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THE
PRINCESS OF WALES
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EDITED BY
GOPI NATHA KAVIRAJA

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THE PRINCESS OF WALES SARASVATI

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Edited by

GOPINATH KAVIRAJ, M. A.

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I.—INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.

BY TARAK NATH SANYAL.

Mr. S. Radhakrishnan, Professor of Philosophy in the Calcutta University, has written two thick large octavo volumes consisting of about fifteen hundred pages on the history of Indian Philosophy. It is based on the work of Western oriental scholars, with an infusion of quotations from the original sources and the commentaries on them by lay scholars, among whom Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja are the most famous. Along with this Mr. Radhakrishnan has, in his general estimate of a school of philosophy, occasionally compared the doctrines of Indian Ṛṣis and Yogis with those of Western philosophers. But taking a wide survey of the whole field it is evident that this philosophy is tinctured with Western views. It has percolated through Indian commentaries—which have again been translated or summarised by European scholars—and through them to Mr. Radhakrishnan, so that it is not even second-hand, but, if I may use the expression, third-hand knowledge. It is therefore conceivable what sort of philosophy it is. It cannot but be superficial and shallow. It only skims the surface of the deep underlying meaning of the Ṛṣis. It is, in short, exoteric, meant only for the lay public, who want a bird's-eye view of Hindu philosophy. What the initiate requires is an esoteric interpretation which probes the very heart of that philosophy and lays bare its inner working. Such an interpretation it is impossible to expect from one who is not a Yogī, because such a one cannot reach the original source of all meaning, that is, Brah̥ma. A Ṛṣi alone can interpret a Rishi's language. Hence it is necessary to find such an interpreter. But it is

difficult to find such a one in these days. Rīṣis still exist in India but they are inaccessible to the mass of mankind. One such Rīṣi lived among us and passed away thirty three years ago. He lived in such privacy that his next door neighbours did not know him. Not long ago there lived at Benares a Bengali physician, who was a profound scholar in Sanskrit, and whom we shall call P. N. He was desirous of learning something of Yoga. One of his friends, named D. L., who had been initiated by a great Yogī, but who had given up his Yoga practice, by chance discovered this Rīṣi, and after putting him to a severe test, found him to be a great Yogī. He then communicated the news to his friend, the physician. A meeting between him and the Rīṣi was arranged for. The scholar, being very proud of his learning, naturally put to him some questions in the śāstras, which had been declared insoluble by his former guru, who was a renowned scholar of Bengal. The Rīṣi answered his questions so satisfactorily and in such a novel way as to surprise him. He then became a devoted disciple of the Rīṣi and requested him to teach him all the śāstras anew, because he now realised that what he had learnt from his former guru was all incorrect and incomplete. He then began to read with his new guru every evening for two hours. After sometime some of the other disciples of this Rīṣi requested him to dictate to them in the day-time what he had taught overnight. A large mass of manuscripts thus grew up. In the meantime the Rīṣi's fame spread to all parts of India. Disciples began to flock to him attracted by the report of his super-normal powers and super-human wisdom. But he lived all his life in great secrecy. The substance of the ślokas quoted by Śankara and translated by Deussen in his *System of the Vedānta*, p 144 and transcribed by Mr. Radhakrishnan in his *Indian Philosophy*, vol. II., p. 619,

literally applied to him. We have now a large body of commentaries of remarkable originality not only on the *sāstras* but also on the works of Kabir and Nanak. But all these were privately printed by the more well-to-do of his disciples for free distribution among the other disciples. They are based on the experiences of the special form of Rāja Yoga taught by my Guru. And hence they are unintelligible to outsiders. They are written in Bengali. But the language is so involved and intricate that it is almost impossible to translate it into English. Moreover, most of the yogic terms have no equivalents in English. I shall, however, try my best to convey some idea of their sense in my English renderings. This esoteric interpretation had for long ages been the monopoly of *sādhus* and their disciples and was never committed to writing. In my former article on *Indian Pantheism and its Western Critics* published in the *Hindustan Review* for July 1920 and January and September 1921 I said that my Guru's commentaries were not open to the public. But seeing the confusion that now prevails in India and in Europe regarding the interpretation of our *sāstras* I am constrained to publish short extracts from my Guru's commentaries on them. They will reveal the true character of the teachings of the ancient Rīṣis of India and promote the welfare of the world. They will open a new world to those who have been seeking for some spiritual light on the more abstruse problems of life which have engaged the attention of the whole civilised world from the dawn of history to the present day. Those problems *were solved* in India by the Rīṣis ages ago, and they can be solved even now by any body who will take the trouble to practise yoga under the supervision of a competent Guru. They cannot be solved by intellectual legerdemain. People who are quite ignorant of the spiritual legacy of their forefathers, the ancient Rīṣis,

alone say that the problems of life and mind have neither been solved in India nor in Europe. These Anglicized Indians know nothing of the wisdom of the East, though they go about lecturing to Europeans on it. The Vedas have not been systematically commented on by my Guru but numerous quotations from them have been given in his commentary on the Vedānta Sūtras. Some of these and some mantras from the Upaniṣads, which are also quoted in the same commentary, I propose to give in this paper. They will serve to show that the religion of the Ṛṣis was neither nature-worship, nor polytheism, nor monotheism, nor heno-theism, as European savants have supposed. It is monism absolute. The refrain of my Guru's commentaries on all the śāstras is "sarvaṃ brahmamayaṃ jagat," the whole world is not only permeated through and through with Brahma but every particle of it is Brahma. We spiritualise the world, as Europeans materialise it. There is a consensus of opinion on our view in all the religions of the world, as I showed in my former article.

Who is a Ṛṣi? As its derivation implies, it is one who has gone into, entered Brahma and become one with it. It is the same process as the *viśat tadānantaram* of the Bhagavad Gītā, 18. 55 (cf also 8. 11 ; 5. 6 ; 6. 47 ; and 11. 54), that is 'penetrates into me and becomes one with me.' Kabir also says, 'Kabir sāmanā bujh men aur na bujhā jāe,' Kabir has entered into bujha, (understanding), that is, parābuddhi (Gītā, 3. 42 ; 2. 66) after which there was nothing to know (Gītā, 7. 2). It is the same word as the buddhah of the Gita, 5. 22 Gautama became Buddha, the enlightened, by attaining this state. It is the same as the samādhi, or sama buddhi of the Gītā, 6. 9, or the sthira buddhi of Gītā, 5. 20. It is so called, because in this state a Ṛṣi sees Brahma uniformly everywhere. Such a man is called samadarśī, because he is in Brahma (Gītā, 5. 18—20). He sees nothing else.

The world fades away (cf. Wordsworth's 'fallings from us, vanishings' in his Ode on Immortality) from his spiritual sight. This state is called brahmanirvāṇa, or simply nirvāṇa of the Gītā (5.24—26; 2.72; 6.15). This is Śānti, Jīvan-mukti, Kaivalya, because it is brought about by Kevala Kumbhaka. A Rīṣi lives in a state of a waking dream (Gītā, 2.69). Paltu Das has a song beginning—Jāgrat men ek sapna puḍā hai humko dekha, I have had a waking dream. Kabir says, sapne men gayā sansār, the world has passed away like a dream. So says the disciple who has attained brahmajñāṇa through the grace of his Guru in *Śāstra Sataka*, part II, p. 819. This is the state which has been described by Dattātreyā in his *Avadhūta Gītā*, by Aṣṭāvakra Rīṣi in the *Aṣṭāvakra Saṃhītā*, by the ancient Rīṣis in the hymns of the Vedas and the mantras of the Upaniṣads and in the Gītā. Modern Sādhus, like Kabir, Nanak and many others have in their songs described it. Maulana Rumi, Hafiz and other Sufi poets of Persia and Arabia have in their odes described the same state. So have Christian saints and mystics of the West. Wordsworth in his Tintern Abbey, his Ode on Immortality and the Wanderer and Traherne in his *Poems of Felicity* and his *Centuries of Praise* have done the same thing. Tennyson, in the Memoir by his son, which Mr. Radhakrishnan, after me, has quoted on p. 358 of vol. II, goes so far as to swear to the reality of his transcendent experience on p. 816.⁴ Christian mystics like Ruysbroeck, Suso, Tauler, St. Augustine, St. Paul, the author of the *Theologica Germanica*, *The Imitation of Christ*, and the little *Flowers of St. Francis of Assisi* and many others, to whom Mr. Radhakrishnan refers, have described the same ecstatic state (ecstasy means 'standing out of oneself'). Porphyry in his life of Plotinus writes, 'That is how "The goal (that Plotinus sought to achieve) seemed to him located near him."

Indeed, his goal, his purpose, his end was to approach the supreme divinity, and to unite himself with the divinity. While I dwelt with him, he had four times the bliss of reaching that goal, not merely potentially, but by a real and unspeakable experience".—Guthrie's Complete Works of Plotinus, Vol. I., p 34.

If this vast mass of the world's mystical literature is not evidence, what else is ? Dr. Galloway in his *The Philosophy of Religion*, pp. 313-4, writes,—“Undoubtedly a consistent historic testimony, if such can be proved to exist, would be much more convincing than the witness of isolated individuals. For the normal character of the religious experience would be assured by this cumulative testimony.” It is needless to say that writers like W. James, W. R. Inge, E. Underhill, P. H. Osmond, R. M. Jones, R. M. Bucke, E. Carpenter, Miss. Spurgeon, J.B. Pratt, W. E. Hocking, R. A. Nicholson, Vivekānanda, Aurobindo Ghose, S. N. Das Gupta, and others have satisfactorily shown the consistency of this literature. Still thoughtless people, like Mr. Radhakrishnan, assert (I. P., Vol II., p. 712) that “there is no evidence that any mystic achieved such a goal.” This he alone can say who has penetrated into Brahma, explored its infinite expanse and found there nobody. It is not the business of an arm-chair philosopher, who scribbles in his closet and knows nothing of Brahma except the name (cf. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, p.69). This reckless statement of the author will alienate the sympathies of most of his Indian readers who care for, and are jealous of, the glory of the highest religion of their country. It will repel all readers who care for the truth of mystical religion which is now in such vogue and which, as Prof. Pratt predicts, promises to hold the field. I cannot help exclaiming with Shylock, the Jew :—

"A Daniel come to Judgment ! yea, a Daniel !
 O wise young judge, how I do honour thee !"
 Here is a sapient judge, who has every right to claim,
 "I am sir Oracle,
 And, when I ope my lips, let no dog bark !"

Now, it may be reasonably asked whether Mr. Radhakrishnan is competent to pass such a judgment. He is neither a mystic nor a Yogī. He is an ordinary man, in the sense of Worobey, the Jewish seer of Russia (cf. Geley's *Clairvoyance and Materialisation*, p. 31). He can see no more than other normal men can. He is familiar with books and not with mystics and yogīs in flesh and blood. Here the judge must have an actual and not a theoretical knowledge of the spiritual world, because he is concerned with Yogīs, Rīṣis, mystics, sufis and saints, who alone have access to that world. Does he know what the goal is and where it is ? Those who have reached the goal affirm that it is beyond infinity itself. Can he even conceive of it ? Kabir says,

Hadda calai so mānvā behadda calai so sādḥ ;
 Hadda behadda dou tājai tākai matā agādha.

He who treads the path of finitude is an ordinary man ; he who follows the path of infinity is a sādhu ; the wisdom of him who transcends both finitude and infinity is unfathomable. Paltu Das, in a similar vein, says,

Jhandā gaḍa jaeke hadda behadda ke pār
 Hadda behadda ke pār tūr jahāñ anahad bājai
 Jagmag jotī jaḍāu sis par chatra birājai
 Man buddhi chit rahe hār nahiñ kou vaḥ ghar pāwe
 Surat subda rahai pār bic se sub phiri āve
 Bed puran ki gam sakai na uñhvā jāi
 Tin lok ke pār tahān roṣan roṣnāi

Paltu jñān ke pare hai takiā tahan hamār
 Jhanda gaḍa hai jāe ke hadda behadda ke pār.

Paltu Sahib ki bani, Pt. I. p. 76 (Allahabad)

My flag has been hoisted beyond finitude and infinity,—beyond finitude and infinity, where an ethereal trumpet is blown, where a jewelled canopy of dazzling brightness is held over the head (of Puruṣottama). The mind, the understanding and cit (pure intelligence) fail and cannot reach that house. Fixed attention and unstruck music lag behind and return from the middle of the path. The Vedās, the Purāṇas have no access there. It is beyond the three worlds where there is such splendour. O Paltu, I have fixed my seat beyond even jñāna. My flag has been hoisted beyond the limited and the limitless.

Moulana Rumi, in his loftiest strain, says.—

“Every moment the voice of Love is coming from left and right.
 We are bound for heaven, we have been friends of the angels ;
 Thither, sire, let us return, for that is our country,
 We are even higher than heaven and more than the angels ;
 Why pass we not beyond these twain ? Our goal is majesty
 supreme.”

R. A. NICHOLSON, Selected

Poems from the Divāni Shamsi Tabriz, p. 33.

Are these the ravings of maniacs, the rhapsodies of saints, or the drivel of idiots ? Will they find a response in Mr. Radhakrishnan's heart, or will Bradley and Śaṅkara and his agnostic teachers possess him quite ? A man who cannot feel a rapturous glow on reading such poems must be lost to all sense of the sublime. Yes, there are men who are of the earth, earthy, who are “as unpoetical as Audrey,” who ask “what ‘poetical’ is.” Mill, in his *Autobiography*, says that, having been condemned by his father to read philosophy from his childhood, he felt a

dryness, which was intensified by the death of his wife. But he recovered his interest in life by reading the poetry of Wordsworth. Similar was the case with Darwin, who was so engrossed with scientific methods that he lost all interest in poetry. Mysticism has been described as the poetry of life and hence it is gall and wormwood to some people. I only pity them.

The life of a Ṛṣi, a Muni, or a Yogī is poles apart from the life of a normal man. The former lives in a spiritual region which is inaccessible to an ordinary man. Sādhus call it 'upadeśa', that is, a country other than that in which we ordinary people live. The course of their life is upward, while that of ordinary men is downward (cf. Gītā, 12. 8 and 14. 18). They live at the apex, while other men live at the base. M. Arnold's sonnet on Shakespeare is an apt illustration of it. Hence Sādhus are fond of 'ultas' or paradoxical sayings. It is their natural language, though it seems contrary to us. In one of Kabir's 'ultas' the nature of a Sādhū is thus described—

Ori kā pāni haṇḍeri jāe, Laukā buḍai sil utrāi.

Rain-water goes up from the eaves of a tiled roof to its ridges. A dry gourd sinks in water, while a slab of house-hold stone floats. The sense of this enigmatical saying (somewhat like Merlin's sayings in Tennyson's *Coming of Arthur*) is that all the *vāyus*, or vital forces, rush upwards to the head in samādhi and thus a Yogī becomes light (levitation, or *laghimā*, being one of the eight Siddhis in Yoga. Cf. Pratt, *Religious Consciousness*, p. 42) and sinks in Brahma (which is compared to a sea in all religions), while an ordinary man whose body and mind have not been purged of their grossness by Yoga practice floats on the surface. This is

well illustrated by the Samādhi of Sādhū Hari Dāsa, who had withdrawn his prāṇa vāyu to the head and hence there was warmth only on the crown of his head and the rest of the body was cold. As a matter of fact the very process of Yoga is the reversal of the natural (according to normal men and unnatural according to Yogis) course of life, which consists in breathing. The kuṇḍalinī śakti, which is like a coiled serpent with its mouth downwards and the lotuses of the six chakras, which droop downwards, have to be turned upwards by the various processes of Yoga. Hence Yogīs are called *ūrdharetā* (chaste), that is, those whose vital energies are drawn upwards. The Jñānasamkalinī Tantra says—*Ūrdharetā bhaved yastu sa devo na tu mānuṣaḥ*,—he who has attained the stage of *ūrdharetā* is a god and not a man. Man is born topsy-turvy. His root is above and branches below. The nervous system of Western psychology, as depicted in the illustrations in Webster's Dictionary and physiological diagrams, is like an "inverted tree" (Croom Robertson's *Psychology*, p. 36) and the vāyu system of the *ṣaṭ chakras*, as depicted in the diagram of the *ṣaṭ cāchakras* in an appendix to the *Vaiśeṣika Darśana* by my Guru, is similar in appearance but not in reality. Our vāyu, as most people suppose, is not the physical air, which is *jaḍa* (unconscious) but a conscious spiritual entity co-extensive with *ākāśa* (Gītā, 9, 6) but derived through it from Brahma. It is the *Jīvātmā* (Gītā, 15, 7; Ṛgveda, 1. 34 7; 10. 168 4). Cf. I.P., I, p. 151. It is Brahma (Taittirīya Upaniṣad, 1. 2 and Yajurveda, 27. 26, 31), It performs the functions of life and mind (Charaka Saṃhitā, Chikitsāsthāna, Chap. 28). From it is derived mind (Jñāna Saṃkalinī Tantra, 36). In one of the Upaniṣads it has been called the 'tie-rope of the mind.' This vāyu system emanates like a tree from Kūṭastha Brahma, whose seat is in the Sahasrāra, or Sahasradala padma, or the thousand-petalled-lotus chakra in the crown of the head. Hence

man is said to go in an opposite direction from Brahma, who is the root of this human tree, which has been mistranslated as 'the eternal fig-tree of the world' (Kāthopanīṣad, 6. 1 and Gītā, 15. 1). Prof. Das Gupta, in his *Hindu Mysticism*, p. 50, misled by lay commentators, curiously misunderstands the passage in the Kāthopanīṣad and transposes the order of the terms. So does Prof. Radhakrishnan in his I. P., Vol. I, pp. 205, 548. The Jñāna Saṃkalinī Tantra distinctly says that this tree is the human body:—Ūrdhamūlamadhahśākham vṛkṣākāraṁ kalevaram. Outwardly the head is the root and the arms and legs are the branches. Inwardly the Kūṭastha Brahma, whose seat is in the head, is the root and the vāyu system, which ramifies from it downwards, is the branches. If these blind expounders of our śāstras were to rely more upon the texts of Yogīs and Ṛṣis than upon the blind commentators they would not be misguided. Scholars and learned men have been very harshly dealt with in the Upanīṣads and the Śāstras generally. We ought to go to a Yogī for the interpretation of our Śāstras and not to pandits who know nothing of Yoga. Why has not Prof. Radhakrishnan followed the advice which he has quoted from S. P. B. in his I. P., Vol. II, p. 301? That is sound advice. Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja are the most eminent of the commentators of our Śāstras, and were worthy of all respect for their saintly life and learning. But they were not inspired seers, or Yogīs. They have interpreted the Śāstras from the common sense point of view. But the spiritual world is beyond the jurisdiction of that sense. One must have an uncommon sense to expound spiritual truths. Unless one has the divya chakṣu, the Jñāna chakṣu, or the dhyāna chakṣu (Charaka saṃhitā, 1st. Chap.) one cannot explain the Śāstras. The upanayana (lit. another eye, that is, the spritual eye) ceremony in ancient times consisted in the opening of the third eye

by the guru. The very definition of a guru in the Gurugītā is one who leads from darkness to light (as the Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Upaniṣad, 1-3-28 says), and shows the indivisible, spherical and all pervading Brah̥ma. Such men were addressed as Bhagavān (divine), that is, possessing the six aiśvaryas, or powers mentioned in the śāstras. They are also called āptas, that is, those who have attained Brah̥ma and hence are regarded as trustworthy and infallible. Their knowledge is not derived through the senses and the mind, as in ordinary men. Their knowledge is aparokṣa, that is, absolute and infallible, while that of ordinary men is parokṣa, that is, fallible and relative. They know every thing through yogānubhava, that is, by concentrating their mind on an aṇu or atom of Brah̥ma they come to know everything in the universe. He who can give indubitable proofs of the possession of this power is alone an authority on the śāstras. We know that most people will deny even the existence of such powers in man. These people have all their life seen only ordinary men with limited powers. But there are now not a few who have seen yogīs possessing omniscience. The śāstras constantly assert that such powers can be gained through the practice of yoga. Prof. Hocking, in his excellent book *The Meaning of God in Human Experience*, pp. 502-3, discusses this subject in a very interesting manner. He says, "In some degree, as we have seen, every soul of us knows the whole, and feels in his own limbs the thud and the impulse of the engines of reality : it must be possible, then, for our wills, to the same degree, to contain the will of the universe. We must be able to reach a kind of maturity in respect to God himself, in which we are ready to assume the burden not only of omniscience—as we continually do—but also of omnipotence, with regard to some fragment, however minute, of the historical work of the universe." As regards *the prophetic consciousness*, in his

sense of the expression, he writes, "I do not say as yet that an assurance like this is possible; still less that it has ever been attained." Though such a power may not have been attained in Europe and America I can assure him that it is not only possible but has been attained in India. Ample evidence of the possession of this power by the Ṛṣis and Yogīs of India is found not only in the Vedas but in all subsequent Aryan literature; as will be shown below. There is a universal tradition about it in this country. Only Westernized people, like Mr. Radhakrishnan, though he himself quotes numerous examples of it in his book, deny it. The mystics of all ages and countries, as I have elsewhere tried to prove by quoting numerous passages, have claimed it. Such being the nature and constitution of Ṛṣis and Yogīs and, to some extent, of men of genius, their language is bound to be different from that of ordinary men. It has been said that Shelley is a poet of poets and that poetry can be explained only by poetry. Yogīs are constantly spoken of as poets in the Gītā, the Upaniṣads and the Vedas. God himself is called a Poet in the Gītā, 8, 9. Browning also calls God *The Perfect Poet* in his *Paracelsus* (Lee and Locock's ed. II. 648). Poets are fond of inversions and involutions, and so Yogīs, who are called gods in the śāstras and who alone are really immortal, "are fond of the cryptic, as it were, and dislike the evident" (Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, 4. 2. 2, Hume's). Satyavrata Sāmaśramī, a life-long student of the Vedas, in a foot note to a very recondite passage in his Bengali translation of the Yajurveda, p. 136, says, "One cannot comprehend this riddle without special initiation and great pains." So all the commentators and translators of the Vedas have confessed their inability to comprehend the mystical meaning of some difficult passages. Prof. Keith, in his translation of the Black Yajurveda, Vol. I., p. 6,

footnote, explains prāṇa and apāṇa correctly, but about vyāna he says, "vyāna is an imaginary link between the two." Max Müller in his *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, p. 267, explains the functions of the five vāyus correctly enough but vaguely. About vyāna he says, "Vyāna is the all-pervader." But he frankly confesses that "The real meaning of these winds has never been discovered." Charaka in the 28th chapter of his *Saṃhitā* describes the seats and the functions of these vāyus and says that they constitute the whole universe and they are God. In fact, the whole of our physical, mental and spiritual life depends on a knowledge of these vāyus. They are the medium of Yogakriyā. They are referred to in all the śāstras from the Ṛgveda downwards. If one does not know these vāyus how can he explain them? Professor Radhakrishnan has admirably summarised the general doctrine of the Upanishads, but as soon as he had to deal with an abstruse passage in the course of his exposition he broke down. On p. 145 of vol. I., he writes "some wise man, however, with his eyes closed and wishing for immortality, saw the self behind." He then proceeds to explain it thus:—"From the outward physical fact, attention shifts to the inner immortal self situated at the back of the mind, as it were." Here the translation itself is wrong. Hume's translation is more correct. Supposing the translation to be correct the interpretation is wrong. The 'self behind' means not "at the back of the mind" which is a mere guess, as the succeeding phrase shows, but the back-bone, or the spinal cord (cf. p 257 foot-note, 6) where the Brahma sūtra and the six cakras are. It is called 'Brahma daṇḍa' in the Brahmopaniṣad. Kabir says, Pāche lāge Hari phirat kahat Kabir, Kabir, that is, Hari follows me calling out Kabir, Kabir. Paltu Das says, Piya pachwarvan khojat thake ses mahes, that is, the beloved whom Śiva and Viṣṇu tired of finding was

behind me. The meaning of the Ṛṣis has been so distorted in the Bengali translation of the Ṛgveda by R. C. Dutta and Satyavrata Sāmasramī in the *Hindu Śāstras* edited in two volumes by the former, as to border on nonsense. It is quite unintelligible. When learned and highly intelligent Indians, who are born in the country of the Ṛṣis and are familiar with their lives and traditions from their childhood upwards do not understand their language how can Europeans be supposed to get at the right interpretation. The oracles of Delphi were, proverbially equivocal. Hence it is not the business of ordinary men equipped with a knowledge of grammar and Nirukta to expound the language of the Ṛṣis, Munis and Yogīs who composed the Śāstras. They speak in a language which is unintelligible to us, unless we are initiated into their ways and speech by one of their own type and nature (cf. *The Initiate in the New World* by His Pupil, p. 173). When Wordsworth first published his Ode on Immortality few understood its deep and mystical import. Miss Spurgeon, in her *Mysticism in English Literature*, p. 59, says that "the key to the understanding of him is a mystical one." On p. 141 she says that Blake, who was himself a mystic, admired it. In like manner the language of the Vedas, the Upaniṣads and Darśanas is not only archaic but technical. They all presuppose in the reader a practical experience of Yoga. A man, who has realized and lived all that the Śāstras say, is alone able to penetrate to the hidden meaning underlying them. They were written in a state of samādhi, ecstasy and rapture and can be comprehended only by those who are in that state. Then the most recondite meaning becomes clear.

Mr. Chesterton writes in his *Browning* p. 2 :—"There is an old anecdote, probably apocryphal, which describes how a feminine admirer wrote to Browning asking him for

the meaning of one of his darker poems, and received the following reply: "When that poem was written, two people knew what it meant-God and Robert Browning. And now God alone knows what it means." Similarly, when Dr. Gatty was writing his *Keys to Lord Tennyson's "In Memoriam"* he referred to him for the explanation of the of the allusion in the first stanza. Tennyson replied that he had forgotten it, but it was Goethe's creed." Tennyson long afterwards recollected the reference and published it in his own notes to his poems in the collected works edited by his son.

My Guru often explained the mantras of the Vedas by taking the root meaning of a word and the meaning of a letter according to the Ekākṣari Kośa, which, he said, was completely known to yogis. The same Procedure is recorded of Chaitanya (cf. Jadunath Sarkar's Chaitanya's Pilgrimages and Teachings, 1913, pp 45, 306). By this process alone the vīja mantras of the Tantras, which are spiritual formulas, can be explained. The truth about the interpretation of the śāstras is told by the Singhalese chela in *The Initiate in the New World* p. 146, where he says, "The Indian books you speak of were written by yogis for aspiring yogis." Banarasi Das, a yogi of Benares, writes a mystical ode in his *Brahmajñāna ki Laoni*, p. 220, and says that, if Shams Tabrez had been alive, he would have understood its meaning. Maulana Rūmi, in the beginning of his *Masnavi*, says that he wrote it for initiates. Prof. Pratt, in his *Psychology of Religious Consciousness*, p. 338, says, "To be sure all the mystics of every land and country may in one sense be said to speak the same language; they understand each other and no one else fully understands them." I would delete the word 'fully' and say that no body understands them at all. Prof. Pratt himself has not understood

them, as his foot-note to p. 426 shows. He thinks that yogis should be as famous as Tunney, or Lindbergh, whereas the truth is the very reverse of it. They studiously conceal themselves from the public, as the author of *The Initiate*, who has come in contact with Indian yogis, truly says in the Preface to his book. The Sanskrit verses quoted by Śaṅkara and translated by Deussen on p. 144 of his *System of the Vedānta* (Eng. Tr.) literally apply to them. Prof. Nicholson, in his *Mystics of Islam*, p. 123, says that they live and die in great obscurity. My Guru was hardly known beyond the circle of his disciples. The well-known saying that the world knows nothing of its greatest men is literally true. There is a fine description of the life of Sufis in the beginning of the 3rd chapter of Sa'di's *Bostan*. Dr. Nicholson, in his *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 67, says that an unrecognised saint is greater than a recognised one. Some of the greatest Yogis of the world, who have seen the rise and fall of empires, and who are about as old and as young too as Lord Lytton's Zanon, live in the caves of the Himalayas and the dense forests of India unknown to the world.

Nor is it easy to interpret the language of modern Sadhus and saints, popularly called Bhaktas, like Kabir and Nanak. The popular estimate of such men, as given in Mr. Radhakrishna's I. P., Vol. II., p. 670 and in Prof. Dasgupta's *Hindu Mysticism* is very common-place and utterly inadequate and misleading. It is second-hand and borrowed from the writings of Christian missionaries. Most of the saints were high-class Yogis and not ordinary Bhaktas. The role of a reformer which they play is very subordinate, in as much as every saint comes to the world with such a mission. Their great achievements are the revival of spirituality among worldly people and setting an

example of high moral and spiritual life. They appear as minor incarnations of God in times of great degeneracy. They lift mankind from the level of an animal to a spiritual life. They are men of spiritual power and not merely of talk. With their miracles (cf. Nicholson, *Studies in Is. Mys.* p. 65) and their chaste life they force men to live a godly life. The *Bhaktamāl* is full of legends of their super-normal powers. Of course they do not exhibit these powers publicly but the public comes to know of them through their disciples. They leave works of inestimable value to mankind for their spiritual uplift. Every aspiring yogi receives an extraordinary impetus from the perusal of their spiritual songs. The most beautiful and the most characteristic of Kabir's songs are not found in any printed collection of his works. They are still orally sung or recited by Kabirpanthi sādhus. Rabindranath Tagore's collections of his songs in Bengali in four parts and his English translation of a hundred of these songs have done something to supply this want. A mouldering manuscript, said to be three hundred years old, was presented to my Guru, whom Kabirpanthi sādhus regarded as the last incarnation of Kabir, for he answered to the description which Kabir had given of this incarnation. Some of the most spiritual portions of this manuscript, with my Guru's translation and esoteric commentary, were published by one of his disciples some forty years ago. Guru Nanak's *Jappi* by the same hand was also published. These works are quite original and owe nothing to any predecessor, Ramanuj or other. Sādhus alone are religious geniuses and not those who write bulky books on mysticism. They alone are absolutely original, because their knowledge is first-hand. Their out-pourings are the effusions of their own heart. They alone are truly inspired. Shakespeare's description of "the poet's eye in fine frenzy rolling" and Plato's description of poetry as 'divine madness' apply to them. They

are actually 'fed on honey dew and drink the milk of Paradise', as Coleridge says in his *Kubla Khan*. Kabir is often aggressive and challenges the pandit and the pretentious sadu to explain his meaning. The refrain of his songs is 'kabain kabir suno bhai sadho,' Kabir says, 'listen, O ye, sādhus.' His dohas are called sākhis (evidence, witness) which he himself explains as that which has been seen with the spiritual eye and to which he bears testimony, just as darśana in Sanskrit means that which has been seen in Brahma. It is only a Mahātmā 'cf. Gītā, 9. 13 ; 16. 3) to whom the meaning of the śāstras reveals itself (Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, 6. 23 ; cf also Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 59). Lay commentators are at liberty to explain the śāstras as they like but Sadhus invariably reject such explanations. My Guru did so and so did Chaitanya (cf J. N. Sarkar, *Chaitanya's Pilgrimages and Teachings*, p. 310). The lay commentators of our śāstras have misinterpreted the most sacred texts, distorted their meaning and brought disgrace upon the holiest of men. The prophesies of the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa are even now fulfilled. It says that in the Kaliyuga people, without knowing the real meaning of the Śāstras, will expound them in their own way contrary to their spirit and style themselves pandits. In this way all the śāstras and yoga-kriyā will disappear. There will be self-made śāstras, and people, without knowing what Brahma is, will only repeat his name. These things are happening before our very eyes. Our scholars take their religion also at second hand. They promulgate the views of Western scholars. They read and quote the translations of the śāstras by them and form the conceptions of their country's religion as set forth by the oriental scholars of Europe. What a degenerate race we are ! We want our country to be wholly Westernised. Nothing of the old folly is to remain, everything to be swept away at a stroke. Mr. Radhakrishnan winds up his wide

survey of Indian Philosophy by a Western outlook on life (Vol. II., p. 768). He would climb on the shoulders of the R̥sis of India and march forward to a Western goal of material prosperity, its fierce struggle for wealth and power, its trade jealousy, its mutual distrust and bitter hatred and then to an Armageddon to the extinction and annihilation of the human race. Every country is marching forward to a goal of progress, why should India alone lag behind. But he forgets what the poet has said,

We think our fathers fools, so wise ^{we} grow;
Our wiser sons, no doubt, will think us so.

I think he has not read E. Carpenter's *Civilization: Its Cause and Cure*; if he has, he should read it once more and also his *The Healing of Nations*. What a contrast does this conclusion of Mr. Radhakrishnan present to that of another Indian writing on the same subject. Prof. Das Gupta, who is a scholar in Sanskrit and was brought up in Hindu surroundings, as he himself admitted in his Presidential address at the Congress of Oriental scholars at Lahore the other day, concludes his *Hindu Mysticism* with a wistful look towards the glorious past of India and an outlook on life prompted by Hindu ideals of peace and tranquillity. The repose of mind, the quiescent temper, the subjugation of passions, the ascetic tenor of life, the contentment and peace which come from the contemplation of God, he would like to be restored to India. His remarks on the Anglicised Indian may well apply to many a progressionist and especially to his colleague. How different also is the outlook of Prof. Pratt in his excellent book *Religious Consciousness*. He thinks that there is too much activity and too little of the contemplative life among his own countrymen and that it would be well for Americans to have a little of the proverbial passivity of the East (cf. I. P. II. 337), which has

survived the shock of time and still breathes, while most of the virile races of the ancient world have passed away. It would not be out of place if I recall here the well-known lines of M. Arnold in his *Obermann Once more* :—

“The brooding East with awe beheld,
Her impious younger world.
The Roman tempest swell’d and swell’d,
And on her head was hurl’d,
The East bow’d low before the blast,
In patient deep disdain ;
She let the legions thunder past,
And plunged in thought again.

What a picture of the peaceful and contemplative life of an Indian sage does he paint in his *A Southern Night* ! It would do one’s heart good to read it.

Has any Rṣi ever stigmatised the Sāṅkhya as atheistic ? Wherever the name of Kapila occurs in the śāstras he is spoken of with great veneration and esteem. Those places which are associated with his name are held sacred by orthodox Hindus and thousands of pilgrims visit them every year. Yet ignorant commentators not comprehending his technical and deeply significant language have made him out to be an atheist. This seems to be an old charge, as Kṛṣṇa strongly protests against it in the Gītā, 5. 4. The only ground for such a charge is that he has not mentioned the word Īśvara anywhere in his Sūtras and that in one of his sūtras he distinctly repudiates the existence of God. Hence, all the commentators have fastened upon him like a pack of hounds, forgetting or rather ignoring that such infallible authorities as Kṛṣṇa and the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad, a Śruti, assert that there is no difference between what the commentators call the nirīśvara Sāṅkhya and the seśvara yoga. But there is a qualifying phrase in the Gītā, 5. 5—*yah paśyati*

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sa paśyati, (he sees who *truly* sees), which shows that it is not perceptible to every one but only to those who have the Jñāna cakṣu, as Kṛṣṇa says in many places in the Gītā (cf. 13.34). The meaning of this phrase is more explicit in 13.27 when it again occurs. Kṛṣṇa has expressed the same idea in 3.3. But this is unintelligible to the common herd of commentators on whom Mr. Radhakrishnan bases his summary, because they do not know what Jñāna, or Jñānacakṣu, is. They think that by mere common sense and logical acumen they can explain every thing. They do not know that an uncommon sense, which has been called the sixth sense, is necessary to explain the commonest terms used by the Ṛṣis. This will be shown below when I come to an esoteric interpretation of the Sāṅkhya philosophy.

The review of Mr. Radhakrishnan's *Indian Philosophy*, Vol. II., that appeared sometime ago over the initials (W. S. U.) of a well known philosopher of Calcutta was short but judicious. He said the truth when he gently suggested that Mr. Radhakrishnan's view of Indian philosophy had been obscured and distorted by his comprehensive knowledge of Western philosophy. The same view has been taken by Dr. Ganganath Jha in *The Hindustan Review* for January, 1924, and by U. C. D. in the *Prabuddha Bharat* for December, 1927. I have read both the volumes of his book and can endorse the above statement. The most characteristic note of his statement of the Hindu philosophical doctrine is his sceptical tendency, which is the prevailing tendency in Western philosophy. This ill suits the spirit of Hindu philosophy. The clear-cut and positive statements of the Ṛṣis of the Vedas and the Upaniṣads and the terse but no less clear statements of the Ṛṣis and Munis who set forth the six Darśanas are constantly represented by Mr. Radhakrishnan as conflicting and doubtful. This,

to some extent, partly arises from the limited knowledge and sectarian bias of lay commentators, who have no spiritual insight, or yoga anubhava, to reconcile the sāstras and who constantly misinterpret the original texts which are cryptic in the extreme and which contain in essence the transcendent experiences of Ṛṣis, and partly from the sceptical attitude of the author, who is steeped in the spirit of Western philosophy. Sometimes his patriotism bursts forth in an eloquent eulogium of the Ṛṣis, but when that feeling subsides he relapses into his original mood. Whenever he speaks of the omniscience of yogis (cf. II. p. 271, 288, 313, 315) he invariably shows that he does not believe in it. He expressed this unbelief of his explicitly in his *Hindu View of Life*, pp. 67-8. Here he declares with great emphasis that "the history of philosophy in India as well as Europe has been one long illustration of the inability of the human mind to solve the mystery of the relation of God to the world. The greatest thinkers are those who admit the mystery and comfort themselves by the idea that the human mind is not omniscient". What a travesty is this of the Hindu view of life ! Such a man has undertaken to write a history of Indian philosophy. Does not every page of the Vedas, the Upaniṣads and the Gītā give the lie to his statement. ? Does not even so bitterly hostile a critic of the Upaniṣads as Dr. Hume, who takes his cue from Gough and masquerades as a friend of Indians, contradict him in every page of his Introduction to his translation of the Upaniṣads ? One has only to read Max Müller's *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy* and Deussen's *Philosophy of the Upanishads* and his *System of the Vedānt* to expose the falsity of the above statement ? Kṛṣṇa says in the Gītā that he is the incarnated, Jīva, that he knows the past present and the future (cf. I. P. II. p. 298), he is pūrṇa Brāhma and that those

who consider him to be a man are ignorant and deluded. Does not Arjuna, after having seen his divine form in the 11th Book of the Gîtā, apologize for his mistake in regarding him as an ordinary man, a friend with whom he joked and laughed? So do Rishis speak of themselves as no other than Brahma. One of the Mahāvākyas is Tattvamasi, Thou art That. All the Hindu sāstras proclaim with one voice the identity of Jiva and Siva. Even his own champion of agnosticism, Śaṅkara, declares himself to be no other than Siva in his Hastāmālakam. Nay, the whole world's religious literature proclaims the same doctrine, as I showed in my former article on Indian Pantheism. Christ said, 'I and my Father are one', 'he that hath seen me hath seen the Father' (cf. Max Müller's *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, p. 124). For this heresy Christ was crucified by the Jews, and Mansur, who said, 'I am God', was martyred by the Persians. Maulana Rūmi says, "man añ nuram kibla musa hamiguft, Khudāyam, mankhudāyam, mankhudāyam," that is, I am that light which said to Moses, 'I am God'. Is not this consensus of doctrine a presumption that belief in this doctrine is deep-rooted in human nature and that those who realized themselves as such were truthful? Mr. Radhakrishnan may retort 'But we have never seen such men'. Besides, it is inconceivable, as his Western teachers say (cf. Galloway, *The Philosophy of Religion*, p. 259). I can reply, 'How can you, when you were never in quest of them?' If Mr. Radhakrishnan's 'great thinkers' have not seen such men, does it matter much? There are thousands of others who have. Even now there is a well known Englishman who is preaching this very doctrine in the New and the old world. The truth is that the so-called thinkers care not a straw for such men. They are even jealous of them, as was Kant of Swedenberg (Wenley, *Kant*, p. 157 f.). The admission of these super-men would minimise their importance

and bring discredit upon their profession. The bread-and-butter question is the most important of all. Although the truth of clairvoyance is now well established, the majority of western philosophers have not admitted it, in spite of the protest of a few broad-minded members of their own fraternity, such as Mr. Richardson in his *Spiritual Pluralism* and Prof. Mc Dougall in his *Body and Mind*, Chap. XXV. But the citadel of speculative philosophy is being gradually undermined by the rising tide of psychism and spiritualism. Of late two remarkable books—Ostys' *Supernormal Powers in Man* and Geleys' *Clairvoyance and Materialisation* have further shown the futility of merely intellectual systems. Now, this unbelief, or agnosticism, may be a merit in a western philosopher, who has no spiritual insight but trusts to his reasoning and common sense, but it is a positive disqualification in one who professes to be a Hindu and deals with Hindu philosophy. It closes the very avenue by which Hindu dharma is to be approached. Dharma is derived from the root dhr, to hold, or restrain. Dhāraṇā, which is derived from the same root, is the second step in yoga, pratyāhāra being the first. Then come dhyāna and samādhi. Yoga is subdivided into two classes, Haṭha and Rāja-yoga. The latter is the form of yoga which is inculcated by Kṛṣṇa in the Gītā. It was practised by all the great Yogīs, Ṛṣis, Munis and Saints of India. The Śloka in the Gītā is as follows :—

Rājavidyā rājaguhyam pavitramidamuttamam,

Pratyakṣavāgamang dharmyam susukham kartumavyayam.
I translate here the commentary on this Śloka by my Guru:—
It is a royal science and a royal secret, that is, a great science and a great secret, where the mind having penetrated into Brahma becomes pure, when having fixed the Kuṭastha (Brahma) before the eyes one attains avarodha, that is,

cessation of the function of the mind, the senses and the breath and all desires,—in short, yoga, which can be learnt only from a Guru and which can be performed in the kali yuga with comfort and ease.

The word *susukham* implies that it is *rājayoga*, which consists in the practice of *kevala kumbhaka*, which is thus described in the *śāstras* :—

*Recakam pūrakam tyaktvā sukham yadvāyudhāraṇam
Prāṇāyāmo hyayamukta etc.* .

That retention of the breath which dispenses with expiration and inspiration and in which the breath is held with ease and comfort is called the prolongation of life by *kevala kumbhaka*. The *Śiva Saṃhitā* says,—*kevale kumbhake siddhiḥ*, *kevala kumbhaka* confers *siddhi*, or the perfection of yoga. This *dhāraṇā* is further described in the *Gītā*, 18 33, the commentary on which is as follows :—When in a state of *saṃādhi* the functions of the mind, *prāṇavāyu* (breathing) and the ten senses cease of themselves, that is, involuntarily, when they all become tranquil after *dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna* and *saṃādhi*, one is in himself, that is, one's mind is in a detached state without being attracted by objects of desire,—this kind of *dhāraṇā* is *sāttvikī*. Dharma is divided into two classes. Ordinary acts of piety, which are *nitya* & *naimittika* works, such as *pūjā*, *vandana*, & are called *itara dharma*, that is, inferior kind of dharma, while yoga is called *parama dharma*, or the highest kind of dharma. It has even been said,—*vāhya pūjā adhamādhamā*, that is, external worship is the lowest kind of worship. Most people perform this kind of *pūjā* and a few initiates perform yoga. The *Rṣis* performed the internal kind of worship, or as the *Kauṣṭaki Upaniṣad*, 2-5, calls it, 'the Inner *Agnihotra*', the *Ajapājapa*, or the *Japa yajña* of the *Gītā*, 10. 25. This practice of yoga leads to liberation from births and deaths. It is

enjoined in all the Śāstras from the Ṛgveda downwards, as the following quotations will show:

(1) Atharvaveda, 7. 37 (cf. 38. 4 with slight variation) :—

Yathaso mama kevalo nānyāsaṃ kirtayāścana ;—after performing kriyā and going into the state of the stillness of samādhi and become like Brahma and remaining in Kevala Kumbhaka one does not praise anything, because there is nothing but Brahma.

(2) Ṛgveda, 9. 63. 22 and 64. 7 :—“Vāyumārohadharma-ṇā” and “pavamānasya viśvavit” ;—performing yogakriyā is, prāṇāyāma, and having ascended to the head and become merged in Brahma in Samādhi constitutes dharma. When one goes into this state one becomes pure and is identified with every thing, and when one is thus resolved in Brahma one knows the whole world. Cf. Gītā, 6. 3.

(3) Ṛgveda, 1. 23. 1 (with slight variation) :—

Vāyo tān praśchitān piva ;—vāyu (vā means to go, yu, that which blows) that is, vāyu which blows in the body and whose kriyā is to be learnt from a Guru. It is pāvana, that is, one becomes pure and free from sin when one performs vāyukriyā, that is, prāṇāyāma. This prāṇavāyu is in the heart as Īśvara (cf. Gītā, 18. 61). When it becomes still and expands one attains the state of mahat (great). This is called vāyotān ; and praśchitān, by a special process of sprinkling to expand Brahma, that is, to be in samādhi, when Brahma becomes all-pervading at all times, or when one abides like him. If one does not become Brahma one supposes himself to be such and himself becomes a siddha through yoga, that is, one sees the whole as Brahma.

(4) Ṛgveda, 1. 22. 18—21 :—Trīṇipadā vicakrame viṣṇurgopa adābhyāh ato dharmāṇidhārayan viṣṇoḥ karmāṇi paśyata yato vratāni paspase, indrasya yujyasakhāh

tadviṣṇoh paramaṃ padaṃ sadā paśyanti sūrayah divīva
cakṣurātataṃ tadviprāso vipanyavo jāgṛvāṃsah samindhate
viṣṇoryat paramaṃ padaṃ.

Idā, piṅgalā, suṣuṃṇā,—these are the three feet. The breath blows through the left nostril (īdā) and through the right nostril (piṅgalā) for 2½ daṇḍas (1 hour) and for a short time through both the nostrils (suṣuṃṇā, the middle nāḍī); vicakrame—this infinite wheel of God coming to a stand-still; viṣṇu, stability of mind; gopa—he who nourishes; adābhyāṃ—having attained tranquillity by performing prāṇāyāma through the left and right nostrils and entering the middle nāḍī suṣuṃṇā; ato dharmāṇi dhārayan—having attained this dharma, that is, samādhi and seeing the work of this stability of mind; yato vratāni paśyase—having acquired the stability and detachment—vrata, to go, that is, to the head—to heaven,—going to heaven daily becomes an established rule, or habit, after which by the practice of kriyā one becomes free from sin and his mind remains merged in itself; having seen all these vratas, that is, intuitively visualized them; indrasya—he who (Brahma) is the lord of this body (i.e. the world); yujjasya—performing yogakriyā in this way; sakhā—he becomes like Brahma and has a beautiful heart and feels great joy and he sees every thing and is directed by Brahma and depends on nothing else; this tranquillity which is felt above the spot between the eye-brows, that is, samādhi, is called the highest stage, or plane of Viṣṇu, and those who permanently dwell in this state in the head see it (Brahma); dvi—both light and darkness, which are seen in the kūṭastha; vi—to be merged, that is, in the kūṭastha; va—the breath is suspended; tat—that; kśur—to cut, becoming free from māyā one dwells in the tattvātīta avasthā, that is, in Brahma; ātataṃ—abiding in the extended all-pervading Brahma he sees the whole world as Brahma; tāt—having

become that all-pervading Brahma ; viprāso—he performs the ṣatkarma, the six duties-practising yogakriyā, making others perform it, dwelling in the kūṭastha, teaching others to do so, teaching others kriyā and learning new kriyās himself ; he who is always engaged in these six duties is called a vipra and dvijottama ; aso—to abide in it ; vipannavo—having built such a house ; jāgravāṃsa—in a waking state ; samidhate—attains illumination ; this state of tranquillity is paramapada, the highest stage, that is, samādhi (Brahma), who is like an all-pervading substance, or atom, which is invisible yet diffused every where.

