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THE PHILOSOPHY OF
THE ŚRĪMAD-BHĀGAVATA

VOLUME II

SIDDHĒŚVARA BHATTĀCĀRYA

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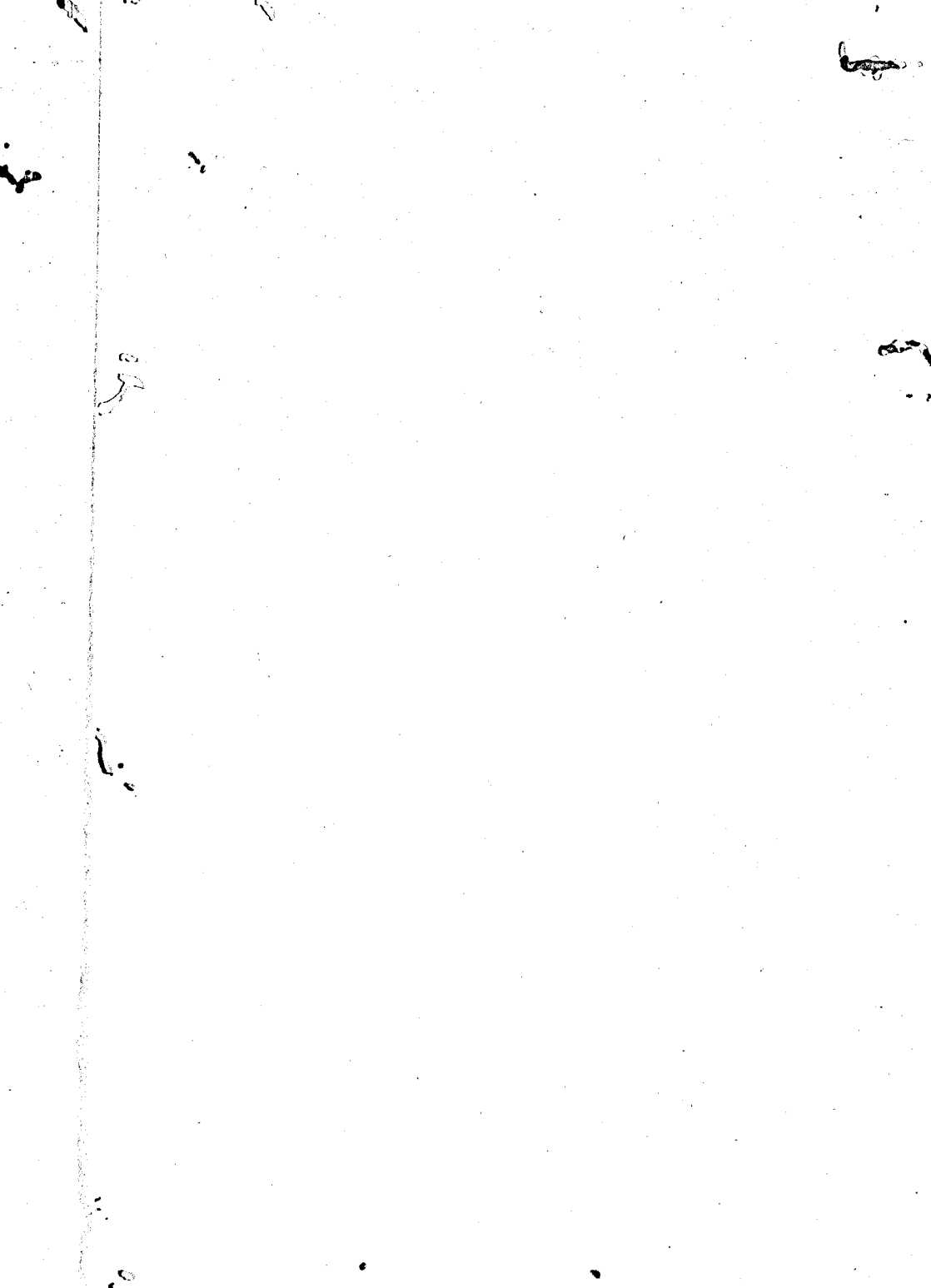
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THE PHILOSOPHY OF
THE ŚRĪMAD-BHĀGAVATA

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THE WRITER'S NOTE

As the counterpart of the first volume of *The Philosophy of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*, dedicated to metaphysics, the second volume is devoted to religion. With slight variations, the treatment of the subject-matter is on the lines of the first volume.

The writer records the kindness of Visva-bharati for undertaking this work under research publications of 1961. The Visva-bharati Library has set the example of co-operation to fulfil the objective of a work like this. The esteemed colleagues—Sri N. Chakravarti, M.A., Dr Shiva Nath, M.A., D.Phil. (Cal.) and Sri K. N. Chatterjee, M.A.—have lent their best services to the publication. Sri Chatterjee has also helped to prepare the bibliography and the indexes. Sri Ranajit Ray, the Officer-in-Charge, Publications, Santiniketan, has always been nice and helpful. The Navana Printing Works Private Ltd. have added a golden feather to their already established reputation in quality printing and excellent manners. To all, the writer acknowledges his respectful indebtedness.

This humble venture has the unique privilege, like its forerunner, of being prefaced with the blessings of Dr S. Radhakrishnan. Silence is their best tribute.

The writer humbly hopes that, like the first volume, this modest offering will also be tolerated.

Santiniketan
31.3.1961.

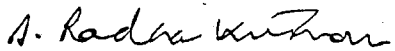
SIDDHESWAR BHATTACHARYA

FOREWORD

I have no doubt that the second volume expounding the *Philosophy of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* will be as valuable as the first and be widely read.

