

ESSAYS AND LECTURES

CHIEFLY ON THE

RELIGION OF THE HINDUS.

BY THE LATE

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

A SKETCH OF THE RELIGIOUS SECTS OF THE HINDUS.

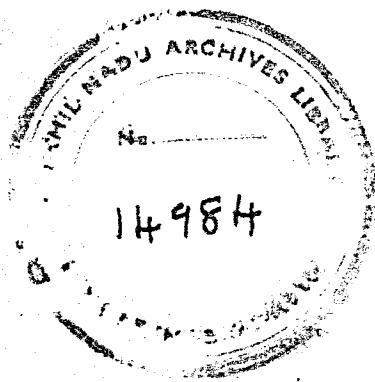
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PREFACE.

UPWARDS of forty-eight years have elapsed since

Professor H. H. WILSON, then Assistant Surgeon in the service of the East India Company, published his translation of the Meghadūta, the first fruits of his literary labours in the mine of Sanskrit Literature. During the nineteen following years, while engaged in various official capacities, chiefly at Calcutta and Benares, and from the time of his return to England in 1832 till his death on the 8th of May, 1860, he continued to pursue his studies and researches on the literature, history, antiquities, and religious systems of the Hindus with indefatigable industry. Ever zealously availing himself of the opportunities which were afforded him by his long residence in India, and subsequently by his easy access to the rich stores of Manuscripts, both at the East India House and the Bodleian Library, for extending and consolidating his investigations in

Indian lore, he produced a large number of works, which for usefulness, depth of learning, and wide range of research, show him to have been the worthy successor of Sir W. JONES and H. T. COLEBROOKE. The just appreciation of his merits, contained in the sketches of his life and labours, in the "Annual Report" of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1860, and in the "Rapport" of the Société Asiatique for the same year, expresses but the meed of admiration and gratitude with which every student of Sanskrit acknowledges the obligations he owes to Professor WILSON's works. Many of these, however, ranging as they do over a period of nearly half a century were originally published in periodicals and transactions of Oriental Societies not generally accessible or have otherwise become scarce; while they still are the standard, and in some instances the only authority on the various topics of which they treat. The greatest acknowledgment, therefore, is due to the liberality with which Mrs. WILSON authorised and enabled the publishers to collect and reprint the principal writings of her lamented husband and every one concerned in the study of the religious literature, and antiquities of India, will thank the publishers for their spirit and zeal in reproducing

series of volumes, the first of which, containing "A Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus," is here laid before the reader.

On account of the variety of manuscript sources in Persian, Sanskrit, Bengali, and different dialects of Hindi, from which the author gleaned the materials for this Sketch, thorough uniformity in the transliteration of Indian names would have been beyond what could be expected by any-one ever so slightly acquainted with the various graphical, and still more phonetical, changes to which Sanskrit words are liable when passing into the vernacular idioms of modern India. No improvement in this respect was aimed at in the reprint of this work, which appeared at Calcutta in the year 1846 (pp. 238, in 8vo), and in which even the most obvious misprints of the original edition were reproduced with scrupulous fidelity. Much care has, however, been bestowed in the present edition upon the orthography of Indian words, both ancient and modern, with a view to the maintenance of, at least, as much etymological consistency as shall enable the student to trace without difficulty their original forms. In some cases, slight but unavoidable discrepancies will be detected, occasioned, it is

feared, by the want of ready communication between the editor and the printer. For these the reader is referred to the Index. Though it would have been desirable to verify all the numerous quotations contained in the Notes, I regret to say, that it has not been possible, except in those instances where ready access to the printed literature of India gave me an opportunity of comparing them with the original works. In all such cases, the references and other additions are enclosed in brackets [], so that they may be always readily distinguished from the text.

REINHOLD ROST.

ST. AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE, *Canterbury*.
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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page
Preface	VII
Table of Contents	XI
Section I. Introductory Observations	1
Section II. State of the Hindu Religion anterior to its present condition	11
Section III. Present divisions of the Hindus, and of the Vaishnavas in particular	30
Vaishnavas.	
Śrī Sampradāyīs, or Rāmānujas	34
Rāmānandīs, or Rāmāvats	46
Kabīr Panthīs	68
Khākīs	98
Malūk Dāsīs	100
Dādū Panthīs	103
Rai Dāsīs	113
Senā Panthīs	118
Rudra Sampradāyīs, or Vallabhāchārīs	119
Mīrā Bāīs	136
Brahma Sampradāyīs, or Madhwāchārīs	139
Sanakādi Sampradāyīs, or Nīmāvats	150
Vaishnavas of Bengal	152
Rādhā Vallabhīs	173
Sakhī Bhāvas	177
Charaṇ Dāsīs	178
Hariśchandīs, Sadhnā Pānthīs, and Mādhavis	181
Sannyāsīs, Vairāgīs &c.	183
Nāgas	187
Śaivas	189
Daūdīs, and Daśnāmīs	191
Yogīs, or Jogīs	205
Jangamas	219
Paramahansas	231

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	Page
Aghoris	233
Urdhabāhus, Ākāśmukhīs, and Nakhīs	234
Gūdaras	235
Rūkharas, Sūkharas, and Ūkharas	236
Karā Lingīs	236
Sannyāsis, Brahmachāris, Avadhūtas	237
Nāgas	238
Śāktas	240
Dakṣiṇas, or Bhāktas	250
Vāmis, or Vāmachāris	251
Kāñchuliyas	263
Karāris	264
Miscellaneous Sects.	265
Saurapātas, or Sauras	266
Gāṇapatyas	266
Nānak Shāhis	267
Udāsis	267
Ganj Bakhshīs	272
Rāmāyīs	—
Sūthra Shāhis	—
Govind Sinhīs	273
Nirmalas	274
Nāgas	275
Jains	276
Digambaras	339
Śvetāmbaras	—
Yatis	342
Śrāvakas	343
Bābā Lāhis	347
Prāñ Nāthīs	391
Sādhs	352
Satnāmīs	356
Śiva Nārāyaṇīs	358
Śūnyavādīs	359
Concluding Remarks	364
Index	371-398

A SKETCH

OF THE

RELIGIOUS SECTS OF THE HINDUS.

From the Asiatic Researches, Vols. XVI, Calc. 1828, p. 1-136, and XVII, Calc. 1832, p. 169-314.

SECTION I.

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

THE Hindu religion is a term, that has been hitherto employed in a collective sense, to designate a faith and worship of an almost endlessly diversified description: to trace some of its varieties is the object of the present enquiry.

An early division of the Hindu system, and one conformable to the genius of all Polytheism, separated the practical and popular belief, from the speculative or philosophical doctrines. Whilst the common people addressed their hopes and fears to stocks and stones, and multiplied by their credulity and superstition the grotesque objects of their veneration, some few, of deeper thought and wider contemplation, plunged into the mysteries of man and nature, and endeavoured assiduously, if not successfully, to obtain just notions of the cause, the character and consequence of existence. This distinction prevails even in the *Vedas*,

which have their *Karma Kānda* and *Jñāna Kānda*, or Ritual and Theology.

The worship of the populace being addressed to different divinities, the followers of the several gods naturally separated into different associations, and the adorers of BRAHMĀ, VISHṆU, and ŚIVA or other phantoms of their faith, became distinct and insulated bodies, in the general aggregate: the conflict of opinion on subjects, on which human reason has never yet agreed, led to similar differences in the philosophical class, and resolved itself into the several *Darśanas*, or schools of philosophy.

It may be supposed, that some time elapsed before the practical worship of any deity was more than a simple preference, or involved the assertion of the supremacy of the object of its adoration, to the degradation or exclusion of the other gods¹: in like manner also, the conflicting opinions were matters rather of curiosity than faith, and were neither regarded as subversive of each other, nor as incompatible with the public worship: and hence, notwithstanding the sources of difference that existed in the parts, the unity of the whole remained undisturbed: in this condition, indeed, the apparent mass of the

¹ One division of some antiquity is the preferential appropriation of the four chief divinities to the four original casts; thus ŚIVA is the *Adideva* of the *Brahmans*, VISHṆU of the *Kṣhattriyas*, BRAHMĀ of the *Vaiśyas*, and GAṆEŚA of the *Sūdras*:

विप्राणां देवतं शम्भुः क्षत्रियाणां तु माधवः ।
वैश्यानां तु भवेद्ब्रह्मा शूद्राणां गणनायकः ॥ इति मनुः ॥

Brahmanical order at least, still continues: professing alike to recognise implicitly the authority of the *Vedas*, the worshippers of ŚIVA, or of VISHṆU, and the maintainers of the *Sāṅkhya* or *Nyāya* doctrines, consider themselves; and even each other, as orthodox members of the Hindu community.

To the internal incongruities of the system, which did not affect its integral existence, others were, in time, superadded, that threatened to dissolve or destroy the whole: of this nature was the exclusive adoration of the old deities, or of new forms of them; and even it may be presumed, the introduction of new divinities. In all these respects, the *Purāṇas* and *Tantras* were especially instrumental, and they not only taught their followers to assert the unapproachable superiority of the gods they worshipped, but inspired them with feelings¹ of animosity towards those

¹ Thus in the Bhāgavat:

भवव्रतधरा ये च ये च तान्समनुव्रताः ।

पापण्डिनस्ते भवन्तु सच्छास्त्रपरिपन्थिनः ॥

Those who profess the worship of BHAVA, (Śiva,) and those who follow their doctrines, are heretics and enemies of the sacred *Śāstras*,—Again:

मुमुक्षवो घोररूपान्हित्वा भूतपतीनय ।

नारायणकलाः शान्ता भजन्ति ह्यनमूयवः ॥

Those desirous of final emancipation, abandoning the hideous gods of the devils, pursue their devotions, calm, blameless, and being parts of NĀRĀYAṆA.

The *Padma Purāṇa* is more personal towards VISHṆU:

विष्णुदर्शनमात्रेण शिवद्रोहः प्रजायते ॥

शिवद्रोहान्न सन्देहो नरकं याति दास्यते ।

तस्मान्न विष्णुनामा ऽपि न चक्ष्यं कदाचन ॥

who presumed to dispute that supremacy: in this conflict the worship of BRAHMÁ has disappeared¹, as well as, indeed, that of the whole pantheon, except VISHNÚ, ŚIVA and ŚAKTI, or their modifications; with respect to the two former, in fact, the representatives have borne away the palm from the prototypes, and KŪSHNA, RÁMA, or the *Linga*, are almost the only forms

From even looking at VISHNÚ, the wrath of ŚIVA is kindled, and from his wrath, we fall assuredly into a horrible hell; let not, therefore, the name of VISHNÚ ever be pronounced.

The same work is, however, cited by the VAISHNĀVAS, for a very opposite doctrine.

वासुदेवं परित्यज्य यो ऽन्यदेवमुपासते ।
तृप्तो जाह्नवीतीरे कूपं खनति दुर्मेति ॥

He who abandons VĀSUDEVA and worships any other god, is like the fool, who being thirsty, sinks a well in the bank of the Ganges.

The principle goes still further, and those who are inimical to the followers of a Deity, are stigmatised as his personal foes—thus in the *Ādi Purāṇa*, VISHNÚ says:

मङ्गलो वल्लभो यस्य स एव मम वल्लभः ।
तत्परो वल्लभो नास्ति सत्यं सत्यं धनञ्जय ॥

He to whom my votary is a friend, is my friend—he who is opposed to him, is no friend of mine—be assured, *Dhananjaya*, of this.

¹ ŚIVA himself, in the form of KĀLA BHAIRAVA, tore off BRAHMÁ's fifth head, for presuming to say, that he was BRAHMA, the eternal and omnipotent cause of the world, and even the creator of ŚIVA, notwithstanding the four VEDAS and the personified *Omkāra*, had all given evidence, that this great, true and indescribable deity was ŚIVA himself. The whole story occurs in the *Kāśi Khāṇḍ* [c. 31] of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, and its real signification is sufficiently obvious.

under which VISHNÚ and ŚIVA are now adored in most parts of India¹.

The varieties of opinion kept pace with those of practice, and six heretical schools of philosophy disputed the pre-eminence with their orthodox brethren: we have little or no knowledge of these systems, and even their names are not satisfactorily stated: they seem, however, to be the *Saugata* or *Bauddha*, *Ār-hata*, or *Jaina*, and *Vārhaspatya*, or Atheistical, with their several subdivisions².

Had the difference of doctrine taught in the heretical schools been confined to tenets of a merely speculative nature, they would, probably, have encountered little opposition, and excited little enmity among the Brah-

¹ The great text-book of the *Vaishnāvas* is the *Bhāgavat*, with which it may be supposed the present worship, in a great measure, originated, although the *Mahābhārat* and other older works had previously introduced this divinity. The worship of the *Linga* is, no doubt, very ancient, although it has received, within a few centuries, its present degree of popularity: the *Kāśi Khāṇḍ* was evidently written to enforce it, and at Benares, its worship entirely overshadows every other ritual.

² In a work written by the celebrated *Mādhava*, describing the different sects as they existed in his day, entitled the *Sarva Darśana*, the *Vārhaspatyas*, *Lokūyatas*, and *Chārvākas* are identified, and are really advocates of an atheistical doctrine, denying the existence of a God, or a future state, and referring creation to the aggregation of but four elements. The *Bauddhas*, according to the same authority, admit of four subdivisions, the *Madhyā-mikas*, *Yogāchāras*, *Sautrāntikas* and *Vaibhāshikas*. The Jains or *Arhats*, as still one of the popular divisions, we shall have occasion to notice in the text.

manical class, of which latitude of opinion is a very common characteristic. The founder of the Atheistical school, however, VRIHASPATI, attacks both the *Vedas* and the *Brahmans*, and asserts that the whole of the Hindu system is a contrivance of the Priesthood, to secure a means of livelihood for themselves¹, whilst the *Bauddhas* and *Jainas*, equally disregarding the *Vedas* and the *Brahmans*, the practice and opinions of the Hindus, invented a set of gods for themselves, and deposed the ancient pantheon: these aggressions provoked resentment: the writings of these sects are alluded to with every epithet of anger and contempt, and they are all anathematised as heretical and atheistical; more active measures than anathemas, it may be presumed, were had recourse to: the followers of

¹ Vrihaspati has the following texts to this effect, [quoted in the *Sarva Darśana*, Calcutta edition, pp. 3 and 6, and with a v. l. Prabodhach. ed. Brockhaus, p. 30]:

अग्निहोत्रं त्रयो वेदास्तिदण्डं भस्मगुण्डनम् ।

बुद्धिपीरूपहीनानां जीविकेति बृहस्पतिः ॥

"The Agnihotra, the three Vedas, the Tridaṇḍa, the smearing of ashes, are only the livelihood of those who have neither intellect nor spirit." After ridiculing the Śraddha, shrewdly enough, he says:

ततश्च जीवनीपायो ब्राह्मणैर्विदितस्त्वह ।

मृतानां प्रेतकार्याणि न त्वन्यद्विद्यते क्वचित् ॥

Hence it is evident, that it was a mere contrivance of the Brahmins to gain a livelihood, to ordain such ceremonies for the dead, and no other reason can be given for them. Of the *Vedas*, he says: त्रयो वेदस्य कर्तारो भण्डधूर्त्तनिशाचराः ॥

The three Authors of the *Vedas* were Buffoons, Rogues, and Fiends—and cites texts in proof of this assertion.

VRIHASPATI, having no worship at all, easily eluded the storm, but the *Bauddhas* of Hindustan were annihilated by its fury, and the *Jainas* apparently evaded it with difficulty, although they have undoubtedly survived its terrors, and may now defy its force.

The varieties thus arising from innovations in practice and belief, have differed, it may be concluded, at different eras of the Hindu worship. To trace the character of those which have latterly disappeared, or to investigate the remote history of some which still remain and are apparently of ancient date, are tasks for which we are far from being yet prepared: the enquiry is, in itself so vast, and so little progress has been made in the studies necessary to its elucidation, that it must yet remain in the obscurity in which it has hitherto been enveloped; so ambitious a project as that of piercing the impenetrable gloom has not instigated the present attempt, nor has it been proposed to undertake so arduous a labour, as the investigation and comparison of the abstruse notions of the philosophical sects¹. The humbler aim of these researches has been that of ascertaining the actual condition of the popular religion of the inhabitants of some of the provinces subject to the Bengal Govern-

¹ Something of this has been very well done by Mr. Ward, in his account of the Hindus: and since this Essay was read before the Society, the account given by H. T. Colebrooke, Esq. in the first part of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, of the Sāṅkhya and Nyāya Systems, has left little more necessary on this subject.

ment; and as a very great variety prevails in that religion, the subject may be considered as not devoid of curiosity and interest, especially as it has been left little better than a blank, in the voluminous compositions or compilations, professing to give an account of the native country of the Hindus.

The description of the different sects of the Hindus, which I propose to offer, is necessarily superficial: it would, indeed, have been impossible to have adopted the only unexceptionable method of acquiring an accurate knowledge of their tenets and observances, or of studying the numerous works in Sanskrit, Persian, or the provincial dialects of Hindi, on which they are founded. I have been obliged to content myself, therefore, with a cursory inspection of a few of those compositions, and to depend for much of my information on oral report, filling up or correcting from these two sources the errors and omissions of two works, on this subject professedly, from which I have derived the ground work of the whole account.

The works alluded to are in the Persian language, though both were written by Hindu authors; the first was compiled by ŚĪTAL SĪNH, Mūnshī to the *Rājā* of Benares; the second by MATHURĀ NĀTH, late librarian of the Hindu College, at the same city, a man of great personal respectability and eminent acquirements: these works contain a short history of the origin of the various sects, and descriptions of the appearance, and observances, and present condition of their followers: they comprise all the known varieties, with

one or two exceptions, and, indeed, at no one place in India could the enquiry be so well prosecuted as at Benares¹. The work of MATHURĀ NĀTH is the fullest and most satisfactory, though it leaves much to be desired, and much more than I have been able to supply. In addition to these sources of information, I have had frequent recourse to a work of great popularity and extensive circulation, which embodies the legendary history of all the most celebrated *Bhaktas* or devotees of the Vaishṇava order. This work is entitled the *Bhakta Mālā*. The original, in a difficult dialect of Hindi, was composed by NĀBHĀJI, about 250 years ago², and is little more than a catalogue, with brief and obscure references to some leading circumstances connected with the life of each individual, and from the inexplicit nature of its allusions, as well as the difficulty of its style, is far from intelligible to the generality even of the natives. The work, in its present form, has received some modifications, and obvious additions from a later teacher, NĀRĀYAṆ DĀS, whose share in the composition is, no doubt,

¹ The acknowledged resort of all the vagabonds of India, and all who have no where else to repair to: so, the *Kāśī Khand*:

श्रुतिस्मृतिविहीनानां ये श्रौचाचारविवर्जिताः ।

येषां क्वापि गतिर्नास्ति तेषां वाराणसी गतिः ॥

“To those who are strangers to the *Śruti* and *Smṛiti* (Religion and Law); to those who have never known the observance of pure and indispensable rites; to those who have no other place to repair to; to those, is Benares an asylum.” [Compare *Prabodhach.* ed. Brockhaus, p. 19.]

² [Journ. As. Soc. Bombay, Vol. III, p. 4.]

considerable, but cannot be discriminated from NĀ-BHĀJĪ's own, beyond the evidence furnished by the specification of persons unquestionably subsequent to his time.—NĀRĀYAṆ DĀS probably wrote in the reign of SHĀH JEHĀN. The brevity and obscurity of the original work pervade the additional matter, and to remedy these defects, the original text, or *Mūla*, has been taken as a guide for an amplified notice of its subjects, or the *Tīkā* of KRISHṆA DĀS; and the work, as usually met with, always consists of these two divisions. The *Tīkā* is dated *Samvat*, 1769 or A. D. 1713. Besides these, a translation of the *Tīkā*, or a version of it in the more ordinary dialect of Hindustan, has been made by an anonymous author, and a copy of this work, as well as of the original, has furnished me with materials for the following account. The character of the *Bhakta Mālā* will best appear from the extracts of translations from it to be hereafter introduced: it may be sufficient here to observe, that it is much less of a historical than legendary description, and that the legends are generally insipid and extravagant: such as it is, however, it exercises a powerful influence, in Upper India, on popular belief, and holds a similar place in the superstitions of this country, as that which was occupied in the darkest ages of the Roman Catholic faith, by the Golden Legend and Acts of the Saints¹.

¹ In further illustration of our text, with regard to the instrumentality of the *Purāṇas* in generating religious distinctions amongst the Hindus, and as affording a view of the *Vaiṣṇava*

SECTION II.

STATE OF THE HINDU RELIGION, ANTERIOR TO ITS PRESENT CONDITION.

Although I have neither the purpose nor the power to enter into any detail of the remote condition of the

feelings on this subject, we may appeal to the *Padma Purāṇa*. In the *Uttara Khanda*, or last portion of this work, towards the end of it, several sections are occupied with a dialogue between ŚIVA and PĀRVATĪ, in which the former teaches the latter the leading principles of the *Vaiṣṇava* faith. Two short sections are devoted to the explanation of who are heretics, and which are the heretical works. All are *Pāśhaṇḍas*, ŚIVA says, who adore other gods than VIṢṆU, or who hold, that other deities are his equals, and all Brahmans who are not *Vaiṣṇavas*, are not to be looked at, touched, nor spoken to:—

ये अन्यं देवं परत्वेन वदन्त्यज्ञानमोहिताः ।
नारायणाज्जगन्नाथात्ते वै पापण्डिनः स्मृताः ॥
यस्तु नारायणं देवं ब्रह्मरूपादिदेवतैः ॥
सममन्यैर्निरीक्षित स पापण्डो भवेत्सदा ॥
किमत्र वक्तुं नोक्तेन ब्राह्मणा ये ऽथर्विण्णवाः ।
न स्पृष्टव्या न वक्तव्या न द्रष्टव्याः कदाचन ॥

ŚIVA, in acknowledging that the distinguishing marks of his votaries, the skull, tiger's skin, and ashes, are reprobated by the Vedas (*Śrutigarhitam*) states, that he was directed by VIṢṆU to inculcate their adoption, purposely to lead those who assumed them into error.—NĀMUCHI and other *Daityas* had become so powerful by the purity of their devotions, that INDRA and the other gods were unable to oppose them. The gods had recourse to VIṢṆU, who, in consequence, ordered ŚIVA to introduce the *Saiva* tenets and practices, by which the *Daityas* were beguiled, and rendered "wicked, and thence weak."

In order to assist ŚIVA in this work, ten great Sages were imbued with the *Tāmasa* property, or property of darkness and

Hindu faith, yet as its present state is of comparatively very recent origin, it may form a not unnecessary, nor

ignorance, and by them such writings were put forth as were calculated to disseminate unrighteous and heretical doctrines, these were KAṆĀDA, GAUTAMA, ŚAKTI, UPAMANYU, JAIMINI, KAPILA, DURVĀSAS, MĀIKAṆDA, VĪRĪHASPATI, and BHĀRGAVA.

By ŚIVA himself, the *Pāsupata* writings were composed; KAṆĀDA is the author of the *Vaiśeṣika* Philosophy. The *Nyāya* originates with GAUTAMA. KAPILA, is the founder of the *Sāṅkhya* School, and VĪRĪHASPATI of the *Chārvāka*. JAIMINI, by ŚIVA's orders, composed the *Mīmāṃsā*, which is heretical, in as far as it inculcates works in preference to faith, and ŚIVA himself, in the disguise of a Brahman, or as VYĀSA, promulgated the *Ve-dānta*, which is heterodox in *Vaiṣṇava* estimation, by denying the sensible attributes of the deity. VIŚHṆU, as BUDDHA, taught the *Bauddha Śāstra*, and the practices of going naked, or wearing blue garments, meaning, consequently, not the *Bauddhas*, but the *Jainas*, (बीजशास्त्रमसत्प्रीते नमनीयपटादिके). The *Purāṇas* were partly instrumental in this business of blinding mankind, and they are thus distinguished by our authority and all the *Vaiṣṇava* works.

The *Mdteya*, *Kurma*, *Liṅga*, *Saiva*, *Skānda* and *Agneya*, are *Tāmasa*, or the works of darkness, having more or less of a *Saiva* bias.

The *Viṣṇu*, *Nāradya*, *Bhāgavat*, *Gāruda*, *Pādma* and *Vārāha*, are *Sāttwika*, pure and true; being in fact, *Vaiṣṇava* text books.

The *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Brahma Vaivartta*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Bharishya*, *Vāmana* and *Brahmā*, are of the *Rājasa* cast, emanating from the quality of passion. As far as I am acquainted with them, they lean to the *Śākta* division of the Hindus, or the worship of the female principle. The *Mārkaṇḍeya* does so notoriously, containing the famous *Chāṇḍī Pāṭha*, or *Durgā Māhātmya*, which is read at the *Durgā Pūjā*; the *Brahma Vaivartta*, is especially dedicated to KṛISHṆA as GOVINDA, and is principally occupied by him and his mistress RĀDHĀ. It is also full on the subject of *Prakṛiti* or personified nature.

uninteresting preliminary branch of the enquiry, to endeavour to determine its existing modifications, at the period immediately preceding the few centuries, which have sufficed to bestow upon it its actual form:

A similar distinction is made even with the *Smṛitis*, or works on law. The codes of VASISHṬHA, HĀRĪTA, VYĀSA, PARĀSARA, BHARADWĀJA and KĀŚYAPA, are of the pure order. Those of YĀJNAVALKYA, ATRI, TITTIRI, DAKSHA, KĀTYĀYANA and VIŚHṆU of the *Rājasa* class, and those of GAUTAMA, VĪRĪHASPATI, SAMVARTTA, YAMA, ŚANKHA and UŚANAS, are of the *Tāmasa* order.

The study of the *Purāṇas* and *Smṛitis* of the *Sāttwika* class, secures *Mukti*, or final emancipation, that of those of the *Rājasa* obtains *Swarga*, or Paradise; whilst that of the *Tāmasa* condemns a person to hell, and a wise man will avoid them.

किमच वज्रनीक्तेन पुराणेषु स्मृतिष्वपि ।
तामसा नरकायिव वर्जयेत्तान्विचक्षणः ॥

The *Vaiṣṇava* writers endeavour to enlist the *Vedas* in their cause, and the following texts are quoted by the *Tātparya Nirṇaya*:

एको नारायण आसीन्न ब्रह्मा न च शंकरः ।

NĀRĀYAṆA alone was, not BRAHMĀ nor ŚANKARA.

वासुदेवो वा इदमय आसीन्न ब्रह्मा न च शंकरः ।

Or VĀSUDEVA was before this (universe,) not BRAHMĀ nor ŚANKARA.

The *Saivas* cite the *Vedas* too, as

सर्वव्यापी स भगवान्सस्मात्सर्वगतः शिवः ॥

The Lord who pervades all things, is thence termed the omnipresent Śiva.

Rudra is but one, and has no second—

एको ऽपि रुद्रो न द्वितीयः ॥

These citations would scarcely have been made, if not authentic; they probably do occur in the *Vedas*, but the terms *Nārāyaṇa* and *Vāsudeva*, or *Śiva* and *Rudra*, are not to be taken in the restricted sense, probably, which their respective followers would assign them.

it happens, also, that some controversial works exist, which throw considerable light upon the subject, and of which the proximity of their date, to the matters of which they treat, may be conjectured with probability or positively ascertained. Of these, the two principal works, and from which I shall derive such scanty information as is attainable, are the *Śankara Digvijaya* of ĀNANDA GIRI, and the *Sarva Darśana Sangraha* of MĀDHAVĀCHĀRYA, the former a reputed disciple of ŚĀNKARA himself, and the latter a well known and able writer, who lived in the commencement of the 14th century.

The authenticity of the latter of these two works, there is no room to question; and there is but little reason to attach any doubt to the former. Some of the marvels it records of ŚĀNKARA, which the author professes to have seen, may be thought to affect its credibility, if not its authenticity, and either ĀNANDA GIRI must be an unblushing liar, or the book is not his own: it is, however, of little consequence, as even, if the work be not that of ĀNANDA GIRI himself, it bears internal and indisputable evidence of being the composition of a period, not far removed from that at which he may be supposed to have flourished, and we may, therefore, follow it as a very safe guide, in our enquiries into the actual state of the Hindu Religion about eight or nine centuries ago.

The various sectaries of the Hindu Religion then existing, are all introduced to be combated, and, of course, conquered, by ŚĀNKARA: the list is rather a

long one, but it will be necessary to go through the whole, to ascertain the character of the national faith of those days, and its present modifications, noticing, as we proceed, some of the points of difference or resemblance between the forms of worship which then prevailed, and which now exist. The two great divisions of *Vaiśhnavas* and *Śaivas* were both in a flourishing condition, and each embraced six principal subdivisions: we shall begin with the former, who are termed; *Bhāktas*, *Bhāgavatas*, *Vaiśhnavas*, *Chakrīnas*, or *Pancharātrakas*, *Vaikhānasas* and *Karmahīnas*.

But as each of these was subdivided into a practical and speculative, or *Karma* and *Jñāna* portion, they formed, in fact, twelve classes of the followers of VIŚHṆU, as the sole and supreme deity.

The *Bhāktas* worshipped VIŚHṆU as VĀSUDEVA, and wore no characteristic marks. The *Bhāgavatas* worshipped the same deity as BHĀGAVAT, and impressed upon their persons the usual *Vaiśhṇava* insignia, representing the discus, club, &c. of that divinity; they likewise revered the *Sālagrām* stone, and *Tulasī* plant, and in several of their doctrinal notions, as well as in these respects, approach to the present followers of RĀMĀNĪJA, although they cannot be regarded as exactly the same. The authorities of these three sects were the *Upanishads* and *Bhagavad Gītā*. The names of both the sects still remain, but they are scarcely applicable to any particular class of *Vaiśhnavas*: the terms *Bhakta*, or *Bhagat*, usually indicate any individual who pretends to a more rigid devotion than

his neighbours, and who especially occupies his mind with spiritual considerations: the *Bhāgavat* is one who follows particularly the authority of the *Śrī Bhāgavat Purāṇa*.

The *Vaiśhnavas* adored VISHṆU as NĀRĀYAṆA, they wore the usual marks, and promised themselves a sort of sensual paradise after death, in *Vaikuṇṭha*, or VISHṆU's heaven; their tenets are still current, but they can scarcely be considered to belong to any separate sect.

The *Chakrīnas*, or *Pancharātrakas* were, in fact, *Śāktas* of the *Vaiśhṇava* class, worshipping the female personifications of VISHṆU, and observing the ritual of the *Pancharātra Tantra*: they still remain, but scarcely individualised, being confounded with the worshippers of KṚISHṆA and RĀMA on the one hand, and those of *Śakti* or *Devī* on the other.

The *Vaikhānasas* appear to have been but little different from the *Vaiśhnavas* especially so called; at least ĀNANDA GIRI has not particularised the difference; they worshipped NĀRĀYAṆA as supreme god, and wore his marks. The *Karmahīnas* abstained, as the name implies, from all ritual observances, and professed to know *Vishṇu* as the sole source and sum of the universe, सर्वं विष्णुमयं जगत्; they can scarcely be considered as an existent sect, though a few individuals of the *Rāmānujīya* and *Rāmānandī Vaiśhnavas* may profess the leading doctrines.

The *Vaiśhṇava* forms of the Hindu faith are still, as we shall hereafter see, sufficiently numerous; but

we can scarcely identify any one of them with those which seem to have prevailed when the *Śāṅkara Vijaya* of ĀNANDA GIRI was composed. The great divisions, of RĀMĀNUJA and RĀMĀNAND—the former of which originated, we know, in the course of the 11th century, are unnoticed, and it is also worth while to observe, that neither in this, nor in any other portion of the *Śāṅkara Vijaya*, is any allusion made to the separate worship of KṚISHṆA, either in his own person, or that of the infantine forms in which he is now so pre-eminently venerated in many parts of India, nor are the names of RĀMA and Sītā, of LAKSHMAṆA or HANUMĀN, once particularised, as enjoying any portion of distinct and specific adoration.

The *Śaiva* sects are the *Śaivas*, *Raudras*, *Ugras*, *Bhāktas*, *Jangamas*, and *Pāśupatas*. Their tenets are so blended in the discussion, that it is not possible to separate them, beyond the conjectural discrimination which may be derived from their appellations: the text specifies merely their characteristic marks: thus the *Śaivas* wore the impression of the *Linga* on both arms; the *Raudras* had a *Trisūla*, or trident, stamped on the forehead; the *Ugras* had the *Damaru*, or drum of Śiva on their arms, and the *Bhāktas* an impression of the *Linga* on the forehead—the *Jangamas* carried a figure of the *Linga* on the head, and the *Pāśupatas* inprinted the same object on the forehead, breast, navel, and arms. Of these sects, the *Śaivas* are not now any one particular class—nor are the *Raudras*, *Ugras*, or *Bhāktas*, any longer distinct

which their adoration was offered: they stamped circular orbs on their foreheads, arms, and breasts with hot irons; a practice uniformly condemned by ŚAN-KARA, as contrary to the laws of the *Vedas*, and the respect due to Brahmanical flesh and blood.

GAṆEŚA, as well as SŪRYA, had formerly six classes of adorers; in the present day he cannot boast of any exclusive worship, although he shares a sort of homage with almost all the other divinities: his followers were the worshippers of MAHĀ GAṆAPATI, of HARIDRA GAṆAPATI, or DHŪNDĪ RĀJ, who is still a popular form of GAṆEŚA, of UCHCHHISHĪTHA G., of NAVANĪTA G., of SWAR-ŌA G., and of SANTĀNA G. The left hand sub-division of the UCHCHHISHĪTHA GAṆAPATĪ sect, also called *Hairamba*, abrogated all obligatory ritual and distinction of caste.

The adorers of the female personifications of divine power, appear to have been fully as numerous as at present, and to have worshipped the same objects, or BHAVĀNĪ, MAHĀ LAKSHMĪ, and SARASWATĪ; even as personifications of these divinities, however, the worship of SĪTĀ and RĀDHĀ, either singly, or in conjunction with RĀMA and KRĪSHṆA, never makes its appearance. The worshippers of Śakti were then, as now, divided into two classes, a right and left hand order, and three sub-divisions of the latter are enumerated, who are still well known—the *Pūrṇābhishiktas*, *Akrītārthas*, *Kritākrityasamas*.

There can be little doubt, that the course of time and the presence of foreign rulers, have very much ameliorated the character of much of the Hindu wor-

ship: if the licentious practices of the ŚĀKTAS are still as prevalent as ever, which may well be questioned, they are, at least, carefully concealed from observation, and if they are not exploded, there are other observances of a more ferocious description, which seem to have disappeared. The worship of BHAIRAVA still prevails amongst the Śāktas and the *Jogis*; but in upper India, at least, the naked mendicant, smeared with funeral ashes, armed with a trident or a sword, carrying a hollow skull in his hand, and half intoxicated with the spirits which he has quaffed from that disgusting wine-cup, prepared, in short, to perpetrate any act of violence and crime, the *Kāpālīka* of former days, is now rarely, if ever, encountered. In the work of ĀNANDA GIRI, we have two of these sectaries introduced, one a Brahman by birth, is the genuine *Kāpālīka*: he drinks wine, eats flesh, and abandons all rites and observances in the spirit of his faith, his eminence in which has armed him with supernatural powers, and rendered BHAIRAVA himself the reluctant, but helpless minister of his will. The other *Kāpālīka* is an impostor, the son of a harlot, by a gatherer of *Tāḍi*, or Palm juice, and who has adopted the character as an excuse for throwing off all social and moral restraint. The *Kāpālīkas* are often alluded to in controversial works, that appear to be the compositions of a period at least preceding the tenth century¹.

¹ See the *Prabodha Chandrodaya*, translated by Dr. Taylor [especially Act. III, Sc. 8 and ff.].

The next classes of sectaries, confuted by ŚANKARA, were various infidel sects, some of whom avowedly, and perhaps all covertly, are still in being: the list is also interesting, as discriminating opinions which, in the ignorance subsequent to their disappearance from Hindustan, have very commonly been, and, indeed, still are frequently confounded. These are the *Chárvaḥas*, or *Śūnya Vādīs*, the *Saugatas*, the *Kshapaṇakas*, the *Jainas*, and the *Bauddhas*.

The *Chárvaḥas* were so named from one of their teachers, the MUNI CHÁRVÁKA. From VRIHASPATI—some of whose dogmas have been quoted from the work of MÁDHAVA, they are termed also *Várhaspatyas*. The appellation *Śūnya Vādi* implies the asserter of the unreality and emptiness of the universe, and another designation, *Lokáyata*, expresses their adoption of the tenet, that this being is the *Be-all* of existence: they were, in short, the advocates of materialism and atheism, and have existed from a very remote period, and still exist, as we shall hereafter see.

The *Saugatas* are identified even by MÁDHAVA with *Bauddhas*, but there seems to have been some, although probably not any very essential difference: the chief tenet of this class, according to ANANDA GIRI, was their adopting the doctrine taught by SUGATA MUNI, that tenderness towards animated nature comprehends all moral and devotional duty, a tenet which is, in a great measure, common to both the *Bauddha* and *Jaina* schisms: it is to be feared, that the personal description of the *Saugata*, as a man of a fat body and small head,

although possibly intended to characterise the genus, will not direct us to the discovery of its origin or history. The *Kshapaṇaka* again has always been described by *Hindu* writers as a *Bauddha*, or sometimes even a *Jaina* naked mendicant: in the work before us he appears as the professor of a sort of astrological religion, in which¹ time is the principal divinity, and he is described as carrying, in either hand, the implements of his science, or a *Gola Yantra*, and *Túrja Yantra*, the former of which is an armillary sphere, and the latter a kind of quadrant, apparently for ascertaining time²; from the geographical controversy that occurs between him and ŚANKARA, it appears that he entertains the doctrine regarding the descent of earth in space, which is attributed by the old astronomers to the *Bauddhas*, and controverted by the author of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*³, and subsequently by BHÁSKARA: the former is quoted by ŚANKARA, according to our author. These doctrines, the commentators on BHÁSKARA's work, and

¹ Time is the Supreme Deity. ÍŚVARA cannot urge on the present. He who knows time knows BRAHMA. Space and time are not distinct from God.

किञ्च कालः परमदेवता । प्रत्यक्षं लयितुमीश्वरो न समर्थः ।
कालविद्वद्भवति दिक्काली नैश्वरादतिरिच्यते ॥

² तूर्ययन्त्रं मण्डलचतुर्भागमित्यर्थः ।

The *Túrja Yantra* is the fourth part of an orb.

तत्र यन्त्रोपरि कीलद्वयमखिलं कृत्वा ।

तन्मध्ये दृष्ट्वा च विज्ञानेन कालज्ञानं जायते ॥

Fixing above it two pins, and looking between them, the time is ascertained by science.

³ [at least implicitly in the śloka XII: 32.] A. R. XII: 229.

even he, himself, commenting on his own text, say, belong to the *Jainas*, not to the *Bauddhas*; but, possibly, the correction is itself an error, it does not appear that the *Kshapaṇaka* of ĀNANDA GIRI argues the existence of a double set of planetary bodies, which is, undoubtedly, a *Jaina* doctrine¹, and the descent of the earth in space may have been common to all these sects.

The *Jainas* that existed in the time of ĀNANDA GIRI appear as *Digambaras* only; he does not notice their division into *Digambaras* and *Swetāambaras*, as they at present are found, and existed indeed prior to the age of MĀDHAVA. The *Bauddhas* are introduced personally, although it may be questioned whether they were very numerous in India in so comparatively modern a period: according to ĀNANDA GIRI, a persecution of this sect, and of the *Jainas*, took place in one part of the peninsula, the state of *Rudrapur*, during ŚANKARA's life time, but he, as well as MĀDHAVA², excludes ŚANKARA from being at all concerned in it. He ascribes its occurrence to the same source, the instigation of a *Bhatta*, from the north, or, in fact, of KUMĀRILA BHATṬA, a *Bengālī*, or *Maithilī Brahman*.

A long series of sectaries then ensues, of a more orthodox description, and who only err in claiming primeval and pre-eminent honors for the objects of their adoration—none of these are to be found; and, although, of a certain extent, the places of some of

them may be supplied by the local deities of the villagers, and by the admission of others to a participation in the worship paid to the presiding deities of each sect, yet there can be little doubt, that a large portion of the Hindu Pantheon formerly enjoyed honours, which have for some centuries past been withheld. In this predicament are INDRA, KṬVERA, YAMA, VARUṆA, GĀRUDĀ, ŚESHA, and SOMA, all of whom, in the golden age of Hindu idolatry, had, no doubt, temples and adorers: the light and attractive service of the god of love, indeed, appears to have been formerly very popular, as his temples and groves make a distinguished figure in the¹ tales, poems, and dramas of antiquity: it is a feature that singularly characterises the present state of the Hindu religion, that if in some instances it is less ferocious, in others it has ceased to address itself to the amiable propensities of the human character, or the spontaneous and comparatively innocent feelings of youthful natures. The buffoonery of the *Holi*, and barbarity of the *Charak Pūjā*, but ill express the sympathies which man, in all countries, feels with the vernal season, and which formerly gave rise to the festive *Vasantotsava* of the Hindus, and the licentious homage paid to Śakti and BHĀIRAVA, has little in common with the worship, that might be supposed acceptable to KĀMA and his lovely bride, and which it would appear they formerly enjoyed.

¹ A. R. IX: 321.

² Preface to Wilson's Sanscrit and English Dictionary.

¹ In the *Vrihat Kathā*, *Daśa Kumāra*, *Mālatī Mādhava*, *Mricchhakatī*, &c.

Besides the adorers of the secondary divinities, we have a variety of sects who direct their devotions to beings of a still lower rank, and of whom none, at present, exist as distinct bodies, although individuals may be found, either detached or comprehended in other classes, who, more or less, reverence similar objects. Thus, the worship of *Ākās*¹, or *Ether*, as the supreme deity, is still occasionally met with: all classes pay daily homage to the *Pitris* or Manes, and a few of the *Tāntrikas* worship the *Siddhas*, or Genii, in the hope of acquiring super-human powers: the same class furnishes occasional votaries of the *Vasus*, *Yakshas*, and *Gandharvas*, and even of the *Vetālas* and *Bhūtas*, or goblins and ghosts, and the latter also receive still, from the fears of the villagers, propitiatory adoration. It does not appear, that in any form, the worship of the moon and stars, of the elements, and divisions of the universe, is still practised, although that of the *Tirthas*, or holy places and rivers, is as popular as ever.

We have thus completed the enumeration of the sects as described by the author of the *Śāṅkara Vijaya*, and have had an opportunity of observing, that, although the outlines of the system remain the same, the details have undergone very important alterations, since the time at which this work was composed: the

¹ I have encountered but one Professor, however, of this faith, a miserable mendicant, who taught the worship of Ether, under the strange name of *Baghela*.

rise of most of the existing modifications, we can trace satisfactorily enough, as will hereafter appear, and it is not improbable, that the disappearance of many of those, which no longer take a part in the idolatry of the Hindus, may be attributed to the exertions of ŚĀṅKARA and his disciples: his object, as appears from the work we have hitherto followed, was by no means the suppression of acts of outward devotion, nor of the preferential worship of any acknowledged and pre-eminent deity: his leading tenet is the recognition of *Brahma Para Brahma*¹, as the sole cause and supreme ruler of the universe, and as distinct from ŚIVA, VIṢṆU, BRAHMĀ, or any individual member of the pantheon: with this admission, and in regard to the weakness of those human faculties, which cannot elevate themselves to the conception of the inscrutable first cause, the observance of such rites, and the worship of such deities, as are either prescribed by the *Vedas*, or the works not incompatible with their authority, were left undisturbed by this teacher²; they even received, to a certain extent, his particular sanction, and the following divisions of the Hindu faith were, by his express per-

¹ As in these texts of the *Vedas* सदेव सौम्येदमग्र आसीत् । and आत्मा वा इदमेक एवाग्र आसीत् । [quoted by Śāṅk. in his *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, Calc., 1854, p. 54. See also Bṛihad Āraṇy. Upan. I, 4, 1. p. 125.]

² आगमेतिहासपुराणोक्ताचारसु वेदानुकूलवृत्त्या यावत् । अयावत् एव तत्प्रतिकूलम् ।

Ordinances founded on the *Tantras*, the *Purāṇas*, or historical record, are admissible if accordant with the *Vedas*; they must be rejected if repugnant.

mission, taught by some of his disciples, and are, consequently, regarded by the learned Brahmans in general, as the only orthodox and allowable forms in the present day¹. The *Śaiva* faith was instituted by PARAMATA KÁLÁNALA, who is described as teaching at Benares, and assuming the insignia that characterise the *Dāndīs* of modern times. The *Vaishṇava* worship was taught at *Kānchi*, or *Conjeveram*, by LAKSHMAṆA ĀCHĀRYA and HASTĀMALAKA; and the latter seems to have introduced a modified adoration of VISHṆU, in the character of KRISHṆA. The *Saura* sect was continued under the auspices of DIVĀKARA, *Brahmachārī*, and the *Śākta*, under those of the *Sannyāsi*, TRIPURAKUMĀRA: the *Gāṇapatya* were allowed to remain under the presidency of GIRIJAPUTRA, and from such persons as had not adopted either of the preceding systems, BATUKANĀTH, the professor of the *Kāpālika*, or *Bhairava* worship, was permitted to attract followers: all these teachers were converts and disciples of ŚANKARA,

¹ कलावस्त्रिभुगे नानापपध्वस्तज्ञानाङ्कुरेषु मर्त्येषु शुद्धाद्वैतविद्यायामनधिकारिषु तेषां वृत्तिः पुनरपि यथेप्सिता भवतीति द्विचार्थं लोकरचार्थं वर्षाश्रमपरिपालनार्थं च परमतत्त्वकल्पनां जीवेशभेदासदां च रचयितुमुपपन्नस्य निजशिष्यमाह ।

In the present impure age, the bud of wisdom being blighted by iniquity, men are inadequate to the apprehension of pure unity; they will be apt, therefore, again to follow the dictates of their own fancies, and it is necessary for the preservation of the world, and the maintenance of civil and religious distinctions, to acknowledge those modifications of the divine spirit which are the work of the SUPREME. These reflexions having occurred to ŚANKARA, he addressed his disciple, &c.

and returned to his superintending guidance, when they had effected the objects of their missions.

The notice that occurs in the *Sarva Darśana* of any of the sects which have yet been mentioned, has been already incidentally adverted to: this work is less of a popular form than the preceding, and controverts the speculative rather than the practical doctrines of other schools: besides the atheistical *Bauddha* and *Jaina* sects, the work is occupied chiefly with the refutation of the followers of *Jaimini*, *Gautama*, and *Patanjali*, and we have no classes of worshippers introduced but those of the *Vaishṇavas* who follow RĀMĀNUJA, and *Madhwāchārya*, of the *Śaivas*, the *Pāśupatas*, the followers of ABHINAVA GUPTA, who taught the *Mantra* worship of Śiva; and the alchemical school, or worshippers of ŚIVA's type in quicksilver, and the *Rasendra Linga*: most of these seem to have sprung into being in the interval between the 10th and 13th centuries, and have now either disappeared, or are rapidly on the decline: those which actually exist, we shall recur to in the view we are now prepared to take of the actual condition of the Hindu faith.

SECTION III.

PRESENT DIVISIONS OF THE HINDUS, AND OF THE VAISHŒAVAS IN PARTICULAR.

The classification adopted by the works, I especially follow, if not unexceptionable, is allowable and convenient, and may, therefore, regulate the following details: it divides all the Hindus into three great classes, or *VaishŒavas*, *Śaivas*, and *Śāktas*, and refers to a fourth or miscellaneous class, all not comprised in the three others.

The worshippers of VISHŒU, ŚIVA, and ŚAKTI, who are the objects of the following description, are not to be confounded with the orthodox adorers of those divinities: few Brahmans of learning, if they have any religion at all, will acknowledge themselves to belong to any of the popular divisions of the Hindu faith, although, as a matter of simple preference, they more especially worship some individual deity, as their chosen, or *Ishṭa Devatā*: they refer also to the *Vedas*, the books of law, the *Purāṇas*, and *Tantras*, as the only ritual they recognise, and regard all practices not derived from those sources as irregular and profane: on the other hand, many of the sects seem to have originated, in a great measure, out of opposition to the Brahmanical order: teachers and disciples are chosen from any class, and the distinction of caste is, in a great measure, sunk in the new one, of similarity of schism: the ascetics and mendicants, also in many in-

stances, affect to treat the Brahmans with particular contempt, and this is generally repaid with interest by the Brahmans. A portion, though not a large one, of the populace is still attached to the *Smārta* Brahmans, as their spiritual guides, and are so far distinct from any of the sects we shall have to specify, whilst most of the followers, even of the sects, pay the ordinary deference to the Brahmanical order, and especially evince towards the Brahmans of their own fellowship, of whom there is generally abundance, the devotedness and submission which the original Hindu Code so perpetually inculcates.

Excluding, therefore, those who may be regarded as the regular worshippers of regular gods, we have the following enumeration of the several species of each class:

VAISHŒAVAS.

- 1 Rāmānujas, or Śrī Sampradāyīs, or Śrī VaishŒavas.
- 2 Rāmānandīs, or Rāmāvats.
- 3 Kabīr Panthīs.
- 4 Khākīs.
- 5 Malūk Dāsīs.
- 6 Dādū Panthīs.
- 7 Rāya Dāsīs.
- 8 Senāīs.
- 9 Vallabhāchārīs, or Rudra Sampradāyīs.
- 10 Mīrā Bāīs.
- 11 Madhwāchārīs, or Brahma Sampradāyīs.
- 12 Nīmāvats, or Sanakādi Sampradāyīs.
- 13 The VaishŒavas of Bengal.

- 14 Rádhá Vallabhís.
- 15 The Sakhí Bhávas.
- 16 Charaṇ Dásís.
- 17 Hariśchandís.
- 18 Sadhná Panthís.
- 19 Mádhavís.
- 20 Sannyásís, Vairágís and Nágas.

ŚAIVAS.

- 1 Dañdís and Daśnámís.
- 2 Jogís.
- 3 Jangamas.
- 4 Paramahansas.
- 5 Ūrdhabáhuś, Ákás Mukhís, and Nakhís.
- 6 Gúdaras.
- 7 Rúkharas, Súkharas and Úkharas.
- 8 Kará Lingís.
- 9 Sannyásís, &c.

ŚÁKTAS.

- 1 Dakshinís.
- 2 Vámís.
- 3 Káneheliyas.
- 4 Karáris.

MISCELLANEOUS SECTS.

- 1 Gáṇapatyas.
- 2 Saurapatas.
- 3 Nának Sháhís of seven classes.
 - 1 Udásís.
 - 2 Ganjbakhshís.
 - 3 Rámráyís.
 - 4 Suthrá Sháhís.

- 5 Govind Sinhís.
- 6 Nirmalas.
- 7 Nágas.
- 4 Jainas of two principal orders.
 - 1 Digambaras.
 - 2 Śwetámbaras.
- 5 Bábá Lálís.
- 6 Práñ Náthís.
- 7 Sádhs.
- 8 Śatnámís.
- 9 Śiva Náráyañís.
- 10 Śúnyavádís.

These will be regarded as varieties enough, it may be presumed, especially when it is considered, that most of them comprise a number of sub-divisions, and that besides these acknowledged classifications, many individual mendicants are to be found all over India, who can scarcely be included within the limits of any of them, exercising a sort of independence both in thought and act, and attached very loosely, if at all, to any of the popular schismatical sects¹.

¹ Some of the popular works adopt a different classification, and allude to 90 *Páshandás*, or heresies, which are thus arranged:—

Amongst the Brahmans,	24
Sannyásís,	12
Vairágís,	12
Sauras,	18
Jangamas,	18
Jogís,	12

Śrī Keśava Achārya and *Bhūmi Devī*; and, as before, an incarnation of *Śeṣha*. He was born at *Perumbur*, and studied at *Kānchi*, or *Conjeveram*, where also he taught his system of the *Vaiṣṇava* faith. He afterwards resided at *Śrī Ranga*, worshipping *Vishṇu* as *Śrī Ranga Nātha*, and there composed his principal works, he then visited various parts of India, disputing with the professors of different creeds, overcoming them of course, and reclaiming various shrines, then in possession of the *Śaivas*, for the worshippers of *Vishṇu*, particularly the celebrated temple of *Tripeti*.

On his return to *Śrī Ranga*, the disputes between the *Vaiṣṇava* and *Śaiva* religions, became exceedingly violent, and the *Chola* monarch, who according to some accounts, was at that time *KERIKĀLA CHOLA*, subsequently named *KĪMI KOṆḌA CHOLA*, being a devout worshipper of *Śiva*, commanded all the *Brahmans* in his dominions to sign an acknowledgement of the supremacy of that divinity, bribing some of the most refractory, and terrifying others into acquiescence. *RĀMĀNUJA*, however, was impracticable, and the king sent armed men to seize him. With the assistance of his disciples, he effected his escape, and ascending the Ghāts, found refuge with the *Jain* sovereign of Mysore, *VITALA DEVA*, *Vellāla Rāya*. In consequence of rendering medical service to the daughter of this prince, or in the terms of the legend, expelling an evil spirit, a *Brahma Rākshasa*, by whom she was possessed, he obtained the monarch's grateful regard, and finally converted him to the *Vaiṣṇava*

faith. The *Rājā* assumed the title of *Vishṇu Var-dhana*. *RĀMĀNUJA* remained several years in Mysore, at a temple founded by the *Rājā* on *Yādava Giri*, now known as *Mail Colay*, for the reception of an image called *Chavala Rāya*, a form of *Raṇachhoṛ*, or *Kṛishṇa*, which the local traditions very ridiculously pretend he obtained from the *Mohammedan* sovereign of Delhi. *RĀMĀNUJA* resided here twelve years, but on the death of his persecutor, the *Chola* king, he returned to *Śrī Ranga*, on the *Kāveri*, and there spent the remainder of his life in devout exercises and religious seclusion.

The establishments of the *Rāmānujīyas* are numerous in the Dekhan still, and the same country comprehends the site of the *Gaddi*, the pillow or seat of the primitive teacher; his spiritual throne, in fact, to which his disciples are successively elevated¹. This circumstance gives a superiority to the *Achāryas* of the *Dakṣhiṇa*, or south, over those of the *Uttara*, or north, into which they are at present divided.

¹ According to information obtained by Dr. Buchanan, *RĀMĀNUJA* founded 500 *Maths*, of which four only remain; one of the principal of these is at *Mail Colay*, or *Dakṣhiṇa Badarikāśrama*, the *Badari* station of the south. *RĀMĀNUJA* also established 74 hereditary *Guruships* amongst his followers, the representatives of which still remain and dispute the supremacy with the *Sannyāsi* members of the order; these last, however, are generally considered of the highest rank (Buchan. Mysore 2, 75). In another place (1, 144), he says that 89 *Guruships* were established, 5 in the *Sannyāsi* class, and 84 in the secular order: the *Mudams* of the five former are *Ahobilam*, *Tolādri*, *Ramēśwara*, *Śrī Ranga*, and *Kānji*.

The worship of the followers of RĀMĀNUJA, is addressed to VISHNŪ and to LAKSHMĪ, and their respective incarnations, either singly or conjointly; and the *Śrī Vaishnavas*, by which general name the sect is known, consist of corresponding subdivisions, as NĀRĀYAṆA, or LAKSHMĪ, or LAKSHMĪ NĀRĀYAṆA, or RĀMA or SĪTĀ, or SĪTĀ RĀMA, or KRISHṆA, or RŪKMINĪ, or any other modifications of *Vishṇu*, or his consort, is the preferential object of the veneration of the votary¹. The *Śrī Vaishnava* worship in the north of India, is not very popular, and the sect is rather of a speculative than practical nature, although it does not require, in its teachers, secession from the

¹ Mr. Colebrooke, A. R. 7, [Essays &c. London: 1858. p. 124.] says the *Rāmānujas* are of three classes, those who worship RĀMA alone, SĪTĀ alone, and SĪTĀ and RĀMA conjointly. One of my authorities, *Mathurā Nāth*, says, they worship *Mahā Lakshmi*, and other information agrees with his; from the texts quoted in the *Sarva Darśana Sangraha*, [Calcutta: 1858. pp. 54. 55.] VISHNŪ as VĀSUDEVA, is the deity to be worshipped, but no doubt all the varieties exist: without, however, affecting the identity of the sect, the real object of whose devotion is VISHNŪ, as the cause and creator of the world, and any of his, or his *Śakti*'s more especial manifestations, are consequently entitled to reverence. The term *Śrī Vaishnavas*, most commonly applied to them, denotes an original preference of the female deity or *Mahā Lakshmi*: the worship of RĀMA is more properly that of the *Rāmānandis*, and they may be the persons intended by Mr. Colebrooke's informants, as those of the *Rāmānujīyas* who worship RĀMA only (A. R. 7, 281). It may also be observed, that the *Rāmānujīyas* unite with KRISHṆA, *Rukmini*, not *Rādhā*, the latter being his mistress only, not his wife, and being never named in the *Bhāgavat*, except in one ambiguous passage.

world: the teachers are usually of the Brahmanical order, but the disciples may be of any caste¹.

Besides the temples appropriated to VISHNŪ and his consort, and their several forms, including those of KRISHṆA and RĀMA, and those which are celebrated as objects of pilgrimage, as *Lakshmi-Balaji*, *Rāmānāth*, and *Ranganāth*, in the south; *Badarīnāth*, in the *Himālaya*, *Jagannāth*, in *Orissa*, and *Dwārakā*, on the Malabar Coast, images of metal or stone are usually set up in the houses of the private members of this sect, which are daily worshipped, and the temples and dwellings are all decorated with the *Sālagrām* stone and *Tulasī* plant.

The most striking peculiarities in the practices of this sect, are the individual preparation, and scrupulous privacy of their meals: they must not eat in cotton garments, but having bathed, must put on woollen or silk: the teachers allow their select pupils to assist them, but, in general, all the *Rāmānujas* cook for themselves, and should the meal during this process, or whilst they are eating, attract even the looks of a stranger, the operation is instantly stopped, and the viands buried in the ground: a similar delicacy, in this respect, prevails amongst some other classes of Hindus, especially of the *Rājaput* families, but it is not carried to so preposterous an extent².

¹ The *Mantra*, and mark, are never bestowed on any person of impure birth. —Buchan. Mysore 1, 146.

² It is said, however, that there are two divisions of the sect,

The chief ceremony of initiation in all Hindu sects, is the communication by the teacher to the disciple of the *Mantra*, which generally consists of the name of some deity, or a short address to him; it is communicated in a whisper, and never lightly made known by the adept to profane ears. The *Mantra* of the RĀMĀNUJA sect is said to be the six syllable *Mantra*—or *Om Rāmāya namaḥ*; or *Om*, salutation to RĀMA¹.

Another distinction amongst sects, but merely of a civil character, is the term or terms with which the religious members salute each other when they meet, or in which they are addressed by the lay members. This amongst the *Rāmānujas* is the phrase, *Dāso 'smi*, or *Dāso 'ham*; I am your slave; accompanied with the *Prāṇām*, or slight inclination of the head, and the application of the joined hands to the forehead. To the *Āchāryas*, or supreme teachers of this sect, the rest perform the *Ashtānga Daṇḍawat* or prostration of the body, with the application of eight parts—the forehead, breast, hands, knees, and insteps of the feet, to the ground.

one called *Avaraṇi*, from *Avaraṇa*, screening, or surrounding, and the other *Andavarāṇi*, from the members not observing such punctilious privacy.

¹ In giving the *Mantras*, as they have been communicated to me, it may be necessary to suggest a doubt of their accuracy; a Hindu evades what he dislikes to answer, and will not scruple a falsehood to stop enquiry; men above prejudice, in other respects, find it so difficult to get over that of communicating the *Mantra*, that when they profess to impart it, even their sincerity can scarcely be admitted without a doubt.

The Hindu sects are usually discriminated by various fantastical streaks on their faces, breasts, and arms: for this purpose, all the *Vaiṣṇavas* employ especially a white earth called *Gopichandana*, which, to be of the purest description, should be brought from *Dwārakā*, being said to be the soil of a pool at that place, in which the Gopīs drowned themselves when they heard of *Kṛishṇa*'s death. The common *Gopichandana*, however, is nothing but a *Magnesian* or *Calcareous Clay*.

The marks of the *Rāmānujas* are two perpendicular white lines, drawn from the root of the hair to the commencement of each eye-brow, and a transverse streak connecting them across the root of the nose: in the centre is a perpendicular streak of red, made with red Sanders, or *Roll*, a preparation of Turmeric and Lime; they have also patches of *Gopichandana*, with a central red streak on the breast, and each upper arm: the marks are supposed to represent the *Śankh*, *Chakra*, *Gadā*, and *Padma*¹, or Shell, Discus, Club, and Lotus, which *Viṣṇu* bears in his four hands, whilst the central streak is *Śrī*, or *Lakṣmī*². Some

¹ The *Vaiṣṇava* is thus described in the *Bhakta Mālā*, the text is probably that of the *Bhāgavat*—

ये कण्डलपतुलसीनलिनाचमालाः ये वाङ्मूलपरिचिह्नितशङ्खचक्राः ।
ये वा ललाटपटले लसद्दूर्ध्वपुण्ड्रास्ते विष्णवा भुवनमायु पवित्रयन्ति ॥
“They who bear the *Tulasī* round the neck, the rosary of Lotus seeds, have the shell and discus impressed upon their upper arm, and the upright streak along the centre of the forehead, they are *Vaiṣṇavas*, and sanctify the world.”

² The efficacy of these marks is very great: we are told in the *Kāśī Khaṇḍ*, that *YAMA* directs his ministers to avoid such as

have these objects carved on wooden stamps, with which they impress the emblems on their bodies, and others carry their devotion so far as to have the parts scatrized with heated metallic models of the objects they propose to represent, but this is not regarded as a creditable practice¹: besides these marks, they wear a necklace of the wood of the *Tulasi*, and carry a rosary of the seeds of the same plant, or of the Lotus.

The principal authorities of this sect are the comments of the founder on the *Sūtras* of VYĀSA, and other Vaidika works: they are written in Sanskrit,

hear them, and the same work observes, that no sin can exist in the individuals who make use of them, be they of whatever caste.

ब्राह्मणः चचियो वैश्यः शूद्रो वा यदि वेतरः ।

विष्णुभक्तिसमायुक्तो ज्ञेयः सर्वोत्तमश्च सः ॥

शङ्खचक्राङ्किततनुः शिरसा मञ्जरीधरः ।

गोपीचन्दनलिप्ताङ्गो दृष्टश्चतुर्दशं कुतः ॥

¹ The *Vrihan Nāradiya Purāṇa* sentences every Brahman adopting the practice to endless degradation, and even to the infernal regions.

तथाहि संतप्तशङ्खादिलिङ्गचिह्नतनुर्नरः ।

स सर्वपतकभोगी चाण्डालो ज्ञेयकोटिभिः ॥

तं द्विजं तप्तशङ्खादिलिङ्गाङ्किततनुं हरः ।

संभाव्य रौरवं याति यावदिन्द्राश्चतुर्दशः ॥

The reason also occurs—

ब्राह्मणस्य तनुर्ज्ञेया सर्वदेवानामाश्रिता ।

सा चित्संतापिता राजन्किमु वक्ष्यामहे वयम् ॥

The body of a Brahman is the abode of all the Gods, if that is consumed, where shall we abide?" It appears, however, that stamping the mark with a hot iron, is commonly in use in the *Dekhan*. A similar practice seems to have been known to some of the early Christians, and baptizing with fire was stamping the cross on the forehead with a hot iron.

and are the *Śrī Bhāshya*, the *Gītā Bhāshya*, the *Ve-dārtha Sangraha*, *Vedānta Pradīpa*, and *Vedānta Sāra*: besides these, the works of *Venkata Āchārya*, are of great repute amongst them, as the *Stotra Bhāshya*, and *Śatadūshinī*, and others: the *Chāṇḍa Māruta Vaidika*, and *Trinśatadhyānam*, are also works of authority, as is the *Pāncharātra* of NĀRADA: of the *Purāṇas* they acknowledge only six as authorities, the *Vishṇu*, *Nāradiya*, *Gāṇḍa*, *Padma*, *Vārāha* and the *Bhāgavat*: the other twelve are regarded as *Tāmasa*, or originating in the principles of darkness and passion, as we have already observed. Besides these, the *Rāmānujas* have a variety of popular works in the dialects of the South, one of which, the *Guru Para*, containing an account of the life of RĀMĀNUJA, was procured by DR. BUCHANAN, in the course of his statistical researches in *Mysore*.

The chief religious tenet of the *Rāmānujas*, is the assertion that *Vishṇu* is BRAHMĀ; that he was before all worlds, and was the cause and the creator of all. Although they maintain that *Vishṇu* and the universe are one, yet, in opposition to the *Vedānta* doctrines, they deny that the deity is void of form or quality, and regard him as endowed with all good qualities, and with a two-fold form: the supreme spirit, *Paramātmā*, or cause, and the gross one, the effect, the universe or matter. The doctrine is hence called the *Viśiṣṭhādwaita*, or doctrine of unity with attributes. In these assertions they are followed by most of the *Vaiṣṇava* sects. Creation originated in the wish of

VISHNU, who was alone, without a second, to multiply himself: he said, I will become many; and he was individually embodied as visible and etherial light. After that, as a ball of clay may be moulded into various forms, so the grosser substance of the deity became manifest in the elements, and their combinations: the forms into which the divine matter is thus divided, are pervaded by a portion of the same vitality which belongs to the great cause of all, but which is distinct from his spiritual or eterial essence; here, therefore, the *Rámánujas* again oppose the *Vedántikas*, who identify* the *Paramátmá* and *Jivátmá*, or etherial and vital spirit: this vitality, though endlessly diffusible, is imperishable and eternal, and the matter of the universe, as being the same in substance with the Supreme Being, is alike without beginning or end: PURUSHOTTAMA, or NÁRÁYAÑA, after having created man and animals, through the instrumentality of those subordinate agents whom he willed into existence for that purpose, still retained the supreme authority of the universe: so that the *Rámánujas* assert three predicates of the universe, comprehending the deity: it consists of *Chit*, or spirit, *Achit*, or matter, and *Íswara*, or God, or the enjoyer, the thing enjoyed, and the ruler and controller of both. Besides his primary and secondary form as the creator, and creation, the deity has assumed, at different times, particular forms and appearances, for the benefit

of his creatures: he is, or has been visibly present amongst men, in five modifications: in his *ARCHÁ*, objects of worship, as images, &c.; in the *Vibhavas*, or *Avatáras*, as the fish, the boar, &c.; in certain forms called *Vyúhas*, of which four are enumerated, VÁSUDEVA, or KRISHÑA, BALARÁMA, PRADYUMNA, and ANIRUDDHA; fourthly, in the *Súkshma* form, which, when perfect, comprises six qualities: *Virajas*, absence of human passion; *Vimrityu*, immortality; *Viśoka*, exemption from care or pain; *Vijighatsá*, absence of natural wants; *Satyakáma*, and *Satyasankalpa*, the love and practice of truth; and sixthly, as the *Antarátmá*, or *Antaryámi*, the human soul, or individualised spirit: these are to be worshipped seriatim, as the ministrant ascends in the scale of perfection, and adoration therefore is five-fold; *Abhigamanam*, cleaning and purifying the temples, images, &c. *Upádánam*, providing flowers and perfumes for religious rites; *Ijyá*, the presentation of such offerings, blood offerings being uniformly prohibited, it may be observed, by all the *Vaishnávas*; *Swádhyáya*, counting the rosary and repeating the names of the divinity, or any of his forms; and *Yoga*, the effort to unite with the deity*: the reward of these acts is elevation to the seat of VISHNU, and enjoyment of like state with his own, interpreted to be perpetual residence in *Vaikuñtha*, or *Vishnu's* heaven, in a condition of pure ecstacy and eternal rapture.

* [See, however, Colebr. M. E., London, 1838, p. 169.]

* [Sarva Darśana Sangraha, p. 51-56.]

The *Rāmānujas* are not very numerous in the north of India, where they are better known as *Śrī Vaiśṇavas*; they are decidedly hostile to the *Saiva* sect, and are not on very friendly terms with the modern votaries of KṚṢṢṆA, although they recognise that deity as an incarnation of VIṢṆU¹.

RĀMĀNANDĪS, or RĀMĀVATS.

The followers of RĀMĀNAND are much better known than those of RĀMĀNUJA in upper Hindustan: they are usually considered as a branch of the RĀMĀNUJA sect, and address their devotions peculiarly to RĀMACHANDRA, and the divine manifestations connected with VIṢṆU in that incarnation, as SĪTĀ, LAKSHMAṆA, and HANUMĀN.

¹ Dubois, in his 8th Chapter, has some details of the *Vaiśṇava* mendicants, as met with in the Dekhan: his account, however, does not apply to the *Rāmānuja*, or any other *Vaiśṇava* sect, as known in these provinces, although a few of the particulars may be true, if confined to the *Vaiśṇava Vairāgis*—the *Dakṣiṇī Vaiśṇavas* must be, therefore, a very different class from those that are met within any other part of India, or the *Abbé* must have mixed, as is not unusual with him, a small quantum of truth, with a very large portion of error: it is, indeed, impossible to think him correct, when he states, that “the sectaries of *Viṣṇu* eat publicly of all sorts of meat, except beef, and drink spirituous liquors without shame or restraint, and that they are reproached with being the chief promoters of that abominable sacrifice, the *Śakti Pūjā*.” now, it is not true of any sect in Upper India, that the practices the *Abbé* mentions occur at all, except in the utmost privacy and secrecy, and if even in that way they do occur, it is certainly not amongst the *Vaiśṇava Vairāgis*, but with very different sects, as we shall hereafter see.

RĀMĀNAND is sometimes considered to have been the immediate disciple of RĀMĀNUJA, but this appears to be an error: a more particular account makes him the fifth in descent from that teacher, as follows—the pupil and successor of RĀMĀNUJA was DEVĀNAND; of DEVĀNAND, HARINAND; of HARINAND, RĀGHAVĀNAND, and of this last, RĀMĀNAND, an enumeration which, if correct, would place RĀMĀNAND about the end of the 13th century¹: there is great reason, however, to doubt his being entitled to so remote a date, and consequently to question the accuracy of his descent from RĀMĀNUJA: we shall have occasion to infer, hereafter, from the accounts given of the dates of other teachers, that RĀMĀNAND was not earlier than the end of the 14th, or beginning of the 15th century.

According to common tradition, the schism of RĀMĀNAND originated in resentment of an affront offered him by his fellow disciples, and sanctioned by his teacher. It is said, that he had spent some time in travelling through various parts of India, after which he returned to the *Math*, or residence of his superior: his brethren objected to him, that in the course of his peregrinations, it was impossible he could have observed that privacy in his meals, which is a vital observance of the *Rāmānuja* sect, and as RĀGHAVĀNAND admitted the validity of the objection, RĀMĀNAND was

¹ The enumeration in the *Bhakta Mālā* is different: it there occurs 1. RĀMĀNUJA, 2. DEVĀCHĀRI, 3. RĀGHAVĀNAND, 4. RĀMĀNAND; making him the fourth.

condemned to feed in a place apart from the rest of the disciples: he was highly incensed at the order, and retired from the society altogether, establishing a schism of his own.

The residence of RÁMÁNAND was at Benares, at the *Pancha Gangá Ghát*, where a *Math*, or monastery of his followers, is said to have existed, but to have been destroyed by some of the Musalman princes: at present there is merely a stone plat-form, in the vicinity, bearing the supposed impression of his feet, but there are many *Maths* of his followers, of celebrity at Benares, whose *Pancháyat*, or council, is the chief authority amongst the *Rámávats* in Upper India: we shall have frequent occasion to mention these *Maths*, or convents, and a short account of them may, therefore, here be acceptable.

Most of the religious sects of which we have to give an account, comprise various classes of individuals, resolvable, however, especially into two, whom (for want of more appropriate terms) we must call, perhaps, *Clerical* and *Lay*: the bulk of the votaries are generally, but not always of the latter order, whilst the rest, or the *Clerical* class, are sometimes monastic, and sometimes secular: most of the sects, especially the *Vai-shnavas*, leave this distinction a matter of choice: the *Vallabhacháris*, indeed, give the preference to married teachers, and all their *Gosáins* are men of business and family: the preference, however, is usually assigned to teachers of an ascetic or cœnobitic life, whose pious meditations are not distracted by the affections

of kindred, or the cares of the world: the doctrine that introduced similar unsocial institutions into the Christian church, in the fourth century, being still most triumphantly prevalent in the east, the land of its nativity; the establishments of which we are treating, and the still existing practices of solitary mortification, originating in the "specious appearance and pompous sound of that maxim of the ancient philosophy, that in order to the attainment of true felicity and communion with God, it was necessary that the soul should be separated from the body even here below, and that the body was to be macerated and mortified for that purpose." (*Mosheim*. i. 378.)

Of the cœnobitic members of the different communities, most pursue an erratic and mendicant life: all of them, indeed, at some period have led such a life, and have travelled over various parts of India singly or in bodies, subsisting by alms, by merchandise, and sometimes, perhaps, by less unexceptionable means, like the *Sarabaites* of the east, or the mendicant friars of the Latin Church: they have, however, their fixed rallying points, and are sure of finding, in various parts of their progress, establishments of their own, or some friendly fraternity where they are for a reasonably moderate period lodged and fed. When old or infirm, they sit down in some previously existing *Math*, or establish one of their own.

The *Maths*, *Asthals*, or *Akhádás*, the residences of the monastic communities of the Hindus, are scattered over the whole country: they vary in structure and

new *Mahant* is then regularly installed, and is formally invested with the cap, the rosary, the frontal mark, or *Tiká*, or any other monastic insignia, by the president of the assembly. Under the native Government, whether Mohammedan or Hindu—the election of the superior of one of these establishments was considered as a matter of sufficient moment to demand the attention of the Governor of the province, who, accordingly, in person, or by his deputy, presided at the election: at present, no interference is exercised by the ruling authorities, and rarely by any lay character, although occasionally, a *Rájá*, or a *Zemíndár*, to whose liberality the *Math* is indebted, or in whose lands it is situated, assumes the right of assisting and presiding at the election.

The *Mahants* of the sects, in which the election takes place, are generally assisted by those of the sects connected with them: each is attended by a train of disciples, and individuals of various mendicant tribes repair to the meeting; so that an assemblage of many hundreds, and sometimes of thousands, occurs: as far as the resources of the *Math*, where they are assembled, extend, they are maintained at its expence; when those fail, they must shift for themselves; the election is usually a business of ten or twelve days, and during the period of its continuance, various points of polity or doctrine are discussed in the assembly.

Most of the *Maths* have some endowments of land, but with the exception of a few established in large cities, and especially at Benares, the individual amount

of these endowments is, in general, of little value. There are few *Maths* in any district that possess five hundred Bighás of land, or about one hundred and seventy acres, and the most usual quantity is about thirty or forty Bighás only: this is sometimes let out for a fixed rent; at other times it is cultivated by the *Math* on its own account; the highest rental met with, in any of the returns procured, is six hundred and thirty rupees per annum. Although, however, the individual portions are trifling, the great number of these petty establishments renders the aggregate amount considerable, and as the endowed lands have been granted *Máfi*, or free of land tax, they form, altogether, a serious deduction from the revenue of each district.

Besides the lands they may hold, the *Maths* have other sources of support: the attachment of lay votaries frequently contributes very liberally to their wants: the community is also sometimes concerned, though, in general, covertly, in traffic, and besides those means of supply, the individual members of most of them sally forth daily to collect alms from the vicinity, the aggregate of which, generally in the shape of rice or other grains, furnishes forth the common table: it only remains to observe, that the tenants of these *Maths*, particularly the *Vaishnavas*, are most commonly of a quiet inoffensive character, and the *Mahants* especially are men of talents and respectability, although they possess, occasionally, a little of that self-importance, which the conceit of superior sanctity is apt to inspire: there are, it is true,

exceptions to this innocuous character, and robberies, and murders have been traced to these religious establishments.

The especial object of the worship of RÁMÁNANDA's followers is VISHŪ, as RÁMACHANDRA: they, of course, reverence all the other incarnations of VISHŪ, but they maintain the superiority of RÁMA, in the present or *Kali Yug*; hence they are known collectively as *Rámávats*, although the same variety prevails amongst them, as amongst the *Rámánujas*, as to the exclusive or collective worship of the male and female members of this incarnation, or of *Ráma* and *Sítá*, singly, or jointly, or *Sítá Ráma*¹: individuals of them also pay particular veneration to some of the other forms of VISHŪ, and they hold in like estimation, as the *Rámánujas*, and every *Vaishṇava* sect, the *Sálagráma* stone and *Tulasí* plant; their forms of worship correspond with those of the Hindus generally, but some of the mendicant members of the sect, who are very numerous, and are usually known as *Vairágis*, or *Viraktas*, consider all form of adoration superfluous, beyond the incessant invocation of the name of KŪISHŪA and RÁMA.

