while sleeping in his tent by the bank of the Indus ; and Kutb-ud-dīn at once laid aside the title of Viceroy and proclaimed himself Sultan of Delhi. The dynasty he founded is known as the Slave dynasty, which lasted for more than eighty years in complete independence of Ghor and Ghazni.

(4) *The Development of Hinduism and Buddhist Decay.*—A very notable feature of this period is the great spread of sectarian Hinduism under Brāhman leadership In its rites and practices and popular beliefs, sectarian Hinduism has travelled far from the ancient religion. The Vedic religion celebrated the deeds and inculcated the worship of the great Nature-gods—Indra, Agni, Varuna, Sūrya, and the rest. Sectarian Hinduism centres around the worship of two chief gods, Vishṇu and Siva, and in connection with these has formed a vast and comprehensive system of popular mythology for the people The Vedic gods are commonly reckoned as thirty-three, but the gods of sectarian or Puranic Hinduism are popularly spoken of as numbering three hundred and thirty millions. The godlings and demons of the caste and village, legends of pools and rivers, trees and hills, have all been brought into connection with the Brāhman civilisation, and so a vast system of popular religion has

been built up, varying from the grossest superstition to the subtlest metaphysical speculation, and all objects of worship, lofty and degraded, are made out to be forms of Vishṇu and S'iva. It is clear that, for several centuries, the Buddhist revolt proved a serious menace to the supremacy of Brāhmanism, but the Brāhman priesthood proved equal to the occasion, and adapted the hard and forbidding religion of the later Vedic period to meet the religious tastes of the multitude. Mr. R. C. Dutt writes :

> Pompous celebrations and gorgeous decorations arrested the imagination and fostered the superstitions of the populace, poetry, arts, architecture, sculpture, and music lent their aid, and within a few centuries the nation's wealth was lavished on these gorgeous manifestations of the people's unlimited devotion and faith Pilgrimages, which were rare or unknown in very ancient times, were organised on a stupendous scale, gifts in land and money poured in for the support of temples, and religion gradually transformed itself to a blind veneration of images and their custodians The great towns of India were crowded with temples, and new gods and new idols found sanctuaries in stone edifices and in the hearts of ignorant worshippers

In the wide sweep of the Vedic religion there was abundant material to satisfy the rationalist and the ritualist. Puranic Hinduism caters to the religious instincts of the common man, through Vishnu and S'iva, with their various manifestations. Both these deities have grown out of Vedic conceptions. The kindly and genial Vishnu appears in the Veda as a minor solar deity, while the stern S'iva has his prototype in the old storm-god Rudra. There grew up, in connection with Vishṇu, the theory of incarnations, or *avatars*, which assumes that he from time to time became incarnate to rid the world of some great evil. This idea, having once become associated with Vishnu, it is easy to conceive how his worship spread and absorbed many minor cults, with human or animal objects of worship. The most important of these incarnations are Rāma-

chandra, the pure and gentle hero of the Rāmāyaṇa, and Krishṇa, or Vāsudeva, a Yādava chieftain whose exploits and amours are celebrated in the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata-Purāna. In this worship of Vishṇu there appeared—a new element in Indian religion—faith or devotion, *bhakti*, an element that has produced at once the highest and the lowest manifestations of Indian religious life. All members of the Vishṇu cult regard him as the Supreme God, the highest principle and essence of all cosmic life—than whom is no other. There can be no doubt that many features of his worship have a non-Aryan and non-Brāhmanical origin. Though various features of S'iva's character and history are evolved from the Vedic storm-god Rudra, he became in due time almost universally worshipped by his devotees in the form of the phallic emblem, or *linga*; thus signifying that he has in his control the whole circle of animated creation, the incessant round of birth and death. In contrast with the gracious Vishṇu, he is fierce and terrible of aspect, dwelling, with his bride Pārvatī, in the heart of the Himalayas. He is often represented as the supreme ascetic or Yogī, following the most rigorous mortifications, and engaged in millennial mental abstraction and reverie. Yet he has been invested by his devout followers with attributes of supreme sweetness and love, and they worship him as in all respects the highest source of all existence—God supreme. Other members of the cult, however, worship the more horrific aspects of the deity, especially as these aspects find expression in his wife Kālī or Durgā. In connection with the worship of the wife, an independent cult has been developed, known as the *S'āktas* or worshippers of the *S'akti*, or the female energy of the godhead as a primary factor in connection with the creation and reproduction of the universe. The *Tantras*, which form

the religious literature of this cult, teach many mystic rites, some of which sanction sexual licence and promiscuous debauchery of a most revolting character.

The overwhelming majority of Hindu worshippers belong to the cult of Vishṇu or of S'iva. On the other hand, these two gods are sometimes regarded as members of a Trinity, which consists of Brahmā, Vishṇu, and S'iva. From this standpoint, Brahmā is regarded as the Creator of the Universe, in subordination to the Absolute Brahma; while Vishnu is the Preserver and loving guardian of all created life; and S'iva, the Destroyer and rebuilder of various forms of life, in the incessant round of birth and death. This is a philosophic conception developed under the influence of Upanishadic monism. It has not, however, entered very deeply into the Hindu religious consciousness. Usually Brahmā is claimed by S'aivas and Vaishnavas as an emanation of either S'iva or Vishṇu, and there is practically no Brahmā cult in Hinduism as we know it to-day. It is true there is a trinity of cults, but the third cult is devoted, not to the worship of Brahmā, but to that of the female energy or *S'akti* of the Deity.

Popular Hinduism is expounded mainly in the eighteen voluminous Purāṇas, which consist of endless legends about ancient kings and heroes, long chapters on cosmogony and theology, descriptions of sacred sites and places of pilgrimage, and accounts of the gods and goddesses of the modern Hindu pantheon, mingled with much sectarian controversy. The kernel of some of these Purāṇas is very ancient, but most of the matter was composed in the first ten centuries of our era. The most famous are the Bhāgavata and Vishnu Purāṇas.

The extension of the S'iva cult owes much to the work of two great missionary preachers who lived during this period. The first was Kumārilla Bhaṭṭa,

a Brāhman of Bihār. He probably lived about 700 A.D., and is reputed to have worked hard for the re-establishment of Brāhmanism by travelling through the length and breadth of the land, confuting and destroying all the adversaries of the Brāhmanical faith. He laid special emphasis on adherence to the ancient Vedic rites, and is said to have instigated the persecution of Buddhists and Jains in Southern India. His disciple, S'ankarācharya, who flourished a century later, was a greater man than his master. He was a voluminous commentator, and travelled far and wide. He favoured a strictly monistic interpretation of the Universe, and gave preference to S'iva as the name and symbol of the Supreme Being. The Smārta Brāhmans of the south, who are S'aivas, claim him as their founder, though some of his commentaries recognise the supremacy of Vishṇu. His philosophic standpoint, which insisted on the sole reality of the Absolute Brahma, made it possible for him to do service to the two Hindu cults as against the Buddhists and Jains. Reference has already been made to the rise of the Lingāyat sect of S'aivas.

Two very prominent Vaishnava teachers lived and worked during this period—Rāmānuja and Mādhavācharya. Rāmānuja (1017-1137 A.D.), a South Indian Brāhman, taught a qualified system of monism, maintaining that, though God is one, there are eternal distinctions within Him, and that He is related to the universe of men and material things as the soul is to the body. In this he opposed the unqualified or absolute monism of S'ankara. Mādhavācharya, who was born in South Kanara, 1119 A.D., maintained that God, individual souls, and the material universe, are eternally distinct and outside of each other. S'ankara thus taught that the soul within us is God, Rāmānuja that the soul is a part of God, and Mādhava that the soul is separate

from God. As a means of salvation, Kumārilla Bhaṭṭa emphasised the way of works, S'ankara the way of knowledge or the recognition of the nature of reality, and Rāmānuja and Mādhava emphasised the way of devotion or religious faith—*bhakti*. Though the period under review was one of severe political strife and even anarchy, it is evident that these mundane matters had but little effect on the religious life and philosophic thought of the people.

Jainism flourished during this period, more especially among the merchants and people of the middle classes. In Rājputana and in the Chālukya, Rāshtrakūta, Hoysala, and Pāndya territories, adherents of Jainism were numerous and powerful. Several of the sovereigns of the period were Jains. The earlier Jain books are written in a dialect of their own, the so-called Jaina Prākrit, and it was not till between A.D 1000 and 1100 that the Jains adopted Sanskrit as their literary language. Probably the rise of the Lingāyats and their success among traders weakened Jain influence in Southern India. The accommodating character of sectarian Hinduism appears, however, to have been the chief cause of its decline. From about A D. 950 to 1300 Jainism was a real power. It is now a comparatively insignificant sect

This period witnessed the downfall and practical extinction of Buddhism in India. For some six centuries, say from B.C. 250 to A.D. 350, Buddhism enjoyed a large measure of popular favour, and was a serious rival of Brāhmanism. With the great revival of Sanskrit and Brāhmanical Buddhism, from the fourth century and onwards, the Buddhist faith received a check. For some centuries it still contended with Brāhmanism for the chief position. There is no indication that it was suppressed by force. Persecution, no doubt, had something to do with its decay, but only as a minor factor. Among

reliable instances of persecution are those of S'as'anka, King of Eastern Bengal, and the earlier case of Mihiragula.

But Buddhism was not, as a rule, violently extirpated, it continued to flourish in Bihār, the ancient Magadha, under the rule of the sympathetic Pāl Kings, until the Muhammadan conquest at the end of the twelfth century, and traces of its survival are found in many other parts of the country up to as late a time. The mercantile and trading classes, who formed the great stronghold of Buddhism, seem to have turned to the allied Jain system, especially in Central and Southern India Bundelkhand is full of Jain images of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, whereas Buddhist remains of the period are rare The colossal monolithic nude Jain statues of the south are among the wonders of the world . The later Buddhists used images as freely as the Jains and Brāhmanical Hindus, and the adherents of all three religions drew on a common stock of symbolism and convention in the same way as in early times The mediæval Buddhist statuary of Bihār, consequently, is almost identical with that of Hindu temples, and the two classes of objects are frequently confounded, even by skilled archæologists The Jain statues are ordinarily, although not always, distinguishable from the Buddhist by their nudity, but the accessories of both do not differ widely *

This evidence from archæology indicates the main cause of the decline of Buddhism in India. Buddhism gradually lost its old ideal of life, salvation in this world only, by means of self-culture and self-mastery, and the margin of difference between it and Hinduism faded almost entirely away; and so, in view of the accommodating character of the new Hinduism—which allowed Buddha to be regarded as an incarnation of Vishnu—the independent existence of Buddhism, side by side with the all-embracing Hindu faith, came to be regarded by the Indian people as a luxury they could well do without.

The Sanskrit literature of the period is in the main sectarian and controversial—such as the Purānas, and the expositions and commentaries of the great religious teachers and philosophers. Dravidian literature takes its rise in the period under review. The earliest Tamil books belong to the

* *The Indian Empire*, Vol II., pp. 121, 122.

epoch 600-1000 A.D. Among them may be mentioned the *Nāladiyār*, a collection of four hundred moral verses by as many Jain authors; the *Kural*, the acknowledged masterpiece of Tamil composition, containing 2,660 ethical couplets; the *Tiruvās'akam*, the greatest of the S'aiva poems; and the *Nālāyira Prabandham*, a collection of hymns in honour of Vishṇu.

VIII. The Age of Muhammadan Ascendency and Empire, with Maratha Revolt and Hindu Theistic Reform (1206-1707 A.D.).

The Muhammadan period, while highly important from the standpoint of general history, need not, in view of the purpose of the present survey, be considered in any special detail. For some three centuries, beginning with the assassination of Muhammad Ghori in 1206, and the assertion of independence by his viceroy and general, Kutb-ud-dīn, Afghan Muhammadans ruled in India through five successive dynasties. During the five centuries under review, there was a steady expansion of Muhammadan power in various parts of India. During the first century and a-half this expansion was due to the vigour of the Delhi rulers, who broke the power of the Hindus even in many remote provinces. During the next century and a-half, Muhammadan expansion was due to the establishment of independent Muhammadan kingdoms in various parts of India, where the Hindu power had been broken or crushed, though there still remained a number of independent Hindu States in the mountainous north, in the wilds of Central India, and in the far south. During the last two centuries of the period, the great Moghul Empire was established in full sway over India. Mr. W. Irvine writes:

> The thirty years of conquest which began in 1176 must have been attended with much loss of life and destruction of property.

Political supremacy had been easily secured, some pitched battles and a victory or two usually sufficed, and the Hindu ruler at once succumbed But the conqueror's hold on the country could not, at this stage, have amounted to much more than a military occupation Apart from the violence connected with the suppression of armed resistance, we do not find that the victors displayed any excessive zeal in imposing their religion, which seems, for the most part, to have sat somewhat lightly upon themselves Such matters were allowed to take their course, and Islam filtered gradually into the population through intermarriage and immigration, coupled with the thousand inducements which, in those earlier ages, led to the adoption of the ruler's faith Muhammadans prefer town life, and thus congregated in the towns Their principal occupation was that of soldiers or armed messengers, but many of the handicrafts, such as weaving, dyeing, painting, and so forth, were followed by them A considerable accession to their numbers was obtained by conversion from the humbler classes of the Hindu community, who had much to gain, in a worldly sense, by such a change The priestly, the superior trading, and the landholding classes of Hindus have from the first shown themselves more obdurate to the appeal of the Prophet's faith The course of Muhammadan conquest can be traced, and the effect of nearness to or remoteness from the centre of Islam may be seen, by the existing distribution of the Muhammadan population and the proportion between Muhammadans and Hindus in the different provinces In the north-west frontier province and in Sind, the population is essentially Muhammadan, as also in the State of Kashmīr In the Punjab proper, the proportion of the two religions is about equal But as one proceeds either eastward or southward from the Punjab, the number of Muhammadans steadily diminishes, with one or two notable exceptions Throughout Eastern Bengal, no less than two-thirds of the inhabitants have adopted the faith of Islam, probably because Hinduism was never firmly established there, and on the Malabar coast a numerous colony of Muhammadans has long been settled, under the name of Moplahs, whose origin is due to sea-borne trade with Arabia and the Persian Gulf *.

From the beginning of the Muhammadan period the Kings of Delhi asserted and enforced suzerainty over the other Muhammadan states of Northern India, and throughout, apart from a few comparatively brief intermissions, when the imperial capital was removed elsewhere, Delhi remained the centre of Muhammadan power in India, notwithstanding the existence of various other independent Muhammadan dynasties and powers. As Mr Irvine points out:

* *The Indian Empire*, Vol II, pp 355, 356

This pre-eminence may be attributed to several causes the ability of Qutb-ud-dīn, and his long connection with India, the central position of Delhi, and its comparative nearness to the border-lands, whence the best fighters came, and partly to the prestige of Hindu times which still clung to the place

From 1206 to 1526, thirty-four kings reigned in Delhi, belonging to five different houses or lines, more or less allied. The average length of each reign was only nine and a-half years, and twelve of the thirty-four kings were deposed, assassinated, or killed in battle. During the vigorous period of Moghul rule, from 1526 to 1707, six emperors reigned, and the average length of each reign was some thirty years. The political history of the period is varied and important, and the material abundant, but nothing but the briefest outline need be given in this review.

(1) *The Slave Kings* (1206-1290 A.D.).—The Empire of Delhi was, as we have seen, founded by a slave of Muhammad Ghori, known as Kutb-ud-dīn, Aibak. It must be understood that in those times the position of a slave carried with it little or no sense of ignominy. The slave, by earnest efforts and faithful service, often attained to the position of a son in the house of his master. Kutb-ud-dīn, who had gained his reputation during the time that he acted as his master's deputy, reigned only four years. The lofty minaret, the Kutb-mīnār, was begun by him. His successor was Altamsh, one of his slaves. In his reign (1210-1236) the savage horsemen of that dreaded Mongol conqueror, the famous Jenghiz Khan, invaded India for the first time, and ravaged the Punjab and Sindh. One of the monarchs of this line was a woman, Raziyat, the daughter of Altamsh, who reigned from 1236 to 1240. Her brothers were weaklings or reprobates. A chronicle of the time declares that she possessed all kingly qualities except sex, and that this exception made all her virtues of no effect in the eyes of men.

She was ultimately dethroned and killed. One of her successors was her brother, the mild-natured Nasīr-ud-dīn, who ruled in name for twenty years (1246-1266). The king lived as a dervish, and the real ruler was his able minister, Balban, who organised the frontier provinces against Mongol attacks, and suppressed Hindu disaffection. From 1266-1287 Balban reigned independently, and guarded his realm against the Mongol peril, and reduced to subjection Bengal, whose viceroy had set up as an independent ruler. On the assassination of his successor, the sceptre passed from the Tūrkī nobles into the hands of the Afghan Khaljis.

(2) *The Khaljis and 'Ala-ud-dīn* (1290-1320 A.D.).—On the assassination of the last king of the slave dynasty, the most powerful of the generals, Jalīl-ud-dīn, Khalji, a man seventy years of age, was elected to the throne. In disposition he was mild, and averse to the shedding of blood, especially of fellow Muslims. His place in the field was taken by his able but unscrupulous nephew, 'Ala-ud-dīn, by whom he was subsequently murdered. 'Ala-ud-dīn reigned for twenty years (1296-1316) with great vigour and effect. At one time he seriously contemplated founding a new religion like Muhammad, and undertaking universal conquest like Alexander, but he was prudent enough to accept the advice to leave the founding of religions to those who had divine inspiration, and to subdue first the Hindu kingdoms of the south before attempting the conquest of remote lands. He sent plundering armies into Gujarāt, Rājputana, and Southern India. He employed the strongest measures in establishing internal order and tranquillity. Regarding wine, money, and social intercourse, as the three great causes of sedition, he took effective steps to deprive his nobles and people of all three. He successfully resisted, too, the Moghul invaders. He had no

regard for law, secular or sacred, but ruled as he thought best for the good of the State. During his reign Hindus were reduced to such obedience that they were ready at a word from the Sultan to creep into their holes like mice. His last years were troubled by the debaucheries of his sons. After a period of turmoil and bloodshed, Khusru Khan, a Hindu pariah, ascended the throne, and for four months, equally revolting to Hindus and Muhammadans, established a reign of terror and tyranny unparalleled in Indian history. Outcaste sweepers filled the palace, and violated the sanctity of the royal harem and the homes of the nobles. He was ultimately overthrown by Tughlaq, the brave warden of the marches.

(3) *The Tughlaq Shāhis and the Invasion of Taīmūr* (1320-1412).—Tughlaq reigned for five years, and proved a just, high-minded, and vigorous king. He reduced taxation on agricultural land, and extended his power in the Telugu country and in Bengal. His successor, Muhammad Tughlaq, is described by Elphinstone as "one of the most accomplished princes, and one of the most furious tyrants, that ever adorned or disgraced human nature." He excelled in all the accomplishments of the age, being a keen student of poetry, philosophy, and science. When his plans failed, his disappointment reached the verge of frenzy, and he degenerated into a cruel savage. He paralysed commerce by the introduction of a copper coinage. His project of a central capital at Deogīri or Daulatabad, near Poona, was carried through with such violence that it proved a failure. Delhi for the time became a solitude. He incurred ruinous expenditure for the maintenance of a huge standing army for the conquest of Persia and China. So oppressive were his taxes on the land of the Doāb, that the Hindu peasants abandoned their lands and

cattle, and took to the jungles. In the early years of his reign, he ruled a State larger than any of his predecessors, and not till the time of Aurangzib did a King of Delhi again hold so wide a sway. But the spirit of discontent was rife, and rebellion was savagely suppressed in one quarter only to break out afresh in another. His reign has been described as "a tragedy of high intentions self-defeated." He was succeeded by his nephew, Firuz Shāh, whose long reign (1351-1388) was one of peaceful and prosperous administration. He did much in the way of reclaiming waste lands, building cities, and constructing canals. The jizya, or poll-tax on infidels, was levied on all Hindus, but according to the best Muhammadan ideal, he was a just and merciful ruler. During the reign of Mahmud, the last of the Tughlaq dynasty, when the Delhi kingdom, on account of internal strife, was falling to pieces, the famous Taimūr or Tamerlane, the great Turkish conqueror and Mongol Emperor, burst into India at the head of a mighty host, captured and sacked Delhi in 1398, and laid waste a great part of Hindustan. The two great objects of his invasion were accomplished in his seven months' campaign in India. "The first," he tells us, was a war with the infidels, and by this religious warfare to acquire some claim to a reward in the life to come The other was a worldly object—that the army of Islam might gain something by plundering the valuables and wealth of the infidels Plunder in war is as lawful as their mother's milk to Mussulmans who fight for their faith, and the consuming of that which is lawful is a means of grace. Plunder must have been the main object, as Taimūr made little distinction between men of his own and other religions. In due time Mahmud returned to his desolate capital, but he was now little more than the ruler of the district round Delhi. For a considerable period there was no power which could with reason claim to be paramount.

(4) *Minor Muhammadan Dynasties and States.*—From 1414 to 1451 A.D., the Sayyids—descendants of the prophet—ruled in the reduced kingdom of Delhi. The Sayyids were succeeded by the three Lodī kings, all men of note, who ruled over Delhi from 1451 to 1526, and considerably extended the Delhi kingdom. Ibrahim Lodī was in 1526 defeated and slain by the great Moghul conqueror, Bābar, the founder of the Moghul dynasty. There were during this period several Muhammadan States with independent governments which later became absorbed in the Moghul Empire of Delhi. Bengal was fitful in its loyalty to Delhi. From 1297 to 1352 there were two principalities—an eastern, with its capital near Dacca, and a western, with its capital near Hūglī. From the latter date until 1576, independent kings of various races ruled Bengal—Khaljis, Turkīs, Bengalīs, Abyssinians, and Afghans. Independent dynasties also existed during a part of this period in Jaunpur, Kashmir, Gujarat, and Mālwā. In the fourteenth century there arose the independent Muhammadan dynasty of Bahmani, which, on its dissolution in 1482, was distributed into the five Muhammadan States of Golconda, Bijapur, Ahmednagar, Bidar, and Berar. All these were ultimately incorporated in the Moghul Empire.

(5) *Hindu Kingdoms of the Period—Chitor and the Empire of Vijaya-nagar.*—The Gahlots, with their capital at Chitor, were the most famous of the Rājput clans after the thirteenth century. They alone of the Rājput tribes maintained themselves against the Muhammadan invaders, and Chitor became the object of passionate national devotion. The rivalries and wars of the Muhammadan kingdoms of Delhi, Jaunpur, and Gujarāt in the fifteenth century gave the Gahlots of Chitor and the Tomars of Gwalior opportunity to develop on independent

lines, and their great buildings date from that period. From 1567 the Gahlots have had their capital at Udaipur, and their Rājā, who claims to be a direct representative of Rāma of Ayodhya, is the highest in rank of all the Rajput princes. In the far south, too, during this period the Hindus maintained a rallying point in the Empire of Vijaya-nagar, which lasted from 1335 to 1565. The Rājās of Vijaya-nagar were able to hold their own against the Sultans of the Deccan, and the greatest of them, Krishnadeva, in his career of conquest, in 1513 went as far north as Orissa, and captured several fortresses. He was friendly to the Portuguese, who made settlements on the coast at this time. According to Portuguese testimony, his army numbered 700,000 fighting men. One of his successors was overthrown by the Sultans of the Deccan, and the capital city reduced to ruins.

(6) *The Great Muhammadan Emperors.*—(*a*) *Bābar* (1526-1530), sixth in descent from the great Oriental conqueror, Taimūr, came to India on the solicitation of various Afghan nobles who had learned to fear and detest the reigning Muhammadan monarch of Delhi, Ibrahim Lodī. Ibrahim was slain and his army routed in the battle of Pānīpat. Though at first he suffered heavy loss in his conflict with the Rājputs, he finally crushed Rājput opposition, and made himself master of Northern India. Making Agra his capital, he devoted himself to beautifying it with terraced rose-gardens and other adornments, and to arranging the affairs and revenues of his new empire. Bābar was a man of great physical strength. He swam across all the rivers he met with in India, and once ran around the battlements of the fort at Agra, with a man tucked under each arm, leaping the embrasures as he came to them. He was also an accomplished man of letters, and in disposition was kindly,

brave, and generous. He died in his forty-eighth year.

(*b*) *Humāyūn* (1530-1556), his eldest son, a handsome and amiable prince, succeeded to the throne. He was called upon to face a formidable rival in the person of Sher Khān, the Afghan ruler of Bihār and Bengal. In 1540, Humāyūn was compelled to flee to Persia. Sher Khān occupied the throne and proved a diligent and benevolent ruler, though as a man he was treacherous beyond the ordinary. After five years' reign he was succeeded by his son, Islam Shāh, who, amid many conspiracies, maintained order and unity in the kingdom until his death in 1554. In the meantime Humāyūn's fortunes had been slowly recovering, and in 1555 he succeeded in recovering his kingdom, only to die in the following year from the results of a fall from the roof of his palace library.

(*c*) *Akbar* (1556-1605) succeeded to the throne at the age of thirteen, under a regency, but four years later, by royal proclamation, took the reins of government into his own hands. After reducing to allegiance all countries from Afghanistān to the shores of the Bay of Bengal, he proceeded to bring the country south of the Narbada under his sway. The wisdom, vigour, and humanity with which Akbar organised and administered his vast dominions are unexampled in the East if not in the West. He promoted commerce, administered impartial justice to all classes of his subjects, established a wise land revenue settlement, the principle of which lasts to this day, forbade child marriage, permitted the re-marriage of widows, endeavoured to stop the practice of suttee, and was a munificent patron of literature and education. In a day when religious toleration and liberty of conscience were unknown even in Europe, all religions were put upon a political equality by this

Muhammadan ruler. He welcomed Jews, Parsis, Hindus, and Christians to his Court, and himself adopted an eclectic system of faith, a creed of pure Deism, and a ritual based on the system of Zoroaster. He is known to posterity as Akbar the Great. His empire was carried on by his descendants unimpaired for over a hundred years, with a stability that is a tribute to the deep and strong foundations he laid. The misconduct of his sons brought him much unhappiness.

(*d*) *Jahangīr* (1605-1627) was devoted to the pleasures of the wine-cup and the chase, and cared little for the laws and restraints of religion. Several European travellers visited the Court of Jahangīr, and have left valuable records of their experiences. Among others were the ship-captain Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador of James I. It was during this reign that the English first established themselves at Surat. His son (who, on his death, became Emperor Shah Jahān) broke out into open rebellion against his father, and had to flee into exile. In the later years of his reign Jahangīr gave the reins of government into the hands of his favourite wife, Nūr Mahal or Nur Jahan. Her name appeared on the coinage along with Jahangīr's. He used to remark that Nur Jahan was wise enough to conduct the affairs of state, and that all he himself wanted was a bottle of wine and a piece of meat to keep himself merry.

(*e*) *Shah Jahān* (1627-1658), on his return from exile, ascended the throne without opposition. In his reign the Moghul Empire reached the zenith of its glory. Many public works and grand buildings and monuments testify to his magnificence and taste. At Delhi he erected the celebrated peacock throne, and to him we owe the Taj Mahal at Agra, which he erected as the mausoleum of his favourite wife, Mumtaz Mahal. In his later days the

Emperor gave way to sloth and self-indulgence, and a fratricidal struggle arose between his four sons for the supremacy. Aurangzib defeated and disposed of his brothers, and for eight years (1658-1666) kept his father a prisoner in his palace and gardens at Agra, treating him, however, with indulgence and respect.

(*f*) *Aurangzib* (1658-1707), the third son of his father, was from youth a zealous and orthodox Muhammadan, simple and temperate in his manner of living, but sincerely believing that the end justified the means, he was entirely without scruple in accomplishing the aims and objects he considered desirable in the interests of himself and his people. During his reign the empire was wealthy and of enormous extent, embracing the whole of India as far south as Travancore. But he was not a successful ruler. He trusted no one, and the huge area of the Empire was quite beyond one man's control. His religious intolerance put a stop to the loyal co-operation of the Rājputs, and drove into fierce revolt the Marāthās under their leader Sivāji. For the last twenty-five years of his reign he was engaged in fruitless warfare in the Deccan against rebellious Muhammadan and Hindu chiefs. By his own personal force he kept things together in his lifetime, but on his death decay and corruption rapidly set in, and India became a battlefield of rival powers—Hindu, Muhammadan, and European.

(7) *Characteristics of Muhammadan Civilisation in India.*—In reviewing the chief characteristics of civilisation in India during the Muhammadan period, we may note the following:

(*a*) Apart from such rulers as Akbar and Jahangīr, who were bad and even heretical in the eyes of their fellow-Muhammadans, the Muhammadan Kings and Emperors were grossly partial in their administration of law. When the tyrant 'Ala-

ud-dīn consulted a lawyer and asked him how Hindus were designated in the law, he received the reply :

> They are called payers of tribute, and when the revenue officer demands silver from them, they should without question, and with all humility and respect, tender gold. If the officer throws dirt into their mouth, they must without reluctance open their mouths wide to receive it God holds them in contempt, for He says "Keep them under in subjection" To keep the Hindus in abasement is especially a religious duty, because the Prophet has commanded us to slay them, plunder them, and make them captive, saying, "Convert them to Islam or kill them, enslave them, and spoil their wealth and property" No doctor but the great doctor (Hanifa) to whose school we belong has assented to the imposition of jizya (or the poll-tax) on Hindus Doctors of other schools allow no other alternative but "Death or Islam"*

The successive Muhammadan rulers did not dare enforce this law in its completeness, yet this represented in the main their ideal of government, and was the basis of their relations with the unbelievers. While compulsory conversion was not a general rule during the Muhammadan administration, there can be no doubt that a very large proportion of the sixty millions of Muhammadans in India to-day are of Hindu origin, the descendants of those who adopted Islam with a view to avoiding severe penalties. This was the social atmosphere in which Hindus, and more especially the upper classes of society, lived for centuries. Inevitably it had disastrous results on the moral fibre of the nation.

(*b*) For many centuries before the Moghuls established their Empire, India had been without a master hand, and her kings and princes waged continual warfare with one another. The Muhammadan Emperors were in general men of stern will and iron discipline. They were Oriental despots, Emperors in the full sense of the term. They realised for two centuries the ideal of India as a united Empire. The political future of India is problematic to a degree. But in all political

* See Thompson's *History of India*, p. 214

aspirations and hopes, native or foreign, there remains the ideal of a united India, a great imperium such as Akbar so gloriously realised and the British sovereign inherited. To this extent, at least, India will always be indebted to the Muhammadans.

(*c*) While it is true that the masses of the people are in general little affected by a change of dynasty, yet the trend of evidence seems to be that the material condition of the Indian peasantry deteriorated rather than improved under Muhammadan rule. Native writers at the present day have a tendency to speak in high terms of the Muhammadan administration at the expense of the British. A gifted native writer (Mr. R. C. Dutt) thus writes :

> We may look back on Moghul rule in India with some reasons for gratification India has always been mainly an agricultural country, and agriculture flourished in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Industries and manufactures, trade and commerce, also flourished in spite of all impediments, and the markets of Europe and Asia were filled with the products of the Indian loom as with the produce of the Indian soil. In the remote and peaceful villages the people lived under the protection of their own self-governing institutions, tilled their own lands, plied their own industries, and settled their own disputes

A rather pleasant picture this of India under Moslem rule, a picture that Mr. R. C. Dutt says is true of the Indian peasantry all through the centuries until the eighteenth—the period, be it remembered, when the British became responsible for the government of India's millions. To maintain his position Mr. Dutt quotes many contemporary historians, among them the distinguished French writer Bernier, for twelve years resident in India, and a physician at the Court of the Emperor Aurangzib. Mr. Dutt writes as follows :

> The most celebrated traveller who visited India in the seventeenth century was Bernier. He speaks of the corruption of the imperial officers at the time of Aurangzib, and of their oppression and exaction, but he also speaks of the industries of the peaceful population and of their trade and agriculture, which flourished in spite of the imperfect administration of the seventeenth century

Bernier travelled up the Ganges to Rajmahal, and found the country on both sides of the river intersected by numerous channels, lined with populous towns and villages, and with fields of rice and sugar and mulberry shrubs for the rearing of silk-worms. Rice was the staple food of the people, and geese and ducks, goats and sheep and fish, were plentiful Cotton and silk were produced in vast quantities

A pleasant picture is this. Mr. Vincent Smith, the greatest English authority to-day on the political history of India, also quotes Bernier, with an entirely different object in view. These are Mr. Smith's words :

Even before the death of Aurangzib, the French physician Bernier, not an unfriendly critic, declared that no adequate idea can be conveyed of the sufferings of the people He writes of "a tyranny so excessive as to deprive the peasant and artisan of the necessaries of life, and leave them to die of misery and exhaustion —a tyranny owing to which the wretched people either have no children at all, or have them only to endure the agonies of starvation and die at a tender age—a tyranny, in fine, that drives the cultivator from his wretched home As the ground is seldom tilled otherwise than by compulsion, and no person is found willing and able to repair the ditches and canals for the conveyance of water, it happens that the whole country is badly cultivated, and a great part rendered unproductive from the want of irrigation The houses, too, are left in a dilapidated condition"

Here are two authors, both men of the highest scholarship, arriving at conclusions diametrically opposed, and both quoting the same author as their authority. My perplexity led me to a study of Bernier himself, whose writings are of fascinating interest. He was evidently a man of wide learning, genuine research, and truly sympathetic spirit. You feel at once you are in the presence of a man who writes the truth as he saw it, and with a first-hand knowledge of the situation. He says :

I am speaking the language of several years' experience My information was obtained from various quarters, and is the result of many careful inquiries among the natives, European merchants long settled in the country, ambassadors, consuls, and interpreters.

Now, in the case of Mr. Dutt, the quotation from Bernier is as to the prosperous condition of Bengal along the banks of the Ganges from Calcutta to

Rajmahal, a distance of some 200 miles. The ordinary reader, however, would conclude that this judgment of Bernier applies to the condition of the whole Muhammadan Empire in India. Bernier makes it very clear that he is writing of Bengal, and Bengal only. His description of Hindustan in general is of an utterly different character. The ordinary reader would conclude that the lurid account, quoted by Mr. Smith, of the condition of the Indian peasant applies to the whole of Aurangzib's dominions, Bengal included. Besides, Mr. Smith appears to have left out the very important modifying word "often," for, according to the edition I have been able to consult, Bernier did not write "a tyranny so excessive," but "a tyranny *often* so excessive as to deprive the peasant and artisan of the necessaries of life." On the whole, Bernier's detailed accounts, manifestly true to life, warrant us in taking a somewhat severe view of the social conditions of the Hindus during Muslim rule. He says :

The persons put in possession of the land, whether as governors or contractors, have an authority almost absolute over the peasantry, and nearly as much over the artisan and merchants of the towns and villages within their district, and nothing can be imagined more cruel and oppressive than the manner in which it is exercised The sad abuse of the royal authority may not be felt in the same degree near capital cities such as Delhi and Agra, or in the vicinity of large towns and seaports, because in those places acts of gross injustice cannot easily be concealed from the Court . . This debasing state of slavery obstructs the progress of trade, and influences the manner and mode of life of every individual There can be little encouragement to engage in commercial pursuits when the success with which they may be attended, instead of adding to the enjoyment of life, provokes the cupidity of a neighbouring tyrant, possessing both power and inclination to deprive any man of the fruits of his industry When wealth is acquired, as must sometimes be the case, the possessor, so far from living with increased comfort and assuming an air of independence, studies the means by which he may appear indigent, his dress, lodging, and furniture continue to be mean, and he is careful above all things never to indulge in the pleasures of the table In the meantime, his gold and silver remain buried at a great depth in the ground A few individuals alone, who derive their money from the king, or from the omrahs, or who

are protected by a powerful patron, are at no pains to counterfeit poverty, but partake of the comforts and luxuries of life . . . The peasant cannot avoid asking himself the question, "Why should I toil for a tyrant who may come to-morrow and lay his rapacious hands upon all I possess and value without leaving me, if such should be his humour, the means to drag on my miserable existence?" Nothing but sheer necessity or blows from a cudgel keeps the artisan employed. He never can become rich, and he feels it no trifling matter if he have the means employed of satisfying the cravings of hunger and of covering his body with the coarsest raiment If money be gained, it does not in any measure go into his pocket, but only serves to increase the wealth of the merchant, who in turn is not a little perplexed how to guard against some act of outrage and extortion on the part of his superiors . A profound and universal ignorance is the natural consequence of such a state of society as I have endeavoured to describe.

(*d*) Muhammadanism is largely responsible for the low position that woman occupies at the present time in India The zenana system, so universal among the upper classes of Hindu society in Northern India, is a direct product of the example and rapacity of the Muhammadan conquerors. While a woman with a strong and dominating personality is often able to assert herself and not merely become the equal of but gain authority over the stronger sex, even in Muhammadan civilisation (Nūr Mahal, the wife of the Emperor Jahāngīr, is a striking instance), it is nevertheless entirely true that Islam in general regards woman as a chattel, a plaything, and not man's helpmeet and companion in all his noblest activities. The practice of secluding women behind the *purdah*, and keeping her in ignorance, has been, and still is, one of the greatest curses that Islam has imposed on Indian civilisation.

(*e*) It must nevertheless be recognised that art, literature, and religion flourished to a very considerable degree during the Muhammadan period. The architectural glories, the dreams in marble of Muhammadan India, such as the Taj Mahal of Agra, and Jama Masjid and Dīwān-i-Khās of Delhi, are universally recognised as unsurpassed anywhere in

the world. The Muhammadans showed a great genius for history, and their chronicles are our chief authorities for the period. Their coming impressed upon Northern India a common court language, a *lingua franca*—the Urdū. The age of Muhammadan rule is characterised by important religious movements mainly of a theistic nature. Rāmānanda, Tulsī Dās, and Chaitanya are all associated with the promulgation of a more popular form of Hinduism, in which *bhakti* or devotional faith takes the place of Vedic learning and sacrifice. They made free use of the vernacular, and rejected caste and priestly supremacy. The fusion of Hindu and Muhammadan thought gave rise to some important sects such as the Kabīr Panthis and the Sikhs. The religion of Islām had a considerable influence on Hindu faith and worship during the period.

IX. The Age of European Settlements, British Supremacy, and National Revival.

The main outlines of the building of our Empire in the East are known to all. Like the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French, the English went to India simply for trade. The exigencies of the situation compelled them to take up the burden of empire. The Moghul Empire had fallen to pieces. The ancestors of the Moghuls had come from the colder climates beyond the north-west. Physical and moral deterioration set in among their descendants permanently settled on the hot and stifling plains of India. As Sir William Hunter has said :

> The ancestors of Aurangzib, who swooped down on India from the north, were ruddy men in boots, the courtiers among whom Aurangzib grew up were pale persons in petticoats Babar, the founder of the Empire, had swum every river which he met with during thirty years' campaigning, the luxurious nobles round the powerful Aurangzib wore skirts made of innumerable folds of white muslins, and went to war in palanquins,

After the great Emperor had passed away in 1707, hell was let loose, and the people were ground to the dust by selfish nobles, greedy officials, and plundering armies. Under such conditions the merchants required the security of a fort. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the British East India Company was in possession of three principal settlements—Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, each of which was defended by modest fortifications, and had a narrow territory adjoining it. The French had their trading companies and factories, and there took shape in the brains of Dumas and of Dupleix, French Governors, the dream of founding the great French Empire on the ruins of the Muhammadan dominion falling to pieces around them. The English merchants saw clearly that the realisation of such a dream meant the ultimate ruin of their commerce, and to preserve their own existence they were driven into the field of war to oppose the political aims of the French. When the struggle was over, they found themselves the rulers of wide territories, with large administrative responsibilities. The East India Company, now one power among many in India, was often induced by one of the contending parties to participate in the contests of the Native States among themselves; in self-defence it had to fight the combinations formed against its very existence, such as the powerful Marāthā confederacy, and being the victor it had to deal with the vanquished. Thus, step by step, the fabric of its dominion arose, founded by Clive, preserved during a worldwide crisis for England by Warren Hastings, extended by Cornwallis, and still further advanced and perfected by Wellesley and the Marquis of Hastings. On each renewal of its charter the Company passed more and more under the control of the British Government, until, after the great Sepoy Mutiny in 1857, the Crown and

Parliament assumed the full responsibility of empire.

(1) *Early European Settlements—Portuguese, Dutch, British, French, and their varying fortunes.*—Hitherto invaders had entered India from the north-west. From the time of Alexander the Great (B.C. 327) to that of Vasco da Gama (A.D. 1498), there had been little direct intercourse between Europe and India. Such commerce as was carried on was by the difficult and dangerous route overland and by way of the Red Sea. Columbus, believing the world to be a sphere, thought he could reach Asia by a western route across the ocean. A few years later, the Portuguese navigator rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and, after a protracted voyage of eleven months, anchored off the coast of Malabar, near Calicut, on May 20th, 1498. After a stay of three months he returned to Europe, bearing with him a letter from the Zamorin or Hindu Rājā of Calicut to the King of Portugal: "Vasco da Gama, a nobleman of your household, has visited my kingdom, and has given me great pleasure. In my kingdom there is abundance of cinnamon, cloves, ginger, pepper, and precious stones. What I seek from thy country is gold, silver, coral, and scarlet." Da Gama was received at Lisbon with national rejoicings as enthusiastic as those with which Spain had greeted the return of Columbus. The Portuguese conceived dreams of a great Oriental Empire, and in 1502 the King of Portugal obtained from the Pope a Bull constituting him "Lord of the Navigation, Conquest, and Trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India." Da Gama's discovery had the result of raising Portugal to one of the foremost places among the nations of Europe, and opening up the East to commerce, and its colonisation to the western world.

During the whole of the sixteenth century, the

Portuguese enjoyed a monopoly of Oriental trade. "Their three objects were conquest, commerce, and conversion." The second Portuguese Viceroy was the famous Albuquerque, who greatly extended the area of Portuguese influence, and long after his death was held in reverence by Hindus and Muhammadans alike for the justice and magnanimity of his rule. Most of the succeeding Viceroys were tyrannical and cruel, and in 1560 the Inquisition, with all its horrors, was introduced into Goa, the capital of Portuguese India. But the task of founding and maintaining a great Oriental Empire in India was too great for a small country like Portugal. The quality of the men they sent out steadily deteriorated, and their bigotry and intolerance aroused fierce opposition in India itself. The downfall of the Vijayanagar Empire at the hands of the Muhammadan powers of the Deccan in 1564, and the union of Portugal with Spain from 1580 to 1640, contributed to the decline of Portuguese supremacy in the East. During the first half of the seventeenth century the Dutch everywhere routed the Portuguese in India, Ceylon, and Java, and in 1615 the British won a great victory at Swally. Now the only relics of her former greatness are the Portuguese settlements of Goa, Daman, and Diu.

During the seventeenth century the Dutch maritime power was the first in the world, and they established numerous settlements in India, Ceylon, and the Malayan Archipelago, ousting the Portuguese on all sides. Their commercial policy was, however, shortsighted, being based upon a monopoly of the trade in spices, and they stopped short of no acts of cruelty towards their commercial rivals. In 1758 Clive attacked the Dutch at Chinsura, and forced them to an ignominious capitulation. Though Holland still holds Java and Sumatra, the Dutch

flag flies nowhere at the present time on the mainland of India.

The earliest English attempts to reach the East were made by the North-West Passage under John Cabot and his three sons in 1497-8. In 1577 Sir Francis Drake circumnavigated the globe, and the King of one of the Moluccas promised him on his way home to supply the English nation with all the cloves which the island produced. The first Englishman actually to visit India (1579) was Thomas Stephens. He became Rector of the Jesuits' College in Goa, and his letters to his father excited the deep interest of English merchants in the trade of the East. The defeat of the Invincible Armada in 1588 (at which time the crowns of Spain and Portugal were one) promoted maritime enterprise in England. In 1591 three British vessels sailed round the Cape of Good Hope to the Indian Ocean, and on the last day of the year 1600 Queen Elizabeth incorporated by Royal Charter the East India Company under the title of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies." In the early years most of the trading was done with the Spice Archipelago, and it was not till 1608 that a landing was made on the coast of India, when Captain Hawkins visited Jahāngīr at Agra. A factory was established at Surat, but everywhere Portuguese hostility had to be faced. The defeat of a great Portuguese Armada at Swally in 1615 has already been referred to. A convention of peace was signed between the Viceroy of Goa and the President of Surat in 1635. The rivalry between British and Dutch was much more intense, and the massacre of Englishmen at Amboyna in the Indian Archipelago in 1623 was only avenged in 1654 by Cromwell, who secured a large indemnity. Notwithstanding Dutch rivalry, the English merchants made steady progress in establishing factories

on the mainland. In 1639 Madras was founded, in 1661 Charles II. received Bombay from Portugal as part of his marriage settlement, and in 1690 Job Charnock founded Calcutta. In 1708 the interests of two rival companies, which had been engaged in a desperate struggle, were amalgamated by Act of Parliament

The French were late in coming to India, their first settlement being at Surat in 1688. Their political importance only began with Dumas, who in 1735 became Governor of Pondicherry.

(2) *The Eighteenth-Century Struggle of the British for Supremacy against French, Muhammadans, and Marāthas.*—(*a*) Benoît Dumas, the French Governor of Pondicherry from 1735 to 1741, was the first to make use of the special political conditions prevailing in India at the time, for the political advantage of his country. Until after the death of Aurangzib, Europeans confined themselves to their commercial interests as far as possible, and offered due submission to, and sought suitable protection from, the native ruler of their neighbourhood or province. As a reward for assistance rendered against the Marāthās, Dumas received the title of Nawāb from the Moghul Emperor, with permission to transfer the title to his successor. Dupleix, who, after a conspicuously able administration at Chandernagore (a French settlement on the Hugli, founded in 1688), took over the Governorship of Pondicherry in 1741, was in full sympathy with the political plans of Dumas, and made it his aim, by entering into relations with native princes, to acquire for France vast territories in India. With his wife (a woman of strong character and intellect, who, from lifelong residence in India, was intimately acquainted with native languages and customs), he lived in Oriental splendour, and as a Nawāb negotiated on equal terms with native princes. It was also his policy to

destroy the English fortifications, and make an end of the English settlements. In 1746 Madras was captured, but in 1748, to the great mortification of Dupleix, was restored by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Later there occurred the disputed successions at Hyderābād and Arcot, and Dupleix stood forth as arbiter, and placed on both thrones nominees of his own. The British, in self-preservation, were led to support candidates of their own for both thrones, and the result was war. It was at this stage that Clive, who had come out as a factor or writer in the service of the East India Company, began a career of brilliant achievements that resulted in establishing British supremacy in India. The siege of Arcot (1751), and its issue, gave Clive a European reputation, and he was hailed by Pitt as a heavenborn general. The fame of British valour spread throughout India, as the result of the heroic exploit at Arcot, followed as it was by the battle of Plassey. Clive returned for a time to England in ill-health, and Dupleix was recalled to France in disgrace, but the war continued for years, English influence predominating in the Carnatic, and French in the Deccan and the Northern Circārs. In 1760 Colonel Coote won the decisive victory of Wandiwāsh over the French General, Lally, and Pondicherry was starved into capitulation in January, 1761. Pondicherry and Chandernagore are the only important French settlements now remaining in India, and by treaty they are unfortified, with only a limited military force.

(*b*) After the death of Aurangzib, the power of the great Moghul had gradually fallen into the hands of his provincial Viceroys, the three greatest of whom were the Nawāb of the Deccan, who ruled from Hyderabad; the Nawāb of Bengal, whose capital was Murshidābād; and the Nawāb or Wazīr of Oudh. When Surāj-ud-daula, in 1756, succeeded

as Nawāb of Bengal, he attacked the English settlement at Calcutta, plundered it of two millions sterling, and was responsible for "the Black Hole" disaster. Clive, who had returned to Madras from sick leave, promptly sailed for Bengal. The battle of Plassey was fought on June 23rd, 1757, and resulted in the complete overthrow of the Nawāb's forces. History has agreed to adopt this date as the beginning of the British Empire in the East. Except in special districts, the British did not at this stage exercise direct rule. They patronised more or less independent native rulers, and often extracted from them large sums of money. In 1764 the Nawāb of Bengal, Mīr Kāsim, got tired of the Company's claims and exactions, but with his allies, the Nawāb of Oudh and the Moghul Emperor Shāh Alam, he was overthrown at the decisive battle of Buxar, which laid Oudh at the feet of the conquerors, and brought the Moghul Emperor as a suppliant to the British camp. Oudh was given back to the Nawāb on conditions; the Emperor granted the Company the *diwani* or financial administration of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and the Northern Circārs. A puppet Nawāb was still maintained at Murshidābād. In 1767 Clive finally retired from India, and in 1772 Warren Hastings was appointed Governor, and two years later Governor-General, of Bengal, with powers of control over the other presidencies. During his administration the English power in Southern India was saved from the hostile attacks of Haidar Alī of Mysore, and the Nizām of the Deccan. Hastings' fame as a ruler rests on his administrative work. It was he who organised, by his beneficent and enlightened rule of thirteen years, the Empire which Clive founded, and he left India amid enthusiastic farewells from all classes, Indian and European. "If Clive's sword conquered the Indian Empire, it was

the brain of Hastings that planned the system of civil administration, and his genius that saved the Empire in its darkest hour." Among his successors must be mentioned Cornwallis, who was responsible for the separation of the functions of District Collector and Judge, and the introduction of the Permanent Settlement of the Land Revenue in Bengal; and Wellesley, a man of comprehensive political vision, who doubled the territories of the Company, and made the British the one paramount power in the Peninsula by his system of subsidiary alliances with native princes, who were allowed to retain the insignia of sovereignty by surrendering the substance of independence.

(*c*) Sivājī, the founder of the Marāthā power, died in 1680, having made himself supreme in Western India. Under his grandson, the power of the king passed into the hands of the Brāhman minister or Peshwā, who established an independent dynasty at Poona and organised a confederacy of the Marāthā chiefs, which included the Sindhia dynasty of Gwalior, the Holkar dynasty of Indore, the Gaikwār of Baroda, and the Bhonsla Rājā of Berar and Nagpur. The Marāthās succeeded in extending their dominions in all directions. In 1761 they suffered a severe reverse at the hands of Ahmed Shāh, ruler of the Punjab, at the battle of Pānīpat. Towards the latter part of the eighteenth century they came into conflict with the British, and between 1775 and 1817 there were four Marāthā wars. Their power was greatly curtailed by the victories of Arthur Wellesley and Lake in 1803, and finally overthrown in 1817 under the Marquis of Hastings.

(3) *The Fifty Years' Rule of the East India Company as Paramount Power*—1805-1858.—During this period of more than fifty years there were (apart from the ten weeks' administration of Lord Corn-

wallis, and the brief tenure of office that followed by a servant of the company, Sir George Barlow) nine Governors-General.

(*a*) *Lord Minto* (1807-1813), in accordance with instructions from home, engaged but little in military expeditions, but yet managed by diplomacy or threats to maintain the prestige of the British name. He negotiated a treaty of perpetual amity with Ranjīt Singh, head of the Sikh confederacy, and ruler of the Punjab, and under his influence the sphere of British influence was widened by the sending of embassies to a new set of foreign Powers—the Punjab, Afghanistān, and Persia. In the last year of his rule a great controversy was waged in England around the Charter of the Company and the terms of its renewal. The outcome of the discussion was, on the one hand, that the monopoly of the Company in Indian trade was abolished, and the shores of India opened to the private merchant, the manufacturer, and the planter; and, on the other hand, that practically unrestricted freedom was given to the missionary and the schoolmaster to live and work in India. As a result, the Company gradually restricted itself to administration and government, while the free operation of educational and religious forces is responsible for the new India we witness to-day, with all its seething discontent, and its aspirations after a larger life.

(*b*) *The Marquis of Hastings* (1813-1823).—His administration was brilliant in military display, and beneficent in social results. He succeeded in putting an end to the incursions of the Gurkhas of Nepāl into British Indian territory; important Marāthā States were reduced to subjection; and the predatory bands of Pindāris, who rode forth every winter season to burn and plunder villages and violate homes, were crushed. He abolished the office of Press censor, and gave a moderate measure of liberty

to the Press. He interested himself in educational projects, and during his tenure of office the first two colleges for higher education in India were established—the Hindu College, now known as the Presidency College, in Calcutta, and the Christian College at Serampore.

(*c*) *Lord Amherst* (1823-1828).—The principal event of his administration was the war with Burma, brought on by encroachments on British districts by the King of Ava. The war was badly managed, costing much in the way of lives and money, but it gave to India the new and fertile provinces of Aracan, Tenasserim, and Assam.

(*d*) *Lord William Bentinck* (1828-1835).—His administration was essentially peaceful, but progressive and successful. His two most memorable acts are the abolition of suttee and the suppression of the thugs. It required no little moral courage to attack such institutions as suttee and thuggism, in view of the religious sanctions attached to them, but Bentinck persisted in his benevolent efforts notwithstanding the opposition. He brought into order the finances after the burden imposed on them by the Burmese war. He admitted educated natives more freely into the service of the Company, and induced the Government to participate in the spread of English education. Coorg was annexed, but only in consideration of the unanimous wish of its people. "The modern history of the British in India, as benevolent administrators, ruling the country with an eye to the good of the natives, may be said to begin with Lord William Bentinck."

(*e*) *Lord Auckland* (1836-1842).—His appointment opens a new era of war and conquest, which lasted for some twenty years. The Afghan War, the conquest of Sind, the two Sikh Wars in the Punjab, the second Burmese War, and finally the great Sepoy Mutiny, all followed one another in close succession

For the purpose of checking Russian aggression, Dost Muhammad was dethroned, and the exiled Amīr, Shāh Shujā, put in his place. The outcome was a great catastrophe, and the disgrace of the British arms. The Afghans rose against the British, the British envoy was treacherously murdered, and of the British garrison of 4,000 fighting men, with a much larger company of camp followers, there was only one survivor. Auckland's successor arrived before the disaster could be retrieved.

(*f*) *Lord Ellenborough* (1842-1844) sent a British army to Kabul, which blew up with gunpowder the great bazaar of the city, and recovered the hostages and prisoners. Dost Muhammad was again allowed to take undisputed possession of his throne. Ellenborough, over-fond of theatrical display and grandiloquent utterances, conveyed the fraudulent gates of Somnāth from the tomb of Mahmud of Ghazni back in triumphal procession to India as a memorial of "Somnāth revenged." In 1843, Sir Charles Napier, regarding it as a humane piece of rascality, conquered Sind, and announced the fact in his brief punning despatch—"Peccavi," "I have sinned" (Sind).

(*g*) *Lord Hardinge* (1844-1848) had to face an invasion of British territory by the Sikh army. The Sikhs proved to be a formidable foe, but their resistance was overcome in the battle of Sobraon, and the Treaty of Lahore imposed various restrictions on Sikh independence. Hardinge's term of office was marked by a variety of measures in the direction of material and educational progress.

(*h*) *Lord Dalhousie* (1848-1856) was the youngest and one of the greatest of Indian pro-consuls. He "completed the fabric of British rule in India. The Empire, as mapped out by Lord Wellesley and Lord Hastings during the first quarter of the century, had received the addition of Sind in 1843. The Marquess

of Dalhousie finally filled the wide spaces covered by Oudh, the Central Provinces, and smaller States within India, together with the great outlying territories of the Punjab on the north-west frontier, and the richest part of Lower Burma beyond the sea." His annexation policy has been strongly criticised. Holding the view that rulers exist only for the good of the ruled, he denied the validity of the Hindu theory of adoption, and applied his "doctrine of lapse" to dynasties with no natural successor or guilty of misrule. As a ruler, no branch of the administration escaped his reforming hand. We are largely indebted to him for the network of roads, railways, and canals which now cover India, and he introduced cheap postage, the electric telegraph, and steam communication through the Red Sea.

(4) *The Great Sepoy Mutiny: Its Causes, its Leading Events, and its Results.*—The Marquess of Dalhousie was succeeded in the Governor-Generalship by Lord Canning, who, at the farewell banquet in England, given him by the Court of Directors, uttered these prophetic words: "I wish for a peaceful term of office. But I cannot forget that, in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, no larger than a man's hand, but which, growing larger and larger, may at last threaten to burst and overwhelm us with ruin." In the following year the sepoys of the Bengal army (it should be noted that Bengal, at this time, was often used as including most of Northern India) mutinied, and all the valley of the Ganges from Delhi to Patna rose in rebellion.

The Causes of the Mutiny.—"The mediate cause of the mutiny was the great disproportion between the numbers of British and native troops in India, which gave the sepoys an exaggerated notion of their power; its immediate causes were a series of circumstances which promoted active discontent

with British rule." We may note in more detail the following :—(*a*) On the ground of expense, the Company employed relatively few European soldiers, and when the Mutiny broke out, the relative numbers were 257,000 native to 36,000 British troops, though the ordinary proportion was five to one. The pay and privileges of the sepoy were steadily being diminished, and the Indian cavalry were almost to a man in debt. Sufficient account had not been taken of the social and religious feelings of the native soldiers, and in the greasing of cartridges no precautions had been taken to exclude the fat of cows and pigs, the use of both being deeply offensive to Hindus, and the latter to Muhammadans. The sepoys became persuaded that Government had a deep-laid plot for forcing them to become Christians by first making them outcastes from their own religion. Discipline also had become unusually lax in the Indian army, and many British regimental officers were inefficient. (*b*) Native opinion throughout India was in a state of ferment, due to the spread of education, the extension of missionary effort, the appearance at the same moment of the steam-engine and the telegraph-wire. The old order appeared to be doomed, and the numerous social reforms of Dalhousie and his predecessors were repugnant to the conservative element in Hindu society as threatening the social predominance and livelihood of the priesthood. Dalhousie's annexation policy, with its insistence on the doctrine of lapse, produced many political malcontents, who resented dethronement, loss of title, or loss of pension on their part or that of their friends. Muhammadan landowners resented the manner of re-assessment of the land revenue, carried through as it was in the interests of the cultivators. The Mutiny, then, may be regarded as the penalty we had to pay for our easy-going negligence and disregard of danger-signals ; and, on the other

hand, for the strenuous progressive policies of our most conscientious Governors-General.

The Leading Events of the Mutiny.—(*a*) *The beginnings of mutiny* showed themselves at Barrackpur, when the sepoys refused to receive the greased cartridges, and set fire to various military buildings. Similar outbreaks occurred in other stations, but no severe measures were taken. On May 9th, 1857, a Meerut, eighty-five mutinous sepoys were stripped of their uniforms and marched to gaol. The next day was a Sunday, and while the British troops were parading for church, most of the Indian troops rose in a body, released their comrades from gaol, massacred some of their officers and such Europeans as fell into their hands, and burned their bungalows. There was no man of strong will among the British officers in charge at Meerut, and no effective use was made of the large European force stationed there. The mutineers marched off to Delhi, captured the city, and proclaimed the effete Bāhādur Shāh Emperor of India. The flames of rebellion spread far and wide, and the same scenes were enacted in numerous places throughout Northern India. Europeans and Indian Christians, men, women, and children, were hunted down and massacred, bungalows burned and plundered, gaols broken open, and public buildings sacked.

(*b*) *The Massacre at Cawnpore.* Near Cawnpore lived the Rājā of Bithūr, known as the Nāna Sāhib, the arch-villain of the Mutiny. Though he constantly hunted, played, and dined with the British officers, it is clear that his heart was full of hatred against the British Government, on account of the refusal of the pension held to have lapsed on the death of his adoptive father, the last Peshwā of the Marāthās. He induced the 3,000 mutinous sepoys of Cawnpore to besiege the few hundred European residents of the station, mostly women and children.

After three weeks of resistance, under the leadership of General Wheeler, they were compelled, by exposure, hunger, and thirst, to enter into a treaty with the Nāna Sāhib, who promised them safe conduct down the river to Allahābād. Fire was, however, opened upon them from both banks; only four men escaped, and others who survived the fusillade were instantly shot. Three weeks later, the women and children survivors, who during this period had been kept in confinement, were massacred on the near approach of the forces of Havelock and Neill, and their mangled bodies, to the number of 200, were cast into an adjacent well. Here they were discovered, a day or so afterwards, and the wrath of Neill and his men, notwithstanding Havelock's appeals, was ungovernable. The Nāna Sāhib, however, escaped, and disappeared in the Nepal jungles, and was heard of no more.

(*c*) *The Relief of Lucknow.* Sir Henry Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of Oudh, took the precaution to fortify and provision the residency at Lucknow. Here he and his small garrison were besieged by a large force of trained sepoys. He was fatally wounded soon after the siege began, but the spirit of their dead leader lived on in the hearts of the garrison. After suffering severe losses, they were (after a siege of 87 days) finally relieved by Havelock, the soldier-saint, and Outram, the Bayard of India. The relieving forces, though sufficient to save the garrison from destruction, were themselves invested, and two months later were relieved by Sir Colin Campbell. Shortly afterwards occurred the death of Havelock.

(*d*) *The Siege of Delhi.* On the outbreak of the mutiny John Lawrence began to reap the fruits of good government in the loyalty of the people of the Punjab and the Sikh troops. With the aid of his able and heroic assistants, Herbert Edwardes and

John Nicholson, he held on to the Punjab, sending on to Delhi as much in the way of reinforcements as they could safely spare. From early in June the British force occupied the famous ridge at Delhi. In August, Nicholson, worshipped by the wild Sikh soldiery as the very incarnation of the god of war, was sent by Lawrence to put more spirit into the attack. In September the city was captured after six days' hard fighting, during which Nicholson received a fatal wound. The Emperor was deported.

(*e*) *The Campaign in Oudh and Central India.*—In Oudh, the British, under Colin Campbell and Outram, had to quell, not the mutiny of an army, but the revolt of a people. In Central India Sir Hugh Rose conducted a brilliant campaign against the disinherited Rānī of Jhānsi, and Tāntiā Topī, commander-in-chief of Nāna Sāhib. Both were ultimately crushed. The Rānī died fighting, and Tāntiā Topī was betrayed and executed.

The Result of the Mutiny.—The chief result of the Mutiny was that government by the Company was abolished, and the Queen's noble proclamation was accepted by the peoples of India as the charter of their lives and liberties.

(5) *India under the Crown.*—The proclamation of 1858 not only guarantees to all full freedom in the exercise of their religious beliefs, and equal and impartial protection of the law, but has the following important clause :

> And it is further our will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity, duly to discharge

The policy outlined in these words resulted in a great extension of English and university education. A new era, too, was established in the relations of the paramount power and the feudatory States, and English statesmen perceived "that it was better

patiently to train an Indian prince to govern well than to set him aside and do the work more efficiently in his stead." In 1861, the Viceroy's Council was reconstituted, the first step in representative government being taken by the addition of several non-official members to the Council for legislative purposes. Canning left India in March, 1862, and died soon after his return to England. At a great crisis, when passions ran high, and panic was the order of the day, he did a great service to the Empire by the vigour and clemency of his rule. We can do no more than devote a very brief paragraph to the administration of each of his successors.

(*a*) *Elgin* (1862-3) was the first Viceroy directly appointed by the Crown, and, as subject to the Secretary of State for India, he loyally accepted the new situation, and practically abandoned the attitude of viceregal independence that had prevailed from the days of Clive and Warren Hastings. He died after having been only a year and a-half in office.

(*b*) *Lawrence* (1864-9).—The internal administration of Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence "was remarkable for financial prudence, a jealous regard for the good of the masses of the people and of the British soldiers, and a generous interest in education, especially in its Christian aspects." The terrible Orissa famine in 1866 awakened the public conscience, and aroused Government to assume more direct responsibility in coping with famine, by the improvement of communications and the construction of irrigation canals. Lawrence did much by legislation to place on an equitable basis the relations of landlord and cultivator in Oudh and the Punjab.

(*c*) *Mayo* (1869-1872) must be classed among India's great Viceroys. He overhauled the whole administration, and introduced many financial and administrative reforms. He greatly improved the

finances, and put India on a paying basis. He did much to develop the material resources of the country, by promoting irrigation, railways, forests, and other useful public works. He abolished inland tolls that hindered trade between province and province. There seemed to be no limit to his vigour, and he met his death by the hand of an assassin while on a tour of inspection in the convict settlement of the Andamans.

(*d*) *Northbrook* (1872-6).—During his administration famine was averted in Lower Bengal by a vast organisation of State relief, and the importation of rice from Burma. The Gaikwār of Baroda was dethroned for misgovernment and disloyalty, while his dominions were continued to a nominated child of the family. The visit of the Prince of Wales evoked a passionate burst of loyalty never before known in the annals of British India.

(*e*) *Lytton* (1876-1880).—On January 1, 1877, Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India at a Durbar of great magnificence held on the historic ridge overlooking Delhi. In the meantime, Southern India was in the grip of a widespread and long-protracted famine. Although Government spent some seven millions sterling in relief, and in the importation of grain by sea and rail, it is estimated that more than five millions of people perished. Serious complications arose with Afghanistān, which was showing special favour to Russia. The country was invaded. A British Resident and his escort were established at Kābul, but within a few months they were treacherously massacred. Kābul was occupied in force, and a new Amīr recognised.

(*f*) *Ripon* (1880-4) was sent to India by the new Liberal Government under Gladstone to reverse the policy of Lytton, and to withdraw from Afghanistān as soon as it could conveniently be done. The new Amīr was ultimately left in possession of the

throne, with an annual subsidy from the British. Ripon extended municipal and local self-government, and gave the elective principle a wider application. A measure—known as the Ilbert Bill—which attempted to give native magistrates and judges jurisdiction over European British subjects, raised a storm of opposition from the European community, and ended in a compromise which enabled Europeans in such cases to claim a jury of which at least half shall be Europeans. "There probably never was a Viceroy so unpopular among Anglo-Indians, and so popular with the natives. On Lord Ripon's departure from India in November, 1884, there were extraordinary manifestations in his favour on the part of the Hindu population of Bengal and Bombay, and more than a thousand addresses were presented to him."

(*g*) *Dufferin* (1884-8) carried on with much tact and ability the work of his predecessor. He established stable relations with Afghanistān, and settled the grave crisis with Russia arising out of the Panjdeh incident. Numerous offers of help came from the native chiefs. The Burmese King Thībaw broke the terms of his treaty with the Indian Government. An army marched to Mandalay, Upper Burma was annexed, and the king deposed. Lady Dufferin's memory is perpetuated in India by the Hospital Fund, called after her name, for providing better medical treatment to the women of India.

(*h*) *Lansdowne* (1888-1894) had to face considerable trouble from the frontier tribes, and numerous punitive expeditions were the result. He enlarged the Legislative Councils of the supreme and local Governments, and extended the representative principle.

(*i*) *Elgin* (1894-9).—His administration is notable for the visitation of plague, famine, and earthquake, and for the expensive frontier wars.

(*j*) *Curzon* (1899-1905), after making careful inquiries through various Commissions, introduced a great variety of reforms bearing on irrigation, railways, universities, agricultural banks, excise, and police. In all his reforms his one great aim was to introduce greater efficiency and honesty into the administration, and to advance the common welfare as against special class interests. His division of Bengal was justifiable on the ground of efficiency in administration, but not from the standpoint of national sentiment. His policy of dealing with the hill-tribes brought peace on the frontier. Like Dalhousie, he failed to make due allowance for national sentiment and prejudices, but posterity will rank him as one of the great Indian Viceroys.

(*k*) *Minto* (1905-10) was called upon to deal with grave symptoms of unrest due to the partition of Bengal and the general awakening in eastern lands. In his policy of repression and conciliation he worked in hearty co-operation with the Secretary of State, Lord Morley. As instances of repression may be mentioned the new Explosives and Press Acts, while the Indian Councils Act greatly extended the representative principle and was well received.

(*l*) *Hardinge* (1910—) has continued with much success the policy of repression and conciliation. The crowning of the King-Emperor at Delhi, and the important changes announced in the imperial proclamation, may be regarded as the beginning of a new era of peace and goodwill, of progress and reform.

The Government and Administration of India.—The main features of the Government and Administration of India may be indicated. Queen Elizabeth incorporated the East India Company by royal charter dated December 31st, 1600. It received the sole right of trading with the East Indies, and its control was placed in the hands of a

governor and a committee of twenty-four, appointed by a larger body, the court of proprietors; and down to the time of George III., the chairman and court of directors in London exercised full control over their servants in India. Clive's victory at Plassey (1757) made the Company a ruling power in India, and then the British Government began to assert its authority. Lord North's Regulating Act (1773) raised the Governor of Bengal, Warren Hastings, to the rank of Governor-General, and provided that his nomination, though made by a court of directors, should in future be subject to the approval of the Crown; in conjunction with a council of four, he was entrusted with power of peace and war; a supreme court of judicature was established, to which the judges were appointed by the Crown; and legislative power was conferred on the Governor-General and his Council. Next followed Pitt's India Bill, which created a Board of Control, practically a committee (to the number of six) of members of the Cabinet, with powers to revise the acts of the directors, and represented in Parliament by a President and a Secretary. This system of double government—the Court of Directors and the Board of Control—with the Governor-General and his Council of four in India continued in force until August 2nd, 1858, when all the powers belonging to the Court of Directors and the Board of Control were transferred to the Crown, which exercises its power through a Secretary of State for India, a member of the Cabinet, responsible to and representing the Supreme Authority of Parliament The Secretary of State is assisted by a Council of not less than ten and not more than fourteen members, appointed for seven years by the Secretary of State. At least nine members of the Council must be persons who have served or resided ten years

in India, and have not left India more than five years previous to their appointment A member may be removed upon an Address from both Houses of Parliament, and no member can sit in Parliament. A Hindu and a Muhammadan were for the first time appointed to the Council in 1907 The Council of India, which has no initiative authority, is essentially an advisory body, with powers of control over finance It meets at least once a week, and the Secretary of State regulates the transaction of business Subject to the Secretary of State's direction, the supreme executive authority in India, in both civil and military affairs, is the Governor-General in Council, or the Government of India The Governor-General, or Viceroy, is appointed by the Crown for a period of five years. The Executive Council, which virtually sits as a Cabinet, is composed of six ordinary members, likewise appointed by the Crown for five years, of whom three must have served for ten years in India, and one must be a barrister, together with the Commander-in-Chief as an extraordinary member. A native of India, a lawyer, was first appointed member of Council in 1909 Ordinarily the opinion of the majority prevails, but the Governor-General is empowered in special circumstances to overrule the majority. Business is conducted by ten departments — Finance, Foreign, Home, Legislative, Revenue and Agriculture, Public Works, Commerce and Industry, Railway, Army, and Education. These several departments are each in charge of a Secretary to Government; and each department, except the foreign department, which is under the immediate superintendence of the Governor-General, is assigned to the special care of one of the members of the Council, much after the fashion of a European Cabinet. Each member of Council has

authority to deal with affairs of minor importance in his department, and to select what is worthy of the consideration of the Governor-General and his Council All orders and resolutions, however, are issued in the name of the Governor-General in Council, and must be signed by a Secretary The Council is expanded into a Legislative Council of 68 members, of whom 36 are nominated and 32 elected by various native and commercial interests under the provisions of the Indian Councils Act, 1909, an official majority is thus guaranteed. The seat of the Supreme Government is now Delhi, with an annual migration to the hill-station of Simla for the hot season.

For purposes of administration India is divided into ten great and four smaller provinces. Madras, Bombay, and now Bengal, are each ruled by a Governor appointed by the Crown, with legislative and executive councils modelled on those of the Governor-General. The provincial councils, however, are not quite so large, and the provincial legislative councils, which vary in number from about 50 to 20, all have non-official majorities. The Governor may communicate direct with the Secretary of State. The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the Punjab, Burma, and the new Province of Bihar, Chota Nagpore, and Orissa, have each a Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the Governor-General with the approval of the Crown, and each has a Legislative Council, the Central Provinces, Assam, and the North-West Frontier Province are each under a Chief Commissioner, or Agent, appointed by the Governor-General in Council. The minor Provinces of Coorg, Ajmer-Merwara, British Baluchistan, and the Andamans also are each under a Chief Commissioner The Lieutenant-Governors and Chief Commissioners are usually chosen from the Indian Civil Service. Each pro-

vince is usually broken up into divisions under Commissioners, and then divided into districts which, with their subdivisions, form the units of administration. There are 267 districts in British India. At the head of each district is the District Officer (collector-magistrate or deputy-commissioner), who, in subordination to a Commissioner, has control in every department of administration. Subordinate to the collector or magistrate in most districts there are a joint magistrate, an assistant magistrate (members of the Indian Civil Service), and one or more deputy collectors and other officials. The deputy magistrates or collectors are mostly natives, and are often in charge of a subdivision of a district. Madras, Bombay, Bengal, and Agra have each a High Court, from which there is an ultimate appeal to the Privy Council in England Other provinces have chief courts. For local government purposes there are more than seven hundred municipal bodies, appointed on the elective principle as to the majority, but with some Government *ex-officio* or nominated members in all cases The municipalities have charge of roads, fairs, markets, open spaces, water supply, drainage, education, hospitals, etc. In the rural districts there are some 1100 district and local boards doing similar work. From all this it is clear that solid foundations have been laid for a complete system of representative government on lines at once democratic and imperial.

The chief of the Indian Services is technically known as the Indian Civil Service It is limited to about a thousand members, who are chosen by open competition in England. The higher officers of the education department, police, engineering, public works, telegraph, and forest services are also recruited in England. In all these higher services there is a small percentage of natives.

Less than 6,500 Englishmen are employed to rule over the 300 millions of India On the other hand, natives manage the greater part of the administration of the revenue and land affairs and magisterial work The subordinate courts throughout India are almost entirely manned by native judges, who sit also on the bench in each of the High Courts. Similarly in the other services There are four engineering colleges in India, which furnish to natives access to the higher grades of the public works department, and the provincial education services are recruited solely in India

The Native or Feudatory States, large and small, number nearly 700, but only about 200 are of any real importance They comprise about two-fifths of the area and one-fifth of the population of India. British Indian law does not apply to the Native States, and such control as the Supreme Government exercises over the administration of these areas is executive Generally speaking, the more important enjoy full internal autonomy, with the power of life and death over their subjects, and the states are governed by the native princes, ministers, and councils, with the advice of a political officer of the Supreme Government. The officer may serve as British Resident of one large state, or may be the Agent for a group of states In matters of imperial interest, trade, main lines of railway, etc., the Supreme Government has jurisdiction. In case of misrule, the Supreme Government can dethrone the chief or temporily suspend him from the exercise of his powers. Feudatories can form no alliance with one another or with foreign states, and peace is imposed on all The majority of the states represent the scattered military chiefships which sprang from the ruins of the Moghul Empire in the eighteenth century, and so are of more recent origin than the advent of the British. Others, however, represent dynasties of immemorial antiquity The states vary greatly in size and importance Hyderabad is as large as Italy, with a population of some thirteen millions, and the

Nizam enjoys a very large revenue. He is a Muhammadan, but his people are mostly Hindus Other states of first magnitude, having a superior Resident, are the Madras States, Mysore, Travancore, and Cochin; the Himalayan State, Kashmīr; the Rājputāna States, Jaipur and Udaipur (Mewar), and the Marāthā States of Central and Western India, Gwalior, Indore, and Baroda Mention may be made of a few other important states, such as Alwar, Bharatpur, Bikaner, Jodhpur, and Kotah in the Rājputāna Agency; Patiala, Bahawalpur, and Kapurthala in the Punjab, Bhopal and Rewa in the Central Indian Agency, Junagarh, Nawanagar, and Bhaunagar in the Kāthiāwār Agency; Cutch on the north-western coast; Kolhapur, a Marāthā state, on the Bombay coast; Khairpur in Sind, Rampur and Garhwal in the United Provinces; Kuch Behar and Tippera, adjoining Bengal, in the north-east; Pudukattai in Madras, and Maurbhanj in Orissa. All these thirty or so states, not to mention others, are of real importance from one or more different standpoints—area, population, or revenue. There are a few other states, such as Bastar in the Central Provinces and Kalat in Baluchistan, of very considerable area, but otherwise they are of lesser importance. The chiefs of several states we have mentioned—Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, Kashmīr, Gwalior, Baroda, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Patiala, Rewa, Udaipur, Bhopal, Indore, Cochin, and Kolhapur—have as many as from one to thirteen million subjects, and they, with several others, are reigning monarchs in the full sense of the term, entitled to salutes of twenty-one, nineteen, or seventeen guns as the case may be. Other chiefs may be compared in rank with English noblemen, while the lesser lights—several hundreds of them—may be compared with English squires, of great influence locally, and sometimes

very wealthy. Some states are supervised by the Governor-General in Council, others by the Provincial Governments. Nepal and Bhutan are practically independent, though their foreign relations are controlled.