New Delhi

19 November 1961



(S. RADHAKRISHNAN)

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	<i>Adhyāsa-bhāṣya</i>
Ai A	<i>Aitareya-Āraṇyaka</i>
Ānanda.	Ānandagiri's comm. on the <i>Gītā</i>
Apyaya.	Apyayadīkṣita's comm. on the comm. of the comm. on BS
AS	<i>Advaita-siddhi</i>
BBS	<i>Bṛhad-brahma-saṁhitā</i>
Brahma U	<i>Brahma-Upaniṣad</i>
BR	<i>Bhakti-rasā'yana</i>
BRS	<i>Bhakti-rasā'mṛta-sindhu</i>
Dh U	<i>Dhyāna-bindu-Upaniṣad</i>
DU	<i>Darśana-Upaniṣad</i>
Gau.	Gauḍapāda's comm. on SK
Hari.	Hariharānanda's comm. on VB of YS
ĪS	<i>Īśvara-saṁhitā</i>
ĪU	<i>Īśa-Upaniṣad</i>
Jiva	Jiva Gosvāmin
JS	Jaimini's <i>Mīmāṃsā-sūtra</i>
JSa	<i>Jayākhya-saṁhitā</i>
JU	<i>Jābāla-Upaniṣad</i>
Karka	Karka's <i>bhāṣya</i> on KSS
Khila	<i>Khila-sūkta</i>
KP	<i>Kāvya-prakāśa</i>
Kull.	Kullūka's comm. on Manu
Manu	<i>Manu-saṁhitā</i>
Medh.	Medhātithi's comm. on Manu
Mitā.	<i>Mitākṣarā</i> comm. of Vijñāneśvara on Yājña.
MU	<i>Maṇḍala-brāhmaṇa-Upaniṣad</i>
Nā.	<i>Nārada-bhakti-sūtra</i>
Nila.	Nilakaṇṭha's comm. on MB
NP	<i>Nārada-pañcarātra</i>
NS	<i>Nāṭya-śāstra</i>
NU	<i>Nāda-bindu-Upaniṣad</i>
Pāṇi. Śikṣā	<i>Pāṇiniya-śikṣā</i>
Pat.	Patañjali
PT	<i>Padma-tantra</i>
PSB	<i>The Philosophy of the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata Vol. I</i>
Rāgh.	Rāghavānanda's comm. on the comm. of VB of YS
RG	<i>Rasa-gaṅgādhara</i>
Śabara	Śabara's <i>Bhāṣya</i> on JS
Śā.	<i>Śāṇḍilya-bhakti-sūtra</i>

Ṣaṭ. San.	<i>Ṣaṭ-sandarbhā</i>
SK	<i>Ṣāṁkhya-kārikā</i>
Skanda U	<i>Skanda-Upaniṣad</i>
Śrī.	Śrīdhara's comm. on the <i>Śrīmad-Bhāgavata</i>
ṢT	<i>Ṣāradā-tilaka</i>
Sva.	Svapnesvara's comm. on Śā.
Te U	<i>Tejo-bindu-Upaniṣad</i>
UBY	Upaniṣad-brahma-yogin
Yāc.	Yācaspati Mīśra
Vana	<i>Vana-parvan</i> of the MB
VB	Vyāsa's <i>Bhāṣya</i> on YS
Vij.	Vijñāna-bhikṣu's comm. on YS
VU	<i>Vīttaleśopādhyāyī</i> comm. on AS
Yājña.	<i>Yājñavalkya-saṁhitā</i>
Yāska	Yāska's <i>Nirukta</i>
YCU	<i>Yoga-cūdā-maṇi-Upaniṣad</i>
YS	<i>Yoga-sūtra</i>
Yt U	<i>Yoga-tattva-Upaniṣad</i>
YU	<i>Yoga Upaniṣads</i>

SAT-KARMA-SŪCAKO NŪNAM JŪNĀNA-YAJŪNAH SMRTO BUDHAIH.
ŚRĪMAD-BHĀGAVATĀ' LĀPAH SA TU GĪTAH ŚUKĀ'DIBHIH.
BHAKTI-JŪNĀNA-VIRĀGĀNĀM TAD-GHOṢENA BALAM MAHAT.

(Padma-Purāṇa, Uttara-khaṇḍa 2.60, 61ab)

INTRODUCTION

I

I am the unity of being and becoming. I wake, I dream and I fall into dreamless sleep. I drift along the cycle of three states. They all pertain to my self. Yet I endure through them. There is, therefore, duality in me. In one aspect, I am one with the states; in another, I am distinct from them. I am both the fleeting shadow and the undying light. I watch alone the raging storm. I am the apex of both being and becoming.

Although from the common man's point of view the individual seems to be the compromise of being and becoming, yet the dreary conflict between the two frequently compels him to show his preference. The hectic strains of the waking state, wild fantasies of dream and the oblivious vagaries of dreamless sleep tire him out. He pangs for taking shelter in his restful being, away from the turmoils of his pragmatic existence.

Such yearning for a shelter in his being, secured against pragmatism, suggests that there is in the individual a transcendental realm. It is the very core of the individual, the unfathomable depth of his soul beneath its empirical transparency. Free from individuality and its limitations, it is the universal being—the transcendental that provides shelter for all individuals.

Yearning for the transcendental shelter springs from man's instinct for self-preservation. Such yearning, therefore, belongs to the innate nature (*sva-dharma*) of man. So, it is man's innate nature, his religion, to seek refuge in the transcendental being. His analysis of the three states in the Upaniṣadic past bears testimony to his anxiety to discover the immutable beyond all mutations.¹ The religion of man as the yearning for the Infinite

¹ ...*etasya puruṣasya dve eva sthāne bhavataḥ, idaṁ ca para-loka-sthānaṁ ca.* BU 4.3.9; *atha ya eṣa samprasādaḥ... eṣa ātmeti hovāca.* Ch U 8.3.4; *so'yam ātmā catus-pād, jāgarita-sthānaḥ.. svapna-sthānaḥ.. suṣupta-sthānaḥ.. advaitam caturtham manyante..* Mān U 2-5, 7; cf. 10.47.31.

has abode through the ages. Science with all its technological wonders has only deepened it. Religion declares the triumph of man over the sentient world. Being his innate nature, man can never be without it.