The practices of this sect are of less precise nature than those of the RÁMÁNÚJAS, it being the avowed object of the founder to release his disciples from those

¹ Amongst the temples of this sect at Benares, are two dedicated to *Rádhā Krishṇa*, although attached to *Maths* belonging to the *Rámárat* order, and not at all connected with the followers of VALLABHA, or of CHAITANYA and NITYÁNAND.

fetters which he had found so inconvenient: in allusion to this, indeed, he gave, it is said, the appellation *Avadhūta*, or *Liberated*, to his scholars, and they admit no particular observances with respect to eating or bathing¹, but follow their own inclination, or comply with the common practice in these respects. The initiatory *Mantra* is said to be *Śrī Ráma*—the salutation is *Jaya Śrī Ráma*, *Jaya Rám*, or *Sítá Rám*: their marks are the same as those of the preceding, except that the red perpendicular streak on the forehead is varied, in shape and extent, at the pleasure of the individual, and is generally narrower than that of the RÁMÁNÚJAS.

Various sects are considered to be but branches of the *Rámánandi Vaishṇavas*, and their founders are asserted to have been amongst his disciples: of these disciples, twelve are particularised as the most eminent, some of whom have given origin to religious distinctions of great celebrity, and, although their doctrines are often very different from those of RÁMÁNAND, yet the popular tradition is so far corroborated, that they maintain an amicable intercourse with the followers of RÁMÁNAND, and with each other.

The twelve chief disciples of RÁMÁNAND are named, as follows—ÁŚÁNAND, KABÍR, the weaver, RAIDÁS, the *Chamár*, or currier, PÍPÁ, the *Rájaput*, Sursu-

¹ The *Vairágis* of this sect, and some others, eat and drink together, without regard to tribe or caste, and are thence called *Kulātūi*, or *Varnātūi*.

RĀNAND, SUKHĀNAND, BHAVĀNAND, DHANNA the *Jāt*, SENA, the barber—MAHĀNAND, PARAMĀNAND, and ŚRĪĀNAND¹, a list which shews, that the school of RĀMĀNAND admitted disciples of every caste: it is, in fact, asserted in the *Bhakta Mālā*, that the distinction of caste is inadmissible according to the tenets of the *Rāmānandīs*: there is no difference, they say, between the BHAGAVĀN and the *Bhakt*, or the deity and his worshipper; but BHAGAVĀN appeared in inferior forms, as a *Fish*, a *Boar*, a *Tortoise*, &c., so therefore the *Bhakt* may be born as a *Chamār*, a *Koll*, a *Chhipi*, or any other degraded caste.

The various character of the reputed disciples of RĀMĀNAND, and a consideration of the tenets of those sects which they have founded, lead to a conclusion, that this individual, if he did not invent, gave fresh force to a very important encroachment upon the orthodox system: he, in fact, abrogated the distinction of caste amongst the religious orders, and taught, that the holy character who quitted the ties of nature and society, shook off, at the same time, all personal distinction—this seems to be the proper import of the term *Avadhūta*, which RĀMĀNAND is said to have affixed to his followers, and they were liberated from

¹ The *Bhakta Mālā* has a rather different list: 1. RAGHUNĀTH, 2. ANANTĀNAND, 3. KABIR, 4. SUKHĀSUR, 5. JIVA, 6. PADMĀVAT, 7. PĪRĀ, 8. BHAVĀNAND, 9. RAIDĀS, 10. DHANNA, 11. SENA, 12. SURSURA. His successors, again, were somewhat different, or 1. RAGHUNĀTH, 2. ANANTĀNAND, JOGĀNAND, RĀMDĀS, ŚRĪ RANJA, and NARAHARI.

more important restraints than those of regimen and ablution: the popular character of the works of this school corroborates this view of RĀMĀNANDA'S innovation; ŚĀNKARA and RĀMĀNUJA writing to and for the Brahmanical order alone, composed chiefly, if not solely, Sanskrit commentaries on the text of the *Vedas*, or Sanskrit expositions of their peculiar doctrines, and the teachers of these opinions, whether monastic or secular, are indispensably of the Brahmanical caste—it does not appear that any works exist which are attributed to RĀMĀNAND himself, but those of his followers are written in the provincial dialects, and addressed to the capacity, as well as placed within the reach, of every class of readers, and every one of those may become a *Vairāgi*, and rise, in time, to be a *Guru* or *Mahant*.

We shall have occasion to speak again particularly of such of the above mentioned disciples of RĀMĀNAND, as instituted separate sects, but there are several who did not aspire to that distinction, and whose celebrity is, nevertheless, still very widely spread throughout Hindustan: there are also several personages belonging to the sects of particular note, and we may, therefore, here pause, to extract a few of the anecdotes which the *Bhakta Mālā* relates of those individuals, and which, if they do not afford much satisfactory information regarding their objects, will at least furnish some notion of the character of this popular work.

PĪRĀ, the *Rājaput*, is called the Rājā of *Gāngaraun*: he was originally a worshipper of DEVĪ, but abandoned

her service for that of VISHNÚ, and repaired to Benares to put himself under the tuition of RÁMÁNAND. Having disturbed the sage at an inconvenient season, RÁMÁNAND angrily wished that he might fall into the well of his court-yard, on which PÍPÁ, in the fervour of his obedience, attempted to cast himself into it to accomplish the desire of the saint. This act was with difficulty prevented by the by-standers, and the attempt so pleased RÁMÁNAND that he immediately admitted the *Rájá* amongst his disciples.

PÍPÁ, after some time, abandoned his earthly possessions, and accompanied by only one of his wives, named SÍTÁ, as ardent a devotee as himself, adopting a life of mendicacy, accompanied RÁMÁNAND and his disciples to *Dwáráká*. Here he plunged into the sea to visit the submarine shrine of KRISHNÁ, and was affectionately received by that deity: after spending some days with him, PÍPÁ returned, when the fame of the occurrence spread, and attracted great crowds to see him. Finding them incompatible with his devotions, PÍPÁ left *Dwáráká* privately: on the road some Pattháns carried off his wife, but RÁMA himself rescued her, and slew the ravishers. The life of this vagrant *Rájá* is narrated at considerable length in the *Bhakta Málá*, and is made up of the most absurd and silly legends. On one occasion the *Rájá* encounters a furious lion in a forest; he hangs a rosary round his neck, whispers the Mantra of *Ráma*, and makes him tranquil in a moment; he then lectures the lion on the impropriety of devouring men and kine, and sends

him away penitent, and with a pious purpose to do so no more.

Of SURSURÁNAND we have a silly enough story of some cakes that were given to him by a *Mlechchha* being changed when in his mouth into a *Tulasi* leaf. Of DHANNA, it is related that a Brahman, by way of a frolic, gave him a piece of stone, and desired him to offer to it first, whatever he was about to eat. DHANNA obeyed, looking upon the stone as the representative of VISHNÚ, who, being pleased with his devotion, appeared, and constantly tended the cattle of the simple *Ját*: at last he recommended his becoming the disciple of RÁMÁNAND, for which purpose he went to Benares, and having received the Mantra, returned to his farm. RAGHUNÁTH, or in the text ÁŚÁNAND, succeeded RÁMÁNAND in the *Gaddí*, or the Pillow of the *Mahant*. NARAHARI or HARYÁNAND was also a pupil of RÁMÁNAND, whom it is difficult to identify with any one in the list above given: we have a characteristic legend of him.

Being one day in want of fuel to dress his meat, he directed one of his pupils to proceed to a neighbouring temple of DEVÍ, and bring away from it any portion of the timber he could conveniently remove: this was done, to the great alarm, but utter helplessness of the goddess, who could not dispute the authority of a mortal of HARYÁNAND's sanctity. A neighbour who had observed this transaction laboured under a like want of wood: at the instigation of his wife, he repaired also to the temple, and attempted to remove one

of the beams, when the goddess, indignant at his presumption, hurled him down and broke his neck: the widow hearing of her husband's fate, immediately hastened to the temple, and liberally abused the vindictive deity. DEVÍ took advantage of the business to make a bargain for her temple, and restored the man to life, on condition that he would ever afterwards buy fuel for HARYÁNAND.

The legends of such other disciples of RÁMÁNAND as occur in the *Bhakta Málá* will be given in their proper places, and it will be sufficient here to confine our further extracts from that authority to NÁBHÁJI, the author, SÚR DÁS, and TULASÍ DÁS, to whose poetical talents the late version of it is largely indebted, and JAYADEVA, whose songs have been translated by Sir William Jones.

NÁBHÁJI, the author of the *Bhakta Málá*, was by birth a *Dom*, a caste whose employ is making baskets and various sorts of wicker work. The early commentators say he was of the *Hanumán Vanś*, or Monkey tribe, because, observes the modern interpreter, *Bánar*, a monkey, signifies in the *Marwar* language a *Dom*, and it is not proper to mention the caste of a *Vaishnáva* by name: he was born blind, and when but five years old, was exposed by his parents, during a time of scarcity, to perish in the woods: in this situation he was found by AGRADÁS and KÍL, two *Vaishnáva* teachers: they had compassion upon his helplessness, and KÍL sprinkled his eyes with the water of his *Ka-māṇḍalu*, or water pot, and the child saw: they carried

NÁBHÁJI to their *Math*, where he was brought up, and received the initiatory Mantra from AGRADÁS: when arrived at maturity, he wrote the *Bhakta Málá* by desire of his *Guru*. The age of NÁBHÁJI must be about two centuries, or two and a half, as he is made contemporary with MÁN SINH, the Rájá of *Jaynagar*, and with AKBAR. He should date much earlier, if one account of his spiritual descent which makes him the fourth from RÁMÁNAND¹ be admitted, but in the *Bhakta Málá*, KRISHNA DÁS, the second in that account, does not descend in a direct line from RÁMÁNAND, but derives his qualifications as teacher from the immediate instructions of VISHNÚ himself: there is no necessity, therefore, to connect NÁBHÁJI with RÁMÁNAND. The same authority places him also something later, as it states that TULASÍ DÁS, who was contemporary with SHÁH JEHÁN, visited NÁBHÁJI at *Brīndávan*. It is probable, therefore, that this writer flourished at the end of AKBAR's reign, and in the commencement of that of his successor.

The notices we have of SÚR DÁS are very brief: he was blind, a great poet, and a devout worshipper of VISHNÚ, in whose honour all his poems are written: they are songs and hymns of various lengths, but usually short, and the greater number are *Padas*, or simply stanzas of four lines, the first line forming a subject, which is repeated as the last and the burthen

¹ 1. RÁMÁNAND, 2. ÁŚANAND, 3. KRISHNA DÁS, 4. KÍL and AGRADÁS, 5. NÁBHÁJI. See the next division of this section.

of the song, *Padas* being very generally sung, both at public entertainments, and the devotional exercises of the *Vaishnava* ascetics. SŪR DÁS is said to have composed 125,000 of these *Padas*: he is almost entitled to be considered as the founder of a sect, as blind beggars carrying about musical instruments, to which they chaunt stanzas in honour of VISHŪ, are generally termed *Sūr Dāsīs*. The tomb of SŪR DÁS, a simple mound of earth, is considered to be situated in a tope near *Śivpur*, a village about two miles to the north of Benares. There is also an account of a saint of the same name in the *Bhakta Mālā*, who is possibly a different person from the blind bard. This was a Brahman, *Amin*, or collector of the Pergunnah of *Saṇḍīlā*, in the reign of AKBAR, and who with more zeal than honesty made over his collections to the shrine of MADANA MOHANA, a form of KRISHNA, at *Brindāvan*, and sent to the treasury chests filled with stones¹: the minister TOḌAR MALL, however, although a Hindu, was not disposed to confirm this transfer, and he had the defaulter arrested and thrown into prison. SŪR DÁS then applied to AKBAR, and the good

natured monarch, who probably thought his collector more fool than knave, set him at liberty. He retired to *Brindāvan* and there continued to lead a religious and ascetic life.

The account of TULASÍ DÁS in the *Bhakta Mālā* represents him as having been incited to the peculiar adoration of RÁMA by the remonstrances of his wife, to whom he was passionately attached: he adopted a vagrant life, visited Benares, and afterwards went to *Chitrakūṭa*, where he had a personal interview with *Hanumán*, from whom he received his poetical inspiration, and the power of working miracles: his fame reached *Dehli*, where SHÁH JEHÁN was emperor: the monarch sent for him to produce the person of RÁMA, which TULASÍ DÁS refusing to do, the king threw him into confinement; the people of the vicinity, however, speedily petitioned for his liberation, as they were alarmed for their own security: myriads of monkies having collected about the prison, and begun to demolish it, and the adjacent buildings. SHÁH JEHÁN set the poet at liberty, and desired him to solicit some favour as a reparation for the indignity he had suffered: TULASÍ DÁS, accordingly, requested him to quit ancient *Dehli*, which was the abode of RÁMA, and in compliance with this request the emperor left it, and founded the new city, thence named *Sháh Jehánábád*. After this, TULASÍ DÁS went to *Brindāvan*, where he had an interview with NÁBHÁJ: he settled there, and strenuously advocated the worship of *Sitá Rāma*, in preference to that of *Rādhā Krishṇa*.

¹ He accompanied them also with the following rhyme,

तेरह लाख संडीले उपजे सब सन्तन मिलि गटके ।

सूरदास मदनमोहन आधी रात हि सटके ॥

which may be thus rendered:

The Saints have shared Saṇḍīlā's taxes,

Of which the total thirteen lacks is,

A fee for midnight service owen,

By me *Sūr Dās* to *Madan Mohan*.

[Price's Hindue and Hindust. Selections. Calc., 1827. I, p. 100.]

Besides these legendary tales of this celebrated writer, whose works exercise more influence upon the great body of Hindu population than the whole voluminous series of Sanskrit composition, we have other notices of him collected from his own works, or preserved by tradition, that differ in some respects from the above. From these it appears, that TULASÍ DÁS was a Brahman of the *Sarvārya* branch, and a native of *Hājipur*, near *Chitrakūta*; when arrived at maturity, he settled at *Benares*, and held the office of *Diwān* to the *Rājā* of that city: his spiritual preceptor was JAGANNÁTH DÁS, a pupil, as well as NÁBHĀJI, of AGRADÁS: he followed this teacher to *Govardhan*, near *Brindāvan*, but afterwards returned to *Benares*, and there commenced his Hindi version of the *Rāmāyana*, in the year of Samvat 1631, when he was thirty-one years of age. Besides this work, which is highly popular, TULASÍ DÁS is the author of a *Sat Sai**, or collection of one hundred stanzas on various subjects: of the *Rām Guṇāvali*, a series of verses in praise of RĀMA, of a *Gītāvali*, and *Vinaya Patrikā*, poetical compositions of a devotional or moral tendency, and of a great variety of *Hymns*—as *Rāgas*, *Kavits*, and *Padas*, in honour of his tutelary deity and his consort, or RĀMA and SÍTĀ. TULASÍ DÁS continued to reside at *Benares*, where he built a temple to *Sítā*

* [The word *Sat Sai* = सप्तशती rather implies a collection of seven-hundred stanzas or ślokas, such as e. g. the *Devīmāhātmya*. See *Śabdakalpādruma* s. v.]

Rāma, and founded a *Math* adjoining, both which are still in existence: he died in the year of the *Samvat* era, 1680, or A. D. 1624, in the reign of JEHĀNGÍR¹, and the legendary story of his intercourse with SHĀH JEHĀN, is consequently an anachronism.

JAYADEVA was an inhabitant of a village called *Kinduvilva*, where he led an ascetic life, and was distinguished for his poetical powers, and the fervour of his devotion to VISHṆU. He at first adopted a life of continence, but was subsequently induced to marry. A Brahman had dedicated his daughter to JAGANNÁTH, but on his way to the shrine of that deity was addressed by him, and desired to give the maiden to JAYADEVA who was one with himself. The saint, who it should appear had no other shelter than the shade of a tree, was very unwilling to burthen himself with a bride, but her father disregarded his refusal, and leaving his daughter with him departed. JAYADEVA then addressed the damsel, and asked her what she proposed to do, to which she replied: “whilst I was in my father’s house, I was obedient to his will; he has now presented me to you, and I am subject to your pleasure; if you reject me, what remains for me but to die?” The saint finding there was no help, turned householder, and removed the image he had worshipped in the air into his dwelling, by desire, it

¹ According to this memorial verse:

संवत् सोलह सय असी गंगाके तीर ।
सावण शुक्ला सप्तमी तुलसी तज्यी गरीर ॥

is said, of the object of his adoration. In his new condition he composed the *Gītā Govinda*, in which KRISHNA himself assisted, for on one occasion, JAYADEVA being puzzled how to describe the charms of RĀDHĀ, laid down the paper for a happier moment, and went to bathe. KRISHNA, assuming his person, entered his house, and wrote the requisite description, much to the poet's astonishment on his return home.

Of the *Gītā Govinda* it is said, that the *Rājā of Nilāchala* (Orissa) composed a poem similarly named, but when the two works were placed before JAGAN-NĀTH, he took the work of JAYADEVA to his bosom, and threw that of the *Rājā* out of his temple. It is also said, that the *Gītā Govinda* was sung in the court of VIKRAMA, thus assigning to it an antiquity which there is no reason to suspect it can justly claim.

JAYADEVA being desirous of performing a particular rite for his idol, resumed his erratic habits, and succeeded in collecting a considerable sum of money for this purpose: on the road he was attacked by *Thags*, or thieves, who robbed him, and cut off his hands and feet. In this state he was found by a *Rājā* who took him home, and had his wounds healed. Shortly afterwards the thieves, disguised as religious mendicants, came to the court of the *Rājā*. JAYADEVA recognized them, and overwhelmed them with benefits. On their departure, two of the *Rājā's* people were sent to attend them to the confines of the *Rāj*, who on their way asked them how they had merited the saint's particular regard. To this they replied, that they had

been his fellows in the service of a *Rājā*, who had ordered them to put him to death: they however only mutilated him, and his gratitude for their sparing his life was the reason he had treated them so kindly. They had no sooner uttered these words, than the earth opened and swallowed them. The servants of the *Rājā* returned, and reported the occurrence, when a fresh miracle took place—the hands and feet of JAYADEVA sprouted forth again. The *Rājā* being filled with astonishment, requested the saint to explain these events, which he did by narrating what had befallen him.

After remaining some time with the *Rājā* where he restored to life his own wife PADMĀVATĪ, who had voluntarily put an end to herself, he returned to *Kinduvilva*. Here the Ganges, which was then eighteen cos distant, and to which he went daily to bathe, requested him not to undergo so much fatigue, as she would rather come to him. The proposal was accepted by the saint, and according to our guide, the river now runs close to the village.

The ascetic and mendicant followers of RĀMĀNAND, known indiscriminately as *Rāmānandīs* or *Rāmāvats*, are by far the most numerous class of sectaries in Gangetic India: in Bengal they are comparatively few: beyond this province, as far as to *Allahābād*¹, although

¹ Some of the principal Maṭhs at Benares are the following: RĀMJĪT, *Mahant*, a temple of RĀMA. MĀYĀ RĀM, *Mahant*, a temple of RĀMA. RĀMĀNCAJA, *Khāki*, *Mahant*, a temple of SĪTĀ RĀM. PURUŠHOTTAMA DĀS, *Khāki*, *Mahant*, a temple of RĀMA.

perhaps the most numerous, they yield in influence and wealth to the *Śaiva* branches, especially to the *Āṭh*: hence, however, they predominate, and either by themselves, or their kindred divisions, almost engross the whole of the country along the *Ganges* and *Jamna*: in the district of *Agra*, they alone constitute seven-tenths of the ascetic population. The *Rāmānandīs* have very numerous votaries, but they are chiefly from the poorer and inferior classes, with the exception of the *Rājaputs* and military *Brahmans*, amongst whom the poetical works of *SŪR DĀS* and *TULSĪ DĀS* maintain the pre-eminence of *Rāma* and his *Bhaktis*.

KABĪR PANTHIS.

Amongst the twelve disciples of *RĀMĀNAND* the most celebrated of all, and one who seems to have produced, directly or indirectly, a greater effect on the state of popular belief than any other, was *KABĪR*: with an unprecedented boldness he assailed the whole system of idolatrous worship, and ridiculed the learning of the *Pāṇḍits*, and doctrines of the *Śāstras*, in a

TULSĪ DĀS, *Mahant*, *SITĀ RĀM*; this is the *Mandir* of *Tulsi*
Govind DĀS, *Mahant*, *RĀDHĀ KRISHNĀ*. *RĀMACHARĀN*,
Gita, *dito*.

At a late meeting (1820) to elect a *Mahant* of one of the *Vaishnava Math*s, in the vicinity of *Benares*, about 5000 Mendicants of the various branches of the sect attended; of these at least 5000 were *Rāmādvats*, the rest were *Śrī Vaishnavas*, *Kabir* sect, and others.

style peculiarly well suited to the genius of his countrymen to whom he addressed himself, whilst he also directed his compositions to the *Musalman*, as well as to the *Hindu* faith, and with equal severity attacked the *Mullā* and *Korān*. The effect of his lessons, as confined to his own immediate followers, will be shewn to have been considerable, but their indirect effect has been still greater; several of the popular sects being little more than ramifications from his stock, whilst *Nānak Shāh*, the only *Hindu* reformer who has established a national faith, appears to have been chiefly indebted for his religious notions to his predecessor *KABĪR*¹. This sect therefore claims particular attention.

¹ *MALCOLM* says, that *NĀNAK* constantly referred to the writings of the celebrated Mohammedan *CABĪR*, (*A. R. XI*, 267.) and the *Kabir Panthis* assert, that he has incorporated several thousand passages from *Kabir's* writings. As to *Kabir's* being a Mohammedan, I shall allude to the improbability, I may say impossibility, of this in the text; nor is *COL. MALCOLM* more accurate when he calls him a celebrated *Sūfi*, for his doctrines have nothing in common apparently with that sect; indeed I think it not at all improbable that no such person as *KABĪR* ever existed, and that his name is a mere cover to the innovations of some freethinker amongst the *Hindus*: perhaps some one of those considered as his principal disciples: his names are very suspicious, and *Judni*, the sage, or *Kabir*, the greatest, are generic rather than individual denominations: at any rate, even if the individual were distinct, we must suppose that the name which occurs in his writings is nothing more than the *Takhallus*, or assumed name, under which both *Musalman* and *Hindu* poets have been accustomed to send their compositions into the world. To return, however, to the obligations which the popular reli-

but of these dates we cannot admit the accuracy of more than one at most, and as the latter is the more recent, it is the more probable: agreeable to this is the connexion of KABÍR's writings with the faith of NÁNAK SHÁH, who began to teach about 1490, and it also confirms a particular account, current amongst his followers, of his openly vindicating his doctrines before SEKANDER SHÁH¹, in whose time FERISHTA has

माहि प्रगट भयी शब्द कही टकसार ॥ सन्वत् पंदरहस्ये श्री पांच
मों मगर कियो गवन। अगहन सुदी येकादसी मिले पवन सों पवन ॥
“In the Samvat 1205 Jnāni meditated, was manifest at *Kāśī*, and declared the text called *Taksār*: in the Samvat 1505 he journeyed to *Magar*, and on the 11th of the light fortnight of *Aghan*, air mixed with air.”

¹ There is a *Ramaini* to that effect, and the following story is told, with the usual marvellous embellishments, in the *Bhakta Mālā*; in that work it is said, his mother complained to SEKANDER Pādshāh of her son's having deserted the true faith, on which the king sent for him; he appeared with the *Tikā* and *Mālā*, and when told to make the customary *Salām*, he replied, “I know none but *Rām*, what use is there in prostrating myself to a monarch?” Enraged at his behaviour, the king ordered him to be chained hand and foot, and thrown into the river. The water bore him to shore. He then commanded him to be cast into fire, but the flames played harmless round him. He then directed him to be trodden to death by an elephant, but as soon as the animal saw the sage, he turned tail and ran away. The king mounted his own elephant, resolved to execute his commands in person, but when he approached, KABIR transformed himself into a lion. The Monarch then convinced of his divine character alighted, and falling at his feet, offered him any lands and villages he might choose: these offers he declined, saying, “RĀM is my wealth: of what avail are worldly possessions, but

noticed, that some religious disputes, possibly connected with the history of KABÍR, or that of some of his disciples, did occur.

These circumstances, connected with the acknowledged date of his death, render it exceedingly probable that *Kabir* flourished about the beginning of the 15th century—and as it is also not unlikely that his innovations were connected with the previous exertions of RĀMĀNAND, consequently that teacher must have lived about the end of the 14th.

According to one account, KABÍR was originally named *Jnāni*, the knowing or wise. The Musalmans, it is said, claim him as one of their persuasion, but

to set father, and son, and brother, at deadly variance?” He returned to his abode, and remained unmolested. [Price, Hindue and Hindust. Sel. I, §6.]

COLONEL MALCOLM in the note before cited, places him in the reign of SHĪR SHĀH; this is, however, at variance with his own statements; NÁNAK was in the height of his career in 1527, (A. R. XI, 206.) then imparting to BABER tenets which he had partly borrowed from the writings of KABÍR, and which must consequently have been some time previously promulgated: but SHĪR SHĀH did not commence his reign till 1542, and it was therefore impossible for KABÍR to have lived in his reign, and at the same time to have instigated by his own innovations the more successful ones of NÁNAK. KABIR's being contemporary with SEKANDER, is also mentioned in PŪYA DĀSA's expansion of the *Bhakta Mālā*: it is likewise stated in the *Kholāssat al tawārikh*, and is finally established by ABULFAZL, who says that KABIR, the Unitarian, lived in the reign of SULTĀN SEKANDER LODI (A. J. 2, 38.). [G. de Tassy, histoire de la littérature Hindoui et Hindoustani. Paris: 1839 & 47. Vol. I, p. 275. II, 6.]

his conversancy with the *Hindu Śāstras*, and evidently limited knowledge of the Mohammedan authorities in matters of religion, render such a supposition perfectly unwarrantable: at any rate tradition represents it to have occasioned a contest between them and the Hindus respecting the disposal of his corpse, the latter insisting on burning, the Musalmans on burying it; in the midst of the dispute, KABIR himself appeared amongst them, and desiring them to look under the cloth supposed to cover his mortal remains, immediately vanished: on obeying his instructions, they found nothing under the cloth, but a heap of flowers: one half of these BANÁR Rájá or BÍRSINHA Rájá, then Rájá of Benares, removed to that City, where they were burnt, and where he appropriated the spot now called the *Kabir Chaura* to the reception of their ashes, whilst BULÍ KHÁN *Patthán*, the head of the Mohammedan party, erected a tomb over the other portion at *Magar* near *Gorakhpur*, where KABIR had died. This latter place was endowed by MANSÚR ALÍ KHÁN with several villages, and it divides with the *Chaura* the pilgrimage of the followers of this sect.

The *Kabir Panthis* in consequence of their Master having been the reputed disciple of RÁMÁNAND, and of their paying more respect to VISHNÚ, than the other Members of the Hindu triad, are always included amongst the *Vaishnáva* sects, and maintain with most of them, the *Rámávats* especially, a friendly intercourse and political alliance: it is no part of their faith, however, to worship any Hindu deity, or to observe

any of the rites or ceremonials of the Hindus, whether orthodox or schismatical; such of their members as are living in the world conform outwardly to all the usages of their tribe and caste, and some of them even pretend to worship the usual divinities, although this is considered as going rather farther than is justifiable. Those however who have abandoned the fetters of society, abstain from all the ordinary practices, and address their homage, chiefly in chanting Hymns, exclusively to the invisible KABIR: they use no *Mantra* nor fixed form of salutation; they have no peculiar mode of dress, and some of them go nearly naked, without objecting however to clothe themselves in order to appear dressed, where clothing is considered decent or respectful—the *Mahants* wear a small scull cap: the frontal marks, if worn, are usually those of the *Vaishnáva* sects, or they make a streak with Sandal, or *Gopichandan* along the ridge of the nose: a necklace and rosary of *Tulasi* are also worn by them, but all these outward signs are considered of no importance, and the inward man is the only essential point to be attended to¹.

¹ To avoid unnecessary contention, and its probable concomitant in other days, persecution, was the object probably of the following prudent maxim, one of the *Sikhs* of their founder:

सब से हिलिये सब से मिलिये सब का लिजिये नाऊं ।

हां जी हां जी सब से किजिये वसे आपनि गाऊं ॥

“Associate and mix with all, and take the names of all; say to every one, yes Sir, yes Sir. Abide in your own abode.”—They do not admit that taking the names of all implies the in-

The doctrines of KABÍR are taught in a great variety of works in different dialects of Hindi; they are the acknowledged compositions of his disciples and successors, but they are mostly in the form of dialogues, and profess to be of his utterance, either in his own words, with the phrase, *Kaháhi Kabír*, 'Kabír verily says', or to the same substance, which is marked by the qualification, *Kahai Kabír*, 'Kabír has said', or they are given in the language of his followers, when the expression *Dás Kabír*, the slave of Kabír, is made use of. The style of all their works is very peculiar, they are written in the usual forms of Hindi verse, the *Dohá*, *Chaupai* and *Samay*; and are very voluminous, as may be inferred from the following collection, preserved as the *Kháss Grantha*, or *The Book at the Chaura*.

1. *Sukh Nidhán*.
2. *Gorakhnáth ki Goshthi*.
3. *Kabír Pánji*.
4. *Balakh ki Ramaini*.
5. *Rámánand ki Goshthi*.
6. *Ánand Rám Ságara*.
7. *Śabdāvali*, containing 1,000 *Śabdas*, or short doctrinal expositions.

vocation of the illusory deities of the Hindu Pantheon, but means that they should reply as they are addressed, whether the phrase be *Bandagi*, *Dandāwat*, or *Rám Rám*: the proper salutation of an inferior to a superior amongst them, if any be particularly proper, is *Bandagi Sāhib*, Service, Sir: to which the latter replies, *Guru Kí Dayá*, the mercy of the Lord be upon you.

8. *Mangala*, 100 short poems, amongst which is the account of KABÍR's discovery as given above.

9. *Vasánt*, 100 hymns in that *Rága*.

10. *Holi*, 200 of the songs called *Holi*.

11. *Rekhtas*, 100 odes.

12. *Jhūlanas*, 500 odes, in a different style.

13. *Kaháras*, 500 odes, in a different style.

14. *Hindolas*, 12 ditto ditto. The subject of all these odes, or hymns, is always moral or religious.

15. *Bárah Mása*, the 12 months in a religious view, agreeably to KABÍR's system.

16. *Chancharas* 22.

17. *Chautiśas* 2: the 34 letters of the *Nágari* alphabet, with their religious signification.

18. *Alefnámah*, the Persian alphabet in the same manner.

19. *Ramainis*, short doctrinal or argumentative poems.

Sákhis 5,000, these may be considered as texts, consisting of one stanza each.

20. *The Bijak*, in 654 Sections¹.

¹ There are two *Bijaks*, however, only differing in the occasional omission of some passages and introduction of others; the longer of the two, they say, was communicated by KABÍR himself to the *Rájá* of Benares. I rather suspect, however, that the varieties are only those common to most Hindu Manuscripts, and that many more than two varieties are to be found. A curious Italian work on the *Kabir Panthis*, entitled, but not accurately, *Mulapançi*, intending no doubt *Mulapanthi*, or Radical disciple, not as rendered, *Della Radice*, is published in the third volume of the *Mines of the East*: it was found amongst the papers

There are also a variety of stanzas, called *Āgams*, *Vānis*, &c. composing a very formidable course of study to those who wish to go deep into the doctrine of this school, and one in which the greatest proficients amongst the *Kabir Panthis* are but imperfectly versed. A few *Sākhis*, *Śabdās* and *Rekhtas*, with the greater portion of the *Bijak*, constituting their acquirements: these, however, they commit to memory, and quote in argument with singular readiness and happiness of application; the *Goshthīs*, or disputations of KABIR with those opposed to him, as GORAKHNAȚH, RĀMANAND, and even in spite of chronology with *Mohammed* himself, are not read till more advanced, whilst the *Sukh Nidhān*, which is the key to the whole, and which has the singularity of being quite clear and intelligible, is only imparted to those pupils whose studies are considered to approach perfection.

The author or compiler of the *Bijak* or *Vijak*, was

of the Propaganda, and is communicated by Monsignore MÜNSTER, Bishop of Zealand, in Denmark; an eminent Scholar, the author of a valuable work on the Sahidie Version of the N. T. &c. It is to be presumed, that it is intended to be a translation of some KABIRI work, but how correctly it deserves this character, may be questioned; much of the phraseology of the sect is indeed closely followed, but the minute and ridiculous details of its cosmogony are, with very few exceptions, exceedingly different from those notions entertained by the followers of *Kabir*, as explained in the *Bijaks*, or *Sukh Nidhān*. The extract published in the *Mimes*, appears to be a portion, the second book, of some work thus described: "Il libro primario dei Cabiristi (Specie di riforma della gentilità,) si chiama *Satnam Kabir*: questo libro e fra le carte di Propaganda."

*Bhagodās*¹, one of KABIR's immediate disciples: it is the great authority amongst the *Kabir Panthis* in general; it is written in very harmonious verse, and with great ingenuity of illustration: its style, however, is more dogmatical than argumentative, and it rather inveighs against other systems than explains its own: in the latter respect it is, indeed, so inexplicit and obscure, that it is perhaps impossible to derive from it any satisfactory conclusion as to the real doctrines of KABIR. The followers of the *Sect* admit this obscurity, and much difference of opinion prevails amongst them in the interpretation of many passages: some of the teachers have a short work professedly written as a key to the most difficult parts, but this is in the hands of a chosen few: it is of no great value, however, as it is little less puzzling than the original, of a few passages of which the following translations will best exemplify the description thus given:

RAMAINI THE 1ST.—God, light, sound, and one woman; from these have sprung HARI, BRAHMĀ, and TRIPURĀRI. Innumerable are the emblems of ŚIVA and BHAVĀSĪ, which they have established, but they know not their own beginning nor end: a dwelling has been prepared for them: HARI, BRAHMĀ, and ŚIVA, are the three headmen, and each has his own village: they have formed the *Khaṇḍas* and the egg of *Brahmā*, and have invented the six *Darśanas*—and ninety-six *Pāśhaṇḍas*: no one has ever read the *Vedas* in the womb, nor has any infant been born a member of *Islām*. 'The woman', relieved from the burthen of the embryo, adorned her person with every grace. I and you

¹ Of the shorter work: it is undoubtedly the one most generally current.

are of one blood, and one life animates us both; from one mother is the world born: what knowledge is this that makes us separate? no one knows the varieties of this descent, and how shall one tongue declare them? nay should the mouth have a million of tongues, it would be incompetent to the task. *Kabir* has said, I have cried aloud from friendship to mankind; from not knowing the name of RĀMA, the world has been swallowed up in death.

In this *Ramaini*, the first passage contains an allusion to the notions of the sect regarding the history of creation. God is called ANTAR, *Inner*, that which was in all, and in which all was, meaning the first self-existent and all-comprehensive being. *Jyotish* is the luminous element, in which he manifested himself, and *Śabda*, the primitive sound or word that expressed his essence—the woman is *Máyá*, or the principle of error and delusion: the next passage relates to the impotence of the secondary gods, and the unnatural character of religious distinctions: “the woman” is MĀYÁ, the self-born daughter of the first deity, and at once the mother and wife of BRAHMĀ, VIŠṆU, and ŚIVA. “*I and you, &c.*” is addressed by her to them, “*no one knows, &c.*” is an allusion to the blindness of all worldly wisdom, and the passage winds up with a word of advice, recommending the worship of RĀMA, implying the true God, agreeably to the system of KABIR.

The style of the whole *Bijak* is of this kind: straggling allusions to the deceits of *Májá*, to the errors of other sects, and the superiority of their own, being strung together with very little method: it will not, however, be necessary to analyse any more of the

passages, and they will become clear by reference to the general view of the system, with which we shall be furnished from the *Sukh Nidhán*: it may be sufficient here to observe, that the doctrines of *Kabir* are said to be conveyed in four-fold language, or that of *Máyá*, *Ātmá*, *Man* or intellect, and the *Vedas*.

RAMAINI THE 6TH.—(*Máyá's* account of the first being, and of herself.) What is his colour, form, and shape; what other person has beheld him; the *Omkára* did not witness his beginning, how then can I explain it; can you say from what root he sprang; he is neither the stars, nor sun, nor moon; he has neither father, nor mother: he is neither water, nor earth, nor fire, nor air: what name or description can I give of him: to him is neither day nor night, nor family nor caste; he resides on the summit of space; a spark of his substance was once manifest, of which emanation I was the bride; the bride of that being who needs no other.

ŚABDA THE 56TH.—To ALI and RĀMA we owe our existence, and should, therefore, shew similar tenderness to all that live: of what avail is it to shave your head, prostrate yourself on the ground, or immerse your body in the stream; whilst you shed blood you call yourself pure, and boast of virtues that you never display: of what benefit is cleaning your mouth, counting your beads, performing ablution, and bowing yourself in temples, when, whilst you mutter your prayers, or journey to *Mecca* and *Medina*, deceitfulness is in your heart. The Hindu fasts every eleventh day, the Musalman during the *Ramazán*. Who formed the remaining months and days that you should venerate but one. If the Creator dwell in *Tabernacles*, whose residence is the universe? who has beheld *Rāma* seated amongst images, or found him at the shrine to which the Pilgrim has directed his steps? The city of HARA is to the east, that of ALI to the west; but explore your own heart, for there are both *Rāma* and *Karón*. Who talks of the lies of the *Veds* and *Tels*; those who understand not their essence. Behold but one in all things, it is the

second that leads you astray. Every man and woman that has ever been born is of the same nature with yourself. He, whose is the world, and whose are the children of *Ali* and *Rām*, He is my *Guru*, He is my *Pir*.

The following *Śabda* is peculiarly illustrative of the mystical and unintelligible style of parts of the *Bijak*; the explanation of the terms is taken from the key above referred to, but the interpreter is, perhaps, the most unintelligible of the two.

ŚABDA THE 69TH.—Who is the (1) magistrate of this city, (2) the meat (3) is exposed, and the (4) Vulture sits guarding it, the (5) Rat is converted into a (6) boat, and the (7) Cat is in charge of the helm; the (8) Frog is asleep, and the (9) Snake stands sentinel; the (10) Ox bears; the (11) Cow is barren; and the (12) Heifer is milked thrice a day; the (13) Rhinoceros is attacked by the (14) Jackal; very few know the (15) station of *Kabir*. (16)

KEY. 1. *Man* the pride of intellect. 2. The body. 3. The *Vedas*, or scriptural writings of any sect, which teach the true nature of God. 4. The *Pañdit*, or worldly expounder of divine truths. 5. *Man* or intellect. 6. A mere vehicle for the diffusion of 7. *Māyā*, illusion and falsehood. 8. The *Siddha* or saint. 9. *Paramēśvara*, the supreme being. 10. *Vishṇu*. 11. *Māyā* or *Devī*. 12. *Paramēśvara*, the supreme. 13. A holy man. 14. Intellectual or doctrinal pride. 15. The divine nature. 16. God identified with man and nature.

The *Sākhis* of *Kabir* deserve, perhaps, a more copious exemplification: they are very gradually current even amongst those not his followers, they contain much curious matter, and they have often been referred to without their character being duly understood; there are some thousands of them, of which the *Bijak* comprehends between three and four hundred:

one hundred will be sufficient, as a specimen of the whole: they are taken with one or two exceptions, from the *Bijak* of the *Kabir Chaura*, in the order in which they occur.

Sākhis.

1. When man springs from the womb, he is void of every care: pass but the sixth day, and he feels the pains of separation.

2. My word is of the word; hear it, go not astray; if man wishes to know the truth, let him investigate the word.

3. My word is from the first; the word has been deposited in life; a basket has been provided for the flowers; the horse has eaten up the *Ghī*.

4. My word is from the first; meditate on it every moment; you will flourish in the end like the *Joār* plant, which shews externally but beards and leaves.

5. Without hearing the word, it is utter darkness; say, whither shall any one go; without finding the gate-way of the word, man will ever be astray.

6. There are many words, but take the pith of them; he who takes not the essence, saith *KABIR*, will live a profitless life.

7. For the sake of the word, some have died, and some have resigned dominion: he who has investigated the word, has done his work.

8. Lay in your provender, and provide your carriage, for if your food fail, and your feet be weary, your life is in the hands of another.

9. Lay in provender sufficient for the road, whilst time yet serves: evening comes on; the day is flown, and nothing will be provided.

10. Now is the time to prepare, henceforth the path is difficult: the travellers all hasten to purchase where there is neither trade nor market.

11. He who knows what life is will take the essence of his own; such as it is now, he will not possess it a second time.

12. If you know how mankind pass their lives, you will live

according to your knowledge; fetch water for your own drinking, nor demand it from others and drink.

13. Why go about to offer water? there is abundance in every house: when man is really thirsty, he needs no solicitation, but will drink by force.

14. The goose (the world or life) sells pearls; a gold vessel is full of them; but with him who knows not their value, what can be done?

15. The goose abandons the lake, the body is withered and dry: *Kabir* has called aloud, here is a path, there is a resting place!

16. The goose abandons the lake, and lodges in a water jar. *Kabir* calls aloud, repair to your village, nor demolish your habitation.

17. The goose and the paddy-bird are of one colour, and frolic in the same pool: the goose extracts the milk from the water, and the paddy-bird drinks the mire.

18. Why comes the feeble doe to the green pool; numerous foes lie in wait for her; how should she escape?

19. The three worlds form a cage; vice and virtue spread a net; life is the prey; and time the fowler.

20. The half of a *Sākhi* is sufficiently arduous, if duly investigated; of what avail are the books of the *Pandit*, or incessant study?

21. Having combined the five elements, I found one offspring; now I ask the *Pandit*, whether life or the word be the greater.

22. Of the five elements, the body was formed: when the body was formed what was done? subservient to action, it is called life, but by action life is destroyed.

23. The offspring of the five elements is called *Man*; if one element be withdrawn, the whole compound is destroyed.

24. With the five elements is the abode of a great mystery; when the body is decomposed, has any one found it? the word of the teacher is the guide.

25. Colour proceeds from colour, yet behold all are but one: of what colour then is life? think well of this.

26. Life is wakefulness: the word is like *Borax*, white: who has seen the yellow drop, saith *Kabir*, that has turned the water of that colour?

27. There is a mirror in the heart; but the face is not visible in it: then only will the face be reflected there, when doubleness of heart shall disappear.

28. The dwelling of *Kabir* is on the peak of a mountain, and a narrow path leads to it, an ant cannot put its foot upon it, but the pious man may drive up an ox.

29. The blind man talks of a district, which he has not seen; they are possessed of a salt pit, and offer camphor for sale.

30. The road that *SANAKA* and his brethren, that *BRAHMĀ*, *VIŠNŪ*, and *MAHEŚA* have travelled, is still traversed by mankind: what advice can I bestow?

31. The plough ascends the hill; the horse stops in the village: the bee seeks for honey, where there are no flowers: declare the name of the plant.

32. Sandal! restrain thy fragrance: on thy account, the wood is cut down; the living slay the living, and regard only the dead.

33. The sandal (the soul) is guarded by serpents (passion); what can it effect? every hair is impregnated with venom; where shall Ambrosia enter?

34. The seizer (death) lets not go his hold; though his tongue and beak be scorched: where it deems a dainty, the *Chakor* devours the burning coals.

35. The *Chakor* (hill partridge) in its passion for the moon, digests the burning coal, *KABIR* declares it does not burn him, such is the fervour of his affection.

36. The village is on the top of a mountain, and so is the abode of the stout man. Choose, *Kabir*, one for your protector, who can really give you an asylum.

37. The crowd has taken the road travelled by the *Pandit*: *Kabir* has ascended the steep defile, where lies the abode of *RĀM*.

38. What, ho! *Kabir*, descend, together with your car and provender; your provender will fail, your feet will grow weary, and your life will be in the hands of another.

39. From the contest of swinging and being swung no one

has escaped. GORAKH (the founder of the *Jogis*) was stopped at the city of time; who shall be called exempt?

40. GORAKH, enamoured as he was of RĀMA, is dead; his body was not burnt: (the *Jogis* bury the dead,) the flesh has decayed, and is turned to clay, and such rank as the *Kauravas* enjoy does he obtain (bodily annihilation).

41. The young camel flying from the wood has fallen into the stream; how shall the animal proclaim its misfortune, who shall learn it?

42. After a search of many days an empty shrine is raised: the camel's calf has strayed into a pit, and repents its heedlessness, when assistance is far off.

43. KABIR (mankind) hat not escaped error, he is seized in various forms: without knowledge of its lord the heart will be but ashes.

44. Although not subject to fine, a heavy fine has been imposed upon the world: it has proved unprofitable: avarice has disposed of it; the juice of the cane yields both clayed and candied sugar.

45. In the confines of the *Malaya* Mountain (where Sandal grows) the *Palās* (Butea) tree acquires fragrance; were the *Bamboo* to grow there for ages, it would never gain perfume.

46. In the Woods of the *Malaya* Mountain grow trees of every kind, they may be called Sandal, but they yield not the Sandal of *Malaya*.

47. Walking, walking still, the feet are weary; the city is yet far off, a tent is erected by the road side; say, who is to blame?

48. The end of the journey is sunset, but night comes on mid-way: it is from the embrace of many lovers that the wanton is barren.

49. *Man* (the pride of intellect) enquires, when may I be allowed to go? the heart asks, when shall I go? the village (truth) that I have been these six months in quest of (investigating the six *Darśanas*, or systems), is not half a mile remote.

50. He has left his dwelling as an Ascetic, and goes to the thickets to practice penance: tired of the *Pān*-box, he beats the betel-vender, and cuts split pease.

51. When a man (intending, however, here a *Jogi*) becomes acquainted with the name of RĀM, his body becomes a mere skeleton; his eyes taste no repose; his limbs retain no flesh.

52. He who sows RĀM, never puts forth the buds of wrath: he attaches no value to the valueless; he knows neither pleasure nor pain.

53. The cut mango will not blossom, the slit ear cannot be reunited; whose loss is it, if they apply not the philosopher's stone, that GORAKH had?

54. They have not regarded good advice, but have determined for themselves. *Kabir* says and cries aloud, the world has passed away like a dream.

55. When fire (evil) burns amidst the ocean (the world), no one sees the smoke: he is conscious of the fire who lighted it, and he who perishes in the flame.

56. The incendiary orders the fire to be kindled, and he who lights it singes his wings: he expiates his own act: the thatch escapes, but the house is burned.

57. When fire (truth) burns in the ocean (the mind), as it burns, it clears away the rubbish (worldly care). *Pañdits* from the east and from the west have died in the discussion.

58. When fire blazes in the ocean, the thatch of the house falls to pieces. Mankind weep as they resign their breath, and the inestimable jewel is lost.

59. That a drop falls into the ocean, all can perceive; but that the drop and the ocean are but one, few can comprehend.

60. The poison still remains in the soil, although the latter has been a hundred times sprinkled with ambrosia—man quits not the evil practices to which he has been long addicted.

61. The bellows is applied to the damp wood, which calls aloud with pain: if again it is caught in the blacksmith's forge, it will be burned the second time.

62. The soul that pines in absence, vainly flies to medicaments for relief; sigh follows sigh; it faints repeatedly and recovers, to exist, restless and distressed.

63. The separated (spirit) is like the moist fuel which smokes and blazes by fits: then only will it be exempted from pain, when all is utterly consumed.

64. An invitation has been issued in metre, and no one has understood the stanza; fortunate is the scholar who comprehends the word.

65. Take the true word of *Kabir* to your heart; the mind has received, but not understood it, although it has been divulged throughout the four ages.

66. If you are a true dealer, open the market of veracity; keep clean your inward man, and repel oppression to a distance.

67. The house is of wood, fire is all around it; the *Pandit* with his learning is burnt: the prudent man makes his escape.

68. Drops fall from heaven on the verdure of *Śrāvāṇi*: all the world are *Vaiṣṇāvas*, no one listens to the teacher.

69. The bather dives nor comes up again; I think within myself, should sleep surprise him in the stream of fascination, what will befall him?

70. The *Sakhi* (text) is uttered, but not obeyed; the road is pointed out, but not followed: the stream of fascination sweeps him away; he finds no place to put his feet.

71. Many there are that talk, but few that take care to be found: let him pass on without regard, who practices not what he professes.

72. One by one, let each be considered, and adhered to, so shall error be stopped: he who is double-faced like a drum, shall be slapped (like a drum) on both cheeks.

73. He who has no check upon his tongue, has no truth in his heart; keep him not company: he will kill you on the high way.

74. Life has been destroyed by the repeated falsehoods of the tongue; it has strayed on the path of pride, and been whirled in the swing of time.

75. Put a check upon the tongue; speak not much; associate with the wise; investigate the words of the teacher.

76. The body is wounded by a spear, the head is broken off, and left in the flesh; it cannot be extracted without the load-stone: a thousand other stones are of no avail.

77. At first the ascent is difficult, but afterwards the way is easy; the beauty is behind the curtain, far from the pregnant woman.

78. Worldly existence is the season for reflecting what is the *Yoga*: the season is passing away; think ye, who have understanding.

79. Doubt has overcome the world, and no one has triumphed over doubt: he will refute doubt, who has investigated the word.

80. The eyes see dimly from incessant babbling, *KABIR* cries aloud, and says, understand the word that is spoken.

81. Life is the philosopher's stone, the world is of iron: *Pārsi* (*Māyā*) comes from *Pāras* (God), the mintage is of the former.

82. Affection is the garment in which man dresses for the dance: consign yourself hand and foot to him, whose body and soul are truth.

83. In the concavity of the mirror the image is formed: the dog seeing his likeness barks at it till he dies.

84. But as a man viewing his reflexion in a mirror, knows that it and the original are but one, so should he know that *this* element, is but *that* element, and that thus the world proceeds.

85. *KABIR* cries aloud to his fellows: ascend the sandal ridge; whether there be a road prepared or not; what matters it to me?

86. Truth, provided there be truth in the heart, is the best of all; there can be no happiness without truth, let man do as he will.

87. Let truth be your rate of interest, and fix it in your heart; a real diamond should be purchased, the mock gem is waste of capital.

88. Truth is the best of all, if it be known for truth—when truth combines with truth, then a real union is effected.

89. No act of devotion can equal truth; no crime is so heinous as falsehood; in the heart where truth abides, there is my abode.

90. The net of error catches the heron; the simpleton falls into the snare: *KABIR* declares, that *he* will escape the toils, who has discrimination in his heart.

91. Like the harlot companion of the minstrel is life (*Jiv*), associated with intellect (*man*), at his command, she dances various steps, and is never separated from him.

92. This pride of intellect is manifold; now a swindler, now

a thief; now a liar, now a murderer; men, sages, gods, have run after it in vain; its mansion has a hundred gates.

93. The snake of separation has attached itself to the body, and darted its fangs into the heart: into the body of the *Sādh* it finds no admission: prepare yourself for what may happen.

94. How is it possible to reach the city when the guide cannot point out the road? when the boat is crazy, how shall the passengers get clear of the *Ghāt*?

95. When the master is blind, what is to become of the scholar? when the blind leads the blind, both will fall into the well.

96. Yet the master is helpless when the scholar is unapt: it is blowing through a *bambu*, to teach wisdom to the dull.

97. The instruction of the foolish is waste of knowledge; a *maund* of soap cannot wash charcoal white.

98. The tree bears not fruit for itself, nor for itself does the stream collect its waters: for the benefit of others alone does the sage assume a bodily shape.

99. I have wept for mankind, but no one has wept with me; he will join in my tears, who comprehends the word.

100. All have exclaimed, master, master, but to me this doubt arises: how can they sit down with the master, whom they do not know?

The preceding will serve as exemplifications of the compositions of this school: they are necessarily unsatisfactory, as amongst some hundreds of similar passages the business of selection, when confined to the few admissible in this place, is unavoidably perplexing and incomplete: they are, however, sufficient for the present purpose, as the perusal of the entire work from which they have been selected would not convey any more positive notions of the doctrines of *Kabir*: these we shall now proceed to state according to the authority of the *Sukh Nidhān*.

The *Sukh Nidhān* is supposed to be addressed by

Kabir himself to *Dharmadās*, his chief pupil, and a follower of *Rāmānand*'s doctrines; it is said to be the work of ŚRUTGOPĀL, the first of *KABIR*'s disciples.

From this authority it appears, that, although the *Kabir Panthis* have withdrawn, in such a very essential point as worship, from the Hindu communion, they still preserve abundant vestiges of their primitive source; and that their notions are in substance the same as those of the Paurāṇic sects, especially of the Vaishṇava division. They admit of but one God, the creator of the world, and in opposition to the *Vedānta* notions of the absence of every quality and form, they assert that he has a body formed of the five elements of matter, and that he has mind endowed with the three *Guṇas*, or qualities of being; of course of ineffable purity and irresistible power: he is free from the defects of human natures, and can assume what particular shape he will: in all other respects he does not differ from man, and the *pure* man, the *Sādh* of the *Kabir* sect, is his living resemblance, and after death is his associate and equal; he is eternal, without end or beginning, as in fact is the elementary matter of which he consists, and of which all things are made residing in him before they took their present form, as the parts of the tree abide in the seed, or flesh, blood and bone may be considered to be present in the seminal fluid: from the latter circumstance, and the identity of their essential nature, proceeds the doctrine, that God and man are not only the same, but that they are both in the same manner every

thing that lives and moves and has its being. Other sects have adopted these phrases literally, but the followers of *Kabir* do not mean by them to deny the individuality of being, and only intend these texts as assertions of all nature originally participating in common elementary principles.

The *Paramapurusha* was alone for seventy-two ages, for after the *Paurāṇiks* the *Kabir Panthis* maintain successive and endless creations: he then felt a desire to renew the world, which desire became manifest in a female form¹, being the *Māyā*, from whom all the mistaken notions current amongst mankind originate: with this female the *Ādi Bhavāni Prakṛiti* or *Śakti*, the *Parama Purusha*, or first male, cohabits, and begets the Hindu triad, *Brahmā*, *Vishṇu* and *Śiva*: he then disappears, and the lady makes advances to her own sons: to their questions of her origin and character, she tells them, she was the bride of the first great invisible being, without shape and void, and whom she describes agreeably to the *Vedānta* notions; that she is now at liberty, and being of the same nature as themselves, is a fit associate for them: the deities hesitate, and *Vishṇu* especially, putting some rather puzzling queries to *Māyā*, secured the respect of the *Kabir Panthis*, and excited the wrath

¹ These notions are common to the whole Hindu system—diversified according to the favorite object of worship, but essentially the same in all sects; we shall have occasion to discuss them more fully under the division *Śāktas*, or worshippers of *ŚAKTI*.

of the goddess: she appears as *Mahā Māyā*, or *Durgā*, and frightens her sons into a forgetfulness of their real character, assent to her doctrines, and compliance with her desires: the result of this is the birth of *Saraswati*, *Lakshmi* and *Umā*, whom she weds to the three deities, and then establishing herself at *Jwāla-mukhi*, leaves the three wedded pairs to frame the universe, and give currency to the different errors of practice and belief which they have learnt from her.

It is to the falsehood of *Māyā* and her criminal conduct that the *Kabir Panthis* perpetually allude in their works, and in consequence of the deities pinning their faith upon her sleeve, that they refuse them any sort of reverential homage: the essence of all religion is to know *Kabir* in his real form, a knowledge which those deities and their worshippers, as well as the followers of Mohammed, are all equally strange to, although the object of their religion, and of all religions, is the same.

Life is the same in all beings, and when free from the vices and defects of humanity, assumes any material form it pleases: as long as it is ignorant of its source and parent, however, it is doomed to transmigration through various forms, and amongst others we have a new class of them, for it animates the planetary bodies, undergoing a fresh transfer, it is supposed, whenever a star or meteor falls: as to heaven and hell, they are the inventions of *Māyā*, and are therefore both imaginary, except that the *Swarga* of the Hindus, and *Bihisht* of the Musalmans, imply

worldly luxury and sensual enjoyment, whilst the *Narak* and *Jehannam* are those cares and pains which make a hell upon earth.

The moral code of the *Kabir Panthis* is short, but if observed faithfully is of a rather favourable tendency. Life is the gift of God, and must not therefore be violated by his creatures; *Humanity* is, consequently, a cardinal virtue, and the shedding of blood, whether of man or animal, a heinous crime. *Truth* is the other great principle of their code, as all the ills of the world, and ignorance of God, are attributable to original falsehood. *Retirement* from the world is desirable, because the passions and desires, the hopes and fears which the social state engenders, are all hostile to tranquillity and purity of spirit, and prevent that undisturbed meditation on man and God which is necessary to their comprehension. The last great point is the usual sum and substance of every sect amongst the Hindus¹, implicit devotion in word, act, and thought to the *Guru*, or spiritual guide: in this, however, the characteristic spirit of the *Kabir Panthis* appears, and the pupil is enjoined to scrutinize his teacher's doctrines and acts, to be first satisfied that he is the sage he pretends to be, before he resigns

¹ The *Dhāgavat* declares the Deity and *Guru* to be the same:

आचार्यं मां विज्ञानीयान्नावमन्येत कर्हिचित् ।

न मर्त्यबुद्ध्यासूयेत सर्वदेवमयो गुरुः ॥

Nābhāsi declares the Deity, *Guru*, worshipper, and worship, to be four names and one substance:

भक्तिभक्तभगवन्तगुरु चतुर्नाम वपु एक ॥

himself to his control. This sect, indeed, is remarkably liberal in this respect, and the most frequently recurring texts of *Kabir* are those which enforce an attentive examination of the doctrine, that he offers to his disciples. The chief of each community has absolute authority over his dependents: the only punishments he can award, however, are moral, not physical—irregular conduct is visited by reproof and admonition: if the offender does not reform, the *Guru* refuses to receive his salutation; if still incurable, the only further infliction is expulsion from the fraternity.

The doctrine of outward conformity, and the absence of visible objects of worship have prevented this sect from spreading very generally throughout India: it is, however, very widely diffused, and, as I have observed, has given rise to many others, that have borrowed its phraseology, and caught a considerable portion of its spirit: the sect itself is split into a variety of subdivisions, and there are no fewer than twelve branches of it traced up to the founder, between which a difference of opinion as well as descent prevails: the founders of these twelve branches, and the position of their descendants, are the following:—

1. ŚRUTGOPĀL DĀS, the author of the *Sukh Nidhān*: his successors preside over the *Chaura* at Benares, the *Samādhi* at *Magar*, an establishment at *Jagannāth*, and one at *Dwārakā*.

2. *Bhago Dās*, the author of the *Bijak*: his successors reside at *Dhanauti*.

3. *Nārāyaṇ Dās*, and

4. *Churáman Dás*; these two were the sons of DHARMA DÁS, a merchant of the *Kasaundhya* tribe, of the *Śrī Vaishṇava* sect, and one of *Kabir's* first and most important converts; his residence was at *Bandho* near *Jabbalpur*, where the *Maths* of his posterity long remained: the *Mahants* were family men, thence termed *Vanś Gurus*: the line of NÁRÁYAṆ DÁS is extinct, and the present successor of *Churáman*, being the son of a concubine, is not acknowledged as a *Mahant* by all the other branches.

5. *Jaggo Dás*; the Gaddi or Pillow at Cuttack.

6. *Jivan Dás*, the founder of the *Satnámi* sect, to whom we shall again have occasion to advert.

7. *Kamál*.—Bombay: the followers of this teacher practice the *Yoga*. *Kamál* himself is said to have been the son of *Kabir*, but the only authority for this is a popular and proverbial phrase¹.

8. *Ták Sáll*.—Baroda.

9. *Jnánt*.—Majjhni near Saháśram.

10. *Sáheb Dás*.—Cuttack: his followers have also some distinct notions, and form a sect called *Múla Panthís*.

11. *Nityámand*.

12. *Kamál Náđ*: these two settled somewhere in the Dekhan, but my informant could not tell me exactly where. There are also some popular, and per-

¹ डूवा वंश कबीर का जो उग्रा पुत कमाल ॥ "The Race of *Kabir* became extinct when his son *KAMÁL* was born," *KAMÁL* adopting, on principle, a life of celibacy, or being a person of worldly appetites.—*Roebuck's Proverbs*, II, 1, 656.

haps local, distinctions of the sect, as *Hansa Kabirís*, *Dána Kabirís*, and *Mangrela Kabirís*, but in what respect, except appellation, they differ from the rest has not been ascertained.

Of these establishments the *Kabir Chaura*, at Benares, is pre-eminent in dignity, and it is constantly visited by wandering members of the sect, as well as by those of other kindred heresies: its Mahant receives and feeds these visitors whilst they stay, although the establishment has little to depend upon, except the occasional donations of its lay friends and followers. BALVANT SINH, and his successor, CHEIT SINH, were great patrons of it, and the latter granted to the *Chaura* a fixed monthly allowance. CHEIT SINH also attempted to form some estimate of the numbers of the sect, and if we may credit the result, they must be very considerable indeed, as at a grand meeting, or *Melá*, which he instituted near Benares, no fewer than 35,000 *Kabir Panthís* of the Monastic and Mendicant class are said to have been collected. There is no doubt that the *Kabir Panthís*, both clerical and lay, are very numerous in all the provinces of upper and central India, except, perhaps, in Bengal itself: the quaker-like spirit of the sect, their abhorrence of all violence, their regard for truth, and the inobtrusiveness of their opinions, render them very inoffensive members of the state: their mendicants also never solicit alms, and in this capacity even they are less obnoxious than the many religious vagrants, whom the rank soil of Hindu superstition and the ener-

vating operation of an Indian climate so plentifully engender.

KHÁKIS.

This division of the *Vaishnavas* is generally derived, though not immediately, from RÁMÁNAND, and is undoubtedly connected in its polity, and practice, with his peculiar followers. The reputed founder is KÍL, the disciple of KRISHNADÁS, whom some accounts make the disciple of ÁŚÁNAND, the disciple of RÁMÁNAND, but the history of the *Kháki* sect is not well known, and it seems to be of modern origin, as no notice of it occurs in the *Bhakta Málá*, or in any other work that has been consulted: the sectaries, though believed to be rather numerous, appear to be either confined to a few particular districts, or to lead wholly an erratic life, in which latter character they are confounded with the class of *Vairágis*: as no written accounts have been procured, and the opportunities of obtaining oral information have been rare and imperfect, a very brief notice of this sect is all that can here be offered.

The *Khákis*, as the name implies, are distinguished from the other *Vaishnavas*, by the application of clay and ashes to their dress or persons: those who reside in fixed establishments generally dress like other *Vaishnavas*, but those who lead a wandering life go either naked or nearly so, smearing their bodies with the pale grey mixture of ashes and earth, and making, in this state, an appearance very incompatible with

the mild and decent character of the *Vaishnava* sects: the *Khákis* also frequently wear the *Jatá*, or braided hair, after the fashion of the votaries of *Siva*, and, in fact, it appears that this sect affords one of the many instances of the imitative spirit common amongst the Hindu polytheists, and has adopted, from the *Saivas*, some of their characteristic practices, blending them with the preferential adoration of *Vishnu*, as *Raghunáth* or *Ráma*: the *Khákis* also worship *Siva*, and pay particular veneration to *HANUMÁN*.

Many *Khákis* are established about *Furúkhábád*, but their principal seat on this side of India is at *Hanumán Garh*, near *Ayodhyá*, in *Oude*: the *Samádhi* or spiritual throne of the founder, is said to be at *Jaypur*: the term *Samádhi* applied to it, however, would seem to indicate their adopting a like practice with the *Jogis*, that of burying their dead, as the word is more generally used to express a tomb or mausoleum¹.

¹ The little information given in the text, was obtained from the Superior of a small, but neat establishment on the bank of the river, above *Visránta Ghát*, at *Furúkhábád*. The *Ghát* and *Máth* had been recently erected by a merchant of *Lucknow*: the tenants, three or four in number, were a deputation from *Ayodhyá*, in *Oude*, and were but little acquainted with their own peculiarities, although not reluctant to communicate what they knew; other *Khákis* encountered here were *Nāgas* and *Brahmacháris*, with whom no satisfactory communication was attainable; there were other establishments, but time did not permit their being visited.

MALÚK DÁSÍS.

The *Malúk Dásís* form another subdivision of the *Rámánandi Vaishnavas*, of comparatively uncertain origin and limited importance: they are generally traced from *Rámánand* in this manner: 1. *Rámánand*, 2. *Áśánand*, 3. *Krishná Dás*, 4. *Kil*, 5. *Malúk Dás*; making the last, consequently, contemporary with the author of the *Bhakta Málá*, and placing him in the reign of *AKBAR*, or about 250 years ago.

We had occasion, in the notice taken of *NÁBHÁJI*, to shew that the spiritual genealogy now enumerated could scarcely be correct, for as *RÁMÁNAND* must have flourished prior to the year 1400, we have but three generations between him and the date even of *AKBAR*'s succession 1555, or a century and a half: it was then mentioned, however, that according to the *Bhakta Málá*, *KRISHNÁ DÁS* was not the pupil of *ÁŚÁNAND*, and consequently the date of succession was not necessarily uninterrupted: we might therefore place *MALÚK DÁS*, where there is reason to place *NÁBHÁJI*, about the end of *AKBAR*'s reign, as far as this genealogy is to be depended upon, but there is reason to question even its accuracy, and to bring down *MALÚK DÁS* to a comparatively recent period: the uniform belief of his followers is indeed sufficient testimony on this head, and they are invariably agreed in making him contemporary with *AURENGZEB*.

The modifications of the *Vaishnava* doctrines introduced by *MALÚK DÁS*, appear to have been little more

than the name of the teacher, and a shorter streak of red upon the forehead: in one respect indeed there is an important distinction between these and the *Rámánandi* ascetics, and the teachers of the *Malúk Dásís* appear to be of the secular order, *Grihasthas*, or house-holders, whilst the others are all cœnobites: the doctrines, however, are essentially the same: *VISHNÚ*, as *RÁMA*, is the object of their practical adoration, and their principles partake of the spirit of quietism, which pervades these sects: their chief authority is the *Bhagavad Gítá*, and they read some small Sanskrit tracts, containing the praise of *Ráma*: they have also some Hindi *Sákhis*, and *Vishnú Padas* attributed to their founder, as also a work in the same language, entitled the *Dasratan*: the followers of this sect are said to be numerous in particular districts, especially amongst the trading and servile classes, to the former of which the founder belonged¹.

The principal establishment of the *Malúk Dásís* is at *Kara Manikpur*, the birth-place of the founder, and still occupied by his descendants²; the present *Mahant*

¹ A verse attributed to *MALÚK DÁS* is so generally current, as to have become proverbial, it is unnecessary to point out its resemblance to Christian texts:

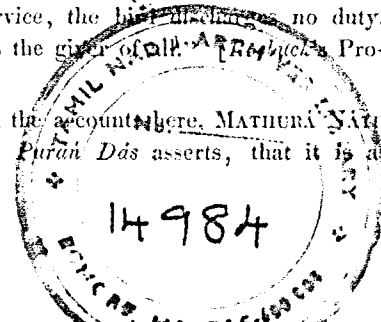
अजगर करे न चाकरी पंकी करे न काम ।

दास मलूका यो कहै सब का दाता राम ॥

"The snake performs no service, the king performs no duty. *MALÚK DÁS* declares, *RÁM* is the giver of all." *Proverbs*, II, 1, 36.]

² There is some variety in the accounts where, *MATHURÁ* *SÁHÍ* says, the Tomb is at *Kara*; *Purán Dás* asserts, that it is at

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is the eighth in descent from him: the series is thus enumerated:

1. MALÚK DÁS. 2. RÁMSANÁHI. 3. KRISHNÁSNÁHI.
4. THÁKUR DÁS. 5. GOPÁL DÁS. 6. KUNJ BEHÁRI.
7. RÁMSÁHÚ. 8. SEOPRASÁD DÁS. 9. GANGÁ PRASÁD DÁS, the present *Mahant*.

The *Math* at *Kara* is situated near the river, and comprises the dwellings of the *Mahant*, and at the time it was visited, of fifteen resident *Chelás*, or disciples, accommodations for numerous religious mendicants who come hither in pilgrimage, and a temple dedicated to *Rámachandra*: the *Gaddi*, or pillow of the sect, is here, and the actual pillow originally used by MALÚK DÁS is said to be still preserved. Besides this establishment, there are six other *Maths* belonging to this sect, at *Alláhábád*, *Benares*, *Brindávan*, *Ayódhyá*, *Lucknow*, which is modern, having been founded by *Gomati Dás*, under the patronage of *Asef ad Daula*, and *Jagannáth*, which last is of great repute as rendered sacred by the death of MALÚK DÁS.

Jagannáth, and the birth-place at *Kara*—he has been at both: the establishment at *Jagannáth* is of great repute; it is near to a *Math* of KABIR PANTHÍS, and all ascetics who go to this place of pilgrimage consider it essential to receive the *Malúk Dás ká Tukrá*, from the one, and *Kabir ká Tarañi*, from the other, or a piece of bread and spoonful of sour rice water. This and most of the other particulars were procured for me from the present *Mahant* by a young officer, Lieut. WILTON, stationed for a short time at *Kara*.

DÁDÚ PANTHÍS.

This class is one of the indirect ramifications of the *Rámánandi* stock, and is always included amongst the *Vaishnáva* schisms: its founder is said to have been a pupil of one of the *Kabir Panthi* teachers, and to be the fifth in descent from RÁMÁNAND, according to the following genealogy:—

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1. <i>Kabir</i> . | 4. <i>Vimal</i> . |
| 2. <i>Kamál</i> . | 5. <i>Buddhan</i> . |
| 3. <i>Jamál</i> . | 6. <i>Dádú</i> . |

The worship is addressed to *Ráma*, but it is restricted to the *Japa*, or repetition of his name, and the *Ráma* intended is the deity, as negatively described in the *Vedánta* theology: temples and images are prohibited.

Dádú was a cotton cleaner by profession: he was born at *Ahmedábád*, but in his twelfth year removed to *Sambhur*, in *Ajmír*: he thence travelled to *Kalyánpur*, and next removed to *Naraina*, in his thirty-seventh year, a place four cos from *Sambhur*, and twenty from *Jaypur*. When here, he was admonished, by a voice from heaven, to addict himself to a religious life, and he accordingly retired to *Baheraña* mountain, five cos from *Naraina*, where, after some time, he disappeared, and no traces of him could be found. His followers believe he was absorbed into the deity. If the list of his religious descent be accurate, he flourished about the year 1600, at the end of *Akbar's* reign, or in the beginning of that of *Jehángir*. The followers of *Dádú* wear no peculiar frontal mark

nor *Málá*, but carry a rosary, and are further distinguished by a peculiar sort of cap, a round white cap, according to some, but according to others, one with four corners, and a flap hanging down behind; which it is essential that each man should manufacture for himself.

The *Dádú Panthis* are of three classes: the *Viraktas*, who are religious characters, who go bare-headed, and have but one garment and one water-pot. The *Nāgas*, who carry arms, which they are willing to exercise for hire, and, amongst the Hindu princes, they have been considered as good soldiers. The third class is that of the *Vistar Dháris*, who follow the occupations of ordinary life. A further sub-division exists in this sect, and the chief branches again form fifty-two divisions, or *Thambas*, the peculiarities of which have not been ascertained. The *Dádú Panthis* burn their dead at dawn, but their religious members not unfrequently enjoin, that their bodies, after death, shall be thrown into some field, or some wilderness, to be devoured by the beasts and birds of prey, as they say that in a funeral pile insect life is apt to be destroyed.

The *Dádú Panthis* are said to be very numerous in *Márwár* and *Ajmír*: of the *Nāga* class alone the *Rájá* of *Jaypur* is reported to entertain as soldiers more than ten thousand: the chief place of worship is at *Naraina*, where the bed of *Dádú*, and the collection of the texts of the sect are preserved and worshipped: a small building on the hill marks the place of his

disappearance—a *Melá*, or fair, is held annually, from the day of new moon to that of full moon in Phalgun (Febr.-March) at *Naraina*. The tenets of the sect are contained in several *Bháshá* works, in which it is said a vast number of passages from the *Kabír* writings are inserted, and the general character of which is certainly of a similar nature¹. The *Dádú Panthis* maintain a friendly intercourse with the followers of *Kabír*, and are frequent visitors at the *Chaura*.

[To supply the deficiency alluded to in the note, we reprint from the 6th volume of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal pp. 484-87, and 750-56, the translation, by Captain G. R. Siddons, of two chapters from one of the granths or manuals of the *Dádúpanthis*. The translator gives (p. 750) the following particulars respecting his visit to one of their *Maths*:

"When not interested in the subject, I chanced to visit one of the *Dádúpanthi* institutions at a village near Sambhur, and was particularly struck by the contented and severe countenances of the sectaries. There were a Principal and several Professors, which gave the place the appearance of a College. The former occupied a room at the top of the building, and seemed quite absorbed in meditation.—The sect is maintained by the admission to it of proselytes, and marriage is, I believe, forbidden; as also the growing any hair about the face, which gives to the priests the appearance of old women."

¹ I had prepared a list of the contents of one of their manuals, and a translation of a few passages, but the Manuscript has been mislaid. The work was lent me for a short time by one of the sect, who would on no account part with it. The above notice was taken partly from a statement in Hindi, procured at *Naraina* by Lieut. Col. SMITH, and partly from verbal information obtained at Benares. *Dádú* is not mentioned in the *Bhakta Málá*, but there is some account of him in the *Dabistán*. [Engl. translation, II, p. 233.]

The Chapter on Faith,—विश्वास का चक्र.

1. Whatever RĀM willeth, that, without the least difficulty, shall be; why, therefore, do ye kill yourselves with grief, when grief can avail you nothing?
2. Whatsoever hath been made, God made. Whatsoever is to be made, God will make. Whatsoever is, God maketh,—then why do any of ye afflict yourselves?
3. DĀDŪ sayeth, Thou, oh God! art the author of all things which have been made, and from thee will originate all things which are to be made. Thou art the maker, and the cause of all things made. There is none other but thee.
4. He is my God, who maketh all things perfect. Meditate upon him in whose hands are life and death.
5. He is my God, who created heaven, earth, hell, and the intermediate space; who is the beginning and end of all creation; and who provideth for all.
6. I believe that God made man, and that he maketh every thing. He is my friend.
7. Let faith in God characterize all your thoughts, words, and actions. He who serveth God, places confidence in nothing else.
8. If the remembrance of God be in your hearts, ye will be able to accomplish things which are impracticable. But those who seek the paths of God are few!
9. He who understandeth how to render his calling sinless, shall be happy in that calling, provided he be with God.
10. If he that perfecteth mankind occupy a place in your hearts, you will experience his happiness inwardly. RĀM is in every thing; RĀM is eternal.
11. Oh foolish one! God is not far from you. He is near you. You are ignorant, but he knoweth every thing, and is careful in bestowing.
12. Consideration and power belong to God, who is omniscient. Strive to preserve God, and give heed to nothing else.
13. Care can avail nothing; it devoureth life: for those things shall happen which God shall direct.
14. He who causeth the production of all living things, giveth

to their mouths milk, whilst yet in the stomach. They are placed amidst the fires of the belly: nevertheless they remain unscorched.

15. Oh, forget not, my brother, that God's power is always with you. There is a formidable pass within you, and crowds of evil passions flock to it: therefore comprehend God.

16. Commend the qualities which God possesseth. He gave you eyes, speech, head, feet, mouth, ears, and hands. He is the lord of life and of the world.

17. Ye forget God, who was indefatigable in forming every thing, and who keepeth every thing in order; ye destroy his doctrines. Remember God, for he endued your body with life: remember that beloved one, who placed you in the womb, reared and nourished you.

18. Preserve God in your hearts, and put faith into your minds, so that by God's power your expectations may be realized.

19. He taketh food and employment, and distributeth them. God is near; he is always with me.

20. In order that he may diffuse happiness, God becometh subservient to all; and although the knowledge of this is in the hearts of the foolish, yet will they not praise his name.

21. Although the people every where stretch out their hands to God; although his power is so extensive, yet is he sometimes subservient to all.

22. Oh God, thou art as it were exceeding riches; thy regulations are without compare, thou art the chief of every world, yet remainest invisible.

23. DĀDŪ sayeth, I will become the sacrifice of the Godhead; of him who supporteth every thing; of him who is able, in one moment, to rear every description of animal, from a worm even to an elephant.

24. Take such food and raiment as it may please God to provide you with. You require naught besides.

25. Those men who are contented, eat of the morsel which is from God. Oh disciple! why do you wish for other food, which resembles carrion?

26. He that partaketh of but one grain of the love of God, shall be released from the sinfulness of all his doubts and actions.

Who need cook, or who need grind? Wherever ye cast your eyes, ye may see provisions.

27. Meditate on the nature of your bodies, which resemble earthen vessels; and put every thing away from them, which is not allied to God.

28. DĀDÚ sayeth, I take for my spiritual food, the water and the leaf of RĀM. For the world I care not, but God's love is unfathomable.