The Chief Characteristics of British Rule.—(1) In the building up of our Empire in India we have made many blunders, we have committed some crimes, but we have given peace, order, and good government to India's people, to the Indian peasantry security of life and limb and the just reward of their labour. England found India in a chronic state of war, rapine, and anarchy. She has established the Pax Britannica throughout India's wide domains. The Indian Penal Code, the work chiefly of Lord Macaulay, is admitted to be a simple, comprehensive, and humane system of criminal law, universal and impartial in its incidence, vastly superior to anything which India ever possessed under former rulers. The unblemished integrity and unswerving devotion to duty of the officials, whether English or Indian, who occupy the higher posts, will be admitted by all, though the subordinate officers are sometimes not above suspicion. The course of justice, too, is often perverted by perjury. It may be a humorous exaggeration on Kipling's part when he says that you can buy a murder charge, including the corpse all complete, for fifty rupees. But perjury is a fine art in the Indian Courts. Still, the essential integrity of British justice and administration has become proverbial in India, and it is a gratifying feature that some of the very best Judges in our Indian High Courts have been natives of the country. Much has been done, too, during the last half-century to introduce into India the beginnings of government through representative institutions. Legislative Councils, Municipal Corporations, and District Boards have been established and carried

on with the co-operation of Indian representatives, and they are recognised as intended to prepare the way for a larger measure of self-government, with the growth of intelligence, integrity, and capacity. From the dawn of the British supremacy the great Governors-General of India have declared it to be the work of England to fit India for self-government, and not only have natives of the country been given an increasing share in Legislative and Municipal Councils, but also in the public service. In 1903, out of 1,370 superior appointments (drawing a salary of over Rs. 1,000 a month), 1,262 were filled by Europeans, 15 by Eurasians, and 92 by Hindus or Muhammadans. The proportion of the natives of India employed in the superior service has risen from 2 per cent. in 1867 to 7 per cent. in 1903. Of 26,908 Government appointments, of a value of Rs. 75 and upwards per month, 5,205 were held by Europeans, 5,420 by Eurasians, and 16,283 by Hindus or Muhammadans. These figures may show an unnecessarily large proportion of Europeans in the superior service, but at any rate this much is clear—that the British Government recognises in a practical form the importance of giving an increasingly large share in the administration, without distinction of race or religion, to natives of India who are qualified by character and education.

(2) The Government of India has taken upon itself the responsibility of raising the intelligence of the people and imparting knowledge to them, independent of the inevitable consequences of such a policy. As far back as 1835, a Governor-General, Sir Charles Metcalfe, indicated the spirit underlying our administration in this connection. "Whatever may be the consequences," he said, "it is our duty to communicate the benefits of knowledge. If India could be preserved as a part of the British Empire only by keeping its inhabitants in a state of

ignorance, our dominion would be a curse to the country and ought to cease." The Educational Despatch of 1854 marks an era in the history of India. It lays the foundations of popular and of higher education by the State, by establishing a system of elementary schools throughout India, giving instruction to the people in their vernacular, and by instituting a University, with affiliated colleges, in each Presidency, at the same time providing grants-in-aid for private schools that give sound secular instruction, whether they teach the religion of the Bible, the Shastras, or the Koran. There are now in State or State-aided institutions in India some 20,000 College or University students, 700,000 in secondary institutions, and 3,250,000 in primary schools, a small number compared with the population still, but five times as many as there were fifty years ago. There is a sustained movement among India's rulers to elevate the intellectual condition of the people under their charge.

(3) While British administration in India is based on complete religious toleration and a scrupulous regard for the opinions, customs, and prejudices of its subjects, yet it does not hesitate to abolish such customs as are flagrantly inhuman or immoral. Therefore the thugs were extirpated, female infanticide and the human sacrifices of the Kandhs were suppressed, and the rite of suttee was made illegal. While Government has adopted Hindu and Muhammadan law as its guide in all matters affecting the social and religious life of these communities, it has not hesitated to abolish provisions in these laws which are directly counter to the principle of religious toleration, *e.g.*, the penalties attached in both Hindu and Muhammadan law to change of faith have been abrogated. In all these matters the Government has not merely had regard to its own safety and political expediency, but has

moved in advance of what public opinion in India would justify. In this connection no one deserves more lasting recognition and honour than that great lover of liberty, justice, and high ideals, Lord William Bentinck, Governor-General from 1828 to 1835. The epitaph written by Macaulay and placed on Bentinck's statue in Calcutta well describes the man and the ideals underlying British rule :

> This statue is erected to William Cavendish Bentinck, who during seven years ruled India with eminent prudence, integrity, and benevolence, who, placed at the head of a great Empire, never laid aside the simplicity and moderation of a private citizen, who infused into Oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom, who never forgot that the end of government is the welfare of the governed, who abolished cruel rites; who effaced humiliating distinctions, who allowed liberty to the expression of public opinion, whose constant study it was to elevate the moral and intellectual character of the government committed to his charge This monument was erected by men who, differing from each other in race, in manners, in language, and in religion, cherish with equal veneration and gratitude the memory of his wise, upright, and paternal administration

(4) The material influences of British administration have been varied and powerful factors in the unifying and civilising of India. The first railway in India was opened in 1853; now there are between 30,000 and 40,000 miles of railway linking all parts of India together, and patronised annually by some 300,000,000 passengers. This network of communications has practically made impossible the recurrence of such a famine as devastated Orissa in 1866, and whereas, fifty years ago, it took more than six months to travel from the extreme north of India to the far south, it can now be done in less than so many days. Not only the Railway but the Post Office and the Telegraph are extensively used by all classes and castes, and these are bringing the various races together as nothing has done in the past. Nothing approaches in magnitude the irrigation works of India undertaken by the British Government, and though much still remains to be

done, millions of acres have been rendered immune from famine.

(5) While the advantages of the British administration are great and palpable, there are serious defects which the impartial observer cannot ignore. It is an alien administration—even more alien than the Muhammadan. The Muhammadan rulers settled permanently in the country, and India became their home. The British official gives twenty or thirty years of arduous service to the country, but always looks forward to leaving it with a pension as soon as his period of service is completed. The inevitable result is that there can be no deep bond of sympathy between the rulers and the ruled—little in the way of intimate intercourse between the foreign official and the native subject. Then, too, the presence of a large standing army of foreigners, however necessary and vital for the purposes of Empire, is a source of considerable irritation to the more sensitive sections of the native population and is the heaviest charge upon the revenues of the country. Further, during the century of peaceful British administration, there has been a very great increase in the population of the country, and this has led to serious economic difficulties. India is essentially an agricultural country, 90 per cent. of the people living on the land they till, but the old methods of agriculture are not adequate to the needs of the growing population. Some authorities maintain that the condition of the peasant has deteriorated rather than improved during the period of British rule, and that the yearly drain of money to England, in the way of pensions and interest on loans, is a serious economic disadvantage. The growth of the educated community, too, has brought with it its own special difficulties. Thousands of students educated in the learning of the West are coming out yearly from Indian Colleges and Universities. Most of them

look to Government for employment, and when they see Englishmen intellectually in no way superior to themselves brought out for positions that Indians are competent to hold, there often arises a strong feeling of irritation. These are some of the difficulties that an alien administration has inevitably to face, and they add enormously to the burden and responsibility of Empire.

In conclusion, I would indicate in the briefest form some of the leading results of British administration on the life and thought of the Indian people.

(*a*) There is an intellectual awakening of most marked and significant character. There is a feeling of expectancy in the air, an atmosphere of anticipation such as prevailed in Europe during the Renaissance, or in the period preceding the French Revolution. While this awakening, in its more definite form, is limited to the educated classes, it is far from being exclusively so. The intellectual outlook of the masses is being steadily enlarged, and the great world-developments, such as the outcome of the Russo-Japanese War, are becoming known, and their significance appreciated, among the peasantry in the remote villages of the land.

(*b*) Vernacular literature has witnessed a great development during the past century, due largely to the inspiration of western ideals. In Bengal there has arisen a school of novelists of high literary rank. The novels of Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the writings of Ishwarchandra Vidyāsāgar, and the poems of Michael Madhusudan Dutt have exercised a great influence on the life and thought of the Bengali people. The vernacular press, too, has become a great instrument of power in the land. A hundred years ago there was not a single vernacular newspaper or periodical in India. Now they number more than a thousand, while more than 7,000 books

are published annually in the Indian vernaculars. This literary activity, made possible by the growth of education, means a great deal, both for good and for evil, in the evolution of India's life.

(c) There is considerable ferment in the social life. Millions of the lower castes are becoming deeply dissatisfied with their social degradation, and are organising among themselves with a view of putting an end to the oppression they have to endure. Many of the more advanced men among the educated sympathise with this movement against caste restrictions, and openly advocate social reform, and the elevation of the status of woman, and of the outcastes, notwithstanding the opposition of the priesthood.

(d) In religious thought the century of British rule has been one of considerable ferment, due to impact with the West. Great religious reformers have arisen who have denounced the superstitions of Hinduism and advocated a purer form of religion and a higher moral code.

(e) The revival of national sentiment is most marked in recent years. Anglo-Saxon ideas of political liberty and equality have taken deep root in the minds of educated Indians. The invading armies failed to touch the inner life of India through all the centuries. The impact with western thought is shaking the constitution of Indian life in its very foundations.

BOOK III.

The Evolution of Indian Religion and Philosophy.

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I. Anthropology and Its Bearing on the Origin and Evolution of Religion.

IN recent years the study of religion has tended to become much more human in its character, and to be pursued not from the standpoint of the particular dogmas of any one religion, but rather in the light of religious phenomena characteristic of our common humanity. The main ground of this change is undoubtedly the steady advance made by anthropological and ethnographical researches into the history of early man. We may not be able to accept all the theories put forward by anthropologists regarding the origin and development of religion, but we cannot but express our very sincere appreciation of the great work they have done and are doing in the interests of the study of religion. So far as re-establishing the claims of religion to be a subject of serious study on the part of all thoughtful men, they have succeeded where the dogmatic theologians failed.

Anthropology, in its widest sense, has for its aim the study of man in the whole course of his development since his first appearance on earth. Various other sciences, holding independent places in the field of knowledge, must be regarded as subsidiary to anthropology in this wide sense of the term. Anatomy and physiology, as displaying the structure and functions of the human body; psychology, as investigating the operations of the human mind; philology, as dealing with the general principles of

human speech, and the relations between the languages of the particular races and nations; ethics, as treating of the principles and rules of human conduct; sociology, as concerned with the origin and development of human culture, customs, and institutions; archæology, as devoted to the study and interpretation of the material remains of ancient peoples; geology, as investigating the physical history of the earth, and the first traces in human life of fossil remains—all these sciences contribute largely to the science of anthropology. There are, however, two kindred sciences still more vitally connected with anthropology, which are generally regarded as related to it as parts to a whole, viz., ethnology, which is devoted to the study of man as a racial unit, or his development through the family and tribal stages into national life; and ethnography, which treats of the distribution over the earth of the races and peoples formed by the aggregation of human units. The more important phases of human development, physical and cultural, dealt with by anthropologists, may be briefly summarised under the following heads:

(1) *Physical.* There is a general consensus of opinion that all forms of living organism, including man, have been slowly evolved from a few primitive forms of life or from one. To refer to an illustration in common use, all forms of life are regarded as having a common root, from which spring two main trunks, one representing the vegetable and one the animal world. Each trunk divides into a few main branches, these subdivide into a multitude of branchlets, and these into smaller groups of twigs. The ends of the twigs represent individuals, the smallest groups of twigs species, larger groups genera, while branchlets and branches of varying size may be said to represent families, orders, and classes. Considerations geological and anthropological are

urged in support of this evolutionary view of man's origin. In the successive strata of rocks there is a constant progress in life from the simple to the complex, from the undifferentiated to the specialised. Every phase in the development of such animals as the rhinoceros, the horse, and the crocodile is known in detail. Geological evidence in regard to man is comparatively scanty, but such specimens of the remains of fossil man as the Java skull (*pithecanthropus erectus*) found in 1891, the Neanderthal skull discovered in 1857, and the two human skeletons discovered in 1866 at Spy in Belgium, and known as Les Hommes de Spy, with their marked simian characteristics, are usually regarded as supporting the theory that both man and ape come from a common ancestor. On the anthropological side, it is maintained that, speaking generally, the life-history of the individual is a condensed *résumé* of the life-history of the ancestral species Like that of most other organisms, man's development starts from the nucleus of a single cell, and in regard to the embryonic development of man it has been pointed out that

> when his animality becomes established, he exhibits the fundamental anatomical qualities which characterise such lowly animals as polyps and jellyfish And even when he is marked off as a vertebrate, it cannot be said whether he is to be a fish, a reptile, a bird, or a beast Later on it becomes evident that he is to be a mammal, but not till later still can it be said to which order of mammals he belongs *

It should be remembered, also, that the structural and anatomical differences which separate the gorilla or chimpanzee from man are, in some respects, no greater than those which separate these manlike apes from apes lower in the scale. Man, too, retains by transmission through heredity various rudimentary organs such as the vermiform appendix, the canine teeth, the coccyx, and the cæcum, apparently useless

* G J Romanes, in *Darwin and After Darwin*, p. 119.

in the human economy, but performing well-defined functions in other animals.

(2) *Mental.* It is clear that there is an enormous psychological gulf between man and other animals. Professor Huxley emphasised this aspect :*

> No one is more strongly convinced than I am of the vastness of the gulf between civilised man and the brutes, or is more certain that, whether from them or not, he is assuredly not of them No one is less disposed to think lightly of the present dignity or despairingly of the future hopes of the only consciously intelligent denizen of this world

The question thus arises whether the intellectual nature of man, like his physical, finds its explanation within the domain of organic evolution. Professor Tyndall contended that

> all our philosophy, all our poetry, all our science, all our art—Plato, Shakespeare, Newton, and Raphael—are potential in the fires of the sun

Emotion, instinct, volition, and intellect are so strikingly similar in animals and young children that many scientists maintain that the difference is only one of degree. The development, however, of the higher intellectual faculties has been of such an extraordinary character, that a distinguished scientist like Dr Alfred Russel Wallace—joint discoverer with Darwin of the law of evolution through natural selection—has been led to the conclusion that man must be placed "apart, as not only the head and culminating point of the grand series of organic nature, but as, in some degree, a new and distinct order of being." Cosmic forces, he maintains, must have had a guiding superior intelligence for the production of the higher stages of humanity's life. Other evolutionists suppose that Deity in the beginning originated life by breathing into matter certain potentialities from which have developed, in accordance with natural laws, all existing forms of life. This appears to have been the view of Darwin himself when he says :

* *Man's Place in Nature*, p 109

There is grandeur in this view of life, with its several powers, having been originally breathed by the Creator into a few forms or into one, and that, while this planet has gone cycling on according to the fixed law of gravity, from so simple a beginning, endless forms, most beautiful and most wonderful, have been and are being evolved

On the other hand, eminent biologists like Huxley, Spencer, and Haeckel, have accepted the hypothesis that living organisms of a very simple sort were originally evolved from non-living material. Still, the question remains as to how what we call non-living has in it the potentiality of giving origin to what we call living. A distinguished scientist (Professor J. A. Thomson) writes :*

Allowing for the gradual realisation of potentialities in the course of evolution, we cannot but feel that, if the living emerged from the not-living, then our respect for not-living matter must be greatly enhanced

Constituted as we are, there seems no escape from the conclusion that the origin of life is a miracle, requiring the directive forces of a Higher Power, and the evolution of the world has proceeded on such lines that we must conclude that this same Power has concerned Himself not merely with the genesis of protoplasm, but has assumed, for the sphere of His operation, the whole Universe, and more especially the highest phase of evolutionary development, Man, the crown and goal of all.

(3) *Linguistic.* The possession of a language of regular grammatical structure forms a fixed barrier between man and brute, and establishes a near relationship between all varieties of mankind. Though some languages differ utterly from others in vocabulary and grammatical structure, yet the fact that they all use words as arbitrary symbols clearly shows that all races of mankind are bound together in substantial mental unity. Moreover, any child of any race can be trained without difficulty to speak in a natural way the language of any

* *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Article Abiogenesis

other race. Gesture, facial expression, utterance, must have been the three means employed by the first speechless men to reach mutual comprehension, and these means of communication are shared by the lower animals in a very elementary form. As Dr. Whitney, to whom students of language are so much indebted, has observed :

> While human expression remains instinctive and emotional, it is not language, any more than that of the lower animals, with which it is analogous When, for instance, a cry, which was at at first the direct outburst of pain or pleasure or disgust or warning, is repeated or imitated for the purpose of giving to another an intimation of pain, etc, then the making of language is begun The lower animals, some of them, are able to make a beginning here, if a dog stands at a door, and scratches or barks in order to attract attention and be let in, waiting for the opener who he knows will answer his call, that is an act of language-making, as genuine and perhaps as good as the earliest attempts of a human being would be There is, to be sure, an essential difference between the two cases, but it lies only in this the dog, with its limited powers, can go no further, he is incapable of a continuous progressive development, but the man sees and appreciates what is gained by his linguistic act, and tries it again, and tries others, and so, by a gradual process of accumulation, he arrives at a body of expressions which use by-and-by renders conventional, and by manipulation he comes to linguistic structure, and finally, in races more gifted or more favoured by circumstances, to vocabularies and grammars like our own Then, by a process of development showing the most striking analogies with that just described, he adds the art of writing, a mode of record of speech which continues and completes its value both to the individual and the race

The relation of language to race raises questions of considerable interest to the anthropologist and the historian. While language bears striking testimony to the psychological unity of all mankind, and confirms the view of descent from a single human pair, yet there is no evidence of the existence of a single primeval language of mankind which can be considered as the parent of all existing languages. Apparently the descendants of the first human pair became scattered before their first attempts at communicating with each other developed into language, properly so called. There are, however, groups or

families of allied languages, and these often supply important evidence for the classification of nations and races. But the evidence must be used with caution. The people of Cornwall, though Celtic, speak English, the language of the conquering Saxon invaders. The Norman invaders gradually adopted English, the language of the mass of the population they subjugated. We have little means of knowing to what extent intermarriage, conquest, colonisation, immigration, led to the extirpation or exchange of languages in prehistoric times, but probably to a far less extent than in historic times.

(4) *Mechanical and Artistic.* Man, as distinct from other animals, exhibits mechanical and artistic skill in manufacturing a great variety of objects for his self-preservation, and there has been through the ages a progressive improvement in tool-making, from the rudest possible forms to the highly-perfected appliances of modern times. The more important stages in the evolution of man as a skilled mechanic have been classified by archæologists as Eolithic, Palæolithic, Neolithic, Bronze, and Iron Periods or Ages, understanding by age a condition of culture rather than a chronological period.

(*a*) In the *Eolithic Age,* or the "dawn" of the stone period, men used as weapons stone so slightly worked as not to be readily distinguished from the accidental operations of nature. Implements of a very rude type, generally considered to be of human workmanship, have been found in plateau-gravels of Kent, Belgium, and even Egypt. There is, however, still some difference of opinion as to the reliability of the evidence for regarding such relics as Eolithic implements of human make. The objects supposed to be Eolithic belong to Tertiary times.

(*b*) In the *Palæolithic Age* the instruments used reveal some degree of practice, though the stage of human culture is one of extremely remote antiquity.

The remote age of the geological beds in which the archæological remains of the Palæolithic Age are found is demonstrated by the presence of bones of animals either now extinct or found only in far distant latitudes, such as the mammoth, reindeer, rhinoceros, etc. Moreover, various limestone caverns have been discovered in England and on the Continent in which palæolithic man has left much of his handiwork with the bones of animals scattered upon the floor of the cave. The most famous of English bone-caves is that known as Kent's Cavern, situated near Torquay, in which worked flints are found in association with the bones of extinct Pleistocene fauna. Though the cavern was discovered in 1825, its significance and value was ignored until more than thirty years later, when similar discoveries were made on the Continent and in other lands. French anthropologists, led by G. de Mortillet, have divided the Palæolithic Age into four epochs—Chellian, Mousterian, Solutrian, and Madelenian (so called from special caves in various parts of France). In the first two, the implements were made of flint; the Solutrian exhibits a transitory stage of art; and the Madelenian epoch is notable for the abundance of objects made of bone and horn, and for the development of a remarkable artistic talent.

(*c*) In the *Neolithic Age* stone implements were more highly finished and polished, and man underwent notable developments in the art of civilisation, practising agriculture, pottery, weaving, the domestication of animals, the burying of the dead in dolmens, the rearing of megalithic monuments, and the use of gold for ornaments. Finding the gathering of fruits and the produce of the chase too precarious, neolithic men resorted to the cultivation of special plants, and the rearing of certain animals in a state of domestication. The fact that they built houses,

not only for the living, but also for the dead, shows that religion had become an active influence. They had little of the artistic taste of their less civilised predecessors, and the evolutionary stages connecting the two civilisations are difficult to trace.

(*d*) *The Bronze Age* is the next stage of culture, in which weapons, utensils, and instruments were, as a general rule, made of bronze—an alloy of copper and tin. The dead were buried with their ornaments and weapons, and also with vessels containing provisions for the journey to the lower world. Bronze-working probably originated in the East.

(*e*) In the *Iron Age* the employment of iron implements became general. The art of iron-working was known to the ancient Babylonians and Egyptians as far back as three or four thousand years B.C. In general, Europe inaugurated its Iron Age in the millennium before Christ.

(5) *Ethnological.** Differences of a varied character—physical, cultural, and linguistic—separate the peoples of the world from one another; but strong evidence of a threefold nature points to the conclusion that mankind consists of one species:

(*a*) *Anatomical.* While the osseous remains of Pleistocene man have important anatomical characters, in essential features the same type, with progressive modifications, has persisted through all time. There is no evidence of separate species. In general, Palæolithic man was long-headed, and Neolithic man round-headed, though all types are found among the latter.

(*b*) *Physiological.* There is no permanent fertility between one species and another. Palæolithic and Neolithic types of skull still exist among modern peoples, and all evidence, prehistoric and historic, points to man's mutual fertility, and consequently to the unity of the species.

(*c*) *Cultural and Psychical.* The arts, crafts,

* See Article Ethnology in *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

manners, and customs of early man are so strikingly similar as to lead irresistibly to the conclusion that all the races of mankind are but divisions of one family. The possession of language is the greatest psychical proof of man's specific unity.

The peopling of the earth must have been brought about by emigration from man's original cradle-land, which is now generally located in Indo-Malaysia. It would appear that each division of mankind had its Pleistocene ancestors, and in the silent changes wrought through countless ages, there arose a differentiation of races through the influence of climate, diet, and other conditions. The possibility of such emigration is clear. Geology shows that the earth's surface has undergone great changes since man's appearance, and that great continents, long since submerged, made complete land communications possible in prehistoric times. The evidence afforded by existing and fossil fauna and flora favours the view that Africa, India, Australia, and South America were in Gondwāna times "sufficiently connected to permit of the free commingling of plants and land animals"

While it is clear that all mankind is fundamentally of one species, it is evident that human groups differ in physical characters, such as skin-colour, hair, stature, nose, face, and head-form, not to mention more variable characteristics such as language, culture, and religion.

(*a*) The coloration of the skin may be said to represent five main varieties—white, black, brown, yellow, and red, corresponding roughly to the five great geographical divisions of the earth—Europe, Africa, Australasia, Asia, and America, and the five human varieties known as Caucasian, Ethiopian, Malayan (including the Australian), Mongolian, and the American (Indian). This was the classification made a century ago by Blumenbach, the German naturalist, who also took into account head-form.

(*b*) By some the most fundamental character is assumed to be the hair, of which there are three varieties—straight or lank (leiotrichous), wavy or curly (cymotrichous), and woolly (ulotrichous), representing the three great racial varieties—Mongolian, Caucasian, and Ethiopic.

(*c*) Races differ in stature, which may be tall (5ft. 8in. or more), medium (5ft. 6in.), short (5ft. 4in. or less), and pygmy (4ft. 11in. or less).

(*d*) The shape of the nose as a race-characteristic has attracted attention from earliest times. It may be broad (platyrrhine), moderate (mesorrhine), or narrow (leptorrhine). The Aryan invaders of Northern India spoke of the flat-nosed aborigines as noseless.

(*e*) The size of the jaw is another physical character, and so the lower part of the face is prognathous when it projects considerably, and orthognathous when there is no projection.

(*f*) The shape of the head is an important physical character. Looked at from above heads are either narrow or broad. The ratio of the breadth to the length in the head of a living subject, the length being taken as 100, is called the cephalic index; while the ratio of the breadth to the length in the skull is called the cranial index. When the cranial index falls below 75, the head is regarded as narrow (dolichocephalic), between 75 and 80 as medium (mesaticephalic), and above 80 as broad (brachycephalic). Often, however, two groups only are recognised, long and short, according as the index is under or over 78. The cephalic index is some two units higher than the cranial index.

There is a great difficulty in framing a consistent classification of mankind in view of the fact, clearly emphasised long ago by Prichard, that

> the different races of men are not distinguished from each other by strongly-marked, uniform, and permanent distinctions,

as are the several species belonging to any given tribe of animals. All the diversities which exist are variable, and pass into each other by insensible gradations, and there is scarcely an instance in which the actual transition cannot be proved to have taken place *

Many attempts have been made to classify human varieties from the time of Blumenbach. Sir William Flower, in 1885, adopted what is substantially the old threefold classification of Cuvier: (*a*) *Ethiopian*, including African Negroes, Hottentots, and Bushmen, Oceanic Negroes or Melanesians, and Negritos. (*b*) *Mongolian*, including the Eskimo, ordinary Mongolians, Malayans, Malayo-Polynesians, and American Indians. (*c*) *Caucasian*, including Xanthochroi ("fair whites") and Melanochroi ("dark whites") in North Africa, Europe, Irania, India, Western Asia, and Polynesia. Professor Keane regards the Amerind of the New World as a separate variety. Ripley and others divide the bulk of the existing population of Europe into three main groups or races: *Nordic*, tall, fair, dolichocephalic, in the north; *Alpine*, short or tall, medium-coloured, brachycephalic, in the centre; and *Mediterranean*, short, dark, dolichocephalic, in the south. These, however, are usually regarded as varieties of the so-called Caucasian race. A classification according to the hair—*ulotrichi* (woolly), *cymotrichi* (wavy or curly), and *leiotrichi* (straight), with subdivisions according to head-form and skin-colour, made by Broca, Topinard, and Haddon, practically corresponds to Sir William Flower's three groups—Ethiopian, Caucasian, and Mongolian respectively. It will be observed that the various classifications show there is substantial agreement among scientists as to the facts.

The appended tabular analysis (taken from *Nelson's Encyclopædia*, Article Ethnology) of the physical and mental characters of the fourfold classification of

* Haddon's *History of Anthropology*, p 115.

the human groups indicates the main established results :

	Negro	Mongolic.	American.	Caucasic.
Hair	Short, jet black, woolly, flat, in transverse section	Coarse, lank, dull black, round, in transverse section	Very long, coarse black, lank, nearly round in section	Rather long straight, wavy and curly, black, all shades of brown, red, flaxen
Skin	Very dark brown or blackish	Dirty yellowish and brown (Malays)	Coppery, yellowish, various shades of brown	White, florid, pale, swarthy, brown, and even blackish, altogether very variable
Skull	Long, index 72	Short, index 84 to 90	Very variable varying from 70 to over 90	Two distinct types long 74, and short, 80 to 90
Jaws	Prognathous	Meso- and orthognathous	Massive, mesognathous	Small orthognathous.
Cheekbone	Small somewhat retreating	High, prominent laterally	Moderately prominent	Small inconspicuous, but high in some places
Nose	Flat small, very broad at base	Very small, snub but variable	Large, arched, rather narrow	Large straight or arched (hooked, aquiline), narrow
Eyes	Large round, black prominent yellowish cornea	Small, black, oblique vertical fold of skin over inner canthus	Small, round, straight, black, sunken	Blue, grey, black, brown, moderately large, and always straight
Stature	[illegible]	Under and 5ft very	Above the mean 5 ft 8 in to over 6ft but variable	Variable 5ft 4in to 6ft
Speech	[illegible] tones			[illegible] ing
Temperament	Sensuous, indolent, improvident, artful, passing easily from comedy to tragedy little sense of dignity, hence easily enslaved slight mental development after puberty	Sluggish, somewhat sullen, with little initiative but great endurance, generally frugal and thrifty, moral standard low little science, art and letters moderately developed	Moody, taciturn, wary, impassive in presence of strangers, science and letters slightly, art moderately developed	Serious, steadfast, solid, and stolid in the north, fiery, impulsive, fickle, in the south, active, enterprising, imaginative, everywhere, science, art, and letters highly developed

(6) *Social and Ethical.* The present social organism is generally regarded by anthropologists as the outcome of successive stages of human develop-

ment from savagery to civilisation, extending, it is estimated, over a period of one hundred thousand years in duration. To account for the amazing transformation of man from savagery to civilisation, Dr. Munro lays considerable emphasis on the attainment of the erect attitude, and the conversion of the upper limbs into true hands, as the initial incentives to a higher brain development in man. The art of manufacturing tools was the starting-point of man's progress from bestiality to civilisation. Man became master of his environment, and "laid a usurping hand on the reins of cosmic evolution itself, by the cultivation of selected plants and animals, and the destruction of others which were found unsuitable for their own purposes."

Many modern anthropologists have arrived at the conclusion that the most primitive social order is not the family living under the headship of the father, but that in which descent is reckoned through the mother, the authority being in the hands of the mother and maternal uncles. In any case, the course of social evolution is clear. The basis of society must be kinship with kindred groups in mental agreement, and taking pleasure in association; through the development of co-operation there is a gradual evolution—the family, the horde, the tribe, the federation of tribes; in civilised society we have families, hamlets, villages, or parishes; towns, communes, or cities; counties or departments; kingdoms, republics, or commonwealths; federal states or empires.

The American ethnologist, Morgan, described by Dr. Haddon as "undoubtedly the greatest sociologist of the last century," * has made a classification of social evolution based upon certain inventions and industries. He divided human progress into three stages—Savagery, Barbarism, and Civilisation, each

* *History of Anthropology*, p 165.

with three periods—lower, middle, and upper. The nine periods may be briefly summarised :*

(1) The lower period of savagery, terminating with the discovery and application of the uses of fire, a discovery which enabled the race to extend its habitat indefinitely, and to include flesh and fish in its regular dietary

(2) The middle period of savagery, terminating with the invention of the bow and arrow, enabling man to bring down the fleetest animal, defend himself against the most predatory, and provide himself with food, clothing, and tent-making materials for migration into more invigorating regions

(3) The upper period of savagery, terminating with the invention of pottery, providing man with permanent utensils that could withstand the action of fire, and enabling him to make use of a much more varied diet in meat and vegetables

(4) The lower period of barbarism, terminating with the domestication of animals such as the dog, the sheep, the ox, the camel, the horse, enabling man to become a herdsman and an agriculturist, no longer, with milk and flesh to hand, dependent for food upon the precarious chase of wild animals, and to travel, with the aid of camel and horse, hitherto impassable areas, and come in contact with distant peoples

(5) The middle period of barbarism, terminating with the discovery of the process of smelting iron ore, enabling man to manufacture weapons of war for the defence of his possessions and the fruits of his labour, and to provide for himself implements useful in house-building, road-making, and the construction of vehicles

(6) The upper period of barbarism, terminating with the development of a system of writing, enabling man to communicate freely with people at a distance, transmit his experiences in a permanent way to posterity, and achieve a virtual conquest over time, as he had earlier conquered space

(7) The first period of civilisation proper, terminating with the introduction or general utilisation, towards the close of the Middle Ages, of gunpowder, the mariner's compass, paper, and the printing press, and with the scientific discovery that the sun and not the earth is the centre of our planetary system Gunpowder levelled down the power of the mighty with their hitherto impregnable fortresses, the printing press levelled up the general intelligence, giving power and influence to the lowly, and the mariner's compass opened up new territories beyond the sea awaiting to be developed, while all three inventions served to further the idea of equal rights and privileges for all

(8) The second period of civilisation, terminating with the invention of a practical steam-engine, and thus providing new means of transportation by locomotive and steamship, revolutionising processes and facilities of manufacture, and breaking down isolating national barriers

* See Morgan, *Ancient Society*, and *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Article Civilisation.

(9) The upper period of civilisation, still in progress, characterised by a great revolution in practical life through the development of a multiplicity of inventions that have re-cast the face of nature, and in the mental life of our race through the new presentation of truth contained in the doctrine of evolution and its application to all departments of human thought and activity. During this short period, greater changes have been effected in practical life than during the entire historic period.

There are evidences of an evolutionary cycle in human progress. Mankind began as a family with the narrow glade of some tropical forest as its habitat. There are at present powerful tendencies at work in the direction of broadening the mental and spiritual horizons, generating the idea of a fellowship of nations and the brotherhood of man, and applying the principles of right and wrong independent of national boundaries. The ideal of mankind is to become once again a single family, with the utmost confines of the globe as its habitat. The essential unification of the world on the moral basis of human brotherhood is the goal of human aspiration and effort.

The importance of the ethical factor in social development must not be overlooked. In the primitive stages of all ancient civilisations there has prevailed an attitude of exclusiveness which regards all outside the particular social or political organism in question as of no account save as objects of plunder. This exclusive frame of mind, with its lack of responsibility to mankind in general, is still far from dead; yet there has been among civilised peoples a steadily growing conception of human brotherhood, and a deepening of the sense of human responsibility to life in general. Mr. Benjamin Kidd emphasises the fact that this change of view in Western civilisation is due to the influence of Christianity:

The influence on the development of civilisation of the wider conception of duty and responsibility to one's fellow-men, which was introduced into the world with the spread of Christianity, can hardly be over-estimated. The extended conception of the

answer to the question, "Who is my neighbour?" which has resulted from the characteristic doctrines of the Christian religion—a conception transcending all the claims of family, group, state, nation, people, or race, and even all the interests comprised in any existing order of society, has been the most powerful evolutionary force which has ever acted on society It has tended to break up the absolutisms inherited from an older civilisation, and to bring into being a new type of social efficiency The idea has gradually been brought into prominence in recent times that, in the development of organised society, just as in the development of all other forms of life, there is constant and never-ceasing selection as between the more organic and less organic—that is to say, between the more efficient and the less efficient The enormous importance, therefore, of this new sense of responsibility to life, introduced with the Christian religion, in laying the foundations of a more organic state of society, is a fundamental fact to be taken into account by the scientific student of social development in Western countries.*

(7) *Religions.* As the higher forms of physical, intellectual, and social life can be traced back to rude beginnings, so the principle of evolution has of recent years been generally applied to religious phenomena. As a lily, it is maintained, is not less beautiful because it has its roots in mud, so religion and morality are none the less noble and valid because they are evolved from simple and low beginnings In tracing the origin of religion, one difficulty meets us at the outset, in that primitive man has left no clear record of his belief or practice in religious matters. It is true we have abundant evidence of the religious beliefs and practices of modern peoples in a primitive stage of culture. But the evidence that these provide, while eminently serviceable, is by no means infallible, for we have to take into account the possibility of degeneration as well as evolution. In this respect, religious development is on a very different basis from material development, and the difficulty of tracing the origin and growth of religion, in its various stages, is so much the greater. There are difficulties of a somewhat similar character in regard to the origin and growth of language.

**Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. III, pp 685-6.

Defining religion, in a very general way, as the worship of higher Powers, there is substantial agreement among anthropologists and scientific students of religion as to the main landmarks of religious evolution, though there is much difference of opinion on details.

(*a*) *Panvitalism and Belief in a Supreme Being.* A primitive form of the religious consciousness is that in which man conceives of all external bodies as animated by a life analogous to his own. This conception of an obscure undifferentiated animation of all nature has been termed animatism or panvitalism. Panvitalism, while not in itself religious, would tend to beget or develop within man the feeling of religion and worship. From the very outset, early man, as he began to reflect, must have looked with awe and reverence on the Sky as it poured down rain and sunshine, and on the Earth as it produced its abundance of vegetation. While he thought of everything around him as endowed with life analogous to his own, it is not difficult to conceive of primitive man looking upon Sky and Earth as the highest of all Powers, the Father and Mother of all life. In any case, the idea of a Supreme Being, Creator and Father of all, beneficent and good, must, in its original form, have been very simple. It is a remarkable fact that, amongst the very lowest races of mankind, there exist traditions of such a Supreme Being, the Creator of the world and the Father of mankind. It is admittedly a decaying tradition It is but seldom that offerings and prayers are made to Him, while considerable effort is made to appease goblins and demons. This Supreme Being is the most potent and most moral where ghost-worship has not been evolved; least potent or most indifferent where ghost-worship is most in vogue.* It is a warrantable conclusion

* Lang's *The Making of Religion*, p. xx.

that belief in a Supreme Being came practically first in the order of evolution, and that this belief, though hardly ever wholly forgotten, was afterwards thrust into the background by beliefs of a lower character. It may be conceded that the primitive belief in a Supreme Being was preceded as a necessary condition by the idea of all nature being animated. It may further be conceded that man made his way by painful steps, on the basis of animistic ideas, to clearer and more consistent monotheistic views. But the contention of many anthropologists, that even the simplest conception of a Supreme Being represents a late stage in man's religious evolution, ignores a whole array of facts that point strongly to another conclusion.

(*b*) *Animism.* An important development is registered when man comes to realise that he consists of both body and spirit. The recollection of journeys and adventures in dreams, and the fact of the immobility of the body during sleep, would lead primitive man to the conclusion that something had journeyed forth which was not the body, though it ordinarily dwelt within the body. But man, having discovered that something within him gives him life and vigour, would further be led to ascribe a similar animating principle or living soul to all animals, to trees and plants, to sun, moon, and stars, to rivers, mountains, and hills, and finally to stones, sticks, and all material objects. This conception, still common among primitive peoples, is known as animism; on the basis of which there arose a vast superstructure of religious beliefs and practices of a highly varied character.

(*c*) *Worship of the Great Elements of Nature.* Sky, sun, moon, thunder, wind, storm, earth, sea—all these primitive man would recognise as to a large degree controlling his own subsistence and comfort. He could not but wish, therefore, to open up

communication with them, endowed, as they were conceived to be, with feelings and motives similar to his own In some such way began man's worship of the great elements of nature, of which there are abundant traces to-day in religions both primitive and advanced. In due time man gave special names to these natural objects, and ascribed to them definite characters, after the manner of human beings. Thus began the process of myth-making, and at a later stage men came to worship, not so much the natural elements themselves, conceived as living, but the spirits or persons supposed to be dwelling within the elements.

(*d*) *The Worship of Minor Natural Objects.* Since primitive man regarded all nature as animated with a life analogous to his own, he would, to secure his own ends, seek to get into relationship with the minor and more tangible objects of nature around him, such as rivers and springs, trees and groves, crops and fruits, rocks and stones, as well as the lower animals. Originally these objects were reverenced or feared for what they were in themselves, in their beneficent or injurious activities, and only at a later stage on account of the spirits that were supposed to be dwelling within them.

(*e*) *Ancestor or Ghost Worship.* Believing, on account of his experience of dreams, that his *ego* could separate itself from the body and yet continue to exist, early man regarded his soul not necessarily as immaterial in the strictest sense, but as a pale and vague image of the body itself, only of more subtle essence than the body. As it could leave the body temporarily during sleep, so it left it more permanently at death, but still survived. Among all peoples there is a belief in the survival of human souls, and their intervention in the affairs of the living. Ancestral spirits are duly fed and honoured, so as to secure the benefits of paternal

protection ; while the most illustrious are elevated to the rank of deities. Thus were families and tribes consolidated. The spirits of cruel oppressors and the cruelly oppressed were greatly feared after death, and often directly worshipped by acts of propitiation, whether as gods or demons.

(*f*) *The Worship of Animals, and Totemism.* Primitive man, in the battle of life, had to hold his own against the lion or bear with its dangerous claws, and the serpent with its deadly venom. The craft and strength, the fleetness and intuition, of many animals could not but inspire respect or fear, and so we find the worship of animals common among all primitive peoples. Very common, too, is the belief that men, animals, plants, and even inanimate objects, can assume another form at will, and that certain species of animals and plants are the embodiments of the souls of dead ancestors or relatives. The tribe is supposed to be descended from some individual who possessed the form of an animal, or more rarely a plant, and a certain mystic connection is held to exist between members of the tribe and all representatives of the animal species from which descent is claimed. The North American Indian paints or figures upon the skin itself, and upon his different garments and utensils, the natural object, usually some animal, which he speaks of as the totem or symbol of his household. This form of religious worship is known as totemism. As a general rule, the members of the clan do not kill or eat the animal they hold sacred as a totem, though on special sacred occasions this is sometimes done with the object of renewing the common life that circulates among the men and animals of the totem kin. In general, too, intermarriage is forbidden as incest, and descent is counted through the mother.

(*g*) *Fetishism.* Primitive men exercise themselves

greatly as to the activities of disembodied spirits. There is a very widespread belief that they may invade the body of living men; physical and mental disorders are attributed to the action of malevolent spirits that have made their way into the body. Sometimes these disembodied spirits enter into material, tangible objects, and use these as their medium. These objects are then worshipped, not for their own power or excellence, but because they are supposed to be occupied each by a spirit. Any conceivable object—stones, trees, twigs, pieces of bark, roots, corn, claws of birds, teeth, skin, feathers, articles of human manufacture—may thus be treated as a deity, and kept by the individual worshipper to help him in his undertakings.* The worship of such natural objects is known as fetishism, and must be regarded as a degraded form of animism.

(*h*) *Magic, Divination, Sorcery, and Witchcraft.* Once primitive man became convinced that spirits exerted an influence beneficent or injurious, by the use of invisible weapons and by entering into animate and inanimate objects, he would attempt to discover how he himself could secure and apply on his own behalf the forces and powers possessed and used by the spirits. Thus arose magic, divination, sorcery, and witchcraft, methods whereby men endeavour to obtain from superhuman powers or spiritual beings assistance in the affairs of life and knowledge of the future. The great body of primitive magic is the so-called sympathetic magic based upon the idea that like affects like; thus, if magic be worked on the parings of a person's nails or the clippings of his hair, it is supposed to produce on the actual human body the effects, generally injurious, which are produced on the object of the magical rite. The red juice of a berry, being of the hue of blood, cures fever, a disease of the blood. Yellow

*See Menzies' *History of Religion*, pp. 32-33

turmeric is a cure for jaundice. Moreover, the name is as much a part of the person as the limb, and it is held that both human beings and spirits can be coerced by the use of their names. Clearly, in a society dominated by magical ideas, there would be a demand for a class of men endowed with a peculiar knowledge of magical forces. Some maintain that "priest and magician were originally one; but the former, learning humility in the face of might greater than his own, discarded the spell for the prayer and prostrated himself before a higher power."* In all primitive societies, the magician, though now often sharply distinguished from the priest, and regarded as an intruder, and an enemy of religion, exercises an immense influence in view of the fact that magic-rule governs social prerogative and prohibition. Persons or things which are taboo are supposed to have an accumulation of energy like objects charged with electricity Contact may serve to liberate this destructive energy, and it is only the indwelling magical power and secret knowledge of the magician that can resist the deadly influences of such persons and objects. Inanimate objects may have accumulation of magical force, and so are used as talismans and amulets with the object of averting evil.

Various kinds of magic are spoken of. Black magic is the use of the magic art with the object of harming others, or bringing evil upon them. White magic is used for good purposes, as when the medicine-man undertakes healing the sick by means of spells, or when the rain-doctor seeks to bring on rain by his spells and charms. Natural magic is simply the use of superior knowledge of the powers of nature to work wonders. Magicians in the Middle Ages made such use of their knowledge of chemistry and magnetism.

*So R. R. Marett See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol XVII, p. 305

(*i*) *Polytheism and Mythology.* As we have seen, there is reason to believe that man's earliest religious idea was a simple intuition of God as Creator of all life, or the Power behind all animated existence. Animism, as the first important step in man's religious awakening, was marked by two tendencies—one lower, leading man in the direction of ghost, demon, and fetish worship, and magic, in which the world is regarded as abandoned to the caprices of arbitrary or malevolent powers, and religion becomes a reign of terror; the other, a higher tendency, leading primitive man on, through the higher nature-worship and polytheism, to the idea of a ruling divinity. It cannot be maintained that there was any orderly evolution, on the one hand, or consistent degeneration on the other. There must have been a constant alternation of advance and decay. The stages in the growth of polytheism are fairly clear. Man would naturally pass from the idea that all individual objects, *e.g.*, trees, are possessed by spirits, to the idea of the spirit of a class of objects, as the spirit of the forest. The spirits ruling classes of objects would then become departmental gods, and with the growing organisation of political and social institutions the departmental gods would be ranged in a pantheon under one supreme God.

Animism survives to the last, but as the spirits of classes of objects become detached from their spheres of government, so the spirits of objects become wandering spirits, hostile to man or ministers of the great gods. In Babylon, in India, in every polytheistic country, the people cower in terror before a great army of spirits and demons, far more than before the gods, while the worship of ancestors goes on hand in hand with that of divinities.*

In connection with their animistic and polytheistic conceptions, all peoples have developed vast systems of mythology, containing myths or legends of cosmogony and of gods and heroes. Many of the

* Macculloch, *Religion*, p. 27.

legends are rational and beautiful, while others are, to the modern mind, wholly irrational and often obscene, in which the gods are represented as beasts, birds, and fishes, and cruel and lustful in disposition. There has been much discussion as to the origin of these irrational elements. Max Muller maintained the view that most of the gods of mythology were originally nature gods, such as the dawn and the sun, and that they were named accordingly as personal powers or beings In process of time the primary significance of the personal names was forgotten, and the fanciful stories of natural phenomena developed into wild mythologies Herbert Spencer, following largely the lines of Euhemerus, a Sicilian Greek of the fourth century B.C., maintained the view that mythology is nothing but highly-coloured history, and the gods were originally men, human ancestors, worshipped under such names as sun, moon, dawn. There is, however, a consensus of opinion amongst scholars that only a small proportion of mythological stories can be explained on either of these principles. Most myths are probably the survival of an age and condition of savagery when what we now regard as silly and senseless appeared natural. One can quite understand the wildest, and from our standpoint most irrational, myths arising in a state of society where "the great forces of nature, considered as persons, are involved in that inextricable confusion in which men, beasts, plants, stones, stars, are all on one level of personality and animated existence."*

(*j*) *Pantheism and Monotheism* The final stages in man's religious evolution are pantheism and monotheism ; the former the outcome of the aspirations of philosophy, the latter the result of the aspirations of religion. There is a stage in poly-

* *Encyclopædia Britannica,* Vol XIX, p. 134, Article Mythology.

theism—to which Max Müller gave the name of Henotheism—when each god is, to the mind of the suppliant, as good as all the gods. As he worships, the other gods disappear from his vision, and the one he addresses at the time appears absolute and supreme. This led on to the striving after a world-unity, the one Supreme Essence behind all the phenomena of nature, the Absolute who alone is. On the philosophic side, Henotheism may be regarded as a stepping-stone to pantheism, on the religious side, as a stepping-stone to monotheism. There was, for instance, a stage in the religious development of Israel when Jehovah or Yahweh was regarded as the national deity of Israel, much as Chemosh was the God of Moab, and Milkom the God of Ammon. The existence of other gods was not definitely denied, and Jehovah was not yet the God of all the nations and of the Universe. Ultimately, pure monotheism was reached, and Jehovah, though in a peculiar sense viewed as the God of Israel, was worshipped as the Creator and God of all the world. Among other peoples, too, it is possible to trace the evolution of monotheism through polytheistic conceptions. Yet it must not be forgotten (as Mr. Andrew Lang* and other anthropologists have clearly shown, as against the views of Tylor, Spencer, and Frazer) that, at every stage of man's religious evolution, there is a tendency to monotheism, and very distinct traces among practically all primitive peoples of the existence of a simple belief in a Supreme Being, who is regarded sometimes as a magnified and non-natural man, and yet an object worthy of reverence and worship. The view that this very widespread tendency to monotheism among primitive peoples is the result of modern missionary

* See his *Making of Religion* and *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, also his various articles in the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*

influence has been shown by the testimony of competent and unprejudiced investigators on the spot, to be altogether untenable. It is probable that this lofty Being fell into the background when primitive man adopted a consistent animistic view of the Universe, and resorted to a vast crowd of ghosts and spirits, because they were nearer and more useful, and could be propitiated and compelled. As a matter of fact, no sacrifices are made to Him by modern primitive tribes, thus showing that He cannot be a creation of animism, or descended from hungry ghosts. He is too often left severely alone on account of His acknowledged goodness and benevolence, while minute attention is paid to a whole array of inferior beings who are suspected of malevolent aims On the other hand, it is clear that the more consistent and spiritual monotheism of some of the higher races, though helped by the primitive theism characteristic of early man, is largely an evolutionary growth, owing much to animism, which emphasised everywhere the non-material side of existence

The following quotation from Dr. Macculloch is a useful summary of our whole discussion :

The course of religious development might thus be mapped out as follows Man's religious faculty originated a species of theism in which the Deity probably had no spiritual existence Next, through various causes, man became aware of the existence of the soul, and imagined that all things, animate or inanimate, had souls equally with himself This animistic philosophy gave rise to ghost, nature, and animal worship, and in a degraded form suggested fetishism At the same time, and probably keeping pace with this line of development, further reasoning on the Universe originated magic This affected all forms of animistic religion, from which, as time went on, the various polytheisms were evolved The growth of religion was often hampered by mythology as well as by magic, but it was also helped by the steady growth of ethics, the gods more and more became moral governors. Moreover, wherever a polytheism is founded, as a rule one of the gods is looked upon as chief Here the primitive theism, never quite forgotten, is once more revived Certain

races, certain higher minds in most races, put away polytheism, worship one God only, and at last stand forth free of all the accretions of time *

An interesting parallel may be drawn between man's social and his religious evolution. In his primitive home, early man began his social growth with a rude conception of human brotherhood based on kinship. Physical separation of the human units led to social strife and division, but in the evolutionary cycle of human development, man is rapidly returning to a conception of human brotherhood, only of a higher, nobler, and more permanent character. In religious evolution, too, there is an evolutionary cycle, for man began with a rude idea of a Supreme Being, and the nations of the world are to-day steadily moving in the direction of a simple monotheism, the ennobled and spiritualised product of many millenniums of earnest religious thought and experience

II. The Evolution of Hindu Religion and Philosophy.

The way has been prepared for a review of the evolution of religion and philosophy in India. Indian religion has its roots in primitive Aryan times, when the various Aryan nations were still an undivided people. The following may be regarded as the chief landmarks in Indian religious development :

I. The primitive Aryan worship of dead ancestors and of natural phenomena.

II. The Indo-Iranian worship of personalised heavenly powers.

* *Religion*, p. 19

III. The nature worship and departmental polytheism of the Vedas.

IV. The sacrificial ritualism of the Brāhmanas.

V. The speculative theosophy of the early Upanishads.

VI. The secularistic morality of Buddhism.

VII. The stringent Brāhmanism of the Law Books.

VIII. The trinitarian syncretism of early Hinduism.

IX. The multifarious incarnations of the Purānas and Tantras.

X. The rival speculations of the philosophic schools.

It cannot be maintained that these stages followed one another in strict chronological succession. The above classification is meant to draw attention to dominant tendencies and characteristics. We can only sketch the chief characteristics of each stage of development.

I. The Primitive Aryan Worship of Dead Ancestors and of Natural Phenomena.

There are no special historical records available testifying to the religious views and customs of the primitive Aryan peoples. Our knowledge of Aryan or Indo-European religion is obtained by comparing the religions historically attested in the various Aryan races, and selecting from the mass of heterogeneous phenomena what is common and original. Philology, too, comes to our aid by placing at our disposal the primitive etymological equivalents in the sphere of religion (*e.g.*, Sanskrit, *deva*=Latin, *deus*), and by deciphering for us the religious ideas underlying the terminology and vocabulary of the primitive language. Moreover, numerous prehistoric relics or memorials exist which possess much significance in religious history.

The real kernel of the old Aryan religions—so

scholarly investigators maintain—is the worship of natural phenomena, such as the sun, dawn, moon, fire, wind, and water—*i.e.*, the sky (*dyêus*), together with the phenomena appearing in it or from it, "the heavenly ones" (*deiwôs*) Philological investigation reveals distinct traces of such worship among all Aryan peoples. No epithets and no proper names had as yet been given to these phenomena, but they were worshipped for the mysterious power, the divine *anima*, manifested in them. The formation of personal gods is a later development, and so, from the standpoint of the later polytheistic Greeks and Indians, their forefathers were without gods. The foundation of Aryan religion was animistic, and so from the beginning there is evidence of these worshipped powers being regarded as human or animal in form.

We must not consider personification and the formation of personal gods as identical, no matter how much the latter presupposes the former The characteristic mark of a *personal god* is that he is regarded as exercising influence outside of the sphere to which he owes his conceptual origin and his name *Personification*, however, means at first simply the substitution of a human figure for the divine *anima* present in the phenomenon This need of personification is all the greater the lower we go down in the stages of civilisation *

So we have abundant traces of ancient Aryan myths in which the heavenly powers appear now as men, now as animals. Probably there were two contemporaneous methods in use for bringing the supernatural within reach of the natural, one by sacrifice and prayer, acts of true worship meant to influence the freewill of the divine power in favour of the worshipper; and the other by a magical act or charm, having in it an element of compulsion. It is not necessary to assume that magic preceded worship, and the magician the priest, in the order of evolution. Both may have been contemporaneous

* Schrader in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol II, p. 38.

developments in the lower and higher planes respectively of religious life. In early times sacrifices were spread out on the place of sacrifice itself, raised into the air, or hung on trees, and the divine being was invited to come himself and partake of them on the spot, so that he might be refreshed with the food and drink, and made strong and willing to carry out the worshipper's ends. The view does not seem warranted that the incantation of the magician was an original and necessary accompaniment of sacrifice. Equally well it may be regarded as a degradation of the simple sacrificial act. The existence of experts in religious knowledge and custom among the primitive Aryans is indicated by the correspondence between the Latin *flamĕn* and the Sanskrit *brāhman*; but whether the original has reference to devotion or incantation is a matter of dispute. This much, however, is clear—that there were both higher and lower stages of religious life among the early Aryans. Not only imposing natural phenomena, but stones, trunks, and trees were regarded as possessing a divine *anima* and made the objects of a fetish worship.

Another highly important form of worship among the primitive Aryans was the worship of dead ancestors. Food and drink were offered to departed relatives, so that they might be nourished thereby. Moreover, for his wellbeing in the world to come, the dead man was provided, in his grave or at the funeral pyre, with his weapon and tools, his apparel, and even his wife—for widow-burning appears to have been a custom among all Aryan nations in primitive times.

For India it cannot be proved from Vedic antiquity. Nevertheless, Indologists do not doubt that, when the burning of widows makes its appearance, from about the fifth century B.C., we have to do, not with an innovation, but with the revival of a very old custom preserved locally even in Vedic times.*

*Schrader in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. II., p. 38.

Special and general festivals in honour of the dead became customary, and prayers were offered to them as powerful beings able to enhance or injure the welfare of the family

II. The Indo-Iranian Worship of Personalised Heavenly Powers.

The ancestors of Indians and Iranians remained for a considerable period a united people in Iran, after they had broken away from the great Aryan or Indo-European family A comparative study of the Iranian Avesta and the Indian Vedas gives us the main outlines of the religion of the Indo-Iranians while they were still a united people. The natural phenomena worshipped in Aryan times have become personalised divinities with definite functions. Among Indo-Iranian gods may be mentioned Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Indra, Yama, and Soma The Persian Avesta links Ahura and Mithra together in partnership as the Veda does Varuna and Mitra

Since Ahura is the paramount divinity of the Avesta, his pairing with Mithra has every appearance of a fossil left over from a time when Ahura's supremacy had not become absolute—in other words, from a time when Ahura and Mithra were on a par of dignity,*

as Varuna and Mitra are paired together in the Veda. It would appear that the concrete name Varana, "the all-embracing sky," was originally applied to the heaven god. In Iran this name remained only as the name of the material heaven, but in India it continued as his usual name in the form Varuna. The Avestan name for the heaven god is Ahura Mazda (Sanskrit, Asura Medhā), "the wise Lord." In the Veda, Varuna is sometimes honoured with the distinguishing title Asura. In the Zoroastrian system, Ahura is set forth as the

*Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda*, p 121.

guardian of divine order (asha), who sees all human deeds, overt or covert. The Veda describes Varuna in the same spirit, and almost the same words (*cf.* Avestan asha and Sanskrit rita). The Vedic Aryaman, the comrade, or groomsman, at wedding rites, is the counterpart of the Avestan Airyama ; while the Vedic Mitra is the Avestan Mithra, the sun god. The Vedic Bhaga, god of fortune, corresponds to the Avestan Vagha, god in general. The Vedic thunder god Indra, who conquers the demons of drought or darkness, is in the Avesta degraded to a demon, Andra ; but his chief Vedic epithet, Vritrahan, the slayer of the dragon Vritra, is the same as that of the abstract genius of victory, Verethraghna, in the Avesta. Yama, the son of Vivasvat, the Vedic ruler of the dead, corresponds to the Avestan Yima, son of Vivanhvant, ruler of Paradise. The Vedic Soma is the Avestan Haoma, the intoxicating juice of the soma plant, the champagne of the gods, and itself a great god. The Vedic Agni and the Avestan Âtar represent the cult of fire observed by both peoples. There are also many identical terms connected with the ritual and sacrifice. Fire is now commonly used in the sacrifice, and the flame is supposed to carry the sacrifice to the heavenly gods. Cremation, too, has almost altogether taken the place of burial in Indo-Iranian times, for there grew up the belief that burning was effective in speedily releasing the soul from the body, and bearing it up on the flame to the heavenly regions. Ancestral worship is also a characteristic of the period, as it was in earlier times.

It is thus clear that Avesta and Veda, Zoroastrianism and Brāhmanism, have their roots in the Indo-Iranian period before the separation took place. Very striking is the difference exhibited in the subsequent development of Iranian and Indian religious ideas. The fundamental ideas reflected in the

Avesta and in the Zoroastrian religion have been thus summarised :

The world, such as it is now, is twofold, being the work of two hostile beings, Ahura Mazda, the good principle, and Angra Mainyu, the evil principle.* all that is good in the world comes from the former, all that is bad in it comes from the latter The history of the world is the history of their conflict, how Angra Mainyu invaded the world of Ahura Mazda and marred it, and how he shall be expelled from it at last Man is active in the conflict, his duty in it being laid before him in the law revealed by Ahura Mazda to Zarathustra When the appointed time is come, a son of the Lawgiver, still unborn, Saoshyant, will appear, Angra Mainyu and hell will be destroyed, men will rise from the dead, and everlasting happiness will reign over the world . There were, therefore, in the Indo-Iranian religion, a latent monotheism and an unconscious dualism, both of which, in the further development of Indian thought, slowly disappeared, but Mazdaism lost neither of these two notions, nor did it add a new one, and its original action was to cling strongly and equally to both ideas and push them to an extreme †

III. The Nature Worship and Departmental Polytheism of the Vedas.

The Vedic singers regard the Universe as consisting of three parts—heaven, atmosphere, and earth. The solar phenomena which appear to take place on the vault of the sky are referred to heaven, while lightning, rain, and wind belong to the atmosphere. So we have three classes of gods in the Vedic hymns —gods celestial, gods atmospheric, and gods terrestrial, or upper, middle, and lower. The earliest objects of worship are the *celestial gods Dyaus*, the shining sky, is the oldest Rigveda deity, and goes back to the Indo-European period. There is, however, no indication in the Vedic hymns that he held a superior position among the Indo-Aryans as Zeus did among the Greeks or Jupiter among the Romans. No single hymn of the Rigveda is addressed to Dyaus alone. The important position that he once held is, however, clear from the fact

* *i e*, Ormazd and Ahriman

†Darmesteter in *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. IV., p. lvi *f.*

that he is generally referred to as Father, and as a Father he is most usually mentioned in combination with earth as Mother. As the Universal Father who, with Mother Earth, embraced all other deified objects and phenomena, it is natural to suppose that he held high rank among a host of other deified powers. There is no proof, however, that there existed, in these early Rigveda times, any clear conception of a Supreme God in the monotheistic sense. *Varuna* is originally the encompassing sky, the vault of heaven, and goes back to the Indo-Iranian if not to the Indo-European period. He is generally spoken of in association with Mitra, a solar deity, the benevolent light, the friend of man. This vast expanse of sky, personified as Varuna, seeing by day by means of the sun, and at night by means of moon and stars, is regarded in the Rigveda as a heavenly king, directing the ordinances of nature, watching by day and by night all the deeds of men, and as being the guardian of unswerving law. On the moral side, Varuna is the most august of the Vedic deities, the supreme upholder of law in the moral as well as in the physical world. To the ordinary Vedic deities the prayer is for worldly goods, but in every hymn to Varuna we have a prayer for forgiveness of guilt. The poet Vasishṭha sings :

I commune also with myself,
When shall I be at one with Varuṇa?
Will he accept my offering without wrath?
When shall I in happiness behold him gracious?

I inquire of this guilt, fain to see, O Varuṇa,
I come to ask of the wise men!
The sages with one accord tell me
"This Varuna it is who is wroth with thee"

What is the exceeding sin, Varuṇa,
That thou shouldst slay the friend who praiseth thee?
Declare this to me, O potent one, who may not be beguiled,
That I may myself come guiltless to find thee.

Put away the backslidings of our fathers,
And those that are of our own works,
O King, as the cattle thief
A calf from its tether, so do thou release

More than anything else in the Rigveda, the hymns may be compared with some of the penitential Jewish psalms. As the popularity of Indra, the thunder god, increased, and with the growth of the conception of *Prajāpati* as a supreme Deity, Varuna, as a sovereign god, fell into the background, and in the post-Vedic mythology, only a part of his original dominion is left him, the dominion of the waters. He became simply an Indian Neptune, god of the sea. The remaining celestial deities can only be very briefly described. *Mitra*, signifying "ally" or "friend," is the sun god in his aspect of beneficent power, the kindly god of day. *Sūrya* is the orb of the sun, and is the most concrete of the solar deities, his connection with the luminary in the heavens never being lost sight of. *Savitri*, signifying the "arouser," "stimulator," is the sun as the great stimulator of life and motion in the world. *Pūshan*, signifying "the prosperer," refers to the beneficent power of the sun manifested chiefly as a pastoral deity, extending protection to men, acting as the guide and protector of cattle, and the guardian of roads, who brings back beasts that have strayed. *Vishnu*, though of great importance in later mythology, occupies a subordinate place among the celestial gods of the Rigveda, and is represented as traversing the terrestrial spaces in three steps, which refers either to the rising, culminating, and setting of the sun, or, as is more probable, the course of the solar deity through the three divisions of the universe—earth, air, and heaven. *Usas*, signifying "brilliant," seems originally to have represented the rising sun, and is regarded as the father of the twin gods the Asvins, the ancestors of the human race.

A group of gods called *Ādityas* is often referred to in the Rigveda, varying in number—six, seven, or eight. Varuna is the chief of the group (and other members are Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga, Daksha, Ams'a). They are the gods of celestial light, and may originally have represented the sun, moon, and five planets. In post-Vedic literature they are regularly twelve gods, evidently connected with the twelve months of the year, Vishnu being one of them and the greatest. *Ushas*, goddess of dawn, is the most graceful creation of Vedic poetry. She is pictured as a radiant maiden, borne on a brilliant car, drawn by ruddy steeds or kine With *Dawn* rise her two brothers, horsemen, the twin gods, *As'vins*. They are the divine physicians, healing the blind, sick, and maimed with their remedies They have a parallel in the two famous horsemen of Greek mythology (Διώσ-κουροι), sons of Zeus. Their origin is obscure, but probably they represent the twilight and the morning star, harbinger of deliverance from the distress of darkness

We come now to the second division of Vedic deities, the *atmospheric gods*, the greatest of whom is Indra. He is the favourite god of the Vedic Indians, nearly one-fourth of the hymns of the Rigveda celebrating his praise He is the thunder god, the hero of Vedic mythology, who fought against and vanquished that dread dragon *Vritra*, who dispersed the rain-cloud, and kept the waters pent up in the sky. His weapon is the thunderbolt, fashioned for him by *Tvashtri*, the artificer of the gods He is represented as a hard drinker, violently fond of the fermented juice of the soma plant, and in the strength of his exhilaration he leads on the Aryans to victory against the aboriginal demons. He has none of the moral elevation and grandeur of Varuna. One hymn is in the form of a dialogue describing the rivalry between Indra and Varuṇa,

and it probably indicates how Indra gradually gained ascendency over Varuna in the estimation of the Aryan invaders. As they entered on Indian soil, the early Aryans, when their lands were parched and their enemies were pressing them on all sides, turned from the good but passive Varuna to Indra, the god of battle and storm, the soma-drinking warrior, who can bring the rain-clouds near, and disperse all foes So the poet sings (Rigveda, i. 32):

I will declare the manly deeds of Indra,
The first which the thunderbolt bearer did,
He smote the dragon, he let loose the waters,
He pierced the bosoms of the mountains

He smote the dragon dwelling in the mountain,
Tvashtar framed for him the heavenly thunderbolt
Streaming forth like lowing kine
The waters went down straightway to the sea

Bull-spirited he chose the soma,
And quaffed in threefold sacrifice the juices,
The bounteous took his missile bolt,
He smote the firstborn of the dragons

When thou smotest the firstborn of the dragon, Indra,
Then didst thou destroy the enchanter's devices
Then creating sun, heaven, dawn,
Thou foundest at that time no foe

Among the atmospheric gods is the terrible *Rudra*, the father of the Maruts, the storm gods. He probably represents the howling of the storm, the raging of the fire, and is the god or demon of rage and destruction. In post-Vedic times he is known as *Siva*, the god of destruction. His sons, the Maruts, a troop of indefinite number, are the merry gods of the storm, intimate associates of Indra. The god *Parjanya* is the shedder of rain, the producer and nourisher of vegetation, while *Vāyu* and *Vāta* are the gods of the winds

The *terrestrial gods* form the third division of Rigvedic deities. The earth itself, *Prithivī*, is generally worshipped conjointly with Dyaus, "Heaven." She frequently receives the epithet of

Mother, and in a fine hymn (x. 18[10]) is spoken of as kindly Mother Earth, to whom the dead man is exhorted to go. But apart from the earth itself, there are many phenomena of nature and life considered as divine powers. Chief among these is *Agni*, the god of fire. Next to Indra he is the most prominent of the gods in the Rigveda. Indra is the great warrior, Agni the great priest. No less than two hundred hymns celebrate his praise under his threefold form, as the fire on earth, especially the altar fire, the lightning in the sky, and the sun in heaven. His births are spoken of as many, for he is daily produced by a miracle, the rubbing together of two sticks, which are regarded as his parents, and he devours them as soon as he is born. Although an immortal, he has taken up his abode among men, and is the messenger between the gods and men, and the most honoured guest in all human dwellings. Though he assumes various divine forms, and is scattered in many places, yet he is one, and other fires are attached to him as branches to a tree. So there arises in connection with him the notion of a unity pervading the many manifestations of the divine The first hymn of the Rigveda is in honour of Agni.

(1) I laud Agni the great high priest, god, minister of sacrifice,
The herald, lavishest of wealth

(2) Worthy is Agni to be praised by living as by ancient seers,
He shall bring hitherward the gods

(3) Through Agni man obtaineth wealth, yea plenty, waxing day by day,
Most rich in heroes, glorious.

(4) Agni, the flawless sacrifice which thou encompassest about
Verily goeth to the gods

(5) May Agni, sapient-minded priest, truthful, most gloriously great,
The god, come hither with the gods.

(6) Whatever blessing, Agni, thou wilt grant unto thy worshipper,
That, Angiras, is thy true gift.

(7) To thee, dispeller of the night, O Agni, day by day with prayer,
Bringing thee reverence, we come

(8) Ruler of sacrifices, guard of law eternal, radiant one,
Increasing in thine own abode,

(9) Be to us easy of approach, even as a father to his son;
Agni, be with us for our weal

Another highly important god is *Soma*, a personification of the intoxicating power of the soma-drink, which inspires gods and men to heroic deeds. With Varuna, Indra, and Agni, Soma takes his place among the great gods of the Rigveda, 120 hymns being exclusively devoted to his praise. The plant is plucked up by the roots by moonlight in the mountains, and is crushed between two stones, after being carried on a great car to the place of sacrifice. It is then strained through a filter of sheep's wool into a vat, where it is allowed to ferment, and being thickened with meal and sweetened, it is drunk by the priests, after being offered to the gods. The following is a hymn addressed to Soma:

(1) Swift to the purifying sieve flows Soma as exalted law,
Slaying the fiends, loving the gods

(2) When Soma pours the strengthening food, a hundred ever-active streams
To Indra's friendship win their way

(3) Ten dames have sung to welcome thee, even as a maiden greets her love,
O Soma, thou art decked to win

(4) Flow hitherward, O Indu (Soma), sweet to Indra and to Vishnu,
The men, the singers, guard from distress

At a later period Soma is identified with the moon, on account of his celestial nature and brilliance

Brihaspati, or in its fuller form, *Brahmanaspati*, lord of prayer, is another of the terrestrial gods. Originally he appears to have been an aspect of Agni, as a divine priest presiding over devotion, though some regard him as a priestly abstraction

of Indra, or a direct impersonation of the power of devotion. He is the prototype of the later personal Brahmā and of the impersonal Brahma.

Such, in brief, are the prominent gods, celestial, atmospheric, and terrestrial, in Vedic mythology. They are evidently the personifications of natural forces and natural phenomena While these personifications are referred to as the guardians of morality, they are evidently looked upon, in the main, as superhuman beings, with all the frail tendencies of humanity One hymn (IX 112) humorously suggests that Indra loves his soma, and follows his own selfish interests, just as the joiner hopes for broken wheels, the doctor for broken limbs, the blacksmith for his customers, and the poet his professional fee. Another hymn (VII 103) disrespectfully compares the priests to a lot of frogs, dancing in drunken glee round the tank, celebrating a nocturnal offering of soma. Another (X. 119) represents Indra in an advanced stage of intoxication, and with no control over his words and deeds. With rare exceptions, there is little in the way of moral elevation observable in the Vedic gods, and one can readily understand the movement in the direction of philosophy and abstraction in the later hymns. In regard to the future life, also, it is evident that the Vedic Indians were too engrossed with the life that now is to engage in any deep reflections on the life to come. They believed, however, that the souls of the departed enjoyed the company of the fathers and the gods, under the kindly care of the king of the dead, Yama. He was the first of mortals to die, and he taught men the road to immortality, which lies through sacrifice The two dogs of Yama are the four-eyed guardians of the path that leads to heaven. It is further to be noted that, apart from the ordinary

gods of the Rigveda, there is a host of minor beings, some malevolent, some good-natured, and we have here the beginnings of demonology.

The first step in the path to pantheism in the Rigveda is seen in the tendency to regard the various gods of nature and the multifarious phenomena of nature as mere phases of an all-embracing unity. A few of the latest hymns (x. 7, x. 129) are concerned with philosophic speculation on the origin of the world, and the eternal principle which creates and sustains it. Reference is made to the evolution of the existent from the non-existent. In the beginning all was void; darkness and space enveloped the undifferentiated waters. Then, from the power of heat, arose the primordial substance, whence arose desire, the first seed of mind, the bond between the existent and the non-existent; thence came into being the gods. One well-known late hymn (the *Purusha-sūkta*, x. 90) relates how the gods sacrificed the primeval male, the giant Purusha, and with various parts of his body the earth and the four castes were formed. The hymn itself pantheistically identifies the Purusha with the Universe—"all this, both what has become and what shall be," and so anticipates the philosophical doctrine of the Upanishads, identifying the inner man, the soul (purusha) with the soul of the Universe (Brahman). At the close of the Vedic period the philosophers begin to present the picture of the Father-God, Prajāpati, Vis'vakarman, Hiranyagarbha, Lord and Maker of all things. At first the term Prajāpati is used as an attribute of particular gods. It is then used of a human anthropomorphic personal Father-God, an idea that was largely developed in our next period, that of the Brāhmanas. Thus in the Rigveda, with the one universal male on the one hand, and the anthropomorphic Father-God on the other, we have the roots of philosophic

and popular religion as developed in the Upanishads and Brāhmaṇas respectively.

IV. The Sacrificial Ritualism of the Brahmanas.

Those ritual text-books known as Brāhmaṇas, dealing with sacrifice and describing its ceremonies, form with the Atharvaveda a most important source of information regarding one of the most important periods in the social and mental development of India. The Atharvaveda is the Veda of charms and incantations, and its language and contents indicate plainly that it belongs to a later period than the other three Vedas. Like the Brāhmaṇas, it recognises fully all the claims and pretensions of the Brāhman priesthood, and it distinctly represents a lower and more vulgar type of religion. The authors of the Atharvaveda are surrounded by a terrifying brood of demons, goblins, wizards, and witches, and their main concern is in the use of incantations and formulæ of malediction directed against "those whom I hate and who hate me," magical verses to dispel evil magic, to guard against poison and other ills, or to obtain children, prolong life, or win the love of a maiden. Magic reigns supreme in the place of religion; the wizard is of more practical importance than the Vedic gods.