Religion, therefore, is the yearning of the individual soul for the Infinite. It develops by conscious attempts. It finds its highest fulfilment with the sublimation of the individual being into the being of the universal.

Religious craving can be gleaned from the *R̥g-Veda*, the earliest extant specimen of intelligent thinking. The *R̥g-Veda* is the chronicle of spiritual aspiration wedded to sensuous consciousness. Natural phenomena inspired the seers with the sense of reverential awe. The whole gamut of feelings—thrill, submission, elation, fear—overtook them, resulting in the spontaneous outburst of music of their heart. The golden ray of the morning sun (Savitṛ) thrilled their being. The sky overcast with cloud humbled them to the moral order of Varuṇa. The splendour of lightning (Indra) elated them. The brooding storm (Rudra), fraught with the possibility of immeasurable damage, caused fear in their heart. The seers² of such phenomena suffered from no inhibitions. They freely gave vent to their feelings. Through hymns, they sought for their friendship and goodwill. These early bards had the 'vision' of gods for they had actually visualized these natural phenomena. Their earnest yearning for sensuous gods, clothed in hymns, has served as the perennial fountain of Indian religion and philosophy.

The modest way in which the yearning for protection against inclement nature found expression was *agni-hotra*,³ the daily oblation morning and evening on fire. Fire is said to have led humanity from savagery to the threshold of civilization. Its employment to the propitiation of gods took man a step forward in that direction. With the dawning of the prospect of life beyond death,⁴ simple oblation, confined to the prosperity in this life, developed into a community ceremonial requiring at least the assistance of four priests.⁵ Assured of finance by mighty kings, it steadily grew in dimension involving a year

² They were seers because they did actually "see" the different physical phenomena.

³ vide PSB, p. 270.

⁴ Śābara on JS 6.1.2 defines heaven as pleasure: *pṛīṭiḥ svargah*.

⁵ PSB, p. 272.

or thirty years or even the entire life of the patron.⁶ Sometimes, the patron might be anxious to reap the benefits of sacrifice not only for himself but also for his lineage. Sacrifice had thus become in some cases not a personal business but the affair of the family. *Satra*, enduring for one thousand years,⁷ thus came into existence.

Sacrifice in this way became a cult. The main ritual along with its preliminary and subsequent rites had to be an extremely complicated affair. The number of priests enhanced to cope with the situation. Manuals were composed to guide the entire process. Not a single flaw was allowed to vitiate it. Concessions, offered in *agni-hotra*,⁸ were strictly withdrawn from the *yāgas*. If the patron was anxious for heaven it devolved on him to see that the performance was perfect in every detail.⁹

This emphasis on ceremonial purity, consequent upon the shifting of purpose from selfless act to heaven, hardened the whole thing into a mechanical process. Everything including the gods became cog to this machinery.¹⁰ Sacrifice was the order of the day. The *Vedas* had nothing to offer excepting prescriptions for sacrifice.¹¹ In short, everything was geared to sacrifice—the magic that could yield everything. Perform it perfectly and the result is yours.

But mechanical regimentation of human activities gradually dried up the sap of life. The craving for the infinite was exhausted upon the externals. So religion of man declared crusade against sacrifice. From outside ramblings, man dived deep into

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 273.

⁷ KSS prescribes *satra* lasting for one thousand years. It opines that such sacrifice is for the gods to perform; for, human longevity is too short to do it. The commentator suggests that human generations may be involved if it is meant for man. *sahasra-samvatsaram amanuṣyānām asambhavāt* (1.138).

⁸ The aphorism — *kartur vā śruti-samyogāt* (JS 2.4.2.) prescribes *agni-hotra* as an obligatory daily duty.

⁹ KSS classifies action into obligatory and optional (*kāmya*). While the aphorism — *viguṇe phala-nirvṛttir aṅga-pradhāna-bhedāt* (1.39) admits success of the main sacrifice in spite of some inaccuracy in the performance of its subsidiaries, no such concession is allowed in the optional sacrifice: *na, śruti-lakṣaṇatvāt* (1.42.)

¹⁰ A god cannot claim a share in any sacrifice as a matter of right; he can have it only if an injunction ordains it for him. This is the view of the *Karka-bhāṣya*: *devatā-śabdā tu codanā-lakṣaṇaḥ—yā yatra codyate sā tatra devatā; nahi jātyā kācid devatā'sti.* (*Karka-bhāṣya* on KSS 1.23). This is so, though sacrifice was meant for pleasing gods: *yajāmahe saumanasāya devān* (RV 1.76.2d.).

¹¹ *āmnāyasya kriyārthatvād ānarthakyam atadarthānām...* (JS 1.2.1).

the glory of his own being.¹² Physical act was transformed into contemplation.¹³ Knowledge developed from the sensuous to the super-sensuous. Sacrifice was censured as precarious plank.¹⁴ Prescription for sacrifice was taken as the gibberish of the blind to show path to their fellow brethren.¹⁵

The triumph of knowledge in the *Upaniṣads* disowned the claim of action.¹⁶ Ācārya Śaṅkara's uncompromising plea¹⁷ for knowledge is said to have represented the true spirit of the *Upaniṣads*. He ruled out the operation of action in the dawning of knowledge. Subsequently, however, this stoic denial was somewhat softened by his followers. Vācaspati Miśra, for example, acknowledged the utility of action in an indirect way: Action could purify the mind, thus making it fit for knowledge.¹⁸

It must be noted here that although the *Upaniṣads* had reacted violently to physical activity, they gradually came to terms with it. While excluding motivated action (*kāmya-karman*), the *Upaniṣads* welcomed daily and occasional duties (*nitya* and *naimittika*) in due recognition of their purificatory value.¹⁹ Śaṅkara and his followers may thus be said to have voiced respectively the earlier and the later attitudes of the *Upaniṣads* towards action.