29. Whatever is the will of God, will assuredly happen; therefore do not destroy yourselves by anxiety, but listen.

30. What hope can those have elsewhere, even if they wandered over the whole earth, who abandon God? oh foolish one! righteous men who have meditated on this subject, advise you to abandon all things but God, since all other things are affliction.

31. It will be impossible for you to profit any thing, if you are not with God, even if you were to wander from country to country; therefore, oh ignorant, abandon all other things, for they are affliction, and listen to the voice of the holy.

32. Accept with patience the offering of truth, believing it to be true; fix your heart on God, and be humble as though you were dead.

33. He who meditateth on the wisdom which is concealed, eateth his morsel and is without desires. The holy praise his name, who hath no illusion.

34. Have no desires, but accept what circumstances may bring before you; because whatever God pleaseth to direct, can never be wrong.

35. Have no desires, but eat in faith and with meditation whatever chances to fall in your way. Go not about, tearing from the tree, which is invisible.

36. Have no desires, but take the food which chances to fall in your way, believing it to be correct, because it cometh from God; as much as if it were a mouthful of atmosphere.

37. All things are exceeding sweet to those who love God; they would never style them bitter, even if filled with poison; on the contrary, they would accept them, as if they were ambrosia.

38. Adversity is good, if on account of God; but it is useless to pain the body. Without God, the comforts of wealth are unprofitable.

39. He that believeth not in the one God, hath an unsettled mind; he will be in sorrow, though in the possession of riches: but God is without price.

40. The mind which hath not faith, is fickle and unsettled, because, not being fixed by any certainty, it changeth from one thing to another.

41. Whatever is to be, will be: therefore long not for grief nor for joy, because by seeking the one, you may find the other. Forget not to praise God.

42. Whatever is to be, will be: therefore neither wish for heaven nor be apprehensive on account of hell. Whatever was ordained, is.

43. Whatever is to be, will be; and that which God hath ordained can neither be augmented nor decreased. Let your minds understand this.

44. Whatever is to be, will be; and nothing else can happen. Accept that which is proper for you to receive, but nothing else.

45. Whatever God ordereth, shall happen, so why do ye vex yourselves? Consider God as supreme over all; he is the sight for you to behold.

46. DĀDÚ sayeth, Do unto me, oh God! as thou thinkest best—I am obedient to thee. My disciples! behold no other God; go nowhere but to him.

47. I am satisfied of this, that your happiness will be in proportion to your devotion. The heart of DĀDÚ worshippeth God night and day.

48. Condemn nothing which the creator hath made. Those are his holy servants who are satisfied with them.

49. We are not creators—the Creator is a distinct being; he can make whatever he desireth, but we can make nothing.

50. KĀBĪRA left *Benares* and went to *Mughor* in search of God. RĀM met him without concealment, and his object was accomplished.

51. DĀDÚ sayeth, My earnings are God. He is my food and

my supporter; by his spiritual sustenance, have all my members been nourished.

52. The five elements of my existence are contented with one food: my mind is intoxicated; hunger leaveth him who worshippeth no other but God.

53. God is my clothing and my dwelling. He is my ruler, my body, and my soul.

54. God ever fostereth his creatures; even as a mother serves her offspring, and keepeth it from harm.

55. Oh God, thou who art the truth, grant me contentment, love, devotion, and faith. Thy servant DĀNÚ prayeth for true patience, and that he may be devoted to thee.

The Chapter on Meditation,—विचार का अङ्ग.

Reverence to thee, who art devoid of illusion, adoration of God, obedience to all saints, salutation to those who are pious. To God the first, and the last.

He that knoweth not delusion is my God.

1. DĀNÚ hath said, in water there exists air, and in air water; yet are these elements distinct. Meditate, therefore, on the mysterious affinity between God and the soul.

2. Even as ye see your countenance reflected in a mirror, or your shadow in the still water, so behold RĀM in your minds, because he is with all.

3. If ye look into a mirror, ye see yourselves as ye are, but he in whose mind there is no mirror cannot distinguish evil from good.

4. As the *tīl* plant contains oil, and the flower sweet odour, as butter is in milk, so is God in every thing.

5. He that formed the mind, made it as it were a temple for himself to dwell in; for God liveth in the mind, and none other but God.

6. Oh! my friend, recognize that being with whom thou art so intimately connected; think not that God is distant, but believe that like thy own shadow, He is ever near thee.

7. The stalk of the lotus cometh from out of water, and yet the lotus separates itself from the water! For why? Because it loves the moon better.

8. So let your meditations tend to one object, and believe that he who by nature is void of delusion, though not actually the mind, is in the mind of all.

9. To one that truly meditateth, there are millions, who, outwardly only, observe the forms of religion. The world indeed is filled with the latter, but of the former there are very few.

10. The heart which possesseth contentment wanteth for nothing, but that which hath it not, knoweth not what happiness meaneth.

11. If ye would be happy, cast off delusion. Delusion is an evil which ye know to be great, but have not fortitude to abandon.

12. Receive that which is perfect into your hearts, to the exclusion of all besides; abandon all things for the love of God, for this DĀNÚ declares is the true devotion.

13. Cast off pride, and become acquainted with that which is devoid of sin. Attach yourselves to RĀM, who is sinless, and suffer the thread of your meditations to be upon him.

14. All have it in their power to take away their own lives, but they cannot release their souls from punishment; for God alone is able to pardon the soul, though few deserve his mercy.

15. Listen to the admonitions of God, and you will care not for hunger nor for thirst; neither for heat, nor cold; ye will be absolved from the imperfections of the flesh.

16. Draw your mind forth, from within, and dedicate it to God; because if ye subdue the imperfections of your flesh, ye will think only of God.

17. If ye call upon God, ye will be able to subdue your imperfections and the evil inclinations of your mind will depart from you; but they will return to you again when ye cease to call upon him.

18. DĀNÚ loved RĀM incessantly; he partook of his spiritual essence and constantly examined the mirror which was within him.

19. He subdued the imperfections of the flesh, and overcame all evil inclinations; he crushed every improper desire, wherefore the light of RĀM will shine upon him.

20. He that giveth his body to the world, and rendereth up his soul to its Creator, shall be equally insensible to the sharpness of death; and the misery which is caused by pain.

21. Sit with humility at the foot of God, and rid yourselves of the impurities of your bodies. Be fearless and let no mortal qualities pervade you.

22. From the impurities of the body there is much to fear, because all sins enter into it; therefore let your dwelling be with the fearless and conduct yourselves towards the light of God.

23. For there neither sword nor poison have power to destroy, and sin cannot enter. Ye will live even as God liveth, and the fire of death will be guarded, as it were with water.

24. He that meditateth will naturally be happy, because he is wise and suffereth not the passions to spread over his mind. He loveth but one God.

25. The greatest wisdom is to prevent your minds from being influenced by bad passions, and, in meditating upon the one God. Afford help also to the poor stranger.

26. If ye are humble ye will be unknown, because it is vanity which impelleth us to boast of our own merits, and which causeth us to exult, in being spoken of by others. Meditate on the words of the holy, that the fever of your body may depart from you.

27. For when ye comprehend the words of the holy, ye will be disentangled from all impurities, and be absorbed in God. If ye flatter yourselves, you will never comprehend.

28. When ye have learned the wisdom of the invisible one from the mouth of his priests, ye will be disentangled from all impurities; turn ye round therefore, and examine yourselves well in the mirror which crowneth the lotus.

29. Meditate on that particular wisdom, which alone is able to increase in you the love and worship of God. Purify your minds, retaining only that which is excellent.

30. Meditate on him by whom all things were made. Pandits and Qázis are fools: of what avail are the heaps of books which they have compiled?

31. What does it avail to compile a heap of books? Let your minds freely meditate on the spirit of God, that they may be enlightened regarding the mystery of his divinity. Wear not away your lives, by studying the Vedas.

32. There is fire in water and water in fire, but the ignorant

know it not. He is wise that meditateth on God, the beginning and end of all things.

33. Pleasure cannot exist without pain, and pain is always accompanied with pleasure. Meditate on God, the beginning and end, and remember that hereafter there will be two rewards.

34. In sweet there is bitter, and in bitter there is sweet, although the ignorant know it not. DÁBÚ hath meditated on the qualities of God, the eternal.

35. Oh man! ponder well ere thou proceedest to act. Do nothing until thou hast thoroughly sifted thy intentions.

36. Reflect with deliberation on the nature of thy inclinations before thou allowest thyself to be guided by them; acquaint thyself thoroughly with the purity of thy wishes, so that thou mayest become absorbed in God.

37. He that reflecteth first, and afterwards proceedeth to act, is a great man, but he that first acteth, and then considereth is a fool whose countenance is as black as the face of the former is resplendent.

38. He that is guided by deliberation, will never experience sorrow or anxiety: on the contrary he will always be happy.

39. Oh ye who wander in the paths of delusion, turn your minds towards God, who is the beginning and end of all things; endeavour to gain him, nor hesitate to restore your soul, when required, to that abode from whence it emanated.]

RAI DÁSÍS.

RAI DÁS was another of RÁMÁNAND's disciples, who founded a sect, confined, however, it is said, to those of his own caste, the *Chamárs*, or workers in hides and in leather, and amongst the very lowest of the Hindu mixed tribes: this circumstance renders it difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain whether the sect still exists: the founder must once have enjoyed some celebrity, as some of his works are included in the *Adi*

Granth of the Sikhs; he is there named RAVI DÁSA, which is the Sanskrit form of his name: some of his compositions also form part of the collection of hymns and prayers used by that sect at Benares: there appears to be but little known of him of any authentic character, and we must be contented with the authority of the *Bhakta Málá*, where he makes a rather important figure: the legend is as follows:—

One of RÁMÁNAND'S pupils was a *Brahmachári*, whose daily duty it was to provide the offering presented to the deity: on one of these occasions, the offering consisted of grain, which the pupil had received as alms from a shop-keeper, who supplied chiefly the butchers with articles of food, and his donation was, consequently, impure: when RÁMÁNAND, in the course of his devotions, attempted to fix his mind upon the divinity, he found the task impracticable, and suspecting that some defect in the offering occasioned such an erratic imagination, he enquired whence it had been obtained: on being informed, he exclaimed, *Há Chamár*, and the *Brahmachári* soon afterwards dying was born again as RAI DÁS, the son of a worker in hides and leather.

The infant RAI DÁS retained the impression left upon his mind by his old master's anger, and refused to take any nourishment: the parents, in great affliction, applied to RÁMÁNAND, who, by order of the deity, visited the child, and recognising the person at once whispered into his ear the initiating *Mantra*: the effect was instantaneous: the child immediately accepted

the breast, and throve, and grew up a pious votary of RÁMA.

For some time the profits of his trade maintained RAI DÁS, and left him something to divide amongst the devout; but a season of scarcity supervening reduced him to great distress, when *Bhagaván*, in the semblance of a *Vaishnáva*, brought him a piece of the Philosopher's stone, and shewing him its virtue made him a present of it. RAI DÁS paid little regard to the donation, replying to the effect of the following *Pada*, as since versified by *Súr Dás*.

Pada. "A great treasure is the name of HARI to his people: it multiplieth day by day, nor doth expenditure diminish it: it abideth securely in the mansion, and neither by night nor by day can any thief steal it. The Lord is the wealth of *Súr Dás*, what need hath he of a stone?"

The miraculous stone was thrown aside, and when, thirteen months afterwards, *Vishnú* again visited his votary, he found no use had been made of it: as this expedient had failed, the deity scattered gold coin in places where RAI DÁS could not avoid finding it: the discovery of this treasure filled the poor Currier with alarm, to pacify which *Krishná* appeared to him in a dream, and desired him to apply the money either to his own use or that of the deity, and thus authorised, RAI DÁS erected a temple, of which he constituted himself the high priest, and acquired great celebrity in his new character.

The reputation of RAI DÁS was further extended by its attracting a persecution, purposely excited by

Vishnu to do honour to his worshipper, the deity well knowing that the enmity of the malignant is the most effective instrument for setting open to the world the retired glory of the pious: he therefore inspired the Brahmans to complain thus to the king.

Śloka (Sanskrit stanza). "Where things profane are revered, where sacred things are profanely administered, there three calamities will be felt, famine, death, and fear*."

A *Chamār*, oh king, ministers to the *Sālagrām*, and poisons the town with his *Prasād*¹; men and women, every one will become an outcast; banish him to preserve the honour of your people.

The king accordingly sent for the culprit, and ordered him to resign the sacred stone. RAI DÁS expressed his readiness to do so, and only requested the *Rājā*'s presence at his delivery of it to the *Brahmans*, as, he said, if after being given to them it should return to him, they would accuse him of stealing it. The *Rājā* assenting, the *Sālagrām* was brought, and placed on a cushion in the assembly. The Brahmans were desired to remove it, but attempted to take it away in vain: they repeated hymns and charms, and

* [अपूज्या यच्च पूज्यन्ते पूज्यपूजाव्यतिक्रमः ।
तच्च चीणिं प्रवर्तन्ते दुर्भिक्षं मरणं भयम् ॥

See Panchatantra III, 202.]

¹ The *Prasād* is any article of food that has been consecrated by previous presentation to an idol, after which it is distributed amongst the worshippers on the spot, or sent to persons of consequence at their own houses.

read the *Vedas*, but the stone was immoveable. RAI DÁS then addressed it with this *Pada*:—

Pada. "Lord of Lords, thou art my refuge, the root of Supreme happiness art thou, to whom there is none equal: behold me at thy feet: in various wombs have I abided, and from the fear of death have I not been delivered. I have been plunged in the deceits of sense, of passion, and illusion; but now let my trust in thy name dispel apprehension of the future, and teach me to place no reliance on what the world deems virtue. Accept, oh God, the devotions of thy slave RAI DÁS, and be thou glorified as the Purifier of the sinful."

The saint had scarcely finished, when the *Sālagrām* and cushion flew into his arms, and the king, satisfied of his holy pretensions, commanded the Brahmans to desist from their opposition. Amongst the disciples of RAI DÁS was JHÁLÍ, the *Rání* of Chitore: her adopting a *Chamār*, as her spiritual preceptor, excited a general commotion amongst the Brahmans of her state, and; alarmed for her personal safety, she wrote to RAI DÁS to request his counsel and aid. He repaired to her, and desired her to invite the Brahmans to a solemn feast: they accepted the invitation, and sat down to the meal provided for them, when between every two Brahmans there appeared a RAI DÁS. This miraculous multiplication of himself had the desired effect, and from being his enemies and revilers they became his disciples.

Such are the legends of the *Bhakta Málá*, and whatever we may think of their veracity, their tenor, representing an individual of the most abject class, an absolute outcast in Hindu estimation, as

a teacher and a saint, is not without interest and instruction.

SENÁ PANTHÍS.

SENÁ, the barber, was the third of *Rámánand's* disciples, who established a separate schism; the name of which, and of its founder, is possibly all that now remains of it. SENÁ and his descendants were, for sometime, however, the family-*Gurus* of the Rájás of *Bandhogarh*, and thence enjoyed considerable authority and reputation: the origin of this connexion is the subject of a ludicrous legend in the *Bhakta Málá*.

SENÁ, the barber of the Rájá of *Bandhogarh*, was a devout worshipper of VISHNÚ, and a constant frequenter of the meetings of the pious: on one of these occasions, he suffered the time to pass unheeded, when he ought to have been officiating in his tonsorial capacity, and VISHNÚ, who noticed the circumstance, and knew the cause, was alarmed for his votary's personal integrity. The god, therefore, charitably assumed the figure of SENÁ, and equipping himself suitably, waited on the Rájá, and performed the functions of the barber, much to the Rájá's satisfaction, and without detection, although the prince perceived an unusual fragrance about his barber's person, the ambrosial odour that indicated present deity, which he supposed to impregnate the oil used in lubricating his royal limbs. The pretended barber had scarcely departed, when the real one appeared, and stammered

out his excuses: his astonishment and the Rájá's were alike, but the discernment of the latter was more acute, for he immediately comprehended the whole business, fell at his barber's feet, and elected for his spiritual guide an individual so pre-eminently distinguished by the favour and protection of the deity.

RUDRA SAMPRADÁYÍS, or VALLABHÁCHÁRÍS.

The sects of *Vaishnavas* we have hitherto noticed are chiefly confined to professed ascetics, and to a few families originally from the south and west of India, or, as in the case of the *Rámávats* and *Kabir Panthis*, to such amongst the mass of society, as are of a bold and curious spirit; but the opulent and luxurious amongst the men, and by far the greater portion of the women, attach themselves to the worship of KRISHNA and his mistress RADHÁ, either singly, or conjointly, as in the case of VISHNÚ and LAKSHMÍ, amongst the *Rámánujas*, and SÍRÁ and RÁM, amongst the *Rámávats*. There is, however, another form, which is perhaps more popular still, although much interwoven with the others. This is the BÁLA GOPÁLA, the infant KRISHNA, the worship of whom is very widely diffused amongst all ranks of Indian society, and which originated with the founder of the *Rudra Sampradáyí* sect, VALLABHÁ ÁCHÁRYA; it is perhaps better known, however, from the title of its teachers, as the religion of the *Gokulastha Gosáins*.

The original teacher of the philosophical tenets of this sect is said to have been VISHNÚ SWÁMÍ, a com-

mentator on the texts of the *Vedas*, who, however, admitted disciples from the Brahmanical cast only, and considered the state of the *Sannyási*, or ascetic, as essential to the communication of his doctrines. He was succeeded by JNÁNA DEVA, who was followed by NÁMA DEVA and TRILOCHANA, and they, although whether immediately or not does not appear, by VALLABHA SWÁMÍ, the son of LAKSHMAÑA BHATÍ, a *Tai-linga* Brahman: this *Sannyási* taught early in the sixteenth century: he resided originally at *Gokul*, a village on the left bank of the Jamna, about three cos to the east of Mathurá: after remaining here sometime, he travelled through India as a pilgrim, and amongst other places he visited, according to the *Bhakta Málá*, the court of KRÍSHÑA DEVA, king of *Vijayanagar*, apparently the same as KRÍSHÑA RÁYALU, who reigned about the year 1520, where he overcame the *Smárta* Brahmans in a controversy, and was elected by the *Vaishnavas* as their chief, with the title of *Áchárj*: hence he travelled to *Ujayin*, and took up his abode under a *Pípal* tree, on the banks of the *Siprá*, said to be still in existence, and designated as his *Baithak*, or station. Besides this, we find traces of him in other places. There is a *Baithak* of his amongst the *Ghâts* of *Muttrá*, and about two miles from the fort of *Chanár* is a place called his well, *Áchárj kúán*, comprising a temple and *Math*, in the court yard of which is the well in question; the saint is said to have resided here sometime. After this peregrination VALLABHA returned to *Brindávan*, where, as a reward for

his fatigues and his faith, he was honoured by a visit from KRÍSHÑA in person, who enjoined him to introduce the worship of *Bálagopál*, or *Gopál Lál*, and founded the faith which at present exists in so flourishing a condition. VALLABHA is supposed to have closed his career in a miracle: he had finally settled at *Jethan Ber*, at Benares, near which a *Math* still subsists, but at length, having accomplished his mission, he is said to have entered the *Ganges* at *Hanumán Ghát*, when, stooping into the water, he disappeared: a brilliant flame arose from the spot, and, in the presence of a host of spectators, he ascended to heaven, and was lost in the firmament.

The worship of KRÍSHÑA as one with VISHÑU and the universe dates evidently from the *Mahábhárat*¹, and his more juvenile forms are brought pre-eminently to notice in the account of his infancy, contained in the *Bhágavat*², but neither of these works discriminates him from VISHÑU, nor do they recommend his infantine or adolescent state to particular veneration. At the same time some hints may have been derived from them for the institution of this division of the

¹ The well known passage in the *Bhagavad Gítá* [XI, 26-30.], in which ARJUNA sees the universe in the mouth of KRÍSHÑA, establishes this identity.

² Particularly in the tenth book, which is appropriated to the life of KRÍSHÑA. The same subject occupies a considerable portion of the *Hari Vans* section of the *Mahábhárat*, of the *Pátala* section of the *Padma Purána*, the fifth section of the *Vishnú Purána*, and the whole of the *Adi Upapurána*.

HINDU faith'. In claiming, however, supremacy for KRISHNA, the *Brahma Vaivarta Purāna* is most decided, and this work places KRISHNA in a heaven, and society exclusively his own, and derives from him all the objects of existence*.

According to this authority, the residence of KRISHNA is denominated *Goloka*; it is far above the three

¹ Thus in the *Vana Parva* of the *Mahābhārat* [v. 12895 ff.], MĀRKANDEYA MUNI, at the time of a minor destruction of the world, sees, "amidst the waters, an Indian Fig tree of vast size, on a principal branch of which was a bed ornamented with divine coverings, on which lay a child with a countenance like the moon." The saint, though acquainted with the past, present, and future, cannot recognise the child, who therefore appears of the hue, and with the symbols of KRISHNA, and desires the sage to rest within his substance from his weary wanderings over the submerged world.

In the *Bhāgavat* [X, 3, 9. 10.] it is stated, that when first born, VASEDEVA beheld the child of the hue of a cloud, with four arms, dressed in a yellow garb, and bearing the weapons, the jewels and the diadem of VISHNŪ:

तममृतं बालकममुज्ज्वलं चतुर्भुजं शंखगदाद्युदायुधं श्रीवत्सलच्छां
गलशोभिकौस्तुभं पीताम्बरं सान्द्रपयोदसीभगं । महार्हवैदूर्यकि-
रीटकुण्डलखिपापरिज्वलसहस्रकुन्तलं उद्दामकाञ्चनदङ्कणादि-
भिविरोचमानं वसुदेव ऐक्षत ॥

and the same work describes YASODĀ, his adoptive mother, as seeing the universe in the mouth of the child [X, 7, 36. 37. (30. 31. Calcutta edition):

पीतप्रायस्य जननी सुतस्य रुचिरस्मितम् ।
मुखं लालयती राजन् जृम्भती ददृशे इदम् ॥
खं रोदसी ज्योतिरनीकमाशाः सूर्येन्दुवह्निश्चसनामुधींश्च ।
द्वीपान्नगान्द्विहितुर्वनानि भूतानि यानि स्थिरजङ्गमानि ॥

* [Journal of the As. Soc. of Bengal, Vol. I, p. 217-37.]

worlds, and has, at five hundred millions of *Yojanas* below it, the separate *Lokas* of VISHNŪ and ŚIVA, *Vaikuntha*, and *Kailās*. This region is indestructible, whilst all else is subject to annihilation, and in the centre of it abides KRISHNA, of the colour of a dark cloud, in the bloom of youth, clad in yellow raiment, splendidly adorned with celestial gems, and holding a flute. He is exempt from *Māyā*, or delusion, and all qualities, eternal, alone, and the *Paramātmā*, or supreme soul of the world.

KRISHNA being alone in the *Goloka*, and meditating on the waste of creation, gave origin to a being of a female form endowed with the three *Guṇas*, and thence the primary agent in creation. This was *Prakṛiti*, or *Māyā*, and the system so far corresponds with that of the other Vaishnavas, and of the *Purānas* generally speaking. They having adopted, in fact, the *Sāṅkhya* system, interweaving with it their peculiar sectarian notions.

Crude matter, and the five elements, are also made to issue from KRISHNA, and then all the divine beings. NĀRĀYAṆA, or VISHNŪ, proceeds from his right side, MAHĀDEVA from his left, BRAHMĀ from his hand, DHARMA from his breath, SARASWATĪ from his mouth, LAKSHMĪ from his mind, DURGĀ from his understanding, RĀDHĀ from his left side. Three hundred millions of *Gopis*, or female companions of RĀDHĀ, exude from the pores of her skin, and a like number of *Gopas*, or companions of KRISHNA, from the pores of his skin: the very cows and their calves, properly the tenants

of *Goloka*, but destined to inhabit the Groves of *Brindāvan*, are produced from the same exalted source.

In this description of creation, however, the deity is still spoken of as a young man, and the *Purāṇa* therefore affords only indirect authority in the marvels it narrates of his infancy for the worship of the child. Considering, however, that in this, or in any other capacity, the acts of the divinity are his *Līlā*, or sport, there is no essential difference between those who worship him either as a boy or as a man, and any of his forms may be adored by this class of *Vaishṇavas*, and all his principal shrines are to them equally objects of pilgrimage. As the elements and chief agents of creation are thus said to proceed from the person of *Kṛishṇa*, it may be inferred that the followers of this creed adopt the principles of the *Vedānta* philosophy, and consider the material world as one in substance, although in an illusory manner, with the supreme. Life is also identified with spirit, according to the authority of a popular work¹. None of the

¹ According to the *Vārttā*, VALLABHA advocated this doctrine with some reluctance, by the especial injunction of the juvenile *Kṛishṇa*:

तब श्री आचार्य जी ने कहा । जो तुम जीव को स्वभाव जानती हो दोषवंत हैं । तो तुम सो सम्बन्ध कैसे होय । तब श्री आचार्य जी सो श्री ठाकुर जी कहे । जो तुम जीव को ब्रह्म सम्बन्ध करो हो तिन को अङ्गीकार करोगे ॥

"Then *Āchārj Ji* said, you know the nature of Life, it is full of defects, how can it be combined with you? to which *Śrī Thākur Ji* (*Kṛishṇa*) replied: Do you unite *Brahma* and *Life* in

philosophical writings of the chief teachers of this system have been met with.

Amongst other articles of the new creed, VALLABHA introduced one, which is rather singular for a Hindu religious innovator or reformer: he taught that privation formed no part of sanctity, and that it was the duty of the teachers and his disciples to worship their deity, not in nudity and hunger, but in costly apparel and choice food, not in solitude and mortification, but in the pleasures of society, and the enjoyment of the world. The *Gosāins*, or teachers, are almost always family men, as was the founder VALLABHA; for after he had shaken off the restrictions of the monastic order to which he originally belonged, he married, by the particular order, it is said, of his new god. The *Gosāins* are always clothed with the best raiment, and fed with the daintiest viands by their followers, over whom they have unlimited influence: part of the connexion between the *Guru* and teacher being the three-fold *Samarpan*, or consignment of *Tan*, *Man*, and *Dhan*, body, mind, and wealth, to the spiritual guide. The followers of the order are especially numerous amongst the mercantile community, and the *Gosāins* themselves are often largely engaged, also, in maintaining a connexion amongst the commercial establishments of remote parts of the country, as they are constantly travelling over India, under pretence

what way you will, I shall concur, and thence all its defects will be removed."

of pilgrimage, to the sacred shrines of the sect, and notoriously reconcile, upon these occasions, the profits of trade with the benefits of devotion: as religious travellers, however, this union of objects renders them more respectable than the vagrants of any other sect.

The practices of the sect are of a similar character with those of other regular worshippers: their temples and houses have images of Gopālī, of KṚISHṆĀ and RĀDHĀ, and other divine forms connected with this incarnation, of metal chiefly, and not unfrequently of gold: the image of KṚISHṆĀ represents a chubby boy, of the dark hue of which VISHṆU is always represented: it is richly decorated and sedulously attended; receiving eight times a day the homage of the votaries. These occasions take place at fixed periods and for certain purposes; and at all other seasons, and for any other object, except at stated and periodical festivals, the temples are closed and the deity invisible. The eight daily ceremonials are the following:—

1. *Mangala*; the morning levee: the image being washed and dressed is taken from the couch, where it is supposed to have slept during the night, and placed upon a seat about half an hour after sun-rise: slight refreshments are then presented to it, with betel and *Pān*: lamps are generally kept burning during this ceremony.

2. *Śringāra*; the image having been anointed and perfumed with oil, camphor, and sandal, and splendidly attired, now holds his public court: this takes

place about an hour and a half after the preceding, or when four *Gharīs* of the day have elapsed.

3. *Gwāla*; the image is now visited, preparatory to his going out to attend the cattle along with the cow-herd; this ceremony is held about forty-eight minutes after the last, or when six *Gharīs* have passed.

4. *Rāja Bhōga*; held at mid-day, when KṚISHṆĀ is supposed to come in from the pastures, and dine: all sorts of delicacies are placed before the image, and both those and other articles of food dressed by the ministers of the temple are distributed to the numerous votaries present, and not unfrequently sent to the dwellings of worshippers of some rank and consequence.

5. *Uthhāpan*; the calling up; the summoning of the god from his siesta: this takes place at six *Gharīs*, or between two and three hours before sun-set.

6. *Bhōga*; the afternoon meal, about half an hour after the preceding.

7. *Sandhyā*; about sun-set, the evening toilet of the image, when the ornaments of the day are taken off, and fresh unguent and perfume applied.

8. *Sayan*; retiring to repose: the image, about eight or nine in the evening, is placed upon a bed, refreshments and water in proper vases, together with the betel box and its appurtenances, are left near it, when the votaries retire, and the temple is shut till the ensuing morning.

Upon all these occasions the ceremony is much the

same, consisting in little more than the presentation of flowers, perfumes, and food by the priests and votaries, and the repetition, chiefly by the former, of Sanskrit stanzas in praise of KRISHNA, interspersed with a variety of prostrations and obeisances. There is no established ritual, indeed, in the Hindu religion for general use, nor any prescribed form of public adoration.

Besides the diurnal ceremonials described, there are several annual festivals of great repute observed throughout India: of these, in Bengal and Orissa, the *Rath Jatra*, or procession of JAGANNATH in his car, is the most celebrated, but it is rarely held in upper India, and then only by natives of Bengal established in the provinces: the most popular festival at Benares, and generally to the westward, is the *Janmāshtami*, the nativity of KRISHNA, on the eighth day of *Bhādra* (August¹). Another is the *Rās Yatra*, or annual

¹ Great difference of practice prevails on occasion of this observance. KRISHNA was born on the eighth lunar day of the waning moon of *Bhādra*, at midnight, upon the moon's entrance into *Rohini*, in commemoration of which a fast is to be held on the day preceding his birth, terminating, as usual, in a feast; but the day of his birth is variously determinable, according to the adoption of the civil, the lunar, or lunar-sydereal computations, and it rarely happens that the eighth lunation comprises the same combination of hours and planetary positions, as occurred at KRISHNA's birth. Under these circumstances, the followers of the *Smṛiti*, with the *Śaivas* and *Śāktas*, commence their fast with the commencement of the lunation, whenever that takes place; the *Rāmānujas* and *Mādhvas* observe such part of the eighth day of the moon's age as includes sun rise, and forms the

commemoration of the dance of the frolicsome deity with the sixteen Gopis. This last is a very popular

eighth day of the calendar, or civil day, whilst some of the *Rāmānujas*, and the *Nimdicats* regulate the duration of their fast by the moon's passage through the asterism *Rohini*. The consequence is, that the *Smṛtas* often fast on the 7th, one set of *Vaishnavas* on the 8th, and another on the 9th, whilst those who affect great sanctity sometimes go thirty hours without food; an extract from last year's calendar will very well exemplify these distinctions.

3rd Bhādra, 17th August 1825, Tuesday, Saptami, 10 Daṇḍas 17 Palas. The Janmāshtami Vrata and a Fast.

4th Bhādra, 18th August, Wednesday, Ashṭami, 9 Daṇḍas 18 Palas. Fast according to the Vaishnavas of Braj.

5th Bhādra, 19th August, Thursday, Navami, 7 Daṇḍas 4 Palas. Rohini Nakshatra, till 10 Daṇḍas 52 Palas, at which hour *Pāraṇa*, the end of the fast.

Now the 3d day of the *Solar Bhādra* was the 7th of the *Lunar Month*, but it comprised little more than ten *Daṇḍas* or four hours of that lunation: as it included sun-rise, however, it was the 7th of the calendar, or *civil* day. The eighth *Tithi*, or lunation, therefore, began about that time, or four hours after sun-rise, and the *Smṛtas*, *Śaivas*, and *Śāktas* observed the fast on that day; they began with sun-rise, however, as there is a specific rule for the *Sankalpa*, or pledge, to perform the usual rite at dawn. This *Ashṭami* comprised midnight, and was the more sacred on that account.

The 4th of *Bhādra* was the *Ashṭami*, or eighth of the *Vaishnavas*, although the lunation only extended to 9 *Daṇḍas*, or less than four hours after sun-rise, but they are particularly enjoined to avoid the *Saptami*, or the *Ashṭami* conjoined with it, and therefore they could not commence their fast earlier, although they lost thereby the midnight of the eighth lunation, which they were, consequently, compelled to extend into the night of the ninth. They fasted till the next morning, unless they chose to eat after midnight, which, on this occasion, is allowable.

festival, and not an uninteresting one: vast crowds, clad in their best attire, collecting in some open place in the vicinity of the town, and celebrating the event with music, singing, and dramatic representations of KRISHNA's sports: all the public singers and dancers lend their services on this occasion, and trust for a remuneration to the gratuities of the spectators: at Benares the *Rās Yātra* is celebrated at the village of *Śivapur*, and the chief dancers and musicians, ranging themselves under the banners of the most celebrated of the profession, go out in formal procession: tents, huts, and booths are erected, swings and roundabouts form a favourite amusement of the crowd, and sweetmeats and fruits are displayed in tempting profusion: the whole has the character of a crowded fair in Europe, and presents, in an immense concourse of people, an endless variety of rich costume, and an infinite diversity of picturesque accompaniment, a most lively and splendid scene. The same festival is held from the tenth day of the light half of *Kūir* (Sept.-Octr.) to the day of the full moon at *Brīndāvan*,

The 5th of *Bhādra* was the *Navami*, or ninth of the calendar, but it included a portion of the moon's passage through *Rohini*, and the strict *Vaishnavas* of the different sects should not have performed the *Pāraṇa*, the close of the fast, earlier, or before 10 Daṇḍas and 52 Palas after sun-rise, or about nine o'clock. Those *Vaishnavas*, however, who wholly regulate their observance by the Asterism, and referring also to the necessity of commencing it with sun-rise, would only have begun their fast on the calendar *Navami*, and have held the *Pāraṇa* on Friday the 10th, the third day after the proper birth-day of their deity.

where a stone plat-form, or stage, has been built for the exhibition of the mimic dance in a square near the river side. Besides their public demonstrations of respect, pictures and images of GORĀLA are kept in the houses of the members of the sect, who, before they sit down to any of their meals, take care to offer a portion to the idol. Those of the disciples who have performed the triple *Samarpaṇa* eat only from the hands of each other; and the wife or child that has not exhibited the same mark of devotion to the *Guru* can neither cook for such a disciple nor eat in his society.

The mark on the forehead consists of two red perpendicular lines meeting in a semicircle at the root of the nose, and having a round spot of red between them. The *Bhaktas* have the same marks as the *Śrī Vaishnavas* on the breasts and arms, and some also make the central spot on the forehead with a black earth, called *Śyāmaḥandī*, or any black metallic substance: the necklace and rosary are made of the stalk of the *Tulāsi*. The salutations amongst them are *Śrī-kṛishṇa* and *Jaya Gopāl*.

The great authority of the sect is the *Bhāgavat*, as explained in the *Subodhinī*, or Commentary of VALLABHĀCHĀRYA: he is the author also of a *Bhāshya* on part of VYĀSA's *Sūtras*, and of other Sanskrit works, as the *Siddhānta Rahasya*, *Bhāgavata Līlā Rahasya*, and *Ekānta Rahasya*; these, however, are only for the learned, and are now very rare. Amongst the votaries in general, various works upon the history of

KRISHNA are current, but the most popular are the *Vishnu Padas*, stanzas in *Bhāshā*, in praise of VISHNŪ, attributed to VALLABHA himself; the *Braj Vilās*, a *Bhākhā* poem of some length, descriptive of KRISHNA's life, during his residence at *Brīndāvan*, by BRAJ VĀSĪ DĀS; the *Ashta Chhāp*, an account of VALLABHA's eight chief disciples, and the *Vārttā*, or *Bārttā*, a collection in *Hindūstānī* of marvellous and insipid anecdotes of VALLABHA and his primitive followers, amounting to the number of eighty-four, and including persons of both sexes, and every class of Hindus. The *Bhakta Mālā* also contains a variety of legends regarding the different teachers of this sect, but it is less a text-book with this sect than any other class of *Vaishnavas*, as the *Vārttā* occupies its place amongst the worshippers of *Gopāl*. The following are specimens of this work, and by no means the most unfavourable:—

DĀMODAR DĀS, of *Kanoj*, was a disciple of ŚRĪ ĀCHĀRYA (VALLABHĀCHĀRYA). Like the rest of the members of this sect, he had an image of KRISHNA in his house. One day it was exceedingly hot, and when night came, *Śrī Thākur jī* (the image) woke the maid servant, and desired her to open the doors of his chamber, as it was very warm. She obeyed, and taking a *pankha*, fanned him—Early in the morning, DĀMODAR DĀS observed the doors of the chamber open, and enquired how this had happened: the girl mentioned the circumstance, but her master was much vexed that she had done this, and that *Śrī Thākur jī* had not called him to do it. *Śrī Thākur jī* knowing his thoughts said: I told her to open the doors, why are you displeased with her? you shut me up here in a close room, and go to sleep yourself on an open and cool terrace. Then DĀMODAR DĀS made a vow, and said: I will not taste consecrated food until I have built a

new temple, but his wife advised him, and urged: this is not a business of five or six days, why go without the consecrated food so long? Then he said: I will not partake of the consecrated sweetmeats, I will only eat the fruits. And so he did, and the temple was completed, and *Śrī Thākur jī* was enshrined in it, and DĀMODAR DĀS distributed food to the *Vaishnavas*, and they partook thereof.

Śrī Thākur jī had a faithful worshipper in a Mahratta lady, whom, with the frolicsomeness of boyhood, he delighted to tease. One day, a woman selling vegetables having passed without the *Bāī* noticing her, *Śrī Thākur jī* said to her: will you not buy any vegetables for me to-day? she replied: whenever any one selling them comes this way, I will buy some; to which he answered: one has just now passed. The *Bāī* replied: no matter, if one has gone by, another will presently be here. But this did not satisfy the little deity, who leaping from his pedestal ran after the woman, brought her back, and, after haggling for the price with her himself, made his protectress purchase what he selected.

As RĀŚĀVRĀS and JAGANNĀTH, two of VALLABHĀCHĀRYA's disciples, were bathing, a woman of the *Rājput* caste came down to the river to burn herself with her husband; on which JAGANNĀTH said to his companion: what is the fashion of a woman becoming a *Satī*? RĀŚĀVRĀS shook his head, and said: the fruitless union of beauty with a dead body. The *Rājputānī* observing RĀŚĀVRĀS shake his head, her purpose at that moment was changed, and she did not become a *Satī*, on which her kindred were much pleased. Some time afterwards, meeting with the two disciples, the *Rājputānī* told them of the effect of their former interview, and begged to know what had passed between them. RĀŚĀVRĀS being satisfied that the compassion of *Śrī Āchārj* was extended to her, repeated what he had said to JAGANNĀTH, and his regret that her charms should not be devoted to the service of *Śrī Thākur jī*, rather than be thrown away upon a dead body. The *Rājputānī* enquired how the service of *Thākur jī* was to be performed, on which RĀŚĀVRĀS, after making her bathe, communicated to her the initiating prayer, and she

thenceforth performed the menial service of the deity, washing his garments, bringing him water, and discharging other similar duties in the dwelling of RĀṢĀVYĀS with entire and fervent devotion, on which account she obtained the esteem of Śrī Āchārj, and the favour of the deity.

RĀM DĀS was married in his youth, but adopting ascetic principles, he refused to take his wife home: at last his father-in-law left his daughter in her husband's dwelling, but RĀM DĀS would have nothing to say to her, and set off on a pilgrimage to *Dvārakā*: his wife followed him, but he threw stones at her, and she was compelled to remain at a distance from him. At noon he halted and bathed the god, and prepared his food, and presented it, and then took the *Prasād* and put it in a vessel, and fed upon what remained, but it was to no purpose, and he was still hungry. Thus passed two or three days, when RĀṢACHHOṢ appeared to him in a dream, and asked him why he thus ill-treated his wife. He said, he was *Vīrakta* (a cenobite), and what did he want with a wife. Then RĀṢACHHOṢ asked him, why he had married, and assured him that such an unsocial spirit was not agreeable to Śrī Āchārya, and desired him to take his wife unto him; for RĀṢACHHOṢ could not bear the distress of the poor woman, as he has a gentle heart, and his nature has been imparted to the *Āchārya* and his disciples. When morning came, RĀM DĀS called to his wife, and suffered her to accompany him, by which she was made happy. When the time for preparing their food arrived, RĀM DĀS prepared it himself, and after presenting the portion to the image, gave a part of it to his wife. After a few days RĀṢACHHOṢ again appeared, and asked him, why he did not allow his wife to cook, to which RĀM DĀS replied, that she had not received the initiating name from Śrī Āchārya, and was, therefore, unfit to prepare his food. RĀṢACHHOṢ, therefore, directed him to communicate the *Nām* (the name) to his wife, and after returning to the *Āchārya*, get him to repeat it. Accordingly RĀM DĀS initiated his wife, and this being confirmed by the *Āchārya*, she also became his disciple, and, with her husband, assiduously worshipped Śrī *Thākur jī*.

VALLABHA was succeeded by his son VITALA NĀTH, known amongst the sect by the appellation of Śrī *Gosāin Jī*, VALLABHA's designation being Śrī *Āchārj Jī*. VITALA NĀTH, again, had seven sons, GIRDHARĪ RĀE, GOVIND RĀE, BĀLA KRISHṆA, GOKULNĀTH, RAGHUNĀTH, YADUNĀTH, and GHANAŚYĀMA; these were all teachers, and their followers, although in all essential points the same, form as many different communities. Those of GOKULNĀTH, indeed, are peculiarly separate from the rest, looking upon their own *Gosāins* as the only legitimate teachers of the faith, and withholding all sort of reverence from the persons and *Maths* of the successors of his brethren: an exclusive preference that does not prevail amongst the other divisions of the faith, who do homage to all the descendants of all VITALA NĀTH's sons.

The worshippers of this sect are very numerous and opulent, the merchants and bankers, especially those from Guzarat and Mālwa, belonging to it: their temples and establishments are numerous all over India, but particularly at Mathurā and Brīndāvan, the latter of which alone is said to contain many hundreds, amongst which are three of great opulence. In Benares are two temples of great repute and wealth, one sacred to *Lāl jī*, and the other to *Purushottama jī*¹. *Jagan-nāth* and *Dwārakā* are also particularly venerated by

¹ Many of the bankers of this city, it is said, pay to one or other of the temples a tax of one-fourth of an *ānā*, on every bill of exchange, and the cloth merchants, half an *ānā* on all sales.

this sect, but the most celebrated of all the *Gosáin* establishments is at *Śrī Nāth Dwār*, in Ajmír. The image at this shrine is said to have transported itself thither from *Mathurá*, when *Aurengzeb* ordered the temple it was there placed in to be destroyed.—The present shrine is modern, but richly endowed, and the high priest, a descendant of *GOKUL NÁTH*, a man of great wealth and importance¹. It is a matter of obligation with the members of this sect to visit *Śrī Nāth Dwār* at least once in their lives; they receive there a certificate to that effect, issued by the head *Gosáin*, and, in return, contribute according to their means to the enriching of the establishment: it is not an uncurious feature in the notions of this sect, that the veneration paid to their *Gosáins* is paid solely to their descent, and unconnected with any idea of their sanctity or learning; they are not unfrequently destitute of all pretensions to individual respectability, but they not the less enjoy the homage of their followers; the present chief, at *Śrīnāth Dwār*, is said not to understand the certificate he signs.

MÍRÁ BĀÍS.

These may be considered as forming a subdivision of the preceding, rather than a distinct sect, although, in the adoption of a new leader, and the worship of *KĀSHNA* under a peculiar form, they differ essentially

¹ Every temple is said to have three places of offering: the image, the pillow of the founder, and a box for *Śrī Nāth Dwār*.

from the followers of *VALLABHA*: at the same time it is chiefly amongst those sectarians, that *MÍRÁ BĀÍ* and her deity, *RAÑACHHOŖ*, are held in high veneration, and, except in the west of India, it does not appear that she has many immediate and exclusive adherents.

MÍRÁ BĀÍ is the heroine of a prolix legend in the *Bhakta Málá*, which is a proof at least of her popularity: as the author of sacred poems addressed to the deity, as *Vishṇu*, she also enjoys a classical celebrity, and some of her odes are to be found in the collections which constitute the ritual of the deistical sects, especially those of *Nānak* and *Kabir*: according to the authority cited, she flourished in the time of *Akbar*, who was induced by her reputation to pay her a visit, accompanied by the famous musician *Tán Sen*, and it is said, that they both acknowledged the justice of her claim to celebrity.

MÍRÁ was the daughter of a petty *Rájá*, the sovereign of a place called *Mertá*; she was married to the *Ráná* of *Udayapur*, but soon after being taken home by him quarrelled with her mother-in-law, a worshipper of *Deví*, respecting compliance with the family adoration of that goddess, and was, in consequence of her persevering refusal to desert the worship of *KĀSHNA*, expelled the *Ráná*'s bed and palace: she appears to have been treated, however, with consideration, and to have been allowed an independent establishment, owing, probably, rather to the respect paid to her abilities, than a notion of her personal sanctity, although

the latter was attested, if we may believe our guide, by her drinking unhesitatingly a draught of poison presented to her by her husband, and without its having the power to do her harm. In her uncontrolled station she adopted the worship of RAÑACHHOŘ, a form of the youthful KRISHNA; she became the patroness of the vagrant *Vaishnavas*, and visited in pilgrimage *Brindavan* and *Dwáraká*: whilst at the latter, some persecution of the *Vaishnavas* at *Udayapur* appears to have been instituted, and Brahmans were sent to bring her home from *Dwáraká*: previously to departing, she visited the temple of her tutelary deity, to take leave of him, when, on the completion of her adorations, the image opened, and MÍRÁ leaping into the fissure, it closed, and she finally disappeared. In memory of this miracle it is said, that the image of MÍRÁ BÁÍ is worshipped at *Udayapur* in conjunction with that of RAÑACHHOŘ. The *Padas* that induced this marvel, and which are current as the compositions of MÍRÁ BÁÍ*, are the two following:

Pada 1.— Oh, sovereign RAÑACHHOŘ, give me to make *Dwáraká* my abode: with thy shell, discus, mace, and lotus, dispel the fear of YAMA: eternal rest is visiting thy sacred shrines; supreme delight is the clash of thy shell and cymbals: I have abandoned my love, my possessions, my principality, my husband. MÍRÁ, thy servant, comes to thee for refuge, oh, take her wholly to thee.

Pada 2.— If thou knowest me free from stain, so accept me:

* [Price's Hindee and Hindustanee Selections, I, p. 99. 100.]

save thee, there is none other that will show me compassion: do thou, then, have mercy upon me: let not weariness, hunger, anxiety, and restlessness consume this frame with momentary decay. Lord of MÍRÁ, GIRDHARA her beloved, accept her, and never let her be separated from thee.

BRAHMA SAMPRADÁYÍS, or MADHWÁCHÁRÍS.

This division of the *Vaishnavas* is altogether unknown in Gangetic Hindustan. A few individuals belonging to it, who are natives of southern India, may be occasionally encountered, but they are not sufficiently numerous to form a distinct community, nor have they any temple or teachers of their own. It is in the peninsula, that the sect is most extensively to be found*, and it is not comprised, therefore, in the scope of this sketch: as, however, it is acknowledged to be one of the four great *Sampradáyas*, or religious systems, such brief notices of it as have been collected will not be wholly out of place.

The institution of this sect is posterior to that of the *Śrī Vaishnavas*, or *Rāmānujas*: the founder was MADHWÁCHÁRYA¹, a Brahman, the son of MADHIGE BHÁTÁ, who was born in the Śaka year 1121 (A. D. 1199) in *Tuluva*: according to the legendary belief of

* [Dr. Graul's Reise nach Ostindien. Leipzig: 1855. Vol. IV, p. 139.]

¹ In the *Sarvadarśana Sangraha* he is cited by the name *Pūrṇa Prajna*—a work is also quoted as written by him under the name of *Madhya Mandira*. Reference is also made to him by the title, most frequently found in the works ascribed to him, of *Ānanda Tīrtha* [Sarvad. Sangr. p. 73.].

his followers, he was an incarnation of *Váyu*, or the god of air, who took upon him the human form by desire of *NÁRÁYAṆA*, and who had been previously incarnate as *Hanumán* and *Bhíma*, in preceding ages. He was educated in the convent established at *Ananteśvar*, and in his ninth year was initiated into the order of Anachorets by *ACHYUTA PRACHA*, a descendant of *SANAKA*, son of *BRAHMÁ*. At that early age also he composed his *Bhášhya*, or commentary on the *Gítá*, which he carried to *Badarikáśrama*, in the Himalaya, to present to *VEDAVYÁSA*, by whom he was received with great respect, and presented with three *Sálagráms*, which he brought back and established as objects of worship in the Maths of *Udipi*, *Madhyatala*, and *Subrahmaṇya*—he also erected and consecrated at *Udipi* the image of *KRISHṆA*, that was originally made by *ARJUNA*, of which he became miraculously possessed.

A vessel from *Dwáráká*, trading along the Malabar coast, had taken on board, either accidentally or as ballast, a quantity of *Gopichandana*, or the sacred clay, from that city, in which the image was immersed: the vessel was wrecked off the Coast of *Tuluva*, but *MADHWA* receiving divine intimation of the existence of the image had it sought for, and recovered from the place where it had sunk¹, and established it as

¹ This story is rather differently told by the late Colonel MACKENZIE in his account of the Marda Gooroos, published in the Asiatic Annual Register for 1804.

the principal object of his devotion at *Udipi*, which has since continued to be the head quarters of the sect. He resided here for some time himself, and composed, it is said, thirty-seven works¹. After some time he went upon a controversial tour, in which he triumphed over various teachers, and amongst others, it is said, over *Śankara Áchārya*—he finally, in his 79th year, departed to *Badarikáśrama*, and there continues to reside with *VYÁSA*, the compiler of the *Vedas* and *Puráṇas*.

Before his relinquishing charge of the shrine he had established, *MADHWÁCHÁRYA* had very considerably extended his followers, so that he was enabled to establish eight different temples, in addition to the principal temple, or that of *Krishṇa*, at *Udipi*: in these were placed images of different forms of *Vishṇu*², and the superintendence of them was entrusted to the brother of the founder, and eight *Sannyásis*, who were Brahmans, from the banks of the *Godávarí*. These establishments still exist, and, agreeably to the code of the founder, each *Sannyási*, in turn, officiates as superior of the chief station at *Udipi* for two years,

¹ The principal of these are—the *Gítá Bhášhya*, *Sútra Bhášhya*, *Rig-bhášhya*, *Daśopanishad Bhášhya*—*Anuvákānūnaya Vivarṇa*, *Anuvédānta Rasa Prakaraṇa*, *Bhārata Tātparyā Nirṇaya*, *Bhāgavata-tātparyā*, *Gítātātparyā*, *Krishṇámṛita Mahārṇava*, *Tantra Sāra*. [See Burnouf, *Bhāgav. Pur.*, I, LIX.]

² 1. *Rāma* with *Sítá*.—2. *Sítá* and *Lakshmaṇ*.—3. *Kāliya* *Mardana*, with two arms.—4. *Kāliya* *Mardana*, with four arms.—5. *Suvitala*.—6. *Sukara*.—7. *Nṛisinha*.—8. *Vaśanta Vitala*.

or two years and a half. The whole expense of the establishment devolves upon the superior for the time being, and, as it is the object of each to outvie his predecessor, the charges¹ are much heavier than the receipts of the institution, and, in order to provide for them, the *Sannyásis* employ the intervals of their temporary charge in travelling about the country, and levying contribution on their lay votaries, the amount of which is frequently very large, and is appropriated for the greater part to defray the costs of the occasional pontificate.

The eight *Maths* are all in *Tuluvá*, below the Gháts², but, at the same time, MADHWÁCHÁRYA authorised the foundation of others above the Gháts under PADMA-NÁBHA TIRTHA, to whom he gave images of RÁMA, and the *Vyása Sálagráma*, with instructions to disseminate his doctrines, and collect money for the use of the shrine at *Udipi*: there are four establishments under the descendants of this teacher above the Gháts, and the superiors visit *Udipi* from time to time, but never officiate there as pontiffs.

The superiors, or *Gurus*, of the *Mádhwa* sect, are Brahmans and *Sannyásis*, or profess cœnobitic observances: the disciples, who are domesticated in the several *Maths*, profess also perpetual celibacy. The

¹ BUCHANAN states them at 13,000 Rupees at least, and often exceeding 20,000.

² They are at Kánur, Pejáwar, Admár, Phalamár, Křishnápur, Sirúr, Sode, and Putti.

lay votaries of these teachers are members of every class of society, except the lowest, and each *Guru* has a number of families hereditarily attached to him, whose spiritual guidance he may sell or mortgage to a Brahman of any sect.

The ascetic professors of MADHWÁCHÁRYA's school adopt the external appearance of *Dāñdis*, laying aside the Brahmanical cord, carrying a staff and a water-pot, going bare-headed, and wearing a single wrapper stained of an orange colour with an ochry clay: they are usually adopted into the order from their boyhood, and acknowledge no social affinities nor interests. The marks common to them, and the lay votaries of the order, are the impress of the symbols of *Vishnu* upon their shoulders and breasts, stamped with a hot iron, and the frontal mark, which consists of two perpendicular lines made with *Gopichandana*, and joined at the root of the nose like that of the *Śrī Vaishñavas*; but instead of a red line down the centre, the *Madhwácháris* make a straight black line with the charcoal from incense offered to *Nārāyaṇa*, terminating in a round mark made with turmeric.

The essential dogma of this sect, like that of the *Vaishñavas* in general, is the identification of *Vishnu* with the Supreme Spirit, as the pre-existent cause of the universe¹, from whose substance the world was

¹ In proof of these doctrines they cite the following texts from the ŚRUTI, or VEDAS:

एको नारायण आसीन्न ब्रह्मा न च शङ्करः ।

"Nārāyaṇa alone was; not Brahmad nor Sankara."

made¹. This primeval *Vishnu* they also affirm to be endowed with real attributes², most excellent, although indefinable and independent. As there is one independent, however, there is also one dependent, and this doctrine is the characteristic dogma of the sect, distinguishing its professors from the followers of RÁMÁNUJA as well as ŚÁNKARA, or those who maintain the qualified or absolute unity of the deity. The creed of the *Mádhvas* is *Dvaita*, or duality³. It is not, however, that they discriminate between the principles of good and evil, or even the difference between spirit and matter, which is the duality known to other sects of the Hindus. Their distinction is of a more subtle character, and separates the *Jivátmá* from the *Paramátmá*, or the principle of life from the Supreme Being. Life, they say, is one and eternal, dependent upon the Supreme, and indissolubly connected with, but not the same with him⁴. An important conse-

आनन्द एक एवाय आसीन्नारायणः प्रभुः ।

"Happy and alone before all was *Nārāyaṇa* the Lord."

¹ "The whole world was manifest from the body of *VISHṆU*,"
विष्णोर्देहाज्जगत्सर्वमाविरासीत् ।

² "*VISHṆU* is independent, exempt from defects, and endowed with all good qualities."—*Tattva Vivek.*: स्वतन्त्रो भगवान्विष्णुर्निर्दोषो ऽशेषसद्गुणः ।

³ "Independent and dependent is declared to be the two-fold condition of being."—*Tattva Vivek.*: स्वतन्त्रमस्वतन्त्रं च द्विविधं तत्त्वमिष्यते । [*Sarvadarśana Sangraha*, p. 61.]

⁴ "As the bird and the string, as juices and trees, as rivers and oceans, as fresh water and salt, as the thief and his booty, as man and objects of sense, so are God and Life distinct, and

quence of this doctrine is the denial of *Moksha*, in its more generally received sense, or that of absorption into the universal spirit, and loss of independent existence after death. The *Yoga* of the *Saivas*, and *Sáyujyam* of the *Vaishnavas*, they hold to be impracticable¹.

The Supreme Being resides in *Vaikuṁṭha*, invested with ineffable splendour, and with garb, ornaments, and perfumes of celestial origin, being the husband also of *Lakshmi*, or *glory*, *Bhūmi*, the earth, and *Nilá*, understood to mean *Deví*, or *Durgá*, or personified matter. In his primary form no known qualities can be predicated of him, but when he pleases to associate with *Máyá*, which is properly his desire, or wish, the three attributes of purity, passion, or ignorance, or the *Sattva*, *Rajas*, and *Tamas Guṇas*, are manifested, as *Vishnu*, *Brahmá*, and *Śiva*, for the

both are ever indefinable."—*Mahopanishad*: यथा पत्नी च सूत्रं च नानावृत्तरसा यथा यथा नद्यः समुद्राय शुद्धीदलवणे यथा । चोरापहार्यौ च यथा यथा पुंविषयावपि तथा जीवेश्वरी भिन्नौ सर्वदेवविलक्षणौ ॥ [ib. p. 69.]

¹ In confirmation of which they adduce texts from the *Purāṇas* and *Vedas*:

"From the difference between Omniscience and partial knowledge, Omnipotence and inferior power, supremacy and subservience, the union of God and Life cannot take place."—*Garuda Purāṇa*: सर्वज्ञान्यज्ञाभेदात्सर्वशक्त्यल्पशक्तिनः । स्वातन्त्र्यपारतन्त्र्याभ्यां सम्भोगो नेशजीवयोः ॥ गां पुरं ॥ "Spirit is Supreme, and above qualities; Life is feeble and subordinate."—*Bhāllaveya Upanishad*: आत्मा हि परमस्वतन्त्रो ऽधिगुणो जीवो ऽल्पशक्तिरस्वतन्त्रः । भां ॥

creation, protection, and destruction of the world. These deities, again, perform their respective functions through their union with the same delusive principle to which they owed their individual manifestation. This account is clearly allegorical, although the want of some tangible objects of worship has converted the shadows into realities, and the allegory, when adapted to the apprehensions of ordinary intellects, has been converted into the legend known to the followers of *Kabir*, of the Supreme begetting the Hindu TRIAD by MÁYÁ, and her subsequent union with her sons¹. Other

¹ Colonel MACKENZIE, in his account of the sect, gives this legend in a different and rather unusual form, and one that indicates some relation to the *Saiva* sects. It is not, however, admitted as orthodox by those members of the sect whom I have encountered, nor do any traces of it appear in the works consulted.

"The Lord of the Creation, by whose supremacy the world is illuminated, and who is infinitely powerful, creating and destroying many worlds in a moment, that Almighty Spirit, in his mind, contemplating the creation of a world for his pleasure, from his wishes sprung a goddess, named Itcha Sacktee; at her request, he directed her to create this world. Then the Sacktee, by the authority of God, immediately created three divine persons, generally called by Hindus the Moortee-trium, by their several names of Brahma, Vishnú and Siva, committing to them, separately, their respective charges in the expected world; Surstee, Sthutee, and Sayom, or the power of creating, nourishing, and destroying. When she had made these three lords, she requested of one after the other, that they might be her consort; but Brahma and Vishnú, disapproving of her request, she consumed them with the fire of her third eye, and proposed the same thing to Siva; then Sadaseevú, considering in his mind that

legends are current amongst the MÁDHWAS, founded on this view of the creation, in which BRAHMÁ and ŚIVA and other divinities are described as springing from his mind, his forehead, his sides, and other parts of his body. They also receive the legends of the *Vaishnáva Puráṇas*, of the birth of BRAHMÁ from the *Lotus*, of the navel of VISHNÚ, and of RUDRA from the tears shed by BRAHMÁ on being unable to comprehend the mystery of creation.

The modes in which devotion to VISHNÚ is to be expressed are declared to be three, *Ankara*, *Náma-karaṇa*, and *Bhajana*, or marking the body with his symbols¹, giving his names to children, and other ob-

her demands were not agreeable to the divine law, replied that he could not be her consort, unless she granted her third eye to him. The goddess was pleased with his prudence, and adorned him with her third eye. So soon as Siva was possessed of that, he immediately destroyed her by a glance of the flaming eye, and revived Brahma and Vishnú, and of her ashes made three goddesses, Saraswatee, Latchmí, and Paravatee, and united one of them to each of the Trimoortee."

(*Account of the Marda Gooroos*.—*Asiatic Annual Register*, 1801.)

This legend is probably peculiar to the place where it was obtained, but the ideas and the notions adverted to in the text appear to have been misunderstood by Dr. BUCHANAN, who observes, that the MARDAS believe in the generation of the gods, in a literal sense, thinking VISHNÚ to be the Father of BRAHMÁ, and BRAHMÁ the Father of ŚIVA.—*Mysore*, Vol. I, 14.

¹ Especially with a hot iron, which practice they defend by a text from the VEDAS. Whose body is not cauterised, does not obtain liberation. अतप्तवर्गुर्न तदा मोक्षमश्नुते ॥ [Sarvad. S. p. 61.] To which, however, *Śankarāchārya* objects, that *Tapta* does not

jects of interest, and the practice of virtue in word, act, and thought. Truth, good council, mild speaking, and study belong to the first; liberality, kindness, and protection, to the second, and clemency, freedom from envy, and faith, to the last. These ten duties form the moral code of the *Mādhvas**.

The usual rites of worship¹, as practiced by the *Vaishnavas* of this sect, are observed, and the same festivals. In the *Pūjā*, however, there is one peculiarity which merits notice as indicative of a friendly leaning towards the *Śaiva* sects: the images of ŚIVA, DURGA, and GAṆEŚA are placed on the same shrine with the form of VISHṆU, and partake in the adoration offered to his idol. Rites are conducive to final happiness only, as they indicate a desire to secure the favor of VISHṆU. The knowledge of his supremacy is essential to the zeal with which his approbation may be sought, but they consider it unnecessary to attempt an identification with him by abstract meditation, as

mean cauterised, but purified with *Tapas*, or ascetic mortification.—

* [Sarvad. S. p. 65.]

¹ The daily ceremonies at *Udipi* are of nine descriptions:

1. *Malavisarjana*, cleaning the temple, 2. *Upasthāna*, awaking Kṛishṇa, 3. *Panchāmṛita*, bathing him with milk, &c., 4. *Udārtana*, cleaning the image, 5. *Tirtha Pūjā*, bathing it with holy water, 6. *Alankāra*, putting on his ornaments, 7. *Āvṛitta*, addressing prayers and hymns to him, 8. *Mahāpūjā*, presenting fruits, perfumes, &c., with music and singing, 9. *Rātri Pūjā*, nocturnal worship, waving lamps before the image, with prayers, offerings, and music.

that is unattainable¹.—Those who have acquired the regard of VISHṆU are thereby exempted from future birth, and enjoy felicity in *Vaikuṇṭha* under four conditions, as *Sārūpya*, similarity of form, *Sālokya*, visible presence, *Sānnidhya*, proximity, and *Sārshthi*, equal power*.

Besides the writings of the founder, the following works are considered as forming the *Śāstra*, or scriptural authority, of this sect. The four Vedas, the *Mahābhārat*, the *Pāncharātra*, and the genuine or original *Rāmāyaṇa*.

It seems not improbable, that the founder of the *Mādhwa* sect was originally a *Śaiva* priest, and, although he became a convert to the *Vaishṇava* faith, he encouraged an attempt to form a kind of compromise or alliance between the *Śaivas* and *Vaishṇavas*. MADHWA was first initiated into the faith of ŚIVA at *Anantēśwar*, the shrine of a *Linga*, and one of his names, ĀNANDA TĪRTHA, indicates his belonging to the class of *Daśnāmī Gosāins*, who were instituted by ŚANKARĀCHĀRYA; one of his first acts was to establish a *Sālagrām*, a type of VISHṆU, at the shrine of SUBRAHMAṆYA, the warrior son of ŚIVA, and, as observed above, the images of ŚIVA are allowed to par-

¹ "Emancipation is not obtained without the favour of VISHṆU. His favour is obtained from knowledge of his excellence, and not from a knowledge of his identity."—*Śruti*: मोक्षमु विष्णु-प्रसादान्तरेण न लभ्यते प्रसादश्च गुणोत्कर्षज्ञानदेव नाभेदज्ञानात् । [Sarvad. S. p. 68.]

* [See also *Mahānārāyaṇa Upan.* 15. ap. Weber, *Ind. Stud.* II, 34.]

take, in the *Mādhwa* temples, of the worship offered to *VISHṆU*. The votaries of the *Mādhwa Gurus*, and of the *Śankarāchāri Gosāins*, offer the *Namaskār*, or reverential obeisance, to their teachers mutually, and the *Śringeri* Mahant visits *Udipi*, to perform his adorations at the shrine of *KṚISHṆA*. It is evident, therefore, that there is an affinity between these orders, which does not exist between the *Śaivas* and *Vaishṇavas* generally, who are regarded by the *Mādhwas*, even without excepting the *Rāmānujas*, as *Pāśhāṇḍis*, or *heretics*, whether they profess the adoration of *VISHṆU* or of *ŚIVA*.

SANAKĀDI SAMPRADĀYIS, or NIMĀVATS.

This division of the *Vaishṇava* faith is one of the four primary ones, and appears to be of considerable antiquity: it is one also of some popularity and extent, although it seems to possess but few characteristic peculiarities beyond the name of the founder, and the sectarian mark.

NIMBĀDITYA is said to have been a *Vaishṇava* ascetic, originally named *Bhāskara Āchārya*, and to have been, in fact, an incarnation of the *sun* for the suppression of the heretical doctrines then prevalent: he lived near *Bṛindāvan*, where he was visited by a *Dāṇḍī*, or, according to other accounts, by a *Jaina* ascetic, or *Jatī*, whom he engaged in controversial discussion till sunset: he then offered his visitant some refreshment, which the practice of either mendicant renders unlawful after dark, and which the guest was,

therefore, compelled to decline: to remove the difficulty, the host stopped the further descent of the sun, and ordered him to take up his abode in a neighbouring *Nimb* tree, till the meat was cooked and eaten: the sun obeyed, and the saint was ever after named *Nimbārka*, or *Nimbāditya*, or the *Nimb* tree sun.

The *Nimāvats* are distinguished by a circular black mark in the centre of the ordinary double streak of white earth, or *Gopichandan*: they use the necklace and rosary of the stem of the *Tulasi*: the objects of their worship are *KṚISHṆA* and *RĀDHĀ* conjointly: their chief authority is the *Bhāgavat*, and there is said to be a *Bhāshya* on the *Vedas* by *NIMBĀRKA*: the sect, however, is not possessed of any books peculiar to the members, which want they attribute to the destruction of their works at *Mathurā* in the time of *Aurengzeb*.

The *Nimāvats* are scattered throughout the whole of Upper India. They are met with of the two classes, cœnobitical and secular, or *Viraktas* and *Grihastas*, distinctions introduced by the two pupils of *NIMBĀRKA*, *KEŚAVA BHĀṬṬ*, and *HARI VYĀS*: the latter is considered as the founder of the family which occupies the pillow of *NIMBĀRKA* at a place called *Dhruva Kshetra*, upon the *Jamna*, close to *Mathurā*: the Mahant, however, claims to be a lineal descendant from *NIMBĀRKA* himself, and asserts the existence of the present establishment for a past period of 1400 years: the antiquity is probably exaggerated: the *Nimāvats* are very numerous about *Mathurā*, and they are also

the most numerous of the *Vaishṇava* sects in Bengal, with the exception of those who may be considered the indigenous offspring of that province.

VAISHŌAVAS OF BENGAL.

The far greater number of the worshippers of VISHŌU, or more properly of KRISHŌA, in Bengal, forming, it has been estimated, one-fifth of the population of the province¹, derive their peculiarities from some *Vaishṇava* Brahmans of *Nadiya* and *Sāntipur*, who flourished about the end of the fifteenth century. The two leading men in the innovation then instituted were ADWAITĀNAND and NITYĀNAND, who, being men of domestic and settled habits, seem to have made use of a third, who had early embraced the ascetic order, and whose simplicity and enthusiasm fitted him for their purpose, and to have set up CHAITANYA as the founder and object of a new form of *Vaishṇava* worship.

The history of CHAITANYA has been repeatedly written, but the work most esteemed by his followers is the *Chaitanya Charitra* of BRINDĀVAN DĀS, which was compiled from preceding works by MURĀRI GUPTA and DĀMODARA, who were the immediate disciples of CHAITANYA, and who wrote an account, the first of his life as a *Grihastha*, or the *Ādi Līlā*, and the second of his proceedings as a pilgrim and ascetic, or

¹ WARD on the Hindus, 2, 175. In another place he says five-sixteenths, p. 448.

the *Madhya* and *Anta Līlā*. An abridgment of the composition of BRINDĀVAN DĀS, under the title of *Chaitanya Charitāmṛita*, was made by KRISHŌA DĀS about 1590: although described by the author as an abridgment, it is a most voluminous work, comprising, besides anecdotes of CHAITANYA and his principal disciples, the expositions of the doctrines of the sect: it is written in Bengali, but it is interspersed most thickly with the Sanskrit texts on which the faith is founded, and which are taken from the *Brahma Sanhitā*, the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, the *Bhagavad Gītā*, and, above all, the *Śrī Bhāgavat*, the work that appears about this period to have given a new aspect to the Hindu faith throughout the whole of Hindustan. The accounts we have to offer of CHAITANYA and his schism are taken from the *Chaitanya Charitāmṛita*.

CHAITANYA was the son of a Brahman settled at *Nadiya*, but originally from *Śrīhatta*, or *Silhet*. His father was named JAGANNĀTH MIŚRA, and his mother SACHĪ: he was conceived in the end of Magha 1484, but not born till *Phalgun* 1485, being thirteen months in the womb—his birth was accompanied by the usual portentous indications of a super-human event, and, amongst other circumstances, an eclipse of the moon was terminated by his entrance into the world. CHAITANYA was, in fact, an incarnation of KRISHŌA, or *Bhagavān*, who appeared for the purpose of instructing mankind in the true mode of worshipping him in this age: with the like view he was, at the same time, incarnate in the two greater teachers of

the sect as principal *Anśas*, or portions of himself, animating the form of ADWAITÁNAND, whilst NITYÁNAND was a personal manifestation of the same divinity, as he had appeared formerly in the shape of BALARÁMA: the female incarnation was not assumed on this occasion, being, in fact, comprised in the male, for RÁDHÁ, as the *Púrñā-Śakti*, or comprehensive energy, and KRISHŌA, as the *Púrñā-Śaktimán*, or possessor of that energy, were both united in the nature of the *Nadiya* saint.

The father of CHAITANYA died in his son's childhood, and his elder brother, VIŚVARÚPA, had previously assumed the character of an ascetic: to take care of his mother, therefore, CHAITANYA refrained from following his inclinations, and continued in the order of the *Grihastha*, or householder, till the age of twenty-four, during which time he is said to have married the daughter of VALLABHÁCHÁRYA. At twenty-four¹, he shook off the obligations of society, and becoming a *Vairági*, spent the next six years in a course of peregrinations between *Mathurá* and *Jagannáth*, teaching his doctrines, acquiring followers, and extending the worship of KRISHŌA. At the end of this period, having nominated ADWAITÁCHÁRYA and NITYÁNAND to preside over the *Vaishnavas* of Bengal, and RÚPA and SANÁTANA over those of *Mathurá*, CHAITANYA settled at *Niláchal*, or *Cuttack*, where he remained twelve

¹ Not forty, as stated by Mr. WARD (2, 173): his whole life little exceeded that age, as he disappeared at forty-two.

years, engaging deeply in the worship of *Jagannáth*, to whose festival he seems at least to have communicated great energy and repute¹. The rest of his time was spent in tuition and controversy, and in receiving the visits of his disciples, who came annually, particularly the Bengalis, under ADWAITA and NITYÁNAND to *Niláchal* in the performance of acts of self denial, and in intent meditation on KRISHŌA: by these latter means he seems to have fallen ultimately into a state of imbecility approaching to insanity, which engendered perpetually beatific visions of KRISHŌA, RÁDHÁ, and the *Gopís*: in one of these, fancying the sea to be the *Jamna*, and that he saw the celestial cohort sporting in its blue waters, he walked into it, and fainting with ecstacy, would have been drowned, if his emaciated state had not rendered him buoyant on the waves: he was brought to shore in a fisherman's net, and recovered by his two resident disciples, SVARÚPA and RÁMÁNAND: the story is rendered not improbable by the uncertain close of CHAITANYA's career: he disappeared; how, is not known: of course

¹ It may be observed, that in the frequent descriptions of the celebration of the *Rath Yatra*, which occur in the work of KRISHŌA DÁS, no instance is given of self-sacrifice amongst the numerous votaries collected, neither is there any passage that could be interpreted as commendatory of the practice: it is, in fact, very contrary to the spirit of *Vaishnava* devotion, and is probably a modern graft from *Saiva* or *Śakta* superstition. ABULFAZL does not notice the practice, although he mentions that those who assist in drawing the car think thereby to obtain remission of their sins.

his disciples suppose he returned to *Vaikuṁṭha*, but we may be allowed to conjecture the means he took to travel thither, by the tale of his marine excursion, as it is gravely narrated by KRISHNA DÁS: his disappearance dates about A. D. 1527.

Of ADWAITÁNAND and NITYÁNAND no marvels, beyond their divine pervasion, are recorded: the former, indeed, is said to have predicted the appearance of KRISHNA as CHAITANYA; a prophecy that probably wrought its own completion: he sent his wife to assist at the birth of the saint, and was one of his first disciples. ADWAITÁNAND resided at *Śántipur*, and seems to have been a man of some property and respectability: he is regarded as one of the three *Prabhus*, or *masters* of the sect, and his descendants, who are men of property, residing at *Śántipur*, are the chief *Gosáins*, or spiritual superiors, conjointly with those of NITYÁNAND, of the followers of this faith. NITYÁNAND was an inhabitant of *Nadhyā*, a *Rádhīya* Brahman, and a householder: he was appointed especially by CHAITANYA, the superior of his followers in Bengal, notwithstanding his secular character, and his being addicted to mundane enjoyments¹: his descendants

¹ Thus, according to KRISHNA DÁS, when RAGHUNÁTH DÁS visits him, he finds him at a feast with his followers, eating a variety of dainties; amongst others a dish called *Pulina*, and when he good humouredly notices it, NITYÁNAND replies:—

गोपजाति आमि चउगोपसङ्गे आमि सुखपाद ए पुलीन भोजन रङ्गे ॥
“I am of the *Gopa* cast (i. e. fig.: a companion of KRISHNA, the

are still in existence, and are divided into two branches: those of the male line reside at *Khorda*, near Barrackpore; and those of the female at *Bálagor*, near *Sukhságar*: there are other families, however, of nearly equal influence in various parts of Bengal, descended from the other *Gosáins*, the *Kavirájas* and original *Mahants*.

Besides the three *Prabhus*, or CHAITANYA, ADWAITA, and NITYÁNAND, the *Vaishnavas* of this order acknowledge six *Gosáins* as their original and chief teachers, and the founders, in some instances, of the families of the *Gosáins* now existing, to whom, as well as to the *Gokulastha Gosáins*, hereditary veneration is due. The six *Gaudīya*, or Bengal, *Gosáins*, appear to have all settled at *Brindávan* and *Mathurá*, where many of their descendants are still established, and in possession of several temples: this locality, the agreement of dates, and the many points of resemblance between the institutions of VALLABHA and CHAITANYA render it extremely probable that their origin was connected, and that a spirit of rivalry and opposition gave rise to one or other of them.

. The six *Gosáins* of the Bengal *Vaishnavas* are RÚPA,

cow-herd), and am amidst many *Gopas*, and such as we are, consider *Pulina* a delicacy.”

A verse is also ascribed to him, said to have become proverbial:

मत्खेर् झोल् कामिनीर् कोल् । आनन्दे तोरासवे हरिहरि वोल् ॥
“Let all enjoy fish, broth, and woman’s charms—be happy, and call upon HARI.”

SANÁTAN, JÍVA, RAGHUNÁTH BHATÍ, RAGHUNÁTH DÁS, and GOPÁL BHATÍ. RÚPA and SANÁTAN¹ were brothers in the employ of the Mohammedan governor of Bengal, and were hence regarded as little better than *Mlechhas*, or outcasts, themselves: the sanctity of CHAITANYA'S life and doctrine induced them to become his followers, and as it was a part of his system to admit all castes, even Musalmáns, amongst his disciples, they were immediately enlisted in a cause, of which they became the first ornaments and supports: they were men of learning, and were very indefatigable writers, as we shall hereafter see, and the foundation of two temples at *Brindávan*, the most respectable reliques of the Hindu faith existing in upper Hindustan, is ascribed to their influence and celebrity². JÍVA was the nephew

¹ From the indistinct manner in which they are conjointly described in the *Bhakta Málá* it might be thought that RÚPA *Sandána* was but a single individual, but, in one passage, the work indicates their being two brothers, conformably to the *Charitámrita*, and the tradition in general currency. [Price's *Hindee and Hindust. Selections* I, p. 132.]