It has been assumed, and rightly, that the more intimate blending of the Vedic people with the barbarous aborigines of India contributed much to the vulgarisation of the beliefs and literature of the Vedic Hindus; but this does not wholly explain the low form of religion found in the Atharvaveda. Many of its charms and incantations are manifestly of great antiquity, and must represent the customs and superstitions of the lower classes of the Aryan people. These have been taken up in the drag-net of the priestly class, and made part of the universal Vedic religion. The Vedic gods have lost the

peculiar individual character they possessed in the Rigveda, and are requisitioned as weapons against the hateful schemes of enemies and sorcerers. The kindly king Yama, for example, has deteriorated into a Hindu Pluto, god of hell, and judge of the wicked. Speculative theosophic thought has attained to a greater degree of subtlety and mysticism; and theosophical formulas are utilised for the same practical purposes. The following hymn (Atharvaveda I 14) is an incantation of a woman against her rival; concerning whom the hope is expressed that she may remain unmarried, a fixture in her relatives' house:

(1) I have taken into myself her fortune and her glory
As a wreath off a tree

(2) This woman shall be subjected to thee as thy bride, O king Yama,
Till then let her be fixed to the house of her mother, or her brother, or her father

(3) This woman shall be the keeper of thy house, O king Yama her do we deliver over to thee! May she long sit with her parents, until her hair drop from her head

(4) With the incantation of Vrtta, of Kasyapa, and of Gaya, do I cover up thy fortune, as women cover things with a chest

The Atharvaveda and the Brāhmanas belong essentially to the same class of priestly writings. In both contents and literary quality, the Brāhmanas have been aptly compared to the Hebrew Talmud. In the main they are bulky prose statements of the details of the great Vedic sacrifices and their theological meaning. Both the performances and their explanations are treated in such a way, and spun out to such a length, as to render these works on the whole "monuments of tediousness and intrinsic stupidity." Around the regular Vedic ritual there has grown a priestcraft more rigid and materialistic than anything in the annals of literature.

An immensely intricate web of ritual—often of the most gruesome and butcherly kind—was spun round the whole of Indian

life, with the avowed object of forcing from the powers of nature the gifts of worldly welfare which were theirs to bestow, and the ghostly power of the Brāhman became supreme in the land *

These writings are, however, of great importance as being the earliest narrative prose in the entire field of Indo-European speech, and in expounding the technicalities of the ritual, they often make interesting reference to stores of legendary lore like the story of the flood, which has some very striking affinities with the account of the flood in Genesis

But the most remarkable feature of the Brāhmanas is the appearance of the doctrine of transmigration, a doctrine that has dominated the philosophy and religion of India to the present day, and also entered into Buddhism and the religion of the Jains The Vedic period was characterised by a keen delight in life and a joyous expectation of eternal happiness in the world of the gods and the fathers Then there arose the pessimistic belief that all life was misery, and that each individual soul wanders eternally from body to body, and in each bodily existence reaps, in accordance with the law of Karma (action), the fruits of merit acquired and sins committed in former existences Among the aboriginal tribes, and the lower strata of the Aryan people, there would be, as amongst many primitive races, the conception that human existence was prolonged in animals and trees, and there may be a possible trace of this in the Rigveda (x. 16, 28). This crude suggestion seems to have been adopted and elaborated in a strictly logical manner by the philosophic Aryans in the age of the Brāhmanas, and subsequently, and appeared to be a satisfactory explanation of the apportionment of human happiness and misery.

In the Brāhmanas, then, the Brāhmans have become deities among men. The sun would not

*Barnett

rise, said they, if the priest did not make sacrifice. Every religious act has its own formula, each word of which is momentous, each tone fraught with mystery. A reaction was inevitable. This we witness in the Upanishads.

V. The Speculative Theosophy of the Early Upanishads.

From the nature-worship and departmental polytheism of the Vedas through the ritualistic formalism of the Brāhmanas, we come to a period of philosophic speculation as represented in the Upanishads. though it must not be assumed that these successive stages of religious development are rigidly independent of one another.

In the Rigveda the great thought of the unity of all things was conceived, and an abstract name, Prājapati, Lord of the creatures, was assigned to that unknown God who was the ultimate unity of the Universe. In the Brāhmaṇas, Prājapati is the Father of gods, men, and demons, the Creator and Ruler of the world. Prajāpati was alone in the beginning He performed penance and thereby worthily prepared himself for creating the different gods, the worlds, and the various implements and materials of sacrifice. He creates the world by transforming himself, his body and his limbs, into the different parts of the universe. In later texts there is a tendency to derive Prajāpati from a higher principle, such as the primordial waters, or to identify him with the creating mind. In the Upanishads he is displaced by two more philosophic conceptions, Brahman and Ātman, and this constitutes the contribution of the Upanishads to theosophic speculation. The thought of the Upanishads is not systematic, but tentative and fanciful. It feels its way through misty, wavering

beginnings. The more rigid conclusions come later in one or other of the systems of Hindu philosophy. It is evident that many had become tired of the formulæ of the rites and ceremonies of the Brāhmanas. The Āraṇyakas show how men had come to meditate on the nature of the World-Soul, and the means of securing a release from mundane existence. This took more definite form in the early Upanishads. While these do not offer a complete and consistent philosophy of the Universe, logically developed, they contain certain fundamental conceptions concerning God and the World that form the basis of Indian pantheism to the present day.

(1) The soul is identical with the World-Soul. The *Ātman*, or psychical principle, manifested in man, is no other than *Brahman*, the cosmical principle pervading the Universe. Ātman and Brahman are vital words in the development of Indian thought, and without a proper understanding of them everything is confusion. Ātman in the earliest literature meant no more than breath. The wind, for instance, is spoken of as the ātman or breath of the gods. Then it came to mean soul, and was applied especially to the vital principle in man—that which constitutes his most real being. Now the Universe, the sum of all objects of thought, came to be regarded as having the same vital principle or ātman pervading it as is found in man, and so the term ātman came to be applied, not only to the vital principle animating the individual soul, but also to the vital principle which animated the whole universe of thought. Such briefly is the history of the term Ātman. Now as to Brahman. In the earliest literature Brahma or Brahman means nothing more than prayer, devotion. Then (though some think "incantation" was the original meaning) it became a term for the magic power which was

supposed to be inherent in every prayer. This magic power, this holy thought, originally an attribute of man, naturally came to be in due time regarded as an attribute of personified deities; and then we have the natural step by which Brahma came to be applied to Deity conceived as impersonal —the eternal, boundless power which is the basis of everything. We thus see that the early Indian thinkers had come to use the terms Ātman and Brahman in precisely the same sense, though the words originally were quite different. The *Brahman* without, the power that operates in the Universe, is one and the same as the *Ātman* within, man's innermost self. Subject and object are one, not different. This conviction is embalmed in the famous words "Aham Brahma asmi" ("I am the Brahma") and "Tat tvam asi" ("Thou art that"). The "thou" within you is the same as the "that" you imagine to be outside, and different. The inmost self of the individual soul is one with the vital principle pervading the Universe. The impersonal Brahman has superseded the personal Prajāpati.

(2) The attainment of this knowledge of the identity of the individual and the Supreme Self is represented in the Upanishads to be the highest aim of man, and in its possession consists the final liberation from the eternal round of mundane existence. Sacrifices and deeds of piety can do no more than secure temporary happiness in higher forms of existence, for so long as the individual in ignorance mistakes the true nature of things and regards his own self as something different from the Universal Self, so long must desire, which fetters living beings to existence, and is the cause of all action, remain. Accordingly, so long as the individual continues in ignorance to feel and think and act as though he were an independent entity,

there will always be a remnant of guilt and merit still unpunished and unrewarded necessitating a new existence, either higher or lower. But a recognition of the identity of the individual self with the Universal Soul, Brahman, snaps the chain that binds the individual self to worldly existence, consumes the seed of works, and so makes impossible for all time a continuance of the transmigration. There remains only the eternal, unchangeable Absolute.

(3) While the individual can attain to a knowledge of the identity of the Ātman, or individual Self, with the eternal Self, Brahman, the Upanishads emphasise the unknowableness of the essential Brahman. Every definition of him is necessarily stopped by the words "No, not so" ("na neti"). "He, however, the Ātman, is not so, not so. He is incomprehensible, for he is not comprehended; indestructible, for he is not destroyed, unaffected, for nothing affects him; he is not fettered, he is not disturbed, he suffers no harm"

Contemporary with the early Upanishads, so monistic in their teaching, was the dualistic teaching of Kapila. He recognises two eternal, uncreated substances, differing essentially from each other, the knowing subject (*purusha*), and primordial matter, objective existence (*prakṛiti*). There is an infinite plurality of knowing subjects, and from primordial matter, as the ultimate cause, the whole Universe of objective existence is evolved by regular laws, so that the product is only the material cause in a definite stage of evolution. The aim of man is the emancipation of the knowing subject from matter and its modifications; and this is attained by the knowledge that the knowing subject and matter are totally different, and that all the pains of life, being only modifications of primordial matter, do not affect the knowing subject in the least. The monistic teaching of the Upanishads, and the dualistic and

atheistic teaching of Kapila, were more fully developed at a later period in the Vedanta and Sāṃkhyan systems respectively.

VI. The Secularistic Morality of Buddhism.

The growth of philosophic speculation tended inevitably towards an intellectual revolt against the ritual of the Brāhman priesthood, and this tendency came to fruition in Jainism and Buddhism. Mahāvira, the founder of Jainism, was an older contemporary of Buddha. Jainism, as a system of religious thought, differs more from Buddhism than was formerly supposed. The Jain philosophy teaches that there is eternal matter and eternal spirit, and that each material entity, animate and inanimate, has its own individual spirit. The Nirvāna of the Jain is escape from the body, not from existence, and the deliverance is attained by knowledge, faith, and virtue, accompanied by severe asceticism and self-mortification, through the course of eight births. It recognised no eternal and independent Deity, though it acknowledged the gods as part of the system of the Universe, and connected hell and heaven with the Karma doctrine. Though, as a modern Hindu sect, Jainism has descended to idolatry, demonology, and man-worship, much after the manner of Hinduism, its two great principles at the outset appear to have been: (1) There is no divine power higher than man. (2) All life is sacred. It still teaches that the highest law of duty is not to hurt a living creature.

The doctrine of Buddha, in its original and simpler form, is more practical than metaphysical, more moral than religious. After profound meditation on the miseries of human existence and the possibilities of a remedy, Buddha enumerated his famous Four Great Truths and the Eightfold Path:

(1) The Noble Truth of *Suffering* Birth is suffering, decay is suffering, illness is suffering, death is suffering. Presence of objects we hate is suffering, separation from objects we love is suffering, not to obtain what we desire is suffering Briefly, the fivefold clinging to existence is suffering

(2) The Noble Truth of the *Cause of Suffering* Thirst, that leads to re-birth, accompanied by pleasure and lust, finding its delight here and there. This thirst is threefold, namely, thirst for pleasure, thirst for existence, thirst for prosperity

(3) The Noble Truth of the *Cessation of Suffering* It ceases with the complete cessation of this thirst, a cessation which consists in the absence of every passion, with the abandoning of this thirst, with the deliverance from it, with the destruction of desire

(4) The Noble Truth of the *Pathway which leads to the Cessation of Suffering* The holy Eightfold Path, that is to say, right belief, right aspiration, right speech, right conduct, right means of livelihood, right endeavour, right memory, right meditation

The Eightfold Path in more detail is

(1) Right belief, without superstition or delusion.

(2) Right aspiration, after such things as the thoughtful and earnest man sets store by

(3) Right speech, speech that is friendly and sincere

(4) Right conduct, conduct that is peaceable, honourable, and pure

(5) Right means of livelihood, *i e*, a pursuit which does not involve the taking or injuring of life

(6) Right endeavour, *i.e*, self-restraint and watchfulness

(7) Right memory, *i e*, presence of mind, not forgetting at any time what one ought to remember, and

(8) Right meditation, *i e*, earnest occupation with the riddles of life

This is the path, there are four stages of it

(1) The stage of him who has entered the path

(2) The stage of him who has yet to return once to life

(3) The stage of him who returns not again, but may be born again as a superior being, and

(4) The stage of the worthy, holy one, the Arhat, who is free from desire for existence, and also from pride and self-righteousness, and who is saved and has obtained holiness, even in this life

An Arhat is not equal to a Buddha, the former is himself saved, but the perfect Buddha is able by his perfect knowledge to save others Of Buddhas, however, there are not many.*

The annihilation of lust, anger, and ignorance is Nirvāna. Gautama himself persistently refused to say whether Nirvāna implied extinction of being or not. His silence would rather indicate that he did

* Menzies' *History of Religion*, pp 365, 370

regard it as extinction of being, for his philosophy contains no doctrine of an eternal spirit, whether individual or supreme. According to Buddha, a man is made up of five skandhas, aggregates, properties, or qualities, each comprising various divisions. (1) Organised body—rūpa. (2) Sensation—vedanā. (3) Perception—samjña. (4) Discrimination—samskāra (5) Consciousness—vijñāna. These are the component parts of a man's material personality, and at death they are to be dispersed, never to be re-united In addition to Karma, the accumulated result of an individual's actions, good and bad, there is another property inherent in all sentient beings, named Upādāna, or "cleaving to existing objects," and these two survive the dispersion of the component parts, and form a new being, the individuality of which is the effect of the surviving Karma It thus appears clear that Buddha taught, not the transmigration of soul, but the transmigration of Karma. This would also appear from the fact that the later Sāmkhya writers strongly contested the Buddhist denial of the soul as a persistent principle, as well as the doctrine that all things possess only a momentary existence, and that salvation is the annihilation of the self

In regard to Buddhism, the great thing to be borne in mind is that it was ethical, while Brāhmanism was sacerdotal Buddha preached the religion of moral action and ignored the fundamental truths of religion as such The current conception of religion in the Brāhmanical faith was so inimical to man's higher interests that Buddha was led to atheism as the solution As Dr. Fairbairn has well said :

Buddhism is a proof of what a false theory of immortality may become—life after death, a thing so terrible that to escape it man will court annihilation The Hindu spirit had got bewildered in the mazes of transmigration, and unable to find a way to a right conception of God, and a consequent right conception of

immortality, it rose into an absolute denial of both, produced and propagated a religion founded on the abolition of what western thinkers used to regard as the fundamental truths of every faith, the being of God and the immortality of man *

VII. The Stringent Brahmanism of the Law Books.

Brāhmanism came to realise that its very existence was at stake unless it adapted itself to the new conditions, so it seems to have faced the situation by codifying, systematising, and also popularising its religious beliefs and rites The wisdom and authority of the Brāhman priesthood were being called in question, and so they surrounded everything connected with their order with a halo of sanctity calculated to impress the lay community with feelings of awe The Code of Manu no doubt embodies much in the way of traditions, rites, and customs in vogue prior to the Buddhist revolt, but in their present form they represent the Brāhman attempt to meet the situation caused by the spread of Buddhist principles. The superstitious element in human nature is always strong, and the tendency to hold in awe and reverence the priest has always been one of the marked characteristics of humanity, whether ignorant or enlightened. In the Institutes of Manu the Brāhman is set forth as a mighty divinity among men, and the whole social system is made to hinge on the mystic superiority inherent in the priesthood.

The Brāhmans are supposed to constitute the great central body, around which all other classes and orders of beings revolve like satellites Not only are they invested with divine dignity, but they are bound together by the most stringent rules, while the other three classes of soldiers, agriculturists, and servants are made powerless for combined resistance by equally stringent regulations, one class being separated from the other by insurmountable barriers It was found necessary to conciliate the Kshatriya class The most exalted eulogies were lavished on kings, but Brāhmans were to act as their advisers, and to have much of the judicial authority and interpretation of the laws in their own hands, and were always theoretically superior in rank

* *Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History*, p 164.

—a circumstance which led in the end to jealousies, feuds, and bloody contests between the first two classes Certain privileges also naturally fell to the Vais'yas, and both they and the Kshatriyas were equally with the Brāhmans entitled to the appellation *Dwi-ja*, "twice-born" Their whole status, however, depended upon various domestic rites, to the due conduct of which the superintendence of Brāhmans was indispensable In short, the distinction of caste and the inherent superiority of one class over the three others were thought to be as much a law of nature and a matter of divine appointment as the creation of separate classes of animals with insurmountable differences of physical constitution, such as elephants, lions, horses, and dogs *

Caste distinctions have multiplied enormously since this period, but this Brāhmanical principle of giving divine sanction to hereditary privilege has been consistently and successfully applied, and one of the most remarkable facts in Hindu social life, even at the present time, is the jealous pride that each caste, from the highest to the lowest, takes in its own special occupation and grade in the social organism The privileged classes are naturally content, while the lower grades find consolation in looking down on the lowest, and in entertaining the prospect of being born hereafter into a higher grade of life as the result of a faithful performance of menial duties in this birth.

The four *Ās'ramas*, or stages of life, laid down in such detail in Manu for the guidance of the twice-born, have had an abiding influence on the social and religious ideals of all classes up to the present day. (1) The Brahmachārin (Brahman-student) lived in the house of a teacher, and passed through a long period of rigorous discipline in Vedic study, temperance, chastity, and obedience. (2) As Grihastha (householder) he had to marry, beget offspring, and fulfil the regular duties inseparable from family life He must also satisfy the gods by sacrificing, the rishis by studying the Veda, the fathers by offering funeral oblations, men by almsgiving, and animals by feeding birds, antelopes,

**Hinduism*, by Monier-Williams, pp 57-8.

and other denizens of the forest. (3) As Vānaprastha (hermit or anchorite) he must retire to the forest and engage in severe austerities for the extinction of all worldly attachments. (4) As Sannyāsin (wandering ascetic) he must wander about dependent on alms as one who has abandoned everything and is free from all worldly fetters. He must desire neither death nor life, but await his appointed time as a servant awaits his command Surely there are elements of permanent value in this lofty ideal of the four *Ās'ramas*.

VIII. The Trinitarian Syncretism of Early Hinduism.

The Brāhmanical ascendency received overwhelming emphasis in the laws of Manu, and such an exclusive attitude in regard to the lower orders could not continue to be the dominant guiding influence in any religious or social organism. While the Institutes of Manu excluded from all sacred knowledge and holy writs the lowborn classes, and established on a firm foundation Brāhmanical sacerdotalism and priestly aristocracy, it is clear that other forces of a powerful character were at work in another direction. Already some of the Upanishads, to a considerable extent the result of Kshatriya rather than Brāhman influence, had taught that every man, S'ūdra as well as Aryan twice-born, is an embodiment of the *ātman*, the knowledge of which would lead any man, S'ūdra or twice-born, to spiritual emancipation As civilisation developed, and Aryan and non-Aryan came into close social contact with one another, a bond of religious sympathy was an inevitable development. The Kshatriya class especially, with their broader outlook, would be inclined to treat with consideration and sympathy the religious and even superstitious standpoint of

the non-Aryan classes with whom they must have come into such close relations in the ordinary affairs of practical life, and they themselves cannot but have been deeply influenced by their widening experience. It is clear that among the Kshatriyas the old Vedic gods were steadily falling into the background, or were being identified with the gods of the land, while new gods were being made from their own tribal heroes. Brāhman exclusiveness could not resist the onward march of such a movement, and so we find the Brāhman priesthood retaining their spiritual supremacy by incorporating into the Brāhmanical system various gods and forms of worship of different Kshatriya and non-Aryan tribes.

An important development in this connection was that of the Hindu triad, Brahmā, Vishṇu, and S'iva, a triple impersonation of the Deity as manifesting itself respectively in the creation, preservation, and destruction of the Universe. Brahmā, in the later Vedic writings and in Manu, denoted the supreme personal Deity, the Father and Creator of all things, and is to be carefully distinguished from Brahma or Brahman, the sole, self-existent Spirit. Side by side with the conception of the Brahma, the universal spiritual principle, the notion of a supreme personal Being, the Author of the material creation, had come to be considered by many as a necessary complement of the pantheistic doctrine. The personality of Brahmā was, however, too abstract and sublime to appeal to the religious feelings of the masses. In the epics, Vishnu and S'iva have come to enjoy an extensive worship, and in the pantheistic system they have places assigned to them co-ordinate with that of Brahmā. S'iva does not appear in the Vedic hymns as the name of a god, but he undoubtedly represents the Vedic god Rudra, the god of the roaring storm, usually portrayed as a fierce,

destructive deity, terrible as a wild beast. He represents in Hinduism that aspect of religion that is dark, mysterious, and ascetic, and it is in this character as destroyer that S'iva holds his place in the triad. Another very important function, however, appears to have been early assigned to him, viz., the character of a generative power, symbolised in the phallic emblem, and in the sacred bull, the favourite attendant of the god. It is possible that phallus worship was originally prevalent among the non-Aryan population, and was thence introduced into the worship of S'iva. S'iva is the typical yogi or self-mortifier, the philosopher and sage, and in another aspect the wild and jovial mountaineer, surrounded by a train of dancing revellers. His worship is obviously well adapted to attract two very different classes of votaries—on the one hand, the Brāhman philosopher, who sees in him the All-God controlling the ever-recurrent changes in the universe, decay and renewal, brooding in millennial reveries, ascetic rigours, and mystic devotion in the lonesome wilds of the mountains; and, on the other hand, the childless wife, who associates with him the mysteries of reproduction and the gift of offspring, so vital a concern to the average Hindu householder. Anthropomorphic image-worship has little place in his cultus. He has forms but no incarnations, and although, especially through his consorts, he delights in bloody sacrifice, he ordinarily needs none of the gorgeous ceremonial which is provided for Vishnu. A few flowers, an oblation of water, are all that his worshipper needs to dedicate.

S'iva is the chief god of the Dravidian South, which has a theology of its own, with a rich devotional literature, unsurpassed in fervent imagination and graceful expression by anything in Indian religious literature. No doubt in the worship of this dread god S'iva there is very much that is full

of horror and repulsion, æsthetic and moral, to the Western and Christian mind, and it is only by an effort to understand the basis of Hindu thought, and the inner workings of the Hindu mind, that the worship of S'iva becomes in the least degree intelligible.

Very different in many respects is Vishṇu, a god of grace and love, who manifests himself from age to age by repeated incarnations for the suppression of the wicked and the establishment of justice whenever religion is in danger and iniquity triumphs. Vishnu, etymologically "the active one," was a subordinate Vedic god who, by his three strides through the terrestrial spaces, represented the swift course of the solar deity through the three divisions of the universe. In the Brāhmanas he is repeatedly identified with the sacrifice, and is represented as attaining a supreme position among the gods. Because of his ability to comprehend the issue of the sacrifice, he becomes the Male supreme (*purushottama*), the source of cosmic life. The Brāhmanas, too, in describing the great conflict between gods and demons, speak of Vishnu assuming the form of a dwarf in order by artifice to recover the earth from the *asuras* by taking his three strides, and from this arose the dwarf incarnation in the epic and Purāṇas.

As the cult of Vishnu spread, it developed philosophic and religious aspects of a remarkable character. Not only did he become the All-God, but he is represented as interposing in the affairs of the world by repeated incarnations. The full development of the incarnation or *avatāra* theory is found in the Purānic theology. In distinction from all other incarnations, Krishna came at an early period to be regarded as a complete incarnation, being nothing short of Vishnu's whole essence.

The rise and progress of the Krishna cult, historically viewed, are still beset with considerable uncertainty. He appears first in the Chhāndogya

Upanishad (III. 17, 6) as the son of Devakī, and a pupil of the sage Ghora Āṅgirasa, who taught him that such moral qualities as generosity, kindness, truthfulness, are the true sacrifice, and that true worship is the worship of the highest light—the sun, as true being. In the older portions of the Mahābhārata, Krishna is represented as warrior, counsellor, and religious teacher, the famous hero of the Yādavas and the ally of the Pāṇḍavas Then, too, there are indications of the use, at an early period, of the term Vāsudeva, as the name of a god, especially in the tribe to which Krishna, according to the epic, belonged. The probabilities are that the Krishna mentioned in the Upanishad, and the Krishna who appears in the epic as a Yādava hero, are one and the same. It would, therefore, appear that, at a period when the spiritual activity, if not supremacy, of the Kshatriyas was a marked feature of the ancient life of India, a valiant warrior, Kṛishna, son of Vasudeva and Devakī, founded a monotheistic and ethical religion which first spread among, and then beyond, his own tribe—the Yādavas, Sātvatas, or Vrishnis In this religion God became known by the names Bhagavat, Nārāyana, Purushottoma, and Vāsudeva, and the devotees of the new faith were spoken of as Bhāgavatas, Sātvatas, or Pāñcharātras. As the religion developed, divine honour was paid to the founder of the religion, and in course of time he was identified with the Deity Himself. The stages of development in the Bhāgavata religion have been classified by Professor Garbe as follows :*

(*a*) The first period extends from the time of Kṛishna's activity as warrior and religious teacher till about 300 B C. With the popular monotheism of Kṛishna were combined, during this period, the

*See the Introduction to his German Translation of the Bhagavad Gītā, pp. 34-39

philosophical principles of the Sāmkhya-Yoga and the idea of *bhakti*, "devotional faith," and Krishna himself was deified. The doctrine of *bhakti* is not found in the early Upanishads, and as presented in the Bhagavad Gītā it is no doubt a comparatively recent development. The germ of it seems to be in the much earlier doctrine of special grace (*prasāda*). With the recognition of Krishna as a personal god, holding personal relations with his followers, we can see how the idea of personal affection, an ardent longing for the Supreme, might arise and crystallise into a great doctrine of salvation. Even in the Veda there is evidence of very tender relationships between a god and his worshippers. In the case of the deified Krishna, a comparison would naturally be instituted between the reverential love of the Bhāgavatas for Krishna or Vāsudeva, and the metaphysical knowledge required by the Brāhman as the means of salvation, and in the contest that would thus arise between love and knowledge as the supreme means of salvation, one can understand the ordinary layman deciding that the heart is greater than the intellect, religious feeling more important than metaphysical knowledge. Thus, in the judgment of Professor Garbe and other writers of note, there might well arise, in the ordinary course of religious evolution and without any foreign influence, the doctrine of *bhakti* as a means of salvation put forward fully for the first time in the Bhagavad Gītā.

(*b*) The main characteristic of the second period, dating from about 300 B.C. to the beginning of the Christian era, is the Brāhmanising of the Bhāgavata religion, and the identification of Krishna with Vishnu (as in the theistic portions of the Gītā).

What was it that impelled the Brāhmans to elevate Krishna—depicted in the earlier parts of the epic in a by no means favourable light—into an incarnation of the Supreme Deity, and to identify him with

their great god, Vishnu? The probabilities are that Krishna was regarded as a deity by a large body of Kshatriya devotees before he was admitted as an incarnation of Vishṇu. In the case of such a character as Rāma, a model man and warrior, and a devout upholder of the Brāhmanical faith, one can understand the transformation of the simple human hero into an incarnation of Vishṇu, and his consequent deification. But all the indications are that the original Krishna was by no means an ideal character from the standpoint of the orthodox Brāhmanical morality and the Brāhmanical faith. The Gītā and S'amkara even indicate that the standpoint of Krishnaism was one of opposition to the Vedas Nothing but necessity, therefore, would compel the Brāhmans to adopt him as their god. The rise of Buddhism had probably something to do with this step. On the one hand, there would be the rapid growth of Buddhism as against Brāhmanism to be be taken into account, and, on the other hand, the powerful influence of the Krishna cult. Already the theory of *avatāras* had probably become identified to a certain extent with the worship of Vishnu Buddhism was an ethical system with a sceptical philosophy Krishnaism was essentially a religious cult. The capture of the cult of Kṛishna was more practicable and far more useful as an antidote to the scepticism of Buddha, viewed from the standpoint of the Brāhman priesthood Thus a compromise was made with the Bhāgavatas by recognising Krishna as a form or incarnation of the Brāhmanical god Vishṇu

Early in the third century B.C., Krishnaism is recognised by Megasthenes as a Brāhmanical cult. Heracles, the god of the Ganges valley, is plainly Kṛishna, who carries club, discus, and conch, and the cities associated by him with the Krishna worship, Methora and Kleisbora, are Mathurā and Kṛishṇa-

pur ; while the god of the mountains, Dionysos, can be none other than S'iva.

(*c*) The third period, extending from the beginning of our era to the twelfth century, saw (as in the Vedāntic and later portions of the Gītā) the identification of Krishna-Vishnu with Brahman, the All-God of the Vedānta philosophy, and yet, notwithstanding this union of Krishnaism with the Vedānta, the Sāmkhya-Yoga elements still remained. Apart from the Bhagavad Gītā, there are Vāsudevic doctrines in the later chapters of the Mahābhārata, and in the Harivams'a and the Bhāgavata Purāna ; the latter being a work of the tenth century or so, and the chief Scripture of the Bhāgavatas.

An attempt is made in the writings of the Bhāgavatas to reconcile Vedāntic monism, Sāmkhyan dualism, and the popular worship of a personal god. Krishna is regarded as the Absolute Spirit, and the summit of all existence. He is identified with the Vedāntic Brahman, and is called by various names, such as Paramātman, Purusha, Purushottama, Bhagavāna, Vāsudeva, I'svara, Nārāyana, Hari, Govinda, Vishnu He is not conceived of as Pure Thought, but possesses all good attributes in an infinite degree. The Universe consists of matter (*prakriti*) and infinitely many souls (*purusha jīva*), and as they periodically emanate from and return into the Supreme Spirit, by the power of His will, the Universe is conceived of as possessing reality. Deliverance may be found from the cycle of birth and re-birth by the way of knowledge, the method of the Sāmkhya, consisting in the recognition of the eternal distinction between soul and matter, or deliverance may come by the way of Yoga, the way of works, including acts of austerity that purify the mind by keeping back the sense-instruments from the objects of sense ; but whether by Sāmkhya or whether by Yoga, *bhakti*, reverential love towards

Kṛishṇa, must be predominant. *Bhakti* is the golden key to open the palace of eternity.

As the *bhakti* doctrine developed, there arose a mystic interpretation of the Kṛishṇa legend, according to which Krishna was the supreme Ātman; his brother Balarāma was the *jīva*, the individual soul; his son Pradyumna represented the *manas*, the perceptive sense; and Aniruddha, his grandson, the *ahamkāra*, self-consciousness.* In like manner the gambols of Krishna with the *gopīs* became the allegorical expression of the relations of the soul with God, and the sensual delights enjoyed by Krishna in association with his beloved Rādhā are made typical of the infinite blessedness of the soul when it throws itself into the arms of God. The Gīta-govinda is the last production of this erotic mysticism

(*d*) The fourth period of Krishṇaism dates from the early part of the twelfth century, when Rāmānuja, a southern Brāhman, made into a logical system the doctrines of the Bhāgavatas. This development we shall consider specially in another chapter.

It needs to be noted that the Hindu trinity is not the outcome of a progressive development of thought regarding the person and work of one Supreme God, but is a unification of the activities and personalities of what were once worshipped as three independent deities.

IX. The Multifarious Incarnations of the Puranas and Tantras.

The Scriptures of popular Hinduism—the Purānas and Tantras—give theoretic adherence to the worship of the Hindu Trinity, but in the main they are sectarian productions, composed for the purpose of advancing the interests of some special god, goddess, object or place of worship, though it must

* Barth, *Religions of India*, p 218

be recognised that their sectarianism is of a pantheistic character, and thus to a large degree tolerant. The Hindu worship of mediæval and modern times is thus of a very varied character, and may be thus summarised:

(1) *Śaivism.* Śiva still remains the favourite god of the Brāhmans, especially of the South. The symbol of his worship, the phallic emblem, or linga, is an upright cylindrical block of marble or other stone, mostly resting on a circular perforated slab. As Professor H. H. Wilson remarks:

> Notwithstanding the acknowledged purport of this worship, it is but justice to state that it is unattended, in Upper India, by any indecent or indelicate ceremonies, and it requires rather a lively imagination to trace any resemblance in its symbols to the objects they are supposed to represent

On account of the comparative simplicity of his worship—simply a presentation of an offering of flowers or fruits—Śiva does not appeal to such as like display and emotion in their religion. He is the mahāyogī, or great ascetic, and associated with the worship of the stern god are various mendicant and ascetic orders.

(2) *Vaishnavism.* The Śaiva philosophers do not approve of the notion of incarnations, on the ground that it is derogatory to the dignity of the Deity. But from very early times Vishṇu was associated with the idea of incarnation, and in the course of religious development there arose in connection with his worship the idea of a series of incarnations, animal and human, generally spoken of as ten. Some of these incarnations are probably due to the identification of the Brāhmanical god Vishṇu with the totem gods of the surrounding tribes. Others arose through the recognition of sectarian or tribal demi-gods, heroes, and prophets, as forms of Vishṇu. (1) In the form of a fish (*matsya*) Vishṇu saved Manu, the primeval man, from the universal deluge, the horn on the head of the fish serving as a cable

for the ark. (2) In the form of a tortoise (*kūrma*) he helped in recovering certain valuable articles lost in the deluge. (3) In the form of a boar (*varāha*) he drew the earth from under the waters where it had been carried by a demon, and slew the demon. (4) As a man-lion (*nara-siṃha*) he delivered the world from a certain tyrant who had obtained the boon from Brahmā that he should not be slain by either god or man or animal. (5) In the form of a dwarf (*vāmana*) Vishṇu cheats the demon Bali of the earth by asking as a dwarf to be allowed to take three steps on it, and then, expanding himself, stepping out over the whole of it. (6) As the hero Paras'u-Rāma, he saves the Brāhmans from the tyranny of the warrior caste by annihilating them twenty-one times over. (7) In the form of the great Rāmachandra, the hero of the Rāmāyana, model son, brother, and husband, he destroys the tyrant demon, Rāvana, who reigned in Ceylon. (8) The most renowned, as well as the most notorious, of the incarnations of Vishnu is Krishṇa, originally a wise and powerful prince of the warrior caste, and later the demi-god of a religious cult which was incorporated with the Brāhmanical faith, probably as an aid to counteract the influence of Buddhism. (9) The recognition of Buddha as an incarnation of Vishnu appears to be the result of a compromise with Buddhism, though another explanation is that Vishnu appeared as Buddha in order to consummate the ruin of the wicked by seducing them with false doctrines. (10) The Kalki incarnation is still in the future Vishnu will appear revealed in the sky, seated on a white horse, with a drawn sword blazing like a comet, for the final destruction of the wicked and the establishment of righteousness on the earth. Noteworthy is the progressive character of this series, animal, animal-man, dwarf-man, complete-man, indicating how Vishṇu passes through

progressive stages of embodied existence for the maintenance of the order of the Universe. Of these incarnations two only have laid deep hold of the religious imagination of the Hindus, viz., Rāma and Krishṇa.

The following is the story of Kṛishṇa as generally accepted by the many millions of Hindus who worship him, generally not merely as an incarnation, but as very God Himself:

Vasudeva, a prince of the lunar race, had two wives, Rohinī and Devakī. The latter gave birth to eight sons, Krishna being the youngest. It had been prophesied that one of them would kill Kaṃsa, chief of Mathurā and cousin of Devakī. Kaṃsa therefore regularly made away with his nephews the princes as soon as they saw the light. The seventh son, Balarāma, however, was transferred from the womb of Devakī to that of Rohinī, and so saved. On the night of Krishṇa's birth, his father, Vasudeva, escaped from Mathurā with the newly-born child, and on the opposite shore of the Yamunā he discovered a herdsman named Nanda, whose wife had lately given birth to a child. Consigned to the care of Nanda and his wife Yas'odā, he was brought up as their son in the woods of Brindāvana with his brother Balarāma. As a boy among the cowherds, he worked some startling miracles, slaying monsters and demons bent on destruction. He became famous for his erotic gambols with the gopīs, the wives and daughters of the cowherds. On one notable occasion he stole their clothes when they were bathing, and then made them come to him with suppliant hands to plead for their return. Among the many wives he took to himself from among the gopīs, Rādhā became the favourite. In due time Kṛishṇa put to death Kaṃsa, the persecutor of himself and his family, and became king of the Yādavas. He built a new city, Dvārakā, on the

coast, in Gujarāt, and transferred thither the inhabitants of Mathurā and the seat of his dominion. He continued to clear the land of monsters, waged successful wars against unjust kings, and became an ally of the Pāṇḍavas in their great struggle with the Kauravas—the subject of the Mahābhārata. He is spoken of as living in truly Oriental magnificence, having 16,000 wives, and 180,000 sons. Finally catastrophe overtook him and his race. After having been present at the death of his brother and seen the Yādavas kill one another to the last man, he himself, lying on the ground in meditation, was mistaken for game by a hunter named Jarā, and, being wounded in the heel, died.*

The Mahābhārata deals mainly with Kṛishna as an ally of the Pāṇḍavas, and for details of his earlier life we are indebted mainly to the Harivaṃs'a and the Purāṇas. His juvenile exploits and gambols became in due time and remain to-day the most prominent portion of the Krishna legend. The part he plays in the epic is by no means represented as the highest from the standpoint of honour and morality, and in this respect he differs very much from Rāma, who is in all respects a great, good, and brave man, the noblest type of manhood in Indian literature. The cult of Rāma has retained much of the element of hero-worship, but in connection with the worship of Krishna and his favourite mistress, Rādhā, there has arisen a luxuriant growth of erotic legends. Poets and thinkers explain their adventures allegorically, but the average Hindu accepts them as literal events.

(3) *S'āktism.* While S'iva and Vishnu are identified by their followers as the Supreme Being, and are recognised as originating and controlling all the forces and potentialities of nature, Hindus have

*Monier-Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hinduism*, pp 112-114.

ever shown a tendency to divide the divine nature into two halves, male and female.

The male side of the god was believed to relegate all his more onerous and troublesome executive functions to his female counterpart And hence it has come to pass that the female side of the personal god is often more honoured and propitiated than the male Hence it is that the worshipper is inclined to turn with greater devotion to the goddess than to the god when he supplicates any powerful intervention on his own behalf in circumstances of unusual exigency or peril.*

Thus, S'āktism is the worship of the *S'akti* or the female principle as a primary factor in the creation and reproduction of the Universe, and in the control of nature's forces. There is only a very limited degree of S'āktism in connection with the Krishna cult, but in connection with the S'aiva system an independent cult of the female principle has been developed. S'āktas divide themselves into two great classes—"followers of the right-hand path" (Dakshina-mārgīs) and "followers of the left-hand path" (Vāma-mārgīs), according to whether they attach the greater importance to the male or to the female principle respectively. The Tantras form the chief Scriptures of the S'āktas, and their chief centre of worship is Bengal Durgā ("the unapproachable") and Kāli ("the black one") are two well-known forms in which S'iva's wife is worshipped in Bengal.

In honour of the former, the Durgā-pūjā is celebrated during ten days at the time of the autumnal equinox, in commemoration of her victory over the buffalo-headed demon Mahishāsura, when the image of the ten-armed goddess, holding a weapon in each hand, is worshipped for nine days, and cast into the water on the tenth day—called the Das'ahara, whence the festival is commonly called Dasara in Western India Kālī, on the other hand, the most terrible of the goddess's forms, has a special service performed to her, at the Kālī-pūjā, during the darkest night of the succeeding month, when she is represented as a naked black woman, four-armed, wearing a garland of heads of giants slain by her, and a string of skulls round her neck, dancing on the breast of her husband (Mahākāla) with gaping mouth and protruding tongue, and when she has to be propitiated by the slaughter of goats, sheep, and buffaloes On other occasions,

*Monier-Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hinduism*, p. 181.

also, Vāmachāris commonly offer animal sacrifices, usually one or more kids, the head of the victim, which has to be severed by a single stroke, being always placed in front of the image of the goddess as a blood offering (*bali*), with an earthen lamp fed with ghee burning above it, whilst the flesh is cooked and served to the guests attending the ceremony, except that of buffaloes, which is given to the low-caste musicians who perform during the service Even some adherents of this class have, however, discontinued animal sacrifices, and use certain kinds of fruit, such as coco-nuts or pumpkins, instead The use of wine, which at one time was very common on these occasions, seems also to have become much more restricted, and only members of the extreme section would still seem to adhere to the practice of the so-called five *m's* prescribed by some of the Tantras, viz, māmsa (flesh), matsya (fish), madya (wine), maithuna (sexual union), and mudrā (mystical finger-signs)—probably the most degrading cult ever practised under the pretext of religious worship *

(4) *Tutelary and Village Deities.* Apart from the worship of the four principal deities and their goddess-wives, S'iva and Durgā, Vishnu and Lakshmī, Krishna and Rādhā, Rāma and Sītā, with their different form and names, and Sarasvatī, goddess of learning and wife of Brahmā, there are numerous minor deities to whom worship is paid They probably represent aboriginal cults grafted into the Hindu system by the Brāhmans. These tutelary divinities, the worship of which is so characteristic a feature of Hindu village life, are worshipped as having power to grant deliverance from actual or potential calamities inflicted by demons, and foremost among them are the two sons of S'iva, *i.e.*, Ganes'a or Gaṇapatī, and Skanda or Kārttikeya. Ganes'a (known also in Southern India as Pulyār, "the son") is king or lord of the demon hosts, good and evil.

His form resembles that of a bloated, well-fed Brāhman, seated at his ease with legs folded under him on a lotus-throne, the very *beau ideal* of satiated appetite and indolent self-complacency, but with the head of an elephant to denote shrewdness or wisdom, and with four arms, holding an elephant-hook, a noose, a mace, and a cake, one in each of his hands †

He exercises his control by means of wily stratagem, and he is invoked at the beginning of all

* *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol XIII, pp 511-12
† Monier-Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hinduism*, pp 214-15

enterprises, commercial or literary, for protection against demoniacal jealousy and obstruction. Skanda or Kārttikeya (known in South India as Subrahmaṇya), god of war, and commander-in-chief of the good demon armies, which he leads against the evil demons, is widely worshipped, especially in Southern India, "by those who seek through his intervention to be delivered from evil spirits, or else by women who hope by propitiating him to obtain handsome sons." He is rendered all the more powerful in conflict with the powers of evil by his possession of six heads and twelve arms. Another deity widely reverenced is Hanumān, the monkey-god, faithful ally of Rāma, and now guardian of the village and its crops. He is probably "a loan from the local theriolatry." In some parts of the country a god called Hari-Hara (Vishṇu-S'iva), and known in Southern India as Ayenār, is worshipped with propitiatory rites for the protection of the fields, crops, and herds from devils and fiends who are ever eager to inflict disease and blight. His shrine is surrounded with figures of horses on which he is supposed (with his two wives) to ride at night through the fields for the purpose of driving away demons and evil spirits. Highly popular throughout India as tutelary deities are the divine mothers (mātris). Every village has its own special guardian mother called Mātā or Ambā, who is propitiated by prayer, flattery, offerings, and animal sacrifices on visitations of disease, famine, and earthquake. The divine mother who is the small-pox goddess, and presides over cholera and other diseases, is known in the North as S'ītalā Devī and in the South as Mārī-Amman ("mother of death"). The priests of tutelary deities are not Brāhmans, but men of all castes.

(5) *Demon and Spirit Worship.* The lower castes and forest-tribes in India confine their worship in the main to devils and demons. The higher gods

are largely, if not altogether, ignored on account of their acknowledged beneficence or indifference to human interests; while every effort is made to propitiate demons, goblins, and malignant spirits, who are ever on the watch in their secret lurking-places, such as trees, rocks, and caves, to pounce upon human beings, men, women, and children, and to inflict calamities and misfortunes of all kinds. Sir M. Monier-Williams estimates that ninety per cent. of the people of India are addicted to demonolatry. It is clear that many demons are personifications of the hostile forces of nature or "vague impersonations of the terror of night, hill, cave, or forest." Another important class of evil spirits is that of the ghosts of human beings, known as *bhūtas* (also referred to as pretas or pis'āchas). "These beings, always evil, originate from the souls of those who have died untimely or violent deaths, or been deformed, idiotic, or insane; afflicted with fits or unusual ailments; or drunken, dissolute, or wicked during life." The spirit of a murdered Brāhman is specially powerful and malicious, and can only be appeased by being made a family deity; while authentic instances are on record of the dread spirits of certain Europeans who have died untimely deaths being propitiated with gifts of spirituous liquors and cigars. Belief in demon possession is very prevalent, and the exorcism of evil spirits by a professional exorcist—a form of Shamanism—is systematically resorted to. The possessed patient is often mercilessly abused and scourged until the demon departs, and efforts are made to appease the demon by blood sacrifices and wild dances. The magician often succeeds in inducing the demon to enter some receptacle. He is, after being corked up, at the disposal of his master, either for protection, or for being let loose to work mischief on others. It is probable that many of the village deities, who are

now worshipped as guardians from demons, and manifestations of one of the great gods, were originally worshipped as demons. The demon cultus assumed a veneer of Brāhmanical beliefs, and often it is impossible to distinguish the rival elements. It should be noted that in Southern India demon worship prevails in a much more intensive form than in the North.

(6) *Hero and Saint Worship.* As Sir M. Monier-Williams has pointed out,

> Any man of the lowest rank, whose influence during life was perhaps quite insignificant, may be elevated to the highest pinnacle of honour when severed from terrestrial ties, if his relatives can show that his career was marked by any extraordinary act of self-sacrifice or heroism, or so-called miracle Nevertheless, it is important to note that the idea of divinity seems to be specially associated with five classes of living persons—kings, warriors, Brāhmans, saints, and sages—and that these enjoy a kind of *à priori* claim to subsequent apotheosis

According to Manu, kings have been created out of the eternal particles of the eight guardian deities, for the protection of the whole creation. "Even an infant king must not be despised, from an idea that he is a mere mortal; for he is a great deity in human form." Recent events have shown that modern education has not altogether obliterated the view that the king is a veritable deity on the earth. Warriors, too, from the times of Rāmachandra and Krishna to John Nicholson, have been solemnly worshipped as truly divine before and after death. According to Manu,

> A Brāhman, be he ignorant or learned, is a great divinity . . Thus, though Brāhmans employ themselves in all sorts of mean occupations, they must be honoured in every way, for each of them is a very great deity (ix 317, 319)

According to a more modern Scripture, the Tantra-sāra,

> The teacher (guru) is God, and the teacher is a refuge (gati) If Siva be angry, the teacher becomes a protector, but there is no other refuge if the teacher be offended Anyone who worships

* *Brāhmanism and Hinduism*, pp 258-9

another god or goddess when his preceptor is at hand incurs terrible perdition. The preceptor alone is the divine power, whether he be learned or unlearned His ways may be good or bad, but he is the only safe guide (*Brāhmanism and Hinduism*, p. 260-1)

To quote again from the same source :

Perhaps the most readily conceded of all claims to apotheosis is that of the saint or holy sage who has become a Sannyāsi—that is to say, has renounced all family ties, and lives a life of asceticism, self-denial, and austerity. When such a man dies in India, his body is not burned, but buried, because in fact he is not supposed to die at all He is believed to lie in a kind of trance called Samādhi, sanctity exhales from his body, and his tomb—popularly called a Samādh—often becomes a noted place of pilgrimage, resorted to by myriads from all parts of India

(7) *The Worship of Ancestors.* There is no form of religious devotion more widespread than homage to dead relations. It is an element in the creed of practically every religion except Protestant Christianity, while even some Protestant Christians, recognising an interconnexion between this world and the world of spirits, maintain that the souls of the faithful, though free from all suffering, are capable, while awaiting their final consummation and bliss, of progress in holiness and happiness, and that prayers for such progress may lawfully be made in their behalf. In India the cult of the dead has prevailed universally from the earliest times, and is a prominent feature in the Hinduism of to-day. There is no feature of Hinduism more marked than the elaborate nature of its funeral rites, and the extraordinary importance attached to the subsequent ceremonies called *s'rāddha.* The funeral rites, known as *antyeshṭi*, "the last sacrifice," are celebrated for ten days after death, and consist of the offering of a ball of cooked rice (*pinda*) to the spirit of the deceased. When a man dies, his terrestrial gross body (*sthūla s'arīra*) is destroyed by fire, and for the time being (so the Hindus maintain) he has nothing but his insensible, subtle body to depend upon. Unless he be provided with a new gross

body, he must wander about as a restless spirit or *preta*, and ultimately become a demon or foul ghost. The rice balls, or *piṇḍas*, serve the purpose of providing the departed spirit with an intermediate gross body by means of which he is enabled to enjoy the temporary heaven through which he must pass before returning to earth, and becoming re-invested with a terrestrial gross body. He is now enrolled in the company of glorified ancestors or *pitris*, the sainted dead. The funeral rites proper are supposed to defile and pollute those who take part in them on account of contact with a dead body and connection with a disembodied spirit. After all taint of pollution has been removed from the house and the vessels it contains, the *s'rāddha*, "an act of faith," begins on the eleventh day. The embodied spirit still requires the *piṇḍas* for his refreshment and support in his passage to higher and better worlds. All the *sapiṇḍas* (sharers in the *piṇḍa*, *i.e.*, a man's relatives, male and female, paternal and maternal, for three generations upward and three generations downward), or as many as are living, gather together in the house of the person performing the ceremony, and a *piṇḍa* is offered to every deceased person in the circle of the *sapiṇḍas*. An elaborate feast follows, to which the Brāhmans are invited, and at which costly gifts are distributed. The expenditure incurred is sometimes so great as to impoverish the family for the remainder of their lives. Monthly, annual, and special feasts are further held in connection with the *s'rāddha* ceremonies.

It is highly probable that the *s'rāddha* was evolved from the custom of feeding and clothing the dead, characteristic of all primitive peoples, and meant to serve the purpose of "inducing the perturbed spirit to rest in the grave, and not come plaguing the living for food and raiment."

(8) *The Worship of Animals, Plants, Stones, and Inanimate Objects.* With a Hindu all organic life is sacred, and in view of his belief in metempsychosis no strict line of demarcation is possible between gods, men, animals, and even things. Brahmā is carried on a goose (*hamsa*), Vishṇu on an eagle (*Garuḍa*), and S'iva on a bull. Vishnu's first three incarnations were animal, for the Supreme Being, like the soul of man, may pass into any kind of animal form. The cow is of all animals the most sacred, and even all its excreta are hallowed. Serpents are held in sacred reverence as divine animals. Monkeys are inviolable, and swarm in the vicinity of temples and consecrated buildings, subsisting on the food offered to them by pious worshippers. Plant life is permeated by divinity, and the tulsī plant, the holy basil, is sacred as the spouse of Vishṇu, and addressed as a goddess. The pīpal tree is occupied by the god Brahmā, and is sometimes invested with the sacred thread as if it were a real person. Various other plants, trees, and shrubs are duly worshipped. A black pebble, the s'ālagrāma, an ammonite, is worshipped as Vishnu. Members of each caste venerate on special occasions the implements with which they ply their trade or earn their livelihood. Indeed, as Sir M. Monier-Williams has written,

> There is not an object in heaven or earth which a Hindu is not prepared to worship—sun, moon, and stars, rocks, stocks, and stones, trees, shrubs, and grass, sea, pools, and rivers, his own implements of trade, the animals he finds most useful, the noxious reptiles he fears, men remarkable for any extraordinary qualities—for great valour, sanctity, virtue, or even vice, good and evil demons, ghosts, and goblins, the spirits of departed ancestors, an infinite number of semi-human and semi-divine existences, inhabitants of the seven upper and the seven lower worlds—each and all come in for a share of divine honour or a tribute of more or less adoration.*

(9) *Observance of Caste-Customs, Religious Festivals, and Pilgrimages.* A Hindu enjoys the fullest liberty

* *Brāhmanism and Hinduism,* p. 350

in his religious beliefs. He may believe in one God, or in an infinite number, or he may openly express belief in no god at all. As a Hindu, however, he cannot avoid certain social and religious observances customary in his caste or tribe, and it is formal adherence to these observances which constitutes his claim to be a member of the Hindu organism. He must take his wife from within the caste or social group to which he belongs, or from some specified subdivision of it. He must observe the customary caste-ceremonies on occasions of marriage, birth, or death. He must abstain from food regarded by his caste-fellows as impure, and must not eat and drink with a member of another caste. He can expiate a minor breach of caste rules by a ceremony of purification and a feast to the fraternity, for serious offences he must suffer the penalty of excommunication. He is then cut off from all intercourse with his fellows, and so rigid is the exclusion in villages that his life becomes intolerable. He is driven to unconditional submission, or flees to the town, where the trammels of caste are weaker, or joins some other religious community, Muhammadan or Christian. Educated Hindus are obliged to adhere to all the caste restrictions in their own homes, but they show an increasing tendency to exercise their freedom when away from home restraints. The old law which forbad sea voyages and residence out of India is now ignored by some of the higher castes. Again, there is in Hinduism a great variety of religious fasts and festivals, and these are generally observed by all classes. The following are some of the more important:

(1.) *Makara-saṁkrānti* is a new year's festival, held at the commencement of the sun's northern course in the heavens (about January 12th). It is a period of general rejoicing and giving of presents to one's friends, the fathers, and the gods. In South India

the feast is called *Pongal*, and partakes of the character of a harvest-home, and a glorification of agriculture and cattle.

(ii.) *S'rī-pañchamī* is held in honour of Sarasvatī, goddess of arts and learning (about February 2nd). Implements of writing and books are worshipped.

(iii.) *S'iva-rātri* (held about February 27th) is characterised by a strict fast during the day, a vigil at night, and the worship of the phallic emblem of S'iva.

(iv.) *Holi*—now identified with the *Dola-yātrā*, or "swing-procession," when the image of Kṛishna is swung back and fore in a swing—is celebrated at the March full moon. There is much dancing in the streets, and squirts are used to sprinkle the passers-by with red or yellow powder. It is a kind of Hindu saturnalia or carnival, and is characterised by much riot and licence. *Holi* appears to have been originally a hobgoblin, a foul she-devil.

(v.) *Rāma-navamī*, the birthday of Rāmachandra, is observed on the 9th of the light half of the month Chaitra (March-April). Some maintain a strict fast; and in various ways special honour is shown to the hero of the Rāmāyana.

(vi.) *Krishna-janmāshtamī*, the birthday of Krishna, is an important Hindu holiday, held in different months in North and South India, S'rāvana (July-August) in the latter case, and Bhādra (August-September) in the former. Processions of singers march through the streets extolling Kṛishṇa and Rādhā.

(vii.) *Ganes'a-chaturthī*, the birthday of Gaṇes'a, is held in Bhādra (August-September). Clay figures of the deity are worshipped and thrown into the water.

(viii.) *Durgā-pūjā* is a ten days' festival held in Ās'vina (September-October). It is the great festival of the year in Bengal, and its celebration partakes much of the character of the British Christmas. It

is a season of family reunion and universal rejoicing. It is held in commemoration of the victory of Durgā, wife of S'iva, over a buffalo-headed demon (Mahishāsura). Her image is worshipped for nine days, and then cast into the water.

These are some of the most notable festivals which form so important a part of the religious life of the modern Hindu. There are many others, some of local celebrity only, but a full enumeration is impossible and unnecessary. As the years pass by, they are becoming increasingly social in their character—at any rate, so far as the educated section of the community is concerned. A related form of worship is that of visiting shrines and going on pilgrimages. India possesses a large number of sacred places, to visit which ensures salvation or great accumulation of merit. Benares is the Hindu Jerusalem.

Here temples, idols, and symbols, sacred wells, springs, and pools are multiplied beyond all calculation Here every particle of ground is believed to be hallowed, and the very air holy The number of temples is at least two thousand, not counting innumerable smaller shrines In the principal temple of S'iva, called Vis'ves'vara, are collected in one spot several thousand idols and symbols, the whole number scattered throughout the city being, it is thought, at least half a million

There is scarcely a blessing for this life or the next that is not promised to the pilgrims at Benares. Hardly less sacred are Puri, the town in which the temple of Jagannātha stands; Hardwār, where the Ganges, descending from the Himalayas, first enters the plains; Gangotrī and Gangā-sāgara, the source and mouth respectively of the Ganges; Gayā, Allahabad, Conjeveram, and countless other places scattered through the length and breadth of India. The Brāhmans in charge of these places of pilgrimage reap a golden harvest, and they send their agents in all directions to extol the merits of their particular shrines and secure pilgrims. Hindus themselves freely admit that most of these sacred places are hot-

beds of iniquity and immorality, and what Dr. Hopkins writes of the most holy temple of South India, the great temple of S'rīrangam at Trichinopoly, can in sober truth be applied to practically all, whether sacred to S'iva or Vishṇu :

> The idol car, gilded and gaudy, is carved with obscenity, the walls and ceilings are frescoed with bestiality It represents Vishnu's heaven.

Yet even in such a revolting environment there is much real devotion manifest on the part of many a simple-minded pilgrim.

X. The Rival Speculations of the Philosophical Schools.

A review of the evolution of Hinduism would be incomplete without a glance at its philosophy, for in India philosophy is inseparably connected with religion. The popular religion is a mixture of magic and metaphysics, and many cultured Hindus are interested in the philosophical rather than in the religious side of Hinduism. It is not unusual, however, to find in India a man who is devoted to the cultivation of a highly abstract philosophy on the one hand, and idolatry of a particularly gross character on the other. The philosophy of modern Hinduism is essentially Vedāntic, though other systems have their followers and exercise their degree of influence. We shall pass briefly in review the more important systems :

(*a*) The *S'āmkhya* system, as we have already noted, has its roots far back before the time of Buddha, in the teaching of Kapila, though the oldest text-books of the system are as late as the fifth century A.D. As already pointed out, the system is a strict realistic "dualism," with two eternal uncreated substances, primordial matter on the one hand, primeval spirit on the other, spirit being conceived of as existing in infinite plurality. In order to explain the evolution and diversity of nature as developed in the manifold

forms of the existing world, the Sāṃkhya teaches that the *avyakta*, undeveloped nature, undifferentiated matter, though uniform and indivisible, has three constituent elements called *gunas*, often translated *moods*. These moods are but phases or modes into which nature or matter by its own essence is determined for the fulfilment of its own immanent activities, and undifferentiated primordial matter is the state of equilibrium of the three moods. The theory is that primeval soul acts as a magnet on primordial matter, disturbs the state of equilibrium, and mechanically excites matter to activity and development, and so the evolving of the material universe begins. The character of these new products of matter depends on the special mood or *guna* that prevails in it. In the case of both subject and object, it is the relative proportion of the moods to one another that determines their individual character. The constituent called *sattva* is distinguished by luminousness and buoyancy in the object, and in the subject by goodness and joy. *Rajas*, in the world of objects, is distinguished by force and movement, and in the subject by passion, emotion, and pain. *Tamas* in the object is distinguished by heaviness, rigidity, and darkness, and in the subject by apathy, stupidity, and gloom. Thus *sattva* is supposed to predominate in the world of the gods, who, like all other existences, are evolutions resulting from the activity of primordial matter influenced by the magnetic power of primeval spirit. *Rajas* predominates in the world of men, and *tamas* in that of plants, animals, and minerals. It is to be noted that the order of evolution is from the higher to the lower, from the subtle to the gross. Beginning with undifferentiated matter, there is first an evolution of the productive elements, the power of discrimination, the principle of egoism, and the five subtle essences of sound, touch, colour, savour, odour. Then

come the sixteen modifications grosser in character, including the five perceptive organs, the five active organs, the sensitive mind, and the five gross elements of ether, air, fire, water, earth; the ultimate evolution being the complete sentient being, man, with all the subtle and the gross that his nature contains. The principles enumerated number in all twenty-five, and Sāṃkhya (meaning number) probably derives its name from an enumeration of these. Every sentient being, according to the Sāṃkhya, possesses within the gross material body which dissolves at death, an inner or subtle body which accompanies the impassive soul in the cycle of existence, from one gross body to another, the degree of grossness of each new body being dependent on the mood or *guna* that has predominated in the former existence. At the end of each world-period (or *kalpa*), the merit and demerit not fully recompensed in the previous age, awake to life, and call into being a new creation, and so the rise and dissolution of the Universe is repeated in a perpetual unending cycle. It must be borne in mind that all the products of primordial matter, including the mental organ, are in themselves blind and unconscious, and entirely physical, and the seeming consciousness of the mental organ is but a reflection from the soul's own essential light. The impassive soul is like a looking-glass in which the mental organ (*antahkarana*) is reflected, and its mechanical processes illuminated and made conscious. Discernment of the essential duality of being dissolves the bond between soul and matter. When the soul ceases to be identified with matter, and to reflect the processes of knowledge, the subtle body is dissolved, and the soul continues its individual existence in a state of eternal unconsciousness. In the words of Oldenberg:

The soul therefore abides eternally released from the delusion and suffering of this world, as a seer who no longer sees anything, a glass in which nothing is any longer reflected, as pure, untroubled light by which nothing is illuminated *

(*b*) The *Yoga* system of philosophy is associated with the name of Patañjali (second century B.C.), the author of the Yogasūtras, in which views which had been current as early as pre-Buddhistic times were reduced to order and placed on a philosophical basis.

The cosmology, physiology, and psychology of the Sāmkhya have been adopted in the main by the Yoga system, and so the system is often spoken of as the Sāmkhya Yoga. As a concession to the religious needs of men, the Yoga philosophy, in opposition to the Sāmkhya, expressly recognised the existence of a personal God, Īs'vara He is not the creator and ruler of the Universe, but is a particular soul among other individual souls co-eternal with him. In order that he might be endowed with

* The following is a classified list of the twenty-five tattvas or principles of the Sāmkhya system in the order of their evolution

I The eight prakritis (primary and productive elements)

(1) *Prakriti* as *Avyakta* (undifferentiated matter)

(2) *Buddhi*, intelligence, or understanding, a subtle cosmic substance that discriminates the data of cognition It is also called *mahat*, "the great one"

(3) *Ahamkāra*, the principles of egoism or individualisation, a subtle cosmic substance or organ, conveying the false notion that 'I,' the aggregate of certain physical organs, am the subject of cognition

(4-8) The five *tanmātras*, or subtle essences of sound, touch, colour, savour, odour (*s'abda, spars'a, rūpa, rasa, gandha*)

II The sixteen *vikāras* or modifications

(9-13) The five *buddhendriyas* or perceptive organs (ear, skin, eye, palate nose, with their sense faculties) These are products of *ahamkāra*

(14-18) The five *karmendriyas* or active organs (tongue, hands, feet, and the evacuating and generative organs) These also are products of *ahamkāra*

(19) *Manas* or mind, a product of *ahamkāra*, a subtle substance forming in the individual an organ which is the seat of sensibility and which frames ideas from the impressions stamped upon the outer senses by external

consciousness, he is regarded as possessing a body composed of *sattva*, the noblest and most refined constituent of matter. Being free from transmigratory existence, and endowed with supreme power, wisdom, and goodness, he in his mercy aids the man who is entirely devoted to him to remove the hindrances that bar his progress towards emancipation.

Yoga signifies originally "yoking," then "diversion of the senses from the external world, and concentration of the thought within." The great aim of the Yoga philosophy is to show how, by ascetic practices and concentration, the sense organs may be withdrawn from the objects of sense, and their activities turned inwards upon the *buddhi*, or "discriminating intelligence," whose emanations they are; the *buddhi*, being thus uninfluenced by the external world, becomes purified and enlightened. Thought and object completely coincide. There is

objects, while the *ahamkāra* appropriates these ideas to itself individually, and the *buddhi* stamps them as complete conceptions or resolves. These three internal organs, often classed under the name *antahkarana* as one, and corresponding somewhat to the nervous system, are regarded in the Sāmkhya as purely material, and have the functions and properties of what we ordinarily think of as soul or spirit.

(20-24) The five gross elements or *mahābhūtas*, ether, air, fire, water, earth (*ākāśa, vāyu, tejas, ap, prithivī*). The gross elements are specially related to the senses. Earth excites the perception of smell in the nose, water excites taste, fire, sight, air, touch, ether, hearing. But ether is heard only, air is not only felt but to some extent heard, fire is not only seen, but also felt and heard, and so to classify

ākāśa = *śabda*
vāyu = *śabda* + *sparśa*
tejas = *śabda* + *sparśa* + *rūpa*
ap = *śabda* + *sparśa* + *rūpa* + *rasa*
prithivī = *śabda* + *sparśa* + *rūpa* + *rasa* + *gandha*

III (25) *Purusha* (spirit self-existing in infinite plurality and identified with all the processes and experiences of *prakriti*, a bond which can be severed only by discernment of the essential duality of being).

a realisation of the eternal distinction of soul and *buddhi*; and the soul, freed from the shadows cast upon it, attains *kaivalya*, or isolation, an eternal severance from *buddhi* and all other material associations, which is the final goal of human endeavour.

The following are the exercises inculcated by the Yoga as means ancillary to emancipation :

(i.) *Yama*, discipline (consisting in abstinence from doing injury, truthfulness, honesty, chastity, poverty).

(ii.) *Niyama*, self-restraint (purity, contentment, asceticism, sacred study, devotion).

(iii.) *Āsana*, posture (sitting in the right place and in the correct bodily attitude for devotion).

(iv.) *Prānāyāma*, regulating the breath, consisting of prolonged practice in expiration (*rechaka*), inspiration (*pūraka*), and retention of the breath (*kumbhaka*).

(v.) *Pratyāhāra*, "retraction" or "suppression" (*i.e.*, drawing the sense organs back from their respective outward objects to their original source, *buddhi*, to which they become assimilated).

(vi.) *Dhāranā*, "concentration" (*i.e.*, fixing the *buddhi* upon some particular point to train it to perfect steadfastness).

(vii.) *Dhyāna*, meditation, the even tenour of conceptions in a state of concentration, the flowing forth of *buddhi* upon the secondless reality.

(viii.) *Samādhi*, absorption (complete union with the object of meditation) or a state of unconsciousness, with the seed of works destroyed.

The first five exercises, being preliminary, are sometimes designated *kriyā yoga*, *i.e.*, practical yoga, as distinguished from the last three, *rājā yoga*, *i.e.*, superior or royal yoga.

Yoga is supposed to lead to the possession of supernatural powers (*vibhūti*), such as the ability to become infinitely small or invisible, to swell to an immense size, to transport oneself anywhere by the

simple act of will, to have cognisance of occurrences enacted far away, to read the thoughts of others. The influence of mind on body and body on mind, and the powers of the subconscious self, are as yet very imperfectly explored, and professional students of hypnotic and psychic phenomena would be able to account for many of the marvels assigned to the Yoga system.

Among primitive peoples a belief prevails that fasting, self-mortification, and other penances produce supernatural powers. The early Indians inherited this idea, and so *tapas* (heat, self-mortification, ecstasy) is thought of as a magic power by which the world was created. Ascetics, human and divine, are all powerful magicians, and Yoga is of omnipotent efficacy.

(*c*) *The Vedānta.* We have now to review the philosophy of the Upanishads as developed and systematised in the Vedānta (the end of the Veda) or Uttara-Mīmāṃsā (second or latter investigation), as it is sometimes called, to distinguish it from the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā founded by Jaimini. Jaimini's system is an investigation into the former part of the Veda, *i.e.*, the Brāhmana or ritual portion. It regarded the Veda as god, and argued its infallibility and eternity on the ground that articulate sounds are eternal, and the relation of word and meaning is dependent, not on general agreement, but on the inherent nature of the eternal word itself. In the main, the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā is no philosophical system, but only a methodical treatment of the various questions arising out of the complicated Vedic ritual. But more important for the philosophy of religion is the Uttara-Mīmāṃsā or Vedānta of Bādarāyaṇa. The authorities recognised by the system are, in addition to the Upanishads and Bhagavad Gītā, the Brahma Sūtras, a series of aphorisms composed by Bādarāyaṇa, about the

beginning of the Christian era. The fullest exposition of the system is found in the elaborate commentaries on the Vedānta (or Brahma) Sūtras, the Upanishads, and Bhagavad Gītā, composed by the famous Vedāntic philosopher S'amkara (born 788 A.D.), whose interpretation of the system is accepted as authoritative by the overwhelming majority of modern Hindus

The fundamental conceptions of the Vedānta are in all essentials found in the early Upanishads. Assuming that the principle of life in man is the same as that which animates nature, it teaches the identity of the individual self with the Absolute Self, Brahman. *Tat tvam asi*, "Thou art that." The real ego is no mere part or emanation of the All-Soul, but is actually the All-Soul, entire and indivisible *Aham Brahmāsmi*, "I am Brahman." Plurality, as it is set forth in the Sāmkhya, must not be thought of. There exists truly nothing but absolute thought, the self, Brahma *Ekam evādvitīyam*, "Verily one without a second." It is a doctrine of non-duality (*advaita-vāda*)

The most characteristic feature of the Vedānta is its doctrine of *māyā* or illusion, as applied to the whole world of phenomenon, animate and inanimate. The Upanishads strongly asserted the sole reality of Brahman, and denied all plurality, and so they might be regarded as maintaining the unreality of the phenomenal world; but the dominating idea of the Upanishads rather was that Brahman is the innermost substratum both of nature and man, and the phenomenal world is an obscured form of Brahman, though essentially identical in substance The relation of foam to water, curd to milk, a jar to clay, are familiar illustrations of the relation of the world and Brahma. Similar is the teaching of the well-known text:

As the spider casts out and draws in its web, as on the earth the annual herbs are produced, as from living man the hairs of the head and body spring forth, so is produced the Universe from the indestructible Brahman (Mundaka I 1, 7)

While the early Upanishads taught that things are not what they seem, but an illusory appearance, though still a reality, they did not go so far as to assert, like the later Vedānta, that the whole phenomenal world was essentially an illusive unreality, positively non-existent. To indicate the illusive unreality of the phenomenal world, the Vedānta uses the term *māyā*, a word meaning originally "creative faculty," then "occult power," "magic," "illusion." It has been thought that the doctrine of *māyā* may have originated in Buddhism, and the name given by early tradition to Buddha's mother was Māyā The S'vetās'vatara is the oldest Upanishad in which the doctrine of *māyā* is clearly taught There it is identified with *prakriti*, and the world is regarded not as proceeding from Brahman alone, but from Brahman in his connection with māyā. The conditioned Universe is an illusive phantom of Brahman. With this teaching regarding the world, has often been compared Plato's view that our world is a world of shadows, not of realities, and Kant's contention that the world is appearance only, not the thing in itself, and that space, time, and causality are not objective realities, but only subjective forms of the intellect.

Māyā is said to have two powers: (1) envelopment (*āvarana*), (2) projection (*vikshepa*). Envelopment is the power that makes the Absolute Self conceive itself as a particular ego, an active or passive factor in conditioned being.

The power of projection is such that just as ignorance, regarding a rope, by its own power raises up the form of a snake, etc, on the rope which is covered by it, so ignorance, too, by its projective power, raises up on self which is covered by it, ether and the whole Universe (Vedānta Sāra, p 56)

So the power of *vikshepa* makes the Absolute imagine phenomena as external to itself which are really non-existent. We can thus understand how the Vedānta postulates three kinds of existence: "absolute" (*pāramārthika*), "conventional" (*vyāvahārika*), and "imaginary" (*prātibhāsika*). The first stage, absolute existence, includes the Supreme Brahman only, unrelated to the external world, without association with *māyā*, devoid of qualities or attributes (*nirguṇa*). He is *Sachchidānanda*, *i.e.*, *Sat* + *chit* + *ānanda* (a Vedāntic Trinity), *Sat* signifying "being," pure and absolute existence without attribute and without relation; *chit* signifying "intelligence," or pure thought, without being a thinking being, or knowing subject, limited by objects and cognitions; *ānānda*, signifying "bliss," the absolutely unruffled repose of dreamless sleep. Brahman is thus bare entity, pure, abstract thought, sole and absolute, freed from *upādhis*, all things that condition or determine. To know this is to be possessed of the higher esoteric knowledge (*parā vidyā*). The second stage of existence is the "conventional," and includes *īs'vara*, or the lower Brahman possessed of qualities (*saguṇa*), and associated with māyā. It includes also individual souls, heaven, hell, and all phenomena. All these are illusive manifestations of māyā, no more truly existent than things seen in a dream, and yet, while they last, real enough from the standpoint of practical experience, though not from the standpoint of metaphysical knowledge. This is the lower exoteric knowledge (*aparā vidyā*), which thinks of Brahman as a personal God creating and ruling the Universe, and rewarding His worshippers by union with Himself. Such union, however, is only temporary, for Īs'vara himself is only phenomenal, subject to creation and dissolution as much as ourselves, a product of

ignorance, and with qualities attributed to him merely for the sake of those who cannot rise to the higher metaphysical point of view. The lower knowledge is useful as a preparatory stage, but useless to him who has attained to the true knowledge, and is no longer in the bondage of the phenomenal. The third stage of existence, the "imaginary," includes such things as a mirage, nacre mistaken for silver, or a snake mistaken for a rope, phenomena arising from abnormal physical conditions. Even here, too, there is something conventionally real, for though the snake itself is conventionally unreal, it has something conventionally real behind it, the rope, but from the standpoint of true knowledge, the first stage, the *pāramārthika*, is the only real existence

The physiology and psychology of the Vedānta is much like the Sāmkhya. The Universe, as a result of the union of Īs'vara and Māyā, has arisen in the following order : (1) Māyā or cosmic ignorance as an *upādhi*, condition or determinant to Is'vara (2) The five subtle elements. (3) The subtle bodies consisting of seventeen members, viz., the five organs of sense or knowledge ; *buddhi* ; *manas* ; the five organs of action ; and the five vital airs (*prāna, apāna, vyāna, udāna,* and *samāna*). (4) The gross elements formed by "quintuplication" from the subtle elements, *i.e.*, by combining one-half of the corresponding subtle element with a proportion of one-half of the other four subtle elements. (5) The seven upper worlds, the seven nether worlds, and the four kinds of bodies, viviparous (men and animals), oviparous (birds and snakes), moisture engendered (vermin), and germinating (grass and trees), with food and drink suitable for them.

On the basis of this evolution of the Universe

we have the Upanishadic, Yogic, and Vedāntic conception of the three or four states of the soul:

(1) The waking state is that in which the soul is supposed to be perceiving and acting by means of the *manas* and the organs of sense and action, and regards as real the external objects of sense. The self, in this case, is conditioned by a gross body compounded of the gross elements. The Vedānta regards the self as enclosed in a succession of sheaths (*kos'a*), which fold one over the other like the coats of an onion. The grossest covering is the sheath of nutrition (*annamaya kos'a*), and to get at the real self each sheath must be removed one after the other. The state of waking, far from symbolising a phase of the self least subject to delusion, represents the phase in which the self is most involved in *māyā*, for in it the forms of both subtle and gross phenomena are projected upon the consciousness of the self as if they were realities, just as a man in his waking state thinks of the self as beholding outer things by direct perception, and by the indirect method in memory, and so is more deluded than if he were dreaming

Each phase of the self may be looked at both as aggregate, and as individual, collective, and distributive, just as when, regarding a collection of trees as a whole, we speak of them as one thing, namely, a forest, but when we regard a forest as a distributive collection of trees, there is a perception of its manifoldness, and we think of it as multiplex. The aggregate is thus the cosmic sum of the individual manifestations, and in the various phases of the self, special names are assigned, according as reference is made to the cosmic sum or to the individual manifestation. The conditioned self in its lowest phase is when viewed in the aggregate, and as a cosmic sum, called

vaiśvānara or *virāṭ*; but when viewed distributively and as an individual manifestation it is called *viśva*.

(2) The state of dreaming sleep is that in which the conditioned self, by means of the manas moving through the veins of the body, regards as real impressions of the *ātman*, remnants of former impressions received when in a waking state. As in a dream the bodiless forms and impressions of the outer world appear to the eye of the mind as realities, so in the state of the soul known as the dreaming state, the conditioned self assumes as its illusory adjunct (*upādhi*) the subtle forms or elemental bodies corresponding to the grosser and lower products of physical life—the subtle bodies (*sūkshma śarira*). The gross bodies perish at death, being compounded of the gross elements, the media for the manifestation of sense perceptions. The subtle bodies of the Vedānta are regarded as being composed of the five organs of knowledge or sense, *buddhi* and *manas*, the five organs of action, and the five vital airs. Though material, they are transparent or invisible, and surviving the dissolution of the outer body into its material elements, they accompany the soul in its passage from body to body. The most material of the three subtle bodies or sheaths is the *prāṇamaya kośa* (sheath of airs), composed of the five vital airs and the organs of action. Possessed of less materiality is the *manomaya kośa* (sheath of mind), composed of *manas*, together with the organs of action. Less material still is the *vijñānamaya kośa* (sheath of discernment), composed of *buddhi*, together with the organs of sense. The conditioned self having as its illusory adjunct (*upādhi*) these three sheaths, which constitute the subtle body, is, when viewed in the aggregate and as a cosmic sum, called *sūtrātman* (thread-soul), *hiraṇyagarbha*, and *prāṇa*, but when viewed dis-

tributively and as an individual manifestation it is called *taijasa*.