Such is the esoteric interpretation of the Vedas by a Ṛṣi, a Yogī, a sage, a seer of India, who had reached the same stage of spiritual elevation as the Ṛṣis of old,* and hence I would ask the pandits of the East and the West to pause before pronouncing it forced, far-fetched, fanciful, or ingenious. Nor are these interpretations the “vagaries of his (Sāyaṇa’s) Ṛg-vedic work” (Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, Introduction, p. cl xziv). They are self-evident to the Initiated, for whom alone they are meant, though not to the sophisticated Anglicized Indian scholar.

In spite of my protest against calling Ṛṣis, Munis and Yogis thinkers Mr. Radhakrishnan persists in doing so, because he is familiar with the latter but not with the former. As regards the Ṛṣis of the Vedas, in accordance with tradition he calls them Ṛṣis, but as regards others he calls them more often thinkers than seers and their work as speculation. He has thus done grave injustice to them and profaned what is held sacred by the Hindus. I doubt if he has any conception of the difference between a thinker and a seer. Hence his distortion of the view-point of the Ṛṣis and his disparagement of them. He ought to know that the process employed by the Ṛṣis is intuition, as

he himself admits in many places in his book (see Index to Vol. I), while that of thinkers is intellection and reasoning. The knowledge of the one is absolute (in spite of Mr. Radhakrishnan's ignorant denial of it) while that of the latter is relative. The seer sees at a glance the whole panorama of the universe, as Arjuna does in the 11th book of the Gītā, while the framer of intellectual systems laboriously works out his problems and can never be certain as to his conclusions and deductions. He is seldom detached and dispassionate. His passions and prejudices, his likes and dislikes—in short, his constitutional bias, governed by the three guṇas, sāttvika, rājasika, tāmasika, can never be wholly eliminated. Besides, he cannot be wholly independent of the prevailing trend of thought. Mrs. Grundy sits like an incubus on the hearts of many. The views of his publisher, who is guided by public opinion and taste, have also to be consulted. All these are disturbing elements to distort his mental vision and produce a blurred picture. M. Boutroux has, in his *Historical Studies in Philosophy* (Eng. tr.), p. 4, made a distinction between the process of a seer and that of a philosopher. The qualifications of a historian of philosophy are briefly set forth by him. He says, "To know and understand these doctrines well, to explain them—to the extent of one's capacity—as the *author himself would do*, to set them forth *in the spirit of that author*, and to some extent, *in his style*: this is the one essential task, to which all the rest must be subordinated." Does Mr. Radhakrishnan fulfil all these conditions? He trusts to his commentators and repeats verbatim what they say. He has no independent judgment of his own. European translators and commentators, whenever they find any interpretation even by the greatest commentators, such as Śāyaṇa, Saṅkara, or Rāmānuja, palpably absurd, unceremoniously reject them and suggest some emendation,

or explanation which is more consistent with reason and common sense. Besides, he judges the work of Ṛṣis by the standard of Western thinkers. This is quite contrary to the spirit of our Śāstras, as I have repeatedly pointed out. The Ṛṣis do not argue, or discuss a point. They simply set down their spiritual experiences in compendious forms in the mantras of the Vedas, the Upaniṣads and the six systems of Indian Philosophy and support them by the authority of the Śruti. Every system is avowedly based on the intuitions of Yoga, as will be shown below. Even the Nyāya systēm, which is supposed by lay commentators to be wholly occupied with the setting forth of the laws of reasoning and inference, constantly appeals to Yoga and Samādhi as its basis. All the systems speak of tattvas, prakṛti and puruṣa, and all have one single aim of mokṣa, or liberation. Even the mīmāṃsā, which is supposed to be wholly occupied with karmakāṇḍa, has an underlying spiritual meaning. Karmakāṇḍa, as Initiates know, is an external projection of Jñānakāṇḍa. The rituals enjoined are all an imitation of the internal processes of yoga for laymen, who are incapable of attaining yoga. They symbolically enact the internal processes. They are allegorical in order that they may be adapted to the comprehension of ordinary men, who have neither the capacity nor the inclination to rise higher in the scale of being. Hence Kṛṣṇa supports both the dravya yajña and the Jñānayajña in the Gītā, 4. 33. The same procedure is adopted in the Tantras, when the three-fold upāsanā—the daiva, the vīra and the paśubhāva—is ordained according to three kinds of sāttvika, rājasika and tāmasika prakṛti. The same form of worship will not suit everyone. The common saying—what is sauce for the gander is not sauce for the goose—lays down the same principle of the divergences of temperament in the world, which have led to the thousand and one sects in religion.

I shall never tire of repeating that the commentators of our śāstras are normal men, who have no yoga experience. How is it possible for them to interpret the utterances of Ṛṣis and Yogīs? Hence, ingenious guesses have been resorted to and sometimes frank avowals have been made that certain passages are inexplicable. All this chaos is lighted up by the illuminating commentary by a Yogi. But the chela should be as wonderful as the Guru, as the Kāṭha Upaniṣad (2.7-9) says. Then and then only there remains no shadow of doubt. I shall illustrate my point by one or two examples. There is a passage in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad (1.5-7) where the Uttama Puruṣa is represented as dwelling in the darkness of the sun. Śaṅkara not being a Yogī, at any rate when he wrote his commentaries, mistakes it for the physical sun, but, as there is apparently no darkness in it, he makes a very clumsy guess and says that if a man were to look intently at the sun he would see darkness there. Now, every body knows that the darkness is not there but in the human eye, which is dazzled by its brightness. Milton expresses this fact in his famous line,—“Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear.” Deussen, rejecting this explanation, suggests in his *System of the Vedānta* (Eng. tr.), p. 140—“possibly, the sun-spots are to be understood.” Mr. Radhakrishnan makes a third guess on page 546 of vol. II in philosophical jargon to conceal his ignorance and says, “He is the immanent spirit (antaryāmi) pervading the object and subject worlds, seen in the interior of the sun (object) as well as in the interior of the eye (subject).” Do those two words, ‘subject and object’ throw any new light on the difficulty? If he had been a yogī he would have corrected both the scholiasts by asserting authoritatively that it is not the physical but the spiritual sun (cf. the Gāyatrī) that the Ṛṣis of the Upaniṣads meant.

It is the internal sun that Yogis see in the Yonimudrā and which they technically call the Kūṭastha. It is also called, the divyacakṣu, as I showed elsewhere, because it looks like a human eye but is etherial in nature, in which is seen a glorious light, figuratively called the sun. This light is followed by darkness (āḍityavarṇaṃ tamasaḥ parastāt. Gita 8, 9; 13 17; and the 'divine darkness' of the mystics), in the midst of which is visible a little star called bindu. Within this star is the famous guhā (cave), as frequently mentioned in the śāstras, beyond which is the Brahma loka, technically called the Bṛhat Kūṭastha, where is Puruṣottama and his Darbar of saints, or the liberated of all countries and ages. I quoted a song of Gobind Sahib in my former article where this Darbar of God is described. Kabir also says in one of his dohās:—

Aguāni to āyā jñān vichar, vivek

Pāche hari bhi āyā sagari sāj samet.

The advance guard has come in the shape of jñāna (knowledge), vichāra (discrimination) and viveka (unification). Hari also followed with all his equipage, that is, his retinue of saints. Maulana Rumi in a verse that I also quoted in my previous article compares this Darbar to a monastery where God is sitting with his sufis. The Sikhs call their Golden Temple at Amritsar Darbar Sahib. Christ said 'The Kingdom of Heaven is within.' The Christians call it the Beatific Vision of the fellowship of saints with God (cf. Milton's *Lycidas*). Proofs there are as many as blackberries of all that I have said but I shall adduce only a few. As the adage says, 'the proof of the pudding is in the eating,' the best and the most convincing proof is to realise it oneself under the direction of a competent Guru—a Yogi and not a Pandit, a pseudo-yogī, or a 'scholar-mystic', or 'a speculative mystic' of whom there are a lot in these days. What are the marks of a Yogi?

Dr̥ṣṭiḥ sthīrā yasya vinaiḥ dr̥śyād vāyuh sthīro yasya
vināvarodhāt.

Cittam sthīram yasya vināvalambanāt sa eva yogī sa
guruḥ sa sevyah.

He alone is a yogī, a guru and worthy of being served,
whose eyes are fixed, tense, or winkless, without staring, or
gazing fixedly, whose mind is tranquil without any engage-
ment, that is, naturally, whose breath is suspended without
stopping, or restraining it. Such a guru will lead you across
the ocean of this world, as Kabir says,—

Kānpukā guru hai hudda kā, behudda ka guru aur,
Behudda kā guru jab milai tab lagai ṭhikānā thaur.

The ear-whispering guru is one of limitations, while the
guru of the limitless is another. When one finds a guru of
the limitless, one finds the goal. Now compare with this
what Wordsworth says of his trance state in his Tintern
Abbey :—

" That serene and blessed mood,
In which the affections lead us on,—
Until the breath of this corporeal frame
And even the motion of our human blood
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
In body, and become a living soul ;
While with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things."

The mantra of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad has thus been
explained by my Guru.—Eṣo hyantarāditye hiraṇmayah
puruṣo dr̥śyate ityadhidaivatam.

In this internal sun, Kūṭastha hiraṇmaya puruṣa—round
which there is a golden light, in the midst of which the
Puruṣa is seen by those who perform yogakriyā well. This

is called *adhidaiva*; that *Puruṣa* becomes the all-pervading *Brahma*. The word *adhidaiva* occurs also in the *Gītā*, 7. 30, where it is distinctly stated that this *kriyā* has to be performed by a *yogī* at the time of death in order to obtain liberation; and again in the beginning of Book VIII Arjuna asks *Kṛṣṇa* to explain this and other terms, in reply to which he does so in *śloka* 4. I translate my Guru's commentary on this:—*Adhidaivat*—by concentrating the mind on the *pañchabhūtas* (the five elements, whose seats are in the *Ṣaṭcakra* in the spirit cord) one remains fixed in the *Kuṭastha*. Afterwards the *Uttāma Puruṣa* is seen, who has a human body but ethereal (cf 'God made man in his own image'—*Genesis*). Fixing one's mind on him is called *adhidaiva*. Having put on a clothing of the skin of the human body he dwells in the form of the *brahma sutra*, a knowledge of which is to be acquired from a guru, and does the work of the world. Doing every work in the world with the mind fixed upon him is called *adhiyajña*. What the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, by a figure of speech, calls *antarāditya* is simply called *antarjyoti* in the *Gītā*, 5. 24 and *ādityavajjñānam* in 16. The *Gītā* in 13. 22 explicitly says that this *Puruṣa* is within the body. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, 3. 12. 7-8 itself says the same thing and in 3. 13. 1 says, "As for its eastern opening—that is the *Prāṇa* breath, that is the eye, that is the sun." In 3. 19 it says, "The sun is *Brahma*—this is the teaching." Finally, in 8. 6 it says that the soul of a *yogī* at death passes into the inner, spiritual sun. As it is the central doctrine of the Hindu *Śāstras*, nay, the entire mystical religion of the world, I shall quote further illustrations to prove it.

(1) The *Atharvaveda*, 1. 2. 6. 31. 4, says, *Yogeva dṛśyem sūryam*; *yoga*—(*yuj*, to join), the joining of the *jīva-ātmā* with the *paramātmā*. Performing *yogakriyā* one becomes

united with Brahma in samādhi. When one attains this state one's body becomes steady and by this ingenious method one acquires fitness. To cross the ocean of existence this is one of the means. Drśyam—my eye is the sun (sri—to pass through the heavens), that is, Kūṭastha Brahma, who is within the body and in the heavens, that is, he is all-pervading light.

(2) Atharvaveda, 13. 2. 44 :—Divya cakṣu pariviṣvaṃ babhūva. That divya cakṣu is the Kūṭastha and it is the whole world.

(3) Ṛgveda, 10. 22. 10 :—The star which is seen in the midst of the Kūṭastha in which there is the cave, dwelling in which people utter new and original truths. They enter this cave and that star is under the control of every breath (—śvāsa, breath), that is, they constantly see the light of Brahma in the form of that star.

(4) Tattirīya Upaniṣad, 10 :—Tat brahma sa ātmā iti ādityah. Tat-Kūṭastha Brahma. It is the ātmā of the whole world. It is the all-pervading sun.

(5) Ṛgveda, 1. 115. 1 :—Citrāndevāṇāmudagādanīkaṃ cakṣurmitrasya varuṇasyāgner āprādyāvā pṛthivī cāntarikṣaṃ sūrya ātmā jagatastasthuṣaśca. The variegated light, or scintillation, which is seen before the Kūṭastha Brahma, in the middle of which there is darkness like that of sea-water, and in the middle of this there is a star like an aṇu, or atom—this eye-like sun, which is Kūṭastha, is like fire. Within it are the heavens, the earth and the under-world—that sun is the form of the ātmā and in the state of samādhi the world is transformed into it.

(6) Ṛgveda, 8. 6. 10 :—Ahaṃ sūrya ivājani. I am like the sun, that is, Kūṭastha, and I am unborn.

In my former article I quoted a passage from Traherne's *Poems of Felicity*, p. 13 where both the aspects of the sun and the eye are thus described :—

“ I was an *inward sphere of light*,
Or an *interminable orb of sight*,
Exceeding that which makes the days,
A *vital Sun* that shed abroad his Rays,
A meditating *inward Eye*,
Gazing at quiet did *within* me ly.”

Maulana Rumi says, *Ai āftāb ai āftāb bar hama dilhā bitāb.*
O sun, shine on all hearts.

Bazāti pākat ai saqi fanā gashtam shudam bāqi,
Shabi a' lam shawad raushan chu az khurshaid
pur nūram.

I annihilated myself in thy holy essence, O cup-bearer, and became immortal. The night of this world becomes illumined, because I am full of the light of the sun. Cf. with this Traherne, *id.*, p. 115—

Man ashufta dar josham ki asrarash nami posham.
Miāni khāk poshidan rukhi khurshaid na tawanam.

I am perplexed and agitated that I do not conceal His mysteries. I cannot hide the face of the sun with the ashes of my body.

The songs of the saints of India are full of references to this spiritual sun. I quote here a song of Paltu Das as an illustration :—

Bhull jagki chāl sab bhai jogini mastāni,
Khāe piyai ab kaun rahai man bhajanai māhin.
Aisi lagi neh turia se bhai atitā,
Aṭh pahar galtan joti ke ghar ko jītā.
Hwai gai dasa āruḍha gyān taj bhai bigyani,
Dharti nabha jari gai jarā hai pawan aur pāni.

Paltu dinkar udai bhai rajani hwai gai ast,
 Bhūli jag ki chāl sab bhai jogini almast.—Paltu
 Sahib ki Bani, Pt. I., p. 30.

I have forgotten the ways of the world and become a yogini intoxicated with divine love I am quite unconscious of my body. Who now cares for food and drink, my mind being absorbed in devotion. So intense is my love that I have now transcended the *turiya* stage. I am now steeped in love day and night and have now conquered the region of light. I am now in the *ārḍha* state, and having passed beyond the stage of *jñāna* I am now in the state of *vijñāna*. The earth and the sky are now burnt up and so are air and water. Paltu, the day-star has risen and the night has departed.

Like the passage in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad quoted above Paltu Das describes his own experience of Brahmaloṇa and like the Gītā, 11. 12, he says that a hundred thousand physical suns will hardly equal the splendour of Puruṣottama.

Us des ki bāt main kahtā hun,
 Asmān ke bīch sulākh hai ji,
 Bādshāh usi ké bīch baithā.
 Sujh parai binu āñkh hai ji,
 Surukh to uskā chihra hai,
 Āftab tasadduk lakh hai ji,
 Paltu wahān hu hu awaj awai,
 Usmen mera dil mustāk hai ji,
 Pritibimb akas ko dekha chahai,
 Bharai ghat men uska bhās hai ji,
 Usi ghat ko phir phori darai,
 Akhir ko rahai akas hai ji,
 Is bhanti se juḍ sarir mahai,
 Chetan karai pargas hai ji,
 Paltu sarir ka nas howai,
 Chetan ka nahin nās hai ji.

Apne sarup ko chihñ pāyā,
 Wah jāe rahai bhaw par hai jī,
 Asādh ko sādhi chaitanya kiya,
 Bhitār bāhar unjiyār hai jī,
 Jiva brahma ki ganthi ko kholi dārā,
 Nirwār liya sab sār hai jī,
 Paltu kuch bhuk piyas nahin,

Usi namki ek adhār hai jī.—Ibid, p. 67.

I am now telling you something about that country. There is a hole in the sky (the guhā of the Vedas). The Emperor is sitting in the midst of it and he is seen without the fleshly eyes. His face is red and a hundred thousand suns might well be an oblation to him. Paltu, there issues forth the sound of hu* hu, and my mind is engrossed with it. If the reflection wants to see the ākāśa, it fills its body with the primal light. Then one should destroy that body, and then only the ākāśa remains. It is in this manner that divine consciousness manifests itself in this inert body. Paltu, the body is destroyed but the consciousness is not. He who realises his true nature goes across the ocean of this world. When one awakens to this higher consciousness by yoga practice one sees light inside and outside him. He who unties the knot of Jiva and Brahma ascertains the essence of religion. Paltu has neither hunger nor thirst; he is nourished only by that name (a technical term among Sadhus for samādhi).

I shall now give another example of how the noblest of mystical maxims are debased by being handled by men, who, though great scholars, are devoid of all spiritual outlook and insight. The grandest and the most ancient of all wise

*Prof. Nicholson, in his *Selections from the Divani Shams-i-Tabrij*, P. 282 thus writes :—"yā hū—O He (jahva, jehovah), one of the most familiar darvish-cries." On P. 300 he traces the origin of this phrase to KoranXXII. 6.

maxims of philosophy, the basis of Socratic teaching—"know thyself"—is "said to have been engraven in gold on the gates of Delphi." It certainly meant that the highest wisdom consists in knowing the potentialities of the soul by means of self—culture (yoga) and that it is Brahma and that knowing it one knows everything. But by an irony of fate it has been degraded to the most common uses of man. It now means, as Prof. Adam, in his Gifford Lectures on the *Religious Teachers of Greece*, p. 341, says, "nothing more than "Learn to take the measure of our capacities, proclivities, and powers." It now means the working capacity of man, as if he were a soulless machine. Cowper, no doubt, speaks of school-masters as those who

"Dismiss their cares when they dismiss their flock,
Machines themselves, governed by the clock."

Even a great scholar, like Mark Pattison, "whose lightest word carried weight," sa Mr. Augustin Birrell says in his *Obiter Dicta*, takes this maxim in its vulgar sense (see his note on Pope's *Essay on man*, II. 1, in the Clarendon Press Series), not to speak of lesser men, such as the Rev. A. Dempsey, in his *The Oracle of Delphi* pp. 142-3, and Prof. J. Adams, in his *The Student's Guide*, p. 16 Prof. B. Varisco, of the University of Rome, has written a big book with the title of "Know Thyself," but has not a word to say either on the history, or the spiritual meaning, of the maxim. He takes it in its ordinary psychological sense. The Rev. J. T. Forbes, who has written an otherwise good book on Socrates in the World's Epoch Makers series, takes the common view (see p. 173). Even Carlyle, the great prophet and mystic of the 19th century in England, speaks depreciatingly of this great maxim (cf. S. E. Winbolt *Short Essays for Schools*, pp. 149, 253). Thanks to a Frenchman for his vindication of its spiritual meaning.

M. Boutroux, in his book referred to above, writes on p. 27 :—
 “According to Socrates to know one self was not simply to be conscious, under all circumstances, of what one is or is not capable. It meant entering deep into one’s own soul, beyond the particular and the fleeting, to find the one identical, permanent substratum.—In a word, the Socratic maxim is an exhortation to become conscious of whatever is general.” But the sublimest of all interpretations of this maxim is to be found in Ode XXXI on p. 124 of Prof. Nicholson’s *Selected Poems from the Divān-i-Shamsi Tabriz*.

To return to Mr. Radhakrishnan’s book after a long digression. I shall notice a few more points and then I shall have done with him. Nothing shows more clearly his Western bias than the way in which he would deal with the evolution of the Aryan religion. On pp. 69-70 of volume I, he quotes the view of Aurobindo Ghosh about the Vedas, which is the right one, as I have already shown and will show further below, and combats it on the ground that it is not in conformity with the views of Western scholars and therefore cannot be followed. Ignoring the facts of the origin of our religion from the Ṛsis of the Vedas he would force it into the mould of Western thought, because he thinks it to be more scientific. He ignores also the spiritual degeneration of mankind from the Kṛta to the Kaliyuga, as foretold in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* and other later works and would develop it on the lines of Comparative Religion. This is quite opposed to the whole trend of our sāstras. Śrī Ānanda Āchārya, who was a man of wide culture and broad outlook, in his *Brahma Darśanam*, p. 13, says, “European historians and antiquarians firmly believe that their ancestors were savages and that they are far more enlightened than their forefathers, but we in India believe exactly the opposite. We think

that our ancestors were Gods and Rsis, endowed with super-human wisdom and holiness, and that we Indians of the present day are their unworthy descendants. The illusion of European historians consists in judging our history from a knowledge of their own past. I should like to remind them that the law which they deduce from a study of the history of Europe after the fall of the Roman Empire cannot be held to account for the civilisations of ancient Egypt, Greece, Persia, India, China. In those countries civilisation, instead of developing, has degenerated, while in Europe civilisation has progressed from very unpromising beginnings. India looks back, while Europe looks forward, to the Golden Age." Mr. W.L. Hare, a student of Comparative Religion, in his recently published book *Mysticism of East and West*, p. 24, takes exactly the same view.

Dr. Galloway, in his *Philosophy of Religion*, p. 487, says, "The soul or spiritual principle is operative throughout the body, and stands in direct relation to all the bodily elements. Yet, being a spiritual principle, it cannot be located in any organ or part of the body, although it pervades the whole." In accordance with this common sense view Mr. Radhakrishnan has said in several places of his book that the Vedas, as in the well-known mantra in the Puruṣa sūkta—*atyatīṣṭhat daśāṅgulam* (he dwells in this body for the measure of ten fingers)—locate Brahma and yet we are asked to believe it to be infinite. This is a formidable objection to the rationality of the Vedas. But it is based on a subtle fallacy—the ignorance of the nature of Brahma. The same objection will hold against all quantitative descriptions of Brahma, such as calling him *aṇorāṇān*, *mahato mahān*, *ekamśena sthito jagat*, *pādosya sarvā bhūtāni tripādasyāmṛtaṁ divi*, and *sūkṣmatvāt tadavijñeyam*, for Brahma is indivisible. If Mr. Radhakrishnan had been the disciple

of a yogī he would not have made such frivolous objections, because he would then have known that these divisions are intuitive and not actually made in a laboratory. Brahma has the capacity of infinite expansion and contraction, as a yogī has in the *Pātañjala Yoga Sūtra*. How could Kṛṣṇa show the whole universe to Arjuna within his small body ?

The death-knell of philosophy was tolled by Dr. Merz, in the 2nd Chapter (on "Anarchy in recent philosophy") of the 3rd volume of his *History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century* and its funeral service was performed by Prof. Taylor, when he described 'Pragmatism,' 'Humanism,' and, by implication, Bergsonianism as "spent forces" in his paper on Philosophy in *Recent Developments in European Thought*, edited by Mr. F. S. Marvin in the Unity Series. It was a sad reflection to learn from the article in the Pioneer the other day, on the occasion of Bergson's receiving the Nobel Prize for 1927, that he had given up teaching philosophy and was busying himself with social reform, the last refuge of intellectual bankruptcy and disillusion. Mr. Radhakrishnan's defence of philosophy (II. 768), in reply to my criticism, comes too late. It is the old, old plea, repeated *ad nauseum*, that "it is not the end of the voyage that matters, but the voyage itself and that to travel is a better thing than to arrive." Tennyson takes Ulysses back on a second voyage whence he never returns, though Homer represents him as yearning for his island home at Ithaca. Would Mr. Radhakrishnan like to be put in a boat with a month's provision and set adrift on a tempestuous sea without helm, rudder and compass ? Would he like to be like the wandering Ulysses, or the Wandering Jew, eternally moving and never resting ? Such a lot would rather be a curse than a blessing. We have been hearing such clap trap all our life.

The impression left on my mind by the perusal of Mr. Radhakrishnan's analysis of the Gîtā is very unfavourable. It is the weakest part of his book, as it was bound to be. No layman, not even the scholarly Aurobindo Ghosh, who is not a yogî of the highest order, like Kṛṣṇa, can understand the esoteric meaning of the Gîtā. The greatness and majesty of the Gîtā, as the Gîtāmāhātmya says, can be fully realized only by Kṛṣṇa and partly by Arjuna, Vyāsa, Śukadeva, Yājñavalkya and Janaka. It is not the business of Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja to expound it, even though they might have been very estimable people from the worldly point of view. Mr. Radhakrishnan has made a muddle of everything. He has quite missed the meaning of the noblest and also the most difficult of books in the whole range of Sanskrit literature. The very title of the chapter is a misnomer. It is borrowed from popular theology and also from the Missionaries. There is no theism in it at all. It is all pantheism of the highest order. Its motto may be given in its own words—'Vāsudevah sarvamiti' (7. 19). That is its refrain, as of the Upaniṣads, of which it is the essence, and of the Vedas. It has been repeated in a hundred different ways, and its central doctrine is that Jīva and Brahma are ultimately one. Of course in the natural state it is not. It will have to achieve this goal after an endless series of births and deaths through the practice of yoga, which begets Jñāna and finally leads to Vi (viśeṣa)-jñāna, or samādhi. From beginning to end it is yoga that Kṛṣṇa preaches and gives it preference over every other kind of sādhanā (6.46; 12.12). Mr. Radhakrishnan has completely missed the meaning of Jñāna and Vijñāna, which are constantly coupled together in the Gîtā, thereby showing that Vijñāna follows Jñāna (as in Paltu Das's song quoted above) and is a special kind of Jñāna. The former is the state when the concentrated

mind sees Brahma every where in the Kūṭastha and Vijñāna is that state of illumination in samādhi when the whole outward world is mirrored on the still mind of a yogī. Instead of quoting the opinions of commentators about the nature of the soul of an emancipated yogī he ought to have decided the question by referring to the śloka of the Gītā where it is distinctly and decisively asserted that "there is no difference between my (i. e. Brahma's) soul and the soul of a yogī, who has completely entered into me" (6.47; 12.7). He constantly decides every question by referring to the commentators, who are normal men with no spiritual insight and who, according to the Gītā itself (I. 66), have no 'buddhi' (that is, concentrated mind) by which the subtler phases of the highest religion have to be decided. There is no difference between a bhakta and a yogī. Both the terms are coupled together in the phrase bhaktyāyukto (8.10) which constantly occurs in the Gītā. A Yogī alone is a bhakta, because he never leaves Brahma even for a second (8.7, 27). The 12th Book which treats of bhakti yoga is entirely occupied with the manner of the life of a yogī. There is no other bhakta in the sense of the Gītā. Even Uddhava, the great devotee of Kṛṣṇa, was asked to practise yoga, and so was Rāmakṛṣṇa by his mother Kālī. Blank bhakti, like that of ordinary men, is not considered of any worth by Ṛṣis. cf. *Paltu Sahib ki Vāṇī* (Belvedere Press, Allahabad), Pt. III. p. 60.

Mr. Radhakrishnan says that, according to Talboys Wheeler with whom Telang partly agrees, the scene of the Gītā is laid in a battle field, which is unnatural. Certainly, it is obviously absurd. A battlefield is no place for a philosophical disquisition like the Gītā. But Mr. Radhakrishnan does not suggest any solution of the difficulty. He conceals his ignorance in a haze of words. When

Polonious asks Hamlet what he was reading he answers, "Words, words, words." Such is also the case with our commentators. A poet says,—

"How commentators each dark passage shun,
And hold their farthing candle to the sun."

Another poet similarly says of them, —

"Who from the dark and doubtful love to run,
And hold their glimmering tapers to the sun."

Has he never heard of the Gītā being an allegory? Or, did he consider it quite untenable, as yogî Aurobindo Ghosh does in his *Essays on the Gita* 1st series, p. 27, though later on (*Essays on the Gita* 2nd Series, p. 312 f) he admits it? But it is the interpretation which our Mahātmās, who are the sole repositories of the ancient wisdom of India and the only authorities on the interpretation of the śāstras, give of the Gītā. My Guru's interpretation of the allegory of the whole of the Mahābhārata, of which the Gītā is only a portion, is too elaborate to be presented here. It will require a separate paper for itself. I can give here only a few hints about it. The keynote of the allegorical character of the Gītā is struck in the very first words with which the book opens. Explaining 'dharma' in the sense of the Gītā itself, as I have done above, that is, as meaning yoga and 'ksetra' in the sense of the body, as the Gītā does in 13.1, and 'Kuru' as meaning 'do,' we have a clue to the allegory. The five Pāṇḍavas—Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, Arjuna, Nakula, and Sahadeva represent the five elements of ether, air, fire, water and earth. There are five karmendriyas and five jñānendriyas, each of them running in ten directions. These constitute the hundred sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, who is the mind. The internal struggle is between the jīvātmā, which is trying to emancipate itself from the thralldom of the

senses and the elements which are trying to drag it down. Kṛṣṇa represents the Kūṭastha, who is the spectator. Sañjaya is divya dṛṣṭi. The other characters in the Gītā constitute the various propensities, both high and low, in the body. Such is the mere skeleton of the allegory. To enter into details will be out of place here. Just as there is an Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa, so there is an Adhyātma Mahābhārata. But it has not been written. It has to be learnt from a Guru.

Those who have come in close contact with Sādhus know that they are men of peace and not of war. Their motto is the same as that of the Upaniṣads—‘śānti, śānti, śānti.’ Their whole mode of life is summed up in the words of the Gītā—‘Sarvabhūta hite ratāḥ’ (12. 4)—which occurs half a dozen times in it. Is it conceivable that such men would exhort others to shed blood, butcher their own kinsmen for gain and sordid lucre, for ‘dirt,’ as Shakespeare calls ‘land’ contemptuously? Is it not more consistent with reason and the dictates of the moral sense and conducive to the well-being of society and the interests of spiritual life that the fight between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas has been chosen by Vyāsa to represent the struggle between the higher and the lower propensities of man, when the neo-phyte enters upon his spiritual life? This a beginner like Arjuna feels most keenly. When a young man, who knows nothing of spiritual life, is suddenly introduced by his elders to a yogī Guru, as it was in my own case, and bidden to abandon the animal life of the senses and take to a life of the spirit, what a shock does he feel! All through life he has to struggle with his lower nature and when he is about to reach the goal there comes a tempest of temptations which no human being, unless aided in the nick of time by his Guru and his destiny, can resist. Ninety-nine per cent of sādhus fail, Tulsi Das,

having passed through this ordeal, has vividly described it in the 7th kāṇḍa of his Rāmāyaṇa. Kabir says.—

Jab mār paḍai ghamṣānā tab birlai sant ṭahṛānā,

Jab yah pad ko gahi līna tab guru saran kar līna.

When the blows of God fall thick, hardly a saint stands them. When he stands firm at his post his Guru takes him under his shelter. Prof. Pratt mentions the fact of Rāmakṛṣṇa passing through such an ordeal with success in his *Religious Consciousness*, p. 131. Who does not remember the grand description of Christ's temptation in Milton's *Paradise Regained*? Sir E. Arnold has described Buddha's temptation in *The Light of Asia*; cf. *Paltu Sahib ki Vāṇi*, Pt. III. p. 87.

Allegory has been used for moral and spiritual purposes by English writers like Spenser and Bunyan. So have other European poets of the Middle Ages, as Prof. Saintsbury has shown in his *Flourishing of Romance and Rise of Allegory*. It is worth noting that the mask is thrown off after the first book in the Gītā and the dialogue proceeds in a straight—forward manner with the word *yudhyasva* (2. 18) used equivocally for the external and the internal fight. It is also worth noting that the colophon at the end of each chapter, not excluding the first, says that it is the mystic doctrine of yoga. The word 'yudhyasva' is distinctly used for the inner struggle in 3.30 and 8.7. Allegory, parables, and other indirect methods, as I have shown above, are quite in keeping with the nature of Sādhus. The dehatattva songs sung by the Vāṇīs and Vaiṣṭamas of Bengal are full of allegories and so are the songs of the saints of other parts of India. The dialogue form also is quite in conformity with the peculiar turn of the mystic mind, as in the dialogues of Kabir and Gorakhnath in the *Avināśi Kabir Gita*, between Śiva and Pārvatī in the Tantras, the

Supersensual Life of Jacob Boehme and the Dialogues of Plato where there are myths and allegories. Max Muller says that Buddhists are fond of teaching in parables. The struggle between the Gods and the Asuras in the Vedas and elsewhere is only an allegory.

I shall briefly controvert a few points which are objectionable in Mr. Radhakrishnan's interpretation of the Gītā. (1) The Puruṣottama of the Gītā is not a personal God (p. 542). He is the same as the Puruṣa of the Vedas and the Upaniṣads. Kṛṣṇa himself is the Puruṣottama. The only difference between him and Brahma is that the former has a form while the latter is formless. Both are the same universal spirit (15. 17). This has to be seen and not discussed. (2) The explanation of Kṛṣṇa's form (p. 544) is borrowed from popular theology and is utterly fantastic. Kṛṣṇa is not the man of that name but Kūṭastha Brahma. This must be seen in Yonimudrā. (3) "When we transcend māyā, time, space and cause do not fall away from us. The world does not disappear from us, but it only changes its meaning" (p. 548). This statement is a mere guess of an uninitiated person. It is crass nonsense. The world does disappear from the view of a yogi in samādhi and nothing is visible but Brahma, the all-pervading spirit, as Wordsworth says in his Ode on Immortality—"fallings from us, vanishings." Ossoweiki confirms this statement in Geley's *Clairvoyance and Materialisation*, which I have quoted elsewhere in this very article. The disciple who has obtained Brahmajñāna through the favour of his Guru says the same thing with great consternation in *Śāstra-Sataka* (published by Upendranath Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta), Pt. II., p. 819. Shakespeare's description of the world fading away like a mist in the *Tempest* IV. 1., beginning—"And, like the baseless fabric of this vision" etc., is not

altogether a poetic fiction. In the Gītā, 2. 69, it is said that the Muni looks upon the waking world as his night, that is, a shadow or dream of the night. Banarsi Das says, 'dunia uḍ gai sapne men,' and Kabir says, 'sapne men gayā sansār,' the world has passed away like a dream. Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*, l. 586, says, "I pass, like night, from land to land." Puck, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* V. 1. 372, says,

" And we fairies, that do run
By the triple Hecate's team,
From the presence of the sun,
Following darkness like a dream,
Now are frolic."

Compare also Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, p. 121. It is very remarkable that this quotation from Mr. Radhakrishnan is almost the same as another passage in Aurobindo Ghosh's *Essays on the Gita*, 2nd Series, p. 267.

(4) It is not the 'world' but the 'human body' which is compared to a tree "with root above and branches below" (p. 548), as I have shown above. See the Jñānasāṅkalini Tantra, which is referred to by himself on p. 579, footnote, and Uttara-gītā, II. 17. (5) It is not the 'Saṁsārin', but the Yogī, who passes through the path of the gods (p. 552). "Yogah karmasu kauśalam" ought to be read "yogah karma sukauśalam," that is, yogakriyā is an ingenious device. The former reading leads to absurdity. All commentators and translators of the Gītā, except Wilkins, have misinterpreted this text. Even Max Müller, a great scholar and life-long student of Sanskrit, mistranslates it in his *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, p. 310. Yoga is not success in (all) actions, as Max Müller translates it. According to this interpretation every successful man—a carpenter, a baker, a brewer, even a chimney-sweep—would be accounted a yogī. Is this not fantastic and absurd? This is a flagrant example

of how people, not having a practical knowledge of yoga, misinterpret the Śāstras and proves the charge of Bhavabhūti (in the Sloka quoted in my former article) against laymen that they follow the letter and not the spirit of the utterances of Ṛsis. It is worth noting in this connection that the word 'Kuśala' as applied to a yogī guru in the Kathopaniṣad, II. 7 has been translated by Dr. Roer as "an ingenious (teacher)" (*The Twelve Upanishads*, published by Tookaram Tatya, Bombay, 1891, p. 422). In the Gītā, 12. 16, a yogī is described as 'dakṣa', that is, expert, clever, ingenious.

I shall now say something about the style and composition of Mr. Radhakrishnan, which call for special attention. The weakness of youthful and ambitious Indian writers is to write in a high-flown style. This is a charge which has been brought against them by almost every writer on English composition in India and in England too. 'Babu-English' was the opprobrious term applied to such English by Messrs. Rowe and Webb in their *Hints on the Study of English*, published about half a century ago. It became a current expression in England and America. Mr. J. H. Fowler, in his *A Manual of Essay—Writing*, p. 12, gives an example of it. Moreover, every subject has its proper style. Pope, in his *Essay on Criticism*, has laid down the canon in his own felicitous manner:—

“ Others for language all their care express,
And value books, as women men, for dress ;
Their praise is still,—the style is excellent ;
The sense they humbly take on content.
Words are like leaves ; and where they most abound,
Much fruit of sense beneath is rarely found.
False eloquence, like the prismatic glass,
Its gaudy colours spreads on every place ;

The face of nature we no more survey,
 All glares alike, without distinction gay ;
 But true expression, like the unchanging sun,
 Clears and improves whate'er it shines upon ;
 It gilds all objects, but it alters none.
 Expression is the dress of thought, and still
 Appears more decent as more suitable.
 A vile conceit in pompous words express'd
 Is like a clown in regal purple dress'd.
 For different styles with different subjects suit,
 As several garbs with country, fown and court. "

Now, without regard to his subject matter Mr. Radhakrishnan, every now and then, indulges in flights of rhetoric and employs metaphors and similies which ill suit the sober dignity of philosophy. Not the *L' Allegro* but the *Il Penseroso* mood suits her best. The style of a philosopher ought to be chastened, restrained and reserved. Clearness and perspicuity, a forcible presentation of the main argument, the marshalling of facts bearing upon it, compactness of thought and language, the linking together of sentences harmoniously and coherently and of these into paragraphs and sections, all supporting each other, like the various parts of a strong and well-built fort, are the essentials of a philosophic style. These are found in the great classical writers of British philosophy, such as Hobbes, Berkeley, and Bradley. Among American writers W. James is distinguished for his graphic style, and after him J. B. Pratt. When we compare Mr. Radhakrishnan's style with these great models we find there little to commend. His style is diffuse and prolix, without much coherency, especially at the transition from one school to another. That is what led the reviewer in the *Statesman* to call it a staccato style. It has not the spontaneity of Shelley's *Skylark*, or Tennyson's *In Memoriam*.

"I do but sing because I must. And pipe but as the linnets sing." There is everywhere a straining after effect. An air of artificiality pervades the whole book. What Prof. James Seth says about the style of Martineau in his *English Philosophy and Schools of Philosophy* will apply equally well to Mr. Radhakrishnan's style. Hunting up a label for Mr. Radhakrishnan's style, I found one to my purpose in Mr. W. J. Addis's excellent book on *Essay Writing* (Pitman). It has been recommended by Prof. H. Crossley in his pamphlet on *Style and Composition*. Mr. Addis calls it "the slovenly style" (compare what Mr. R. says of others in his I. P., Vol. I. p. 54) which he thus defines :—"The faults of the slovenly style are usually more deep-rooted. They appear in the very thought, which is careless both in facts and in reasonings. There is also looseness in the arrangements of the thoughts, and in the build of the sentences, terms being misapplied and incorrectnesses admitted in grammar and punctuation. All this leads to ambiguity in meaning and unsatisfactory rhythm."—p. 66. Most of these blemishes are found in Mr. Radhakrishnan's book, as I shall presently show. It is a curious phenomenon in literary history that a man having such a command of the English language should make such glaring mistakes in composition and so many. These are not due to haste, or negligence, but deliberate. How such a man could gain an international reputation as the reviewer of his latest book *The Religion We Need* in the Pioneer of 23rd December, 1928, said passes my comprehension. It seems to be another instance of Log-rolling on which Churton Collins, the keenest of modern critics, has an illuminating chapter in his *Ephemera Critica*.

I subjoin a table of errata which I found in Mr. Radhakrishnan's *Indian Philosophy*. I have not pointed out all the mistakes that occur there but only the typical ones :—

VOLUME I. pp. 21—267 and 519—580.

No.	Page.	Line.	Incorrect.	Correct.	Remarks.
1	25	19	the latter	later	cf. p. 51
2	36	6	the prakṛiti	prakṛiti	
3	44	9	"Darsana" so	so "Darsana"	
4	49	26, 53	the Indian thinkers	Indian thinkers	
5	64	14	arranged for being sung	so arranged as to be sung	
6	83	21	the god of the wine	the god of wine	
7	83	33	on sooner	no sooner	
8	125	16	made for gaining	made to gain	
9	126	3	the divine grace	divine grace	
10	130	10	the Indian philosophers	Indian philosophers	
11	139	1	if that were all we cannot	if that were all we could	
12	139	14	nothing.....with them	not nothing that went before them <i>could</i> —them.	an awkward construction with a mistake in the sequence of tenses. loose construction
13	140	27	The Western interpreters	Western interpreters	
14	141	13	These writings contain too many.....that.....	These writings— so many that...source	

15	142	11	the Sankhya.....systems	the Sankhya—system	cf. Angus, <i>Hand-Book of the English Tongue</i> , Sec. 475 p. 293, and Fowler, <i>A Dict. of Modern Eng. Usage</i> , p. 64].
16	144	32	whisp of strawl	wisp of straw	
17	149	27	the Vedic knowledge.....	Vedic knowledge—true—insight	
18	166	5, 6	the plant life, the human society	plant life, human society	
19	167	11	If it were.....it will	If it were—it would	
20	168	18	quasinought	quasi-nought	
21	171	10	the conception of world	the conception of a world	
22	180	34	soul	soul	
23	180	34	The intuition	intuition	
24	192	20	rid of	riddance of	rid is not used as a noun.
25	216	8, 9	one need not ..his priva-	one need not....one's priva-	
26	217	9	tions	tions	
27	217	15	the God	God, as love	I do not know what sort of a ear Mr. R. has on which these harsh expressions do not jar. This is lack of rhythm, which Mr. Addis condemns.
28	id.		the divine love		See Fowler, <i>A Dict. of Modern Eng. Usage</i> .
27	249	5	we have to submit	we have to submit to	
28	520	8	psychological moment	though commonly used, it is an inaccurate expression	

No.	Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct	Remarks
29	535	4	The sense life	The life of sense	very harsh combination and want of rhythm
30	id.	34	equal	equally and uniformly every where	this use of the word is very vague.
31	537	5	if this were	if this be	Here the ambiguity is caused by the incorrect use of the verb 'go'.
32	539	22	Pure "being" is gone over into "nothing...." nothing	This Hegelian enigma, or 'hocus pocus', as W. James calls it, I cannot understand	
33	548	29	roof	root	•
34	555	28	what shall be	what will be	
				VOLUME II.	
1	1	10	arsena	arsenal	How can one codify streams? R. is a bad imitator of his English models.
2	22	5	sound doctrine	the sound doctrine	
3	24	4	The vivid.....flowed in many streams to codify them	here there is a mixture of metaphors. The sentence should be recast.	
4	52	6	than	that	

5	170	2	may rather	tautologous, nay,	See <i>The Initiate in the New World</i> by His Pupil, p.146.
6	271	7	the yogis	yogis	
7	366	27	Saṁyān	Saṁyān	
8	419	16	the human individuals	human individuals	
9	id.	32	the great men	great men	
10	420	5	the dog's skin	a dog's skin	
11	427	15	the later writers	later writers	
12	434	2	the different commentators	different commentators	
13	516	foot note	Such recognised thinkers like	(1) such...thinkers as, or (2) recognised thinkers like	
14	542	last line	our human experience is incapable of apprehending...achieve etc.	incapable of apprehending and achieving	
15	546	2	the object and the subject worlds	(1) the object and the subject world, or (2) the object and subject worlds.	
16	563	9	is saṁsār mokṣa	a misprint for in 'saṁsāra' mokṣa	

Mr. Addis remarks:—
 "The grosser types of grammatical errors and solecisms are perhaps unlikely to occur; but such mistakes as putting *like* for *as*—frequently fleck what is otherwise a good piece of work." p. 68.
 loose construction.

Cf. Angus, *Hand-Book of the King. Tongue*, referred to above

23	744	7	The conscious souls	Conscious souls
24	761	9th from below	the intuition	intuition, as the following clause is not adjectival but co-ordinate, 'where' being equivalent to 'and there.'
25	764	6	Study of the Vedas	The study of the Vedas
26	id.	3rd l. from below	Bhakti literature	the Bhakti literature
27	769	2	the Indian thinkers	Indian thinkers
28	773	6 & 7 from below	Anarchy—and bondage	the two terms are not opposed to each other and hence there is vagueness in the meaning; 'foreign rule' for 'bondage' would be better. Cf. Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit. VII, p. 291.
29	775	9		
30	id.	25	in the ancient times	in ancient times
31	777	11	in The Western civilisation	in Western civilisation.

Cf. The Principles of Western Civilisation by B. Kidd.

No.	Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct	Remarks
32	358	foot-note	the thinking Indians the weirdest of weirdest the weirdest of the weirdest.	thinking Indians R. is very weak in the use of the articles, so much so that even in a quotation he omits an article. He seems never to have read grammar in his school-days.	

Penseroso, 40-2) ; this takes place in samādhi. This is panthā (the mystic path), and besides this there is no other path. This path is gained through the favour of a yogi Guru. This state is called by our Sādhus 'dying alive' and by the Christians 'dying to live' The Sufi calls it 'fanā fi allāh baqābillah', dying in God is life eternal. This doctrine is referred to in one of the couplets from Maulana Rūmi, quoted above (cf. Nicholson, *Studies in Islāmic Mysticism*, p. 55).