² The temples of *Govind Deva* and *Madanmohan*, both in ruins; a Sanskrit inscription in the former, however, attributing it to MÁN SINH DEVA, a descendant of PÚRTHU RÁO, is dated Samvat 1647, or A. D. 1591. Besides the authority of KÍSHNÁ DÁS for these two brothers being cotemporary with CHAITANYA, who died in 1527, I have a copy of the *Vidagdha Mádhyava*, of which RÚPA is the author, dated 1525; it is not therefore likely, that SANÁTAN actually founded the temple of *Govind Deva*, although he may have been instrumental to its being undertaken. The interior of this temple is far superior to any of the religious structures to be met with along the *Ganges* and *Jamna*, and may almost be

of the preceding, the son of their younger brother: he was likewise an author, and the founder of a temple at *Brindávan*, dedicated to *Rádhá Dámodara*. RAGHUNÁTH BHATÍ and RAGHUNÁTH DÁS were both Brahmans of Bengal, but they established themselves in the vicinity of *Mathurá* and *Brindávan*. GOPÁL BHATÍ founded a temple and establishment at *Brindávan*, which are still maintained by his descendants; the presiding deity is RÁDHÁ RAMÁNA.

Next to the six *Gosáins*, several learned disciples and faithful companions of CHAITANYA are regarded with nearly equal veneration: these are ŚRÍNIVÁS, GADÁDHAR *Pándit*, ŚRÍ SVARÚPA, RÁMÁNAND, and others, including HARI DÁS: the last, indeed, has obtained almost equal honour with his master, being worshipped as a divinity in some places in Bengal. It is recorded of him, that he resided in a thicket for many years, and during the whole time he repeated the name of KÍSHNÁ three hundred thousand times daily. In addition to these chiefs, the sect enumerates eight *Kavi Rájas*, or eminent and orthodox bards, amongst whom is KÍSHNÁ DÁS, the author of the *Chaitanya Charitámrita*, and they also specify sixty-four *Mahantas*, or heads of religious establishments.

The object of the worship of the CHAITANYAS is

considered handsome: the exterior of that of *Madanmohan* is remarkable for its being built something after the plan of the pyramidal temples of *Tanjore*; or rather its exterior corresponds with that of the temples at *Bhucaneswara* in *Cuttack*. As. Res. Vol. XV, plate.

KRISHNA: according to them he is *Paramātmā*, or supreme spirit, prior to all worlds, and both the cause and substance of creation: in his capacity of creator, preserver, and destroyer he is BRAHMĀ, VISHNĪ, and ŚIVA, and in the endless divisions of his substance or energy he is all that ever was or will be: besides these manifestations of himself, he has, for various purposes, assumed specific shapes, as *Avatārs*, or descents; *Anśas*, or portions; *Anśānsās*, portion of portions, and so on ad infinitum: his principal appearance and, in fact, his actual sensible manifestation was as KRISHNA, and in this capacity he again was present in CHAITANYA, who is therefore worshipped as the deity, as are the other forms of the same god, particularly as GOPĀL, the cow-herd, or GOPINĀTH, the lord of the milk-maids of *Brindāvan*; his feats, in which juvenile characters are regarded, are his *Līlā*, or sport.

It is not worth while to enter upon the prolix series of subtle and unmeaning obscurities in which this class of KRISHNA's worshippers envelop their sectarian notions: the chief features of the faith are the identification of *Vishnū* with *Brahma*, in common with all the *Vaishnava* sects, and the assertion of his possessing, in that character, sensible and real attributes, in opposition to the *Vedānta* belief of the negative properties of God: these postulates being granted, and the subsequent identity of KRISHNA and CHAITANYA believed, the whole religious and moral code of the sect is comprised in one word, *Bhakti*, a term that signifies

a union of implicit faith with incessant devotion, and which, as illustrated by the anecdote of HARI DĀS above given, is the momentary repetition of the name of KRISHNA, under a firm belief, that such a practice is sufficient for salvation.

The doctrine of the efficacy of *Bhakti* seems to have been an important innovation upon the primitive system of the Hindu religion. The object of the *Vedas*, as exhibiting the *Vedānta*, seems to have been the inculcation of fixed religious duties, as a general acknowledgment of the supremacy of the deities, or any deity, and, beyond that, the necessity of overcoming material impurities by acts of self-denial and profound meditation, and so fitting the spiritual part for its return to its original sources; in a word, it was essentially the same system that was diffused throughout the old pagan world. But the fervent adoration of any one deity superseded all this necessity, and broke down practice and speculation, moral duties, and political distinctions. KRISHNA himself declares in the *Bhāgavat*, that to his worshipper that worship presents whatever he wishes—paradise, liberation, God-head, and is infinitely more efficacious than any or all observances, than abstraction, than knowledge of the divine nature, than the subjugation of the passions, than the practice of the *Yoga*, than charity, than virtue, or than any thing that is deemed most meritorious¹. Another singular and important consequence

¹ यत्कर्मभिर्यत्तपसा ज्ञानधैराग्र्यतश्च यत् । योगेन दानधर्मेण

results from these premises, for as all men are alike capable of feeling the sentiments of faith and devotion, it follows, that all castes become by such sentiments equally pure. This conclusion indeed is always admitted, and often stoutly maintained in theory, although it may be doubted whether it has ever been acted upon, except by CHAITANYA himself and his immediate disciples, at a period when it was their policy to multiply proselytes¹. It is so far observed,

श्रेयोभिरितरैरपि । सर्वं मङ्गल्योगेन मङ्गलं लभते ऽज्ञसा । स्वर्गा-
पवर्गे मद्गम कथञ्चिदपि वाञ्छति ॥ *Bhāgavat*, 11th Section
[20, 33. 34. See also BURNOUR, *Bhāg. Pur.*, Vol. I, p. c.]

¹ CHAITANYA admitted amongst his followers five *Pañchāns*—who purposed to attack and plunder him, but were stopped by his sanctity, and converted by his arguments: one of these, who was a *Pir*, he new-named RĀM DĀS, another, their leader, was a young prince (a *Rājakumār*) whom he named *Bijjili Khān*. CHAITANYA communicated the *Upadeśa*, or initiating *Mantra*, to them, and they all became famous *Vaishnavas*; पाठान वेष्णवनि-
हेल तारं ख्याति ॥ CHAITANYA uniformly maintains the pre-emi-
nence of the faith over caste: the mercy of God, he says, re-
gards neither tribe nor family: ईश्वरैर कृपा जाति कुल नाहि माने ॥
Kṛishṇa did not disdain to eat in the house of *Vidura*, a *Śūdra*:
विदुरैर घरे कृष्ण करिल भोजन ॥ and he cites *Sanskrit* texts for
his authority—as शुचिसङ्गतिदीप्तायिः दग्धदुर्जातिकल्पः । स्वपा-
की ऽपि बुधः श्लाघ्यो न वेदज्ञो ऽपि नास्तिकः ॥ “The *Chāṇḍīla*,
whose impurity is consumed by the chastening fire of holy faith,
is to be revered by the wise, and not the unbelieving ex-
pounder of the *Vedas*.” Again: न मे भक्त्यतुर्वेदी मङ्गलः श्वपचः
प्रियः । तस्मै देयं ततो ग्राह्यं स च पूज्यो यथा ह्यहम् ॥ “The teacher
of the four *Vedas* is not my disciple; the faithful *Chāṇḍīla* en-
joys my friendship; to him be given, and from him be received:
let him be revered, even as I am revered.” These pas-

however, that persons of all castes and occupations are admitted into the sect, and all are at liberty to sink their civil differences in the general condition of mendicant and ascetic devotees, in which character they receive food from any hands, and of course eat and live with each other without regard to former distinctions. As followers of one faith all individuals are, in like manner, equally entitled to the *Prasād*, or food which has been previously presented to the deity, and it is probably the distribution of this, annually, at *Jagannāth*, that has given rise to the idea, that at this place all castes of Hindus eat together: any reservation, however, on this head is foreign to the tenets of this sect, as well as of the *Rāmānandī Vaishnavas*¹, and in both community of schism is a close connecting link, which should, in deed as well as word, abrogate every other distinction.

The *Bhakti* of the followers of this division of the Hindu faith is supposed to comprehend five *Rasas* or *Ratis*, tastes or passions: in its simplest form it is mere *Sānti*, or quietism, such as was practiced by the *Yogendras*, or by sages, as SANAKA and his brethren, and other saints: in a more active state it is servitude, or *Dāsya*, which every votary takes upon him-
self; a higher condition is that of *Sākhyā*, a personal regard or friendship for the deity, as felt by BUJIMA,

sages are from the *Chaitanya Charitāmṛita*, where many others of similar purport may be found.

¹ See remark on the *Rāmānandī Vaishnavas*; page 56.

ARJUNA, and others, honoured with his acquaintance. *Vātsalya*, which is a higher station, is a tender affection for the divinity, of the same nature as the love of parents for their children, and the highest degree of *Bhakti* is the *Mādhurya*, or such passionate attachment as that which pervaded the feelings of the *Gopīs* towards their beloved KRISHNA.

The modes of expressing the feelings thus entertained by his votaries towards KRISHNA do not differ essentially from those prevalent amongst the followers of the *Gokulastha Gosāins*: the secular worshippers, however, pay a less regular homage in the temples of KRISHNA, and in most parts of Bengal his public adoration occurs but twice a day, or between nine and twelve in the morning, and six and ten at night: occasionally, however, it does take place in a similar manner, or eight times a day. The chief ritual of the Bengal *Vaishnavas* of the class is a very simple one, and the *Nāma Kīrtana*, or constant repetition of any of the names of KRISHNA, or his collateral modifications, is declared to be the peculiar duty of the present age, and the only sacrifice the wise are required to offer; it is of itself quite sufficient to ensure future felicity: however, other duties, or *Sādhanas*, are enjoined, to the number of sixty-four, including many absurd, many harmless, and many moral observances; as fasting every eleventh day, singing and dancing in honour of KRISHNA, and suppressing anger, avarice, and lust. Of all obligations, however, the *Guru Pādāśraya*, or servile veneration of the spiritual teacher, is the

most important and compulsory: the members of this sect not only are required to deliver up themselves and every thing valuable to the disposal of the *Guru*, they are not only to entertain full belief of the usual *Vaishnava* tenet, which identifies the votary, the teacher, and the god, but they are to look upon the *Guru* as one with the present deity, as possessed of more authority even than the deity, and as one whose favour is more to be courted, and whose anger is more to be deprecated, than even that of KRISHNA himself¹. We have already had occasion to observe that this veneration is hereditary, and is paid to the successor of a deceased *Gosāin*, although, in the estimation perhaps of his own worshippers, he is in his individual capacity more deserving of reprobation than of reverence. This blind and extravagant adoration of the *Guru* is, perhaps, the most irrational of all Hindu irrationalities, and it is but justice to the foun-

¹ On this subject the following text occurs in the *Upāsana Chandramīta*: यो मन्त्रः स गुरुः साक्षाद्यो गुरुः स हरिः स्वयम् ॥ "The *Mantra* is manifest in the *Guru*, and the *Guru* is HARI himself." प्रथमं तु गुरुः पूज्यस्ततश्चैव ममाचर्चनम् । "First the *Guru* is to be worshipped, then I am to be worshipped." गुरुरेव सदा राध्यः श्रेष्ठो मन्त्रादभेदतः । गुरौ तुष्टे हरिस्तुष्टः नान्यथा कल्पकोटिभिः ॥ "The *Guru* is always to be worshipped: he is most excellent from being one with the *Mantra*. HARI is pleased when the *Guru* is pleased: millions of acts of homage else will fail of being accepted." Again: हरौ रुष्टे गुरुस्त्वाता गुरौ रुष्टे न कश्चनः । "When HARI is in anger, the *Guru* is our protector, when the *Guru* is in anger, we have none." These are from the *Bhajanāmrita*.

ders of the system to acquit them of being immediately the authors of this folly. The earliest works inculcate, no doubt, extreme reverence for the teacher, but not divine worship; they direct the disciple to look upon his *Guru* as his second father, not as his God: there is great reason to suppose, that the prevailing practice is not of very remote date, and that it originates chiefly with the *Śrī Bhāgavat*: it is also falling into some disrepute, and as we shall presently see, a whole division of even CHAITANYA's followers have discarded this part of the system.

Liberation from future terrestrial existence is the object of every form of Hindu worship. The prevailing notion of the means of such emancipation is the reunion of the spiritual man with that primitive spirit, which communicates its individual portions to all nature, and which receives them, when duly purified, again into its essence. On this head, however, the followers of CHAITANYA, in common with most of the *Vaiśṇava* sects, do not seem to have adopted the *Vedānta* notions; and, although some admit the *Sāyujya*, or identification with the deity, as one division of *Mukti*, others are disposed to exclude it, and none acknowledge its pre-eminence. Their *Moksha* is of two kinds: one, perpetual residence in *Svarga*, or Paradise, with possession of the divine attributes of supreme power, &c. and the other, elevation to *Vaikuṇṭha*—the heaven of VIṢṆU, which is free from the influence of *Māyā*, and above the regions of the *Avatārs*, and where they enjoy one or all of the relations to

KRISHṆA, which have been enumerated when speaking of the followers of RĀMĀNUJA and MADHWĀCHĀRYA.

The doctrines of the followers of CHAITANYA are conveyed in a great number of works, both in Sanskrit and Bengali. The sage himself, and the two other *Mahāprabhus*, NIRYĀṆAND and ADWAITA, do not appear to have left any written compositions, but the deficiency was amply compensated by RŪPA and SANĀTAN, both of whom were voluminous and able writers. To RŪPA are ascribed the following works; the *Vidagdha Mādhava*, a drama; the *Lalitā Mādhava*, *Ujjvala Nīlamanī*, *Dāna Kēli Kaumudī*, poems in celebration of KRISHṆA and RĀDHĀ; *Bahustavāvalī*, hymns; *Ashṭādaśa Līlā Khaṇḍ*; *Padmāvalī*, *Govinda Virudāvalī*, and its *Lakshaṇa*, or exposition; *Mathurā Māhātmya*, panegyrical account of Mathurā, *Nātaka Lakshaṇa*, *Laghu Bhāgavat*, an abridgment of the *Śrī Bhāgavat*, and the *Vraja Vilāsa Varṇanam*, an account of KRISHṆA's sports in *Bṛindāvan*. SANĀTAN was the author of the *Hari Bhakti Vilās*, a work on the nature of the deity and devotion, the *Rasāmṛita Sindhu*, a work of high authority on the same subjects, the *Bhāgavat-āmṛita*, which contains the observances of the sect, and the *Siddhānta Sāra*, a commentary on the 10th Chapter of the *Śrī Bhāgavat*. Of the other six *Go-sāins*, JĪVA wrote the *Bhāgavat Sundarbha*, the *Bhakti Siddhānta*, *Gopāla Champū*, and *Upadeśāmṛita*, and RAGHUNĀTH DĀS, the *Manasśikshā* and *Guhaleśa Sukhādā*. These are all in Sanskrit. In Bengali, the *Rāgamaya Kōṇa*, a work on subduing the passions,

is ascribed to RŪPA, and *Rasamaya Kalikā*, on devotedness to KRISHŪA, to SANĀTAN. Other Sanskrit works are enumerated amongst the authorities of this sect, as the *Chaitanya Chandrodāya*, a drama*, *Stava Mālā*, *Stavāmṛita Laharī*, by VIŚVANĀTH CHAKRAVARTI; *Bhajanāmṛita*, *Śrī Smaraṇa Darpaṇa*, by RĀMCHANDRA Kavirāja; the *Gopīpremāmṛita*, a comment on the *Krishṇa Karmāmṛita*, by KRISHṇA DĀS Kavirāja; and the *Krishṇa Kirtana*, by GOVIND DĀS and VIDYĀPATI.—The biographical accounts of CHAITANYA have been already specified in our notice of the *Chaitanya Charitāmṛita*, and besides those, there enumerated, we have the *Chaitanya Mangala*, a history of the saint, by LOCHANA, and the *Gauragāṇoddeśa dīpikā*, an account of his chief disciples. The principal works of common reference, and written in *Bengali*, though thickly interspersed with *Sanskrit* texts, are the *Upāsana-chandrāmṛita*, a ritual, by LĀL DĀS, the *Premabhakti Chandrikā*, by THĀKUR Gosāin, the *Pāshaṇḍa Dalana*, a refutation of other sects, by RĀDHĀMĀDHAVA, and the *Vaishṇava Varddhana*, by DAIVAKI NANDANA. There are no doubt many other works circulating amongst this sect, which is therefore possessed of a voluminous body of literature of its own¹.

* [by KAVIKARNĀPURA.]

¹ The particulars of the above are taken chiefly from the CHAITANYA CHARITĀMṚITA, others from the *Upāsana-chandrāmṛita*, and a few from the list given by Mr. WARD: "Account of the Hindus", Vol 2, 448.

The *Vaishṇavas* of this sect are distinguished by two white perpendicular streaks of sandal, or *Gopīchāndana*, down the forehead, uniting at the root of the nose, and continuing to near the tip; by the name of *Rādhā Krishṇa* stamped on the temples, breast and arms; a close necklace of *Tulasi* stalk of three strings, and a rosary of one hundred and eight or sometimes even of a thousand beads made of the stem of the *Tulasi*; the necklace is sometimes made of very minute beads, and this, in upper India, is regarded as the characteristic of the *Chaitanya* sect, but in Bengal it is only worn by persons of the lowest class. The *Chaitanya* sectaries consist of every tribe and order, and are governed by the descendants of their *Gosāins*. They include some *Udāsīnas*, or *Vairāgis*, men who retire from the world, and live unconnected with society in a state of celibacy and mendicancy: the religious teachers are, however, married men, and their dwellings, with a temple attached, are tenanted by their family and dependents. Such cœnobitical establishments as are common amongst the *Rāmānandīs* and other ascetics are not known to the great body of the *Chaitanya Vaishṇavas*.

Besides the divisions of this sect arising from the various forms under which the tutelary deity is worshipped, and thence denominated *Rādhāramāṇīs*, *Rādhīpālīs*, *Vihārījī* and *Govindjī*, and *Yugala Bhaktas*, and which distinctions are little more than nominal, whilst also they are almost restricted to the Bengal *Vaishṇavas* about *Mathurā* and *Brindāvan*, there are

in Bengal three classes of this sect, that may be regarded as seceders from the principal body; these are denominated *Spashtha Dáyakas*, *Kartá Bhájas* and *Sáhujas*.

The *Spashtha Dáyakas* are distinguished from perhaps every other Hindu sect in India by two singularities—denial of the divine character, and despotic authority of the *Guru*, and the, at least professedly, platonic association of male and female cœnobites in one conventual abode¹.

The secular followers of this sect are, as usual, of every tribe, and of the *Grihastha*, or householder order: the teachers, both male and female, are *Uddásina*, or mendicants and ascetics, and lead a life of celibacy: the sectarial marks are a shorter *Tilaka* than that used by the other *Chaitanyas*, and a single string of *Tulasí* beads worn close round the neck: the men often wear only the *Kaupina*, and a piece of cloth round the waist, like an apron, whilst the women shave their heads, with the exception of a single slender tress: those amongst them who are most rigid in their conduct, accept no invitations nor food from any but persons of their own sect.

The association of men and women is, according to their own assertions, restricted to a residence within the same inclosure, and leads to no other than such intercourse as becomes brethren and sisters, or than

¹ Like the brethren and sisters of the free spirit, who were numerous in Europe in the 13th century. See MOSHEIM 3, 373.

the community of belief and interest, and joint celebration of the praise of KRISHNA and CHAITANYA, with song and dance: the women act as the spiritual instructors of the females of respectable families, to whom they have unrestricted access, and by whom they are visited in their own dwellings: the institution is so far political, and the consequence is said to be actually that to which it obviously tends, the growing diffusion of the doctrines of this sect in Calcutta, where it is especially established.

The *Kartá Bhájas*, or worshippers of the Creator, are a sect of very modern origin, having been founded no longer than thirty years ago by RÁMA ŚARAN PÁLA, a *Gwála*, an inhabitant of *Ghospara*, a village near *Sukh Sagar*, in Bengal¹. The chief peculiarity of this sect is the doctrine of the absolute divinity of the *Guru*, at least as being the present *Krishna*, or deity incarnate, and whom they therefore, relinquishing every other form of worship, venerate as their *Ishta Devatá*, or elected god: this exclusive veneration is,

¹ See Mr. WARD's account of this sect, Vol. 2, 175; in a note he has given a translation of the *Mantra*: "Oh! sinless Lord -- Oh! great Lord, at thy pleasure I go and return, not a moment am I without thee, I am even with thee, save, Oh! great Lord:" the following is the original: कर्ता आउलि महाप्रभु आमि तोमार सुखे चलि फिरि तिलाई तोमा छाडा नहि आमि तोमार सङ्गे आखि दोहाइ महाप्रभु ॥ This is called the *Solah andá Mantra*, the Neophyte paying that sum, or sixteen annas, for it: it is perhaps one singularity in the sect, that this *Mantra* is in Bengali, a common spoken language—in all other cases it is couched in Sanskrit, the language of the gods.

however, comprehended within wide limits: we have seen that it prevails amongst the followers of *Chaitanya* generally, and it need scarcely have been adopted as a schismatical distinction: the real difference, however, is the person, not the character of the *Guru*, and the innovation is nothing, in fact, but an artful encroachment upon the authority of the old hereditary teachers or *Gosáins*, and an attempt to invest a new family with spiritual power: the attempt has been so far successful, that it gave affluence and celebrity to the founder, to which, as well as his father's sanctity, the son, RÁMDULÁL PÁL has succeeded. It is said to have numerous disciples, the greater proportion of whom are women. The distinctions of caste are not acknowledged amongst the followers of this sect, at least when engaged in any of their religious celebrations, and they eat together in private, once or twice a year: the initiating *Mantra* is supposed to be highly efficacious in removing disease and barrenness, and hence many infirm persons and childless women are induced to join the sect.

The remaining division of the Bengal *Vaishnavas* allow nothing of themselves to be known: their professions and practices are kept secret, but it is believed that they follow the worship of *Śakti*, or the female energy, agreeably to the left handed ritual, the nature of which we shall hereafter have occasion to describe.

The chief temples of the Bengal *Vaishnavas*, besides those which at *Dwáraká* and *Bṛindávan*, and particularly at *Jagannáth*, are objects of universal reverence,

are three, one at *Nadiya* dedicated to CHAITANYA, one at *Ambiká* to NITYÁNAND and the same, and one at *Agradwipa* dedicated to GOPINÁTH: at the latter a celebrated *Melá*, or annual fair, is held in the month of March, at which from 50 to 100,000 persons are generally collected.

RÁDHÁ VALLABHÍS.

Although the general worship of the female personifications of the Hindu deities forms a class by itself, yet when individualised as the associates of the divinities, whose energies they are, their adoration becomes so linked with that of the male power, that it is not easy, even to their votaries, to draw a precise line between them: they, in fact, form a part of the system, and *Lakshmi* and *Sítá* are the preferential objects of devotion to many of the followers of RÁMÁNUJA and RÁMÁNAND, without separating them from the communion of the sect.

In like manner RÁDHÁ, the favourite mistress of KRISHNA, is the object of adoration to all the sects who worship that deity, and not unfrequently obtains a degree of preference that almost throws the character from whom she derives her importance into the shade: such seems to be the case with the sect now noticed, who worship KRISHNA as *Rádhá Vallabha*, the lord or lover of RÁDHÁ.

The adoration of RÁDHÁ is a most undoubted innovation in the Hindu creed, and one of very recent origin. The only RÁDHÁ that is named in the *Mahá-*

*bhārat** is a very different personage, being the wife of DURYODHANA's charioteer, and the nurse of KARṢA. Even the *Bhāgavat* makes no particular mention of her amongst the *Gopis* of *Bṛindāvan*, and we must look to the *Brahma Vaivartta Purāṇa*, as the chief authority of a classical character, on which the pretensions of RĀDHĀ are founded; a circumstance which is of itself sufficient to indicate the comparatively modern date of the *Purāṇa*.

According to this work**, the primeval being having divided himself into two parts, the right side became KRISHṆA, and the left RĀDHĀ, and from their union, the vital airs and mundane egg were generated. RĀDHĀ being, in fact, the *Ichchhā Śakti*, the will or wish of the deity, the manifestation of which was the universe.

RĀDHĀ continued to reside with KRISHṆA in *Goloka*, where she gave origin to the *Gopis*, or her female companions, and received the homage of all the divinities. The *Gopas*, or male attendants of KRISHṆA, as we have formerly remarked, were in like manner produced from his person. The grossness of Hindu personification ascribes to the KRISHṆA of the heavenly *Goloka* the defects of the terrestrial cowherd, and the RĀDHĀ of that region is not more exempt from the causes or effects of jealousy than the nymph of *Bṛindāvan*. Being on one occasion offended with KRISHṆA for his infidelity, she denied him access to her palace,

* [V, 4759. 60.]

** [II, 45. 46.]

on which she was severely censured by SUDĀMĀ, a *Gopa*, and confidential adviser of KRISHṆA. She therefore cursed him, and doomed him to be born on earth as an *Asura*, and he accordingly appeared as ŚANKHACHŪḌA. He retaliated by a similar imprecation, in consequence of which RĀDHĀ was also obliged to quit her high station, and was born at *Bṛindāvan* on earth, as the daughter of a *Vaiśya*, named VRISHABHĀNU, by his wife KALĀVATĪ. KRISHṆA having, at the same time, become incarnate, was married to her at *Bṛindāvan*, when he was fourteen, and she was twelve years of age: as a further result of the imprecation, she was separated from him after he attained maturity, until the close of his earthly career; when she preceded him to the celestial *Goloka*, and was there reunited with him. The following is a further illustration of the notions of RĀDHĀ entertained by this sect. It is the address of GAṆEŚA to her, in the *Brahma Vaivartta Purāṇa**, after she had set the example of presenting offerings to him.

"Mother of the universe, the worship thou hast offered affords a lesson to all mankind. Thou art of one form with *Brahma*, and abidest on the bosom of KRISHṆA. Thou art the presiding goddess of his life, and more dear than life to him, on the lotus of whose feet meditate the gods *Brahmā*, *Śiva*, *Śeṣha*, and the rest, and *Sanaka* and other mighty munis, and the chiefs of the sages, and holy men, and all the faithful. RĀDHĀ is the created left half, and MĀDHAVA the right, and the great *Lakṣmī*, the mother of the world, was made from thy left side. Thou art the

* [IV, 123.]

great goddess, the parent of all wealth, and of the *Vedas*, and of the world. The primeval *Prakṛiti*, and the universal *Prakṛiti*, and all the creations of the will, are but forms of thee. Thou art all cause and all effect. That wise *Yogi*, who first pronounces thy name, and next that of KṚISHṆĀ, goes to his region; but he that reverses this order, incurs the sin of Brahminicide¹. Thou art the mother of the world. The *Paramātmā* HARI is the father. The *Guru* is more venerable than the father, and the mother more venerable than the *Guru*. Although he worship any other god, or even KṚISHṆĀ, the cause of all, yet the fool in this holy land who reviles RĀDHĪKĀ shall suffer sorrow and pain in this life, and be condemned to hell, as long as the sun and moon endure. The spiritual preceptor teaches wisdom, and wisdom is from mystical rites and secret prayers; but they alone are the prayers of wisdom, that inculcate faith in KṚISHṆĀ and in you. He who preserves the *Mantras* of the gods through successive births, obtains faith in DURGĀ, which is of difficult acquisition. By preserving the *Mantra* of DURGĀ he obtains SAMBHU, who is eternal happiness and wisdom. By preserving the *Mantra* of SAMBHU, the cause of the world, he obtains your lotus feet, that most difficult of attainments. Having found an asylum at your feet, the pious man never relinquishes them for an instant, nor is separated from them by fate. Having with firm faith received, in the holy land of *Bharata*, your *Mantra* (initiating prayer) from a *Vaishṇava*, and adding your praises (*Stava*) or charm (*Kavacha*), which cleaves the root of works, he delivers himself (from future births) with thousands of his kindred. He who having properly worshipped his *Guru* with clothes, ornaments, and sandal, and assumed thy *Kavacha* (a charm or prayer, carried about the person in a small gold or silver casket) is equal to VIṢṆU himself."

In what respect the *Rādhā Vallabhis* differ from those followers of the Bengali *Gosāins*, who teach the

¹ Accordingly the formula used by the *Rādhā Vallabhi* sect, and the like, is always RĀDHĀ KṚISHṆĀ, never KṚISHṆĀ RĀDHĀ.

worship of this goddess in conjunction with KṚISHṆĀ, does not appear, and perhaps there is little other difference than that of their acknowledging separate teachers. Instead of adhering to any of the hereditary *Gosāins*, the members of this sect consider a teacher named HARI VANŚ as their founder. This person settled at *Brīndāvan*, and established a *Math* there, which in 1822 comprised between 40 and 50 resident ascetics. He also erected a temple there that still exists, and indicates, by an inscription over the door, that it was dedicated to *Śrī Rādhā Vallabha* by HARI VANŚ, in *Samvat* 1641, or A. D. 1585. A manual, entitled *Rādhā Sudhā Nidhi*, which is merely a series of Sanskrit verses in praise of RĀDHĀ, is also ascribed to the same individual. A more ample exposition of the notions of the sect, and of their traditions and observances, as well as a collection of their songs or hymns, is the *Sevā Sakhi Vāñi*, a work in *Bhākhā*, in upwards of forty sections. There are other works in the vernacular dialects, and especially in that of *Brāj*, or the country about *Mathurā* and *Brīndāvan*, which regulate or inspire the devotion of the worshippers of *Rādhā Vallabha*.

SAKHĪ BHĀVAS.

This sect is another ramification of those which adopt KṚISHṆĀ and RĀDHĀ for the objects of their worship, and may be regarded as more particularly springing from the last named stock, the *Rādhā Vallabhis*. As RĀDHĀ is their preferential and exclusive divinity,

the former lead a mendicant and ascetic life, and are distinguished by wearing yellow garments and a single streak of sandal, or *Gopichandana*, down the forehead; the necklace and rosary are of *Tulasi* beads: they wear also a small pointed cap, round the lower part of which they wrap a yellow turban. Their appearance in general is decent, and their deportment decorous; in fact, although they profess mendicity, they are well supported by the opulence of their disciples; it is possible, indeed, that this sect, considering its origin, and the class by which it is professed, arose out of an attempt to shake off the authority of the *Gokulastha Gosáins*.

The authorities of the sect are the *Śrī Bhāgavat* and *Gītā*, of which they have *Bhāshá* translations: that of the former is ascribed, at least in parts, to CHARAÑ DÁS himself: he has also left original works, as the *Sandeha Ságar* and *Dharma Jiháj*, in a dialogue between him and his teacher, SUKH DEVA, the same, according to the *Charaṇ Dásís*, as the pupil of VYÁS, and narrator of the *Puráṇas*. The first disciple of CHARAÑ DÁS was his own sister, SAHAJ BÁÍ, and she succeeded to her brother's authority, as well as learning, having written the *Sahaj Prakás* and *Solah Nir-ṇaya*: they have both left many *Śabdás* and *Kavits*: other works, in *Bhāshá*, have been composed by various teachers of the sect.

The chief seat of the *Charaṇ Dásís* is at *Dehli*, where is the *Samádih*, or monument of the founder: this establishment consists of about twenty resident

members: there are also five or six similar *Maths* at *Dehli*, and others in the upper part of the *Doab*, and their numbers are said to be rapidly increasing.

HARISCHANDÍS, SADHNÁ PANTHÍS and MÁDHAVÍS.

These sects may be regarded as little more than nominal. The two first have originated, apparently, in the determination of some of the classes considered as outcaste, to adopt new religious as well as civil distinctions for themselves, as they were excluded from every one actually existing. The *Harischandís* are *Doms*, or sweepers, in the western provinces: their name bears an allusion to the *Pauráṇik* prince *Harischandra*¹, who, becoming the purchased slave of a man of this impure order, instructed his master, it is said, in the tenets of the sect. What they were, however, is not known, and it may be doubted whether any exist.

SADHNÁ, again, was a butcher, but it is related of him, that he only sold, never slaughtered meat, but purchased it ready slain. An ascetic rewarded his humanity with the present of a stone, a *Sálagráh* which he devoutly worshipped, and, in consequence, VISHṆU was highly pleased with him, and conferred upon him all his desires. Whilst on a pilgrimage, the wife of a Brahman fell in love with him, but he replied to her advances, by stating, that a throat must be cut before he would comply, which she misinter-

¹ See the Story of *Harischandra* in WARD, Vol. I, p. 16. Note.

preting, cut off her husband's head: finding SADHNA regarded her on this account with increased aversion, she accused him of the crime, and as he disdained to vindicate his innocence, his hands were cut off as a punishment, but they were restored to him by JAGAN-NÁTH. The woman burnt herself on her husband's funeral pile, which SADHNA observing exclaimed: "No one knows the ways of women, she kills her husband, and becomes a *Sati*," which phrase has passed into a proverb. What peculiarity of doctrine he introduced amongst the *Vaishnavas* of his tribe, is no where particularised.

MÁDHO is said to have been an ascetic, who founded an order of mendicants called *Mádhavis*: they are said to travel about always with a *Saroda* or *Balian*, stringed instruments of the guitar kind, and to accompany their solicitations with song and music: they are rarely, if ever, to be met with, and their peculiarity of doctrine is not known. The founder appears to be the same with the MÁDHON of the *Bhakta Málá*, who was an inhabitant of *Gúdágarh*, but there are several celebrated ascetics of the same name, especially a MÁDHO DÁS, a Brahman of *Kanoj*, who was a man of considerable learning, and spent some time in *Orissa* and *Brindávan*. He was probably a follower of CHAITANYA.

SANNYÁSIS, VAIRÁGIS, &c.

Much confusion prevails in speaking of the mendicant and monastic orders of the Hindus, by the indis-

criminate use of the terms prefixed to this division of our subject, and from considering them as specific denominations. They are, on the contrary, generic terms, and equally applicable to any of the erratic beggars of the Hindus, be they of what religious order they may: they signify, in fact, nothing more than a man, who has abandoned the world, or has overcome his passions, and are therefore equally suitable to any of the religious vagrants we meet with in Hindustan: the term *Fakir* is of equally general application and import, although it is of Mohammedan origin, and in strictness more descriptive of the holy beggars of that faith.

Although, however, *Sannyásis* and *Vairágis*, and other similar denominations are used, and correctly used in a wide acceptation, yet we occasionally do find them limited in meaning, and designating distinct and inimical bodies of men. When this is the case, it may be generally concluded, that the *Sannyásis* imply the mendicant followers of ŚIVA, and the *Vairágis* those of VIŠṆU.

The distinction thus made requires, at its outset, a peculiar exception, for besides the indiscriminate application of the term *Sannyási* to the *Vaishnavas*, as well as other mendicants; there is a particular class of them to whom it really appertains, these are the *Tridañdis*, or *Tridañdi Sannyásis*.

The word *Dañda* originally imports a *staff*, and it figuratively signifies moral restraint; exercised in three ways especially, or in the control of speech, body,

and mind; or word, deed, and thought: a joint reference to the literal and figurative sense of the term has given rise to a religious distinction termed *Dāṇḍa Grahaṇam*, the taking up of the staff, or adopting the exercise of the moral restraints above-mentioned, and carrying, as emblematic of such a purpose, either one, or, as in the present instance, three small wands or staves. *Tridaṇḍi* designates both these characteristics of the order.

The *Tridaṇḍi Sannyāsīs* are such members of the *Rāmānuja*, or *Śrī Vaishṇava* sect, as have past through the two first states of the Brahmanical order, and entered that of the *Sannyāsi*, or the ascetic life: their practices are, in some other respects, peculiar: they never touch metals nor fire, and subsist upon food obtained as alms from the family Brahmans of the *Śrī Vaishṇava* faith alone: they are of a less erratic disposition than most other mendicants, and are rarely met with in upper India: they are found in considerable numbers, and of high character, in the south: in their general practices, their religious worship, and philosophical tenets, they conform to the institutes and doctrines of *RĀMĀNUJA*.

VAIRĀGĪS.

The term *Vairāgi* implies a person devoid of passion¹, and is therefore correctly applicable to every religious mendicant, who affects to have estranged

¹ From *Vi* privative prefix, and *Rāga* passion.

himself from the interests and emotions of mankind. *Virakta*, the dispassionate, and *Avadhūta*, the liberated, have a similar import, and are therefore equally susceptible of a general application: they are, indeed, so used in many cases, but it is more usual to attach a more precise sense to the terms, and to designate by them the mendicant *Vaishṇavas* of the *Rāmānandi* class, or its ramifications, as the disciples of *KABĪR*, *DĀDŪ*, and others.

The ascetic order of the *Rāmānandi Vaishṇavas* is considered to have been instituted especially by the twelfth disciple of *RĀMĀNAND*, *ŚRĪ ĀNAND*: they profess perpetual poverty and continence, and subsist upon alms: the greater number of them are erratic, and observe no form of worship, but they are also residents in the *Maths* of their respective orders¹, and the spiritual guides of the worldly votaries; it is almost impossible, however, to give any general cha-

¹ The *Rāmānandi Vairāgis*, although indigenous in upper India, have established themselves in the Dekhan, as mentioned by *BUCHANAN* (Mysore, II, 76). The account he gives there of the *Dakṣiṇī Vairāgis* is an excellent illustration of the confusion that prevails respecting the application of the term; as he has blended with the *Rāmānandi* ascetics, who are accurately entitled to the designation, a variety of religious vagrants, to some of whom the name is rarely, and to others never applied: as *Paramahansas*, *Digambaras*, or *Nāgas*, *Īrddhabāhus*, and even *Aghoris*; the latter are not named, but they, or similar *Sāira* mendicants, are the only individuals "who extort compassion by burning themselves with torches, and cutting themselves with swords."

racter of these *Vairāgis*, as, although united generally by the watch-word of *VISHŪ*, or his incarnations, there are endless varieties both of doctrine and practice amongst them: those who are collected in *Maths* are of more fixed principles than their vagrant brethren, amongst whom individuals are constantly appearing in some new form with regard to the deity they worship, or the practices they follow¹.

¹ Such are the *Sitā Pādrls*, *Ramati Rdms*, and others; also the new and scarcely yet known sects *Gulāl Dāsīs*, and *Daryā Dāsīs*: mention is also made in the *Dabistān*, of a number of Hindu mendicants, who are no longer numerous, if ever to be encountered. It is not possible in general, however, to discriminate the classes to which they belong, as in the descriptions given by the writer, he usually confines himself to a few peculiarities of practice that afford no guide to the principles of the sect, and as in the case of the *Dherhs*, he confounds the distinction of caste, or occupation with that of religious belief. Many of the vagrant ascetics whom he notices belong also rather to the Mohammedan, than the Hindu religion, as in the followers of *SHEIKH BEDĀ AD DĪN MEDĀR* [*Dabist. II*, 223 ff. G. de Tassy, *la relig. musulmane dans l'Inde*. Paris, 1831, p. 54-62.]—who, although they credit the divine mission of Mohammed, disregard the established forms of the Musalman faith, chew *Bhang*, and go naked, smearing their bodies with *Vibhūti*, or the ashes of burnt cowdung, and twisting their hair into the *Jatā*, or braid worn by Hindu ascetics—except as professed worshippers of *Nīranjan*, or the indescribable deity, and a belief in magic, these mendicants have little in common with the Hindu religion, or perhaps with any, although, with a facility of which innumerable instances occur in Hindustan, they have adopted many of the Hindu practices. The tomb of *Sheikh Medār* is still to be seen at *Makhanpur*, near *Firozabad*, in the *Doab*—where, at the time of the *Dabistān*, an annual meeting of his disciples was held. The tomb is an

NĀGAS.

All the sects include a division under this denomination. The *Nāgas* are of the same description as the *Vairāgis*, or *Sannyāsīs*, in all essential points, but in their excess of zeal they carry their secession from ordinary manners so far, as to leave off every kind of covering, and, as their name signifies, go naked; there are, however, other points in which they differ from the general character of Hindu mendicants, and they are unquestionably the most worthless and profligate members of their respective religions.

A striking proof of their propensities is their use of arms. They always travel with weapons, usually a matchlock and sword and shield, and that these implements are not carried in vain has been shewn on various occasions: the sanguinary conflicts of opposite sects of Hindu mendicants have been described in several publications with the customary indistinctness as to the parties concerned: these parties are the *Vaishnava* and *Saiva Nāgas* chiefly, assisted and probably instigated by the *Vairāgi* and *Sannyāsi* members of those two sects, and aided by abandoned characters from all the schisms connected respectively with the one or the other¹: it would, however, be

extensive building, though in decay. The *Dabistān*, although it contains many curious, and some correct notices of the Hindu religion, affords too loose and inaccurate a description to be consulted with advantage.

¹ As. Res. VI, 317, and XII, 455; an occurrence of a similar

doing an injustice to the mendicant orders of any sect, to suppose that they are universally or even generally implicated in these atrocious affrays.

ŚAIVAS.

The worship of ŚIVA in the districts along the Ganges presents itself under a very different aspect from that of VIṢṆU, and with some singular anomalies. It appears to be the most prevalent and popular of all the modes of adoration, to judge by the number of shrines dedicated to the only form under which ŚIVA is revered, that of the *Linga*; yet it will be generally observed, that these temples are scarcely ever the resort of numerous votaries, and that they are regarded with comparatively little veneration by the Hindus. *Benares*, indeed, furnishes exceptions, and the temple of *Viśveśvara*¹ is thronged

nature is recorded by the author of the *Dabistān*, who mentions, that in 1050 of the Hijra a severe conflict took place at *Dwārakā* between a set of *Vaiṣṇava* ascetics termed *Muhlis*, from shaving their heads, and the *Samnyāsīs*, in which a great number of the former were slain [*Dabist.* II, 197].

¹ "The Lord of all," an epithet of ŚIVA, represented as usual by a *Linga*. It is one of the twelve principal emblems of this description, and has been, for many centuries, the chief object of veneration at *Kāśī* or *Benares*. The old temple was partially destroyed by the Mohammedans in the reign of AURENGZEB; the present was built by AHALYA BĀI, the Mahratta Princess, and, although small and without pretension to magnificence, is remarkable for the minute beauty of its architectural embellishments.

with a never-ceasing crowd of adorers. There is, however, little solemnity or veneration in the hurried manner in which they throw their flowers or fruits before the image¹; and there are other temples, the dwellings of other divinities, that rival the abode of *Viśveśvara* in popular attraction.

The adoration of ŚIVA, indeed, has never assumed, in Upper India, a popular form. He appears in his shrines only in an unattractive and rude emblem, the mystic purpose of which is little understood, or regarded by the uninitiated and vulgar, and which offers nothing to interest the feelings or excite the imagination. No legends are recorded of this deity of a poetic and pleasing character; and above all, such legends

¹ A Hindu temple comprises an outer court, usually a quadrangle, sometimes surrounded by a piazza, and a central edifice constituting the shrine. This, which in Upper India is generally of small dimensions, is divided into two parts, the *Sabha*, or vestibule, and the *Garbhagṛha*, or adytum, in which the Image is placed. The course of worship is the circumambulating of the temple, keeping the right hand to it, as often as the devotee pleases: the worshipper then enters the vestibule, and if a bell is suspended there, as is commonly the case, strikes two or three times upon it. He then advances to the threshold of the shrine, presents his offering, which the officiating Brahman receives, mutters inaudibly a short prayer, accompanied with prostration, or simply with the act of lifting the hands to the forehead, and departs. There is nothing like a religious service, and the rapid manner in which the whole is performed, the quick succession of worshippers, the gloomy aspect of the shrine, and the scattering about of water, oil, and faded flowers, inspire any thing but feelings of reverence or devotion.

as are narrated in the Purāṇas and Tantras, have not been presented to the Hindus in any accessible shape. The Śaivas have no works in any of the common dialects, like the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Vārttā*, or the *Bhaktamālā*. Indeed, as far as any enquiry has yet been instituted, no work whatever exists, in any vernacular dialect, in which the actions of ŚIVA, in any of his forms, are celebrated. It must be kept in mind, however, that these observations are intended to apply only to Gangetic Hindustan, for in the South of India, as we shall hereafter see, popular legends relating to local manifestations of ŚIVA are not uncommon.

Corresponding to the absence of multiplied forms of this divinity as objects of worship, and to the want of those works which attach importance to particular manifestations of the favourite god, the people can scarcely be said to be divided into different sects, any farther than as they may have certain religious mendicants for their spiritual guides. Actual divisions of the worshippers of ŚIVA are almost restricted to these religious personages, collected sometimes in opulent and numerous associations, but for the greater part detached, few, and indigent. There are no establishments amongst the Śaivas of Hindustan, like those of Śrināth or Purī; no individuals as wealthy as the *Gokulastha Gosāins*, nor even as influential as the descendants of ADWAIṬA and NITYĀNAND. There are no teachers of ancient repute except ŚĀṆKARA ĀCHĀRYA, and his doctrines are too philosophical and speculative to have made him popular.

The worship of ŚIVA continues, in fact, to be what it appears to have been from a remote period, the religion of the *Brāhmaṇas*¹. ŚAMBHU is declared by MANU to be the presiding deity of the Brahmanical order, and the greater number of them, particularly those who practice the rites of the *Vedas*, or who profess the study of the *Śāstras*, receive ŚIVA as their tutelary deity, wear his insignia, and worship the *Linga*, either in temples, in their houses, or on the side of a sacred stream, providing, in the latter case, extempore emblems kneaded out of the mud or clay of the river's bed. The example of the Brahmins and the practice of ages maintain the veneration universally offered to the type of ŚIVA; but it is not the prevailing, nor the popular condition of the Hindu faith, along the banks of the Ganges. We shall now proceed to specify the different classes into which the worshippers of ŚIVA, as distinct from the mass of Brahmins, may be distinguished.

DAṆḌĪS and DAŚNĀMĪS.

It is customary to consider these two orders as forming but one division. The classification is not, in every instance, correct, but the practices of the two are, in many instances, blended, and both denominations are accurately applicable to the same individual. It will not be necessary, therefore, to deviate from the ordinary enumeration.

¹ See a preceding Note page 2. [The received text of Manu does not contain the śloka there quoted.]

The worship of ŚIVA continues, in fact, to be what it appears to have been from a remote period, the religion of the *Brāhmaṇas*¹. ŚAMBHU is declared by MANU to be the presiding deity of the Brahmanical order, and the greater number of them, particularly those who practice the rites of the *Vedas*, or who profess the study of the *Śāstras*, receive ŚIVA as their tutelary deity, wear his insignia, and worship the *Linga*, either in temples, in their houses, or on the side of a sacred stream, providing, in the latter case, extempore emblems kneaded out of the mud or clay of the river's bed. The example of the Brahmins and the practice of ages maintain the veneration universally offered to the type of ŚIVA; but it is not the prevailing, nor the popular condition of the Hindu faith, along the banks of the Ganges. We shall now proceed to specify the different classes into which the worshippers of ŚIVA, as distinct from the mass of Brahmins, may be distinguished.

DAṆDĪS and DAŚNĀMIS.

It is customary to consider these two orders as forming but one division. The classification is not, in every instance, correct, but the practices of the two are, in many instances, blended, and both denominations are accurately applicable to the same individual. It will not be necessary, therefore, to deviate from the ordinary enumeration.

¹ See a preceding Note page 2. [The received text of MANU does not contain the śloka there quoted.]

The *Dandīs*, properly so called, and the *Tridandīs* of the *Vaishnavas*, are the only legitimate representatives of the fourth *Āśrama*, or mendicant life, into which the Hindu, according to the instructions of his inspired legislators, is to enter, after passing through the previous stages of student, householder and hermit¹. It is not necessary, however, to have gone through the whole of the previous career, as the Brahman may pass from any one of the first orders to the last at once²; he is then to take up his staff and water-pot, to derive from begging such a portion of food as is sufficient for his mere sustenance, and to devote the remainder of his day to holy study and pious meditation³.

¹ Thus MANU, 6, 33:

वनेषु तु विहृत्यैवं तृतीयं भागमायुषः ।
चतुर्थमायुषो भागं त्यक्त्वा सङ्गान्परिव्रजेत् ॥

"Having thus performed religious acts in a forest during the third portion of his life, let him become a *Sannyāsi* for the fourth portion of it, abandoning all sensual affection."

² So MANU, as expounded by KULLŪKA BHĀṬYA, 6, 38:

प्राजापत्यां निरूप्येष्टिं सर्ववेदसद्विणाम ।
आत्मन्यग्नीन्समारोप्य ब्राह्मणः प्रव्रजेद्बृहत् ।
ब्रह्मचर्यादिव प्रव्रजेद्बृहदा वनाद्वा इति टीका ।

"Having performed the sacrifice of *Prajapati*, &c. a Brahman may proceed from his house, that is, from the second order, or he may proceed even from the first to the condition of a *Sannyāsi*." Indeed the intermediate stage of the *Vānaprastha* is amongst the prohibited acts in the *Kali* age.

³ Agreeably to the high authority already quoted, 6, 41, 43:

आगारादभिनिष्क्रान्तः पवित्रोपचितो मुनिः ।
समुपोदेषु कामेषु निरपेक्षः परिव्रजेत् ॥

Adopting, as a general guide, the rules of original works, the *Dandī* is distinguished by carrying a small *Dand*, or wand, with several processes or projections from it, and a piece of cloth dyed with red ochre, in which the Brahmanical cord is supposed to be enshrined, attached to it: he shaves his hair and beard, wears only a cloth round his loins, and subsists upon food obtained ready-dressed from the houses of the Brahmans once a day only, which he deposits in the small clay pot that he carries always with him: he should live alone, and near to, but not within a city; but this rule is rarely observed, and in general the *Dandīs* are found in cities collected like other mendicants in *Maths*¹. The *Dandī* has no particular time

अनग्निरनिकेतः स्वाद्भाममन्नार्थमाश्रयेत् ।

उपेक्षको ऽशंसुको मुनिभावसमाहितः ॥

"Departing from his house, taking with him pure implements, his water-pot, and staff, keeping silence, unallured by desire of objects near him, let him enter into the fourth order."

"Let him have no culinary fire, no domicile, let him when very hungry go to the town for food, let him patiently bear disease, let him study to know God, and fix his attention on God alone."

¹ These are all founded on the following texts of MANU:

ऋषिकेनग्नमन्नशुः पात्री दण्डी कुसुमवान् ।
विचरेन्नित्यो नित्यं सर्वभूतान्यपीडयन् ॥
एककालं चरेद्भिक्षं न प्रसज्यत विसरे ।
भिक्षे प्रसक्तो हि यतिर्विषयेष्वपि सज्जति ॥
विधूमे सन्नमुसले व्यङ्गारे भुक्तवज्जने ।
वृत्ते सरावसम्पाते भिक्षां नित्यं यतिश्चरेत् ॥
अलाभे न विपादी स्वात्मभि चैव न हर्षयेत् ।
प्राणयात्रिकमात्रः स्वात्मावासङ्गादिनिर्यतः ॥

or mode of worship, but spends his time in meditation, or in practices corresponding with those of the *Yoga*, and in the study of the *Vedānta* works, especially according to the comments of ŚĀNKA RĀCHĀRYA. As that teacher was an incarnation of ŚIVA¹, the *Dāidīs* reverence that deity and his incarnations, in preference to the other members of the Triad, whence they are included amongst his votaries; and they so far admit the distinction as not unfrequently to bear the *Śaiva* mark upon the forehead, smearing it with the *Tripuñdra*, a triple transverse line made with the *Vibhūti*, or ashes which should be taken from the fire of an *Agnihotra Brāhman*, or they may be the ashes of

“His hair, nails and beard being clipped, bearing with him a dish, a staff, and a water-pot, let him wander about continually without giving pain to any being.” VI, 52.

“Only once a day let him demand food, let him not habituate himself to eat much at a time, for an anchorite habituated to eat much becomes inclined to sensual gratification.” 55.

“At the time when the smoke of kitchen fires has ceased, when the pestle lies motionless, when the burning charcoal is extinguished, when people have eaten and when dishes are removed, that is, late in the day, let the *Samyāsī* always beg food.” 56.

“For missing it let him not be sorrowful, nor for gaining it let him be glad, let him care only for a sufficiency to support life, but let him not be anxious about his utensils.” 57.

¹ This character is given to him in the *Śānkara Vijaya* of MĀDHAVA ĀCHĀRYA; his followers in the *Dekhan* assert that ŚIVA's descent as ŚĀNKA RĀ was foretold in the *Skanda Purāṇa*: a prophecy which, if found in that work, will assist to fix its date; but the passage has not been met with.

burnt cowdung from an oblation offered to the god¹. They also adopt the initiating *Mantra* of all the *Śaiva* classes, either the five or six syllable *Mantra*, “*Nama Śivāya*,” or, “*Om, Nama Śivāya*.” The genuine *Dāidī*, however, is not necessarily of the *Śaiva* or any other sect; and in their establishments it will be usually found that they profess to adore *Nirguṇa* or *Niranjana*, the deity devoid of attribute or passion².

¹ The material, or *Vibhūti*, and the efficacy of the mark, the *Tripuñdra*, are thus described in the *Kāśikhaṇḍa*:

आयेयमुच्यते भस्म दग्धगोमयसम्भवं ।
तदेव द्रव्यमित्युक्तं त्रिपुण्ड्रस्य महामुने ॥

“The ashes of fire made with burnt cowdung are the material fittest for the *Tripuñdra*.”

त्रिपुण्ड्रं कुरुते यस्तु भस्मना विधिपूर्वकम् ।
महापातकसंहतिमुच्यते चोपपातकैः ॥
अमन्त्रेणापि यः कुर्यादज्ञात्वा महिमोन्नतिं ।
त्रिपुण्ड्रं भालफलके मुच्यते सर्वपातकैः ॥

“Whoever marks the *Tripuñdra* with ashes, agreeably to rule, is purified from sins of the first and second degree: who makes it on his forehead without the *Mantras*, being ignorant of its virtue, will be purified from every simple sin.” The mode of making it is thus laid down:

भुवोर्मध्ये समारभ्य यावदन्तो भवेद्व्रवोः ।
मध्यमानामिकाङ्गुल्योर्मध्ये तु प्रतिलोमतः ॥
अङ्गुष्ठेन कृता रेखा त्रिपुण्ड्राख्याभिधीयते ।

“Beginning between the eye-brows, and carrying it to their extremity, the mark made with the thumb reverted between the middle and third fingers is called the *Tripuñdra*.” [Vṛihadbrahmottarakhaṇḍa 28, 41, 42, quoted in Catal. Codd. MSS. Sanscrit. Bibl. Bodl. I, p. 74.]

² The *Dāidīs* of the North of India are the *Samyāsīs*, or monastic portion of the *Smārta Brāhmaṇas* of the South, of

The *Daṇḍis*, who are rather practical than speculative, and who have little pretence to the appellation beyond the epithet and outward signs of the order, are those most correctly included amongst the *Śaiva* sects. Amongst these the worship of ŚIVA, as BHAI-RAVA, is the prevailing form, and in that case part of the ceremony of initiation consists in inflicting a small incision on the inner part of the knee, and drawing the blood of the novice as an acceptable offering to the god. The *Daṇḍis* of every description have also a peculiar mode of disposing of their dead, putting them into coffins and burying them; or, when practicable, committing them to some sacred stream. The reason of this is their being prohibited the use of fire on any account¹.

whom BUCHANAN gives the following account: "The most numerous class here, and which comprehends about one-half of all the Brahmans in the Lower Carnatic, is called the *Smārta* Sect, and its members are the followers of ŚANKARA ĀCHĀRYA. They are commonly said to be of the sect of ŚIVA, but they consider BRAHMĀ, VIŚṆU and ĪŚVARA to be the same as the creator, preserver, and destroyer of the universe. They are readily distinguished by three horizontal stripes on the forehead, made with the ashes of cowdung" (BUCH. I, 13). "The *Sannyāsīs* are the *Gurus* of this sect" (Ibid. 305); and the *Daṇḍis* have great influence and authority amongst *Śaiva* Brahmans of the North of India.

¹ In the South, the ascetic followers of both ŚIVA and VIŚṆU bury the dead (DEBOIS, 56); so do the *Vaiśṇava Vairāḡis* and *Sannyāsīs* in the North of India, and the *Śaiva Jogīs*. The class of Hindu weavers called *Yogīs*, have adopted a similar practice (WARD I, 201); all the casts in the South, that wear the *Līnga*, do the same (BUCH. I, 27).

Any Hindu of the three first classes may become *Sannyāsī* or *Daṇḍī*, or, in these degenerate days, a Hindu of any caste may adopt the life and emblems of this order. Such are sometimes met with, as also are Brahmans, who, without connecting themselves with any community, assume the character of this class of mendicants. These constitute the *Daṇḍis* simply so termed, and are regarded as distinct from the primitive members of the order, to whom the appellation of *Daśnāmīs* is also applied, and who admit none but Brahmans into their fraternity.

The *Daśnāmī Daṇḍis*, who are regarded as the descendents of the original members of the fraternity, are said to refer their origin to ŚANKARA ĀCHĀRYA, an individual who appears to have performed a part of some importance in the religious history of Hindustan; and to whom an influence has been often attributed much exceeding that which he really exercised. His biography, like that of most of the Hindu saints, is involved in considerable obscurity; but a few facts may be gleaned from such accounts as we have of him, upon which reliance may be placed, and to which it may not be uninteresting here briefly to advert.

A number of works are current in the South of India relating to this teacher, under the titles of *Śankara Charitra*, *Śankara Kathā*, *Śankara Vijaya*, or *Śankara Digvijaya**, following much the same course of narration, and detailing little more than ŚANKARA'S

* [Mackenzie Collection, I, 98. 314.]

controversial victories over various sects; in most cases, no doubt, the fictions of the writers. Of the two principal works of the class one attributed to ĀNANDAGIRI, a pupil of Śankara, has already been noticed¹. The other is the work of MĀDHAVA ĀCHĀRYA*, the minister of some of the earliest chiefs of *Vijayanagar*, and who dates, accordingly, in the fourteenth century. This is a composition of high literary and polemical pretension, but not equally high biographical value. Some particulars of ŚANKARA's birth and early life are to be found in the *Kerala Utpatti*** , or political and statistical description of *Malabar*, although the work is sometimes said to have been composed by ŚANKARA himself.

With regard to the place of ŚANKARA's birth, and the tribe of which he was a member, most accounts agree to make him a native of *Kerala*, or *Malabar*, of the tribe of *Nambūri* Brahmans, and in the mythological language of the sect an incarnation of ŚIVA. According to other traditions, he was born as *Chidāmbaram*, although he transferred his residence to *Malabar*, whilst the *Kerala Utpatti* recognises *Malabar* as his native place, and calls him the offspring of adultery, for which his mother ŚRĪ MAHĀDEVĪ was expelled her caste.

¹ Supra p. 14.

* [See Bhāgav. Purāṇa ed. Burnouf, I, p. LVII. Lassen, Ind. Alt. IV, p. 173, Note.]

** [Mackenzie Coll. II, 73 ff. F. H. H. Windischmann, Sanscara. Bonn, 1833, pp. 39–48.]

In *Malabar* he is said to have divided the four original castes into seventy-two, or eighteen subdivisions each, and to have assigned them their respective rites and duties. Notwithstanding this, he seems to have met with particular disrespect either on account of his opinions, origin, or his wandering life. On his return home, on one occasion, his mother died, and he had to perform the funeral rites, for which his relations refused to supply him with fire, and at which all the Brahmans declined to assist. ŚANKARA then produced fire from his arm, and burnt the corpse in the court yard of the house, denouncing imprecations on the country to the effect, that the Brahmans there should not study the Vedas, that religious mendicants should never obtain alms, and that the dead should always be burned close to the houses in which they had resided—a custom which is said to have survived him.

All accounts concur in representing ŚANKARA as leading an erratic life, and engaging in successful controversy with various sects, whether of the *Śaiva*, *Vaiṣṇava*, or less orthodox persuasions. In the course of his peregrinations he established several *Maths*, or convents, under the presidency of his disciples, particularly one still flourishing at *Śringeri*, or *Śringagiri*, on the western Ghāts, near the sources of the *Tungabhadra*. Towards the close of his life he repaired as far as to *Kashmīr*, and seated himself, after triumphing over various opponents, on the throne of SARASVATĪ. He next went to *Badarikāśrama*, and finally to *Kedārnāth*, in

the *Himálaya*, where he died at the early age of thirty-two. The events of his last days are confirmed by local traditions, and the *Pítha*, or throne of SARASVATÍ, on which ŚANKARA sat, is still shown in *Kashmír*; whilst at the temple of ŚIVA, at *Badari*, a Malabar Brahman, of the *Nambúri* tribe, has always been the officiating priest¹.

The influence exercised by ŚANKARA in person, has been perpetuated by his writings, the most eminent of which are his *Bhāshyas*, or Commentaries, on the *Sūtras*, or Aphorisms, of VYÁSA. A Commentary on the *Bhagavad Gítá* is also ascribed to him, as is one on the *Nṛisinha Tapantiya Upanishad*; a cento of verses in praise of DURGA, the *Saundaryá Laharí*, is likewise said to be his composition, as sometimes is the *Amaru Śataka*, a collection of amatory Stanzas written in the name of AMARU, a Prince, whose dead body ŚANKARA is fabled to have animated, that by becoming familiarised with sensual enjoyments he might argue upon such topics with the wife of *Madana Miśra*, who was more than equal to him in discussions of this nature, and was the only disputant he was unable to subdue, until the period of his transmigration had expired, and he had thence become practiced in the gratification of the passions.

Although no doubt of ŚANKARA's existence or of the important part performed by him in the partial re-modelling of the Hindu system can be entertained,

yet the exact period at which he flourished can by no means be determined. I have, in another place, expressed my belief that he may have existed about the eighth or ninth century¹. Subsequent enquiry has failed to add any reasons to those assigned for such an inference; but it has offered nothing to weaken or invalidate the conclusion there proposed².

¹ Preface to the Sanserit Dictionary [first edition], p. xvii.

² A *Hálakánara* Manuscript, in the possession of the late Col. MACKENZIE, entitled *Śankara Vijaya*, (Mackenzie Collection 11, 34) gives the following list of the spiritual heads of the *Śringeri* establishment:

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| 1. Govinda Páda. | 17. Nṛisinha Bháratí Áchárya. |
| 2. Śāṅkara Áchárya. | 18. Śankara Bháratí Áchárya. |
| 3. Sanandana Áchárya. | 19. Nṛisinha Bháratí Áchárya. |
| 4. Surásura Áchárya. | 20. Purushottoma Bháratí Áchárya. |
| 5. Trofaka Áchárya. | 21. Rámachandra Bháratí Áchárya. |
| 6. Hastámalaka Áchárya. | 22. Nṛisinha Bháratí Áchárya. |
| 7. Jnánaghana Áchárya. | 23. Immádi Bháratí Áchárya. |
| 8. Jnánottama Áchárya. | 24. Abhinava Nṛisinha Bháratí Áchárya. |
| 9. Singhagiriśvara Áchárya. | 25. Sachchidánanda Bháratí Áchárya. |
| 10. Íśvaratírtha Áchárya. | 26. Nṛisinha Bháratí Áchárya. |
| 11. Nṛisinha Múrtti Áchárya. | 27. Immádi Sachchidánanda Bháratí Áchárya. |
| 12. Vitarāṇa Áchárya. | 28. Abhinava Sachchidánanda Bháratí Áchárya. |
| 13. Vidyáśankara Áchárya. | 29. Nṛisinha Bháratí Áchárya. |
| 14. Bháratí Kṛishṇa Áchárya. | |
| 15. Vidyáráṇya Áchárya. | |
| 16. Chandra Śekhara Áchárya. | |

This gives 27 descents from ŚANKARA. As the *Mahant* is elected from the disciples either by the *Guru* when about to die, or by the *Sadmaḷu*, the spiritual chiefs of other establishments of the same sect, he is raised probably to the station in the prime of manhood, and in the ease and dignity of his sanctity has a favourable prospect of a long life. Twenty-five years to a *Guru*

¹ Asiatic Researches, Vol. XII, p. 536.

The spiritual descendants of ŚANKARA, in the first degree, are variously named by different authorities, but usually agree in the number. He is said to have had four principal disciples, who, in the popular traditions, are called *Padmapāda*, *Hastāmālaka*, *Sureśvara* or *Mandana*, and *Trotaka*. Of these, the first had two pupils, *Tīrtha* and *Āśrama*; the second, *Vana* and *Arāṇya*; the third had three, *Sarasvatī*, *Purī*, and *Bhārati*; and the fourth had also three, *Giri* or *Gīr*, *Pārvata*, and *Sāgara*. These, which being all significant terms were no doubt adopted names, constitute collectively the appellation *Daśnāmi*, or the *ten-named*, and when a Brahman enters into either class he attaches to his own denomination that of the class of which he becomes a member; as *Tīrtha*, *Purī*, *Gīr*, &c.¹ The greater proportion of the ten

may therefore be but a fair average allowance, and the above list comprises at that rate an interval of 657 years: at what period it closes does not appear; but the *Hālakānara* language is obsolete, and the work is possibly not less than two or three centuries old. This series of *Gurus* is so far corroborative of the view elsewhere taken of ŚANKARA's date; but as it has been extracted by a Paṇḍit from a work which I could not consult myself, it is by no means certain that it is correct, and I do not wish to attach any undue importance to the authority.

¹ It is scarcely worth while perhaps to translate words of such common occurrence, but to prove what I have stated in the text, I subjoin their signification: *Tīrtha*, a place of pilgrimage; *Āśrama*, an order, as that of student, householder, &c.; *Vana*, a wood; *Arāṇya*, a wood; *Sarasvatī*, the goddess of speech and eloquence; *Purī*, a city; *Bhārati*, speech, or its goddess; *Giri*, a mountain; in common use it always occurs *Gīr*, which implies

classes of mendicants, thus descended from ŚANKARA ĀCHĀRYA, have failed to retain their purity of character, and are only known by their epithets as members of the original order. There are but three, and part of a fourth mendicant class, or those called *Tīrtha* or *Indra*, *Āśrama*, *Sarasvatī*, and *Bhārati*, who are still regarded as really ŚANKARA's *Dañḍis*. These are sufficiently numerous, especially in and about Benares. They comprehend a variety of characters; but amongst the most respectable of them, are to be found very able expounders of the *Vedānta* works. Other branches of Sanskrit literature owe important obligations to this religious sect¹. The most sturdy beggars are also members of this order, although their contributions are levied particularly upon the Brahmanical class, as, whenever a feast is given to the Brahmans, the *Dañḍis* of this description present themselves unbidden guests, and can only be got rid of by bestowing

speech; *Pārvata*, a mountaineer; *Sāgara*, an ocean; the names are always compounded with different terms. One of ŚANKARA's disciples we have seen called ĀNANDA GIRI. The famous MĀDHAVA, when he became a *Dañḍi*, adopted the appellation of VIDYĀRĀṆYA. PŪRANGIR has been elsewhere adverted to, and other like names occur in some of the following notes. *Bhārati* is the prevailing title of the latter *Śrīngagiri Gurus*.

¹ ŚANKARA and MĀDHAVA are well known by their numerous and excellent works. The chief Vedānta writers, in like manner, were *Dañḍis*; and the author of the *Daśakumāra*, RĀMĀŚRAMA, the Commentator on AMARA, and VILNĀNEŚVARA, the Commentator on the texts of YĀJNAVALKYA, were of the same class of ascetics.

faith, and a like parallel may be drawn between the disciples of RÁMÁNAND and those of GORAKHNÁTH, or the *Kánphátá Jogis*, the first pair being properly restricted to the Brahmanical order, intended chiefly for men of learning; the two latter admitting members from every description of people, and possessing a more attractive popular character.

The term *Jogí* or *Yogí* is properly applicable to the followers of the *Yoga* or *Pátanjala* school of philosophy, which, amongst other tenets, maintained the practicability of acquiring, even in life, entire command over elementary matter by means of certain ascetic practices. The details of these it is unnecessary to particularize, and accounts of them and of the *Yoga* philosophy will be best derived from the translation of BHOJA DEVA's Comment on the *Pátanjala Sūtras*, in WARD's Account of the Hindus, and Mr. COLEBROOKE's Essay on the *Sánkya* and *Pátanjala* doctrines, in the 1st volume of the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society. It is sufficient here to observe, that the practices consist chiefly of long continued suppressions of respiration; of inhaling and exhaling the breath in a particular manner; of sitting in eighty-four different attitudes; of fixing the eyes on the top of the nose, and endeavouring, by the force of mental abstraction, to effect a union between the portion of vital spirit residing in the body and that which pervades all nature, and is identical with ŚIVA, considered as the supreme being and source and essence of all creation. When this mystic union is effected, the *Yogí* is liber-

ated in his living body from the clog of material incumbrance, and acquires an entire command over all worldly substance. He can make himself lighter than the lightest substances, heavier than the heaviest; can become as vast or as minute as he pleases, can traverse all space, can animate any dead body by transferring his spirit into it from his own frame, can render himself invisible, can attain all objects, becomes equally acquainted with the past, present, and future, and is finally united with ŚIVA, and consequently exempted from being born again upon earth. These super-human faculties are acquired, in various degrees, according to the greater or less perfection with which the initiatory processes have been performed.

According to standard authorities the perfect fulfilment of the rites which the *Yogí* has to accomplish requires a protracted existence and repeated births, and it is declared to be unattainable in the present or *Kali* age¹. The attempt is therefore prohibited, and the

¹ The *Kāśikhaṇḍa* thus enumerates the difficulty or impossibility of completing the *Yoga* in the present age:

चञ्चलेन्द्रियवृत्तित्वात्कलिकल्पजुग्मणात् ।

अल्पायुश्चात्तथा नृणां क्लेश योगमहोदयः ॥

"From the unsteadiness of the senses, the prevalence of sin in the *Kali*, and the shortness of life, how can Exaltation by the *Yoga* be obtained?"

Again:

न सिध्यति कर्त्ता योगो न सिध्यति कर्त्ता तपः ।

"In the *Kali* age, the *Yoga* and severe penance are impracticable."

Yoga is prescribed in modern times. This inhibition is, however, disregarded, and the individuals who are the subjects of our enquiry endeavour to attain the super-human powers which the performance of the *Yoga* is supposed to confer. They especially practice the various gesticulations and postures of which it consists, and labour assiduously to suppress their breath and fix their thoughts until the effect does somewhat realise expectation, and the brain, in a state of over-wrought excitement, bodies forth a host of crude and wild conceptions, and gives to airy nothings a local habitation and a name¹. A year's intense application is imagined enough to qualify the adept²,

¹ Some who have commenced their career in this line, have carried the practice to several hours' duration, at which time they have described themselves as becoming perfectly exhausted, with strange objects passing before them, and sparks of fire flashing in their eyes. One individual quitted it from having at last a figure resembling himself always before him, and knowing this to be a deception, he wisely inferred the similar character of any other visionary creature of his contemplation and the absurdity of the practice. DUBOIS has some amusing anecdotes on this subject (page 357, &c.), they are fully authenticated by the similar accounts which many *Vairdytis* in Upper India will readily furnish. The worthy ABBÉ may indeed be generally trusted when he confines himself to what he saw or knew: in much that he heard he was misled, and in almost every thing connected with the language and literature and the religion or philosophy, as taught by classical authority, he commits egregious blunders.

² ब्रह्मचारी मिताहारी योगी योगपरायणः ।

अब्दादूर्तं भवेत्सिद्धी नात्र कार्या विचारणा ॥

"Leading a life of chastity and abstemiousness, and diligent

whilst inferior faculties may be obtained by even a six month's practice.

There are few *Jogis*, however, who lay claim to perfection, and their pretensions are usually confined to a partial command over their physical and mental faculties. These are evinced in the performance of low mummeries or juggling tricks, which cheat the vulgar into a belief of their powers. A common mode of display is by waving a *Chauri*, or bunch of peacock's feathers, over a sick or new-born infant, to cure it of any morbid affection or guard it against the evil eye. A trick of loftier pretence has of late attracted some notice in the person of a Brahman at Madras, who, by some ingenious contrivance, appeared to sit in the air, and who boasted of being able to remain for a considerable period under water. He and his followers ascribed the possession of these faculties to his successful practice of the observances of the *Yoga*¹.

in the practice of the *Yoga*, the *Yogi* becomes perfect after a year: of this there is no doubt." *Hatha Pradipa*.

¹ "*Sitting in the Air*.—An exhibition at Madras has excited considerable curiosity. A Brahmin, old and slightly made, represented to be of high caste, contrives to poise himself in a most extraordinary manner in the air. He performs this feat at any gentleman's house, not for money, but as an act of courtesy. The following is a description from an eye-witness, given in a Calcutta paper:—"The only apparatus seen is a piece of plank, which, with four pegs, he forms into a kind of long stool; upon this, in a little brass saucer or socket, he places, in a perpendicular position, a hollow bamboo, over which he puts a kind

In referring to the origin of this system we must no doubt go back to some antiquity, although the want of chronological data renders it impossible to specify the era at which it was first promulgated. That it was familiarly known and practiced in the eighth century, we may learn from the plays of BHAVA-BHŪTI, particularly the *Mālatī* and *Mādhava*¹, and from several of the *Śaiva Purāṇas*, in some of which, as the *Kūrma Purāṇa*, we have a string of names which appear to be those of a succession of teachers².

of crutch, like that of a walking crutch, covering that with a piece of common hide: these materials he carries with him in a little bag, which is shown to those who come to see him exhibit. The servants of the houses hold a blanket before him, and when it is withdrawn, he is discovered poised in the air, about four feet from the ground, in a sitting attitude, the outer edge of one hand merely touching the crutch, the fingers of that hand deliberately counting beads; the other hand and arm held up in an erect posture. The blanket was then held up before him, and they heard a gurgling noise like that occasioned by wind escaping from a bladder or tube, and when the screen was withdrawn he was again standing on terra firma. The same man has the power of staying under water for several hours. He declines to explain how he does it, merely saying he has been long accustomed to do so." The length of time for which he can remain in his aerial station is considerable. The person who gave the above account says that he remained in the air for twelve minutes; but before the Governor of Madras he continued on his baseless seat for *forty minutes*."—*Asiatic Monthly Journal for March*, 1829.

¹ See especially the opening of the 5th Act, and Notes.

² ŚIVA, it is said, appeared in the beginning of the *Kali* age as ŚVETA for the purpose of benefiting the Brahmans. He re-

The cavern temples of the South of India, in the subjects of their sculptures and the decorations of ŚIVA

sided on the *Himālaya* mountains and taught the *Yoga*. He had four chief disciples, one also termed ŚVETA, and the others ŚVETAŚIKHA, ŚVETAŚVA [V. L. ŚVETAŚYA], and ŚVETALOHIṬA. They had twenty-eight disciples—*Sūdra*, *Madana*, *Sahotra*, *Kankaṇa*, and twenty-four others. [In the 50th Chapter of the *Kūrma Purāṇa*, as quoted in the *Śabdakalpadrūma* s. v. Śveta¹, the names of the 28 disciples are given as follows:

सुभावो दमनश्चाथ सुहोत्रः कङ्कणस्तथा ।
लोकाचिरथ योगीन्द्रो जैगीपथ्यस्तु सप्तमे ॥
अष्टमे दधिवाङ्गः स्यान्नवमे वृषभप्रभुः ।
भृगुस्तु दशमे प्रोक्तस्तस्मादयः परः स्मृतः ॥
द्वादशे ऽत्रिः समाख्यातो वाली चाथ त्रयोदशे ।
चतुर्दशे गीतमस्तु वेदशीर्षा ततः परं ॥
गोकर्णेश्चभक्तस्मान्नुद्वावासः शिखण्डश्च ।
जटामाल्यद्रुहासश्च दारुको लाङ्गुली क्रमात् ॥
येतस्तथापरः शूली तिण्डी मुण्डी च वै क्रमात् ।
सहिष्णुः सोमशर्मा च नकुलीशो ऽन्तिमे प्रभुः ॥
वैवस्वते ऽन्तरे शम्भोरवतारास्त्रिशूलिनः ।
अष्टाविंशतिराख्याता ह्यन्ते कलियुगे प्रभोः ॥

Of these, four, whose names are not mentioned, had ninety-seven disciples, masters of the *Yoga* and inferior portions of ŚIVA. Those Brahmans who recite the names of these teachers and offer to them libations acquire *Brahmacidyā*, or knowledge of spirit. That this long string of one hundred and twenty-five names is wholly fictitious, seems improbable, although the list is possibly not very accurate. The four primitive teachers may be imaginary; but it is a curious circumstance that the word *Śveta*, *white*, should be the leading member of each appellation, and that in the person of ŚIVA and his first disciple it should stand alone as ŚVETA, *the white*. ŚIVA, however, is always painted white, and the names may be contrived accordingly; but we are still at a loss to understand why the god himself should have a European complexion. [See also Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, I, 420 ff. and Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, II, 1100.]

and his attendants, belong to the same sect¹; whilst the philosophical tenets of *Patanjali* are as ancient perhaps as most of the other philosophical systems, and are prior to the *Purāṇas* by which they are inculcated in a popular form. The practices of the *Yoga* are also frequently alluded to, and enforced in the *Mahābhārat*². There is little reason to question therefore the existence and popularity of the *Yoga* in the early centuries of the Christian era, but whether it was known and cultivated earlier must be matter of vague conjecture alone. As represented in the *Śaṅkaravijaya* (Section 41), the *Yogis* vindicate their doctrine by texts from the *Vedas*, but the applicability of the texts is there denied, and is certainly far from conclusive or satisfactory.