(3) The state of dreamless sleep is that in which the supreme self or thought (*chaitanya*), freed from the three sheaths composed of the seventeen organs, is, with illusion as *upādhi*, practically inactive and without consciousness. The subtle and gross material bodies exist only potentially in this plane of existence. Everything reposes in it, and it is also the scene of the dissolution of all subtle and gross bodies. With some this is regarded as the final and highest plane of existence. The Vedantic *māyā*, the material Universe, is in itself unreal phenomenal matter, and like the Sāmkhyan *prakṛti* it is composed of the three *guṇas*. On account of the reflection of the Supreme *Ātman*, or *Chaitanya*, being mechanically cast upon it, *māyā* acquires a relative reality, and is dominated by the highest of the three *guṇas*, the *sattva*. This phase of the conditioned self is therefore regarded as the supreme vesture of the Soul, the *anāndamaya kos'a* (the sheath of bliss). The cosmic illusion, being inspired or illumined by the Supreme Self, or *Chaitanya*, becomes the cause of all things, the causal body of Īs'vara. Thus the conditioned Self, or *Chaitanya*, with Illusion as a causal body, is when viewed in the aggregate and as a cosmic sum called Īs'*vara*, but as an individual manifestation it is known as *Prājña*.

(4) The "fourth" state, or *turīya* (*i.e.*, *chaturtha*), is that attained when the other three states have ceased, and the spiritual subsists alone by itself. With some, dreamless sleep is regarded as the highest stage, but others maintain that even in deep dreamless sleep the spirit has still potentially light and movement, but in the fourth state there is a suppression of all the movements and the light of the spirit, and there remains nothing but Absolute

Thought, Brahman unassociated with illusion, free from all *upādhis*.

As a means of attaining the highest stage of existence, the Vedānta lays considerable stress on the necessary preliminary steps. In order to be a qualified person (*adhikārin*), for initiation into the esoteric doctrines, a long preparatory course is necessary. The aspirant must abstain from things optional and forbidden (*kāmya* and *nishiddha*), perform various rites (*nitya* and *naimittika*, constant and occasional), with penances for the purification of the intellect, and certain devotional exercises for the concentration of the mind. Rewards and punishments form a part of this preparatory discipline for the final state of emancipation. Those who perform good works go the way of the fathers (*pitriyāna*), which leads through a succession of dark spheres to the placid realm of the moon. There they enjoy, in commerce with the fathers and the gods, the fruit of good works, but after the exhaustion of acquired merit, they return again to an earthly existence. The way of the gods (*devayāna*) is destined for the worshippers of *saguṇam* Brahma, and leads through a series of bright spheres to the sun, and finally to Brahman. Though there is no return to earth, full emancipation is only obtained after they have received the perfect knowledge of the *nirguṇam* Brahma. Worship is a stepping-stone leading to true spiritual knowledge. The third place (*tṛitiyam sthānam*) is for the punishment of wicked deeds, and leads to a new life as lower animals—worms, insects, snakes, etc., after a previous punishment in the different hells.

The aspirant to emancipation must submit himself to a spiritual teacher, who instructs by the method of illusory attribution (*adhyāropa*). As an accommodation to the intelligence of the uninitiated, certain attributes which do not really belong to him

are posited for Brahman, superimposed on Him, and then at a subsequent stage of instruction, when the right time has arrived for propounding the esoteric view, all possible attributes are sublated or withdrawn, and the residuum is the undifferentiated Absolute, the pure abstraction, Brahman, and the Universe is explained to be not so much a real evolution (*parināmā* or *vikāra*) of Brahman, as curd from milk, but rather from the strictly metaphysical point of view, merely *vivartta*, or illusory effect, as a rope mistaken for a snake. The Vedānta, too, offers as means ancillary to its main object the exercises prescribed by the Yoga philosophy, *i.e.*, *yama*, *niyama*, *āsana*, *prānāyama*, *pratyāhāra*, *dhāranā*, *dhyāna*, *samādhi*, which we have already referred to. The deity Īs'vara, that in common with the Yoga it posits for the ordinary layman, passes from the scene when the soul attains Reality. The *jivātman* (individual soul) loses itself in the *paramātman* (the Supreme Soul).

> As rivers run and in the deep
> Lose name and form and disappear,
> So goes from name and form released,
> The wise man to the Deity.

(*d*) *Vais'eshika and Nyāya.*—For our immediate purpose only a bare mention of the Vais'eshika and Nyāya systems is necessary. Both teach the origin of the Universe from atoms. The main importance of the former system, founded by Kanāda, lies in its doctrine of the six categories, *i.e.* substance, quality, movement, generality, particularity, and inherence. In these are comprehended all existing things, and upon them Kanāda builds up a complete system of philosophy. The Nyāya system, founded by Gotama, adopts the metaphysics and psychology of the Vais'eshika, but it is noteworthy for its detailed and acute exposition of formal logic. Four sources of true knowledge are recognised—perception, infer-

ence, analogy, credible testimony. The Sūtras of both systems regard atoms and souls as eternal, but souls are capable of experience and knowledge only by means of the material organ of thought. Both systems, like the Sāmkhya, were originally atheistic, but later on they were blended together and became theistic, though they did not recognise in their personal God the creator of matter. In the combined system God is a distinct soul, eternal like other souls, but free from the attributes that result in transmigration, and endowed with omnipotence and omniscience qualifying Him to be the Ruler of the Universe.

(*e*) *Chārvākas.*—Radically different from the six orthodox systems of Hindu philosophy is the system of the Chārvākas, or Lokāyatas, who teach a thoroughgoing materialism. There were representatives of this system in India from the earliest times. The four elements of matter are the sole reality, and a spirit comes into existence when a body is formed by the combination of the elements. On the dissolution of the body the spirit also comes to an end. There is only one source of knowledge, *i.e.*, perception or sense-impressions. All super-sensuous things are denied, and the king of the country is the Supreme Being. The supreme good is the gratification of the senses. The Vedas are the idle prating of knaves, and the Vedic ritual only serves the purpose of providing the cunning priests with a livelihood.

III. Religious Teachers and Reformers, mainly Theistic, in Mediæval and Modern India.

While in the main Indian religious thought has developed on animistic, pantheistic, or polytheistic

lines, tendencies of a monotheistic character have not been wanting from Rigvedic times onwards. The so-called Henotheism of the Rigveda, the worship of each divinity in turn as if it were the greatest and even the only god recognised, may be regarded either as an incipient monotheism or as an incipient polytheism. As a matter of fact, it developed into polytheism, so far as the official Brāhmanical religion was concerned. The Upanishads regard God as the one real Being in the Universe, and as constituting the Universe. This one real Being is regarded as Spirit, but whether He is personal or impersonal the Upanishadic thinkers do not clearly indicate, though the tendency undoubtedly is to conceive of Him in the impersonal sense. Buddhism was an outbreak of pessimistic atheism—an expression of disgust with the whole paraphernalia of religion, and Brāhmanical gods great and small It is clear, however, that it aroused earnest Brāhmanical thinkers to a serious study of the foundations of their faith, and it is also clear that the few centuries before and after the Christian era were characterised by much philosophical inquiry into the great problems of God, the world, and salvation ; and the important theistic elements traceable in the theology of such an influential Brāhmanical work as the Bhagavad Gītā are an indication of the extent of the prevalence of monotheistic principles in those early times. Subsequent developments, of which we have more definite historical records, show that there has never been a lack in India of a succession of philosophers, theologians, and reformers of strong personality and really independent judgment, and it is noteworthy that the majority of such have shown marked theistic tendencies. A review of the life, work, and teaching of some of the more important of these teachers will help us to realise that there is in Hinduism—in

itself apparently so impersonal—a personal element of a highly interesting character.

I. Religious Teachers in the Dravidian South.

(*a*) *The Kurral of Tiruvalluvar.* The Dravidian South has a civilisation and a religion of its own largely independent of that of the rest of India. While the Aryan and Brāhmanical conquest has to a large extent obliterated the traces of the old Dravidian culture and religion, much of the ancient Dravidian spirit is retained in the popular poetry. There is considerable difference of opinion among scholars regarding the dating of the early Tamil poetical literature. Tamils themselves assign to it an impossible antiquity far back in the days of Agastya Some competent scholars place the Augustan age of Tamil literature in the first three centuries of the Christian era. The Kurral of Tiruvalluvar, a pariah by caste, is the acknowledged masterpiece of Tamil composition. The author was "but one of many great Tamil poets who lived about the same time. He probably flourished about the third century of our era." So writes Mr. Gover. Dr. Pope, on the other hand, thinks that he lived between A.D. 800 and 1000. Mr. Vincent Smith favours the earlier date. The poems consists of 2,660 short couplets dealing with the subjects of virtue, wealth, and pleasure.

Few persons out of the Madras Presidency can have any idea of the reverence and love that surrounds the Cural. Its sentences are counted as binding as the Ten Commandments on the Jews. Its very language has become the test of literary excellence. It is no exaggeration to say that it is as important in Tamil literature, as influential on the Tamil mind, as Dante's great work on the language and thought of Italy (Gover, p 202)

The following is Mr. Gover's translation of the Kurral "Ode in Praise of God":*

1 As A is the first of all letters on earth,
So is God everlasting of all that hath birth.

* *Folk Songs of Southern India*, p 217.

2 The blest feet of the Fount of pure knowledge adore,
Else nought will avail thee, vain pedant, thy lore
3 Fast flit those bright feet o'er the flow'r of the mind,
They who clasp them shall flourish, when worlds have declin'd.
4 At the feet of the Passionless, blessed to rest,
No harm can approach, and no evil molest
5 Whoso bringeth to God real homage of heart,
Hath with deeds, the twin offspring of darkness, no part
6 Long shall prosper the man that pursues the pure way
Of Him whom the lusts of the senses obey
7 If when sorrows oppress thee, relief thou would'st seek,
Fly, fly to the feet of the mighty Unique
8 The billows of sin shall not close o'er thy soul,
If thou make but the Ocean of virtue thy goal
9 At the feet of the Attributes eight lay thy head,
Else shall it be but as a sense that is dead
10 The tide of existence no swimmer can ford,
Save he that doth cling to the feet of the Lord

Clearly this ode may be regarded as an exposition of *bhakti*, "devotional faith." All sects—Vaishṇavas, S'aivas, and Jains—claim the author as their own. His religious philosophy, however, appears to be eclectic—like that of the Bhagavad Gītā. His great strength is in his moral precepts, which bear a striking resemblance to much in the Sermon on the Mount, in the way they emphasise humility, charity, and forgiveness of injuries. Dr. Pope draws attention to the fact that the author of the Kurral lived at St. Thomé, or Mayilāpūr (now a suburb of Madras), where a Christian community has existed from the early centuries of our era, possibly even from apostolic times.

Remembering that its author was not fettered by caste prejudices, that his greatest friend was a sea-captain, that he lived at St Thomé, that he was evidently an "eclectic," that Christian influences were at the time at work in the neighbourhood, and that many passages are strikingly Christian in their spirit, I cannot feel any hesitation in saying that the Christian Scriptures were among the sources from which the poet derived his inspiration *

(*b*) *The Nāladiyār.* Another important work belonging to the same period is the Nāladiyār,

* Pope, *The "Sacred" Kurral*, p. iv.

Each verse is a detached moral saying unconnected with the others, and, as in all Hindu ethical writings of this type, karma is a prominent idea. The collection is still taught in every Tamil vernacular school. There is no mention of God in the Nāladiyār, yet, to quote again Dr. Pope,

pervading these verses there seems to me to be a strong sense of moral obligation, an earnest aspiration after righteousness, a fervent and unselfish charity, and generally a loftiness of aim that are very impressive I have felt sometimes as if there must be a blessing in store for a people that delight so utterly in compositions thus remarkably expressive of a hunger and thirst after righteousness They are the foremost among the peoples of India, and the Kurral and Nāladi have helped to make them so

(*c*) *Mānikka-vās'agar.* The South Indian poetry we have hitherto considered was in the main ethical rather than religious. The need of a personal God, immortality, and prayer, found expression in the compositions of Mānikka-vas'agar, who lived at a time when the influence of Buddhism in South India was decaying, and may therefore, according to Dr. Pope, have lived somewhere about the seventh or eighth century of our era, or, according to others, in the eleventh century. The religion of the South has a theology of its own, known as the S'aiva-siddhāntam, or S'aivite doctrine. As Dr. Pope, the interpreter of Tamil religious thought to the West, points out, the poems of Māṇikka-vās'agar, more especially the Tiru-vās'agam, or "blest utterance," are sung throughout the whole Tamil country with tears of rapture, and committed to memory in every temple by the people, among whom it is a traditional saying that "he whose heart is not melted by the Tiru-vās'agam must have a stone for a heart." It is clear that these mystic raptures over the soul's faith in the Deity have a deep importance to all who would seek to read the spirit of the best of Indian religious thought. His teachings have thus been summed up by Dr. Pope :

He taught the people that there was one supreme God—no mere metaphysical abstraction, but the Lord of gods and men He also taught that it was the gracious will of Śiva to assume humanity, to come to earth as a *Guru*, and to make disciples of those who sought him with adequate preparation He announced that this way of salvation was open to all classes of the community He also taught very emphatically the immortality of the released soul -its conscious immortality—as he said that the virtual death of the soul which Buddhism teaches is not its release It will be seen how very near in some not unimportant respects the Śaiva system approximates to Christianity, and yet some of the corruptions to which it has led, by what almost seems a necessity, are amongst the most deplorable superstitions anywhere to be found Here the truth of the old maxim is abundantly verified—"*Corruptio optimi pessima*"*

A short quotation from Tiru-vās'agam will indicate something of its general character:

King, Father, to me who am least in the band of thy lovers,
O Radiance of Truth,
Who hast melted with bliss all my body and soul, and banished
the gloom of unsooth
Thought thinking what passeth the speech and the thought,
bright billowless Nectar-sea,
O Thou whose home is the Southland shrine, now teach me
fit greeting to Thee

Thou fulness consummate, pure Nectar of bliss, Mount rising
in limitless fire,
Who camest to stay in my heart alway, as the Vedas and
Vedas' desire,
Didst stream in my soul, as a swelling flood, bound bursting
with hurtling wave,
Thine abode hast Thou made in my body to-day: what more of
Thy grace can I crave?

Thou gavest Thyself, and me didst take wert Thou the more
cunning, or I?
I got of Thee bliss everlasting, O Thou whose home is in
Perun-durai,
From me, what hast Thou won, my Sovran? for Thou hast made
of my spirit Thy fane,
And hast set Thine abode in my body to-day—all mine the
unrecompensed gain†

There is a deep ring of true religious feeling in the songs of Mānikka-vās'agar, and the reality of his conversion and the validity of his religious experience would have been readily recognised at

* *The Tiru-vās'agam*, Oxford, 1900, pp xxxiii, xxxiv
† Barnett, *The Heart of India*, pp. 83-5

a Methodist class-meeting. Dr. Pope, speaking of the personal history of this S'iva devotee, says :

> There stands out a real historical character which seems to be a mixture of that of St Paul and of St Francis of Assisi. Under other circumstances, what an apostle of the East might he have become! This is his conversion as South India believes it, and in almost every poem he alludes to it, pouring forth his gratitude in ecstasies of thanksgiving, and again and again repeating the words, "I am Thine, save me" His poetry lives in all Tamil hearts, and in the main and true essence of it, deserves so to live.

It is worthy of note that the influence of the Bhagavad Gītā is traceable throughout Māṇikka-vās'agar's poems and that S'iva takes the place of Krishna.

(*d*) Before leaving the Dravidian South we may note that in the S'aivism of South India there arose in the seventeenth century a Tamil sect (known as S'ittars or Siddhas) who, while retaining S'iva as the name of the one God, rejected everything in S'iva worship inconsistent with pure theism. They were quietists in religion, and their mystical poems, especially the S'iva-vākyam, are held in high regard, and are an effective protest against the gross idolatry into which the people had fallen :

When once I knew the Lord,
What were to me the host
Of pagan deities
Some fixed in temple shrines,
Or carried in the crowd,
Some made of unbaked clay
And some burnt hard with fire?
With all the lying tales
That fill the sacred books,
They've vanished from my mind.

How many flowers I gave,
At famous temple shrines!
How often told my bede,
And washed the idol's head!
And still with weary feet,
Encircled S'iva's shrines!
But now at last I know
Where dwells the King of gods,
And never will adore
A temple made by hands.

But yet I have a shrine,
The mind within my breast,
An image, too, is there—
The soul that came from God
I offer ash and flowers—
The praises of my heart;
And all the God-made world
Is frankincense and myrrh,
And thus where'er I go
I ever worship God

And again we may quote two more stanzas as translated by Dr. Barnett, and it is hardly surprising that some scholars have detected in this production traces of Christian influence:

When Thou didst make me, Thou didst know my all
But I knew not of Thee 'Twas not till light
From Thee brought understanding of Thy ways
That I could know But now where'er I sit,
Or walk, or stand, Thou art for ever near
Can I forget Thee? Thou art mine, and I
Am only Thine E'en with these eyes, I see
And with my heart perceive, that Thou art come
To me as lightning from the lowering sky

If thy poor heart but choose the better part,
And in this path doth worship only God,
His heart will stoop to thine, will take it up,
And make it His One heart shall serve for both.

II. Brahmanical Religious Teachers of Southern India.

While the Dravidian South developed in its own way its own special culture, it is clear that the Brāhmanical teachers exercised great influence, and there are records of the activities of several such teachers of the front rank in mediæval times.

(*a*) Kumārila Bhatta was a famous Mīmāṃsā scholar who lived probably in the first half of the eighth century A.D. He fiercely attacked Buddhism, and renewed the strength of Brāhmanism on the ritualistic side. No one did more than Kumārila to extirpate Buddhism in India, by argument if not by force. He is said to have put on the disguise of a Buddhist in order to learn

Buddhistic theology from a great teacher of Buddhism. On one occasion the Buddhist teacher happened to be more severe than usual in ridiculing the divinity and sanctity of the Vedas, so much so that Kumārila was noticed to shed tears in consequence of it. His brother students, who were all Buddhists, observed it, and inferred that he must be a heretic. One night, while he and his fellow-students were chatting on a high terrace near the teacher's house, he was thrown as though by accident by his companions over the steep terrace. In falling, Kumārila cried with a loud voice, "If it be true that the Vedas form the true revelation, may they save me from harm!" He escaped with his life, having lost but one of his eyes, which was, we are told, due to the doubt implied in the expression, "If it be true." From this moment Kumārila became the most uncompromising opponent of the Buddhist faith, and made it his mission to carry on a ruthless war of controversy against its followers. Laying great stress on the verbal inspiration of the Vedas, he contended that the due performance of the ritual and sacrifice of the Vedas could alone save men. He evidently fell back on the rigid Brāhmanism we see reflected in the Institutes of Manu. From one king he is said to have received the following edict:

> Let all those of my subjects be slain who fail to slay the Buddhists, old and young, from the Himalaya mountains to the Bridge of Rāma

There is, however, no adequate evidence that there was ever any general persecution or massacre of the Buddhists in India. Yet it is altogether probable that Kumārila succeeded in converting many large provinces from Buddhism to Vedic Hinduism by the fervour of his missionary zeal. Satisfied that his work was done, he is said to

have resolved on the course of committing himself to the flames to end his life. There is a tradition that the famous Vedāntic philosopher, S'ankara, hearing of this, hastened to the spot and found Kumārila with piles of straw and dried bricks thrown about his person, all of which were already aflame. Kumārila informed him of the grounds of his action. On reviewing his life he had found two unpardonable sins which he had been driven to commit to further his mission. The one was the destruction of his spiritual leader, Buddhist though he was, in the flame of persecution kindled by Kumārila himself. The other sin was that he had practically denied God by teaching the inspired Vedas and the sacred Vedic rites as the sole means of salvation, thus putting the Vedas in the place of God. He resorted to self-immolation as the sole means of self-purification. S'ankara desired to remonstrate, but in the meantime the flames had done their work and Kumārila had passed away. While the actual meeting of Kumārila and S'ankara cannot be accepted as historical, there is reason to believe the groundwork of the story is true, as regards Kumārila's manner of death and as reflecting in an interesting way the religious atmosphere of the age.

(*b*) The greatest of all Indian thinkers is S'ankara. He holds the same position in Indian religious thought as Augustine in the theology of the Western Churches, or Calvin in conservative Protestantism. All schools acknowledge him to be the highest type of Hindu orthodoxy, and probably five-sixths of the pundits of India recognise him as their supreme human authority in all matters of interpretation in philosophy and religion. Some knowledge of his life and thought will help us to appreciate the extent of the divergence from orthodox standards of subsequent and more liberal theologians. Born in

South India in the State of Malabar, in the year 788 A.D.—exactly one thousand years before his spiritual kinsman Schopenhauer, as Deussen points out—S'ankara crowded into his short life literary and missionary labours of extraordinary extent, dying at the early age of 32 at Kedarnāth in the Himalayas. At a very early age he appears to have resolved to renounce the world and all its pleasures, and become an ascetic or *sannyāsin*. He had, however, great difficulty in securing the assent of a fond mother anxious to retain her son for herself. One day mother and son went to bathe in the river when it was in flood, and as he was having his plunge he felt that a crocodile was pulling him by the foot. Crying out to his mother, he implored her to give him permission to be a *sannyāsin*, so that he might have the satisfaction of dying in peace. The biographer adds that the crocodile had promised S'ankara to let him live if he renounced worldliness. Naturally the mother, in this crisis, with her son pleading as it were with his dying breath, could not hesitate, and at once told him that he was a *sannyāsin*. Whether his escape was the result of a religious compact with the crocodile, or is to be assigned to something less miraculous, I will not venture to decide, but knowing something of the ways of Indian crocodiles, I am rather inclined to favour the more naturalistic interpretation of the incident. Going to a hermitage on the bank of the Narbada, presided over by a great *sannyāsin* of the name of Govinda, S'ankara underwent the ordinary course of discipline and instruction. In due time he proceeded to Benares, the great centre of Hindu learning, and gained great distinction in dialectics and philosophy. As a teacher in that famous school of philosophy, he attracted pupils from various quarters, and devoted himself with great industry and research to

the composition of philosophical works, the most famous being the commentaries on the chief Upanishads, on the Bhagavad Gītā, and finally on the Vedānta Sūtras, the sum and substance of his teaching being that Brahma is the only absolute reality, the real self and Brahma being one, and all else illusion. It is related that he was going one day along the streets of Benares with his pupils to have his midday bathe in the Ganges. A low-caste man, with his dogs, was passing by, when the pupils cried out in alarm lest ceremonial impurity should be incurred, asking S'ankara to drive on one side the low-caste intruder and his dogs. The man, however, turned to S'ankara, and asked him how he could consistently teach that the Self of every man was Brahma, and yet despise him so because of the accident of birth and social standing. The question of this man, it is said, led S'ankara to compose a special philosophic poem, each verse of which ended with the refrain,

He who has learned to look on phenomena in this (monistic) light is my true teacher, be he a low-caste or twice-born man. This is my conviction.

S'ankara finished the most important of his literary works at the early age of 25, became a peripatetic teacher, and left Benares on a triumphal missionary tour. The greatest achievement of S'ankara, from a missionary point of view, was, according to native writers, the controversy he had with the famous Mīmāṃsā pundit Mandana Mis'ra. In the account given of the controversy there is a great deal that is fictitious and imaginary, the pious additions of a later age, but the story no doubt represents a genuine tradition. Mandana, like Kumārila, was a strong believer in Vedic rites and ceremonies, and he regarded the *sannyāsin*, a man who has to give up daily and other prescribed rites, as unclean and unfit for association. S'ankara desired Mandana

to let him have the honour of a controversy, and on his agreeing they sought for an umpire. Mandana's wife, Bhāratī, was a woman whose accomplishments were vast and many-sided, and by mutual agreement she was appointed umpire. S'ankara, if defeated, agreed to marry and become a householder, and Mandana, in a similar manner, agreed to become a *sannyāsin*, and receive the red robe from the hands of his own wife. At the outset, Bhāratī had thrown a garland over the shoulders of each of the disputants, and announced that he whose garland should begin to fade first should consider himself defeated. After several days' fierce controversy Mandana's garland began to fade, and he was obliged to acknowledge defeat, but Bhāratī now interfered and begged the favour of a controversy with herself, for S'ankara had yet defeated but one-half of Mandana, herself being the other half. So, as before, the disputation went on for seventeen days. Passing from one scripture to another, she tried to discomfit S'ankara, but finding she could not inflict a defeat on him in any other science, she resolved to humble him by a controversy on the science of love—in India a branch of religious knowledge. S'ankara, being a *sannyāsin*, had no experience in this branch of science, and asked for an interval of one month for preparation. He went to the banks of the Narbada, and in the hole of a tree in some forest there he left his body in hiding, and asked some of his disciples to watch over it while the living soul was away from it. Thus, by means of his magic powers, he separated his soul from his body, and entered into the body of a king Amaraka, as he was about to be committed to the flames. The king arose, and all the ministers and queens received him with rejoicing. Meanwhile he made rapid progress in the new science, and the month agreed upon soon passed away. S'ankara

was forgetting his past life, and his religious responsibilities, but a number of his disciples came to the city in search of their master, and when they sang a few philosophic songs the memory of S'ankara was aroused, and hastening away he entered his own body again. He succeeded in winning a brilliant victory over his fair and accomplished opponent, and both Mandana and his wife, and the king and the court, became devoted disciples of S'ankara and the religious philosophy he propounded. This was one of a series of successful controversies he conducted in various parts of India. His learning and sanctity were held in such high esteem and reverence that he was looked upon by many as an incarnation of S'iva, the god who appears to have been the special object of his worship. He established several monasteries for the teaching and preservation of his doctrine, and some of these still remain—S'ringiri in the south, Badrīnāth in the north, Dvārakā in the west, and Jagannāth in the east. The Smārta Brāhmans of the south, followers of S'iva, claim him as their founder, though in his commentary on the Gītā he acknowledged Vishṇu and his incarnations. It is evident that he did good service to both these aspects of Hinduism as against the Vedic ritualists, the Buddhists, and the Jains, but even religious worship was to S'ankara unreal, illusive. Ultimately only knowledge of the ultimate Brahman availed. The spiritual message of S'ankara is clearly brought out in a song current in South India, ascribed to S'ankara, and supposed to be addressed to a Brāhman absorbed in the rules of Sanscrit grammar and the struggle for fame and wealth.

Give up this greed for acquiring wealth, O fool, place in your mind the thirst for knowledge of the Existent, satisfied with what each day brings forth. As the water-drop lies trembling on the lotus leaf, so rests our fleeting life The world is full of sorrow, seized by pain and pride of self. Gain wealth, and then your

friends cling near, sink low, and then none seeks news When well in health, they ask your welfare in the house, when the breath of life goes forth, then the loving wife shrinks from that body Gain leads but to loss, in wealth there is no lasting happiness. In childhood we are attracted to play, in youth we turn to love; in old age cares fill the mind. Towards God alone no one is inclined As the soul moves from birth to birth, who remains the wife, the son, the daughter, who you or whence? Think truly, this life is but an unreal dream

With mind fixed on truth, one becomes free from attachment To one freed from attachment there is no delusion, undeluded the soul springs clear to light freed from all bondage. When youth goes, who is moved by love? When wealth goes, who then follows? When the great truth that the Soul and Brahman are one is known, what then is this passing show? Day and night, morning and evening, spring and winter, come and go, time plays and ages go, yet desire for life passeth not. Take no pride in youth, friends, or riches, they all pass away in the twinkling of an eye Give up all this, made of *māyā*, gain true knowledge, and enter on the path to Brahman *

The great object of S'ankara was to give a common philosophical basis to the most prevalent forms of the Vedic faith, and to reconcile all these to a cardinal co-ordinating idea. He felt that the rival religious sects were all narrow, and illogical in so far as they regarded themselves as independent avenues of salvation. They could only justify the continuation of their activity and existence by recognising the essentially temporary and illusory character of their efforts.

Nothing really exists, maintained S'ankara, but the Supreme Spirit, so that what is commonly called nature, animate and inanimate, is but an illusion and a dream, caused by this ignorance which surrounds the Supreme Spirit and hides it, "even as the smoke that rises from the fire hides the blaze for a time." Phenomena appear real for the same reason that things seen in a dream are real so long as the dream lasts, or for the reason that the mother-of-pearl is mistaken for silver, or a piece of rope for a snake, until the illusion gives way. The business of life, therefore, is to cast off the gross

* See Frazer's *Literary History of India*, p. 328.

sheaths that surround the spirit within us, and to realise its identity with the Supreme Spirit, which is free from all real attributes, and regarding which the only positive statement that can be made is that it is, and is the essence of intelligence and bliss. Brahma is not a thinking being, but is thought itself. The end of man is the realisation of the identity of his own spirit with the Supreme Spirit. We ourselves and the world in which we live are due to Brahma associating himself with a principle of illusion (*māyā*) and projecting the appearance of the world, in the same way as a magician is enabled, by his incomprehensible magical power, to produce illusory appearances of inanimate and animate beings. Brahma, when associated with illusion, is the lower Brahma, Īs'vara, the Lord A life of action, moral and ceremonial, is recognised only as a concession to the frailty of human nature. The most meritorious works, whether moral or ceremonial, only lead to new forms of embodied existence, but for the vulgar crowd they may serve as a temporary stepping to the higher knowledge.

He traversed India in every direction for the purpose of combating and rejecting an immense number of sectarian sects. Out of pity for the present degenerate age, when men are incapable of apprehending the pure unity of the Godhead, S'ankara, it is said, allowed some five to remain as recognised temporary expedients for getting nearer to the great Goal. Worshippers of S'iva (S'aivas), worshippers of Vishṇu (Vaishṇavas), worshippers of the female personification of divine power regarded as the wives of the deities (S'āktas), worshippers of Ganes'a or Ganapati, as god of luck and good fortune (Ganapatyas), worshippers of the sun (Sauras). His method was to leave these people undisturbed in the observance of their rites, and the worship of their sectarian deities, but to infuse into

their religious conceptions a new thought—the absolute supremacy and sole reality of Brahman. This had the effect of giving unity to their wide divergences and of begetting a spirit of mutual toleration, and it must be admitted that his philosophic method has been successful to an extraordinary degree in giving a kind of unity to Indian religious thought, and in softening sectarian bigotries. A modern writer, a Hindu, speaking of S'ankara's method, and contrasting it with that of Christian missionaries, says :

> No wonder that, with this kind of tact as well as argument, he was able to influence thoughtful people everywhere How different from the method which has been pursued by many another teacher in India, and from the one which is being pursued by our *padri* (missionary) friends, and people of their likeness ! These latter begin, wherever they go, by arrogating to themselves the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, leaving with a unique impartiality to their opponents the whole of the error, and nothing but error

S'ankara, however, purchased his success with a great price—the sacrifice of morality as the eternal basis of human conduct and the divine character ; a price the missionary can never for a moment dream of paying. Yet the missionary may learn much from the method of S'ankara without sacrificing either truth or morality. The great object of Christ was to fulfil rather than to destroy, and that should be the supreme aim of all His disciples to-day in relation to the non-Christian religions of the world. •

The great contribution of S'ankara to the religious philosophy of India was to turn the Vedānta into the strictest form of monism (*advaita*) Earlier expositions of the Vedānta may be regarded as tending in that direction, though some eminent scholars maintain that the original Vedānta Sūtras do not avow the standpoint taken up by S'ankara.

> To earlier philosophers the Universe is essentially a single *reality*, though veiled by the inessential plurality of phenomena,

but to S'ankara it is entirely *unreal* and illusive, born of demiurgic power, which is purely an "accident" in the nature of the Absolute Brahma.*

But the Vedānta, as a system, has become inseparably connected with the name of S'ankara, and though other voices are heard, yet, as commonly understood in India, the Vedānta system of philosophy and the monism of S'ankara are regarded as synonymous expressions.

(*c*) About three hundred years after S'ankara passed away there arose a most formidable critic of his system, Rāmānuja, and next to S'ankara he holds supreme rank among Hindu religious thinkers. A Tamil Brāhman, he was born in the Chingleput district of the Madras Presidency, probably in the year 1127 A D., though, according to the tradition of his followers, 1017 is the date of his birth, and 1127 the date of his death. He argued against the absolute monism of S'ankara, maintained the separate but finite reality of individual beings, and rejected the theory of illusion in regard to the Universe. He appears to have been a follower of the twelve *Āzhwars* or *Ālwārs*, wandering teachers and poets of various castes, who preached a popular Vishnuism based on the worship of Kṛishṇa, and whose Tamil hymns, known under the name of *Nālāyira Prabandham*, are still in use in the Vishṇuite temple-worship of the south. According to Hindu tradition, Rāmānuja lived a life of ceaseless activity. For the accomplishment of his missionary work he felt it necessary to renounce all matrimonial connections, and leaving his wife and family, he became a *sannyāsin*. He was early convinced of the wrong done to the lower classes by keeping secret from them the mystic teachings of the Vedas. He so far overstepped the bounds of orthodoxy that he ascended one of the high towers of Conjeevaram, and notwithstanding

* *Hinduism*, by Barnett, p. 30.

the injunctions of his Brāhmanic superiors, and their threats of eternal damnation, he communicated the mystic words of the Veda to the multitude of pilgrims below, of every caste and no caste. He declared that he was quite willing to suffer eternal hell-fire himself if, by his teaching, he could save thousands from it. This act of his made him very popular with the multitudes, and they flocked from all sides to hear him. With the view of carrying on effective missionary work, he proceeded to appoint his own missionaries, to organise monasteries in various parts, and to prepare suitable religious literature. Making S'rirangam his headquarters, he selected seventy-four disciples and missionaries, all men of deep religious knowledge and approved moral character. Evidently Rāmānuja witnessed around him spiritual and moral degeneration of a most serious character. The licentious rites of the Tantras were the daily ritual of the multitude. Black magicians were to be seen in great numbers The ignorant multitude had become tired of the philosophic teachings of S'ankara's monism, and wanted a real, personal god. He admitted s'ūdras and outcastes into his religious order, encouraged female education, and contended for their equality, religious and social, with men. The fate of the Hindu widow did not escape his notice, for he very strongly objected to her head being shaved and disfigured, and he allowed her two meals instead of one each day. This is all that he could do, says a modern native writer, without convulsing society. He further engaged himself in reforming temple-worship. As an example of his popular teaching is the religious riddle that a devotee should be like salt, like a fowl, and like a crane. Like salt, the devotee should be alike inside and out; he should think, speak, and act alike. Like a fowl, he should be able to pick out what is useful and good in

knowledge from rubbish, as that bird does in picking up seeds, separating with its talons the useful from the rubbish. Like the crane, he should watch for the truth as eagerly as that bird waits for its prey. He wrote numerous works which still exercise a great influence on a limited section of Indian thought, notably the commentaries on the Gītā and the Vedānta Sūtras. After a long life spent in the cause of religious and social reform, he died, according to tradition, at the advanced age of 120.

Professor Thibaut, in the *Sacred Books of the East*, has published translations of the commentaries of both S'ankara and Rāmānuja on the Vedanta Sūtras, and has indicated in detail the peculiar features of each system. Both systems teach a form of monism. Both of them are opposed to any dualistic or pluralistic conception of the Universe. There exist not several fundamentally distinct principles, such as primordial matter and an infinite plurality of primeval spirits as conceived by the Sāṃkhya. There is only one all-embracing Being. While, however, the monism taught by S'ankara is a rigorous, absolute one, Rāmānuja's doctrine has to be characterised as qualified monism—monism with a difference. According to S'ankara, whatever is, is Brahma, and Brahma itself is absolutely homogeneous, so that all difference and plurality must be illusory. According to Rāmānuja, also, whatever is, is Brahma, but Brahma is not of a homogeneous nature, but contains within itself elements of plurality, owing to which it truly manifests itself in a diversified world. According to Rāmānuja, the world, with its variety of material forms of existence, and individual souls, is not unreal illusion, but a real part of Brahma's nature, the body investing the Universal Self. The Brahma of S'ankara is in itself impersonal, a homogeneous mass of object-

less thought, transcending all attributes; a personal god it becomes only through its association with the unreal principle of illusion—so that, strictly speaking, S'ankara's personal god, his Is'vara, is himself something unreal. According to Rāmānuja, on the other hand, Brahma is essentially a personal God, the all-powerful and all-wise ruler of a real world, permeated and animated by His spirit. He thus leaves no room for the distinction between a higher Brahma without attributes, and a lower and unreal Brahma with attributes, Brahma and Īs'vara. S'ankara's individual soul is Brahma in so far as it is limited by the unreal limiting conditions due to illusion. The individual soul of Rāmānuja, on the other hand, is really individual. It has indeed sprung from Brahma, and is never outside Brahma, but nevertheless it enjoys a separate personal existence, and will remain a personality for ever. The release from the round of transmigratory existence means, according to S'ankara, the absolute merging of the individual soul in Brahma, due to the dismissal of the erroneous notion that the soul is distinct from Brahma; according to Rāmānuja, it only means the soul's passing from the troubles of earthly life into a kind of heaven or paradise, where it will remain for ever in undisturbed bliss. According to S'ankara, a divine incarnation is but a temporary and illusory embodiment of the Supreme Self in time, no more real than the material world of which it forms a part. Rāmānuja maintained that God had in reality appeared among men, and that Vishṇu, in his divine grace, actually became incarnate for the salvation of men. In S'ankara's system, morality was inculcated as a temporary means of getting nearer to the path of true knowledge, but viewed from the standpoint of ultimate emancipation, virtue and vice are both equally fatal to the attainment of man's highest destiny, and the

true self is totally indifferent to virtue and vice alike According to Rāmānuja, virtue is an end in itself, and right is eternally right, and wrong is eternally wrong, because God is eternally wise and good.

Rāmānuja has undoubtedly exercised a great influence in Indian religion in the direction of what may be called Hindu Protestantism. He it was "that blended into a full harmony the voices of reason and devotion, by worshipping a Supreme of infinitely blessed qualities both in his heaven and as revealed to the soul of man in incarnate experience" The possibility of his having been influenced by Christian thought, I will refer to at a later stage This much, I think, may be safely predicted that, when an Indian Christian theologian will seek to give adequate expression to the philosophy of the Christian religion from an Indian point of view, and in terms acceptable to the Indian mind, he will receive much inspiration and derive considerable help from the religious philosophy of the philosophic mystic Rāmānuja.

After Rāmānuja's death, his numerous followers corrupted his teaching in the usual manner, introducing doctrines and practices which the founder of the sect had not enjoined and would not have sanctioned. In due time two parties arose with important differences of doctrine The view held by the northern party (Vadagalais) corresponds in a manner to the Arminian doctrine of freewill The soul, say they, lays hold of the Supreme Being by its own will, act, and effort, just as the young monkey clings to its mother in seeking to escape from danger This is called the monkey-theory (*markata-nyāya*). The view of the southern party (Tengalais) is a counterpart of that of the Calvinists The human soul, they argue, remains passive and helpless until acted on by the Supreme

Spirit, just as the kitten remains passive and helpless until seized and transported from place to place by the mother God seizes the soul and saves it just as a cat carries away its little ones far from danger. This is called the cat-theory (*mārjāra-nyāya*). These parties wear different dress, and have different frontal marks, but their disputes are now confined to externals of the most trivial character

(*d*) The second great theistic school of Vaishnavas in Southern India was founded by Madhva or Ānandatirtha, the famous author of the dualistic system of Hindu philosophy and theology Madhva was born in South Kanara in the year 1119 A.D., and lived to the age of 80, so that he was probably a contemporary of Rāmānuja. In his childhood, according to native tradition, he gave many indications of supernatural gifts. On one occasion he was found to be missing from home, and after an anxious search made everywhere for three whole days, his parents found him in the temple of Anantes'vara teaching gods and men how to worship Vishnu according to the scriptures. Probably at the age of 25, after a full course of Vedic studies, he renounced the world, to the great grief, and even anger, of his aged parents, and became a monk The monism of S'ankara, the accepted belief of the time, failed to satisfy him, and he steadily moved towards opposition, till at length, the opposition taking active form, he went on a tour, travelling from court to court, engaging, like a knight-errant of learning, in dialectic tournaments. On several occasions he is said to have multiplied loaves to meet the need of his party in the midst of the wilderness. During his tour he came in sharp conflict with the head of the monastery established by S'ankara at S'ringiri, and a feeling of bitter

hostility arose between them Like S'ankara and also Rāmānuja, he wrote commentaries on the Bhagavad Gītā and the Vedānta Sūtras He then proceeded on a tour through Hindustan Wild beasts infested the roads, and gangs of dacoits wilder than beasts On one occasion he is said to have walked over an impassable river He met hostile Muhammadan chiefs, whom he pacified by conciliatory speeches in their own language, which he learned for the purpose. At the sacred city of Hardwār he passed a number of days in fasting, silence, and contemplation, and retired for a time to the Himalayas On his return, his enemies, the disciples of S'ankara, took away from him his library and all his manuscripts, which, however, were subsequently restored by the intervention of the king He made from time to time many notable conversions. He spent his last days on the banks of the Kanva, writing on doctrinal or practical subjects, and sending missionaries to silence opponents On one occasion he is said, while bathing in the sea during an eclipse of the sun, to have stilled the angry waves by a look. He seems to have ended his life in the regions of the Himalayas, in the abode of Vyāsa

As to his teaching, it may be noted that Madhva pushed still farther than did Rāmānuja the reaction against the idealistic monism of S'ankara. Rāmānuja maintained a qualified monism, but Madhva taught that God and the world are eternally distinct and outside of each other He protested with great vehemence against individual souls and the things of the material universe being in any way God, or a part of God His philosophy was essentially dualistic The pretended identity of God and the soul, contained in the famous words, "That art thou" (*tat tvam asi*), he calls mere babbling from ignorance He argues.

The word "that," when undetermined, designates the eternally unknown,
The word "thou" designates a knowable entity how can these be one?

The text indicates similarity, not identity, like the text, "The sun is the sacrificial post" The ultimate unity of the individual soul with God is not essential unity, for even when emancipated it is different, the difference being independence and completeness in the Supreme Spirit, and smallness and dependence in the individual spirit. The grace of God is won, according to Madhva, not by a philosophic knowledge of the essential identity of the individual and Supreme Spirit, but by a moral knowledge of the Divine excellence

Knowing Vishnu, full of all excellence, the soul, exempted from transmigration,
Rejoices in his presence for ever, enjoying painless bliss
Vishnu is the refuge of liberated souls, and their supreme ruler
Obedient to him are they for ever, he is the Lord

The relation of the individual soul to the Supreme is compared to a bird tied with a string, a river and the sea, man and his energy. So are soul and the Lord, while connected, diverse, for ever different. All other deities decay with the decay of their bodies, and are in unlimited obedience to the supreme God, Vishnu, the undecaying, the independent The elements of the material world, though existing from all eternity, were shaped, ordered, and arranged by the power of the Supreme While Vishnu is the Supreme Spirit, salvation is found through the adoration of his only son, Vāyu, the wind-god, who is supposed to have been incarnated in Hanumat, Bhīma, and Madhva himself He divides souls into three classes (1) Those destined to enjoy paradise for ever, when their works have ceased to operate upon them. (2) Those destined to everlasting re-birth (3) Those destined to everlasting

hell. Madhva fought against bloody sacrifices, and figures of dough are offered instead of sheep, and the temples of the sect, still fairly numerous in Southern India, are not usually defiled by the ministrations of the official prostitutes, so common elsewhere. In most respects, however, the sect has relapsed into the ordinary corruptions of orthodox Hinduism around them

While the dualism of Madhva is distinctly far beyond anything sanctioned in the highest Christian teaching, it is evident that there is a marked similarity between much that he teaches and Christianity, especially in its popular form. An educated Hindu layman belonging to the Madhva sect, in a small work on "S'ri Madhva and Madhvaism," refers to this question. He points out that there is ample evidence that Madhva had studied the merits and demerits of twenty-one rival philosophical systems flourishing at the time. He had no scruple, too, in learning a barbarian or *mlechchha* language, the Persian, in order to parley with hostile Muhammadans in North India. Under such circumstances, he thinks it would have been exceedingly strange if Madhva had not acquainted himself with the faith of the Christians of St. Thomas, who had a settlement very near Udipi, Madhva's home. He writes:

The doctrine of salvation solely through Vāyu, the son of Vishnu, is to be found in this form in Madhvaism alone of all the faiths of India It is tempting, though it is undesirable, to connect this at once with the doctrine of the only other great faith which proclaims it—Christianity But unless we are sure of the steps through which the one was metamorphosed into the other, asserting the Christian origin of this doctrine serves only to wound the feelings of the orthodox Add to points of doctrine certain remarkable incidents and even expressions—for instance, the flight to the temple of Udipi in the boyhood of the teacher, the fasting and prayer in the Himalayas before the proclamation of the faith, multiplying loaves, and even such phrases as giving out the good news and fishing for men These are

too numerous to put down as the results of mere coincidence.

I think the conclusion is inevitable that Madhva, and in all probability also Rāmānuja, had been influenced by the teaching of the Christians of St. Thomas in Southern India. But to this I shall have occasion to refer later

III. The Great Reformers of Northern and Western India.

We now pass from Southern to Northern and Western India In the South, as we have seen, Rāmānuja started a movement against the philosophy of S'ankara, a movement that in due course spread widely all over India, and during the Muhammadan period exercised a great influence in Northern and Western India To quote Mr. Farquhar

> The religious movements of the North during these centuries fall into three groups--Rāmaite, Krishnaite, and Deistic, yet all the sects have a great many points in common They believe in one personal god—who is full of love and pity for those who worship him, yet they recognise the other gods, and worship idols, they hold that the human soul is a portion of the Divine, and that it will eternally retain its individuality They offer salvation to men of all castes, demanding faith and *bhakti* toward the Lord, they use the vernaculars instead of Sanskrit, they exalt the *guru*, the religious teacher, to a place of great authority, they use a *mantra*, *i e*, a secret phrase or pass word, which is whispered by the *guru* to the novice on initiation, they partake of a sacramental meal, and each sect has its own order of ascetics as well as its congregation of the laity *

(*a*) The Rāmaite movement in the north owed its origin to a native of Southern India who, on account of a difference with his caste-fellows, migrated to Benares In the fourteenth century Rāmānanda, fifth in succession from Rāmānuja, arose and formed a special sect which taught in a more developed form the doctrines of

* *Primer of Hinduism*, pp 119-120

Rāmānuja. According to common tradition, the schism of Rāmānanda originated in resentment of an affront offered him by his fellow-disciples, and sanctioned by his teacher. It is said that he had spent some time in travelling through various parts of India, after which he returned to the monastery. His brethren objected to him that, in the course of his peregrinations, it was impossible he could have observed that privacy in his meals which is a vital observance of the Rāmānuja sect. Rāmānanda was compelled to feed in a place apart from the rest of the disciples, and being highly incensed at the order, he retired from the society altogether, and founded a new sect abrogating the distinctions of caste among the religious orders, and teaching devotion to Rāma, an incarnation of Vishṇu, as the supreme means of salvation He spoke to the people in their simple dialect, and among the twelve apostles that he chose to help him in his work were a leather-worker, a barber, a Muhammadan weaver, and a woman This was a decided encroachment on Brāhmanic faith and privileges From Rāmānanda there went forth a mighty current of religious feeling which still is not wholly extinguished He preached the Gospel of Rāma's boundless love for men of every race, order, or creed The sect is still numerous in Northern India, chiefly among the poorer classes, and the poems of Tulsī Dās, a product of the Rāmānanda revival, are the Bible of many millions in the Hindi country. Caste has re-asserted its power over them, but the ideal remains.

A more extended reference to Tulsī Dās is necessary Seventh in descent from Rāmānanda in succession of master and pupil, Tulsī Dās (1532-1623) is one of India's greatest teachers An eminent authority, Dr. Grierson, regards him as

the greatest poet and reformer India has produced. His great epic poem, "The Lake of Rāma's Deeds," *Rāma-charita-mānasa*, based on the Sanscrit epic, the Rāmāyaṇa, is the Bible of nearly a hundred millions of the people of Upper India Born under an unlucky star, he was abandoned by his superstitious parents A wandering friar found the baby, and adopted and educated him He grew up and married, but death robbed him of his only son, and he took the vows of a Vishnuite order The Deity whom he worshipped is the Infinite Being, incarnate as Rāma He uses the terms of Vedāntic philosophy, but largely in a theistic sense He tells us·

There is one God, passionless, formless, uncreated, the Universal Soul, the Supreme Spirit, the all pervading, whose shadow is the world, who has become incarnate, and done many things, only for the love that he bears to his faithful people, all-gracious and compassionate to the humble, who in his mercy ever refrains from anger against those whom he loves and knows to be his own, restorer of the past, protector of the poor, all good, all powerful

Dr Grierson, in writing of Tulsī Dās, says

All forms of religion, all beliefs, and all forms of non belief, in the ordinary polytheism of the many Hindu cults, were to him but so many accidents beside the great truths on which he was never weary of laying stress– namely, that there is one Supreme Being, that sin is hateful, not because it defiles the sinner, but because it is incompatible with that Supreme Being, that man is by nature infinitely sinful and unworthy of salvation, that nevertheless the Supreme Being, in his infinite mercy, became incarnate in the person of Rāma to relieve the world of sin, that this Rāma has returned to heaven, and is there as Rāma now, that mankind had, therefore, a God who is not only infinitely merciful, but who knows by actual experience how great are man's infirmities and temptations, and who, though himself incapable of sin, is ever ready to extend his help to the sinful being that calls upon him On all this follows, not independently but as a corollary, the duty which is owed to one's neighbour and the doctrines of the universal brotherhood of man Most of his teaching was learned by Tulsī Dās from his predecessors, but so far as the present writer's knowledge goes, two things were first enunciated by him—the idea of the nature of sin,

and that of the celestial humanity of Rāma, and these, as in the case of Kabīr, he almost certainly adopted from the Nestorians He was the first Hindu to teach that God was able to sympathise with our infirmities, a belief which is usually considered to be peculiar to Christianity . . Some of his thoughts bear a striking resemblance to those expressed in Christian liturgies For instance, the following, taken almost at random from his pages "Lord, look thou upon me, nought can I do of myself Whither can I go? To whom but thee can I tell my sorrows? Oft have I turned my face from thee, and grasped the things of this world, but thou art the fount of mercy, turn not thou thy face from me When I looked away from thee, I had no eye of faith to see thee as thou art, but thou art all-seeing First look upon thyself, and remember thy mercy and thy might, and then cast thine eyes upon me and claim me as thy slave, thy very own For the hand of the Lord is a sure refuge, and he who taketh it is saved Lord, thy ways ever give joy unto the heart Tulsī is thine alone, and, O God of mercy, do unto me as seemeth good unto thee" His doctrines have been preached with enthusiasm, and have been almost universally accepted in Hindustan . . Looking back upon the vista of centuries, we see his noble figure in its niche in the temple of fame shining in its own pure radiance as the guide and saviour of Hindustan When we compare the religious and moral atmosphere of his country with that of other regions of India, in which Rāma-worship has no hold, and not till then, can we justly estimate his importance *

There is no need for me to emphasise the great significance of this account of Tulsī Dās, from the Christian point of view It may, however, be noted that Tulsī Dās goes far beyond the original Sanskrit epic in its theology. In the original Rāmāyana, Rāma is but little more than a lovable, heroic man, favoured of gods and men. In Tulsī Dās, whose work is a poem, with only a very slight substratum of historical fact, Rāma is veritable God Almighty, and around the figure he has woven the mystical stories that twenty-five centuries of hero-worship have produced So far as a basis of historical faith is concerned, therefore, there is a very vital difference between the Incarnation doctrine of Tulsī Dās and the Incar-

* *The Indian Empire*, Vol. II, pp 418-21

nation doctrine set forth in the early Gospels and Pauline Epistles—documents almost contemporaneous with the events on which they are based. Mr. C. F. Andrews* has also drawn attention to the fact that

> In Tulsī Dās' poem, Rāma has always, even in his babyhood, the consciousness of his own omnipotence His human frailty is only a seeming, an illusion His omnipotence can be appealed to whenever he will Though, therefore, the human aspect of Rāma's incarnation is wonderfully told (for Tulsī Dās is the most tender and human of poets) there is at the same time an air of unreality clinging about it which gives a docetic colouring to the picture The Incarnation story is in some ways parallel in its conceptions to those given in the Apocryphal Gospels The following passage in which Rāma's mother addresses her divine child may be quoted in illustration "Thou," she cries, "who eternally reignest in heaven with Lakshmi, does not abhor to be my son, and to succour the much tempted human race, though we know that the whole Universe is present in each hair of thy body, yet here thou art sweetly dreaming in my arms" The Lord Rāma smiled at her adoration and was about to set in motion the magic that dazzled the crowd so that the mother might have pride in her son But just as he began to do so, she cried hurriedly "My soul is terrified at these marvels, disperse them from my sight, let me see thee as my baby child again, in play and sport, for that is my greatest joy" She spoke and he obeyed his mother, and at once, returning to his infant form, began as a child to cry

To Nābhā Dās, a contemporary of Tulsī Dās, we owe the *Bhakta Mālā*, a series of brief biographies of the chief *bhakti* saints

(*b*) *The Krishnaite Revival.* In the fifteenth and the two following centuries a number of gifted poets and teachers devoted themselves to the Krishṇa cult Among poets may be mentioned Vidyāpati, who wrote many beautiful lyrics in the dialect of Bihār, which were used by Chaitanya to stir the emotions of the people, Chandī Dās, who sang in Bengali the praises of Krishna; Mīrā Bāī, a Rājput princess, who wrote beautiful songs in the Braj Bhāshā, the dialect of the country round

**The Renaissance in India*, pp. 99, 100.

Mathurā, where Kṛishna sported with the milk-maids, Tukārām, the Marāthā poet and saint, whose hymns contributed so much to the awakening of the Marāthā nation under Śivāji, and are still greatly treasured The two great teachers and missionaries of the Krishnaite revival were Vallabha and Chaitanya Vallabha appears to have been born in the south in 1479 His missionary activities, however, were in the west and north-west, especially in the neighbourhood of Mathurā At present his disciples are most numerous in Bombay and Kutch He proclaimed the philosophical doctrine of non-duality, and as an ethical deduction taught that to renounce well-being was to insult the Deity The material world is divine, and the mortification of the senses and material desires is hateful to Deity All the good things of the world were given to men to be enjoyed, not to be renounced The object of adoration among the followers of Vallabha was the infant Krishna, who is regarded as one with the Universe, which derives its existence from him It is easy to understand how Vallabha's doctrines became perverted by his followers and degraded into pure sensualism Religious exercises came to have an erotic tendency, and the sect of to-day is a combination of sensual worship and theological speculation of the most revolting character The Vallabhachāris are the Epicureans of India, and their priests, the so-called *mahārājās*, require the women of the sect to deliver up their persons to themselves as Krishṇa's representatives The following words, applied by a modern historian of philosophy to Epicurus, may well have been written of Vallabha

His philosophy, though it appears in its noblest form with him, degenerated in the hands of his followers into a pure theory of enjoyment While he placed happiness in wise moderation, and gave the preference to spiritual joys,

recognising virtue and intelligence as the surest means of felicity, his disciples freely advocat d sensual pleasures, scorning all higher endeavour, and finding in indulgence of the senses the main object of life

While Vallabha's activity was mainly in the north-west, Bombay and Kutch, Chaitanya, his son-in-law, born in Bengal in 1485, confined his activities mainly to Bengal and Orissa, where his followers are very numerous at the present day His nature was emotional in the highest degree His devotion was offered to Krishna as the Supreme Spirit, as both the cause and substance of creation Passionate love to God was the great feature of his message, and the love he set forth was in sensuous terms, much after the manner of the Song of Solomon "To exercise or inspire this rapt or mystic devotion, recourse is had to singing, dancing, and other familiar means of arousing religious fervour" If the dancing devotee swoons it is a sign that God accepts the love Chaitanya taught the equality of all worshippers of whatever caste, and the religious virtue of marriage It appears that Chaitanya lost his life through drowning while in a state of half-conscious ecstasy At the present day Chaitanya is worshipped as an incarnation In the temple, and in religious worship, caste is often disregarded among the followers of Chaitanya, but in all the affairs of social life it is rigidly maintained In view of the fact that religious devotion was regarded by Chaitanya more in the light of natural affection (such as is felt by a young man for a girl) than disciplined will, it is not a matter of surprise that morality is not a strong feature in Chaitanya worship, especially among the lower classes, who are prominent amongst its supporters

(*c*) *The Deistic Movements of Kabīr and Nānak.* In both these movements the monotheistic influences of Islam are clearly marked Kabīr (1380-

1420) was one of the twelve apostles appointed by Rāmānanda, and he carried on and extended the work of his master His teaching, however, is mainly remarkable for the way in which it links Hinduism with Islam A weaver by caste, he taught, like his master, the spiritual equality of all men, but went further, for he condemned idolatry Idols and pilgrimages and Scriptures, and all the externals of worship, he proclaimed to be vain and worthless In place of these he inculcated faith in one deity, somewhat pantheistically conceived, addressed as Alī by the Muhammadans, and Rāma by the Hindus

To Alī and Rāma we owe our existence, and should therefore show tenderness to all that live Of what avail is it to shave your head, prostrate yourself on the ground, or immerse your body in the stream? whilst you shed blood you call yourself pure, and boast of virtues that you never display Of what benefit is cleaning your mouth, counting your beads, performing ablution, and bowing yourself in temples, when whilst you mutter your prayers or journey to Mecca and Medina, deceitfulness is in your heart? The Hindu fasts every eleventh day, the Mussulman during the Ramazan Who formed the remaining months and days that you should venerate but one? If the Creator dwells in tabernacles, whose residence is the Universe? Who has beheld God (Rāma) seated amongst images, or found Him at the shrine to which the pilgrim has directed his steps? Behold but one in all things, it is the second that leads you astray Every man and woman that has ever been born is of the same nature with yourself

On the death of Kabīr the Hindus and Muhammadans are represented by tradition as disputing over their respective rights to claim the body of the teacher The Muhammadans, according to their custom, desired to bury it, the Hindus to burn it Kabīr, it is said, appeared in the midst of the disputants, and directed both Hindus and Muhammadans to raise the cloth covering his supposed remains Beneath the cloth they found nothing but a heap of flowers In the holy city of Benares half of the flowers were burned by

the Hindus, and there the ashes were kept as sacred relics; half were claimed by the Muhammadans, who buried them beneath a tomb near Gorahkpur. A key-note in Kabīr's teaching was the duty of obeying one's spiritual teacher or *guru*. Every man was bound to search for a true and trustworthy spiritual pastor and having found one to make him his master—to submit mind, conscience, and even body to his will and guidance. Yet he never claimed infallibility for his own utterances, and constantly warned his disciples to investigate for themselves the truth of every word he uttered. It was not long before he who rejected idolatry became himself a deity, and his followers, the Kabīr Panthīs, lapsed again in doctrine into man-worship, caste observance, and idolatry They number over three-quarters of a million in Northern and Central India. The Dādu Panthīs (founded by Dādu, a sixteenth-century cotton-cleaner of Ahmedabad) are theologically allied to the Kabīr Panthīs, but they follow the practice of exposing their dead like the Persians

Nānak (1469-1538) drew his inspiration from Kabīr, and founded the great Sikh religion. Both Kabīr and Nānak were alike in affirming that neither Veda nor Quran can give saving knowledge, which is the gift of God's grace to His devotee. The wearing of the sacred thread, the rite of circumcision, are equally futile in connection with salvation.

The Sikh creed involves belief in one God, condemning the worship of other deities, it prohibits idolatry, pilgrimage to the great shrines of Hinduism, faith in omens, charms, or witchcraft, and does not recognise ceremonial impurity at birth and death As a social system, it abolishes caste distinctions, and as a necessary consequence the Brāhmanical supremacy and usages in all ceremonies at birth, marriage, death, and so on.

The most remarkable development of Sikhism,

however, took place under the tenth pontiff of the sect, Govinda, in the latter part of the seventeenth century He converted the church into a great military commonwealth, known as the Khālsā, with himself as pontiff king A spiritual community became a great temporal power. Caste was abolished Muhammadan or Hindu, Brāhman or pariah, were alike when once the oath of fealty was taken, and the new-made Sikh had vowed to be a religious soldier, and to carry cold steel about with him from birth to death. Govinda instituted the worship of Steel and Book (Sword and Bible), and his orders were, "If you meet a Muhammadan, kill him; if you meet a Hindu, beat and plunder him" He refused to nominate a successor, but decreed that after his death the sacred Scriptures of the sect, the Grantha, should be the sole authority, the supreme director and pontiff, and in due course the Sikh Bible became an object of worship, much after the manner of a Hindu idol, with all the ordinary idolatrous ceremonies

IV. Religious Reformers of the Nineteenth Century.

During the nineteenth century new currents of great force became operative in Hinduism through the impact of Western civilisation and Christianity The following are the more important movements resulting from such impact·

(*a*) *Brāhma Samāj.* (1.) The first and one of the greatest of modern reformers was Rājā Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833), the son of a Bengali Brāhman landowner His training brought him at an early age into contact with Muhammadan thought, and when only 15 years of age he was obliged to leave his father's house on account

of his outspoken condemnation of idolatry He took to the study of religion, and travelled in Tibet, learning Buddhism, settled at Benares to study Hindu religious philosophy, and finally came to know Christianity through the study of English and contact with an Indian civilian named Digby He amassed a fortune in the service of the East India Company, and retired in 1814 at the age of 42 The next fourteen years of his life were given to religious study, the publication of religious works, and struggles for social reform He published translations of certain Upanishads, and also a work called "The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness," being a collection of passages from the teaching of Jesus This later work brought him into controversy with the Serampore missionaries, who were impatient with his Unitarian interpretations of the New Testament One of the missionaries, the Rev W. Adam, sided with the reformers, and, finally becoming a Unitarian, founded, in co-operation with Ram Mohan, a new mission, which, however, collapsed Ram Mohan was an ardent social reformer, working hard against polygamy, and in favour of the re-marriage of Hindu widows, and against their burning In 1811 he had been obliged to witness the burning (*satī*) of his brother's wife. He had first used every effort to induce her relatives to withhold their permission, but as a result of pressure from the Brāhman priests, she herself volunteered to undergo this self-immolation. When the flames actually reached her body, she struggled to escape from the torture of the fire, but the Brāhman priests and her own relatives held her down with long bamboo poles, and the loud-beating drums drowned her dying shrieks We are not surprised that Ram Mohan made a vow to devote himself to the suppression of this

horror, and Bentinck's Act in 1829 was only made possible by the work that Ram Mohan and others had done in preparing the way. In 1828 he founded a new religious organisation for public worship, which he called Brāhmia Samāj, or The Society of Brahman (the Supreme Being). In the title-deeds of the foundation are the following words:

> No graven image, sculpture, statue, carving, painting, picture, portrait, or the likeness of anything is to be admitted within the Samāj premises no sacrifice, offering, or oblation of any kind or thing is to be ever permitted therein

Weekly congregational worship was for the first time introduced into Hinduism The service consisted of the recitation of Vedic texts, the singing of hymns, and the delivery of a sermon Only Brāhmans were allowed to lead in the service He now resolved to visit England on a political mission on behalf of the old Emperor of Delhi, who gave him the title of Rājā. He took special precautions to preserve his caste on the way He was received with marked tokens of respect and honour by English political and religious leaders For more than two years he was in close touch with the best in English life, exercising a great influence, and himself being deeply influenced He was taken ill, however, and died at Bristol on the 27th of September, 1833 Concerning the true greatness of the man there can be no doubt He was the first high-caste Hindu to break through the trammels of convention, though he always remained loyal to the best traditions of his country. He maintained that the doctrine of the unity of God is real Hinduism, and he appealed to the ancient Scriptures of Hinduism against the corruption of idolatry and superstition which had come in during the days of degradation On the other hand, he had the courage to make a serious study of

the Christian Scriptures, and for this purpose devoted himself to Hebrew and Greek. Of the result he wrote:

> The consequence of long and uninterrupted researches into religious truth has been that I have found the doctrines of Christ more adapted for the use of rational beings than any other which have come to my knowledge.

Mr. Andrews says:

> He shares with Carey the honour of having created the vernacular press in Bengal, and with Alexander Duff that of having established the first English schools in Calcutta. He was also the first Hindu to make the sea-voyage to England But even more important than these changes, great as they were, was the new reforming spirit, the new outlook upon Christianity and Western civilisation, which Ram Mohan Roy introduced to his own fellow-countrymen in India This spirit, which connoted a new moral fervour, and a new intellectual freedom, has been the main cause ever since of the liberalising and humanising of Indian thought and life *

(11.) Debendra Nath Tagore (1818-1905), son of Prince Dwarka Nath Tagore, was the next man of distinction that the Samāj produced, and in due time he was recognised as leader From first to last Debendra's ideal was a reformed Hinduism, and he never showed any inclination towards Christianity. He abandoned idolatry, and inculcated the worship of God by love and loving service. He showed a tendency to regard the Vedas as the one standard of Brāhma faith, but four Brāhma scholars were sent to Benares to study and make copies of the four Vedas. As a result of their investigations, the doctrine of the infallibility of the Vedic literature was abandoned, only those parts being accepted as true which harmonised with pure theism. Nature and intuition thus came to be regarded as the sources of man's knowledge of God In 1857 a young man, Keshab Chandra Sen, a member of the Baidya caste, joined the Samāj, and for several

**The Renaissance of India*, p 114.

years he and Debendra worked happily and harmoniously together Debendra gave up wearing the sacred thread, and admitted Keshab, non-Brāhman though he was, to the full position and title of Samāj minister (*āchārya*). It was also agreed that henceforward no full minister should be allowed to wear the sacred thread Women were admitted to the services in defiance of Hindu custom. Debendra, however, still retained his Hindu prejudices, while Keshab showed increasing tendencies to social reform and the ethics and spiritual teaching of Christianity Two parties began to appear in the Samāj, and in 1865 there was a rupture on the point of the wearing of the sacred thread being regarded a disqualification for ministerial service Keshab and his friends withdrew, and in 1866 formed a new society, the Brāhma Samāj of India, which, among other things, resolved that mottoes and maxims agreeing with the principles of Brāhmaism be gleaned and published from the religious writings of all nations. Debendra's society hereafter became known as the Original Society, or Ādi Brāhma Samāj, but it has never recovered from the effects of Keshab's secession. In 1872 Debendra gave up his position after more than thirty years' service. For a further thirty-three years he lived the life of a religious recluse, almost entirely under Hindu influence. By common consent he was called Maharshi, *i.e.*, the great seer or *ṛishi*. He died in 1905 at the age of 87 As Mr. Farquhar writes

To him, ancient India was the cradle of all that was pure in morals and religion So powerful was Hindu thought in his life that, up to the very end, he never definitely told his disciples that he had given up the doctrine of transmigration, as practically all Brāhmas have done. He was never known to quote the Bible, and in his printed sermons no reference to the teaching of Christ is to be found The direct communion of the human soul with the Supreme Spirit was the most salient point in his teaching

(iii.) Keshab Chandra Sen (1839-1884) worked loyally for several years, as we have seen, with his revered friend and benefactor, Debendra Nath Tagore. Early in 1866 a copy of Seeley's *Ecce Homo* fell into his hands, and as a result his thoughts were greatly stimulated in the direction of Christ. On the 5th of May he delivered a lecture in the theatre of the Medical College on "Jesus Christ, Europe, and Asia" He laid great emphasis on the Asiatic origin of Christ

> It is Christ who rules British India, and not the British Government England has sent out a tremendous moral force in the life and character of that mighty prophet to conquer and hold this vast empire Christ comes to us as an Asiatic in race, as a Hindu in faith, as a kinsman and as a brother Christ is a true Yogi, and will surely help us to realise our national ideal of a Yogi In accepting him, therefore, you accept the fulfilment of your national scriptures and prophets

The inauguration service of the new society he founded (in November, 1866)—the Brāhma Samāj of India—included the reading of passages from the Hindu, Christian, Muhammadan, Zoroastrian, and Confucian Scriptures As the movement developed it drew freely from Vaishṇavism and Christianity. *Bhakti* became one of the watchwords of the movement He gathered around him a number of ardent helpers and missionaries, such as Pratap Chandra Majumdar, who subsequently wrote the well-known book, "The Oriental Christ" In 1867 Keshab delivered a lecture in Calcutta on "Great Men," and maintained that God speaks, not only through nature and intuition, but in history, through great men There was a general feeling that he regarded himself as one of the great men sent by God on a special mission, and therefore to be obeyed In 1869 he visited England, where he was very cordially received. He addressed large audiences in many parts of the country, and was received in audience by the

Queen On his return in the following year he set himself earnestly to advance social reform in several directions, and in 1872 a Brāhma Marriage Act was passed, largely as a result of his advice and agitation He now began to lay considerable emphasis on the doctrine of *ādesh* or the direct command of God laid upon him by special revelation at certain definite moments in his career. His opponents within the Samāj regarded such revelations as blasphemous and dangerous, and they began to press for a more democratic and constitutional form of government within the Samāj His special friends, however, remained enthusiastically loyal, and eagerly followed him in new paths of asceticism and fresh vows of poverty In 1878 matters came to a head by the marriage of his daughter—with idolatrous ceremonies—while still under marriageable age, to the young Mahārāja of Kuch Bihār, notwithstanding the fact that Keshab himself had been fighting against child-marriage and heathen-marriage, and had succeeded in getting the Brāhma Act passed Efforts were made to depose him from his position in the Samāj, and a large body of influential men at this stage left him and founded the General Society or the Sādhāran Brāhma Samāj, with Pandit Siva Nath Sastri as leader. It aimed to be catholic and democratic in its creed and constitution In 1881 Keshab, who still regarded himself as "a singular man," with special relations to heaven, proclaimed the Brāhma Samāj to be God's latest dispensation, appointed to harmonise all existing religions His twelve missionaries were an apostolic durbar, God-appointed apostles of the New Dispensation (Naba Bidhān). Henceforth Keshab's Samāj became known as the Church of the New Dispensation. In the meantime, Keshab announced his adhesion to the doctrine of

the Motherhood of God, and introduced a number of picturesque rites and ceremonies from Hinduism and Christianity (including baptism and the Lord's Supper), harmonising them, by means of mystic explanations, with Brāhma belief. He unfolded, too, a doctrine of the Trinity.

In this plain figure of three lives you have the solution of a vast problem The Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost, the Creator, the Exemplar, the Sanctifier, I am, I love, I save; the Still God, the Journeying God, the Returning God, Force, Wisdom, Holiness, the True, the Good, the Beautiful, Sat, Chit, Ānanda, Truth, Intelligence, Joy

He passed away on 8th January, 1884 Since his death the Sādhāran Samāj has slowly grown in numbers and influence, but the New Dispensation has witnessed considerable internal differences among the leaders and missionaries

The theological affinities of the three Samājes have been thus graphically represented by Mr. Farquhar

1. God is a personal being with sublime moral attributes.
2. God has never become incarnate
3. God hears and answers prayer
4. God is to be worshipped only in spiritual ways Men of all castes and races may worship God acceptably.
5. Repentance and cessation from sin is the only way to forgiveness and salvation
6. Nature and intuition are the sources of knowledge of God No book is authoritative.

Creed of the Adi Samāj

7. God is the Father of men, and all men are brothers.
8. The soul is immortal, and its progress eternal
9. God rewards virtue and punishes sin His punishments are remedial and not eternal

Creed of the Sādhāran Samāj

10. God is a Trinity in Unity - Father, Son and Spirit. God is Mother as well as Father.
11. Brāhmaism is the universal religion, the Brāhma Samāj is God's latest dispensation, and the missionaries are his apostles
12. Knowledge of God comes through inspired men, as well as through nature and intuition He reveals His will on occasion to His servants by command (*adesh*).

Creed of the New Dispensation Samāj.

(*b*) The *Arya Samāj*, founded by Dayānand Sarasvatı (1824-1883), regards the Vedas as a primitive revelation given once for all to mankind, and as teaching a pure and consistent monotheism, and as containing the basic principles of all the sciences. The book of Vedic Scripture is the fountain-head of all religion, and, corresponding as it does with the book of Nature, it reveals in germ every scientific discovery and invention of modern times The religion and science of the West are thus unconsciously based on the Vedic revelation given over one hundred billion years ago, while idolatry and the other countless superstitions and absurdities of the later Hindu religion must be abandoned for the pure form of faith revealed in the Veda It was thus Dayānand sought to solve the problem which confronted him:

> How to reform Indian religion, how to effect a synthesis of the old and the new, of the East and the West, in such a way as to guarantee the intellectual and spiritual supremacy of the Indian people, do full justice to the attainments of other nations, and provide a universalistic programme of religion *

Dayānand was clearly a man of great gifts and prophetic power, a real leader of men He revolted from idolatry at the early age of 14, on the night of his initiation into the mysteries of the S'aiva cult, when he saw mice running over the image of S'iva and defiling it. The chief religious influence on his life was exerted by the blind Vedic scholar, Swāmī Virājānand of Mathurā, who despised the later Sanskrit writings, and taught Dayānand the Vedas, dismissing him with the words, "I want thee to go forth in the world, and spread enlightenment among mankind" For the last twenty years of his life

* Griswold, in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Article Arya Samāj

he made extensive preaching tours through the length and breadth of Northern India, holding discussions with pundits, maulvies, and missionaries, opposing as he did with equal vehemence Purāṇic and Vedāntic Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity, and preaching a monotheistic Vedic faith from the philosophical point of view of the Sāṃkhya Yoga As Dr Griswold points out.

There are many points of contact between Dayānand Sarasvati and Martin Luther As Luther, the German monk, was a child of the European Renaissance, so Dayānand, the Gujrāti monk, was a child of the Indian Renaissance Both alike felt the tug of the "Zeitgeist" Both, in their different ways, became exponents of the new spirit Luther attacked indulgences, while Dayānand attacked idolatry Luther appealed from the Roman Church and the authority of tradition to the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Swāmī Dayānand appealed from the Brāhmanical Church and the authority of *smriti* to the earliest and most sacred of Indian Scriptures The watchword of Luther was "Back to the Bible," the watchword of Dayānand was "Back to the Vedas"

The Samāj at the present time has a membership of more than 100,000, mainly in the Punjab and the United Provinces. Its doctrine of *nyoga* recognises temporal marital relationships in the interests of the perpetuation of the male line of a family and of the avoidance of illicit and indiscriminate intimacies. It continues to condemn idolatry and child-marriage, but most of its members retain caste It shows a real enthusiasm for education, and for moderate social and advanced political reform. "Will it ultimately be absorbed into the abyss of Hinduism, as some think probable, or will it advance to a still more rational and enlightened position?"