Man now centred his attention, released from physical performance, upon Upaniṣadic Brahman, the immutable universal. The *Upaniṣads* recommended meditation (*nididhyāsana*) of identity between the individual and the universal.²⁰ The

¹² *parāñci khāni vyatṛṇat svayambhūṣ
tasmāt parāñ paśyati nāntarātman.
kaścīd dhīraḥ pratyag-ātmānam aikṣad
āvṛtta-cakṣur amṛtatvam icchan..* Kaṭ U 4.1.

¹³ BU 1.1.1.

¹⁴ *plavā hyete a-dṛḍhā yajña-rūpāḥ.* Mun U 1.2.7a.

¹⁵ *andhenāiva nīyamānā yathā'ndhāḥ.* Kaṭ U 2.5d.

¹⁶ *yat karmaṇo na pravedayanti rāgāt.* Mun U 1.2.9c.

¹⁷ *brahma-jijñāsā'pi yat pūrva-vṛttam nīyamenā'pekṣate
tad vaktavyam.. nanviha karmāvabodhānantaryam viśeṣaḥ ?
na; .. iha.. śeṣa-śeṣitve'adhikṛtā'dhikāre vā
pramāṇā'bhāvāt—*Śaṅkara on BS 1.1.1.

¹⁸ *ārād-upakāratvam tattva-jñānotpādaṁ prati citta-śuddhyā
karmanām yuktam —* Vācaspati on Śaṅkara's interpretation of BS 1.1.1.

¹⁹ *kurvañ eveha karmāṇi jijīviṣec chatam samāḥ.
evaṁ tvayi nā'nyatheto'sti na karma lipyate nare..* ĪU 2.

Ācārya Śaṅkara remarks: *karmāṇi = agni-hotṛā'dīni.* This shows that obligatory duties, both daily and occasional, are conducive to knowledge.

²⁰ *tat tvam asi.* ChU 6.8.7.

Upaniṣads breathe the air of cold indifference to the Vedic gods. As a result, they dwindle in number to dissolve ultimately into the abstract being of Brahman.²¹

The concept of Brahman is a metaphysical abstraction of the sense of unity that has saturated the entire Vedic literature. Behind the multiplicity of gods—Agni, Yama and Mātariśvan—the *Ṛg-Veda*²² has discerned the One. The *Atharva-Veda* has asserted it to be the pillar (*skambha*) of the earth and the heaven, the spirit that pervades all.²³ This unity was not lost in the rituals. For, as the *Aitareya-Āraṇyaka* points out, the priests of all the three categories, adhering to the *Ṛg-Veda*, the *Yajur-Veda* and the *Sāma-Veda* respectively, have articulated that truth through their performances.²⁴ Indeed sacrifice was nothing but the confirmation of that all-embracing truth (Viṣṇu).²⁵

The *Nirukta* of Yāska, in its discussion on the Vedic gods, has liberated the One from the vagary of earlier thought. The One was the unity of sensuous gods—one god with many names²⁶ responding to variety of functions.²⁷ Among the views on the nature of that one god, Yāska prefers to visualize Him as human, i.e., Puruṣa.²⁸ Obviously, Yāska has drawn upon the Vedic heritage on this issue. Puruṣa is both immanent and transcendent, says the *Puruṣa-sūkta*²⁹ of the *Ṛg-Veda*. The *Yajur-Veda* has discerned His transcendental being shining beyond the pale of darkness.³⁰ The *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa*, on the other hand, has observed his immanent being to enter and pervade the com-

²¹ *kati devāḥ? ... trayas ca trī ca śatā trayas ca trī ca sahasreti. ... katama eko deva iti? prāṇa iti; sa brahma, tyad ityācakṣate.* BU 3.9.1, 9.

²² *ekam sad viprā bahudhā vadanti agniṃ yamaṃ mātariśvanam āhuḥ.* RV 1.164.46cd; AV 9.10.28. vide also RV 10.114.5.

²³ *skambheneme viṣṭabhite dyauṣ ca bhūmiṣ ca tiṣṭhataḥ. skambha idam sarvam ātmanvat yat prāṇan nimiṣac ca yat.* AV 10.8.2.

²⁴ *etaṃ hyeva bahvṛcā mahatyukthe mīmāṃsantaḥ, etam agnau ādhvaryavaḥ, etam mahāvrate chandogāḥ.* Ai A. 3.2.3.12

²⁵ *yajño vai viṣṇuḥ*— SB 1.3.1.16; 1.4.1.2 etc.

²⁶ *māhābhāgyād devatāyā eka ātmā bahudhā stūyate, ekasya ātmanah anye devāḥ pratyāṅgāni bhavanti.* Nirukta 7.4.

²⁷ *ekasyā api bahūni nāmadheyāni bhavanti yaṣi vā karma-pṛthaktvāt.* ibid. 7.5.

²⁸ *athā'kāra-cintanam devatānām: puruṣa-vidhāḥ syur ityekam.* ibid. 7.6.

²⁹ RV 10.90.

³⁰ VS 31.18.

posite bodies (*pura*).³¹ The *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka*³² has summed up both the aspects in its definition of Puruṣa as "the supreme Reality, smaller than the smallest and yet larger than the largest, suspending all directions and filling everything, like a giant tree, with His being."