¹ In the temples of *Salsette*, *Elephanta*, and *Ellora* the principal figure is mostly ŚIVA, decorated with ear-rings, such as are still worn by the *Kānpḥātū Jogis*; the walls are covered with ascetics in the various *Āsanās*, or positions in which the *Yogi* is to sit; a favourite subject of sculpture at *Elephanta* and *Ellora* is the sacrifice of DAKṢHA disconcerted, and the guests, though saints and gods, put to rout, bruised and mutilated by VIRABHADRA and the *Gaṇas* of ŚIVA in revenge for that deity's not having been invited, a story told in most of the *Purāṇas* which inculcate the *Yoga* tenets. The cells attached to some of the temples are also indicative of *Jogi* residence, and one of the caves of *Salsette* is named that of *Jogīśvara*, or ŚIVA, as lord of the *Jogis*. *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*. Vols. 1 and 2.

² These allusions occur in the *Vana Parva* chiefly; whilst in the *Udyoga Parva* [c. 38-45. Vol. II, p. 144 ff.] the observances of the *Yoga* are detailed at considerable length, and strenuously enjoined.

The principal mode in which the *Yoga* takes a popular shape in Upper India is probably of comparatively recent origin. This is the sect of *Kānpḥātū Jogis*, who acknowledge as their founder a teacher named GORAKHNĀTH, traces of whom are found in a *Gorakhhkshetra* at *Peshāwer*, mentioned by ABULFAZL, and in the district and town of *Gorakhpur*, where also exist a temple and religious establishment of his followers. They hold also in veneration a plain near *Dwārakā*, named *Gorakhhkhetr*, and a cavern or subterraneous passage at *Haridwār*. The *Śaiva* temples of *Nepāl*, those of *Śambunāth*, *Paśupatināth*, and others, belong to the same system, although local legends attached to them have combined in a curious manner the fictions of the *Bauddha* with those of the Brahmanical mythology¹.

From a *Goshthī*², or controversial dialogue, between KABIR and GORAKHNĀTH it would seem that they were personally known to each other, but various texts in the *Bijak* allude to him as if recently deceased. In either case these two teachers may have been contemporaries, or nearly so, and the latter therefore flourished in the beginning of the 15th century. According to his followers he was an incarnation of ŚIVA; but in the controversial tract above named he calls

¹ See Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI, page 471, and Note.

² This has been printed in the first volume of Hindoe and Hindustani Selections, for the use of the Interpreters of the Bengal Army, compiled by Captain PRICE. The discussion, in the form of a dialogue, occurs page 140.

himself the son of MATSYENDRA NÁTH, and grandson of ÁDINÁTH¹. MATSYENDRA NÁTH appears to have been the individual who introduced the *Yoga Śaivism* into *Nepál*: one of the works of the sect, the *Hatha Pradīpa*, makes MATSYENDRA prior to GORAKH by five spiritual descents², and this would place the former

आदिनाथ के नाती मच्छेन्द्रनाथ के पूत ।
मैं योगी गोरख अवधूत ॥

² The list of teachers is thus particularised [The names in parenthesis are the readings of the Berlin MS. ap. Weber, Catal. p. 195 ff.]:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Ádináth. | 17. Churpatí [Charpatí]. |
| 2. Matsyendra. | 18. Káneri. |
| 3. Sambara [Śáradā]. | 19. Pújyapáda [Púrvapáda]. |
| 4. Ananda. | 20. Nityanátha [Dheaninátha]. |
| 5. Bhairava. | 21. Niranjana. |
| 6. Chaurāngi [Chaurangi]. | 22. Kapāla [Kapāli]. |
| 7. Mēna [Mina]. | 23. Bindu [Bindunátha]. |
| 8. Goraksha. | 24. Kákachandīśvara. |
| 9. Virūpāksha. | 25. Allama. |
| 10. Vileśa [Vileśi]. | 26. Prabhudeva. |
| 11. Manthāna Bhairava. | 27. Gorāchili [Ghodācholi]. |
| 12. Siddhabuddha [Śuddhabuddha]. | 28. Dindīma [Tūñīñi]. |
| 13. Kanthada [Śrukandali]. | 29. Bhālukī. |
| 14. Paurandaka [Purdānka]. | 30. Nāgabodha. |
| 15. Surānanda. | 31. Chāndakāpālika [Shāndakāpālika]. |
| 16. Siddhapāda [Śuddhapāda]. | |

The author of the *Hatha Pradīpa*, ĀTMARĀMA, states that these and many more *Mahāsiddhas*, or perfect *Yogis*, are in existence. His names are possibly those of the *Mahants* of a particular establishment: some of them are very unlike Hindu appellatives. If the date assigned to *Gorakhnāth* in the text be rightly conjectured, we cannot assign much more than fifteen years to each of his successors.

in the 14th century, supposing the *Kabir* work to be correct in the date it attributes to the latter.

If the date assigned by HAMILTON to the migration of the Hindu tribes from *Chitaur*, the beginning of the 14th century, be accurate¹, it is probable that this was the period at which the worship of ŚIVA, agreeably to the doctrines of MATSYENDRA, or GORAKH, was introduced there, and into the eastern provinces of Hindustan.

The temple of GORAKHNĀTH at *Gorakhpur*, according to the local tradition, was founded by ŚIVA in the second or *Treta* age. Of its revolutions subsequent to that period no account was preserved, until it was converted into a Mohammedan mosque by ALĀ-ADDĪN. The temple, after some interval, was re-built in a different situation by an association of the followers of GORAKHNĀTH, and this was possibly the period at which the sect assumed its present form. A similar fate, however, attended this edifice, and it was appropriated by AURANGZEB to the Mohammedan religion. A second interval elapsed before a shrine was again erected to GORAKHNĀTH, when it was re-built on the spot on which it now stands by BUDDHANĀTH according to instructions communicated to him by GORAKHNĀTH in person. The present temple is situated to the west of the City of *Gorakhpur*, and attached to it on the south are three temples consecrated to MAHĀDEVĀ, PAŚUPATINĀTH, and HANUMĀN. The inclosure also

¹ HAMILTON's *Nepal*, page 14.

comprehends the tombs of several eminent members of this communion and the dwellings of the Mahant and his resident disciples.

GORAKHNÁTH was a man of some acquirement, and has left specimens of his scholarship in two Sanskrit Compositions, the *Goraksha sataka* and *Goraksha kalpa*: third, the *Goraksha sahasra Náma* is, probably, of his writing. The celebrated BHARTUHARI, the brother of VIKRAMÁDITYA, is said to have been one of his disciples, but chronology will not admit of such an approximation. According to the authorities of the sect GORAKH is but one of nine eminent teachers, or *Náths*. Of the perfect *Yogis*, or *Siddhas*, eighty-four are enumerated; but it is said, that there have been many more, of whom several are still upon the surface of the earth.

The *Jogis* of GORAKHNÁTH are usually called *Kánphátás* from having their ears bored and rings inserted in them at the time of their initiation. They may be of any cast; they live as ascetics, either singly or in *Máths*¹. ŚIVA is the object of their worship—they

¹ Solitary and independent living, however, appears to be improper, if the authority of the *Haítha Pradīpa* is to be depended upon:

सुराज्ये धार्मिके देशे सुभिचे निरुपद्रवे ।
एकान्ते मठिकामध्ये स्थातव्यं हठयोगिना ॥

"In a well-governed and well-regulated country, fertile and prosperous, the *Haítha Yogi* (he who upholds the world in eternal continuity) should reside in a solitary cell within the precincts of a *Math*." Other directions follow applicable to most establishments of a similiar nature. The cell should have a

officiate indeed as the priests of that deity in some places, especially at the celebrated *Lát*, or Staff, of BHAIRAVA at *Benares*. They mark the forehead with a transverse line of ashes, and smear the body with the same; they dress in various styles, but in travelling usually wear a cap of patch-work and garments dyed with red ochre. Some wear simply a *Dhoti*, or cloth round the loins.

The term *Jogi*, in popular acceptance, is of almost as general application as *Sanmyáśi* and *Vairági*; and it is difficult to fix its import upon any individual class besides the *Kánphátá*: the vagrants so called following usually the dictates of their own caprice as to worship and belief, and often, it may be conceived, employing the character as a mere plea for a lazy livelihood. The *Jogis* are, indeed, particularly distinguished amongst the different mendicant characters by adding to their religious personification more of the mountebank than any others: most of the religious mendicants, it is true, deal in fortune-telling, interpretation of dreams, and palmistry; they are also often empirics, and profess to cure diseases with specific drugs, or with charms and spells: but besides these accomplishments, the *Jogi* is frequently musical, and plays and sings; he also initiates animals into his business, and often travels about with a small bullock, a goat, or a

small door, be neither too lofty, nor too low, be well smeared with cow-dung, and should be kept clean and free from reptiles: the *Math* should have a temple, a mound or altar, and a well adjoining, and be enclosed by a wall.

monkey, whom he has taught to obey his commands, and to exhibit amusing gesticulations. The dress of this class of *Jogis* is generally a cap and coat, or frock of many colours: they profess to worship ŚIVA, and often carry the *Linga*, like the *Jangamas*, in the cap; all classes and sects assume the character, and *Musalman Jogis* are not uncommon. One class of the *Hindu Jogis* is called *Sārangihār*, from their carrying a *Sārangī*, or small fiddle or lute, with which they accompany their songs: these are usually *Bhāshā* stanzas on religious or mythological topics, amongst which stanzas ascribed to BHATRĪHARI, and a *Paurāṇic* legend of the marriage of ŚIVA and PĀRVATĪ, are particularly celebrated. The *Sārangihārs* beg in the name of BHAKṬAVA: another sect of them, also followers of that deity, are termed *Dorihārs* from their trafficking in small pedlary, especially the sale of thread and silk, to the housewives of the villages; another class adopt the name of *Matsyendris*, or *Machchhendris*, from *Matsyendra*, whom they regard as their founder; and a fourth set are *Bhartṛiharis* from a traditional reference to him as the institutor of this particular order. The varieties of this class of mendicants, however, cannot be specified: they are all errants, fixed residences, or *Maths*, of any *Jogis* except the *Kānpātās* rarely occurring: an observation that will apply to perhaps all the *Śaiva* sects, of whom it yet remains to give an account.

JANGAMAS.

The worship of ŚIVA, under the type of the *Linga*, it has been observed, is almost the only form in which that deity is revered¹. It is also perhaps the most

¹ Its prevalence throughout the whole tract of the *Ganges* as far as *Benares* is sufficiently conspicuous. In Bengal the temples are commonly erected in a range of six, eight, or twelve, on each side of a *Ghāt* leading to the river. At *Kāma* is a circular group of one hundred and eight temples erected by the Raja of Bardwan. Each of the temples in Bengal consists of a single chamber, of a square form, surmounted by a pyramidal centre; the area of each is very small, the *Linga*, of black or white marble, occupies the centre; the offerings are presented at the threshold. *Benares*, however, is the peculiar seat of this form of worship: the principal deity VIŚVEŚVARA, as observed already, is a *Linga*, and most of the chief objects of the pilgrimage are similar blocks of stone. Particular divisions of the pilgrimage direct visiting forty-seven *Lingas*, all of pre-eminent sanctity; but there are hundreds of inferior note still worshipped, and thousands whose fame and fashion have passed away. If we may believe ŚIVA, indeed, he counted a hundred *Parārdhhyas* in *Kāśī*, of which, at the time he is supposed to tell this to DEVI, he adds sixty crore, or six hundred millions, were covered by the waters of the *Ganges*. A *Parārdhhyā* is said, by the commentator on the *Kāśī Khanda*, in which this dialogue occurs, to contain as many years of mortals as are equal to fifty of *Brahmā's* years. Notwithstanding the acknowledged purport of this worship, it is but justice to state, that it is unattended in Upper India by any indecent or indelicate ceremonies, and it requires a rather lively imagination to trace any resemblance in its symbols to the objects they are supposed to present. The absence of all indecency from public worship and religious establishments in the Gangetic Provinces was fully established by the Vindicator of the Hindus, the late General STUART, and in every thing re-

ancient object of homage adopted in India subsequently to the ritual of the VEDAS, which was chiefly, if not wholly, addressed to the elements, and particularly to Fire. How far the worship of the *Linga* is authorised by the VEDAS, is doubtful, but it is the main purport of several of the *Purāṇas*¹. There can be not doubt of its universality at the period of the Mohammedan invasion of India. The idol destroyed by MAHMÚD of Ghizni was nothing more than a *Linga*, being, according to MIRKHOND, a block of stone four or five cubits long and of proportionate thickness².

lating to actual practice better authority cannot be desired. (Vindication, Part 1st, 99, and more particularly Part 2d, 135.)

¹ The *Skanda Purāṇa*, which contains the *Kāśi Khāṇḍa*, particularly inculcates the worship of ŚIVA in this form; so do the *Śiva*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, and *Linga Purāṇas*.

² The following is the passage from the *Rauzat us Saafa* alluded to:

و آن خانه که سومنات در آنجا بود طول و عرض تمام داشت چنان که پنججاه و شش ستون و قیبه سقف آن کرده بودند و سومنات صنی بود از سنگ تراشیده طولش مقدار پنج گز و عرض آن طاهر و دو گز در زیر زمین مخفی و بین اندونه محمود بیتخانه در آمده با گرز گران سنگ سومنات را در امر شکست و مقداری از آن سنگ را فرمود تا بار کرده بغزین میبردند و در استنه مسجد جامع بینداختند

"The temple in which the Idol of *Somnāth* stood was of considerable extent, both in length and breadth, and the roof was supported by fifty-six pillars in rows. The Idol was of polished stone, its height was about five cubits, and its thickness in pro-

It was, in fact, one of the twelve great *Lingas* then set up in various parts of India, several of which,

portion: two cubits were below ground. MAHMÚD having entered the temple broke the stone *Somnāth* with a heavy mace: some of the fragments he ordered to be conveyed to *Ghizni*, and they were placed at the threshold of the great Mosque." Another authority, the *Tabakāti Akbari*, a history of Akbar's reign, with a preliminary Sketch of Indian History, has the following:

شکر بجانب هندوستان بقصد سومنات کشیده و این سومنات شهریست بزرگ بر ساحل دریا محیط معبد براعنه است و بنان در این بیتخانه بسیار بودند و بت بزرگتر سومنات نامند در تواریخ بنظر رسیده که در زمان ظهور حضرت ختمی پناه مصطفی صلی الله علیه و سلم این بترا از خانه کعبه برآورده بودند تا از این کتب سلف براعنه معلوم میشود ذکر چنین است از زمان کشن که چهار هزار سال میشد معبود براعنه است و بقول براعنه کشن اینجا غیب نموده — القصد چون سلطان به شهر نبروانه پتن رسید شیر را خالی دید فرمود تا غلبه برداشته و راه سومنات پیش گرفته چون بسومنات رسیدند اهل آنجا قلعبرا بر روی سلطان کشیدند و بعد از جنگ و تردد بسیار قلعه مفتوح گشت نوازم بتاراج و غارت بعمل آمد و خلق کثیر بقتل و اسیر شد بتختانیا شکسته از بیخ برکنندند و سنگ سومنات را پارچه پارچه کرده پارچها بغزین برده بدر مسجد جامع گذاشته و سانیما سنگ اینجا بود

"In the year 415 (*Hijra*) MAHMÚD determined to lead an army against *Somnāth*, a city on the sea-shore, with a temple appertaining to the followers of BRAHMĀ; the temples contained many idols, the principal of which was named *Somnāth*. It is related in some histories that this idol was carried from the *Kaaba*, upon

besides *Someśvara*, or *Somanāth*, which was the name of the ŚIVA demolished by MAHMŪD, were destroyed

the coming of the Prophet, and transported to India. The Brahmanical records, however, refer it to the time of KṚSHṂA, or an antiquity of 4000 years. KṚSHṂA himself is said to have disappeared at this place."

"When the Sultan arrived at *Neherwdeh* (the capital of Guzerat), he found the city deserted, and carrying off such provisions as could be procured he advanced to *Somnāth*: the inhabitants of this place shut their gates against him, but it was soon carried by the irresistible valour of his troops, and a terrible slaughter of its defenders ensued. The temple was levelled with the ground: the idol *Somnāth*, which was of stone, was broken to pieces, and in commemoration of the victory a fragment was sent to *Ghizni*, where it was laid at the threshold of the principal mosque, and was there many years." [See also Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, VII, p. 883 ff., XII, p. 73 ff. Journal of the Bombay Branch R. A. S., II, 11-21. Asiatic Journal for 1843, May and Novbr.]

These statements shew that the idol was nothing more than a block of stone of very moderate dimensions, like the common representation of the type of ŚIVA. FERISHA, however, has converted it into something very different, or a colossal figure of the deity himself, and following Colonel Dow's version of that compiler, the historian of British India gives the following highly coloured account of a transaction which never took place. "Filled with indignation at sight of the gigantic idol, MAHMŪD aimed a blow at its head with his iron mace. The nose was struck off from its face. In vehement trepidation the *Brahmans* crowded round and offered millions to spare the god. The *Omrah*s, dazzled with the ransom, ventured to counsel acceptance. MAHMŪD, crying out that he valued the title of breaker not seller of idols, gave orders to proceed with the work of destruction. At the next blow the belly of the idol burst open, and forth issued a vast treasure of diamonds, rubies and pearls, rewarding the holy perseverance of MAHMŪD, and explaining the devout liberality of the *Brahmans*!" (Vol. I, 491.)

by the early Mohammedan conquerors¹. Most, if not all of them, also are named in works, of which the

¹ The twelve *Lingas* are particularised in the *Kedāra Kalpa*, of the *Nandi Upapurāna* [See also *Śivapurāna* c. 44-61 ap. Aufrecht, Cat. Codd. MSS. Sanskr. Bibl. Bodl., I, p. 64; ib. p. 81, and Weber, Catal. p. 347, No. 1242.], where ŚIVA is made to say: "I am omnipresent, but I am especially in twelve forms and places." These he enumerates, and they are as follow:

1. *Somanātha*, in *Saurashtra*, i. e. *Surat*, in its most extensive sense, including part of *Guzerat*, where, indeed, *Pattana Somnāth*, or the city of *Somnāth*, is still situated.

2. *Mallikārjuna*, or *Śrī Śaila*, described by Colonel MACKENZIE, the late Surveyor General. Asiatic Researches, Vol. 5th.

3. *Mahākāla*, in *Ujjain*. This deity of stone was carried to *Dehli*, and broken there upon the capture of *Ujjain* by ALTUMSH. A. D. 1231, — Dow. According to the *Tabakātī Akbarī* the shrine was then three hundred years old.

4. *Omkāra* is said to have been in *Ujjain*, but it is probably the shrine of MAHĀDEO at *Omkāra Mandatta* [*Māndhātā*] on the *Narmadā*.

5. *Amareśvara* is also placed in *Ujjain*: an ancient temple of MAHĀDEO on a hill near *Ujjain* is noticed by Dr. HUNTER, Asiatic Researches, Vol. 6th, but he does not give the name or form.

6. *Vaidyānāth*, at *Deogarh* in Bengal; the temple is still in being, and is a celebrated place of pilgrimage.

7. *Rāmeśa*, at *Setubandha*, the island of *Ramisseram*, between Ceylon and the Continent; this *Lingam* is fabled to have been set up by RĀMA. The temple is still in tolerable repair, and is one of the most magnificent in India. The gateway is one hundred feet high. It has been repeatedly described, and is delineated in DANIEL'S Superb Plates of Indian Antiquities, from which it has been copied into LANGLES' Monuments de L'Hindoustan.

8. *Bhīmaśankara*, in *Dākini*, which is in all probability the same with *Bhīmeśvara*, a *Linga* worshipped at *Dracharam* in the *Rājamahendri* district, and there venerated as one of the principal twelve.

date cannot be much later than the eighth or ninth century, and it is therefore to be inferred with as much certainty as any thing short of positive testimony can afford, that the worship of ŚIVA, under this type, prevailed throughout India at least as early as the fifth or sixth century of the Christian era. Considered as one great branch of the universal public worship, its prevalence, no doubt, dates much earlier; but the particular modifications under which the several types received their local designations, and became entitled to special reverence, are not in every case of remote antiquity.

One of the forms in which the *Linga* worship appears is that of the *Lingāyats*, *Lingavants*, or *Jangamas*, the essential characteristic of which is wearing the emblem on some part of the dress or person. The type is of a small size, made of copper or silver, and is commonly worn suspended in a case round the neck, or sometimes tied in the turban. In common with the *Śaivas* generally the *Jangamas* smear their foreheads with *Vibhūti* or ashes, and wear necklaces, and carry rosaries, made of the *Rudrāksha* seed. The

[9. *Viśveśvara*, at *Benares*.]

10. *Tryambaka*, on the banks of the *Gomati*; whether the temple still exists I have no knowledge.

11. *Gautameśa* is another of the twelve, whose original site and present fate are uncertain.

12. *Kedāreśa*, or *Kedārandh*, in the *Himālaya*, has been repeatedly visited by late travellers. The deity is represented by a shapeless mass of rock.

clerical members of the sect usually stain their garments with red ochre. They are not numerous in Upper India, and are rarely encountered except as mendicants leading about a bull, the living type of *Nandi*, the bull of ŚIVA, decorated with housings of various colours, and strings of Cowrie shells: the conductor carries a bell in his hand, and thus accompanied goes about from place to place, subsisting upon alms. In the South of India the *Lingāyats* are very numerous, and the officiating priests of the *Śaiva* shrines are commonly of this sect¹, when they bear the designations of *Ārādhyā* and *Pañdāram*². The sect is also there known by the name of *Vīra Śaiva*. The following account of the restorer, if not the founder of the faith, as well as a specimen of the legends by which it is maintained, are derived from the *Basava Purāṇa*.

According to the followers of this faith, which prevails very extensively in the Dekhan, *Basca*, *Basava*, *Basvana*, or *Basvapa* or *Basavappa*, different modes of writing his name, only restored this religion, and did not invent it. This person, it is said, was the son of *Mādiga Rāja*, a Brahman, and *Maderi*, written also *Madala arasu* and *Mahāmbā*, inhabitants of *Hingulescar Parvati Agrahāram*, on the west of *Śrī Śaila*, and both devout worshippers of ŚIVA. In recompense of their piety *Nandi*, the bull of ŚIVA,

¹ They also officiate in this capacity at the temple of *Kedārandh*, in *Benares*.

² This word seems to be properly *Pāñduranga*, (पाण्डुरङ्गः) pale complexioned, from their smearing themselves with ashes. It is so used in *Hemachandra's* history of *Mahārāra*, when speaking of the *Śaiva Brahmins*.

was born on earth as their son, becoming incarnate by command of ŚIVA, on his learning from NĀRADA the decline of the Śaiva faith and prevalence of other less orthodox systems of religion. The child was denominated after the *Basva* or *Basava*, the bull of the deity. On his arriving at the age of investiture he refused to assume the thread ordinarily worn by Brahmans, or to acknowledge any *Guru* except ĪŚVARA or ŚIVA. He then departed to the town of *Kalyān*, the capital of *Bijala* or *Vijala Rāya*, and obtained in marriage *Gangāmbā*, the daughter of the *Daiḍaniyak*, or minister of police. From thence he repaired to *Sangameśvara*, where he received from *Sangameśvara Śaṁḍi* initiation in the tenets of the *Vira Śaiva* faith. He was invited back from this place to succeed his father-in-law upon his decease in the office he had held.

After his return to *Kalyān*, his sister, who was one of his first disciples, was delivered of a son, *Chenna Basava*, who is not unfrequently confounded with his uncle, and regarded, perhaps more correctly, as the founder of the sect.

After recording these events the work enumerates various marvellous actions performed by *Basava* and several of his disciples, such as converting grains of corn to pearls—discovering hidden treasures—feeding multitudes—healing the sick, and restoring the dead to life. The following are some of the anecdotes narrated in the *Purāṇa*.

Basava having made himself remarkable for the profuse bounties he bestowed upon the *Jangamas*, helping himself from the Royal Treasury for that purpose, the other ministers reported his conduct to *Bijala*, who called upon him to account for the money in his charge. *Basava* smiled, and giving the keys of the Treasury to the king, requested him to examine it, which being done, the amount was found wholly undiminished. *Bijala* thereupon caused it to be proclaimed, that whoever calumniated *Basava* should have his tongue cut out.

A *Jangama*, who cohabited with a dancing girl, sent a slave for his allowance of rice to the house of *Basava*, where the messenger saw the wife of the latter, and on his return reported to the dancing girl the magnificence of her attire. The mistress

of the *Jangama* was filled with a longing for a similar dress, and the *Jangama* having no other means of gratifying her repaired to *Basava*, to beg of him his wife's garment. *Basava* immediately stripped *Gangāmbā*, his wife, and other dresses springing from her body, he gave them all to the *Jangama*.

A person of the name of *Kanapa*, who regularly worshipped the image of *Ekāṁreśvara*, imagining the eyes of the deity were affected, plucked out his own, and placed them in the sockets of the figure. ŚIVA, pleased with his devotion, restored his worshipper his eyes.

A devout Śaiva named *Mahādeva Machāya*, who engaged to wash for all the *Jangamas*, having killed a child, the Rājā ordered *Basava* to have him secured and punished; but *Basava* declined undertaking the duty, as it would be unavailing to offer any harm to the worshippers of ŚIVA. *Bijala* persisting sent his servants to seize and tie him to the legs of an elephant, but *Machāya* caught the elephant by the trunk, and dashed him and his attendants to pieces. He then proceeded to attack the Rājā, who being alarmed applied to *Basava*, and by his advice humbled himself before the offended *Jangama*. *Basava* also deprecated his wrath, and *Machāya* being appeased forgave the king and restored the elephant and the guards to life.

A poor *Jangama* having solicited alms of *Kinnarāya*, one of *Basava*'s chief disciples, the latter touched the stones about them with his staff, and converting them into gold told the *Jangama* to help himself.

The work is also in many places addressed to the *Jaines* in the shape of a dialogue between some of the *Jangama* saints and the members of that faith, in which the former narrate to the latter instances of the superiority of the Śaiva religion, and the falsehood of the *Jain* faith, which appears to have been that of *Bijala Rāya*, and the great part of the population of *Kalyāṇa*. In order to convert them *Ekānta Ramāya*, one of *Basava*'s disciples, cut off his head in their presence, and then marched five days in solemn procession through and round the city, and on the fifth day replaced his head upon his shoulders. The *Jain* Pagodas were thereupon, it is said, destroyed by the *Jangamas*.

It does not appear, however, that the king was made a convert, or that he approved of the principles and conduct of his minister. He seems, on the contrary, to have incurred his death by attempting to repress the extension of the *Vīra Śaiva* belief. Different authorities, although they disagree as to the manner in which *Bijala* was destroyed, concur in stating the fact: the following account of the transaction is from the present work.

"In the city of *Kalyāna* were two devout worshippers of ŚIVA, named *Allaya* and *Madhuvaya*. They fixed their faith firmly on the divinity they adored, and assiduously revered their spiritual preceptor, attending upon *Basava* whithersoever he went. The king, *Bijala*, well knew their merits, but closed his eyes to their superiority, and listening to the calumnious accusations of their enemies commanded the eyes of *Allaya* and *Madhuvaya* to be plucked out. The disciples of *Basava*, as well as himself, were highly indignant at the cruel treatment of these holy men, and leaving to *Jagaddeva* the task of putting *Bijala* to death, and denouncing imprecations upon the city, they departed from *Kalyāna*. *Basava* fixed his residence at *Sangameśvara*.

Machāya, *Bomnideraya*, *Kinnara*, *Kannatha*, *Bommadeva*, *Kakaya*, *Masanaya*, *Kolakila* *Bommadeva*, *Kesirajaya*, *Mathirajaya*, and others, announced to the people that the fortunes of *Bijala* had passed away, as indicated by portentous signs; and accordingly the crows crowed in the night, jackals howled by day; the sun was eclipsed, storms of wind and rain came on, the earth shook, and darkness overspread the heavens. The inhabitants of *Kalyāna* were filled with terror.

When *Jagaddeva* repaired home, his mother met him, and told him that when any injury had been done to a disciple of the *Śaiva* faith his fellow should avenge him or die. When *Dakṣa* treated ŚIVA with contumely, PĀRVATĪ threw herself into the flames, and so, under the wrong offered to the saints, he should not sit down contented: thus saying, she gave him food at the door of his mansion. Thither also came *Mallaya* and *Bommaya*, two others of the saints, and they partook of *Jagaddeva's* meal. Then smearing their bodies with holy ashes, they took up the spear, and sword, and shield, and marched together

against *Bijala*. On their way a bull appeared, whom they knew to be a form of *Basava* come to their aid, and the bull went first even to the court of the king, goring any one that came in their way, and opening a clear path for them. Thus they reached the court, and put *Bijala* to death in the midst of all his courtiers, and then they danced, and proclaimed the cause why they had put the king to death. *Jagaddeva* on his way back recalling the words of his mother stabbed himself. Then arose dissension in the city, and the people fought amongst themselves, and horses with horses, and elephants with elephants, until, agreeably to the curse denounced upon it by *Basava* and his disciples, *Kalyāna* was utterly destroyed.

Basava continued to reside at *Sangameśvara*, conversing with his disciples, and communing with the divine Essence, and he expostulated with ŚIVA, saying: 'By thy command have I, and thy attendant train, come upon earth, and thou hast promised to recall us to thy presence when our task was accomplished.' Then ŚIVA and PĀRVATĪ came forth from the *Sangameśvara* *Lingam*, and were visible to *Basava*, who fell on the ground before them. They raised him, and led him to the sanctuary, and all three disappeared in the presence of the disciples, and they praised their master, and flowers fell from the sky, and then the disciples spread themselves abroad, and made known the absorption of *Basava* into the emblem of ŚIVA."—MACKENZIE Collect., Vol. 2nd. Hāḷakanara MSS. [pp. 3-12.]

The date of the events here recorded is not particularised, but from various authorities they may be placed with confidence in the early part of the eleventh century¹.

¹ Colonel WILKS gives the same date (Mysore, I. 506), but terms the founder *Dhen Bas Ishwar*, intending clearly *Cheema* (little) *Basava*, the nephew of *Basava*, or *Basaveśvara*. BUCHANAN has the name *Basvana* (Mysore, I. 240), but agrees nearly in the date, placing him about seven hundred years ago.

The MACKENZIE Collection, from which the above is taken, contains a number of works¹ of a similar description in the ancient *Kanara* dialect. There are also several works of the same nature in *Telugu*, as the *Basaveśvara Purāṇa*, *Paṇḍitarādhyā Charitra*, and others. Although the language of these compositions may now have become obscure or obsolete, it is not invariably so, and at any rate was once familiar. This circumstance, and the marvellous character of the legends they relate, specimens of which have been given in the above account of the founder of the sect, adapted them to the comprehension and taste of the people at large, and no doubt therefore exercised a proportionate influence. Accordingly WILKS, BUCHANAN, and DUBOIS represent the *Lingavants* as very numerous in the *Dekhan*, especially in *Mysore*, or those countries constituting ancient *Kanara*, and they are also common in *Telingana*. In Upper India there are no popular works current, and the only authority is a learned *Bhāṣhya*, or Comment, by NĪLKĀNṬHA, on the *Sūtras* of VYĀSA, a work not often met with, and, being in Sanskrit, unintelligible to the multitude².

¹ As the *Basava Purāṇa*, *Chenna Basava Purāṇa*, *Prabhu-linga Līlā*, *Sarava Līlāmṛita*, *Viraktaru Kāvya*, and others, containing legends of a vast number of *Jangama* Saints and Teachers.—MACKENZIE Collection, Vol. 2, [pp. 12–32. See also *Madras Journal*, Vol. XI. p. 143 ff. and GRAUL, *Reise nach Indien*, Vol. V, p. 185 and 360.]

² Besides the *Jangama* priests of *Kedāranāth*, an opulent establishment of them exists at *Benares*: its wealth arises from

PARAMAHANSAS.

According to the introduction to the *Dvādaśa Mahāvākya*, by a *Daidi* author, VAIKUNṬHA PURI, the *Sannyāsi* is of four kinds, the *Kuṭichara*, *Bahūdaka*, *Hansa*, and *Paramahansa*: the difference between whom, however, is only the graduated intensity of their self-mortification and profound abstraction. The *Paramahansa*¹ is the most eminent of these grada-

a number of houses occupying a considerable space, called the *Jangam Bāri*: the title to the property is said to be a grant to the *Jangamas*, regularly executed by MĀN SIKH, and preserved on a copper plate: the story with which the vulgar are deluded is, that it was granted by one of the Emperors of Hindustan in consequence of a miracle performed by a *Jangama* devotee. In proof of the veracity of his doctrine he proposed to fly: the Emperor promised to give him as much ground as he could traverse in that manner: not quite satisfied of the impossibility of the feat, he had a check-string tied to the ascetic's legs, and held by one of the attendants: the *Jangama* mounted, and when he reached the limits of the present *Jangama Bāri*, the Emperor thinking that extent of ground sufficiently liberal had him constrained to fly back again.

¹ Moor, in his *Hindu Pantheon* (page 352), asserts, upon, as he says, authentic information, that the *Paramahansas* eat human flesh, and that individuals of this sect are not very unusually seen about *Benares*, floating down the river, and feeding upon a corpse: it is scarcely necessary to add that he is wholly wrong: the passage he cites from the *Researches* is quite correct, when it describes the *Paramahansa* as an ascetic of the orthodox sects, in the last stage of exaltation; and the practice he describes, although far from usual, is sometimes heard of as a filthy exhibition displayed for profit by individuals of a very different sect, those who occupy the ensuing portion of the present text—the *Aghoris*.

tions, and is the ascetic who is solely occupied with the investigation of BRAHMA, or spirit, and who is equally indifferent to pleasure or pain, insensible of heat or cold, and incapable of satiety or want*.

Agreeably to this definition, individuals are sometimes met with who pretend to have attained such a degree of perfection: in proof of it they go naked in all weathers, never speak, and never indicate any natural want: what is brought to them as alms or food, by any person, is received by the attendants, whom their supposed sanctity or a confederation of interest attaches to them, and by these attendants they are fed and served on all occasions, as if they were as helpless as infants. It may be supposed that, not unfrequently, there is much knavery in this helplessness, but there are many Hindus whose simple enthusiasm induces them honestly to practice such self-denial, and there is little risk in the attempt, as the credulity of their countrymen, or rather countrywomen, will in most places take care that their wants are amply supplied. These devotees are usually included amongst the *Saiva* ascetics; but it may be doubted whether the classification is correct.

* [जातरूपवेरो निर्द्वन्द्वो निरायहस्तत्रब्रह्ममार्गे सम्यक्सम्पन्नः शुद्ध-
मानसः प्राणसंधारणार्थं यथोक्तकाले भिक्षमाचरन्त्वाभालाभौ समौ
कृत्वा शुन्यागारदेवगृहतुल्यकूटवल्मीकवृक्षमूलकुलालशालाग्रिहोवनदी-
पुलिनगिरिकुहरकन्दरकोटरनिकरस्रष्टिलेखनिकेतवासी निम्नयत्नो
निर्ममः शुक्लध्यानपरायणो ऽध्यात्मनिष्ठः शुभाशुभकर्मनिर्मूलनाय
संन्यासेन देहत्यागं करोति यः स एव परमहंसी नाम ॥ *Jivannukti-*
riceka (Weber, Catal. p. 195) quoted in the *Sābdakalpadrūma*
s. v. *Paramahansa*. See also Weber, Ind. Stud. II, 77. 78. 173-6.]

AGHORIS.

The pretended insensibility of the *Paramahansa* being of a passive nature is at least inoffensive, and even where it is mere pretence the retired nature of the practice renders the deception little conspicuous or revolting. The same profession of worldly indifference characterises the *Aghori*, or *Aghorapanthi*; but he seeks occasions for its display, and demands alms as a reward for its exhibition.

The original *Aghori* worship seems to have been that of *Devī* in some of her terrific forms, and to have required even human victims for its performance¹. In imitation of the formidable aspect under which the goddess was worshipped, the appearance of her votary was rendered as hideous as possible, and his wand and water-pot were a staff set with bones and the upper half of a skull: the practices were of a similar nature, and flesh and spirituous liquors constituted, at will, the diet of the adept.

The regular worship of this sect has long since been suppressed, and the only traces of it now left are pre-

¹ It may be credulity or calumny, but the *Bhils*, and other hill tribes, are constantly accused by Sanskrit writers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries as addicted to this sanguinary worship. The *Vrihat Kathā* is full of stories to this effect, the scene of which is chiefly in the *Vindhya* range. Its covert existence in cities is inferable from the very dramatic situation in *Bharabhūti's Drama*, *Mālatī* and *Mādhava*, where *Mādhava* rescues his mistress from the *Aghora Ghañṭā*, who is about to sacrifice *Mālatī* at the shrine of *Chāmukhā* [Act V, p. 83].

sented by a few disgusting wretches, who, whilst they profess to have adopted its tenets, make them a mere plea for extorting alms. In proof of their indifference to worldly objects, they eat and drink whatever is given to them, even ordure and carrion. They smear their bodies also with excrement, and carry it about with them in a wooden cup, or skull, either to swallow it, if by so doing they can get a few pice; or to throw it upon the persons, or into the houses of those who refuse to comply with their demands. They also for the same purpose inflict gashes on their limbs, that the crime of blood may rest upon the head of the recusants; and they have a variety of similar disgusting devices to extort money from the timid and credulous Hindu. They are fortunately not numerous, and are universally detested and feared.

URDDHABÁHUS, ÁKÁŚ MUKHÍS, and NAKHÍS.

Personal privation and torture being of great efficacy in the creed of the Hindus, various individuals, some influenced by credulity, and some by knavery, have adopted modes of distorting their limbs, and forcing them out of their natural position, until they can no longer resume their ordinary direction.

The *Úrddhabáhus*¹ extend one or both arms above their heads, till they remain of themselves thus elevated. They also close the fist, and the nails being necessarily suffered to grow make their way between

the metacarpal bones, and completely perforate the hand. The *Úrddhabáhus* are solitary mendicants, as are all of this description, and never have any fixed abode: they subsist upon alms; many of them go naked, but some wear a wrapper stained with ochre; they usually assume the *Śaiva* marks, and twist their hair so as to project from the forehead, in imitation of the *Jatá* of ŚIVA.

The *Ákás mukhís*¹ hold up their faces to the sky, till the muscles of the back of the neck become contracted, and retain it in that position: they wear the *Jatá*, and allow the beard and whiskers to grow, smearing the body with ashes: some wear coloured garments: they subsist upon alms.

The *Nakhís* are of a similar description with the two preceding, but their personal characteristic is of a less extravagant nature, being confined to the length of their finger nails, which they never cut: they also live by begging, and wear the *Śaiva* marks.

GŪDARAS.

The *Gūdaras* are so named from a pan of metal which they carry about with them, and in which they have a small fire, for the purpose of burning scented woods at the houses of the persons from whom they receive alms. These alms they do not solicit further than by repeating the word *Alakh*², expressive of the

¹ *Úrddha*, above, and *Báhu*, the arm.

¹ *Ákás*, the sky, and *Mukha*, the face.

² *A*, the negative prefix, and *Lakshana*, a mark, a distinction.

indescribable nature of the deity. They have a peculiar garb, wearing a large round cap, and a long frock or coat stained with ochery clay. Some also wear ear-rings, like the *Kānpātā Jogis*, or a cylinder of wood passed through the lobe of the ear, which they term the *Khechari Mudrá*, the seal or symbol of the deity, of him who moves in the heavens.

RŪKHARAS, SŪKHARAS, and ŪKHARAS.

The *Sūkharas* are *Śaiva* mendicants, distinguished by carrying a stick three spans in length: they dress in a cap and sort of petticoat stained with ochery earth, smear their bodies with ashes, and wear ear-rings of the *Rudrāksha* seed. They also wear over the left shoulder a narrow piece of cloth dyed with ochre, and twisted, in place of the *Zannār*.

The *Rūkharas* are of similar habits and appearance, but they do not carry the stick, nor wear the *Rudrāksha* ear-rings, but in their place metallic ones: these two classes agree with the preceding in the watchword, exclaiming *Alakh*, as they pass along; the term is, however, used by other classes of mendicants.

The *Ūkharas* are said to be members of either of the preceding classes, who drink spirituous liquors, and eat meat: they appear to be the refuse of the three preceding mendicant classes, who, in general, are said to be of mild and inoffensive manners.

KARĀ LINGIS.

These are vagabonds of little credit; except some-

times amongst the most ignorant portions of the community, they are not often met with: they go naked, and to mark their triumph over sensual desires, affix an iron ring and chain on the male organ¹: they are professedly worshippers of ŚIVA.

SANNYĀSIS, BRAHMACHĀRIS, and AVADHŪTAS.

Although the terms *Sannyāsi* and *Vairāgi* are, in a great measure, restricted amongst the *Vaiṣṇavas* to peculiar classes, the same limit can scarcely be adopted with regard to the *Śaivas*. All the sects, except the *Samyogi Atīs*, are so far *Sannyāsi*, or excluded from the world, as not to admit of married teachers, a circumstance far from uncommon, as we have seen amongst the more refined followers of VIṢṆU. Most of the *Śaiva* sects, indeed, are of a very inferior description to those of the *Vaiṣṇavas*.

Besides the individuals who adopt the *Dandā Grahaṇa*, and are unconnected with the *Daśnāmīs*, there is a set of devotees who remain through life members of the condition of the *Brahmachāri*, or student²:

¹ These ascetics were the persons who attracted the notice of the earlier travellers, especially BERNIER and TAVERNIER. They were more numerous then, probably, than they are at present, and this appears to be the case with most of the mendicants who practiced on the superstitious admiration of the vulgar.

² The *Dirghakāla Brahmacharyam*, or protracted period of studentship, is however amongst the acts enumerated in various authorities of indisputable character, as those which are prohibited in the *Kali* age.

these are also regarded as *Sannyāsīs*, and where the term is used in a definite sense, these twelve kinds, the *Dāṇḍīs*, *Brahmachāris*, and ten *Daśnāmi* orders are implied. In general, however, the term, as well as *Avadhūta*, or *Avdhautā*, and *Alakhnāmi*, express all the *Śaiva* classes of mendicants, except perhaps the *Jogīs*.

NĀGAS.

The *Śaiva Sannyāsīs* who go naked are distinguished by this term. They smear their bodies with ashes, allow their hair, beards, and whiskers to grow, and wear the projecting braid of hair, called the *Jatā*: like the *Vairāgi Nāgas*, they carry arms, and wander about in troops, soliciting alms, or levying contributions. The *Śaiva Nāgas* are chiefly the refuse of the *Dāṇḍī* and *Atīt* orders, or men who have no inclination for a life of study or business: when weary of the vagrant and violent habits of the *Nāga*, they re-enter the better disposed classes, which they had first quitted. The *Śaiva Nāgas* are very numerous in many parts of India, though less so in the Company's provinces than in any other: they were formerly in great numbers in *Bündelkhand*¹, and HIMMET

BAHĀDUR was a pupil of one of their Mahants, RĀJENDRA GĪR, one of the lapsed *Daśnāmi* ascetics. These *Nāgas* are the particular opponents of the *Vairāgi Nāgas*, and were, no doubt, the leading actors in the bloody fray at *Haridwār*¹, which had excluded the *Vaishṇavas* from the great fair there, from 1760, till the British acquired the country. The leader of the *Śaiva* party was called DHOKAL GĪR, and he, as well as the spiritual guide of HIMMET BAHĀDUR, was consequently of the *Daśnāmi* order, which would thus seem to be addicted to violent and war-like habits. With respect to the sanguinary affray at *Haridwār*, in which we are told eighteen thousand *Vairāgis* were left dead on the field, there is a different legend current of the origin of the conflict from that given in the Researches, but neither of them is satisfactory, nor indeed is any particular cause necessary, as the opposite objects of worship, and the pride of

them, observes, that they often engage in the rival contests of the Indian Chiefs, and, on a critical occasion some years ago, six thousand of them joined the forces of the Mahratta Chief SINDIAH, and enabled him, with an equal number of his own troops, to discomfit an army of thirty thousand men, headed by one of his rebellious subjects.

¹ A party of them attacked Colonel GODDARD's troops in their march between *Doṛaval* and *Herapur*, the assailants were no more than four or five hundred, but about two thousand hovered about the rear of the army: they are called *Paṇḍāramas* in the narrative, but were evidently *Śaiva Nāgas*. PENNANT's *Hindustan*, 2, 192. The *Vindicator of the Hindus*, speaking of

¹ As. Res. II, 455. It may be observed, that a very accurate account is given in the same place of the general appearance and habits of the *Śaiva Sannyāsīs* and *Jogīs*, the *Vaishṇava Vairāgis*, and *Uddāsīs* of *Nānakshāh*. The term *Gosāin*, as correlative to *Sannyāsi*, is agreeable to common usage, but, as has been elsewhere observed, is more strictly applicable to very different characters.

strength and numbers, and consequent struggle for pre-eminence are quite sufficient to account for the dispute¹.

ŚĀKTAS.

The worshippers of the ŚĀKTI, the power or energy of the divine nature in action, are exceedingly numerous amongst all classes of Hindus². This active energy is, agreeably to the spirit of the mythological system, personified, and the form with which it is invested, considered as the especial object of veneration, de-

¹ The irregular practices of these and other mendicants have attracted the lash of KABĪR in the following Ramaini:

RAMAINĪ 69.

ऐसा योगी न देखा भाई ।

भूल किरे लिये गफलाई. &c.

"I never beheld such a *Jogi*, oh brother! forgetting his doctrine he roves about in negligence. He follows professedly the faith of MAHĀDEVA, and calls himself an eminent teacher; the scene of his abstraction is the fair or market. MĀYĀ is the mistress of the false saint. When did DATTĀTREYA demolish a dwelling? when did ŚUKADEVA collect an armed host? when did NĀRADA mount a matchlock? when did VYĀSADEVA blow a trumpet? In making war, the creed is violated. Is he an *Ātī*, who is armed with a quiver? Is he a *Virakta*, who is filled with covetousness? His garb is put to shame by his gold ornaments; he has assembled horses and mares, is possessed of villages, is called a man of wealth; a beautiful woman was not amongst the embellishments of *Sanaka* and his brethren; he who carries with him a vessel of ink, cannot avoid soiling his raiment."

² It has been computed, that of the Hindus of Bengal at least three-fourths are of this sect: of the remaining fourth three parts are *Vaiṣṇavas*, and one *Śaivas*, &c.

pends upon the bias entertained by the individuals towards the adoration of VIṢṆU or ŚĪVA. In the former case the personified *Śakti* is termed LAKSHMĪ, or MAHĀ LAKSHMĪ, and in the latter, PĀRVATĪ, BHĀVĀNĪ, or DURGĀ. Even SARASVATĪ enjoys some portion of homage, much more than her lord, BRAHMĀ, whilst a vast variety of inferior beings of malevolent character and formidable aspect receive the worship of the multitude. The bride of ŚĪVA however, in one or other of her many and varied forms, is by far the most popular emblem in Bengal and along the Ganges.

The worship of the female principle, as distinct from the divinity, appears to have originated in the literal interpretation of the metaphorical language of the *Vedas*, in which the *will or purpose to create* the universe is represented as originating from the creator, and co-existent with him as his bride, and part of himself. Thus in the *Rig Veda* it is said "That divine spirit breathed without affiliation, single with (*Svadhā*) her who is sustained within him; other than him nothing existed. First desire was formed in his mind, and that became the original productive seed"¹, and the *Sāma Veda*, speaking of the divine cause of creation, says, "He felt not delight, being alone. He wished another, and instantly became such. He caused his own self to fall in twain, and thus became husband."

¹ As. Res. VIII, 393 [Colebrooke's Essays. London: 1858, p. 17. Müller's History of Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 560 ff. *Rig Veda* X, 129].

and wife. He approached her, and thus were human beings produced"¹. In these passages it is not unlikely that reference is made to the primitive tradition of the origin of mankind, but there is also a figurative representation of the first indication of *wish* or *will* in the Supreme Being. Being devoid of all qualities whatever, he was alone, until he permitted the wish to be multiplied, to be generated within himself. This wish being put into action, it is said, became united with its parent, and then created beings were produced. Thus this first manifestation of divine power is termed *Ichchhārūpa*, personified desire, and the creator is designated as *Svechchhāmaya*², united with his own will, whilst in the *Vedānta* philosophy, and the popular sects, such as that of KĀBĪR, and others, in which all created things are held to be illusory, the *Śakti*, or active will of the deity, is always designated

¹ As. Res. VIII, 420 [Colebrooke's Essays, p. 37. Bṛihad Āraṇy. Up. I, 4, 3].

² Thus, in the *Brahma Vaivartta Purāṇa*, which has a whole section dedicated to the manifestations of the female principle, or a *Prakṛiti Khanda*:

एवंरूपं विभङ्गगवानिक एव सः ।

दिग्भिश्च नभसा सार्धं शून्यं विश्वं ददर्श ह ॥

आलोच्य मनसा सर्वमेकमेवासहायवान् ।

खेच्छया सप्तमारेभे सृष्टिं खेच्छामयः प्रभुः ॥

"The Lord was alone invested with the Supreme form, and beheld the whole world, with the sky and regions of space, a void. Having contemplated all things in his mind, he, without any assistant, began with the will to create all things,—He, the Lord, endowed with the wish for creation."

and spoken of as *Māyā* or *Mahāmāyā*, original deceit or illusion¹.

Another set of notions of some antiquity which contributed to form the character of the *Śakti*, whether general or particular, were derived from the *Sāṅkhya* philosophy. In this system nature, *Prakṛiti*, or *Mūla Prakṛiti*, is defined to be of eternal existence and independent origin, distinct from the supreme spirit, productive though no production, and the plastic origin of all things, including even the gods. Hence *Prakṛiti* has come to be regarded as the mother of gods and men, whilst as one with matter, the source of error, it is again identified with *Māyā*, or delusion, and as co-existent with the supreme as his *Śakti*, his personified energy, or his bride².

¹ So also in the authority last quoted:

सा च ब्रह्मस्वरूपा माया नित्या सनातनी ।

"She (*Prakṛiti*) one with *Brahma* is *Māyā*, eternal, everlasting;" and in the *Kālikā Purāṇa*

अभिन्ना प्रकृतिर्या सा जन्तून्सम्मोहति ।

Prakṛiti is termed "Inherent *Māyā*, because she beguiles all beings."

² In the *Gītā* [VII, 4] *Prakṛiti* is identified with all the elementary predicates of matter:

भूमिरापोऽनलो वायुः खं मनो बुद्धिरेव च ।

अहंकार इतीयं मे भिन्ना प्रकृतिरष्टधा ॥

"This, my *Prakṛiti*, is inherently eight-fold, or earth, water, fire, air, ether, mind, intellect, individuality."

So also the *Kūrma Purāṇa* (Chapter 12):

तस्य सर्वजगन्मूर्तिः शक्तिर्मायेति विश्रुता ।

तदेवं भ्रामयेदीशो मायावी पुरुषोत्तमः ॥

These mythological fancies have been principally disseminated by the *Purāṇas*, in all which *Prakṛiti*, or *Māyā*, bears a prominent part. The aggregate of the whole is given in the *Brahma Vaivartta Purāṇa*, one section of which, the *Prakṛiti Khanda*, is devoted to the subject, and in which the legends relating to the principal modifications of the female principle are narrated.

According to this authority, BRAHMA, or the supreme being, having determined to create the universe by his super-human power, became twofold, the right half becoming a male, the left half a female, which was *Prakṛiti*. She was of one nature with BRAHMA. She was illusion, eternal and without end: as is the soul, so is its active energy; as the faculty of burning is in fire¹. In another passage it is said, that KRISHṆA, who is in this work identified with the Supreme, being alone invested with the divine nature, beheld all one universal blank, and contemplating creation with his

सिषा मायात्मिका शक्तिः सर्वाकारा सनातनी ।
विश्वरूपं महेशस्य सर्वदा संप्रकाशयेत् ॥

"His Energy, being the universal form of all the world, is called *Māyā*, for so does the Lord the best of males and endowed with illusion cause it to revolve. That *Śakti*, of which the essence is illusion, is omniform and eternal, and constantly displays the universal shape of *Mahéśa*."

¹ योगेनात्मा सृष्टिविधौ द्विधारूपो बभूव सः ।
पुमांश्च दक्षिणांश्चैव वामांश्च प्रकृतिः स्मृता ॥

"He, by the power of YOGA, became himself in the act of creation two-fold; the right half was the male, the left was called *Prakṛiti*." [1, 9. See Aufrecht, Catal. I, p. 23, a.]

mental vision, he began to create all things by his own will, being united with his will, which became manifest as MŪLA PRAKṚITI¹. The original PRAKṚITI first assumed five forms²—DURGĀ the bride, *Śakti*, and *Māyā*, of ŚIVA, LAKSHMĪ the bride, *Śakti* and *Māyā* of VISHṆU, SARASWATĪ the same of BRAHMĀ, or in the *Brahma Vaivartta Purāṇa*, of HARI, whilst the next, SĀVITRĪ is the bride of BRAHMĀ. The fifth division of the original *Prakṛiti*, was RĀDHĀ, the favourite of the youthful KRISHṆA, and unquestionably a modern intruder into the Hindu Pantheon.

Besides these more important manifestations of the female principle, the whole body of goddesses and nymphs of every order are said to have sprung from the same source, and indeed every creature, whether human or brutal, of the female sex, is referred to the same principle, whilst the origin of males is ascribed to the primitive *Purusha*, or male. In every creation of the universe it is said the MŪLA PRAKṚITI assumes the different gradations of *Anśarūpiṇī*, *Kalārūpiṇī*, *Kalānśarūpiṇī*³, or manifest herself in portions, parts,

¹ स्वेच्छामयस्वेच्छया च श्रीकृष्णस्य सिसृक्षया ।
साविर्वभूव सहसा मूलप्रकृतिरीयरी ॥

"From the wish which was the creative impulse of Śrī Krishṇa, endowed with his will, she, *Mūla Prakṛiti*, the Supreme, became manifest." [ibid. śl. 12.]

² तदाज्ञया पञ्चविधा सृष्टिकर्मविभेदतः ।

"And she (the *Mūla Prakṛiti*,) became in the act of creation five-fold by the will of the Supreme." [śl. 13.]

³ अंशरूपा कलारूपा कलांशांशस्य सम्भवा ।
प्रकृतिः प्रति विश्वेषु देव्याश्च दिव्ययोगिनः ॥

and portions of parts, and further subdivisions. The chief *Anśas* are, besides the five already enumerated, GANĠĀ, TULASĪ, MANASĀ, SHASHTHĪ, or DEVASENĀ, MANGALACHANDĪKĀ, and KĀLĪ*; the principal *Kalās* are SWĀHĀ, SWADHĀ, DAKSHINĀ, SWASTI, PUSHTĪ, TUSHĪ, and others, most of which are allegorical personifications, as *Dhṛiti*, Fortitude, *Pratishthā*, Fame, and *Adharma*, Wickedness, the bride of *Mṛityu*, or Death. ADITI, the mother of the Gods, and DITI, the mother of the Demons, are also *Kalās* of PRAKRĪTI. The list includes all the secondary goddesses. The *Kalānśas* and *Anśānśas*, or sub-divisions of the more important manifestations, are all womankind, who are distinguished as good, middling, or bad, according as they derive their being from the parts of their great original in which the *Satya*, *Rajas*, and *Tamo Guṇa*, or property of goodness, passion, and vice predominates. At the same time as manifestations of the great cause of all they are entitled to respect, and even to veneration: whoever, says the *Brahma Vaivartta Purāṇa*, offends or insults a female, incurs the wrath of PRAKRĪTI, whilst he who propitiates a female, particularly the youthful daughter of a *Brahman*, with clothes, ornaments and perfumes, offers worship to PRAKRĪTI herself. It is in the spirit of this last doctrine

"In every creation of the universe the *Devī*, through divine *Yoga*, assumes different forms, and becomes *Anśarūpā*, *Kalārūpā*, and *Kalānśarūpā*, or *Anśānśarūpā*."

* [and VASUNDHARĪ. See Aufrecht, l. l., p. 23, b.]

that one of the principal rites of the *Śāktas* is the actual worship of the daughter or wife of a *Brahman*, and leads with one branch of the sect at least to the introduction of gross impurities. But besides this derivation of PRAKRĪTI, or ŚAKTI, from the Supreme, and the secondary origin of all female nature from her, those who adopt her as their especial divinity employ the language invariably addressed towards the preferential object of worship in every sect, and contemplate her as comprising all existence in her essence. Thus she is not only declared to be one with the male deity, of whose energy some one of her manifestations is the type, as DEVĪ with ŚIVA, and LAKSHMĪ with VISHṆU; but it is said, that she is equally in all things, and that all things are in her, and that besides her there is nothing¹.

Although the adoration of PRAKRĪTI or ŚAKTI is, to a certain extent, authorised by the *Purāṇas*, particu-

¹ Thus in the *Kāśī Khaṇḍa*:

सर्वमन्त्रमयी त्वं ब्रह्माद्यास्त्वत्समुद्भवाः ।
चतुर्वर्गात्मकी त्वं वै चतुर्वर्गफलोदया ॥
त्वत्तः सर्वमिदं विद्यं त्वयि सर्वं जगन्निधे ।
यद्दृश्यं यद्दृश्यञ्च स्थूलसूक्ष्मस्वरूपतः ॥
यत्तत्त्वं शक्तिरूपेण किञ्चिन्न त्वदृते क्वचित् ।

"Thou art predicated in every prayer — *Brahmā* and the rest are all born from thee. Thou art one with the four objects of life, and from thee they come to fruit. From thee this whole universe proceeds, and in thee, asylum of the world, all is, whether visible or invisible, gross or subtle in its nature: what is, thou art in the *Śakti* form, and except thee nothing has ever been."

larly the *Brahma Vaivartta*, the *Skanda*, and the *Kālikā*, yet the principal rites and formulæ are derived from an independent series of works known by the collective term of *Tantras*. These are infinitely numerous, and in some instances of great extent; they always assume the form of a dialogue between ŚIVA and his bride, in one of her many forms, but mostly as UMĀ and PĀRVATĪ, in which the goddess questions the god as to the mode of performing various ceremonies, and the prayers and incantations to be used in them. These he explains at length, and under solemn cautions that they involve a great mystery on no account whatever to be divulged to the profane.

The followers of the *Tantras* profess to consider them as a fifth *Veda*, and attribute to them equal antiquity and superior authority¹. The observances they prescribe have, indeed, in Bengal almost superseded the original ritual. The question of their date is in-

¹ Thus, in the *Śiva Tantra*, ŚIVA is made to say:

मम पञ्चमुखेभ्यश्च पञ्चान्नाया विनिर्गताः ।

पूर्वश्च पश्चिमश्चैव दक्षिणश्चोत्तरश्च ।

ऊर्ध्वान्नायश्च पश्चिन्मोक्षमार्गाः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ।

आन्नाया बहवः सन्ति ऊर्ध्वान्नायेन नो समाः ॥

[See Aufrecht, Catal. I, p. 91.]

"The five Scriptures issued from my five mouths, and were the east, west, south, north, and upper. These five are known as the paths to final liberation. There are many Scriptures, but none are equal to the Upper Scripture." *Kullūka Bhāṭṭa*, commenting on the first verse of the second chapter of *Manu*, says: the *Śruti* is two-fold—*Vaidika* and *Tāntrika*:

श्रुतिश्च द्विविधा वेदिकी तान्त्रिकी च ॥

volved in considerable obscurity. From the practices described in some of the *Purāṇas*, particularly that of the *Dīkshā* or rite of initiation, in the *Agni Purāṇa*, from the specification of formulæ comprising the mystical monosyllables of the *Tāntras* in that and other similar compilations, and from the citation of some of them by name in different *Paurāṇic* works¹, we must conclude that some of the *Tantras* are prior to those authorities. But the date of the *Purāṇas* themselves is far from determined, and whilst some parts of them may be of considerable antiquity, other portions of inost, if not of all, are undoubtedly subsequent to the tenth century of the Christian era. It is not unlikely, however, that several of the *Tantras* are of earlier composition, especially as we find the system they inculcate included by ĀNANDAGIRI, in his life of ŚAN-KARĀCHĀRYA, amongst the heterodoxies which that Legislator succeeded in confuting. On the other hand there appears no indication of *Tāntrika* notions in the

¹ As in the *Kūrma Purāṇa* the *Kapḍa*, *Bhairava*, *Vāma* and *Yāmala*, and the *Pāñcharātra* in the *Varāha*: we have also a number mentioned in the *Śankara Vijaya*, of both *Ānandagiri* and *Mādhava*, as the *Śiva Gītā*, *Śiva Saṁhitā*, *Rudra Yāmala*, and *Śiva Rahasya*. It is also said in *Ānandagiri's* work, that the *Brāhmaṇas* were cursed by *Gāyatri*, to become *Tāntrikas* in the *Kali* age:

वेदोक्तकर्महीनाश्च तान्त्रिकाचारतत्पराः ।

यूयं कर्त्ता भवन्स्विवमिति तानाह सा रूपा ॥

"She being angry said to them: in the *Kali* age, after abandoning the *Veda* ritual, become followers of the *Tāntrika* observances."

Mahábhárat, and the name of *Tantra*, in the sense of a religious text book, does not occur in the vocabulary of AMARA SINHA. It may therefore be inferred, that the system originated at some period in the early centuries of Christianity, being founded on the previous worship of the female principle, and the practices of the *Yoga* with the *Mantras*, or mystical formulæ of the *Vedas*. It is equally certain that the observances of the *Tantras* have been carried to more exceptionable extremes in comparatively modern times; and that many of the works themselves are of recent composition. They appear also to have been written chiefly in Bengal and the Eastern districts, many of them being unknown in the West and South of India, and the rites they teach having there failed to set aside the ceremonies of the *Vedas*, although they are not without an important influence upon the belief and the practices of the people.

The *Tantras* are too numerous to admit in this place of their specification, but the principal are the *Śyámá Rahasya*, *Rudra Yámala*, *Mantra Mahodadhi*, *Śaradá Tilaka*, and *Káliká Tantra*, whilst the *Kulachūdāmañi*, *Kulárnava*, and similar works, are the chief authorities of one portion of the *Śáktas*, the sect being divided into two leading branches, the *Dakshináchárits* and *Vámáchárits*, or followers of the right hand and left hand ritual.

DAKSHINAS, or BHÁKTAS.

When the worship of any goddess is performed in

a public manner, and agreeably to the *Vaidik* or *Pauránic* ritual¹, it does not comprehend the impure practices which are attributed to a different division of the adorers of ŚAKTI, and which are particularly prescribed to the followers of this system. In this form it is termed the *Dakshinā*, or right hand form of worship². The only observance that can be supposed to form an exception to the general character of this mode is the *Bali*, an offering of blood, in which rite a number of helpless animals, usually kids, are annually decapitated. In some cases life is offered without shedding blood, when the more barbarous practice is adopted of pummelling with the fists the poor animal to death: at other times blood only is offered without injury to life. These practices, however, are not considered as orthodox, and approach rather to the ritual

¹ The peculiarities of this sect are described in the *Dakshináchára Tantra Rāja*, a modern summary of the system, by *Kāśināth*: according to this authority:

दक्षिणाचारतन्त्रोक्तं कर्म तच्छुद्धं वैदिकम् ।

“The ritual declared in the *Tantras* of the *Dakshinácháras* is pure and conformable to the *Vedas*.”

² वामागमो मदुक्तो ऽयं सर्वशूद्रपरः प्रिये ।
ब्राह्मणो मदिरादानाद्ब्राह्मण्यं न वियुज्यते ॥
न कर्त्तव्यं न कर्त्तव्यं न कर्त्तव्यं कदाचन ।
इदं तु साहसं देवि न कर्त्तव्यं कदाचन ॥

“The *Váma* ritual, although declared by me, was intended for *Śúdras* only. A *Brahman*, from receiving spirituous liquor, forfeits his *Brahmanical* character—let it not be done—let it not ever be done. Goddess, it is brutality, never let it be practiced.”

of the *Vāmāchāris*¹, the more pure *Bali* consisting of edible grain, with milk and sugar. Animal victims are also offered to DEVÍ, in her terrific forms only, as KÁLÍ or DURGÁ. The worship is almost confined to a few districts; and, perhaps, is carried to no great extent.

Although any of the goddesses may be objects of the *Śākta* worship, and the term *Śakti* comprehends them all, yet the homage of the *Śāktas* is almost restricted to the wife of ŚIVA, and to ŚIVA himself as identified with his consort². The sect is in fact a ra-

द्विविधबलिराख्यातो राजसः सात्त्विको बुधैः ।

राजसो मांसरक्तायं पलत्रयसमन्वितः ॥

मुद्रपायससंयुक्तो मधुरत्रयलोहितः ।

ब्राह्मणो नियतः शुद्धः सात्त्विकं बलिमाहरेत् ॥

"The *Bali* is of two kinds, *Rājasa* and *Sāttvika*; the first consists of meat, and includes the three kinds of flesh; the second of pulse and rice-milk, with the three sweet articles, (ghee, honey, and sugar,) let the *Brahman*, always pure, offer only the *Sāttvika Bali*."

The *Brahmavivartta* also observes: "The animal sacrifices, it is true, gratify DURGÁ; but they, at the same time, subject the sacrificer to the sin which attaches to the destroyer of animal life. It is declared by the *Vedas*, that he who slays an animal is hereafter slain by the slain."

शिवशक्तिमयं रूपं सम्पूर्णं साधकोत्तमैः ॥

यसु सम्पूजयेच्छक्तिं शिवं नैव प्रपूजयेत् ।

स एव पातकी रोगी मान्दिको दुर्गतिर्भवेत् ॥

"The joint form of ŚIVA and ŚAKTI is to be worshipped by the virtuous. Whoever adores ŚAKTI, and offers not adoration to ŚIVA, that *Māntrika* is diseased: he is a sinner, and hell will be his portion." For it appears that some of the *Śāktas* elevate

mification from the common *Śaiva* stock, and is referred to ŚIVA himself as its institutor. In the *Tantras*, as has been noticed, he appears as its professor, expounding to PÁRVATÍ the mantras, tenets, and observances of the *Śākta* worship, whether of the right or left hand description.

The worship of DEVÍ, thus naturally resulting from the works on which the *Śākta* doctrines are founded, is one of considerable antiquity and popularity. Laying aside all uncertain and fabulous testimony, the adoration of *Vindhyā Vāsini*, near *Mirzapur*¹, has existed for more than seven centuries, and that of *Jvālmukhī* at *Nagarkot* very early attracted Mohammedan persecution². These places still retain their reputation, and are the objects of pilgrimage to devout Hindus. On the eighth of the dark fortnight of *Chaitra* and

the ŚAKTI above the ŚAKTIMÁN, or deity: thus the *Vāmis*, in the *Śankara Vijaya*, say:

शक्तिः शिवस्य बलकारिणी तथा विना तस्य तृणचलनक्रियाया-
मसमर्थत्वात् । अतः शक्तिरेव शिवस्य कारणं ।

"ŚAKTI gives strength to ŚIVA, without her he could not stir a straw. She is, therefore, the cause of ŚIVA."

नित्यपदार्थयोर्मध्ये शक्तिरधिकत्वं ।

And again: "of the two objects which are eternal the greater is the ŚAKTI."

¹ It is frequently mentioned in the *Vīrihat Kathā*; the age of which work is ascertained to be about seven centuries. *Nagarkot* was taken by Firoz the 3d, in 1360 (Dow 2, 55), at which time the goddess *Jvālmukhī* was then worshipped there.

² For a full account of both the work of Mr. WARD may be advantageously consulted—II, 89 to 96, and 125 to 131.

Kārtik in particular a numerous assemblage of pilgrims takes place at them.

The adoration of *KĀLĪ*, or *DURGĀ*, is however particularly prevalent in Bengal, and is cultivated with practices scarcely known in most other provinces. Her great festival, the *Daśaharā*, is in the West of India marked by no particular honors, whilst its celebration in Bengal occupies ten days of prodigal expenditure. This festival, the *Durgā Pūjā*, is now well known to Europeans, as is the extensive and popular establishment near Calcutta, the temple of *KĀLĪ* at *Kālī Ghāt*. The rites observed in that place, and at the *Durgā Pūjā*, however, almost place the *Bengali Śāktas* amongst the *Vāmāchārīs*, notwithstanding the rank assigned them in the *Dakṣiṇāchārī Tantrarāja*, which classes the *Gauras* with the *Keralas* and *Kashmirians*, as the three principal divisions of the purer worshippers of *ŚAKTI*.

VĀMĪS, or VĀMĀCHĀRĪS.

The *Vāmīs* mean the left hand worshippers, or those who adopt a ritual contrary to that which is usual, and to what indeed they dare publicly avow¹. They worship *DEVĪ*, the *Śakti* of *ŚIVA*, but all the goddesses,

¹ The following verse is from the *Śyāmā Rahasya*:

अन्तश्चात्मा वहिर्ग्रीवाः सभायां वैष्णवा भताः ।
नानारूपधराः कौला विचरन्ति महीतले ॥

"Inwardly *Śāktas*, outwardly *Śaivas*, or in society nominally *Vaiṣṇavas*, the *Kaulas* assuming various forms, traverse the earth."

as *LAṢHMĪ*, *SARASVATĪ*, the *Mātrīs*, the *Nāyikās*, the *Yoginīs*, and even the fiend-like *Dākinīs* and *Śākinīs*, are admitted to a share of homage. With them, as well as with the preceding sect, *ŚIVA* is also an object of veneration, especially in the form of *BHAIRAVA*, with which modification of the deity it is the object of the worshipper to identify himself¹.

The worship of the *Vāmāchārīs* is derived from a portion of the *Tantras*: it resolves itself into various subjects, apparently into different sects, of which that of the *Kaula*, or *Kulina*, is declared to be pre-eminent². The object of the worship is, by the reverence of *DEVĪ* or *ŚAKTI*, who is one with *ŚIVA*, to obtain supernatural

¹ भैरवो ऽहमिति ज्ञात्वा सर्वज्ञो ऽहं गुणान्वितः ।
इति सच्चिन्मयो योगीन्द्रः कुलपूजां समाचरेत् ॥

"I am *Bhairava*, I am the omniscient, endowed with qualities. Having thus meditated, let the devotee proceed to the *Kula* worship."—*Śyāmā Rahasya*.

² सर्वेभ्योऽत्तमा वेदा वेदेभ्यो वैष्णवं परं ।
वैष्णवादुत्तमं शैवं शैवाद्दक्षिणमुत्तमं ॥
दक्षिणादुत्तमं वामं वामात्सिद्धान्तमुत्तमं ।
सिद्धान्तादुत्तमं कौलं कौलात्परतरं न हि ॥

"The *Vedas* are pre-eminent over all works, the *Vaiṣṇava* sect excels the *Vedas*, the *Śaiva* sect is preferable to that of *VIṢṆU*, and the right hand *ŚAKTA* to that of *ŚIVA*—the left hand is better than the right hand division, and the *Siddhānta* is better still—the *Kaula* is better than the *Siddhānta*, and there is none better than it."—*Kulārṇava*. The words *Kaula* and *Kulina* are both derivatives from *Kula*, family; and the latter is especially applied to imply of good or high family: these terms have been adopted to signify, that those who follow this doctrine are not only of one, but of an exalted race.

powers in this life, and to be identified after death with ŚIVA and ŚAKTI.

According to the immediate object of the worshipper is the particular form of worship; but all the forms require the use of some or all of the five *Makāras*¹, *Māṃsa*, *Matsya*, *Madya*, *Maithuna*, and *Mudrá*, flesh, fish, wine, women, and certain mystical gesticulations. Suitable *Mantras* are also indispensable, according to the end proposed, consisting of various unmeaning monosyllable combinations of letters of great imaginary efficacy².

¹ They are thus enumerated in the *Śyāma Rahasya*:

मद्यं मांसञ्च मत्स्यञ्च मुद्रा मैथुनमेव च ।
मकारपञ्चकञ्चैव महापातकनाशनम् ॥

“Wine, flesh, fish, *Mudrá*, and *Maithuna*, are the five-fold *Makdra*, which takes away all sin.” [See also *Prānātoshanī*, Calc. edition, p. 277, a.]

² Many specimens might be given, but one will be here sufficient. It is the combination H and S as ह्रस्व, and is one of the very few to which any meaning is attempted to be given: it is called the *Prāsāda Mantra*, and its virtues and import are thus described in the *Kulārṇava* [chapter 3]:

श्रीप्रासादपरामन्त्रमूर्ध्नाच्चायप्रतिष्ठितम् ।
आवयोः परमाकारं यो वेत्ति सः शिवः स्वयम् ॥
शिवादिक्रिमिपर्यन्तं प्राणिनां प्राणवर्त्मनाम् ।
निश्वासीच्छ्वासरूपेण मन्त्रो ऽयं वर्तते प्रिये ॥

“He who knows the excellent *Prāsāda Mantra*, that was promulgated by the fifth *Veda*, (the *Tantras*) and which is the supreme form of us both, he is himself ŚIVA: this *Mantra* is present in all beings that breathe, from ŚIVA to a worm, and exists in states of expiration and inspiration.” The letter H is the expired, and S the inspired letter, and as these two acts constitute life, the *Mantra* they express is the same with life: the

Where the object of the ceremony is to acquire an interview with and control over impure spirits, a dead body is necessary. The adept is also to be alone, at midnight, in a cemetery or place where bodies are burnt or buried, or criminals executed: seated on the corpse he is to perform the usual offerings, and if he does so without fear, the *Bhūtas*, the *Yoginis*, and other male or female goblins become his slaves.

In this, and many of the observances practiced, solitude is enjoined; but all the principal ceremonies comprehend the worship of ŚAKTI, and require for that purpose the presence of a female as the living representative and the type of the goddess. This worship is mostly celebrated in a mixed society, the men of which represent *Bhairavas* or *Viras*, and the women *Bhairavis* and *Nāyikās*. The ŚAKTI is personated by a naked female, to whom meat and wine are offered, and then distributed amongst the assistants, the recitation of various *Mantras* and texts, and the performance of the *Mudrá*, or gesticulations with the fingers, accompanying the different stages of the ceremony, and it is terminated with the most scandalous

animated world would not have been formed without it, and exists but as long as it exists, and it is an integral part of the universe, without being distinct from it, as the fragrance of flowers, and sweetness of sugar, oil of Sesamum seed, and ŚAKTI of ŚIVA. He who knows it needs no other knowledge—he who repeats it need practice no other act of adoration. The authority quoted contains a great deal more to the same purpose.

orgies amongst the votaries¹. The ceremony is entitled the *Śrī Chakra*, or *Pūrṇābhisheka*, the Ring, or Full Initiation.

¹ It might have been sufficient to have given this general statement, or even to have referred to the similar but fuller account of Mr. WARD: his information was however merely oral, and may therefore be regarded as unsatisfactory; and as it seems to be necessary to show that the charge is not altogether unfounded, I shall subjoin the leading rites of the *Śakti Śodhana*, or *Śrī Chakra*, as they are prescribed in the *Devi Rahasya*, a section of the *Rudra Yāmala*.

ŚAKTI ŚODHANA.

The object of the ceremony should be either:

नटी कपालिनी वेश्या रजकी नापिताङ्गना ।
ब्राह्मणी शूद्रकन्या च तथा गोपालकन्यका ॥
मालाकारस्य कन्या ऽपि नवकन्याः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ।
एतासु कांचिदानीय पूजयेच्च[कृत्ति]कीलिकः ॥

[The *Prāhatoshanī* in which (p. 300, b) the first 3 lines are quoted has instead of the fourth line the following:

विशेषवैदग्ध्ययुताः सर्वत्रैव कुलाङ्गनाः ॥
रूपयौवनसम्पन्ना शीलसीभाग्यशालिनी ।
पूजनीया प्रयत्नेन ततः सिद्धिर्भवेद्भुवम् ॥]

"A dancing girl, a female devotee, a harlot, a washerwoman, or barber's wife, a female of the *Brāhmaṇical* or *Śūdra* tribe, a flower girl, or a milk maid." It is to be performed at midnight, with a party of eight, nine, or eleven couple, as the *Bhairavas* and *Bhairavis*.

महानिशायामानीय नवकन्याश्च भैरवान् ।
एकादश नवाष्टौ वा कीलिकः कीलिकेश्वरि ।
शोधयेत्तत्रभिर्मन्त्रैः पूजयेत्कीलिकोत्तमः ॥

Appropriate Mantras are to be used, according to the description of the person selected for the *Śakti*, who is then to be worshipped, according to prescribed form: she is placed disrobed, but richly ornamented, on the left of a circle (*Chakra*) described

The occurrence of these impurities is certainly countenanced by the texts, which the sects regard as

for the purpose, with various *Mantras* and gesticulations, and is to be rendered pure by the repetition of different formulas.