(*c*) A movement of a very different character is that associated with the name of Rāmakṛishṇa, and with his disciple, Swāmī Vivekānanda. Rāmakṛishṇa (1833-1886) in early life settled down at a temple of Kālī, near Calcutta, and

began to look upon the image of the goddess Kālī as his mother, and the mother of the Universe After the regular forms of worship he would sit there for hours and hours, singing hymns and talking and praying to her as a child to his mother, till he lost all consciousness of the outer world Sometimes he would weep for hours, and would not be comforted, because he could not see his mother as perfectly as he wished *

He experienced numerous visions and trances, and underwent a course of twelve years' discipline in the ascetic exercises of the Yoga He attained to the highest stage of *Samādhi*, where there is no longer any perception of the subject or of the object. He devoted himself in turn to meditation on Kāli, S'iva, Kṛishṇa, Rāma, Jesus, and came to the conclusion that all religions are true, though each of them takes account of one aspect only of the *Akhaṇḍa Sacchidānanda, i.e.,* the undivided and eternal existence, knowledge, and bliss. He came in touch with Keshab Chandra Sen, and a strong and deep love sprang up between the two. Keshab's doctrine of the Motherhood of God is generally recognised as due to Rāmakrishṇa's influence. On August 16th, 1886, he entered into *Samādhi*, from which he never returned The man who made Rāmakṛishṇa's name famous was Vivekānanda, a clever young Bengali who had received a Western education, and spoke eloquently on behalf of Hinduism at the Chicago Parliament of Religions, maintaining, in Vedāntic phraseology, that it was a sin, a libel on human nature, to call man, who is a divinity on earth, a sinner. The New Vedānta

amounts to little more than an esoteric doctrine for the initiated and permission to the crowd to go on with the old bad Hindu practices, while their coarseness is allegorised away to suit the refined tastes of the cultured A really important contribution, however, is made on the moral side in the interpretation given to the Upanishad doctrine of the identity of the self with Brahma This is called

* Max Müller's *Rāmakrishna, His Life and Sayings*, p. 36.

by the name of Practical Vedānta According to the school of Vivekānanda the identity of the soul with the Supreme is to be attained, not only by passive contemplation, but also by absorption in active selfless service

(*d*) The *Theosophical Society*, founded in 1875 by Mrs. Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott, and now presided over by Mrs Besant, has for many years showed considerable activity in India The aims of the society are threefold—the formation of a universal brotherhood of humanity, the study of comparative religion, the investigation of the hidden latent powers in nature and the human mind Its theological doctrines are a compound of Hinduism and Buddhism, while its ethical teachings are indebted to Christianity Its members may belong to any religion in the world or none As a matter of fact, however, the theosophical propaganda is professedly Christian in England, Buddhist in Ceylon, and Hindu in India Mrs Besant has done much to encourage higher education on Hindu lines, and to discourage child-marriage At the same time she encourages educated Indians to utilise modern science for the defence of such glaring evils as charms, spells, incantations, astrology, idolatry, and caste Theosophy can tolerate any form of faith except a living Protestant Christianity that believes in Christ as the Light of the World and the Saviour of mankind, and in loyalty to Him feels itself in duty bound to seek to disciple all the nations.

BOOK IV.

A Comparative Study of Hinduism and Christianity.

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I. Fundamental Characteristics of Orthodox Hinduism in relation to Corresponding Christian Ideas.

WHILE it must be admitted that Hinduism is a vast medley of religious beliefs, and no beliefs, yet there are certain fundamental principles and institutions, more or less characteristic of practically the whole body of Hindu faith, as set forth in Indian literature and embodied in the daily life and thought of some two hundred millions of people in India to-day. When we find religious ideas and institutions so ancient, so persistent, we are led inevitably to inquire regarding the ground of their persistence, and of their lasting hold on the thoughts and affections of so many of our fellow-men. A belief or an institution continues to influence men more by the truth it contains than by its false elements. When we come in contact with a system of faith and life differing in many vital respects from our own, nothing is easier than to conclude that the difference is entirely the result of the false views and practices of those not in agreement with ourselves. This is eminently true of religious, social, and political life in a country such as England, and the tendency is greatly increased when we come into contact with an alien civilisation and religion such as India presents to us. In the interests of truth, righteousness, and progress we cannot be blind to the defects and the falsities of any system of religious faith, but equally we dare not ignore the permanent elements of truth that any system may contain. The fundamental characteristics

of Hinduism are of a twofold nature: (I.) Formative ideas; (II.) The expression of these ideas in the realm of life and conduct. Under formative ideas I would include: (1) Revelation, (2) Immanence, (3) Propitiation, (4) Priesthood, (5) Incarnation, (6) Second Birth, (7) Succession of Re-births as explaining the moral order, (8) Predestination, (9) The Threefold Way of Salvation, (10) Immortality, (11) Absorption. The expression of these ideas in the realm of life and conduct may be taken as including: (1) Polytheism and Idolatry, (2) Caste, (3) Asceticism or Self-mortification, (4) Quietism, (5) The Fourfold Order.

I. Formative Ideas.

(1) *Revelation.*

Belief in revelation is the common starting-point of all schools of philosophy and religion in India. Whatever be the direction of their thought, whether towards Pantheism, Atheism, Deism, or Theism, Monism or Dualism, Empiricism or Idealism, they all begin by subscribing to the Vedas as an infallible divine revelation. Such religious compositions as the Epics, Purānas, and Manu are called *smṛiti* (what was remembered), in contradistinction to *s'ruti* (what was heard)—a term applied to the three divisions of the Veda: Mantra, Brāhmaṇa, and Upanishad. The Vedas are regarded as having preserved the actual words of revelation. They are "the eternal voice of divine knowledge heard by certain holy men called ṛishis, and by them orally transmitted; or, if committed to writing, then written down exactly as heard without any intervention of human authorship." The other religious writings of the Hindus, spoken of as *smriti* (or recollection), are regarded as records of the sense of revelation, dependent on human memory,

and put into the form of human composition. The great importance that Hindus attach to revelation comes out in such a passage as the following from Manu (xii. 94, etc.):

> The Veda is of patriarchs and men,
> And e'en of gods, a very eye eternal,
> Giving unerring light, it is beyond
> All finite faculties, nor can be proved
> By force of human argument—this is
> A positive conclusion Codes of law,
> Depending on the memory of men—
> Not grounded on the Veda—heresies,
> And false opinions, all are held to be
> Barren and worthless and involved in darkness
> Whatever doctrine rests not on the Veda
> Must pass away as recent, false and fruitless
> The triple world and quadruple distinction
> Of classes and of Âs'ramas, with all
> That has been, is, and ever will be, all
> Are through the Vedas settled and established
> By this eternal Veda are sustained
> All creatures, hence we hold it as supreme,
> Chief instrument of happiness to man
> Command of armies, regal dignity,
> Conduct of justice, and the world's dominion
> He merits who completely knows the Veda
> As with augmented energy the fire
> Consumes e'en humid trees, so he who knows
> This book divine, burns out the taint of sin,
> Inherent in his soul through former works
> For he who apprehends the Veda's truth,
> Whatever be his order, is prepared
> For blending with the great primeval Spirit
> E'en while abiding in this lower world

The belief in revelation, then, is something that Hinduism holds in common with Judaism and Christianity, and, indeed, to a greater or less degree with all religions. Even the lowest form of religion, such as fetishism, could not exist unless the savage believed that his fetish could communicate with him. The very essence of religion is communion with the unseen, the divine; and unless man believes that God can speak to him, he will never make an attempt to speak to God. And in dealing with the Hindu this is the point of view from which

we can approach him. With us he believes that God has stooped to unveil His face to man; the Eternal Spirit, in His compassion, has communicated His thought to humanity with a purpose of mercy. It is true that the Hindu view of revelation is mechanical to a degree, but hardly more mechanical than the view of revelation and inspiration entertained by a certain school of Christian theologians in the West. Positively no headway can be made if we confront the Hindu theory of an infallible Veda by a Christian theory of an infallible Bible. Our line of approach should rather be, while admitting the foundation principle of the Hindu contention, to present to the Hindu mind a larger, broader, and more human view of all that revelation implies, so that he will feel compelled to bring all his religious theories and traditions to be tested at the bar of reason and spiritual experience. To the Christian, God's revelation is manifest in nature and in history In the field of nature He is most clearly seen in the highest product of nature—Man, made in His own image. In the field of history, the records of Israel reveal the divine intention and character in a larger degree than those of any other nation; while in the life, teaching, and personality of Jesus Christ, the human spirit recognises and responds to the existence of a revelation that points Him out as the fulfilment of Israel's destiny as the Servant of Jehovah, the consummation of our humanity, the Representative Man, the Supreme Revealer of the Godhead.

(2) *Immanence.*

Another idea fundamental to Hinduism is that of immanence. In the Upanishads God is continually spoken of as being in all things, dwelling in the Universe in all its parts;

Fire is His head, His eyes sun and moon,
His ears the regions of the sky
The revealed Veda is His voice,
The wind His breath, the Universe His heart,
From his feet is the earth,
He is the inmost self in all things (Mund II. 1, 4)

Nor is God by any means invariably conceived in the pantheistic sense, as synonymous with the Universe. Even in the Upanishads the Divine transcendence is often emphasised side by side with the Divine immanence.

The light as one penetrates into space
And yet adapts itself to every form,
So the inmost self of all beings dwells
Enwrapped in every form and yet remains outside

The air as one penetrates into space
And yet adapts itself to every form,
So the inmost self of all beings dwells
Enwrapped in every form and yet remains outside

The sun, the eye of the whole universe,
Remains pure from the defects of eyes external to it,
So the inmost self of all beings remains
Pure from the sufferings of the external worlds.
(Kath V 9-11)

God is spoken of as creating the various forms of organic life as citadels, and then entering into them as citizen. He is present in vegetables and in trees, in men, and in all the regions of the Universe. He is the omnipresent God. No idea is more frequently met with than this of Divine immanence. From the time of the later Vedic hymns to the present day, Indian religious literature is full of it, and both villager and philosopher seem to be more convinced of its truth than they are even of the reality of their own existence.

In all this there is valuable testimony to a spiritual truth which Christianity, in common with Hinduism, recognises to the full. Undoubtedly the tendency in Hinduism is to so emphasise the Divine immanence as to leave no room for any worthy conception of the Divine transcendence. This is fatal to the idea of God as moral ruler of the Universe. There

can, however, be no doubt that the missionary propaganda in India, in its endeavour to make absolutely clear the idea of the Divine transcendence, has not done justice to the idea of Divine immanence. Multitudes of Hindus have gained the impression from the teaching of Christian missionaries, and still more perhaps from that of Indian Christians, that Christianity conceives of God simply as Creator and Governor of the Universe, not as likewise immanent in the Universe. In the early centuries of the Christian era Christian theologians utilised a middle term between Christianity and the forms of Hellenic thought—the idea of Christ as the Logos. With the help of this conception the new religion could interpret itself to the Græco-Roman world, and assimilate whatever was congenial to its spirit in the intellectual life of the time. Jesus was something infinitely more than the Jewish Messiah. He became identified with the Eternal Word, the Divine principle of creation and revelation through the ages. Christianity has yet to be adequately presented in terms of the Divine immanence to the thinking minds of Oriental lands.

(3) *Propitiation.*

Another idea fundamental to the Hindu religion is that of propitiation by means of sacrifice. The necessity for sacrificial acts to secure the favour of the gods is ingrained in the whole Brāhmanical system. Even more than in Jewish religious life, sacrificial offerings formed the basis of all religious service. The first aim of sacrifice among the Aryan Indians was undoubtedly to present a simple thank-offering. Since the gods rule the order of nature, men came to feel that it was right and fitting that they should give a share of nature's products to the gods. Thus the gods were invited to join the family meal and festive gatherings, and were offered the

firstfruits of the soil, as well as the firstlings of the flock. The ethereal bodies of the gods were nourished by the essence of the substance offered to them, and strengthened for the duty of maintaining the continuity of the Universe.

In due time sacrifices were offered, not merely as a thank-offering to the gods, but with the view of inducing the gods to bestow a boon, and following this they were offered by way of propitiation or atonement, and speak of the desire for the removal of a barrier between man and an angry god. Sacrifice is spoken of in the Vedas as the good ferrying-boat by which we may escape from sin, the authorised means for remission and annulment of sin. As the sense of sin grew, the vicarious nature of the sacrifice predominated; the worshipper sets some creature in his place by whose sufferings and death he is punished by proxy, and his guilt is pardoned. The more costly the sacrifice, the more calculated was it to succeed in removing the anger of the god and regaining favour. There are indications that human sacrifice was resorted to in early India, and indeed it cannot be said to be altogether extinct in modern India. Mystic reference is also made in Vedic literature to Prajāpati, the Lord of all creatures, offering Himself a sacrifice for the gods. The gods offered this divine person, half mortal and half immortal, as the victim, the supreme and universal sacrifice. Animal sacrifices were commonly regarded in ancient India as quickly destroying all guilt, even that caused by mortal sins. With the advent of Buddhism they steadily decreased, but they are still quite common, more especially in connection with the consort of Śiva, the dread goddess Kālī.

To the modern mind there is much that is repulsive in the idea of bloody sacrifices, and in connection with Hindu sacrifices, there is much that the Christian conscience cannot but condemn.

But behind it all there is most valuable testimony to a fundamental truth in the Christian religion—Jesus Christ the one perfect and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of men, the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world. We cannot distinguish too sharply between the Christian idea of propitiation and sacrifice, and that held by the non-Christian faiths. We do not resort to the shambles to propitiate an angry God, for God was in Christ, and the sacrifice on Calvary is the supreme revelation of the Father's love. But the eternal need of the human heart demands a Gospel not merely of ethical perfection but of divine redemption, on the basis of propitiatory sacrifice. Man, in his guilt and misery, finds abiding peace in the assurance that Christ bore our sins in His body on the tree. The need of the race is not met by explaining Calvary in the terms of martyrdom. Notwithstanding all that is ghastly in the sacrificial customs and bloody rites of the nations of the world, religion can never dispense with the idea at the root of all—the idea which finds its perfect realisation in the atonement of Jesus Christ, whereby, through the sacrifice of Himself upon the Cross once for all, on behalf of sinful men, satisfaction was made for the sins of the world, the dark shadow of moral guilt in the human soul removed, and communion between God and man restored.

(4) *Priesthood.*

The idea of priesthood runs through the whole of Indian religion, from the Veda to the present day. In the earliest period the head of the household was the family priest, and yet the early Vedas give evidence of the existence of priestly families. A religious idea of any kind, however primitive, demands priests. If men have no concern for higher divine powers, they dread ghosts and goblins. If they do not believe in a Supreme God, their fear

of the devil is very real. Power thus falls into the hands of those who have the greatest insight into the things of the unseen world, and a special class of men—priests—get control of all religious rites and act as mediators between gods and men. It is easy to understand how, in a primitive stage of society, the man with a knowledge of magical rites attains supreme power, and human nature being what it is, it is hardly less difficult to understand the power of the priesthood even in civilised society. The ordinary man is beset with an overwhelming feeling of his unfitness to deal with things divine, and yet there is in him an ineradicable longing to come in contact with the divine, and be on the right side of divinity. The basis of the Artharva Veda is a belief in superhuman powers which can be constrained by spells, and the recognition of the Artharva Veda as divine revelation shows that in early India there was no sharp distinction between the sorcerer and the priest. The development of religion in India is mainly the development of the priestly caste. In their sanguinary struggles against the aborigines and among themselves, victory was sought from the gods by sacrifice and prayer, and certain formulas and liturgical songs came to be regarded as having a powerful influence in constraining the gods. The knowledge of these songs, and of all that accompanied their use, was handed down in priestly families whose aid became indispensable to king and subject, and at last, out of these families, there grew up the great and privileged caste of Brāhmans, still supreme in Indian society. The position the priest holds in Indian society is clearly indicated in their sacred books: "Verily," says the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa (II. 22, 6), "there are two kinds of gods, for indeed the gods are the gods, and the Brāhmans who have studied and teach sacred lore are the human gods. With

oblations one gratifies the gods, and with gifts to the priests the human gods, the Brāhmans who have studied and teach sacred lore. Both these kinds of gods, when gratified, place him in a state of bliss." "By his origin alone," says Manu (xi. 85), "a Brāhman is a deity even for the gods, and his teaching is authoritative for men, because the Veda is the foundation for that." A modern verse of a proverbial cast says: "The entire world depends on the gods, the gods depend on the religious formulas, the religious formulas depend on the Brāhmans, the Brāhmans are my gods." (See Barth's *Religions of India*, p. 88.)

What is to be the attitude of the Christian missionary to this priestly idea, so dominant in Indian religion? The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews was addressing people swayed by priestly ritual, who assigned to the priesthood an exalted position in religious thought and life. With consummate tact he sets forth Jesus as the great High Priest who, by His perfect sacrifice of obedience and service, has opened the way for His brethren into the true Holy of Holies, the immediate presence of God, with free access to God made possible. By the acceptance of Jesus as the perfect and universal High Priest, the necessity of priestly mediation of imperfect men disappears, and all men, through their identification and their living union with Jesus the great High Priest, themselves become priests unto God. In dealing with a priest-ridden people like the Hindus, this must be the keynote of our message.

(5) *Incarnation.*

Incarnation is another fundamental idea in orthodox Hinduism. The idea of the manifestation of God in human form is as old as religion. Men have always believed that communion with the divine

was possible, and so the possibility of a god appearing for a time in some earthly form, human or animal, has been a thought common to every stage of Pagan belief. So we have the ten incarnations of Vishṇu, some animal, some human, rising from lower to higher. The Supreme Being is represented as saying: "For whenever there is a decay of the law, and an ascendency of lawlessness, then I create myself. For the protection of the good, and the destruction of evil-doers, and for the establishment of the law, am I born age after age." (Bhagavad Gītā, iv. 7, 8.) The eighth in the series (referred to in the Purānas) of Vishṇu incarnations, Krishna, is the embodiment of a multiplicity of popular and speculative religious ideals, and is often popularly regarded either as the Supreme Being Himself, or as a complete incarnation, the others being only partial. Yet Hindus look forward to a tenth and final incarnation of Vishnu, who, in the darkest hour of the world's need, will destroy the wicked, redeem the good, recreate all things, and renew the age of purity.

To the Christian thinker all these conceptions, however gross they may sometimes be, are a revelation of the age-long need of the human spirit for a human manifestation of the divine, and personal union with God—a need that is satisfied in the historic incarnation of God in Christ, an incarnation stripped of all degrading associations, and ennobling in the highest degree to human life in all its varied forms and associations. As Archbishop Trench has said:

> The divine ideas which had wandered up and down the world, till oftentimes they had well-nigh forgotten themselves, and their own origin, did at last clothe themselves in flesh and blood, they became incarnate with the incarnation of the Son of God. In His life and person, the idea and the fact at length kissed each other, and were henceforth wedded for evermore.*

* Trench, *Unconscious Prophecies*, p. 19

(6) *Second Birth.*

The second birth (or regeneration) is foreshadowed in the sacred ceremony of initiation known as Upanayana, which takes place any time between the age of eight and sixteen years in the case of high-caste boys. The lad is brought to his spiritual preceptor and invested with the sacred thread. Three white cotton threads, by their colour symbolising purity, are tied together in one place by a sacred knot and placed over the left shoulder and under the right arm, and are to be worn perpetually. It is this investiture which makes him a Brāhman. He is now entitled to the name of twice born, or regenerate. By the solemn putting-on of this mystic symbol, his spiritual life begins. For the first time he is taught to repeat that remarkable prayer for illumination called Sāvitrī or Gāyatrī (Rigveda, iii. 62, 10): "Let us meditate on that excellent glory of the Divine Vivifier; may He illumine our understandings." Corresponding to this rite are the initiatory ceremonies of the Vaishnava sects—a ceremony not limited to high castes, as the Brāhmanical ceremony of initiation is. At the age of twelve a formal rite of dedication to Krishna takes place, and the candidate repeats the significant words: "I here dedicate to the holy Krishna my bodily organs, my life, my inmost soul and its faculties, with my wife, my house, my children, with all the wealth I may acquire here or hereafter, and my own self. O Krishṇa, I am thy servant." Moreover, the symbols of the god are impressed on the breast and arms of those who have been thus initiated.*

Surely we cannot but regard this rite of initiation and second birth as a striking witness to a higher, purer, and more enlightened life which lies beyond that with which men are born, and nowhere does

*Macculloch, *Comparative Theology*, p 244

the essential difference between the natural and the spiritual, the lower and higher, find such complete expression as in the Christian doctrine of regeneration. In Christ a man passes from the old into the new, from death unto life, so that things once real to him have lost reality, things once unknown are now alone real. The new birth that the vision of Christ, and the impartation of the Holy Spirit, bring to men, contains all that the Hindu doctrines of initiation foreshadows, but infinitely more.

(7) *Transmigration.*

The doctrine of transmigration in Hinduism is no doubt built on an animistic basis; but it was developed in the interests of morality, and with the object of providing a satisfactory explanation of the moral order of the Universe The Hindu doctrine of Karma is a doctrine of moral retribution and reward, accomplished through a series of births and re-births. Human life is but the working out of a man's own action or karma All states and conditions in this life are the direct consequence of actions done in a previous existence Every deed or action done in the present life determines our fate in the re-incarnation that is to follow. A man is the architect of his own fate If he leads a highly moral life, he may be re-born on a higher plane, either as an aristocrat, a king, or a priest, or even as a godling. By incessant and unrelaxing endeavours in every new birth a soul may, however, reach emancipation and become one with God. On the other hand, the man who lives an evil life will inevitably reap the full consequences of his sin in future embodiments as a crawling reptile, a writhing demon, or a foul and loathsome leper. So must the process of retribution or reward go on for countless ages, through eighty-four lakhs of

births—eight million four hundred thousand. In its pilgrimage the soul may alternate in bewildering diversity between the joys of Paradise and the pains of purgatory.

> Who toiled a slave, may come anew a prince,
> For gentle worthiness and merit won
> Who ruled a king may wander earth in rags
> For things done and undone
>
> Higher than Indra's you may lift your lot,
> And sink it lower than the worm or gnat,
> The end of many myriad lives is this,
> The end of myriads that

This theory has manifold attractions for the troubled spirit perplexed by the riddle of life, and its glaring inequalities.

(*a*) It affirms, in the strongest way, that justice is at the heart of things, a justice that never errs and never fails There is nothing arbitrary or haphazard in the divine justice. The man who was born blind is so because he deserved it in the fullest sense. The wicked man who, in his great power, spreads himself like a green bay-tree, is no mystery to the Hindu, for he is only enjoying now the result of accumulated merit in a past life, and will inevitably reap the result of his present wickedness in a new birth. The problem of human suffering presents no perplexity to the consistent Hindu. The theory of Karma solves the riddle of life.

(*b*) Then, too, this doctrine, from a Hindu point of view, points to universal restoration as the final goal of human endeavour. Every soul must ultimately find its way to the one supreme reality, Brahma. There can be no eternal discord in the music of the spheres.

Re-incarnation forms no part of our Biblical revelation. Practically the only hint in the New Testament of a belief in the existence of human souls prior to birth, is in the question of the disciples; "Rabbi, who did sin, this man or his

parents?" Evidently the disciples believed it possible that the soul of this man born blind had sinned before the man was born.

While it must be admitted that, notwithstanding its attraction as a theory, transmigration has been like a terrible blight on Hindu thought and life for countless generations, yet it is evident that it bears powerful witness to the Christian doctrine of moral retribution, "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap," and witnesses also to the Christian hope of the ultimate triumph of good over evil, when God shall be all in all. Christianity perceives God, not in the light of blind, unerring law, but as a righteous Sovereign, the Guardian of the moral law, eternally intolerant of wrong, and yet a God of grace and compassion, having personal relations with His children. The Christian, too, has faith that justice rules at the heart of things, and that right will ultimately triumph over wrong. The Christian's faith, however, is grounded, not on the unerring character of divine law, but on the rule of a loving, holy Father who holds the Universe in the hollow of His hand, and guides the destinies of men to their appointed goal.

(8) *Predestination.*

Connected with the doctrine of Karma and Transmigration, though held often without conscious relation to it, is the Hindu belief in Predestination—Fate. The Hindu believes that all his actions are determined beforehand by the Unseen Power ruling the destinies of the Universe. His whole career has been written on his forehead by the finger of God, and nothing that he can do can change his destiny. As a matter of fact, the Hindu rises above this feeling in his daily life, and acts like a free man; but predestination is certainly a fundamental thought in Hinduism as we witness

it to-day. The average Hindu, no matter what befalls him, submits in uncomplaining acquiescence with the remark, "It is my fate. God wills it so, and who am I to object?"

It is easy to see how this doctrine can be put to disastrous use in the affairs of life, and yet there is something at the heart of it that man cannot abandon. An undue emphasis on human freedom, to the exclusion of God's sovereignty, may have equally disastrous effects. The great work in the world has been done by the men who hold firmly to the view that their course of life, in all its details, had been planned beforehand for them by the sovereign God. Believing themselves to be appointed instruments for the carrying out of the divine plan, they have been able to overcome superhuman difficulties. In presenting the Christian point of view to the Hindu mind, we have to guard against creating in him an attitude of mind entirely hostile even to the best elements of his old faith. The Indian Church is beset with no danger more subtle than this. You hear the complaint sometimes that many Indian Christians are more European in their modes of thought than Europeans themselves. The complaint is not altogether without foundation. I have heard, for instance, Indian Christians deny absolutely such fundamental doctrines as the Immanence of God and the Divine Sovereignty. These doctrines, as held in current Hinduism, are no doubt grossly perverted, but that is no reason for their total abolition. We may not be able clearly to define the exact relationship of human freedom to divine predestination, but the hope of the world, the hope of the Church, the hope of the individual alike, is a living faith that, in the infinite wisdom of the Sovereign Lord of all, the course of the world, in all its details, is the unfolding of the eternal plan, the working out of His

determined purpose; and that the end of the developing plot of the great drama of the Universe shall be the manifestation of the Divine glory and the accumulation of His praise. Let us share with India the exhilaration that comes to those who realise they have the freedom of sons dwelling in a Father's home, but let us beware lest we take away from them the consolation and the peace associated with unswerving faith in the supremacy and sovereignty of God.

(9) *The Threefold Way of Salvation.*

A common conception in orthodox Hinduism is that of the threefold way of salvation—*work, knowledge, faith* (karma, jñāna, bhakti) Salvation by works consists of a strict fulfilment of the requirements of the ceremonial and moral law. Salvation by knowledge consists in knowing that we are one with God, and not entities independent of Him. Salvation by faith consists of devotional attachment to the Divine Being, a reclining on His grace for time and eternity. These three ways are often regarded as independent means of attaining salvation, though they are sometimes combined It is easy to point out defects in the exposition of these truths in Hinduism, but there are essentially permanent elements in these teachings The apostle James felt it necessary to emphasise the truth that a man was saved by his works, not by some imaginary feelings or beliefs—by what he did rather than by what he believed. The apostle John loved to speak of salvation in terms of spiritual knowledge—to know God is to possess eternal life. The apostle Paul expounded faith as the basis of all relationship to God, and the one ground of our justification and acceptance. All three have something valuable to contribute to the Christian idea of salvation, and there is no fundamental difference between them. The threefold way of salvation ex-

pounded in the Hindu Scriptures is not something to reject as false or worthless ; rather our aim should be its purification and enrichment, by its incorporation with the more perfect plan of salvation realised in Him who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

(10) *Immortality.*

Hinduism has retained the doctrine of immortality, in some form or other, in practically all its varied systems of religious and philosophic thought. The hymns of the Rigveda refer to the happy state of the dead in the realm of the kindly King Yama. With the growth of sacerdotalism and the formulation of the doctrine of Re-incarnation as explaining the moral order, the idea of immortality was still retained, but in a different form. Souls pass through an eternal succession of existences, but heaven is only a temporary resting-place, until finally deity is attained. But many millions of Hindus, in their inmost hearts, ignore the idea of re-incarnation in their practical religious life, and look forward with vague anticipation to a life of unending bliss in Vishnu's heaven. This belief in a personal immortality is more specially characteristic of those who have turned away from the pantheistic to the theistic conception of God, or who cling to the two conceptions without attempting to reconcile them Common to Hinduism, also, is the idea of an inner spiritualised body which survives death To the Christian death means going to be with Christ, and this hope of a personal immortality is based on our consciousness of sonship—our kinship with God Christ emphasises the value of the individual soul in a way that has given new dignity and worth to the individual life, and this warrants the expectation of its endless continuance. The world may perish, but so long as we are what we are, and conceive of God as holding a fatherly

relationship to His children, we cannot believe that such a life as Christ's passed away at death into darkness, and our hopes are wrapped up in the faith that we are identified with Christ, and are destined to become like Him.

(11) *Absorption.*

The Hindu in general looks to absorption in the Absolute as the final destiny of all—an absorption in which all individuality disappears and God is literally everything. The Vedānta looks forward to a state of dreamless sleep as the ultimate goal of the soul in its complete union with God. There are, however, other voices in Hinduism which have striven for the more personal aspect of immortality. The Christian view anticipates, like Hinduism, the absolute supremacy of God as the final goal of humanity, but gives little countenance to the idea that human individuality is destined finally to disappear. Western thought clings with far greater tenacity than eastern to the importance and permanence of the individual spirit. The East is apt to look upon such insistence as a form of western selfishness and self-assertiveness. It must be remembered, however, that not a few Christian mystics of the West have held a point of view regarding final absorption in God almost as thoroughgoing as anything we have in the religion and philosophy of India. While not forgetting that the Christian ideal assumes boundless possibilities of progress in the future life, both for the individual and Christian society, we shall need, if we are to touch the heart of India, to give larger recognition to that glorious consummation the apostle Paul anticipates, in that far-off divine event, when even Christ, His mediatorial work complete, shall surrender His authority to the Father, that God may be all in all.

We shall now consider, more briefly,

II. The Expression of these Formative Ideas in the Realm of Life and Conduct.

(1) *Polytheism and Idolatry.*

In India Pantheism and Polytheism are generally held together by the same person. If all this Universe is Brahma, then any part of it may legitimately be worshipped as God, and so arises polytheism. Ask any ordinary Hindu villager how many gods there are, and he will answer, "There is only one God," and yet at the same time he acknowledges thirty-three crores of divinities He does not regard these points of view as essentially antagonistic, and if you grant his premise that the Universe is Brahma, polytheism must be admitted as a perfectly logical development I do not think that polytheism, in its literal sense, exists to any great extent in India: it is almost invariably associated with a pantheistic or even monotheistic conception of Deity, for, with some, the various gods and goddesses occupy a position but little higher than the angels in Roman Catholicism Then, too, idolatry is the inevitable outcome of the idealistic monism of the Vedānta, for if God, the ultimate reality, is merely abstract thought, the religious needs of men are such that they are driven to seek some manifestation of Him in visible form, and idolatry is the outcome.

It may help readers to understand just where the orthodox Hindu stands, in the matter of polytheism and idolatry, if I reproduce a line of argument and discussion that I have often had with an ordinary village polytheist and idolater in India. India is a land given up to idolatry, the worship of lords many and gods many, as much as Greece was of old. Naturally the missionary, on seeing people fall down before gods of wood and stone, points out to them the folly of idolatry, and seeks to lead them to the one true God who must be worshipped

in spirit and in truth. They listen, generally with patience, and then one of them will quietly remark: "Yes, sir, we agree with all you say as to the spiritual character of God. With you we believe God to be Spirit, and with you we say that He must be worshipped in spirit and in truth. But," he goes on to inquire, "is not God omnipresent? Is not the Eternal Spirit everywhere, filling all space? Are not all earth and sky and heaven full of His glory? Then, if God be everywhere, as all admit, is He not in tree, and flower, and rock, and sky, and cloud? And so," he concludes the argument, "when we fall down before the idols of wood and stone, do not think that we worship the mere wood and stone, we rather worship the one Supreme God, who by virtue of His omnipresence is in the tree and in the rock and pervades all space." This is the method of argument used by the ordinary villager all over India, and it evidently requires careful handling. In reply we may say: "Yes, the Christian and the Hindu are at one in admitting that God is omnipresent. The whole earth is full of His glory. God is truly in tree and rock and sky. But now look at that tree, and then at yonder cow. Consider well, and tell me which is the higher form of life, the tree or the cow. In which is the life of God manifest in a higher degree—in the tree or in the cow?" "Certainly in the cow," the Hindu admits. Then we proceed: "Now look at that cow, and again at yonder man. Consider well, and tell me which is the higher form of life. In which is there more of the life of God—in the cow or in the man?" "Certainly in the man," admits the Hindu. "Man is the king of God's creation. There is more of God in man than there is either in the cow or in the tree." Having induced him to admit this much, we ask him: "Does the higher fall down and worship the lower, or rather does not the lower fall down

and worship the higher? Does the king fall down before his subject, or rather does not the subject fall down before his king?" "Certainly," says the Hindu, "the lower worships the higher, and not the higher the lower; the subject falls down before his king, and not the king before his subject." "Then," we conclude, "why do not you Hindus go and do likewise? You are men, the highest creatures of God's creation. There is more of the life of God in you than there is in the cow or in the tree. Yet, kings of God's creation though you are, you fall down in worship before the lower animals, and inanimate things such as wood and stone. You, admittedly the higher, worship what is admittedly lower. This is a reversal of the purpose of God, and contrary to the dictates of reason and conscience." The Hindu will generally admit the justice of this argument, but still he is not satisfied, and so he proceeds: "Yes, all that you say is good and true. But then what are we to do? We are sinful, ignorant creatures, at our best. God is the absolute Spirit, without form, invisible to mortal eye. But we want something to worship that we can feel, touch, and handle. And just as you," he continues, "have in your houses portraits of your friends because they are a real help to you in recalling their features, and just as a son, thousands of miles away from home, may carry with him his mother's photograph, and may perhaps even reverently kiss it in love for his mother, so we regard these idols of ours. They are to us visible representations of God. They serve to bring God near to us and we can feel, touch, and handle the Eternal Spirit through them." As the argument proceeds, it becomes manifest that a blind condemnation of idolatry will not do, and so we may attempt an answer something after this fashion: "It is true there is an instinct in human nature requiring

a visible representation of God. But you cannot reasonably compare the photographs we have of our friends and the images you make of God The young man, looking at the portrait of his mother, is at once reminded of her features, and all that is characteristic of her at once comes back to his mind. But those hideous images you make of God are in no sense an adequate representation of the Supreme Spirit. God is above all things holy, true, righteous, and merciful. All that is true and beautiful and good is summed up in God. None of the ugly images that you make or can make of Him can, by any stretch of imagination, be regarded as reminding one of our loving heavenly Father, and the Father of all spirits." We then proceed to tell him how that instinct of human nature which prompts him to make an idol to represent God is fully satisfied in the incarnation of God in Christ. God became man in Christ that He might reveal His eternal fatherly love and holiness. "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father." And so, in Jesus of Nazareth, Son of man and Son of God, the God-man, we have all the advantages claimed for an idol, namely, that it is a visible representation of God, helpful to our devotion, but we have something infinitely more, for we have in Him a man like ourselves, able to sympathise with our infirmities, yet without sin, and at the same time a perfect embodiment of God's power and love—Immanuel, God with us. He is a living link between man and God, and by His indwelling Spirit He unites the human with the divine. In Christ there are all the advantages of idolatry with none of the grave dangers. The worship of idols has a tendency to degrade and demoralise man, and reduce him to the level of the object of his worship. The worship of Christ tends to exalt man to the moral excellence and spiritual dignity of a strong son of God.

Perhaps, as a last resort, the Hindu will refer to the use of dolls in European homes as supporting his own use of idols in worship "Your little child," the Hindu argues, "has deep satisfaction in the possession of a doll. He speaks to it, washes, dresses, and kisses it, just as if the doll were a living baby, and the vivid imagination of the little child does no harm to anyone. So in matters religious we are as little children." And he repeats in substance the words of the poet :

> We are as infants crying in the night,
> As infants crying for the light,
> And with no language but a cry

"So, being as children in things divine, our idols are our dolls. Let us alone in the possession of them." In concluding the discussion, we may point out : "Yes, it is true that the child speaks to the doll as though it really had life, but as soon as he becomes old enough to know the difference, and develops in intelligence and understanding, does he still keep possession of his dolls, and hold conversations with them as though they possessed life ? No, as the child becomes a man, in his manhood he does not continue to carry his dolls to bed with him. Rather he puts away dolls and other childlike thing, and speaks like a man, acts like a man. But not so with you. The savages in Central Africa or the islands of the sea may perhaps be regarded as little children in these matters, and their idols may possibly for the time being serve a useful purpose. But you are proud of your ancient civilisation, and of the elevated character of your religious literature, of your philosophy, theology, and ethics. You have been in contact, too, with the learning and civilisation of the West for a long time past, and yet, on the question of idolatry, you are claiming to act as little children, or as savages, like the barbarian mountain-tribes of your native land. Look away

from the world, and the things in the world, to God, the Creator of all. Look away from the lower and material, and fix your thoughts and affections on the higher, the spiritual, God the Father and Saviour of all."

(2) *Caste.*

The Sanskrit term for caste is *varna*, signifying colour, and no doubt denoted originally the distinction between the lighter-complexioned Aryan invaders, who entered India from the north-west, and the dark-skinned or coloured aborigines whom they subjugated or drove onward before them. The four great castes of India, priests, warriors, husbandmen, and serfs, are as old as the Rigveda The division of an early community into priests, warriors, and agriculturists is a natural one, and is found likewise in ancient Persia The fourth caste in India came into being when the invading Aryans subjugated the natives and made them captives or slaves. They allowed them to become part of the body politic, but they denied them the special religious rites and privileges which the three Aryan castes enjoyed From these four simple divisions caste has grown to its present gigantic dimensions—a few thousand divisions inexorably rigid in their separation from one another The presumption is that all these divisions and subdivisions arose as a result of Brāhmanism absorbing into its religious and social system new tribes, races, and trade guilds, giving to each section and subsection, as the need arose, a definitely-recognised place in the social organism. As Dr. Fairbairn points out: "Brāhmanism is so intensely racial that it may well be described as the apotheosis of blood, or as the pride of race deified. There is no law so inexorable or pitiless as the law of caste; it binds the Hindu peoples, even though split into a multitude of states,

into a unity more absolute than the most impervious despotism has ever or could ever anywhere have achieved." So great is the fanaticism in connection with it that an ordinary orthodox Hindu will rather die of hunger or disease by the roadside than take cooked food from the hand of a stranger or foreigner. In orthodox Hinduism the community is everything, the individual nothing. With the community the individual is willing to think, believe, or do anything. Without it he will not move or feel any obligation to move.

The grave evils of such a system are manifest, and it has aspects that are completely antagonistic to the Christian view of things. And yet there are in it elements of great worth for the life of the community The unrestricted competition of individual with individual in a spirit of pure selfishness is more European than Indian. "Individualism," as Bishop Westcott says, "regards humanity as made up of disconnected or warring elements. Socialism regards it as an organic whole, a vital unity formed by the combination of contributory members mutually dependent." I think most will agree that the root of the world's evil is a selfish individualism. The great aim of Christ was the creation of a social conscience by the regeneration of the individual, and it appears to me caste may be regarded as preparing the way for great developments in the direction of a Christian social organism in India.

(3) *Asceticism or Self-mortification.*

Asceticism or self-mortification is characteristic of religious and social life in India in a truly pre-eminent degree. From a very early period the idea grew up that self-torture, like sacrifice, could bring almost magical results. In course of time, self-mortification was elaborated in most revolting ways,

and even in the time of Buddha we read of twenty-two methods of self-mortification in respect of food, and thirteen in respect of clothing; later on, the list grows longer, the penances became harder and the self-torture more revolting. Through strength of will a man became able not merely to despise comfort but to welcome pain. Reverence for such self-mastery is deeply ingrained in the minds of the Indian people, and an ascetic is still looked upon as a god on earth.

> Bescorched, befrozen, lone in fearsome woods,
> Naked, without a fire, a fire within
> Struggled in awful silence towards the goal

In asceticism the body is represented as the enemy of the soul, and the way of perfection is identified with the progressive extirpation of the natural instincts and inclinations, by means of fasting, celibacy, voluntary poverty, and similar exercises of devotion. It is quite evident that pure asceticism, as such, has no place in Christianity, and yet there is a kind of asceticism that is of the very essence of the Gospel of Christ. Self-denial of the most rigid kind is undoubtedly an essential part of the religious life as set before men by Jesus Christ. It is true that Jesus came eating and drinking as other men, and yet we have to remember His forty days' fast in the wilderness and His consistent life of poverty and restraint. Nowhere more strongly than in the New Testament are men required to conquer the insistent and unruly demands of the body and the unworthy ambitions and emotions of the spirit. Western Christianity has emphasised those aspects of Christ's teaching that emphasise individual development. It may fall to India and the East to give adequate expression to the ascetic elements of self-suppression, so obviously a part of the teaching of Christ, and to complete what Christian mysticism has begun.

(4) *Quietism.*

Quietism is a feature of the Hindu character to a far more marked degree than it is of the European. The Hindu excels in the passive virtues, while the European does in the active. Hinduism regards the most perfect state of the soul as one of quiet in which it ceases to reason or exercise any of its faculties, its sole functions being passively to receive the infused divine light and remain in a state of inactive contemplation. When India adopts Christianity we do not wish her altogether to abandon this spirit of Quietism. If there is a place in Christianity for the Quaker, with his doctrine of infusion of light in quiet, so there may be a place for a school of Indian Quietists, with a doctrine of Christian Nirvāna. The active virtues are not everything.

(5) *The Fourfold Order.*

Finally the fourfold order, the *āśramas*, express in concrete forms one of the fundamentals of the Hindu ideal in practical life. The first stage is that of a *religious student* (*Brahmachārin*). The young Brāhman is to reside with his preceptors until he has gained a thorough knowledge of the three Vedas, the period of his residence to be decided according to his capacity for acquiring the requisite instruction. During this period he is to abstain from gaiety and impurity of all kinds, and to show the most profound respect to his religious teacher, as well as to his parents, and to all persons older than himself. The next stage is that of a *householder* (*gṛihastha*). The most imperative duty of a householder is to establish a family, and to beget a son to continue his father's works. He is, moreover, to perform the obligatory sacrifices and engage in the study of the Veda and almsgiving. The third stage is that of the anchorite or *hermit* (*vānaprastha*).

When the householder perceives his hair to be turning grey, or as soon as his first grandchild is born, and after he has paid his three debts to the gods, the fathers, and the rishis, he is to retire to the forest, and there as a hermit practise austerities, though still keeping up some connection with his wife and children. The last stage is that of a *wandering ascetic* (*sannyāsi* or *parivrājaka*). He now abandons all worldly interest, and surrenders every fetter of affection, desire, and passion. He has no fixed abode, he lives as it happens, subsists as he may, indifferent to all but the realisation that he is the *Brahma*, and with this realisation the phantom world of joy and sorrow sinks out of sight. While there is much that we may criticise in this ideal, one cannot but admit that there is much in it that is high and noble It lays most marked emphasis on the importance of religious education as the basis of all true character It lays stress on the duty and importance of family life The idea of retiring to the woods in the closing years of life has been much criticised. The western Christian has a tendency to glory in the thought of dying in harness. I confess I have little sympathy with this aspiration. More attractive to me, and I think equally Christian, is the Indian ideal of spending the closing years of life in silent retirement and preparation for the great eternity beyond.

II. The Common Elements in the Theology of the Bhagavad Gita and the New Testament.

I Introductory.

The present essay is the result of an independent study of the Bhagavad Gītā and the Christian

Scriptures with a view of formulating with some precision the internal relations of their fundamental doctrines regarding God and the world. The quotations from the Gītā are independent translations of the original Sanskrit.* The Biblical quotations are from the Revised Version.

(*a*) *Importance of the Gītā in Modern India.*

From the standpoint of religious philosophy, the Bhagavad Gītā is the most notable production of ancient India. The Vedas are documents of the greatest historical interest and value, for they enable us to trace to their source the social customs and religious beliefs of modern India For an historical understanding of the dominant philosophy of modern India, the Upanishads, too, are indispensable; for in them we see the thinkers of India struggling to express their religious emotions and experiences in philosophical form. The two ancient Epics, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, and the eighteen Purānas, are gigantic repositories of the religion, philosophy, ethics, politics, cosmogony, and theogony of Brāhmanic India. Veda, Upanishad, Epic, and Purāna will ever prove a mine of wealth to the curious student, historian, philosopher, or theologian. In India itself at the present time, the earliest literary monuments, Veda and Upanishad, are greatly neglected, and herein is a fundamental defect characteristic of almost all Hindu scholarship in so far as it is uninfluenced by western methods—that it is uncritical and unhistorical; for it must be recognised that the Vedas are a sealed book to all but a mere fraction of the Sanskrit scholars of India, and at the present time exercise little or no influence on the religious and social life

* I have in preparation a new edition of the Bhagavad Gītā, with Introduction, a Critical Text, a new Translation, and a Commentary

of India. The study of the Upanishads, too, is of an extremely limited character, and their interest is mainly historical. The Epics and Purāṇas are so absolutely encylopædic that, from the very nature of things, it is only the most essential portions, and the most interesting episodes and fragments, which can be circulated and read The Bhagavad Gītā is but as a drop in the ocean of Indian religious literature, but all who follow the developments of religious thought in India at the present time will recognise that in the whole range of Sanskrit literature there is no work that can be at all compared to it in practical importance. A brief episode of the Mahābhārata, containing only 700 out of its 110,000 ślokas or couplets, and about the size of the Gospel of St John, the Gītā is yet a repository of the best religious thought of India, a true compendium of the spiritual life of her people, the product of their best thought in religion, philosophy, and ethics. The Gītā, too, is a living book, devoutly read and studied by tens of thousands of Hindus throughout the length and breadth of India. All men of light and leading in India are thoroughly familiar with its contents, and no man of culture, whether that culture be native or foreign, and whether he lives in village, town, or city, neglects the study of it.

(*b*) *Scope and Object of the present Essay.*

The present dissertation is an attempt to trace, from the standpoint of critical scholarship, the internal relations of the fundamental teachings of the Bhagavad Gītā and the New Testament respectively regarding God and the world. Much has been written regarding the alleged historical relations of the Bhagavad Gītā and Christianity, but hitherto little or nothing has been done to trace the inner relationship of their doctrines quite independent

of the question of the historical relationship of the one to the other. To resort to the theory of borrowing for the explanation of the existence of affinities is natural and widespread, but this course of procedure we shall avoid; for it is not the object of the present dissertation to attempt to decide in any way the question of the alleged historical relations of the Bhagavad Gītā and Christianity. Noteworthy in this respect is the work of Dr Lorinser,* who maintains that the author of the Gītā borrowed many of his ideas and expressions, and his most characteristic doctrine of *bhakti*, or reverential love, from the New Testament Very different is the attitude of Mr. K. T Telang,† who, in controverting Lorinser's theory, claims for the Gītā an antiquity extending as far back at least as the fourth century B C He further ventures to suggest that the expression used in the colophons of the MSS, describing the Gītā as "the Upanishad sung by God," is not altogether devoid of historical value. If Telang's theory of the date of the Gītā be correct, then Lorinser's contentions are at once disposed of, but scholars in general see in both these writers evidences of bias Lorinser, as a Christian theologian, felt that the expressions and sentiments corresponding to the Christian feeling of believing love and devotion to God could not have been a product of the intellectual speculation of the heathen world, but must have been borrowed from the revealed word of God contained in the New Testament; while Telang, as a devout Hindu, felt such an assumption intolerable, and deemed it necessary, in the interests of his religious faith, to date the Gītā as far back as possible. The

**Die Bhagavad Gītā übersetzt und erläutert*, von Dr F Lorinser, Breslau, 1869

†*Bhagavad Gītā in English verse*, Bombay, 1875, *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol VIII, 1898 (second edition)

general trend of European scholarship is antagonistic to the conclusions both of Lorinser and Telang. The following words of Tawney* represent the standpoint of many western scholars in regard to Lorinser's work :

> The striking similarity which he has pointed out between the ideas and expressions of the Bhagavad Gītā and those of the New Testament must have an abiding interest for the critic and theologian If we cannot look upon the teaching of the great Hindu philosophic poem as a distorted copy of Christian doctrine, we may still welcome its noble outpourings of devotion as being, no less than the elevated morality of the Roman Stoic, "Testimonium animae naturaliter Christianae"

Professor Garbe† is more emphatic, and argues strongly against the assumption that the Gītā has borrowed Christian ideas. Maintaining that the Gītā is a composite work, he considers that the original Gītā, containing the theistic elements, dates from the first half of the second century B C., and the Gītā, enlarged through Vedāntic additions, from the second century A D. Professor Hopkins,‡ on the other hand, thinks it probable that the author of the Gītā was acquainted with the Gospel of St. John, and adduces considerable internal evidence in support of his theory. In view of the uncertainty and inconclusiveness of the evidence, it is safer for the present to assume that the Bhagavad Gītā and the New Testament are quite independent of each other historically, but contain striking resemblances of considerable psychological interest to the student of the history of religions.

(c) *The unifying tendency common to the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures.*

It is interesting to note that both in the Gītā and the New Testament there is a comprehensive universality that would claim as its own such

Calcutta Review, Vol LXII, p 81
†*Die Bhagavad Gītā*, Leipzig, 1905
‡*India, Old and New*

elements of life and light as may be in other systems. The Gītā recognises the worship of various divinities as helpful to such as have not the highest knowledge, but the benefits accruing from such worship come, not from the inferior divinities honoured, but from the Supreme Deity.

If any worshipper whatsoever wishes to worship in faith any form, to that form I render his faith steadfast Endued with such faith, he exerts himself in the service of such a god, and obtains from him those beneficial things which he covets, being dispensed by Me only (VII 21, 22)

Devout worship of any god is in reality worship of the Supreme Being.

Even the devotees of other gods, who worship full of faith, they also worship Me, O Kaunteya, though not according to ordinance (IX 23)

This universality has been a powerful aid to the progress of Brāhmanism among the non-Brāhmanical and aboriginal elements of the population, with their cruder forms of worship; and so the modern Hindu pantheon is largely the outcome of tribal heroes and lower objects of worship such as trees, serpents, and demons being engrafted upon Brāhmanic worship Even to-day the Brāhman priests seek to win over to Hinduism the hill-tribes, not by having them abandon the worship of their special divinities, demons, or fetishes, but by making them realise that all their objects of worship may be retained, so long as they recognise that all true worship, whatever be its object, is in reality the worship of the Supreme Deity of Brāhmanism. The Brāhman of to-day is also prepared to accept Christ, but as a form of Vishnu.

Akin to this attitude of the Gītā and Brāhmanism to other religious systems and objects of worship is the attitude of the New Testament and modern Christianity to non-Christian religious systems. Jesus made no attempt to over-ride the religious systems of the past by denying the elements of truth

they contained. On the contrary, He took all the fundamental conceptions of Judaism as the basis of His teaching, and confined His efforts to building on the foundation already laid—to perfecting the work already being done. He disclaimed any antagonism to the teachers of the past in the fruitful words :

> Think not that I came to destroy the law or the prophets I came not to destroy but to fulfil (Matt v 17)

Plainly He thought of His teaching as the crown and goal of Judaism. The apostle Paul applied this principle to non-Christian religions in general. His attitude to the Athenians, as he stood on the Areopagus and beheld the city full of idols, is significant :

> Ye men of Athens, in all things I perceive that ye are somewhat religious For as I passed along and observed the objects of your worship, I found also an altar with this inscription, "To an unknown God" What, therefore, you worship in ignorance, this set I forth unto you (Acts xvii 22, 23)

Here there is no attempt to destroy, root and branch, the existing religion of the Athenians. He tactfully assumes that they already worship the true God, only in ignorance, and he feels it his mission, not so much to condemn the false, as to perfect the imperfect. The same attitude is still more marked in words that follow :

> He made of one every nation of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, having determined their appointed seasons, and the bounds of their habitation, that they should seek God, if haply they might feel after Him, though He is not far from each one of us, for in Him we live and move and have our being, as certain even of your own poets have said, For we are also His offspring (Acts xvii 26-28)

In all this, Paul, while dissociating himself from all that he deemed corrupt and harmful in the Greek religion, very clearly recognises its higher elements as expressions of the truth of the one Supreme God who controls the destinies of individuals and nations, and who is the source of all light and life.

For there is no distinction between Jew and Greek, for the same Lord is Lord of all and is rich unto all that call upon Him. (Rom x 12)

Paul's conception of the working of God in human life and history compelled him to frankly and ungrudgingly recognise truth wherever found, for, in speaking of the responsibility of men for their deeds, he says in another passage :

Because that which may be known of God is manifest in them, for God manifested it unto them For the invisible things of Him since the creation of the world are clearly seen, being perceived through the things that are made, even His everlasting power and divinity (Rom i 19-20)

It was therefore impossible for him to condemn wholesale the non-Christian religious systems as products of Satanic inspiration It is the Spirit of God that writes divine law, and reveals divine truth in human hearts and consciences

For when Gentiles which have no law do by nature the things of the law, these, having no law, are a law unto themselves, in that they show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience bearing witness therewith, and their thoughts one with another accusing or else excusing them (Rom ii 13, 14)

II. The Various Antitheistic Theories Discountenanced in the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures.

(*a*) *Materialism and Atheism.*

In their doctrine of God and His relation to the Universe, both the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures have certain fundamental resemblances from a negative point of view. Both are opposed to a materialistic explanation of the Universe and of human life The ground idea of modern materialism—that all the phenomena of nature, including those of life (vegetable and animal) and of thought, are to be explained purely in terms of matter and its properties—is foreign to the teaching of the Gītā. The Sāmkhya recognises two eternal uncreated substances, *prakṛti*, or primordial matter (a term used

also of nature, or matter as evolved), and *purusha*, or spirit, existing in infinite plurality. The whole universe of objective existence is evolved from *prakṛiti* by regular laws. Thus, not only are all the forms of material existence evolved from *prakṛiti*, but intellect, mind, and soul, as we are accustomed to conceive them, for *purusha* is absolutely without attributes or qualities. It is *prakṛiti* that supplies the instruments of perception and thought, both what perceives and what is perceived.* It is thus evident that, from the modern point of view, the Sāṃkhya may be regarded as in a sense materialistic. Many of the fundamental conceptions and most of the phraseology of the Gītā are Sāṃkhyan, but the Gītā has its own philosophy in regard to God and the Universe. In certain passages, it is true, *prakṛiti* appears to be endued with powers similar to that ascribed to it in the Sāṃkhyan philosophy.

The Lord creates not for the world either the faculty of work or works, nor the connection of works and their fruit. But it is nature only that works (v. 14, *cf.* also iii. 27, xiii. 20-29),

but in other passages it is made quite clear that nature or *prakṛiti* is not to be regarded as an independent entity, but performs its work under the control and guidance of God.

The great Brahman is a womb for Me, therein I place the germ, from that, O Bhārata, is the birth of all beings.

Here it is evident, from the connection, that "the great Brahman" is used in the sense of primal and undetermined matter, and it is the Supreme Being who communicates to matter the force that generates the phenomena of the Universe.

With Me as director, nature gives birth to moving and unmoving things, and by reason of that, O Kaunteya, the Universe revolves. (ix. 10)

It is thus evident that the Gītā gives no support to a purely materialistic interpretation of the Universe,

* Max Müller, *Systems of Indian Philosophy*, p. 389.

though it recognises the reality of matter as an eternal phase of the Supreme Being as conditioned.

The dependence of the material Universe on God as its source is a marked feature in the teaching of the Christian Scriptures. God is described as

> the living God which made heaven and earth and sea and all things that are therein (Acts xiv 15)
>
> Of Him and through Him and unto Him are all things (Rom xi 36)

Throughout the whole of the Old and New Testaments there is no trace of any independence being assigned to the material world, much less of the supremacy of matter as the ultimate principle of all things. Both the Gītā and the New Testament also strongly condemn that worldly or materialistic view of life which appears to be the logical outcome of materialism as a philosophic creed.

> Demoniac persons understand neither action nor inaction, neither purity nor virtuous conduct nor truthfulness is found in them. They say the Universe is without truth, without support, without a lord, not produced in serial order, what else but caused by lust? Holding this view, these ruined souls of small understanding, fierce in deeds, arise as enemies of the world for (its) destruction, surrendering themselves to insatiable lust, filled with hypocrisy, pride, and wantonness, adopting through delusion wrong convictions, they engage in action, devoted to impurity, cherishing boundless imaginations ending in death, absorbed in the enjoyment of objects of desire, assured that this is all (xvi 7-11)

This passage manifestly condemns materialism and atheism of the coarser type, and also such men as deny the cosmology of the Sāmkhya-Yoga. The Sāmkhya of Kapila is indeed atheistic, for in this system there is no room provided for the superintendence of a Supreme Deity; but Kapila, in x. 26, is spoken of as the greatest of the saints, and so it is quite improbable that there is any reference here to his atheism or that of his followers. The passage, however, may quite well refer to the Chārvākas,* who maintained that the four elements are the sole

* So Davies, *Bhagavad Gītā*, p 156

reality and that sense perceptions are our only source of knowledge. Since the spirit dissolves with the body, the Supreme God, they held, is the gratification of the senses. The Christian Scriptures, too, condemn in unmeasured terms the purely materialistic view of life and worldly-mindedness in every form. One of the great Jewish sects, though admitting the existence of God, interpreted human life from a materialistic point of view

For the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit (Acts xxiii 8)

The early Israelites, too, gave little or no thought to a life beyond the grave, their ideal of happiness appearing to be a successful and joyous life here in this world. The materialistic conceptions of immortality held by the Egyptians* may have had something to do with the cautious attitude of the ancient Israelites on this question However, it is clear that, by the time of the Babylonian exile, the hope of immortality, and consequently a more spiritual conception of human life, prevailed. This would appear to be the inevitable outcome of the Divine discipline of Israel, and Zoroastrian influence on the religion of Israel† may have helped to confirm the idea In the New Testament a spiritual view of life is clearly set forth, together with a full and undimmed doctrine of immortality.

Be not therefore anxious, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? for after all these things do the Gentiles seek, for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things But seek ye first His kingdom and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you (Matt vi 31-33)

For the mind of the flesh is death, but the mind of the spirit is life and peace (Rom viii 6)

For he that soweth unto his own flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption, but he that soweth unto the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap eternal life (Gal vi 8)

* Budge, *Dwellers on the Nile*, p 156
† Cheyne, *Origin of Psalter*, Lecture VIII

Such parables as those of Dives and Lazarus (Luke xvi. 19-26) and the rich man and his barns (Luke xii. 15-21) are also intended to emphasise the doctrine that "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things he possesseth" The true life is that in which spirit is dominant, and the body but the instrument of the spirit's higher life.

Both the Gītā and the New Testament take for granted the existence of a Supreme Being without any attempt at proof. Belief in His existence is a necessary condition of all religious experience, "for he that cometh to God must believe that He is" (Heb. xi 6). Both also regard atheism and materialism with a more practical than speculative interest It is assumed that an atheistic or materialistic view of the Universe is accompanied by absorption in material interests, and a low view of life and its responsibilities.

(*b*) *Agnosticism.*

Both the Bhagavad Gītā and the New Testament are opposed to the modern agnostic view that we know nothing of things beyond material phenomena—that God and the unseen world are things unknown and unknowable. The Gītā thinks of God as a real object of knowledge.

He who knows in truth My divine birth and work, having abandoned the body, cometh not to birth again, he comes to Me, O Arjuna (iv 9)

The possibility of a true knowledge of the Divine Being is here assumed, and such knowledge enables man to see and realise his eternal oneness with the Divine. Through such knowledge man is eternally freed from the bondage of matter

Having known Me as the Receiver of sacrifices and austerities, the great Lord of all worlds, the Friend of all beings, he attains to peace (v 29)

Here the Supreme Spirit is far from being regarded as the Absolute of the Vedānta. He is rather an

object of religious worship concerned in, and responsive to, the earnest efforts of men to find Him, exercising control over all orders of beings, and granting His eternal peace to all who learn to know Him as He is.

With mind clinging to Me, O Pārtha, practising devotion, and finding refuge in Me, how thou shalt without doubt know Me fully, that hear thou (VII 1)

Foolish men despise Me when I have assumed a human form being ignorant of My supreme nature, the great Lord of Beings (IX 11)

For I am the enjoyer and also the Lord of all sacrifices, but they know Me not in essence, and hence they fall. (IX 24)

He who among mortals being devoid of delusion knows Me as the great Lord of the worlds, unborn and without beginning, he is released from all sins (X 3)

Not by study of the Vedas, not by penance, not by liberality, may I be seen in such a form as thou hast seen Me But through exclusive devotion, O Arjuna, I may be known and seen in truth, and entered O vexer of the foe (XI 534)

Again I will describe to thee the highest knowledge, the best of all knowledge, having learned which all sages have passed hence to supreme perfection They who, resorting to this knowledge, have attained likeness of nature with Me, are not born at the creation, and are not disturbed at the dissolution (XIV 1, 2 *Cf* also VII 50, 55, 56)

These and similar passages make it perfectly clear that, in the Gītā, a true knowledge of God is regarded as the one thing needful for spiritual emancipation, and this knowledge is not to be conceived as the mere external knowledge of rites and ceremonies ordained in Scripture and inculcated in the popular worship, nor is it yet to be conceived from the standpoint of the philosophy of the Vedānta as a metaphysical perception of the oneness of the finite self with the Infinite Self. It is rather a spiritual communion of the human spirit with the Divine—it is that identity of thought and nature in relation to God that is attained by the soul which finds its one exclusive source of delight in the Divine The God given us, therefore, by the Gītā is not the abstract Absolute of the Vedānta, nor yet the anthropomorphic tyrant of popular faith, but a

God who is regarded as capable of being in truth known, loved, and adored.

The Christian Scriptures, too, conceive of God as a true object of knowledge, and assume that He may be known, not only by direct revelation, but also from His works in nature. The apostle Paul, in speaking to the men of Lystra concerning "the living God," says that

> He left not Himself without witness, in that He did good, and gave you from heaven rains and fruitful seasons, filling your hearts with food and gladness (Acts xiv 17)
>
> For the invisible things of Him since the creation of the world are clearly seen, being perceived through the things that are made, even His everlasting power and divinity (Rom i 20)

In these and similar passages it is indicated that the beauty and benevolence of the being and attributes of God are witnessed to by, and may be known from, the material world and the constitution and course of nature. The possibility of a spiritual knowledge of God is also frequently stated or assumed.

> And this is life eternal- that they should know Thee, the only true God, and Him whom Thou didst send, even Jesus Christ (John xvii 3)
>
> I know Mine own, and Mine own know Me, even as the Father knoweth Me, and I know the Father (John x 14, 15) 2-05
>
> Every one that loveth is begotten of God, and knoweth God He that loveth not knoweth not God, for God is love (1 John iv 7, 8)
>
> For Thou lovedst Me before the foundation of the world O righteous Father, the world knew Thee not, but I knew Thee (John xvii 24, 25)

In these passages it is evidently taught that knowledge does not mean simply an acquaintance with facts as external, nor merely a conviction that the facts in question correspond to reality. It is rather something personal, involving mutual sympathy, love, community of nature. God is conceived of as incarnating Himself in Jesus Christ, so as to give a fuller manifestation of His nature to men, and thus open up to men a higher life by means of fellowship with the Divine in Christ. This higher life of

communion with God is the true life of the spirit, and so is eternal life begun here on earth. Completeness of knowledge, perfection of love, community of nature, all involve one another. It will be seen, then, that the Gītā and the New Testament teach very similar ideas regarding knowing God as a spiritual Personality. In both cases there is involved exclusive devotion to a real and knowable Personality. Jesus expresses the same in another form in the words:

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength (Mark xii 30)

Clearly all this is in the sharpest contrast to the pure Vedānta, whose "fundamental tenet is the absolute inaccessibility of God to human thoughts and words"* The Absolute of the Vedānta is "beyond the range of speech or thought." (Vedānta Sāra.)

From which words turn back, together with the mind, not reaching it (Taittiriya Up ii 9)

The eye goes not thither, nor speech, nor mind (Kena Up i 3)

Unthinkable, unspeakable (Māndūkya Up 7)

According to Deussen,† "the very organisation of our intellect (which is bound once for ever to its innate forms of perception, space, time, causality) excludes us from a knowledge of the spaceless, timeless, godly reality for ever and ever" In reference to the attitude of the Vedānta and modern agnosticism as to the unknowableness of God, it must be borne in mind that both the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures admit that there is that in God which must always pass our comprehension.

Men of no understanding deem Me who am unperceived to have become perceptible, knowing not My absolute, changeless, and highest nature (Gītā vii 24)

I know all beings, past, present, and future, O Arjuna, but Me no one knows (vii 26)

*Deussen, *Elements of Metaphysics*, p 326

†*Ibid*, p 327

What is meant is that, from the nature of things, God cannot make known all the infinity of His being in any incarnate form. So, too, in the Christian Scriptures,

Canst thou by searching find out God? (Job xi. 7)
O the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out! (Rom vi 33)
Now I know in part (1 Cor xiii 12)

(c) *Idealistic and Materialistic Monism.*

Both the Bhagavad Gītā and the Christian Scriptures oppose that view of the Universe that is characteristic of unqualified monism, whether idealistic or materialistic. According to the standpoint of the idealistic monism of the Vedānta, and of subjective idealism, the world has no real existence, but is purely the creation of our own intellect.

God alone, and nothing besides Him, is real. The Universe, as regards its extension in space and bodily consistence, is in truth not real, it is mere illusion as used to be said, mere appearance as we say now. The appearance is not God as in Pantheism, but the reflection of God and is an aberration from the Divine essence. Not as though God were to be sought on the other side of the Universe, for He is not at all in space, nor as though He were before or after, for He is not at all in time, nor as though He were the Cause of the Universe, for the law of causality has no application here. Rather to the extent to which the Universe is regarded as real, God is without reality. That He is real, nay the sole reality, we perceive only so far as we succeed in shaking ourselves free theoretically and practically from this entire world of appearance *

Such is the idealism of the Vedānta stated in the language of modern philosophy by its celebrated European interpreter Professor Deussen. Expressed in terms more Indian, the fundamental doctrine of the Vedānta regarding the Universe is

that in reality there is no manifold world, but only Brahman, and that what we consider as the world is a mere illusion (*māyā*) similar to a *mrigatrishnikā* which disappears when we approach it, and not more to be feared than the rope which we took in the darkness for a serpent †

*Deussen, *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, pp 160, 161
†Deussen, *Elements of Metaphysics*, p 330

The Bhagavad Gītā, on the other hand, recognises the reality of matter, and speaks of it as the inferior part or lower nature of the Supreme Spirit.

Earth, water, fire, air, ether, mind, understanding, and self-consciousness—thus is My eightfold nature divided This is the lower (nature), but know that I have another nature than this—a higher, one of elemental soul, O mighty armed one, by which this Universe is upheld Understand that all things have their birth in these I am the source and dissolution of the whole Universe (vii 4-6)

In this passage the physical world-matter, with all its varied developments from the five elements up to self-consciousness, and on the other hand the World-Soul, the animating principle of all things, are regarded as conditioned phases of the Supreme Self, assuming qualified existence. But God, as the one eternal Supreme Being, is above and beyond these phases of His conditioned Being

Since I am beyond the perishable, and higher also than the imperishable, therefore am I celebrated in the world and in the Veda as the best of beings (xv 18)

In His true Spiritual Being, His unconditioned Self, He is not in reality in these phases of being, matter and the World-Soul (ix 4). It is quite evident that this teaching is very different from the Vedanta, which treats matter and the Universe as mere illusion, no more real than the mirage of the desert. That the Christian Scriptures, too, give no countenance to the idea that the Universe is mere illusion needs no proof.

To contend for the existence of the subjective self, as we as the objective world, is no doubt to oppose the monism of the pure idealist, but even while maintaining the reality of both mind and matter we may still uphold a monistic world-theory, according to which "object and subject are the correlative modes of manifestation of an underlying activity, one in existence, but none the less fundamentally distinct in aspect"* That this underlying

*Lloyd Morgan, *Introduction to Comparative Psychology*, p. 10.

activity, the source of all existence, is, according to the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures, spiritual and not materialistic is evident from the quotations we have already given. Spiritual monism, as a theory of the Universe common to both the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures, we shall discuss at a later stage.

(*d*) *Deism.*

Neither the Bhagavad Gītā nor the New Testament countenances the deistic view of the Universe according to which God is removed as far as possible from the world and the immediate life of man. In the original Sāmkhya-Yoga a personal God is inserted, to satisfy the religious needs of those who accepted the general philosophy of the atheistic Sāmkhya. In this Yoga doctrine, as found in its earlier form, it is assumed that

> the Divine Soul stands in an eternal and indissoluble connection with the noblest and most refined constituent of matter, *sattva*, which is completely purified from the lower material elements, and that this soul is in consequence from and to all eternity endowed with supreme power, wisdom, and goodness Being free from entanglement in worldly existence which is full of misery, or in the cycle of births, God lives in eternal bliss, without merit or guilt, unaffected by all the impulses and fatal dispositions with which all other living beings are burdened *

Here God is viewed simply as a transcendent Being, above and beyond the world of nature and men, while His immanence in the world is ignored or denied. He neither creates the world, nor rules it Nevertheless, as Professor Garbet points out,

> in the later Yoga literature, especially in the numerous more recent Upanishads, which are founded upon and develop the Yoga doctrine, the conception of God takes a much more definite place God gradually becomes more personal, and the relation between God and man closer Here also, therefore, the universal need of the human heart has proved stronger than the logical reasonings of philosophy

The deism of Europe admitted God to be the Creator of the Universe, but refused to regard Him

*Garbe, *Encyclopaedia of Religion*, Article Yoga
†*Op cit.*, Article Yoga

as its Ruler. The Universe is represented as a complicated machine produced complete in its present form in the remote past, and like a clock going of itself ever since. Since the great act of creation God has left the world and men severely alone. Neither the Gītā nor the Christian Scriptures give any countenance to this conception.

Entering the earth I support creatures with My energy (Gītā xv 13)

The conditioned life of the Universe is thus regarded as being supported or maintained by the eternal force of the Supreme Being

These worlds would fall into ruin if I did not perform action (iii 24)

With Me as director, nature gives birth to moving and unmoving things, and by reason of that, O Kaunteya, the Universe revolves (ix 10)

As father with son, as comrade with comrade, as lover with spouse, deign to bear with me, O God (xi 44)

Have thy mind on Me, become My devotee, sacrifice to Me, do homage to Me Thou shalt certainly come to Me That I promise to thee truly, (for) thou art dear to Me

Thus the Gītā presents to us a truly living God, who is not only the Eternal Source of the Universe, but is ever present in it, supporting and directing the world of nature, and befriending the world of men.

Among the Old Testament prophets there is a lofty monotheism in which the transcendence of God is specially emphasised, though His living activity in the Universe is not ignored; but the later Jews tended increasingly to think more of the transcendent than the immanent God. The Old Testament Scriptures, however, cannot be said to favour a deistic interpretation of the Universe.

For thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is Holy I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones (Is lvii 15)

Am I a God at hand, saith the Lord, and not a God afar off? Can any hide himself in secret places that I shall not see him? saith the Lord. Do not I fill heaven and earth? saith the Lord. (Jer. xxiii. 25)

The New Testament expresses in a still clearer form the presence and activity of God in the Universe.

He Himself giveth to all life and breath and all things, and He made of one every nation of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, having determined their appointed seasons and the bounds of their habitation, that they should seek God, if haply they might feel after Him and find Him, though He is not far from each one of us, for in Him we live and move and have our being, as certain even of your own poets have said, For we are also His offspring (Acts xvii 25-28)

Thus the operations of nature, and the whole life of man, are directly ascribed to God.

Know ye not that ye are a temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? (1 Cor iii 16)

The conception of God's Spirit as the immanent energy that directs the moral life of man is significant in this direction. Characteristic, too, of the New Testament in common with the Bhagavad Gītā is the conception of God incarnating Himself in human life.

In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God ... And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us (and we beheld His glory, glory as of the only begotten of the Father), full of grace and truth (John i 1, 14)

But this raises a problem that will need to be specially considered later on.

The deistic conception of God and the Universe has but few supporters in modern times, and this can hardly be matter of surprise, for its position is not a strong one. The Yoga, fundamentally an atheistic system of philosophy, like the Sāṃkhya, introduced the conception of a transcendent God to satisfy the religious instincts of its followers; but it is difficult to see how a God who sits in unbroken silence upon His eternal throne, without concerning Himself with the hopes, fears, mysteries, and struggles of the life of man, can satisfy the religious thirst of the soul in its longings for a living, active, and compassionate God.

(e) *Pantheism.*

Neither the Bhagavad Gītā nor the Christian Scriptures countenance the pantheistic theory of the Universe, according to which God is identified with and confined within the Universe. According to Spinoza,* the greatest exponent of pantheism as understood at the present time, God is the one eternal substance, which makes its appearance in the twofold realm of thought and matter. All individual forms of existence are but modifications of the one Reality constantly emerging out of it like waves upon the ocean, and then sinking back into and being absorbed by the ocean of universal life. Reality is thus one substance developed and conceived under two attributes, extension and consciousness; or, in other words, the All-One is manifest to us in the two aspects of existence, in nature and history. According to pantheism, therefore,

there is no room for God independently of the Universe, but only within it. The terms God and Universe become synonymous.†

Pantheism, though found largely in the Upanishads, is thus by no means identical with the idealistic monism of the Vedānta, which denies the reality and existence of the Universe, and asserts that God alone and nothing besides Him is real. Now, it must be admitted that, in the Bhagavad Gītā, there are distinct Vedāntic and pantheistic tendencies which are perhaps best explained, with Professor Garbe, as later additions. At any rate, Professor Garbe has demonstrated quite conclusively that the groundwork of the poem remains in all its essential integrity even though the Vedāntic elements be eliminated. Since the Gītā, however, in its present form contains varieties of teaching that appear irreconcilable, the fairest course to adopt seems to be to discover the general trend of its teaching, and

*Cf *Tractatus de Deo*, c. 2, and Paulsen, *Introduction to Philosophy*, p. 232.

†Deussen, *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, p. 160.

within reason to seek to interpret the exceptional elements in accordance with it. Assuming that a later writer with Vedāntic tendencies is responsible for the Gītā in its present form, it is difficult to imagine him making his Upanishadic and pantheistic additions without any idea as to whether they could be reconciled with the original Gītā or not, which is distinctly theistic His sense of logic probably was not very strong, or he may have thought, like some modern thinkers, that logic is of little or no consequence in religious matters; but it would seem that he must have had some idea that the unity of the work would not be destroyed by the additions he made, and the intellect of India must have agreed with him, judging by the reception it has given to his work This much is tolerably clear—that, even in its present form, the general trend of the Gītā's teaching concerning God in His relation to the Universe is theistic rather than pantheistic, personal rather than impersonal, and nowhere is it suggested that God is imprisoned within the Universe. This we shall see by the examination of a few typical passages:

Bewildered by those three natures formed of the moods, this whole Universe knows not that I am above them and changeless (vii 13)

The three moods or constituent parts of Primordial Matter (*prakriti*) combine with Spirit to form various classes of existence, and so the Supreme Spirit animates the whole world of existence; but individual existences are inclined to look upon the material only, and in their bewilderment forget that the Supreme Spirit is not bound by, but is above and beyond, the material Universe. It is the transcendence of God in connection with His immanence that is intended to be emphasised in the apparently contradictory expressions:

I am not in them, but they are in Me. (vii 12)

All things abide in Me I abide not in them Nor yet do all things abide in Me My self, producing the beings, supports the beings, yet it abides not in the beings. (IX 4, 5)

Particular care is thus taken to emphasise the truth that God is not limited by, or imprisoned in, the Universe.