In the *Upaniṣads*, the idea of the One made its way, through intellect, as Brahman, and through devotion, as the Supreme Deity. Yet the basic identity between Brahman and Puruṣa was duly recognized by the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*.³³ Indeed, the *Kaṭha*, the *Muṇḍaka* and the *Śvetāśvatara*, in pursuance of the recommendation of the *Nāśādiya-sūkta*³⁴ of the *Ṛg-Veda* to vision Reality in the depth of heart, rediscovered Puruṣa as the Supreme Deity, the cherished goal of the devout soul. So the One was Brahman through metaphysical abstraction, and the Supreme Deity in the fervour of spiritual aspiration.

Man's craving for the Infinite found its shelter in the Supreme Deity. Through physical exertion man had reached sacrifice; with the flight of knowledge, he attained Brahman. With devotion, he obtained the perfection of humanity, the Supreme Deity. From the times of the *Ṛg-Veda*, man had tried to forge personal ties with the gods. They were looked upon as the father, the mother, the friend and even the beloved.³⁵ These ties, kept in narrow confines during the sacrificial era, came to their own round the concept of the Supreme Deity. In man's feelings for Him, met all his efforts and his knowledge.

³¹ *purāś cakre dvi-padaḥ purāś cakre caṭuṣ-padaḥ.*
purāḥ sa pakṣi bhūtā purāḥ puruṣa āviśat... SB 14.5.5.18.

³² *yasmāt paraṁ nā'paraṁ asti kiñcid*
yasmān nā'nīyo na jyāyo'sti kaścit.
urkṣa iva stabdho divi tiṣṭhatyekah.
teneḍaṁ pūrṇaṁ puruṣeṇa sarvaṁ... TA 10.10.3.

³³ *ātmaivedaṁ agra āsit puruṣa-vidhaḥ* BU 1.4.1; *taṁ tu aupaniṣadaṁ*
puruṣaṁ prechāmi BU 3.9.26.

vide also, *yadā paśyaḥ paśyate rukma-varṇaṁ*
kartāraṁ iṣaṁ puruṣaṁ brahma-yonim. MunU 3.1.3ab.
sa vā eṣa puruṣa-vidha eva. TU 2.5.

³⁴ *sato bandhum a-sati nir-avindan*
hṛdi pratīṣyā kavayo maṇiṣā. RV 10.129.4cd.

³⁵ Agni as the parents: *pitā mātā sadamin mānuṣāṇām.* RV 6.1.5d.

Indra as dear friend: *ka indrasya yujyaṁ kaḥ sakhitvaṁ*
ko bhrātraṁ vaṣṭi. RV 4.25.2ab.

Indra as dear husband: *acchā ma indraṁ matayaḥ svar-vidah*
paṛiṣvajante janayo yathā patim. RV 10.43.1ac.

Aśvini-kumāra-dvaya are addressed as self-sought husbands:
ko vāṁ śayutrā vidhaveva devaraṁ
maryaṁ na yoṣā kṛṇute... RV 10.40.2cd.

The total man thus responded to the total being of God.

God reciprocated the craving of man choosing him as His own.³⁶ Free choice by God acquired the name of divine grace.³⁷ Man took refuge in God, as God extended His protection to man.³⁸ The soul of man was saved.³⁹ The craving for the Infinite assumed the peak of devotion (*parā bhakti*) with the emergence of the all-protective being of God.⁴⁰

God was Bhagavān. In the *R̥g-Veda*, *bhaga* or majesty belonged to Viṣṇu.⁴¹ So Viṣṇu as the possessor of majesty could legitimately be asked for protection. Man put his trust in the powers of Viṣṇu, sought refuge in Him, in the hope that the Lord will save him from the humdrum of pragmatism.

II

The religion of man with Viṣṇu as the god of worship received great impetus at the hand of Kṛṣṇa, the son of Devakī. Viṣṇu was his family deity. Endowed with extraordinary personality, Kṛṣṇa was soon deified and then integrated into Viṣṇu. The merger of Bhagavān Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa resulted in the emergence of Bhagavān Śrī-Kṛṣṇa,⁴² the eternal spring of bliss.⁴³

The term *bhakti* is first found in Yāska,⁴⁴ but without religious association. Pāṇini⁴⁵ uses it in the sense of 'adorable'.⁴⁶

³⁶ *yam eva eṣa vṛṇute tena labhyaḥ*. Kaṭ U 2.23c.

³⁷ *tam a-kratuḥ paśyati vīta-śoko dhātuh prasādān mahimānam ātmanah*.. ibid. 2.20cd.

³⁸ *taṁ ha devam ātma-buddhi-prakāśam mumukṣur vai śaranam ahaṁ prapadye*. ŚU 6.18cd.

³⁹ *yadā carmavad ākāśam veṣṭayīṣyanti manavāḥ*.

tadā devam a-vijñāya duḥkhasyā'nto bhaviṣyati.. ibid., 6.20.

⁴⁰ *yasya deve parā bhaktir yathā deve tathā gurau*.

tasyaite kathitā hyarthaḥ prakāśante mahātmanah.. ibid., 6.23.

⁴¹ *prātar jitam bhagam ugram huvema*. RV 7.41.2a.

Skanda-svāmin, while commenting on *Nirukta* 12.14, offers the following explanation of the word *bhaga*: *bhago vaktavyaḥ bhajaniyo bhūtānām sva-kārya-prayuktānām ... jyotir-viśeṣo bhagā-khyo'tyanta-bhāsvarah prakāśaḥ*.

⁴² vide PSB, Chapter IV.

⁴³ RV 1.164.40, 7.41.4, 10.60.12 and AV 2.8.1, 5.31.11 use the word *bhagavat* in the sense of the blissful.

⁴⁴ The *Nirukta* uses the word *bhakti* in the sense of metaphorical expression: *bahu-bhakti-vādīni hi brāhmaṇāni bhavanti* (7.24). But in 7.8. the word is applied to mean relationship: *agni-bhaktīni* (related to Agni). Skanda-svāmin explains *bhakti* as follows:—*bhajaniyo bhaktiḥ ... athavā bhajanam bhaktiḥ*. Skanda on *Nirukta* 7.8.