तदीयं मन्त्रमालिख्य तस्मिन्नामेव पूजयेत् ।
श्रीचक्रे स्थापयेद्दामे कन्यां भैरववत्तमाम् ॥
मुक्तकेशां वीतलज्जां सर्वाभरणभूषिताम् ।
आनन्दलीनहृदयां सौन्दर्यातिमनोहराम् ॥
शोधयेच्छुद्धिमन्त्रेण सुरानन्दामृताम्बुभिः ।

Being finally sprinkled over with wine, the act being sanctified by the peculiar *Mantra*,

मन्त्रेणानेन देवेशि कामिनीमभिषिञ्चयेत् ॥

The *Śakti* is now purified, but if not previously initiated, she is to be further made an adept by the communication of the radical *Mantra* whispered thrice in her ear, when the object of the ceremony is complete:

एवं शोधनमन्त्रास्ते संवर्णिताः पृथग्भया ।
योनीं जपेत्कुमारीणां कीलिकः करमालया ॥
सञ्जय दृक्कर्णे च मूलमन्त्रं त्रिरुच्चरेत् ।
अदीक्षिता ऽपि देवेशि दीक्षितैव भवेत्तदा ॥
दीक्षितां शोधितो वीरो भवेत्सर्वार्थसिद्धये ।

The finale is what might be anticipated, but accompanied throughout with *Mantras* and forms of meditation suggesting notions very foreign to the scene.

आनन्दतर्पितां कान्तां वीरः स्वानन्दवियहः ।
रतेन तर्पयेत्तत्र श्रीचक्रे वीरसंसदि ॥
पठन्मण्डपमुद्युत्य मन्त्रराजं कुलेश्वरि ।
धर्माधर्महविर्दीप्तिं स्वात्मा ऽप्री मनसा सुचा ॥
सुपुण्या वल्लभा नित्यमक्षवृत्तीर्गुहोन्महम् ।
स्वाहान्तं मन्त्रमुच्चार्य जपमूलं स्मरन्परम् ॥
कुर्यान्निधुवनं मन्त्री मन्त्रसिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ।
रतान्ते संजपेन्मूलं पठेन्मन्त्रमिदं पुनः ॥
तारद्वयान्तरगतं परमानन्दकारणम् ।
श्रीं प्रकाशाकाशहस्ताभ्यामवलम्ब्योन्ननी सुचा ॥

authorities, and by a very general belief of their occurrence. The members of the sect are enjoined secrecy, which, indeed, it might be supposed they would observe on their own account, and, consequently, will not acknowledge their participation in such scenes. They will not, indeed, confess that they are of the *Śākta* sect, although their reserve in this respect is said, latterly, to be much relaxed. It is contrary, however, to all knowledge of the human character, to admit the possibility of these transactions in their fullest extent; and, although the worship of the *ŚAKTI*, according to the above outline, may be sometimes performed, yet there can be little doubt of its being practiced but seldom, and then in solitude and secrecy. In truth, few of the ceremonies, there is reason to believe, are ever observed; and, although the *Chakra* is said to be not uncommon, and by some of the zealous *Śāktas* it is scarcely concealed, it is usually nothing more than a convivial party, consisting of the members of a single family, or at which men only are assembled, and the company are glad to eat flesh and drink spirits¹, under the pretence of a religious ob-

धर्माधर्मकलाखेहपूर्णं वही जुहोम्यहम् ।
 स्वाहान्ते वायुमन्त्रेण शुक्रमादाय पार्वति ॥
 श्रीचक्रे तर्पयेद्देवि ततः सिद्धिमवाप्नुयात् ।
 समूज्य कान्तां संतर्प्य सुत्वा नत्वा परस्परम् ॥
 संहारसन्धया मन्त्री शक्तिवीरान्विसर्जयेत् ।

¹ The zeal that is prescribed might suit some more civilized associations:

servance. In justice to the doctrines of the sect, it is to be observed that these practices, if instituted merely for sensual gratification, are held to be as illicit and reprehensible as in any other branch of the Hindu faith¹.

पीत्वा पीत्वा पुनः पीत्वा यावच्चुठति भूतले ।

उत्थाय च पुनः पीत्वा पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते ॥

Let him pledge the wine cup again and again,
 Till he measures his length on the ground.
 Let him rise and once more the goblet drain,
 And with freedom for aye, from a life of pain,
 Shall the glorious feat be crowned.

¹ The *Kulārṇava* has the following and many similar passages; they occur constantly in other *Tantras*:

बहवः कौलिकं धर्मं मिथ्याज्ञानविडम्बकाः ।

स्वबुद्ध्या कलयन्तीत्यं पारम्पर्यविवर्जिताः ॥

मद्यपानेन मनुजा यदि सिद्धिं लभन्ति तत् ।

मद्यपानरताः सर्वे सिद्धिं यान्ति समीहिताम् ॥

मांसभक्षणमात्रेण यदि पुण्यगतिर्भवेत् ।

लोके मांसाशिनः सर्वे पुरायवन्तो भवन्ति किम् ॥

स्त्रीसम्भोगेन देवेशि यदि मोक्षं व्रजन्ति तत् ।

सर्वे ऽपि जन्तवो लोके मुक्ताः स्युः स्त्रीनिषेवनात् ।

कुलमार्गयुतो देवि न मया निन्दितः क्वचित् ।

आचाररहिता यत्र निन्दितास्ते न चेतरे ॥

कुलद्रव्याणि सेवन्ते ये ऽन्यदर्शनमाश्रिताः ।

तदङ्गरोमप्रमाणं पुनर्जन्म भविष्यति ॥

“Many false pretenders to knowledge, and who have not been duly initiated, pretend to practice the *Kaula* rites; but if perfection be obtained by drinking wine, independently of my commands, then every drunkard is a saint: if virtue consist in eating flesh, then every carnivorous animal in the world is virtuous: if eternal happiness be derived from sexual intercourse, then all beings will be entitled to it: a follower of the *Kula* doctrine is blameless in my sight, if he reproves those of other

The followers are considered as very numerous, especially amongst the Brahmanical tribe: all classes are however admissible, and are equal and alike at the ceremonies of the sect. In the world¹ they resume their characteristic distinctions, and wear the sectarial marks, and usually adopt the outward worship of any other division, whether orthodoxical or heretical. When they assume particular insignia, they are a semi-circular line or lines on the forehead, of red saunders or vermillion, or a red streak up the middle of the forehead, with a circular spot of red at the root of the nose. They use a rosary of *Rudrāksha*

creeds who quit their established observances—those of other sects who use the articles of the *Kaula* worship, shall be condemned to repeated generations as numerous as the hairs of the body.”—In fact, the texts of *Manu* are taken as authorities for the penance to be performed for the crimes of touching, smelling, looking at, or tasting the forbidden articles, except upon religious occasions, and when they are consecrated by the appropriate texts.

It is only to be added, that if the promulgators of these doctrines were sincere, which is far from impossible, they must have been filled with a strange phrenzy, and have been strangely ignorant of human nature.

प्रवृत्ते भैरवीतन्त्रे सर्वे वर्णा द्विजोत्तमाः ।

निवृत्ते भैरवीतन्त्रे सर्वे वर्णाः पृथक्पृथक् ॥

“Whilst the *Bhairavi Tantra* is proceeding, all castes are *Brahmans*—when it is concluded, they are again distinct.” *Syāmnā Rahasya*. According to WARD, such of them as avow their creed, leading at the same time a mendicant life, are termed *Vyaktāradhūtas*, or they who are openly free from restraints: those who conceal their creed and observe its practices in privacy are termed *Guptāradhūtas*, the liberated in secret. II, 296.

seeds, or of coral beads, but of no greater length than may be concealed in the hand, or they keep it in a small purse, or a bag of red cloth. In worshipping they wear a piece of red silk round the loins, and decorate themselves with garlands of crimson flowers.

KANCHULIYAS.

This is a sect of which the existence may be questioned, notwithstanding the assertion that it is not uncommon in the South of India. The worship is that of ŚAKTI, and the practices are similar to those of the *Kaulas*, or *Vāmāchāris*. It is said to be distinguished by one peculiar rite, the object of which is to confound all the ties of female alliance, and to enforce not only a community of women amongst the votaries, but disregard even to natural restraints. On occasions of worship the female votaries are said to deposit their upper vests* in a box in charge of the *Guru*. At the close of the usual rites the male worshippers take each a vest from the box, and the female to whom the garment appertains, be she ever so nearly of kin to him, is the partner for the time of his licentious pleasures¹.

* [Called *Kanchuli* in Tamil; hence the name of the sect.]

¹ This sect appears in the *Śankara Vijaya*, as the *Uchchhishṭa Gaṇapati*, or *Hairamba* sect, who declare that all men and all women are of one caste, and that their intercourse is free from fault.

पुरुषाणां सर्वजातिकानामेकजातिवदित्येको धर्मः स्त्रीणां सर्वजातिकानामेकजातिवदित्येको धर्मः । तासाञ्च तेषाञ्च संयोगे वियोगे च दोषाभावः ।

KARĀRĪ.

The *Karārī* is the worshipper of DEVI, in her terrific forms, and is the representative of the *Aghora Ghaṇṭa* and *Kāpālīka*¹, who as lately only as seven or eight centuries ago, there is reason to suppose, sacrificed human victims to KĀLĪ, CHĀMUNḌĀ, CHHINNA-MASTAKĀ, and other hideous personifications of the *Śakti* of ŚIVA. The attempt to offer human beings in the present day, is not only contrary to every known ritual, but it would be attended with too much peril to be practiced, and consequently it cannot be believed that this sect is in existence: the only votaries, if any there be, consisting of the miscreants who, more for

The same sort of story is told, but apparently with great injustice, of the Mohammedan *Vyavahāris* or *Bohras*, and of a less known Mohammedan sect, the *Chiraghkesh*: something of the same kind was imputed to the early Christians by their adversaries.

¹ The following description of the *Kāpālīka* is from the *Śankara Vijaya* of *Anandagiri*:

चितिभस्मपूर्णकलेवरो नरकपालमालावृतगलः फालदेशरचितक-
ज्जलेखः सकलकेशरचितजटापारिव्याघ्रचर्मरचितकटिसूचकौपीनः
कपालशोभितवामकरः सहनादघण्टाधृतदक्षिणकरः शम्भो भैरव
अहो कालीश इति मुहुर्मुहुर्जपन् ।

"His body is smeared with ashes from a funeral pile, around his neck hangs a string of human skulls, his forehead is streaked with a black line, his hair is wove into the matted braid, his loins are clothed with a tiger's skin, a hollow skull is in his left hand (for a cup), and in his right he carries a bell, which he rings incessantly, exclaiming aloud, Ho, *Śambhu*, *Bhairava*—ho lord of *Kālī*." [See also Prabodhachandr., ed. Brockhaus, Act III, p. 53, v. 10.]

pay than devotion, inflict upon themselves bodily tortures, and pierce their flesh with hooks or spits; run sharp pointed instruments through their tongues and cheeks, recline upon beds of spikes, or gash themselves with knives, all which practices are occasionally met with throughout India, and have become familiar to Europeans from the excess to which they are carried in Bengal at the *Charak Pūjā*, a festival which, as a public religious observance, is unknown anywhere else, and which is not directed nor countenanced by any of the authorities of the Hindus, not even by the *Tantras*.

MISCELLANEOUS SECTS.

The sects that have been described are those of the regular system, and particularly of what may be called Brahmanical Hinduism, emanating, more or less directly, from the doctrines of the original creed. Besides these there are a number which it is not so easy to class, although they are mostly referable to a common source, and partake, in many respects, of the same notions, especially of those of a *Vaiṣṇava* and *Ve-dānta* tendency. They exist in various degrees of popularity, and date from various periods, and in most instances owe their institution to enthusiastic or contemplative individuals, whose biography is yet preserved consistently enough by tradition.

This is not the case, however, with the first two on the list—the *Saurapātas* and *Gānapātas*: these

are usually, indeed, ranked with the preceding divisions, and make with the *Vaishnavas*, *Śaivas*, and *Śaktas* the five orthodox divisions of the Hindus: they are of limited extent and total insignificance.

SAURAPĀTAS, or SAURAS.

The *Saurapātas* are those who worship SŪRYAPATI, the Sun-god, only; there are a few of them, but very few, and they scarcely differ from the rest of the Hindus in their general observances. The *Tilaka*, or frontal mark, is made in a particular manner, with red sandal, and the necklace should be of crystal: these are their chief peculiarities: besides which they eat one meal without salt on every Sunday, and each *Sankrānti*, or the sun's entrance into a sign of the Zodiac: they cannot eat either until they have beheld the sun, so that it is fortunate that they inhabit his native regions.

GAṆAPATYAS.

These are worshippers of GAṆEŚA, or GAṆAPATI, and can scarcely be considered as a distinct sect: all the Hindus, in fact, worship this deity as the obviator of difficulties and impediments, and never commence any work, or set off on a journey, without invoking his protection. Some, however, pay him more particular devotion than the rest, and these are the only persons to whom the classification may be considered applicable. GAṆEŚA however, it is believed, is never exclusively venerated, and the worship, when it is

paid, is addressed to some of his forms, particularly those of *Vakratuṇḍa* and *Dhūndhirāj*.

NĀNAK SHĀHIS.

A sect of much greater importance is that which originated with NĀNAK SHĀH, and which, from bearing at first only a religious character, came, in time, to be a political and national distinction, through the influence of Mohammedan persecution and individual ambition. The enterprising policy of GOVIND SINGH and the bigotry of AURANGZEB converted the peaceful tenets of NĀNAK into a military code, and his speculative disciples into the warlike nation of the *Śikhs*. It is not, however, in their political capacity that we are now to consider them, but as the professors of a peculiar form of faith, which branches into various subdivisions, and is by no means restricted to the *Punjab*. At the same time it is unnecessary to detail the tenets and practices of the *Śikhs*, as that has been already performed in a full and satisfactory manner.

The *Śikhs*, or *Nānak Shāhis*, are classed under seven distinctions, all recognising *Nānak* as their primitive instructor, and all professing to follow his doctrines, but separated from each other by variations of practice, or by a distinct and peculiar teacher. Of these the first is the sect of the *Udāsīs*.

UDĀSIS.

These may be regarded as the genuine disciples of *Nānak*, professing, as the name denotes, indifference

to worldly vicissitudes. They are purely religious characters devoting themselves to prayer and meditation, and usually collected in *Sangats*, colleges or convents; they also travel about to places of pilgrimage, generally in parties of some strength. Individuals of them are to be met with in most of the chief cities of Hindustan, living under the patronage of some man of rank or property; but in all situations they profess poverty, although they never solicit alms; and although ascetics, they place no merit in wearing mean garments or dispensing altogether with clothes. On the contrary, they are, in general, well dressed, and, allowing the whiskers and beard to grow, are not unfrequently of a venerable and imposing appearance. Though usually practicing celibacy, it does not appear to be a necessary condition amongst the *Sikhs* to be found in the Gangetic provinces: they are usually the ministrant priests; but their office consists chiefly in reading and expounding the writings of NÁNAK and GOVIND SINH, as collected in the *Ádi Granth* and *Daś Pádsháh ká granth*. The perusal is enlivened by the chanting, occasionally, of Hindi *Padas* and *Rekhtas*, the compositions of KABÍR, MIRÁ BAÍ, SÚR DAŚ, and others. With that fondness for sensible objects of reverence which characterises the natives of India, the Book is also worshipped, and Rupees, flowers, and fruits are presented by the votaries, which become, of course, the property of the officiating *Udási*. In return, the *Udási* not uncommonly adopts the presentation of the *Prásáda*, and at the close of the cere-

mony sweetmeats are distributed amongst the congregation. In some of the establishments at *Benares* the service is held in the evening after sunset, and the singing and feasting continue through a great part of the night. Many of the *Udásis* are well read in *Sanskrit*, and are able expounders of the *Vedánta* philosophy, on which the tenets of NÁNAK are mainly founded.

The *Udási* sect was established by DHARMACHAND, the grandson of NÁNAK, through whom the line of the Sage was continued, and his descendants, known by the name of *Nának Putras*, are still found in the *Panjáb*, where they are treated by the *Sikhs* with especial veneration.

The doctrine taught by NÁNAK appears to have differed but little from that of KABÍR, and to have deviated but inconsiderably from the *Hindu* faith in general. The whole body of poetical and mythological fiction was retained, whilst the liberation of the spirit from the delusive deceits of *Máyá*, and its purification by acts of benevolence and self-denial, so as to make it identical even in life with its divine source, were the great objects of the devotee. Associated with these notions was great chariness of animal life, whilst with NÁNAK, as well as with KABÍR, universal tolerance was a dogma of vital importance, and both laboured to persuade *Hindus* and *Mohammedans* that the only essential parts of their respective creeds were common to both, and that they should discard the varieties of practical detail, or the corruptions of their teachers

for the worship of one only Supreme, whether he was termed *Allah* or *Hari*. How far these doctrines are still professed by the *Nānak Shāhis*, may be inferred from the translations in the eleventh volume of the Researches, to which the following may be added as part of the service solemnized at the *Śikh Sangat*, at *Benares*.

HYMN.

Thou art the Lord—to thee be praise.
All life is with thee.
Thou art my parents, I am thy child—
All happiness is derived from thy clemency.
No one knows thy end.
Highest Lord amongst the highest—
Of all that exists Thou art the regulator.
And all that is from thee obeys thy will.
Thy movements—thy pleasure—thou only knowest.
Nānak, thy slave, is a free-will offering unto thee.

The Priest then says—

Meditate on the *Sāheb* of the Book, and exclaim *Wah Guru*.

The People accordingly repeat—

Wah Guru—Wah Guru ki fateh.

The Priest—

Meditating on *Rāmachandra*, exclaim *Wah Guru*.

The People—

Wah Guru—Wah Guru ki fateh.

HYMN.

Love, and fix thy whole heart upon Him—
The world is bound to thee by prosperity—
No one is another's.
Whilst prosperity endures many will come,
And sit with thee and surround thee;

But in adversity they will fly,
And not one will be near thee.
The woman of the house who loves thee,
And is ever in thy bosom,
When the spirit quits the body,
Will fly with alarm from the dead.
Such is the way of the world
With all on which we place affection;
Do thou, *Nānak*, at thy last hour,
Rely alone upon *Hari*.

Priest as before—

Meditating on the *Sāheb* of the Book, &c.

People as before—

Wah Guru, &c.

HYMN.

My holy teacher is he who teaches clemency—
The heart is awake within: who seeks may find.
Wonderful is that rosary, every bead of which is the breath.
Lying apart in its arbour, it knows what cometh to pass.
The Sage is he who is merciful; the merciless is a butcher.
Thou wieldest the knife and regardlessly exclaimest:
What is a goat, what is a cow, what are animals?
But the *Sāheb* declares that the blood of all is the same.
Saints, Prophets, and Seers have all passed in death.
Nānak, destroy not life for the preservation of the body.
That desire of life which is in the heart do thou, brother, repress.
Nānak, calling aloud, says: take refuge with *Hari*.

Priest as before—

Meditating on the *Sāheb*, &c.

People as before—

*Wah Guru—Wah Guru ki fateh.**

* [For further specimens see *Journal of the As. Soc. of Bengal* XIX, 521-33, and XX, 314-20. 487-502: Translation of the *Vi-chitra Nātak*, by Capt. G. SIDDOONS.]

GANJ BAKHSHÍS.

Of this division of the *Sikhs* no particulars, except the name, have been ascertained. This is said to have been derived from that of the founder. They are not numerous nor of any note.

RÁMRÁYÍS.

These derive their appellation from that of RÁMA RÁYA, the son or grandson of HARI RÁYA, and their distinction from the other *Sikhs* is more of a political than religious complexion. RÁMA RÁYA disputed the succession to the Pontificate with HARI KRISHNA, the son of HARI RÁYA, and was unsuccessful. His followers, however, maintain the superiority of his pretensions, and record many miracles wrought by him in proof of his sanctity. He flourished about A. D. 1660. The *Rámráyís* are not common in Hindustan.

SUTHRÁ SHÁHÍS.

These are more often met with than either of the two preceding, and the priests are recognisable by distinguishing marks. They make a perpendicular black streak down the forehead, and carry two small black sticks about half a yard in length, which they clash together when they solicit alms. They lead a vagabond life, begging and singing songs in the *Panjábi* and other dialects, mostly of a moral or mystic tendency. They are held in great disrepute, however, and are not unfrequently gamblers, drunkards, and

thieves. They look up to TEGH BAHÁDUR, the father of GURU GOVIND, as their founder.

GOVIND SINHÍS.

These form the most important division of the *Sikh* community, being in fact the political association to which the name is applied, or to the *Sikh* nation generally¹. Although professing to derive their national faith from *Nának*, and holding his memory in veneration, the faith they follow is widely different from the quietism of that reformer, and is wholly of a worldly and warlike spirit. GURU GOVIND devoted his followers to steel, and hence the worship of the sword, as well as its employment against both Mohammedans and Hindus. He also ordered his adherents to allow their hair and beards to grow, and to wear blue garments: he permitted them to eat all kinds of flesh, except that of kine, and he threw open his faith and cause to all castes, to whomsoever chose to abandon the institutes of *Hinduism*, or belief in the mission of Mohammed, for a fraternity of arms and life of predatory daring. It was then only that the *Sikhs* became

¹ Described by Sir JOHN MALCOLM, in the eleventh volume of the *Asiatic Researches*. The *Sikh* priest to whom he alludes (page 198) as one of his authorities, was afterwards well known to me, and was an individual every way worthy of confidence. His name was *Átmá Rám*, and although advanced in years, he was full of energy and intelligence, combining with them extreme simplicity and kindness of disposition. The old man was a most favourable and interesting specimen of the *Panjábi* nation and disciples of *Nának*. He died a few years ago in Calcutta.

a people, and were separated from their *Indian* countrymen in political constitution, as well as religious tenets. At the same time the *Śikhs* are still, to a certain extent, *Hindus*: they worship the deities of the *Hindus*, and celebrate all their festivals: they derive their legends and literature from the same sources, and pay great veneration to the *Brahmans*. The impress of their origin is still, therefore, strongly retained, notwithstanding their rejection of caste, and their substituting the *Daś Pādshāh kā granth*¹, the compilation of GURU GOVIND, for the *Vedas*, and *Purāṇas*.

NIRMALAS.

These differ but little from the *Udāsīs*, and are perhaps still closer adherents to the doctrines of the

¹ From the succession of Chiefs; GOVIND was tenth teacher in succession from *Nānak*, and flourished at the close of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century.

The other standard authority of the *Śikhs*, the *Ādi Granth*, is a compilation chiefly of the works of *Nānak*, and his immediate successors, made by *Arjunnal*, a *Śikh* teacher, in the end of the 16th century. As it is usually met with, however, it comprehends the writings of many other individuals, many of whom are *Vaiṣṇavas*. At a *Śikh Sangat*, or Chapel, in Benares, the Book, a large folio, there denominated the *Sambhu Granth*, was said to contain the contributions of the following writers:—

Nānak, *Nām Deo*, *Kabīr*, *Sheikh Feridaddīn*, *Dhanna*, *Rāmānand*, *Pipā*, *Sena*, *Jayadeva*, *Phandak*, *Sudāmā*, *Prahlād*, *Dhuru*, *Raidās*, *Vibhishanā*, *Mirā Bāl*, *Karma Bāl*.

[Compare also G. de TASSY, hist. de la littérat. Hindou et Hindoust., I, 385 ff. Journal R. As. Soc., IX, 43 ff. Dabistān, II, 246-98. Journal As. S. Bengal, XIV, 393.]

founder, as the name imports: they profess to be free from all worldly soil or stain and, consequently, lead a wholly religious life. They observe celibacy, and disregard their personal appearance, often going nearly naked. They are not, like the *Udāsīs*, assembled in colleges, nor do they hold any particular form of divine service, but confine their devotion to speculative meditation on the perusal of the writings of *NĀNAK*, *KABĪR*, and other unitarian teachers. They are always solitary, supported by their disciples or opulent individuals, and are often known as able expounders of the *Vedānta* philosophy, in which *Brahmans* do not disdain to become their scholars. They are not very numerous; but a few are almost always to be found at the principal seats of *Hindu* wealth and learning, and particularly at *Benares*¹.

NĀGAS.

The naked mendicants of the *Śikhs* are said to differ

¹ An interesting account of the religious service of the *Śikhs*, in their college at *Patna*, was published by Mr. WILKINS, in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches. I witnessed a similar ceremony at a *Śikh* establishment at Benares, and partook of the *Prāsīda*, or sweetmeats, distributed to the assistants. Both Mr. WILKINS and Sir JOHN MALCOLM notice this eating in common, as if it were peculiar to the *Śikh* faith; but this, as elsewhere observed, is not the case. It prevails with most of the *Vaiṣṇava* sects; but it should be remembered that it is always restricted to articles which have been previously consecrated by presentation to the object of worship, to the Idol, the sarcophagus, the sculptured foot-marks, or the book.

from those of the *Vaishnava* and *Śaiva* sects by abstaining from the use of arms, and following a retired and religious life. Except in going without clothes, they are not distinguishable from the *Nirmalas*.

JAINS.

A satisfactory account of the religion of the *Jains* would require a distinct dissertation, and cannot be comprised within the limits necessarily assigned to this general sketch of the *Hindu* sects. The subject is of considerable interest, as affecting a very large proportion of the population of India, and involving many important considerations connected with the history of the *Hindu* faith: an extended inquiry must, however, be left to some further opportunity; and in the meantime our attention will be confined to a few observations on the peculiar tenets and practices of the *Jain* religion, its past history, and actual condition.

Previously, however, to entering upon these subjects, it may be advisable to advert briefly to what has been already done towards their elucidation, and to the materials which exist in the original languages for a complete view. The latter are of the most extensive description, whilst the labours of European writers are by no means wanting to an accurate estimate of the leading doctrines of the *Jain* faith, or to an appreciation of the state in which it exists in various parts of *Hindustan*.

The first authentic notices of the *Jains* occur in the ninth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, from the pens

of the late Colonel MACKENZIE, Dr. BUCHANAN, and Mr. COLEBROOKE. The two first described the *Jains* from personal acquaintance, and from their accounts it appeared, that they existed, in considerable numbers and respectability, in Southern India, particularly in *Mysore*, and on the *Canara Coast*; that they laid claim to high antiquity, and enumerated a long series of religious teachers, and that they differed in many of their tenets and practices from the orthodox *Hindus*, by whom they were regarded with aversion and contempt. A further illustration of their doctrines, and a particular account of their deified teachers was derived by Mr. COLEBROOKE from some of their standard authorities, then first made known to Europeans.

Little more was published on the subject of the *Jains* until very lately, with exception of numerous but brief and scattered notices of the sect in the *Peninsula*, in BUCHANAN's *Travels in Mysore*. Some account of them also occurs in Colonel WILKS' *Historical Sketch of the South of India*, and in the work of the Abbé DUBOIS. Mr. WARD has an article dedicated to the *Jains*, in his account of the *Hindus*; and Mr. ERSKINE has briefly adverted to some of their peculiarities in his *Observations on the Cave of Elephanta*, and the remains of the *Bauddhas* in India, in the *Proceedings of the Bombay Literary Society*. It is, however, to the *Transaction of the Royal Asiatic Society* that we are indebted for the latest and most detailed accounts, and the papers of Mr. COLEBROOKE, Major DELAMAINE, Dr. HAMILTON, Colonel FRANKLIN and

Major Tod¹, furnish many interesting particulars relative to the doctrines and past or present condition of the *Jains*. Some valuable illustration of the latter subject is to be found in the Calcutta Quarterly Magazine²: some historical notices obtained from the inscriptions at *Abū* occur in the last volume of our Researches, whilst a novel and rather comprehensive view of *Jain* literature is contained in the Catalogue of Manuscripts collected by the late Colonel MACKENZIE³.

From this latter authority we learn that the literature peculiar to *Jainas* comprises a number of works peculiar to the sect, the composition of their own writers, and on a variety of subjects⁴. They have a

¹ On the Philosophy of the Hindus, Part V, by Mr. COLEBROOKE, Vol. I [Essays, London, 1858, 243 ff. 280 ff.]. *On the *Śrāvaks*, or *Jains*, by Major DELAMAIN, Vol. I, 418. On Inscriptions in Jain Temples, in Behār, by Mr. COLEBROOKE, Dr. HAMILTON, and Colonel FRANKLIN, Vol. I, 520. On the *Śrāvaks*, or *Jains*, by Dr. HAMILTON, Vol. I, 531. On the Religious Establishments in Mewar, by Major Tod, Vol. II, 270.

² Particularly in the Journal of a Native Traveller, from Calcutta and back again through Behār. The traveller was a learned *Jain*, in the service of Colonel MACKENZIE. There is also an interesting account of a visit to the temple of PARŚVANATH, at *Samet Śikhar*.

³ Vol. I, page 144, &c.

⁴ The List comprises 44 Works:

<i>Purāṇas</i> ,	7
<i>Charitras</i> and Legends,	10
Ritual, Prayers, &c.	18
Medicine,	1
Grammar,	2

series of works called *Purāṇas*, as the *Ādi* and *Uttara Purāṇas*, *Chāmūṇḍa Rāya Purāṇa*, and *Chaturvinśati Purāṇa*¹; but these are not to be confounded with the *Purāṇas* of the *Hindus*; as, although they occasionally insert legends borrowed from the latter, their especial object is the legendary history of the *Tirthankaras*, or deified teachers, peculiar to the sect. The chief *Purāṇas* are attributed to JINA SENA ĀCHĀRYA, whom some accounts make contemporary with VIKRAMĀDITYA; but the greater number, and most consistent of the traditions of the South, describe him as the spiritual preceptor of AMOGHIAVARSHA, king of *Kānchi*, at the end of the ninth century of the Christian era. Analogous to the *Jain Purāṇas* are works denominated *Charitras*, their subject being, in general, the marvellous history of some *Tirthankara*,

Arithmetic,	2
Miscella	4

¹ HAMILTON says, the *Digambaras* have twenty-four *Purāṇas*, twenty-three giving an account of each *Tirthankara*, and the twenty-fourth, of the whole; but this seems to be erroneous. The actions of the twenty-four *Tirthankaras* are described in a single *Purāṇa*, but the section devoted to each is called after him severally as the *Purāṇa* of each, as *Īśhabha Deva Purāṇa*, one section of the *Chāmūṇḍa Rāya Purāṇa*. In the *Ādi* and *Uttara Purāṇas*, forming in fact but one work, the *Ādi*, or first part, is appropriated to the first *Tirthankara*, whilst the *Uttara*, or last portion, contains the accounts of all the other deified Sages. There are several collections, comprehending what may be termed twenty-four *Purāṇas*; but it does not appear that there are twenty-four distinct works so denominated.

or some holy personage, after whom they are denominated, as the *Jinadatta Rāya Charitra*, *Pūjyapāda Charitra*, and others. They have a number of works explanatory of their philosophical notions and religious tenets of the sect, as well as rituals of practice, and a grammatical system founded on the rules of ŚĀKATĀYANA is illustrated by glosses and commentaries. The *Jains* have also their own writers on astronomy and astrology, on medicine, on the mathematical sciences, and the form and disposition of the universe.

This general view of *Jain* literature is afforded by the MACKENZIE Collection, but the list there given is very far from including the whole of *Jain* literature, or even a considerable proportion. The works there alluded to are, in fact, confined to Southern India, and are written in *Sanskrit*, or the dialects of the *Peninsula*; but every province of Hindustan can produce *Jain* compositions, either in *Sanskrit* or its vernacular idiom, whilst many of the books, and especially those which may be regarded as their scriptural authorities, are written in the *Prākṛit* or *Māgadhi*, a dialect which, with the *Jains* as well as the *Bauddhas*, is considered to be the appropriate vehicle of their sacred literature.

The course of time, and the multiplication of writings, have probably rendered it almost impossible to reduce what may be considered as the sacred literature of the *Jains* to a regular system. They are said to have a number of works entitled *Siddhāntas* and

*Āgamas*¹, which are to them what the *Vedas* are to the Brahmanical Hindus; and this appears to be the case, although the enumeration which is sometimes made of them is of a loose and popular character, and scarcely reconcileable with that to be derived from written authority².

¹ HAMILTON enumerates eight works as the *Āgamas* of the *Digambara* sect, the *Trailokya Śāra*, the *Gomatīśāra*, *Pañjirāj*, *Trailokya Dīpikā*, *Kshepaśāra*, *Tribhaṅgīśāra*, and *Shālpāvar*, attributed to the pupils of *Mahāvīra*. He states also, that the *Śvetāmbaras* have forty-five or, as some allege, eighty-four *Siddhāntas*, amongst which he specifies the *Thānāṅgi Sūtra*, *Jñānanti Sūtra*, *Sugorāṅgi Sūtra*, *Upāsakadāśa*, *Mahāpandanna*, *Nandi Sūtra*, *Rayapṣenī*, *Jinābhigama*, *Jambudvīpapaññatti*, *Sūrapaññatti*, *Chandrasāgarapaññatti*, *Kalpa Sūtra*, *Katantravibhrama Sūtra*, *Śakti Sūtra*, and *Saṅgrahaṇī Sūtra*. Some of these are incorrectly named, and others inaccurately classed, as will be seen from what follows in the text.

² The following Works are either in my possession or in the library of the Sanskrit College of Calcutta. Compositions descriptive of the tenets or practices of the *Jain* religion: *Bhagavatyāgam*. This is one of the eleven primary works, and is entitled also in *Prākṛit* *Vivāha Paññatti*, in *Sanskrit* *Vivāha*, or *Vivādhā Prajñapti*, Instruction in the various sources of worldly pain, or in the paths of virtue. It consists of lessons given to GAUTAMA by MAHĀVĪRA, and is in *Prākṛit*. It contains 36,000 stanzas. *Bhagavatyāga Vṛitti*, a *Sanskrit* Commentary on the preceding (defective.) *Thānāṅga Sūtra*,—also one of the eleven *Angas*. *Kalpa Sūtra*, the precepts of the *Jain* faith—these are originally 1250; but they are interspersed with legends of the *Tirthankaras*, and especially of MAHĀVĪRA, at the pleasure of the writer, and the several copies of the work therefore differ. *Prākṛit*.

The author of the *Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi*, a useful vocabulary, HEMACHANDRA, is well known as a zealous

<i>Kalpa Sūtra Bālabodha</i> , a sort of abridgment of the preceding. <i>Prākṛit.</i>	<i>Upadhānavidhi. Prākṛit.</i>
<i>Kalpa Sūtra Siddhānta</i> , the essence of the <i>Kalpa Sūtra. Prākṛit.</i>	<i>Aśhīdhnīkamahotsava. Prākṛit.</i>
<i>Daśavaikālika Sūtra. Prākṛit.</i>	<i>Aśhīdhnīkaryākhyāna.</i>
<i>Ditto. Tīkā.</i>	<i>Mahāmuni 'Seādhyāya.</i>
<i>Rāyapraśna Sūtra Siddhānta. Tīkā.</i>	<i>Pragnasikta Muktvāli.</i>
<i>Gautamaprashūhā. Prākṛit.</i>	<i>Ārādhanā Prakāra.</i>
<i>Sangrahīni Sūtra. Prākṛit.</i>	<i>Pārścanātha Gītā.</i>
<i>Laghu Sangrahīni Sūtra.</i>	<i>Uttarādhyāyana Gītā.</i>
<i>Nava Tattva Sūtra. Prākṛit.</i>	<i>Sādhusamāchāri.</i>
<i>Nava Tattva Prakaraṇa. Prākṛit.</i>	<i>Śrāvakārādhanā.</i>
<i>Nava Tattva Bālabodha. Prākṛit.</i>	<i>Jñānapījā.</i>
<i>Karma Grantha.</i>	<i>Dikshāmahotsava.</i>
<i>Jīva Vichāra. Sanskrit.</i>	<i>Bārak Vrata.</i>
<i>Jīva Vinaya.</i>	<i>Saptavīṣṭi Sādhu Lakshana.</i>
<i>Smaraṇa Sūtra. Prākṛit.</i>	<i>Rūtribhojana Nishedha.</i>
<i>Vīddhātichāra. Prākṛit.</i>	<i>Sādhuopāsana Vidhi.</i>
<i>Sindūraprakāra Tīkā. Sanskrit.</i>	<i>Dvishashī Vākya.</i>
<i>Ekavīṣṭi Sthāna. Bhāshā.</i>	<i>Kshetrasamāsa Sūtra.</i>
<i>Daśakshapañcavratavidhi. Bhāshā.</i>	<i>Samyaktvedādhyāyana.</i>
<i>Upadeśa Māla. Prākṛit.</i>	<i>Prāśnottara Ratnamāla.</i>
<i>Pratikramaṇa Vidhi. Prākṛit.</i>	<i>Navakārānta Bālabodha.</i>
<i>Pratikramaṇa Sūtra. Bhāshā.</i>	<i>Asahyana Vidhi.</i>
<i>Chaturdaśa Guṇasthāna. Bhāshā.</i>	<i>Santāraka Vidhi.</i>
<i>Chaturdaśa Guṇanāmaṇi.</i>	<i>Ātmānuśāsana. Bhāshā.</i>
<i>Pakshi Sūtra. Bhāshā.</i>	<i>Panchastikāya, according to the Digambara faith.</i>
<i>Shāstrīṣat Karmakathā. Bhāshā.</i>	<i>Jinapratimā Sthāpana Vidhi.</i>
<i>Dharmabuddhi Chatuspāli. Bhāshā.</i>	<i>Jalakshālana Vidhi.</i>
<i>Bālavibodha. Bhāshā.</i>	<i>Sadopakāra Muktvāli.</i>
	<i>Moksha Mārga.</i>
	<i>Nitisangraha.</i>
	<i>Vichāramanjari.</i>
	<i>Pārścanātha Daśabhāvarisaha.</i>
	<i>Śatavīśabhāva.</i>

and able propagator of the *Jain* doctrines in the twelfth century. He was no doubt well versed in the pecu-

<i>Anandaśrāvaka Sandhi.</i>	<i>Laghu Śānti Stava.</i>
<i>Rohiṇītapas.</i>	<i>Īśhabha Stava.</i>
<i>Siddhāchala Pūjā.</i>	<i>Pārścanātha Stava.</i>
<i>Pūjapaddhati. Bhāshā.</i>	<i>Pārścanātha Stuti. Prākṛit.</i>
<i>Śilopadeśa Māla.</i>	<i>Nemindātha Stava.</i>
<i>Snāna Vidhi.</i>	<i>Āśānta Stava. Prākṛit.</i>
<i>Navapattatapo Vidhi.</i>	<i>Ajitaśānti Stava.</i>
<i>Amṛitāshlāmitapas.</i>	<i>Bhaktamaya Stotra.</i>
<i>Dēvapūjā.</i>	<i>Kalyāṇa Mandira Stotra. Sanskrit.</i>
<i>Varnabhāvanasandhi. Bhāshā.</i>	<i>Chaturvīṣṭi daṇḍakastava.</i>
	<i>Sādhuvandana.</i>
	<i>Śatruṇjaya Stava.</i>
	<i>Pārścanātha Namaskāra.</i>
	<i>Champakā Stavana.</i>
	<i>Upasargahāra Stotra.</i>
	<i>Guru Stava.</i>
	<i>Karma Stava.</i>

Panegrics of the Jain teachers, &c., which are not unfrequently repeated in the temples:

<i>Śānti Jina Stava. Bhāshā.</i>
<i>Vīhat Śānti Stava. Sanskrit.</i>
<i>Mahāvīra Stava. Bhāshā.</i>

LEGENDARY TALES AND HISTORIES.

<i>Padma Purāṇa. Bhāshā.</i>	<i>Kālikāchārya Kathā.</i>
<i>Mahāvīra Charitra, which is called by others portion of the Trishashīśalākāpurusha Charita, or Legend of the sixty-three personages most eminent in Jain Tradition. Sanskrit.</i>	<i>Samyaktva Kaumudi.</i>
<i>Nemirājārshī Charitra.</i>	<i>Vastrapādā Kathā.</i>
<i>Śalābhādra Charitra. Bhāshā.</i>	<i>Meghadūtāpāda Samasyā.</i>
<i>Chitrasena Charitra. Bhāshā.</i>	<i>Avantīśakumāra Charitra.</i>
<i>Gajasukumāra Charitra. Bhāshā.</i>	<i>Ratnachūropākhyāna.</i>
<i>Chandrarāja Charitra. Bhāshā.</i>	<i>Mṛigavati Charitra.</i>
<i>Bhaktāmara.</i>	<i>Ratnachūra Muni Chaupai. Bhāshā.</i>
<i>Śrīpāla Charitra. Bhāshā.</i>	<i>Mṛigavati Chaupai. Bhāshā.</i>
	<i>Sādhu Charitra.</i>
	<i>Śatruṇjaya Māhātmya.</i>
	<i>Gajasinha Charitra.</i>
	<i>Daśadrīśhānta Kathā.</i>

liarity of the system which he taught, and may be regarded as a safe guide. In his vocabulary* he specifies what appear to be the *Jaina* scriptures, at least in the estimation of the *Śvetāmbara* sect, to which he belonged, and in a valuable Commentary on his own work he has further particularised the works named in his text. From this it appears that the principal authorities of a sacred character were termed *Angas*, and were eleven in number or, with a supplementary division, twelve. They are thus enumerated and described: *Āchārāṅgam*, a book teaching sacred observances after the practice of *Vāsishtha* and other saints. *Sūtrakṛitāṅgam*, a work on acts imposed by positive precepts. *Sthānāṅgam*, on the organs in which life abides, or the ten acts essential to purity. *Samavāyāṅgam*, on the hundred *Padārthas* or categories. *Bhagavatyāṅgam*, on the ritual, or rules for worship. *Jnātādharma-kathā*, an account of the acquisition of knowledge by holy personages. *Upāsakadaśā*, rules for the conduct of *Śrāvakas*, or secular *Jains*, appa-

MISCELLANEOUS.

Vṛiddhayavana, Astronomy.

Sanskrit.

Chaturdaśasvapana-vichāra.

Trailokya Dīpikā.

Setunjoddhar.

Pāthanārambhapīṭhikā.

Hastarekha-vivaraṇa. Prākṛit.

Nāma-vallī.

Pālāvalī.

Many of these are of small extent, but others are exceedingly voluminous, as the *Bhagavatyāṅga*, *Padma Purāṇa*, *Śatrūnjaya Māhātmya*, and others.

* [243-8.]

rently in ten lectures. *Antakṛiddaśā*, on the actions of the *Tīrthankaras*, in ten lectures. *Anuttaropapāṭi-kadaśā*, on the principal or final births of the *Tīrthankaras*, in ten lectures. *Praśnavyākaraṇam*, Grammar of questions, probably on the Code of the *Jains*. *Vipākaśrutam*, on the fruits or consequences of actions.

With these are connected inferior *Angas* or *Upāṅgas*, the names of which are not specified—whilst the *Dṛishti-vāda*, the twelfth *Anga*, which seems to be a supplementary authority, is divided into five portions entitled: *Parikarma*, on moral acts; *Sūtra*, precepts for conduct and life; *Pūrvānyoga*, on the doctrines and practice of the *Tīrthankaras* before attaining perfection; *Pūrvagata*, on the same after perfection; *Chūlikā*, on doctrines and practice not comprised in the two preceding.

These different works profess to be derived from the oral instructions of MAHĀVĪRA himself to his disciples, especially to GAUTAMA; but besides these a class of works is enumerated by HEMACHANDRA, entitled *Pūrvas*, because they were drawn up by the *Gaṇadharas* before the *Angas*¹. There are fourteen of them treating of the chief tenets of the sect, apparently sometimes controversially, as the *Astipravāda*, the doctrine of existence and non-existence; *Jñānapravāda*, the doctrine of holy knowledge; *Satyapra-*

सूत्रितानि गणधरैरङ्गैः पूर्वमेव यत् ।
पूर्वाणीत्यभिधीयन्ते तेनैतानि चतुर्दश ॥

Mahā Vīra Char. Section 5.

vāda, discussion of truth; *Ātmapravāda*, investigation of spirit; *Prāṇavāya*, nature of corporeal life; *Kriyā-viśāla*, consequences of acts, and others¹. They are held to be the works of MAHĀVĪRA's *Gaṇas*, or of that *Tīrthankara* and his predecessors, or to have emanated from them originally, although committed to writing by other hands. Some of them still exist, it appears², although in general their places have been assumed by a list of more recent compositions.

From this brief statement it will be evident that there is no want of original authorities with regard to the belief, the practices, or the legends* of the *Jaina* sect. There is indeed more than a sufficiency, and the vast extent of the materials is rather prejudicial to the enquiry, it being impossible to consult any extensive proportion of what has been written, and it being equally impossible without so doing to know that the best guides have been selected. For such accounts as are here given, the Vocabulary of HEMACHANDRA, with his own Commentary, the *Mahāvīra Charitra* of the same author, the *Kalpa Sūtra*, the *Avāśyakavṛiḥad Vṛitta*, the *Bhagavatyaṅga Vṛitta*, *Nava Tattwabodha*, and *Jiva Vichāra* have chiefly been consulted.

The leading tenets of the *Jains*, and those which

¹ A similar enumeration of these Works occurs in the *Mahāvīra Charitra*.

² Thus the *Thānāṅgisūtra* and *Upāsakadaśa*, of HAMILTON, are no doubt the *Sthānāṅga* and *Upāsakadaśa* of Hemachandra's text; the *Bhagavatyaṅga* is in the Sanskrit College Library.

chiefly distinguish them from the rest of the *Hindus*, are well known—they are, first, the denial of the divine origin and infallible authority of the *Vedas*; secondly, the reverence of certain holy mortals who acquired, by practices of self-denial and mortification, a station superior to that of the gods; and thirdly, extreme and even ludicrous tenderness of animal life.

The disregard of the authority of the *Vedas* is common to the *Jains* and the *Bauddhas*, and involves a neglect of the rites which they prescribe: in fact, it is in a great degree from those rites that an inference unfavourable to the sanctity of the *Vedas* is drawn; and not to speak of the sacrifices of animals which the *Vedas* occasionally enjoin, the *Homa*, or burnt offering, which forms a part of every ceremonial in those works, is an abomination, as insects crawling amongst the fuel, bred by the fermented butter, or falling into the flame, cannot fail to be destroyed by every oblation. As far however as the doctrines they teach are conformable to *Jain* tenets, the *Vedas* are admitted and quoted as authority.

The veneration and worship of mortals is also common to the *Jains* and *Bauddhas*, but the former have expanded and methodised the notions of the latter. The *Bauddhas*, although they admit an endless number of earthly *Buddhas* to have existed, and specify more than a century of names¹, confine their reverence to a comparatively small number—to seven. The *Jainas*

¹ *Asiat. Researches*, Vol. XVI, pages 446 to 449.

extend this number to twenty-four for a given period, and enumerate by name the twenty-four of their past age, or *Avasarpini*, the twenty-four of the present, and the twenty-four of the age to come. The statues of these, either all or in part, are assembled in their temples, sometimes of colossal dimensions, and usually of black, or white marble. The objects held in highest esteem in *Hindustan* are PÁRŚVANÁTH and MAHÁVÍRA, the twenty-third and twenty-fourth *Jinas* of the present era, who seem to have superseded all their predecessors.

The generic names of a *Jaina* saint express the ideas entertained of his character by his votaries. He is *Jagatprabhu*, lord of the world; *Kshihakarmā*, free from bodily or ceremonial acts; *Sarvajña*, omniscient; *Adhīśvara*, supreme lord; *Devādhideva*, god of gods; and similar epithets of obvious purport; whilst others are of a more specific character, as *Tirthakara*, or *Tirthankara*, *Kevali*, *Arhat*, and *Jina*. The first implies one who has crossed over (*Tiryate anena*), that is the world, compared to the ocean; *Kevali* is the possessor of *Kevalā*, or spiritual nature, free from its investing sources of error; *Arhat* is one entitled to the homage of gods and men, and *Jina* is the victor over all human passions and infirmities¹.

¹ तीर्थं संसारसमुद्रो ऽनेनेति तीर्थं तत्करोतीति तीर्थकरः ।
सर्वधावरणविलये चेतनस्वरूपाविर्भावः केवलं तदस्यास्ति केवली ।
सुरेन्द्रादिदृष्टतां पूजामर्हतीत्यर्हन् । जयति रागद्वेषमोहानिति जिनः ॥

These Etymologies are from *Hemachandra's* Commentary [to sl. 24. 25., p. 292, ed. Bochtlingk and Rieu].

Besides these epithets, founded on attributes of a generic character, there are other characteristics common to all the *Jinas* of a more specific nature. These are termed *Atisayas*, or super-human attributes, and are altogether thirty-six; four of them, or rather four classes, regard the person of a *Jina*, such as the beauty of his form, the fragrance of his body, the white colour of his blood, the curling of his hair, its non-increase, and that of the beard and nails, his exemption from all natural impurities, from hunger and thirst, from infirmity and decay: these properties are considered to be born with him. He can collect around him millions of beings, gods, men, and animals, in a comparatively small space, his voice is audible to a great distance, and his language, which is *Ardha Māgadhi*, is intelligible to animals, men and gods, the back of his head is surrounded with a halo of light brighter than the disk of the sun, and for an immense interval around him, wherever he moves, there is neither sickness nor enmity, storm nor dearth, neither plague portents, nor war. Eleven *Atisayas* of this kind are ascribed to him. The remaining nineteen are of celestial origin, as the raining of flowers and perfumes, the sound of heavenly drums, and the menial offices rendered by *Indra* and the gods*.

Notwithstanding the sameness of the general character and identity of generic attributes, the twenty-four *Jinas* are distinguished from each other in colour,

* [Hemachandra l. l. 62-88.]

stature, and longevity. Two of them are red, two white, two blue, two black, the rest are of a golden hue, or a yellowish brown. The other two peculiarities are regulated with very systematic precision, and observe a series of decrement from *Řishabha*, the first *Jina*, who was five hundred poles in stature, and lived 8,400,000 great years, to *Mahāvira*, the 24th, who had degenerated to the size of man, and was not more than forty years on earth. These peculiarities have been detailed by Mr. COLEBROOKE, in the ninth volume of the *Researches*, and he draws a probable inference from the return to reason in the stature and years of the two last *Jinas*, that they alone are to be considered as historical personages. The rest are the creatures of fiction. The notion of decreasing longevity, like that of the existence of human beings, superior to the gods, is common to the *Bauddhas*¹.

There is also great similarity in the general tenor

¹ A comparison of the *Jain* and *Bauddha* series suggests strong confirmation of the opinion that the *Jain* legends are only *Bauddha* notions exaggerated. The ages of the seven *Buddhas* run thus:

<i>Vipaśyi</i> ,	80,000 Years.
<i>Śikhi</i> ,	70,000 ditto.
<i>Viśvabhū</i> ,	60,000 ditto.
<i>Krakuchchanda</i> ,	40,000 ditto.
<i>Kanaka</i> ,	30,000 ditto.
<i>Kāśyapa</i> ,	20,000 ditto.
<i>Śākya</i> ,	100 ditto.

A. R. Vol. XVI, p. 453. The last *Jina* but one, or *Pārśvandth*, lived, like *Śākya*, 100 years. [See also A. Weber, *Ueber das Śātrunjaya Māhātmyam*. Leipzig: 1858, p. 3, and C. F. Koeppen, *die Religion des Buddha*, I, p. 314 ff.]

of the legends related of each of the *Jinas*. They are all born a number of times, and in a variety of characters, before they arrive at the state of a *Tirthankara*: after which, as their attainment of divine knowledge is the work of self-denial and ascetic meditation, we need not expect much varied incident in their adventures. A sketch of the life of MAHĀVĪRA, from the *Mahāvira Charitra*, will convey some notion of their ordinary history, whilst further illustration may be derived from an abstract of the *Pārśvandtha Charitra*, or life of PĀRŚVANĀTHI, in the Royal Asiatic Society's Transactions*.

LIFE OF MAHĀVĪRA.

The twenty-fourth *Tirthankara* MAHĀVĪRA's first birth, which occurred at a period indefinitely remote, was as NAYASĀRA, head man of a village, in the country of *Vijaya*, subject to ŚĀTRUMARDANA. His piety and humanity elevated him next to the heaven called *Saundharma*, where he enjoyed happiness for some oceans of years. He was next born as MARĪCHĪ, the grandson of the first *Tirthankara* ŘISHABHA, then transferred to the *Brahmaloka*, whence he returned to earth as a worldly-minded and sensual *Brahman*, the consequence of which was his repeated births in the same caste, each birth being separated by an interval passed in one of the *Jain* heavens, and each period of life extending to many *lakhs* of years. He then became VIŚVABHŪTA, prince of *Rājagriha*, and next a *Vasu-*

* [I, 428.]

deva, named TRIPRISHṬHA, from having three back bones: his uncle and foe in a former life, *Viśabhānandī*, was born as his *Protagonist*, or *Prativāsudeva*, named AŚVAGRĪVA or HAYAGRĪVA, and was, in the course of events, destroyed by the *Vāsudeva*, a palpable adaptation of the *Paurāṇic* legend of VISHṆU and HAYAGRĪVA. TRIPRISHṬHA having put his Chamberlain cruelly to death was condemned to hell, and again born as a lion: he migrated through various forms, until he became the *Chakravartti* PRIYAMITRA, in the division of the world *Mahāvīdeha*. After a victorious reign of eighty-four *lakhs* of years he became an ascetic for a further period of a hundred *lakhs*, and was then translated to one of the higher heavens. Thence he returned to earth in the *Bharata* division as NANDANA, the son of JITAŚATRU, who adopted a life of devotion and diligently adored the *Jinas*. After an existence of twenty-five *lakhs* of years he was raised to the dignity of king of the gods in the *Pushpottara* heaven, in which capacity he preserved his ancient faith, offering flowers to, and bathing daily the one hundred and eight images of the *Arhats*. Such exalted piety was now to meet with its reward, and the pains of existence were to be terminated in the person of the *Tīrthankara* MAHÁVĪRA, or VARDHAMĀNA.

On the return of the spirit of NANDANA to earth it first animated the womb of the wife of a *Brahman*, but MAHENDRA disapproving of the receptacle as of low caste transferred it to the womb of TRISALĀ, wife of SIDDHÁRTHA, of the family of *Ikshvāku*, and prince

of *Pavana*, in *Bharatakshetra*. MAHÁVĪRA was born on the thirteenth of the light fortnight of *Chaitra*: the fifty-six nymphs of the universe assisted at his birth, and his consecration was performed by ŚAKRA, and the other sixty-three *Indras*. The name given by his father was VARDHAMĀNA, as causing increase of riches and prosperity, but ŚAKRA gave him also the appellation of MAHÁVĪRA as significant of his power and supremacy over men and gods.

When arrived at maturity, MAHÁVĪRA was prevailed upon by his parents to marry YAŚODĀ, daughter of the prince SAMARAVĪRA. By her he had a daughter, PRIYADARŚANĀ, who was married to JAMĀLĪ, a prince, one of the Saint's pupils, and founder of a schism. SIDDHÁRTHA and his wife died when their son was twenty-eight years old, on which MAHÁVĪRA adopted an ascetic life, the government devolving on his elder brother NANDIVARDHAMĀNA. After two years of abstinence and self-denial at home he commenced an eratic life, and the attainment of the degree of a *Jina*.

During the first six years of his peregrination, MAHÁVĪRA observed frequent fasts of several months' duration, during each of which he kept his eyes fixed upon the tip of his nose, and maintained perpetual silence. He was invisibly attended by a *Yaksha*, named SIDDHÁRTHA, who, at the command of INDRA, watched over his personal security, and where speech was necessary acted as spokesman. At *Nálāṇḍā*, a village near *Rājagriha*, MAHÁVĪRA acquired a follower named GOŚĀLA, so called from his birth in a cow-house, a

man of low caste and vulgar propensities, and who acts as a sort of buffoon¹. He is involved in repeated difficulties and not unfrequently receives a beating, but when free from fault, the *Yakshas*, who attend on *SIDDHÁRTHA*, come to his aid, and destroy with fire the houses and property of his assailants. Amongst other enemies he provokes the followers of *VARDDHANA SÚRI*, the disciple of *CHANDRA-ÁCHÁRYA*, a teacher of the *Jain* faith, according to the doctrines of *PÁRŚVANÁTH*. In the course of the dispute it appears that the followers of *PÁRŚVANÁTH* wore clothes, whilst *MAHÁVÍRA* was indifferent to vesture, and the latter consequently belonged to the division of the *Jains* called *Digambaras*, or those who go naked, whilst *PÁRŚVANÁTH*'s disciples were *Śvetāmbaras*, dressed in garments².

¹ Some curious and unintelligible things are related of this individual, which suggest a suspicion that the author had in view some of the oriental legends relating to *Mani* or *Manes*. The birth of *GOŚÁLA* in a cow-house may or may not refer to Christianity; but it is also observed that his father and mother carried about a *Chitra patikā*, a painted cloth or picture, which *GOŚÁLA* stole from them, and that when he adopted the service of *MAHÁVÍRA*, he abandoned the heresy of the picture, चित्रफलकपापण्डं विहाय.

² They reply to *GOŚÁLA*'s enquiry: निर्यन्थाः पार्थश्रिष्याः वयं "We are the pupils of *PÁRŚVA*, free from restraint"—to which he rejoins कथं नु ययं निर्यन्था वस्त्रादियन्त्रधारिणः । केवलं जीविकहितोरियं पापण्डकत्वं ॥ वस्त्रादिसंग्रहितो निरपेक्षो वपुष्यपि । धर्माचार्यो हि यादृग्मे निर्यन्थास्तादृशाः खलु ॥ "How can you be free from restraint, encumbered with clothes and the like? these heretical practices are adopted merely for a livelihood: wholly unfettered by clothes and such things, and disregarding the body,

During the six years expended in this manner *MAHÁVÍRA* visits a number of places, most of which appear to be in *Behár* and the adjacent provinces, as *Rājagriha*, *Śrāvastī* near *Oude*, *Vaiśālī*, which is identified with the capital of *Behár*, and others.

Proceeding on his peregrinations *MAHÁVÍRA* voluntarily exposed himself to be maltreated by the *Mlechchha* tribes of *Vajrabhūmi*, *Śuddhibhūmi*, and *Lāt*, or *Lār*, the countries apparently of the *Gonds*, who abused and beat him, and shot at him with arrows, and baited him with dogs, to all which he offered no resistance, and indeed rejoiced in his sufferings; for, however necessary to personal purification, it is not the duty of a *Jain* ascetic to inflict tortures upon himself—his course of penance is one of self-denial, fasting and silence, and pain, however meritorious its endurance, must be inflicted by others, not himself. At the end of the ninth year *MAHÁVÍRA* relinquished his silence in answer to a question put by *GOŚÁLA*, but continued engaged in the practice of mortification and in an erratic life. His squire having learned from him the possession of the *Tejalesya*, or power of ejecting flame, and having learned from certain of the disciples of *PÁRŚVANÁTH*, what is technically termed

the followers of such a teacher as mine is are the only persons exempt from restraint." Further confirmation of *MAHÁVÍRA* and his followers being *Digambaras* occurs in various places, especially in a passage where *GOŚÁLA* gets beaten, and almost killed by the women of a village in *Magadha*, because he is a naked *Sramaṇa*, or mendicant.

the *Mahānimitta* of the eight *Angas*, intending probably their scriptural doctrines, set up for himself as a *Jina*, and quitted his master.

INDRA having declared that MAHÁVÍRA's meditations could not be disturbed by men or gods, one of the inferior spirits of heaven, indignant at the assertion, assailed the Sage with a variety of horrors and temptations, but in vain. MAHÁVÍRA's pious abstraction was unbroken. He then wandered about and visited *Kauśāmbī*, the capital of *Śatānīka*, where he was received with great veneration, and where his period of self-denial ended in perfect exemption from human infirmities. The whole of the time expended by him in these preparatory exercises was twelve years and six months, and of this he had fasted nearly eleven years. His various fasts are particularised with great minuteness, as one of six months, nine of four months each, twelve of one month, and seventy-two of half a month each, making altogether ten years and three hundred and forty-nine days.

The bonds of action were snapped like an old rope, and the *Kevala*, or *only knowledge* attained by MAHÁVÍRA on the north bank of the *Rijupālikā*, under a *Sāl* tree, on the tenth of the light fortnight *Vaiśākha*, in the fourth watch of the day, whilst the moon was in the asterism *Hasta*. INDRA instantly hastened to the spot, attended by thousands of deities, who all did homage to the Saint, and attended him on his progress to *Apāpaurī*, in *Behār*, where he commenced his instructions on a stage erected for the purpose

by the deities, a model of which is not uncommonly represented in *Jain* temples. The following is the introductory lecture ascribed to MAHÁVÍRA by his biographer.

"The world is without bounds, like a formidable ocean: its cause is action (*Karma*) which is as the seed of the tree. The being (*Jīva*) invested with body, but devoid of judgment, goes like a well-sinker ever downwards by the acts it performs, whilst the embodied being which has attained purity goes ever upwards by its own acts, like the builder of a palace. Let not any one injure life, whilst bound in the bonds of action: but be as assiduous in cherishing the life of another as his own. Never let any one speak falsehood, but always speak the truth. Let every one who has a bodily form avoid giving pain to others as much as to himself. Let no one take property not given to him, for wealth is like the external life of men, and he who takes away such wealth commits as it were murder. Associate not with women, for it is the destruction of life: let the wise observe continence, which binds them to the Supreme. Be not encumbered with a family, for by the anxiety it involves the person separated from it falls like an ox too heavily laden. If it be not in their power to shun these more subtle destroyers of life, let those who desire so to do avoid at least the commission of all gross offences."

When MAHÁVÍRA's fame began to be widely diffused, it attracted the notice of the *Brahmans* of *Magadha*, and several of their most eminent teachers undertook

to refute his doctrines. Instead of effecting their purpose, however, they became converts, and constituted his *Gaṇadharas*, heads of schools, the disciples of MAHĀVĪRA and teachers of his doctrines, both orally and scripturally. It is of some interest to notice them in detail, as the epithets given to them are liable to be misunderstood, and to lead to erroneous notions respecting their character and history.

This is particularly the case with the first, INDRABHŪTI, or GAUTAMA, who has been considered as the same with the GAUTAMA of the *Bauddhas*, the son of MĀYĀDEVĪ, and author of the Indian metaphysics¹. That any connexion exists between the *Jain* and the *Brahmaṇa* Sage is, at least, very doubtful; but the GAUTAMA of the *Bauddhas*, the son of ŚUDDHODANA and MĀYĀ, was a *Kshattriya*, a prince of the royal or warrior caste. All the *Jain* traditions make their GAUTAMA a *Brahman*, originally of the *Gotra*, or tribe of GOTAMA *Rishi*, a division of the *Brahmans* well known, and still existing in the South of India. These two persons therefore cannot be identified, whether they be historical or fictitious personages.

INDRABHŪTI, AGNIBHŪTI, and VĀYUBHŪTI are described as the sons of VASUBHŪTI, a *Brahman* of the *Gotama* tribe, residing at *Govara*, a village in *Magadha*: from their race, HEMACHANDRA, in the Commentary on the Vocabulary*, observes, they are all

¹ R. A. S. Transactions, Vol. I, p. 538.

* [Śl. 31. Weber, Ueber das Śātrunjaya Māhātmyam, p. 3-5.]

called GAUTAMAS. VYAKTA and SUDHARMĀ were the sons of DHANAMITRA and DHAMMILLA, two *Brahmans* of *Kollaka*, the former of the *Bharadvāja*, and the latter of the *Agnivaiśya* tribe. MAṆḌITA and MAURYAPUTRA were half-brothers, the sons of VIJAYADEVĪ by DHANADEVA and MAURYA, two *Brahmans* of the *Vāsishṭha* and *Kāśyapa* races, but cousins by the mother's side, and consequently, according to the custom of the country, it is stated, the one took the other's widow to wife upon his decease. AKAMPITA was the son of a *Maithili Brahman*, of the *Gautama* tribe; ACHALABHRĀTĀ, of a *Brahman* of *Oude*, of the *Harita* family; METĀRYA was a *Brahman* of *Vatsa*, of the *Kauṇḍinya* tribe; and PRABHĀSA, a *Brahman* of the same race, but a native of *Rājagṛīha* in *Behār*. These are the eleven *Gaṇadharas*, or *Gaṇādhipas*, holders or masters of *Jain* schools, although, before their conversion, learned in the four *Vedas*, and teaching the doctrines contained in them.

These converts to *Jain* principles are mostly made in the same manner: each comes to the Saint, prepared to overwhelm him with shame, when he salutes them mildly by name, tells them the subject that excites their unuttered doubts and solves the difficulty, not always very satisfactorily or distinctly, it must be admitted; but the whole is an epitome of the *Jain* notions on those subjects which chiefly engage the attention of the Hindu philosophers.

INDRABHŪTI doubts whether there be life (*Jīva*) or not—MAHĀVĪRA says there is, and that it is the vessel

of virtue and vice, or where would be the use of acts of virtue or piety.

AGNIBHŪTI questions if there be acts (*Karma*) or not, to which MAHÁVIRA replies in the affirmative, and that from them proceed all bodily pleasure and pain, and the various migrations of the living principle through different forms.

VÁYUBHŪTI doubts if life be not body, which the Sage denies, as the objects of the senses may be remembered after the senses cease to act, even after death, that is, in a succeeding state of existence occasionally.

VYAKTA questions the reality of elementary matter, referring it with the *Vedántis* to illusion; the Sage replies that the doctrine of vacuity is false, illustrating his position rather obscurely by asking if there are no other worlds than the *Gandharva*, cities of dreams, or castles in the air.

SUDHARMÁ imagines that the same kind of bodies which are worn in one life will be assumed in another, or that a human being must be born again amongst mankind; for as the tree is always of the same nature as the seed, so must the consequences of acts, in a peculiar capacity, lead to results adapted to a similar condition. This MAHÁVIRA contradicts, and says that causes and effects are not necessarily of the same nature, as horn, and similar materials are convertible into arrow-barbs, and the like.

MANDITA has not made up his mind on the subjects of bondage and liberation, (*Bandha* and *Moksha*); the *Jina* explains the former to be connexion with and

dependence on worldly acts, whilst the latter is total detachment from them, and independence of them effected by knowledge.

MAURYAPUTRA doubts of the existence of gods, to which MAHÁVIRA opposes the fact of the presence of INDRA, and the rest around his throne. They cannot bear the odour of mere mortality, he adds; but they never fail to attend at the birth, inauguration, and other passages of the life of a *Jina*.

AKAMPITA is disposed to disbelieve the existence of the spirits of hell, because he cannot see them; but the Sage says that they are visible to those possessing certain knowledge, of whom *he* is one.

ACHALABHRÁTÁ is sceptical as to the distinction between vice and virtue, for which MAHÁVIRA rebukes him, and desires him to judge of them by their fruits: length of days, honorable birth, health, beauty and prosperity being the rewards in this life of virtue; and the reverse of these the punishments of vice.

METÁRYA questions a future existence, because life having no certain form must depend on elementary form, and consequently perish with it; but MAHÁVIRA replies, that life is severally present in various elementary aggregates to give them consciousness, and existing independent of them, may go elsewhere when they are dissolved. He adds, in confirmation of the doctrine, that the *Śrutis* and *Smritis*, that is, the scriptural writings of the *Bráhmaṇas*, assert the existence of other worlds.

The last of the list is PRABHÁSA, who doubts if there

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be such a thing as *Nirvāṇ*, that state of non-entity which it is the object of a *Jaina* saint to attain. The solution is not very explicit. *Nirvāṇ* is declared to be the same with *Moksha*, liberation, and *Karmakshaya*, abrogation of acts, and that this is real is proved by the authority of the *Veda*, and is visibly manifested in those who acquire true knowledge.

According to this view of the *Jain* system, therefore, we find the vital principle recognised as a real existence animating in distinct portions distinct bodies, and condemned to suffer the consequences of its actions by migrations through various forms. The reality of elementary matter is also asserted, as well as of gods, demons, heaven, and hell. The final state of the vital and sentient principle is left rather obscure, but as its actual and visible exemption from human acts is taught, it follows that it is exempt from their consequences or repeated births in various shapes, and therefore ceases to be in any sensible or suffering form. It is unnecessary to dwell longer on the subject here, as we shall have occasion to recur to it.

After the conversion of these *Brahmans* and their disciples, MAHÁVÍRA instructed them further in his doctrines, and they again taught them to others, becoming the heads of separate schools. AKANĪṬṬA and ACHALABHRÁTÁ, however, and METÁRYA and PRABHÁSA taught in common, so that the eleven *Gaṇádhīpas* established but nine *Gaṇas* or classes*.

* [Schol. ad śl. 31, p. 292. Weber, I. I., p. 4.]

Having thus attained the object of his penance and silence, MAHÁVÍRA, attended by his disciples, wandered about to different places, disseminating the *Jain* belief, and making numerous converts. The scene of his labours is mostly along the Ganges, in the modern districts of *Behár* and *Alláhábád*, and principally at the cities of *Kauśámbí* and *Rájagṛíha*, under the kings ŚASÁNÍKA and ŚREṆÍKA, both of whom are *Jains*. The occurrences described relate more to the disciples of the Saint than to himself, and there are some curious matters of an apparently historical character. There is also a prophetic account of HEMACHANDRA himself, and his patron KUMÁRA PÁLA of *Guzerat*, put into the mouth of MAHÁVÍRA; but these are foreign to our present purpose, which is confined to the progress of the *Jain* sage.

MAHÁVÍRA having completed the period of his earthly career, returned to *Apápapurí*, whither he was attended by a numerous concourse of followers of various designations. However fanciful the enumeration, the list is not uninteresting, as it displays the use of various terms to signify different orders of one sect, and not, as has been sometimes erroneously supposed, the sect itself. *Śramaṇas*, *Sádhus* and *Śrávaks* may be *Jains*, but they are not necessarily so, nor do they singly designate all the individuals of that persuasion. *Víra*'s train consists of *Sádhus*, holy men, fourteen thousand; *Sádhvís*, holy women, thirty-six thousand; *Śramaṇas*, or ascetics, versed in the fourteen *Púrvas*, three hundred; *Avadhijnánts*, those knowing the limits or laws,

one thousand and three hundred; *Kevalis*, or detached from acts, seven hundred; *Manovits*, possessors of intellectual wisdom, five hundred; *Vādīs*, controversialists, four hundred; *Śrāvakas*, the male laity, one *lakh* and fifty-nine thousand; and *Śrāvikās*, female hearers of the word, double that number, or three *lakhs* and eighteen thousand. The only *Gaṇadhara*s present were GAUTAMA and SUDHARMĀ, the other nine having attained felicity, or having died before their master.

The period of his liberation having arrived, MAHĀVĪRA resigned his breath, and his body was burned by ŚAKRA and other deities, who divided amongst them such parts as were not destroyed by the flames, as the teeth and bones, which they preserved as relics; the ashes of the pile were distributed amongst the assistants: the gods erected a splendid monument on the spot, and then returned to their respective heavens. These events occurred on the day of new moon, in the month *Kārtik*, when MAHĀVĪRA was seventy-two years of age, thirty of which were spent in social duties, and the rest in religious avocations, and he died two hundred and fifty years after the preceding *Jina*, PĀRŚVANĀTH: no other date is given, but in the passage, in the prophetic strain above alluded to, it is mentioned that KUMĀRA PĀLA will found *Anahilla Pattan**, and become the disciple of HEMACHANDRA, one thousand six hundred and sixty-nine years after the death of MAHĀVĪRA.

* [formerly called *Anavardīa*.]

The conversion of KUMĀRA PĀLA occurred about A. D. 1174*, and consequently the last *Jina* expired about five hundred years before the Christian era. According to other authorities the date assigned to this event is commonly about a century and a half earlier, or before Christ six hundred and sixty-three¹, but HEMACHANDRA is a preferable guide, although, in point of actual chronology, his date is probably not more to be depended upon than those derived from other sources.

The doctrines of the *Jains*, which constitute the philosophy of their system, it is not part of the present plan to discuss: but a few of the leading tenets, as derived from original authorities, may be here briefly adverted to. It is the more necessary to dwell on the subject, as the chief opinions of the sect of *Jina*, as described elsewhere, have for the most part been taken from verbal communication, or the controversial writings of the *Brahmans*.

An eternal and presiding first cause forms no part of the *Jain* creed, nor do the *Jains* admit of soul or spirit as distinct from the living principle. All existence is divisible into two heads—*Life* (*Jīva*) or the

* [See Lassen, Ind. Alt. III, 567. Weber, I. I., p. 46.]

¹ Colonel MACKENZIE, on the information of the *Belligola Jains*, says *Varddhamāna* attained beatitude 2461 years before the year 1801, which is 663 years before Christ. Mr. COLLEBROOKE observes, that the *Jains* of Bengal reckon *Varddhamāna* to have lived 580 years before *Vikramāditya*, which is A. C. 636.

living and sentient principle; and *Inertia* or *Ajiva*, the various modifications of inanimate matter. Both these are uncreated and imperishable. Their forms and conditions may change, but they are never destroyed; and with the exception of the unusual cases in which a peculiar living principle ceases to be subject to bodily acts, both life and matter proceed in a certain course, and at stated periods the same forms, the same characters, and the same events are repeated.

To proceed, however; according to the original authorities, all objects, sensible or abstract, are arranged under nine categories, termed *Tattwas*, truths or existences, which we shall proceed to notice in some detail*.

I. *Jiva*, Life, or the living and sentient principle, as existing in various forms, but especially reducible to two classes, those with, and those without mobility. The first comprises animals, men, demons, and gods—the second, all combinations of the four elements, earth, water, fire, air, as minerals, vapours, meteors, and tempests—and all the products of the vegetable kingdom. They are again arranged in five classes according to their possession of as many *Indriyas*, or sensible properties. The wholly unconscious bodies to ordinary apprehension, but which have a subtle vitality perceptible to saintly and super-human beings, have the property of form: such are minerals, and the like. Snails, worms, and insects, in general, have

two properties—form and face. Lice, fleas, and the like have three properties, or form, face, and the organ of smell. Bees, gnats, and the rest have, in addition to these, vision; whilst animals, men, demons, and gods have form, vision, hearing, smell, and taste. To these five predicates of vital beings two others are sometimes added, and they are said to be *Sanjñināh* and *Asanjñināh*, or, born by procreation, or spontaneously generated. Again, these seven orders are distinguished as complete or incomplete, making altogether fourteen classes of living things. According to the acts done or suffered in each condition, the vital principle migrates to an inferior or superior grade, until it is emancipated from bodily acts altogether. It is a peculiarity of the *Jain* notions of life, that it is always adapted to the body it animates, and diminishes with the gnat, and expands to the elephant, a notion that is treated with just ridicule by the *Brahmans*. Generically, it is defined to be without beginning or end, endowed with attributes of its own, agent and enjoyer, conscious, subtle, proportionate to the body it animates; through sin it passes into animals, or goes to hell; through virtue and vice combined it passes into men, and through virtue alone ascends to heaven; through the annihilation of both vice and virtue it obtains emancipation.

II. *Ajiva*, the second predicate of existence, comprises objects or properties devoid of consciousness and life. These seem to be vaguely and variously classed, and to be in general incapable of interpreta-

* [Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha, p. 35 ff. Stevenson, the Kalpa Sūtra, p. 116 ff. Colebrooke, Essays, p. 245 ff. 296.]

tion; but the enumeration is commonly fourteen, like the modification of vitality. They are *Dharmāstikāya*, *Adharmāstikāya*, and *Ākāśāstikāya*, each comprehending three varieties. *Kāla*, or time, is the tenth; and *Pudgala*, or elementary matter, in four modifications, completes the series.

It is not very easy to understand these technicalities, for the etymology of the words is of little avail. *Astikāya* indicates the existence of body, "*Body is*"; whilst *Dharma* signifies virtue, and *Adharma*, vice; but *Dharma* means also peculiar function or office, in which sense it seems to be here intended, thus—*Dharmāstikāya* is defined to be that which facilitates the motion of animate or inanimate bodies, as water for fish. *Adharmāstikāya* is that which impedes or stops their motion. *Ākāśāstikāya* is the principle of repulsion, that which keeps bodies separate, or space: the varieties of these are only in degree, of little, more, and complete. Time is sufficiently intelligible, but the *Jains* indulge in modifications of it infinitely more extravagant than those for which the *Hindus* are reproached; thus after enumerating days, weeks, months, and years, we have the *Palya**, or *Palyopama*, a period measured by the time in which a vast well, one hundred *Yojans* every way, filled with minute hairs so closely packed that a river might be hurried over them without penetrating the interstices, could be emptied at the rate of one hair in a century. A

Sāgaropama is one hundred million millions of *Palyas*, and an *Avasarpini* and *Utsarpini*, which make up a great age, consists each of one hundred million millions of *Sāgaras*. *Pudgala* is atomic matter, distinguished like the first three categories, by being combined in three degrees—little, much, and most, whilst it adds a fourth state, or that of *Paramānu*, primitive, subtle, indivisible, and uncombined.