The emphasis that the New Testament lays on the conception of God as Creator and Sovereign, who is "over all, and through all, and in all" (Eph. IV. 6), shows that, while it recognises the idea of God as immanent in the Universe and in man, it carefully avoids His confusion with and confinement within the Universe in any pantheistic sense.

III. The Comprehensive Universality of the Theology of the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures.

We now have to deal with the doctrine of God as contained in the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures from the more positive point of view From our review of the theories of the Universe that are discountenanced in both, we have seen that there are fundamental resemblances of a remarkable character in the Gītā and the New Testament regarding the doctrine of God We shall now endeavour to state these in a positive way.

Is it possible to frame a comprehensive definition of Deity as conceived in common, in both the Gītā and the New Testament? We believe a definition on the following lines fairly expresses the common element contained in both: "God is the Absolute, All-Perfect Spirit, both transcendent and immanent, and is eternal, omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent, ethical, and compassionate; the Creative Source, Sustainer, and Sovereign Director of the Universe, who, in self-revealing love, has become incarnate for the world's salvation and for restoring men to eternal union with Himself."

Of course, it must be recognised that the above definition does not exhaust what is taught either in the Gītā or in the New Testament regarding God; but that it substantially represents the essential elements of the doctrine of God contained in both, we shall endeavour to prove by a more detailed examination of our sources.

The Bhagavad Gītā is admittedly a philosophical poem, the philosophy of which is expounded in the interests of religion. The Bible, on the other hand, is religious rather than philosophical or scientific, and even its religious doctrines are expounded, not so much from the standpoint of a theological system, as from the bearings of the doctrines on the practical life of men Still, like the Gītā, it contains a comprehensive doctrine of God; but, unlike the Gītā, the philosophy underlying the doctrine is rather presupposed than definitely expounded

Both the Gītā and the Bible, as we showed in our introductory remarks to this essay, seek a unification of all spiritual experience, tracing all to one Supreme Source We have now to indicate how both our sources seek a synthesis of separate elements of truth found in theological or philosophical systems differing widely from one another On the basis of this method of synthesis common to both we shall endeavour, before proceeding to justify in detail the common definition of God given above, to state briefly, in the language of modern philosophy and science, and in terms of a spiritual monism, the philosophical conception of God definitely taught or presupposed in both the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures.

The Gītā's doctrine of God in His relation to the Universe has elements in it derived from the following sources :

(*a*) *Vedic.* There is, it is true, no worship of the elements of nature, sky and dawn and cloud, inculcated, such as we find in the Vedas, but a special

efficacy is assigned to sacrifice, and the all-pervading eternal Brahman is said to have His seat in the sacrifice (III. 14-16). The good who eat the remains of sacrifice are promised freedom from all sins (III. 13). The efficacy assigned to sacrifice, and the mysterious identification of Brahman with the sacrifice, show the influence of Vedas and Brāhmanas.

(*b*) *Upanishadic.* Many of the most notable utterances of the poem may be traced back to some Upanishad. Numerous parallels between the Gītā and various Upanishads may be quoted, but the following list, given by Professor Garbe,* undoubtedly indicates direct borrowing:

Bhag.	II.	19,	Kath.	II.	19
,,	II	20,	Kath.	II	18
,,	III.	42,	Kath.	III.	10 (*cf* VI. 7).
,,	V	13,	S'vet.	III.	18.
,,	VIII.	9,	S'vet	III.	8.
,,	VIII	11,	Kath	II	15
,,	XIII.	13, 14,	S'vet.	III.	16, 17.
,,	XV	1,	Kaṭh.	VI.	1.

The great passage (II. 11-30) setting forth the nature of the *ātman*, the self, is distinctly Upanishadic. The real self is unaffected by the conditions of conscious experience, and is thought of as being essentially one with the Universal Self or World-Soul, though it cannot be said that the poem anywhere teaches the absolute identity of the individual self with the Supreme Self. Many pantheistic expressions emphasising God's immanence in the individual self and in nature are found scattered through the poem, and if viewed simply by themselves would have to be interpreted pantheistically; but in view of the many passages emphasising the personality both of the individual and Supreme Self, it is only fair and reasonable to assume that the

* *Bhagavad Gītā*, p 59

author meant that one set of passages should be interpreted in the light of the other.

In view of the undoubted inconsistency of the Gītā in its present form, it would, in the interests of scientific precision, be much better to assume, with Professor Garbe, that the pantheistic elements are later additions, and so should have no place in the true and original Gītā, and such an assumption we think is justifiable from the standpoint of critical scholarship. But taking into consideration the fact that the Gītā, as we know it, has for nearly twenty centuries been universally accepted in India, is not the course adopted by Professor Garbe likely to be regarded by the ordinary layman as too drastic? It appears to the present writer that in this, as in many other things, we must be content to accept things as they are, with all deficiencies. It is rather too late in the day to expect an expurgated Gītā to win anything like general acceptance.

The Vedānta doctrine, found clearly only in the later Upanishads, that Brahman is everything and all else illusion, cannot be said to be taught in the Gītā. In the Vedānta itself, matter is spoken of as *māyā*, illusion, in the sense that it does not exist; but in the Gītā matter is illusion only in the sense that it is a veil, enveloping spirit, and so deluding the Universe into supposing that the outward veil, matter, is everything, and the indwelling reality, spirit, nothing.

(*c*) *Sāmkhyan.* Quite after the manner of the Sāṃkhya is the statement that primordial matter (*prakriti*) and spirit are both without beginning (xiii. 19). According to Kapila, all forms of conditioned being, physical and mental, were developed from primordial matter, that has existed from eternity, while soul is an essentially different substance also eternal. Our author adopts the Sāṃkhyan phraseology to a very large extent throughout

the poem, but it must not be supposed that he uses the term with precisely the same significance. He has fundamentally modified the conception of *prakṛti*. It is still in a secondary sense the source of all objective existence; but while Kapila taught that *prakṛti* possesses in itself a potentiality of issuing forth and causing all objective existence, our author declares that it is only a lower form of spirit, the Supreme Being in His higher nature being free from and above matter (vii. 4-6.) The potentiality inherent in primordial matter, by which it is enabled to bring into existence all material existences, is really a germinal force implanted there by the Supreme Being (xiv. 3-4.) The precise relation, according to the Gītā, of matter and spirit is somewhat difficult to determine, and certain points we shall have to consider at a later stage; but this much is clear—that matter is regarded as wholly subordinate to spirit, and matter and World-Soul are not without beginning in the strictly independent sense of the Sāṃkhya, but only in the sense that "both are eternal phases in the cosmic manifestation of the Supreme" (Barnett). The three *guṇas* or modes or phases into which matter is determined for the realisation of its potentialities, and also the never-ending cycles of the evolution and dissolution of the Universe, are Sāṃkhyan ideas.

(*d*) *Yogic.* The Yoga philosophy adopted in their entirety the Sāṃkhyan physics and psychology, but inserted, as we have seen, in deference to popular requirements, the conception of a personal God elevated above the Universe. The system was at first quite deistic, but in course of time became more theistic. In its theistic form it became the base of the theology of the Gītā, where God is throughout, with the exception of the distinctly Vedāntic portions, viewed as a personal Being, the

Source and Maintainer of all things. It is this element in the theology of the Gītā, which is confessedly the dominant element, that is of most importance to us for our present purpose, and which we have to examine in more detail.

(*e*) *Vāsudevic or Krishnaite.* We have already sketched the rise and growth of Kṛishnaism or the Bhāgavata religion.* Kṛishṇa or Vāsudeva appears to have been a warrior and monotheistic religious teacher belonging to a non-Brāhmanical clan known as Sātvatas In course of time he was deified by his disciples, and there became associated with his worship the idea of *bhakti* or reverential love As the religion grew in influence and extent, it became Brāhmanised, and resulted in the identification of Krishna with the Brāhmanical God Vishṇu, and so the sect was won over to orthodox Brāhmanism. There next followed the identification of Kṛishṇa-Vishnu with Brahman, the All-God of the Upanishad philosophy. This last step appears to have been taken by the author of the Bhagavad Gītā in its present form. Krishna is certainly the central figure of the poem, and the life of all the Universe finds its source and centre in him. He is at once the Absolute of Philosophy and the God of Revelation and religious worship.

(*f*) *Polytheistic.* The attitude of the Gītā to the gods of the popular faith is significant. It does not condemn their worship except indirectly by way of comparison with the supreme object of worship, Kṛishna. But they are regarded as subordinate and inferior powers, and all the power they possess is derived from the Supreme Being. They may be worshipped by those who are not capable of rising to anything higher, and due reward is given for such worship, but not by the gods themselves. It is

* See Garbe, *Bhagavad Gītā*, pp 28-39, also R G Bhandarkar, *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS.*, p 74.

Kṛishṇa alone as Supreme Sovereign who recompenses men (vii. 20, 23).

We are thus in a position to realise the wonderfully comprehensive character of the religious philosophy of the Gītā. In the special efficacy assigned to sacrifice, and the identification of God with the sacrifice, it goes back to the Veda and Brāhmaṇas. In describing the nature of the self, individual and supreme, it has recourse to the Upanishads and the philosophy of the Vedānta In the prominence it assigns to primordial matter and its antithetical relation to spirit, it has been influenced by the Sāmkhyan philosophy. In its distinctively theistic teaching, and the prominence it lays on ascetic practices as a means of attaining to the divine, it is indebted to the Yoga system. In putting forward Krishna as the God-man, the incarnation of the Supreme Being, it absorbs the Vāsudevic theology. In admitting a relative value to the worship of the numerous gods of the popular faith, it built upon the polytheistic tendencies of the masses of the people. Certain aspects of the ethical teaching of the Gītā, especially that relating to *ahiṃsā* (abstention from injury to living things) and the method of moderation (vi. 16-17; xi. 55; xii. 13), are sometimes regarded as Buddhistic, but this is quite uncertain, for such ethical teaching, and also the doctrine of Nirvāna, may well be regarded as Brāhmanical in origin.* There can be no doubt that it was a sound instinct which led the author of the Gītā to adopt this system of comprehension. There is no religious or philosophical system, however one-sided, that does not testify to some important truth that is perhaps not sufficiently recognised in some other system or systems, hence the strength of the modern tendency favouring "the harmony of all religions"—a movement associated in India more

* Garbe, *Bhagavad Gītā*, pp 54, 55

especially with the name of Keshab Chandra Sen. But it is manifest that the author of the Gītā many long centuries before was imbued with the same idea, and sought to comprehend in one great system of religious faith and worship all the religious and philosophical tendencies of the world of Hinduism, probably the only world known to him.

The same tendency towards comprehension is a marked feature of modern Christian theology. A Christian theologian contends (with what justice we shall be better able to judge in the course of our investigations) that the theology of the Christian Scriptures comprehends within itself all the essential truths found in the leading philosophical and religious systems of the world.

If apologetic is to be spoken of, this surely is the best form of Christian apology—to show that in Christianity, as nowhere else, the severed portions of truth found in all other systems are organically united, while it completes the body of truth by discoveries peculiar to itself The Christian doctrine of God, for example, may fairly claim to be the synthesis of all the separate elements of truth found in agnosticism, pantheism, and deism, which by their very antagonisms reveal themselves as one-sidednesses, requiring to be brought into some higher harmony If agnosticism affirms that there is that in God—in His infinite and absolute existence—which transcends finite comprehension, Christian theology does the same If pantheism affirms the absolute immanence of God in the world, and deism His absolute transcendence over it, Christianity unites the two sides of the truth in a higher concept, maintaining at the same time the Divine immanence and the Divine transcendence Even polytheism, in its nobler forms, is, in its own dark way, a witness for a truth which a hard abstract monotheism, such as we have in the later (not the Biblical) Judaism, and in Mahommedanism, ignores—the truth, namely, that God is plurality as well as unity—that in Him there is a manifoldness of life, a fulness and diversity of power and manifestations, such as is expressed by the word Elohim This element of truth in polytheism, Christianity also takes up, and sets in its proper relation to the unity of God, in its doctrine of Tri-unity—the concept of God which is distinctively the Christian one, and which furnishes the surest safeguard of a living theism against the extremes of both pantheism and deism. Optimism and pessimism are another pair of contrasts—each in abstraction an error, yet each a witness for a truth which the other overlooks, and Christianity is the reconciliation of both To take a last example, positivism is a very direct negation of Chris-

tianity, yet in its strange "worship of humanity" is there not that which stretches across the gulf and touches hands with a religion which meets the cravings of the heart for the human in God by the doctrine of the Incarnation? It is the province of a true and wise Christian theology to take account of all this and to seek, with ever-increasing enlargement of vision, the comprehensive view in which all factors of the truth are combined *

The principle of comprehension common to both the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures is without doubt a sound one, for it takes into account and recognises the reality of diverse facts and phenomena, and at the same time satisfies the craving of the human mind after unity.

IV The Doctrine of God common to both the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures.

God is the Absolute, All-Perfect Spirit, both transcendent and immanent, and is eternal, omnipresent, omniscient, omnipotent, ethical, and compassionate, the Creative Source, Sustainer, and Sovereign Director of the Universe, who in self-revealing love has become incarnate for the world's salvation and for restoring men to eternal union with Himself.

(*a*) *The Divine Nature.*

The above definition represents, we believe, with scientific accuracy, the conception of Deity common to both the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures. The doctrine common to both can be regarded as a spiritual monism according to which spirit itself is the one true and sole substance of which all things are the manifestation, and matter appears, not as the opposite of spirit, but rather the other side of it—the manifested side, the symbol, the instrument, the expression of the spiritual in its finite or conditioned form. Indeed, a recent exposition of spiritual monism in the light of Christian theism† might well

* Orr, *Christian View of God and the World*, p 12*f*

†*Christian Theism and a Spiritual Monism*, by W. L. Walker, see especially pp 201-204, 219-223, 241-243

serve as a philosophical basis for the doctrine of God contained in both our sources.

God as Absolute.

When we describe God as the *Absolute*, we mean that He exists in and by Himself without necessary relation to any other being, that He is free from limitation, restriction, or condition, and so capable of being conceived as the unconditioned. In the Bhagavad Gītā the idea of God as Absolute is found in the following passages :

The Lord takes unto Himself no sin of any man, neither any good deed, knowledge is enveloped by ignorance, and thereby creatures are bewildered (VII 15)

Men in their ignorance make no distinction between God as conditioned and as unconditioned. In His unconditioned Being, free from all the bonds of finite life, dwelling in the eternal isolation of Absoluteness, the actions of men cannot affect Him.

Bewildered by these three natures formed of the moods, this whole Universe knows not that I am above these and changeless (VII. 13)

Men of no understanding deem Me who am unperceived to have become perceptible, knowing not My absolute, changeless, and highest nature (VII 24)

God as manifested and conditioned in the world of nature or in individual souls is not the Supreme Being as He is in Himself, for as He is in Himself He is fundamentally absolute and immaterial.

The conception of God as the Absolute, it must be admitted, is not common in the Christian Scriptures, for the simple reason that the Christian idea of God is religious rather than philosophical. Christianity in general confines itself to God in His relations to man and the universe, and does not undertake to represent Him as independent of the relations of existence; still, Christian theologians from the time of Aquinas have not hesitated to apply the term Absolute to God, so that it is now a commonplace of Christian theology. What justifi-

cation is there in the Christian Scriptures for this? The Bible represents self-existence as of the essence of God.

The Father hath life in Himself (John v 26)

Then, too, He is uniformly described as the one original Source of life, and so it follows that He is the only Being who has life in Himself and for Himself.

The explanation of the name Yahwe or Jehovah in Ex. iii. 14* suggests that the ground of God's revelation and action are within Himself, and so God is conceived as bound by no external bond, but absolutely self-determined and unchangeable in His inmost being. Then, too, God is regarded as infinite, in the sense that in His power and activities He is free from all the limitations of finite life (1 Kings viii 27, Ps. cxlvii 7). These ideas are assumed in the New Testament:

O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! (Rom xi 33)

Infinity is no mere negative idea, as applied to God, but is of a distinctly positive character, implying the existence of qualities unhindered and to the full; so in the sense of being freed from restriction, it is evident that the Infinite involves the Absolute. In the prologue to the Fourth Gospel a distinction is made between God in His absolute, eternal Being, and God as He reveals Himself in creation and history; the Logos is spoken of as the medium of God's action in creation, and all things come into being by means of Him. We shall need to return

*It has often been supposed that the Hebrew phrase means "I am what I am" or "I am because I am," and so points to God as the eternal, self-existent Being, but it is hardly likely that this metaphysical conception of God as pure Being would appeal powerfully to the early Hebrew mind. A truer explanation appears to be "I will become what I will become," and so the phrase points to Yahwe as the God who exists not merely in a condition of passive being, but who asserts His existence by a series of progressive revelations in the history of His people.

to this conception of the Logos when we deal with creation, and also incarnation; but here it is sufficient to note that the passage we are dealing with plainly indicates a distinction between God as self-existing and God as self-revealing, God as unconditioned and God as conditioned. God expresses Himself through the eternal thought or reason.

God as Spirit

Both the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures recognise God as *Spirit*, implying at least that He is immaterial and quite free from the limitations of space and time. In common with the whole spiritualistic philosophy of India, the two great names used in the Gītā for God as Spirit are Brahman and Ātman. A clear understanding of the use of these terms is necessary to get an intelligent idea of Indian philosophic thought concerning God. In the earliest literature *ātman* meant no more than "breath" (*cf* German *athem*, "breath," and *athmen*, "to breathe"). Thus already, in the Rigveda (*cf* vii. 87^2, x. 92^{13}), Vāta, wind as personified, is spoken of as the breath or *ātman* of the gods, while the generating sun is called the soul or breath (*ātman*) of all that moves and stands.* So we see how, in the Upanishadic philosophy, *ātman* came to be regularly applied to that in man which constitutes his real being. Again, the Universe, which is the sum of all objects of thought, came to be regarded as having the same vital principle or *ātman* pervading it as is found in man; and so the cosmical principle of the Universe was also spoken of as *ātman* or *paramātman* or *adhyātman*, "the Supreme Spirit." But the Supreme Being viewed as the cosmical principle of the Universe is mostly termed Brahman or Brahma. This word originally

*See Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 13, 82, 166

meant devotion, or prayer, and then became a term to denote the magic power which was supposed to be inherent in every prayer. The term Brahman thus came to be applied to the external boundless power which is the basis of everything existing. We thus see how the eternal, infinite, divine power came to be thought of as *ātman* or spirit, and how arose those two great sayings in Indian philosophy—"*tat tvam asi*," "that art thou," and "*aham brahmāsmi*," "I am Brahman." Purusha also, meaning "male being," "creative power," is largely used in the sense of spirit, individual and supreme, the term Purushottama, "Supreme Spirit," being often used of God. Throughout the Gītā God is spoken of in terms implying Spirit. Thus He is called Ātman (IV 6, X. 20), Paramātman (XIII 22), Purusha (VII. 4), Purushottama (XV. 19), Brahman (X. 12, VIII. 3, XIV 27).

In the Christian Scriptures, too, the conception of God as Spirit is dominant, and the terms used to indicate Spirit, *ruach* in Hebrew and *pneuma* in Greek, have just the same signification originally as *ātman*, *i.e.*, "breath," "wind," and are used in a similar way of Spirit in man and in God. According to ethnology, the conception of the human soul as "breath" or "air" goes back to the period of animism. It is a natural course of procedure to compare the wind, invisible itself but visible in its effects, with the mental disposition displaying itself in mien and action; and so the spirit in man comes to be applied to man's nature as mental in distinction from his material nature, which is visible and material. Men have also everywhere found it natural to conclude that the Supreme Power directing the Universe must be the same in His essential nature as their own higher selves. In the Old Testament God is spoken of as Spirit in so far as He manifests His energy in the Universe and the

spirit of man. It was the Spirit of God that brooded over chaos at the creation (Gen. i. 2). This Spirit of God is represented as breathing into Adam when he became a living soul (Gen. ii. 7). It was by the power of the Spirit of God that Moses and Joshua led the people of Israel into the promised land, and in the might and inspiration of the same divine energy judges wrought deliverance, kings reigned, and prophets spoke. All order, life, guidance, and truth are spoken of as due to the Divine Spirit.

The Spirit of God hath made me, and the breath of the Almighty giveth me life (Job xxxiii 4)

In the New Testament, Spirit is clearly assigned as being of the essential nature of God.

God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship in spirit and truth (John iv 24)

Here we have in clearer form what is implied in such Old Testament expressions as the following:

Now the Egyptians are men, and not God, and their horses flesh, and not spirit, and when the Lord shall stretch out His hand, both he that helpeth shall stumble and he that is holpen shall fall, and they all shall fail together (Is xxxi. 3)

While the Old Testament represents the Spirit of God as the symbol of the divine energy, which serves as an indication of His real nature, we find in the New Testament a tendency to emphasise that aspect of the divine agency that works in the heart of man, and the manifestation of God as Sanctifier comes to be spoken of in a distinctly personal way, as the Holy Spirit. This led ultimately to the conception of God as triune in the essence of His Being, a subject we shall have occasion to refer to at a later stage.

When the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures speak of God as Spirit, what, we may ask, is actually involved, and how far are they justified in forming conclusions as to the nature of the Divine Being on the basis of what is perceived in the human con-

sciousness? An analysis of the human consciousness leads to the conclusion, so it is generally admitted, that thought, feeling, and volition are the essential characteristics of Spirit as known to man. Spirit as spirit thinks, feels, and wills. Throughout the Gītā and the Bible, in countless passages, some of which we have already had occasion to quote, God is represented as knowing, loving, and helping man; and this view of God as common to both our sources will be made increasingly plain as we proceed.

It will thus be seen that as personality in man is made up by the combination of the powers of intellect, feeling, and volition, in a self-conscious unity, the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures agree in ascribing personality to God.

God as All-Perfect.

But if there be justification for thinking of God as Spirit, with a personality similar in essence to the personality of man, it will be generally admitted that it is a necessity of our nature to think of Him only as Spirit entirely free from all the imperfections pertaining to the human spirit, and so both the Gītā and the Bible represent God as the *All-Perfect* Spirit. This will come out more clearly when we have to consider the various attributes of God. That God is all-perfect, the sum of all perfection, is the fundamental idea underlying the notable passage in the Gītā, x. 12-42, and beginning with the words,

> Thou art the supreme Brahman, the supreme abode, the supreme means of purification, the primeval Male, eternal, divine, the first God, the unborn, the all-pervading

In the course of this passage the various phases of existence are enumerated, and what is highest and most essential in such phases of existence is God. Thus among lights He is the radiant Sun (v. 21),

among the senses He is the Mind (v. 22), among the mountains He is Meru (v. 23), among pools He is the Ocean (v. 25), among the great sages He is Bhṛigu (v. 24), among all trees He is the sacred Fig-tree (v. 26), among men He is King (v. 27), among beasts He is the King of Beasts (v. 30). The context does not justify us in giving a purely pantheistic interpretation to these statements, or in considering that they assert God's identity with, or confinement within, such existences. Underlying the verses is very much the same thought as there is in the attribution to the Christian Messiah of such names as Lion, Sun, Morning Star, King. We cannot associate with the All-Perfect Spirit anything that bears the stamp of inferiority, but we must associate with Him only those types of perfection that we see around us and within us The last clause of the passage is significant in this direction,

> I abidingly support [or pervade] this whole Universe with a portion [of Myself] (x 42)

The power and excellence of all existences is due to the animating energy of the Supreme Spirit, who conditions Himself in them as far as is necessary for their maintenance and development without being absorbed thereby. In His infinite perfection He is still above and beyond nature.

That the Christian Scriptures represent God as the All-Perfect Spirit or Personality we shall more fully see in our exposition of the attributes assigned to Him. Such passages as the following emphasise His perfection :

> Ye therefore shall be perfect, as your Heavenly Father is perfect (Matt. v 48)

The word *teleios*, here and in other New Testament passages translated "perfect," contains the idea of maturity, full growth, and means that the nature of God is perfect.

God as transcendent and immanent.

God is the Absolute, All-Perfect Spirit, *both transcendent and immanent.* It is often popularly supposed that Semitic religion represents God as transcendent, while Indian religion represents Him as immanent. The only element of truth in this is that Semitic religion has a tendency to emphasise the Divine transcendence, while Indian religion has a corresponding tendency to emphasise the Divine immanence. In showing that both the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures are opposed to deism and pantheism we have had occasion to see that the Divine transcendence and the Divine immanence are taught in both our sources. While the reflective mind of India has always loved to dwell upon the Divine immanence, there have never been lacking powerful voices in the history of Indian religious thought who proclaimed the reality of the Divine transcendence, and among such voices is the Gītā; and while the more practical mind of the Hebrews and of the Christian nations of the West have chiefly thought of God as transcendent, and so absolutely Supreme Director of the moral life of man and the destinies of nations, yet throughout the Jewish and Christian Scriptures it is evident that the thought of the Divine immanence is clearly grasped, and in the course of development of Christian theology, the Christian Church has always had, with the exception perhaps of one or two comparatively short periods noted for their barren externalism, powerful teachers of recognised standing who have ably emphasised both aspects of the Divine character and nature—transcendence and immanence. In view of the Christian doctrines of the Incarnation and the Holy Spirit this could hardly be otherwise, but it must be noted that Christian theologians, in accordance with the practical character of Christianity, have generally

used not the philosophic terms Transcendence and Immanence, but the less technical terms Supremacy and Omnipresence.

As the idea is so persistent, among men otherwise well-informed, that in the Gītā God is wholly immanent, and in the Christian Scriptures wholly transcendent, one cannot too strongly emphasise the fact that this is not so. We shall therefore refer to a few more passages to show that the Gītā represents God as transcendent, and not only immanent, and that the Christian Scriptures represent Him as immanent and not only transcendent.

Men of no understanding deem Me who am unperceived to have become perceptible, knowing not My absolute, changeless, and highest nature (Gītā vii 24)

The word we have translated absolute (*param*) is rendered by Mr. Telang "transcendent." The pure pantheist, or one who wishes to show that the Gītā teaches pure pantheism, has sometimes objected to the use of the term "transcendent" in reference to the God of Indian philosophy, but this is to ignore in an unwarrantable manner the theistic tendencies in Indian thought as represented in the Gītā. A passage of great importance in this connection is xv. 16-18, whose final clause is:

Since I am beyond [or transcend] the perishable, and am higher also than the imperishable, therefore am I celebrated in the world and in the Veda as the best of beings.

We shall again have occasion to refer to this trinity of Divine existences. Here we only need to note that the first is perishable nature in all its manifold forms; the second is the imperishable soul of the Universe, the vivifying Brahman; and the third is the Absolute Spirit, the one Eternal God. God does not exhaust His Being when He conditions Himself in the Universe. There we see only a portion of Himself. (See Gītā x. 42.)

The Bible represents God as immanent in nature.* It is God who feeds the fowls of the air, it is He who arrays with beauty the lilies of the field. (Matt. vi. 26-30.)

There are diversities of workings, but the same God who worketh all things in all (1 Cor xii 6)

When the Jews persecuted Jesus for His healing activity on the Sabbath, He replied :

My Father worketh even until now, and I work. (John v 17)

The immanent working of God in the human heart is a commonplace of Christian teaching :

Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God which worketh in you both to will and to work for His good pleasure (Phil ii 12)

Jesus spent most of His time in seeking to imbue His disciples and others with the great conception of a Kingdom of God whose sphere of operation was the human spirit. He wished men to realise that God ruled, not so much as a transcendent external power, as an immanent and vivifying spiritual energy in the hearts of men. On being asked by the Pharisees when the kingdom of God cometh, He answered them and said :

The kingdom of God cometh not with observation, neither shall they say, Lo here! or there! For lo, the kingdom of God is within you (Luke xvii 20, 21)

Very important, too, as emphasising the fact of the Divine immanence are the Christian doctrines of the Incarnation and the Spirit. The New Testament regards the life of Christ as in some special way a manifestation of the life of God in human form, a tabernacling of God among men ; and it regards the Holy Spirit as God approaching as a Spirit the human spirit, and abiding there as an immanent, quickening, sanctifying power.

*So already the Old Testament Gen i 2, xxviii 16, 17, Ps. civ 1-4, etc

(*b*) *The Divine Attributes.*

God as Eternal.

We now come to deal with the attributes usually assigned to God in the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures. In the first place God is represented in both as *Eternal.* Eternity is that attribute of God by which He stands free from the restrictions imposed by time relations. This involves the idea that the life of God is without beginning and without end. The Eternal One in His Absolute Being is necessarily immutable, although in His conditioned form He enters into changeable relations with mutability. From the negative point of view, Eternity means that God is free from all successions of development in His Infinite Being; and from the positive point of view, it means that He must be regarded as the ground and cause of all existence that is subject to the limitations of time relationships and temporal succession and progression. The idea of God as eternal and immutable arose, no doubt, in the first case as a result of reflection on the transitoriness of finite life, and the succession and change of things in the world; and the other ideas connected with the conception of God as eternal are philosophical presuppositions more or less clearly grasped and expressed. Thus, in the Gītā, we have the term Eternal (*sanātana*) applied to God:

IV 31 They go to the eternal Brahman
VIII. 30 Beyond this unperceived there is another unperceived, eternal existence
XI. 18 As the eternal primeval Male art Thou to be regarded by me.

God is represented, in X. 3, as without beginning (*anādi*):

The great Lord of the worlds unborn and without beginning
XIII. 12 The beginningless, supreme Brahma who is called neither being nor non-being.

while in xi. 19 He is described as "without beginning, middle, or end." Then, too, the Supreme Being is often spoken of as changeless (*avyaya*); *cf.*

iv. 13 Know Me, though its Creator, as uncreating and changeless.
vii 13 I am above these and changeless
vii 24 My absolute, changeless, and highest nature
vii 25 This deluded world recognises Me not as birthless and unchangeable
ix 13 The changeless Source of all beings
xi. 4 Show me Thy changeless self, O God of mystic power
xi 18 Thou art the immutable Guardian of everlasting law

Then, in the notable passage in viii. 12-22, Brahman is described as the one eternal refuge of the soul, seeking an abiding home away from all transitory existence. In each cosmic period or day of the supreme Brahman, consisting of a thousand ages, material existences issue forth from the mass of primal matter, and at the approach of the night of Brahman, consisting of a thousand ages, the material existences return into primal matter; thus they that go to the gods who are merely created beings find an end of their happiness with the end of their world, but beyond this is a higher Being, the indestructible Brahman, the Absolute Spirit of Vāsudeva, the entity that is not destroyed when all else is destroyed, and they who enter into Him never again return to birth.

The eternity of God is described in a similar way, and viewed from a somewhat similar standpoint, in the Christian Scriptures.* In Rom. i. 20 we have reference to "His everlasting power and divinity," and in xvi. 26 to "the commandment of the eternal God." *Cf* also 1 Tim. i 17:

Now unto the King eternal, incorruptible, invisible, the only God, be honour and glory for ever and ever

I am the Alpha and the Omega, saith the Lord God, which is and which was and which is to come (Rev i 8)

God's independence of time relations is expressly stated in the words:

*In Old Testament see Ps xc. 1-4

But forget not this one thing, beloved, that one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day (1 Pet iii 8.)

Then, too, God is immutable, free from the vicissitudes of change. In contrast with the earth and heavens, which shall wax old and be changed as a garment, it is said of God :

But Thou art the same, and Thy years shall not fail (Heb i 12)

In the Epistle of James (i. 17) God is

the Father of lights, with whom there can be no variation neither shadow that is cast by turning

The idea meant to be conveyed is not that God is immobile or rigid, but rather that He is immutable in His counsels and purposes, without the least suggestion of fickleness. In 1 Tim. vi. 16, it is said that God "only hath immortality."

God as Omnipresent.

Further, according to both the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures, God is *Omnipresent.* By the omnipresence of God is meant the attribute of Deity by which He is present everywhere at the same time. This involves His immanence in all space as the intelligent and creative principle of the Universe, though in connection with His immanence the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures emphasise His transcendence over space, and herein, as we have seen, both our sources differ from pantheism. God fills all space, but He is without extension, and so is not included in or circumscribed by space. With omnipresence is associated the further and more spiritual conception that

God is not conditioned or limited by space in His power of acting, but is able to put forth His entire power of action everywhere.*

Thus we have in Gītā vi. 30, 31 :

He who sees Me in everything and sees everything in Me, I am not lost to him, nor is he lost to Me The Yogin who

*Clarke, *Outlines of Christian Theology*, p 79.

worships Me as dwelling in all beings, and is intent on union, he lives in Me howsoever he may live

Here emphasis is laid on the recognition of God as the one great reality, transcendent and immanent—He is in everything and yet everything is in Him, and so He is greater than or transcends everything. The Supreme God, as distinct from any subordinate powers and personalities, must be recognised and worshipped as All-in-All, and to such as are thus attached to Him, He is present in a special sense, and it is a matter of comparative indifference whether such lead the contemplative or the active life. Similarly, in Gītā xiii 15, God is spoken of as without and within living beings, far as well as near. While the Gītā lays considerable stress on the immanence of God in all life, material and psychical, it also indicates very plainly that this is not the highest form of immanence He is present in a higher spiritual sense in the hearts of His worshippers :

They who worship Me with devotion are in Me and I in them (ix 29),

and indeed the great aim of the Gītā is to show how men may attain to a realisation of this higher spiritual presence, this absorption into the Divine, and this presupposes an omnipresent God in no way limited by space in His power of acting on the minds and hearts of men.

The Christian Scriptures teach the all-pervading immanence of God in the words of the Hebrew Psalmist, where God is said to fill all space in heaven and earth and sheol (Ps. cxxxix. 7-10.) The apostle Paul also speaks of the fulness of Him who filleth all in all. (Eph. i. 23.) He is thus the life of all living beings (Acts xvii 28), and so there can be no thought of seeking to flee from Him. To deny the reality of God's omnipresence in the world of nature and man is to deny the infinity of God

and to assume that there is existence independent of Him. The Bible certainly gives us no warrant for such a dualism, but on the contrary assumes that, whether we live our lives in accordance with the Divine will or not, nevertheless, from the very nature of things, "in Him we live and move and have our being." Therefore God must be in everything and everything in God. Yet, though the Bible and the Gītā insist on the dependence of everything on the Absolute in whom all things are contained, yet they both insist with equal assurance that sin is to be ascribed to the individual and not to the Absolute. It is true that this does not solve for us the grave problem of sin, and with a purely theistic conception of the Universe, the existence of sin must ever remain the greatest of mysteries.

Our own experience, however, shows us that there may be an Absolute Consciousness of the Universe without any need for supposing that all the contents of the Universe actually *belong* to it We are continually conscious of thoughts and feelings which come into our consciousness, and which yet we do not make our own, but positively reject, and it may be condemn.*

But in addition to this all-pervading presence of the Divine reason and life in the world of nature and man, the Bible represents God as spiritually present in special and limited modes of manifestation, and this is the higher immanence—the indwelling of Spirit in spirit Saints are spoken of as "a habitation of God in the Spirit." (Eph. ii. 22.) It is said of the apostles that,

when they had prayed, the place was shaken wherein they were gathered together, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost. (Acts iv 31)

Stephen is spoken of as a man full of faith and the Holy Ghost (Acts vi. 5), and in Acts v. 32 we read of

the Holy Ghost whom God hath given to them that obey Him.

Speaking of His own Divine life under the figure of flesh and blood, Jesus said :

*Walker, *Christian Theism and a Spiritual Monism*, p. 196.

He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood, dwelleth in Me and I in him (John v 56)

Similarly in praying for His disciples:

I in them and Thou in Me, that they may be made perfect in one (John xvii 23)

God as Omniscient.

Both the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures represent God as *Omniscient*. Omniscience is that attribute of God by which He has a perfect knowledge of all that is or can be, all things past, present, and future. If God be eternal, independent of all time relations, if He be omnipresent, free from all restrictions of space; then He must be omniscient, possessing a full knowledge of all existence, both as a whole and in all its parts. The human spirit could never commit itself for time and eternity in trustful adoration to one who is less than omniscient or who knew not the end of all things. Though both our sources recognise God as omniscient, both assume the reality of human freedom, and so accord with the practical convictions of men.

As omniscient, Krishna is represented as possessing a knowledge of all his past births and incarnations, in contrast to Arjuna, whose knowledge was limited to his present existence (Gītā iv. 5). Again.

I know all beings, past, present, and future, O Arjuna, but Me no one knows (Gītā vii 26)

So, too, the Bible describes the Divine omniscience as embracing the innermost secrets of the heart.

And there is no creature that is not manifest in His sight, but all things are naked and laid open before the eyes of Him with whom we have to do (Heb iv 13)

God is greater than our heart and knoweth all things (1 John iii. 20.)

In Acts ii. 23, we have the Divine foreknowledge and human responsibility linked together:

Him being delivered up by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye by the hand of lawless men did crucify and slay.

God as Omnipotent.

Again, according to our sources, God is *Omnipotent.* Omnipotence is that attribute of God by virtue of which He is able to do anything that is consistent with His nature and character. The omnipotence of God is one among other attributes, and it is of the nature of God to be self-consistent. Omnipotence, therefore, cannot be regarded as including the possibility of doing anything contrary to the Divine reason and character.

Thus Deity is represented as "of boundless power" (xi. 19, 40), "of immeasurable strength" (xi. 40). Then, again :

No one is like Thee, how can anyone be superior to Thee, O Thou of power incomparable in all the three worlds? (xi 43)

Wherever is Krishna, the Lord of wondrous power, wherever is Pārtha, the archer, there—such is my opinion—are fortune, victory, prosperity, and permanent right guidance

Thus the Gītā presents a conception of a Deity who is equal to all demands, and to whom nothing is impossible; yet, from the actual manifestations of His power as presented in the Gītā, it is evidently assumed that the exercise of Divine power must be harmonious with the Divine nature and character.

The New Testament often represents God as almighty and omnipotent

With God all things are possible. (Matt xix 26)

And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunders, saying, Hallelujah, for the Lord our God the Almighty reigneth (Rev. xix 6)

God is limited by no power or principle external to Himself, yet He can do nothing which is inconsistent with His own nature, "for He cannot deny Himself" (2 Tim ii 13), and "it is impossible for God to lie" (Heb. vi. 18).

God as Ethical.

According to both our sources God is *Ethical.* The conception of God as ethical, possessed of an

inward character of perfect moral excellence, necessarily follows from the conception of Him as the Absolute Spirit.

Thus we have the famous passage in the Gītā, iv. 7, 8 :

For whenever there is a decay of the law, and an ascendency of lawlessness, then I create Myself, for the protection of the good, and the destruction of evil-doers, and for the establishment of the law, am I born age after age

Further, in Gītā x. 4, 5, we read :

Understanding, knowledge, freedom from delusion, patience, truthfulness, self-restraint, tranquillity, pleasure, pain, birth, death, fear, and security also, harmlessness, equability, contentment, austerity, liberality, fame, disgrace, these diverse states of sentient beings arise from Me alone

These moral virtues, and such experiences or states of life as are necessary to the development of the moral character, are thus ascribed to Deity, and this presupposes His ethical character. In x. 12, He is called the "supreme means of purification." Again in ix. 30, 31, we read :

Even if one of very evil life worships Me with exclusive devotion, he shall be deemed good, for he is rightly resolved Soon, he becomes of virtuous nature, and attains to eternal peace O Kaunteya, recognise that no devotee of Mine is lost

In iii. 23 it is recognised that the Divine is the standard of the human :

For should I not ever engage in action unwearied, men would altogether follow My path, O Pārtha

Approval of the good, and condemnation of the wicked, are clearly expressed in the Gītā. As this is sometimes doubted, on account of two or three statements which seem to point to the contrary, we shall quote in full two significant and decisive passages in that direction :

Bewildered by many thoughts, surrounded by the net of delusion, attached to the enjoyments of desire, they fall into a foul hell Self-honoured, haughty, filled with pride of wealth and with wantonness, they offer sacrifices that are sacrifices only in name, with hypocrisy and not according to ordinance. Given over to thought of an I, to force, pride, desire, and wrath, hating Me in their own and in others' bodies, and envious, these cruel

haters, vilest of men in the paths of life, the unholy, I unceasingly hurl into demoniac wombs Coming into demoniac wombs, deluded in birth after birth, they go down to the lowest stage, O Kaunteya, without ever reaching Me Triple is this gate of hell, destructive of the self, desire, wrath, and greed Therefore one should avoid these three (Gītā xvi 16-21)

This passage, "not remarkable for sweetness," as Telang remarks, is nevertheless sternly moral, and a clear indication that to Deity morality and piety are matters of great concern; and that sin brings with it doom. Equally remarkable and decisive, too, is the following passage, where approval of the good man is expressed:

He who is without hatred to any being, friendly and compassionate, void of thought of a mine and an I, to whom pain and pleasure are alike, who is patient, contented, ever devout, of subdued spirit, of steadfast purpose, with mind and understanding fixed on Me, he is dear to Me He before whom the world shudders not, and who shudders not before the world, who is free from joy, impatience, fear, and agitation, is also dear to Me He who is unconcerned, pure, expert, impartial, undismayed, who abandons all undertakings, who is devoted to Me, he is dear to Me He who rejoices not, hates not, grieves not, desires not, renouncing good and evil fortune, full of devotion, he is dear to Me He who is the same towards foe and friend, and likewise in honour and dishonour, who is the same in heat and cold, pleasure and pain, free from attachment, to whom blame and praise are alike, who is silent, content with whatever comes, homeless, of firm judgment, full of devotion, he is a man dear to Me But they who devote themselves to this holy [way leading to] immortality herein described, possessed of faith, given over to Me and devout, these are exceedingly dear to Me. (Gītā xii 13-20)

Compare, too, the great list of virtues ascribed to him who is born to divine estate, xvi. 1-3. Now, as against these passages, we have such passages as the following:

I am the same to all beings, to Me none is hateful, none dear. (ix 29.)

The Lord takes unto Himself no sin of any man, neither any good deed (ii 15)

These bodies of the embodied self which is eternal, indestructible, incomprehensible, are declared to have an end Therefore do thou fight, O Bhārata. (ii 18)

Mr. Telang, in referring to the contradictory character of such passages as the above, says:

No attempt is made to organise the various half-truths, which are apparently incompatible, into a symmetrical whole, where the apparent inconsistencies might possibly vanish altogether in the higher synthesis *

Apart from the question of the possibility of such a synthesis, it would certainly be a most unfair proceeding to take two or three isolated passages such as the above, and draw the conclusion, without taking into consideration the general tenour of the teaching of the Gītā, that God is unethical, indifferent to distinctions of good and bad. A further study of the context, too, will yield a reasonable explanation of the apparent contradictions.

(*a*) Immediately following the statement in ix 29, that to Deity none is hateful, none dear, it is said that a man of very evil life, being wholly devoted to God, soon becomes of virtuous nature, and attains to eternal peace. What, therefore, appears to be meant is that God is strictly impartial in giving opportunities of salvation and spiritual growth to men He hates or loves no man as such, but treats all men, in so far as they show any tendency towards Him, with strict impartiality, so that even the vilest sinner may hope to become one with God.

(*b*) In v. 14, 15, the Deity denies responsibility for the functions and operations of matter. The constituents of *prakriti* form the individuality of each person, and so a man's deeds, good and bad, are due to the operation of the material elements in his nature. The Divine Being, who is pure Spirit, is therefore not responsible for them. Such appears to be the argument. According to Dr. Barnett† this is a doctrine of the atheistic Sāmkhya, and contradicts the author's fundamental theory, according to which Vāsudeva is the creative source of both matter and spirit. It appears to us, however, that the most natural way to take the passage is to regard

**Bhagavad Gītā*, p. 13.
†*Ibid*, p 188.

it as a denial on the part of Deity of direct responsibility for the ordinary actions of men, with the inference that man is free and responsible. If, because God created matter, or placed within it the germ necessary for its development, material and psychic, He is to be regarded as the direct Author of every human action, good and bad, where is there room for human freedom and responsibility? Therefore in the words, "The Lord takes unto Himself no sin of any man, neither any good deed," our author, instead of denying the ethical character of God, asserts, in somewhat startling phraseology, the moral responsibility of man as an ethical being.

(*c*) The passage II. 18 puts forward the immortality of the soul as a ground why Arjuna should have no scruples regarding fighting against his kindred. Admittedly our author is here on dangerous ground from the standpoint of morality, and if this were the only ground put forward for fighting, it would be justifiable to conclude with Bishop Caldwell*

that Arjuna's *human*—it may well be styled *humane*—compassion and generosity is far preferable to the stony-hearted philosophy which Krishna professes to be divine

But is it fair to ignore in the argument such a statement as the following?

Having regard likewise to thine own duty, thou shouldst not falter, for to a Kshatriya nothing is better than a lawful fight (II 31)

Here it is evidently assumed that the party of Arjuna have right on their side, and are engaged in a lawful battle. It is unfortunate that our author laid so little stress upon this aspect of the case, but that can be explained by the philosophic bent of the Indian mind The incident is used by the author not for the primary object of teaching a lesson of morality, but for inculcating the doctrine of the immortality and indestructibility of the soul.

**Krishna and the Bhagavad Gītā*, p. 24.

But it is unfair to ignore the fact that the righteous character of the war is evidently assumed.

The Christian Scriptures in the most emphatic way represent God as ethical He is declared to be *holy* in the sense of being totally free from all taint of moral evil, and unique in His unapproachable majesty. (1 John i. 5-7; Rom. ix. 14; 1 Pet. i. 16; 2 Tim. ii. 13; Rev. xv. 3, 4.)

God as Compassionate.

Further, both our sources represent God as *Compassionate*. A God who is simply unerring in His justice is not a God one can love and adore. He may be a Power one can respect and fear, but the human heart requires for its satisfaction a God who tempers justice with mercy. We require such a combination in our ideal of a true man, and if we are to be true to our highest selves we dare not hold an ideal of God that is lower than our ideal of man. Both our sources assign to God the attribute of mercy.

Thus the Revelation of the Supreme Mystery was given to Arjuna through the grace, or favour, of God. (Gītā xi 1.) Remembering what he had said or done to Krishna in the past, Arjuna thus addresses Him:

For these I crave pardon of Thee who art immeasurable (xi 42)

As father with son, as comrade with comrade, as lover with spouse, deign to bear with me, O God (xi 44)

Through the gracious condescension of Krishna, Arjuna was permitted to see the Divine form in the fulness of its awful splendour and majesty. On seeing the form Arjuna was overwhelmed with awe, and Krishna reassures him:

Let not alarm nor perplexity be thine in looking upon such a terrible form of Mine as this Free from fear, with joyous mind do thou behold once more that same form of Mine

Having thus spoken to Arjuna

Vāsudeva again showed His own form, and the mighty Being, assuming again a mild shape, comforted him who was terrified.

Arjuna spake :

Seeing this mild human form of Thine, O Vexer of men, I am now become collected, and restored to my natural state (xi. 49-51)

The devotee, by God's grace, attains to the everlasting, changeless abode (xviii 56), by God's grace he passes over all difficulties (xviii. 58), through His grace he attains the highest peace, the everlasting realm (xiii. 62) Says Deity :

Thou art exceeding beloved of Me, therefore I will speak what is for thy welfare (xviii 64)

I will deliver thee from all sins grieve not (xviii 66)

While the Christian Scriptures lay great emphasis on God as a God of righteousness, and insist that the requirements of righteousness must never be overridden, they yet represent God throughout as a God of compassion, plenteous in mercy, infinite in love (*cf.* 2 Cor. i. 3 ; Eph ii. 4-7). The revelation of Divine love in incarnation we shall have occasion to refer to later on.

God the Creative Source of the Universe.

Both the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures represent God as the Creative Source of the Universe.

In the Gītā God is spoken of as the Creator who aforetime created creatures together with the sacrifice (iii. 10). He is said to be the Source and Dissolution of the whole Universe (vii. 6). He is the Father of the Universe (ix. 17). The progenitors of mankind were born from the Divine Mind (x. 6) He is the Creator of all things (x. 15). He is the Source of all, and from Him everything proceeds (x. 8). He is the Father of all the world, moving and unmoving (xi. 43). Of created things He is the beginning, and the end, and also the middle (x. 32). From these and other similar passages it is quite

evident that the Gītā teaches that the worlds of nature and man owe their existence to God as the Creative Source of everything. In what precise sense He is the Creative Source of everything we shall better understand by a further consideration of the following important passages: (1) In xv. 16-18, there is a reference to three beings or existences—the Perishable, the Imperishable, and the Supreme Self. The Supreme Self is the Absolute Spirit above and beyond everything; the Imperishable is the World-Soul, the vivifying force of physical and mental life; and the Perishable is Matter, here regarded somewhat as a spiritual existence (*purusha*), the material division of conditioned being or cosmic matter. (2) In xiii. 19, we read:

Know nature and spirit both as beginningless

(3) In xiv. 3, we have the notable expression:

The great Brahman is a womb to me, therein I place the germ. From that, O Bhārata, is the birth of all beings

The context makes it evident that Brahman is here used in the sense of *prakriti*. (4) In vii. 4-6, Brahman is said to have a twofold nature, the lower of them being *prakriti* in its various grades, and the higher the animating principle of the Universe, elemental soul. The existent Universe is the result of the Supreme Being assuming these two phases of qualified existence. (5) In v. 14-15, the Deity denies that He is the Creator of the functions and operations of matter, or that He is responsible for the good and bad deeds of men. From these various passages the following conclusions may be drawn: (1) Matter is the eternal expression or instrument of the Supreme Spirit. It does not express the fulness of the Divine, but it is His lower nature. All its potentialities are not independent or uncaused, but are due to the germ implanted by God within it. Matter, therefore, as we know it, in its various developed forms, is not an eternal, self-

existent, independent entity, but an eternal creation or expression of the Supreme Being, a finite and lower manifestation of the Divine nature, yet a creation, to be thought of not as Absolute, but derivative or potential. (2) To matter in its various developments has been assigned a relative independence, so that the higher products of *prakṛti*, men, are the authors of their own actions, good and bad, and are thus responsible beings, notwithstanding the fact that God is the Creative Source of all.

That the Universe has no independent existence apart from God is the sum and substance of the Biblical view of the origin of the world. We get in the Bible no philosophical or scientific account of how the Universe came into being. Its aim is essentially to convey a moral or religious conception of the Universe. The whole tenour of the Biblical teaching on the subject makes it clear that what the Biblical writers wish to emphasise is simply the fact that God has given existence to all things that exist—all grades of existence, animate and inanimate. The question of the mode of creation is not so much religious as philosophical and scientific, and the Bible is neither a philosophic nor scientific treatise. "Create" is to be understood in its broadest sense as implying the gift of existence in some form or another. Nowhere does the Bible assert that creation was "out of nothing," and nowhere does it determine the question whether the creation is to be conceived as eternal or in time.

The doctrine of the Logos is of considerable interest and importance in this connection :

> In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God The same was in the beginning with God All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything made that was made

Whether John derived the use of the term directly from the Palestinian *Memra* or from the Alexandrine

Logos of Philo, there can be no doubt that the use of it by the apostle includes the conception of the Immanent Logos of Greek Philosophy, the Divine Reason or Intelligence, as an expression of God, and a medium of relation between Him and what He has made. Yet it is also equally clear that while

Philo, following closely in the track of Greek Philosophy, saw in the Logos the Divine Intelligence in relation to the Universe, the Evangelist, trusting firmly to the ethical basis of Judaism, sets forth the Logos mainly as the revealer of God to man, through creation, through theophanies, through prophets, through the Incarnation *

Thus, according to the doctrine of the Logos in relation to creation, we are to regard the Divine Reason as the Principle of the world's life, and the Power of its entire development, and the Universe as we know it can have arisen not independently but by the creative power of the Divine Reason. There are evidently remarkable points of contact between this view and the view of creation put forward in the Gītā.

God as the Sustainer of the Universe.

Both the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures represent God as the Sustainer of the Universe. This means that He who is the Creative Source of the Universe also preserves it in existence. Behind the great sum of organised energy, by which the life of the Universe is sustained, is the Divine Being, the Sustainer of all things.

Thus, in Gītā IX. 18, Deity is called the Sustainer (*Bhartṛ*) in reference to the Universe In VIII. 9, He is called the supporter of all. In IX. 5, we read :

Myself producing the beings, supports the beings,

and in X. 42,

I abidingly support this whole Universe with a portion [of Myself]

In XV. 17, Deity is spoken of as

*Westcott, *The Gospel of St. John*, p. XVII*f*

The changeless Lord who, having pervaded the three worlds, sustains them,

while in III. 24 it is said:

These worlds would fall into ruin, if I did not perform action

Everywhere, too, in the Bible, the phenomena of nature are conceived as having in themselves no inherent capacity of continued existence. They are simply forms in which the Eternal Power reveals its working. The pervasive energy of the world is Divine. Not only are all things of Divine creation, but

In Him all things consist (Col i 17)
He upholdeth all things by the word of His power. (Heb i. 3)

So real is the sustaining power of God conceived that He is said to be "in the storm" and "to ride upon the wings of the wind," while by Him the mountains stand fast.

God as Sovereign Director of the Universe.

Both our sources recognise God as the Sovereign Director of the Universe. God's government of the world, or Divine Providence, may be defined as

the Divine efficiency in and over the natural elements in this world, exercised teleologically, so as to secure the accomplishment of the Divine purpose *

The recognition of God as the Sovereign Director of the Universe raises grave questions concerning human freedom and responsibility, but in both the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures men are appealed to as free and responsible. Both our sources imply that there are distinct limits to human freedom, but both also imply that our freedom is real, otherwise it is impossible to think of Deity addressing men in the terms assigned to Him. Philosophically it may be extremely difficult satisfactorily to explain how God can be Sovereign Director of the Universe, and yet how men can be free. Yet the Gītā and the Bible represent Him as having power of guiding free beings from above their freedom, without

*Macpherson, *Christian Dogmatics*, p 178

destroying that freedom, and herein our sources are in agreement with the spiritual and moral convictions of men everywhere, for religious faith ever sees in the events of life the sovereign hand of God, and yet is fully convinced of individual freedom and responsibility. In VIII. 9, Deity is described as Ruler in reference to the Universe. In IX. 17, He is called its Regulator or Ordainer, and in X. 15:

> Lord of all things, God of gods, Master of the Universe

In XI. 13, we read of the whole Universe, united together and divided into many parts, being in the body of the God of gods. In XI. 32*f.*, it is taught that Death and Destruction are under His sovereign control, and men act as His instruments. In XVI. 8, it is said of demoniac persons that

> they say the Universe is without truth, without basic support, without a lord, not produced in serial order, what else but caused by lust?

Here it is thus maintained that not only has the Universe an unseen cause, God, but that He governs the Universe on a definite basis, the principles of virtue and order.

In the Christian Scriptures, too, the truth is very emphatically taught that God is Sovereign Director of the World. The basis of all Old Testament religion is essentially theocratic, and the Jewish conception of the sovereignty of God may be summed up in the words of Isaiah:

> For the Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our Lawgiver, the Lord is our King He will save us (XXXIII 22)

Christ, too, came proclaiming as His central theme the Kingdom of God, the reign of God in human hearts and in society. The world, in Christ's view, is God's world, and its institutions are the expression of the Divine order, and all His parables regard God's Kingdom as a power entering the world for the purpose of its progressive transformation, and the one great prayer for His disciples is:

Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. (Matt vi 10)

The apostolic conviction of Divine Sovereignty we have expressed in the words :

The blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings and Lord of lords (1 Tim vi 15)

God as Incarnate.

Both our sources represent God as in self-revealing love becoming incarnate for the world's salvation and for restoring men to eternal union with Himself. God is not only King but also Father. We have already seen that, both in the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures, God is conceived of as merciful and loving as well as holy and just. Love on God's part has been defined as

God's desire to impart Himself and all good to other beings, and to possess them for His own in spiritual fellowship.*

In all true love there are two fundamental impulses, the desire to possess and the desire to impart, and we have in both our sources these impulses represented as elements in the Divine love. To quote in full the highly important passage in the Gītā bearing on incarnation :

For whenever there is a decay of the law, and an ascendency of lawlessness, then I create Myself For the protection of the good, and the destruction of evil-doers, and for the establishment of the law, am I born age after age He who knows in truth My divine birth and work, having abandoned the body, cometh not to birth again, he comes to Me, O Arjuna, freed from passion, fear, and wrath, full of Me, taking refuge in Me, many, purified by the penance of knowledge, have come into My being (iv 7-10)

The fundamental thought of this passage is that God imparts Himself to men, from time to time becomes incarnate as man, so that men may be saved from sin and become eternally one with Him. The expression "for the destruction of evil-doers" must be interpreted in connection with the context and the whole tenour of the teaching of the book.

*Clarke, *Outlines of Christian Theology*, p 95

In verse 10 it is implied that all who take refuge in Him, and are thus freed from passion, fear, and wrath, may enter His being. Then, too, we cannot ignore in this connection the notable passage in IX. 30-32:

> Even if one of very evil life worships Me with exclusive devotion, he shall be deemed good, for he is rightly resolved Soon he becomes of virtuous nature and attains to eternal peace O Kaunteya, recognise that no devotee of Mine is lost For taking refuge with Me, O Pārtha, even those who are of sinful birth, women, Vais'yas, and Śūdras, reach the supreme goal

When Krishna therefore says that he is come into the world not only for the protection of the good, but for the destruction of evil-doers, it can only mean for the destruction of those who are persistently perverse and impenitent. Then, too, union with God is not to be conceived, after the manner of the Sāmkhya, as a condition of redemption involving individual existence with the loss of all consciousness, nor is the Nirvāna mentioned in the Gītā to be interpreted in its Vedāntic or Buddhistic sense, for the simple reason that the conception of God in the Gītā is fundamentally different from these systems, and religious terms are used with quite a different meaning Thus in VII. 23, we read:

> Worshippers of gods go to gods, My devotees come to Me,

and in IV. 25:

> They whose vows are to the gods go to the gods, they whose vows are to the manes go to the manes, they who sacrifice to ghosts go to ghosts, but My worshippers come unto Me

The parallelism here clearly suggests that an entering into Kṛishna as God is not understood in the sense of complete absorption into the Absolute with the loss of all individual consciousness. In XIV. 2, we read:

> They who, resorting to this knowledge, have attained likeness of nature with Me, are not born at the creation, and are not disturbed at the dissolution,

and in XVI. 23:

He who, abandoning scripture ordinances, acts in accordance with his desire, does not attain perfection, nor happiness, nor the highest goal

In the former passage *sādharmya* does not indicate, like *aikātmya*, identity of essence, but likeness of nature; and in the latter passage "perfection" and the "highest goal" are evidently regarded as synonymous with and including "happiness," and thus involving the continuation of personal consciousness.* There is thus justification for asserting that the Gītā represents God as in self-revealing love becoming incarnate for the world's salvation, and restoring men to eternal union with Himself.

The great message of the New Testament is that

God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish, but have eternal life (John iii 16)

The tenour of the Gospel is that God giving His Son is equivalent to God giving Himself, for

God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself (2 Cor v 19)

It is the living God

who is the Saviour of all men, specially of them that believe (1 Tim iv 10)

Other typical passages are 1 Tim i. 15, Luke xix. 10, John iii. 8, 1 John iv. 9. It is quite plain that the New Testament represents God as becoming incarnate, so that He might save men from sin and bring all into living eternal union with Himself.

The Gītā speaks of successive incarnations, but the Bible speaks of one. Yet the Bible by no means thinks of Christ as the only human representative of God upon earth. Christ is the culmination of the self-revelation of God in human life.

God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in His Son, whom He appointed heir of all things (Heb i. 1, 2)

So the Christian theologian seems quite justified in

*See Garbe, *Bhagavad Gītā*, p 53*f*

thinking of all the great prophets of old as incarnations of God in a partial and limited degree, while Christ alone is the fulness of the Godhead bodily. A distinction on similar lines is often made between the partial incarnations of Vishṇu and the full incarnation as realised in Krishṇa. Then, too, there is very real justification, according to New Testament teaching, of regarding all who have become united in living faith to Christ, as embodiments or incarnations of the Divine Christ. Said Paul :

> I have been crucified with Christ, yet I live, and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me (Gal ii 20)

So in the Gospel of John, xvii. 21, we find Christ praying

> that they may all be one, even as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be in Us

There is surely no justification for thinking of the Incarnation of Christ as the absolutely isolated event it is sometimes represented. The New Testament teaching is that it must be repeated in every disciple of Christ in a sense that is very real and intelligible.

Both the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures seem to entertain no doubts as to the possibility of incarnation. If there be an impassable gulf of difference in nature between God and man, then, indeed, incarnation is inconceivable ; but if there be kinship between God and man in the sense that God is the All-Perfect Spirit, a living, conscious personality, as the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures represent Him to be, then the idea of incarnation is by no means in itself incredible.

God as Triune.

There are intimations in both the Gītā and the Christian Scriptures that God is to be conceived of as Triune. The great passage in the Gītā in this connection is xv. 16-18, to which we have already referred :

These two beings there are in this world—the perishable and the imperishable. The perishable is all living beings The one set on high is called the imperishable But the Highest Being is another called the Supreme Self, the changeless Lord, who, having pervaded the worlds, sustains them Since I am beyond the perishable and higher also than the imperishable, therefore am I celebrated in the world and in the Vedas as the Best of Beings.

Here it is to be noticed that *purusha*, commonly used for spirit, is used to denote perishable matter. This would indicate that the author spiritualises matter in this connection, and regards it as a spiritual manifestation or expression of the Divine. Thus we have three existences: (1) The Absolute Spirit in His unconditioned form, (2) The World-Soul, the Spirit animating the world of nature and man, (3) Material creation regarded as the spiritual expression of spirit, creation viewed from its highest standpoint. There is here a very real likeness to the intimations of God as Triune that we find in the New Testament. (1) God, the Father, in His Absolute Eternal Being. (2) The Spirit, regarded in the Old Testament rather as the impersonal energy of the Divine, brooding on the face of the waters in creation, and influencing the lives of men and nations; and in the New Testament viewed more and more personally, as God working in man, as the Holy Spirit Christ is also regarded as becoming incarnate through the agency of the Spirit. (3) Christ is looked upon as the Crown of Creation, the first-born of all creation (Col. i. 15), and in view of His incarnation in human life, a new sanctity is assigned to humanity and the whole material creation. He is also regarded in many passages as truly one with God.

He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father (John xiv 9)
I and the Father are one (John x 30)

Then, too, the sanctified Church is continually regarded by Paul as the body of Deity, and accordingly the goal of spiritual aspiration is that humanity

"may be filled with all the fulness of God" (Eph. iii. 19). The ultimate incarnation is therefore, according to Paul's view, ideal humanity, the purified Church of God, spiritualised creation.

Such are some of the more important relations between the views of God contained in the Bhagavad Gītā and the New Testament. There are, in reference to other doctrines and conceptions, many other points of contact of considerable interest and importance, but a consideration of these would take us beyond the limits and purpose of the present essay.

The common elements in the theology of the two great Scriptures are of a startling character, and to many they may present a perplexing problem capable of a variety of conclusions. If we view the matter simply from the standpoint of historical scholarship, we cannot but recognise the claim of each of these Scriptures to independence. There is no positive proof of borrowing one way or the other, as we shall indicate in some fulness in a subsequent chapter. Assuming that our sources are strictly or practically independent, what is the most reasonable explanation of the common elements in their theology? The man who claims to be impartial in his attitude to all religions, regarding them all as equally unreal or false, products of superstition or disordered imagination, may point to the theology of the Gītā as a convincing proof that the theology of the Christian Scriptures can lay no claim to be unique in character, much less divine in origin, but must be put in the same class with the theology of Hinduism and all its countless superstitions. The conclusion of progressive Christian thought would be of an entirely different nature. It would maintain that there could be no greater confirmation of the truth and universal validity of the Christian revelation of God than the testimony afforded by such works as

the Bhagavad Gītā. The human spirit everywhere is essentially religious, beset with the same needs, and filled with the same spiritual longings and aspirations after a living, personal, self-revealing God. From the standpoint of critical scholarship, there is no ground for regarding the personality and utterances of the Krishṇa of the Gītā as having any substantial historical basis. They must rather be viewed as the great spiritual ideals to which a devout soul in ancient India has given such beautiful and poetic expression. The progressive Christian theologian, however, unflinchingly maintains the essentially historical basis of the Christian revelation, and points to the incarnation of the Son of God as the veritable and actual fulfilment of all spiritual aspiration, Jewish and Gentile. "In His life and person the idea and the fact at length kissed each other, and were henceforth wedded for evermore." Then, too, the Krishṇa of the Gītā is so essentially one with the Krishna of the Epics and Purānas that he cannot be estimated independently. The theology of the Gītā closely approximates to the Christian standpoint, but its ethical teaching, while in the main lofty, is in comparison on a distinctly lower plane. At its best, the Gītā is but a grain of gold in a vast and very variable mine of standard authoritative Krishna literature. The New Testament is the one standard authority of the Christian Church, and it is all gold.

III. The Supremacy of the Christian Religion in relation to Hinduism.

There is no subject of human study that has made greater progress than comparative religion during the past twenty or thirty years, or that has worked a greater revolution in human thought. Has its influence been for good or for evil? There are some who look upon

comparative religion as the most pernicious influence of our time—the most deadly enemy of true and vital religion. Others are inclined to give it a very exalted position as the great anchor of religious truth, the supreme saviour of the religious consciousness of the race Manifestly the comparative study of religion has had a twofold result —destructive and constructive

(1) It has dealt a very destructive blow to dogma in religion, to infallible standards of authority in the realm of religious thought Undoubtedly in this respect its effect has been disintegrating in a very serious way It cannot be denied that not a few whose faith was centred in some one supreme standard of authority—the Bible, the Veda, the Koran, or the Pope—have made shipwreck of their faith by a study of comparative religion So long as they believed in only one religion, infallible and absolute, their souls enjoyed assurance, their minds were at rest Immediately they came to admit the existence of a Parliament of Religions, a flood of uncertainty swept over the spirit, leaving them stranded in darkness and doubt. I think, too, it must be admitted that much of the agnosticism, and even atheism, in Christian and non-Christian lands is the direct outcome of the study of comparative religion

(2) On the other hand, it is manifest that comparative religion has a constructive side of a very important character The study of physical science resulted in a wave of materialistic atheism in the world of thought, Christian and non-Christian A generation or two ago many leaders of scientific and philosophic thought were openly materialistic and atheistical. They were rejoicing at the prospect of the final banishment of God, religion, and superstition from the sphere of human life and thought. The nightmare that, from the tyranny of

religion, had unwarrantably robbed humanity, through all the centuries, of its birthright of freedom, was to be destroyed by the magic touch of scientific knowledge. There is nothing that has been more effectual in stemming the tide of materialism in all lands than a study of comparative religion. It has compelled men to pause in the downward rush to religious negation and practical materialism. Religion, it has been found, is characteristic of man as man, and there is no tribe, however degraded, no people, however civilised, in which we do not find the same craving after fellowship with the unseen. The form that the religious instinct assumes may be infinitely varied in its character, but concerning its reality and persistence there can be no shadow of doubt Nothing is more significant than the changed attitude of science to religion, in the present generation Our leading scientific men do not now regard religion as an obsolete antiquity unworthy of serious study I myself can remember the time when religion was regarded by those in academic authority as unworthy to receive a recognised place with other sciences in the curriculum of a modern university But times have changed Even scientific men have come to recognise that the whole nature of man cannot be measured and defined in terms of physics and chemistry, and as the existence of physical instincts in man guarantees the existence of means for gratification—a law that runs through all organic life—so do man's spiritual instincts, gropings, and aspirations point to the existence of a spiritual universe in which the human spirit can find its nourishment and satisfaction It is part of the very constitution of a man to be religious—to seek converse with the unseen The recognition of this is surely a great gain But our task is far from complete. With the infinite multiplicity of the

forms that religion takes, the question arises, Which is best adapted to meet the needs of man's highest nature, to supply the highest refreshment of spirit, inward freedom, deep peace, and uplifting communion? Our physical environment is of an infinitely varied character, with endless degrees of value The air we breathe, the food we eat, the water we drink, all have to be scientifically tested and examined before we can ascertain their relative value. It would be totally unscientific and fatal to all progress to assume that there is no difference between potatoes and oatmeal, rice and wheat, horseflesh and beef Granted that a man can maintain a tolerable existence by living on nothing but potatoes, and sleeping in a stuffy room. But it would be colossal folly to assume that it is all one whether we live on potatoes and foul air or wheat and fresh air, and yet one meets many educated and scientific men to-day who, while granting that religion is an essential part of our complex nature, maintain that all religions are alike, for they all lead to the same goal, and therefore let a man cling to the religion in which he happens to be born An attitude more fatal to the true progress of the human spirit it is impossible to imagine It is not reason, it is not science, to say that it makes no difference whether I have as a religious ideal, as an object of religious worship, the bloodthirsty Kāli or the gentle Rama, the shadowy and, in the popular religion, very shady, Kṛishṇa, or the perfect and historic Christ. A healthful, well-developed, and complete life is better than a life perverted and maimed, philanthropy is higher than cruelty, and purity and holiness better than moral turpitude and sin. Yet herein, perhaps, more than anywhere, will be the religious battle-ground of the future Humanity must be led to realise, with all the conviction and strength of

its whole being, that it is its duty and privilege to seek the highest, not only in the realm of the physical and intellectual, but also in the moral and spiritual. The individual, the community, or the race as a whole, is only complete when it attains the highest.

At the close of one of my lectures, in which I had tried to give an exposition of Hinduism from the Hindu point of view, a member of the audience (I will give no clue to his identity) came up to me with the remark, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Hindu." I accepted the remark as a compliment, for it showed that I had not been guilty of that mean and despicable habit—not confined to religious controversialists—of grossly misrepresenting the real attitude of the other side On the other hand, the statement provoked thought, and made me feel quite convinced that I had done well to have a special lecture on the supremacy of Christianity in relation to Hinduism In what respect, then, can Christianity claim supremacy in relation to a religion that has been and is so powerful an attraction to so many minds for many generations?

(1) *Hinduism, as a religious system, is local and non-missionary. Christianity is universal in application and appeal.*

Hindus themselves recognise the local character of their religion It is limited to the inhabitants of India, and the system of caste is such that it is, and has been for centuries, impossible for a foreigner to become a Hindu The adherents of orthodox Hinduism—as distinct from a few advocates of the Vedānta who have travelled in Western lands—glory in this local and exclusive character of the religion they confess. It is to them a matter

of pride that no barbarian foreigner can ever enter the holy precincts of their faith and become one of themselves But such an attitude can never hold its own in view of the advance of modern knowledge. Man's constitution—physical, intellectual, and spiritual—is essentially the same in whatever country or stage of civilisation he may be. To build up the human body essentially the same constituents are necessary, and the science of food or sanitation is essentially one and the same in all its ground-principles for all races of men on the face of the earth.