(3) R̥gveda, 1. 115. 5 :—Dyor upasthe.....kṛṣṇamanyad dharitah sambharanti [hiraṇyayena savitārathena devoyāti bhuvanāni paśyan. There are two forms, in which Kūṭastha is seen—one is dark and the other is yellow. Both these are fully formed. That sun-like Kūṭastha, in the midst of which is the beautiful form of the Uttama Puruṣa, becomes the all when one is merged in it

(4) Taḥ viṣṇoh paramaṃ padaṃ sadā paśyanti sūrayah divya cakṣurātataṃ —Yajurveda, 6.5 That motionlessness, or stillness, which always exists ; māyā, that is, when one's mind is directed to external objects, it is restless, and when it is in samādhi it is still, hence there is always stillness and this state is paramapada (the highest plane of existence), param, that is, beyond the maṇibandha (the sixth chakra, called the ājñā chakra, between the eye-brows); sūri, he who is in the state of samādhi sees an eye of ākāśa, which is Brahma and which is everywhere. Following Rāmānuja, who was no yogī and could not understand the sublime meaning of this mantra, what a caricature has Mr. Radhakrishnan made of it in his I. P, II., p 667, in spite of my translation of it in my earlier article, which he must have read, because he has borrowed many suggestions and hints from it in his book without acknowledgment. These are the men who pose as great authorities on Hindu philosophy ! One

and truthfulness of his interpretation will be evident to those who have first-hand experience of yoga. But the general reader, who is inquisitive about the higher religion of his country, will, I doubt not, derive some benefit from it. At any rate, it will serve to show that there is another version of the Hindu *sāstras* different from the official one, that is, that of the pandits and scholars. This is the version of the *Riṣis*, the *Munis*, the *Yogis* and the *Sādhus* of India.

(1) *Rgveda*, 1. 1. 1 :—*Agnimīḍe purohitam yajñasya devamṛtviḥam hotāram ratnadhātamaṁ*. 'The fire within the body which has been originated by *vāyu-kriyā*, that is, *prāṇāyāma*, which has been taught by a Guru, is worthy of praise; for, i=force, energy, d=head, e=vindu, that is, after performing *kriyā* when one ascends to the head and dwells in bindu, which is the form of *Brahma*, one becomes worthy of praise; *purohitam*—he is the well-wisher of this body, that is, so long as the *prāṇa* is in the body one does every work conducive to the good of the body, that is, one performs such *Yajñas* as *prāṇāyāma*, *oṃkāra kriyā* etc. and thus one becomes *deva*, that is, *Uttama Puruṣa*; *ṛtviḥam*, when the whole world is transformed into *Brahma* in the state of *samādhi*; *hotāram*, offering an oblation of *prāṇa* to *prāṇa* (*Gitā*, 4. 29); he is *ratna*, priceless thing, pure *Brahma*; *dhātāram*, that is, his soul becomes the all-pervading *Brahma* as the *Sāmaveda* says, *ṛtam bṛhat*, where there is neither *prāṇa* nor mind, that is, in *samādhi*.

(2) *Yajurveda*, 31. 18 :—*Vedāhametaṁ puruṣam mahāntam ādityavarṇam tamasaḥ parastāt. Tameva viditvā-timṛtyumeti nānyah panthā vidyate ayanāya*. Having known this *Puruṣa* through *yonī-mudrā* (a special process of yoga described in the *Tantras*), who looks like a sun beyond darkness, one realizes what death is, one becomes still (cf. 11

Penseroso, 40-2); this takes place in samādhi. This is panthā (the mystic path), and besides this there is no other path. This path is gained through the favour of a yogi Guru. This state is called by our Sādhus 'dying alive' and by the Christians 'dying to live'. The Sufi calls it 'fanā fi allāh baqābillah', dying in God is life eternal. This doctrine is referred to in one of the couplets from Maulana Rūmī, quoted above (cf. Nicholson, *Studies in Islāmic Mysticism*, p. 55).

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is inclined to shed tears over the degradation of one's country. This is another instance of how a man without being initiated by a yogī Guru is incapable of grasping the esoteric meaning of our śāstras (Gītā, 2. 29). Custom, uniformity and a sense of respectability have also a great influence on character. And lastly pride, "that never-failing vice of fools," prevents many from seeing the truth (Gītā, 18. 58). In an excellent book written by the Rev. W. L. Walker, entitled *Christian Theism and A Spiritual Monism*, (Clark, 2nd ed., p. 110) the author very sincerely says, 'That "God is Spirit" is a truth which many of us have been slow to learn. We seem to think that there is no God at all if we do not see, or are unable to picture to ourselves, the action of some external, or semi-material Being.'

(5) Yajurveda, 13 42 :--Vātasya jūtiṃ varuṇasya nābhima-
śvañjājñānaṃ sarirasya madhye. ..mā hiṃsi parame vyoman.
Vāta, vā, to blow, that which carries a man and merges him
in Brahma; its yuti, that which joins him with Brahma; then the ātmā remains conjoined with the paramātmā Brahma
and then it has no desire for anything—this is called yukta.
Varuṇasya nābhiḥ—varuṇa, the all-pervading Kūṭastha Brahma,
its navel,—nah, to bind; the wheel of the body, whose centre
(hub, as in "Boston State-House is the hub of the solar
system"—O. W. Holmes) where there is the samāna vāyu,
that is, where one being bound to this place of still Brahma
one naturally becomes king, that is, one has all his senses
under his control, and remaining where one feels a peculiar
kind of intoxication in which one remains conscious but at
the same time feels happy; maśvañjājñānaṃ,—mas, to
weigh, that is, to remain in the suṣumṇā, in the stillness of
samādhi, where there is no consciousness of any thing—to
acquire this jñāna. Sarirasya madhye—he who performs the
above mentioned yoga-kriyā is called a hero, in whom, that is,

in whose heart; mā himsi parame vyoman—he becomes the great Brahma, which is beyond this ākāśa (ether), that is, one becomes Brahma when one dwells in Brahma.

(6) Ṛgveda, 10. 109. 4-5 :—Parame vyoman brahmācārī carati vevīṣad viṣah sa devānā bhavat. A Brahmachārī goes into the paravyoma in the Kūṭastha; constantly dwelling in it he penetrates into it, he becomes one of the gods, that is, he attains sādṛśya mokṣa (liberation) in which one becomes like Brahma.

(7) Atharvaveda, 10. 8. 431—Puṇḍarīkaṃ navadvāraṃ ***brahmavido viduh. Puṇḍarīka, Kūṭastha, who is in this body, which has nine doors; that śiva, who has the marks of fire, water, and food and who is enveloped in the three guṇas of sattva, rajas and tamas—being enveloped in the rajoguṇa he is a yakṣa, that is, he hoards money and spends nothing. He dwells in his ātmā which Brahmavids call Brahma.

(8) Atharvaveda, 10. 10. 19 :—Ūrdhe bindurudacarat brahmaṇah*** hotājāyat. Ūrdhe—in the spot between the eye brows, contemplating the bindu (star), having learnt it from a Guru, one hears omkāra dhvani (etherial music), which is Brahma. Fixing one's mind on that music which is Brahma and which issues from the suṣuṃṇā, one controls all the tattvas (elements) and dwelling in the tattvas one becomes Hotā, Īśā, Lord, ātmā, which is all-pervading, and then everything is resolved into Brahma.

(9) Svetāśvataropaniṣad, 4. 18 :—Yadatamastunna divā na rātrirna sanna cāsacchiva eva kevalah. Those who perform yoga-kriyā have found such a place, that is, samadhi, where there is no darkness, where darkness is also visible : neither is there day, for nothing is to be seen there, nor night, for there

is no obscurity, where there is neither good nor evil, but only śiva, that is auspiciousness, final beatitude (cf. *Gītā*, 15. 6).

(10) *Rāmātāpinī Upaniṣad*, 12 :—*Mananāt trānān-mantram &c.* Stilling the restless mind by *prāṇāyāma* is the liberation of mind; every one says so; that is, *samādhi*.

(11) *Paramahamṣopaniṣad*, 3 :—*Ātmā ātmanyevāvati-ṣṭhate sa yatih saṃyogī jñānī pūrṇānanda ekarūpo ekarasah.* He who remains conjoined with the *ātmā* through yoga controls all the senses, and he is called a *yati*. Thus controlling the senses one becomes a *yogī*, that is, joins the *ātmā* to the *paramātmā*. When one becomes a *yogī* one becomes a *Brahmajñānī*, and having attained *jñāna* one attains to *Brahma*, and then one obtains full bliss and becomes one with *Brahma*.

(12) *Brhannārāyaṇopaniṣad* and *Ṛgveda*, 3. 62. 10 :—*Oṃ tat saviturvareṇyaṃ bhargo devasya dhīmahi dhiyo yo nah pracodayāt.* Let my *buddhi* (still, or concentrated, mind) be fixed on the *tat-brahmapada*, *Kūṭastha*, which is like the sun, in this *omkāra*-like body of mine (the *omkāra* is the symbol of the body; cf. Deussen, *The Philosophy of the Upanishads* (Eng. Tr.), p. 379).

(13) *Kāthopaniṣad* 2. 20, 22 :—*Aṇoraṇiyān mahato mahīyān ātmāsya jantor nihito guhāyām. Āsarīraṃ śarīreṣu anavastheṣvavasthitam. Mahāntam vibhum ātmānam matvā dhīro na śocati.* *Brahma* is the atom of atoms and as he is everywhere in the form of atoms he is the greatest of the great; having controlled the *ātmā* by the *ātmā* (i. e. by *prāṇāyāma*) and seen the star in the cave of light, that is, having seen the *Puruṣa* who has a bodiless body (i. e. an ethereal body), who always is—who is, when you are not; having thus regarded the *ātmā* as *mahat*, *vibhu*, *pandits* (i. e.

yogis) do not think, that is, look upon the world as full of ātmā—Brahma.

(14) Kathopaniṣad, 3. 14:—Kṣurasya dhārā nisītā duratyayā durgam pathastat kavayo vadanti. Aśabdamaś-parāmarūpamavyayaṁ tathārasaṁ nityamagandhavaccayat. Anādyanantaṁ mahataḥ paraṁ dhruvaṁ + + mṛtyumukhāt pramucyate.

The form of Brahma is subtler than the particles of the edge of a sharpened razor; to enter its surface, or to penetrate into it, or to transcend it, is difficult, that is, it is impossible to penetrate into it without being smaller than it, hence, unless one enters its foot, that is, itself, one cannot see all the powers through anubhava (intuition). Unless one becomes small by practising yoga (aṇimā, 'becoming as small as an atom' is one of the eight siddhis of yoga in Patañjali's Yoga Sūtra) one cannot see God's glory and majesty. It is strange that people desire things without deserving them. Hence poets have said, 'that is Brahma where after entering it they have become one with it'. Those who utter original things are poets. There is no way of expressing it in words when one becomes merged in it. Nor is it possible to touch him. When there is only one, who is to touch whom? Form also implies duality,—when there is only one where can there be form? How can there be destruction when there is no form in samādhi? Taste also implies duality; when there is only one there can be no taste. Hence it is a permanent taste in tastelessness. Similar is smell. Such a state is called Brahma. That which has no beginning is called mahat Brahma. He is surely beyond everything. Even if a man of low caste be in this state he escapes the jaws of death, for then there is nothing but Brahma; how can Brahma die?

(15) Dhyānabindu Upaniṣad, 5 :—Anāhatasya yat śabdam tasya śabdasya yat param Tatparam vindate yastu sa yogī chinnaśaṁsayah.

Anāhata—ten kinds of musical sounds, such as bhrāga (the humming of the large black bee), vīṇā (the Indian lute), venu (flute), ghaṇṭā (bell), megha (the rumbling of thunder), śiṃhanāda (the roaring of a lion), śaṅkha (sound of a conch-shell), dundubhi (sound of a large kettle-drum), turi (trumpet), bherī (kettle-drum), an—āhata, (struck), that which is not struck (unstruck music). These sounds issue from the middle of the 12-petalled lotus cakra of the heart (cf. R. Steiner, *Knowledge of The Higher Worlds*, Eng. tr., p. 135), which is the seat of Jīvātmā—a yogī, who, having heard them, enters into the stillness beyond them, and then passes beyond to another place where there is neither the light of the sun or moon, nor fire, yet everything is visible, has his doubts removed, that is, he has certainty of Brahmajñāna. References to these musical sounds are common in the mystic literature of every country. The songs of Indian saints are full of them. There are constant references to them in the literature of Sufis. Maulana Rūmī begins his Masnavi with the sound of the reed-flute. Hafiz refers to the sound of the bell. Tennyson uses this sound mystically in his *Enoch Arden* (in his note on p. 921 in *The Works of Tennyson* edited by his Son in one volume). Emily Brontë heard this 'mute music,' this 'unuttered harmony' (see Spurgeon's *Mysticism in Eng. Liter.*, p. 82). The sound of Kṛṣṇa's flute, which Lord Haldane sighed for, is still heard by those who have ears to hear. Paltu Das has a very beautiful and deeply mystical song beginning—

Bansi bāji gagan meñ magan bhayā man mor.—

Paltu Sahib ki Bani, Pt. I. p. 77 (Allahabad).

On hearing the sound of the flute in the heavens my mind was steeped in bliss.

(16) *Kaṭhopanīṣad*, 2-12 :—*Tandurdarśaṃ gūḍhamanu-praviṣṭaṃ guhāhitaṃ gahvaraṣṭhaṃ purāṇaṃ. Adhyātma-yogādhigamena devaṃ matvā dhīro harṣa śokau jahāti.*

Taṃ—that *Brahma*, who, in *saṃādhi*, is in an ineffable form in the *siddhāvasthā* ; *durdarśa*—that *Brahma*, who is far from the egoism of *māyā*, that is, from the desire of the fruit of works, *darśa-ḥ*, to see, that is, *Brahma* where there is darkness, where nothing can be seen on account of its subtlety; *gūḍha-gu*, to produce a sound in a special manner, that is, to hear *oṃkāra dhvani* (unstruck music), which is very sweet;—and who is enveloped in *māyā*, who is completely enveloped in *māyā* (in *idā*, *piṅgalā*, and the middle *nāḍī suṣumṇā*), so that his existence is imperceptible, as if he is concealed, but who becomes manifest in contemplation like clear *mahākāśa*. He is super-human and his attributes are also super-human. People remaining in the normal state want to see super-normal phenomena. One sees super-normal phenomena by being in a super-normal state—that is, through *anubhava*. *Anupraviṣṭaṃ*—(an, to exist) the *ātmā* penetrating into *Brahma*, who is everywhere, becomes all pervading, that is, sees *Brahma* in everything. *Guhāhitaṃ*—*guhā*—*gahvara*, the cave in the star, where one feels well, that is, life is prolonged by the suspension of breath, *gahvaraṣṭhaṃ purāṇaṃ*—one sees the *Purāṇa Puruṣa*, *Nārāyaṇa* (one who dwells in water, that is, *paravyoma*, which looks like sea-water; cf. *Śivāya jalarūpāya*) through *yogakriyā*, *adhyātma yogādhigamena devaṃ*, one attains to this *Puruṣa* through *yoga*, who is its Lord, *matvā dhīro harṣaśokau jahāti*, one attains tranquillity on attaining the *Puruṣa*, that is, in *saṃādhi*, one feels neither joy nor grief. Then everything is transmuted into *Brahma*.

Among the Darśanas the one that has been systematically distorted and misrepresented, so as to bring odium on the author, is the Sāṅkhya system of Kapila. That cobweb of historical criticism which has gathered round it in modern times, as to its genuineness, may be brushed away by the fact that my Guru, who, of all men that I know of, had the capacity to judge whether the *Sāṅkhya Sūtras* is genuine or not, has decided in its favour by commenting on it, and, as interpreted by him, it yields the highest truths of Hindu philosophy and religion consistent with the views of other schools. I shall now proceed to give extracts from his commentary, but the references in my book are not the same as in the published editions. This discrepancy is, so far as I have been able to ascertain from the oldest of my Guru's disciples now living here, is probably due to the negligence of the amanuenses of my Guru, who were ordinary men, not well-versed in the śāstras. This remark applies to all the books commented on by him. There are also variations of the texts and misprints.

Sāṅkhya Darśana—'Sāṅkhya' means jñāna, that is, the state of mind after yogakriyā, that is, samādhi; 'darśana,' the ascertainment of those internal processes by which samādhi is caused,—that is, vijñāna. First Chapter, 1st Sutra :—

Atha Sāṅkhyasāsanam. Trividhaduhkhanivṛttirarthah puruṣāpām. Atha trividhaduhkhātyantanivṛttiratyanta-puruṣārthah.

Artha = form; puruṣa = uttama puruṣa. After this explanation, that nivṛtti which transcends the three kinds of pain (ādhidaivika, ādhibhautika, ādhyātmika, which have been explained in the commentary on the Gītā, 8. 3—4) is puruṣārtha, and that is necessary. The object of the Sāṅkhya is to know oneself, that is, 'Soham Brahma' (I am Brahma). Ādhyātmika, ādhibhautika, ādhidaivika. The three horizontal lines in this

figure represent the three kinds of pain and the vertical line which crosses the three kinds of pain is vijñāna, or samādhi. When this state lasts for a short time it is called svalpa (short) nivṛtti (cessation from pain); when it lasts for a long time it is called adhika (long) nivṛtti, and when it lasts for all time without any cessation it is called atyanta nivṛtti.

Second sūtra :—Na dr̥ṣṭātat siddhir nivṛtṭepya-nuvṛttidarśanāt. Brahma (Uttama Puruṣa) cannot be seen with fleshly eyes and without seeing him one cannot obtain siddhi in anything. When one sees him the whole world is transformed into Brahma and then there are no desires; this desireless state is called siddhi. Who will see when there is no desire? Even though there be present desirelessness, it (desire) will arise at some other time. For example, one has a desire to eat sandeṣa (a kind of sweetmeats). A sannyasī restrains his present desire but it remains submerged in the mind; but one who has attained to Uttama Puruṣa and has become desireless—in him there is no emergence of desire in the present or future time. The ātmā is stilled by ātmakriyā (prāṇāyāma) and this state is called undecaying and immortal and this has been called Brahma, or Uttama Puruṣa in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad.

Fifth sūtra :—Utkarṣādapi mokṣasya sarvotkarṣaśruteh. Abiding in Brahma is called mokṣa, which is attained by drawing the prāṇa-vāyu upwards, thereby causing samādhi. Yogīs know through anubhava (intuition) parābuddhi, parāprakṛti. This is stated in the Vedas and the Upaniṣads. Then follows a quotation from the Kathopaniṣad 3-11 and a reference to the Gītā, 8-20.

cf. Maulana Rūmi :—

Khamush kun dar khamoshi jāñ kashad chun kahrobā
āñrā, Ki jānash must'd bāshad kashākashhāi bālā rā.

Keep silent, because in silence the soul attracts Him, as amber attracts a straw ; and because the soul of him who is silent becomes susceptible to attraction from above (the seat of God).

83rd sutra :—Yatsambaddham sat tadākārolekhi vijñānam tat pratyakṣam !

Yat—in samādhi, when the prāṇavāyu becomes conjoined with Brahma there is complete union, that is, it is attached and becomes one with Brahma. This complete mergence is spoken of in all the śāstras and this is called vijñāna, that is, a special kind of jñāna. This is beyond the compass of the senses, the (normal restless) mind and buddhi and ahaṅkāra (self-consciousness). This is parā buddhi, Brahma, which is illimitable, and this vijñāna is visible Brahma.

84th Sutra :—Yogināmabāhyapratyakṣatvāna doṣah.

He who is firmly established in dhāraṇā, dhyāna and samādhi is called a yogī. There is no harm in such a yogī's seeing within him spiritual phenomena, but there is harm in seeing outward objects. This latter is called asamatva, that is, good and evil, and in a state of samādhi there is samatva, that is, everything is Brahma. When everything is resolved into unity and one is in that all, who is to say that this is a fault and to whom Hence it is faultless. Kaṇāda says, ātmanyātmamanasoh saṃyogaviseṣādātmapratyakṣam, that is, performing yogakriyā—dhāraṇā, dhyāna and samādhi,—one becomes firmly established in the ātmā—this is called pratyakṣa; and Patañjali says, yogaścittavṛttinirodhaḥ, when the function of the mind is completely suspended, it is called yoga.

85th Sutra :—Līnavastulabdhātīśayasambandhādvā.

The mergence of the mind in Brahma is called attainment, that is, samādhi ; and to be deeply attached to it,

in other words, to be always and completely absorbed in it is *pratyakṣa*.

86th Sūtra :—*Īśvarāsiddheh*.

This is the crux of the whole system and the charge of atheism brought against it is based on this sūtra. But by this time the reader has, I believe, become aware of the tenor of the Sāṅkhya philosophy. It is wholly, as every other system of Hindu philosophy is, based on the experience of *yogis*. The mistake of lay commentators consists in taking 'siddhi' in the sense of logical proof, whereas, in its technical sense of yoga, it here means 'fulfilment of desire,' as in the other sūtras commented on above. Its explanation is as follows :—

Īśvara, in a state of *saṁādhi*, dwells tranquilly and steadily in the heart of every one, that is, there is stillness and tension from the heart to the head ; in that stillness and tranquillity in the crown of the head is the indescribable, ineffable *nirguṇa* *Brahma*. When one attains this state, this permanent and inviolable tranquillity, when everything is resolved into *Brahma*, one does not desire the fulfilment of any wish, because there is nothing but *Brahma* and there is no one to desire, as the individual ego is also lost in *Brahma*. This desireless state is *Īśvara* visible, that is, clearly perceptible in the state after *kriyā* (cf. I. P. Vol. I., p. 135). Compare also *Gītā*, 2. 55—72. Every sūtra of the Sāṅkhya is pregnant with a deep spiritual significance, but it is evident to one who has the discerning eye (*Gītā*, 13. 34). I am not sure whether this interpretation will appeal to the pandits of the East and the West, because it is too subtle for ordinary comprehension and presupposes in the reader a strange and unfamiliar experience. Moreover, prejudice dies hard. At any rate, it will stimulate thought and make people pause before they pronounce the Sāṅkhya to be

atheistic. It is a sin to call it so. It is only through ignorance that people do so. But to call it theistic will make Garbe turn in his grave.

87th Sūtra :—Muktabaddhayoranyatarābhāvānnatat siddhih.

When in a state of samādhi all things are known through anubhava one cannot be called mukta (liberated), neither is one in bondage, because one performs every work without attachment. When one is neither bound nor free, it must be some other peculiar state. Hence, it cannot be called siddhi, which means the fulfilment of something and thus implies duality. But in a state of samādhi, when everything is resolved into Brahma, there is no siddhi.

Third Chapter, 3 Sūtra :—Nirodhaśchardividhāraṇā-bhyām.

Nirodha, that is, Kumbhaka (retention of breath) is caused by expiration and inspiration. This sutra, as Max Müller says, is not borrowed from Pātañjala Yoga Sūtra (3rd sūtra, Samādhipāda), though it is similar to it. Yoga is rather the basis of all the systems of Hindu philosophy and all the Hindu Śāstras, as I have tried to show. The Ṛṣis and Munis were all yogis and the śāstras are the productions of their intuition.

Sixth Chapter, 106th Sūtra :—Samādhisuṣuptimokṣeṣu brahmaparatvam!

Samādhi, that is, the state after yogakriyā (intoxication). Suṣupti—deep intoxication. One who is always free from the three guṇas has attained Brahmarūpatva.

Note—That expression of Novalis—"The God intoxicated Spinoza" is an intuition of genius and truly expresses the nature of one who is steeped in the universal spirit of God. He is literally intoxicated and the mystics of all ages and countries have spoken of Him as such. The Vedas are full

The definitions of the above being too long are omitted here.

Āptopadeśah śabdah.—1. 1. 7.

Āpta, those who have attained, that is, those who are always in samādhi. When this is done everything is obtained, because then there being no desire everything appears as mine. What upadeśa (upa, another, dis, place) they give, that is, believing in what they say and going into samādhi after yogakriyā the sound one hears is śabda, that is, hearing words spoken at a distance and so forth.

Samādhiviśeṣābhyāsāt—4. 2. 38.

Tattvajñāna is the result of a special yoga practice called samādhi.

Tattvajñāna is the state after kriyā, that is, samādhi.

Aranyaguhāpulinādīṣu yogābhyāsopadeśah —4. 2.

When yoga is performed in a forest, a cave, or on a sand-bank, where is the fruit of the works of a previous birth? Dharma is the result of yoga practice in a previous birth, that is, one is impelled to practise yoga in a subsequent birth (cf. Gītā, 6. 44-5) and after practising yoga one gains proficiency in it and attains samādhi, which is the cause of tattvajñāna. When the ego is lost, there is no consciousness of siddhis. That is why one says, 'I do not know where I am' (cf Wordsworth's Ode on Immortality, 4. 144-5).

I shall now give a few extracts from the *Patañjali Yoga Sūtras*, so that the reader may compare them with the numerous commentaries on them by others, who know nothing of practical yoga and have never dreamt of realising what Patañjali has said in his work. I could tell many anecdotes of my Guru's practical realization of the principles

atah, this; dharmma, work without desire for its fruit. Now, as much as is practicable, I shall say about dharma, for, unless something is carried into effect, nothing is done. Merely talking about a subject is useless, just as one cannot satisfy one's hunger merely by learning how to bake bread. All the darśanas have been seen through yoga-anubhava (intuition). Merely by reading them one cannot attain to them, as he (Kaṇāda) will shortly explain.

What is anubhava and how does it come about? As one becomes conscious of external objects by the sense of touch, which is vāyu in the body, Parabrahma is perceived through the energy of Brahma. Brahma and his Energy are both indescribable. When the vāyu within the body becomes still, one feels the ether, and this ether becomes merged in Brahma. Through the extraordinary energy of Brahma the present, past and future movements of objects through time one suddenly comes to know by intuition. This description applies also to forms, tastes, smell and sounds. The past, present and future are illusory, for the past in time is already gone, and hence time is an illusion, for all moving objects are transient. Then the opposite of motion, is motionlessness, stability, permanence, which is Brahma. Like-wise the future is also illusory and the present on account of its subtlety is almost nil. If you want to escape death you should free yourself from the movement of time and take refuge in the stability of samādhi.

Yatobhyudaya niḥśreyasa siddhiḥ sa dharmmah—I. 1.2.

Yatah, by means of which, that is, yogakriyā by which the mind is tranquillized; when the citta and mind become one, buddhi is tranquillized and when buddhi becomes still the mind enters parābuddhi and this one being in close touch with Brahma attains abhyudaya—abhi, long and udaya, to grow. This growth is not like the growth of

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of yoga but they would not be credited by sceptics and agnostics like Mr. Radhakrishnan and his 'great thinkers.'

Atha yogānuśāsanam.—1. 1.

Now Patañjali explains what yoga is. Fixing one's mind on the bindu (the star that is visible in the Kūṭastha) one becomes totally unconscious of everything else; the state of avarodha (suspension of breath) which results from this is called samādhi. It is called samprajñāta when it is accompanied by reflection, and when it is not so, that is, is vacant, it is asamprajñāta.

Yogaścittavṛttinirodhah.—1. 2.

When all the modifications of the citta (restless mind) are completely suspended without any effort and involuntarily, it is called yoga. The Jñānasaṅkalinī Tantra expresses the same idea thus :—

Na dhyānaṃ dhyānmitiāhurdhyānaṃ nirvisayaṃ manah.

Tasya dhyānaprasādena saukhyaṃ mokṣaṃ na saṃśayah.

That is dhyāna when the mind becomes vacant. Bliss and liberation, no doubt, result from such dhyāna.

Again it defines yoga thus :—

Sarvacintāparityāgo niśchinto yoga ucyate.

Complete suspension of the operation of the mind, an irreflective state of mind, is yoga.

Such a state of mind is inconceivable to Western thinkers. They assert with great confidence that the mind can never be emptied of all its contents, though Goldsmith speaks of it in his *Deserted Village*, 6. 122 :—

“And the loud laugh that spoke the vacant mind.”

Prof. Haler, in his note on this line in the *Longer English Poems*, quotes a parallel passage from Shakespeare's *Henry V*, IV, 1. 286 :—

“The wretched slave

Who with a body fill'd and *vacant mind*

Gets him to rest. ”

The whole of this passage is worth reading in the original, as it shows that even great men have to empty their minds of all thoughts before they can go to rest. When some body asked Gladstone how he preserved his health even at so advanced an age as his he replied that the secret was nothing but laying aside all the cares of the state when going to sleep. Who does not remember Wordsworth's lament over his loss of sleep in the sonnet beginning—“A flock of sleep that leisurely pass by, one after one,” and Coleridge's grand apostrophe to Sleep in his *Ancient Mariner*, l. 292 ? See also Turner's note on the former poem in his *Selections from Wordsworth*. So even great thinkers have to cease thinking before going to bed. Yet, Mr. Radhakrishnan says the very contrary in his I P., Vol. I., p. 155 and Vol. II., p. 321. Dr. Stratton, who, in his *Psychology of the Religious Life*, p. 199, quotes a passage from the *Bhagavadgītā*, where it is enjoined that the meditator should not think, seems to be perplexed, as his note of admiration shows. The same objection has been made by Dr. J. Caird in his *Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion*, p. 147. But he forgot what he had himself quoted from Wordsworth on p. 25, where he says, “Thought was not, in enjoyment it expired.” Mr. Radhakrishnan, following in their wake, says in Vol. I, p. 40, “Even an infinitely superior mind is yet a mind and of the same mould as man's.” This shows conclusively his ignorance in religious matters. It is a pity that such men should set themselves up as our teachers in religion, which they have never practised. Prof. Pringle Pattison's advice, which I quoted in my former article, that a man, who wants to know something about religion, should go to a religious man, who

has practical experience of it, and not to a philosopher, who only spins theories about it, is very sound.

If Mr. Radhakrishnan had the humility to go to a yogî Guru, he would have been told that one who has a restless mind is not a yogî. This may perplex him, but it is a fact borne out by the experience of yogîs, who have recorded their experience in the gāstras, which he may not believe. The *Jñāna Saṅkalinī Tantra* says—‘Cale citte vaset śaktih sthire citte vaset śivah’, that is, the restless mind constitutes a man and the stable mind makes a yogî. Yogîs do not think, they see. Hence the significance of the term Darśana, that is, vision in the vijñāna-avasthā. This is also the divya cakṣu of Śrī Ānanda Ācārya, *Brahma Darśanam*, p. 4. There is no “beautiful vagueness” in it, as Mr. Radhakrishnan says in his work. It is ‘clearness divine.’ This is the difference between a seer and a thinker. The seer is all sight. (Cf. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 42). Traherne, while speaking of the divya cakṣu (divine eye), says—

“And yet I

Forgot the rest, and was all Sight or Eye,

Unbody’d and devoid of Care,

Just as in Heav’n the Holy Angels are.”—Poems of Felicity, p. 14.

Tadā draṣṭuh svarupāvasthānām.—1-3.

Then one remaining in oneself will see oneself in the form of cit. In the state of samādhi one remains in the form of Puruṣa, a spectator.

Śabdajñānānupāti vastuṅnyo vikalpah —1-9.

That knowledge, which arises from words, is likewise, that is, something is proved in words but is wanting in substance and is merely fictitious.

The literature of the saints of India is full of the disparagement of such jñāna, and such men are called *vācakajñāni* and *vitaṇḍi*. But the market is now full of the works of such men. They make a good profit out of this trade.

Tatra niratiśayaṃ sarvajñabijam.—1-25.

There is the seed of complete omniscience in *Īśvara*, that is, one who is absorbed in Him acquires omniscience. This is called *Kāṣṭhā*.

Tasya vācakah praṇavaḥ.—1. 27.

The word which expresses Him is *praṇava*. Just as a burning candle is self-luminous, so in the state of *samādhi*, *praṇava*, that is *oṃkāradhvani* (unstruck music), is heard of itself.

Pracchardana vidhāraṇābhyāṃ vā prāṇasya.—1. 34.

Tranquillity of mind is caused also by *prāṇāyāma*. *Pracchardana* is inhaling the *vāyu* in the stomach through the nostrils with care and by a particular process; and is followed by expiration. This is called *prāṇāyāma*. This process has to be learnt from a Guru (and not from a book on yoga).

This *sūtra* should be compared with the *Sāṅkhya Sūtra* 3. 31, and the *Vaiśeṣika Sūtra*, 2. 1. 16, explained above. The similarity in the processes of these systems shows the common origin of all from yoga. The *Vedānta* and *Nyāya* systems also presuppose a practical knowledge of yoga. Hence my contention that no one can understand our *śāstras* without being a yogi

Paramāṇuparamamahattvāntosya vaśīkārah.—1. 40.

In this way a yogi attains the highest degree of smallness as well as largeness. In this manner the author shows the degree of the tranquillity attained by the mind of a yogi.

Sūkṣmaviśayatvañcālīṅga paryavasānam—1. 45.

What is subtle, or fine ? An earthy atom of smell is a tanmātra, the taste of water is a tanmātra, the form of light is a tanmātra, the tactile property of vāyu is a tanmātra, and the sound of ākāśa is a tanmātra. These are subtle things. There is nothing more subtle than alīnga entities. Hence, subtlety is the essence, and the pradhāna-puruṣa is subtlety itself (cf. Gītā, 13.15).

Tasyāpi nirodhe sarvanirodhānnirbījah samādhiḥ.—1.51.

Gradually when these saṃskāras are also restrained they become merged in Brahma and nirbīja samādhi results, that is, when even these saṃskāras are lost Puruṣa gains his own form. This is called śuddhi and mukti (liberation).

The Mīmāṃsā sūtra of Jaimini, which is concerned with Vedic ritual, has not been commented upon by my Guru. Only a summary of it has been given and an esoteric interpretation of the various yajñas mentioned in it is all that we have. I therefore omit it altogether in my survey of Hindu philosophy.

I shall now finish this already too long paper with a few extracts from my Guru's commentary on the Vedānta Sūtras, on which he has lavished all the wealth of his transcendent genius. It must have cost him years of hard labour for which he received no remuneration except the everlasting gratitude of his devoted disciples. It is a work of inestimable worth and unique in its interpretation. It is original from beginning to end. All the Vedas and most of the Upaniṣads have been abundantly quoted to illustrate the principles of the Vedānta. It thus shows the continuity of the Vedānta doctrine of absolute monism from the earliest times to the present day. Ignorant people who do not understand the meaning of the Vedas only say that they contain the crude thoughts of the ancient Ṛsis. Nor is there any gap between the time of the Vedas and that

of the Bādarāyaṇa Sūtras. The same stream of thought is uninterrupted throughout the whole course of Hindu philosophy. But this unity of thought can be detected only by one who has reached unity in Brahma. This philosophy has long been the monopoly of the sādhus and the initiates of India. It was never made public. It was privately taught by the yogīs of India to their disciples and never committed to writing. It was only by a happy coincidence of circumstances that my Guru wrote it, or rather dictated it, for the benefit of his disciples. Seeing that there is much misrepresentation and misinterpretation of the Hindu śāstras I have thought it advisable to lay it before the public. I have also my Guru's permission to do so. As a wave of spirituality is now sweeping over the whole world, it would not be improper to give it an impetus by publishing it in these articles of mine. In conclusion, I would like to say that my Guru did not discard the exoteric interpretation of the Vedas. But he accentuated the esoteric side, because it has been completely lost sight of by lay scholars and commentators. Moreover, his mission was the revival of the ancient spirituality of the Aryans, which is enshrined in the works they have left behind.

Vedānta—the meaning of the word *veda* is to know and the word *anta* means end, that is, the end of knowledge, or cognition; when this state is attained there remains nothing to know (cf. Gītā, 7. 2), because in samādhi the ego is merged in Brahma and thus the whole world being transformed into Brahma, there is nothing to know. [This is the esoteric meaning of 'vedānta,' as opposed to the exoteric meaning 'the end of the Vedas.']

Athāto brahmajijñāsā —I. 1. 1.

Meaning of the sutra :—To desire to know Brahma after the four sādhanas is brahmajijñāsā.

Atha,—a word of good omen in beginning something; atah, the desire to know Brahma arose in the mind; who is śārīraka, and dwells in this body and who is the brahmasūtra and is the cause of this body, which sūtra is the all-pervading ātmā. When he is everywhere there is no ego, and when I am not, there is nothing and there is no jijñāsā (enquiry).

What is the object of brahmajijñāsā? To know who I am, that is, to know that I myself am Brahma. How is this knowledge possible? By reflecting on the subject one comes to the conclusion that prāṇa alone is real; when there is prāṇa everything is real; without prāṇa nothing is apprehended. That state, when the mind is in everything, is called jñāna, which is called ajñāna. Illustration—Chāndogya Upaniṣad: Ajñānam yādṛśa eva aṅgirasah. [This is obviously a misquotation from the Chāndogya Upaniṣad, 1. 2. 10. It is difficult to guess what the original quotation was]. Then it follows that ātmajñāna is jñāna. What is ātmā? It was before, as in the Aitareya Upaniṣad, 1. 1. 1.: ātmaivedameka evāgra āsīt. The ātmā is ākāśa, as in the Taittirīya Upaniṣad, 1. 2. 1:—ākāśa ātmā. But as ākāśa is not visible, how is it possible to cultivate it by yoga practice? It can be cultivated in four ways—by seeing, hearing, meditation and nididhyāsana (samādhi). Can the ākāśa-like ātmā be seen and heard? Yes, as in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, 2. 4. 5: draṣṭavyah śrotavyo mantavyo nididhyāsitavyah. What is to be seen? Akṣara, as in the Vājasaneyopaniṣad:—akṣaram satyam iti. What is akṣara? Kṣara means destruction, akṣara is that which is indestructible. What is that? That is Brahma Param, as in the Gītā, 8. 3:—akṣaram brahma param. He is Īśa, as in the Vājasaneyopaniṣad, 1:—Īśāvāsyamidam sarvam yatkiṇca jagatyām jagat. This body is oṃkāra, and the akṣara which is in it is Brahma, as in the Kaṭhapaniṣad, 2. 16:—etaddhi cākṣaram brahma. Knowing this one goes to Brahmāloka, as in the same Upaniṣad,

2. 17 :—*etadālabhanam jñātvā brahmaloke mahīyate*. In the same Upaniṣad, 2. 18, it is also said, *ajo nityah śāśvato-yaṃ purāṇah*. Of what kind is he ? Id. 2. 20 :—*Anoraṇiyan mahato mahīyān ātmāsya jantor nihito guhāyām*. Where is the guhā (cave) in this body ? That is the place which the Guru teaches his disciple to see. Going into it one gains-immortality, as in the Praśnopaniṣad, 8. 7 :—*yattacchānta-majaramṛtam* etc. This is called Kūṭastha as in the Kaṭha Upaniṣad, 1. 14 :—*ananta lokāptimathopratiṣṭhāmvi dhi tvamedatn nibitam guhāyām*. In the same Upaniṣad, 3. 1 again it is said, *guhām praviṣṭam parame parārdhe*. What is this guhā ? It is the place where everything can be known, as in the Muṇḍakopaniṣad, 2. 1. 10 :—*puruṣa evedaṃ viśvaṃ karma tapo brahma parāmṛtam. etad yo veda nihitam guhāyām sovidyāgranthim vikiratiha somya*. Can this guhā be seen with the physical eyes ? No, as in the Talavakāropaniṣad, 6 :—*Yaccakṣuṣā na paśyati yena cakṣuṃṣi paśyati*. Is it then to be seen with an internal nāḍi ? Yes, as in the Kaṭhopaniṣad, 6. 16 :—*śatañcaikā ca hṛdayasya nāḍyastāsām mūrdhānamabhinirṣṭaikā, tayordhmāyannamṛtatvameti viśvananyā utkramaṇe bhavanti*. What is there within it ? Is the Puruṣa seen there ? Yes, as in the Vājasaneyya Upaniṣad, 16. What is the path leading to it ? And what does one gain by going there ? Penetrating into the atom-like Brahma one becomes free from joy and sorrow, as in the Kaṭhopaniṣad, 2. 12. If this is gati, what is parāgati ? The Kaṭhopaniṣad, 3. 9. again says, *viññānasārathih...sā parāgatih*. All this cannot be seen without prāṇa. How does prāṇa live in the body ? Prāṇa and apāna both dwell in the stable Brahma which is their stay and support, as is said in the Kaṭhopaniṣad, 5. 3. In the same Upaniṣad, 5. 5, it is further said—*na prāṇena nāpānena marttyo jīvati kaścana itareṇa tu jīvati yasminnetāvupaśritau*.

Can prāṇa be taken into another's body ? Yes. But how ? That kriyā (process) is communicated by the Guru to any

body with great difficulty, as the Kāthopaniṣad, 6. 17, says, aṅguṣṭhamātraḥ puruṣantarātmā sadā janānām hr̥di sanniviṣṭaḥ. Taṃ svāccharīrāt prab̥hen muñjādiveṣikāṃ dhvairyēṇa &c. What is the state of a man's mind when he attains vijñāna? It is always pure, as the Kāthopaniṣad 3. 8, says,—yastu vijñānavān bhavati samanaskaḥ sadā śuciḥ. How do they see it? The Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad, 2. 2. 9 says,—hiraṇmaye pare koṣe virajaṃ brahma niṣkalam. tacchubhraṃ jyotiṣāṃ jyotistad yadātmavido viduḥ. Is all this seen in the ākāśa? No, in paravyoma, as the Brahmasānandavalli of the Taittirīya Upaniṣad, 2. 1. 1 says,—satyaṃ jñānāmanantaṃ brahma yo veda nihitam guhāyāṃ parama vyoman. What is to be seen in that guhā? Akāśa is seen, as the Vājasaneyya Upaniṣad, 15, says, hiraṇmayena pātreṇa satyasyāpihitam mukham. What is that? That is mahat, as the Taittirīya Upaniṣad, 1. 5. 1, says, sa brahma, sa ātmā, iti ādityaḥ. Is union with it called yoga? Yes, as the Kāthopaniṣad 6. 11, says, tāṃ yogamiti manyante sthīrāmindriya-dhāraṇām apramattastadā bhavati yogo hi prabhavāpyayam. This vidyā is parā vidyā. Vidyā is of two kinds—parā cāparā ca, as the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad, 1. 4—5, says; aparāvidyā—Rk, Yajus, Sāma, Atharvaveda, Śikṣā, Kalpa, Vyākaraṇa, Nirukta, Chandas, and Jyauṭiṣa; parāvidyā—atha parā yayā tad akṣaramadhighamyate. Reading and yogakriyā are the functions of vāyu. What is it then I cannot understand: That is Brahma, as the Taittirīya Upaniṣad, 1. 1, says, namaste vāyo tvameva pratyakṣaṃ brahmāsi. tvāmeva pratyakṣaṃ brahma vadiṣyāmi rtaṃ vadiṣyāmi satyaṃ vadiṣyāmi &c. What does one gain by performing this vāyukriyā? One becomes omniscient, as the Praśna Upaniṣad, 4. 10, says, Vijñānātmā saha devaiṣca sarvaiḥ prāṇā bhūtāni sampratiṣṭhanti yatra, tadakṣaram vedayate yastu somya so sarvajñaḥ sarvamevāviveśeti.

Here ends my Guru's commentary on the first sūtra of the Vedānta, on which there are numerous commentaries, but

all by men who were not yogīs, and therefore not competent to deal with it adequately. It is only an omniscient yogī who can correctly and adequately interpret the statements of omniscient yogīs. Fools may deny them such a power but those who have come in close contact with them know positively that they do possess this power. The śāstras constantly mention it with reference to yogīs. Mr. Radhakrishnan himself has stated it in many places of his I. P. An ounce of fact is worth more than a pound of theory. People will have the less difficulty in believing it now, as two books of outstanding merit—I mean Osty's and Geley's—have confirmed what I said about my Guru in my last article on Indian Pantheism. My Guru has given in a nut-shell the philosophy of the Vedānta and it will be noted at a glance that the fabric of Hindu religion and philosophy rests on the same foundation laid by the Ṛṣis and Yogīs of India, whose race continues from the earliest times of the Vedas to the present day, and, if we are to believe in our śāstras, will do so till the end of time. Those who minimise the importance of yoga do so partly through ignorance, but more from self-interest. They want to push the sale of their books by trying to persuade the public that their lucubrations on religion are gospel truth, but which in reality are no more than *obiter dicta*, or random guesses by irresponsible and unauthorized people, because they have no first-hand experience of religion in its highest sense, as expounded above. Most of the writers on religion in these days are professional men, who trade in it. I therefore warn the public against supposing them to be inspired prophets and seers who have attained brahmajñāna through yoga. They have only a smattering knowledge of its surface theory, which they have picked up from the ordinary books on yoga, but have no practical experience of it. Hence they make ridiculously false statements about our religion, which

every initiate can expose in a minute. As another critic, Mr. Mahesh Chandra Ghosh, has exposed the inaccuracies of many of the historical facts stated by Mr. Radhakrishnan so I warn the public against taking his guesses at religion to be true. They are the vapourings of the heated imagination of an ambitious young man, who wants to make a name in the world. May I now ask a question of him? Will the cumulative evidence, as given above from the Upaniṣads, suffice for the case of the Ṛṣis? Let Mr. Radhakrishnan answer. If quotations were heaped upon quotations, like Ossa upon Pelion, they would not bring conviction to a sceptical mind. Bacon says, "It is true that a little philosophy inclineth man's mind to atheism; but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds about to religion." So says also Pope—

"A little learning is a dangerous thing;

Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring."

The truth of religion can be brought home to such a temperament only by the divine powers of a great Guru and the verification of the utterances of the śāstras by one's own Yoga experience. But such Gurus are as rare (Gītā 7 19) as the Huma of Persian mythology. They are few and far between. It does not fall to the lot of every one to come across such Gurus. The accumulated good works of many past lives must come to the help of one before one can meet with such a Guru (cf. I. P., Vol. II., p. 311). I cannot help relating here an anecdote of my Guru, even at the risk of being laughed at by sceptics and agnostics, whom Carlyle contemptuously called "know-nothing philosophers", and whose pretensions were exposed by Dr. J. Ward in his Gifford Lectures on *Naturalism and Agnosticism*. There was here, at Benares, a well known Government Official at whose palatial house respectable people from Bengal used to put up when they came here to pay a visit to their Guru.

They used to tell him of the wonderful powers possessed by their Guru. He would laugh at them and call them credulous people. One day this gentleman, who was well acquainted with my Guru from his childhood upwards, came to him and jestingly asked him, as did Pilate of Christ, to show him his God. He asked him to come and sit in front of him and look steadily at him. In less than a minute he rolled down the wooden cot on which he was sitting, with a cry of pain, and became unconscious. When he recovered his senses by the good offices of my Guru, he fell at his feet and became his disciple there and then. Such stories are old of all our Indian saints. The well-known biography of Chaitanya is full of them. I have a photo, now faded, of an old print in which Kabir is represented as sitting at his loom, while Dharam Das, his son, is sitting on his right and Sher Shah, with folded hands, on the left. Tradition says that Sher Shah, then Emperor of Delhi, being offended with Kabir's heretical opinions, ordered him to be trampled under the foot of an elephant. But he was miraculously saved. He then cursed Sher Shah, who was shortly afterwards deposed and came to Kabir to beg his pardon. Such miraculous acts are also recorded of moslem saints, which have been narrated by Prof. Nicholson in his very instructive book *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*.