III. The third *Tattwa* is *Puṇya*, Good, or whatever is the cause of happiness to living beings: the subdivisions of this category are forty-two: it will be sufficient here to enumerate a few of the principal.

1. *Uchchhaigotra*, high birth, rank, or the respect of mankind.

2. *Manushyagati*, the state of man, either as obtained from some other form of being or continuance in it.

3. *Suragati*, the state of divinity, Godhead.

4. *Panchendriya*, the state of superior vitality, or possession of five organs of sense.

5. *Panchadeha*, the possession of body, or form of one of five kinds:

Audārīka, elementary—that arising from the aggregation of elements, as the bodies of men and beasts.

Vaikriya, transmigrated—that assumed in consequence of acts, as the forms of spirits and gods.

Āhārīka, adventitious, one assumed, such as that of the *Pūrvadhara*s, of one cubit in stature, when they went to see the *Tīrthankaras* in *Mahāvīdehakshetra*.

Taijasa, the form obtained by suppressing mortal wants, in which state fire can be ejected from the body.

* [See Hemachandra's *Abhidh.* 132, and p. 304.]

Kārmaṇa, the form which is the necessary consequence of acts. These two last are necessarily connected from all time, and can only be disunited by final liberation, or *Moksha*.

Other varieties of 'Good' are colour, odour, flavour, touch, warmth, coolness, and the like.

IV. *Pāpa*, or 'Ill', in contradistinction to the preceding, and implying that which is the cause of unhappiness to mankind: there are eighty-two kinds;

As the five *Āvaraṇas*, or difficulties in acquiring as many gradations of holy or divine wisdom. Five *Antarāyas*, disappointments, or impediments, as not obtaining what is about to be presented, not being able to enjoy an object of fruition when in possession of it, and want of vigour though in bodily health. Four *Darśanāvasānas*, obstructions, or impediments to information derivable from the senses, or the understanding or to the acquirement of divine knowledge. Five states of sleep, inferior birth, pain, as a condition of existence, as when condemned to purgatory, belief in false gods, defect of size or shape, and all the human passions and infirmities—as anger, pride, covetousness, &c., including, amongst the ills of life, laughter and love.

V. *Āsrava* is that source from which the evil acts of living beings proceed. The varieties are the five *Indriyas*, or organs of sense; the four *Kashayas*, or passions, as wrath, pride, covetousness, and deceit; the five *Avratas*, non-observance of positive commands, as lying, stealing, &c. and three *Yogas*, ad-

diction or attachment of the mind, speech, and body to any act; *Kriyās*, or acts, of which twenty-six varieties are specified as those performed with any part of the body, or with the instrumentality of a weapon, or the like—those prompted by feelings of hate or wrath—those which are inceptive, progressive, or conclusive—those performed by oneself, or through another creature—those which are suggested by impiety, or unbelief in the doctrine of the *Tirthankaras*.

VI. The sixth *Tattwa* is termed *Samvara*, and is that by which acts are collected or impeded. There are fifty-seven varieties classed under six heads.

1. *Samiti*, keeping the attention properly alive, so as to see immediately if an insect is in the way, to refrain from uttering what should not be said, to distinguish any of the forty-two defects in food given as alms, taking or relinquishing any thing indifferently, and avoiding or abandoning unfit things.

2. *Gupti*, secrecy, or reserve of three kinds, or in mind, speech and person.

3. *Parishahā*, endurance or patience, as when a person has taken a vow of abstemiousness he must bear hunger and thirst; so he must endure heat and cold, when he practices the immoveable posture of *Jain* abstraction; if he is disappointed in what he has laboured or begged for, he must not murmur; and if he is reviled or even beaten, he must patiently submit.

4. *Yatidharma*, the duties of an ascetic; these are ten in number: patience, gentleness, integrity, and

disinterestedness, abstraction, mortification, truth, purity, poverty, and continence.

5. *Bhāvanā*, conviction or conclusion, such as that worldly existences are not eternal, that there is no refuge after death, that life is perpetually migrating through the eighty-four *lakhs* of living forms, that life is one or many: it also includes perception of the source whence evil acts proceed, and the like.

The sixth division of this class is *Chāritra*, practice or observance, of five sorts: *Sāmāyika*, conventional, or the practice and avoidance of such actions as are permitted or prescribed; *Chhedopasthāpanīya*, prevention of evil, as of the destruction of animal life; *Parihāraśuddhi*, purification by such mortification and penance as are enjoined by the example of ancient saints and sages. *Sulakshmasamparāya*, the practices of those pious men who have attained a certain degree of eminence; and *Yathākhyātam*, the same after all the impediments and impurities of human nature are overcome or destroyed.

VII. *Nirjarā*, the seventh *Tattwa*, is the religious practice that destroys mortal impurities, or, in other words, penance: it is of two kinds, external and internal; the first comprehends fasting, continence, silence, and bodily suffering; the second, repentance, piety, protection of the virtuous, study, meditation, and disregard, or rejection of both virtue and vice.

VIII. *Bandha* is the integral association of life with acts, as of milk with water, fire with a red hot iron ball; it is of four kinds: *Prakṛiti*, the natural dispo-

sition or nature of a thing; *Sthiti*, duration, or measure of time, through which life continues; *Anubhāga*, feeling, or sensible quality; *Pradeśa*, atomic individuality. The characters of this principle are illustrated by a *confection*: 1. According to its natural properties it cures phlegm, bile, &c.; 2. it remains efficient but for a given period; 3. it is sweet, bitter, sour, &c.; and 4. it is divisible into large or small proportions, retaining each the properties of the whole mass.

XI. The last of the nine principles is *Moksha*, or liberation of the vital spirit from the bonds of action; it is of nine sorts:

1. *Satpadapravṛtṭi*. The determination of the real nature of things, the consequence of a finite course of progress through different stages of being and purification. It is attainable only by living creatures of the highest order, or those having the five organs of sense; by those possessed of the *Trasakāya*, or a body endowed with consciousness and mobility; by those beings which are engendered, not self-produced; by those which have reached the fifth *Chāritra*, or exemption from human infirmity; by those which are in the *Kshāyika Samyaktva*, or that state of perfection in which elementary or material existence is destroyed; by those no longer requiring material existence; by those who have acquired the *Kevalajñāna*, the only knowledge, and the *Kevaladarśana*, or only vision.

2. *Dravyapramāṇa*, as regulated by the fitness of the things or persons to be emancipated.

3. *Kshetrapramāṇa*, depending on the essentiality

of certain holy places at which only it can be obtained.

4. *Sparsana*, contact, or identity of the individuated living principle with that of the universe, or any part of it.

5. *Kāla*, the times or ages at which emancipation is attainable; or the periods spent in various trans-migrations.

6. *Antara*, the difference of temperaments or dispositions.

7. *Bhūga*, the existence of the imperishable part of all living bodies in which the purified essences or *Siddhas* reside.

8. *Bhāva*, the nature or property of that pure existence which has attained the *Kevalajñāna*, and other perfections essential to final liberation.

9. *Alpabahutwa*, the degree or ratio in which different classes of beings obtain emancipation¹.

From the details of these nine *Tattwas* the sum of the whole *Jain* system may be collected, but they form only the text on which further subtilties are founded, and they leave the end and scope of all the doctrine or the attainment of ultimate liberation singularly indistinct.

The *Moksha* of the *Jains* is exemption from the incidents of life, and above all from the necessity of

¹ Although termed मोक्षभेदाः in the original authorities, these varieties are rather in the requisite conditions for attaining *Moksha*, than in the kind or sort of emancipation attained.

being born again; but in what state the living principle subsists after it is so exempted, does not very satisfactorily appear. In one state indeed the bodily individuality remains, or that of *Jivanmukti*, liberation during life, whilst from most of the subdivisions of *Moksha*, it follows that the *Siddhas*, the pure existences, correspond with our notions of spiritual beings, having an impassive and inappreciable form, variable at will, capable of infinite contraction or dilation, and wholly void of feeling or passion. This is not incompatible with their enjoyment of *Nirvāṇ*, another term for *Moksha*, and which, as Mr. COLEBROOKE observes, meaning literally, extinct or gone out as a fire, set as a heavenly luminary, defunct as a saint who has passed away, implies profound calm. "It is not annihilation," he concludes*, "but unceasing apathy which they, 'the *Jains* and *Buddhas*,' understand to be the extinction of their saints, and which they esteem to be supreme felicity worthy to be sought by practice of mortification as well as by acquisition of knowledge."

Besides the notions exhibited in the detail of the nine *Tattwas*, the *Jains* are known in controversial writings** by the title *Saptavādīs*, or *Saptabhaṅgīs*, the *disputers* or *refuters* of seven positions: more correctly speaking, they are reconcilers, or could be so, of seven contradictory assertions, evincing a sceptical

* [Essays, p. 259.]

** [e. g. Sarvadarśana Sangr. pp. 41. 42.]

character which justifies another epithet which they acknowledge, of *Syādvādis*, or assertors of possibilities; the seven positions are the following:

1. A thing is; 2. it is not; 3. it is and it is not; 4. it is not definable; 5. it *is*, but is not definable; 6. it is not, neither is it definable; 7. it is and it is not, and is not definable. Now these positions imply the doctrines of the different schools, the *Sāṅkhya*, *Vedānta*, and others, with regard to the world, to life, and to spirit, and are met in every case by the *Jains* with the reply, *Syādvā*, *It may be so sometimes*; that is, whatever of these dogmas is advanced will be true in some respects, and not in others; correct under some circumstances, and not under others; and they are therefore not entitled to implicit trust, nor are they irreconcilable. There is one inference to be drawn from this attempt to reconcile the leading doctrines of the principal schools, of some importance to the history of the *Jain* doctrines, and it renders it probable that they were posterior to all the rest. As this reasoning however has been opposed by RĀMĀNUJA, it dates earlier than the twelfth century.

Liberation during life and, as a necessary consequence, exemption after it from future birth implies the abandonment of eight classes of *Karmas*, or acts, four of which are noxious and four innoxious; they are all included under the *Tattva Pāpa*, ILL, as above noticed, but are also more especially detailed. To the first order belong the following:

Jñānāvaraṇa, disregard of the various stages of

knowledge, from simple comprehension to the only true wisdom, as so many steps to final liberation;

Darśanāvaraṇa, disbelief in the doctrines of the *Jain* Saints;

Mohaniya, hesitation in obeying the injunctions of the *Jain* code, or doubt as to their importance and the consequences of their neglect;

Antarāya, impeding or vexing those engaged in seeking liberation.

The second class comprises:

Vedanīya, self-consciousness or sufficiency;

Nāma, pride of name; *Gotra*, pride of birth; and *Āyushka*, attachment to bodily existence.

These essential principles of the faith are common to all classes of *Jains*, but some differences occur in their *Duties* as they are divided into religious or lay orders, *Yatis* and *Śrāvakas*. Implicit belief in the doctrines and actions of the *Tīrthankaras* is, of course, obligatory on both; but the former are expected to follow a life of abstinence, taciturnity, and continence, whilst the latter add to their moral and religious code the practical worship of the *Tīrthankaras*, and profound reference for their more pious brethren. The moral code of the *Jains* is expressed in five *Mahāvratas*, or great duties: Refraining from injury to life, truth, honesty, chastity, and freedom from worldly desires. There are four *Dharmas*, or merits—liberality, gentleness, piety, and penance; and three sorts of restraint—government of the mind, the tongue, and the person. To these are superadded a number of minor

instructions or prohibitions, sometimes of a beneficial and sometimes of a trivial, or even ludicrous tendency, such as to abstain, at certain seasons, from salt, flowers, green fruit, and roots, honey, grapes, and tobacco; to drink water thrice strained; never to leave a liquid uncovered, lest an insect should be drowned in it; not to deal in soap, natron, indigo, and iron; and never to eat in the dark lest a fly should be swallowed. Religious characters wear a piece of cloth over their mouths to prevent insects from flying into them, and carry a brush under their arms to sweep the place on which they are about to sit, to remove any ants or other living creatures out of the way of danger. Upon the whole, the doctrine of the *Jainas* is a system of quietism calculated to render those who follow it perfectly innoxious, and to inspire them with apathetic indifference towards both this world and the next.

The ritual of the *Jains* is as simple as their moral code. The *Yati*, or devotee, dispenses with acts of worship at his pleasure, and the lay votary is only bound to visit daily a temple where some of the images of the *Tirthankaras* are erected, walk round it three times, make an obeisance to the images, with an offering of some trifle, usually fruit or flowers, and pronounce some such *Mantra*, or prayer, as the following: "*Namo Arihantānam, Namō Siddhānam, Namō Arhānam, Namō Upājyānam, Namō Lōc Sabba Sahānam*—Salutation to the *Arhats*, to the Pure Existences, to the Sages, to the Teachers, to all the Devout in the world." A morning prayer is also re-

peated: "*Ichchhāmi khamā Sāmaño bandiyoṇ, jo maṇ jāye nisiāye; māthena vandāmi*—I beg forgiveness, oh Lord, for your slave, whatever evil thoughts the night may have produced—I bow with my head." The worshipper then perhaps remains to hear read part of the *Kalpasūtra* or *Bhaktāmara*, or some narrative of one or other of the *Tirthankaras*, and the devotion of their followers, and proceeds to his daily occupations.

The reader in a *Jain* temple is a *Yati*, or religious character; but the ministrant priest, the attendant on the images, the receiver of offerings, and conductor of all usual ceremonies is a *Brahman*. It is a curious peculiarity in the *Jain* system, that they should have no priests of their own, but it is the natural consequence of the doctrine and example of the *Tirthankaras*, who performed no rites, either vicariously or for themselves, and gave no instruction as to their observance. It shews also the true character of this form of faith, that it was a departure from established practices, the observance of which was held by the *Jain* teachers to be matter of indifference, and which none of any credit would consent to regulate; the laity were, therefore, left to their former priesthood, as far as outward ceremonies were concerned.

The objects of worship are properly only the *Tirthankaras*, but the *Jains* do not deny the existence of the Hindu gods, and admit such of them as they have chosen to connect with the adventures of their saints, according to a classification of their own, to a share in the worship offered to their human superiors.

According to the Mythology which they have adopted and modified the *Jains* reckon four classes of divine beings whom they name *Bhuvanapatis*, *Vyantaras*, *Jyotishkas*, and *Vaimánikas*; the first comprises ten orders: the progeny of the *Asuras*, Serpents, *Garuḍa*, the *Dikpálas*, Fire, Air, the Ocean, Thunder and Lightning,—who are supposed to reside in the several hells or regions below the Earth. The second has eight orders: the *Piśáchas*, *Bhútas*, *Kinnaras*, *Gandharvas*, and other monstrous or terrestrial divinities inhabiting mountains, woods, and forests, as well as the lower regions, or air. The third has five orders: the Sun, Moon, Planets, Asterisms, and other heavenly bodies. The fourth includes the Gods of present and past *Kalpas*. Of the first kind are those born in the Heavens, *Saudharma*, *Íśána*, *Mahendra*, *Brahmá*, *Sanatkumára*, *Śukra*, and others to the number of twelve, or in the *Kalpas*, when *SUDHARMÁ* and the rest were severally presiding Deities. The last class reside in two divisions of five and of nine heavens—the five termed *Vijaya*, *Vaijayantí*, &c.; the second termed *Anuttara*, because there are none beyond them, as they crown the triple construction of the universe. In the sovereignty of the hosts of heaven a great number of *Indras* are recognised, but of these two are always specified as the chief, *ŚUKRA* and *ÍŚÁNA*, one regent of the north, the other of the south heaven: the former alone has eighty-four thousand fellow gods, each of whom has myriads of associates and attendants.

Above all these rank in dignity, and as objects of worship, the twenty-four *Tirthankaras*, or with those of the past and of the future periods seventy-two. Allusion is made by HEMACHANDRA, in his life of MAHÁVÍRA, to a hundred and one, and the same work specifies four *Śásvat* or eternal *Jinas*, *ÍSHABHÁNANA*, *CHANDRÁNANA*, *VÁRISENA*, and *VARDHAMÁNA*. What is meant by them is not explained, and they are not recognised by all *Jains*.

The presence of Brahman ministrants, or the lapse of time and the tendency of the native mind to multiply objects of veneration, seems to have introduced different innovations into the worship of the *Jainas* in different parts of Hindustan; and in upper India the ritual in use is often intermixed with formulæ derived from the *Tantras*, and belonging more properly to the *Śaiva* and *Śákta* worship. Images of the *Bhairavas* and *Bhairavis*, the fierce attendants on *ŚIVA* and *KÁLÍ*, take their place in *Jain* temples, and at suitable seasons the *Jains* equally with the Hindus address their adoration to *SARASVATÍ* and *DEVÍ*¹.

¹ Thus in a *Pijápaddhati* procured at *Mainpurí*, where a *Jain* temple of considerable size stands, the *Tirthankaras*, as they are severally presented with offerings, are addressed; *Om Śrī Rishabhāya Svasti—Om Hrīm hrīm*; and *Om Hrīm Śrī Sudharmachārya, Ādigurubhyo Namaḥ, Om Hrīm Hrīm, Samajinachaitya-layebhyo Śrī Jinendrebhyo namaḥ*. There are also observances for regular Hindu festivals, as the *Śrīpanchamī*, *Akshaya-tritīyā*, &c., when *SARASVATÍ* and other goddesses are invoked. Rules are given for the *Ghata Sthāpana*, when *ŚAKTÍ* or *DEVÍ* is supposed to be present in a water jar erected as her receptacle and em-

In the South of India, from the account given by Colonel MACKENZIE, it appears that the *Jains* observe all the Brahmanical *Sanskáras*, or essential ceremonies. This is not the case in Upper India, and the only rites followed are the Initiation of the infant, twelve days after birth, by repeating a *Mantra* over it, making a circular mark with the sandal and perfumes on the top of the head; Marriage and Cremation, which are much the same as those of the Brahmins, omitting the *Mantras* of the *Vedas*. *Śráddhas*, obsequial ceremonies at stated periods, are not performed by the *Jains* in Upper Hindustan.

The festivals of the *Jains* are peculiar to themselves, and occur especially on days consecrated by the birth or death of some of the principal *Tīrthan-karas*, especially the two last, *Pārśvanáth* and *Varddhamaána*. The places where these events occurred are also objects of pilgrimage, and very numerous assemblages of devout pilgrims occur at them at different seasons: thus, in Behár, a very celebrated place of resort is the scene of *Pārśvanáth*'s liberation; the mountain *Samet Śikhara*, or *Parasnáth*, near *Pachete*¹; and another of equal sanctity, the scene of *Varddhamaána*'s departure from earth, is at *Pápapurí*², in the

blem, and the *Shodaśa Karāṇa Pūjā* ends with a *Lakshmi Stotra*, or Hymn, addressed to the Goddess of Prosperity.

¹ Described very fully, as previously noticed, in the Quarterly Magazine for December, 1827.

² It is also written *Apépapurí* and *Pácapurí*, under which

same province. Pilgrims come from all parts of India to these places at all seasons, but the principal *Méls* are held at the former in *Mágh*, and in *Kártik* at the latter. On the western side of India the mountains of *Abú*¹ and *Girinár* are the great scenes of pilgrimage, being covered with *Jain* temples and remains. *ŘISHABHA DEVA* and *NEMINÁTH* seem to be the favourite divinities in that quarter.

Besides these particular festivals, the *Jains* observe several that are common to the Hindus, as the *Vasantayátrá*, or spring festival, the *Śripanchami*, and others; they also hold in veneration certain of the Lunar days, as the 2d, 5th, 8th, 11th and 12th: on these no new work should be undertaken, no journey commenced, and fasting, or abstinence at least, and continence should be observed.

The origin of the *Jain* faith is immersed in the obscurity which invests all remote history amongst the Hindus. That it is the most recent of all the systems pursued in Hindustan is rendered highly probable by the extravagances in which it deals, by the doctrines it opposes to those of all other schools, and by the comparatively recent date of many *Jain* authors of celebrity and of numerous monumental relics; but

latter name, it and other celebrated *Jaina* shrines in Behár are described by a Native traveller, a *Jain*, in the service of Colonel MACKENZIE, in the Calcutta Magazine for June, 1823.

¹ See Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI. *Jain* Inscriptions at Abú.

at what period it actually took its rise it is not easy to determine¹. Mr. COLEBROOKE has suggested the probability of the *Jain* religion being the work of PÁRŚVANÁTH, in the account of whom there is a nearer approach to sober history and credible chronology than in the narratives of his predecessors. This would throw back the origin of the *Jain* faith to the ninth century before the Christian era, admitting the *Jain* chronology of VARDHAMÁNA's existence; but it is difficult to concur in the accuracy of so remote a date, and whatever indirect evidence on the subject is procurable is opposed to such a belief.

It has been supposed that we have notices of the *Jaina* sect as far back as the time of the Macedonian

¹ Major DELAMAINE observes, "the usual idea of the *Jains* being a modern sect may not be erroneous: the doctrines originating with *Rishabha*, and continued by *Arhanta*, dividing at periods of schism into more distinct classes, of which the *Jains* or *Srávaks*, as now established, form one, and the modern *Buddhas*, as in *Burma*, *Siam*, *Ceylon*, *Tibet*, &c. another." T. R. A. S. I., 427.—"Were I disposed to speculate on the origin of the *Jains* from the striking coincidences of doctrine and religious usages between them and the *Buddhists*, I should be led to conjecture that they were originally a sect of *Buddhists*." Mr. Erskine, *Bombay Trans.* III, 502.—"It is certainly probable, as remarked by Dr. HAMILTON and Major DELAMAINE, that the *Gautama* of the *Jinas* and of the *Bauddhas* is the same personage, and this leads to the further surmise that both these sects are branches of one stock.—Both have adopted the Hindu Pantheon, or assemblage of subordinate deities, both disclaim the authority of the *Vedas*, and both elevate their pre-eminent saints to divine supremacy." Mr. Colebrooke, *Trans. R. A. S. I.*, 521.

invasion of India, or at least at the period at which MEGASTHENES was sent ambassador to SANDRACOPTUS, and that these notices are recorded by STRABO and ARRIAN. The nature of the expressions which those and other writers have employed has been canvassed by Mr. COLEBROOKE*, and shewn satisfactorily to establish the existence at that time of the regular Brahmanas, as well as of other sects: what those sects were, however, it was no part of his object to enquire, and he has left it still to be ascertained how far it can be concluded that the *Jainas* were intended.

Much perplexity in the Greek accounts of the Brahmanas Gymnosophists has, no doubt, occurred from their not having been acquainted with the subdivision of the priestly caste into the four orders of student, householder, hermit, and mendicant, and therefore they describe the Brahman sometimes as living in towns, sometimes in woods, sometimes observing celibacy, and sometimes married, sometimes as wearing clothes, and sometimes as going naked; contradictions which, though apparently irreconcilable if the same individuals or classes be meant, were appreciated by the shrewdness of BAYLE more justly than he was himself aware of¹, and are all explained by the *Āchāras*,

* [and by Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, II, 700 ff., 710.]

¹ "It may be that they (the Brachmanes) did not follow the same institutes in all ages, and that with a distinction of time one might reconcile some of the variations of the authors who have spoken of them."—Article *Brachmans*, Note C. Harris (I, 454) also has rightly estimated the real character of the Ger-

or institutes of the Hindus, as affecting the various periods of life and corresponding practices of Brahmanical devotion.

As far, therefore, as the customs or observances of the Gymnosophists are described, we have no reason to conclude that any but the followers of the *Vedas* are intended, and the only part of the account applicable to any other sect is the term *Germanes*, or *Sarmanes*, or *Samanæans*, applied to one division of the Sophists or Sages. This name, as Mr. COLEBROOKE observes, seems to bear some affinity to the *Śramaṇas*, or ascetics of the *Jains* or *Bauddhas*, but we can derive no positive conclusion from a resemblance, which may possibly be rather imaginary than real, and the object of which, after all, is far from being the individual property of any sect, but is equally applicable to the ascetic of every religious system. As distinct from the Brahmans, the *Sarmanes* will be equally distinct from the *Jains*; for the Brahmans, it is said by PORPHYRY, are of one race; and the *Samanæans* are selected from all the tribes, and consist of persons choosing to prosecute divine studies,—precisely the independent *Sannyāsi* or *Gosāin* of modern times, few persons of which description belong to the order of the *Brahmans*, or are united with the rest by any community of origin or peculiarity of faith.

Again, another *word* has been adduced in corroboration

manes, and concluded that they were nothing but Gioghis, from Pietro della Valle's description of the latter.

of the existence of the *Jains*, and it may be admitted that this is a better proof than the preceding, as the *Pramnæ** are declared to be the opposers of the Brahmans, which is nowhere mentioned of the *Sarmanes*. This expression is said to designate the *Jains*, but this is far from certain: the term is probably derived from *Prāmāṇa*, proof, evidence, and is especially the right of the followers of the logical school, who are usually termed *Prāmāṇikas*: it is applicable, however, to any sect which advocates positive or ocular proof in opposition to written dogmas, or belief in scriptural authority, and is in that sense more correctly an epithet of the *Bauddha* sectaries than of the *Jains*, who admit the legends and worship the deities of the *Purāṇas*, and who hold it the height of impiety to question the written doctrines of their own teachers. The proofs from classical writers, therefore, are wholly inadequate to the decision of the antiquity of the *Jains*, and we are still entirely left to sources of a less satisfactory description.

All writers on the *Jains* entitled to our attention agree in admitting an intimate connexion between them and the *Bauddhas*; the chief analogies have been above adverted to, and the inference of later origin is justly founded on the extravagant exaggerations of the system adopted by the *Jains*. Their identity of origin rests chiefly upon the name of GAUTAMA, which appears as that of VARDHAMĀNA's chief pupil,

* [See Lassen, Ind. Alt. I, 835, Weber, Ind. Lit. 27.]

and as the legislator of the *Bauddha* nations in the east. The dates also assigned to both are not far removed; the apotheosis of the *Buddha* GAUTAMA occurring five hundred and forty-three years before Christ, and the death of MAHÁVIRA, the preceptor of the *Jain* GAUTAMA, about the same time. That there is some connexion may be conceded, but for reasons already assigned it is not likely that the persons are the same; the *Jains* have not improbably derived their GAUTAMA from that of their predecessors*.

No argument for the antiquity of the *Jains* is derivable from the account given of RÍSHABHA in the *Bhágavata Purána*** . He was not a seceder from the true faith, although the mistaken imitation of his practices is said to have led others into errors, evidently intending the *Jain* heresy. He is scarcely identifiable, in consequence, with the *Jain* RÍSHABHA, the first of the *Tirthankaras*; but even if that were the case, no confidence could be placed in the authority, as the work is a modern compilation not exceeding, at the most, twelve centuries of antiquity. The refutation of *Jain* doctrines in the *Brahma Sûtras**** is a less questionable testimony of their early existence; but the date of that work is to be yet ascertained. ŚANKARA ÁCHÁRYA, the commentator on the texts of VYÁSA, affords a more definite approximation; but he

will not carry us back above ten centuries. It is also to be observed, that the objects of the attacks of the *Sûtras* and of ŚANKARA are philosophical and speculative tenets, and these may have been current long before they formed part of a distinct practical system of faith, as promulgated by a class of *Bauddhas*, the germ of the *Jains*.

However, we may admit from these authorities the existence of the *Jains* as a distinct sect, above ten or twelve centuries ago; we have reason to question their being of any note or importance much earlier. The *Bauddhas*, we know from CLEMENS of Alexandria, existed in India in the second century of the Christian æra, and we find them not only the principal objects of Hindu confutation and anathema, but they are mentioned in works of lighter literature referable to that period, in which the *Jains* are not noticed, nor alluded to: the omission is the more worthy of notice, because, since the *Bauddhas* disappeared from India, and the *Jains* only have been known, it will be found that the Hindu writers, whenever they speak of *Bauddhas*, shew, by the phraseology and practices ascribed to them, that they really mean *Jains*: the older writers do not make the same mistake, and the usages and expressions which they give to *Bauddha* personages are not *Jain*, but *Bauddha*; with the one they were familiar, the other were yet unknown.

The literature of the *Jains* themselves is unfavourable to the notion of high antiquity. HEMACHANDRA, one of their greatest writers, flourished in the end of

* [Weber, Ueber das Śātrunjaya Māhātmyam, p. 2-6.]

** [V, 5, 28 ff. Vishnu Pur., p. 164, Note.]

*** [II, 2, 6.]

the twelfth century, and the compiler of the *Jain Purāṇas* of the *Dekhan* is said to have written at the end of the ninth. The *Kalpa Sūtra* professes to have been composed nine hundred and eighty years after the death of MAHĀVĪRA, or fifteen centuries ago; but from internal evidence* it could not have been composed earlier than the twelfth or thirteenth century. Various eminent *Jain* authors were cotemporary also with MUNJA and BHOJA, princes of *Dhār*, in the ninth and tenth century**, and a number of works seem to have been compiled in the sixteenth century during the tolerant reign of AKBAR.

Of the progress of the *Jain* faith in the Gangetic provinces of Upper India we have no very satisfactory traces. It may be doubted if they ever extended themselves in Bengal. Behār, according to their own traditions, was the birth-place of VARDDHAMĀNA, and Benares of PĀRŚVANĀTH; and temples and monuments of their teachers are common in both, particularly the former; but all those now existing are of very recent dates¹, and there are no vestiges referable to an inter-

* [Weber, Ueber das Śātrunajaya Māhātmyam, p. 7-12, fixes the year 632 p. Chr. as the date of its composition.]

** [in the tenth and eleventh, according to Lassen, Ind. Alt., III, 543-54.]

¹ As late even as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. [See, however, Journal of the Bombay Br. R. A. S., III, p. 88 ff.]—These dates are sometimes said to indicate the periods at which the temples were repaired, but the intelligent author of the 'Visit to Mount Pārśvanāth' observes, "only in one instance is

mediate period between the last *Tirthankara*, and the eighteenth century. At Benares its princes professed the faith of *Bauddha* as late as the eleventh century, whilst during the same period, as is proved by inscriptions and the historical work of CHANDRAKAVI, the sovereigns of Kanoj and Dehli were of the orthodox persuasion. It is very doubtful, therefore, if the *Jains* ever formed a leading sect in this part of Hindustan. They were more successful in the west and south.

In Western Mārṇwār, and the whole of the territory subject to the *Chālukya* princes of Guzerat, the *Jain* faith became that of the ruling dynasty; but this occurred at no very remote period. The Mohammedan Geographer EDRIŚI states that the king of *Nehrṇwālā**, the capital of Guzerat, worshipped BUDDHA; and we know from the writings of HEMACHANDRA, that he was the apostle of the *Jain* faith in that kingdom—converting KUMĀRA PĀLA, the monarch of Guzerat, to his creed. This is also an occurrence of the twelfth century, or about 1174. The consequences of this conversion are still apparent in the abundant relics of the *Jain* faith, and the numbers by whom it is professed in Mārṇwār, Guzerat, and the upper part of the Malabar Coast.

there reason to suspect that the buildings are much older than the inscriptions announce. The most ancient Mmdir at that place is reckoned to be but fifty years old."—Calcutta Magazine, December, 1827.

* [i. e. Analavāṭa, see p. 304 Note. and Lassen, Ind. Alt., III, 546.]

On the Coromandel side of the Peninsula the *Jains* were introduced upon the downfall of the *Bauddhas*, in the reign of AMOGHAVARSHA, king of *Toṇḍai Maṇḍalam*, in the ninth century or, according to some traditions, in the eighth. Farther south, in Madurā, the date of their introduction is not known, but they were in power in the eleventh century under KUṆA PĀṆḌYA. In this, and in the twelfth, they seem to have reached their highest prosperity, and from that period to have declined. KUṆA PĀṆḌYA became a *Śaiva*. VIṢṆU VARDHANA, Rājā of Mysore, was converted from the *Jain* to the *Vaiśṇava* faith in the twelfth century, and about the same time the *Lingavant Śaivas* deposed and murdered VIJĀLA, the *Jain* king of *Kalyāṇ**. The sect, however, continued to meet with partial countenance from the kings of *Vijayanagar* until a comparatively modern date.

The conclusions founded on traditionary or historical records are fully supported by the testimony of monuments and inscriptions—the latter of which are exceedingly numerous in the south and west of India. Most of these are very modern—none are earlier than the ninth century. An exception is said to exist in an inscription on a rock at *Belligola*, recording a grant of land by *Chāmuṇḍa Rāya* to the shrine of GOMATĪSVARA, in the year 600 of the *Kali* age, meaning the *Kali* of the *Jains*, which began three years after the death of VARDHAMĀNA. This inscription, therefore,

* [Lassen, Ind. Alt., IV, 119 ff., 237 ff.]

if it exists, was written about fifty or sixty years before the Christian æra—but it is not clear that any such record is in existence, the fact resting on the oral testimony of the head Pontiff at *Belligola*: even, if it be legible on the face of the rock, it is of questionable authenticity, as it is perfectly solitary, and no other document of like antiquity has been met with.

The MACKENZIE Collection contains many hundred *Jain* inscriptions. Of these the oldest record grants made by the princes of *Homchi**, a petty state in *Mysore*. None of them are older than the end of the ninth century. Similar grants, extending through the eleventh and twelfth centuries by the VEĪLĀLA sovereigns of *Mysore*, are also numerous, whilst they continue with equal frequency to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, during the existence of the sovereignty of *Vijayanagar*. Again, at *Abū*, under the patronage of the Guzerat princes, we have a number of *Jain* inscriptions, but the oldest of them bears date *Samvat* 1245 (A. D. 1189)¹; they multiply in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and are found as late as the middle of the eighteenth—and, finally, in *Magadha*, the scene of VARDHAMĀNA's birth and apotheosis, the oldest inscriptions found date no further back than the beginning of the sixteenth century².

* [See Journal R. As. Soc., III, 217, compared with Lassen, Ind. Alt., IV, 239, Note.]

¹ Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI, p. 317.

² Dr. HAMILTON's Description of Jain Temples in Behār.

From all credible testimony, therefore, it is impossible to avoid the inference that the *Jains* are a sect of comparatively recent institution, who first came into power and patronage about the eighth and ninth century: they probably existed before that date as a division of the *Bauddhas*, and owed their elevation to the suppression of that form of faith to which they contributed. This is positively asserted by the traditions of the south in several instances: the *Bauddhas* of *Kānchi* were confuted by AKALANKA, a *Jain* priest, and thereupon expelled the country*. VARA PĀNDYA, of *Madurá*, on becoming a *Jain*, is said to have persecuted the *Bauddhas*, subjecting them to personal tortures, and banishing them from the country. In *Guzerat* *Bauddha* princes were succeeded by the *Jains*. There is every reason to be satisfied, therefore, that the total disappearance of the *Bauddhas* in India proper is connected with the influence of the *Jains*, which may have commenced in the sixth or seventh centuries, and continued till the twelfth.

The inveteracy prevalent between kindred schisms is a sufficient reason for any enmity felt by the *Jains* towards the *Bauddhas*, rather than towards the Brahmanical Hindus. There is, indeed, a political leaning to the latter, observable in their recognition of the

Trans. R. A. S., I, 525. To these may be added the inscriptions at *Pārsanāth*, and a number of inscriptions at *Gwalior*, copies of which were sent to Mr. FRASER, and which are all dated in the middle of the 15th century.

* [Journal As. Soc. Bengal, VII, 122. Lassen, IV, 239.]

orthodox Pantheon, in the deference paid to the *Vedas*, and to the rites derivable from them, to the institution of castes, and to the employment of Brahmins as ministrant priests. They appear also to have adapted themselves to the prevailing form of Hinduism in different places: thus at *Abú* several *Jain* inscriptions commence with invocations of ŚIVA¹, and in the *Dehkan* an edict promulgated by BUKKA RĀYA, of *Vijayanagar*, declares there is no real difference between the *Jains* and *Vaishnavas*². In some places the same temples are resorted to by *Jains* and *Rāmānujīya Vaishnavas*, and, as observed by Mr. COLEBROOKE, a *Jain* on renouncing the heretical doctrines of his sect takes his place amongst the orthodox Hindus as a *Kshatriya* or *Vaiśya*, which would not be the case with a convert, who has not already caste as a Hindu³. In the South of India, indeed, the *Jains* preserve the distinction of castes: in Upper India they profess to be of one caste, or *Vaiśyas*. It is very clear, however, that admission to the *Jain* communion was originally independent of caste⁴, and the partial adoption of it

¹ Major DELAMAINE notices that the mountain *Girnar* is equally sacred to *Hindus* as to *Jains*, and that an ancient temple of MAHĀ-DEVĀ is erected there.

² Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, p. 270 [Lassen, Ind. Alt., IV, 174].

³ Transactions Royal Asiatic Society, I, 549.

⁴ MAHĀVĪRA himself was the son of a king, and should therefore be a *Kshatriya*. His chief disciples, INDRABHŪTI, and the rest, were *Brahmins*. His especial attendant, GOŚĀLA, was an outcast, and his followers, of both sexes, were of every caste.

or pretension to it, is either a spontaneous or politic conformity to the strong feeling on the subject which prevails amongst all Hindus.

These are the great outlines of the rise and progress of the sect as derivable from sources entitled to credit; but the *Jains* have amongst themselves records of sectarian value detailing the succession of different teachers, and the origin of various heresies. Some extracts from one of these attached to a copy of the *Kalpa Sūtra* may be acceptable.

The succession of teachers is always deduced from MAHÁVIRA, through his disciple SUDHARMÁ. Of the rest all but GAUTAMA died before their Master, as has been observed above, and GAUTAMA survived him but a month, which he spent in penance and fasting. SUDHARMÁ, therefore, was the only one who remained competent to impart instruction. His pupil was JAMBUSVÁMÍ, the last of the *Kevalis*, or possessors of true wisdom: six teachers follow, termed *Śrutakevalis*, or hearers of the first masters, and then seven others, *Daśapūrvís*, from having been taught the works so named¹.

¹ The following are the names of the individuals alluded to in the text:

ŚRUTAKEVALIS.	DAŚAPŪRVÍS.
<i>Prabhava Śāmi.</i>	<i>Ārya Mahāgiri Śūri.</i>
<i>Śaṃyambhadra Śūri.</i>	<i>Ārya Suhasti Śūri.</i>
<i>Yaśobhadra Śūri.</i>	<i>Ārya Sūsthita Śūri.</i>
<i>Sambhūti Vijaya Śūri.</i>	<i>Indradimma Śūri.</i>
<i>Bhadrabāhu Śūri.</i>	<i>Dimma Śūri.</i>
<i>Śthūlabhadra Śūri.</i>	<i>Sinhagiri Śūri.</i>
	<i>Vajrasvāmi Śūri.</i>

These are common to all the lists when correct. In the *Belligola* list they are omitted, and the successor of JAMBUSVÁMÍ is there named VERAŚINA, who may have been, as Mr. COLEBROOKE remarks, a hundred degrees removed. The lists, subsequently, vary according to the particular line of descent to which they belong.

Of these persons the second *Śrutakevali* is reputed to be the author of the *Daśavaikalikā*, one of the standard works of the sect. SUHASTI, the second *Daśapūrví*, was the preceptor of SAMPRATÍ RÁJÁ, and the third, SUSTHITA, founded the *Kote gachcha*, or tribe. VAJRASVÁMÍ, the last, established a particular division called the *Vajra Śākhā*.

Of the succeeding teachers, or *Śūris*, the title borne by the spiritual preceptors of the *Jains*, CHANDRASŪRI, the second, is the founder of the family of that name, eight hundred and nine years, it is said, after the emancipation of MAHÁVIRA. In his time, it is stated, the *Digambaras* arose; but we have seen that they were at least cotemporary with MAHÁVIRA.

The 38th on the list, from MAHÁVIRA inclusive, UDYOTANA ŚŪRI, first classed the *Jains* under eighty-nine Gachchas. The 40th JINEŚVARÍ who lived A. D. 1024, founded the *Khartara* family¹. With the 44th,

[A few variations occur in Hemachandra's *Abhidh.*, §1. 33 and 34, and in the list of Sthaviras, translated by J. Stevenson. See the *Kalpa Sūtra* and *Nava Tatva*, p. 100 f.]

¹ Major TOD gives a somewhat different account of the origin of this tribe. *Khartra*, he says, means true, an epithet of dis-

JINADATTA, originated the *Ośwāl* family, and the *Madhyakhartara* branch; he was a teacher of great celebrity, and impressions of his feet in plaster or on stone are preserved in some temples, as at *Bhelupur* in Benares; he lived in 1148. Other divisions, either of a religious or civil nature, are attributed to various teachers, as the *Chitrabala Gachcha* to JINAPATI SŪRI, in A. D. 1149; the *Anchalika* doctrine to JINEŚVARA in 1160; the *Laghu Khartara* family to JINACHANDRA in 1265; another JINACHANDRA, the 61st in the list, was cotemporary with AKBAR. The list closes with the 70th *Jina*, HARSHA SŪRI, with whom, or his pupils, several works originated in the end of the seventeenth century¹.

Admitting this record to have been carefully preserved, we have seventy-one persons from MAHĀVĪRA, to whom a period of less than fourteen centuries can scarcely be assigned, and whose series would, therefore, have begun in the third century. It is not at all unlikely that such was the case, but no positive con-

tinction which was bestowed by that great supporter of the *Buddhists* or *Jains*, SIDRĀJ, King of *Anhalavāra Pāṭān*, on one of the branches (*Gachch*) in a grand religious disputation at the capital, in the eleventh century. The accounts are by no means incompatible, and my authority represents *Jineśvari* victorious in a controversy.

¹ HEMACHANDRA, at the end of the *Mahāvira Charitra*, after stating that VAJRASVĀMĪ founded the VAJRASĀKHĀ, which was established in the *Chandra Gachcha*, gives the teachers of that family down to himself, YAŚOBHADRA, PRADYUMNA, VIŚVAŚENA, DEVACHANDRA, and HEMACHANDRA.

clusion can be drawn from a single document of this nature: a comparison with other lists is necessary, to determine the weight to be attached to it as an authority.

The *Jains* are divided into two principal divisions, *Digambaras* and *Śvetāmbaras*; the former of which appears to have the best pretensions to antiquity, and to have been most widely diffused¹. The discriminating difference is implied in these terms, the former meaning the *Sky-clad*, that is, naked, and the latter the white-robed, the teachers being so dressed. In the present day, however, the *Digambara* ascetics do not go naked, but wear coloured garments; they confine the disuse of clothes to the period of their meals, throwing aside their wrapper when they receive the food given them by their disciples: the points of difference between the two sects are far from restricted to that of dress, and comprehend a list of no fewer than seven hundred, of which eighty-four are regarded as of infinite importance: a few of these may be here noticed.

The *Śvetāmbaras* decorate the images of the *Tīrthankaras* with earrings, necklaces, armlets, and tiaras

¹ All the *Dakṣiṇī Jains* appear to belong to the *Digambara* division. So it is said do the majority of the *Jains* in Western India. In the early philosophical writings of the Hindus the *Jains* are usually termed *Digambaras*, or *Nagnas*, naked. The term *Jain* rarely occurs, and *Śvetāmbara* still more rarely if ever, as observed in the text; also VARDHAMĀNA, practically at least, was a *Digambara*.

of gold and jewels: the *Digambaras* leave their images without the foreign aid of ornament.

The *Śvetāmbaras* assert that there are twelve heavens, and sixty-four *Indras*: the *Digambaras* maintain that there are sixteen heavens, and one hundred Olympian monarchs.

The *Śvetāmbaras* permit their *Gurus* to eat out of vessels: the *Digambaras* receive the food in their open hands from their disciples.

The *Śvetāmbaras* consider the accompaniments of the brush, waterpot, &c., as essential to the character of an ascetic: the *Digambaras* deny their importance.

The *Śvetāmbaras* assert that the *Angas*, or scriptures, are the work of the immediate disciples of the *Tirthankaras*: the *Digambaras*, with more reason, maintain that the leading authorities of the *Jain* religion are the composition of subsequent teachers or *Āchāryas*.

The advantage gained by the *Digambaras* in the last debateable matter, they lose, it is to be apprehended, in the next, when they assert that no woman can obtain *Nirvāṇ*, in opposition to the more gallant doctrine of their rivals, which admits the fair sex to the enjoyment of final annihilation.

These will be sufficient specimens of the causes of disagreement that divide the *Jainas* into two leading branches, whose mutual animosity is, as usual, of an intensity very disproportionate to the sources from whence it springs.

Besides these two great divisions, several minor sects are particularised as existing amongst the *Jains*. They appear, however, to be of no importance, as it has been found impossible to obtain any satisfactory account of the heresies they have adopted, or of their origin and present condition. Schism was contemporary even with MAHĀVĪRA, and his son-in-law, JAMĀLI, founded a dissentient order. His follower, GOŚĀLI, was also the institutor of a sect, and an impostor into the bargain, pretending to be the twenty-fourth *Tirthankara*. VAJRABANDA, the pupil of a very celebrated *Digambara* teacher, KUNDA KUNĀ ĀCHĀRYA, founded the *Drāviḍa* sect, according to some in the fifth, and to the others, in the seventh century. VAJRASVĀMĪ instituted the *Mahānīśītha* sect, and JINENDRA SŪRI founded the *Lampaka* sect, by which images were discarded. The sects now most often heard of, although little known, are the *Mūla Sanghis*, who use brushes of peacock's feathers, wear red garments, and receive alms in their hands: the *Kāśhta Sanghis*, who make their images of wood and employ brushes of the tail of the *Yak*: the *Terah Panthis* and *Bīs Panthis*, or followers of thirteen and of twenty, said sometimes to refer to the number of objects which are most essential to salvation, and at others, explained by a legend of the foundation of the heresy by a number of persons, such as the denomination implies. Both these are said to deny the supremacy of a *Guru*, to dispense with the ministration of a *Brahman*, and to present no perfumes, flowers, nor fruits to the images of the

*Tirthankaras*¹. The *Bhishana Panthis* carry their aversion to external emblems still farther, and discard the use of images altogether. The *Duñdiyas* and *Samvegis* are religious orders: the former affect rigorous adherence to the moral code, but disregard all set forms of prayer or praise, and all modes of external worship: the *Samvegis* follow the usual practices, but subsist upon alms, accepting no more than is indispensable for present wants.

The whole of the *Jains* are again distinguished into clerical and lay, or into *Yatis* and *Śrāvakas*: the former lead a religious life, subsisting upon the alms supplied by the latter. According to the greater or less degree of sanctity to which they pretend are their seeming purity and outward precision, shewn especially in their care of animal life: they carry a brush to sweep the ground before they tread upon it; never eat nor drink in the dark, lest they should inadvertently swallow an insect, and sometimes wear a thin cloth over their mouths lest their breath should demolish some of the atomic ephemera that frolic in the sun-beams; they wear their hair cut short, strictly they should pluck it out by the roots; they profess continence and poverty, and pretend to observe frequent fasts and exercise profound abstraction. Some of them may be simple enthusiasts; many of them, however, are knaves, and the reputation which they

¹ The *Bis Panthis* are said to be, in fact, the orthodox *Digambaras*, of whom the *Terah Panthis* are a dissenting branch.

enjoy all over India as skilful magicians is not very favourable to their general character: they are, in fact, not unfrequently *Charlatans* pretending to skill in palmistry and necromancy, dealing in empirical therapeutics, and dabbling in chemical, or rather alchemical manipulations. Some of them are less disreputably engaged in traffic, and they are often the proprietors of *Maths* and temples, and derive a very comfortable support from the offerings presented by the secular votaries of *Jina*. The *Yatis*, as above remarked, never officiate as priests in the temples, the ceremonies being conducted by a member of the orthodox priesthood, a *Brahman*, duly trained for the purpose. The *Yatis* are sometimes collected in *Maths* called by them *Posālas*, and even when abroad in the world, they acknowledge a sort of obedience to the head of the *Posāla* of which they were once members.

The secular members of the *Jaina* religion, or *Śrāvakas*, follow the usual practices of the other Hindus, but give alms only to the *Yatis*, and present offerings and pay homage only to the *Tirthankaras*; the present worship, indeed, is almost restricted to the two last of these personages, to *PĀRŚVANĀTH*, as commonly named *Pāriśnāth*, the twenty-third, and to *VARDDHAMĀNA* or *MAHĀVĪRA SVĀMĪ*, the twenty-fourth *Tirthankara* of the present age. The temples of these divinities are, in general, much handsomer buildings than those of the orthodox Hindus: they consist of a square or oblong room, large enough to admit a tolerably numerous assemblage, surrounded by an open portico:

on one side is a sort of altar-piece of several stages; on the centre of the upper tier sits the chief deity of the temple supported by two other *Arhats*, whilst the rest, or a portion of them, are ranged upon the inferior tiers: the steeple is also distinguishable from that of other temples, being formed of departments, which are intended, apparently, to represent leaves, and surmounted by a pole resembling a flag-staff terminating in a gilt knob: there are several of these temples in the chief cities along the Ganges, and no fewer than a dozen in *Murshidábád*, to which the circumstance of the *Śet* family being of the *Jaina* persuasion attracted a number of fellow worshippers. In Calcutta there are four temples, two belonging to each sect. In Behár are the temples of *PÁRISNÁTH* and the *Pádukas*, or feet of *VARDDHAMÁNA*, and *VÁSUPÚJYA*. Benares possesses several temples, one of which, in the suburb, called *Belupura*, is honoured as the birth-place of *PÁRŚVANÁTH*. The shrine comprises two temples, one belonging to the *Śvetámbaras*, and one to the *Digambaras*. A temple of some size and celebrity occurs at *Mainpuri*, in the Doab, and most of the towns in that direction present *Jain* spires. The chief temples, however, are to the westward, and especially at *Jaypur*. The whole of *Mewár* and *Márwár* is strewn with remains of the sacred edifices of this sect.

The *Jains* of the South of India, as has been observed, are divided into castes: this is not the case in Upper Hindustan, where they are all of one caste, or, which is the same thing, of none. They are nevertheless equally tenacious of similar distinctions, and not

only refuse to mix with other classes, but recognise a number of orders amongst themselves, between which no intermarriages can take place, and many of whom cannot eat together. This classification is the *Gachcha* or *Got*, the family or race, which has been substituted for the *Varña*, the *Jāti*, or caste. Of these *Gachchas*, or family divisions, they admit eighty-four¹,

¹ The following are the appellations of the eighty-four *Gachchas*:

<i>Khandewál.</i>	<i>Gahakhanduja.</i>	<i>Márkeya.</i>
<i>Porwál.</i>	<i>Chordiya.</i>	<i>Moíwál.</i>
<i>Agarwál.</i>	<i>Bhungeriwál.</i>	<i>Śvetwál.</i>
<i>Jaiswál.</i>	<i>Brahmatá.</i>	<i>Chakkichap.</i>
<i>Barihiya.</i>	<i>Beduja.</i>	<i>Khandarya.</i>
<i>Goldál.</i>	<i>Báhariya.</i>	<i>Narischya.</i>
<i>Gajapüreí.</i>	<i>Goguwál.</i>	<i>Bimongai.</i>
<i>Śrimál.</i>	<i>Ándálnja.</i>	<i>Vikriya.</i>
<i>Vanswál, or Ośwál.</i>	<i>Gogayya.</i>	<i>Vidyavya.</i>
<i>Porwár.</i>	<i>Mándaluja.</i>	<i>Bersári.</i>
<i>Palliwál.</i>	<i>Pancham.</i>	<i>Astaki.</i>
<i>Danderwál.</i>	<i>Somavanśibogar.</i>	<i>Ashíadhár.</i>
<i>Himmárgujarátí.</i>	<i>Chaturtha.</i>	<i>Páwarábhi.</i>
<i>Baramora.</i>	<i>Hardar.</i>	<i>Đhakkachála.</i>
<i>Kharawa.</i>	<i>Đhaktha.</i>	<i>Bogośrí.</i>
<i>Labechu.</i>	<i>Vaiśya.</i>	<i>Naraya.</i>
<i>Khandoya.</i>	<i>Nágdhár.</i>	<i>Korgháriya.</i>
<i>Kathnora.</i>	<i>Por.</i>	<i>Bamáriya.</i>
<i>Kabliya.</i>	<i>Surendra.</i>	<i>Séksantánja.</i>
<i>Kapola.</i>	<i>Kadaya.</i>	<i>Ánándí.</i>
<i>Nadila.</i>	<i>Káhari.</i>	<i>Nágora.</i>
<i>Natila.</i>	<i>Sohiya.</i>	<i>Tattora.</i>
<i>Moithiya.</i>	<i>Soráthiya.</i>	<i>Pákhastya.</i>
<i>Tattora.</i>	<i>Rájiya.</i>	<i>Sachhora.</i>
<i>Bágerwál.</i>	<i>Maya.</i>	<i>Jannorá.</i>
<i>Harsola.</i>	<i>Kammeha.</i>	<i>Nemilára.</i>
<i>Śriguru.</i>	<i>Bhangela.</i>	<i>Gandoriya.</i>
<i>Jolura.</i>	<i>Gangarda.</i>	<i>Dhawaljótí.</i>

and these again appear to comprehend a variety of subdivisions: some of the *Gachchas* comprehend a portion of *Śrī Vaishnavas*, between which sect and the *Jains* in Upper India a singular alliance seems sometimes to prevail.

The condition of *Jaina* worship may be inferred from the above notices of its temples. Its professors are to be found in every province of Hindustan, collected chiefly in towns, where, as merchants and bankers, they usually form a very opulent portion of the community. In Calcutta there are said to be five hundred families; but they are much more numerous at *Murshidábád*. In *Behár* they have been estimated at between three and four hundred families. They are in some numbers in *Benares*, but become more numerous ascending the *Doáb*. It is, however, to the westward that they abound: the provinces of *Mewár* and *Márwár* being apparently the cradle of the sect¹. They are also numerous in *Guzerat*, in the upper part of the Malabar coast, and are scattered throughout

Some of these are well known, but many of the others are never met with. The list was furnished by a respectable *Yati*—but how far it is throughout genuine, I cannot pretend to say. It omits several *Gachchas* of celebrity, particularly the *Chandra* and *Khartara*.

¹ According to Major *Tom*, the Pontiff of the *Kharatra Gachcha* has eleven thousand clerical disciples scattered over India, and the single community of *Ośwál* numbers one hundred thousand families. In the West of India, the officers of the state and revenue, the bankers, the civil magistrates, and the heads of corporations, are mostly *Jains*.—*Trans. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. II, 1, p. 263.

the Peninsula. They form, in fact, a very large and, from their wealth and influence, a most important division of the population of India.

BÁBÁ LÁLÍS.

The followers of *BÁBÁ LÁL* are sometimes included amongst the *Vaishnava* sects, and the classification is warranted by the outward seeming of these sectaries, who streak the forehead with *Gopichandana*, and profess a veneration for *RÁMA*: in reality, however, they adore but one God, dispensing with all forms of worship, and directing their devotion by rules and objects derived from a medley of *Vedánta* and *Ssúfi* tenets.

BÁBÁ LÁL was a *Kshatriya*, born in *Málvú*, about the reign of *JEHÁNGÍR*: he early adopted a religious life under the tuition of *CHETANA SVÁMÍ*, whose fitness as a teacher had been miraculously proved. This person soliciting alms of *BÁBÁ LÁL* received some raw grain, and wood to dress it with: lighting the wood, he confined the fire between his feet, and supported the vessel in which he boiled the grain upon his insteps. *BÁBÁ LÁL* immediately prostrated himself before him as his *Guru*, and receiving from him a grain of the boiled rice to eat, the system of the universe became immediately unfolded to his comprehension. He followed *CHETANA* to *Lahore*, whence being dispatched to *Dwáráká* by his *Guru*, to procure some of the earth called *Gopichandana*, he effected his mission in less than an hour: this miraculous rapidity,

the distance being some hundred miles, attesting his proficiency, he was dismissed by his *Guru*, in order to become a teacher. He settled at *Dehanpur*, near *Sirhind*, where he erected a *Math*, comprehending a handsome temple, and where he initiated a number of persons in the articles of his faith.

Amongst the individuals attracted by the doctrines of BĀBĀ LĀL, was the liberal-minded and unfortunate DĀRĀ SHUKOH: he summoned the sage to his presence to be instructed in his tenets, and the result of seven interviews was committed to writing, in the form of a dialogue between the Prince and the *Pir*, by two literary Hindus attached to the Prince's train, one YĀDU DĀS, a *Kshatriya*, and the other RAICHAND *Brahman*, the latter the *Mirmúnshī*; the interview took place in the garden of JAFFAR KHĀN SĀDUH, in the 21st year of SHĀH JEHĀN's reign, or 1649: the work is entitled *Nádīr un nikāt*, and is written, as the name implies, in the Persian language. Some miscellaneous extracts from it may not be unacceptable, as they may not only explain the tenets of BĀBĀ LĀL, and something of the *Vedānta* and *Ssūfi* doctrines, but may illustrate better than any description the notions generally prevailing of the duties of a religious and mendicant life. The interrogator is the Prince, BĀBĀ LĀL himself the respondent.

What is the passion of a Fakir?—Knowledge of God.

What is the power of an Ascetic?—Impotence.

What is Wisdom?—Devotion of the heart to the Heart's Lord.

How are the hands of a Fakir employed?—To cover his ears.

Where are his feet?—Hidden, but not hampered by his garments.

What best becomes him?—Vigilance night and day.

In what should he be unapt?—Immoderate diet.

In what should he repose?—In a corner, seclusion from mankind, and meditation on the only True.

What is his dwelling?—God's creatures.

His Kingdom?—God.

What are the lights of his mansion?—The Sun and Moon.

What is his couch?—The Earth.

What is his indispensable observance?—Praise and glorification of the Cherisher of all things, and the needer of none.

What is suitable for a Fakir?—*Lā*, none; as *Lā Allah*, &c. there is no God but God.

How passes the existence of a Fakir?—Without desire, without restraint, without property.

What are the duties of a Fakir?—Poverty and faith.

Which is the best religion?—Verse, "The Creed of the lover differs from other Creeds. God is the faith and creed of those who love him, but to do good is best for the follower of every faith." Again, as HĀFĪZ says:

The object of all religions is alike,

All men seek their beloved,—

What is the difference between prudent and wild?

All the world is love's dwelling,

Why talk of a Mosque or a Church?

With whom should the Fakir cultivate intimacy?—With the Lord of loveliness.

To whom should he be a stranger?—To covetousness, anger, envy, falsehood, and malice.

Should he wear garments or go naked?—The loins should be covered by those who are in their senses; nudity is excusable in those who are insane. The love of God does not depend upon a cap or a coat.

How should a *Fakir* conduct himself?—He should perform what he promises, and not promise what he cannot perform.

Should evil be done to evil doers?—The *Fakir* is to do evil to none, he is to consider good and ill alike, so HĀFĪZ says:

"The repose of the two worlds depends upon two rules, kindness to friends and gentleness to foes."

What is the nature of the *Takia* (the pillow or abbacy?)—To commence with a seat upon it is improper, and at all times an erratic life is preferable; when the body is weakened by age or sickness, the *Fakir* may then repose upon his pillow: so situated, he should welcome every *Fakir* as his guest, and consider nothing but God to be his own.

Is it necessary for a *Fakir* to withdraw from the world?—It is prudent, but not necessary: the man in society who fixes his heart on God is a *Fakir*, and the *Fakir* who takes an interest in the concerns of men is a man of the world, so MAULÂNÁ RÚMÍ observes: "What is the world? forgetfulness of God, not clothes, nor wealth, nor wife, nor offspring."

What is the difference between nature and created things?—Some compare them to the seed and the tree. The seed and the tree are equivalent though related; although the same in substance, they are not necessarily co-existent nor co-relative. They may be also compared to the waves and the sea; the first cannot be without the second, but the sea may be without waves, wind is necessary to their product: so, although nature and created things are of one essence, yet the evolution of the latter from the former requires the interference of an evolving cause, or the interposition of a Creator.

Are the soul, life, and body merely shadows?—The soul is of the same nature as God, and one of the many properties of universal life, like the sea, and a drop of water; when the latter joins the former, it also is sea.

How do the *Paramátmá* (supreme soul) and *Jivátmá* (living soul) differ?—They do not differ, and pleasure and pain ascribable to the latter arises from its imprisonment in the body: the water of the Ganges is the same whether it run in the river's bed or be shut up in a decanter.

What difference should that occasion?—Great: a drop of wine added to the water in the decanter will impart its flavor to the whole, but it would be lost in the river. The *Paramátmá*, therefore, is beyond accident, but the *Jivátmá* is afflicted by sense

and passion. Water cast loosely on a fire will extinguish the fire; put that water over the fire in a boiler, and the fire will evaporise the water, so the body being the confining caldron, and passion the fire, the soul, which is compared to the water, is dispersed abroad;—the one great supreme soul is incapable of these properties, and happiness is therefore only obtained in reunion with it, when the dispersed and individualized portions combine again with it, as the drops of water with the parent stream; hence, although God needs not the service of his slave, yet the slave should remember that he is separated from God by the body alone, and may exclaim perpetually: Blessed be the moment when I shall lift the veil from off that face. The veil of the face of my beloved is the dust of my body.

What are the feelings of the perfect *Fakir*?—They have not been, they are not to be, described, as it is said: a person asked me what are the sensations of a lover? I replied, when you are a lover, you will know.

PRÁÑ NÁTHÍS.

These are also called *Dhámís*: they owe their origin to PRÁÑ NÁTH, a *Kshatriya*, who being versed in Mohammedan learning, as well as in his own, attempted to reconcile the two religions: with this view he composed a work called the *Mahitáriyal*, in which texts from the *Korán*, and the *Vedas* are brought together, and shewn not to be essentially different. PRÁÑ NÁTH flourished about the latter part of AURANGZEB'S reign, and is said to have acquired great influence with CHATTRASÁL, *Rájá* of *Bündelkhañd*, by effecting the discovery of a diamond mine. *Bündelkhañd* is the chief seat of his followers, and in *Punna* is a building consecrated to the use of the sect, in one apartment

of which, on a table covered with gold cloth, lies the volume of the founder.

As a test of the disciple's consent to the real identity of the essence of the Hindu and Mohammedan creeds, the ceremony of initiation consists of eating in the society of members of both communions: with this exception, and the admission of the general principle, it does not appear that the two classes confound their civil or even religious distinctions: they continue to observe the practices and ritual of their forefathers, whether Musalman or Hindu, and the union, beyond that of community of eating, is no more than any rational individual of either sect is fully prepared for, or the admission, that the God of both, and of all religions, is one and the same.

SÁDHHS.

A full account of this sect of Hindu Unitarians, by the Reverend Mr. FISHER, was published in the *Missionary Intelligencer* some years ago, and some further notice of them is inserted in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*¹, by Mr. TRANT. They are distinguished from other Hindus by professing the adoration of one Creator, and by personal and moral observances which entitle them, in their own estimation, to the appellation of *Sádhs*, *Sádhus*, Pure or Puritans.

The *Sádhs* are found chiefly in the upper part of the *Doáb*, from *Farúkhábád* to beyond *Dehli*. In the

* [I, 251 ff.]

former they occupy a suburb called *Sádhuvára*, and are more numerous there than in any other town: their numbers are estimated at two thousand. There are said to be some at *Mirzapore*, and a few more to the South; their numbers, however, are limited, and they are chiefly from the lower classes.

The sect originated in the year of VIKRAMÁDITYA 1714 (A. D. 1658), according to Mr. TRANT, with a person named BÍRBHÁN, who received a miraculous communication from one UDAYA DÁS, and in consequence taught the *Sádh* doctrines. Mr. FISHER calls BÍRBHÁN the disciple of Jogí DÁS, who commanding a body of troops in the service of the *Rájá* of *Dholpur* was left as slain on the field of battle, but restored to life by a stranger in the guise of a mendicant, who carried him to a mountain, taught him the tenets of the faith, and having bestowed upon him the power of working miracles sent him to disseminate his doctrines. These circumstances are rather obscurely alluded to in the original authorities consulted on the present occasion, but they agree with the above in considering BÍRBHÁN an inhabitant of *Bríjhasir*, near *Nárnaul*, in the province of *Dehli*, as the founder of the sect, at the date above mentioned. BÍRBHÁN received his knowledge from the SAT GURU, the pure teacher, also called *Úda ká Dás*, the servant of the one God, and particularly described as the *Málek ká Hukm*, the order of the Creator, the personified word of God.

The doctrines taught by the super-human instructor of BÍRBHÁN were communicated in *Śabdās* and *Sákhīs*,

detached Hindí stanzas like those of KABÍR. They are collected into manuals, and read at the religious meetings of the *Sádhs*: their substance is collected into a tract entitled *Ádi Upadeś*, first precepts, in which the whole code is arranged under the following twelve *Hukms*, or Commandments.

1. Acknowledge but one God who made and can destroy you, to whom there is none superior, and to whom alone therefore is worship due, not to earth, nor stone, nor metal, nor wood, nor trees, nor any created thing. There is but one Lord, and the word of the Lord. He who meditates on falsehoods, practices falsehood, and commits sin, and he who commits sin falls into Hell.

2. Be modest and humble, set not your affections on the world, adhere faithfully to your creed, and avoid intercourse with all not of the same faith, eat not of a stranger's bread.

3. Never lie nor speak ill at any time to, or of any thing, of earth or water, of trees or animals. Let the tongue be employed in the praise of God. Never steal, nor wealth, nor land, nor beasts, nor pasture: distinguish your own from another's property, and be content with what you possess. Never imagine evil. Let not your eyes rest on improper objects, nor men, nor women, nor dances, nor shows.

4. Listen not to evil discourse, nor to any thing but the praises of the Creator, nor to tales, nor gossip, nor calumny, nor music, nor singing, except hymns; but then the only musical accompaniment must be in the mind.

5. Never covet any thing, either of body or wealth: take not of another. God is the giver of all things, as your trust is in him so shall you receive.

6. When asked what you are, declare yourself a *Sádh*, speak not of caste, engage not in controversy, hold firm your faith, put not your hope in men.

7. Wear white garments, use no pigments, nor collyrium, nor dentifrice, nor *Menhdi*, nor mark your person, nor your

forehead with sectarial distinctions, nor wear chaplets, or rosaries, or jewels.

8. Never eat nor drink intoxicating substances, nor chew *pán*, nor smell perfumes, nor smoke tobacco, nor chew nor smell opium, hold not up your hands, bow not down your head in the presence of idols or of men.

9. Take no life away, nor offer personal violence, nor give damnable evidence, nor seize any thing by force.

10. Let a man wed one wife, and a woman one husband, let not a man eat of a woman's leavings, but a woman may of a man's, as may be the custom. Let the woman be obedient to the man.

11. Assume not the garb of a mendicant, nor solicit alms, nor accept gifts. Have no dread of necromancy, neither have recourse to it. Know before you confide. The meetings of the Pious are the only places of pilgrimage, but understand who are the Pious before you so salute them.

12. Let not a *Sádh* be superstitious as to days, or to lunations, or to months, or the cries or appearances of birds or animals; let him seek only the will of the Lord.

These injunctions are repeated in a variety of forms, but the purport is the same, and they comprise the essence of the *Sádh* doctrine which is evidently derived from the unitarianism of KABÍR, NÁNAK, and similar writers, with a slight graft from the principles of Christianity. In their notions of the constitution of the universe, in the real, although temporary existence of inferior deities and their incarnations, and in the ultimate object of all devotion, liberation from life on earth, or *Mukti*, the *Sádhs* do not differ from other *Hindus*.

The *Sádhs* have no temples, but assemble at stated periods in houses, or courts adjoining set apart for

this purpose. According to Mr. FISHER, their meetings are held every full moon, when men and women collect at an early hour, all bringing such food as they are able, the day is spent in miscellaneous conversation, or in the discussion of matters of common interest. In the evening they eat and drink together, and the night is passed in the recitation of the stanzas attributed to BÍRBHÁN, or his preceptor, and the poems of DÁDÚ, NÁNAK, or KABÍR.

From the term they apply to the deity, SATNÁM, the *true* name, the *Sádhs* are also called *Satnámís*; but this appellation more especially indicates a different, although kindred, sect.

SATNÁMÍS.

These profess to adore the true name alone, the one God, the cause and creator of all things, *Nirguñ*, or void of sensible qualities, without beginning or end.

They borrow, however, their notions of creation from the *Vedānta* philosophy, or rather from the modified form in which it is adapted to vulgar apprehension. Worldly existence is illusion, or the work of MÁYÁ, the primitive character of BHAVÁNÍ, the wife of ŚIVA. They recognise accordingly the whole Hindu Pantheon—and, although they profess to worship but one God, pay reverence to what they consider manifestations of his nature visible in the *Avatárs*, particularly RÁMA and KRÍSHṆA.

Unlike the *Sádhs* also, they use distinctive marks, and wear a double string of silk bound round the

right wrist. Frontal lines are not invariably employed, but some make a perpendicular streak with ashes of a burnt offering made to HANUMÁN.

Their moral code is something like that of all *Hindu* quietists, and enjoins indifference to the world, its pleasures or its pains, implicit devotion to the spiritual guide, clemency and gentleness, rigid adherence to truth, the discharge of all ordinary, social, or religious obligations, and the hope of final absorption into the one spirit which pervades all things.

There is little or no difference therefore in essentials between the *Satnámís* and some of the *Vaishṇava* unitarians, but they regard themselves as a separate body, and have their own founder JAGJÍVAN DÁS. He was a *Kshatriya* by birth, and continued in the state of *Grihastha*, or house-holder, through life: he was a native of *Oude*, and his *Samádh*, or shrine, is shewn at *Katwa*, a place between *Lucknow* and *Ajūdhyá*. He wrote several tracts, as the *Jñán Prakás*, *Mahá-pralaya*, and *Prathama Grantha*: they are in *Hindí* couplets; the first is dated in *Samvat* 1817, or A. D. 1761, the last is in the form of a dialogue between ŚIVA and PÁRVATÍ. The following is from the *Mahá-pralaya*.

“The pure man lives amidst all, but away from all: his affections are engaged by nothing: what he may know he knows, but he makes no enquiry: he neither goes nor comes, neither learns nor teaches, neither cries nor sighs, but discusses himself with himself. There is neither pleasure nor pain, neither clemency

nor wrath, neither fool nor sage to him. JAGJIVANDÁS asks, does any one know a man so exempt from infirmity who lives apart from mankind and indulges not in idle speech?"

SIVA NÁRĀYAṆÍS.

This is another sect professing the worship of one God, of whom no attributes are predicated. Their unitarianism is more unqualified than that of either of the preceding, as they offer no worship, pay no regard whatever to any of the objects of Hindu or Mohammedan veneration. They also differ from all in admitting proselytes alike from Hindus or Mohammedans, and the sect comprises even professed Christians from the lower classes of the mixed population.

Admission into the sect is not a matter of much ceremony, and a *Guru*, or spiritual guide, is not requisite; a few *Śiva Nārāyaṇís* assemble at the requisition of a novice, place one of their text books in the midst of them, on which betel and sweetmeats have previously been arranged. After a while these are distributed amongst the party, a few passages are read from the book, and the sect has acquired a new member.

Truth, temperance, and mercy are the cardinal virtues of this sect, as well as of the *Sādhs*; polygamy is prohibited, and sectarian marks are not used: conformity to the external observances of the Hindus or Mohammedans, independently of religious rites, is

recommended, but latitude of practice is not unfrequent; and the *Śiva Nārāyaṇís*, of the lower orders, are occasionally addicted to strong potations.

The sect derives its appellation from that of its founder ŚIVANÁRĀYAṆ, a *Rājput*, of the *Nerivána* tribe, a native of *Chandávan*, a village near *Gházípur*: he flourished in the reign of MOHAMMED SHÁH, and one of his works is dated *Samvat*, 1791, or A. D. 1735. He was a voluminous writer in the inculcation of his doctrines, and eleven books, in Hindí verse, are ascribed to him. They are entitled: *Lao* or *Lava Granth*, *Śántvilás*, *Vajan Granth*, *Śantsundara*, *Gurunyas*, *Śántachári*, *Śántopadeśa*, *Śabdávallí*, *Śántparvána*, *Śántmahimá*, *Śantságar*.

There is also a twelfth, the Seal of the whole, but it has not yet been divulged, remaining in the exclusive charge of the head of the sect. This person resides at *Balsande*, in the *Gházípur* district, where there is a college and establishment.

The *Śivanārāyaṇís* are mostly *Rājputs*, and many are *Sipáhís*: many of the Up-country Bearers also belong to the sect. The members are said to be numerous about *Gházípur*, and some are to be met with in Calcutta.

ŚÚNYAVÁDÍS.

The last sect which it has been proposed to notice is one of which the doctrines are atheistical. There is no novelty in this creed, as it was that of the *Chár-vákas* and *Nástikas*, and is, to a great extent, that

of the *Bauddhas* and *Jains*; but an attempt has been recently made to give it a more comprehensive and universal character, and to bring it within the reach of popular attraction.

A distinguished Patron of the *Śūnyavādīs* was DĀ-YARĀM, the *Rājā* of *Hatras*, when that fortress was destroyed by the Marquis of HASTINGS. Under his encouragement a work in Hindī verse was composed by BAKHTĀVAR, a religious mendicant, entitled the *Śūnīsār*, the essence of emptiness, the purport of which is to shew that all notions of man and God are fallacies, and that nothing is. A few passages from this book will convey an idea of the tenets of the sect.

“Whatever I behold is Vacuity. Theism and Atheism—MĀYĀ and BRAHM—all is false, all is error; the globe itself, and the egg of BRAHMĀ, the seven *Dwīpas* and nine *Khaṇḍas*, heaven and earth, the sun and moon, BRAHMĀ, VISHṆU and ŚIVA, KŪRMA and ŚESHA, the *Guru* and his pupil, the individual and the species, the temple and the god, the observance of ceremonial rites, and the muttering of prayers, all is emptiness. Speech, hearing and discussion are emptiness, and substance itself is no more.”

“Let every one meditate upon himself, nor make known his self-communion to another; let him be the worshipper and the worship, nor talk of a difference between this and that; look into yourself and not into another, for in yourself that other will be found. There is no other but myself, and I talk of another from ignorance. In the same way as I see my face in

a glass I see myself in others; but it is error to think that what I see is not my face, but that of another—whatever you see is but yourself, and father and mother are non-entities; you are the infant and the old man, the wise man and the fool, the male and the female: it is you who are drowned in the stream, you who pass over, you are the killer, and the slain, the slayer and the eater, you are the king and the subject. You seize yourself and let go; you sleep, and you wake, you dance for yourself and sing for yourself. You are the sensualist and the ascetic, the sick man and the strong. In short, whatever you see, that is you, as bubbles, surf, and billows are all but water.”

“When we are visited in sleep by visions, we think in our sleep that those visions are realities—we wake, and find them falsehoods, and they leave not a wreck behind. One man in his sleep receives some information, and he goes and tells it to his neighbour: from such idle narrations what benefit is obtained? what will be left to us when we have been winnowing chaff?”

“I meditate upon the *Śūnī* Doctrine alone, and know neither virtue nor vice—many have been the princes of the earth, and nothing did they bring and nothing took they away; the good name of the liberal survived him, and disrepute covered the niggard with its shadow. So let men speak good words, that none may speak ill of them afterwards. Take during the few days of your life what the world offers you. Enjoy your own share, and give some of it to others: without liberality, who shall acquire reputation? Give

ever after your means, such is the established rule. To some give money, to some respect, to some kind words, and to some delight. Do good to all the world, that all the world may speak good of you. Praise the name of the liberal when you rise in the morning, and throw dust upon the name of the niggard. Evil and good are attributes of the body; you have the choice of two sweetmeats in your hands. KARNA was a giver of gold, and JANAKA as liberal as wise. ŚIVI, HARIŚ-CHANDRA, DADHICHA, and many others, have acquired by their bounty fame throughout the world."

"Many now are, many have been, and many will be—the world is never empty; like leaves upon the trees, new ones blossom as the old decay. Fix not your heart upon a withered leaf, but seek the shade of the green foliage: a horse of a thousand rupees is good for nothing when dead, but a living tattoo will carry you along the road. Have no hope in the man that is dead, trust but in him that is living. He that is dead will be alive no more: a truth that all men do not know; of all those that have died, has any business brought any one back again, or has any one brought back tidings of the rest? A rent garment cannot be spun anew, a broken pot cannot be pieced again. A living man has nothing to do with heaven and hell, but when the body has become dust, what is the difference between a Jackass and a dead Saint?"

"Earth, water, fire, and wind blended together constitute the body—of these four elements the world is composed, and there is nothing else. This is BRAHMÁ,

this is a pismire, all consists of these elements, and proceeds from them through separate receptacles."

"Beings are born from the womb, the egg, the germ, and vapour."