This is a principle admitted in all departments of life and thought Science recognises no national boundaries The scientific discoveries in one land are immediately utilised to the full by the scientists of other lands Local prejudices, national pride, are not allowed to stand in the way of progress Scientific workers in any field who kept their fellow-countrymen in ignorance of the attained results of other lands would be immediately stamped as traitors to the cause of truth and progress And yet that is what is being deliberately done or approved by many in the realm of religion There is a great world-movement going on around us in social and political life Currents of thought of a strictly similar tendency are swaying the minds and hearts of all the leading nations of the world, east and west Mankind is moving in the direction of a fundamental unity in thought and life. There is abundant proof that advancement in civilisation and culture does not do away with man's need of religion, nor destroy the yearning of soul for communion with the unseen However highly developed our civilisation may become, religion will for ever abide a permanent and essential factor in the life of humanity Hinduism, whatever form it takes, is essentially local in its character, and, indeed,

makes little or no attempt to put forward any claim to satisfy the various religious instincts of a civilised community taking its place in the great world-movement of to-day In its animistic form it is impregnated with the worship of spirits and demons and the wildest mythologies, with superstitious dread and witchcraft dominating everything In its theistic form it is inseparably associated with the worship of an incarnation, Kṛishṇa, lacking the highest elements of moral character and honourable conduct—a character that can never, by the wildest stretch of imagination, become the moral and religious ideal, the Deity, of the religious world of the future In its pantheistic and more orthodox form, Hinduism is opposed to all growth and advancement of human faculties and endowments, and utterly unfit to guide the minds of men bent on progress and reform in every department of human endeavour If there is one thing, on the other hand, that is undeniably true of Christianity, it is its universality Christ appeals to man as man, and the records of history prove the universal character of His sway over the minds and hearts of men and women, totally irrespective of class, culture, and nationality In India itself, while the ecclesiastical Christianity of the West is looked on with suspicion, and often utterly opposed, it is seldom indeed that we find any opposition to our setting forth of Christ in all the wondrous glory of His humanity and Divinity Times without number I have seen audiences, keenly suspicious, if not resentful, during an ordinary religious discussion, quelled into submission and reverential awe on hearing the simple story of Christ's beneficent love and holy passion, and one has been irresistibly driven to the conviction that Christ is essentially universal, the one Catholic man, and

that if the scattered elements of creation are to be gathered together, it is He, above every other power, who will be the connecting link We are far from reaching that stage when the war-drums have ceased to beat The exclusive, narrow, and provincial spirit is not dead in Christian nations or in Christian Churches, and it is not impossible to find professedly Christian men in our day deliberately seeking to engender strife between race and race. Surely all this is unworthy and cruel in the highest degree, and in deadly opposition to the life and teaching of Him in whom there was neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian, Scythian, bond, or free He loved to call Himself the Son of Man. The supremacy of His ideal is unquestioned

(2) *Hinduism is all-tolerant, cherishing both the evil and the good. Christianity is wholly ethical, and a transforming power in individual, social, and national life.*

Morality is not an essential element in the Hindu religion In certain aspects of Hinduism, it must be recognised, there is a lofty ethical standard, and multitudes of individual Hindus are as moral as individual Christians Conscience on moral questions exists in India, as it does in all lands, but notwithstanding all this, it cannot be denied that, taking Hinduism as a whole, morality is regarded as a non-essential There are many Hindu sects that are confessedly devoted to immoral practices, and such sects are recognised as in every way within the pale of Hinduism, having as much right to be there as the most rigidly moral Ceremonial cleanness and obedience to the priesthood are the essentials if a man wishes to be a consistent Hindu All the moral commandments may be broken and yet a man's position

in Hinduism may be impregnable But once let him be formally charged and found guilty of eating in public with a foreigner or a member of another caste, or of breaking any of the priestly rules, on occasions of birth, marriage, or death, and his fate is doomed He is forthwith, in a solemn conclave of his fellow-caste members, drummed out of the religious society into which he was born. Surely it must be regarded as a fatal defect when a religion is thus indifferent to morality The progress of man and the progress of moral ideas are inseparably associated, and a religion in which the growth of moral ideas is a matter of no concern, bears on the face of it the stamp of inferiority, and confesses itself unfit to be the guide of man into that new heaven and new earth for which the whole world, consciously or unconsciously, is longing. How very different is the attitude of Christianity to the great problem of the moral life! Moral ideas of an elevating tendency are abundant in the writings of Hinduism—often side by side, it is true, with much of a grossly different character Among the Jews, too, there was a body of morality of the loftiest type. It is possible to find parallels for practically all the ethical ideas of Jesus in the Old Testament or in contemporary Judaism. The dynamic and procreative value of the teaching of Jesus arises from the fact that He made these moral ideas His own—lived them and died for them At the outset of His ministry He announced, with unparalleled force and clearness, that the primary imperatives of morality surpass all the ceremonial prescriptions in importance and urgency. While the priests of His time, much like the Brāhman priesthood in India to-day, taught that a man defiled by outer contact and contamination, or by partaking of certain foods, thereby became separated from God and should

be excluded from the sanctuary and segregated from the sacred community, Jesus proclaimed that there is nothing from without the man going into him which can defile him, but the things which proceed out of the man are those which defile him. It is the evil will, the impure heart, the false nature, that fatally separate men from communion with God, and not the touching of a corpse, or the eating of a particular kind of meat. How intensely moral, too, is Paul! He does not ignore doctrine—in fact, he makes it the basis of his teaching; but invariably the conclusion of all is a moral life. But the superiority of Christianity depends not so much on its wholly ethical character —though, in that respect, Hinduism, as a whole, cannot for a moment be compared with it—as on its inherent capacity to cultivate holiness and develop character through establishing for men a new relationship to God in Christ, and opening the door for the coming of the Holy Spirit of life and light. The well-known words of Professor Lecky, in regard to Christianity in the Roman Empire, are entirely applicable to Hinduism in its more orthodox forms, and are worth repeating

The Platonist exhorted men to imitate God, the Stoic to follow reason, the Christian to the love of Christ The later Stoics had often united their notions of excellence in an ideal sage, and Epictetus had even urged his disciples to set before them some man of surpassing excellence and to imagine him continually near them, but the utmost the Stoic ideal could ever become was a model for imitation, and the admiration it inspired could never deepen into affection It was reserved for Christianity to present to the world an ideal character which, through all the changes of eighteen centuries, has inspired the hearts of men with an impassioned love, has shown itself capable of acting upon all ages, temperaments, and conditions, has been not only the highest pattern of virtue but the strongest incentive to its practice, and has exercised so deep an influence that it may be truly said that the simple record of three short years of active life has done more to regenerate and soften mankind than all the disquisitions of philosophers and all the exhortations of moralists This has indeed been the well-spring of whatever is best and purest in

the Christian life Amid all the sins and failings, amid all the priestcraft and persecution that have defaced the Church, it has preserved in the character and example of its Founder an enduring principle of regeneration

This brings us to our third point

(3) *Hinduism, in its higher form, is either a religion associated with an impossible incarnation, or a philosophy incapable of comprehension by the unlearned and ignorant. The heart of the Christian message is readily apprehended by the common people, and is a gospel of hope for all.*

The religion of *bhakti*, or devotional faith, is associated either with the gentle human Rāma or the shadowy Kṛishna In the case of the worthy and lovable Rāma, there is not the least shadow of evidence that he regarded himself as anything but a simple man, and there is strong ground for thinking that the peculiarly exalted position as an incarnation assigned to him by his followers is the result of Christian influence In regard to the sinister Krishna the Hindu scriptural narrations are in such conflict in regard to his moral standing, and the narratives most commonly believed regarding him are of such a degrading character, that no hope for the emancipation of India can lie in that direction But the Vedānta philosophy is commonly regarded as the flower of Hindu religious thought—the highest achievement of the religious thinkers of India This is the only form of Hindu religion that can possibly survive the onslaughts of scientific and historical criticism It has many points in common with the pessimistic philosophy of modern Europe. It is the worship of the unconditioned Absolute Vedāntists readily admit that their religious philosophy is adapted only for the cultured few They hold out no hope for the emancipation of the masses of their people through

the widespread adoption of the Vedānta. The worship of the Absolute is only possible to a certain order of philosophic mind The simple villager and the city artisan, and, indeed, even the ordinary educated man, demand religion, and not philosophy, for the satisfaction of the clamant needs of their religious nature Hinduism has made many attempts, in the course of its history, to supply the religious needs of the great body of its people At times there have arisen religious leaders of great religious insight and spiritual fervour, who have exercised an ennobling influence on the multitudes. The common people heard them gladly, and organisations were founded as a protest against the rigidity and exclusiveness of the Brāhmanical faith But they have remained active and vital only for a comparatively short time, only to fall back into the same rigid and exclusive principles and practices of the orthodox faith There is only one phase of Hinduism that has remained constant throughout all the centuries—it is the pantheistic philosophy so characteristic of Hinduism, and there is no one who understands the situation, whether he be Christian or Hindu, who maintains that the emancipation of India is at all possible under pantheism The masses are destined to remain in permanent slavery to degrading superstitions where a religious philosophy is the dominant, all-controlling creed as it is in India How different is the heart of the Christian message! While the Higher Hinduism frankly admits that it is powerless to deal with the sin-stricken masses, Christianity comes with good news for the outcast, the depraved, the abandoned, the hopeless. The assurance of science and philosophy that all organised beings are slowly advancing towards perfection is mere mockery to the individual with a mind diseased by the ravages of sin and powerless to resist the forces within and

around him. The facts of history and individual experience amply testify to Christ's power over common humanity, for He "is doing more wonderful things to-day than ever He did when on earth—redeeming souls, changing lives, transforming characters, exalting ideals, inspiring philanthropies, and making for the best, truest, and highest in human life and progress."*

(4) *Hinduism obscures personal identity, the continuous development of the conscious self. Christianity proclaims eternal and ever-expanding life.*

In all phases of Hinduism there is the doctrine of transmigration—attractive, no doubt, for various reasons, but distinctly fatal to any worthy conception of personality, personal identity, and personal responsibility In regard to the past, the Hindu believes that his actions in a previous life, concerning which he has not the faintest recollection, and for which his conscience cannot in the least degree trouble him, have been the determining factor in deciding his condition in this life. It is a common experience in India to find a man who has lost a position merely as a result of his own negligence or misconduct, bemoaning the fact that he has to suffer for his misdeeds in a former life. Surely this is the inevitable result of the transmigration theory—that it tampers with a man's sense of personal responsibility, the very citadel of human personality Then, in regard to the future, the Hindu looks forward either to continued existence in some other embodiment, inanimate, animal, human, or divine, or to absorption into the Absolute, an eternity of dreamless sleep. In either case there is an obscuring of his personal identity, and therefore of his sense of personal responsibility. If a man is swayed by the feeling

* *Christianity is Christ*, by W. H. Griffith Thomas, p. 96

that, in the future life, he will, whatever embodiment he may take, be in no way conscious of what he is or does now, there is apt to be bred within him a callous indifference to the present, an indifference more blighting in its effects on the moral fibre of the man than anything we have witnessed or imagined in a land pervaded by Christian ideals and the Christian sense of personal responsibility The Vedāntist regards personality as the chief seat of evil in the Universe, and works towards its obliteration The keynote of Christianity, on the other hand, the secret of its history, the source of its greatness, is the redeemed personality, having the power of an endless life. Christ laid vital emphasis on the infinite value of the soul, the individual self, the unique existence of each self His Gospel was a personal religion The only genuine worship is in spirit and in truth. In order to gain the hidden life of the true self, a man must be ready to act with surgical severity even to the extent of losing his own life The possibilities of the redeemed personality have an infinite range—"I in them and Thou in Me, that they may be perfected into one" In the words of Dr Moberly:*

> Personality is the possibility of mirroring God, the faculty of being a living reflection of the very attributes and character of the Most High.

A vivid and worthy realisation of the sacredness of man as man, of the possibility of the renewed personality expanding from glory to glory, has had a revolutionary effect in human history in the breaking of yokes and the snapping of prison bars. All Pagan notions of human beings as chattels are being steadily undermined and destroyed with the growth of the Christian conscience. And have we not evidence that the claim

* *Atonement and Personality*, p 234

of personality, the recognition of the right of every man to live a life worthy of his manhood, is laying hold of the popular imagination and conscience, and asserting itself in the Acts on our statute-book? According to the Vedānta, human personality is nothing, the Absolute is everything; in popular Hinduism, the community, the caste, holds absolute sway, the rights of the individual are mercilessly set at nought. In Christianity, the foundation of everything is the individual spirit, the recognition of man's potentialities, and the enfranchisement of the personality, and it looks forward, not to the contraction and suppression of personality, but to the unending growth and development of all that is true and beautiful and good in human nature, an eternity of ever-expanding life in God

(5) *Hinduism has but a faint conception of God as an ethical personality. Christianity reveals the Divine Fatherhood, a personality of holy love.*

It is proverbially true that a father is the creator of his son's character, that a priest is the moral standard of his people In India this is a proverbial saying. "As are the gods, so are the worshippers." So long as human nature remains as it is, it is impossible to divorce morality from religion Philosophers may argue for an independent basis for ethics, and totally exclude the idea of God from their system, but they cannot eradicate the feeling from human nature that drives a man in the crisis of his life for guidance to his God or gods It stands to reason that it is of vital importance what he conceives his god to be, for the character that he assigns to the supreme guide and director of his life will be the character that he will regard as desirable, or at any rate, legitimate, for himself. We are not applying, then, a principle to Hinduism which

Hindus in general do not recognise as valid, when we compare ethically the Hindu and the Christian conceptions of God, and seek to demonstrate the superiority of Christianity as a result of such comparison.

Philosophical Hinduism denies altogether that God is personal or ethical He is not a thinking Being, but Thought itself He is not a living personality, but abstract existence. He cannot feel, think, and love in any sense that we understand these terms The inevitable result of such a conception on character is that the man who accepts such a Deity as his own, will so rule his life as to seek ultimately to become like Him or It He will regard the development of his own personality as essentially an evil to be suppressed He must not glory in his manhood He must resolutely suppress his desires for a larger life and a fuller love, and seek to become abstract essence, pure thought But the conscience of humanity, even the Hindu conscience, cannot submit to such an ideal of God, and so philosophical Hinduism, as interpreted by S'ankara, has converted an illusory projection of the Absolute into a personal God This personal God is not absolutely, but only practically, real, like the human personality Ultimately he is an illusion, and his worship is only a stepping-stone to the Absolute Logically, and as a matter of fact, this leads to the conclusion that all moral laws are an illusion—conscience is an illusion There is no eternal law of right or wrong The moral fibre of the worshipper is thereby weakened and he comes to regard the voice of his own conscience as an illusion, and consequently a delusion and a snare Another phase of Hinduism conceives God as a real personality—it is the religion of *bhakti*, and here Hinduism rises to its greatest heights and sinks to its lowest depths. God, as

idealised in Kṛishṇa or Rāma, is no doubt worshipped by many devout souls in India as an ethical personality, and such worship comes very near indeed to the Christian ideal. But nothing is more painfully sad, in the religious life of India, than the ascendency, in the popular imagination, of Kṛishṇa in his degraded form. I measure my words when I say that Hindu sculpture and paintings in temples and other places of religious resort are disgustingly filthy, simply abominable to behold. The philosophic Hindu complacently tolerates such abominations, and even justifies them by metaphysical and mystical subtleties. The simple-minded Hindu accepts them as veritable facts, and when charged with worshipping as a God one endued with a moral character infinitely worse than his own, his invariable reply is that, as He is God, He is above all moral distinctions, and so can do Himself what He forbids others to do. Thus it happens that the average Hindu villager is far more moral than the God he worships. Both the community and the individual have a conscience which is a very real restraining power in the moral life, serving to maintain a higher ethical standard than the God of popular worship. The marvel is that, under such conditions, conscience is active at all. That its testimony has been and is being very seriously weakened by the worship of a non-moral, or rather immoral, God is manifest. In Christian lands, people may read and revel in immoral novels, but with the full and guilty knowledge that they are doing something utterly irreligious and un-Christian. In India, in the popular Kṛishṇa cult, people gloat over immoral tales, songs, and sculpture as a religious exercise, and the result is that the imagination is rendered lewd and the conscience demoralised. It is impossible to over-estimate what we owe, what the

world owes, to the Biblical revelation of the Divine Fatherhood, a personality of holy love, infinitely pure and righteous, the source and sum of all moral perfections. This brings us to our next point:

(6) *Hinduism conceives incarnation as a recurring intervention and descent of Divine power in human and other embodiment, and is admittedly unhistorical. Christianity culminates in the historic incarnation of God in Christ, the embodiment of all moral perfection*

The idea of incarnation arose in connection with Hinduism before the Christian era, and while it has some points of contact with the Christian conception of incarnation, it is, in important respects, essentially different The Hindu idea is miraculous intervention of God in the affairs of the world for special objects, and it is immaterial what form the intervention takes so long as the object is accomplished Whether it be a tortoise or a man, it is all one, so long as the world gets the special relief it needed at that particular time or age There is no limit to the number of such incarnations, and the nature of the incarnation stories is such that it would be entirely out of the question to attempt to prove their historical character The human incarnations, no doubt, are founded on real human characters, but as the oldest written accounts of them are dated several hundred years after those men actually lived, the term history is hardly applicable

Christianity holds that God has been from the beginning present in human life and history, revealing and redeeming He is essentially self-imparting —not merely the sovereign power who commands, creates, or destroys, but the Father who loves, and because He loves, gives. It is the very nature of

God to express Himself in humanity, and the incarnation of God in Christ is not to be regarded merely as a miraculous intervention for a special object, but the culmination of God's entry into human life, with a view to the ultimate impartation of the Divine life to humanity as a whole. Incarnation, from the Christian standpoint, is not to be conceived as a wholly exceptional or purely miraculous device to remedy an abnormal situation, having no organic relation to God's method of imparting Himself in the past and the future The Divine Word, the light which lighteth every man who cometh into the world, became flesh, found incarnate and perfect expression in Jesus Christ The incarnation bridges the gulf which separates the human from the Divine The cradle of Bethlehem and the Cross of Calvary became the revelation of the heart of God. God in Christ progressively imparts Himself, so that humanity as a whole may become the organ and expression of the Divine life and character, the glorified and sanctified body of which Christ is the Head

The Higher Hinduism makes no serious attempt to establish any connection with definite historical events. It glories in its freedom from the perils of historical research, its independence of events in time and space It soars upward on the unfettered wings of pure speculation, and meditates on eternal truths, not historical facts Realising the difficulties and uncertainties that attend the processes of historical criticism, one cannot but admit that there is something very alluring in this freedom But we may purchase such freedom at a price that will be positively fatal Christianity, as a religion, depends on the assertion that, at a certain period of time, a human personality appeared on the stage of history and was the Incarnate Son of God, the supreme exhibition of the redemptive love of God

in human life The Christian consciousness of the living Christ has been throughout the ages inseparably bound up with the Jesus of history. It is true there may be elements in the Gospel story that are not absolutely essential to the historical reality of the Jesus of history, but of this we may be sure: take away the fundamental fact of Christ, and sooner or later the Christian consciousness of the living Christ will vanish with it The Higher Hinduism stakes its existence on ideas rather than facts, and with what result? Hindu philosophy comes in, and after investigating the idea of incarnation, for example, pronounces it unreal or untrue The idea may be beautiful and comforting, but that does not prove it to be true Hinduism gets rid of history, but finds itself at the mercy of a nihilistic philosophy. But in Christianity the ideas are, in the first place, guaranteed by the historical facts, and in the great warfare of philosophical ideas, victory ultimately goes to that system in which theories correspond to the facts, whether they be facts of history or of human nature. We may well be thankful that we are not dependent on philosophy alone, with its keenly antagonistic alternatives and rival theories. Apart from the fact of Christ, which preserves our trust in God's love unshaken, we might well be driven, like India, to accept the pessimistic alternative in face of the pain and misery we see everywhere about us. This brings us to our last point·

(7) *Hinduism, in the trend of its thought, is pessimistic, without proper recognition of sin, and offering no adequate means of deliverance Christianity is aware of the profundity of the evil, meets it, and conducts the individual and the race to the ultimate triumph of good.*

Hinduism places but little value on human existence Hinduism and Buddhism are one in

maintaining that personal existence is an evil, and the goal of human endeavour should be to put an end to man's desire for the continuance of personal being, to extinguish his love of life. Christianity seeks to cultivate that desire and direct it to holy and beneficent ends, and here, surely, it is in agreement with all that is highest and best in the instincts of the race Then, too, the pantheistic philosophy that runs through all forms of Hinduism, from the Vedānta to animism and demon worship, cannot, and ultimately does not, recognise the existence of sin as disloyalty to God The Higher Hinduism identifies God with the ultimate essence of the Universe, to which the terms moral and immoral do not apply Christianity identifies Him with the supreme moral principle, the source and fountain of all holy thought and aspiration, who regards sin as rebellion against His own holy will In certain phases of Hinduism the evil of sin is fully recognised, but I know of no phase of Hinduism that is not sadly tainted by pantheistic ideas, so that even the ignorant villager constantly falls back upon a pantheistic conception of God to justify his own evil thoughts and ways, while at the same time admitting that his conscience condemns him Christianity is true to the facts of human nature the wide world over, when it emphasises the awful guilt and insidious evil of sin against God. But the glory of Christianity, as compared with Hinduism, is the way in which the Christian revelation meets the evil Salvation from sin means transformation into the likeness of Jesus Christ, and deliverance from the guilt and power of sin comes from a personal appropriation, through repentance and faith, of Christ's atoning sacrifice, and the moral impulse received through contact with Him. It may be difficult and impossible to define the atonement in theological terms that all

would accept, but the facts of Christian experience as to the significance and glory of the Cross of Christ in the conquest of sin, and the removal of its guilt and power, are of universal validity and cannot be gainsaid. As a modern writer has said.

> It is the characteristic feature of Christ's sufferings that in all ages they have been the means of producing such moral transformation In the spectacle of Jesus willingly suffering for others' sins, praying for forgiveness of His murderers, firm in faith that His loss would issue in others' gain, men have seen a new revelation of the possibilities of humanity and of the victorious power of love Conscious in themselves of the same selfishness and pride as that which nailed Christ to the Cross, they have been led, by contemplation of the faith and love of the dying Jesus, to a new hope and to a new resolve Turning to God in penitence and faith, they have found in Him the strength which they have elsewhere sought in vain, and been conscious of an inward renewal in which fear has given place to trust, rebellion to submission, shame to hope, and selfishness to love Thus Christ has proved in very truth the mediator of salvation unto those who come unto God through Him

In Hinduism there is no Calvary, and it is Calvary which makes Christianity still the great power of God unto salvation for all the nations of the earth.

The Missionary Presentation of Christianity as the Supreme Religion.

I have endeavoured to present, from a general standpoint, the supremacy of Christianity in relation to Hinduism The missionary has to face and solve the problem how best to present and commend his faith to the people among whom he works. Charges are often made against the Christian missionary that his preaching is violent and denunciatory. Very occasionally there may be some truth in the charge. In a previous chapter I attempted to reproduce the substance of a discussion I have often had with a Hindu villager in regard to idolatry. Perhaps it may help to a better understanding of modern missionary

methods, and of the religious attitude and inner mind of an educated Hindu, if I try to reproduce the substance of a kind of discussion that I have often had in India with an educated Indian of the better type. The missionary may impress upon his Hindu friend the claims of Christianity, and, in due course, the Hindu, in quite a friendly and good-natured way, may object.

(1) *The Hindu Objection.*

No, I see no sufficient reason for adopting the Christian religion and forsaking my own. All religions are essentially one The foundation truths of religion and morality are to be found in all the great religions of the world They are certainly found in Hinduism, then why should I forsake it for another religion?

The Missionary Reply.

It is true that fundamental truths concerning God, man, and immortality are found in common in most of the great world-religions, and so no religion is altogether false But how different is the setting of such truths in Hinduism and Christianity, for instance! Probably all the fundamental Christian doctrines can be found hidden away somewhere or other in Hinduism, but it generally takes a good deal of searching and sifting to find them, for they are mostly stated only incidentally in out-of-the-way passages, and are usually mixed up with other teachings concerning God and man, against which your reason and conscience revolt

Modern Hindus often speak of the holiness and love of God, of the Fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of men A careful investigator will no doubt be able to discover these truths somewhere in your own Scriptures, but show me the Hindu Scripture which inculcates these fundamental

conceptions as the sum and substance of its message, to the exclusion of the trivial and the puerile, so that he who runs may read and know that these are the fundamentals You must remember that such a work as the Bhagavad Gītā, with its lofty spiritual teaching, is only a short episode of the great Mahābhārata, nearly two hundred times its size This vast mass has much in it that is trivial to a degree, while even the Gītā has its trivial, puerile, and objectionable elements. The Christian Scriptures, on the other hand, practically confine themselves to the revelation of fundamentals in religion and morality You Hindus freely admit the great moral and religious value of the New Testament you are not continually coming across paragraphs, chapters, or whole books which your judgment and conscience disapprove

The fact is that you yourselves have been largely influenced, perhaps unconsciously, by Christianity. The great English classics you study in your schools and colleges are full of Christian teaching, and so, through them, and in a thousand other ways, you unconsciously imbibe the Christian view of things, and Christianity has thus helped you to better understand what is fundamental in religion and morality With this knowledge, and with the help of the researches of the great European Sanskritists, you have, after patient investigation, found, hidden away in heaps of rubbish, invaluable gems of spiritual teaching similar to the great doctrines of Christianity You then turn round to the Christian missionary and say, "Christianity is quite unnecessary. We have the same truths in our own Scriptures." Is such a course perfectly straightforward, and, apart from all questions of patriotic prejudice or sectarian partisanship, is such an attitude desirable in the

interests of pure religion and morality and the true religious progress of your country?

(2) *The Hindu Objection.*

It is quite possible that Christianity may be consistently higher in its moral and spiritual ideals than Hinduism, but does it follow that I must abandon Hinduism on that account? Religious progress is all a question of evolution, evolutionary growth. Provided I observe certain social customs, Hinduism allows me to believe what I like. While I remain within the pale of Hinduism, I can exercise a broadening and purifying influence on less advanced members of my own caste and faith Immediately I embrace another faith I am cut off from their society, and my influence over them is gone Even in the interests of true religion, I had better remain identified with my weaker and less fortunate brethren, and seek to purify Hinduism from within.

The Missionary Reply.

The various forms that Hinduism has taken may perhaps be regarded as necessary stages in the religious evolution of India But evolution shows us how higher forms of life have gradually arisen out of lower But this is not the normal rule in Indian religious life In general, the highest forms of faith have been the earlier forms, and the tendency has ever been, not in the direction of true evolution, but rather towards degeneration. Does not this indicate that the Hindu religious organism lacks the true principle of life, life in its highest form? By remaining within Hinduism you hope to exercise a purifying influence on members of your own faith, and thus regenerate Hinduism from within But is it not invariably true that those who have started out with great

hopes of regenerating Hinduism from within have found the degenerating influences of Hinduism overwhelmingly strong on their own minds and hearts? It is true that Hinduism allows you to believe what you like, but only on one rigid condition, that you recognise the supremacy of the Brāhman priesthood in all the social and domestic regulations of your life. From time to time you are compelled to join in hollow rites and childish ceremonies which are really repulsive to you You are compelled to contribute liberally towards the support of the Brāhman priesthood, the most reactionary influence in your country, and in general the staunchest supporters of all that is most degrading and immoral in the Hindu faith This compromise with conscience cannot be exercised without paying the cost, an inevitable deterioration in your own higher principles and convictions.

You express a fear that, if you forsake Hinduism, your influence in reforming it may be gone. But is it not generally the case that, so long as you remain a member of the Hindu organism, and recognise the supremacy of the Hindu priesthood, it is assumed that you sanction the rites and precepts of that priesthood, and is not any reforming energy on your part likely to meet with the rebuke, "Physician, heal thyself"?

(3) *The Hindu Objection.*

There may be degenerating influences in Hinduism, but if I accept Christianity, is it quite certain that its regenerating and elevating influence on my life will be any greater than that of Hinduism? Is there sufficient ground for thinking that the fruits of Christianity are really superior to the fruits of Hinduism? Your civilisation is more materialistic in its aims and ideals than ours.

The slums and squares of your great cities are, if anything, more wretched and immoral than our own Drunkenness, a curse from which India is happily comparatively free, is the means of filling your prisons, workhouses, and asylums with criminals, paupers, and lunatics You are supposed to be followers of the Prince of Peace, and yet your great nations spend their resources in the maintenance of huge armaments, and are ready to cut one another's throats with very little provocation Your religion teaches the equality of all men in one great brotherhood of love, and yet the great Christian nations often exploit us Orientals for their own selfish purposes. The men sent to rule over us are too often quite arrogant in their dealings with us, generally despising us as niggers and showing little disposition to treat us as men and brothers If this be the influence of Christianity on individual and national life, then I prefer to remain a "mild Hindu"

The Missionary Reply.

Unhappily, there is much in Western civilisation to criticise, and, in the matter of sobriety especially, European countries have a great deal to learn from India The warlike tendencies of European nations are indeed very regrettable, and the arrogance and lack of kindly feeling on the part of a minority of our countrymen in the East must also be sadly confessed But it must not for a moment be supposed that Christianity and Western civilisation are interchangeable terms, nor by any means is every European *ipso facto* a Christian. Christianity is an important civilising influence, and provides a congenial atmosphere for the development of civilisation. Yet it is quite independent of the external accompaniments and accessories of any particular civilisation, and thrives in all

lands and climes. To realise what Christianity has done for Europe in the way of transfiguring family life, elevating national character, softening international relations, you should bear in mind what Europe was before the introduction of Christianity, and try to picture what it would be now without the restraining and purifying influence of the religion of Jesus All the peculiar vices of European civilisation to which you have referred, far from being the result of Christianity, are among the greatest foes that Christianity has had to contend with from the outset, and its one great mission is to transfigure and transform The religion of Christ is pre-eminently a spiritual power, influencing individual lives, and the society He came to establish is a society of renewed men, who profess allegiance to Him as Lord and Master, and make His teaching their rule of life. Christianity is not, then, a matter of governments and courts, but a spiritual kingdom, the kingdom of God in the human heart So we come to you in India, not as Europeans recommending our civilisation, not as Englishmen recommending our system of government, but we come simply as humble followers of the crucified and risen Jesus, and in obedience to His last command to preach the Gospel to the whole creation Any imperfections you see in us, ascribe not to our religion, but rather to our imperfect surrender to the spirit of our Master The essence of New Testament teaching is that Christianity is Christ, and so we bring for your acceptance not civilisation, not even organised Christianity, but Christ, simply Christ.

(4) *The Hindu Objection.*

Assuming, then, that Christianity is not responsible for the vices of Western civilisation, yet

even in official and organised Christianity there are forms of religious life—in Spain and Brazil, for instance—quite as degrading in their way as the lower forms of Hinduism. If philosophic Hinduism can be held responsible for the vagaries of the popular Hindu faith, then surely Christians in a similar way can be held responsible for the absurd superstitions of their fellow-Christians in such countries as Spain and South America. But after all, the absurd superstitions of popular Hinduism are not without their deep spiritual significance. A simple philosophic faith will not satisfy the ignorant masses. For them religious ideals must be clothed in pompous rites and ceremonies, heroic demi-gods and incarnations; and so popular Hinduism is religion brought down to the level of the ordinary man, religion adapted to the popular taste. Thus our Kṛishna takes the place of your Christ In general, philosophic Hinduism has enough in it to satisfy the religious aspirations of the cultured, while the Bhagavad Gītā gives us in the idealised Kṛishṇa a real object of worship

The Missionary Reply

The comparison between the lower forms of Hinduism and the degraded Christianity of Spain and Brazil would be legitimate if we were Roman Catholics, but we have absolutely no connection with the Roman Catholic system We deny the authority of the Catholic priesthood and their claims to represent the Christianity of Christ, and with the New Testament in your hand we are sure you will recognise that the right is with us. You, on the other hand, submit to the domination of the Hindu priesthood, and you are recognised members of the Hindu organism, and you, therefore, by your very connection and submission,

sanction what the priests, the religious authorities of Hinduism, sanction But it is no doubt true, as you assert, that the ignorant masses will not be satisfied with philosophy as a religion Abstract ideas of God and truth and duty are beyond their grasp, and so their religion must take some embodied form. Therefore you have your incarnations and idols innumerable, while it is the same instinct that has driven the philosophic Hindu to create the Krishna of the Gītā. This instinct is characteristic of man everywhere [Historical research has made it abundantly clear that your religious writings are not historical, and that your incarnations are mythological creations rather than historical personalities But is the religious instinct, the deepest of all human instincts, to be satisfied by the products of mere human fancy? The yearning itself is not mere fancy, nor will a mere fancy satisfy what is a constitutional want. In all periods of the world's history there has been a yearning desire on the part of mankind for some embodied ideal, some realised example of what is truly adorable and Divine People in general make for themselves some Christ, and they find their life in it These objects of veneration and devotion vary with different temperaments and degrees of culture, from the rude idol of the ignorant idolater up to the idealised Krishna of the Gītā. The human soul in its deepest, truest life must have a Christ of some sort, and this indicates that the Christ want is a constitutional want of the soul of man The constitutional wants of all God's creatures have been provided for and met in the constitution of the world No creature that exists requires for the development of its life anything that it does not have. God opens His hand, and satisfies the desire of every living thing. Then it is most reasonable to expect that this

will prove true of man's highest needs It is the experience of countless thousands in all ages and in all lands that the Christ of the Gospels appeals to man as man, and is able to satisfy the religious needs and aspirations of the most varied races, and in every stage of civilisation from the lowest to the highest. Among all the prophets and teachers of mankind, Christ alone is understood as widely as the voices of nature, and appeals to man as man. At the sight of His face and the sound of His voice the idolater for ever abandons his idols as quite unnecessary, and the philosopher sees in Him the living embodiment of his own ideal. Modern science teaches us the reign of law and order in the universe, and you have no doubt heard this brought forward as an argument against the reality of the miraculous personality of Christ, but as a matter of fact it is one of the strongest possible arguments favouring the reality of His personality Law and order reign in the spiritual as well as the material Universe. The Christ want is an undoubted constitutional want in universal man, and the reign of law and order requires a reality to supply that want If Christ be not a reality, then there is a missing link, an inexplicable gap in the spiritual universe, while the invention of such a personality, the climax of human possibilities, would be a greater miracle than the personality Himself, and so contrary to the reign of law and order Historical criticism has done much, no doubt, to upset some of our old ideas regarding the Bible, but it has done nothing to destroy the historical personality and persistent power of Christ The incarnations of Hinduism, and the Krishna of the Gītā, are but dim shadows, Christ is the substance. Will you cleave to the shadow when the substance is within your grasp?

(5) *The Hindu Objection.*

But even supposing that the incarnations of Hinduism are mythological creations, while the Christ of the Gospels is a reality, an historical and living personality, yet, after all, Christianity is a foreign faith, and why should I abandon the religion of my fathers? If I abandon Hinduism, I shall be abandoning the most glorious element of our most glorious heritage When your forefathers were little better than savages, mine had attained to a high standard of culture and civilisation Religion has always been the great ruling factor in our civilisation, the dominant note in our philosophy Our people have always had a genius for religion, and so every detail of our life, private, domestic, social, and national, is guided by and based on religious sanctions There is no higher human love than the love of fatherland, and if I embrace an alien faith, I shall be rightly branded as a renegade and an alien in the land of my birth

The Missionary Reply.

Religion treats of man's relationship to God, and the existence of religion in some form or another, however debased, is universal. The externals of religion vary greatly, but the sense of dependence upon the unseen, the Divine, is common to all nations. Assuming, then, the universal prevalence and reality of the religious instinct, there is no subject of greater importance for the welfare of the human race than the establishing of true and proper relationships between man and God, the human and the Divine Surely, therefore, the utterances of great religious prophets and reformers should be reverently studied quite independently of the question of the land of their birth Each new discovery in

physical science, concerned mainly though it is with the material or intellectual welfare of man, is eagerly and joyfully welcomed by the whole scientific world, quite apart from the insignificant matter of the nationality of the discoverer. The question of home or foreign has little or no weight in the great realm of science. Is the progress of the human spirit, the immortal soul, less important than the material and intellectual welfare of man? Is it wise or right for each country to limit itself to the teachings of its own prophets and Scriptures? Western lands became convinced of the superiority of an Eastern faith, the faith of the Jewish Prophet of Nazareth. They saw in Him the supreme Revelation of God, the Way, the Truth, the Life Their religious aspirations and moral ideals became centred in Him, and impartial historians ungrudgingly recognise that what is great and good in the civilisation and social life of Europe is the result of the transforming power of the spirit of Christ, while all that is base and mean comes from our imperfect obedience to Him Western nations received Christ but not Hebrew civilisation, and in receiving Christ they did not thereby become Jews, renegades to their own land They realised that Christ came not to destroy but to fulfil, and they therefore retained all that was good and true in their own Pagan civilisation, while all that was valuable in Greek philosophy and Roman law was utilised in the exposition and enrichment of the Christian faith, and for the formation of a system of Christian theology specially suited to their own needs In all this were the Western nations renegades, or rather were they not true patriots? We are not asking you Indians to adopt the conclusions of the Council of Nicea, or the Athanasian Creed We

simply, with all the earnestness we are capable of, recommend for your adoption the Christ of the Gospels. We are not asking you to abandon your whole civilisation, for there is much in it that is superior to our own. We are not asking you to anathematise your whole religious philosophy and sacred literature, we rather look to you to utilise all that is valuable in it for a larger and fuller interpretation of the mind of Christ than anything that the West has yet seen We are not asking you to abandon your genius for religion, and the application of religion to all the details of daily life Rather your genius for religion makes us look forward with great hopefulness to the development of a form of higher Christian life in India that will put in the shade everything that the Christianity of the West has yet seen, that will go far towards the fulfilment of the aspiration of the Christ of God uttered in words that are still words of visionary mystery to the more practical and materialistic nations of the West· "That they may all be one, even as Thou, Father, art in Me and I in Thee, that they also may be one in us." "That they may be one even as we are one."

BOOK V.

Hinduism and Christianity in Historical Contact.

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I. The Problem of the Historical Relationship of Hinduism and Christianity in Early and Mediæval India.

IN our exposition of Hinduism, it has already been made clear that there are many points of contact of a remarkable character between Hinduism and Christianity. The question naturally arises, How can we account for their parallels and similarities? Answers of a varied character are given to this question (1) Some would say that the elements in Hinduism resembling Christianity are the fragmentary relics of an original and primeval revelation granted by God to the ancestors of the human race (2) Others, regarding all religion as purely natural, explain the parallel as due to the fundamental sameness of the human mind the world over, and the truths of Hinduism and Christianity are the natural products of man's religious feeling or superstition as the case may be (3) Others, on the other hand, regard all religious truth as divine, supernatural, and the product of divine revelation. God's method of revelation, they maintain, is progressive. He has not wholly hidden His face from any nation, or left Himself altogether without witness. The truth in Hinduism is partial, the truth in Christianity complete, but the Spirit of God is the author of both (4) Finally, others maintain that one religion has borrowed from the other —a few irresponsible writers say that Christianity is the borrower, while many assert that Hinduism in its theistic form is largely indebted to the Christian revelation.

The doctrine of *bhakti* is characteristic of all the later developments of Kṛishṇaism. In Kṛish-

ṇaism, religion is no longer a matter merely of metaphysical knowledge. It has become a matter of emotion, for *bhakti* may be translated by faith, devotion, love, reverence. Perhaps "devotional faith" most nearly expresses the idea contained in the word Professor Cowell, in his translations of the Aphorisms of Śāṇḍilya—a work belonging to the twelfth century, and containing a systematic treatment of *bhakti*—pointed out how nearly *bhakti* corresponds to St. Augustine's definition of Christian faith "What is it," asked Augustine, "to believe in God? By believing to love Him, by believing to be devoted to Him, by believing to enter into Him, and by personal union to become one with Him" This is essentially the view of *bhakti* held by all the great Vaishnava sects from the time of the Christian era to our own day All these sects have taught the existence of one supreme personal God of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, the Maker and Preserver of all things, to whom prayer and adoration can be addressed All have emphasised the reality of the individual soul and the material world, and all have set forth *bhakti*, or devotional faith, as the supreme way of salvation It has been contended that the Krishna cult is indebted to Christianity for some of its fundamental conceptions and for many of the details of the life of Krishna. I can only attempt a brief critical summary of the views of such Oriental scholars as Hopkins, Weber, Grierson, and Kennedy, all men noted for the soundness and sanity of their Oriental learning This will supply my readers with materials for forming their own judgment I shall do no more than indicate the trend of my own opinion in the matter. Here, if anywhere, what the student needs is a judicious and unbiassed selection of the most important facts.

The earliest book in which we find the doctrine of *bhakti* developed as a working system is the well-known Bhagavad Gītā. Hopkins and a few other scholars maintain that the Gītā was written under Christian influences Some of the main grounds mentioned in favour of Christian influence on Hinduism in general and in the Gītā in particular are

(1) Large numbers of passages of a general character in the Christian Gospels can be paralleled by similar passages in the Gītā. An exhaustive collection of such passages has been made by a German scholar, Dr Lorinser * It cannot be said that his conclusions have been accepted by Oriental scholars generally. Probably he was too much of a Catholic theologian to be a reliable guide in the matter of Oriental religions One cannot but feel that he is an advocate, and has strained his methods beyond the limits of sound scholarship. It is very different with the well known American Orientalist, Professor of Sanskrit at Yale, Dr Hopkins He decides for Christian influence on the ground of the striking and numerous parallels between the Gospel of St. John and the Gītā. These latter, as arranged by Hopkins,† are

All things were made by Him (John i 3) All things have their source in Me It is by Me that the Universe is created and destroyed (G vii 6 8)

There was the true light (John i 10) I am the light of sun and moon (G xv 12)

Without Him was not anything made (John i 3) I am the seed, without Me is nothing made (G x 39)

The world was made by Him and the world knew Him not He came unto His own and they that were His own received Him not (John i 10-11) Men distraught know Me not in My highest nature, I take a human form and they honour Me not (G ix 11)

Whosoever believeth in Him shall not perish (John iii 15) He that believeth in Me doth not perish (G ix 31)

* *Die Bhagavad Gītā übersetzt und erläutert*, von Dr F Lorinser, Breslau, 1869

† *India Old and New*, pp. 155-7

My Father worketh even until now, and I work (John v. 17.) There is nothing for Me to attain and yet I remain at work (G. iii 22)

(The Scriptures) are they that bear witness of Me (John v. 39) By all the Vedas I am to be known

Everyone that has learned cometh unto Me (John vi 45) They that worship Me come unto Me (G ix 25)

I know whence I came but ye know not (John viii 14) I have come through many births and thou also, I know them all, thou knowest them not (G. iv 5)

If a man keep My word, he shall never see death, whosoever liveth and believeth on Me shall never die (John viii. 51, xi 26) They that trust in Me come to escape age and death (G vii 29) Also, He that truly knows My divine birth and work, on casting off this body is not born again but comes to Me (G iv 9)

The Jews therefore said unto Him, Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham? (John viii 5, 7) (He said to Krishna) Thy birth is later, earlier was the birth of Vivasvat, how then may I understand that Thou hast declared this in the beginning? (G iv 4)

I am the way and the truth and the life (John xiv 6) I am the way the refuge, the friend, life and death, the support, the treasure, the eternal seed (G ix 18)

Compare also Rev i. 17-19.

I am the first and the last and the living one I hold the keys of life and death

Ch xxii 13 Alpha and Omega,

with G x. 32-34:

I am the beginning, the middle, and the end, the wisdom of all wisdom, the speech of them that speak, the letter A among the letters, time imperishable, the Creator, death and life

Also the phraseology:

Ye in Me and I in you (John xiv 20, so vi 56 and xvii 20-23)

In Him we live and move and have our being (Acts xvii 18)

In Him are all creatures, all is pervaded by Him (G viii. 22.)

If any worship Me in loving devotion, they are in Me and I in them (G ix 29)

Also

He that loveth Me I shall love him (John xiv 21) I love them that are devoted to Me, even as they are to Me, so I to them (G iv 11)

He is dear to me. (G vii 17)

In the same chapter, corresponding to the thought already illustrated above, we find

The world beholdeth Him not, neither knoweth Him (John xiv. 17.)

compared with:

I am not beheld at all the world knows Me not (G. vii. 25.)

Compare also:

To this end have I been born, and to this end have I come into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth. . . . That the world might be saved (John xviii. 37 and iii 17.)

I am born age after age for the saving of the good, the destruction of evildoers, and for the sake of establishing virtue (G iv. 8)

This is life eternal, that they should know Thee, the only true God, and Him whom Thou didst send. (John xvii 3.)

He who knows Me, the Lord of the World, is freed from all sins [*i e*, gets life eternal] (G x 3)

The above parallels, as pointed out by Hopkins, are not drawn from a voluminous body of writings, but are crowded together into one short Hindu poem, and into one Gospel for the greater part. The similarity in thought and diction, too, is so close that it is all the more difficult to understand how they could have sprung from two independent sources.

(2) The idea of *bhakti* or believing love, not to a stern master, but to a sin-forgiving, love-demanding Saviour-God in human form is something quite unique up to the time the Bhagavad Gītā appears in the history of Indian thought. In the Gitā, too, it is plainly suggested that this new religion has, as yet, but few adherents.

At the end of many births, the man of knowledge finds refuge in Me, knowing Vāsudeva to be the All, very rare is such a great-hearted man (G vii 19)

From every point of view, very remarkable is this sudden appearance upon the scene of a merciful Man-God proclaiming forgiveness of sins to all who believe in Him, and asserting that, though

those who believe in Him are few in number, yet the new religion of faith and love is better than the Brāhmanical religion of works and ceremonial purity. In view of the fact that the Gītā is commonly supposed to have been written wholly or in part a century or two after the Christian era, it is not unreasonable to assume that the author of the Gītā has transferred from the Christian Gospel, which in all probability was accessible to Indian thinkers at that time, such ideas and phrases as best suited the conception of Krishṇa as a God of love

(3) The later legends connected with Krishna indicate in a still more striking way their indebtedness to Christianity. According to Weber *

The birth and childhood of Krishna are embellished with notices that remind us irresistibly of Christian legends Take, for instance, the statement of the Vishnu Purāṇa that Nanda, the foster father of Krishna, at the time of the latter's birth, went with his pregnant wife, Yas'odā, to Mathurā to pay his taxes, or the pictorial representation of Krishna in the cow-stall or shepherd's hut, that corresponds to the manger, and of the shepherds and shepherdesses, the ox and the ass, that stand round the woman, as she sleeps peacefully on her couch without fear of danger Then we have the stories of the persecution of Kamsa, of the massacre of the innocents, of the passage across the river (Christophoros), of the wonderful deeds of the child, of the healing virtue of the water in which he was washed, etc

Of like character are the accounts given in the *Jaimini Bhārata* of the raising to life by Krishna of the dead son of Dubsālā, of the cure of Kubjā, of her pouring a vessel of ointment over him, of the power of his look to take away sin, and of other similar things Worthy of notice, too, is the worship of the Kṛishṇa-child and Madonna When the totality of these various legends is taken into account, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that there has been Christian influence and direct borrowing from the canonical and apocryphal Gospels.

* *Indian Literature*, p 86

(4) The passage in the Mahābhārata (xii 12, 776*f*) relating the voyage of the three pilgrims, Ekata, Dvita, and Trita, to the S'vetadvīpa (white country) would seem to contain a description of the effect produced upon some Indian pilgrims by witnessing a Christian service The inhabitants of S'vetadvīpa are said to be worshippers of the Divine Unity. "Go thence, O Munis, where My nature is revealed" Then

we all, having heard that voice in the air, went to that country by the appointed way When we arrived at that country, thinking of Nārāyana and desirous of beholding him, though the sight of our eyes was unimpaired, we did not behold him as we were dazzled by his splendour

The narrative proceeds:

Then we beheld glistening men, white, appearing like the moon, adorned with all the auspicious marks, with their palms ever joined in supplication, praying to the Supreme Being with their faces turned to the East The prayer which is offered by these great hearted ones is called the mental prayer

Then we suddenly saw a glory diffused, like that of a thousand suns shining at once and those men quickly advanced towards that glory joyfully exclaiming, "Hail to Thee!" We heard the loud sound of them exclaiming, and knew that these men were offering the oblation to the God, but we were rendered suddenly unconscious by his splendour and saw nothing, deprived of the use of our eyes, void of strength and senseless But we only heard a loud cry uttered 'Thou art victorious O lotus eyed Hail to Thee, O Creator of the Universe! Hail to Thee the eldest son of the Supreme Soul!" Such was the sound heard by us, accompanied with teaching In the meanwhile, a pure wind, laden with all perfumes, brought heavenly flowers and healing drugs When those men who know the five times of sacrifice, worshippers of the Divine Unity, earnestly devoted to Vishnu in speech, mind, and action, uttered that cry, the God himself of a truth came to that place But we did not behold him, being bewildered by his deluding power

The story then goes on to tell how that God, the Supporter of the Universe, being praised by secret and true names, revealed Himself to Nārada *

In this incident, it is held, reference is clearly

* See Tawney, *Calcutta Review*, Vol LXII

made to the burning of incense, the celebration of the Eucharist, and the preaching of a sermon. Weber supposes that the incident refers to a visit to a Christian church in Alexandria Lassen thinks that it refers to some Brāhmans visiting Parthia, where there is an ancient tradition that the apostle Thomas had preached the Gospel in their land.* Hopkins thinks it possible that, as the section is very likely not earlier than the fourth or fifth century of our era, a pilgrimage may have been made to Herat or Meru, where there were already at that time Christian bishops

(5) There is evidence that, in the early centuries of our era, strong Christian influences were at work in India which would account for the existence of the Christian parallels in the Krishna cult.

There was considerable intercourse of a more general character between India and the West in the centuries before and after Christ The coincidences between Indian and Greek philosophers are numerous.† Some of the leading doctrines of the Eleatics—that God and the Universe are one, that everything that exists in multiplicity and is subject to mutability is not real, that thinking and being are identical—agree with the chief contents of the Upanishads and the Vedānta system Striking, too, is the agreement between the doctrine of Empedocles, "Nothing can arise which has not existed before, and nothing existing can be annihilated," and the characteristic doctrine of the Sāṃkhya about the eternity and indestructibility of matter Then, too, according to Greek tradition, Thales, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Democritus, and others undertook extensive journeys to Oriental countries in order to study philosophy, and this

* Garbe, *Bhagavad Gītā*, p 31

† Garbe, *Philosophy of Ancient India*, pp 32-56

makes it all the more probable that the Greeks were influenced by Indian thought through Persia In the case of Pythagoras, many scholars maintain that he borrowed from India his transmigration theory, the doctrine of five elements, the theory regarding number, and various mystical speculations. From the time of Alexander's conquest of Northern India, there was considerable intercourse between Alexandria and India* Clement of Alexandria refers to doctrines and usages of the Brāhmans that he had learned from Hindus resident in Alexandria. In India itself, too, have been discovered many coins of Grecian design and with Greek inscriptions, and numerous Roman coins belonging to the early Roman Emperors Several European writers in the early centuries of our era showed some acquaintance with the philosophical and religious systems of India, and according to Epiphanius and Cyril, one Scythianus, a retired merchant who had been engaged in the Indian trade, and was a contemporary of the Apostles, wrote a book in four parts on the philosophy of India, which was the source of the Manichean doctrines. It seems certain that the Neo-Platonists and Gnostics were indebted for many of their doctrines to India Plotinus (204 269 A D), chief of the Neo-Platonists, teaches, in accordance with the Sāṃkhya, that the soul is free from suffering, and that the soul is in its essence light, and in order to explain the phenomena of consciousness he makes use of the Sāṃkhyan illustration of the mirror in which the reflections of objects appear Plotinus also teaches the doctrine of the Yoga that external impressions should be suppressed by contemplation, so that the highest knowledge may fill the mind in the form of a sudden ecstatic perception of God. Poryphry (232-304 A.D), the

* Davies, *Bhagavad Gītā*, pp 194-198

pupil of Plotinus, followed, even more closely than his master, the Sāṃkhya philosophy, and quotes from *Indica*, a treatise of Bardesanes, who acquired authentic information about India from Indian ambassadors sent to the Emperor Antoninus Pius. In the case of Christian Gnosticism of the second and third century, Indian influence is undoubted The classification of men into the three classes of πνευματικοί, ψυχικοί, and ὑλικοί, corresponds to the Sāmkhyan doctrine of the three gunas. The Gnostic doctrine of the personal existence of intellect, will, and so forth, corresponds to the Sāmkhyan doctrine according to which the buddhi, ahaṃkāra, manas, the substrata of the psychic processes, exist independently during the first stages of the evolution of the Universe Then, too, Bardesanes, a Gnostic of the Syrian school, assumed the existence of a subtle ethereal body identical with the linga-śarīra of the Sāṃkhyan system Weber and Garbe are also inclined to think that the conception of the λόγος came originally from India *

Now all this is a very clear indication that Hindu traders and travellers brought a knowledge of their religious and philosophical systems to Europe, and these systems exerted a considerable influence on the progress of European thought in the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the Christian era But it would be unreasonable to suppose that the influence was all on one side From what we know of the way in which Christianity spread in the countries of the West, we might reasonably conclude that Christian traders and travellers carried the doctrines of their faith to India, and from what we know of the progressive and receptive character of Brāhmanism as shown by their absorption of un-Aryan non-Brāhmanical gods and

* Garbe, *Philosophy of Ancient India*, pp 54-55

doctrines from the earliest times down to the present day, we might with equal reason conclude that the Brāhmans would not be slow to assimilate the thoughts and traditions of the Christians with whom they came in contact in the earlier centuries of our era, and of all forms of faith in India, Krishṇaism, being in its popular form a religion of joy, was the one most likely to appreciate and appropriate the tenets of Christianity But we are not left to mere surmise as to the existence and influence of Christianity in India in the early centuries of our era. The following facts are worthy of note

(*a*) An early tradition recorded by the Church historians Eusebius* and Socrates† makes Parthia the scene of the labours of the apostle Thomas, the name of the king in whose realm he laboured being Gundoferus. We now know from an existing inscription that a king by the name of Gondophares ruled over Parthia and Western Punjab for a considerable portion of the first century, his long reign beginning in A D 21, and so his reign corresponds to the time when Thomas is reported to have been in India The *Acta Thomae*,‡ a Gnostic work probably going back to the second century, says that, in the division of the field of the world among the apostles, India was allotted to Thomas, who, being unwilling to go, was sold as a slave to an Indian merchant From the fourth century onwards the connection of his name with India was generally accepted in both East and West. The Malabar "Christians of St. Thomas" still count him as the first martyr and evangelist

* Eusebius, *Hist Eccles*, III 1

† Socrates, *Hist Eccles.*, I. 19

‡ *An Inquiry with a Critical Analysis of the Acta Thomae*, by the Very Rev A E Medlycott, Bishop of Tricomia London, 1905 Cp J Kennedy, J R A.S. 1906, pp. 1021-1029, on *India and the Apostle Thomas.*

of their country. It has hitherto been generally assumed that these Christians were evangelised from Edessa, for according to early tradition Edessa was the apostle's burial-place, and he became the patron saint of the place The traditional account that the St. Thomas Christians retain of their origin might therefore be due to a confused memory of one of the pioneer missionaries from that place, who was called Thomas after its patron saint Such an assumption, however, seems unnecessary in view of the agreement mentioned above between the early tradition regarding the Indo-Parthian kingdom and its king Gondophares. No doubt the Nestorian influence subsequently became predominant among the St Thomas Christians, and it is quite possible that the Nestorians who fled from the persecution of Theodosius II. after Nestorius was condemned by the Council of Ephesus (A D 431) may have reinforced the St Thomas Christians in Malabar, but all this leaves unexplained the earlier persistent Christian traditions connecting Thomas with India The Jews of Cochin, who have written records going back as far as 750 A D, have a tradition that they emigrated from Palestine and settled on the Malabar coast in A D 68, and there is nothing improbable in the tradition.* From what we know of the methods of the Apostles, it would be a very natural proceeding on the part of St Thomas to make his way from the Indo-Parthian kingdom in the north of India to visit his Jewish brethren in Malabar, and preaching the Gospel first to them, seek also to win the Gentiles around to the new faith It must be admitted that modern scholars generally discredit the tradition of the Syrian Christians as to the connection of the apostle Thomas with South India, but I do not think the evidence

* See Hopkins, *India Old and New*, p. 141.

justifies us in going farther than to maintain that as yet the truth of the tradition is unproven. It is only within recent years that his connection even with North India has been placed on an historical basis.

(*b*) Eusebius* tells us that Pantænus, who travelled as a missionary to India in the latter part of the second century, found there a copy of the Hebrew Gospel of St Matthew, which was said to have been carried there by the apostle Bartholomew, and that he brought it back with him to Alexandria Jerome† also asserts that a request was made to Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, that he would send out a Christian teacher to India, and that he sent Pantænus forth to instruct the Brāhmans There is thus positive evidence of the existence of a Christian Church in India in 190 A D It may be regarded as probable that that request was made to Demetrius by St. Thomas Christians

(*c*) In his Homilies upon St John's Gospel, c 1, Chrysostom refers to a translation of the New Testament into some Indian language·

> Moreover, the Syrians and the Egyptians and the Indians and the Persians and the Ethiopians and countless other nations, having translated into their own languages the doctrines promulgated by him (St John), have learned, though barbarians, to philosophise

The expression "countless nations" might, observes Dr Lorinser,‡ have weakened the force of this testimony, if we did not know that all the other translations mentioned by Chrysostom are now actually extant. From the third century to the fifth, Christian communities in India were numerous, and of Eastern travellers during that period many were priests.§ We may therefore reasonably assume

* *Hist Eccles* IV 10
† *De Scrip. Illust* c 36, and *Epis* 83.
‡ Lorinser, *Bhagavad Gītā*, p 268.
§ *Jour. Asiat. Soc*, XX. 297

that Chrysostom was justified in asserting that the New Testament, or at any rate the Gospel of St. John, was translated into an Indian tongue. It appears that, during the fifth century, Christian influence was strong enough in the North-West to leave Christian scenes depicted in the Peshawar and Kandahar sculptures *

(*d*) In the sixth century Cosmas Indicopleustes wrote of India, and testified to the existence of a Christian Church there which, according to its own tradition, had been founded in the first century. From him also we learn that there was a Christian Church even in Ceylon, there was a bishop's see at Calliana, and probably in many other places. On one occasion he was accompanied by Thomas of Edessa, afterwards Metropolitan of Persia, and Patricius, a monk, whose journeys were on behalf of the Christian population † In the seventh century, too, missionaries were in Middle India,‡ and so the chain of evidence is reasonably complete testifying to the existence of Christian influences in India from the first to the seventh century §

The arguments we have summarised are in the main those put forward by such writers as Weber and Hopkins with the view of showing that the Bhagavad Gītā and the Krishna cult are indebted to Christianity for many of its doctrines and observances Dr Lorinser, in his edition of the Bhagavad Gītā, brings forward, as we have already noted, a long array of parallel passages in support of the view that the author of the Gītā was a diligent student of the New

* Hopkins, *India Old and New*, p 141

† Davies, *Bhagavad Gītā*, p 198.

‡ Hopkins, *loc cit*, p 141

§ See *J R A S* 1907, "The Child Krishna, Christianity, and the Gujars," pp 951-991.

Testament, and quotes from most of its books; but it is the general view of scholars, even of those who favour the idea of Christian influence in the Gītā and the Kṛishṇa cult, that the large proportion of his so-called parallels are purely accidental and possess little or no significance. Even Barth, who vigorously combats the general position of Lorinser and Weber, is prepared to admit borrowing on the part of the Kṛishṇa cult in what he terms insignificant details He says:

> Perhaps the most obvious trace of such borrowing is found in certain peculiarities particularised by Weber in reference to the festival of the nativity of Kṛishṇa, especially in the images in which Devakī is represented as suckling her son, and which seem to have been really copied from similar representations in Christian iconography *

Of course, it is possible to argue the counter thesis, that all the elements common to both Christianity and Kṛishnaism were introduced into Christianity from India, but this is a view maintained by no modern Orientalist of note, though the independence of the two systems is often maintained, while others argue that both are indebted to a common source for certain details. In this connection it is important to bear in mind that the conception of a "sin-forgiving, love-demanding Saviour-God in human form," as put forward in the New Testament, is but the culmination of the Messianic hope as progressively developed through many centuries by Jewish religious teachers. A study of the history of Israel makes it abundantly clear that, for long ages, devout souls had been yearning for the coming of a perfectly righteous King and Redeemer, who would deliver Israel from her enemies, put away sin, and establish peace, righteousness, and love on the earth. The New Testament, too, makes it quite manifest that such expectations were wide-

* *Religions of India*, p. 223

spread during the ministry of Jesus Himself. Quite apart, also, from the special claims of Christianity, historical criticism is making it increasingly certain that in the main the Epistles and Gospels may be regarded as truly historical, written within a generation or two after the occurrence of the events they seek to describe. Thus the leading events and doctrines, by the practically universal consensus of modern scholarship, are indissolubly connected historically with Jesus, the prophet of Nazareth On the other hand, as Hopkins and others have pointed out, the idea of a "sin-forgiving, love-demanding Saviour-God in human form," as depicted in the Gītā, is something absolutely unique in the history of Indian thought up to the time the Gītā appears, and the Gītā itself admits that the new religion has as yet but few adherents. Then, too, in the later Purāṇas, a new *rôle* is assigned to Kṛishna, so much like the Christian tradition and so unlike the *rôle* of Krishna in the earlier epic, that it appears impossible to avoid the conclusion that the later form of the Krishna cult, at any rate, is indebted to Christianity for several of its features It is also important to bear in mind that, while the chief Christian documents date from a generation or two after the period of Christ's activity as man and teacher, the main documents of the Krishna cult, as represented in the Epics and Purānas, are universally admitted by modern scholars to have been composed several centuries after the period of Krishna's activity as man and teacher, and this surely must have weight in deciding whether Christianity or Krishṇaism is the original of the ideas in question. The words of Professor Hopkins may be quoted to sum up the argument that the later Kṛishṇaism has borrowed from Christianity:

But in these works (the Purāṇas), as they appear in their later form, a sudden transformation takes place in the character of the god Krishṇa. Not only is he now recognised as identical with the Supreme God, but in certain of the later Purānas, as has been shown in detail in the master-study made on this subject by Professor Weber,* he is worshipped less as an adult, a man-god, than as a sort of Christ-child His birthday, like Christmas, becomes the holy day of his worshippers, and it is to the Madonna with the child that the offering is given, as the whole rite and ceremony are in their honour The scene, too, of Krishṇa's nativity is not only like that of Christ's, but in becoming so, it has altered all the old inherited features of the Krishna tradition, which has been renounced in favour of this new presentation Krishna is no longer heroic in birth as in life. The place of his nativity has become a stable, *gokula*, and his birth which, in the older tradition, occurred in prison at a time of fear and danger, is now of a peaceful character His mother Devakī, scarcely mentioned in the older tradition, is now represented as a Madonna *lactans*, holding the infant Krishna in her arms to her breast [This Krishna performs, too, the miracles of Christ, and the events of his life are those of Christ] Some of these traits are indeed unique Thus Krishna's killing of Kamsa, the local Herod, is an old heroic legend of the god But they are now embellished with features as utterly dissimilar to the old presentation of Krishna's personality as the new legends are unlike the old tradition Never before this time did Krishna appear in the *rôle* of a god whose glance destroys sin, whose pity for his believing followers leads him to cure them of sickness by performing miracles in their behalf Thus, beside the massacre of the innocents, there is the restoration to life of a woman's son, the healing of a cripple, and the pouring of a box of ointment over Krishna—stories which agree with Christian tradition far more closely than does Christian tradition with that of Buddhism. All these stories are in the later continuation of epic narrative, either in the Jaimini Bhārata or equally late Purāṇas, and their modification of the old legend is much too sweeping to be brushed aside as accidental The especial weight laid upon the child-cult in this worship of Krishna, so utterly opposed to that of the older Krishna-worship, makes it impossible to doubt that at least this form of Krishnaism derives from a Christian source †

On such lines Dr. Hopkins seeks to prove the truth of a theory which, in his judgment, is scarcely any longer a theory, but as well-established

* *Krishna's Janmāshtamī*, Abh Berl Ak 1867, pp 217*f*
† Hopkins, *India Old and New*, pp 162–3

a case of borrowing as is recorded in the annals of religious history.

As against the theory that the Bhagavad Gītā and the Kṛishṇa cult have borrowed from Christianity, it has been argued.

(1) The numerous parallel passages found in the New Testament and the Bhagavad Gītā are due to the sameness of the subject-matter rather than the result of direct borrowing. In deciding the question of the originality of one author as against another, there is a tendency to underestimate the possibility of coincidence of thought and expression, especially in the case of kindred subjects. For example, the Aztec hell and the Japanese hell both include the wading of a stream, the climbing of prickly mountains, and the passing through a region where knives fly about in the air, and yet the two hells must have been built up by the two national imaginations in absolute independence of each other, and so the alleged parallels between the Gītā and the Gospel of St. John are not so decisive as to necessitate the conclusion that there has been borrowing. Historically, no doubt, there is a possibility of borrowing on the part of the Gītā, for there is no proof that the Gītā was written before the Christian era, and in India itself there certainly were Christians, and probably Christian Churches, before the redaction of the Mahābhārata was quite finished.* Nevertheless, the probabilities are that the Gītā, in its original form as a Kṛishṇaite poem, was composed a century or two before the Christian era, and that it took its present shape a century or two after the Christian era While Christianity may have penetrated into India during the first century, there is no evidence that it exerted at such an early period the extent of

* Barth, *Religions of India*, p 221

influence presupposed by those who maintain that the author of the Gītā borrowed from the New Testament.

(2) The conception of *bhakti*, or loving devotion, is no doubt strange to the older Upanishads, yet the word (in the Pali form *bhatti*) is found in Buddhistic literature, and Pāṇini also uses the word.* So there is evidence of the word *bhakti* being used, or in the way of being used, in a specifically religious sense three or four centuries before the Christian era In the case of Buddha, who was a real personality, *bhakti* took the form of loving devotion to him as the Great Master. The Brāhmans, realising the significance in the growth in dignity and power of the sectarian god Krishṇa, appropriated him as a Brāhmanical god and as a counter-attraction to Buddhism. Krishna being thus conceived as a form of Vishṇu, a god incarnated as man, a real personality, it is easy to understand how the Buddhist idea of *bhakti* was transferred from the man Buddha to the god-man Kṛishṇa, and the transfer once being made, the content of the idea would naturally become richer and more specifically religious, and develop into the form presented in the Gītā. The people of India, as the Vedas and subsequent religious literature show, have always possessed a genius for religion, and earnest aspirations after the divine, and so, it is argued, we may conclude with Barth† that

> *Bhakti* is explicable as a native fact, which was quite as capable of realising itself in India as it has done elsewhere in its own time, and independently of all Christian influence, in the religions of Osiris, Adonis, Cybele, and Bacchus

(3) It may be that some of the legends of the Kṛishṇa cult are echoes of Christian stories, but

* Garbe, *Bhagavad Gītā*, p 33
† *Religions of India*, p 220.

here the question is one merely respecting insignificant details and not the whole fabric of the cult. Some of the Krishṇa legends correspond to the most obviously legendary elements in the life of Christ, as found in the apocryphal Gospels and developed in the early Christian centuries. In view of the undoubted influence of India on the philosophy and religion of the West through Neo-Platonism, Gnosticism, and Manichæism during this period, the question of borrowing becomes a complex one, and it is very difficult to decide who the real borrower is. Many of the alleged parallels are in their germ certainly of a date anterior to our era—as, for instance, the story of Kaṃsa, the Indian Herod, and so it is impossible, at any rate, to charge the later Kṛishṇa cult with wholesale borrowing.

(4) The legend regarding the visit of the three pilgrims to S'vetadvīpa is so saturated with fanciful ideas, that it is precarious to conclude that it is in any sense historical The inhabitants of the White Island are without organs of sense, beautifully fragrant, sinless, dazzling with their splendour the eyes of sinful men, and endued with various other fabulous peculiarities When we remember, too, that Nārada, the mediator between god and men, is represented as making a successful voyage to White Island, we may well conclude that we are here in the realm of pure poetry or mythological fancy.* Or possibly, seeing the White Island is said to be in the north, in the direction of the mythical milk sea of the Himalayas, reference is made to the comparatively white Brāhmans of Kashmīr, who, being S'aivites, professed a philosophical deism It is to be noticed that the religious ideas of the inhabitants of White Island are theistic or unitarian, but not specifically Christian.

* Garbe, *Bhagavad Gītā*, p. 31.

(5) The existence of Christian influences in India in the early Christian centuries may be admitted, and it may also be admitted that the tolerant and receptive character of Brāhmanism in matters of religious belief, and the proverbial generosity of Hindu princes to representatives of all religious faiths, would tend to the assimilation of Christian beliefs by Hindu reformers, but there is no positive historical evidence forthcoming on this point. All that can be done is to show the historical possibility of such borrowing, but that is not enough.

Such are the main arguments, impartially stated, which are generally used by the advocates and opponents of the theory that the Bhagavad Gītā and the Krishṇa cult have borrowed from Christianity. I think there is considerable ground for suspecting Christian influence in both cases, but the data are not sufficient to enable us to come to a definite decision in the matter. The latest and perhaps most balanced view of this whole problem is that presented by Dr. Grierson.* There is no one who has devoted more thorough study than he has to the question of the historical relationship of theistic Hinduism and Christianity He has given particular attention to those sects of modern Hinduism which lay stress on *bhakti*, or devotional faith, as a means of salvation His latest contribution to the subject is the illuminating article on Bhakti-marga, or "the path of devotional faith," in the second volume of Dr. Hastings's *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, and I draw attention to some of its leading points. He is specially concerned with the great reformation of the Bhāgavata religion in the Middle Ages, initiated and carried through by such men as Rāmānuja, Mādhava, Rāmānanda, and Tulsī Dās.

* Now Sir George Grierson

He appears to agree with Bhandarkar and Garbe, as against Lassen, Weber, and Hopkins, that *bhakti* is of indigenous Indian origin, but points out that the *bhakti* of the Gītā, as compared with the *bhakti* of Rāmānanda and Tulsī Dās, is of a very incipient and immature type. It was in Southern India that the lamp of Bhāgavatism was kept burning, though with but a feeble light, until the great reformation under Rāmānanda, late in the fourteenth century, when within half a century Bhāgavatism became the leading religion of India. There is, as Dr. Grierson points out, as great a difference between the monotheism of the Bhagavad Gītā and that of Rāmānanda as there was between the teaching of Plato and that of St. Paul. From Rāmānanda's time it was to the poor that the Gospel was preached, and that in their own language—not in a form of speech holy but unintelligible Religion is no longer a question of knowledge, it is one of emotion, and we meet spirits akin, not to the Brāhman schoolmen of Benares, but to the poets and mystics of mediæval Europe, in sympathy with Bernard of Clairvaux, with Thomas à Kempis, with Eckhart, and with St. Teresa. The question naturally arises, Whence did Rāmānanda receive the inspiration that produced this marvellous change? Dr Grierson, while admitting that the idea of *bhakti* is native to India, and that the existence of Bhāgavata theism can be traced back to very ancient times, points out that there have been Christian settlements in India from the early centuries of our era, that there is a respectable Christian tradition that the apostle Thomas actually preached in North-Western India, and that it is certain, at any rate, that the parts of Asia immediately adjoining had many Christian inhabitants. He quotes with approval the following sentence from Hopkins regarding the striking

innovation dating from about the sixth century A.D., when divinity was attributed by the Bhāgavatas to the child Kṛishṇa, who had hitherto been regarded simply as a religious teacher and warrior:

> So decided is the alteration, and so direct is the connection between this later phase of Kṛishṇaism and the Christianity of the early centuries of our era, that it is no expression of extravagant fancy, but a sober historical statement, that in all probability the Hindus of this cult of the Madonna and Child have in reality, though unwittingly, been worshipping the Christ-child for fully a thousand years

Kennedy suggests that this idea of the Madonna *lactans* suckling the infant child is a Hindu adaptation of the Christian stories brought into the Gangetic Doab by Gujar immigrants from the North-West. These Gujars—whose descendants are now in Gujarat and in adjoining provinces—came into India from Central Asia with the Huns in the early centuries of our era, and might have acquired some tincture of Christianity either from their neighbours in Central Asia or from their connection with Christians among the Huns These White Huns were the most religious of the Northern invaders. They brought their own priests with them, who afterwards rose to be Brāhmans It is no idle fancy, thinks Kennedy, to suppose that they brought with them to India, and to the city of Mathurā, a Child-god, a Christian legend, and a Christian festival.

> The name of the new god sounded in the ears of Hindus like that of the elder Kṛishna, whom the popular epic had exalted to the highest rank, the new god, like the elder Kṛishna, was an incarnation of the Most High, and so the youthful Kṛishna was born who was destined, in the course of centuries, to surpass all his older rivals in the ardour of his devotees, and the multitude of his worshippers.*

But Dr Grierson's interest is mainly with the

** J R A.S. 1907, p 990*

other great Vaishṇava sect, the worshippers of Rāma. He writes:

We have seen that the modern worship of the incarnate Rāma commenced with the teaching of Rāmānuja, and was spread over Northern India by Rāmānanda and his followers In Rāmānuja's time the Christians of St Thomé had become paganised. They had given up baptism while they retained the Eucharist, and a kind of mixed or rather joint worship, half-Christian and half-Hindu, had established itself in the ancient shrine That Rāmānuja and his followers imbibed much of this teaching admits, to the present writer at least, of but little doubt Owing to the similarity of the ground idea of "faith" and *bhakti*, it would indeed be extraordinary if the two religions once brought into contact had not influenced each other That the Hinduism influenced the Christianity has been established as an historical fact, and that alone shows the probability of the converse also being true According to Indian tradition, Rāmānuja was born, brought up, and spent the best part of his life near St Thomé In his early years he was a Vedāntist, and while he was still a young man, it was in this neighbourhood that he became converted to Bhāgavatism, thought out his systematised qualified monism, refuted in a famous discussion his old Vedāntist teacher, and suffered much persecution. (The similarity of the cases of Rāmānuja and Madhva is worth noting. Both were converts from Vedāntism and both were within reach of Christian influence Madhva was a man of Udipi, close to Kalyāna, where there was an old Christian bishopric) Much the same as in the case of early Christianity, it is to Rāmānuja's persecution and flight from Conjeeveram that Bhāgavatism owes its acceptance over the greater part of India The Śrī-Sampradāya (*i.e.*, the Church of Rāmānuja) had within it a driving force that carried it all over India from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas Its special characteristic was the importance given to faith in a personal god, and particularly to Rāmachandra, represented as an incarnation of the Adorable, still retaining the same personality in heaven, remembering and sympathising with the sorrows and trials of humanity The root conception of the Deity has been profoundly modified The noble and pious hero has become a god of love (δυνάμενος συμπαθῆσαι ταῖς ἀσθενείαις ἡμῶν) The love, moreover, is that of a father for his children, not that of a man for a maid, as in the ardent *bhakti* of Vallabha and Harivams'a

Dr. Grierson sums up his discussion of the subject in the following paragraph:

It is certain that in the early centuries of our era

Christians visited India, and were received at a royal court It is extremely probable that the inhabitants of Northern India were acquainted with the early Christianity of Bactria and the neighbouring parts of Central Asia, that they greatly respected it, and that they admitted that its professors possessed *bhakti* to a degree more perfect than that which ever existed in their own country It is possible, and perhaps probable, that the worship of the infant Krishna was a local adaptation of the worship of the infant Christ introduced to India from the north-west, and the ritual of Krishna's birth festival has certainly borrowed from Christian authorities But it was in Southern India that Christianity, as a doctrine, exercised the greatest influence on Hinduism generally Although the conceptions of the fatherhood of God and of *bhakti* were indigenous to India, they received an immense impetus owing to the beliefs of Christian communities reacting upon the mediæval Bhāgavata reformers of the South With this leaven their teaching swept over Hindustan, bringing balm and healing to a nation gasping in its death-throes amid the horrors of alien invasion It is not over-stating the case to say that in this reformation India re-discovered faith and love, and the fact of this discovery accounts for the passionate enthusiasm of the contemporary religious writings In them we behold the profoundest depths of the human heart laid bare with a simplicity and freedom from self-consciousness unsurpassed in any literature with which the writer is acquainted

I think there are very few Oriental scholars that would not agree with Dr Grierson in this very sane and moderate summing-up of the historical relationship of Hinduism to Christianity This extent of Christian influence on Hinduism I should be inclined to regard as to all intents and purposes established beyond dispute Hopkins's contention that the Bhagavad Gītā was composed under Christian influence may be for the present regarded as "unproven," though personally I am inclined to Hopkins's view of the question. But at best there are only scattered rays of Christian light and life in the religions of India, yet even these, in the significant words of Grierson, "brought balm and healing to a nation gasping in its death-throes amid the horrors of alien invasion." On this

assumption India can have, from a standpoint purely social and political, no greater benefactors that those who seek to lighten the whole mass, to leaven the whole lump with the grace and love of Him in whose worship we see *bhakti* realised in its highest and purest form

II. Historical Survey of Indian Christianity.

The history of Christianity in India goes back to the apostolic age, and I can do no more than indicate the main features of its leading periods, as they are so thoroughly treated by our leading authority, Dr Richter, in his learned and admirable work, *A History of Missions in India*, and by other standard writers on missionary history, with my personal experience as a basis.

(1) The Syrian Church in Malabar claims, as we have seen, to have been founded by the apostle Thomas. There is no positive evidence forthcoming to prove or disprove this claim, but this much seems certain, that the missionary activity of St. Thomas extended to the borderlands of North-West India, and that he founded Christian communities there which were still in existence in the third century. The statement of Eusebius, too, regarding the missionary labours of Pantænus in India, is of interest and importance. He says, as already noted in a former Book, that

about the year 180 there were still many evangelists who sought to imitate the godly zeal of the apostles, by contributing their share to the extension and upbuilding of the Kingdom of God Among these was Pantænus, who is reputed to have reached the Indians, amongst whom he is stated to have found the Gospel of St Matthew, which, prior to his arrival, was in the possession of many who had known Christ To these Bartholomew, one of the apostles, is reported to have preached, and to have left behind him the Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew characters, which

had been retained up to the time in question This Pantænus, after many praiseworthy achievements, was at last placed at the head of the school at Alexandria

Jerome, too, is still more definite·

On account of his superior learning, Pantænus was sent to India by Bishop Demetrius (of Alexandria) to preach Christ among the Brāhmans and philosophers of that people

There can be no doubt there was considerable intercourse between Alexandria and India in the time of Pantænus. In my judgment the only satisfactory explanation of the existence of a Hebrew copy of St. Matthew's Gospel in India, is to assume the correctness of the tradition of the colonies of emigrant Jews on the Malabar coast, that they came to India after the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus, and further to assume that an active Christian propaganda was carried on amongst them in accordance with the usual apostolic custom. It must be admitted that no positive proof is forthcoming for either of these assumptions, but they appear to me inherently probable.