⁴⁵ *bhaktiḥ*—Pāṇini 4.3.95.

⁴⁶ The *Kāśikā* explains the word *bhakti* to mean the adorable: *bhajyate sevayate iti bhaktiḥ*.

In the same context, Pāṇini deals with the term *vāsudevaka*.⁴⁷ Patañjali, in his gloss, points out⁴⁸ that the term means 'follower of Vāsudeva, the god of gods'. This suggests that by the time of Patañjali (and most probably even at time of Pāṇini for otherwise the term *vāsudevaka* cannot be explained⁴⁹) the historical Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva was lifted to the dignity of the supreme deity, the object of adoration, by a band of followers who looked on him as the supreme godhead.

The historical Kṛṣṇa was born in the Vṛṣṇi branch of the Sātvata family. It was in fitness of things that his beliefs on Viṣṇu-worship would spread to his family and then to the Sātvata population. The Sātvatas were the original *vāsudevakas*, i.e., the followers of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva as to his religious belief. The Sātvatas were thus the first devotees, although later on the term lost its ethnic significance to include any person who recognized Kṛṣṇa as the supreme deity.⁵⁰

The *R̥g-Veda* refers to the family of the Yadus.⁵¹ Its northern section had inhabited Śūrasena, the country round modern Mathurā, and was known as the Śūrasenakas. Its southern section had founded five kingdoms south of the Vindhya. Distributed in five kingdoms, this section was known as the Sātvatas.⁵² The *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*⁵³ describes the Sātvatas to be the dwellers of a country neighbouring that of the Bharatas. The *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*⁵⁴ mentions the Sātvatas as the people of the South. It would thus appear that the Yadus had colonized the wide area of India, both the North and the South.

Acceptance of the beliefs of Kṛṣṇa on Viṣṇu-worship gradually boiled down to the recognition of Kṛṣṇa as the su-

⁴⁷ *vāsudevā'rjunābhyām vun*—Pāṇini 4.3.98.

⁴⁸ Patañjali on Pāṇini 4.3.98 explains the word as follows:—*naiṣā kṣatriyā'khyā samjñaiṣā tatra bhagavatah*.

⁴⁹ Had the term meant merely "someone born in the Vāsudeva family" then the following aphorism of Pāṇini, viz., *gotra-kṣatriyā'khyebhyo bahulam vuñ* (4.3.99) would have been able to cover the word *vāsudeva*. In that case, the previous aphorism would have been redundant, at least in so far as it relates to Vāsudeva.

⁵⁰ The *Sānti-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* uses the word *sātvata* to mean merely a devotee (vide, e.g., 12.348.34, 55).

⁵¹ *yadus turvaś ca māmāhe*. RV 10.62.10d.

⁵² S. Krishnaswami Aiyar, *The Sātvatas, Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference*, pp. 353-355.

⁵³ SB 13.5.4.21.

⁵⁴ *etasyañ dākṣiṇasyāñ diśi ye ke ca sātvatāñ rājāno bhaujyāyau te abhiśicyante*. Ai B 8.3.14.

preme godhead, so that Viṣṇu-worship meant the worship of Bhagavān Śrī-Kṛṣṇa. When such worship was adopted by the Sātvatas, it meant the propagation of Vāsudevaism (i.e., the worship of Bhagavān Śrī-Kṛṣṇa) by leaps and bounds, for the Sātvatas by their sheer number outstripped or at least overwhelmed the rest of the people of India. Moreover, Vāsudevaism had the quality of universal religion. It recognized the right of everybody to gain access to God.

Indeed anybody who paid his adoration to Bhagavān Śrī-Kṛṣṇa as the supreme deity was a *bhāgavata*—a term which like *sātvata* stood for a devotee. Ghosundi Stone Inscription (200-150 B.C.)⁵⁵ refers to a *bhāgavata* setting up a pillar together with the wall round the temple (*pūjā-śilā-prākāra*) of Vāsudeva. Besnagar Inscription⁵⁶ (cir. 150 B.C.) describes Heliodorus, a Greek, to have acquired the title of *parama-bhāgavata*. Nanaghat Inscription⁵⁷ (100 B.C.) mentions Vāsudeva as a deity. These inscriptions, especially the second, suggest that the Vāsudeva cult (i.e., the worship of Bhagavān Śrī-Kṛṣṇa) had crossed the frontiers of the Sātvatas to capture, as early as the second century B.C., the hearts of foreigners. They were other than the Sātvatas and yet devotees of Bhagavān. They were thus called the Bhāgavatas.

Megasthenes had found the people of Śūrasena (Souraseni) worshipping Heracles (Hari).⁵⁸ Megasthenes had lived for many years in the court of Candragupta Maurya. It may therefore be concluded that Vāsudevaism had established itself by the fourth century B.C.

Under the patronage of the *parama-bhāgavata* Imperial Guptas, Vaiṣṇavism became almost the national religion of India. Although intervened by powerful sovereigns like Yaśovarman and Harṣa, adherents to non-Vaiṣṇava creed, the impact of Vaiṣṇavism was strong upon the people, so as to countenance attack from Ācārya Śaṅkara⁵⁹ who flourished several centuries

⁵⁵ *Epigraphia Indica*, Lüder's Ins. No. 6.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, Lüder's Ins. No. 669.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, Lüder's Ins. No. 112.

⁵⁸ Mc Crindle, pp. 140, 201.

⁵⁹ Commenting on the BS 2.2.42, Ācārya Śaṅkara remarks: *tatra bhāgavatā manyante—bhagavān evaiko vāsudevah ... sa caturdhātmānam pravibhajya pratiṣṭhitah*. It may be noted here that the Ācārya is not opposed to what he calls 'Bhāgavata metaphysics' but his criticism is directed to the Doctrine of *Vyūhas*.

later. Vaiṣṇavism has permeated the saints of mediaeval India, resulting in the emergence of four Vaiṣṇava schools by Rāmānuja, Nimbārka, Vallabha and Madhva. Its appeal has conquered the hearts of Tamil saints, the Alwars. Vaiṣṇavism possesses unique vitality that satisfies the deep-seated spiritual hunger in man.