"*Hindus* and *Musalmans* are of the same nature, two leaves of one tree—these call their teachers *Mullás*, those term them *Pañdits*; two pitchers of one clay: one performs *Namáz*, the other offers *Pújá*: where is the difference? I know of no dissimilarity—they are both followers of the doctrine of Duality—they have the same bone, the same flesh, the same blood, and the same marrow. One cuts off the fore-skin, the other puts on a sacrificial thread. Ask of them the difference, enquire the importance of these distinctions, and they will quarrel with you: dispute not, but know them to be the same; avoid all idle wrangling and strife, and adhere to the truth, the doctrine of DĀYARĀM."

"I fear not to declare the truth; I know no difference between a subject and a king; I want neither homage nor respect, and hold no communion with any but the good: what I can obtain with facility that will I desire, but a palace or a thicket are to me the same—the error of *mine* and *thine* have I cast away, and know nothing of loss or gain. When a man can meet with a preceptor to teach him these truths, he will destroy the errors of a million of births. Such a teacher is now in the world, and such a one is DĀYARĀM."

The survey that has thus been taken of the actual state of the Hindu religion will shew, that its internal constitution has not been exempt from those varieties, to which all human systems of belief are subject, and that it has undergone great and frequent modifications, until it presents an appearance which, there is great reason to suppose, is very different from that which it originally wore.

The precise character of the primitive Hindu system will only be justly appreciated, when a considerable portion of the ritual of the *Vedas* shall have been translated, but some notion of their contents and purport may be formed from Mr. COLEBROOKE's account of them¹, as well as from his description of the religious ceremonies of the Hindus². It is also probable that the Institutes of MANU, in a great measure, harmonise with the *Vaidik* Code.

From these sources then it would seem, that some of the original rites are still preserved in the *Homa*, or fire offerings, and in such of the *Sanskáras*, or purificatory ceremonies, as are observed at the periods of birth, tonsure, investiture, marriage and cremation. Even in these ceremonies, however, formulæ borrowed from the *Tantras* assume the place of the genuine texts, whilst on many occasions the observances of the *Vedas* are wholly neglected. Nor is this inconsistent with the original system, which was devised

for certain recognised classes into which the Hindu community was then divided, and of which three out of four parts no longer exist—the Hindus being now distinguished into Brahmans and mixed castes alone—and the former having almost universally deviated from the duties and habits to which they were originally devoted. Neither of these classes, therefore, can with propriety make use of the *Vaidik* ritual, and their manual of devotion must be taken from some other source.

How far the preference of any individual Divinity as an especial object of veneration is authorised by the *Vedas*, remains yet to be determined; but there is no reason to doubt that most of the forms to which homage is now paid are of modern canonization. At any rate such is the highest antiquity of the most celebrated Teachers and Founders of the popular sects; and BASAVA in the *Dekhan*, VALLABHA SVÁMI in *Hindustan*, and CHAITANYA in *Bengal*, claim no earlier a date than the eleventh and sixteenth centuries.

Consistent with the introduction of new objects of devotion is the elevation of new races of individuals to the respect or reverence of the populace as their ministers and representatives. The Brahmans retain, it is true, a traditional sanctity; and when they cultivate pursuits suited to their character, as the Law and Literature of their sacred language, they receive occasional marks of attention, and periodical donations from the most opulent of their countrymen. But a very mistaken notion prevails generally amongst Europeans of the position of the Brahmans in Hindu

¹ Asiatic Researches Vol. VIII. [Essays, p. 1-69.]

² Asiatic Researches Vol. VII. [Essays, p. 76-142.]

society, founded on the terms in which they are spoken of by MANU, and the application of the expression 'Priesthood' to the Brahmanical Order by Sir WILLIAM JONES. In the strict sense of the phrase it never was applicable to the Brahmans; for although some amongst them acted in ancient times as family priests, and conducted the fixed or occasional ceremonials of household worship, yet even MANU* holds the Brahman, who ministers to an idol, infamous during life, and condemned to the infernal regions after death, and the Sanskrit language abounds with synonymes for the priest of a temple, significant of his degraded condition both in this world and the next. Ministrant Priests in temples, therefore, the Brahmans, collectively speaking, never were—and although many amongst them act in that capacity, it is no more their appropriate province than any other lucrative occupation. In the present day, however, they have ceased to be in a great measure the ghostly advisers of the people, either individually or in their households. This office is now filled by various persons, who pretend to superior sanctity, as *Gosáins*, *Vairágis*, and *Sannyásis*. Many of these are Brahmans, but they are not necessarily so, and it is not as Brahmans that they receive the veneration of their lay followers. They derive it, as we have seen, from individual repute, or more frequently from their descent from the founder of some particular division, as is the case with the

* [III, 152. See also Lassen, Ind. Alt., I, 794.]

Gokulastha Gosáins and the *Gosvámis* of Bengal. The Brahmans as a caste exercise little real influence on the minds of the Hindus beyond what they obtain from their numbers, affluence and rank. As a hierarchy they are null, and as a literary body they are few, and meet with but slender countenance from their countrymen or their foreign rulers. That they are still of great importance in the social system of British India, is unquestionable, but it is not as a priesthood. They bear a very large proportion to all the other tribes; they are of more respectable birth, and in general of better education; a prescriptive reverence for the order improves these advantages, and Brahmans are accordingly numerous amongst the most affluent and distinguished members of every Hindu state. It is only, however, as far as they are identified with the *Gurus* of the popular sects, that they can be said to hold any other than secular consideration.

Aware apparently of the inequality upon which those *Gurus* contended with the long established claims of the Brahmanical tribe, the new teachers of the people took care to invest themselves with still higher pretensions. The *Áchárya* or *Guru* of the three first classes is no doubt described by MANU* as entitled to the most profound respect from his pupil during pupilage, but the *Guru* of the present day exacts implicit devotion from his disciples during life**. It is

* [II, 192 ff.]

** [Many passages from modern Tantras, such as the Rudra

unnecessary here to repeat what there has been previous occasion to notice with respect to the extravagant obedience to be paid by some sectarians to the *Guru*, whose favour is declared to be of much more importance than that of the god whom he represents.

Another peculiarity in the modern systems which has been adverted to in the preceding pages is the paramount value of *Bhakti*—faith—implicit reliance on the favour of the Deity worshipped. This is a substitute for all religious or moral acts, and an expiation for every crime. Now, in the *Vedas*, two branches are distinctly marked, the practical and speculative. The former consists of prayers and rules for oblations to any or all of the gods—but especially to INDRA and AGNI, the rulers of the firmament and of fire, for positive worldly goods, health, posterity and affluence. The latter is the investigation of matter and spirit, leading to detachment from worldly feelings and interests, and final liberation from bodily existence. The first is intended for the bulk of mankind, the second for philosophers and ascetics. There is not a word of faith, of implicit belief or passionate devotion in all this, and they seem to have been as little essential to the primitive Hindu worship as they were to the religious systems of Greece and Rome. *Bhakti* is an invention, and apparently a modern one*, of the

Yāmala, Gupta Sādhana Tantra, Vrihan Nila Tantra, and others, are quoted in the *Prāṇatoshāni*, fol. 49–55.]

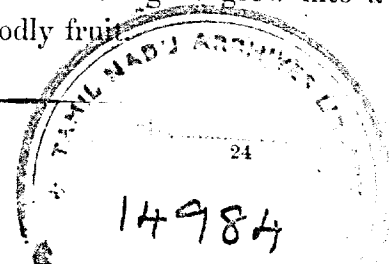
* [See, however, Burnouf, *Bhāg. Pur. I*, p. CXI. Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, II, 1096 ff.]

Institutors of the existing sects, intended, like that of the mystical holiness of the *Guru*, to extend their own authority. It has no doubt exercised a most mischievous influence upon the moral principles of the Hindus.

Notwithstanding the provisions with which the sectarian *Gurus* fortified themselves, it is clear that they were never able to enlist the whole of Hinduism under their banners, or to suppress all doubt and disbelief. It has been shewn in the introductory pages of this essay, that great latitude of speculation has always been allowed amongst the Brahmans themselves, and it will have been seen from the notices of different sects, that scepticism is not unfrequent amongst the less privileged orders. The tendency of many widely diffused divisions is decidedly monotheistical, and we have seen that both in ancient and modern times attempts have been made to inculcate the doctrines of utter unbelief. It is not likely that these will ever extensively spread, but there can be little doubt that with the diffusion of education independent enquiry into the merits of the prevailing systems and their professors will become more universal, and be better directed. The germ is native to the soil: it has been kept alive for ages under the most unfavourable circumstances, and has been apparently more vigorous than ever during the last century. It only now requires prudent and patient fostering to grow into a stately tree, and yield goodly fruit.

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INDEX.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p><i>Abhidhānachintāmaṇi</i> p. 282.
 <i>Abhigamaṇa</i> 45.
 <i>Abhinava gupta</i> 29.
 <i>Abhinava sacchidānanda bhārati</i>
 <i>achārya</i> 201.
 <i>Abū</i> 278. 323. 333. 335.
 <i>Abulfazl</i> 73. 155. 213.
 <i>Achalabhrātā</i> 299. 301.
 <i>Āchārāṅga</i> 284.
 <i>Āchārj kṛān</i> 120.
 <i>Āchārya</i> 37. 40. 120. 124. 340. 367.
 <i>Achit</i> 44.
 <i>Achyaṭa pracha</i> 140.
 <i>Adharma</i> 246. 308.
 <i>Adharmāstikāya</i> 308.
 <i>Adhiścara</i> 288.
 <i>Ādibhavāni prakṛiti</i> 92.
 <i>Ādideva</i> 2.
 <i>Ādigraṇth</i> 114. 268. 274.
 <i>Ādilīlā</i> 152.
 <i>Ādināth</i> 214.
 <i>Ādipurāṇa</i> 4. 121. 279.
 <i>Āditi</i> 246.
 <i>Ādiṇpadeśa</i> 354.
 <i>Advaita</i> }
 <i>Advaitāchārya</i> } 152. 154-6. 167.
 <i>Advaitānand</i> } 190.
 <i>Āgama</i> 281.</p> | <p><i>Aghoraghaṇṭā</i> 233. 264.
 <i>Aghorapanthi</i> 233.
 <i>Aghori</i> 185. 231. 253.
 <i>Agni</i> 18. 368.
 <i>Agnibhūti</i> 298. 300.
 <i>Agnihotra</i> 6. 18.
 <i>Agnihotra brāhmaṇa</i> 194.
 <i>Agnipurāṇa</i> 12. 249.
 <i>Agnivaiśya</i> 299.
 <i>Agradās</i> 60. 61. 64.
 <i>Agradvīpa</i> 173.
 <i>Agrahāyaṇa</i> 18.
 <i>Āhārika</i> 309.
 <i>Ahalyabāi</i> 188.
 <i>Ahobilam</i> 37.
 <i>Ajitasāntistara</i> 283.
 <i>Ajica</i> 306. 307.
 <i>Ajmir</i> 18. 104.
 <i>Akalanka</i> 334.
 <i>Akampita</i> 299. 301.
 <i>Ākāśa</i> 26.
 <i>Ākāśastikāya</i> 308.
 <i>Ākāśmukhi</i> 32. 234. 235.
 <i>Akbar</i> 61. 62. 100. 103. 137. 221.
 330. 338.
 <i>Akhāṇḍā</i> 49.
 <i>Akrītārtha</i> 20.
 <i>Akshayaṭritiṇyā</i> 321.</p> |
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Alá cādin 215.
Alakh 235. 236.
Alakhnāmi 238.
Alankāra 148.
Ālef nāmāh 77.
Alemgīr 178.
Allama 124.
Allaya 228.
Alpabāhutva 314.
Amara 203. 250.
Amareśvara 223.
Amaruśataka 200.
Ambikā 173.
Amoghavarsha 279. 332.
Amṛitāśhīmitapas 283.
Anahilla pālān 304.
Ānanda 214.
Ānanda rāma sāgara 76.
Ānanda tīrtha 139. 149.
Ānandaśrāvakaśandhi 283.
Ānandagiri 14. 19-19. 21. 22. 24.
 50. 198. 203. 249. 264.
Anantānand 56.
Ananteśvara 140. 149.
Anasīyā 205.
Anāvaraṇi 40.
Anchalika 338.
Anga 281. 284. 285. 296. 340.
Anhalvāra pālān 338.
Aniruddha 45.
Ankana 147.
Annāpūrnā 204.
Anśa 154. 160. 246.
Anśānśa 160. 246.
Anśānśarūpā 246.
Anśarūpā 246.
Anśarūpīnī 245.

Antakṛiddaśā 285.
Antalilā 153.
Antara 80. 314.
Antarātmā 45.
Āntarāya 310. 317.
Antaryāmi 45.
Anubhāga 313.
Anuttara 320.
Anuttaropapādikadaśā 285.
Anuvedāntarasaprakaraṇa 141.
Anuvācānūnāyavivaraṇa 141.
Āpāpuri 296. 303. 322.
Ārādhanaprakāra 283.
Ārādhyā 225.
Archā 45.
Arddhamāgadhī 289.
Arhat 288. 292. 318. 344.
Ārhata 5.
Arjuna 121. 140. 164.
Arjunmal 274.
Ārya mahāgiri sūri 336.
Ārya suhastī sūri 336.
Ārya susthita sūri 336.
Āśānand 55. 59. 61. 98. 100.
Āśāntastava 283.
Āśrama 192. 202. 203.
Āśvagrīva 292.
Āśvamedha 18.
Asahyanavidhī 283.
Āsana 212.
Asanjñī 307.
Aśhīa chhāp 132.
Aśhīdāśātilākhaṇā 167.
Aśhīlāhnikamahotsava 283.
Aśhīlāhnikavyākhyāna 283.
Aśhīlāngadāndavat 40.
Aśhīami 129.

Āsrava 310.
Astikāya 308.
Astipravāda 285.
Asthal 49.
Asura 320.
Atīśaya 289.
Atit 68. 204. 238.
Ātmāpravāda 286.
Ātmārāma 214.
Atri 12. 205.
Aurengzeb 100. 215. 267.
Āvadhījñāni 303.
Āvadhūta 55. 56. 185. 238.
Āvaraṇa 40. 310.
Āvasarpīnī 288.
Āvaśyakavṛihaderīta 286.
Āvatāra 45. 160. 166.
Āvdhauta s. Āvadhūta.
Āvrata 310.
Āvrīta 148.
Āyodhyā 102.
Āyushka 317.

Bābā Lāl 33. 70. 347-51.
Baber 73.
Badarī 37. 200.
Badarīnāth 39.
Baghela 26.
Baheraṇa 103.
Bahūdaka 231.
Bahustāndvalī 167.
Bailhak 120.
Bakhtāvar 360.
Bāla gopālā 119. 121.
Bālagor 157.
Balakh ki ramainī 76.
Bāldā krīshṇa 135.

Balarāma 45. 154.
Bālāvivodha 282.
Bali 252.
Balian 182.
Balsande 359.
Balvant sikh 97.
Bandr 74.
Bandha 300. 312.
Bandho 96.
Bandhogarh 118.
Bārah māśa 77.
Bārah vrata 282.
Basava 225-9. 365.
Basavapūrnā 225. 226. 230.
Basaveśvara 229.
Basaveśvarapūrnā 230.
Batukānāth 28.
Bauddha 5-7. 12. 22-4. 29. 213.
 277. 280. 287. 290. 298. 315.
 324-9. 331. 332. 334. 360.
Belligola 305. 332. 333.
Bhadrabāhu sūri 336.
Bhāga 314.
Bhagavadgītā 15. 101. 121. 140.
 153. 180. 200. 243.
Bhagavadgītābhāṣya 43. 141.
Bhagavān 56. 115. 153.
Bhāgavatalīlārahasya 131.
Bhāgavatānṛita 167.
Bhāgavatapūrnā 3. 5. 12. 15.
 16. 38. 41. 43. 94. 121. 122.
 131. 151. 153. 161. 162. 166.
 167. 174. 180. 205. 328.
Bhāgavatasandarpa 167.
Bhāgavatatītparyā 141.
Bhagavatyaṅga 281. 284.
Bhagavatyaṅgavṛitti 281. 286.

- Bhagoddś* 79. 95.
Bhairava 21. 25. 28. 196. 214.
 217. 218. 255. 257. 258. 263. 321.
Bhairavatantra 249.
Bhairavi 257. 258. 321.
Bhairavitantra 262.
Bhajana 147.
Bhajanāmṛita 165. 168.
Bhakta 56. 68.
Bhāktā 7. 15. 17. 131. 250-4.
Bhaktāmara 283. 319.
Bhaktamālā 9. 10. 34. 41. 47.
 56-8. 60-3. 70. 72. 73. 98.
 100. 105. 114. 117. 120. 132.
 137. 158. 182. 190.
Bhaktamayastotra 283.
Bhakti 160. 161. 163. 164. 268.
Bhaktisiddhānta 167.
Bhāluki 214.
Bhāllaveya upanishad 145.
Bharadvāja 13. 299.
Bharata 176. 292. 293.
Bhāratatātparyanirṇaya 141.
Bhārati 202. 203.
Bhārati kṛishṇa śāhārya 201.
Bhartṛihari 216. 218.
Bhartṛihari 218.
Bhārgava 12.
Bhārgava upapurāṇa 35.
Bhāskara 23.
Bhāskara śāhārya 150.
Bhāsmagunīhāna 6.
Bhāra 3.
Bhāva 114.
Bhāvabhūti 210. 233.
Bhāvanā 312.
Bhāvanānand 56.

- Bhāvanī* 20. 79. 241. 356.
Bhāvishyapurāṇa 12.
Bhīma 140. 163.
Bhīmaśankara 223.
Bhīmeśvara 223.
Bhīṣanāpanthī 342.
Bhoga 127.
Bhoja 330.
Bhojadeva 206.
Bhūmi 145.
Bhūmidevī 36.
Bhūta 26. 257. 320.
Bhuvanapati 320.
Bhuvaneśvara 159.
Bijak 77. 78. 80. 82. 83. 95. 213.
Bijala rāja 226-9.
Bijili khān 74. 162.
Bindu 214.
Birbhān 353. 356.
Bir sinha 74.
Bis panthī 341. 342.
Bommadeva 228.
Bommidevaya 228.
Brahma 4. 23. 124. 160. 175. 178.
 232. 243. 244. 360.
Brahmā 2. 4. 13. 18. 19. 27. 43.
 50. 79. 80. 85. 92. 123. 140.
 143. 145. 147. 160. 175. 205. 219.
 220. 241. 245. 247. 320. 360.
Brahmachāri 99. 114. 237. 238.
Brahmaloka 291.
Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa 12. 220.
Brahma parabrahma 27.
Brahmapurāṇa 12.
Brahmarākṣasa 36.
Brahmasampradāyī 31. 139-50.
Brahmasaṅhitā 153.

- Brahmasūtra* 328.
Brahmasūtrabhāṣya 27.
Brahmāvarṭta ghātī 18.
Brahmavāivarttapurāṇa 12. 122.
 174. 175. 242. 244-6. 248. 252.
Brahmavidyā 211.
Brajvāsī dās 132.
Brajvilās 132.
Bṛihad aranyaka upanishad 27.
Bṛijhasir 353.
Bṛindāvan 61. 63. 102. 120. 124.
 130. 132. 135. 138. 150. 157-60.
 167. 169. 172. 174. 177. 179.
Bṛindāvan dās 152. 153.
Buddha 12. 287. 290. 328. 330.
Buddhan 103.
Buddhanāth 215.
Bukka rāja 335.
Būndelkhāṇḍ 351.
- Chaitanya* 54. 152-73. 182. 365.
Chaitanyachandrodaya 168.
Chaitanyacharitra 152.
Chaitanyacharitamṛita 153. 158.
 159. 163. 168.
Chaitanyamangala 168.
Chakra 41.
Chakor 85.
Chakravartī 292.
Chakri 15. 16.
Chālukya 331.
Chāṇḍr 55. 113. 116. 117.
Champakastavana 283.
Chāmmuḍā 233. 264.
Chāmmuḍa rāja 332.
Chāmmuḍarājapurāṇa 279.
Chāṇḍr 120.
- Chanchara* 77.
Chāṇḍakāpālika 214.
Chāṇḍāla 162.
Chāṇḍanārutavaidika 43.
Chāṇḍāvan 359.
Chāṇḍī pāṭha 12.
Chandra śāhārya 294.
Chandragachcha 338. 346.
Chandrakavi 331.
Chāṇḍrānana 321.
Chāṇḍrārdjacharitra 283.
Chāṇḍrasāgarapañṇatti 281.
Chāṇḍrasekhara śāhārya 201.
Chandra sūri 337.
Charak pūjā 25. 265.
Charaṇ dās 178-80.
Charaṇ dāsi 32. 178-81.
Charitra 278. 279.
Chāritra 312. 313.
Chārvāka 12. 22. 359.
Chattrasāl 351.
Chaturdaśagunānāṇāni 282.
Chaturdaśagunāsthāna 282.
Chaturdaśāscapenavichāra 284.
Chaturvīṇṣatidāṇḍakastava 283.
Chaturvīṇṣatipurāṇa 279.
Chāupai 76.
Chaura 74. 76. 83. 95. 97. 105.
Chaurāṅgi 214.
Chauri 208.
Chautisās 77.
Chavala rāja 37.
Cheit sinh 97.
Chelā 51. 102.
Chennabasava 226. 229.
Chennabasavapurāṇa 230.
Chetanasevāmī 347.

- Chhedopastāpaniya* 313.
Chhinmastakā 264.
Chhīpi 56.
Chidambaram 198.
Chirāghkesh 264.
Chit 44.
Chitaur 215.
Chitrabala gachcha 338.
Chitrakūla 63, 64.
Chitrapāṭikā 294.
Chitrasenacharitra 283.
Chola 36, 37.
Churāmaṇ dās 96.
Churpatī 214.

Dadhicha 362.
Dādū 103-13, 185, 356.
Dādū panthī 31, 103-13.
Daivakinandana 168.
Daitya 11.
Dākinī 255.
Dakṣiṇī Jaina 339.
Dakṣiṇī Vaishṇava 46.
Daksha 13, 212, 228.
Dakṣiṇā 37, 251.
Dakṣiṇā 246.
Dakṣiṇchāra }
Dakṣiṇchārī } 32, 250, 251-4.
Dakṣiṇā }
Dakṣiṇī }
Dakṣiṇchāratantrārāja 251, 254.
Dakṣiṇā badarikāśrama 37.
Damaru 17.
Dāmodara 152, 159.
Dāmodara dās 132, 133.
Dāna kabīrī 97.
Dānakelikaumudī 167.

- Dānda* 183, 193.
Dāndadhārī 204.
Dāndagrahaṇa 184, 237.
Dāndanāyaka 226.
Dāndī 18, 28, 32, 143, 150, 191-205, 231, 238.
Dārāshukoh 348.
Darśana 2, 79, 86.
Darśanāvaraṇa 317.
Darśanāvasāna 310.
Daryādāsi 186.
Dasādriśhlāntakathā 283.
Dasaharā 254.
Dasakshapaṇavratavidhi 282.
Dasakumāra 25, 203.
Dasapūrvī 336, 337.
Dasavaikālikasūtra 282, 337.
Dasavaikālikasūtratīkā 282.
Dasnāmi gosāin 18, 32, 149, 191-205, 237-9.
Dasopanishad bhāṣya 141.
Das pādshāh kā granth 268, 274.
Dasratan 101.
Dāsya 163.
Datta 205.
Dattātreyā 205, 240.
Dāyārām 360, 363.
Dehanpur 348.
Devachandra 338.
Devāchārya 47.
Devādhideva 288.
Devānand 47.
Devapūjā 283.
Devasenā 246.
Devī 16, 57, 59, 60, 82, 137, 145, 219, 233, 246, 247, 252-4, 264, 321.

Devirahasya 258.
Dhammilla 299.
Dhan 125.
Dhanadeva 299.
Dhanamitra 299.
Dhanauti 95.
Dhanna 56, 59, 274.
Dharma 123, 308, 317.
Dharmabuddhichatushpādī 282.
Dharmachand 269.
Dharmadās 91, 96.
Dharmajihāj 180.
Dharmaśālā 50.
Dharmastikāya 308.
Dheṛh 186.
Dhokal gir 239.
Dholpur 353.
Dhoti 217.
Dhṛitī 246.
Dhruvakshetra 151.
Dhūndī rāj 20, 266.
Dhuru 274.
Dhūsar 178.
Digambara 24, 33, 185, 279, 281, 294, 295, 337, 330-41, 344.
Digpāla 320.
Dikshā 249.
Dikshāmahotsava 282.
Dindima 214.
Dinna sūri 336.
Dirghakālabrahmacharya 237.
Diti 246.
Divākara 28.
Divyacharitra 35.
Dohā 76.
Dom 60, 181.
Dorihār 218.

- Drāvida* 341.
Dravyapramāṇa 313.
Dṛiśhlivāda 285.
Duṇḍiya 342.
Durgā 93, 123, 145, 148, 176, 200, 241, 245, 252, 254.
Durgāmāhātmya 12.
Durgapūjā 12, 254.
Durvāsas 12, 205.
Duryodhana 174.
Dvādaśamahāvākya 231.
Dvaita 144.
Dedrakā 39, 58, 95, 134, 135, 138, 172, 188, 213, 347.
Dvīpa 360.
Dvishashlivākya 282.

Ekāmreśvara 227.
Ekāntarahasya 131.
Ekāntaramāya 227.
Ekavinsati sthāna 282.

Fakir 183, 348-51.
Ferishta 72, 222.
Firozābād 186.

Gachcha 337, 345, 346.
Gadā 41.
Gāddgarh 182.
Gaddi 37, 59, 96, 102.
Gaddādhār paṇḍit 159.
Gajasinhacharitra 283.
Gajasukumāracharitra 283.
Gaṇa 212, 286, 302.
Gaṇadhara 285, 298, 299, 304.
Gaṇādhipa 299, 302.
Gānapāda 265.

Gaṇapati 266.
Gāṇapatya 28. 32. 266.
Gandharva 26. 300. 320.
Gangā 246.
Gaṇeśa 2. 20. 148. 175. 266.
Gangāmbā 226. 227.
Gangāprasād dās 102.
Gaṇbhakṣī 32. 272.
Garbhagṛīha 189.
Garudā 25. 320.
Garudapurdāna 12. 43. 145.
Gaurāṅgānoddēśadīpikā 168.
Gaurīya 157.
Gautama 12. 13. 29. 281. 285. 298. 299. 324. 327. 328. 336.
Gautamaprashihā 282.
Gautameśa 224.
Gāyatri 249.
Ghaṭi 127.
Ghaṭasthāpana 321.
Ghaṇaśyāma 135.
Ghospara 171.
Gīrdhara 139.
Gīrdhārī rāe 135.
Gīri (Gir) 202.
Girijaputra 28.
Girinār 323. 335.
Gītābhāṣya s. *Bhagavadg. bh.*
Gītāgovinda 66.
Gītātātparya 141.
Gītāvali 64.
Gokul 120.
Gokulnāth 135.
Gokulastha gosāin 119. 157. 164. 180. 190.
Golayantra 23.
Goloka 122-4. 174. 175.

Gomatī dās 102.
Gomatisāra 281.
Gomatisāra 332.
Gopa 123. 156. 157. 174. 175.
Gopāl 126. 131. 132. 160.
Gopāla champū 167..
Gopāl bhaṭi 158. 159.
Gopāl dās 102.
Gopāl lāl 121.
Gopī 41. 123. 129. 155. 164. 174.
Gopichandana 41. 75. 140. 143. 151. 169. 180. 347.
Gopināth 160. 173.
Gopipremāmṛita 168.
Gorāchili 214.
Gorakh 86. 87. 214. 216.
Gorakh kshetra 213.
Gorakhnāth 78. 206. 213-6.
Gorakhnāth ki goshīhi 76. 213.
Gorakhpur 213. 215.
Gorakshakalpa 216.
Gorakshasahasranāma 216.
Gorakshaśataka 216.
Gosāin 48. 125. 135. 136. 156. 157. 165. 167-9. 172. 176. 177. 239. 326. 366.
Gośāla 293-5. 335. 341.
Goshīhi 78.
Got 345.
Gotra 317.
Gotama rishi 298.
Govara 298.
Govardhana 64.
Govinda 12.
Govinda deva 158.
Govind dās 68. 168. 273. 274.
Govinda pāda 201.

Govindjī 169.
Govindavirudāvali 167.
Govind rae 135.
Govind sinh 267. 268.
Govind sinhi 33. 273.
Gṛīhastha 151. 152. 154. 170.
Gūdaraś 32. 235.
Guldāl dāsi 186.
Guṇa 91. 123. 145. 246.
Guṇaleśasukhada 167.
Guptārvadhūta 262.
Gupti 311.
Guru 57. 71. 94. 95. 125. 131. 142. 143. 165. 170-2. 176. 178. 196. 201. 202. 226. 263. 270. 340. 341. 347. 348. 358. 360. 367-9.
Guru govind 273. 274.
Gurunāth 359.
Gurupāddāśraya 164.
Gurupara 43.
Gurustava 283.
Gṛāla 127. 171.

Hairamba 20. 263.
Hājipur 64.
Hansa 231.
Hansa kabiri 97.
Hanumān 17. 46. 63. 99. 140. 215. 357.
Hanumān gaṛh 99.
Hanumān ghāt 121.
Hanumān vanś 60.
Hara 81.
Hārī 34. 79. 115. 157. 165. 176. 245. 270. 271.
Hārī dās 159. 161.
Hārīdra gaṇapati 20.

Haribhaktivilāsa 167.
Haridevār 213. 239.
Hārī krishṇa 272.
Harinand 47.
Hārī rāya 272.
Harīschandra 181. 362.
Harīschandī 32. 181. 182.
Hārīta 13. 299.
Harivansa 177.
Harivyāsa 151.
Haryānand 59. 60.
Harsha sūri 338.
Hasta 296.
Hastāmālaka 28. 201. 202.
Hastarekhāvicaraṇa 284.
Hātha pradīpa 209. 214. 216.
Hāthayogi 216.
Hatras 360.
Hayagrīva 292.
Hemachandra 225. 282. 285. 288. 298. 303-5. 321. 329. 331. 338.
Himmet bahādur 238. 239.
Hindola 77.
Hinguleśvar parvatī agrahāra 225.
Hiranyagarbha 18.
Holi 25. 77.
Homa 287. 364.
Homchi 333.

Ichchhādrīpa 242.
Ijyā 45.
Immādi bhārati āchārya 201.
Immādi sachchidānanda bhārati āchārya 201.
Ikshvāku 292.
Indra 11. 25. 203. 289. 293. 296. 301. 320. 340. 368.

Indrabhūti 298. 299. 335.
Indradinna sūri 336.
Indriya 306. 310.
Īśāna 320.
Īśvara 19. 23. 44. 226.
Īśvaratīrtha āchārya 201.
Iśādevatā 30. 170.
Jabbalpur 96.
Jaffar khān sāduh 348.
Jagatprabhu 288.
Jagaddeva 228. 229.
Jagannāth 39. 65. 66. 95. 102. 128. 133. 135. 154. 155. 163. 172. 182.
Jagannāth dās 64.
Jagannāth misra 153.
Jaggo dās 96.
Jagjivan dās 357. 358.
Jaimini 12. 29.
Jaina 5-7. 12. 22-4. 29. 33. 36. 150. 227. 276-347. 360.
Jalakshālanavidhi 282.
Jamāl 103.
Jamālī 293. 340.
Jambudvīpapaññatti 281.
Jambusvāmī 336. 337.
Janaka 362.
Jangama 17. 18. 32. 33. 218-31.
Jangama bāri 231.
Janmāshāmt 128. 129.
Japa 103.
Jati s. Yati.
Jāti 345.
Jayadeva 60. 65-7. 274.
Jatā 99. 186. 235. 238.
Jehāngir 65. 103. 347.
Jeihan beṛ 121.

Jhālī 117.
Jhūlana 77.
Jina 288-93. 296. 300. 301. 305. 321. 343.
Jinachandra 338.
Jinābhigama 281.
Jinadatta 337.
Jinadattardīyacharitra 280.
Jinapati sūri 341.
Jinapratimāsthāpanavidhi 282.
Jinasena āchārya 279.
Jinendra sūri 341.
Jineśvara 338.
Jineśvari 337. 338.
Jitāsātru 292.
Jiva 89. 297. 299. 305. 306.
Jiva (name) 56. 158. 167.
Jivan dās 96.
Jivanmukti 315.
Jivanmuktivivēka 232.
Jivātmā 44. 144. 350.
Jivavichāra 283. 286.
Jivavinaya 282.
Jñānadeva 120.
Jñānaghana āchārya 201.
Jñānakāṇḍa 2. 15.
Jñānaprakāśa 357.
Jñānapravāda 285.
Jñānapūjā 282.
Jñānantisūtra 281.
Jñānāvarāṇa 316.
Jñāni 72. 73. 96.
Jñātādharma-kathā 284.
Jñānottama āchārya 201.
Joār 83.
Jogānand 56.
Jogi s. Yogi.

Jogi dās 353.
Jogīśvara 312.
Jvālāmukhi 93. 253.
Jyotish 80.
Jyotishka 320.
Kabir 55. 56. 68-98. 103. 105. 109. 137. 146. 185. 213. 215. 240. 242. 268. 269. 274. 275. 354-6.
Kabir chaura s. Chaura.
Kabir pānjī 76.
Kabir panthī 31. 68-98. 102. 103. 119.
Kailāsa 123.
Kakaya 228.
Kākachāndīśvara 214.
Kalā 246.
Kālā 308. 314.
Kahāra 77.
Kālā bhairava 4.
Kālānsa 246.
Kālānsarūpini 245.
Kālānsarūpī 246.
Kālarūpā 246.
Kālarūpiṇi 245.
Kalāvati 175.
Kālī 246. 252. 254. 264.
Kālī ghāī 254.
Kālikāchāryakathā 283.
Kālikāpurāṇa 243. 248.
Kālikātānta 250.
Kāliya mardana 241.
Kali yuga 34. 54. 192. 207. 210. 237. 249. 332.
Kalpa 320.
Kalpāsūtra 281. 286. 319. 330. 336.
Kalpasūtrabhlābodha 282.
Kalpasūtrasiddhānta 282.
Kalyāṇamandirastotra 283.
Kalyāṇpur 103. 226-8. 332.
Kāma 25.
Kamāl 96. 103.
Kamālnāth 96.
Kamāṇḍalu 60.
Kamaka 290.
Kāṇḍa 12.
Kānc̣hī 28. 36. 37. 279. 334.
Kānc̣huliya 32. 263.
Kanapa 227.
Kāneri 214.
Kankaṇa 211.
Kānp̣hātā 18. 206. 211. 213. 216-8.
Kanthada 214.
Kapāla 214.
Kapālatantra 249.
Kāpālika 21. 28. 264.
Kapila 12.
Kara (Manikpur) 101. 102.
Karāḍ lingi 32. 236.
Karāḍi 32. 264.
Karikāla chola 36.
Karma 297. 300. 316.
Karma bāi 274.
Karmagrantha 282.
Karmahīna 15. 16.
Karmakāṇḍa 2. 15.
Kārmaṇa 310.
Karmakṣhaya 302.
Karmastava 283.
Karṇa 174. 362.
Kartū bhāja 170. 171.
Kasaundhya 96.
Kashdya 310.

- Kāshī sanghi* 341.
Kāśī khanda 4. 5. 9. 41. 195.
 207. 219. 220. 247.
Kāśināth 251.
Kāśyapa 13. 290. 299.
Katantravibhramasūtra 281.
Kātyāyana 13.
Kaula 254. 255. 261-3.
Kaundinya 299.
Kaupina 170.
Kausāmbi 296. 303.
Kavacha 176.
Kāveri 37.
Kavikarṇāpura 168.
Kavirāja 157. 159.
Kavit 64. 180.
Kedāreśa 224.
Kedārnāth 199. 224. 225. 230.
Keralōtpatti 198.
Keśava bhāṭṭa 151.
Kesirajaya 228.
Kevala 288. 296.
Keraladarśana 313.
Kevalajñāna 313. 314.
Kevali 288. 304. 336.
Khaki 31. 98. 99.
Khanda 79. 360.
Khanda 157.
Khartara 337. 346.
Khāss grantha 76.
Khechari mudrā 236.
Kil 60. 61. 98. 100.
Kinduvila 65. 67.
Kinnara 228. 320.
Kinnarāja 227.
Kolakila bommadeva 228.
Koli 56.
Kollaka 299.
Kote gachcha 337.
Krakuchchhanda 290.
Kṛimi koṇḍa chola 36.
Kṛishṇa 4. 12. 16. 17. 20. 28.
 37-9. 41. 45. 46. 54. 58. 62.
 63. 66. 68. 115. 119. 121-4.
 126-8. 130. 132. 136-8. 141.
 150-6. 159-79. 222. 244. 245.
 356.
Kṛishṇa dās 10. 61. 98. 100. 153.
 155. 156. 158. 159.
Kṛishṇa dās kavirāja 168.
Kṛishṇa deva 120.
Kṛishṇakarnāmīta 168.
Kṛishṇakirtana 168.
Kṛishṇāmṛitamahārāra 141.
Kṛishṇardyalu 120.
Kṛishṇasandhi 102.
Kṛitakṛityasama 20.
Kriyā 311.
Kriyāviśāla 286.
Kshapaṇaka 22-4.
Kshatriya 2. 208. 335. 347. 357.
Kshāyikasamyakṭva 313.
Kshepaṇasāra 281.
Kshetrapramāṇa 313.
Kshetrasamāsūtra 282.
Kshīnakarmā 288.
Kula 255. 261.
Kulachūdāmaṇi 250.
Kulārāva 250. 255. 256. 261.
Kulatūt 55.
Kulna 255.
Kullūka bhāṭṭa 192. 248.
Kumārila bhāṭṭa 24.
Kumāra pāla 303-5. 303.

- Kuṇa pāṇḍya* 332.
Kunda kuṇḍ āchārya 341.
Kunj behāri 102.
Kūrma 360.
Kūmapurāṇa 12. 210. 211. 243.
 249.
Kuṭichara 231.
Kucera 25.
Laghu bhāgavata 167.
Laghu khartara 338.
Laghusangrahinīsūtra 282.
Lokshmaṇa 17. 46. 141.
Lakshmaṇa āchārya 28.
Lakshmaṇa bhāṭṭa 120.
Lakshmi 35. 38. 41. 93. 119. 123.
 145. 173. 175. 241. 245. 247. 255.
Lakshmi balaji 39.
Lakshmi nārāyaṇa 38. 50.
Lakshmīstotra 322.
Lāl dās 168.
Lalitā mādha 167.
Lāl ji 135.
Lampaka 341.
Lāl 217. 295.
Lava granth 350.
Lilā 124. 160.
Linga 4. 5. 17. 149. 188. 191. 196.
 218-23. 229.
Lingapurāṇa 12. 220.
Lingavant 224. 230. 332.
Lingdyat 224. 225.
Lochana 168.
Lokāyata 5. 22.
Machāya 227. 228.
Madana 211.
Madana mīśra 200.
Madana mohana 62. 158. 159.
Mādha 175.
Mādha āchārya 5. 14. 22. 24.
 194. 198. 203. 249.
Madhavi 32. 182.
Madhiga bhāṭṭa 139.
Mādho 182.
Mādho dās 182.
Mādhoji 182.
Madhurya 164.
Madhwaya 228.
Madhva 140. 149.
Mādha 128. 142. 144. 147. 148.
 150. 179.
Madhvāchāri 139-50.
Madhvāchārya 29. 34. 139-50. 167.
Mādhevi 34.
Madhyakhartara 338.
Madhyalāl 153.
Madhyamandira 139.
Madhyamika 5.
Madhyatāla 140.
Mādiga rāja 225.
Madurā 334.
Māgadhi 280.
Magar 72. 74. 95.
Mahābhārata 5. 121. 122. 149.
 173. 212. 250.
Mahādeva 123. 215. 240. 335.
Mahādevāla machāya 227.
Mahāganapati 20.
Mahākūla 223.
Mahālakshmi 20. 38. 241.
Mahāmāyā 93. 213.
Mahāmbā 225.
Mahāmuniśādhya 282.

- Mahānand* 56.
Mahānārāyaṇa upanishad 149.
Mahānimitta 296.
Mahānīṣṭha 341.
Mahāt 50-8. 57. 59. 75. 96. 97.
 101. 102. 151. 157. 159. 201. 214.
Mahāpandanna 281.
Mahāprabhu 167.
Mahāpralaya 357.
Mahāpiṇḍa 148.
Mahāsiddha 214.
Mahāvideha 292. 309.
Mahāvra 225. 281. 285-304. 321.
 328. 330. 335. 337. 338. 341. 343.
Mahāvīracharitra 283. 285. 286.
 291. 338.
Mahāvīrastava 283.
Mahāvratā 317.
Mahendra 292. 320.
Maheśa 85. 244.
Mahitāriya 351.
Mahopanishad 145.
Mai 104.
Maitihili 25. 299.
Maitihuna 266.
Mainpuri 344.
Makāra 256.
Makhanpur 186.
Mālā 72. 104.
Mālatimādhava 25. 210. 233.
Malavisarjana 148.
Malaya 86.
Mālek kā hukm 353.
Mallikārjuna 223.
Maluk dās 100-2.
Maluk dāsi 31. 100-2.
Māleśa 347.
Man 81-9. 125.
Manasā 246.
Manasīkshā 167.
Mandana 202.
Mandana mīra 50.
Mandita 299. 300.
Mangala 77. 126.
Mangala chandikā 246.
Mangrela kabiri 97.
Manovit 304.
Mānsa 256.
Mān sinh 61. 231.
Mān sinh deva 158.
Mansur ali khān 74.
Manthāna bhairava 214.
Mantra 39. 40. 55. 58. 75. 114.
 162. 165. 171. 172. 176. 195.
 250. 256-9. 318. 322.
Mantramahodadhi 250.
Māntrika 252.
Manu 2. 191-3. 248. 262. 364.
 366. 367.
Manushyagati 309.
Marichi 291.
Mārkaṇḍeya muni 122.
Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 12. 205.
Mārvar 60. 104. 344. 346.
Masanaya 228.
Math (madam) 37. 47-54. 96. 99.
 102. 105. 120. 121. 135. 140.
 142. 177. 181. 185. 186. 193.
 199. 204. 216-8. 243. 248.
Mathirajaya 228.
Mathurā (Muttrā) 120. 135. 136.
 151. 154. 157. 159. 167. 169. 177.
Mathurānāth 8. 9. 38. 101. 120.
Mathurāmāhātmya 167.

- Mātri* 255.
Matsya 256.
Matsyapurāṇa 12.
Matsyendranāth 214. 218.
Matsyendri 218.
Maulānā rūmi 350.
Maurya 299.
Mauryaputra 299. 301.
Māyā 80-2. 89. 92. 93. 123. 145.
 146. 166. 179. 240. 243-5. 269.
 298. 356. 360.
Māyā rām 67.
Meghadūtāpādasamasyā 283.
Melā 18. 97. 105. 173. 323.
Mena 214.
Menhā 354.
Mertā 137.
Metārya 299. 301. 302.
Mevār 344. 346.
Mimāṇsā 12.
Mirā bāi 137-9. 268. 274.
Mirā bāis 31. 136-9.
Mohaniya 317.
Moksha 145. 166. 300. 302. 310.
 313-5.
Mokshamārga 282.
Mricchhakatika 25.
Mrigavati charitra 283.
Mrigavati chaupai 283.
Mrikāṇḍa 12.
Mṛityu 246.
Mudrā 256. 257.
Mughor 109.
Mukti 13. 166. 355.
Mūlapanthi 77. 96.
Mūlaprakṛiti 243. 245.
Mūlasaṅghī 341.
Mūndi 188.
Muni dattātreyā 205.
Munja 330.
Murāri gupta 152.
Murshidābād 344. 346.
Nābhājī 9. 10. 60-4. 94. 109.
Nādir un nikāt 348.
Nadiya 152-7. 173.
Nāga 32. 33. 99. 104. 185. 187.
 238. 275.
Nāgabodha 214.
Nagarkot 253.
Nagna 339.
Nakhi 32. 234. 235.
Nālāndā 293.
Nāma 317.
Nāma deva 120. 274.
Nāmakaṛaia 147.
Nāmakirtana 164.
Nāmākāra 150.
Nāmācali 284.
Namāz 363.
Nambūri 198. 200.
Namuchi 11.
Nānak putra 269.
Nānak shāh 69. 72. 137. 239.
 267-75. 355. 356.
Nānak shāhī 32. 267-76.
Nandana 292.
Nandi 225.
Nandisūtra 281.
Nandi upapurāṇa 223.
Nandivardhana 293.
Narahari 56. 59.
Nārada 43. 226. 240.
Nāradaigopurāṇa 12. 43.

- Nārāṇa* 103-5.
Nārāyaṇa 3. 13. 16. 33. 44. 123.
 140. 143. 144.
Nārāyaṇ dās 9. 10. 95. 96.
Nārṇaul 353.
Nāstika 359.
Nālakalakṣhaṇa 167.
Navakārṇatābālabodha 282.
Navapattatopovidhi 283.
Navanīta gaṇapati 20.
Navamī 130.
Navatattvābālabodha 282.
Navatattvabodha 286.
Navatattvaparakaraṇa 282.
Navātattvasūtra 282.
Nayasāra 291.
Nekrvalah 222. 331.
Neminātha 323.
Nemināthastava 283.
Nemirājārshicharitra 283.
Nerivāna 359.
Nīlā 145.
Nīlāchala 66. 151. 155.
Nīlkaṇṭha 230.
Nīmdrat 31. 129. 150-2.
Nimb 151.
Nimbāditya 34. 35. 150. 151.
Nimbārka 151.
Niranjana 186. 195. 214.
Nirguṇa 195.
Nirjara 312.
Nirmala 33. 274-6.
Nīrēdāna 302. 315. 340.
Nītisangraha 282.
Nītyānand 54. 96. 152-7. 167.
 173. 190.
Nītyandha 214.

- Nṛisinha* 141.
Nṛisinha bhārati dehārya 201.
Nṛisinha murti dehārya 201.
Nṛisinhatapāṇiya upanishad 200.
Nyāya 3. 12.

Omkāra 4. 81. 223.
Omkāramandatta 223.
Ośwāl 338. 346.

Pada 61. 62. 64. 115. 268.
Padārtha 284.
Padma 41.
Padmanābha tirtha 142.
Padmapāda 202.
Padmapurāṇa 3. 4. 11. 12. 34.
 43. 121. 283. 284.
Padmāvali 167.
Padmāvat 56.
Padmāvatī 67.
Pāduka 344.
Pakṣhisūtra 282.
Paldāsa 86.
Palya 308.
Palyopama 305.
Pān 86. 126. 355.
Panchadeha 309.
Panchagangā ghāt 48.
Pāṇchāmṛita 148.
Pāṇcharātra 43. 149.
Pāṇcharātraka 15. 16.
Pāṇcharātratāntra 16. 249.
Pāṇchastikāya 282.
Pāṇchāyat 48.
Pāṇchenḍriya 309.
Pāṇḍaram (pāṇḍuranga) 225. 238.
Pāṇḍitārādhyacharitra 230.

- Panjirāj* 281.
Pāpa 310. 316.
Pāpopuri s. Apāpuri.
Parārādhyā 219.
Paramahansa 32. 185. 231-3.
Paramānand 56.
Paramānu 309.
Paramapurusha 92.
Paramata kālānala 28.
Paramātmā 43. 44. 123. 144. 160.
 176. 350.
Parameśvara 82.
Pārāṇa 129. 130.
Pāras 89.
Parāsara 13.
Parikāraṇisuddhi 312.
Parikarma 285.
Parishahā 311.
Pārsī 89.
Pārśvanātha 288. 290. 291. 294.
 295. 322. 324. 330. 334. 343. 344.
Pārśvanāthacharitra 291.
Pārśvanāthadaśavisaha 282.
Pārśvanāthagītā 282.
Pārśvanāthanamaskāra 283.
Pārśvanāthastava 283.
Pārśvanāthastuti 283.
Pārsvata 202.
Pārsvatī 11. 218. 228. 229. 241.
 248. 253. 357.
Pāshaṇḍa 11. 33. 79.
Pāshaṇḍadalana 168.
Pāshaṇḍī 150.
Pāśupata 12. 17. 18. 29.
Pāśupati 18.
Pāśupatināth 213. 215.
Pātanjala 206.

- Patanjali* 29. 205. 212.
Pātāvali 284.
Pāthandrambhapiṭhikā 283.
Paurandaka 214.
Parāna 293.
Perumbur 36.
Phandak 274.
Pipā 55-8. 274.
Piśācha 320.
Pitāmbara dās 68.
Pītha 200.
Pitri 26.
Pokher 18.
Posāla 343.
Prabhāsa 299. 301. 302.
Prabhavarāmi 336.
Prabhu 156. 157.
Prabhudeva 214.
Prabhulingalīlā 250.
Prabodhachandrodaya G. 9. 21. 264.
Pradeśa 313.
Pradyumna 45. 338.
Prahlāda 274.
Prajāpati 192.
Prajnasūktamuktāvali 282.
Prakṛiti 12. 123. 176. 243-5.
 247. 312.
Prakṛitikaṇḍa 242. 244.
Pramāṇa, pramāṇika 327.
Pramāṇam 40.
Prāṇavāya 286.
Prāṇ nāth 351.
Prāṇ nāthī 33. 351. 352.
Prasāda 116. 134. 163. 268. 275.
Prasāda mantra 256.
Praśnavyākaraṇa 285.
Praśnottararatnamālā 282.

Prathamagrantha 357.
Pratikramaṇasūtra 282.
Pratikramaṇavidhi 282.
Pratishāhā 246.
Prativāsudeva 292.
Premabhaktichandrikā 168.
Pīṭhu rāo 158.
Priya dāsa 73.
Priyadarśana 293.
Priyamitra 292.
Pudgala 308. 309.
Pūjā 148. 363.
Pūjāpaddhati 283. 321.
Pūjyapāda 214.
Pūjyapāda charitra 280.
Pulina 156. 157.
Puṇya 309.
Purāṇa 3. 12. 13. 27. 30. 43. 123.
 124. 141. 145. 180. 190. 212.
 220. 244. 247. 249. 274. 278.
 279. 327. 330.
Purāṇ dās 101.
Purāṇ gir 203. 205.
Purī 202.
Pūrṇābhisheka 258.
Pūrṇābhishikta 20.
Pūrṇasakti 154.
Pūrṇasaktimān 154.
Purusha 245.
Purushottama 44.
Purushottama bhārati dehārya 201.
Purushottamaji 135.
Pūrva 285. 303.
Pūrvadhara 309.
Pūrvagata 285.
Pūrvānyoga 285.
Pūrraprajna 139.

Pushpottara 292.
Pushṭi 246.
Rādha 12. 20. 38. 54. 63. 65.
 119. 123. 126. 151. 154. 155.
 159. 167. 169. 173-8. 245.
Rādha dāmodara 159.
Rādha ramaṇa 159.
Rādha ramaṇi 169.
Rādha mādharma 168.
Rādha sudhānidhi 177.
Rādha vallabha 173.
Rādha vallabhi 32. 173-7.
Rādhikā 176.
Rādhipālī 169.
Rādhiya 156.
Rāga 64.
Rāgamaya koṇa 167.
Rāghavanand 47.
Rāghunāth 56. 59. 99. 135.
Rāghunāth bhātī 158. 159.
Rāghunāth dās 156. 158. 159. 167.
Rai chand 348.
Rai dās 55. 56. 113-7. 274.
Rai dāsi 31. 113-8.
Rājagriha 291. 293. 295. 299. 303.
Rajas 145. 246.
Rājasa 12. 13. 252.
Rājendra gir 239.
Rāma 4. 16. 17. 20. 38. 39. 54.
 58. 63. 64. 67. 68. 80-2. 85-7.
 99. 101. 103. 106-11. 115. 119.
 141. 142. 223. 347. 356.
Rāmachandra 46. 54. 102. 168. 270.
Rāmachandra bhārati dehārya 201.
Rāmacharṇa 68.
Ramāni 77. 79-81. 240.

Rāmānand 17. 46-8. 54-61. 67.
 70. 71. 73. 78. 91. 98. 100.
 103. 113. 114. 118. 155. 159.
 173. 179. 185. 206. 274.
Rāmānandi 16. 31. 38. 46-68.
 100. 101. 103. 109. 184.
Rāmānand ki goshtī 76.
Rāmānuja 15. 18. 29. 34-46. 47.
 57. 119. 144. 167. 173. 184.
 205. 316.
Rāmānujīya 16. 31. 34-46. 54.
 55. 128. 129. 139. 150. 310.
Rāmarāya 272.
Rāmarāyi 32. 272.
Rāmaśaraṇa pāla 171.
Rāmāśrama 203.
Ramati rām 186.
Rāmārat 31. 46-68. 74. 119.
Rāmāyaṇa 64. 149. 190.
Rām dās 56. 134. 162.
Rāmdulāl pāl 172.
Rāmeśa 223.
Rāmeśvara 37.
Rām guṇāvali 64.
Rāmjit 67.
Rāmnāth 39.
Rāmsāhu 102.
Rāmsenāhi 102.
Rānachechhoṛ 37. 134. 137. 138.
Rānāryāsa 133. 134.
Rasa 163.
Rasamaya kṛtikā 168.
Rasāmṛita sindhu 167.
Rasendra linga 29.
Rās yātra 128. 130.
Rath yātra 128. 155.
Rati 163.
Ratnachūramunichaupai 283.
Ratnachūropākhyāna 283.
Rātribhojananishedha 282.
Rātripūjā 148.
Raudra 17.
Rayapraśnasūtrasiddhānta 282.
Rayapseni 281.
Rekhta 77. 78. 268.
Āgghāsya 141.
Āgveda 241.
Ājupālikā 296.
Āishabha 290. 29e. 324. 328.
Āishabhadeva 323.
Āishabhadevapurāṇa 279.
Āishabhānana 321.
Āishabhastava 283.
Rohiṇītapas 283.
Rudra 13. 34. 35. 50. 147.
Rudrāksha 224. 236. 262.
Rudrapur 24.
Rudrasampradāyi 119-36.
Rudrayāmālatantra 18. 249. 250.
 258.
Rūkhara 32. 236.
Rukmīṇī 37.
Ripa 154. 157. 158. 167. 168.
Śabda 76. 78. 80-2. 180. 353.
Śabdārelī 76. 359.
Śaiva 11. 13. 15. 17. 28-32. 36.
 46. 68. 99. 128. 129. 145-50.
 155. 185-255. 266. 274. 321. 332.
Śaiva nāga 233-40.
Śaiva purāṇa 210.
Śākatāyana 280.
Śākini 255.
Śakra 293. 304.

- Śākta* 12. 16. 21. 28. 30. 32. 92.
 128. 129. 155. 240-66. 321.
Śakti (m.) 12.
Śakti (f.) 4. 16. 20. 25. 30. 38.
 92. 172. 178. 240-7. 252-60.
 263. 264. 321.
Śaktimān 253.
Śaktipūjā 46.
Śaktisōdhana 258.
Śaktisūtra 281.
Śākya 290.
Śāldbhadra charitra 283.
Śambhu 191. 264.
Śambhugrāntha 274.
Śambhunātha 213.
Śankara 13. 143. 194.
Śankara bhārati āchārya 201.
Śankarāchāri gosāin 150.
Śankara charitra 197.
Śankarāchārya 14. 18-20. 23. 25.
 27. 28. 57. 141. 143. 147. 149.
 190. 194-205. 249. 263. 328. 329.
Śankaradigvijaya 14. 17. 26. 50.
 194. 197. 201. 212. 249. 253.
 264.
Śankarakathā 197.
Śankh 41.
Śankha 13.
Śankhachūla 175.
Śāntāchāri 359.
Śānti 163.
Śāntijinastava 283.
Śāntipur 152. 156.
Śāntmahimā 359.
Śāntopadeśa 359.
Śāntparvāna 359.
Śāntśāgara 359.
Śāntsundara 359.
Śāntvilāsa 359.
Śāradātīlaka 250.
Śatadūshinī 43.
Śatānīka 296. 303.
Śataviśabhāva 282.
Śatrumardana 291.
Śatrūnjayamāhātmya 283. 284.
Śatrūnjayastava 283.
Śat sai 64.
Śayana 127.
Śayyambhadra sūri 336.
Śeṣha 25. 35. 36. 175. 360.
Śikh 114. 267-9. 272-5.
Śikhi 290.
Śikh sangat 270. 274.
Śilopadeśamālā 283.
Śiva 2-5. 11-3. 17. 18. 27. 29.
 30. 34. 36. 79. 80. 92. 99. 123.
 145. 148-50. 160. 175. 183.
 188-241. 245. 247. 248. 252-7.
 264. 335. 356-60.
Śivagītā 18. 249.
Śivandrāyaṇa 359.
Śivandrāyaṇi 33. 358. 359.
Śivapurāṇa 12. 220.
Śivapur 62. 180.
Śivarahasya 18. 249.
Śivasānhitā 18. 249.
Śivatāntra 248.
Śivi 362.
Śrāddha 322.
Śramaṇa 295. 303. 326.
Śrāvaka 278. 284. 303. 304. 317.
 324. 342. 343.
Śrāvakārādhanā 282.
Śrāvāṇa 88.

- Śrāvastī* 295.
Śrāvikā 304.
Śreṇika 303.
Śrī 34. 41.
Śrī āchārya 132-4.
Śrī ānand 56. 185.
Śrī bhashya 43.
Śrī chakra 258.
Śrī gosāin ji 135.
Śrīhātta 153.
Śrī keśava āchārya 36.
Śrī mahādevī 198.
Śrī nāth 190.
Śrī nāth devār 136.
Śrīngagiri (Śringeri) 199. 201. 203.
Śrīngāra 126.
Śrī nivās 159.
Śrīpēlacharitra 283.
Śrīpanchami 321-3.
Śrī rādhāvallabha 177.
Śrīranga 36. 37.
Śrīranganātha 36.
Śrīraṇja 56.
Śrīśaila 223. 225.
Śrīsampadāya 34. 35.
Śrīsampadāyi 31. 34.
Śrīsmaraṇādarpaṇa 168.
Śrīśvarūpa 159.
Śrī thākuri 124. 132-4.
Śrī vaishṇava 31. 38. 46. 68. 96.
 131. 139. 143. 184. 346.
Śrutakerālī 336. 337.
Śrutgopāl 91. 95.
Śruti 143. 149. 248. 301.
Śuddhābhūmi 295.
Śuddhodana 298.
Śūdra 2. 251. 258.
Śukadeva 240.
Śukra 320.
Śūni 361.
Śūntisār 360.
Śūnyavādi 22. 33. 359-63.
Śveta 210. 211.
Ścetāmbara 24. 33. 281. 284. 294.
 339. 340. 344.
Śvetalohita 211.
Śvetasikha 211.
Ścetāsya 211.
Ścetāsya 211.
Śyāmabandī 131.
Śyāmārahasya 250. 254-6. 262.
Sabhā 189.
Sachi 153.
Sachchidānanda bhārati āchārya
 201.
Sādā 33. 351-6. 358.
Sādhana 164.
Sādhnā 181. 182.
Sādhnūpanthī 12. 181. 182.
Sādhu 90. 91. 303.
Sādhucharitra 283.
Sādhusamāchāri 282.
Sādhusandana 283.
Sādhwapāsana vidhi 282.
Sādhwāra 352.
Sādhi 303.
Sādopakāramuktāvalī 282.
Sāgara 202. 309.
Sāgaropama 308.
Sahajī bāi 180.
Sahaj prakāś 180.
Sāheb dās 96.
Sāhuja 170.

Sākhi 75. 77. 78. 82-5. 88. 101. 353.
Sākhi bhāva 32. 177. 178.
Sākhyā 163.
Sāl 296.
Sālagrām 45. 39. 50. 54. 116. 117.
 140. 149. 179. 181.
Sālokya 149.
Samādhi 50. 95. 99. 180. 357.
Samaravira 293.
Samarpaṇa 125. 131.
Samarvādyāṅga 284.
Sāmaveda 241.
Sāmaya 76.
Sāmyāyika 312.
Sambhūti vijaya sūri 336.
Samet śikhara 322.
Samiti 311.
Sampradāya 34. 139.
Samprati rājā 337.
Samvara 311.
Samvartta 13.
Samvegi 342.
Samyaktvādhyāyana 282.
Samyaktvakaumudi 283.
Sāmyogi 204.
Sāmyogi atit 287.
Sanaka 34. 35. 85. 140. 163. 175.
 240.
Sanakādi sampradāyī 31. 150-2.
Sanandana āchārya 201.
Sandhana 154. 158. 167. 168.
Sanatkumāra 320.
Sandeha sāgara 180.
Sandhyā 127.
Sāṇḍila 62.
Sangameśvara 226. 228. 229.
Sangameśvara svāmī 226.

Sangat 268.
Sangrahaṇi sūtra 281. 282.
Sanjñi 307.
Sankalpa 129.
Sāṅkhyā 3. 12. 123. 206. 243. 316.
Sankrānti 266.
Sānnidhya 149.
Sannyāsi 32. 33. 37. 120. 141.
 142. 182-4. 187. 188. 192. 195.
 -7. 217. 231. 237-9. 326. 367.
Sanskāra 322. 364.
Santāna gaṇapati 20.
Santādrakavidhi 282.
Saptabhaṅgi 315.
Saptamī 129.
Saptavāddī 315.
Saptavinsatisādhulakṣhaṇa 282.
Sārangi 218.
Sārangihār 218.
Saranullāmrīta 230.
Sarasvatī 20. 93. 123. 199. 202.
 203. 241. 245. 255. 321.
Saroda 182.
Sārīpya 149.
Sārshthi 149.
Sarvajña 288.
Sarvārya 64.
Sarvadarśanasangraha 5. 6. 14.
 29. 38. 45. 139. 144. 147. 149.
 306.
Sat guru 353.
Satī 182.
Satnām 356.
Satnāmī 33. 96. 356-8.
Satpadaprārūpaṇa 313.
Sattva 145. 246.
Sāttvika 12. 13. 252.

Satyakāma 45.
Satyasankalpa 45.
Satyapradāda 285.
Saudharma 291. 320.
Saudaryā lahari 200.
Saugata 5. 22.
Saura 19. 28. 33. 266.
Saurapāta 32. 265. 266.
Sautrāntika 5.
Sāvitri 245.
Sāyujya 145. 166.
Secander lodi 73.
Secander shāh 72. 73.
Senā 56. 118. 274.
Senāi 31.
Seṇpanthi 118.
Seoprasād dās 102.
Setunjoddhar 284.
Sevāsakhtevānī 177.
Shāh jehān 61. 63. 65. 348.
Shāhjehānābād 63.
Shashihī 246.
Shaipāvar 281.
Shātrinsatmakarmakathā 282.
Sheikh medār 186.
Sheikh feridaddīn 274.
Shir shāh 73.
Shodāśakaraniapījā 322.
Siddha 26. 82. 216. 315.
Siddhāchalapījā 283.
Siddhānta 255. 280. 281.
Siddhāntarahasya 131.
Siddhāntasāra 167.
Siddhapāda 214.
Siddhārtha 292. 293.
Sidrāj 338.
Sindūraprakāratikā 282.

Sinhagiri sūri 336.
Sinhagirīśvara āchārya 201.
Sitā 17. 20. 38. 46. 54. 58. 63.
 64. 67. 99. 119. 141. 173.
Sītāl sinh 8.
Sitāpādrī 186.
Skandapurāṇa 4. 12. 194. 220. 248.
Smaraṇasūtra 282.
Smārta brāhmaṇa 120. 129. 195.
 196.
Smṛiti 13. 128. 301.
Smṛitikalataranga 35.
Snānavidhi 283.
Solāh ānā mantra 171.
Solāh nirṇaya 180.
Soma 25. 205.
Somanāth 220-3.
Someśvara 220.
Sparsāna 314.
Spashīhadāyaka 170.
Stava 176.
Stavamālā 168.
Stavāmṛitalahari 168.
Sthānāṅga 284. 286. s. *Thānāṅga*.
Sthiti 313.
Stotrabhāṣya 43.
Sthūlabhadra sūri 336.
Subodhini 131.
Subrahmaṇya 140. 149.
Sudāmā 175. 275.
Sudharmā 299. 300. 304. 320. 336.
Sugorangisūtra 281.
Suhasti 337.
Suhotra 211.
Sukara 141.
Sukhānand 56.
Sukhāsura 56.

- Sukhara* 32, 236.
Sukhadēva 180.
Sukhanidāna 76, 78, 81, 90, 95.
Sukhsdgār 157, 171.
Sukshma 45.
Sulakshmasampardya 312.
Suragati 309.
Surānanda 214.
Surapaññatti 281.
Surāsura dēhārya 201.
Sūr dās 60-2, 68, 115, 268.
Sūr dāsī 62.
Sureśvara 202.
Sūri 337.
Sursurānand 55, 56, 59.
Sūrya 20.
Sūryapati 266.
Sūryasiddhānta 23.
Susthita 337.
Sutāra 211.
Suthrāśāhi 32, 272.
Sūtra 285.
Sūtrabhāṣya 141.
Sūtrakṛitāṅga 284.
Sucitāla 141.
Seadhā 241, 246.
Seādhyāya 45.
Seāhā 246.
Seāmalī 201.
Searga 13, 93, 166.
Sevarīagaṇapati 20.
Sevarīpa 155.
Seasti 246.
Seechchhāmaya 244.
Syādvā 316.
Syādvēddī 316.
Tādī 21.
Taijasa 309.
Tāksāli 96.
Taksār 72.
Tamas 145, 246.
Tāmāsa 11-13, 43.
Tan 125.
Tān sen 137.
Tantra 3, 27, 30, 190, 205, 248-51, 253, 255, 256, 261, 264, 321, 364.
Tantrasāra 141.
Tāntrika 26, 248, 249.
Tapas 147.
Tapta 147.
Tātparyanirīya 13, 141.
Tattva 306, 311, 312, 315.
Tattvavivēka 144.
Tegh bahādur 273.
Tejalesya 295.
Terah panthī 341, 342.
Thākūr dās 102.
Thākūr gosāin 168.
Thāmba 104.
Thānāngī sūtra 281.
Tikā 52, 72.
Tilaka 170, 266.
Tīrtha 202, 203.
Tīrtha (sect of) 26, 202.
Tirthankara 279, 285, 286, 288, 291, 309, 311, 317-22, 328, 331, 339-48.
Tirthapūjā 148.
Tittiri 13.
Toddri 37.
Todar mall 62.
Toṇḍai māṇḍalam 332.

- Trailokyadīpikā* 281, 284.
Trailokyasāra 281.
Frasakāya 313.
Treidūga 215.
Tribhāṅgīsāra 281.
Tridānda 6.
Tridāndī 183, 184, 192.
Trilochana 120.
Trimūrti 19.
Trinśatadhyāna 43.
Tripeti 36.
Triprishītha 292.
Tripunḍra 194, 195.
Tripurakumāra 28.
Tripurāri 79.
Trisālā 292.
Trishashthīśāldākāpurushacharitra 283.
Trishūla 17.
Trotāka dēhārya 201, 202.
Tryambaka 224.
Tulasī 15, 39, 41, 42, 54, 59, 75, 131, 151, 169, 170, 179, 180, 246.
Tulasi dās 60, 63, 64, 68.
Tūrya yantra 23.
Tungabhadra 199.
Tushṭī 246.
Uchchhishītha gaṇapati 20, 263.
Uchchairgotra 309.
Uda kā dās 353.
Udāsī 32, 239, 267-71, 274, 275.
Udāsina 169, 170.
Udaya dās 353.
Udayapur 137, 138.
Udipi 140-2, 148, 150.
Udcarttana 148.
Udyogapareva 212.
Udyotana sūri 337.
Ugra 17.
Ujjala nilamāṇi 167.
Ūkhara 32, 236.
Umā 93, 248.
Upādāna 45.
Upadeśa 162.
Upadeśamālā 282.
Upadeśamṛita 167.
Upadhānavidhi 282.
Upamañyu 12.
Upāṅga 285.
Upānishad 15.
Upāsakadāśa 281, 284, 286.
Upāsanaachandramṛita 165, 168.
Upasargahāratotra 283.
Upasthāna 148.
Ūrdhabāhu 32, 185, 234, 235.
Uśanas 13.
Utsarpīṇi 309.
Uttara 37.
Uttarapurāṇa 279.
Uttarādhyāyanagītā 282.
Uttahāpana 127.
Vādi 304.
Vaidika 248, 251.
Vaibhāṣhika 5.
Vaidyānāth 223.
Vaikriya 309.
Vaikhānasa 15, 16.
Vaikuṇṭha 16, 34, 123, 145, 149, 156, 166.
Vaikuṇṭhapuri 231.
Vaimānika 320.
Vairāgi 32, 33, 46, 54, 55, 57.

98. 154. 169. 183-7. 196. 208.
217. 237. 239. 367.
Vairāgi nāga 239.
Vaisālī 295.
Vaishnava 4. 5. 9. 11. 12. 15. 16.
28-31. 34-188. 192. 196. 205.
237. 239. 240. 251. 255. 265.
266. 274-6. 332. 335. 347. 357.
Vaishnava of Bengal 31. 152-73.
Vaishnava purāṇa 147.
Vaishnava varddhana 168.
Vaishika 12.
Vaisya 2. 175. 335.
Vajana granth 359.
Vajrabanda 341.
Vajrabhūmi 295.
Vajrasākhā 337. 338.
Vajrasvāmi sūri 336-8. 341.
Vaktratunda 267.
Vallabha (āchārya) } 54. 119. 120.
Vallabhasvāmi } 131-7. 154.
157. 365.
Vallabhāchāri 31. 48. 119-36.
Vāma 251.
Vāmāchāri 250. 262. 254. 263.
Vāmanapurāṇa 12.
Vāmatantra 249.
Vāmi s. Vāmāchāri.
Vana arāṇya 202.
Vanaparva 212.
Vānaprastha 192.
Vanśa guru 98.
Vardhapurāṇa 12. 43. 249.
Vara pāñḍya 334.
Varddhamaṇa 292. 293. 305. 321
-4. 327. 330. 332. 333. 339.
343. 344.
Varddhana sūri 294.
Vārhaspatya 5. 22.
Vārisena 321.
Vārṇa 345.
Vārṇabhāvanasandhi 283.
Vārṇatūt 55.
Vārtā 124. 132. 190.
Varuṇa 25.
Vasant 77.
Vasanta vītala 141.
Vasanta yātrā 323.
Vasantotsava 25.
Vasishṭha 13. 284.
Vāsishṭha 299.
Vastradānakathā 283.
Vasu 26.
Vasubhūti 298.
Vasudeva 122.
Vāsudeva 4. 13. 15. 38. 45. 292.
Vasundharā 246.
Vāsūpūjya 344.
Vatsa 299.
Vātsalya 164.
Vāyu 140.
Vāyubhūti 298. 300.
Veda 1. 3. 4. 6. 11. 13. 20. 27.
30. 79. 81. 82. 120. 141. 143.
145. 147. 149. 151. 161. 162.
176. 191. 212. 220. 241. 248 -
-52. 255. 256. 274. 281. 287.
299. 302. 322. 324. 326. 335.
351. 364.
Vedānya 317.
Vedānta 12. 43. 91. 92. 103. 124.
160. 161. 178. 194. 203. 205.
242. 265. 269. 275. 316. 347.
356.

- Vedāntapradīpa* 43.
Vedāntasāra 43.
Vedāntika 44. 300.
Vedārthasaṅgraha 43.
Vedaryāsa 140.
Vellāla 333.
Vellāla rāja 36.
Venkaṭa āchārya 43.
Vetāla 26.
Vibhava 45.
Vibhishana 274.
Vibhūti 186. 194. 195. 224.
Vichāramanjari 282.
Vidagdhamādhava 158. 167.
Vidura 162.
Vidyapati 168.
Vidyārāṇya 203.
Vihāriji 163.
Vijala rāja 226. 332.
Vijaya 320.
Vijayadevi 299.
Vijayanagara 332. 333. 335.
Vijayanti 320.
Vijighatsā 45.
Vijñāneśvara 203.
Vikrama 66.
Vikramāditya 216. 279. 305. 353.
Vileśa 214.
Vimala 103.
Vimṛitiyū 45.
Vinayapatrikā 64.
Vindhyāśvāsinī 253.
Vipakṣarūta 285.
Vipaśyī 290.
Vīra 257.
Virabhadra 212.
Virajas 45.
Virakta 54. 104. 134. 151. 184. 240.
Viraktaru kāvya 230.
Virasaiva 225-7.
Viripāksa 214.
Visabhānandi 292.
Vishnu 2-5. 11. 12. 15. 16. 19.
27-30. 36-41. 43-5. 54. 58.
61. 69. 74. 80. 82. 85. 92. 99.
115-9. 121-3. 126. 132. 137.
141-50. 152. 160. 166. 181.
183. 186. 205. 237. 241. 245.
247. 255. 292. 360.
Vishṇupada 101. 132.
Vishṇupurāṇa 12. 43. 121. 153.
Vishṇusmṛiti 13.
Vishṇusvāmi 34. 35. 119.
Vishṇuvarddhana 37. 332.
Vishishṭhadevita 45.
Viśoka 45.
Viśrānta ghāt 99.
Vistārāhāri 104.
Viśabhū 290.
Viśadeva 50.
Viśanātha chakravartī 168.
Viśaripa 154.
Viśvasena 333.
Viśveśvara 188. 189. 219. 224.
Vītala deva 36.
Vītala nāth 135.
Vitarāṇa āchārya 201.
Vivādhāprajñapti 281.
Vivādhapāñṇatti 281.
Vrajavilāsavarāṇa 167. s. *Braj*
vilās.
Vriddhayaṇa 284.
Vriddhātichāra 282.
Vrīhannāradīyapurāṇa 42.

- Vṛihaspati* 6. 7. 12. 13. 22.
Vṛihatikathā 25. 233. 253.
Vṛihatīśantistava 283.
Vṛishabhānu 175.
Vyakta 299. 300.
Vyaktādvadhūta 262.
Vyantara 320.
Vyāsa 141. 180.
Vyāsadeva 240.
Vyāsasālagrām 142.
Vyāsasmṛiti 13.
Vyāsa (sūtrakāra) 12. 43. 131.
 200. 230. 328. 329.
Vyavahāri 264.
Vyūha 45.

Yādavagiri 37.
Yādudās 348.
Yādunāth 135.
Yājñavalkya 13. 203.

Yaksha 26. 293. 294.
Yama 25. 41. 138.
Yamasmṛiti 18.
Yāmalatantra s. Rudrayāmala-
tantra.
Yasobhadra sūri 336. 338.
Yasodā 122. 293.
Yathādkhyāta 312.
Yati 317-9. 342. 343. 346.
Yatidharma 311.
Yoga 45. 96. 145. 161. 194. 204-
 9. 212. 214. 244. 250. 310.
Yogāchāra 5.
Yogendra 163.
Yogi 18. 21. 32. 33. 56. 87. 99.
 176. 196. 205-18. 239. 240.
Yoginī 255. 257.
Yugalabhakta 169.

Zannār 236.

ERRATA.

Page 10 l. 8 read: taken.	p. 62 l. 22 read: good.
- 12 - 28 - <i>Brahma.</i>	- 68 - 22 - <i>Sirā.</i>
- — - — - caste.	- 96 - 18 - <i>Śālī.</i>
- 15 - 3 - <i>Śiva.</i>	- 114 - 1 - <i>Śikhs.</i>
- — - 6 - by.	- 139 - 21 - <i>MADHGA.</i>
- — - 8 - <i>Rahasya.</i>	- 141 - 17 - superintendence.
- 22 - 8 - <i>Śūnya.</i>	- 149 - 17 - initiated.
- — - 10 - <i>Chārvākas.</i>	- 181 - 8 - outcast.
- 28 - 3 - <i>Kānchi.</i>	- 197 - 13 - descendants.
- — - 13 - <i>Śākta.</i>	- 199 - 3 - have.
- 32 - 13 - <i>Ūrdhabāhus.</i>	- — - — - Notwithstanding.
- — - 14 - <i>Gūdaras.</i>	- 215 - 12 - <i>Tretā.</i>
- — - 21 - <i>Kānchuliyas.</i>	- 216 - 20 - caste.
- 34 - 3 - less.	- 235 - 20. 21 - <i>GŪDARAS.</i>
- 35 - 16 - <i>BRAHMĀ.</i>	- 246 - 16 - <i>Sattva.</i>
- 36 - 3 - <i>Kānchi.</i>	- 249 - 3 - <i>Purāna.</i>
- 37 - 3 - <i>Rājā.</i>	- — - 5 - <i>Tantras.</i>
- — - 31 - <i>Rāmesvara.</i>	- 264 - 1 - <i>KARĀRIS.</i>
- — - — - <i>Kānchi.</i>	- 268 - 30 - <i>Prasāda.</i>
- 51 - 1 - control.	- 275 - 22 - <i>Prasāda.</i>
- 56 - 29 - <i>ANANTĀNAND.</i>	- 298 - 16 - <i>Kshatriya.</i>
- 60 - 22 - <i>Mārvār.</i>	- 379 - 7 - <i>Gūdaras.</i>