Mr. Radhakrishnan's object in writing his *Indian Philosophy* was not at all religious, or spiritual. It was evidently a commercial venture. I do not believe that it is a labour of love, as one of his reviewers (U. C. D.) suggests. It was prompted by an insatiable desire for fame ("That last infirmity of noble mind"). From the worldly point of view it may be a success, but from the spiritual point of view it is a complete failure. But what does the author care? Honours and emoluments are being showered upon him and he has secured all that he wanted. We do no

with his ministers, despatched Sumantra to bring his priests and preceptors (I. 8, 3-4). Having duly honored them, communicated his desire to perform a Horse-Sacrifice for getting a son (I. 8, 7-9). Being pleased with the assurance given by the priests, directed his officers to make arrangements for the celebration of the sacrifice (I. 8, 13-19). Having dismissed the officers and priests, entered the inner apartments and asked the intimate ones among the queens to get initiated for the sacrifice (I. 8, 23-24). Heard from Sumantra that according to a prophecy of Sanat Kumāra, R̥ṣyaśṛṅga would prescribe means for his begetting a son (I. 9, 19). Enquired of Sumantra how R̥ṣyaśṛṅga was brought to the house of Romapāda (I. 9, 20). सुधार्मिकः, श्रीमान्, सत्यप्रतिश्रवः (I. 11, 2). Contracted friendship with the Rājā of the Aṅgas (I. 11, 3). Paid a visit to King Romapāda and requested him to allow his son-in-law R̥ṣyaśṛṅga to perform a sacrifice for him, so that he (Daśaratha) might get a son (I. 11, 4-10). पुरुषशार्दूलः (I. 11, 12). Acting on the suggestion of Sumantra (I. 11, 12) took the permission of Vasiṣṭha and went to the Aṅgas accompanied by his harem and the court (I. 11, 13-15). Found R̥ṣyaśṛṅga seated beside Romapāda (I. 11, 15-16). Cordially received and formally introduced to R̥ṣyaśṛṅga by Romapāda (I. 11, 16-18). After making a stay of seven or eight days proposed that Śāntā and R̥ṣyaśṛṅga should pay a visit to his city on an important piece of business (I. 11, 18-20). Taking leave of Romapāda started for his own city accompanied by the queens (I. 11, 22-23). Sent words to the citizens to extend a public reception to R̥ṣyaśṛṅga (I. 11, 24-25). Public arrival of Daśaratha at Ayodhyā (I. 11, 26-28). इन्द्रकर्मा (I. 11, 28). Received R̥ṣyaśṛṅga in the inner apartments (I. 11, 29). After some time on the approach of the vernal season, thought of celebrating the sacrifice (I. 12, 1). Formally requested R̥ṣyaśṛṅga to officiate as

the High Priest (I. 12. 2). Sent Sumantra to fetch Suyajña, Vāmadeva, Jābali etc. (I. 12, 5-6). Having received them communicated his desire to celebrate the Horse-Sacrifice for getting sons (I. 12, 7-10). The priests having assured him that he would get four sons (I. 12, 10-13) asked the courtiers to make the necessary arrangements for holding the sacrificial session (I. 12, 14-19). Entered the harem after dismissing the priests and the courtiers (I. 12, 21-22). Next spring approached Vasiṣṭha and entrusted him with the duty of making the preliminary arrangements (I. 13, 1-4). वीर्यवान् (I. 13, 1). राजसिंहः (I. 13, 24; 25). नरव्याघ्रः, राजसत्तमः (I. 13, 36). The arrangements being complete, proceeded to the sacrificial grounds at the request of Vasiṣṭha and Rṣyaśṛṅga (I. 13, 35-39). On arrival, was initiated with his wives (I. 13, 41). For the expiation of his sins, smelt the smoke of the marrow (वपा) of the sacrificial horse offered to the fire (I. 14, 37). पुरुषर्षभः, कुलवर्धनः (I. 14, 45). Bestowed landed properties on the officiating priests (I. 14, 42-45). श्रीमान्, इच्छाकुलन्दनः, गतकिल्बिषः (I. 14, 46). At their express desire (I. 14, 46-49) paid them in cash and kind in place of landed property (I. 14, 50-52). Gave away much wealth in charity to the assembled Brāhmaṇas (I. 14, 53-55). द्विजवत्सलः (I. 14, 55). Congratulated by the assembled Brāhmaṇas (I. 14, 55-57). नृवीरः (I. 14, 57). At last asked Rṣyaśṛṅga to arrange for the continuance of the line (I. 14, 58-59). Was highly gratified at the words of assurance uttered by the sage (I. 14, 59-60). धर्मज्ञः, वदान्यः, महर्षिसमतेजाः (I. 15, 20). Viṣṇu having divided his own self into four parts, decided to take birth as the sons of— (I. 15, 31-32; 16, 8). महाद्युतिः, पुत्रेप्सुः, अरिसूदनः (I. 16, 9). Respectfully received the Prājāpatya man who appeared at the end of the Sacrifice performed for getting a son (पुत्रेष्टिः) (I. 16, 17). Respectfully received the cup containing milk-rice from the hands of the Prājāpatya man (I. 16, 21-23).

Gave a half of the contents of the cup to Kāusalyā, a quarter to Sumitrā and the remaining portion to Kaikeyi (I. 16, 26-29). Was much pleased to learn that his wives had conceived (I. 16, 32). On the conclusion of the sacrifice returned to his capital with his wives, servants etc. (I. 18, 1-2). **महात्मा** (I. 18, 1). Entered the town preceded by the Brāhmaṇas (I. 18, 5). **धीमान्** (I. 18, 6). Having dismissed all, spent his time in the pleasant expectation of getting children (I. 18, 7). Four sons were born to him (I. 18, 16). Munificently rewarded the Sūtas, Māgadhas, Bandis etc. as well as the Brāhmaṇas (I. 18, 20). Performed the naming ceremony on the twelfth day and also other allied ceremonies (I. 18, 21-24). Was extremely delighted in having such meritorious sons (I. 18, 33-34). Thought of getting them married (I. 18, 37-38). Formally received the great sage Viśvāmitra (I. 18, 39-44). After mutual greetings took their seats (I. 18, 45-49). In guarded language asked Viśvāmitra to state his business (I. 18, 49-58). **परमोदारः** (I. 18, 50). On hearing the proposal of Viśvāmitra (I. 19, 2-19) was overwhelmed with grief (I. 19, 20-22). **राजसिंहः, राजशार्दूलः, महावंशप्रसूतः, वसिष्ठव्यपदेशी** (I. 19, 2). Politely rejected the proposal of the Ṛṣi, offering his own services in lieu of Rāma (I. 20, 1-15). Daśaratha's age was at that time 60,000 years (I. 20, 10). When told who those Rākṣasas were (I. 20, 15-19) flatly refused to send Rāma alone, repeating his offer (I. 20, 20-27). At last persuaded by Vasiṣṭha (I. 21, 5-21) yielded (I. 21, 22). **साक्षाद्धर्म इवापरः, धृतिमान्, सुव्रतः, श्रीमान्** (I. 21, 6). **त्रिषु लोकेषु विख्यातः, धर्मात्मा** (I. 21, 7). **रघुवृषभः, प्रथितयशः** (I. 21, 22). Sent for Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa and after performing the *Svastyayana* ceremony, quietly handed them over to Viśvāmitra (I. 22, 1-3). On hearing from the mouth of the ambassadors sent by the Janaka about the success achieved by Rāma in breaking the bow and the impending marriage of Rāma

(I. 68, 2-13) was beside himself with joy and consulted Vasiṣṭha, Vāmadeva, etc. regarding this proposal (I.68,14-17). **देवसंकाशः, वृद्धः** (I. 68, 2). The counsellors having approved of the match (I. 68, 17) announced his intention of starting for Mithilā the very next day (I. 68, 17-18). On the following morning gave the necessary directions to Sumantra in connection with the progress (I. 69, 1-5). Reached Videha on the fifth day, accompanied by his army and priests (I. 69, 6-7). Warmly received by the Janaka (I. 69, 7). In reply to the Janaka's proposal to celebrate the marriage on the day following (I. 69, 8-13) gave his consent. **वाक्यविदां श्रेष्ठः** (I. 69. 14-15). Spent the night in great joy with his sons (I. 69. 17-18). **अमितप्रभः** (I. 70, 11). **दुर्धर्षः** (I.70,12). Having been sent for by the Janaka (I. 70 13-14) proceeded to the spot where he was waiting, accompanied by his sons and priests (I. 70, 14-15). Announced that the sage Vasiṣṭha would recite the genealogical table of his family (I.70,16-18). Son of Aja and father of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (I. 70, 43). The Janaka having consented to bestow the two daughters of Kuśadhvaṇa in marriage on Bharata and Śatrughna (I. 72, 11-12) asked permission to retire to perform the Śrāddha ceremony. **महायशः** (I. 72, 17-20). Performed the Śrāddha ceremony in accordance with the prescribed rites, and on the day following made gifts of numerous cows to Brāhmaṇas for the welfare of his sons (I. 72, 21-25). Warmly received his brother-in-law, Prince Yudhājit of Kekaya (I. 73, 1-7). Next morning proceeded to the sacrificial area accompanied by the Rṣis. **तत्त्वचित्** (I. 73, 8). Retired after witnessing the marriage ceremony of his sons (I. 73, 40). Next morning taking leave of the Janaka, started for Ayodhyā accompanied by the sages and the Princes (I. 74, 6 8). On the way enquired of Vasiṣṭha about the significance of the screaming birds and the perambulating deer (I. 74, 8-11) **नरव्याघ्रः** (I. 74, 8). **राजार्दुशलः** (I. 74, 10). Kept steady

during the disturbance in nature produced by the approaching Paraṣu-Rāma (I. 74, 15). In sweet words tried to persuade Paraṣu-Rāma to refrain from fighting Rāma who was a mere boy (I.75,5-9). On the departure of Paraṣu-Rāma, fondled and caressed his son and led his army to Ayodhyā (I. 77, 4-9). Warmly received by his subjects, entered the palace with the Princes where they were honored by the members of the family (I. 77, 9-10). श्रीमान् (I. 77, 9). Permitted Bharata to go to Kekaya with his maternal uncle (I. 77, 15-17). Taken care of by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. देवसंकाशः (I. 77, 20-21).

Thought continually about his absentee sons, Bharata and Satrugna. महातेजाः (II. 1, 4). Loved equally all his four sons, but loved Rāma most tenderly on account of his various qualities (II.1,5-6). Finding him thus endowed with all good qualities, resolved to appoint him the Crown Prince (II. 1, 35-42). परंतपः (II. 1, 35). चिरजीवी वृद्धः (II. 1, 36). Taking counsel with his ministers summoned all the princes (II. 1, 42-46). पृथिवीपतिः (II. 1, 46). In a hurry could not inform the Janaka or the Raja of Kekaya (II. 1, 48). Appeared glorious like Indra when he sat surrounded by the princes and the people (II. 1, 51). वसुधाधिपः (II. 2. 1). Announced his intention to retire in favor of his son, Rāma, and asked for their approval (II.2.1-16). The assembly having received his proposal with loud acclamations, formally prayed to him to appoint Rāma as the Crown Prince (II. 2, 17-22). Asked them to explain why they preferred Rāma (II. 2, 23-25). The assembly in reply having recounted the attainments and endowments of Rāma (II. 2, 26-54) readily granted its prayer (II.3,1-2) and asked Vasiṣṭha, Vāmadeva etc. to make the necessary preparations for holding the coronation ceremony that very month of Caitra (II. 3, 3-4). The assembly received this order with loud acclamation (II. 3, 5). Asked Vasiṣṭha to order his men to collect the

articles necessary for the occasion (II. 3, 5-7). The priests having informed him that the preliminary preparations were ready (II. 3, 21) sent for Rāma through Sumantra (II. 3, 22-23). **द्युतिमान्** (II. 3, 22). Praised by the assembled princes (II.3,24-26). **राजर्षिः** (II. 3, 26). Fondly gazed at Rāma who was drawing near (II. 3, 27). Still he was never satisfied (II. 3, 30). Rāma having bowed down at his feet (II. 3, 33) received him affectionately and offered him a rich seat (II.3,34-35). Was pleased to see his likeness in Rāma (II.3,37-38). Formally communicated his desire to appoint him the Crown Prince and gave him a few pieces of advice (II. 3, 38-46). **पुत्रवतां वरः** (II. 3, 38). **निश्चयज्ञः** (II. 4, 1). Having consulted his ministers decided to celebrate the coronation ceremony on the day following (II.4,1-2). Again sent Sumantra to fetch Rāma (II. 4, 3). On his arrival received him cordially, and communicated his desire to celebrate the coronation ceremony on the day following, for delay was dangerous as his own health was failing; directed Rāma to spend the night fasting and to sleep on a bed of straw along with his wife Sītā, he also thought that it was politic to appoint him the Crown Prince in the absence of Bharata. Then permitted him to depart (II.4,11-28). Despatched Vasiṣṭha to initiate Rāma and his wife to the ceremony of fasting previous to the coronation ceremony (II. 5, 1-2). On the return of Vasiṣṭha, received him with due honor and enquired if his order had been carried out (II. 5, 23). With the approval of the priest, dismissed the courtiers and entered the harem (II. 5, 25 26). Highly praised by the people for his decision to enthrone Rāma (II. 6, 20-24). **महात्मा** (II. 6, 21). **धर्मात्मा, अनघः** (II. 6, 24). On a former occasion his life had been saved by Kaikeyī, while he fought with the Asura Śambara as an ally of Indra. Out of gratitude the king had promised to grant two boons to Kaikeyī on that occasion (II. 9, 11-18). Entered Kaikeyī's

apartments to communicate the happy news (II. 10, 9-11). वशी, महायशः (II. 10, 11). Not finding Kaikeyi in the bed-room, enquired of the wardress about her. कामबलसंयुक्तः, रत्नरथी (II. 10, 9-19). Found her in the wrath-room lying on the bare ground (II. 10, 21-24). जगतीपतिः (II. 10, 23). अपायः (II. 10, 24). कामी (II. 10, 27). Fondly enquired if Kaikeyi had been insulted or outdone by any body, if she had been taken ill, what impossibilities he had to translate into action in order to satisfy her; offered to appease her wrath with the gifts imported from the distant dependencies; finally exhorted her to get up and communicate to him the cause of her displeasure (II. 10, 27-39). मन्मथशरैः विद्धः, कामवेगवशानुगः, पृथिवीपालः (II. 11, 1). At the suggestion of Kaikeyi (II. 11, 1-3) most solemnly promised by the name of Rāma, dearer to him than life itself, to carry out her bidding (II. 11, 4-10) सत्यसंघः, महा-तेजाः, धर्मज्ञः, सत्यवाक्, शुचिः (II. 11, 16). महेष्वासः, वरदः, काम मोहितः (II. 11, 17). Completely overpowered by her, the king proceeded towards his own destruction (II. 11, 22). Stunned for a moment by Kaikeyi's proposal of banishing Rāma (II. 11, 23-29) he felt giddy then fell senseless on the bare ground exclaiming "Fie ! Fie !! " (II. 12, 1-6). Soon after coming to his senses began to scold her, then humbly prayed to her to withdraw her demands, as separation from Rāma meant death to him, and Rāma too, thought he, by his character and attainments, never merited that treatment (II. 12, 6-36). But Kaikeyi remaining firm, Daśaratha kept his eyes steadfastly fixed on her face, then exclaiming "Oh Rāma ! " he again fell senseless on the ground (II. 12, 51-54). At last he began to rave like a mad person whose mind had become utterly deranged (II. 12, 55). In his ravings he mixed promiscuously reproach, pity, appeal, all conceivable and inconceivable qualities of her victim, promises and threats, and at last

felt senseless at her feet (II. 12, 56-112). In the bitterness of his heart censured Kaikeyī and lamented for Rāma (II. 13, 5-14). Convulsively prayed to the night to expire soon, as morning could separate him from Kaikeyī (II. 13, 16-19). **राजधर्मवित्** (II. 13, 20). Then with folded hands prayed to Kaikeyī to withdraw her demands to save the situation (II. 13, 20-23). But finding her unyielding, again fainted (II. 13, 24-25). Early next morning forbade the musicians to recite his praises. **राजसत्तमः** (II. 13, 26). Finding himself completely cornered, disowned Kaikeyī and her son and directed them not to perform the *tarpaṇa* ceremony after his death (II. 14, 14-18). At last gave in and desired to see Rāma (II. 14, 23-24). Next morning when Sumantra came in at the desire of Vasiṣṭha to take the king to the court to witness the coronation ceremony, stopped him saying that his words cut at his vitals (II. 14, 56-57). Could not speak anything for grief (II. 14, 58-59). Finding Sumantra hesitating to carry out the orders of Kaikeyī (II. 14, 59-62) asked him to fetch Rāma (II. 14, 63). **धार्मिकः** (II. 14, 57). Asked Sumantra to fetch Rāma without delay as had already been told by Kaikeyī (II. 15, 25-26). Rāma found him seated with Kaikeyī, crest-fallen and dejected (II. 18, 1). When Rāma fell at his feet (II. 18, 2) exclaimed "Rāma !" only and could not speak out anything more (II. 18, 3). His frightful appearance terrified Rāma (II. 18, 4). Rāma found him ploughed with grief, his senses in disorder, his heart uneasy like the heaving ocean, like the sun overpowered by the Rāhu, like a lying Rṣi (II. 18, 5-6). Kaikeyī's rude words pained the heart of the King. **महानुभावः** (II. 18, 41). **दुर्धर्षः, अरिन्दमः** (II. 19, 3). At the words of Kaikeyī (II. 19, 12-16) dropped down senseless on the bedstead exclaiming "Alas ! Alas !!" (II. 19, 17). Lifted up by Rāma (II. 19, 18). At the parting words of Rāma (II. 19, 19-26) wept aloud for grief (II. 19, 27). Saluted by

Rāma (II. 19, 28). The loud wail raised by the other inmates of the palace on account of the impending banishment of Rāma made Daśaratha sink on his bed (II. 20, 7). सत्यप्रतिज्ञः (II. 20, 24). सत्यः, सत्याभिस्त्रयः, नित्यं सत्यपराक्रमः, परलोकभयाङ्गीतः, निर्भयः, (II. 22, 9). धर्मभृतां श्रेष्ठः (II, 24, 31). Condemned by the populace for banishing Rāma (II, 33, 10-11). Sumantra on entering the royal chamber found the Lord of the World sighing heavily, like the sun overpowered by the Rāhu, like fire covered with ashes, like a tank drained of its water (II, 34, 2-3). सत्यवाक्यः, धर्मात्मा, गाम्भीर्यात्सागरोपमः, आकाश इव निष्पङ्कः, नरेन्द्रः (II, 34, 9). Through Sumantra sent for all his wives and dependents, so that surrounded by them all, he might have a look at Rāma (II. 34, 10). On their arrival summoned Rāma (II. 34, 14). Finding Rāma advancing towards him with folded hands, ran to receive him, but dropped down senseless on the way, (II. 34, 16-17). Nursed by Rāma Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā (II. 34, 18-20). In reply to Rāma's parting words (II. 34, 21-24) offered the throne to Rāma (II. 34, 25-26). In reply to Rāma's words (II. 34, 27-29) requested him to stay with him for the night, reproached himself for having been guided by a scheming woman, and praised Rāma's towering sense of duty (II. 34, 30-38). Having embraced Rāma again fell down unconscious (II. 34, 60). महेन्द्र इव अजय्यः, अचलः इव दुष्प्रकम्प्यः, महोदधिः इव अक्षोभ्यः (II. 35, 7). वरदः (II. 35, 8). देवराजसमप्रभः (II. 35, 30). अनघः, राजीवलोचनः (II. 35, 31). महेष्वासः (II. 35, 35). Addressing Sumantra proposed to send an army, objects of diversion, forest guides, provisions etc. with Rāma, while Bharata ruled over Ayodhyā (II. 36, 1-9). When Kaikeyī objected to this proposal (II. 36, 10-12), he scolded her (II. 36, 13-14). When Kaikeyī proposed that Rāma should retire, empty-handed like Aśamañja (II. 36, 15-16)

Daśaratha exclaimed "Shame! Shame!" (II. 36, 16-17). Indicated his desire to follow Rāma into exile so that Kaikeyī might enjoy undisturbed with Bharata (II. 36, 31-33). Approved of Vasiṣṭha's suggestion (II. 37, 21-36) and severely scolded Kaikeyī for condemning Sītā to follow Rāma into exile, clad in barks (II. 38, 2-11). Seeing Rāma with his wife clad in barks, the King lay in a state of torpor; then having regained his consciousness, began to lament bitterly: said that he was being punished by Kaikeyī in that way as the result of his past sins (II. 39, 1-7). Then repeating the name of Rāma once only, he again became unconscious (II. 39, 8). Then in a moment returning to his senses, directed Sumantra to drive Rāma in a richly decorated car outside human habitations (II. 39, 9-11). Instructed the treasurer to supply Sītā with costly raiments and ornaments sufficient to last for 14 years (II. 39, 14-15). देशकालज्ञः, सर्वतः शुचिः (II. 39, 14). Saluted by Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and Sītā, while Rāma requested for his formal permission (II. 40, 1-2). Left the palace on foot, surrounded by his womenfolk to see off Rāma (II. 40, 28). Finding the people sorrowing for the sake of Rāma, fainted (II. 40, 36). Commanded Sumantra to stop (II. 40, 46). Sat down with his wives fatigued and spent up, when told that one whose return home was to be expected, must not be followed far off (II. 40, 50-51). सर्वगुणोपपन्नः, प्रखिन्नगात्रः, प्रविषण्णरूपः, कृपणः (II. 40, 51). The loud wail of the women of the harem completely upset him (II. 41, 8). Kept staring as long as the cloud of dust floated on the space and Rāma did not pass out of sight. इक्ष्वाकुवरः (II. 42, 1). When both had vanished out of sight, fell down unconscious (II. 42, 3). Nursed by Kausalyā and Kaikeyī (II. 42, 4). नयेन च धर्मेण विनयेन च सम्पन्नः (II. 42, 5). Asked Kaikeyī to leave him alone, as he was determined to disown her and hers (II. 42, 5-9). Helped by Kausalyā to rise from the dust

(II. 42, 10). Followed Kausalyā lamenting and lost his color on seeing the marks of the passing chariot (II. 42, 11-21). On reaching the palace, directed the guides to conduct him to Kausalyā's apartments (II. 42, 22-28). Disconsolate even on the bed, continued lamenting (II. 42, 29-34). वीर्यवान् (II. 42, 31). Remembered by Rāma in exile (II. 46, 5-6). His death foreseen by the ladies of Ayodhyā (II. 48, 26). Abused by the villagers (II. 49, 4-7). Remembered by Lakṣmaṇa (II. 51, 11-12; 17-25). महात्मा; सुव्रतः (II. 51, 24). शोकोपहतचेताः, जगतीपतिः, कामभारावसन्नः (II. 52, 23). Rāma sent a message to him through Sumantra (II. 52 27-29; 32). अदृष्टदुःखः, वृद्धः, आर्यः, जितेन्द्रियः (II. 52, 27). His miserable condition pitied by Rāma (II. 53, 6-10; 13). Swooned on hearing Rāma's farewell message from the lips of Sumantra (II. 57, 24-26). दीनः, आतुरः, पुत्रशोक-परिचूनः (II. 57, 24). Helped by Sumitrā and Kausalyā to rise (II. 57, 28). On regaining consciousness, sent for Sumantra to hear the message of Rāma (II. 58, 1). On the arrival of Sumantra, in a plaintive note asked him to give a full report of the speeches and doings of Rāmā (II. 58, 4-12). राममेवानुशोचन्, शोकदुःखसमन्वितः, वृद्धः, परमसन्तप्तः, नवग्रहः इव द्विपः, विनिःश्वसन् ध्यायन् अस्वस्थः इव कुक्षरः (II. 58, 3). On hearing Sumantra's report (II. 58, 13-59, 16) gave vent to his innermost feelings, wailed aloud then swooned (II. 59, 17-32). सानुक्रोशः, वदान्यः, प्रियवादी (II. 61, 2). On listening to the words of reproach uttered by Kausalyā (II. 61, 1-26) fainted exclaiming "Ah Rāma!" and remembered the sin he had committed long, long ago (II. 61, 27). Being grieved at the reproaches of Kausalyā, thought—that he was being consumed by two fires—viz. separation from Rāma and the remembrance of the old sin (II. 62, 1-5). परंतपः (II. 62, 2). Under circumstances of extreme grief, with folded arms prayed to Kausalyā not to

strike a dead man (II.62,6-9). Being consoled by the queen (II.62,10-18), fell asleep with the approach of the night (II.52,19-20). Awoke after a short interval and repenting for the dark deed committed in his youth before marriage, on the sixth night of Rāma's banishment recited to Kausalyā the old, old tale (II.63,1-5). Confessed how by mistake he had killed a young sage while the latter was filling his pot of water at the bank of the Sarayū one dark night (II. 63, 10-53). Then, in accordance with the instructions left by the dying boy, how he approached his blind, old parents and confessed his crime, how on account of the loss of the only support of their old age, they too, entered the fire, cursing him (II. 64, 2-60). After narrating this story, lamented bitterly for Rāma. Gradually the light of his eyes failed, and his limbs dropped down motionless. He was dead. (II. 64, 61-78). **दीनः, आतुरः, भृशदुःखपीडितः, उदारदर्शनः** (II. 64, 78). His death mourned by Kausalyā (II. 66, 1-12); by the women of the harem (II. 66, 16-23); by the citizens of Ayodhyā (II. 66, 24-25). The princes being absent, his corpse was preserved by being dipped into oil by the officers (II. 66, 14-15; 27). **अचिन्त्यदर्शनः** (II. 66, 27). Seen by Bharata in a dream (II. 69, 7-21). His welfare enquired into by Bharata of the messenger (II. 70, 7). His frequent visits to Kaikeyī's apartments referred to by Bharata, who made anxious enquiries about him of her (II.72,12-13). She communicated to him the news of his death. **महात्मा, तेजस्वी, यायजूकः** (II. 72, 15). Bharata mourned his death (II. 72, 16-21; 26-35). **नित्यं प्रियहिते रतः** (II. 72, 28). **कीर्तिमान्** (II. 72, 30). **अक्लिष्टकर्मा** (II. 72, 31). **धर्मवित्, धर्मशीलः, महाभागः, दृढव्रतः, सत्यविक्रमः** (II.72.34). At the desire of Bharata, Kaikeyī repeated his swan song (II. 72, 35-37). **मतिमतां वरः** (II. 72, 36). The circumstances that brought about his death narrated by

Kaikeyī (II. 72, 47-54). महायशः (II. 72, 51). Kaikeyī scolded by Bharata for having caused the death of Daśaratha (II. 73, 1-7). सत्यसंधः, महायशः (II. 73, 6). धर्मवत्सलः (II. 73, 7). धर्मात्मा (II. 73, 15). भृशधार्मिकः (II. 74, 3). His cremation (II. 76, 3-23). Called गुरुतरः गुरुः by the officers (II. 79, 2). Rāma enquired about his welfare of Bharata. सत्यसंगरः, राजसूयाश्वमेधानाम् आहर्ता, धर्मनिश्चितः (II. 100, 8). Bharata breaks the news of his death to Rāma (II. 102, 5-6). धीमान्, यायजूकः, सतां मतः (II. 102, 5). Rāma mourned his death (II. 103, 8-13). Married Kaikeyī on condition of leaving the throne to her son (II. 107, 3). Attained heaven because he had fulfilled the word given to Kaikeyī (II. 112, 6).

The permission given to Viśvāmitra to take away Rāma to help him in the celebration of a sacrifice recalled by Māritca (III. 38, 4-11). His part in bringing about the exile of Rāma etc. narrated by Sītā to Rāvaṇa (III. 47, 5-16). सत्यसंधः, नृपोत्तमः (III. 47, 8). धर्मसेतुः इव अचलः, सत्यसंधः (III. 56, 2).

द्युतिमान्, धर्मवत्सलः, चातुर्वर्ण्यं स्वधर्मेण नित्यमेवाभिपालयन् (IV. 4, 6). न द्वेष्टा विद्यते तस्य स तु द्वेष्टि न कंचन । स तु सर्वेषु भूतेषु पितामह इवापरः (IV. 4, 7). अग्निष्टोमादिभिर्यज्ञैः इष्टवान् आसदक्षिणैः (IV. 4, 8). राजसूयाश्वमेधैश्च वह्निर्येनाभितर्पितः, दक्षिणाश्च तथोत्सृष्टा गावः शतसहस्रशः, तपसा सत्यवाक्येन वसुधा येन पालिता (IV. 5, 4-5).

विक्रान्तः, आर्यशीलः, संयुगेषु अनिवर्तिन् (V. 16, 17). रथकुञ्जरवाजिमान्, पुण्यशीलः, महाकीर्तिः, इक्ष्वाकूणां महायशः (V. 31, 2). अहिंसारतिः, अक्षुद्रः, घृणी, सत्यपराक्रमः, लक्ष्मीवान्, लक्ष्मीवर्धनः (V. 31, 3). पार्थिवव्यञ्जनैः युक्तः, पृथुश्रीः, पार्थिववर्षभः, पृथिव्यां चतुरन्तायां विश्रुतः, सुखदः, सुखी (V. 31, 4). पितेव लोकस्य बन्धुः, सुरेश्वरसमद्युतिः (V. 51, 4).

On the conclusion of the fire-ordeal of Sītā appeared in a car before Rama and Lakṣmaṇa and was pointed out

by Śiva (VI. 119, 7-8). महायशः (VI. 119, 7). श्रीमान् (VI. 119, 8). स्वया लक्ष्म्या दीप्यमानः, विरजः अम्बरधारी (VI. 119, 10). विमानस्थः (VI. 119, 11). On being saluted by his sons (VI. 119, 9) praised Rāma highly and asked him to return home and occupy the throne (VI. 119, 10-23). Pardoned Kaikeyī at the request of Rāma (VI. 119, 24-25), embraced Lakṣmaṇa and advised him to remain faithful to Rāma (VI. 119, 26-31), advised Sītā to remain faithful to Rāma (VI. 119, 32-37).

On hearing the miserable life-story of Rāma from the lips of Durvāsā (VII. 50, 10-14) asked Sumantra not to disclose the matter (VII. 50, 15). One day went to the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha, where he found Durvāsā sitting beside him. Bowed down to the Ṛsis respectfully, in return was formally received by them and was offered a seat near them (VII. 51, 3-5). In the course of conversation asked Durvāsā to narrate the future history of his family (VII. 51, 7-9). Returned to the capital after hearing Durvāsā's prediction (VII. 51, 24).

DASĀRNA—A cluster of towns in the South (नगराणि). Sugrīva asked Aṅgada to go there in search of Sītā (IV.41,9).

DĀKṢINĀTYA, the—All the Kings of—invited to attend the celebration of the Aśvamedha (I. 13, 28). Daśaratha offers the produce of the Dakṣiṇāpathāḥ to appease the wrath of Kaikeyī (II. 10, 37-38).

DĀNVAS, the—Followed the course of the Gaṅgā (I. 43,31). Did not accept the Apsarā that was churned out of the ocean (I. 45. 35). Lived in the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha (I. 51, 24). Rāvaṇa was not to meet his death at their hands (III. 32, 18). अमृतशिनः (III.35,17). Lived on the Śisīra hills (IV. 40, 31). Showered flowers on Hanūmān while he was crossing the seas (V.1,81). Haunted

the seas (V. 1, 202). After a year's war vanquished by Rāvaṇa (VI.7,10). Defeated by Kumbhakarṇa (VI. 61, 10). Waited on Brahman for remedial measures (VI. 61, 18). Assembled to witness the struggle between Rāma and Makarākṣa (VI. 79, 25). Went into raptures when Indrajit was killed (VI. 90, 87). Sighed a sigh of relief (VI. 90, 88). Became greatly concerned when Rāvaṇa overpowered Rāma (VI.102,30). Came to witness the struggle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa (VI. 102, 43). Became restless when Rāma fought with Rāvaṇa (VI. 107, 46). Spent the whole night in witnessing the combat (VI. 107, 65). Returned home engaged in pleasant conversation (VI. 112, 1-4). Saw Sītā entering the fire (VI.116,33). Visited the Vindhya along with their mates (VII. 31, 16). Wondered on seeing Hanūmān flying at the sun (VII. 35, 25). महाकायाः Gave expression to their feelings on the disappearance of Sītā (VII. 97, 24-25). Expressed their joy on the return of Viṣṇu (VII. 110, 14).

DITI—The mother of the Daityas (I. 45, 15). Her sons did not accept the Vārunt, churned out of the ocean (I.45,37). Her sons fought with those of Aditi for the possession of the Amṛta (I. 45, 40). In the course of the struggle, her sons were destroyed (I. 45, 44). Grieved at this, approached her husband Kaśyapa and prayed for a son who could kill Indra (I.46,1-3). Promised such a child if she could keep clean for a thousand years (I. 46, 4-6). Practised severe austerities at Kuṣaplava (I. 46, 8). During that period Indra waited on her, supplied her wants and tended her (I. 46, 9-11). When only ten years were left she told Indra that after ten years she would give birth to a child who would conquer the three worlds, still she would prevail on him to share the kingdom with him (Indra) (I. 46, 12-15). One day at noon she fell asleep in a wrong position (I.46,16). Taking advantage of this, Indra entered her womb and cut

the *faetus* into seven pieces with his thunder-bolt. Meanwhile she awoke and cried out "Don't you kill!" At this Indra came out and begged her pardon (I. 46, 17-23). Begged of Indra that the seven parts into which the *faetus* had been divided, might take birth as the lords of the seven Marut-regions and be called the Mārutas (I. 47, 1-7). Her prayer granted (I. 47, 8-9). Wife of Kaśyapa and daughter of Dakṣa (III. 14, 10-11). Mother of the Daityas (III. 14, 15 ; VII. 11, 16).

DILĪPA—Son of Aṅsumān. **महान्** (I. 42, 2 ; 70, 38). Before retiring from the world his father made him the king (I. 42, 3). **महातेजाः** On learning the manner in which his grandfathers died was stricken with grief, but could not arrive at any conclusion (I. 42, 5). Still constantly thought of the ways and means of bringing about their salvation by bringing down the Gaṅgā to the earth (I. 42, 6). Had a son, Bhagīratha by name. **धर्मेण विदितात्मा** (I. 42, 7). Celebrated numerous sacrifices and reigned for 30,000 years (I. 42, 8). Died of a disease without having done any thing towards obtaining salvation for his grandfathers (I. 42, 9). **नरर्षभः** Went to Indra's world as the result of his Karman (I. 42, 10). **अतितेजाः** Failed to bring the Gaṅgā on the earth (I. 42, 11). The blind old Ṛṣi prayed that his only son who had been killed by Daśaratha, might attain the the heaven where Dilīpa dwelt (II. 64, 42).

DĪRGHĀYU—a sacrificial priest to Daśaratha (I. 7, 5).

DUNDUBHI (i)—An Asura killed by Vālin. Sugrīva shewed Rāma his corpse which the latter kicked off with the big toe' (I. 1, 64-65). Father of Māyāvin (IV. 9, 4). Being excessively proud of his strength challenged the lords of the Samudras and the Himālayas to fight with him. Then at the suggestion of the latter approached Vālin in the form of a buffalo when he was killed and his carcass

flung away near the hermitage of R̥ṣi Matāṅga (IV. 11, 7-47).
कैलासशिखरप्रभः, वीर्यवान्, Endowed with the strength of a
 thousand elephants (IV. 11, 7). **वीर्योत्सेकदुष्टात्मा, वरदानेन**
मोहितः, महाकायः (IV. 11, 8). His duel with Vālin
 recalled by Sugrīva (IV. 46, 3-8).

DUNDUBHI (ii)—Son of Maya and Hemā, and brother
 of Māyāvin and Mandodarī (VII. 12, 13).

DURJAYA—A general of Khara who went to fight with
 Rāma (III. 23, 32). **महाबलः, बलाध्यक्षः** Attacked Rāma with
 his bow at the command of Khara (III. 26, 27-28).

DURDHARA (i)—A Rākṣasa chief. Hanumān found
 him waiting near Rāvaṇa's throne, **मन्त्रतत्त्वज्ञः** (V. 49, 11).

DURDHARA (ii)—A Vānara chief. Son of Vasu.
 Pointed out to Rāvaṇa by Śārdūla (VI. 30, 33).

DURDHARṢA—A general of Rāvaṇa who attacked
 Hanumān at the desire of his master (V. 46, 1-17).
वीरः, नयविशारदः (V. 46, 3). In Rāvaṇa's court stood ready
 with his arms to kill Rāma etc. (VI. 9, 2). At the desire
 of Rāvaṇa took his seat on a car (VI. 95, 39).

DURMUKHA (i)—A Vānara chief who in response to
 Sugrīva's call joined him with 2 krors of Vānaras. **बलो** (IV.
 39, 33-34). Beat to death the Rākṣasa chief Samunnata
 (VI. 58, 21).

DURMUKHA (ii)—A Rākṣasa chief who vowed to kill
 all Vānaras to avenge Hanumān's mischief-making (VI. 8,
 6-8). In Rāvaṇa's court stood ready with his arms to kill
 Rāma etc. (VI. 9, 3). Son of Mālyavān and Sundarī (VII. 5,
 34-35). Accompanied Sumālin to the battle-field to fight
 against the Devas (VII. 27, 30).

DURMUKHĪ—A Rākṣasī guard of Sītā who persuaded
 her to accept Rāvaṇa's suit (V. 23, 16-19).

DURVĀSĀ—At the request of Daśaratha fore-told the miserable life-story of Rāma (VII. 50, 10-14). Son of Atri. **महामुनिः** Spent a year at the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha (VII. 51, 2). Saluted by Daśaratha, received him in due from and offered him a seat (VII. 51, 5). In response to Daśaratha's prayer (VII. 51, 7-9) began to narrate the preceding events and ended by foretelling the life of Rāma (VII. 51, 10-23). **सुमहातेजाः** (VII. 51, 23). Consulted by Budha with regard to Ila (VII. 90, 5). **महातपाः** witnessed the oath-taking ceremony of Sītā at Rama's court, (VII. 96, 2). **भगवान्, ऋषिसत्तमः** (VII. 105 1-2). Wanted to see Rāma while he was closeted with Kāla (VII. 105, 1-2). Bieng intercepted by Lakṣmaṇa (VII. 105, 3-4) angrily threatened to pronounce a curse on the whole family if he did not announce him to Rāma at once (VII. 105, 5-7). **महात्मा ज्वलन्निव तेजसा** (VII. 105, 11). In reply to Rāma's greetings (VII. 105, 10-11) expressed his intention to take his food that day at his place, as he would break his fast after a thousand years (VII. 105, 12-13) Departed after taking his food (VII. 105, 15).

DUṢYANTA—A powerful King who admitted the supremacy of Rāvāṇa (VII. 19, 5).

DUṢANA—A Rākṣasa of Jana-sthāna killed by Rāma (I. 1, 47). Brother of Śūrpanakhā **प्रख्यातवीर्यः** (III. 17, 22). The general of Khara's army (III. 22, 7). Asked by Khara to assemble his army and to take out his car (III. 22, 8-11). Informed Khara when the car was ready (III. 22, 12). Ordered the army to march on (III. 22, 16). When Rāma successfully resisted the first offensive of the Rākṣasas under Khara, re-assembled the flying men and led the attack (III. 25, 30-32). **महाबाहुः** (III. 26, 1). Directed the third offensive at the head of 5000 veterans (III. 26, 1-2). Baffled Rāma's arrows. **सेनापतिः, शत्रुदूषणः** (III. 26, 6-7). His

great bow lopped off, his horses and charioteer killed (III. 26, 7—9). Being deprived of his car made a rush at Rāma with an iron club (परिघः) (III. 26, 9-12). क्रूरकर्मा निशाचरः (III. 26, 12). His arms lopped off by Rāma when he fell dead. महाकायः (III. 26, 13-15). Appointed by Rāvaṇa to act as general to Khara (VII. 24, 39). Accompanied Sumālīn to fight against the Devas (VII. 27, 30).

DR̥DHANETRA—A son of Viśvāmitra, born while he was practising austerities. सत्यधर्मपरायणः (I. 57, 3-4). Employed by Viśvāmitra to make arrangements for holding a sacrifice in favor of King Tṛṣaṅku (I. 59, 6). Cursed by by the father for refusing to offer himself as a victim in place of Śunaḥśepa (I. 62, 8-18).

DEVAS, the—Invoked during the Aśvamedha Sacrifice of Daśaratha (I. 14, 8). Offered oblations (I. 14, 9). Assembled at the Putreṣṭi Sacrifice of Daśaratha (I. 15, 4). Complained to Brahman against Rāvaṇa (I. 15, 6-11). Rāvaṇa granted a boon by Brahman that he was not to meet his death at the hands of the Devas (I. 15, 13). Requested Viṣṇu to kill Rāvaṇa by taking birth as the son of Daśaratha (I. 15, 19-26). Their request having been granted (I. 15, 26-32) they praised him (I. 15, 32). At the desire of Viṣṇu (I. 16, 1-2) related the previous history of Rāvaṇa and requested Him to kill him by assuming the form of a human being (I. 16, 3-7). Asked by Brahman to produce sons, powerful and gifted like themselves, on Apsarās and Kinnarīs etc. of the shape of the vānaras (I. 17, 2-6). Produced sons in accordance with the instructions given (I. 17, 8). On the conclusion of Daśaratha's Aśvamedha Sacrifice returned to their abodes (I. 18, 1). Beat the drums and showered flowers on the birth of Rāma etc. (I. 18, 17). Pleased at the destruction of Tāṭakā at the hands of Rāma, congratulated Viśvāmitra and requested him to pass on the

weapons of Kṛṣṇa to Rāma as a mark of favour (I. 26, 26-32). Vanquished by Bali (I. 29, 5). Approached Viṣṇu with a request to relieve them by assuming the form of Vāmana (a dwarf) (I. 29, 6-9). Failed to bend Janaka's bow (I. 31, 9). For the good of the three worlds begged for the Gaṅgā of the Himavān (I. 35, 16). Their request having been granted (I. 35, 17) withdrew accompanied by the Gaṅgā (I. 35, 18). Approached Mahādeva who was then sporting with Umā and requested him to absorb the energy in his own person for the good of the three worlds (I. 36, 7-11). In reply to Mahādeva's query as to who was to hold His displaced energy, they named the earth (धरा) (I. 36, 14-15). Asked Agni to enter into the dislodged semen of Mahādeva accompanied by the sun and the wind (I. 36, 17). Worshipped Śiva and Umā (I. 36, 19). Cursed by Umā that they would have no children (I. 36, 21-22). Approached Brahman in quest of a commander-in-chief headed by Indra and Agni (I. 37, 1-4). Brahman having given them assurance (I. 37, 5-8) retired (I. 37, 9). Went to the Kailāsa Hills and deputed Agni to hatch a son by depositing Śiva's semen in the Gaṅgā (I. 37, 10-11). Named the new-born babe Kārtikeya and foretold his future greatness (I. 37, 25). But because he was born of the displaced semen, the Devas also called him Skanda (I. 37, 27). Elected him the commander-in-chief (I. 37, 30). Approached Brahman to complain of the conduct of Sagara's sons (I. 39, 23-26). Brahman having given them the assurance about the destruction of Sagara's sons (I. 40, 2-4) the 33 gods withdrew joyfully (I. 40, 5). Accompanied Brahman to grant boons to Bhagīratha (I. 42, 15). Withdrew after doing so (I. 42, 25). Watched the descent of the Gaṅgā (I. 43, 20). Followed the course of the Gaṅgā (I. 43, 31). Persuaded Jāhnu to release her (I. 43, 36). Sons of Aditi. महाभागाः, वीर्यवन्तः, सुधार्मिकाः (I. 45, 15). महात्मानः Thought of finding out a sovereign

remedy against decay and death. So resolved on getting the nectar (रसम्) by churning the Kṣīroda Sea. विपश्चितः (I. 45, 16-17). A thousand years of churning produced the poison potent enough to burn them down (I. 45, 19-20). Took refuge with Mahādeva crying "Save us"! (I. 45, 21). Went on churning even when the Mandāra ran into the Pātāla regions (I. 45, 27). Appeased Viṣṇu who resuming the shape of a tortoise placed the hill on the back (I. 45, 28-30). Did not accept the Apsarās (I. 45, 35). Accepted the daughter of Varuṇa, hence called सुराः (I. 45, 38). Fought with the sons of Diti for the sake of the nectar (I. 45, 40). Destroyed them (I. 45, 44). Requested by Indra to restore his testies (I. 49, 4). Approached the Pitṛs and suggested that they should substitute a ram's testicles for the lost ones of Indra (I. 49, 5-6). Honored Ahalyā on the expiation of her sin (I. 49, 20). Lived in the hermitage of Vasiṣṭha (I. 51, 23). Became panic-stricken when Viśvāmitra got ready to discharge the Brāhma weapon at Vasiṣṭha (I. 56, 14-15). Did not attend the call of Viśvāmitra to accept their shares of the sacrifice performed on behalf of Trisāṅku (I. 60, 11). Ejected Trisāṅku from heaven (I. 60, 17-18). Approached Viśvāmitra and effected a compromise with regard to Trisāṅku (I. 60, 24-33). Requested Brahman to confer on Viśvāmitra the title of Mahārṣi (I. 63, 16-17). Severe penances of Viśvāmitra frightened them (I. 63, 25). On seeing that the pillar of smoke that issued from the head of Viśvāmitra, would engulf the universe, prayed to Brahman to grant his desire even at the cost of the kingdom of heaven (I. 65, 8-18). Threatened by Mahādeva with destruction for having neglected to offer him a share in Dakṣa's sacrifice, pleased him with prayers and received from him the great bow in return, which they deposited with Devarāta (I. 66, 9-13). Pleased with the austerities of the Janaka, supplied him with an army wherewith to drive

away the rejected suitors who had invested Mithilā (I. 66, 23-24). Curious to know who was the more powerful—Śiva or Viṣṇu (I. 75, 14-15). Came to regard Viṣṇu to be the more powerful on the conclusion of the fight (I. 75, 20). Assembled to witness the duel between Rāma and Rāma of the Axe (Paraśu-Rāma) (I. 76, 9).

Called on by Kaikeyī to witness the oath taken by Daśaratha (II. 11, 13-16). Their protection invoked by Kausalyā during Rāma's exile (II. 25, 16). Their help prayed for by Bharadvāja in the matter of entertaining the army of Bharata (II. 91, 16). Sang in the hermitage of Bharadvāja (II. 91, 26).