The impact of the historical Kṛṣṇa on the evolution of Vaiṣṇavism resulted in the emergence of Bhāgavatism, i.e., the worship of Bhagavān Śrī-Kṛṣṇa as the supreme deity.⁶⁰ But Vaiṣṇavism had another stream of evolution known as the Pañcarātra cult. It may be noted here that the difference between the Bhāgavata cult and the Pañcarātra cult has not always been very clear. The *Padma-tantra*,⁶¹ for instance, takes them to be the same. The attack of Ācārya Śaṅkara⁶² on the Bhāgavata cult is, in fact, an attack on the Pañcarātra doctrine.

Like the Bhāgavata cult, the Pañcarātra cult is also traced to the *Puruṣa-sūkta* of the *Rg-Veda*. The *Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa*⁶³ observes that the hermit Nārāyaṇa, to whom the *Puruṣa-sūkta* was revealed, performed a sacrifice called Pañcarātra and that raised him to the highest position. The history of fusion between the worshipper and the worshipped, exemplified in the fusion of the historical Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu, thus repeats itself in the identification of the hermit Nārāyaṇa with Viṣṇu. So corresponding to Kṛṣṇa Bhagavān of the Bhāgavata cult, arose Nārāyaṇa Viṣṇu as the highest deity of the Pañcarātra cult. The two streams of Vaiṣṇavism, represented by the historical Kṛṣṇa and the hermit Nārāyaṇa respectively, had fused for the first time into one, as recorded by the *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka*.⁶⁴ The *Āraṇyaka* identifies, on the one hand, Nārāyaṇa with Viṣṇu, and Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa) with Viṣṇu, on the other. By the time of the *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka*, therefore, the Bhāgavata cult and

⁶⁰ *kṛṣṇe sva-dhāmoṣagate dharma-jñānā'dibhiḥ saha. kalau naṣṭa-dṛśām eṣa purānā'rko'dhunoditah . . .* 1.3.45.

⁶¹ *sūriḥ suhṛd bhāgavataḥ sātватаḥ pañca-kāla-vit. ekāntikaḥ tanmayaś ca pañca-rātrika ityapi . . .*

PT 4.2.88. vide JRAS 1911, p. 935.

⁶² vide ref. 59 above. The Doctrine of *Vyūha*, which the Ācārya criticises is the characteristic dogma of the Pañcarātra and not of the Bhāgavata school.

⁶³ SB 13.6.1.1.

⁶⁴ *nārāyaṇāya vidmahe vāsudevāya dhīmahi tan no viṣṇuḥ pracodayāt. TA 10.1.6.*

the Pañcarātra cult had fused together in the general stream of Viṣṇuism.

The *Īśvara-saṃhitā*⁶⁵ gives a different version of the origin of the Pañcarātra cult. It derives the cult from the *Ekāyana-Veda* which, according to Nāgeśa,⁶⁶ is the Kāṇva branch of the white *Yajur-Veda*. The *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*⁶⁷ mentions Nārada to have read the *Ekāyana*. According to the *Īśvara-saṃhitā*,⁶⁸ the white *Yajur-Veda* is called *ekāyana* because it is the only way to liberation. This interpretation by the *Saṃhitā* seems to have been based on a passage of the *Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad*.⁶⁹ The *Spanda-dīpikā* refers to the *Pañcarātra-śruti*⁷⁰ and the *Pañcarātra-Upaniṣad*.⁷¹ Thus the *Īśvara-saṃhitā* and the *Spanda-dīpikā* are out to establish that the Pañcarātra cult of the hermit Nārāyaṇa is well-grounded in the Vedic tradition—the *Veda*, the *Brāhmaṇa*, the *Āraṇyaka* and the *Upaniṣad*.

Apart from the attempts to derive the Pañcarātra cult from Vedic tradition, the *Mahābhārata*⁷² gives a different story as to its origin. It records a tradition that seven *citra-śikhaṇḍin ṛṣis* (hermits) had proclaimed a *śāstra* on par with the four *Vedas*. It contained one lac of verses and was meant for the

⁶⁵ *eṣa ekāyano vedah prakhyātah sarvato bhuvī. Īśvara-saṃhitā* 1.43.

⁶⁶ Nāgeśa says: *ekāyana-śākhā = śukla-yajur-vedīya-kāṇva-śākhā*—Madras Government Oriental Library Triennial Catalogue III, p. 3299.

⁶⁷ Ch U 7.1.2.

⁶⁸ *mokṣāyanāya vai panthā etad-anya na vidyate. tasmād ekāyanam nāma pravandanti manīṣiṇah.*

Īśvara-saṃhitā 1.18.

⁶⁹ *vedāham etam puruṣam mahāntam āditya-varṇam tāmasah parastāt. tam eva viditvā'ti mṛtyum eti nānyah panthā vidyate'yanāya.. ŚU 3.8.*

This verse is from VS 31.18. It is interesting to note that the exposition of *ekāyana* by the *Īśvara-saṃhitā* (vide 68 above) is really a paraphrasing of the fourth foot of this verse, and Nāgeśa may have noticed it. The mention of the *Yajur-Veda* in Ch U 7.1.2, besides *ekāyana*, may be interpreted as referring to, say, its *mādhyandina* branch.

⁷⁰ *Spanda-dīpikā*, p. 2.

⁷¹ *ibid.*, p. 40.