In the year 345 A D there landed in Malabar, according to the traditions of the St. Thomas Christians of South India, under the convoy of a Jerusalem merchant, Thomas, a bishop from Edessa, with a large following This tradition is probably trustworthy, for we know that in the year 343 there broke out in the Persian Empire a severe persecution of the Christians, lasting for a period of nearly forty years. The St Thomas Christians speak of the arrival of these Syrian Christians as the beginning of a flourishing epoch in the history of the Malabar Church, and the predominance of the Syrian type of ecclesiastical life in the Malabar Church supports this view There are important copper tablets belonging to the Syrian Christians in India, dating as far back as the eighth century These old records make

the Christians appear as distinguished princes, having in their hands a large part of the commerce of the Malabar coast They were assigned high rank in the caste-bound system of India, being placed on a social level with the aristocracy of the country, and the relatively high position of the Syrian Christians in Travancore and Cochin to-day finds its explanation and basis in these documents. But whatever the origin of the Church of South India may have been, it is clear that in doctrine and ritual it is Syrian, with the Nestorian type of Christology, and subject to the Patriarch of Antioch. The Church passed through troublous times, and suffered severe persecution at the hands of Muhammadan invaders. Still more cruel was their persecution by the Portuguese, when they came to India They were compelled very largely to submit to Rome, and to-day the Syrian Roman Catholics in India number more than 300,000, while the Syrian Christians proper number a quarter of a million I cannot but think that this great army of Syrian Christians not subject to Rome have a great part to play in the future evangelisation of India While many heathen practices and abuses have crept into the Church, they hold to the essentials of the Christian faith, and largely through the efforts of the Church Missionary Society, a reform party has arisen in the Church, and many entertain hopes for "a great spiritual awakening"

(2) Roman Catholic missions occupy an important place in the history of Indian Christianity. The first Christians from Europe to enter India were the Portuguese, who landed under the lead of Vasco da Gama in 1498, at Calicut on the south-west coast. Goa became their capital, and there they established a bishropric and subsequently an archbishopric. Their early missionary labours

were of an indefinite character, though they founded a school in Goa for the Christian training of young men from India, China, and Abyssinia, which did good service for many years But the real founder of Catholic missions in India was the illustrious Francis Xavier, who landed in Goa in 1542 Of the high nobility of Spain, distinguished for learning and for eloquence, he had been led by Ignatius Loyola from visions of earthly glory to a burning zeal for the cause of Christ and of Rome. He devoted himself with dauntless courage and Christlike self-sacrifice to the needs of the poor, the sick, and the oppressed, and soon counted so many thousands of converts from among the heathen that his voice often failed for weariness, and his arms sank exhausted in the act of baptizing. He spent altogether some four and a-half years in India, but he never learned the language of the people, and he conveyed his message by the mechanical repetition of a few passages of the catechism, which had been very imperfectly translated into the native tongue. Xavier himself, speaking of the difficulties under which he worked, writes:

> You can imagine the life I lead here, and what my sermons are like, when neither the people can understand the interpreter nor the interpreter the preacher—to wit, myself I ought to be a past-master in the language of dumb show Nevertheless, I am not altogether idle, for I need no translator's help in the baptism of newly-born children.

A great institution, the College of St Paul, was at this time being erected at Goa, at the cost of the State· in this college one hundred natives, gathered from all the Portuguese settlements of India, were to be instructed in the Christian faith, that later on they might return as preachers amongst their own people. It was Xavier's first endeavour to secure the administration of this

richly-endowed institution for his own Order. With the possession of this institution, the Jesuits obtained their first foothold in India, and it soon became the headquarters of their missionary work. Xavier appears to have become dissatisfied with the result of his labours, and to have lost faith in the power of simple preaching. He writes.

> The natives [of India] are so terribly wicked that they can never be expected to embrace Christianity It is so repellent to them in every way that they have not even patience to listen when we address them on the subject, in fact, we might just as well invite them to allow themselves to be put to death as to become Christians

He therefore increasingly concentrated on the young "Build schools in every village, that the children may be taught daily," was his charge. His baptisms had been almost entirely confined to the fisher castes, who embraced Christianity because of the important material advantages, such as the monopoly of the pearl fishery conferred on them by the Portuguese One can therefore understand how there developed in his mind the great plan of shifting the entire work of converting the heathen, from the shoulders of the missionaries to those of the functionaries, viceroys, and governors The letter he wrote on this subject to the King is of remarkable interest and significance In it he says

> I have discovered a unique, but as I assuredly believe, a sure means of improving this evil state of things—a means by which the number of Christians in this land may, without doubt, be greatly increased It consists in your majesty declaring clearly and decidedly that you entrust your principal concern, to wit, the propagation of our most holy faith, to the viceroy and to all the deputy-governors in India, rather than to all the clergy and priests . . To avoid all misunderstanding, your majesty would do well to indicate by name all those of us who are working in India, and to explain in this connection that your majesty does not lay the responsibility on one or on few or on all of us but that the dissemination of Christianity shall in every case depend entirely upon the viceroy or

governor . . It is your majesty's highest duty and privilege to care for the salvation of the souls of your subjects, and this duty can only be devolved upon such persons as are your majesty's actual representatives, and who enjoy the prestige and respect ever accorded to those in authority . Let your majesty therefore demand reports from the viceroy or the governors concerning the numbers and quality of those heathen who have been converted, and concerning the prospects of, and means adopted for, increasing the number of converts At the appointment of every high official to the government of any town or province, your majesty's royal word should be most solemnly pledged to the effect that, if in that particular town or province the number of native Christians were not considerably increased, its ruler would meet with the severest punishment, for it is evident that there would be a far greater number of converts, if only the officials earnestly desired it Yea, I demand that your majesty shall swear a solemn oath affirming that every governor who shall neglect to disseminate the knowledge of our most holy faith shall be punished on his return to Portugal by a long term of imprisonment and by confiscation of his goods, which shall then be disposed of for charitable ends I will content myself with assuring you that, if every viceroy or governor were convinced of the full seriousness of such an oath, the whole of Ceylon, many kings on the Malabar coast, and the whole of Cape Comorin would embrace Christianity within a year As long, however, as the viceroys and governors are not forced by fear of disfavour to gain adherents to Christianity, your majesty need not expect that any considerable success will attend the preaching of the Gospel in India, or that many baptisms will take place

The King adopted the plan outlined with such frankness by Xavier, and at the end of the sixteenth century, after one hundred years' work, there was, as a result of these state-aided missionary efforts, a quarter of a million Roman Catholic native Christians in Portuguese India It is interesting to note that Protestant Christianity, after a similar period of work, numbered one million adherents This, too, must be borne in mind—that while the whole power of the Portuguese Government was at the beck and call of the Roman Catholic missionaries, the Protestant mission gained its footing in face of constant opposition on the part of the East India Company.

A very remarkable man in the history of Catholic missions in India is the Jesuit Robert de Nobili, who arrived in India 1605. Born in Rome of a distinguished branch of the Italian nobility, and with brilliant gifts, he became consumed with the one desire to convert as many Hindus as possible to Christianity. The methods adopted by Xavier were only possible in places where the missionaries were within reach of the military or political power of Portugal In the city of Madura, the metropolis of the Hinduism of South India, Nobili found himself confronted with the great and crucial missionary problem, "How can Christianity be brought within the reach of India, independent of efforts after territorial aggrandisement?" He arrived at the theoretically correct answer, "The missionary must be, as Paul would have said, an Indian to the Indians" He therefore withdrew from the Portuguese and his missionary colleagues, and procured himself a private house in another district of Madura, and fitted it up so as to resemble in its minutest details the home of a Brāhman He donned the light yellow robe of a mendicant Brāhman, engaged Brāhmans as his servants, and confined his menu to the vegetarian diet of the Brāhmans He adopted exclusively the Indian custom of carrying on conversation by means of learned disputations, and sought to commend Christianity as the highest philosophy to the Hindus. He called himself a Rājā from Rome, a Guru or teacher of religion, a Brāhman He claimed to be the bringer of a new Veda, which he termed the spiritual law this alone could impart eternal life He acquired with astounding industry a knowledge, not only of Tamil and Telugu, the two languages principally spoken in South India, but also of Sanskrit, and at the same

time made a profound study of the sacred and philosophical literature of India So cleverly done was the new Veda of Nobili that for a century and a-half it was regarded in India and Europe as genuine In three years Nobili had gained over seventy leading Brāhmans, who accepted the fundamental Christian doctrines and abandoned their idols, but who retained all their caste distinctions, interpreted as having only a social significance In due time 30,000 converts were gathered. Separate churches were built for the higher and lower castes, the pariah or outcaste Christians were forbidden to approach the priests, and the last sacraments were administered to them at the end of a staff, so that the administrator might not be defiled.

The work of the Jesuit mission in India was much impeded by the action taken in Europe against their Order The Portuguese power declined, and during the wars arising from the French Revolution missionary activity came to an end, but one more distinguished Catholic missionary must be referred to—the Abbé Dubois This distinguished French scholar went to India as a missionary on the outbreak of the French Revolution, and remained there for thirty-two years, living a life of utmost simplicity and arduous toil as a native of the land. He speaks in a most hopeless way of the condition of Roman Catholic missions Writing of the Christians, he says·

By far the greater part of them—in fact, I might say the whole—present nothing but an empty shadow, a hollow mockery of Christianity, for in the long period of twenty years, during which I learned to know them most intimately and lived amongst them as their spiritual director, I can't say that I once found anywhere one single downright and straightforward Christian among the natives of India Several of them were fairly well instructed, and know what are the duties of a Christian, but far and away the larger part of them live in the crassest ignorance, and their entire religion is confined to the observance of a few

external ordinances, and the repetition of certain forms of prayer, without possessing one single spark of the inward practical spirit of Christianity The Sabbath is either but just remembered, or wholly disregarded, and all their religious exercises are performed either simply because of a customary or a vain desire to please men rather than God

In 1823 Dubois returned to France wholly discouraged, and writing of Christianity in India, he says.

This religion, which formerly was an object of indifference or contempt, has now, as I can testify from personal observation, well-nigh become an object of abhorrence It is certain that for sixty years past not one single proselyte has been made Before half a century has elapsed there will not be the slightest trace of this Christianity remaining among the Hindus I must confess it with shame and humiliation, that there was not a single member of them of whom it could be said that he had accepted Christianity save for some objectionable secondary consideration

Dubois has left behind him a standard work on the manners and customs of the people of India He is no doubt pessimistic in his outlook, yet it is an admitted fact that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Roman Catholic missions lay nearly everywhere in ruins "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap," would certainly apply in this case.

During the past century Catholicism has witnessed a notable revival in India. Roman Catholic missionaries, mostly from the Continent, are doing a very noble work at the present in India, and their educational work amongst children of the Eurasian and native Christian communities, and for University students, is of a high order The community numbers at the present time about one and a-quarter million adherents

(3) To the King of Denmark belongs the honour of beginning the work of evangelical missions in India Ziegenbalg and Plutshau, Germans from Halle, who were sent out by Frederick IV. of

Denmark, reached Tranquebar — a Danish possession—in 1706, and they may be regarded as the pioneers of the great missionary host now working for the redemption of India. Ziegenbalg died at the early age of 36, but not before he had completed the translation of the New Testament into Tamil, and a large part of the Old Testament, and left behind him 350 converts to mourn his death. But the brightest star in the constellation of Danish missionaries was Christian Frederick Schwartz. Trained in the University of Halle, he arrived in India in 1750, and never again quitted it to the day of his death in 1798 He became a military chaplain to the English garrisons, and did much for the education of poor children and the orphans of European soldiers, in addition to his regular evangelistic work among the Tamils. When the powerful and haughty Hyder Ali of Mysore was required to receive an embassy from the English, whom he distrusted, he said he would treat with them through Schwartz. "Send me the Christian," said the native prince, "he will not deceive me" His regard for Schwartz was so great that he issued orders through his officers saying, "Let the venerable padre go about everywhere without hindrance, since he is a holy man, and will not injure me" And so, while 100,000 native soldiers were ravaging the Carnatic, and multitudes were fleeing in dismay to Tanjore, Schwartz moved about unmolested The Rājā of Tanjore, a few months before his death, requested Schwartz to act as guardian to his adopted son Serfojee. The trust was accepted and faithfully discharged At his funeral the effort to sing a hymn was suppressed by the noise of the wailing of the heathen who thronged the premises The inscription on his grave is a worthy testimony of the good name of "The Royal Priest of Tanjore," which

clung to him long after his death, and which even to-day pervades the Tamil Mission like a gracious perfume.

To the memory of the
Rev Christian Frederick Schwartz,
Born Sonnenburg, of Neumark, in the Kingdom of Prussia,
The 28th October, 1726,
And died at Tanjore the 12th February, 1798,
In the 72nd year of his age.
Devoted from his early manhood to the office of
Missionary in the East,
The similarity of his situation to that of
The first preachers of the Gospel
Produced in him a peculiar resemblance to
The simple sanctity of the
Apostolic character
His natural vivacity won the affection,
As his unspotted probity and purity of life
Alike commanded the reverence, of the
Christian, Muhammadan, and Hindu
For sovereign princes, Hindu and Muhammadan,
Selected this humble pastor
As the medium of negotiation with
The British Government,
And the very marble that here records his wishes
Was raised by
The liberal affection and esteem of the
Rajah of Tanjore,
Maharajah Serfogee.

(4) Roman Catholic and Danish missionaries had this in common—that they were to all intents and purposes State agents, supported by or receiving the official support of their respective Governments As Dr Richter, the historian of Indian Missions, has pointed out, "Modern missionary work in India dates from November 11th, 1793, the day upon which William Carey landed in Calcutta." Captain Cook's voyages in the South Sea, and other geographical discoveries, had stirred afresh the interest of Europe in lands and peoples beyond the sea William Carey, the pastor of a small Baptist church in Northamptonshire, saw visions and dreamed dreams of Christian empire as he pondered over the religious condition of the people of these distant lands, and took steps to convince his brethren of the

binding character of Christ's last command to disciple all the nations The ultimate result was the formation of the great organised modern missionary societies of Great Britain and America the Baptist Missionary Society in 1792, the London Missionary Society in 1795, the Church Missionary Society in 1799, the American Board in 1810, the American Baptist Missionary Union in 1814, followed by many others in all western lands, and of all denominations Carey possessed in a very eminent degree all the qualifications necessary in a pioneer. While still a pastor in England, on account of the inadequacy of his income for the support of his family, he kept school by day, made or cobbled shoes by night, and preached on Sunday. The first five years of his missionary life in Bengal were spent at Mudnabutty, in the district of Malda, where he earned his living by the superintendence of an indigo factory. This he did partly from necessity, arising from the strong opposition of the East India Company to direct missionary work, and the inadequate supply of funds from home, and partly from choice, believing, as he did, that the missionary should, as far as practicable, support himself by engaging in some secular calling During that period he thoroughly mastered vernacular Bengali, made a tentative translation of the New Testament into Bengali, held daily religious services with the thousand workmen in the factory, and itinerated regularly through the district of twenty miles square and containing 200 villages. There was little hope, however, of his accomplishing any great work under such cramped conditions. His opportunity came in the arrival, in 1799, of reinforcements in the form of four other missionaries, amongst them being Joshua Marshman and William Ward. They were advised to settle in the flourishing Danish Colony at Seram-

pore, fifteen miles from Calcutta, and Carey joined them in the following year. They were led to take this step mainly on account of the deep-seated hostility of the East India Company to all missionary enterprise British officials at that time sincerely believed that the propagation of Christianity among the people of India was like the firing of a pistol into a powder magazine, and would inevitably lead to the overthrow of British rule. The merchant officials, moreover, of that period, being seldom married or having their wives with them, almost invariably contracted irregular alliances with the women of the land, and lived in open disregard of the principles of Christian morality as understood and practised in western lands. It cannot be maintained also that they were particularly scrupulous in their private or official treatment of the subject peoples entrusted to their charge In either case the presence of a body of men whose profession required them to uphold and teach high moral and humane standards as binding on Europeans and natives alike, was naturally regarded by the overwhelming, though by no means entire, body of official opinion as inconvenient if not fatal Modern missions owe the Danish Government an eternal debt of gratitude for the way in which they welcomed and protected the infant mission, and gave the missionaries their great opportunity so that, before many years had passed by, even the criticisms of the East India Company had been almost altogether silenced For a quarter of a century or so, Carey, Marshman, and Ward, the Serampore trio, were privileged to engage together in laborious and very varied activities, so that long before their death the Serampore Mission had attained to a worldwide fame. As Dr. Richter writes:

All of them were of that type of self-made men so frequently to be met with in English history, men of insatiable appetite for learning, and of practical ability, who were dismayed by no difficulties, and whose industry and patience knew no limits Carey, especially, was a man of heroic diligence In all three the truth was abundantly verified that the missionary calling is a high and noble school in which characters are wrought to fine issues and where gifts are developed which at home would probably have remained for ever dormant Moreover, they were all three of boundless devotion to their calling, and filled with a holy determination to dedicate their whole being, all they had, and every power of body and soul, to missionary work And each acted as a complement to the other so perfectly and harmoniously that their living together tripled their power of work They had one household in common in Serampore until their death, and stood by one another inseparably, in weal and woe, during years of severest trial

The following is a brief summary of their activities and achievements of a general and missionary character:

(*a*) Carey became a great Bengali and Sanskrit scholar. He is regarded as the creator of Bengali prose, and his high attainments in Sanskrit and the vernaculars secured his appointment at a high salary to the professorship of Sanskrit, Bengali, and Marāthī in the Government College of Fort William for the training of English civilians, a position he held for thirty years He published many grammatical and lexicographical works in Sanskrit and the vernaculars, and his Bengali dictionary remains a standard work. He became, too, a distinguished botanist, and kept up a splendid botanical garden at Serampore. He founded the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of Bengal, still a flourishing institution. He was a member of many learned societies, European and Indian, and was in constant correspondence with the first Orientalists and botanists of his time. Marshman, too, studied Bengali and Sanskrit, and co-operated with Carey in several of his philological works. He devoted considerable attention

also to Chinese, translating a large part of the Bible into Chinese, and the writings of Confucius into English. With the co-operation of his gifted wife, he conducted highly successful schools at Serampore for the education of the sons and daughters of officials These schools brought in a large income to the mission Ward was the printer of the mission, and to him belongs the honour of introducing the first great printing-press into India, the first steam-engine, and of making the Serampore Press famous throughout the East He made the press, too, with its own magnificent printing house, paper mill, and type foundry, a source of considerable income to the mission. Though primarily a business man, he was a preacher and worker of great ability, and his work on the Literature and Religion of the Hindus is still quoted as an authority by modern scholars, and though, in some important respects, it is now antiquated, it contains a large amount of matter —the result of personal investigation and research —that must remain of permanent value

(*b*) The project nearest to Carey's heart was to give the Holy Scriptures to the people of Asia in their own tongue. He and his colleagues worked upon and brought out at least forty translations of the whole Bible or parts of it. Carey's special share of these was the translation of the whole Bible into Bengali, Hindi, Marāthī, and Sanskrit, and numerous portions of the Bible into other Indian languages and dialects. On Carey's death the entire Bible had been issued in six complete translations, the entire New Testament in twenty-three more, and beside these, separate books or portions in ten or a dozen other languages With the accumulated experience of a century of fruitful Bible translation behind us, it is easy to criticise now most of these versions, but considering

the conditions and pioneer character of their translation work, the achievements of these men, both in quantity and quality, are likely to remain unique in the missionary history of the Christian Church.

(*c*) Carey and his colleagues, as far as they found it possible, began missionary labour amongst every people into whose speech they had translated the Bible, and, to quote Richter,

> they never shrank from relinquishing districts they had already taken possession of, if there appeared on the scene another Missionary Society which they could trust to carry on the work with greater energy and more thoroughness Nevertheless, we cannot rid ourselves of the impression that in their pious zeal they entered into engagements far beyond their strength,

or at any rate far beyond the strength of their successors, lacking as they did the exultant energy and faith of these apostolic pioneers The outline they sketched with such abundant faith is still to a large extent not filled in It is clear that the Serampore trio were unduly generous in their estimate of the potentialities of the Christian Church in Western and Eastern lands We have not the heart to be over-severe in condemning the grave sin of optimism

(*d*) Perhaps the most characteristic and permanent feature of their missionary work was the establishing of Serampore College, which they intended mainly for the training of Indian Christian missionaries and the education of Indian Christians They believed that India could be Christianised through the labours of her own Christian sons, rather than through the multiplication of the European agency They equipped their College on University lines, and they received from the King of Denmark the right of conferring degrees. Their plans were evidently based on a firm faith that an educated Christian Church, with

a continuous supply of educated Christian leaders, lay and ministerial, was the one hope of India's evangelisation. There is some ground for the criticism of Richter, that the establishing of a College on such ambitious lines

> was premature so long as the intermediate rungs in the educational ladder remained incomplete, and the true foundation of academic studies unlaid And the idea of converting India by means of independent and unattached Indian Christians is still, unfortunately, for several reasons, an unrealised and Utopian dream

It is nevertheless a dream that we cannot but continue to cherish, for it points us to the only ultimate solution of our missionary problems The successful re-organisation of Serampore College, now being carried out on the lines originally laid down by the Serampore trio, is an indication of the wisdom and far-seeing statesmanship of their plans.

(*e*) Carey and his colleagues devoted themselves earnestly to direct evangelistic work in and around Serampore. Their first convert was the well-known Krishna Pal Within six years 96 adults were baptized, amongst them being six Brāhmans and nine Muhammadans It must be recognised, however, that Serampore is not propitious soil for evangelistic efforts For fifteen years prior to 1791 the Moravians had worked there, but discouraged through lack of definite results, they finally retired to a more promising field After Puri, Serampore is the principal seat of Jagannuth worship; in the neighbourhood stands the famous shrine of Tarakeshwar, sacred to S'iva. The district is overwhelmingly Hindu, and Brāhman influence is strong. It is characteristic of missionary work all over India that in such districts the number of actual converts drawn from the ordinary orthodox Hindu community is infinitesimally small, so powerful are caste bonds and social and religious

ties. Such converts, too, as there have been have generally migrated to Calcutta with its larger opportunities. To one not acquainted with the conditions, it may therefore appear a startling and disconcerting fact, that at Serampore, the cradle of modern missions, where continuous evangelistic work in the bazaars and surrounding villages has been faithfully carried on for more than a century, there is, apart from the considerable body of Christian students under training, practically no native church in existence worthy of the name Christianity has been a leavening rather than a converting power If Serampore had been situated in a district inhabited by animistic tribes or outcaste pariahs, there can be no manner of doubt, judging from what has taken place in such conditions all over India, that long before now it would have been the centre of a flourishing Christian community, and of an indigenous Christian Church with a membership of many thousands It required heroic courage on the part of the Serampore trio to plan for a permanent settlement in a fortress of Hinduism like Serampore From the evangelistic standpoint it requires equally heroic courage on the part of their successors to remain there The bearing of such a phenomenon as this on general missionary policy will be discussed at a later stage

We cannot enter into the painful controversy that arose between the Serampore missionaries and the officers and committee of the Baptist Missionary Society which Carey himself had founded After the death of Fuller, Sutcliff, and Ryland, cofounders with Carey of the Society, and his lifelong friends, a new generation arose which cherished unworthy suspicions of the motives and methods of himself and his colleagues Posterity, with no uncertain voice, has declared that the mission-

aries on the field were right, and the missionary officials at home wrong Ward died of cholera in 1823, Carey passed away in 1834, and Marshman three and a-half years later For the last years of their life the Serampore Mission had been independent of the Baptist Missionary Society, and after their death the work was continued under the direction of Marshman's gifted son, John Clark Marshman, who attained fame as an historical and journalistic writer, and especially through his editorship of *The Friend of India*, an influential journal started by the missionaries in 1818, and still represented in one of the foremost of Indian newspapers, *The Statesman*, the weekly issue of which retains the alternative title, *The Friend of India*. In 1846 the Baptist Missionary Society undertook the direction of the work The College, however, continues to be controlled by an independent Council on the lines indicated in its charter

We cannot trace in any detail the work done by the different societies since Carey's time The following are among the chief methods adopted

(1) Vernacular preaching has been carried on in the market-places of the large towns, and by itineraries through the rural districts It cannot be maintained that this method has led to much permanent result in the way of additions to the Christian Church It has, however, been most effective in spreading a general knowledge of Christian truth throughout the length and breadth of the land As a result of direct contact with Christian preachers, European and Indian, with inculcation of a purer and more spiritual faith, Hindus, in countless numbers, have become ashamed of their polytheistic idolatry with its attendant immoralities, and though still bound hand and foot in the Hindu caste organisation, they are reaching out for something higher and better. The

pervasive influence of Christian ideals amongst the masses must not be forgotten as a result of vernacular preaching when we come to test the success or otherwise of various missionary methods by the actual results accomplished Still, it must be admitted that it has done very little to build up a native Christian Church, probably the chief though not the only aim of the missionary enterprise.

(2) Education, as a missionary agency, has been carried on from the commencement of the missionary movement Vernacular schools were the first to be established, and missionaries have always regarded the teaching of the children of their converts the elements of a general education to be a foremost duty and privilege Of the necessity and beneficial results of good vernacular schools for the children of the Christian community, there has been and can be absolutely no difference of opinion Opinion has, however, considerably differed as to the desirability of conducting vernacular schools mainly for non-Christian children, especially where the scarcity of Christian teachers is such that non-Christians have to be employed for the work. Where supervision is effective and constant, this method has resulted in the diffusion of considerable knowledge of the elements of the Christian faith. Most of the higher education in India has been carried on through the medium of English, and here missionaries have led the way Government only stepped in effectively after missionaries had prepared the way While Serampore College was the first Christian institution for higher learning in India, undoubtedly the greatest name in this connection is Dr Alexander Duff, of Calcutta, and the Scottish Churches' College in Calcutta is one of the best equipped Colleges of University standing in India. Of high rank, too,

even in comparison with the best Government institutions, are the Madras Christian College, so long connected with the name of Dr. William Miller, Wilson College, Bombay, founded by, and subsequently named after, one of the most distinguished of Indian missionaries, Dr John Wilson; and Forman College, Lahore, with which the name of Dr. Ewing, a well-known American missionary educationalist, has been so honourably associated It should be noted that only a small percentage of the students of such institutions as these are of Christian parentage It may be asked how far such institutions justify their existence from the standpoint of additions to the Christian Church Remarkable, in this respect, was the work of Duff in Calcutta. As Dr Richter writes·

Especially dear to Dr Duff's heart were the direct results of his own educational work, the conversion of young men of brilliant gifts, wide scholarship, and unmistakable religious sincerity, from the highest classes of Hindu society Such cases did not abound Duff's biographer, taking converted families as his unit, only mentions twenty six of them But what remarkable personalities, what pillars in the Indian Church, are included in that small number! Krishna Mohan Banerjea, Gopinath Nundy, Mohesh Chunder Ghose, Ananda Chunder Mozumdar, and Lal Behari Day are the glittering stars in the firmament of the Indian Christian world It was something wholly new for North India no longer to see orphan children picked up anywhere, outcastes, beggars, and cripples, becoming members of the Christian Church, but in their stead scions of the noblest houses Almost all the aristocratic families of Calcutta were represented amongst the converts, the Mukerjeas, Banerjeas, and Chakarbuttys, the Ghoses, Mozumdars, and Dutts, the Sirkars, the Naths, the Gangulis The present writer, whilst at Calcutta, had an opportunity of conversing with several members of these distinguished families, both Christian and heathen, concerning the marvellous period of Duff's activity. They were unanimous in asserting it to be a time wholly unique; they stated that in the highest circles Christianity became the subject of the most animated and most interested discussion, that every family had had to face the conversion of its most able and gifted members, and that an excitement and a tremor swept through Hindu society such as had never been experienced before nor since.

Similar conversions took place in other parts of India, but it must be admitted that at the present time, as Hinduism has become more liberal, the number of conversions in our mission high schools and colleges is extremely small. It is by no means unusual to see a large institution, numbering several hundred students, go for several years without recording a single baptism from among its Hindu or Muhammadan students. Yet no one who knows the conditions will for a moment deny that the indirect result of Christian teaching and example in the way of shaping and moulding the thought, ideals, and lives of the rising generation of educated leaders has been incalculably great. Here again we must frankly face the fact that missionary education is a leavening rather than a converting influence

Theological education has never been highly developed in India, though very useful work is being done, in all the important language areas, to train through the vernacular, pastors and preachers for their important work With the development of general English education, there has arisen the need of a higher grade of Christian religious teachers. And to equip them, English is now being increasingly used as a medium of theological education. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* (XV. 595) refers "to the endeavour to train an efficient and educated native ministry, which is being promoted especially at Serampore, where an old Danish degree-granting charter* has been revived in what should become a Christian University, and at Bangalore, where Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Wesleyans collaborate to staff and maintain a united theological college." In all parts of India, too, missionaries take the lead in the development of in-

* Confirmed by the British in the Treaty of Cession, 1845

dustrial education especially in the interests of the growing Christian community It should be mentioned that in all their educational work, apart from the theological, missionaries receive liberal aid from the Government.

(3) Missions to the low castes and the aboriginal tribes have, without a doubt, been far and away the most successful form of Christian work, viewed from the standpoint of the upbuilding of a native Christian Church. While the great majority of Christian missions engage to a certain degree in such work, certain societies have had very notable successes in this department of missionary activity. By way of example, reference may be made to the successful work of the American Baptists, the Anglicans, the Lutherans, the American Methodists, and the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists. The American Baptists, happy with Adoniram Judson as their pioneer, carried on for more than ten years unsuccessful work among the Buddhists of Burma, before a most promising door was opened for them amongst the Karen tribes in the primeval forests of the unexplored interior These have since adopted Christianity by tens of thousands, and have exhibited in their Christian life much vigour and independence. The fearful South Indian famine of 1876-9 resulted in remarkable developments among the outcaste pariahs In the Tamil and Telugu countries hundreds of thousands of people were dying of hunger.

Government was doing what it could in face of a hopeless mass of misery There were few railroads, and grain brought from other countries by sea rotted on the beach at Madras while people two hundred miles away starved for lack of it At this crisis missionaries everywhere co operated with Government in the work of relief, raising funds among their own supporters at home, carrying out earthworks, and so finding employment for many poor people, and doing all that pity and their close contact with the people enabled them to do to help the sufferers Missions were too busy at that time to be baptizing many new adherents, and

in many cases, as a precaution against conversion from impure motives, the rule was made not to baptize people until the famine was over But after the famine thousands of people came over to Christianity *

The American Baptist Mission, in the district of Ongole, baptized some 10,000 in one year. Two Anglican societies, in the district of Tinnevelly, baptized in one year 19,000 The London and American Lutheran Missions reaped similar harvests The Government census shows that in the Haidarabad State the number of Christians has risen from 23,000 in 1901 to 54,000 in 1911. In the Telugu country it had risen from 19,132 in 1871 to 222,150 in 1901 To quote again from Mr Phillips:

Ere long similar movements began further north The American Methodist Episcopal Mission, working in the United Provinces and the Punjab, has devoted itself to winning the outcastes Adopting a policy of widespread and speedy baptisms, this mission has actually gathered 100,000 Christians into its fold Again, in the Punjab, the American United Presbyterian Mission, which had 153 Christians in 1875, has now a Christian community which not only numbers 40,000 souls, but which increased last year (1910) by 25 per cent in the twelve months The recent census shows that Indian Christians in the Punjab have increased by 431 6 per cent in the last ten years—surely an amazing growth

Missionary success among the aboriginal tribes, such as Kols, Santals, and Khasis, is equally striking:

These movements are making the outcaste into a man, and giving him a man's place in the world—a place which he has never enjoyed before

(4) We can only barely enumerate the other varied forms of missionary activity, such as female education and zenana work—so vital for the removal of one of the great obstacles to progress, the ignorance and conservatism of Indian women, medical missions, which are doing so much to break down the barriers of prejudice and con-

* Godfrey E. Phillips, *The Outcastes' Hope*, pp 32-33.

vince the Indian people of the truly philanthropic aims of the missionary propaganda; orphanages for the waifs and strays that form so terrible a feature of Indian social life in times of famine, where the children are taught the rudiments of education—Christian, general, and industrial—and brought up as useful citizens; Christian literature, for which Dr. John Murdoch did so much, and which appeals to all classes of the Indian people. In fact, nothing could be more varied in character than the philanthropic activities of the Christian missionary enterprise, an enterprise which has over and again received the heartiest recognition and warm approval of the highest officials of the Indian Government Numbers are not the only or chief test of the work accomplished, but nothing can explain away the significance of the hard facts of the census returns, which show that the Protestant native Christian community in 1851 numbered only some 90,000, while sixty years later it has grown to one and a-half millions. The real meaning of this growth will be better appreciated if we remember that the general population has increased only 65 per cent. (from about 190 to about 315 millions), while the Protestant community has grown 1,600 per cent.

III. Personal Impressions of the Indian Missionary Enterprise.

I can only attempt a brief statement of my own impressions of the missionary enterprise in India, and of the prospects of Christianity and the future of the Indian Church, as a result of my own experience on the field during the past fifteen years or so.

(1) I have been impressed with the need of a larger conception of missionary work, a broader

view of Christianity as a pervasive influence in the moral life of nations. Missionary work means a great deal more to me now than it once did. The conceptions of my boyhood were almost entirely limited to thinking of the missionary devoting his whole time and energy to preaching the Gospel of Christ in the bazaars and villages of a heathen land, or under the friendly shade of a palm-tree (which, by the way, provides little or no shade at all), and it seemed to me that the earnest proclamation of the Gospel message would in itself be more than sufficient to bring about immediate conviction and conversion in the hearts of the hearers. It appeared to me that, with a people so manifestly in error and spiritual darkness, immediate results would be a more marked feature of Christian work in India than at home. But I come to India and find facing me an apparently impenetrable stone wall of heathen prejudices, traditional customs, and hoary philosophies, handed down from generation to generation for thousands of years, and deeply embedded in the lives and hearts of the Indian people One's first experiences in Brāhmanical India are almost stunning in their effect, so stolid and massive appears the character of the resistance, so dense and impenetrable the huge stone barrier. But in this connection I have often been reminded of a well-known experiment in physics, in which a heavy bar of iron weighing more than a hundredweight is suspended in the air, and near it is suspended a ball of cork weighing but part of an ounce. At first it seems absurd to swing the tiny cork against that great iron mass with the hope of moving it. But the successive blows of the tiny cork waken vibrations within the bar, and at last the great heavy mass begins to tremble, and swing, with ponderous, heavy, steady stroke,

from side to side, all owing to the accumulated impacts of the ball of cork. Individual Christian effort in India often seems very insignificant, but as one fraction of a steady, continuous, united effort, there is ample evidence that it is having an immense effect on Hinduism By our evangelistic preaching among all classes of the population, from the ignorant villager to the college graduate, by our various Christian educational agencies, from the vernacular school of the village to the well-equipped college of the University city, by our progressive zenana, medical, and industrial missions, affecting all departments of the social life; by the production of Christian literature in all its varied branches, the Christian forces of India are uniting, and calmly, thoughtfully, prayerfully bringing influence to bear upon every part of the domestic, social, political, and religious life and thought of the people of India, and with what results? Not only are there vibrations visible, but the massive bar of Hinduism is manifestly trembling After an agelong sleep, we witness an awakening in India, political, social, religious. If you ask me what are the chief evidences of the influence and success of missionary effort, I would point, as one of the chief indications, to the fact that multitudes of Hindus have become ashamed of much in their own religion, and are seeking to purge it of its grosser elements Many of India's most influential educated leaders are openly advocating the abandonment of such fundamental institutions of Hinduism as caste, idolatry, and polytheism, the defensive armour of Hinduism through the centuries. To quote from an able article in the *Contemporary Review*, by Mr. J. N Farquhar:

> The minds of the educated classes have been forced open, *the protective armour of Hinduism has been pierced.* Educated Hindus now welcome with eagerness and prize

as their most cherished possession a mass of foreign ideas and ideals Further, these new ideas are in hopeless contradiction with the old Their fathers lived with their eyes fixed on the past in inexpressible reverence, they have their hope in the future Towards the new, free, happy India that is to be every eye now strains The aim and inspiration of the whole movement is progress—progress educational, moral, social, religious, industrial, political The modern spirit has thus seized the very citadel of the Hindu mind, and has filled it with a garrison of its own For to Hinduism, Progress is unthinkable, and Change is the essence of all heresies All the other watchwords of the movement are in like case Equality, which is the dynamic of the whole political campaign, is diametrically opposed to the usages of caste and to the theory of the divine origin of class and race distinctions The dignity of the true statesman's work and the value of all faithful toil done for the State are now commonplaces on the Congress platform; how can they be reconciled with the Hindu conception of human life and the Hindu ideal of the wise man? The moral feeling which acts so powerfully in every educated Hindu's life, pleading for the widow, the child, the outcast, the foreigner, is a noble, a priceless thing; but how is it that Hindus do not see that it cuts clean athwart the old rule of conformity to custom? Their forefathers were logical, for they allowed that rule to cover thugi, sati, infanticide, human sacrifice, temple prostitution, unspeakable licence, and inexpressible cruelty Their sons do not see that either the new morality or the old rule must go We need scarcely stay to point out the powerful Christian influence active in this movement Progress, freedom, the dignity of man, the equality of all men before God, the sacredness of woman, the passion for helping all in distress—there can be no question whence these burning ideas come

It must be admitted that many who hold these progressive views deny any indebtedness to Christianity. They will frequently use the very words and phrases of the Bible, and imagine they are quoting some Hindu Scripture I have heard a devout Hindu, well read in the Christian Scriptures, delineate in rapt devotion the character of Krishna much in the same way as I would delineate the Lord Jesus Christ, and when I asked him to supply me with the authorities for such a delineation, he frankly admitted that he had none, except his own inner spirit largely influenced by his reverence for Christ and the Christian ideal. Not a few nominal

Hindus will openly admit that they have accepted the principles and ethics of Christianity as their own, while many members of the reformed theistic sects are Christian in practically everything except name

While the influences, direct and indirect, that have been brought to bear on educated Hindus and orthodox Hinduism by Christianity have been very deep and far-reaching, equally momentous, and of a far more tangible character, is the work that Christianity has done for lower castes and the aboriginal tribes of India, who number in all fully fifty millions. Europe is beginning to understand that India is experiencing a political awakening so far as the educated classes are concerned, but it is not generally realised how momentous is the social awakening of the outcaste pariahs and aboriginal tribes. Christianity continues to make great progress numerically in every decade, for while the general population increases on the average only about 5 per cent each decade, the Protestant Christian population generally increases more than 50 per cent. Most of the accessions, it must be admitted, are from the low castes, but we have in India another instance of how the weak things of the world are being used by God to confound the things that are mighty So long as these men remain in Hinduism they are regarded as so much mire to be trodden on by their more fortunate brethren. When they become Christians, they are received as men, and get every opportunity to rise socially, economically, morally. An anti-Christian paper, in Northern India, *The Arya Messenger*, referring to this phenomenon, says:

Just consider for a moment what Christian missionaries are accomplishing in India, though they come here from the remotest part of Europe. They beat even the Arya Samājists, in spite of their preaching the indigenous faith of the country. The reason is that the Arya Samājists have not

yet learned to work among the masses who form the backbone of India It is high time for us to realise that the future of India lies not in the hands of the higher classes, but of the low-caste people, and if we devote the best part of our energy to raising the status of the masses, we can make every Indian household resound with the chanting of the Vedas at no distant date But where are men, where is the sacrifice?

(2) Further, I have become deeply convinced that the task of maintaining intact the integrity of the Christian ideal is urgent and all-important in the present stage of India's religious development An undue emphasis of the noble and true idea of Divine immanence, what does it lead to? Hindu philosophy and faith, in their dominant Vedāntic aspects, teach as their ideal the starving of all human endowments, noble and ignoble, the mortification of every desire, pure and impure, the suppression of every ambition, exalted and low, and look forward to the time when the individual soul will finally sink into and blend with the Absolute Being, and exist for all eternity in a state of dreamless sleep. Such, without exaggeration, is the end of the dominant school of Hindu thought. Christianity, on the other hand, teaches that Christ came into the world that men might have life and might have it more abundantly It opens out to man a long and broad vista of life, with an ever-enlarging blissful activity. Christ came to develop all the grand possibilities of our nature, to stimulate to increasing growth all the nobler qualities, activities, and endowments of the human mind. Not suppression, but development, is the watch-word of Christianity; not everlasting sleep, but everlasting life, is its goal. Ask the Hindu, for instance, to point out to you his ideal of a holy man, and his thoughts will immediately turn to the ascetic covered with dirt and ashes, and inflicting upon himself untold tortures for the suppression of every feeling, good and bad, and proving his

claim to be a holy man, not by what he does, but by what he does not do, not by a life of beneficent activity, but by a life of sheer inactivity, in which there is absolutely no effort to uplift and ennoble fallen humanity The reverence that such a man inspires in the heart of the people is astounding, and they dread his curse as the curse of a god It has been suggested that, if Christian missionaries wish to convert India to Christianity, they must go through the length and breadth of India after the manner of Hindu devotees. There is no doubt something to be said in favour of such a suggestion. If Christian missionaries, renouncing all family ties, and forsaking their comfortable houses, put off their present attire, and took to bedaubing themselves with dirt and ashes, if they clothed themselves with a slender covering of deer-skin or grass, and allowed their hair and nails to grow to abnormal length, and in this manner wandered through the villages and towns of India preaching the new faith, they would no doubt create a sensation, and possibly appeal to the Hindu imagination in such a way as to win, even in Brāhmanical centres, converts by the thousand, instead of by the units as we are doing at present. Then you may ask, Why not adopt such a plan? If I had any idea that this was the means appointed by God for establishing His Kingdom in India, I should not have the least hesitation in becoming a Hindu devotee from to-day But not so have I learned Christ By adopting the methods of the Hindu devotee, we should abandon Christianity, and the Christian missionary would become a Hindu convert. Christ did not torture the human form divine, but lived the simple human life as a true man, citizen, artisan, and child of God. His was a genuine humanity, and as a true member of His nation did He mingle with men in all the

ordinary relationships of human life; and He sought to make His disciples true men, not by having them suppress and annihilate the ordinary and God-given feelings of humanity, but by infusing into them a new spirit from on high, a new Divine life, whereby the passions and the senses would be brought under complete subjection and control. Not the absolute destruction of the self, but self-realisation, the harmonious development of the true self in all that is true and beautiful and good; not death, but life, abundance of life, progressive life, eternal life, that is the aim and ideal of Christianity, and through good report and evil, the Christian Church must maintain the integrity of that ideal intact in India, and must preach and live its ideal among all classes of the Indian people. More than ever am I convinced, as the years go by, that it is the only ideal that can satisfy the aspirations of modern India

(3) On the other hand, I have been equally impressed with the deep need of adapting the Christian ideal to Hindu modes of thought, and so help towards the development of an indigenous Christianity, the one great hope of India's evangelisation The Christian theology of the West is no doubt to a large extent the product of western philosophy and western modes of thought. Christ preached no system, only the germs of a system. In the West those germs have been developed in accordance with western preconceptions, and very naturally. We must, however, be very careful to distinguish the temporary and the permanent in our theology, and to see that we do not impose our western shibboleths on eastern Christianity. No system, however crude, lives and thrives except through the elements of truth it contains, and the wise theologian is he who is ready to learn from any source, and combine

all elements of truth in one full-orbed system. If Christ be the truth, if His personality contains the sum of all truth, the Christian thinker, in loyalty to his Master, dare not ignore any element of truth wherever he finds it. There is an aspect of Christian thought that our popular western theology is too apt to ignore—the idea of God as immanent. In this respect, too, we have something to learn from the East. The eastern mind has a genius for the mystical element in religion, and it is an element, I am afraid, to which we in the West have hitherto done scant justice "As Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, I pray that these may be one in Us" This daring, this revolutionary, conception is almost ignored in our popular Christianity. Bishop Westcott was fond of saying that the Gospel of St. John would never be fully understood until the people of India became Christian. My own studies in Indian philosophy and theology and my Indian experience have made me strongly inclined to the same view. I fully believe there will yet arise in India Christian theologians who will give not only to the Churches of India, but to the Church Universal, interpretations of Christian life and truth fruitful for all time and all nationalities. We need at the present time in India an Indian Augustine or an Anselm, a Calvin or a Wesley, a native apostle and thinker, and when such a man arises, he will, as Mr. Meredith Townsend used to remark, be able to do more for the conversion of India to Christ than a legion of missionaries. More and more is it becoming apparent that India will ultimately be won for Christ, not by a ministry constantly recruited from home, but by the ministry of her own sons and daughters whom God has first called, then equipped for His great service, and qualified to proclaim the name of Christ in regions inaccessible to ourselves.

(4) Further, I have been impressed with the need of a great unifying power in the life of modern India, and of the power of the living Christ to satisfy that need. It must be admitted that at the present time—and I believe it is no passing phase —India, especially educated India, is seething with social and political unrest. Many who have imbibed the culture of the West are using all the resources of the West in planning a revolution for the expulsion of their foreign rulers The arrogant attitude of a minority of Englishmen in India, and the assumption on the part of too many Englishmen that the people of India are essentially an inferior race, and must always remain in a state of subjection, is responsible for much. On the other hand, it must be remembered that equally offensive is the arrogance and contempt shown by many high-caste Hindus in their relations with their fellow-countrymen, and even with Europeans, especially of recent years, and that a considerable proportion of the revolutionaries think more of the personal advancement of the few than the amelioration of the lot of the many. I do not hesitate to say that the masses of India would stand to suffer by the substitution, at the present stage, of native for British rule, while the different races and religious communities in India are so divided among themselves that, if the strong arm of Britain were withdrawn to-day, there would be civil war and bloody strife to-morrow. Nevertheless, India is steadily advancing towards the goal of self-government, and we may be sure of this: let the time come when all India thinks as a single unit, when one heart pulsates within her frame, India will demand complete self-government, and resistance on the part of Britain will be futile Even now there is a far-reaching unifying process going on. English education and European civilisa-

tion are great unifying powers, and educated men from all parts of India frequently meet in their thousands and freely discuss in the English language the future welfare of their own country. They significantly point to Japan as an instance of what an Asiatic power can do, and they look forward to the time when India will be able to shake off the shackles of British rule and be free. What is to be the end of it all? If merely English education and European civilisation are to be the unifying powers in India, we shall see, sooner or later, a culmination that will be disastrous to both India and England India is teeming with new life, new forces and activities On the one hand, you have the political revolt of the educated classes against their foreign rulers, on the other hand, you have the social and religious revolt of the lower castes against the tyranny of the high castes and the priesthood Where is the power that will serve as a bond of unity for all these discordant elements? I speak as no bigot or sectarian, but as a man who has tried to think impartially over these great problems, and I confess I can think of no unifying power except the living Christ who can weld together into a living unity the discordant elements in India's teeming life He alone can produce a brotherhood that shall emancipate India's peoples, and make the name of India great among the nations of the earth India may be able to get on quite well without our form of Christianity, and without our denominational distinctions, but the Christ of the New Testament is vital to her development.

(5) Lastly, there has been impressed upon me the need of a visible bond of unity for the Christian forces of India such as an Indian Christian University would afford. The Serampore missionaries, Carey, Marshman, and Ward, soon came to realise

that the Christian missionary, in a land like India, must be something more than an evangelist or a Salvation Army captain proclaiming the direct Gospel message and seeking the conversion of individuals. They maintained that no less necessary than evangelistic preaching was the deeper work of transforming the thought of the land, and of introducing everywhere a Christian philosophy and a process of thinking calculated to undermine the religious and philosophic foundations of Hinduism Knowing this to be Carey's missionary standpoint, we can understand the motives which led to the establishment of Serampore College on such an imposing scale and as the basis of a great Christian University The charter of incorporation declares that the College was founded to promote piety and learning particularly among the native Christian population of India While they steadily kept this in view as the main design and grand object of the institution, their plans were laid on the broadest possible basis. Students are admissible, says one of the statutes, at the discretion of the Council, from any body of Christians, whether Protestant, Roman Catholic, the Greek or the Armenian Church, and from the Mussulman and Hindu youth. No caste, colour, or country shall bar any man from admission into Serampore College. Primarily, then, Carey established the College with the view of elevating the Christian community, and developing to the full its latent intellectual and spiritual possibilities; while, secondarily, he intended that the College should be utilised for Christianising and evangelising such non-Christian students as cared to avail themselves of its privileges Not a purely Divinity College for Asiatic Christians, nor yet a purely Arts College for the evangelising of non-Christians, was Carey's ideal; but a Divinity Faculty as part of

an Arts and Science College, in which converts study side by side with their inquiring countrymen. The inquirers are thus influenced by them as well as by the Christian teaching, the secular teaching is in a Christian spirit, and the Bible consecrates the whole. The wisdom of Carey's policy is abundantly manifest at the present time. The Christian community of India is a growing power in the land, and upon it ultimately lies the responsibility of India's evangelisation. The foreign missionary must more and more consider himself a teacher, trainer, and inspirer, and must preach through native Christians even more than with them. Indian Christians are what we make them The disciples would have remained humble fishermen of Galilee, narrow, bigoted, and unknown, if the Lord had not called them, and through those three momentous years trained them and sent them forth inspired apostles. In the intellectual and religious evolution of modern India, there is nothing more important than the raising up of competent and devoted native Christian leaders. What India needs as much as anything, at the present time, is a great army of Christian leaders of education and character, men who, combining the intellectual culture of the West and the religious insight of the East, shall take their full part, in these stirring times, in shaping the future destiny of the Indian nation and the Indian Church The theological standpoint of the Church may be somewhat different to-day from what it was in the time of Carey, and the missionary motive may be somewhat changed, but the need of the foreign missionary propaganda is as great as ever, and its justification equally conclusive. If the Spirit of Christ be in us, controlling our springs of action, and the fountain depths of our being, we are simply driven to acknowledge the imperative obligation to make known the highest truth we

possess. Devotion to Christ, our Saviour and our Lord, constrains us to bring others into fellowship with Him. His golden rule and last command are the supreme laws of our life. Then, too, the Spirit of Christ compels us to recognise humanity as one and indivisible. The solidarity of the human race requires similar opportunities for all. Deterioration of one part means suffering for all. A selfish policy of isolation spells death and decay to the spiritual life and progressive growth both of the individual Christian and of the Church as a whole. The aims and methods of the missionary enterprise may not be in strict accord with commercial instincts or the tastes of high society, but we worship God Almighty, and not good form; we recognise as our Master not gold, but Christ; and for His sake we are ready to be accounted as fools, having on our banner that supremely fanatical motto:

"Expect great things from God
Attempt great things for God."

IV. Christ and the Modern Missionary Enterprise.

From the higher point of view, all our missionary methods must be judged from the standpoint of the mission of Jesus Christianity is Christ, and if the two terms are not interchangeable there is something radically wrong with our Christianity. All our religious ideals and activities must be estimated by the supreme test, Are they Christ, are they the veritable embodiment of the spirit and the life of Jesus? The vital breath and atmosphere of the four Gospels is beneficence, benevolence, philanthropy, doing good. As representatives in the

modern world of Him who went about doing good, it is the very essence of Christianity, applicable to all lands and ages, that we without the least pride of position, birth, rank, or race, love, serve, and reverence one another in all the relationships of life, as brothers and sisters in Christ. We are not required to reproduce the essentially external features of Christ's life, as lived in Palestine two thousand years ago, but we are expected to reproduce the inner spirit and essential life of Jesus, amid the conditions and requirements of our own land and age There are in this connection six aspects of missionary work to which attention may be called—aspects in which the mission of Jesus and the modern missionary enterprise closely correspond.

(1) *Spiritual liberation.* The baleful and destructive forces of nature have always deeply perplexed the minds of primitive men. Hurricane, lightning, sunstroke, disease, plague, flood, and earthquake, what are they, and what is the source of their malignant power? In all lands primitive men have come to the same conclusion, viz., that wrathful spirits and malignant demons are at work in these destructive natural forces. Even a higher people like the Jews of the time of Christ, ascribed to the malignity of devils and demons harmful natural activities such as epilepsy and insanity. Jesus came proclaiming with sublime assurance the doctrines of the Kingdom and Fatherhood of God God reigns, and God is Father. We are not under the anarchy of demons, but under the rule of our Father God. We can hardly be surprised that the demon hosts could not withstand the personality and message of Jesus, and that His very presence and word of command brought freedom to those that were possessed He brought spiritual liberation to stricken souls. In India to-day

millions of men among the aboriginal hill-tribes are filled with anguish and terror because they live in the belief that the natural forces around them are given up to the anarchy of malignant spirits and demons. These aborigines believe vaguely in a Supreme God, but they regard Him as a mild, indifferent Being, passively benevolent. They think they can afford to leave such a Being to Himself, as He is both harmless and indifferent. It is the angry demons that are to be feared, appeased, and worshipped, and so, in their cowering dread, they spare no effort to turn away their wrath. As ambassadors of Him at whose name the demons tremble, Christian missionaries go among them with the good news of the Kingdom of God, and of Christ's victory over the powers of darkness To many tens of thousands among these aboriginal hill-tribes, the Christian Gospel has brought truly and literally spiritual liberation. As they are not in bondage to the Hindu social system, the work of conversion is by no means so difficult among them as among the caste-bound Hindus of the plains From among such tribes as the Karens, Kols, Santals, and Garos, a golden harvest of converts has already been reaped, and on account of the primitive simplicity and vigour of their character, they have an assured future. The marvellous results that Christianity had gained in uplifting and reclaiming the primitive unlettered aboriginal tribes of Chotā-nagpur, Sir John Woodburn, a late Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, referred to as one of the great surprises of his long Indian career.

(2) *Social regeneration.* To Jesus, birth, position, and social privilege meant nothing. He viewed man, not from the standpoint of his position in society, but from the standpoint of his moral and spiritual potentialities. In the eyes of Jesus, there-

fore, the despised publican was a greater man than the self-righteous Pharisee; the humble, illiterate fishermen of Galilee greater than the pampered magnates of Jerusalem; the penitent woman of the street truly greater than the evil-minded queen luxuriating in her marble palace. This fundamental attitude of Jesus regarding man makes Him the greatest social regenerator of all times, and wherever His Gospel of human brotherhood through the Divine Fatherhood has been carried, it has meant the uplifting of the lowly from the dust, and the displacement of the mighty from their seats of pride. The success of the Christian Gospel among the outcastes of India affords striking testimony to the power of the Christian Gospel as a means of social regeneration. About one-seventh of the total population of India are outcaste pariahs. It is difficult for westerners to realise all that this means Outcastes have to live in villages by themselves, and are regarded by the ordinary classes of Hindu society with intense contempt, like the loathsome dogs of an Oriental street. Owing to the age-long contempt in which they have been held, certain sections of the pariah class have become extremely filthy in their habits. Religiously, they are generally lower than the aboriginal tribes, and worship demons, devils, and ghosts, of whom they live in hourly dread. The Christian missionary cannot forget that Christ was a consistent friend of the despised publican in Jewish society, and so, in the spirit of our Lord, we go among these Indian outcastes, and tell them the good news of God our Father, of Christ our Elder Brother, and we press home the truth that, however their fellow-countrymen may regard them, the great God claims them as sons, and that Christ, and we in His name, will joyfully receive them as brothers in one great society of holy faith and

pure life. It is hardly surprising that we have had great results among such a people. Many of them have been led by profound religious conviction to leave the service of demons, and their life of gross degradation and sin, and to link themselves with the pure and gentle Christ as their Saviour and Guide. Many more are induced by social motives to enter the Christian fold. To become members of the Christian community means a completely new outlook for themselves, and through the uplifting power of a Christian environment and education, new hopes and potentialities for themselves and especially for their children Probably nine-tenths of actual additions to the Christian Church in India to-day come from these degraded classes, and there are now hundreds of thousands of them respected members of the Christian Society. Of course, they do not become ideal men and Christian citizens in a day, and they have to outlive a great deal of prejudice on account of their origin, but not a few of the sons or grandsons of these once-degraded outcastes, are now honoured teachers or professors in schools and colleges crowded by Brāhman and other high-caste pupils and students. As Christians, they are treated as men even by their high-caste fellow-countrymen.

(3) *Leavening transformation.* Jesus did not limit Himself to the work of securing pledged disciples and followers. While a public confession of His name by individuals impelled by conviction greatly rejoiced His spirit, He never showed any feverish haste for immediate and tangible results. There is no trace in Him of dependence on statistics, no advertisement of numerical successes. He was possessed of an infinite patience in all His work, and was more concerned with laying solid foundations than rushing up a superstructure lacking in

the very essentials of permanence. He realised to the full the importance of a gradual leavening process that should change the inner life and thought of the community as a whole, and there can be no doubt that the great and gracious results of Pentecost were to a large extent made possible by the preparatory work of our Lord through the years of His public ministry. The orthodox Jews were a difficult people to influence, and in several respects they present striking similarities to the orthodox Hindus of to-day. Devotion to the priesthood, the externals of religion, and the customs of immemorial antiquity, dominates ancient Jewish and modern Hindu ideals, and in such an environment thought and life are changed by a gradual leavening process rather than by a sudden revolution. It must be frankly admitted and recognised that the number of actual conversions among the more orthodox sections of Hindu society is small to a degree. In many missionary stations, after a vast amount of faithful evangelistic work, each year passes by with practically nothing to record in the way of additions to the Church. Shall we characterise work of this nature as a failure, and retire from it to fields where definite results in the way of baptisms are morally certain? Nothing but a long view of things will recognise the need of patient continuance in such work in fields and stations so apparently unfruitful. Judged by the standard of inward transformation through a leavening process, I venture to say that great results have been attained. When it was my privilege to engage in evangelistic work in certain districts of Orissa, I made a point of comparing my own experiences with the experiences of my predecessors in the same districts, as related in a series of old reports going back as far as eighty years. As a rule, the earliest

missionaries met, in any particular district, with nothing but violent opposition and contempt. The simplest Christian truths were hotly questioned and stoutly opposed. There is abundant evidence to show that through all these years the Gospel leaven has been effecting a gradual transformation of the inner thought of the people. In some districts, formerly thoroughly hostile, we would enter village after village where Christian truth was well known and received with nothing but intelligent sympathy and acquiescence More than once in a remote Hindu village, I have come across a typical villager who has been treasuring and reading a Gospel portion or a Bible for a quarter of a century or more. Conversions and baptisms as a result of such evangelistic tours have admittedly been very few and far between. So strong is the power of caste that an ordinary orthodox Hindu parent would rather poison his child a dozen times over than see him become a Christian; and so violent is the opposition to a public profession of faith, that nothing but an overwhelming inner conviction of duty would drive a man to risk everything, even life itself, for the sake of Christ and the Gospel. On nothing but a superficial standard of measurement would it be possible to maintain that work which has not resulted in actual conversion has been a failure and must therefore be abandoned. There is such a thing as preparing the way of the Lord. The Gospel sometimes acts as dynamite, and shatters at a blow the bonds of the past. It sometimes acts as leaven, and takes its own time in gradually leavening through and through the whole lump. We need also to remember that, if we limit our Christian activities to the outcastes and aboriginal tribes, even these with their growing intelligence will ultimately turn on us, and reject

the Christian Gospel as something that cannot hold its own among the more respectable and thinking classes of society. Even in the interests of outcaste India we dare not abandon the fort we have to hold against such tremendous odds in the great strongholds of Hindu orthodoxy.

(4) *Educational enlightenment.* Jesus was a teacher in the highest sense of the term. He did not feel Himself bound down by the rigid methods of His contemporaries, but He struck out a line of His own. His contemporaries were engaged in the teaching of mere lifeless forms and traditions. In His teaching He set on one side man-made traditions and customs, and exalted God as the one sole Sovereign, and the Spirit of God, as He speaks through His word and the soul of the individual man. The Gospels are full of references to the great part taken by teaching in the public ministry of Jesus, and there can be no doubt that we have left us mere fragments of all that Jesus taught. Hysterical appeals were not in His line, and there are no indications whatever that He indulged in flaming harangues to excite the passions of the multitudes. He loved the common people, but He was no demagogue. He gave the multitudes bread to feed, sustain, and strengthen their minds and spirits, and not sauce to tickle their palates His method was thus educational enlightenment rather than irregular disconnected harangues We have in the method of Jesus sufficient justification for the stress that modern missionaries lay on education as a missionary and Christianising agency We have our schools and colleges throughout the land, in which we seek to lay broad and deep foundations of knowledge, with God as the centre and source of all. Hindus have their schools and colleges, and in these, so far as they are Hindu, consciously or

unconsciously the whole basis of instruction is caste-bound tradition and mythological fancy—deadly enemies of light and progress Government maintains a large number of schools and colleges, which are usually highly efficient from the intellectual standpoint, but in which religious teaching of any kind is, as a necessity, rigidly forbidden. The tendency of the Hindu school is to produce a type of man that has a veneer of modern literary and scientific knowledge over a substratum of blind tradition—with a consequent lack of consistency and sincerity in thought and life It is like the pouring of new wine into old wine-skins, and the result is too often catastrophe The tendency of Government schools and colleges is to turn out men who have not only abandoned superstition, but too often religion, God, and morality, as so many relics of superstition. In all parts of India Christian missions have their schools and colleges attended by many thousands of non-Christian pupils and students We seek to avoid the dangers of a blind superstition on the one hand, and a liberal atheism on the other, and seek to inculcate a religion that is at once spiritual, rational, and historical, as embodied in the personality and teaching of Jesus Christ Here, again, actual conversions may be few, so strong are social bonds, but those that do have the courage to come out, as a result of strong conviction, are usually real leaders of men In general, it may with perfect truth be said that students trained in Christian schools and colleges are ordinarily inoculated with Christian sentiment, imbued with a deep reverence for Christ, and a passion for progress on sound moral and essentially Christian lines

(5) *Physical amelioration.* Jesus went about doing good, healing the body as well as saving the soul. Christianity is not only a creed but a life. The

man who devotes his energies in the spirit of brotherly love to the alleviation of pain and the healing of the body is as much a co-worker with God as the Christian teacher who brings light to the inward soul. Christ was a philanthropist through and through, and ever combined healing and teaching. In the East the functions of the physician and the priest are generally united in the same person. Every missionary in India who takes evangelistic tours through country districts has to be something of a medical man, and he always takes with him his medicine-chest, containing remedies for simple ailments. Christ healed because His heart was full of compassion towards the sick and diseased, and not merely to attract men to His teaching. Medical missions are in themselves an exhibition of the Gospel of Divine Love, and not a mere subsidiary agency. A country like India presents magnificent opportunities to men and women with a full medical training for the exercise of the highest Christian philanthropy. The people of India are diligent bathers, and keep their bodies clean, and in this respect they have nothing to learn from Europe. They are, however, lacking in the most elementary ideas of the simplest sanitary laws. Even Calcutta is known as a city of palaces and smells. It is the violent prejudice that exists, even in many of the better families, against the rigid application of sanitary laws, that makes the task of the Government so difficult in stamping out plague and other diseases. The sanitary condition of an ordinary Hindu village or country town would be a shock to the Western mind, and it must be admitted that Government and municipal agencies have hitherto been able to do no more than touch the fringe of the question. Here Government responsibility and opportunity are great, but in view of the conditions that pre-

vail in India, every Christian missionary and enlightened native Christian, as well as non-Christians trained on western or Christian lines, must regard themselves as apostles of sound medicine and sanitation with the view to the physical amelioration of the lot of India's millions

(6) *Ministerial training.* Jesus gave Himself with unfailing patience and devotion to the training of the twelve, so that the humble, ignorant fishermen of Galilee went forth in His name as inspired apostles. The evangelisation of India can never be accomplished through a foreign ministry constantly recruited from Europe and America. A genuine native apostle, with the mental balance and sanity of the West, and the religious insight and enthusiasm of the East, would be able to do more for the winning of India to Christ than a host of foreign missionaries. Every mission, and to a certain extent every missionary, is engaged in this work In this connection one cannot but give a tribute of admiration to Carey's magnificent dream of Serampore College as a great University centre of Christian training, a school of the prophets for the promotion of piety and learning amongst the native Christian population of India It is impossible to conceive anything more urgent and vital at the present time in the interests of the future Indian Church than that adequate provision be made for the advanced training, on lines suited to Indian conditions, of Indian theological and religious teachers. Most will agree that it is highly desirable that such training should be freed, as far as practicable, from purely denominational restrictions and conditions. It is unnecessary and it is impossible to reproduce and perpetuate in Indian Christian life the denominational distinctions of the West. In spirit and purpose Protestant Christianity is already essentially one

in India, and there is very little bigotry and aloofness visible in the actual conditions of missionary work. Non-Christians regard the various Protestant Christian bodies as at heart one, and ignore our minor differences. Native Christians pass without compunction from one Protestant Christian denomination to another. They refuse to regard our differences seriously. All this is a healthy sign, and efforts in the direction of Christian union should be encouraged to the uttermost There is perhaps nothing so calculated to help in this direction as the training of the more advanced of Indian theological students under interdenominational conditions. Already substantial beginnings in this direction have been made at Serampore and at Bangalore. The next few years will probably witness the rise of two other similar institutions, one for the west of India, possibly at Ahmednagar, and one for the far north, possibly in or near the imperial city of Delhi It is highly desirable that there should be some bond of union between these different theological faculties, and that their courses of study be co-ordinated, as far as the needs of the different provinces will justify it What is needed is a Central Theological Board or Senate, fully representative of various academical and denominational interests, and secured from the predominance of any, with statutory powers to lay down courses of study for theological degrees, and to conduct examinations independently in the case of duly qualified external students, and jointly with the teaching faculty concerned, in the case of internal students. The internal affairs of each theological college would need to be managed by the theological faculty of the college concerned, and each faculty should be empowered to modify, under limited conditions, the courses of study adopted by the Theological Board or Senate. Steps

are being taken to secure the modification of the Serampore College Charter and Statutes, with the view to the fulfilment of these ideals under conditions that will be fair to all interests, and secure equality for all co-operating bodies. The Indian Church of the future, its organisation and its theology, will to a large extent be shaped by the theological and religious leaders trained in such central institutions as I have referred to. Its organisation will certainly differ in many respects from the ecclesiastical organisation of the West. Concerning its theology I have written elsewhere:

My experience in India has made me realise very deeply that the one vital element in the Christian Gospel is Christ Himself. Our philosophical theories and our theological dogmas can be very largely paralleled in Hinduism, but Christ cannot in any real and vital sense I have increasingly felt that my concern as a Christian missionary is not with Christianity as a religious system, but with the presentation of the personality of Christ as the supreme revelation of the redeeming love of God This is the one Gospel that India needs I am far from thinking a theological system useless, but I feel strongly that no attempt should be made to impose on Eastern Christianity any theological system worked out by Western theologians Eastern theology, in my judgment, will be more on the lines of the Gospel of St. John than the Epistle to the Romans.*

V. Final Words of Exhortation and Appeal.

My final words in regard to the modern missionary enterprise shall be words of exhortation and appeal, based on a varied knowledge and experience of the conditions that prevail.

(1) *To the general body of missionary supporters* Continue to hold the ropes. It is not a pleasant sensation to your representatives on the field to be kept dangling in the air, and to hear a warning shout from above that there is no more material available for the lengthening of the ropes. Do

* *The World Missionary Conference*, "The Missionary Message," p. 206.

not encourage mushroom missionary organisations. They are not in a position to deliver the goods. The great societies, with all their faults, are worthy of your enthusiastic and consistent support.

(2) *To the ministers of our Churches* Remember that the body of Christ is one. There is no independent limb, and there is no such monstrosity as an independent, self-centred, self-limited Christian Church. Enlarge your own range of vision. Live in the thought of the Kingdom of God Then will your own people see visions and dream dreams. Your own church will be the first to benefit by the enlarged outlook It is true that charity begins at home, but it never ends there. There is no true charity in a policy of selfish isolation Philanthropy loves to serve wherever there is pressing need, and in the spirit of Christ and His apostles it makes no sharp distinction between Jew and Greek, or between missions and funds, home and foreign.

(3) *To Missionary Committees and Boards of Directors* Retain faith in the generosity of God, and in the power of God's Spirit, not only to give life to a dead soul, but even to untie the strings of a full purse. The Founder of Christianity was not a prosperous merchant from Jerusalem, but the visionary and penniless Prophet of Nazareth The founder of modern missions was not a cautious business man, but a "miserable enthusiast," William Carey. Hold fast to your prophetic outlook and indomitable hope, for according to your faith, so shall it be unto you Be missionary enthusiasts first, and business economists second, in your direction of the missionary enterprise. The missionary forces are looking to you to be their leaders in faith and courage Let not temporary difficulties paralyse your divine expectations and attempts. As to your missionary policy, let it be

far-sighted, sane, and courageous. Undertake no new responsibilities the generous maintenance of which you cannot reasonably guarantee. Accept no new men who do not give promise of real leadership. The East can supply its own missionary soldiers. She asks the West for officers and generals only. Recognise that the conditions in India at the present time make it absolutely necessary that you supply the officers and generals you send out with sufficient resources to recruit a regiment on the spot and secure an adequate supply of ammunition. The native Christian army, without assistance from without, may be able to hold the fort, but in view of the tremendous odds arrayed against it, it cannot reasonably be expected to do much in the way of marching into the enemy's country In recent years there has been apparent a disconcerting tendency to leave officers on the field almost stranded for want of fighting material and ammunition, and a tendency persistently and consistently to discourage their appeals for improved equipment At the same time you have continued to send out new supplies of men and officers, with but little thought as to the means for their adequate equipment when they are once on the field, except at the expense of the men at the front. Reduce the number of recruits you send out if you must; reduce the number of your points of attack if you must; but to reduce the equipment and ammunition of men and officers in the direct firing-line, in the interests of what at its best can only be a very small economy, that is not war. At the same time, have the courage to make a minute investigation of the changed conditions that now exist in the East, and judge for yourselves as to the desirability of a change of policy and methods. Do nothing hastily, and utilise all the information your representatives on the field can supply, but recog-

nise that the final responsibility for a radical change rests with you. Remember that there are a few matters—I believe them to be very few—in which the men on the spot are not always the best advisers or judges. There is occasionally such a thing as local prejudice or sentiment cherished without regard to a consideration of the highest efficiency.

(4) *To my fellow-missionaries* Co-operate loyally with your brethren, European and Indian. Remember that you are sent out, not to establish independent missions, but to contribute to the efficiency of the whole The good footballer is not the man who plays "on his own," but the one who forgets himself in his efforts to ensure the success of the game as a whole In not a few instances it is impossible to avoid the suspicion that the individual missionary is working "on his own," and that he is more anxious to secure the success of his own aspect of the work than to contribute to the success of the work in its entirety. Never think and plan for your own work as independent, but always as subordinate to a great whole. Not only patiently listen to the advice of your brethren, but welcome and invite it. Be sufficiently humble to recognise the value of a conference of your brother missionaries, and never seek in any important undertakings to be a committee of one. In your relations with your Indian brethren, be less British and more Christian Show faith in the reality of the Christian brotherhood by recognising in them colleagues rather than subordinates Do not aim to be indispensable in your special sphere of work, but share responsibilities with your native colleagues to as large an extent as you dare. Your success will be complete when you become unnecessary in the work which you inaugurated.

(5) *To educated Indian Christian workers:* Be

patient and reasonable in your struggle for more equality of treatment with your European brethren. Ordinary mental and spiritual qualifications are not in themselves sufficient to constitute a claim to leadership. Qualifications for leadership are to a considerable extent inherited, as the result of the experience and training of many generations, and in this respect without a doubt, European Christians have in the past been far more favourably circumstanced than their Indian fellow-Christians. Indian Christianity has produced, and is producing, leaders of the very first rank, equal to the best in Europe and America, but do not be disappointed at the comparatively small number of such men. It is merely a matter of time and training under favourable conditions. Then, too, be fair to realise that a recognition of equality does not necessarily carry with it equality of remuneration To give the same payment to a foreign missionary working amid the grave drawbacks and additional burdens and risks involved by residence in a foreign land under tropical conditions, and to an Indian Christian working on his native heath, would not in any true sense be equality, but gross partiality in favour of the Indian.

(6) *To European residents and travellers in India* Do not form your judgments of missionary work from the gossip of the club, or on board ship, or from the views of educated Hindus at heart hostile to the progress of Christianity, or from your experiences with a low type of domestic servants. Take the trouble, as high officials like Viceroys, Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and Commissioners, almost invariably take the trouble, to investigate missionary conditions at first hand these, as a result, are practically to a man warm friends and advocates of the missionary enterprise in its broader aspect. Come and visit us, and see for

yourselves what we are doing in our industrial institutions and Christian settlements, in our schools and colleges, our hostels and young men's institutes, our printing presses, our halls, and our churches. The overwhelming proportion of hostile criticisms come from men who have taken no pains to examine things as they are with their own eyes. We are only human when we say we do not relish being condemned unheard, and when we appeal to you to treat us and our work in the spirit you wish your native critics in India and your political critics at home to treat yourselves and your work for humanity and the Empire, in the spirit of Christ's Golden Rule, "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise." Regard, too, your Indian fellow-subjects in the spirit of that Rule. Recognise frankly that educated Indians are only human when they agitate for self-government on Colonial lines, and that that is the only ideal that a self-respecting people, with a heritage such as India possesses, can consistently entertain as the ultimate goal of their political hopes. Think of England as a mother entrusted by Providence with the task of training her Indian child to walk Do not be irritated on account of the rapid progress and bold ambitions of your child, and never once taunt him with the thought that he must always remain attached to his mother's leading strings. Rejoice in entrusting him, even at the expense of grave inconvenience to yourself, with as much and not as little responsibility as you can dare to hand over, consistently with his own welfare. Be patient if his consciousness of growing manhood sometimes assumes the form of impudence. It is only a temporary stage of youthful development, individual and national. In the spirit of Christ, help your Indian brother to realise his own Soul.

Supplementary Bibliographies.

As stated in the preface, this book is not intended for specialists, but is designed to meet the need of the average student of Hinduism in its relation to Christianity, as represented, *e g*, by the theological students to whom the lectures were first delivered. The Bibliographies, therefore, prefixed to each book, do not purport to be anything more than a small selection of books most likely to be useful to such students. Even so they require to be supplemented. With the exception of the Bhagavad Gita they contain no reference to original texts. We shall account ourselves unsuccessful, however, unless some students are led to make a first-hand acquaintance with Indian Religious Literature. We therefore append a small selected list of representative texts. Those who desire to see a fuller list should consult the Bibliographical Notes appended to Macdonell's Sanskrit Literature. Bibliography V also, though fairly adequately representing the scope of the book to which it is prefixed, requires supplementing if it is to serve as a guide to the study of modern missionary activity in all parts of India

(*A*) *TEXTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE CHIEF PHASES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF HINDUISM.*

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(2) The Upanishads, Parts I and II, translated by F. Max Müller. (Sacred Books of the East, Vols I and XV) Pp 320 & 350 Clarendon Press, Oxford 10/6 each.

(3) Brahma Knowledge, (Selections from the Upanishads), by L. D. Barnett Pp. 113. J. Murray, London 2/-. (May be useful to those who have not time to study (2))

(4) The Mahabharata, translated into English prose by Pratap Chandra Ray 11 vols Bharata Press, Calcutta Out of print. About Rs 25 (£1/13/4).

(5) The Ramayana of Valmiki, translated into English verse by R T. H. Griffith Pp. 576. Lazarus, Benares. Rs 6 (8/-)

(6) The Mahabharata and the Ramayana, condensed into English verse by R. C Dutt. Dent, London (Everyman's Library) 1/-. (Pleasing, but very slight outlines)

(7) The Code of Manu, translated by George Bühler Pp. cxxxviii-615 (Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXV) Clarendon Press, Oxford 21/-

(8) The Vishnu Purana, translated by H H. Wilson 5 vols. Trübner, London 1864-70 Out of print
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(B) *SUPPLEMENTARY BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN INDIA.*

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(2) Barber (B. R), Kali Charan Banerji. Pp. 73. Christian Literature Society, Madras and London. 8 annas 1912.

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