Agitated at the extreme forms of austerities practised by the sage Māṇḍakarni, sent five Apsarās to create mischief (III. 11, 13-15). Prayed to Agastya to eat up the Brāhmaṇa-killing Asura Vātapi (III. 11, 61). Infested the hermitage of Agastya (III. 11, 89-91). Prayed for the success of Rāma in the fight against Khara (III. 23, 27-29). Came to witness the fight in which one man fought against 14,000 Rākṣasas (III. 24, 19-23). Waited out of curiosity in their cars (III. 24, 24). Praised Rāma for having unseated Khara from his car (III. 28, 33). Praised Rāma profusely and indicated their joy at the fall of Khara (III. 30, 29-33). Could not defeat Rāvaṇa in battle (III. 32, 6). Rāvaṇa was not to die at their hands (III. 32, 18-19). अमृतशिनिः (III. 35, 7).

Lived on the Śisira hills (IV. 40, 31). Haunted the Sudarśana Lake for the sake of deriving pleasure (IV. 40, 46). Retired to the Merus to offer the evening prayers (IV. 42, 41). Infested the Somāśrama (IV. 43, 14). Appeased the wrath of Vāyu when he held up the air in anger, for Indra had struck Hanūmān with the thunderbolt (IV. 66, 26).

Showered flowers on Hanūmān while he was crossing the sea (V. 1, 81), Sang in his praise (V. 1, 83), Were afraid of the flying hills, lest they should crush them (V. 1, 116). Praised Hanūmān while he declined the offer of the Maināka Hills (V. 1, 129). Were pleased with the Maināka for his proffered hospitality (V. 1, 130). To test the courage and skill of Hanūmān approached Surasā and requested her to create obstructions (V. 1, 137-140). Were agreeably surprised to find Akṣa killed by Hanūmān (V. 47, 37). Praised Hanūmān and were pleased with his achievements in Laṅkā (V. 54, 45-46). Were surprised to find Laṅkā destroyed by Hanūmān (V. 54, 50).

Hastened to see the bridge when ready (VI. 22, 71). Paid compliments to Rāma when he crossed the sea with the army (VI. 22, 84-85). Praised Aṅgada when he beat Indrajit (VI. 44, 29). Congratulated Hanūmān on the death of Akampana (VI. 56, 39). Went into raptures when Hanūmān slapped Rāvaṇa (VI. 59, 62). Went into raptures when Hanūmān struck down Rāvaṇa (VI. 59, 116). Defeated by Kumbhakarna (VI. 61, 10). Waited on Brahman for remedial measures (VI. 61, 18). Went into raptures when Rāma killed Kumbhakarna (VI. 67, 171-172). Came to witness the struggle between Atikāya and Lakṣmaṇa (VI. 71, 65). Assembled to witness the struggle between Rāma and Makarākṣa (VI. 79, 25). Became nervous when Makarākṣa hurled his pike (शूल) at Rāma (VI. 79, 33). Went into raptures when Rāma killed him (VI. 79, 41). Protected Lakṣmaṇa while he fought with Indrajit (VI. 90, 63). Beat drums when Indrajit was killed (VI. 90, 85). Went into raptures and sighed a sigh of relief (VI. 90, 87-88). Praised the valour of Rāma (VI. 93, 35; 38). Being oppressed by the Rākṣasas prayed to Brahman for deliverance (VI. 94, 31). Then they approached Mahādeva (VI. 94, 34). Looked admiringly at Sugrīva on the death

comfortably seated on a chariot fought with Rāma on foot (VI. 102, 5). Became greatly concerned when Rāvaṇa over-powered Rāma (VI. 102, 30). Came to witness the final struggle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa (VI. 102, 43 ; 106, 19). Encouraged Rāma (VI. 102, 46). Prayed for the safety of the cows and the Brāhmaṇas when Rāma fought with Rāvaṇa (VI. 107, 48-49). Spent the whole night in witnessing the combat (VI. 107, 65). Went into raptures on the death of Rāvaṇa (VI. 108, 30). Returned home conversing on topical matters (VI. 112, 1-4). Saw Sītā entering the fire (VI. 116, 31 ; 33). Advising Rāma to return home after dismissing the Vānaras, retired (VI. 120, 18-22). Greeted Rāma in suitable terms during his coronation ceremony (VI. 128, 30). Went into raptures on that occasion (VI. 128, 71).

Accompanied Brahman when He went to grant boons to Kuvera (VII. 3, 13). Oppressed by Mālyavān brothers, sought relief from Mahadeva (VII. 6, 1-8). At the suggestion of Mahādeva (VII. 6, 9-11) approached Viṣṇu and requested him to destroy their enemies (VII. 6, 12-18). Praised Viṣṇu when he went out to fight against Mālyavān etc. (VII. 6, 68). Raised objections when Brahman proceeded to grant boons to Kumbhakarṇa (VII. 10, 36-40). Frequented the banks of the Mandākinī (VII. 11, 42). Witnessed the struggle between the Yakṣas and the Rākṣasas (VII. 15, 6). Came to witness the struggle between Yama and Ravaṇa (VII. 22, 17). Fought with the Dānavas and the Rākṣasas under Rāvaṇa (VII. 27, 26). Proceeded to Laṅkā on the imprisonment of Indra, headed by Brahman (VII. 30, 1). Visited the Vindhya along with their wives (VII. 31, 16). Greeted Arjuna on the defeat of Rāvaṇa (VII. 32, 65). Wondered at finding Hanūmān flying at the sun (VII. 35, 25). Approached Brahman when Vāyu refused to blow (VII. 35, 53-57). Accompanied Brahman to

propitiate Vāyu (VII. 35, 64). Pitied Vāyu on finding him engaged in nursing his wounded child (VII. 35, 65). On the completion of Nimi's sacrifice, offered to grant him boons (VII. 57, 13). Granting the boon preferred by Nimi (VII. 57, 14) said that thenceforth he would dwell in the winks of every being (VII. 57, 15-17). Greatly disconcerted at the discomfiture of Śatrughna (VII. 69, 13). When Śatrughna drew out the arrow to kill Lavaṇa (VII. 69, 16-19) greatly perturbed, approached Brahman (VII. 69, 20-21). Their fear having been set at rest by Brahman (VII. 69, 23-29) returned to witness the struggle (VII. 69, 29-30). On the destruction of Lavaṇa (VII. 69, 36) breathed freely (VII. 69, 39). Approached Śatrughna ready to grant boons (VII. 70, 1-3). Disappeared after granting him favors (VII. 70, 6-7). Congratulating Rāma on the death of Śambūka, offered him boons (VII. 76, 5-8). In reply to Rāma's prayer (VII. 76, 9-12) assured him that the Brāhmaṇa lad had already got back his life, then asked him to accompany them to Agastya's hermitage (VII. 76, 13-18). On being honored by Agastya (VII. 76, 21) retreated to heaven (VII. 76, 22). Expressing their gratitude to Viṣṇu for having suggested the ways and means of killing Vṛtra (VII. 85, 3-7) accompanied Indra to the spot where Vṛtra was practising austerities (VII. 85, 8-10). Were overcome with fright on seeing Vṛtra (VII. 85, 12). On the flight of Indra (VII. 85, 15-16) approached Viṣṇu and requested him to suggest an expiatory rite that would purify Indra (VII. 85, 17-19). Went to Indra's hiding-place and persuaded him to celebrate a Horse Sacrifice (VII. 86, 6-8). In reply to Brahma-hatyā's query (VII. 86, 10) asked her to divide herself into four parts (VII. 86, 11). Consented to the proposal of Brahma-hatyā and congratulated Indra on his purification (VII. 86, 17-18). **परमोदाराः** Honored Rājā Ilā

for fear of incurring his displeasure (VII. 87, 5-6). Came to witness the oath-taking ceremony of Sitā in Rāma's court (VII. 97, 8). Praised Sitā when she disappeared in the bosom of the Earth (VII. 97, 20-21). Showered flowers on Lakṣmaṇa (VII. 106, 16). Welcomed Lakṣmaṇa, a fourth part of Viṣṇu, back to heaven (VII. 106, 18). Having learnt the intention of Rāma to retire from the world, the younger ones came to his court (VII. 108, 19). Accompanied Brahman to receive Rāma (VII. 110, 3). Showered flowers (VII. 110, 6). Paid their respects to Viṣṇu (VII. 110, 13).

DEVAMIṬA—Son of Kīrti-ratha and father of Vibudha (I. 71, 10).

DEVAYĀNĪ—रूपेणाप्रतिमा भुवि (VII. 58, 7). सुमध्यमा Daughter of Uśanā; the less favoured wife of Yayāti. Mother of Yadu (VII. 58, 9-10). Moved at the grief of her child remembered her father (VII. 58, 15). On repeated enquiries made by her father (VII. 58, 16-18) complained of the slights offered her by Yayāti (VII. 58, 18-21).

DEVA-RĀTA I.—Eldest son of Nimi and ancestor of Janaka, with whom was deposited the great bow by the gods (I. 66, 8 ; 13). राजर्षिः (I. 75, 21).

DEVA-RĀTA II.—धर्मात्मा, महाबलः राजर्षिः; Son of Suketu and father of Brhad-ratha (I. 71, 6).

DEVAVATĪ—Daughter of Grāmaṇī the Gandharva; द्वितीया श्रीरिव, त्रिषु लोकेषु विख्याता, रूपयौवनशालिनी । Married to Sukeśa by her father and was happy. In time she gave birth to three Rākṣasa children, Mālyavān, Sumālī and Mālī (VII. 5, 2-6).

DEVA-VARNINĪ—Daughter of Bharadvāja, married to Viśravā Ṛṣi; gave birth to Kuvera (VII. 3, 3-4).

DEVA-SAKHĀS; The—A range of hills in the north; the home of the birds; rich in birds and trees. Sugrīva asked Satabala to ransack its caves and fissures in search of Sītā (IV. 43, 17-18).

DEVĀNTAKA—A nephew of Kumbhakarṇa who mourned the loss of his uncle (VI. 68, 7). On hearing the words of Trisīrā (VI. 69, 1-7) offered to go to the battle-field (VI.69,9). शक्रतुल्यपराक्रमः ; वीरः, अन्तरिक्षगतः, मायाविशारदः, त्रिदशदर्पघ्नः, समरदुर्मदः, सुबलसम्पन्नः, विस्तीर्णकीर्तिः, never suffered a defeat, अखचित्, युद्धविशारदः, प्रवरविज्ञानः, लब्धवरः, शत्रुबलार्दनः, भास्करतुल्यदर्शनः (VI. 69, 10-14). Son of Rāvaṇa; went to the battle-field taking leave of Rāvaṇa (VI. 69,17-19) holding a bar in his hand (VI. 69, 31). On the death of Narāntaka made a rush at Angada holding a bar (VI. 70, 1-3). In the course of the fight lost his elephant and when beaten with the tusk by Angada inflicted a wound with the bar on his breast (VI. 70, 6-19). Fought with Hanūmān and was killed (VI. 70, 22-25). Accompanied Sumālī to the battlefield to fight against the Devas (VII. 27, 31).

DAITYAS, The—Followed the course of the Gaṅgā (I. 43, 31). Sons of Diti, महाबलाः Resolved to extract the nectar by churning the Kṣīroda Sea (I. 45, 15-17). The हलाहल poison of Vāsuki was potent enough to burn them. असुराः (I. 45, 20). Did not accept the Apsarā, nor the Vārūṇī. Hence called Asuras (I. 45, 35-38). Fought with the Devas for the nectar, allying themselves with the Rākṣasas (I. 45, 40-41). Destroyed by the Devas (I. 45, 44). Their protection invoked by Kausalyā during Rāma's exile (II.25, 16). Their destruction at the hands of Indra on the occasion of the churning of the Sea referred to (II.25, 34). Sons of Diti and Kaśyapa: once the lords of

the earth (III. 14, 15-16). Assembled to witness the struggle between Atikāya and Lakṣmaṇa (VI.71, 65). Came to witness the final struggle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa (VI. 102, 43). Being worsted in the struggle with the Devas, took refuge with Bhṛugu's wife, where they resided free from anxiety (VII. 51, 11). **महाधनाः** Honored Raja Ila for fear of incurring his displeasure (VII. 87, 5-6). Expressed their joy on the return of Viṣṇu (VII. 110, 14).

DRĀVIḌAS, The—The produce of the Drāviḍas offered by Daśaratha to appease the wrath of Kaikeyī (II.10,37-38).

DRUMA-KULYA—A country to the north, bordering on the sea, peopled by the Ābhīras and other wild tribes. Changed into a vast desert region by Rāma but soon transformed into a land "flowing with milk and honey" (VI. 22, 29-39.).

DRONA, The—Hills in the Kṣīroda sea on which grew up divine medicines (VI. 50, 31).

DVI-JIHVA—A Rākṣasa chief whose palace was visited by Hanūmān (V. 6, 25).

DVIVIDA—One of the Vānara sons of the Aśvins. **रूपसंमतः** (I.17, 14). Partook in the coronation ceremony of Sugrīva (IV. 26, 35). Lakṣmaṇa passed by his richly furnished house in Kiṣkindhā (IV. 33, 9). Brother to Mainda. **महाबलः** Son of the Aśvins. Supplied Sugrīva with many kros of Vānaras (IV. 39, 25). Sugrīva wanted to send him to the south in search of Sītā (IV. 41, 4). Having ransacked the Vindhya, entered the Rākṣa cave in search of water (IV. 50, 1-8). In reply to Aṅgada's appeal (IV. 64, 14-22) said that he could jump 70 yojanas (IV. 65, 8). Obtained the boon of immortality by favour of Brahman and drank nectar by vanquishing the gods (V. 60, 1-4). Guarded the Vānara army stationed

on the sea-shore (VI. 5, 2). Matchless fighter; drank nectar with the consent of Brahman (VI. 28, 6-7). Fought at the eastern gate under Nīla (VI. 41, 38-39). Fought a duel with Aśani-Prabha (VI. 43, 12). Killed him (VI. 43, 32-34). At Rāma's desire (VI. 45, 1-3) went up to discover the position taken up by Indrajit, but failed (VI. 45, 4-5). Repaired to the place where the Princes were lying senseless (VI. 46, 3). Wounded by Indrajit (VI. 46, 18). Crushed to death Narāntaka (VI. 58, 20). Flung a hill-top at Kumbhakarṇa which missing him, crushed to death many Rākṣasa warriors and animals (VI. 67, 9-12). Attacked Atikāya but being defeated had to retire (VI. 71, 39-42). Wounded by Indrajit (VI. 73, 45). Finding Aṅgada pressed hard by the Rākṣasas, ran to his assistance (VI. 76, 16). Fought with Yūpākṣa and Sopitākṣa, and killed the latter (VI. 76, 29-33). Fought with Kumbha but was badly wounded (VI. 76, 40-41). Returned to Kiṣkindhā after being duly honoured by Rāma (VI. 128, 87-88). Created by the gods to help Rāma (VII. 36, 47). Greeted and honoured by Rāma (VII. 39, 20). Asked by Rāma to stay on in the world (VII. 108, 33.).

DANṢṬRĀ—A Rākṣasa chief whose palace was visited by Hanūmān (V. 6, 24). Hanūmān set fire to his house (V. 54, 12).

DHANVANTARI—आयुर्वेदमयः पुमान्, सुधर्मात्मा, Furnished with a staff and a water-pot, churned out from the sea (I. 45, 31-32).

DHARMA—His temple at Agastya's hermitage visited by Rāma (III. 12, 21).

DHARMAPĀLA—A counsellor of Daśaratha (I. 7, 3).

DHARMABHṚTA—मुनिः (III. 11, 8). In reply to Rāma's enquiries (III. 11, 8) described the history of the Pañcāpsara Lake of the Daṇḍakas (III. 11, 8-19).

DHARMA-VARDHANA—A village where Bharata arrived after crossing the river Kuṭi-Koṣṭhikā, on his way back from Kekaya (II. 71, 10).

DHARMĀRANYA—A town founded by Prince Asūrta-*rajas*,* a son of king Kuśa (I. 32, 7).

DHĀNYA-MĀLINĪ—When Sītā had unceremoniously discarded Rāvaṇa's advances, she offered herself to satisfy his lust. Rāvaṇa rejected her suit (V. 22, 39-43). Mother of Atikāya (VI. 71, 30).

DHUNDHUMĀRA—महायशः Son of king Triśaṅku and father of Yuvanāśva (I. 70, 24-25). The blind, old Ṛṣi prayed that his only son who had been killed by Daśaratha might repair to the regions inhabited by Dhundhumāra (II. 64, 42).

DHŪMRA—The lord of the bears. In response to Sugrīva's call came with 2000 krons of bears (IV. 39, 20). भीमाक्षः भीमवदनः (VI. 27, 8). Dwelt on the Rkṣavān hills near the Narmadā, with his contingent (VI. 27, 9). Stood ready beside Rāma with his fierce bear-army. शत्रुनिवर्हणः (VI. 42, 29). Greeted and honoured by Rāma (VII. 39, 21).

DHŪMRA-GIRI, The—Hills lying near the Meru. Sugrīva asked Hanūmān to send for the Vānaras living there (IV. 37, 6).

DHŪMRĀKṢA—A Rākṣasa chief whose palace was visited by Hanūmān (V. 6, 23). In Rāvaṇa's court stood ready with his arms to kill Rāma etc. (VI. 9, 3). Appointed by Rāvaṇa to lead a fresh army to the battle-field (VI. 51, 18-19). Borrowing an army from the officer-in-charge, went out to give battle along with a large number of armed

(*The Calcutta Edition reads *Amūrta-*rajas**.)

Rākṣasas and took the way to the western gate where was posted Hanūmān. Was perturbed on being assailed by various inauspicious signs, still he went on and stood face to face before the enemy (VI. 51, 20-36). **भीमविक्रमः** (VI. 52, 1). In the battle field to instil courage into the hearts of his followers mercilessly slaughtered the Vānaras (VI. 52, 18). Put to flight the Vānaras with the help of his bow and arrows (VI. 52, 25). Left the chariot before it was broken to pieces by Hanūmān and flung a thorny club at his opponent, but ultimately was crushed to death by a hill top (VI. 52, 28-37). Son of Sumālī and Ketumati (VII. 5, 38-39). Accompanied Rāvaṇa in his expedition against Kuvera (VII. 14, 2). Badly wounded by Maṇibhadra in the course of a duel (VII. 15, 10-12). Took a bath in the Narmadā and gathered flowers for Rāvaṇa (VII. 31, 35-37).

DHŪMRĀŚVA—Of the reigning house of Viśālā. Son of Sucandra and father of Sṛñjaya (I. 47, 14).

DHṚTARĀṢṬRĪ—A daughter of Tāmrā and Kaśyapa (III. 14, 17-18). Mother of the geese and the swans (III, 14, 19-20),

DHṚṢṬA-KETU—**सुधार्मिकः** Son of Sudhṛti and father of Haryaśva (I. 71, 8).

DHṚTI—A minister of Bharata, who was asked to accompany his master while he started to pay a visit to Rāma on the Citra-kūṭa hills. (II. 93, 25).

DHṚṢṬI—A courtier of Daśaratha (I. 7, 3). Went out to receive Rāma on his return home (VI. 127, 11).

DHAUMYA—A great Ṛṣi of the west who came to greet Rāma on his return home (VII. 1, 4).

DHRUVA-SANDHI—One of the sons of Susandhi and father of Bharata (I. 70, 26).

DHVAJA-GRĪVA—A Rākṣasa chief whose palace was visited by Hanūmān (V. 6, 25). Hanūmān set fire to his house (V. 54, 13).

NATĀ—Daughter of Śukī and mother of Vinatā (III. 14, 20).

NANDANA (i)—A messenger sent by Vasiṣṭha on the death of Daśaratha to bring back Bharata from Kekaya (II. 68, 5). Reached Rāja-grha (II. 70, 1). Well-received by the Rājā and the prince, approached Bharata and delivered Vasiṣṭha's message and handed over the presents to him (II. 70. 2-5). Replied to Bharata's enquiries and requested him to start without delay (II. 70, 11-12).

NANDANA, The (ii).—The celestial gardens. 20,000 Apsarās appeared in response to Bharadvāja's request from the Nandanas (II. 91, 45). Destroyed by Rāvaṇa (III. 32, 15; VII. 13, 9). Abounding with trees that yield fruits and sweet juice throughout the year (III. 73, 7). Kuvera being wounded in the duel with Rāvaṇa, was taken there for treatment (VII. 15, 34).

NANDIN—भगवान्; Rāvaṇa having laughed at him for having a face that resembled that of a Vānara, cursed him that he would meet his death at the hands of the Vānaras (V. 50, 2-3). Rāvaṇa remembered his curses (VI. 60, 11). करालः, कृष्णर्षिगलः वामनः, विकटः, मुखडी, ह्रस्वभुजः, बली, भवस्यानुचरः (VII. 16, 8-9). Approaching Rāvaṇa advised him to return forthwith, as traffic across the hills had been closed by Śiva for all beings (VII. 16, 9-11). Rāvaṇa having derided him (VII. 16, 11-14) pronounced his curse (VII. 16, 15-21). शंकरस्य अपरा तनुः (VII. 16, 15).

NANDI-GRĀMA—A town where Bharata set up his abode during the exile of Rāma (I. 1, 39). On his return from exile, Rāma went there to cast off his matted hair (I. 1, 88-89). Bharata's residence there foreseen by Vālmīki (I. 3, 17). Bharata with his court moved there. Situated to the east of Ayodhyā (II. 115, 10). Hanūmān went there to inform Bharata of Rāma's return home (VI. 125, 28).

NANDI-VARDHANA—घर्मत्मा ; Son of Udāvasu and father of Suketu (I. 71, 5).

NAMUCI (i)—A daitya killed by Indra (III. 28, 3). With फेन (a cuttle fish-bone) (III. 30, 28). His duel with Indra referred to (IV. 11, 22 ; VI. 56, 17). Killed by Viṣṇu because he was an enemy of the gods (VII. 6, 34).

NAMUCI (ii)—भगवान् ; A great sage of the south who came to greet Rāma on his return home (VII. 1, 3).

NARAKA (i)—Son of Kaśyapa and Kālakā (III. 14, 17).

NARAKA (ii)—A दुष्टात्मा Dānava who dwelt in the town of Prāgjyotiṣa on the Varāha hills (IV. 42, 31).

NARA-VYĀGHRAS, The--These were a class of Kirātas. लीक्षचूडाः हेमाभाः, प्रियदर्शनाः, आमसीनाशनाः, द्वीपवासिनः, अन्तर्जलचराः, घोराः । Sugrīva asked Vinata to go to them in search of Sītā (IV. 40, 27-29).

NARĀNTAKA—A Rākṣasa chief whose house was burnt down by Hanūmān (V. 54, 15). An officer of Prahasta, who followed his Lord to the battle-field (VI. 57, 30). Slaughtered the Vānara army mercilessly (VI. 58, 19). Struck down by Dvivida (VI. 58, 20). उदग्रः नगरगुणयोधी ; Accompanied Rāvaṇa to the battle-field driving in a car, holding a bow and arrows in his hand (VI. 59, 22). Mourned the loss of Kumbhakarna (VI. 69, 7). Offered to go to the battle-field

on hearing the words of Trisirā (VI. 69, 9). शक्रतुल्यपराक्रमः, वीरः, अन्तरिक्षगतः, मायाविशारदः, त्रिदशदर्पघ्नः, समरदुर्मदः, सुबलसम्पन्नः, विस्तीर्णकीर्तिः, never suffered a defeat, अस्त्रवित्, युद्धविशारदः, प्रवरविज्ञानः, लब्धवरः, शत्रुबलार्दनः, भास्करतुल्यदर्शनः, (VI. 69, 10-14). Son of Rāvaṇa, started for the battle-field asking leave of Rāvaṇa (VI. 69, 17-19), riding on a swift-going white horse named Uccaiḥ-Śravā, holding प्रास and शक्ति arms in his hands (VI. 69, 29-30). Routed the Vānara army with his arms (VI. 69, 66-78). Fought a duel with Aṅgada in the course of which lost his प्रास, horse and ultimately his life (VI. 69, 85-94).

NARMADĀ (i) The—रम्या, महारगनिषेविता, Sugrīva asked Aṅgada to go there in search of Sitā (IV. 41, 8). Described (VII. 31, 19-24).

NARMADĀ (ii)—A Gandharvī who married his three daughters to Mālyavān, Sumālī and Mālī (VII. 5, 30-32).

NALA—Constructed a bridge over the channel (I. 1, 80). His construction of the bridge foreseen by Vālmīki (I. 3, 34). Son of Viśvakarman. महाकपिः (I. 17, 12). Lord of the Vānaras (I. 17, 33). Accompanied Sugrīva to Kiṣkindhā (IV. 13, 4). Lakṣmaṇa passed by his house at Kiṣkindhā (IV. 33, 10). In response to Sugrīva's call joined him with 100 Krors and 100,000 Vānaras. महावीर्यः (IV. 39, 35-36). सौम्यः, श्रीमान्, Favorite son of Viśvakarman (VI. 22, 41). महोत्साहः (VI. 22, 42). Samudra having suggested his name as the fittest creature alive to prepare a bridge across the sea (VI. 22, 41-42) said that as he enjoyed the favor of his father Viśvakarman, he alone was competent to undertake the work (VI. 22, 43-49). वानरश्रेष्ठः (VI. 22, 43). Constructed the bridge with the help of other Vānaras (VI. 22, 59). Broke through the walls of Lankā (VI. 42, 22). Fought a duel with Prapatana

(VI. 43, 13). Took out the eye balls of the enemy (VI. 43, 23). Carefully guarded the Vānara army (VI. 47, 2-4). Did fearful carnage in the ranks of the Rakṣasa army (VI. 55, 30-32). Attacked Ravana with a huge stone, but disabled (VI. 59, 42-43). Wounded by Indrajit (VI. 73, 43). Created by the gods to help Rāma (VII. 36, 48). Greeted and honored by Rāma (VII. 39, 20).

NALA-KUBERA—The dear son of Kuvera. धर्मतः यः भवेद्विप्रः, क्षत्रियः वीर्यतः, क्रोधात् अग्निः, क्षान्त्या वसुधासमः; Made advances to Rāmbhā (VII. 26, 32-34). On hearing from Rāmbhā that Rāvaṇa had raped her on the way, formally pronounced a curse on him that in future if he raped an unwilling party his head would burst into pieces (VII. 26. 40-56).

NALINĪ—One of the seven rivers which issuing from the Vindu Lake flows to the east (I. 43, 12).

NAHUṢA (i)—Son of Ambarīṣa and father of Yayāti (I. 70, 42). The blind, old Ṛṣi prayed that his only son who had been shot dead by Daśaratha, might proceed to the regions inhabited by Nahuṣa (II. 64, 42).

NAHUṢA (ii)—Son of Āyu. Ruled in heaven during the absence of Indra after the destruction of Vṛtra. इन्द्रसमद्युतिः (VII. 56, 27-28).

NĀGAS, The—The gods were requested to produce sons on Nāga girls (I. 17, 5). Produced sons to render aid to Viṣṇu-incarnate (I. 17, 9). Being hit hard by the tools of Sagara's sons, wailed aloud (I. 39, 20). Complained against Sagara's sons to Brahman (I. 39, 23-26). Resided at the hermitage of Agastya (III. 11, 91). Sons of Surasā (III. 14, 28). Rāvaṇa was not destined to die at their hands (III. 32, 18-19). Rāvaṇa passed through groves frequented by them (III. 35, 14). Dwelt in the Uttara Kurus (IV. 43, 49). Haunted the Mahendra hills (V. 1, 6).

Sang in praise of Hanūmān while he was crossing the sea (V. 1, 84). Haunted the Maināka hills (V. 1, 97). Haunted the aerial regions (V. 1, 167). Haunted the seas (V. 1, 202). Their women folk—चरारोहाः पूर्णचन्द्रनिभाननाः (V. 12, 22). Were surprised to find Akṣa killed by Hanūmān (V. 47, 37). Came in a body to witness the duel between Hanūmān and Indrajit (V. 48, 23). Were pleased with the achievements of Hanūmān in Laṅkā (V. 54, 46). Haunted the Ariṣṭa hills (V. 56, 36). Left them when they sank under Hanūmān's weight (V. 56, 48). Compared to blooming lotuses in the sky-sea (V. 57, 1). Went into raptures when Rāma killed Kumbhakarṇa (VI. 67, 172). Assembled to witness the struggle between Rāma and Makarākṣa (VI. 79, 25). Protected Lakṣmaṇa when he fought with Indrajit (VI. 90, 63.) Came to witness the final struggle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa (VI. 102, 43). Became restless when Rāma fought with Rāvaṇa (VI. 107, 46). Prayed for the safety of the cows and Brāhmaṇas on that occasion (VI. 107, 48-49). Spent the whole night in witnessing the combat (VI. 107, 65). Their girls used to disturb Pulastya by visiting the hermitage of Tṛṇa-Vindu (VII. 2, 9-12). But made themselves scarce when he pronounced a curse on them (VII. 2, 13-14). Praised Viṣṇu when he went out to fight against Mālyavān etc. (VII. 6, 68). Frequented the banks of the Mandākinī (VII. 11, 42). Defeated by Rāvaṇa (VII. 23, 5). Accompanied Brahman to propitiate Vāyu (VII. 35, 64). On the destruction of Lavaṇa (VII. 69, 36) breathed freely (VII. 69, 39). Honored Rājā Ilā for fear of incurring his displeasure (VII. 87, 5-6). Came to witness the oath-taking ceremony of Sītā in Rāma's court (VII. 97, 8). Expressed divers feelings on the disappearance of Sītā (VII. 97, 24-25). Expressed their joy on the return of Viṣṇu (VII. 110, 14).

NĀGA-DATTĀ—The divine courtesan whose help was

prayed for by Bharadvāja in the matter of entertaining the army of Bharata (II. 91, 17).

NĀGA-RĀJA—His temple at Agastya's hermitage visited by Rāma (III. 12, 20).

NĀBHĀGA—Son of Yayāti and father of Aja (I. 70, 42-43).

NĀRADA—In reply to Vālmiki's question (I. 1, 1-5) briefly described the life-history of Rāma (I. 1, 6-100). **तपःस्वाध्यायनिरतः, चाग्विदां वरः, मुनिपुंगवः**. (I. 1, 1). **महर्षिः** (I. 1, 5). **त्रिलोकज्ञः** (I. 1, 6). Honored by Vālmiki, departed (I. 2, 1-2). **महामुनिः** (I. 2, 1). **देवर्षिः** (I. 2, 2). His protection invoked by Kausalyā during Rāma's exile (II. 25, 11). Sang in the presence of Bharata while he stayed in the hermitage of Bharadvāja (II. 91, 46). In reply to Rāvaṇa's query (VII. 20, 1-2) persuaded him to fight with Yama (VII. 20, 3-17). **मुनिपुंगवः** (VII. 20, 1). **महातेजाः, देवर्षिः, अमितप्रभः** (VII. 20, 3). In reply to Rāvaṇa's question (VII. 20, 17-19) directed him to Yama's capital (VII. 20, 20-21). **स्वतेजसा दीप्यमानः** (VII. 20, 17). **महर्षिः, देवगन्धर्व-विहारः, समरप्रियः** (VII. 20, 18). **भगवान्, ऋषिः** (VII. 20, 20). **महातेजाः, विप्रेन्द्रः, विधूम इव पावकः** (VII. 20, 27). Out of curiosity turned his steps towards Yama's palace (VII. 20, 27-32). Calling on Yama, informed him about the coming visit of Rāvaṇa (VII. 21, 1-7). At the request of Agastya, narrated the birth-story of Vālin and Sugrīva (VII. 37(a) 4-6). Narrated the cause of Sītā's abduction to the assembly of Devas etc. on the top of the Meru hills (VII. 37(d), 5-7). **सुमहायशः** (VII. 37(d), 5). **सुमहातेजाः** (VII. 37(d), 7). In reply to Rāvaṇa's enquiries (VII. 37(e), 1-6) said that he could meet with his match in the Śveta Dvīpa (VII. 37(e), 7-10). In reply to Rāvaṇa's query (VII. 37(e), 10-12) said that they had become the denizens of that land by favor of Nārāyaṇa (VII. 37(e), 13-17). Out of

curiosity followed Rāvaṇa to the Śveta Dvīpa (VII. 37(e), 19-20). केलिकरः, विप्रः, नित्यं च समरप्रियः (VII. 37 (e), 20). Wondered at finding Rāvaṇa roughly handled by the women of the Śveta Dvīpa (VII. 37 (e), 42). Cursed Rājā Nrga for having neglected to hear his plaint (VII. 53, 16-22). Summoned by Rāma entered his presence chamber and was duly received (VII. 74, 4-5). Hearing out Rama's version (VII. 74, 6-7) said that the Brāhmaṇa had come to lose his only child because somewhere in his realm a Śūdra was practising austerities, which he could not do in the Tretā Age (VII. 74, 7-33). Witnessed the oath-taking ceremony of Sītā in Rāma's court (VII. 96, 5).

NIKUMBHA—A minister of Rāvaṇa. Hanūmān saw him standing near Rāvaṇa's throne (V. 49, 11). Hanūmān set fire to his house (V. 54, 15). वीर्यवान् वीरः Son of Kumbhakarṇa (VI. 8, 19). If permitted, promised to kill Rāma etc. unaided (VI. 8, 19-21). In Rāvaṇa's court stood ready with his arms to kill Rāma etc. (VI. 9, 1-6). Fought a duel with Nila (VI. 43, 9). Wounded his opponent (VI. 43, 29-31). रक्षोबलकेतुभृतः, अद्भुतवीरकर्मा ; Accompanied Rāvaṇa to the battle-field holding a burning परिघ in his hand (VI. 59, 21). Son of Kumbhakarṇa, sent by Rāvaṇa to carry on the fight (VI. 75, 44-46). धीरः (VI. 77, 2). भीमविक्रमः (VI. 77, 4). Decked with ornaments—necklace, bracelets, ear-rings and garlands (VI. 77, 5-6). On the death of his brother Kumbha advanced to the battle-field brandishing a huge परिघ that damped the spirit of the Vānaras (VI. 77, 1-10). Struck Hanūmān with his परिघ and wrestled with him till killed (VI. 77, 10-24).

NIKUMBHILĀ, The—A holy spot in Laṅkā where stood a Caitya tree. Indrajit retired there to offer sacrifices (VI. 82, 23-24). Situated in the midst of a grove (VI. 86, 15).

Rāvaṇa paid a visit there and found Megha-nāda performing varicus sacrifices (VII. 25, 2-3).

NIDRĀ—Accompanied Indra to Lāṅkā where he went to feed Sitā with the divine food in accordance with the instructions of Brahman (III. 56 (a), 8). Overwhelmed the Rākṣasas with sleep when requested to do so by Indra (III. 56 (a), 9-10). Returned with Indra (III. 56 (a), 26).

NIMI—An ancestor of Janaka and father of Devarāta (I. 66, 8). महात्मा (I. 66, 8). त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतः, परम-भ्रमात्मा, सर्वसत्त्ववतां वरः (I. 71, 3). His son was Mithi (I. 71, 4). The twelfth son of Rājā Ikṣvāku. वीर्यं धर्मं च परिनिष्ठितः, वीर्यसम्पन्नः* (VII. 55, 4-5). Founded the town Vaijayantapura. Reduced to a bodiless being by Vasiṣṭha for having superseded him in a sacrifice. In return reduced Vasiṣṭha to an immovable being (VII. 55, 4-21). Preserving his body, the Ṛṣis went on conducting the sacrifice (VII. 57, 10-11). In reply to the offer made by the Devas (VII. 57, 13) said that he wanted to dwell in the eyes of every being (VII. 57, 14). His corpse churned by the Ṛṣis for the sake of a son, consequent birth of Mithi or Janaka the Vaideha (VII. 57, 17-20).

NIVĀTAS, THE—A class of Daityas who dwelt in the jewelled city. Fought with Rāvaṇa without intermission for a year at the end of which concluded an alliance with him at the intervention of Brahman (VII. 23, 6-14).

NIŚĀKARA—A great sage who dwelt on the top of the Vindhya. ऋषिः, उग्रतपाः (IV. 60, 8). Sampāti after his discomfiture at the hands of Sūrya went to see him. ज्वलिततेजाः दुर्धर्षः (IV. 60, 14). Sampāti saw him coming towards the hermitage after a bath, surrounded by various animals. Finding Sampāti maimed badly enquired what the matter was (IV. 60, 11-21), Sampāti having narrated the story of his discomfiture (IV. 61, 1-17) consoled him that

his wings, the light of his eyes etc. would be restored and asked him to wait there for the arrival of Rāma's messengers whom he could help substantially by directing them to Rāvaṇa's place of refuge (IV. 62, 1-14). महर्षिः, द्रष्टृत्वार्थ-दर्शनः (IV. 62, 15). राजर्षिः, अमितौजाः (V. 63, 10).

NIṢUMBHAKA—An Asura defeated and killed by Viṣṇu (VII. 6, 35).

NIṢĀDA, The—Killed the male *Krautou* (bird) in the act of mating (I. 2, 10). Was cursed by Vālmīki (I. 2, 15). Lived by killing all beings (I. 59, 21).

NĪLA—Son of Agni. श्रीमान्, अग्निसदृशप्रभः, तेजसा यशसा वीर्यादतिरिच्यते वीर्यवान् (I. 17, 13). हरियूथपः (I. 17, 33). Accompanied Sugrīva to Kiṣkindhā (IV. 13, 4). Extracted the arrow from the heart of the dead Vālin when Tārā complained about it (IV. 23, 17-18). नित्यकृतोद्यमः (IV. 29, 29). Lakṣmaṇa passed by his house at Kiṣkindhā (IV. 33, 11). नौलाञ्जनचयाकारः Supplied Sugrīva with an army of 10 crors of Vānaras (IV. 39, 22). Sugrīva wanted to send him to the South in search of Sitā (IV. 41, 2). Placed in charge of the van-guards by Rāma (VI. 4, 9-10). Led the van as directed (VI. 4, 30). सेनापतिः of the invading army, looked after the discipline of the army. चरतां श्रेष्ठः (VI. 4, 35). Protected and maintained discipline in the ranks of the Vānara army stationed on the sea-shore (VI. 5, 1). Placed in charge of the centre of the invading army (VI. 24, 14). Appointed to lead the attack on the eastern gate of Lankā defended by Prahasta (VI. 37, 26). Fought a duel with Nikumbha (VI. 43, 9). Killed the charioteer (VI. 43, 29-31). At the desire of Rāma (VI. 45, 1-3) went up to discover the position taken up by Indrajit, but was foiled (VI. 45, 4-5). Repaired to the place where Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were lying senseless

(VI. 46, 3). Wounded by Indrajit (VI. 46, 18). Carefully guarded the Vānara army (VI. 47, 2-4). Finding Prahasta mercilessly killing the Vānaras, advanced towards him (VI. 58, 34-35). Being pierced with a flight of arrows, attacked Prahasta with a huge tree (VI. 58, 38-39). Killed the horses yoked to the enemy's chariot and broke to pieces his bow (VI. 58, 43-44). Fought with Prahasta till he died (VI. 58, 45-55). Congratulated by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (VI. 58, 59). Fought with Rāvaṇa till disabled (VI. 59, 70-89). परवीरहा (VI. 59, 74). महाबलः (VI. 59, 77). लाघवयुक्तः (VI. 59, 84). Published Rāma's instructions in the ranks of the Vānara army (VI. 61, 34-36). Flung a huge piece of stone at Kumbhakarṇa (VI. 67, 22). Struck with the thigh by Kumbhakaraṇa (VI. 67, 28). Finding Aṅgada hardly pressed, rushed to his assistance (VI. 70, 20). Fought with Triśirāḥ (VI. 70, 20-22). Fought with and killed Mahodara (VI. 70, 27-31). Attacked Atikāya, but being defeated, had to retire (VI. 71, 39-42). Wounded by Indrajit (VI. 73, 45). Returned home after being duly honored by Rāma (VI. 128, 87-88). Created by the gods to help Rāma (VII. 36, 47). Greeted and honored by Rāma (VII. 39, 20).

NRGA—A great king who was reduced to a grass-hopper for having neglected to attend to the business of Nārada and Parvata in the guise of two Brāhmaṇa suitors (VII. 53, 7-24). Prepared himself for suffering the doom, after appointing his son Vasu king and ordering the artists to make suitable dwelling-places for him (VII. 54, 5-19).

NRṢAṆGU—A great sage of the west who came to greet Rāma on his return home (VII. 1, 4).

PAÑCAJANA—A Dānava killed by Viṣṇu on the Cakravān hills (IV. 42, 28).

PAÑCAVAṬĪ, The—At the request of Rāma (III. 13, 11) Agastya suggested the name of Pañcavaṭi where the exiled ones could live happily together. बहुमूलफलोदकः देशः (III. 13, 13-22). Rāma etc. started (III. 13, 23-25). Rama etc. entered the forests along with Jaṭāyu (III. 14, 36). Arrived there. नानाव्यालमृगायुता (III. 15, 1). पुष्पितकाननः (III. 15, 2).

PAÑCĀPSARA, The—A beautiful lake, one yojana in area (III. 11, 5). Created by the great sage Māṇḍakaraṇi in the Daṇḍaka forests, under the waters of which he lived with his five Apsarā wives (III. 11, 11-18).

PADMA (i)—One of the Nidhis that accompanied Kuvera when he went out to fight against Rāvaṇa (VII. 15, 16). Carried Kuvera to the Nandana when he was hurt (VII. 15, 34).

PADMA (ii)—A regional elephant (VII. 31, 36).

PADMĀCALA, The—Hills. Sugrīva asked Hanūmān to send for the Vānaras living there (IV. 37, 4).

PANASA (i)—In response to Sugrīva's call supplied him with 3 Krors of Vānaras. महावीर्यः यूयपः (IV. 39, 21). Defended the flank of the invading army during its march to the South (VI. 4, 33). Dwelt on the Pāriyātra hills, युद्धे दुष्पसहः नित्यं (VI. 26, 38). Broke through the walls of Laṅkā (VI. 42, 22). Set himself up at the eastern gate to assist Kumuda (VI. 42, 24). Carefully guarded the Vānara army (VI. 47, 2-4). Greeted and honored by Rāma (VII. 39, 20).

PANASA (ii)—A Rākṣasa follower of Bibhiṣaṇa who assuming the form of a bird spied the defence organisation and fighting strength of the Rākṣasas (VI. 37, 7-19).

PAMPĀ, The—A lake on the banks of which Rāma formed an acquaintance with Hanūmān (I. 1, 58). Rāma's visit foreseen by Vālmiki (I. 3, 21). The Ṛṣis who dwelt there

were oppressed by the Rākṣasas (III. 6, 17). Crossed by Rāvaṇa while he returned home after abducting Sitā (III. 54, 5). Flowed by the Rṣyamūka hills (III. 72, 12). पुष्करणी, अशर्करा, अविमंशा, समतीर्था, अशैवला (III. 73, 11). संजातवालूका, कमलोत्पलशोभिता Resounding with the coo-ing of various water-fowls and abounding with fishes (III. 73, 12-16). पद्मगन्धि, शिवं वारि, सुखशीतम्, अनामयम्, रुप्यस्फटिकसंनिभम् (III. 73, 17). Situated at the foot of the Rṣyamūka hills (III. 73, 31). प्रियदर्शना (III. 75, 6). पंकजैः समावृता, रम्योपवनसंबाधा, रम्यसंपीडितादका, स्फटिकोपम-तोया, शृङ्गवालुकसंतता, मत्स्यकच्छपसंबाधा, तीरस्थद्रुमशोभिता, लताभिः अनुवेष्टिता, किन्नरादिसेविता, नानाद्रुमलताकीर्णा, शीतवारि-निधिश्चुभा, पद्मसौगन्धिकैः ताम्रा, कुमुदमण्डलैः शुभ्रा, कुवलयोद्घाटैः बहुवर्णा, अरविन्दोत्पलवती, बहिर्णोद्घुष्टनादिता, विविधवृक्षैः प्रमदोपशोभिता (III. 75, 16-25). पद्मोत्पलभूसाकुला (IV. 1, 1). वैदूर्यविमलोदका (IV. 1, 3). The Scenic beauty of the Pampā regions during the spring described by Rāma (IV. 1, 3-41; 57-66; 73-94; 99). Situated to the north of the Hills (IV. 1, 73). Crossed by Rāma (IV. 1, 125). Rāma's car passed across—(VI. 123, 40-42).

PARAŚU-RĀMA—His contest with Rāma foreseen by Vālmiki (I. 3, 12). भीमसङ्काशः, जटामण्डलधारी, भार्गवः, जामदग्न्यैः, राजविमर्दनः (I. 74, 17). कैलास इव दुर्धर्षः, काला-न्निव दुःसहः, तेजोभिः ज्वलन्निव, पृथग्जनैः दुर्निरीक्ष्यः (I. 74, 18). त्रिपुरघ्नः यथा शिवः With the axe resting on the shoulder, holding a bright bow in one hand and a sharp arrow in the other. भीमसङ्काशः, ज्वलन्निव पावकः (I. 74, 19-20). Accepted the formal greeting offered by the Vasiṣṭha and other Ṛṣis and then addressing Rāma said that he had come there with the other bow, on hearing that Rāma had broken the one belonging to Śiva (I. 74, 23-24; 75, 1-4). भीमदर्शनः (I. 74, 23). प्रतापवान्, जामदग्न्यः (I. 74, 24). Took no notice of

the appeal preferred by Daśaratha (I. 75, 5-10). **महातपाः** **ब्राह्मणः** (I. 75, 6). **स्वाध्यायव्रतशालिनाम् भार्गवाणां कुले जातः** ; Gave up the use of arms in accordance with a promise made to Indra (I. 75, 7). Retired to the Mahendra Hills after making a gift of the universe to Kaśyapa (I. 75, 8). **महामुनिः** (I. 75, 9). **प्रतापवान्** (I. 75, 10). After narrating the history of the two bows, Śaivi and Vaiṣṇavi, manufactured by Viśva-karmaṇ, challenged Rāma to fit the arrow on the Vaiṣṇavi bow which was so long in the keeping of his family (I. 75, 10-28). Rāma having fulfilled the conditions laid down by him (I. 76, 1-10) felt nervous, then implored Rāma not to deprive him of his freedom of movement. In stead requested him to deprive him of the regions earned by him through asceticism, adding that he was not ashamed of his defeat at his hands as he was the slayer of Madhu and the God of gods (I. 76, 11-20). Thus resigning his control over the different regions, retired to the Mahendra hills (I. 76, 22-24). Killed his mother with an axe at the desire of his father (II. 21, 33).

PARUṢA—A general of Khara who went to fight with Rāma (III. 23, 32). **महावीर्यः बलाध्यक्षः** Attacked Rāma with his whole army at the command of Khara (III. 26, 27-28).

PARJANYA—**महाबलः** ; Produced Śarabha as his Vānara child at the desire of Brahman to help Rāma (I. 17, 15).

PARVATA—A **देवर्षिः** who in reply to Rāvaṇa's queries explained the ends of an ascetic, of a hero who had died in the battle-field, and of a bestower of gold ; and therefore told Rāvaṇa that king Māndhātā would shortly satisfy his war-thirst (VII. 23 (c), 1-25). Cursed Rājā Nṛga for having neglected to hear his suit (VII. 53, 16-22). Witnessed the oath-taking ceremony of Sitā in Rāma's court (VII. 96, 5.)

PAHLAVAS, THE—Contingents of—created by Śavali, the cow of Vasiṣṭha, at the latter's bidding to resist the

cupidity of Viśvāmitra. These destroyed the royal army under the very nose of the king. Destroyed by Viśvāmitra (I. 54, 18-20.).

PĀÑCĀLAS, THE—Vasiṣṭha's messengers on their way to Kekaya crossed the country (II. 68, 13).

PĀNDYA—(i) A country in the south. Sugrīva asked Aṅgada to go there in search of Sitā (IV. 41, 12.).

(ii) A town in the extreme south situated on the sea-coast. हेममयं दिव्यं मुक्तामणिविभूषितम् युक्तं कवाटम् ; Sugrīva sent Aṅgada there in search of Sitā (IV, 41, 18-19).

PĀRIYĀTRA, THE—A range of hills submerged in the western seas. Sugrīva asked Suśeṇa and others to ran-sack the golden peak of these hills, a hundred yojanas in extent, in search of Sitā. At the top there lived 24 krors of Gandharvas. Sugrīva warned the Vānaras against molesting them as well as asked them not to pluck fruits and roots as they were their protectors (IV. 42, 19-24). On it resided Panasa-the vānara chief (VI. 26, 38).

PĀVANĪ, THE—one of the seven streams which is-suing from the Vindu Lake flows to the east (I. 43, 12).

PĪṄGALA—A door-keeper of Sūrya (VII. 23 (b), 9).

PITṚS, THE—In compliance with the request made by the Devas (I. 49, 5-7) replaced the lost testies of Indra by means of those belonging to a ram (I. 49, 8). Since then only castrated rams are offered to them (I. 49, 9). Protected Lakṣmaṇa while he was fighting with Indrajit (VI. 90, 63). Appeared before Rāma and admonished him for ill-treating Sitā (VI. 117, 2-9). स्वधाभोजिनः ; Lived on the milk of Surabhī (VII. 23, 23).

PITṚ-LOKA, THE—Situated next to the Rṣabha hills in the south. सुदारुणः, The chief-town of Yama ; तमसावृतः ; Sugrīva asked the Vānara chiefs whom he sent to the south

in quest of Sītā, not to go there as it was inaccessible to all living creatures (IV. 41, 44-45).

PIŚĀCAS, THE--Their protection invoked by Kausalyā during Rāma's exile; रौद्राः. (II. 25, 17). Rāvaṇa was not to meet his death at their hands (III. 32, 18-19). Spent the whole night in witnessing the struggle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa (VI. 107, 65).

PIŚĀCA—A Rākṣasa chief: सन्ध्यासुगिरिप्रकाशः अशनि-तुल्यवेगः—Accompanied Rāvaṇa to the battle-field riding on a horse (VI. 59, 18).

PUNḌARIKĀ—A divine courtesan, who danced in the presence of Bharata at the desire of Bharadvāja (II. 91, 47).

PUNJIKASTHALĀ *vide* AÑJANĀ above.

PUNḌRA—(i) In the East. Sugrīva asked Vinata to go there in quest of Sītā (IV. 40, 23).

(ii) In the South—a country. Sugrīva asked Aṅgada to go there in search of Sītā (IV. 41, 12).

PURŪ-RAVAS—Kicked away by Urvaśī (III. 48, 18). Admitted quietly Rāvaṇa's supremacy (VII. 19, 5). In accordance with Mitra's curse (VII. 56, 22-25) Urvaśī became his wife on earth. Son of Budha, the Kāśī-Rāja, राजर्षिः (VII. 56, 25-26). His birth described (VII. 89, 23-24). ऊर्जितः, महाबलः (VII. 89, 23-24). Succeeded Ila at Pratiṣṭhāna (VII. 90, 23-24).

PULASTYA—A Prajāpati who came after Kratu fourth in order of succession (III. 14, 8). His mind-born son was Viśravā (V. 23, 6-7). Lived in the Kṛta Age, son of Prajāpati, ब्रह्मर्षिः, साक्षादिव पितामहः (VII. 2, 4). A favorite of the Devas and popular with all living beings for his superior qualities (VII. 2, 6). द्विजः (VII. 2, 11). Performed austerities in the hermitage of Tṛṇabindu lying near the Meru Hills. But when regularly disturbed by the Nāga and Ṛṣi and Rājārṣi maidens and the Apsarās, cursed

that whoever came there to see him would become at once pregnant (VII. 2, 5-13). At the request of Tṛṇabindu (VII. 2, 24-26) married his daughter (VII. 2, 27). Pleased with his wife (VII. 2, 28-29) promised her a son, Viśravā by name, who would become as qualified as himself (VII. 2, 29-31). On the birth of his grand-son named him Vaiśravaṇa, knowing that he was destined to become the Lord of Wealth (VII. 3, 6-8). Established peace between Rāvaṇa and Māṇdhātā by acting as the mediator (VII. 23 (c), 55 56). **महाधृतिः, महानृषिः, वायुतुल्यगतिः, द्विजः** (VII. 33, 2-3). On hearing the captivity of Rāvaṇa paid a visit to Māhiṣmatī (VII. 33, 1-4). In reply to Arjuna's enquiry (VII. 33, 12) requested him to release his grand-son, Rāvaṇa (VII. 33, 13-16). Returned to Brahma-Loka (VII. 33, 20). Came to see Budha while he was consulting his friends with regard to Ila (VII. 90, 9). Witnessed the oath-taking ceremony of Sītā at Rāma's court (VII. 96, 3).

PULAHA—A Prajāpati who came after Pracetā (III. 14, 8).

PULINDAS, The—A country in the north where Sugrīva sent Śatavali to look about for Sītā (IV. 43, 11).

PULOMĀ—The Dānava father of Sacī. Killed by Indra for giving permission to Anuhlāda to abduct Sacī (IV. 39, 6-7). Abducted Jayanta while he was defeated by Meghanāda **वीर्यवान्** (VII. 28, 19-20).

PUŠKARA—Viśvāmitra retired there to practise austerities (I. 61, 4). Rājā Ambariṣa broke his journey there (I. 62, 1). Śunaḥ-śepa saw Viśvāmitra there and melted his heart (I. 62, 6-7). Viśvāmitra practised austerities there for a thousand years more (I. 62, 28). Menakā came to take her bath there when Viśvāmitra accosted her (I. 63, 4).

PUŠKALA—Son of Bharata, **वीरः** (VII. 100, 16). Consecrated by Rāma (VII. 100, 19). Accompanied the invading army to Kekaya (VII. 100, 20).

PUṢKALĀVATA—A town in Gāndhāra founded by Bharata. Described (VII. 101, 10-15).

PUṢPAKA, The—The aerial car in which Rāma travelled to Ayodhyā from Laṅkā (I. 1, 86). Went to Nandī-grāma carrying Rāma etc. (I. 1, 88). Foreseen by Vālmiki (I. 3, 30). Rāma's visit foreseen (I. 3, 37). Formerly the property of Kuvera, captured by Rāvaṇa; विमानम् कामगम् (III. 32, 14-15). Flew through the air (III. 48, 6). सूर्यसङ्काशम्, विशालम्, रमणीयम्, मनोजवम् (III. 55, 30). Hanūmān saw it lodged in the garage—inlaid with different kinds of multi-coloured jewels, and painted with different colours, looking bright on account of the precious stones, loftier than the loftiest of the houses. Decorated with paintings and inlaid works (V. 7, 7-15). मणिरत्नविभ्रितम्, Its windows were made of molten gold (V. 8, 1). Represented the climax of Visva-Karman's creative genius, could pass through the aerial regions (V. 8, 2). तपःसमाधानपराक्रमार्जितम्, मनःसमाधानविचारचारिणम् (V. 8, 4). मारुततुल्यगामिनम् (V. 8, 5). बहुकूटमण्डितम् (V. 8, 6). Carried through the aerial regions by thousands of night-wandering ghosts (भूतगणाः) wearing ear-rings, with huge and steady eyes and great speed (V. 8, 7-8). Viśva Karman built it for the use of Brahman, Kuvera obtained it from him as a mark of favour; Rāvaṇa captured it for his own use from the last (V. 9, 11-12). Pillars made of gold and silver, decorated with the picture of deer, furnished with spacious rooms, a golden stair-case and beautiful platforms. The latticed windows were decorated with gold and crystals, and the platforms with sapphires and emeralds, dotted with all sorts of precious stones, annointed with red sandal paste. Hanūmān got into it and smelt the various foods and drinks placed there (V. 9, 11-19). Described (VI. 121, 23-29). Drawn by swans (VI. 122, 26). महानादम्, In obedience to the command of Rāma flew through the aerial region (VI.

123, 1). Returned to Kuvera by Rāma (VI. 127, 61-62). Appropriated by Rāvaṇa on the defeat of Kuvera ; described (VII. 15, 35-40). Became unsteady on reaching Śveta Dvīpa, hence Rāvaṇa sent it back (VII. 37 (e), 23-27). At the desire of Kuvera, approached Rāma and offered its services to him (VII. 41, 2-10). सर्वभूतानां सर्वेषां अग्र्यम् (VII. 41, 10). Dismissed by Rāma (VII. 41, 11-15). Went away (VII. 41, 15-16). Remembered by Rāma, made its appearance at once (VII. 75, 5-7).

PUSPITAKAS, The—Situated at the distance of a hundred yojanas from Laṅkā in the midst of the Southern seas. लक्ष्मीवान् गिरिः, सिद्धचारणसेवितः, चन्द्रसूर्याशुसङ्काशः ; Its peaks touch the sky. On one of its gilded peaks there rests the sun. Invisible to the eyes of the ungrateful, the merciless and the atheist. Sugrīva asked Aṅgada to search the hills carefully after bowing to them (IV. 41, 28-31).

PUSPOTKATĀ—Daughter of Sumālin and Ketumatī (VII. 5, 38-40).

PŪRU—रूपवान्, the favorite son of Yayāti & Sarmisthā (VII. 58, 10-11). In reply to his father's wish (VII. 59, 6) gladly consented to take over his infirmity (VII. 59, 7). In accordance with his father's promise (VII. 59, 12) was Crowned King (VII. 59, 17), and ruled over Kāśī (VII. 59, 19). राज्यविवर्धनः (VII. 59, 17). धर्मेण महतावृतः, महायशः (VII. 59, 19).

PŪṢA—His protection invoked by Kausalyā during Rāma's sojourn (II. 25, 8). One of the Ādityas. Went out bravely to fight against the Rākṣasas (VII. 27, 36).

PRTHIVĪ—In reply to Mahādeva's query as to the receptacle where he could deposit his discharged semen (I. 36, 14) the Devas suggested the name of Pṛthivī (I. 36, 15). The discharged semen overspread the entire

face of the earth (I. 36, 16). Cursed by Umā by virtue of which she became the wife of many (I. 36, 23-24). 60,000 sons of Sagara directed to institute a thorough search for the missing horse all over the earth. समुद्र-मालिनी (I. 39, 14). वसुमती Being hard hit by the adamantine tools of Sagara's sons complained bitterly (I. 39, 19). Consort of Viṣṇu (I. 40, 2). Called on by Kaikeyī to witness the oath taken by Daśaratha (II. 11, 13-16). Her protection invoked by Kausalyā during Rāma's sojourn (II. 25, 13). यशस्विनी मेदिनी (III. 64, 27). जगतः माता, सर्वलोकनमस्कृता भूमिः Earth-quakes referred to (III. 66, 9). Moved at the prayer of Sītā (VII. 97, 13-16) appeared in Rāma's court, seated on a beautiful throne, borne by the Nāgas, from out of the Earth, then vanished along with Sītā (VII. 97, 17-20). Accompanied Rāma on the occasion of his Great Renunciation (VII. 109, 6).

PR̥THU—Son of Anaranya and father of Tr̥ṣaṅku (I. 70, 24).

PR̥THUGR̥IVĀ—A general of Khara who went to fight with Rāma (III. 23, 32). महावीर्यः बलाभ्यक्तः Attacked Rāma with his whole army at the command of Khara (III. 26, 27-28).

PRAGHASA—A general of Rāvana who at the desire of his master (V. 46, 1-17.) fought a duel with Hanūmān and was disabled (V. 46, 33-37). Fought a duel with Sugr̥iva (VI. 43, 10.). Killed by Sugr̥iva (VI. 43, 25.). Son of Sumālīn and Ketumatī (VII. 5, 38-40.).

PRAGHASĀ—A Rākṣasī guard of Sītā who threatened to devour her because of her refusal to become the wife of Rāvaṇa (V. 24, 41-43.).

PRACETĀ—a Prajāpati who came after Aṅgirā (III. 14, 8.)

PRAJANGHA—(i) A Vānara chief who hurried on the invading army to the south (VI. 4, 36.). Fought at the western gate under Hanūmān (VI. 41, 40-41.). Greeted and honored by Rāma (VII. 39, 22.).

PRAJANGHA (ii)—A Rākṣasa chief who fought a duel with Sampāti (VI. 43, 7). Wounded his opponent with three arrowshots (VI. 43, 20). Asked by Rāvaṇa to accompany Kumbha and Nikumbha to the battle-field (VI. 75, 47). Finding Aṅgada roughly handling Soṇitākṣa (VI. 76, 4-11), rushed to his assistance (VI. 76, 12). Fought with Aṅgada in the company of Yūpākṣa and Soṇitākṣa (VI. 76, 14-15). Killed by Aṅgada in a duel (VI. 76, 18-27). Uncle to Yūpākṣa (VI. 76, 28).

PRATARDANA—Vide Kāśī above.

PRATIṢṬHĀNA—A town, where the accursed Urvaśī joined her husband, Purūravas (VII. 56, 26). Capital of the kingdom of Kāśī (VII, 59, 19).

PRATIṢṬHĀNA—A town in the Madhya Deśa, founded by Rājā Ilā (VII. 90, 22).

PRAPATANA—A Rākṣasa chief चीरः घोरः रणदुर्धरः who fought a duel with Nala (VI. 43, 13). Lost his eyes in the duel (VI. 43, 23).

PRABHĀVA—A trusted counsellor of Sugrīva. Persuaded Sugrīva to appease the wrath of Lakṣmaṇa by acting according to his promise (IV. 31, 42-51). संमतो-
दारदर्शनः (IV. 31, 42). अर्थ-धर्मयोः मन्त्रिण् (IV. 31, 43).

PRABHOJYA—A Vānara chief created to help Rāma (VII. 36, 48).

PRAMATI—A Rākṣasa follower of Bibhīṣaṇa who assuming the form of a bird spied the defence organisation and fighting strength of the Rākṣasas (VI. 37, 7-19).

PRAMĀTHA—A general of Dūṣaṇa who went to fight with Rāma (III. 23, 33). **महाबलः** (III. 26, 18). **सेनाप्रयायिन** (III. 26, 17). Attacked Rāma with a battle axe on the death of Dūṣaṇa (III. 26, 18-19). Overwhelmed by Rāma with a shower of arrows (III. 26, 21).

PRAMĀTHĪ—A Vānara general who joined the expeditionary force organised by Rāma. Dwelt on the Uśīrabīja and Mandara hills near the Gaṅgā. A terror to the elephants since the old enmity between the elephants and the Vānaras. Leader of 100,000,000 Vānaras. **दुर्धरः** (VI. 27, 25-32). Killed the draught horses of Indrajit and demolished his chariot (VI. 89, 48-51).

PRAMUCI—A great Ṛṣi of the south who came to greet Rāma on his return home (VII. 1, 3).

PRAMODANA.—**मोदकरः** Consulted by Budha with regard to Ila (VII. 90, 5).

PRAYĀGA—Rāma guessed that he was near Prayāga (II. 54, 5). Situated on the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā where lived the Ṛṣi, Bharadvāja (II. 54, 8). Bharata with his army arrived at the outlying forests of Prayāga after crossing the Gaṅgā and before proceeding to Bharadvāja's hermitage left his army there (II. 89, 21-22).

PRASŪŚRUKA—Son of Manu and father of Amba-riṣa (I. 70, 41).

PRASABHA—A Vānara chief who set himself up at the eastern gate to assist Kumuda (VI. 42, 24).

PRASTHALA—A country in the north to which Sugrīva sent Śatabala in search of Sītā (IV. 43, 11).

PRASRAVAṆA, THE—Name of a hill rich in streams (III. 30, 21). After the abduction of Sītā, asked by Rāma if he had seen her. Cursed and threatend when kept quiet

(III. 64, 29-35). Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa retired there after the coronation of Sugrīva (IV. 27, 1). शार्दूलमृगसंगुष्टः, भीमरवैः सिंहैः वृतः, नानागुल्मलतागूढः, बहुपादपसंकुलः, ऋक्षवानर-गोपुच्छैः मार्जारैः च निषेवितः, मेघराशिनिभः नित्यं, शुचिकरः, शिवः (IV. 27, 2-3). The natural beauty of the hill described by Rāma (IV. 27, 7-25). Proposed to spend the 4 months of the rainy season there: situated as it was near the town of Kiṣkindhā (IV. 27, 25-26). बहुदृश्यदरीकुलः (IV. 27, 29). Also known as the Mālyavān Hills (IV. 28, 1). Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa waited for a month more for the return of messengers (IV. 45, 3-4). The disappointed Vānaras returned there after a month in accordance with Sugrīva's instructions. (IV. 47, 6).

PRAHASTA—A Rākṣasa chief whose palace was visited by Hanūmān (V. 6, 17). Hanūmān found him waiting near Rāvaṇa's throne. मन्त्रतत्त्वज्ञः (V. 49, 11). At the desire of Rāvaṇa enquired of Hanūmān about the reason of his visit there and whence he had come (V. 50, 7-12). Hanūmān set fire to his mansion (V. 54, 8). शूरः सेनापतिः Assured Rāvaṇa that he could annihilate all the Vānaras on the face of the earth (VI. 8, 1-5). At Rāvaṇa's court stood ready with his arms to kill Rāma etc. (VI. 9, 3). Bowed down to Rāvaṇa in the court and was offered a seat (VI. 11, 28). In accordance with the desire of Rāvaṇa (VI. 12, 1-2) made arrangements for guarding the town strictly and reported the fact to the king (VI. 12, 3-5). प्रणोतात्मा (VI. 12, 3). राज्य-हितैषी (VI. 12, 6). In reply to Bibhiṣaṇa's proposal (VI. 14, 1-6) thought that they had no reason to fear Rāma (VI. 14, 7-8). Defeated Maṇibhadra on the Kailāsa hills (VI. 19, 11). Placed in charge of the eastern town-gate (VI. 36, 17). युद्धकोविदः (VI. 57, 4). वाहिनीपतिः (VI. 57, 12). In reply to Rāvaṇa's offer (VI. 57, 1-11), said that he knew it from before that if Rāvaṇa refused to give back Sītā, war

would break out. Still to pay off his debts to him agreed to lay down his life. So saying ordered the officers-in-charge to supply him with an army (VI. 57, 12-19). **प्रख्यातगुणैरुषः** (VI. 57,40). When the army was ready took leave of Rāvaṇa and set out for the eastern gate driving in a beautiful chariot in the rear of the army and accompanied by his four officers (VI. 57,24-32). When the battle commenced, drove into the heart of the Vānara army to court destruction (VI. 57,40-44). **सुमहाकायः महावेगः** (VI. 58,2). **वीर्यवान्** (VI. 58,3). Leader of a third of the Rākṣasa army of Rāvaṇa; **अस्त्रचित् शूरः सुप्रख्यातपराक्रमः** (VI.58,4). **भीमपराक्रमः** (VI. 58,5). Wrought havoc in the ranks of the Vānara army (VI. 58,24). Finding Nīla advancing towards him received him with a shower of arrows (VI. 58. 35-37). **धन्विनां श्रेष्ठः** (VI. 58,36). Being struck with a tree pierced Nīla with more arrows (VI. 58, 39-40). Being deprived of his horses and the bow leapt on the ground holding a club and fought a hand-to-hand fight with Nīla till crushed to death with a stone (VI. 58, 45-55). Son of Sumālin and Ketumatī (VII. 5, 38-39). Accompanied Sumālin to congratulate Rāvaṇa (VII. 11, 2-3). Finding a favourable opportunity incited Rāvaṇa to re-occupy Laṅkā for the Rākṣasas by ousting Kuvera (VII. 11, 13-19). In compliance with the request of Rāvaṇa (VII. 11, 19-25), went to Laṅkā and requested Kuvera to give back the property of the Rākṣasas to Rāvaṇa (VII. 11, 25-29). Informed Rāvaṇa about the evacuation of Laṅkā by Kuvera (VII. 11, 45-46). Accompanied Rāvaṇa in his expedition against Kuvera (VII. 14, 1-2). Killed a thousand Yakṣas (VII. 15,7). Took to flight while fighting with Anaraṇya (VII. 19,19). In obedience to Rāvaṇa's order (VII. 32 (a), 4-5), entered the house in question till in the seventh court he came across a shining figure who laughed aloud; reported the matter accordingly to Rāvaṇa (VII. 23 (a), 5-9). Carried

Rāvaṇa's message (VII. 23 (b), 7-8), to Sūrya's door-keepers (VII. 23 (b), 9-10). Attacked by Māndhātā, delivered a counter-attack (VII. 23 (c), 34-35). In the Soma-Loka complained against the burning-cold rays of the Moon and wanted to return (VII. 23 (d), 18-19). Accompanied Sumālin to the battle-field to fight against the Devas (VII. 27, 28). Took a bath in the Narmadā and then gathered flowers for Rāvaṇa (VII. 31, 34-37). Massacred the enemy mercilessly (VII. 32, 36). Fought a duel with Arjuna and was struck down with a club (VII. 32, 42-47).

PRAHĀSA—A minister of Varuṇa who in reply to Rāvaṇa's repeated enquiries (VII. 23, 49) stated that his master had gone to Brahma-Loka to attend a music party (VII. 23, 49-51).

PRAHRĀDA—A Daitya chief, son of Hiranya-Kaśipu. His quarrel with his father referred to (VII. 23 (a), 66 67).

PRAHETI—A Rākṣasa chief of the first creation. चार्मिकः Retired from the world to the forest (VII. 4, 14-15).

PRĀG-VATA—a town situated on the Gaṅgā where Bharat crossed the river (II. 71, 9-10).

PRĀGJYOTIṢA—A town made of gold, situated on the Varāha hills in the mid-ocean. Sugrīva asked Suśeṇa to go there in search of Sītā (IV. 42, 31).

PRĀJĀPATYA MAN, THE—Appeared in the flames of the Putreṣṭi-sacrifice celebrated by Daśaratha (I. 16, 11). His appearance described (I. 16, 12-14). Held in his hands a gold cup containing rice cooked in milk (I. 16, 15). Introducing himself to Daśaratha, gave the cup containing that divine food and instructed the king to offer it to his favorite wives (I. 16, 18-20). Disappeared (I. 16, 24).

PRAUṢṬHA-PADA—One of the Nidhis who accompanied Kuvera to fight against Rāvaṇa (VII. 15, 16).

(To be continued.)

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

The fourth instalment of the "Index to the Rāmāyaṇa" by Mr. Manmatha Nath Ray appears in the following pages. The opinions, so far received from scholars, testify to the usefulness of the compilation. Professor Sylvain Lévi pointed out that the "Index" should have been based upon a comparative study of the various recensions of the text and not confined to a single redaction only. But it appears that the adoption of the procedure would have unnecessarily here, complicated the task of the compiler. The plan followed here, which is more simple, is to suffix a number of appendices at the end, showing the different recensions and adding a supplementary portion of the work treating of the additional matter of the other recensions. It is to be hoped that this will be more helpful to general students and afford better facilities for reference.

GOPINĀTH KAVIRĀJ.

III—AN INDEX TO THE ŚABARA BHĀṢYA.

BY THE LATE COL. G. A. JACOB.

(*Cont. from Vol. VII, p. 166.*)

“तदु संनयेत्”, 647.

“तनूनपातं यजति” (T S-2. 6. 1. 1.), 232, 667.

तन्त्र, the ‘extension’ of something once done to many—
just as the light of *one* lamp benefits *many*, 661.

तन्त्रावापलक्षण, 661—2.

“तस्मात्त्रिष्टुभो लोके माध्यंदिने सवने etc.”, 571.

“तस्मादेकं साम तृचे क्रियते etc.”, 195, 199.

“तस्मान्मैत्रावरुणः प्रेष्यति चानु चाह”, 589.

“तस्मै प्रीता इषमूर्जं नियच्छन्ति”, 139, 145.

“तस्य...धेनुर्दक्षिणा”, 419, 421.

“तस्यैकशतप्रयाजानुयाजाः”,—71, 73, 683.

“ता अनुष्ठयोच्चावयतात्”,—265 (T B. 3. 6. 6. 3.)

“तां वा एतां शवलीं समामनन्ति etc.”, 415.

“तानि द्विर्द्विरवद्यति”, 619.

“तानेवानूधीनानहरहरालभेरन् etc.”, 68.

तान्द्री, 651—2. (Mādhava and others read तान्द्रीणां or
Sūtra X. 8. 50).

“तान्पर्यग्निकृतानुत्सृजति etc.”, 726.

“तान्पर्यग्निकृतान्प्रोक्षितानितरा आलभन्ते etc.”,—731.

तार्तीयसवनिकः, 525.

“तार्यं यजमानः परिधत्ते”,—446 (Āpast XXIII. 5. 7. तार्यं
is some kind of *garment*. See Eggeling’s note on
Satap. V. 3. 5. 20. In Śabara the reading is तार्यं,
and so too Mādhava and the Vṛitti ; but Garbe gives
it as above).

तिलकोमे स्यन्दते, 128.

“तिष्ठन्तं पशुं प्रयजन्ति”, 446, 799.

“तिष्ठन्त्याज्यामन्वह आसीनः पुरोनुवाक्यामाह”, 468 (Of Āpast. 24, 13, 10)

“तिस्रः संस्तुतानां विराजमतिरिच्यन्ते”, 496.

“तिस्रोऽनुष्टुभश्चतस्रो गायत्रीः करोति”, 107, 111.

तीर्थयात्रां गतः, 412.

“तुथो वो विश्ववेदा विभजतु”, 416 (Āpast xiii. 5, 11, and Śatap. iv. 3. 4 15—‘May the all-knowing Tutba distribute you’, *Eggeling*).

“तुविग्रीवो पवोदरः etc.”, 138, 143 (R. V. viii. 17. 8. Indra...*vast in his bulk, strong in his neck*, Griffiths.)

तुष निष्कास, (See Āpast Śr. viii. 8. 12. 13. and ‘वारुण्या etc.’, below) 37, 39.

तृच, a strophe consisting of three verses,—195, 472, 527.

“तृतीय सवने आग्रयणाद्गृह्णाति षोडशिनम्”, 498.

तृतीयन्, one who receives $\frac{1}{3}$ (See Manu viii. 210 and Bühler’s note), 418.

“तृप्त एवैनमिन्द्रः प्रजया पशुभिस्तर्पयति”,—86, 140, 145.

“तेषां ये प्रथमं यजेरन् etc.”, 676, 678.

तैलं हि भोजने स्नेहनेनोपकरोति, 339.

तैलपानपत्,—7, 8.

तैले पीते पानीयं न पातव्यं etc., 285.

‘तौ न सौम्येऽध्वरे नपशौ”, 804.

“तौ होचतुः किमावयोस्ततः स्यात्”, 316.

“त्रयस्त्रिकपाला खिवृता स्तोमेन संमिताः etc.”,—543.

“त्रयोदशरात्रमृद्धिकामा उपेयुः etc.”, 97. TS. 2. 5. 7. 1.

“त्रिः प्रथमामन्वाह त्रिरुत्तमाम्”, 161, 163, 492—3 ; 859 (with the addition of ज्योतिष्मतीरनुब्रूयात्)

“त्रिः प्रोक्षति”, 790.

“त्रिवृता यूपं परिवीयः”, 743-4.

“त्रिवृदग्निष्टोमः etc”, 98, 542 (cf. Āpast-xxii. 6‘g’)

“त्रिवृद्वह्निष्पवमानः”, 542—3.

त्रिषु कुलेषु देवदत्तो भुङ्क्ते, 95, 90 (with भोजयितव्यः)

“त्रिसंयुक्ते द्वे”, 1—769.

“त्रीणि ह वै यज्ञस्योदराणि, etc”, 453, 489.

“त्रीन्परिधीन् etc”, 146.

“त्रेधा तण्डुलान्विभजेत् , TS.2.5.5.2), 289.

“त्रेधा सन्नद्धं बर्हि भवति etc” 14 (Āpast Sr. viii 1. 11)

“त्रैधातवीया दीक्षणीया भवति” Āpast xx. 8.4.),—136.

“त्रैधातव्या, 136.

“त्रैधातव्यायां सहस्रमृत्पेये सोम चमसः”, 348.

“त्रैयम्बकाः, N. of certain cakes offered with mantra of same name at Oāturmāsya sacrifices,—627.

त्र्यङ्गवत् (in sūtra),—585.

“त्र्यङ्गैः स्विष्टकृतं यजति”, 583.

त्र्यनीका, N. of a ceremony,—(Āpast. xxi. 14), 517, 520

त्र्यम्बकाः, cakes offered to Rudra Tryambaka, 124-5.

“त्र्यम्बकेषु पुरोडाशः etc”, 126.

“त्वं ह्यग्ने प्रथमो मनोता etc”, 468 (RV. VI. 1. 1 ; TB. 3. 6. 10. 1. “Thou, first inventor of this prayer, O Agni”, Griffith. This is the मनोतामन्त्र)

“त्वग्बिलया मूलदण्डया दर्व्या जुहोति” (see Kāty. Sr. i. 81, and Āpast 1. 15. 12. त्वग्बिला = ‘having the cavity on the bark-seed (a ladle)’. In the Āpast. passage it occurs as त्वकोबिला which the com. explains by त्वग्भागे बिलं यासां),—118.

त्सरा, “approaching stealthily” (M. W.). Śabara explains it by छुन्नगति,—153.

“त्सरा वा एषा यज्ञस्य etc”, 151—3.

“त्वमग्ने व्रतपा असि”,—792 (Rv. viii. 11. 1. ‘Thou, Agni, art guard of sacred rites,’ *Griffith*)

“दक्षिणतो निधाय प्रतिप्रस्थाता अवद्यति”, 591.

दक्षिणा, defined as दक्षकरणी, and दक्ष = बल ‘(?) 413.

“दक्षिणा युक्ता वहन्ति ऋत्विजः”, 349.

“दक्षिणाद्धान्मध्या चावद्यति”, 351.

“दक्षिणे पाणौ जूहुमासादयति”, 763.

दण्डकलितवत्, 521—3.

दण्डेन युध्यते (gives no idem of the दण्डो),—301.

दण्डो मनोहरो रमणीयश्च प्रहरशीघ्रम्, 241.

दध, ‘giving’ (M. W.)— in कंकटकाय दधम्),—642.

“दधि घृतं शाकं शालयो देवदत्तो भोजयितव्यः etc.”—450, 542.

“दधि मधु घृतं...तत्संसृष्टं प्राजापत्यं भवति” (Āpast. 19. 21. 14. 15), 89, 381.

“दर्भपिञ्जलैरवज्वलयति”,—336.

दर्विहोम,—116, 636.

“दर्शनमिदं व्यपदिश्यते प्राप्तिरुच्यताम्”, 332.

“दर्शपूर्णमासयोर्यज्ञक्रतोश्चत्वार ऋत्विजः”, 758.

“दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां स्वर्गकामो यजेत”, 130, 140, 164, 172, 454, 662, 670, 672, 694, 702, 708.

“दशप्रयाजानिष्टा etc.”, 275. For दशपेय see Eggeling, vol. iii, p. xxvi.

“दशमेऽहनि दशपेयः सम्पद्यते etc.”, 733.

“दश सामसहस्राणि etc.” (Sloka), 470.

दार्विहोमिक, 116—7

दाशतय, relating to the R. V. as consisting of 10 māṇḍalas, 106, 115, 572.

“दिक्षु दुन्दुभयो नदन्ति”, 444 (cf. Āpast xxi. 18. 1.)

दिष्टगति, ‘the appointed way’—death, 370, 392.

दीक्षणीयेष्टि, 306—7.

“दीक्षासु यूपं छिनत्ति क्रीते वा राजनि”, 742, 744.

“दीक्षितमदीक्षिता दक्षिणापरिक्रीता ऋत्विजः etc.”,—349.

दीक्षितव्रत, 748.

“दीक्षिताः सत्रैर्यजन्ते etc.”, 564.

“दीक्षिताः स्वार्थं यजन्ते etc.”, 564.

“दीक्षितो न ददाति न जुहोति न पचति”, 630.

दीर्घैः केशैः शोभनो देवदत्तः, 557.

“दुहान ऊर्ध्वर्दिव्यं मधुम्रियम् etc.”, 206 (Rv. ix. 107. 5.

“Milking the heavenly udder for dear meath etc.”,
Griffith).

“दूणाशेन यजेत” (?), 77.

द्वष्टकार्य (opp. to धर्ममात्र), 396—7.

द्वष्टप्रवृत्ति, 58.

द्वष्टे सति अद्वष्टकल्पनायां हेतुर्नास्ति, 468.

देवता, of *secondary* importance in a yāga, 85 ; the fruit comes from the yāga, not from the devatā, 86, 87, 137—146 ; but see 305 ; def. on 454—5 ; indispensable to yāga, 651.

देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तपाकेन...एकः किञ्चित् करोत्यपरोऽपि किञ्चित्, 545.

देवदत्तेन सभायां परं प्रलपता etc., 221.

देवदत्ते यज्ञदत्तयानमारूढे etc., 803.

देवदत्तो भोजयितव्यो विष्णुमित्रो भोजयितव्यः etc., 71.

देवदत्तो मथुरायां ब्राह्मणः, 877.

देवदध (in the sentence ‘चत्वारि वा पतानि देवदधानि अवदानानि etc.’) It is thus explained by Sabara :—दधशब्दो भागधेयवचनः, तद्यथा ‘कण्टककायदधं, नापितायदधं’ इति देवदधानि देवभागा इत्यर्थः—641—2.

“देवस्य त्वा सवितुः प्रसवे etc.”, 166, 789, 853, (TS. 1. 8. 7. 2.)

“देवानाज्यपानावह”, Sat. i. 4. 2. 17. Bring hither the butter drinking gods, 473.

“देवासुराः सत्यमभजन्त etc.”, 604.

“देवीरापः”, a mantra used when crossing a stream,—
792, (VS. viii. 26 etc.)

देशना, dissection, instruction,—300.

दैक्ष अग्नीषोमीयपशु (दीक्षासंबन्धात्), 75.

“दैव्या अध्वर्यव उपहूताः etc.”,—172 (TS. 2. 6. 7. 4. Āpast
3. 2. 8.)

“दैव्याः शमितार उत मानुष्या आरभध्वम्” (TB. 3. 6. 6. 1;
Ait. B. ii. 6), 267.

“द्यावापृथिव्य एककपालः”, 16, 45. Cf. TS. 2. 1. 4. 7.

“द्यावापृथिव्यां धेनुमालमेत etc.”, 379.

“द्रव्यान्यङ्गान्यभिमृशति शृतान्यशृतानि च”,—583.

“द्रव्योःप्रणयन्ति यस्मात् द्वाभ्यामेति”, 41.

“द्वादशदीक्षाः etc.”, 778, TS. 5. 4. 8. 2.

“द्वादश द्वादशानि जुहोति”, 854.

“द्वादशाहमृद्धिकामा उपेयुः”, 66, 352, 374, 877.

“द्वादशाहेन प्रजाकामो यजेत”, 97.

“द्वादशाहोऽहर्गणः” (cf. Āpast, 24. 4. 4.), 95.

द्वादशोपसत्त्व,—64, 66—7.

“द्वाभ्यां खनति” (TS. 5. 1. 4. 1), 863.

“द्वाभ्यां गायत्रीभ्यां वैश्यस्य”,—111.

“द्वाभ्यां लोमावद्यति etc.”, 64, 78 (TS. vii. 4. 9.)

“द्वाविंशाः पवमाना अभिषेचनीयस्य”, 452.

द्विकर (वाक्य),—838.

द्वियज्ञ, a sacrifice performed for two, 356, 359.

“द्विरात्रेण यजेत”,—485.

द्वेष्ट्य (in sūtra),—361.

“द्वे संस्तुतानां विराजमतिरिच्येते”, 495, 497.

“द्वयक्षरो वषट्कार एष वै प्रजापतिः”, 122.

धर्माः, ‘details’, ‘particulars (of rites)’, 129, 135, 300,

धर्मजात, the whole body of details, 300.

धर्ममात्र (opp. to दृष्टकार्य), 396.

धानवयोवचन, expressive of धानं and वयस् (?),—379.

“धान्यमसि धिनुहि देवान् etc”, 171—2 (V. S. i. 20).

“धामनामासि”, 789.

“धारयेयुस्तं यं कामाय गृहीयुः etc”, 513, 515—6.

“धार्यो गतश्रिय आहवनीयः”, 280.

धिजाय, a subordinate, 49.

धुरि सामकर्मन् (according to the *sūtra vṛitti*, this has reference to the injunction आवृत्तं धूर्षु गायेत), 494.

धेनु is not only a cow but also the female of other animals, e. g. अश्वधेनु = a mare,—58.

“धेनुरथैष भूर्वैश्वदेवस्त्रिवृदेव etc.”

ध्रुवा, the largest of the 3 sacrificial ladles, *Garbe*—650

“न केसरिणो ददाति नोभयतोदतः प्रतिगृह्णाति”, 414 (see TS. 2. 2. 6. 3.)

नक्षत्रेष्टि, 434.

“नगिरा गिरेति ब्रूयात् etc,” 183, 185, 222, 435 (See *Tāndya* viii 6. 9.)

“न ग्राम्यान्पशून्निहन्ति नारयान्” (TS.5.4.3.2),—625—2

न च दृष्टे सत्यदृष्टकल्पना संभवति, 737.

न च प्रातस्य पुनरुपदेशे किञ्चिदस्ति प्रयोजनम्, 647 .

न च भिक्षुका भिक्षुकादाकांक्षन्ति, 105.

न च गृहीतविशेषणा etc, 26.

न चार्थात्कृतं चेदकेन प्राप्यते, 800.

न चैकः शब्दोऽनेकार्थो युक्तः (cf *अन्यायश्चानेकार्थत्वम्*)

“न जगत्या परिदध्यात् etc”, 493.

“नतौपशौ करोति न सोमे”, 623.

“नत्वावानन्यो दिव्यः etc,”—204 (R. V. vii. 32. 23. 'None other like to thee, of the earth or other heavens etc,' Griffiths. *Āpast. Śr.* xvii, 8. 4)

“न प्रति समिन्धीत यत्प्रतिसमिन्धीत भ्रातृव्यमस्मै जनयति”,—874.
न प्रप्रेति ब्रूयात् etc, (see R.V. vi. 18. 1 and Tāṇḍya viii.6,5)
187.

न भवन्तः समाजं गच्छन्ति etc.,—236.

“न मांसमश्नीयात् etc.”,—562.

“न माता वर्धते न पिता etc.”,—235, 254.

“न राजन्यो वैश्यो वा सान्नाय्यं पिबेदसोमपीथो ह्येषः”,—880.

“नव त्रिवृति ग्रहानि etc.”,—101.

“नव प्रयाजा नवानुयाजाः etc.”,—801 (TB. 1. 6. 3. 3.)

“नव प्रयाजान्यजति नवानुयाजान्”,—385.

“न वाजिनेन प्रचरन्ति”,—46.

न वा शब्दपूर्वको ह्यर्थसम्प्रत्ययः तस्मादर्थनिष्पत्तिः” (So the
ancient वृत्तिकार),—456.

“न विषं भक्षयितव्यम्”,—621, 627.

“न वै त्वं ममालमसि जायार्थं etc.”, 197; 528 (with जायात्वे)

“न वै बृहद्रथन्तरमेकं च्छन्दः etc.”,—204.

“न वैश्वदेवे उत्तरवेदिं उपवयन्ति etc.”,—42-3.

“न वै स्त्रैणानि सख्यानि सन्ति”, 178. (R. V. X. 95. 15.

‘With women there can be no lasting friendships’—
Griffith.)

“न षोडशी नाम यज्ञोऽस्तीत्याहुः”,—495.

न सर्पायाङ्गुलिदंया,—621.

“न सर्वाणि सह यज्ञायुधानि etc.”,—862.

“न स्वाहेति वचनं करोति यन्त्रं च नाह”,—637.

न हि देवतामन्तरेण यागो भवति,—657.

न हि देवदत्तो देवदत्तेन स्तूयते, 553.

न हि पृषदाज्यत्वं नाशयति यस्य क्षीरेण भोजनमुदितं भवति (?),—
801.

न हि देवदत्तस्य ग्रामाच्छादिकं तद्यज्ञदत्तस्य भवति,—2.

न हि सामान्यवाची शब्दो विशेषानभिबदति,—634.

न हि स्निग्धस्य स्नेहनं कर्तुं शक्यं पिष्टस्य वा पेषणम्,—191.

“ होतारं वृणीते नार्षेयम् ”,—753.

न ह्यकुर्वति कारयतीति भवति 362-3

“ न ह्यत्र गौर्दीयते etc. ”,—353-4.

न ह्युखायामधि श्रीयणायाम् etc.,—545.

न ह्युल्का प्रकाशनेनाप्रयुज्यमाना etc.,—248.

न ह्येकस्य शब्दस्यानेकार्थता सत्यां गतौ न्याय्या,—111.

नागवेलायामागन्तव्यम्,—660. It is difficult to assign a meaning to this the context which requires that it should be some time at which elephants are known to do something or other—perhaps to their trumpeting at feeding time ?

“ नातिरात्रे गृह्णाति षोडशिनम् ”,—624.

नानाबीजिकेष्टि (See vol. i.),—750, 789.

“ नानुयाजेषु ये-यजामहं करोति,”—620, 625.

नान्तरिक्षेन दिवि अग्निश्चेतव्यः,—602.

“ नान्यामाहुतिं पुरस्ताज्जुहुयात् etc. ”, (TS. 6.2.3.2)—606-7.

“ नायुर्दां जुहोति न सामगायति etc. ” (cf- Āpast, viii 7. 17),—38.

नारिष्टहोम,—122.

“ नारिष्टान्होमान् जुहोति ”,—434.

“ नाश्वं विक्रीणीत ” (Smṛiti),—414.

“ न सोमयाजी संनयेत् ”,—648 (TS. 2.5.5.1).

नास्कन्दपालिकावत् (?),—820.

“ नास्यैतां रात्रिं पयसा अग्निहोत्रं जुहुयात् etc. ”,—691.

निकामिन्, N. of a class of sacrifices (so Garbe, see Āpast. xxii. 1.2, and xxiv. 4.6),—78.

निगम, the Vedas or a quotation therefrom,—457, 462, 465, 473.

निगमन, the summing up or conclusion in a syllogism,—1-10.

“ नित्य धृत आहवनीयोगतन्त्रियः ”,—875.

“ निरवधयन्तो भक्षयन्ति चक्षुषाकारं भक्षयन्ति ”,—342. (Cf. Āpast. Sr. xiii. 17.5,6).

निर्घान (√घे),—‘sucking’,—342.

“ निर्मन्थेनेष्टकाः पचन्ति ”,—41 (see निर्मन्थ्य in voli.,)

निर्वाप,—166, 170—1.

“ निवीतं मनुष्याणाम्प्राचीनावीतं पितृणां etc ”,—(Ts. 2.5.11.1)
—434.

“ निवीता ऋत्विजः प्रचरन्ति ”,—674.

निशियज्ञ,—828-9.

निष्कास, ‘ scrapings from a pan ’,—37 (Āpast. Sr. viii. 7.14).

“ नीचैः सदोमिनुयात् ”,—366.

“ नीतास्तु दक्षिणास्तु चात्वाले कृष्णविषाणां प्रास्यति ”,—748 (Ts. vi. 1.3.8. See above, चात्वाले etc.)

“ नेष्मा बर्हिः सन्नह्यते etc. ”,—124.

“ नेमिं नमन्ति etc. ” (Rv. viii. 97.12),—202.

“ नैतस्य पशोर्ग्रहं गृह्णन्ति ”,—322.

नैयमिक,—670.

“ नैऋतं चरुं नखावपूतानां परिवृत्यै etc. ”, (cf. Ts. 1.8.9.1),—
222, 435—(नैऋतः)

“ नैऋतं चरुं निर्वपेत्कृष्णानां व्रीहीणाम् ”—615.

“ नैवारः सप्तदशशरावः क्षीरे चरुर्भवति ” (cf. Āpast xvi. 33.3),
—375.

“ नैवारश्चरुः ”,—435.

नैष्कर्तृक, one who lives by cutting wood (?),—350.

“ पञ्चतानि हवींषि सर्वपर्वसु संचरन्तिः ”,—14.

पञ्चदशरात्र,—832, 834.

“ पञ्चदशा सामिधेन्यः ”,—492.

“ पञ्च पञ्चनखा भक्षाः ”,—595.

“ पञ्च पञ्चाशतस्त्रिवृतः संवत्सराः ” (TB. 3.12.9.8),—268.

- “ पञ्चभिः पशुभिर्यक्ष्यमाणः सन्निवपेरन् ”,—560.
 “ पञ्चभिरश्वैः क्रीतः ”,—412.
 “ पञ्चभिर्युनक्ति etc. ”,—752.
 पञ्चम्यां पञ्चम्यां भुङ्क्ते,—505.
 “ पञ्चैन्द्रानतिग्राह्यान् गृह्णाति ”,—639.
 पटहवेलायामागन्तव्यम्,—660.
 पटे आकृष्यमाणे तदाश्रितं चित्रमप्याकृष्यते,—81.
 “ पल्लय उपगायन्ति ”,—78, 443-445 (TS. vii. 5.8.3, Apas
 xxi. 17.4)
 “ पत्नी संयाज्य प्राञ्च उदेत्य मानसाय प्रसर्पन्ति ”,—553, 558.
 पत्नी संयाजाः,—158.
 “ पत्नी संयाजान्तानि ग्रहानि संतिष्ठन्ते ”,—158—9, 781.
 पदोत्तरं सूत्रम् (?),—402, 409.
 पम्पाकुलायप्रतिमाश्च वृक्षाः,—14.
 “ पयसा अग्निहोत्रं जुहोति ”,—626.
 “ पयसा मैत्रावरुणं श्रीणाति etc. ”, (TS. vi. 4. 8. 2),—148,
 291, 293, 739.
 “ पयोव्रतं ब्राह्मणस्य etc. ”, (TS. vi. 2. 5. 3),—434, 815.
 परमापूर्वं (as distinguished from अङ्गापूर्वं),—151-3.
 “ पराक् बहिष्पवमानेन स्तुवन्ति ”,—488.
 “ पराचीः सामिधेनीरन्वाह ”,—488, 499.
 परार्द्ध, the highest number,—411.
 परिक्रय, hire wager,—348-9, 352-3.
 परिचक्षा, offence censure, blame, (See Egg. on S'at 2. 3.
 1.36 etc.),—46.
 परिचोदना सूत्र,—563.
 परिधि,—524-5.
 “ परिधौ पशुं नियुञ्जीत ”—222, 435, 835 and 836 (with
 नियुञ्जन्ति).
 परिसंख्या, 469, 503 (व्यान).
 पर्यभिक्तं पात्नीवतमुत्सृजति ” (TS. 6. 6. 6. 1),—297, 583.

पर्यग्निकृतानारण्यानुत्सृजन्ति ",—293, 727.

पर्युदस्तानुयाजक, 622. See *Prābhākara Mīmāṃsā*, pp. 237-8. Jhā renders it "partial rejection".

पर्युदास, 'exclusion' (in contra. to प्रतिषेध prohibition),—624, 629, 631.

" पर्वणि नाध्येयम् etc.",—849.

" पवमाने रथन्तरं करोत्यार्भवे बृहत् " etc,—351, 539.

पवमानेष्टि,—375, 774.

पशु कामेष्टि,—296.

पशुवत् (in Sūtra),—709, 711, 734.

पाक्षिक,—617.

पाञ्चदश्य,—121.

पादिक, 'daily wages' (= $\frac{1}{4}$ rupee ?) (See *Mahābhāṣya* 1. 3. 72),—413.

पादिन्, one who receives a fourth (See *Manu* viii. 210 and Bühler's note),—418.

पारिप्लव, 'confused' (?),—4.

पार्वण स्थालीपाक,—54, 55.

पार्वण होम,—122.

पार्थिक, relating to the पृष्ठय षडह,—101, 103.

" पावमानः सरस्वतो ",—861 (Rv. 1. 3. 10).

" पिच्छोलाभिरूपगयन्ति ",—443 (पिच्छोला = a flute. See *Āpast* 21. 17. 16).

पिङ्गूल, a bundle of grass etc. (as in दर्भपिङ्गूलैः etc. See *Vedic Index*),—336.

" पितृभ्यो बर्हिषद्भ्योधानाः etc. ",—348 (TS. 1. 8. 5. 1).

पितृ यज्ञ,—684.

" पिष्टयज्ञेन होतारं वृणीते नार्भेयम् ",—56.

पिष्ट पेयण,—191, 830.

पितृलेप (*Āpast*. 3. 9. 11. etc),—127.

" पुनः स्तोमस्य सवनं etc. " (Śloka),—452.

- “ पुनरुत्स्यूतं वासो दक्षिणा etc. ”, (TS. 1. 5. 2. 4),—402.
 “ पुनानः सोम etc. ” (Rv. ix. 63. 28),—206.
 “ पुरा वाचः प्रवदितो निर्वपेत् ”,—712-3 (TS. 2. 2. 9. 5).
 “ पुरोडाश कपालेन तुषानुपवयति ”,—867.
 “ पुरोडाशाभ्यामेव सोमयाजिनं याजयेत् ”,—643.
 “ पुरोडाशेन वै देवा अस्मिन्नोक आर्धुवन् ” (cf. TS. v. 5. 1. 5),—
 329.

पुरोनुवाक्या,—117.

- “ पूर्णमासाय सुराधसेस्वाहा ”,—122.
 पूर्व धूमं प्रतिपद्यते पश्चादग्निं etc.,—103.
 “ पूर्वस्मिन्नसंयुक्ते वैष्णवस्त्रिकपालः ”,—40.
 “ पूर्वाह्नो वै रथन्तरं etc. ”,—545.
 “ पूर्वैद्युरमावास्यायां वेदिं करोति ”,—740, 818.
 “ पूषा ते ग्रथिं बध्नातु etc.”,—822 (TS. 1.1.2.2. with ग्रथ्नातु)
 “ पूषा वा विभजतु etc.”,—855.
 “ पृथगग्नी प्रणयतः पृथग्बेदीकुरुत ”,—719.
 “ पृथिव्यै स्वाहा etc. ”,—120, 636.
 पृषदाज्यवत् (in Sūtra),—567, 615.
 “ पृषदाज्येन वनस्पतिं यजति ”,—462.
 “ पृषदाज्येनानुयाजान्यजति ”,—473-4, 476, 568 (TS. vi. 3.
 11. 6.)

पृष्ठ, in Sūtras vii. 3. 35. 36, is not स्तोत्रवाची but ऋग्व्य
 वाची

- पृष्ठ शमनीय, a special kind of Agniṣṭoma,—355, 357-8.
 पृष्ठानां रथन्तरं पृष्ठं भवति,—35 (See Āpast, S'v. xxii. 15. 5).
 “ पृष्ठैरुपतिष्ठन्ते ” (Āpast. xvii. 12. 10),—50, 51, 111.
 “ पृष्ठयः षडहस्त्रयस्त्रिंश रंभणः ”,—546 (cf TS. vii. 2. 6. 2).
 “ पृष्ठयः षडहो द्वौ स्वरसामानौ ”,—45 (cf. Āpast-xxiii. 3. 9).
 “ पृष्ठयः षडहो बृहद्रथन्तरसामा ”,—533 (Āpast. xxi. 8. 8. 12).
 “ पौण्डरीकाणि बर्हीषि भवन्ति ”,—236.
 “ पौण्डरीकेण स्वराज्यकामो यजेत् ”,—560.

“ पौर्णमासीमभिमुशेत् ”,—703.

“ पौर्णमास्यां पौर्णमास्या यजेत् etc. ”,—694, 701, 720, 779.

“ प्रकृतिप्रत्ययौ प्रत्ययार्थं सहब्रूतः ” (Mahābhāṣya 3. 1. 67;
Vārt 2),—676-7.

प्रगाथ (= प्रकर्षेण यत्र गानं सः),—205, 207, 210-11.

“ प्रजाकामा गवामयनमुपेयुः ”,—63.

“ प्रजापतिं मनसा यजेत् ”,—652.

“ प्रजापतिर्यज्ञमसृजत etc. ”, (TS. 6. 3. 11. 5)—391.

“ प्रजापतिर्वा एक आसीत्स आत्मनो वपामुदखिदत् ”,—(TS. 2.
1. 1. 4),—629.

प्रजापति हृदय, ‘the heart of P.’ is a Sāman sung over the
completed altar (Egg: index to vol. v, and S’ūtap
ix. 1. 2. 40),—26.

“प्रजापतेर्हृदयमनृचं गायति”,—26-7. (cf. Āpast xvii-12. 11).

प्रणाड्या,—132, 134.

“ प्रणीताः प्रणोष्यन् etc ”,—152.

“ प्रणीताभिर्हवींषि संयौति ”,—334.

प्रतिकर्ष (in Sūtras),—509, 511, 513, 732, 746 (See Index
to Jhā).

“ प्रतिप्रस्था वपां श्रपयति ”,—591.

प्रतिसमिन्व, to kindle again,—874.

प्रत्यासत्ति, close contact,—85, 93.

“ प्रत्येकं वाक्य परिसमाप्तिः ”,—536. (Mahābhāṣya 1. 1. 7
vol. ii Paribhāṣā cvii)

प्रदीपवत् (in Sūtra), a lamp placed in one part of a
room gives light to all seated there,—696.

प्रदीपस्य प्रासादे कृतस्य राजमार्गेऽप्यालोककरणम्,—797, 799.

प्रदेश (and प्रदिष्ट), ‘a direct injunction (in contradis-
tinction to an अनारभ्यवाद),—620, 622

प्रयाजवत् (in Sūtra), an illustration of subsidiaries which
have to be repeated with an offering,—164.

“ प्रयाजे प्रयाजे कृष्णलं जुहोति ”,—7, 56, 57, 74, 83 (TS. 2. 3. 2. 3; Āpast. xix. 21. 10)

प्रयोगवचन,—803-4.

प्रयोजन सूत्र,—296, 431, 472, 520.

“ प्रयोजनाभिसंयन्धात्पृथक्सतां ततः स्यादैककर्म्यं etc. ”,—663.

“ प्रवयसमुषभं दक्षिणां ददाति ”,—724. (प्रवयस् = ‘strong’ and also ‘aged’)

“ प्रवोवाजा etc. ” (Rv. iii. 26. 1),—161.

“ प्रशसा वाह कृणुतात् ”,—(TB. 3. 66. 2) 275-6.

प्रसंग, (Jha, p. 241),—661, 797.

“ प्रसवे उभे कुर्यान् गोसवे उभे कुर्यात् ”,—846.

प्रस् (ad i),—841.

प्रस्तावोद्गीथ प्रतिहारोपद्रवनिधनवन्त,—470.

प्रस्थभुग्वेवदत्तः,—640.

“ प्रहृत्य परिभ्रीन् जुहोति हारियोजनम् ” (cf Āpast. xiii. 17. 1),—764-5.

“ प्राकृतात्कर्मणो यस्मात् etc. ” (first pāda of śloka defining अति देश),—11.

प्रागाथिक, (so too the सूत्रवृत्ति, but Mādhava प्रागाथादिक, and the दुष्टीका reads प्रागाथादिक),—203, 205-208, 211.

“ प्रागासीनो धिष्ण्यानाचारयति ”—49. S’abara says, this is a name given to the gārhapatya by a former *teṭārya*.

प्राजहित, a Gārhapatya fire maintained during a longer period of time (M W),—807.

“ प्राजापत्यं घृते चरुं निर्वपेत् etc. ”,—87, 328.

“ प्राजापत्यं चरुं निर्वपेत् शतकृष्णलम् etc. ” (cf Āpast. xix. 21. 1),—303, 327, 337, 343.

“ प्राणा वा ऐकादशिनाः etc. ”,—524.

“ प्रातःसवने गृह्यः तेजो वै प्रातः सवनम् etc. ” (See TS. vii. 6. 11. 3),—499.

“ प्रातःसवने वा एतद्वैश्वदेवयज्ञं संस्थापयति ”,—340.

प्रातिस्विक्,—63.

प्राप्त, 'obtained'-from a rule, valid (opp. to प्रतिषिद्ध),—620.

प्राप्ति, holding good (of a rule), validity,—620—1.

प्राप्तिसूत्रमेतदुत्तरचिन्तार्थम् (?),—16.

“ प्रापणीयमहर्भवति ”,—24.

“ प्रापणीयस्य निष्कासे उदयनीयमनुनिर्वपति ”,—736 (TS. vi. 1.

5. 5. with अग्नि for अनु)

“ प्रायणीयोऽतिरात्रः ” (Āpast-21. 5. 2),—95.

प्रायिक,—5.

प्रासर्पिक (the gift) bestowed upon, or belonging to, the
प्रसर्पिक, an assistant to the ṛitvik,—354.

“ प्रा स्मा अग्निं भरत ”,—180-1, 250 (Ait. Br. ii. 6; Āpast.
vii. 15. 8).

“ ग्रीहि देवं उशतो यविष्ठ etc. ”,—462 (Rv. x. 2. 1, where
the reading is पिग्रहि देवान् “Gladden the yearning
gods, O thou most youthful etc.”)

“ प्रैवाग्नेयेन वापयति मिथुनम् etc. ”,—261 [TS. vi. 6. 5. 1,
which reads (with Mādhava) प्रैवाग्नेयेन]

“ प्रोक्षणीरासादय etc. ”,—249 (Āpast. ii. 3. 11).

“ प्रोक्षिताभ्यां दूषदुपलाभ्यां पिनष्टि ”,—131.

“ प्रोक्षिताभ्यामुलूखलमुसलाभ्यामवहन्ति ”,—131, 222. In the
Vedic Index this is called *Plakṣa prāsravaṇa* in
accordance with Tāṇḍya xxv. 10. 16, and is said
to be 'the N. of a locality 44 days journey from
the spot where the Sarasvati disappears'! The
meaning with I have given is Garbe's. M. W.

“ साक्षप्रस्रवण, N. of place where the Sarasvati rises (See
Vedic Index),—360.

“ साक्षं प्रस्रवणं प्राप्य etc. ”,—360 (Āpast. S'r. xxiii.)

(To be continued.)

IV.—HARISVĀMĪ—THE COMMENTATOR OF THE ŚATAPATHA BRĀHMAṆA—AND THE DATE OF SKANDASVĀMĪ—THE COM- MENTATOR OF THE RĠVEDA.

BY MANGAL DEVA SHASTRI.

Harisvāmī, the commentator of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, is an important ancient author. His commentary, in extracts, on Kāṇḍas I (from the fourth Brāhmaṇa of the seventh Adhyāya as far as the end) and XIII of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa was edited by Weber as early as 1849. Paṇḍita Satyavrata Sāmaśramī, in his edition of the same Brāhmaṇa, which unfortunately still remains unfinished, edited Harisvāmī's commentary, in full, on the above-mentioned portion of Kāṇḍa I. A reference to the introductions of these two editions shows that, according to the information of these two scholars, no complete Ms. of the commentary of Harisvāmī was to be found anywhere. The only portions of this commentary which were known to exist in Ms.-libraries consisted of the commentary on kāṇḍas I (only on the final portion referred to above), II, VII and XIII. As far as my present knowledge, in this connection, goes, I cannot add any new information to the above, excepting of course that which is given below and which is mainly the basis of this paper. This, together with a few references to him by other authors as Karka and Deva Yājñika, is almost all that we so far have known regarding Harisvāmī. It was a pity that no further definite information was available regarding this important author who is quoted by as old an author as Karka (cp. his commentary on Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra VIII, 181).

But fortunately last year I came across, in the Govt. Sanskrit Library, Benares, a complete Ms. (Referred to below as the Benares Ms.) of Harisvāmi's commentary on the whole of the first Kāṇḍa of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, which is unique in more than one way. So far I have no information of any other complete Ms. of the commentary on the first Kāṇḍa. Not only its introductory stanzas give us some very important information regarding this another, its concluding portion, which is somewhat different from that of the other so-far-known Mss. of the first Kāṇḍa, is also of the highest importance, giving as it does the definite date when the commentary was composed. Let us first consider these portions of the Ms.

The introductory stanzas of the Ms. are as follows :—

श्री गणेशाय नमः ।

मातामहमहाशैलं महस्तदपि तामहं ।

अमातृमातृकं वंदे यन्मत्तद्विरदाननं ॥ १ ॥

अभिध्याय विवस्वतं भगवंतं त्रयीमयं ।

श्रुत्यर्थविवृतिं वक्ष्ये प्रमाणपदनिश्चितं ॥ २ ॥

याक्यवलूक्यं मुनिं शश्वत्सिद्धयै कात्यायनं कुलगुरुम् ।

प्रणिपत्य करिष्येहं व्याख्या शतपथश्रुतेः ॥ ३ ॥

श्रूयते पक्षिलस्वामी प्रवक्ता पदवाक्ययाः ।

प्रसिद्धो जगतीपीठे भीमांसेय (or प) ज्ञमानकृत् ॥ ४ ॥

नागस्वामी तत्र सा श्रीगुहस्वामिनन्दनः ।

तत्र याजी प्रमाणज्ञ आढयो लक्ष्म्या समेधितः ॥ ५ ॥

तन्नन्दनो हरिस्वामी प्रस्फुरद्धेदवेदिमान् ।

त्रयीव्याख्यानधारेयोधीततंत्रो गुरोर्मुखात् ॥ ६ ॥

यः सप्त्राट् कृतवान्सप्त सोमसंस्थास्तथर्कश्रुतिं ।

व्याख्या कृत्वाध्यापयन्मां श्रीस्कंदस्वाप्यस्ति मे गुरुः ॥ ७ ॥

ततोधीतमहातंत्रो विश्वोपकृतिहेतवे ।

व्याचिख्यासुः श्रुतेरर्थं हरिस्वामी नतो गुरुं ॥ ८ ॥

श्रीमतोवन्तिनाथस्य विक्रमस्य क्षितीशितुः ।
धर्माध्यक्षो हरिस्वामी व्याख्यां कुर्वे यथामति ॥ ६ ॥ (Sic)

It is clear from this introduction that Harisvāmī was a pupil of Skandasvāmī, the famous commentator of the Rgveda and the Nirukta. As regards Pakṣilasvāmī, "the famous writer on (or teacher of) Pada and Vākya (i.e., Vyākaraṇa and Mīmāṃsā)", who was the grandfather (on the father's or mother's side, it is not clear) of Nāgasvāmī, the father of Harisvāmī, as yet nothing is known. Apparently he is different from Vātsyāyana, the commentator of the Nyāyasūtras, who is also referred to by this very name by Vācaspati Miśra in the beginning of his Nyāya-vārttika-tātparyatikā, because he is not so far known to have written anything on Vyākaraṇa and Mīmāṃsā. As regards Nāga-svāmī and Guha-svāmī, I have not even come across these names, so far, anywhere else.

The concluding portion of the Ms. is as follows :

Fol. 208 : श्रीआचार्य हरिहरस्वामिनः कृतौ शतपथभाष्ये
हविर्यज्ञेषु अष्टमोऽध्यायः समाप्तः समाप्तमिदं कांडं ।

नागस्वामिसुतोवन्त्यां पाराशर्यो वसन् हरिः ।

श्रुत्यर्थं पातयामास शक्तितः पौष्करीयकः ॥ १ ॥

यदादीनां कलेर्जग्मुः सप्तत्रिंशद्धृतानि वै ।

चत्वारिंशत्समाश्चान्यास्तदा भाष्यमिदं कृतं ॥ (Sic).

This is followed by the scribe's words :—

यदि हृदयनिवेगाल्लेखनिभ्रांतिभावान्

नयनचलनसंगाद्धोत्रशब्दावलंबात् ।

लिखितमकृतबुद्ध्या यन्मया पुस्तकेस्मिन्

करकृतमपरार्थं क्षंतुमर्हति संतः ॥

श्रीसंवत् १८०४६ लिखितमिदं पुस्तकं लक्ष्मीकांतशर्मणा
श्रीकाशीनाथप्रीतये शुभम् । (Sic).

The one important point in which this concluding portion differs from that of the other Mss. is the stanza **यदाब्दानां कलेर्जग्मुः** etc. which fixes the date, as already stated, of the composition of the commentary. According to it the work was composed when 3740 years of the Kali era had passed. The present Kali era being 5031, the work was composed 1291 years before, i.e., about 639 A.D.

The date evidently coincides with the reign of Harsha. If so, who was the Vikrama or Vikramārka (cp. the ending of the commentary on Kāṇḍa I in Sāmaśrami's edition) who is spoken of above as **अवन्तिनाथ** and **क्षितीशिता** and whose **धर्माध्यक्ष** Harisvāmī claims to be? No Vikrama reigning at Avanti about this time is known to historians. If there is no mistake in the above date, we can meet this difficulty by the assumption that some subordinate king of Avanti is here referred to by the name or title of Vikrama or Vikramārka. The general opinion of historians is that about this time Avanti was a part of the empire of Harsha; cp. C. V. Vaidya: *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, Vol. I, pp. 23—25 and 36. It is just possible that the Vikrama referred to by Harisvāmī was a local king subordinate to Harsha. Or, cannot we assume that after the defeat of Harsha by Pulakeśin II in about 620 A.D. Avanti might have passed into the hands of the latter and therefore about 639 A.D. Vikramāditya I, the son and successor of Pulakeśin II, was the governor, though not the king, of Avanti?

However it may be, the stanza is important as it gives us the date of Harisvāmī, an important author. But to my mind it is still more important for pointing out the date of Skanda-svāmī, the famous commentator of the R̥gveda. Skandasvāmī "who after having explained the R̥gveda taught the same to Harisvāmī" (cp. **तथर्कश्रुतिं व्याख्यां कृत्वा-ध्यापयन्नाम्**) must have written his R̥gvedic commentary by

the end of the 6th century A.D. Thus Skandasvāmī preceded Sāyaṇa by about eight centuries.

But as the stanza is wanting in all the other known Mss. of the work, a suspicion, however slight, still remains as regards its genuineness. For this reason I thought it necessary to examine in detail the Benares Ms. as well as the extracts, edited by Weber, of the commentary of Harisvāmī, and to see how far that independent examination corroborated the above date.

If Harisvāmī really lived as early as the beginning of the seventh century A.D., this examination is important also for throwing, by the way, a sidelight on the condition of his contemporary literature.

Before setting out to give briefly the results of this examination, it is important to remark that most unfortunately the Benares Ms. is very very corrupt. There is hardly even a line which is free from mistakes, so much so that sometimes it is found difficult even to make out the general sense of a passage. It being so, it is very likely that I might have passed over, without noticing, some important quotations from, or references to, other works or authors. Moreover, I have not taken any notice of the passages from the Brāhmaṇas or other similarly very ancient works.

It may also be pointed out here that the author, generally speaking, is very indefinite in regard to the authorities which he quotes or refers to. Very often he introduces a quotation simply by such words as **आह, यथाह, तथा चाह, स्मृतौ**; and his word **स्मृति** has a very general sense, including as it does works of so diverse a nature as the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, Kātyāyana-śrauta-sūtra, Nirukta, Gītā, Manu-smṛti, and the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini. In view of this indefiniteness of the author, it is possible that some of the

quotations which I have traced to one source may equally be traced to other sources.

Now let us proceed with the examination of the quotations. The traceable quotations are as follows :—

I. The following are some of the quotations from the Manusmṛti :—

fol. 13 b : पितृदेवमनुष्याणां वेदश्चक्षुः सनातनम् ।

(XII. 94).

” ” उत्पद्यन्ते व्यथन्ते च यात्यतेऽन्यानि कानिचित् ।
=उत्पद्यन्ते व्यवन्ते च यान्यतेऽन्यानि कानिचित्
(XII. 96).

” ” वेदशब्देभ्यः (=भ्य) एवादौ पृथक्संस्था च (=श्च)
निर्ममे ।
(I, 21).

” ” भूतं भवत् भविष्यच्च सर्वं (=र्वं) वेदात्प्रसिध्यति ।
(cp. XII. 97).

” ” धर्मं (र्मं) जिज्ञासमानानां प्रमाणं परमं श्रुतिः ।
(II. 13).

” ” श्रुतिस्तु वेदो विज्ञेयो धर्मशास्त्रं तु वै स्मृतिः ।
(II. 10).

” 88 a : सोऽप एव ससर्जदौ तां (तां)सु वीर्यन(म)वासृजत् ।
(cp. Manu I. 8).

” 83 a : (यद्) धनं यज्ञशीलानां देवस्त्वं तद्विदुर्बुधाः ।
(XI. 20).

II. The following quotations can be traced to the Viṣṇu-purāṇa :—

fol. 2 b : अङ्गानि वेदाश्चत्वारो मीमांसा न्यायविस्तरः ।

पुराणं धर्मशास्त्रं (च) विद्यास्ते ताश्चतुर्दश ॥

(cp. V. Purāṇa,

Jīvananda's ed. p. 371).

fol. 13 b and 95 a b :

नाम रूपं च भूतानां कृतानां च प्रपञ्चनं (प्रवर्तनं, fol. 95a) ।

वेदशब्देन्य न्य fol. 95 a एवादौ पृथक्संस्था च निर्तमे ।

(—स्थाश्च निर्तमे, fol. 95 b) ॥ १४४ ॥

(cp. V. Purāṇa, p. 50).

fol. 141 a : एको वेदश्चतुष्पादः सा शास्त्रासंमिताः ।

पुनर्दशगुणः प्रक्तो यज्ञो वै सर्वकामधुक् ॥

(cp. V. Purāṇa, p. 358).

III. The Bhagavad-gītā is quoted in the following cases :—

fol. 23 b : देवान् भावयतानेन ते भूता (=देवा) भावयन्तु वा ।

(III. 11).

„ 25 a : त्रैगुण्यविषया मेदाः (=वेदाः) । (II. 45).

„ 172 a : यज्ञाद्भवति पर्जन्यः । (III. 14).

IV. There are many quotations taken from the Nirukta of Yāska. It is not necessary to give them here. But there is one quotation (अपि श्रुतितः, अपि तर्कतः) which is important in so far as it is taken from the 12th Varga of the 13th Adhyāya which is regarded as the परिशिष्ट of the Nirukta and as such a later accretion. The quotation shows clearly that as early as the 7th century A.D. the परिशिष्ट was regarded as a part of the Nirukta. The passage of the commentary, which contains that quotation, is as follows :—

(fol. 72 b) निरुक्तादिस्मृतौ यत् किञ्चिदनुपपन्नमिव लक्ष्यते तत्सर्वमेव श्रुतिपूर्वकमिति द्रष्टव्यं तैरपि चोक्तमेवापि स्तु(=श्रु)तितोऽपि तर्कत इति ।

V. The Śrauta-sūtra of Kātyāyana is quoted very often. A few of the quotations are :—

(fol. 54 a) प्रोक्षिता स्थेति तासां प्रोक्षणम् (II. 80),

(fol. 64 b) स्याद्वा धर्ममात्रत्वात् (VIII. 37).

VI. The Mīmāṃsā-sūtras of Jaimini are similarly quoted here and there. It seems that some of the Sūtras as quoted

by Harisvāmī differ in readings from those of other texts, but as the Benares Ms. is full of mistakes it is difficult to say anything definitely in this respect. For instance the quotation (fol. 36b) तपश्च फलसिद्धत्वात् पूर्वोत्तरपक्षा लोकवदिति वाक्यशेषाच्च (sic) differs in reading from the other texts; cp. Mīmāṃsā-sūtras III. 8, 9 and 10.

VII. There is one quotation [हेतोः (:) प्रतिज्ञायाश्च पुनर्वचनं निगमनम्, fol. 23a] which, though slightly different from the commonly accepted reading (हेत्वपदेशात् प्रतिज्ञायाः पुनर्वचनं निगमनम् I 1, 39) is, I think, taken from the Nyāya-sūtras of Gautama.

VIII. On fol. 91b, the Ms. has the passage : (sic) बाह्विषु स्त्रियां चेति ह्युभयलिङ्गो बाहुशब्दः स्मर्यते । The quotation seems to have been taken from the Līṅgānuśāsana-sūtras attached to the Pāṇinian grammar, though the present reading of the Sūtra (cp. No. 46) in that work is : इषुबाहू स्त्रियां च ।

IX. Quotations from the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini, Dhātupāṭha and Vārttika-pāṭha are frequently found in the commentary. The Uṇādi-sūtras also are quoted sometimes. They need not be given here in detail. But it is important to make a few observations in this connection.

First of all let us take the Dhātupāṭha. There are plenty of quotations from this work. Almost in all cases the Dhātus are given with their Anubandhas and meaning, and together with their connected Dhātus, i. e., exactly in the same way as they are read in the present Dhātupāṭha. A few examples are :

पूयी विशरणे दुर्गन्धे च (f. 24a), शूर वीर विक्रान्तौ (f. 44b)
राध साध संसिद्धौ (f. 29a), भ्रमु तपसि खेदे च (f. 82a).

Cp. also हल रल हल चलने (f. 48a) and अखि वखि मखि गत्याक्षेपे (f. 170a), instead of which the Siddhānta-kaumudī reads हल हल चलने and अघि वघि मघि गत्याक्षेपे respectively.

In connection with the quotations from the Vārttikapīṭha it is worth noticing that the reading of some of the Vārttikas does not quite agree with that of the Kāśikā ; e. g.

fol. 30a : इदमे(त)दोरन्वादेशे एनदिति नपुंसकैकवचने । (cp. Kāśikā on II. 4. 34) :

fol. 40b : तृतीयाविधाने प्रकृत्यादिषु उपसंख्यानम् । (cp. Kāśikā on II. 3. 18) ;

fol. 60b : सर्वस्य द्वे इत्यधिकारे कर्मव्यतिहारे सर्वनाम्नः समासवत बहुलं यदा न समासवत्प्रथमैकवचनं तदा पूर्वपदस्य स्त्रीनपुंसकयोरुत्तरपदस्य वाभाव इति ।

(sic, cp. Kāśikā on VIII. 1. 12) :

fol. 61a : कविषौ सर्वत्र प्रसारिभ्यो डा वक्तव्य इति (sic).

It is noteworthy that this last Vārttika does not occur at all in the Kāśikā ; cp. Kāśikā and Śabda-kaustubha on III. 2, 3.

fol. 180b : यदायद्योर्लिङ उपसंख्यानम् (cp. Kāśikā on III 3, 147).

Besides this, there are some occasional observations or remarks of the author on grammatical points, which do not quite agree with the Kāśikā. Some instances are :

विभ्रातृव्यं अव्ययमिति योगविभावा(भा)भाद्वा तिष्ठन्धाहिगु (तिष्ठद्गवादिषु) वा द्रष्टव्यः । (fol. 42a) ;

असुररक्षसेभ्य आसंगादिति संवधाभीतौ पंचमी । विभाषा गुणेश्वर्यामित्यत्र योगविभागात् लुक्योगाप्रख्यानादिते (sic, fol. 46b) ;

निमोते कालमिति माश्चन्द्रः पूर्णमासः पौर्णमासः । ठञः प्रकरणे तस्मिन् वर्तत इति न च यज्ञादिभ्य उपसंख्यानं. पूर्णमासादण् पूर्णमाः पूर्णमासो वास्या वर्तत इति पौर्णमासी (sic, fol. 154b ; cp. Kāśikā on IV. 2, 21) ;

अमाशब्दो गृहवचनः । सहार्थे वा । गृहं चान्द्रमसं आदित्य-मण्डलं इति अमावास्या (fol. 154b ; cp. Kāśikā on III. 1, 122) ;

अमा गृहे वसत्यस्यामिति अमावास्या । (fol. 158b).

Both the above facts are, I think, enough to show that the author did not utilise the *Kāśikā Vṛtti* which was composed about 650 A. D. ; cf. *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* by Dr. Belvalkar, p. 35.

In this connection it is also worth noticing that a few passages occurring in the commentary, which look like *Vārttikas*, are not to be found either in the *Mahābhāṣya* or in the *Kāśikā*. Whether they are taken from some other source or are Harisvāmī's own observations, in the form of *Vārttikas*, it is difficult to ascertain. For instance, cf.

वैष्णव्या विष्णुमर्हंत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे एयत् प्रत्यय उपसंख्येयः
.....। कुत एतदर्हाभ्यं एयत् इति यन्निये छ इति अर्हार्थपर्याय-
दर्शनात् । (sic., fol. 52b) ;

अपात् पादरहितः संख्यासुपूर्वस्य (Pāṇini V. 4, 140)
इत्यत्र छन्दसि नञपूर्वस्य पादस्थान्तलोपः समासान्तो वाच्यः ।
(fol. 147a).

X. There is one quotation from the *Vākyapadīya*. The passage which contains that quotation is as follows :—

(Text : वाचो वा इदं सर्वं प्रभवति) Commentary :.....
तस्माच्च शब्दात्मिकाया अनुष्ठुभ इदं सर्वं विकारजातं प्रभवति
जायते च जातं च विवर्तत इत्यर्थः । कथं । शुष्कतर्केण तावत् ।
शब्देन प्रकाशन्तेऽर्थप्रवृत्तिस्ततः सर्वार्थानां आत्मलाभ इति ।
तथा चाह ।

नाम रूपं च भूतानां कृतानां च प्रवर्तनं ।

वेद शब्देत्य एवादौ पृथक्संस्थाश्च निर्मल ॥ इति ।

आगमने तु । तस्माद्वा एतस्मादात्मन आकाशः.....अन्ये तु
शब्दब्रह्मैवेदं विवर्ततेऽर्थभावेन प्रक्रिया इत्यत आहुः । तेषामपि.....
(sic., fol. 95).

According to I-tsing Bhartṛhari, the author of the *Vākyapadīya*, was a contemporary of Jayāditya, one of the

authors of the *Kāṣikā*. Of these two, according to the same authority, the former died in 650 A. D. and the latter, about A. D. 660. This coupled with the fact that the *Kāṣikā* mentions the *Vākyapadiya* by name on IV. 3, 88 is enough to show that the composition of the *Vākyapadiya* must have preceded the former by many years. I think the *Vākyapadiya* was composed either by the end of the sixth century or by the beginning of the seventh century A. D. at the latest. In view of all this the above quotation from the *Vākyapadiya* is very significant. Besides, the manner in which Harisvāmi introduces the quotation at the end of the discussion and by the word अन्ये तु, shows that he regarded the source of the quotation as the latest and the most recent authority on the topic.

Apart from these traceable quotations, some of the important quotations which I could not trace to their sources are as follows :

1. उपन्यास प्रतिज्ञानं संबन्धः प्रश्नः प्रतिवचनं तु

प्रष्टा वक्तापसंहारस्तथोत्तरपक्ष

अधियज्ञाधिभूते च तथाध्यात्माधिदैवते ।

उत्पत्तिर्विनियोगश्च मन्त्रव्याख्यानमेव च ।

वाक्यार्थोक्तिः पदार्थोक्तिः कार्यं निगमनोपमे ।

वाक्यशेषो विपर्यासो निष्क्रान्तानागतेक्षणौ ।

हेतुर्निवचनं निंदा प्रशंसाशंसयोर्विधिः ।

पुरज्जिया पुराकाले व्यवधारणकल्पना ।

उपदेशाश्च निर्देशा उपदेशो निदेशनं ।

उपक्रमेयं प्रसिद्धयुक्ति दूरस्थावेक्षणोहने । (Sic, fol. 3 a)

..... एते पञ्चचत्वारिंशद्वान्तरभेदा वाक्यस्य । (fol. 5^a).

In connection with this quotation it is noteworthy that the stanza हेतुर्निवचनं etc. is quoted in the *Sāvara-bhāṣya* on II. 1, 33 and is there referred to a *Vṛttikāra*.

Cp. Also Śāvara-bhāṣya on II. 1, 32 for प्रश्न etc. mentioned above. In this connection, cp. also Suśruta (VI. 65), Caraka (VIII, 12), Bṛhaddevatā (I, 35-39) and the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya (the last section). It is evident that the above quotation is from a very old authority.

2. On fol. 8b occurs :—

मानं शास्त्रं क्रियामयं फलं बोधार्थगोचरः ।
भदो विधिनिषेधादिधर्मादिरर्थतः । (sic).

3. On fol. 10a occurs :—

यथोक्तं मार्गौ ते ज्ञानकर्माणी । (sic).

4. On fol. 32b occurs :—

ब्राह्मणं ब्रह्महविस्त्यादिषु स्मृतिष्वपि गीयते हान (= ज्ञान)-
कर्मसमुच्चयः ।

5. On fol. 35a is quoted :—

अष्टाध्याय्या मध्ये नाम तत्तत्रैवोपसंहृतं ।

6. On fol. 63b is given :—

वर्णानां ब्राह्मणः श्रेष्ठः ।

In spite of the fact, already noticed, that the author is, generally speaking, very indefinite in specifying the sources of his quotations, he sometimes mentions his authorities. The important authorities which I could notice are as follows :—

बादरायणादिभिः, अष्टाध्यायी (of Pāṇini), वृत्त्यादिषु (of Vyākaraṇa, cp. fol. 5a), भगवान् यास्कः or यास्काचार्यः, मन्वादिस्मृतियोगस्मृतय इतिहासपुराणे... (sic, fol. 14a), सूत्रकारः (= कात्यायनः), कात्यायनः, सूत्रे (= श्रौतसूत्र of Kātyāyana), जैमिनिः, स्मृतिः, स्मृतिषु (cp. fol. 172a), पौराणिकाः (cp. fol. 84b), नैयायिक- (cp. fol. 59b), यादृताः (sic; cp. ततश्च मुख्य-मेवाग्नेः...सर्वदेवतात्वमिति यादृताः, fol. 150b).

A few times some तार्किकाः are referred to by the author. The manner in which they are referred to evidently shows that they are different from the traditional Naiyāyikas.

They seem to represent a school of Vedic interpreters, who apparently used to give, more or less like the Aryasamājists of to-day, rationalistic or naturalistic explanations of Vedic texts. The following passages will make this clear :—

Fol. 30b : मंत्रार्थं व द्विविधः । स्थूलश्च वाह्यः श्रौतः आधि-
यज्ञिकसमाधानक्रियारूपो यः कश्चित्तार्किकैरयमेवार्थो नान्य इत्येवं
परीगृहीतः सूक्ष्मश्चाभ्यन्तरो etc (sic).

Fol. 38a : यज्ञो वा आप इति । तार्किकद्रष्टया यज्ञसाधनत्वात् ।

Fol. 66b : शिरः पुरोडाश इति । साधनान्तरापेक्षया ।
प्रधानत्वाद्बुर्बलत्वाच्चेति तार्किकाः ।

Fol 125 : यज्ञो विग्रहवानपचक्रामेतिहासदर्शनेन ।
तार्किकद्रष्टया तु यज्ञः क्रियान्मक एव । तस्य विस्मरणमपक्रमणम् ।
स्मरणमुपावर्तनम् ।

Fol. 150b : अग्निः सर्वा देवता इति उपकारकेनैव देवतात्वमु-
पचर्यत्वे यथा राजा पत्तिगणक इति तार्किकाः ।

As there is no evidence of the existence of any school of this sort after the 7th century A. D. it seems reasonable to assume that this sort of school must have existed before that time and must have come into existence as the result of the efforts of the believers in the Vedic tradition to refute the objections of the Bauddhas and Jains. That a school of this sort did actually exist about that time can be inferred from the following passages of Kumārila.

मीमांसाशास्त्रनेजोभिर्विशेषेणोज्ज्वलीकृते ।

वेदार्थज्ञानरत्ने मे तृष्णातीव विजृम्भते ॥

प्रायेणैव हि मीमांसा लोके लोकायतीकृता ।

तामास्तिकपथे कर्तुमयं यत्नः कृतो मया ॥

(श्लोकवार्त्तिक, p. 4).

On this Pārthasārathi Misra says :—मीमांसा हि भर्तृभिर्नादि-
भिरलोकायतैव सती लोकायतीकृता etc.

लोकायतिकमूर्खाणां नैवान्यत्कर्म विद्यते ।
 यावत्किञ्चिद्दृष्टार्थं तद् दृष्टार्थं हि कुर्वते ॥
 वैदिकान्यपि कर्माणि दृष्टार्थान्येव ते विदुः ।
 etc. (तन्त्रवार्तिक, p. 85).

The fact that Harisvāmī refers to the views of the Tārkikas somewhat approvingly, without in any way criticising them, clearly shows that he lived before Kumārila who did not tolerate their views.

This is all that I could gather from a cursory examination of the most corrupt, though very important, Benares Ms.* and the extracts edited by Weber. Unfortunately I had no access to the Mss. of any other Kāṇḍa. But I think it is enough to prove the authenticity of the stanza which assigns the composition of the work to 639 A. D.

Before finishing this paper it would not be out of place to give here a few passages from the commentary which might throw some light on the locality etc. of the author.

They are :—

Fol. 56b: आर्यावर्तपेक्षया....यौ पूर्वापरौ समुद्रौ etc.

Fol. 76b: शरभो जरष इति लोके प्रसिद्धः । I am told that this word is still used in Rajputana.

Fol. 105a. सोग्निरिमा आर्यावर्ते सन्निहिता नद्योऽतिक्रामन् ददाह ।.... सदानीरनाम्नी नदी उत्तराद् गिरेर्हिमवतो निर्गच्छति । न विन्ध्याद्रेः । यां गण्डकीत्याचक्षते ।

A comparison of these passages with the stanza

नागस्वामिसुतोऽवन्त्यां पाराशर्यो वसन्हरिः ।

श्रुत्यर्थं द्योतयामास शक्तिः पैष्करीयकः ॥

already quoted, shows that the author was very likely a native of Pushkar near Ajmer.

*The fac similes of the first and last fols. of the Benares Ms. will be given in the next issue of these "Studies",

V.—MYSTICISM IN VEDA.

BY GOPINATH KAVIRAJ.

Thanks to the enviable zeal and industry of Western Orientalists our Vedic studies have acquired a great impetus. Since the laudable efforts of Max Muller and other pioneer workers in the field of Vedic researches, the bibliography of Vedic publications within easy reach of us all has been gaining in strength. As the works are becoming available attempts are being made to interpret the contents of the literature in a way consonant with the high esteem in which it has been held. Several schools of Vedic exegesis are already in existence and more are expected to appear as our studies are progressing.

And in India too we know of different schools of Vedic interpretation. A cursory glance at the Nirukta will suffice to show that before the days of Yāska there were several lines of thinkers whose interpretation of the Vedic mantras was divergent.

This shows that the true import of the Vedas was always considered to be very difficult of realisation. That mere book-knowledge did not contribute in any real way to a proper understanding of the Vedas goes without saying. It has always been recognised that there is a secret or hidden sense in the Veda, which does not reveal itself to a superficial observer. To admit this is to admit that there is mysticism in the Veda.

But what is the true conception of the Veda? It is well known that the study of the Veda is forbidden to any but the so-called twice-born, which implies that without proper initiation it is held to be absolutely impossible to find access to

its secrets. The so-called ceremony of Upanayana or Gāyatrī Dīkṣā is in fact an initiatory process which leads to personal regeneration, of course in a spiritual sense, without which competence to be in touch with higher truths can never arise. The Gāhya Sūtras or Dharma Sūtras will afford us little assistance in understanding the secret of Upanayana, for the rituals represent only the formal expression of the inner secret.

The function of the Āchārya in Dīkṣā is that of a father, viz. to procreate. In other words, Upanayana marks that occult process whereby a spiritual being, centred in the consciousness of its own spirituality, throws out a portion of its own spiritual energy into the womb as it were of the Inner Life or Līṅgaḍeha of the Neophyte. This initiates the working of that conversion which ends in the formation of a spiritual entity out of the person of the individual initiated. The infusion of spiritual energy is effected through the medium of sacred sound. The immediate result of the action is the rousing of the navel centre into activity, which in subsequent literature is graphically described as the "unloosening or snapping of the knot in the navel region." As soon as this dormant centre becomes energised the spiritual potentialities of the people find a scope for development. The gradual evolution of these powers, latent in every man and unknown to and unrecognised by him till they are called forth from the depths of his being by the vivifying contact of the Master's Energy, corresponds in a sense to the embryonic development of the physical body. The end of this evolutionary process represents the perfection of the spiritualisation already set in. It is in this way that the spiritual body, as distinguished from the corruptible or natural body, of a man is formed. As soon as this is complete the man is termed a Brāhmaṇa in the proper sense of the term.

The well-known couplet,

जन्मना जायते शूद्रः संस्काराद् द्विज उच्यते ।

वेदपाठाद्भवेद्विप्रः ब्रह्म जानाति ब्राह्मणः ॥

recounts the four stages in a Brāhmaṇa's life. It is stated that physical birth, from the spiritual point of view, marks the lowest state which corresponds to a Śūdra. It is a state in which access to the true Vedic culture is out of the question. Even if the birth is from Brāhmaṇa parents, there is very little difference. For the son of a Brāhmaṇa is as far from being entitled to Vedic lore as the son of a Śūdra, the only difference being, of course theoretically, that there is what is philosophically known as inherent potentiality (स्वरूपयोग्यता) in the former, whereas there exists no such quality in the latter. And the potentiality itself is a congenial virtue, - derived from hereditary transmission even from a remote distance in the line. The word Saṃskāra in the line stands for the Upanayana or Initiation which confers second birth and is akin in this sense to the regeneration of the Christian Gnostics consequent on the action of baptismal Grace. "Dvija" therefore is one who is born anew, viz as clothed in a spiritual body or body of light and knowledge. In the mystic phraseology of the Vedic literature the entire process of spiritualisation, that is of the formation of the body of light, is covered by Svādhyāya representing in the words of the couplet the stage of a Vipra. Svādhyāya in the inner sense does not mean, as it is supposed to mean, the reading of sacred scriptures. This meaning, which is the only one known to the lay man, is really a corollary of the original and truer meaning of the term. It is not the proper place to enter into a discussion of the theory of वेदपाठ or मन्त्रजप, but it must be clearly asserted, to avoid any possible misconception, that it characterises the movement rather than the circulation of the energy of light called into activity by the will of the Master. The Upanayana is only the beginning of this process.

The śabda, which the pupil receives from the Master, nay, which is invoked from his own person under the influence of the Master, is really an outer vesture of the Inner Light (आन्तरं ज्ञानं) which is of the nature of Subtle Sound (सूक्ष्मा वाक्). This subtle sound manifests itself as buddhi or jñāna after which desire arises and the mind is actuated. The mind hitherto at rest begins to move or stir and the result is the rousing of the dormant fire in the body (कायाग्निः). The action of the fire thus brought into play originates a corresponding movement of the prāṇa within the body which tends to assume an upward flow. This is the so-called opening of the navel lotus. The roused vitality gets up from the navel, strikes against the brain and comes down, in the course of which it is struck by a second flow of the same vital current roused from the navel. This produces what is known as an audible sound. The point is that Vāyu or Prāṇa becomes the home as it were of the Inner Organ and is permeated by the properties of the latter. Being influenced by heat it begins to expand itself, in the course of which it opens up all its knots by means of the various śrutis and manifests the Varṇas. The subtle sound within is associated with degrees of light. Its form, which is unique and indivisible, is reflected in the physical and manifested sound described above. From what has been said above it is evident that the entire process of the manifestation of the inner sound is identical with the gradual clarification of knowledge. Thus Svādhyāya represents the Vipra stage. When this stage reaches its perfection one is said to be on the verge of illumination, which is the characteristic of a Brāhmaṇa par excellence. The absolute knowledge of Truth or Para Brahma can never dawn on the soul which has not undertaken an earlier stage of purification with the currents of Śabda Brahman (शब्द ब्रह्म) set flowing after the inner ducts have been cleansed and the Master has opened the psychic centres through Upanayana.

Thus understood, Veda is the only way to knowledge or self-realisation, without which the bonds of the soul cannot be snapped asunder : प्राप्युपायोऽनुकारश्च तस्य (ब्रम्हणः) वेदो महर्षिभिः । + + + समाप्नातः + + + ॥ Whatever else is recognised as a means is in fact only an aspect of, or an ancillary to, the Veda.

(To be continued)

VI—THE DEVADĀSIS :—A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE INSTITUTION.

BY MANMATHA NATH RAY.

News-paper readers are aware that year before last, following the lead given by the Mysore Assembly three years ago, the Madras Legislature passed an Act designed to discourage the practice of dedicating immature girls for rendering service to the various Hindu temples of the Presidency. The sponsors of the Act hope to abolish the institution altogether with the help of this very Act in course of time. That is splendid! Since then the Cochin and the Travancore Durbars have followed suit and abolished the custom in their states. Yet another Bill prepared on the same lines is on the carpet of the Legislative Assembly. But before the institution passes into oblivion, before the last nail is driven into the coffin of one more of the old institutions of India, it may not be deemed futile if we cry halt and take a reading of its life.

In fact, it appears that the practice of having Devadāsīs attached to the temples was almost universal in the ancient world. Strabo states that in ancient Armenia the sons and the daughters of the best families of the country were deputed to the temple of Anaitis to serve the God for a longer or shorter period of time in accordance with the vow of their parents. These persons had to leave behind them on its altars all they had gained by the sweat of their bodies. Those who had received the greatest number of strangers were most eagerly sought after in marriage.

In Egypt it was customary to consecrate young girls called *Cistophers* in honor of the Sun-God Osiris and the Goddess Isis (representing the Earth). The girls were called *Cistophers*, because on ceremonial occasions it was the sacred

duty of these beings to carry the mystic *Cist*—a basket of rushes containing round or oval cakes with a hole in the middle—representing the female energy while the priests bore the sacred bull representing masculine virility.

The Hebrews of old, we are reliably informed, vied with one another in consecrating effeminate priests and trained dogs in honor of the great God Baal-peor. They sold themselves to the voraries of the God and were expected to deposit upon His altars the wages of their prostitution. After the codification of Moses' Laws which were mainly hygienic, their office was taken up by the consecrated women called *Kedeshoths* who prostituted themselves for the benefit of the altar. These women, we are told, did not reside within the confines of the temple, but they lived under variegated tents at the approaches to the temple, and used to burn perfumes, sell philtres and play music. These women, we are elsewhere told, were mostly foreigners.

In ancient Greece also, it was customary to consecrate courtesans in honor of the Love-lady Venus, and Strabo declares that Corinth was the centre of the cult, where one could find thousands of women attendants ready to sell their bodies for the benefit of the temple. Xenophon before he set out to compete for the Olympic games, is said to have promised to consecrate fifty hetaerai provided the Goddess granted him victory. The great legislator Solon is credited with having founded a great *Dictæon* or "House of prostitution" for the benefit of the state in imitation of temple prostitution.*

Pagan Rome had her vestal virgins, but be it said to the credit of that Imperial City, these women were never regarded as temple prostitutes. Probably her children had

* De la Croix : History of Prostitution, Vol. I.

had too many indulgences to practise at the public fetes held in honor of Lupa and of Flora to leave any energy to carry desecration into the precincts of their time-honored fire-temple. Recruited at the age of ten at the most, these girls were expected to observe very strictly the vow of chastity and its breach was punished by burial alive. King Tarquin is said to have fixed their number at six; one more was, however, added to their number during the last years of the pagan period. They had to serve a period of thirty years. During these years, besides tending the sacred fire, they had to bring water from the sacred spring of Egeria used for the ceremonial sweeping and sprinkling of the *aedes Vestae*, offer sacrifices and daily prayers for the welfare of the state, and guard the seven sacred objects on which the stability of the Roman power was supposed to depend, e. g. the statue of Pallas brought by Aeneas from Athens etc.

In return for the services thus rendered by these girls to the Roman State, the latter recompensed them amply. It granted them numerous privileges and the influence wielded by them was simply remarkable; in a word, it may be said of these Vestal Virgins that they enjoyed semi-royal honors. They had to pay no taxes, could drive through the streets of Rome in carriages, were given the best and the foremost seats at theatres and were allowed to take an important part in all the grand religious and state ceremonies. On certain conditions they could pardon criminals on their way to execution and shared with the Emperors the privilege of intramural burial. Lastly they acted as the guardians of the Emperor's will. During life they were richly dowered by the state and had a number of public slaves appointed to serve them. During their tenure of office they lived in a style of very great splendour at public expense. (Ency. Brit. Vol. 24. S. V. *Vesta*).

But Gibbon seems to think otherwise. He affirms that suitable girls were not forthcoming and that it was with extreme difficulty that that small number could be procured ; and how often those who did so devote themselves, incurred by their immorality the dreadful doom of being buried alive.

Again, the practice of consecrating virgins in honor of gods was not confined to the Old World alone. In the New World, too,—in Mexico, in Peru,—girls were consecrated in honor of the Sun-God, and Prescott notices with what magnificent indifference these virgins were violated and appropriated by their Spanish conquerors. (Peru, II, p. 247.)

The origin of the institution of Devadāsī in India is shrouded in mystery. Nobody can tell exactly when or in what part of the country the institution first came into being. But the very name Devadāsī suggests a thought in our mind which might be bold, yet convincing to a certain extent. By expounding the Samāsa of the term Deva-dāsī, we get Devasya Dāsī or a courtesan sacred to the God.

For the term Dāsī, though generally used to signify a slave-girl, is occasionally used as a synonym for a courtesan. Says the Meḍinī Kośa दासी बालाभुजिष्ययोः। Again, the Kuṭṭanimatam (p. 297), too, quotes another couplet in support of our contention—

गणिका लज्जिका वेश्या रूपाजीवा विलासिनी ।

पण्यस्त्री दारिका दासी कामुकी सर्ववल्गवा ॥

As also the Vaijayanti—चेटी चिरण्टी दासी च ॥

Pāṇini, too, when he quotes the sentence दास्याः कामुकः in illustration of the rule उक्तप्रतिषेधे कमेर्भाषायामप्रतिषेधः (II. 3. 69 (iii)), had this meaning of the term in his mind.

Subandhu, also, in his famous romance Vāsavadattā, uses Dāsī in the sense of a courtesan in the following quotation—विरचितकन्दर्पमुद्रास्तु क्षुद्रास्तु कामुकजनानुबन्धमानदासी-

जनविविधाश्लीलवचनश्रुतिविरसोकृतसन्ध्यावन्दनोपविष्टेषु शिष्टेषु
.....(Gray's edition, p. 169).

When the courtesans had assumed the insignia of passion, when the sages had entered upon their evening devotions, disgusted at hearing manifold obscure words from harlots pursued by their paramours.....

Dāśī is used in the same sense in the following as well—

गायन्मात्रागाथा द्विपदिकया सौष्ठवेन विट एकः ।
बध्नाम पुरो दास्या विदधद्विकृतीरनेकधिधाः ॥

(Kuttanīmatam, p. 82)

A fashionable young man about the town was once found rambling in the quarters assigned to the public women, ably reproducing the lines of a song and making different postures.

Again, वशिजो नेतारो यत्र यत्र पात्राणि शाठ्यायतनं ।
दास्यस्तत्र कुतः सौष्ठवं नाद्ये ॥ (Ibid, p. 282).

A society led by the traders and deceitful wooers cannot boast of good actresses.

Lastly when we find the Vidūṣakas of the Sanskrit Dramas so very liberal in using the term Dāśīputra with reference to anybody and everybody, what they invariably mean to say is "a harlot's son" or in other words, a bastard. Thus the Vidūṣaka of Rāja Sekhara's Karpūra-mañjarī abuses the parrot for giving him a timely flog, by saying—
आ दासीप पुत्त भुत्थल्लज्जोगोसि । (iv. 2).

Ah, thou son of a harlot, thou art fit to be a cat's meat !

Again, the woman-hunter Śakara in King Śudraka's Mṛcchakaṭikā exclaims at one place with reference to Vasantasena—

अथा दहिच्छल्लिपलिलुद्धाय मञ्जालीय शलपलिवत्ते होदि तथा
दाशीय धीय शलपलिवत्ते कडे । (Act I, p. 36).

She has changed her voice, just as a cat does when tempted by a feast of curds and cream.

In the same work it is represented elsewhere that the Vidūṣaka friend of the hero Cārudatta, is angry with the heroine Vasantasenā for not having received him with a present of sweets and cold drinks during his visit to her place on behalf of his friend. He complains.

एत्तिआए अरुद्धीए ए तए अहं भणिदे, अज्ज भित्तेअ,
वीसमीअदु मल्लकेण पाणीअं पि पिविअ गच्छीयदु त्ति । ता मा
दाव दासीए धीआए गणिकाए मुहंपि पेक्खिस्सं ।

In spite of her overflowing riches, she did not say, Mr. Maitreya, take rest, have a drink, then go. So I would never again even have a look at the face of that daughter of a harlot !

Thus, there is little doubt that the term Dāsī in the word Devadāsī is used in the sense of a courtesan. This office, in certain parts of the country, used to be bestowed on an applicant after the solemnisation of a fictitious marriage with a symbol representing the god, as for instance, the anklets used by Him.

But the Devadāsīs, in fact, combine in their persons two distinct offices, viz. those of slaves as well as of courtesans. Besides being courtesans, they are slaves in that they are expected to render certain services in connection with the temple in return for a maintenance allowance for life, an obligation which they cannot shake off on any account ; even their little earnings which they scrape together by acting as courtesans generally go to the temple authorities who are regarded as the representatives of the god in human

form. Thus though Nārada does not call them a class of slaves (Dharmaśāstra, V. 23-26), in spite of that, the Devadāsīs form a class by themselves.

At this place it may not appear inconsistent if we briefly touch upon the attitude of the Hindu Śāstras towards this institution. In accordance with the rules laid down by the Vāstu śāstra, the Nāṭya Mandira or the Music Hall forms a component part of the temple. In fact, you will hardly come across a temple which is not furnished with its Nāṭya-mandira besides its Garbha or the temple proper. This Nāṭya Mandira was the common meeting-ground of the elite of the town in the evenings in the good old days in the absence of the modern clubs organised on the western lines, as would be evident from Vātsyāyana, the Kuṭṭanīmatam and other books.

Again, after having set up the image of some god or goddess, customary law demanded that the management should provide for the Vinodana or entertainment of the god or goddess, besides providing for his or her Arcā or worship, Bhoga or feeding and Rāga or decoration. For the purpose of entertaining a god set up by one of his devotees, custom might have arisen of keeping Devadāsīs attached to the temple. Thus indirectly at least, Hinduism favors the institution of Devadāsīs.

Not only that ; the Śiva Purāṇa distinctly lays down in connection with the building of a temple dedicated to Śiva that it should be provided, besides other things, with (उत्तमस्त्रीसहस्रैश्च नृत्यगेयविशारदैः । वेणुवीणाविदग्धैश्च पुरुषैर्बहु-भिर्युतम् ॥ (Vāyaviya Saṁhitā, Uttara Khaṇḍa 20.114)) thousands of beautiful girls, proficient in the art of singing and dancing, and numerous male musicians, skilled in playing stringed instruments. .

Again when we read in the Skanda Purāṇa, Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa, in connection with the description of another temple dedicated to Siva, that the quarters were resounding with

[वंशवीणासृदंगैश्च गोमुखैर्मुखवादनैः ॥ शङ्खभेरीनिनादेन
दुन्दुभिष्वनितेन च । गर्जद्भिर्गणवृन्दैश्च मेघस्वनितनिस्वनैः ॥
गणानां स्तोत्रशब्देन सामवेदरवेण च । प्रेक्षणीयैर्महानादैर्गैयहुङ्कार-
शोभितम् ॥ वृषनर्दितशब्देन गजवाजिरवेण च । काञ्चीनूपुरशब्देन
समाकीर्णदिगन्तरम् ॥ (Prabhāsa-kṣetra-māhātmyam, 3, 19-22)].
the sound proceeding from all sorts of instruments as
well as mouths, combined with the roarings of the Gaṇas,
resembling the rumbling noise of the clouds and the chanting
of the Vedic hymns by the Gaṇas, the tumult raised by the
dramatic representations, the bass of the musicians, the
bellowing of bulls, neighing of horses, the snorting of
elephants mingling with the tinkling bells attached to the
belt round the waist and the anklets (of women),
we have reasons to believe that both male and female
musicians attached to the temple are referred to above.

Now, common sense dictates that the person of a human
being dedicated to the god, should be held sacred. Still,
how the Devadāsīs as a class, came to be regarded as
ordinary prostitutes is a bit confusing. But in the absence
of any recorded evidence, we may very well supply the
missing link with the help of our imagination. However
high-sounding their title might be, the Devadāsīs as a class
were after all Dāsīs or slave-girls. As such they could never
command the regard and respect of the people they came in
contact with. Again, the person of a Dāsī was, in ancient
and medieval times, considered to have been a legitimate
object for enjoyment. The sagacious Vidura at one place
bitterly complains of the harsh treatment accorded to the

Pāṇḍavas by the sons of king Dhṛtarāṣṭra. Among other things he says—

दासीभावेन कृष्णाञ्च भोक्तुकामाः सुतास्तव (Mbh. VII. 130)

your sons are intent on enjoying the person of Kṛṣṇā as a slave-girl.

Again Hemādri in his Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi quotes *in extenso* the *mantra* or words one should repeat when making the gift of a slave-girl to a Brāhmaṇa. We hear there.

इयं दासी मया तुभ्यं श्रोमती प्रतिपादिता । सदा कर्मकरी
भोग्या यथेष्टं भद्रमश्नुते ॥ (Dāna khaṇḍaḥ, p. 640).

I make over to you this beautiful slave girl who is to serve you continuously and may be enjoyed by you at pleasure. May she do well.

Thus, taking advantage of their dependent position, the priests, it appears, used to hire these girls out to votaries for the sake of money as was the custom all the world over in ancient times. However, it is certain that their morals were not above reproach as early as the ninth century A. D., the probable date of the composition of the Kuṭṭanīmataḥ.

With this brief introduction we proceed to record the various notices the institution has so far received in ancient and modern literature. The earliest references to the institution of the Devadāsīs are to be had in the Purāṇas. Says the Padma Purāṇa in connection with the gift of girls—
मुनीनां प्रेयसीं नारीं युवतीं रूपशालिनीम् ॥ सालंकारं सशय्याञ्च
दत्त्वानन्तफलं लभेत् । अनयोश्च फलं तुल्यं युवतीकन्ययोरपि । एका
वराय दातव्या अपरा ब्राह्मणाय तु ॥ क्रीता देवाय दातव्या
धीरेणाक्लिष्टकर्मणा ॥ कल्पकालं भवेत् स्वर्गं नृपो वासौ महा
श्रुनी । प्रतिजन्म लभेतैष सुपत्नीं वरवर्णिनीम् ॥

(Śrī Khaṇḍaḥ, 52, 97-100).

One attains inexhaustible merit by bestowing (in marriage) a well-adorned, beautiful woman, fit to be a sage's spouse, with beddings. The bestowal (in marriage) of a young woman or that of a girl is equally meritorious, the one should be given to a bridegroom and the other to a Brāhmaṇa ; but the persevering and the indefatigable should give the purchased one to the god. Such a one attains heaven for full one Kalpa or becomes a very wealthy king and at every birth one gets a beautiful and devoted wife.

Says the Skanda Purāṇa in course of the description of the greatness of the presiding deity of the Aruṇa Hills—

प्रतर्दनाख्यो नृपतिर्ग्रहीतुं देवकन्यकाम् ।
 अरुणाद्रिपतेर्गानं कुर्वन्ती सादरोऽभवत् ॥
 क्षणात् कपिमुखो जातो मन्त्रिभिश्चोदितो नृपः ।
 प्रत्यर्घ्यं तां पुनश्चान्याः प्रादादरुणभूभृते ॥
 ततश्चारुमुखो जातः प्रसादादरुणेशितुः ।

(Maheśvara Khaṇḍaṇḍa, Aruṇācala-mahātmyaṇ, 6, 54-56).

King Pratardana attempted to appropriate a divine girl who sang the praises of the Lord of the Aruṇa Hills, for this reason his face was at once turned into that of a monkey. Then, at the suggestion of his counsellors, he returned the girl in question with many more of her tribe to the Lord, and by His favour, he was at once cured.

Further on, in the same text the great Ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya is made to say—

मया च शम्भुमभ्यर्च्य कृताग्न्याहुतिसम्भवाः ।
 सप्त कन्या वरारोहाः पूजार्थं विनियोजिताः ॥

(Ibid., 6, 136).

In the course of my supplications to Śiva, as I offered oblations to fire, there came out seven beautiful maidens, whom I employed in the service of the Lord.

Again in the same text we find elsewhere that King Vajrāgada

सौन्दर्यशालिनीरात्मपरिवारवरांगनाः ।

सेवार्थं शोणनाथस्य दत्तवान् दीर्घदर्शनः ॥

(Ibid, 24, 12).

who was gifted with a far sight, employed the most beautiful women of his household in the service of the Lord Śoṇanātha.

Not only that, the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa solemnly proceeds to lay down—

वेश्याकदम्बकं यस्तु दद्यात्सूर्याय भक्तिः ।

स गच्छेत्परमं स्थानं यत्र तिष्ठति मानुमान् ॥

(I. 93, 67.)

one who consecrates a bevy of hetairai in honor of the Sun-God, passes on to the highest region where shines the Sun.

Again Hemādri in his Caturvarga-Cintāmaṇi quotes the following from the Kālottara Tantra—

योऽलंकृत्य स्त्रियं शम्भोरुत्तमां विनिवेदयेत् ।

सोऽश्वमेधस्य यज्ञस्य फलं शतगुणं लभेत् ॥

सुविनीतां स्त्रियं दासीं भृतकार्यं निवेदयेत् ।

नरमेधस्य यज्ञस्य फलं शतगुणं लभेत् ॥

(Dānakhaṇḍaṭh, p. 641—2.)

one who dedicates a well-adorned, good-looking woman in honor of the God Śambhu, earns the fruit of celebrating a Horse Sacrifice. One who makes a gift of a modest woman-slave for performing the menial duties, attains the merit of performing the Human Sacrifice a hundred times over.

On a critical examination of the extracts quoted above a few points suggest themselves to our mind and before proceeding further, it will be worth while to consider them in detail.

(1) It is to be noted that the earliest literary notice of the institution does not go back beyond the fourth century A. D., the probable date of the compilation of the Padma Purāṇa, which we have strong reasons to believe, was, partly at least, if not wholly, composed in the Mahārāṣṭra country, and was the store-house from which Kālidāsa borrowed so much of his materials. But that Purāṇa, too, commends in very general terms the practice of consecrating purchased slave-girls in honor of Śiva. It does not furnish us with a single concrete instance in which the gift referred to above was actually made.

Next, we take up the pieces of information supplied by the Skanda Purāṇa. This Purāṇa was compiled probably in the seventh century A. D., and the Aruṇācala-māhātmyaṃ with which we are directly concerned just now, might have been composed earlier and we are sure that this piece was composed in honor of a local deity near about that place in the Far South, which till now is the stronghold of the Dravidian civilisation. It is to be noted in this connection that this part of the Skanda Purāṇa cites definite cases where the gifts were actually made and quotes traditions in support of the statement.

Now, as to the quotation from the Kālottara Tantra made by the great jurist Hemādri, it is to be observed that the entire spirit breathed by the class of literature known as the Tantras is non-Āryan in origin. The matriarchal society, the worship of the female energy, the indulgences practised, the idea of personal devotion, are things entirely foreign to Aryan standard of culture. So, scholars have unanimously declared that the Tantras furnish us with a glimpse of the pre-Aryan Dravidian culture.

It is also to be noted in this connection that with one honorable exception, namely that of the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa,

all others agree that the presentation of the girls should invariably be made to Śiva who represents the masculine spirit. And all the world knows how much devoted the Dravidians are, by instinct, to Śiva, of all the other gods in the Hindu mythology.

On the other hand, in the sacrifice-ridden Vedic religion there was no room for temples and the gods set up in them. Indeed, the Aryans of the Ṛgvedic Age looked down upon their opponents, the non-Aryans of Northern India simply because they were Śiśna-Devāḥ (Ṛgveda, VIII. 21, 5; X. 99, 3), who would not offer sacrifices in honor of the Aryan gods (Ṛgveda, VIII. 70, 11; X. 22, 8; IV. 16, 9 etc.). It is, indeed, in the Rāmāyaṇa (I. 77, 13; II. 3. 18-19 etc.), the Mahābhārata (I. 70, 49, XIV. 70, 16; etc.) and the Jātaka Tales (II. 284, p. 411; III. 378, p. 238 etc.), works that heralded the advent of the Post-Vedic Age, that we hear for the first time of Devāyatanas and Devakulas. Still the Great Śiva, the terrible and the ever-complaisant one, cuts a very sorry figure in these works. In the Rāmāyaṇa, though the name of Śiva occurs several times and his greatness has been duly set forth (I. 23, 11 ff; I. 36, 5 ff, I. 42, 23 ff., I. 43, 1 ff; I. 45, 21 ff; I. 55, 18; I. 66, 9 ff. etc.) the significant facts worth noticing in connection with this Deity are that we are told at one place that the Rākṣasa king Rāvaṇa worships him (VII. 31, 38-44), and that the mighty Agastya neglects to build a temple in his honor (III. 12, 17-21). The Jātakas do not absolutely mention His name. The Mahābhārata certainly takes his name several times and even recites his greatness (I. 110, 9; III. 114, 10-11; VII. 200, 92-94 etc.). But much of these might have been later additions. The Dakṣa-Yajña episode so faithfully narrated in the Purāṇas (Bhāgavata, IV. 1-7; Śiva Purāṇa, Vāyavya Saṁhitā (i) 16-20 etc.) in a way proclaims the victory of the non-Aryan culture over the

Aryan one, when the stiff-necked Dakṣa had to bow down his proud head before the non-Aryan Deity Śiva. Thus in Northern India at least, before the rise of Neo-Hinduism, the number of temples devoted to Śiva or other gods was too small to admit of Devadāsīs at all

All these proofs tempt us to conclude that the institution of Devadāsīs was primarily Dravidian in origin, and it is just possible that the Dravidians might have imported it from their ancient homes round about the Mediterranean coasts where sacred prostitution was a recognised custom as has already been described above.

(2) Another point which attracts our attention is that women of all sorts occupying different positions in life were freely admitted as Devadāsīs,—free and unfree, married and unmarried ; the prostitutes as well as the women of rank and position.

(3) It is also to be observed in this connection that the person of the Devadāsīs was held sacred as late as the Seventh Century A. D. We are told that King Pratardana who tried to violate the person of a temple-maiden had to suffer much for his audacity.

From the accounts given above one would suppose that the Dravidian Hindus were the only people who countenanced this custom to the exclusion of the Aryan Buddhists and Jainas. But the Dhammapada Commentary springs a surprise on us by narrating one such story. In times past men planned a shrine for receiving the relics of the Buddha Kassapa. When the shrine was completed as far as the receptacle for the relics, they thought "Now that we have reached the receptacle for the relics, we have need of a large amount of money : Whom shall we make our foreman ?" A certain village treasurer contributed a crore of gold and said, "I will be the foreman". At this the city treasurer came

forward with two crores for becoming foreman. Then the village treasurer contributed three crores. Thus did the village treasurer and the city treasurer bid against each other, until finally the city treasurer offered to give eight crores. Now, as the village treasurer had only nine crores, while the city treasurer had forty, he thought "Not only will I give all this wealth, but I will myself together with sons and wife, become the slave of this shrine". And with his seven sons and seven daughters-in-law and his wife he surrendered himself to the shrine. So the inhabitants of the country made him foreman. Thus did these sixteen persons become the slaves of the shrine. The inhabitants of the country, however, made them freemen (III. p.29 ff.).

On reading the above story one would easily be led to believe that the practice of consecrating men and women as slaves to the shrines raised in honor of the Buddha was widely prevalent in Northern India in the Fifth Century A. D. the probable date of the composition of the commentary. But as a matter of fact, this is the only instance where a distinct reference is made to the practice of maintaining slaves attached to a temple consecrated to the Buddha, in the entire range of the Pāli Literature that I could trace.

Again, Jacobi's *Mahārāṣṭriya Prākṛt Tales* narrates another story like this. We are told that a haunch-backed slave girl named Devadattā used to attend upon the image of Jina. One day she received some desire-yielding magic pills from a visitor hailing from Gāndhāra. With the help of these pills she changed her appearance and managed to get an admirer in King Pajjoya of Ujjeni. Now this king Pajjoya was on inimical terms with king Udāyana. So for the sake of chastising his old enemy king Udāyana removed the image of the Jina along with the slave-girl who attended upon it. Thereupon king Pajjoya went out to fight with

king Udayana, but on account of his bad luck, he was defeated and to add insult to the injury already done, he was taken captive. At last when the captive prince was produced before his victor, the latter set him free after having branded the following words on his fore-head, "Husband of a slave girl !" (Meyer's Hindu Tales, p. 108ff.)

But to be frank, we fail to understand why king Udayana should have been so much displeased with king Pajjaya, even if we for a moment suppose that the latter actually married the slave girl Devadattā. The marriage laws of the Jains are quite liberal. They recognise all kinds of Anuloma marriages, though Pratiloma marriage connections are looked down upon by them. Says the *Adi Purāna*.

शूद्रा शूद्रेण बोद्धव्या नान्या स्वां तां च नैगमः ।

वहेत्स्वां ते च राजन्यः स्वां द्विजम्मा कचिच्च ताः ॥

स्वामिमां वृत्तिमुत्क्रम्य यस्त्वन्यां वृत्तिमाचरेत् ।

स पार्थिवैर्नियन्तव्यो वर्णसंकीर्णशङ्कया ॥

(XVI, 247-8).

A Śūdrā should be wedded by a Śūdra ; he must not marry a member of the higher Varṇas ; a Vaiśya should marry a member of his own Varṇa and a Śūdrā ; a Rājanya may marry a member of his own order as well as a Vaiśyā and a Śūdrā, and a twice born one may marry a member of his own caste as well as the members of the other three Varṇas. One who violating these rules pursues other lines of conduct, should be restrained by the rulers for fear of causing a mixture of castes.

It was certainly at a very late date that all such marriage connections were condemned. Says Medhāvī in his *Śraṇakācāra*.

परस्परं त्रिवर्णानां विवाहः पक्तिभोजनम् ।

कर्तव्यं न च शूद्रैस्तु शूद्राणां शूद्रकैः सह ॥

(IX, 256).

The members of the three orders must not eat or form marriage connections with one another and with the Śūdras. The Śūdras should practise connubium and commensality with Śūdras alone.

Thus the cause of the proud victor's wrath is to be sought for elsewhere. It was probably the social status of the poor girl Devadattā that kindled the wrath of the king Udāyana. For, after all Devadattā was only a slave attached to the temple of Jina, while her wooer was a crowned head. Or it might be explained away as a bit of the Victor's licence !

But be it said to the credit of the Jainas that they do not recognise any such customs, namely that of dedicating girls to the temples as Devādāsīs. Consequently the Jaina Texts too, are silent about this matter.

The paucity of materials to write a history of this interesting institution that stares the student in the face in the mythical and quasi-historical Age, pursues him ruthlessly even in the historical age and the references to the poor Devadāsīs are indeed very few and far between. At present our business will be to make use of these little bits of information and to string them together into a complete whole. The earliest literary reference to these hapless girls, however, is to be had in the journal of Yuan Chwang. When the famous Chinese scholar and traveller out of curiosity paid a visit to the far-famed temple of the sun situated at what he calls Mu-lo-san-pu-lo (=Mulas-thānapura=Multan) 635 A. D. circa, he notes that there was a constant succession of females performing music (Watters, Vol. II, p. 254; Beal, Vol. II, p. 274).

In the absence of any such customs in his own country, the Chinese pilgrim could not definitely say who these "female musicians" were, but we can very well guess that they were the Devadāsīs attached to the temple of the

Sun-God offered as presents by devoted parents in the hope of currying favor with that deity. On the testimony of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* (I. 93,67) we might also very well conclude that these women were the *hetaerai* of the Bazaar offered as gifts to the temple.

A passing reference may be made here to this temple of the Sun-God. This temple was in existence at the time when the Arab soldier-statesman *Muhammad-bin-Qāsim* invaded Sindh in 712 A. D. The temple and its surroundings, the image of the God, the fraudulent practices of the priests to capture the imagination of the blind votaries, have all been very faithfully described by the Arab geographers such as *Al-Idrisi*, *Abu Zaid* etc. and the curious reader is advised to refer to them directly (*Elliot and Dawson*, Vol. I).

The next reference to these girls is to be had in the *Kuṭṭanīmataṁ* of *Dāmodara Gupta*, a *Kaśmīrī* poet who lived in the earlier part of the ninth century A. D. In that work we are told that Prince *Samarabhāṭa*, the son and successor of king *Śimhabhāṭa* of *Devarāṣṭra* approached the temple of *Viśvanātha* at Benares. There in the temple-yard he happened to over-hear the conversation among the men about the town—all ruined prodigals and the *Cetis* or slave girls attached to the temple while they were engaged in light talks amongst themselves. At the outset it must be told that the kind of talk they were having had just at that moment turned round love—that eternal problem which has defied final solution at the hands of all men and women of all ages and climes. One of the girls was whining into the ears of her admirer and champion—

गम्भीरेश्वरदास्यां लग्नः किल तव वयस्यको वीरः ।

प्राप्स्यति साअपि दुराशा वर्षत्रितयेन यन्मया प्राप्तम् ॥

Your valliant friend is just at present, fervently enamoured of the girl attached to the temple of *Gambhīreśvara*. She too, will

taste bitter disappointment and dejection in the course of three years as I have done.

One jealous adorer warns his fiance in these words—

त्वामनुयान्तं सम्प्रति पश्यामि कुरंगि वसुषेणम् ।
सुनिरुपिता भविष्यसि विषमा गुडजिह्विका तस्य ॥

For some time past I have been noticing that Vasuṣeṇa trails behind you. My fawn, you will soon realise what a sweet tongue he has !

Another fellow in imitation of his predecessor, addresses his lady-love as follows:—

वञ्चयति जनं योऽसौ हरिणि हरो धूर्ततामिमानेन ।
लिखति शतं दशवृक्ष्या स निमग्नस्तरलिकावर्ते ॥

That Hara, who boasting of his cunning, deceives people outright by charging ten per cent as interest, is just at present completely immersed in the whirlpool in the shape of Taralika. A third ousted lover sighs in this strain:—

तेऽतोताः खलु दिवसाः क्रियते नमं त्वया समं येषु ।
अधुनाऽऽचार्यानी त्वं पाशुपताचार्यसम्बन्धात् ॥

Those days which I spent in merry-making in your company, are past beyond recall ! Now because of your connection with the head of the Pāsupatas, you are the Mother Superior !

Yet another taunts his rival in the following words for the choice of his partner—

अमसि यथेष्टं तावत् कुर्वाणो युवतिपल्लवग्रहणम् ।
लोलिकदास न यावन्नरदेवी पानिकां व्रजति ॥

(Kuṭṭanīmatam, p. 258ff.)

Ah Lolikadāsa, you may move about at pleasure, holding the sprout-like finger tips of the young beauty, so long as she does not walk into a drinking booth !

The working of the institution has been set forth in some detail by an Arab traveller, Abu Zied al Hasan of Sirāz who visited India in 867 A. D. Says he—

In the Indies they have public women, called women of the Idol, the origin of whose institution is such : when a woman has laid herself under a vow, that she may have children ; if it happens that she brings forth a handsome daughter, she carries the child to the Bod (Persian But=Idol) and there leaves her. When this girl has attained a proper age, she takes an apartment in this public place and spreads a curtain before her door and waits the arrival of strangers—Indians as well as men of other sects to whom this debauchery is made lawful. She prostitutes herself at a certain rate and delivers her gains into the hands of the Idol's priest, to be disposed of by him, for the use and support of the temple. (Renaudot's *Ancient Accounts of India and China.*, p 88).

Kalhana's *Rājatarāgini* affirms that a Kaśmiri king Jalauka by name gave out of joy to Jyēṣṭha-Rudra a hundred among the ladies of his seraglio, who had risen to dance (in honor of the God) at the time fixed for dancing and singing (Stein, Vol I, 151).

Then, further on, with reference to king Lalitāditya (733-69 A. D.), he says that "while breaking in horses in a waste the king came across two beautiful girls who were dancing and singing there. On enquiry the king learnt that they were temple girls dwelling in the village Śuravardhamāna, who performed there regularly in honor of an undiscovered divinity. The king thereupon carried on excavations on an extensive scale and discovered the images of Rāmasvāmin and Lakṣmaṇasvāmin. (Ibid. IV, 265 ff.)

Even the mute stones speak in testimony of the existence of this institution in the south. The earliest of these seems

to be the Jogīmārā Cave Inscription of the third century B. C. This cave was dug out at the instance of the Devadāsī Sutanukā and was intended to serve as a resting place for the dancing girls (Arch. Sur. Report for 1903-4, p. 128 ff.). It may be noted here in passing that Mr. K. P. Jaiswal gives a totally different interpretation of this particular inscription (Ind. Ant. for 1919, p. 131), which is needless for our present purpose to follow in detail.

Then in the Rāja Rāja Temple at Tanjore we are told that there is an inscription in which that famous Chola king (985-1018 A. D.) set apart some lands for the support of 400 Devadāsīs consecrated to Śiva. This grant was made, we are further told, in 1004 A. D. (Mahārāṣṭriya Jñāna-kośa, S. V. Devadāsī). Similarly it occurs in the Epig. Carnatica that the Mahāmaṇḍalesvara Cāmuṇḍa Rāyarasa granted a piece of land to Bharuṇḍeśvara and also made a grant to Bīchabarasi, the younger sister of Kuṇḍa Rāja, who was attached to this temple (III, p. 108).

Then, in 1024 A. D., the Muhammedan historians who accompanied Mahmud of Ghazni to Somanātha, affirm that there they came across 500 girls "that danced and sang continually before the idol" (Elliot and Dawson ; Vol. I, p. 98). Again the Tarīkh-i Alfī says with reference to this very holy shrine—"There were also 300 musicians and 500 dancing-girls attached to it and it was customary even for the kings and Rājās of India to send their daughters for the service of the temple". (Quoted by E. & D. Vol. II, 472).

Before bidding good bye to the present section which deals with Ancient India exclusively, it would be advisable for us to stop a bit and draw certain conclusions that rise uppermost in our mind.

It would appear that from the list of literary evidences forthcoming from Northern India, the earliest is the one referred to by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang in about 635 A. D., if we leave out of consideration the testimony of the commentary on the Dhammapada which was composed in about fifth century A. D.

It seems that the custom of consecrating girls to particular temples, though borrowed directly from the South, took such a firm hold of the imagination of the Northerners that in a very short time the entire area from Multan to Benares and from Kāśmīr to Guzerat, came to be flooded with these Devadāsīs, and we are sure we wont commit a blunder, if we say that each and every blessed temple had its own Devadāsī to boast of.

It is also evident that girls were mostly consecrated in honor of Śiva, and the Sun-God; and that Devadāsīs were recruited from the ranks of women holding different positions in life including married women and prostitutes.

The outstanding fact that strikes us at this stage of the history of the Devadāsīs is that they had considerably gone down as far as their morals were concerned. The girls attached to the temple of Viśvanātha at Benares openly take part in love intrigues as has been portrayed by Dāmodara Gupta, but they do so on their own account, not for the benefit of the temple authorities. On the other hand those of Mālābār and the adjacent countries do so for the sake of the benefit of the temple to which they are attached, as has been vouchsafed by Abu Zeid al Hasan.

From the accounts given above it would appear that only females were recruited for rendering services in temples. Not so; the Śūdra-Kamalākara of Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa quotes a Śloka from the Smṛti Kaumudī from which it is patent that males too were pressed into service. It runs as follows—

चतुर्णामपि वर्णानाम् जीवतामन्यसंभवः ।
 कुण्डस्तु संकरो ब्रूयो मृतानामथ गोलकः ॥
 जातिहीनः समातृणां ग्राहयेत्कर्मनामनि ।
 योज्यो देवपुरे राज्ञा वर्णसंकरभीरुणा ॥ (p. 73).

Of the members of the four Varnas a son born of another person during the life-time of the father is called a Kuṇḍa, and on the death of the father, the bastard is known as a Golaka. These along with their mother are outside the pale of caste and should be named after the occupation they follow. The king should employ them in temples for fear of causing a mixture of castes.

When the curtain rises again on Medieval India the position of the compiler of the History of the Devadāsīs does not at all improve. The lack of materials about which he complained in the last section still pursues him. The Muhammedan historians speak of conquests and annexations, the Sultans and their magnificence, but they have not a word to spare about the conquered people, their ideals and institutions, their hopes and aspirations, their successes and achievements. Indeed they consistently and persistently look down upon the conquered Hindus as a herd of dumb, driven cattle and consequently take scant notice of them.

Such being the attitude of the Muhammedan historians as a class, it is idle to expect to get any information about the poor Devadāsīs from their works. But their negligence and defects are to a certain extent made up for by the accounts of European travellers, for these speak not only of contemporary history but of the religious beliefs, ideals and institutions of the conquered people. It is in the accounts left by these foreigners that we have to hunt up for references to this peculiar institution, and fortunately for us they do speak about these girls. But the serious handicap in their accounts is that most of them record

their experiences of the south ; while Tavernier, Manucci, Peter Mundy etc. who actually undertook arduous journeys in Northern India do not speak anything about these girls : nor do the Muhammedan historians say a word about them.

Of all these writers, it must be admitted that Bernier alone refers to the fact that it was customary at Puri to keep Devadāsīs attached to the temple of Jagannāth. These girls, we are told "while refusing to accommodate, even at a very high price, Muslims, Christians and Gentile foreigners, do not hesitate to distribute their favors to the Brāhmaṇa priests and Faqirs." (Travels, page 306). The same writer also refers to the fact that girls were at that sacred place given away in mock marriage to Jagannāth and that 'they were enjoyed by the priests in disguise at night' (Ibid, page 305). But we should remember that Orissa is the gate of entrance to the Deccan and that in matters cultural it owes a deeper allegiance to the Dravidians, rather than to the Aryans. The custom of maintaining the Devadāsīs continues till to-day at Puri.

So we conclude that because of the woman-hunting practices of the Musalmān conquerors who never hesitated to appropriate specially such girls of the conquered people as generally went unprotected, the practice of consecrating girls as Devadāsīs died a natural death in Northern India, for nobody cared to bestow such girls on the temples who would ultimately be locked up and secured in the harem of a Muhammedan grandee. But the institution survived in the extreme South where the long arm of the Muhammedans could not reach. With these few words by way of an introduction we proceed to note down the observances of the medieval travellers.

At the very outset we must note that Ferishta observes with satisfaction that Sultan-Alau-ddin Bahmani (1351-53

A. D.), the founder of the Bahmanî Dynasty of the Deccan, in the course of his conquests in the Carnatic (the Canarese country), captured some Murlis attached to the temples situated in that part of the country, and it is needless to add that he at once clapped them in his harem (Brigg, Vol. II, p. 294).

It may not be out of place to mention here that this is the only reference to the Devadāsīs as a class, that I have come across in the field of historical literature compiled by the Muhammedans. Now coming to foreign travellers, the lead is naturally given by the Venitian traveller Marco Polo who reached the Malabar Coast regions as early as 1250 A. D. Says he with reference to these Malabarese that "they have idols, males and females, to which they offer their daughters, which when the monks appoint, sing and dance to cheer the idols." (Purchas His Pilgrimes. 1905 Edition. Vol, XI, p. 300.)

The Italian traveller Nicolo Conti who visited India in about 1420 A. D. notes that "in Bizenegalia (Vijaynagar) at a certain time of the year, their idol is carried through the city, placed between two chariots, in which are young women richly adorned, who sing hymns to the god, and accompanied by a great concourse of people (Major's India in the XV century ; II, p. 28).

Then the foreign traveller Gasparo Bally says with reference to the same kingdom that "the priests which have care of the idol, and certain women, are consecrated to these devotions from their cradles by their zeal-blind parents. And the women prostitute their bodies to gain for the idol whatsoever they can get over and above their own maintenance. This filleth the city with strumpets, there being of this sacred crew 400 in one place of the city of Vijaynagar (Purchas's Pilgrimage, p. 141 ; Englishman Press).

The account given by Gasparo Bally agrees to the letter with the one furnished by the reputed Portuguese traveller Domingo Paes who paid a visit to the Vijaynagar kingdom in about 1522 A. D. Says he in the course of the description of a monolithic temple he visited at Darcha (Dhārwaār ?)—“They feed the idol every day, for they say that he eats ; and when he eats women dance before him, who belong to that pagoda, and they give him food and all that is necessary, and all girls born of these women belong to the temple. These women are of loose character and live in the best streets that there are in the city ; it is the same in all their cities, their streets have the best rows of houses. They are much esteemed and are classed amongst those honored ones who are the mistresses of the captains ; any respectable man may go to their houses without any blame attaching thereto. These women are allowed even to enter the presence of the wives of the king and they stay with them and eat betel with them, a thing which no other person may do, no matter what his rank may be (Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 241—2).

The Jesuit Fathers De Viega and Ricino at the close of the sixteenth century came across a procession at Traulur “which was attended by numerous trumpeters and musicians and twenty dancing women, consecrated to the idol's service and might not marry, but yet prostitute their bodies ; these were richly attired and carried lights (Purchas's *Pilgrimage*, p. 153).

Further on Purchas sums up on the strength of the evidence supplied by his clients that “The temples in this country have great revenues, which in some places are increased by the devotion of women, which prostitute themselves to gain for their idols and many young girls are brought up for this purpose (Ibid, p. 154).

Lastly the celebrated French traveller Tavernier on his way to Agra in 1641 A. D. observed this very custom in a village near Cambay. Says he in this connection "When the courtesans have got together a good sum of money in their youth, they buy young slaves whom they teach to dance and sing wanton songs and instruct in all the mysteries of their infamous art. And when these young girls are eleven or twelve years old, their mistresses send them to this temple (a little village at the distance of three Koses from Cambay) believing it will bring them good fortune to offer and surrender themselves to this idol (Ball, Vol. I, p. 71).

All students of medieval History are aware that the Mughal Emperors, off and on, played the role of social and religious reformers. Akbar's attempts to bring about a Hindu-Muhammedan Entente are too well-known to need any repetition here. Similarly his efforts to abolish the Suttee system, child-marriages etc. are too widely known. Jehāngir's institutes against forcible conversions and his resentment against the Hindu custom of worshipping the image of the Varāha Deva also might not be unknown. Why should we wonder then, if we are told that the Prince Aurangzeb too, treading on the footsteps of his forefathers, promulgated a law against the Hindu practice of dedicating young children as Murlis to the celebrated temple of Khandobā at Satārā, during his stay at Aurangābād? (Mahārāstriya Jñāna-Kośa, S. V. Aurangzeb; Sarkar, Vol. I, page 152).

From the quotations given above, it is plain (i) that under the stress of Muhammedan influence which reigned supreme at that time, the practice of dedicating young girls as Devadāsīs to particular deities, had fallen into disuse in Northern India; but that the custom continued in full swing

in the Deccan, its ancient home, where Muhammedan influence was less felt ;

(ii) that in the Deccan it had become customary to present only unmarried girls and that married girls were no longer admitted as Devadāsīs ;

(iii) that though these unfortunate girls to a certain extent, enjoyed a high social status, because of their devotion to a temple, they had to lend their bodies for the benefit of the temple to which they were attached ;

(iv) and that the Devadāsīs in course of time came to be looked up to as repositories of the finer Arts of singing and dancing which certainly made great improvements under their aegis.

Coming to what is known as Modern India, the references to these Devadāsīs are, in fact, hopelessly few. Though Yule in his Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words, otherwise called Hobson-Jobson, quotes a number of extracts from the diaries of the leading French and even English generals who took part in the celebrated Anglo-French Wars in the Carnatic, all these agree in calling these Devadāsīs common Nautch-girls who entertained them in their tents with music and dances after a dinner party. For fear of becoming tedious, I refer the curious reader to the Glossary named above.

For want of interesting materials in connection with the writing of a complete history of the Devadāsīs, the writer has perforce to begin to tell the story of the abolition of the institution, and we are glad to be able to say that the lead in this matter was to a certain extent given by Tipu Sultān.

It is said that on the conclusion of the Third Mysore War (1790-92 A. D.) Tipu undertook the task of reorganising his entire resources. On that occasion he is said to have strictly disallowed the practice of dedicating boys and girls

by their parents to the temples. He insisted on buying these creatures up and employing them as agrestic slaves in his private farms on the Malabar coast regions. These poor slaves were set free when the British Government took over the charge of his property on his death in 1799 A. D. as the result of his defeat in the Fourth Mysore War (Slavery Reports ; Vols. V. & VI).

In recent times, however, the lead was given by the Mysore Legislative Assembly which passed a law in about 1926 A. D. finally abolishing the institution altogether within the confines of the state. Three years later another Bill prepared on the same lines was introduced in the Madras Legislature by Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi which sought "to put an end to the present practice of dedication of young girls as Devadāsīs for service in Hindu temples in the Presidency of Madras." Madras Act V of 1929 declares the freedom of such Devadāsīs as hold lands in lieu of service in the temples in the form of dancing and singing, from their conditions of service, their lands being enfranchised or given to them on condition of paying rent to the Government. Following suit, the Cochin and the Travancore Darbars have abolished the custom in their respective territories very recently.

Thus was sounded the death-knell of one more of the age-worn institutions of India which to-day lies gasping and panting, anxiously waiting for the angels of Death to carry it away into the *Terra Incognita*. But let us not forget the services rendered to the society in the past by the Devadāsīs, who in the simplicity of their hearts pursued the wrong track believing that it would lead them to Heaven's door, thus they received into their persons all the dirt and filth so that the equilibrium of the Hindu Society might not be violently disturbed.

Before concluding this paper we propose to round it off by giving a brief description of the working of the institution as it obtained until recently in the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras. The readers might have observed that so far we have used only two terms, viz. Devadāsīs and Murlīs, to signify this class of temple slaves. We have so far no occasion to mention the name of the Bhāvinīs, who like their unfortunate sisters mentioned above, were to be found in Bombay. Initiated by the pouring of a little quantity of oil from the lamp burning in the temple, the Bhāvinī's rank was equal to that of the Murlīs. A Bhāvinī, unlike the murlī, was prohibited from singing and dancing in the Public. A Bhāvinī was married to the idol representing the God in accordance with the rite called the Śeṣa-vidhi. In other words, she was married with the anklets or some such ornaments used by the God. The Bhāvinīs were mainly recruited from the ranks of the daughters of Mārāṭha Sardārs born of slave girls. They were allowed to take their food together with the people belonging to the higher Śūdra castes.

The Murlīs, on the other hand, were recruited from the ranks of the lower Marāṭhā Śūdra castes, such as the Bhaṇḍārīs, Kunvīs, Dhangars, Nāyiks etc. They were allowed to sing and dance in the public. Boys as well as girls used to be offered by the zeal-blind parents, and these were prohibited from contracting matrimonial alliances. But we can very well imagine their moral standard when we are told that the boys used to mess together with the girls.

The institution of Devadāsīs is, however, peculiar to Madras. There is a particular class of people in that part of the land from whose ranks alone, Devadāsīs are recruited. When poor parents are saddled with a number of girls, they generally offer one of these to a temple. Here too, there is

an initiation ceremony, preceded by an *Ārati* and followed by the gift of a necklace or some such thing by the priests. From that day the girl becomes a confirmed Devadāsī. In return for the services rendered to the temple in the shape of singing and dancing, the Devadāsī gets her daily bread from the temple. Sometimes lands or the revenues thereof are assigned to her. She is free to entertain suitors, but not more than one every night, and according to previous arrangement, the income is either shared or goes wholly to the temple authorities.