⁷² *ye hi te ṛṣayah khyātah sapta-citra-śikhaṇḍinah. tair eka-matibhir bhūtvā yat proktaṃ śāstram uttamam. vedaiḥ caturbhiḥ samitam kṛtam merau mañā-girau.. marīcīr atryaṅgirasau pulastyah pulahah kratuh. vasiṣṭhaś ca mahā-tejās te hi citra-śikhaṇḍinah.. kṛtam śata-sahasraṃ hi ślokānām idam uttamam. loka-tantrasya kṛtsnasya yasmād dharmah pravartate..*

populace. The zest of the great Rāmānuja,⁷³ a Pañcarātrin, to establish his system of thought to have sprung from the *Vedas* reflects a view, looming large through centuries, that the Pañcarātra arose outside the Vedic tradition. Apyayadikṣita,⁷⁴ for one, refused to believe that the *Ekāyana-Veda* had ever existed or that it was the Kāṇva branch of the white *Yajur-Veda*. He has no illusion that the Pañcarātra cult had ever anything to do with the *Vedas*.

Among the modern scholars, R. P. Canda⁷⁵ traces both the Bhāgavata and the Pañcarātra cults from Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva. According to him, "from the very beginning, Vāsudevaism might have had two distinct phases—one Brāhmaṇic professed by orthodox Brāhmins and tribes and castes, and the other un-Brāhmaṇic professed by ābhīras and Saurāṣtras". Canda concludes: "Pañcarātra grew out of the primitive worship of Saṁkarsaṇa, Vāsudeva and other Viṣṇi chiefs as the hero-gods by the barbarian ābhīras and the other Saurāṣtras. The religion, on the other hand, of the *Gītā* represents the orthodox phase of Vāsudevaism in its full developed form."⁷⁶

It would appear that Pañcarātra as a system was later than Bhāgavata. The *Bhagavad-gītā* mentions Sāṁkhya and Yoga.⁷⁷ In the *Nārāyaṇīya*,⁷⁸ however, which is later than the *Gītā*, Pañcarātra finds mention. As already indicated, Vāsudevaism or Bhāgavataism had established itself as early as the fourth century B.C. The *Gītā*, the first embodiment of the teachings of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, is regarded as belonging to that period. The *Nārāyaṇīya*, on the other hand, is related to 100 A.D. Pañcarātra, therefore, may be said to have taken

⁷³ cf. Rāmānuja's *Āgama-prāmānya*.

⁷⁴ *ye vājasaneyi-śākhām adhityā'tac-chākhā-gṛhyokta-prakāreṇa saṁskārān anuṣṭhanti teṣāṁ śākhā-raṇḍatayā eva brāhmaṇya-vaikalyaṁ pratiṣṭhāpitam. ye tu trayi-vihitān saṁskārān paritṛyaya pāñca-rātra-vihitān eva saṁskārān anuṣṭhanti, teṣāṁ vaidika-karmāṇi paritṛyayāvaidika-karmā-nuṣṭhānena tat pratiṣṭhāpitam. na hyekāyana-śākhēti kācana śākhā kvacid adhiyamānā dṛśyate, yena tan-mūlatayā te saṁskārā vaidikāḥ syuḥ. khila-śākhātva-kalpanam ca na pramāṇa-mūlam. Apyayadikṣita, p. 574.*

⁷⁵ Canda, *Archaeology and Vaiṣṇava Tradition*, p. 165.

⁷⁶ *ibid.* pp. 165-66.

⁷⁷ The MB (12.349.73a.) says:—

sāṁkhyam ca yogam ca sanātane dve. Nilakanṭha, the commentator, remarks:—tena pāñcarātrasya pum-praṇītatvaṁ veda-viruddhatvaṁ ca sūcitam.

⁷⁸ *sāṁkhyam yogam pāñca-rātram vedāraṇyakam eva ca.*

jñānānyetāni brahmarṣe lokeṣu pracaranti ha.. MB 12.349.1.

several centuries, after the consolidation of the Bhāgavata cult into a system in the *Gītā*, before it could find entrance in the *Nārāyaṇīya* as a system.

The two systems, Bhāgavata and Pañcarātra, mutually differ, *inter alia*, in the following respects:—

(1) While the Bhāgavata system, founded as it is by Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva of the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*, is unquestionably based upon the Vedic tradition, the Pañcarātra system is looked upon, at least in some quarters, a suspect.

(2) The Bhāgavata system, at least as it is found in the *Gītā*, moves within the confines of the four castes, but the Pañcarātra system shows greater flexibility.

(3) Bhāgavata of the *Gītā* looks upon the *Dharma-sūtras* as guides to *dharma*, but Pañcarātra has composed its own manuals (*Samhitās*) for the same purpose.

(4) Bhāgavata adheres to the *mantra*: *om namo bhagavate vāsudevāya*, while Pañcarātra sticks to the *mantra*: *om namo nārāyaṇāya*.

(5) While the doctrine of Incarnation occupies a prominent place in the Bhāgavata system, the doctrine of fourfold Emanation has engaged the attention of the Pañcarātra system.

(6) Śiva has a pride of place in Bhāgavata; but Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu concerns Pañcarātra.

(7) Bhāgavata thought is monistic while Pañcarātra is dualistic.

But the parallel streams of the two schools have influenced each other in the following ways:—

(1) The Bhāgavata school has appropriated the following from the Pañcarātra school:—(a) the doctrine of Emanation (*vyūha*) absorbed in the doctrine of Incarnation (*avatāra*); (b) the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, professedly a Pañcarātra work, drawn upon by the *Bhāgavata* for stories; (c) worship of Lakṣmī, the consort of Nārāyaṇa, adopted by the *parama-bhāgavata* Imperial Guptas; (d) contributions of the Alvars, the spiritual teachers of the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava sect, welcomed by the *Bhāgavata*.

(2) On the other hand, the Pañcarātra school has adopted the following from the Bhāgavata school:—(a) the doctrine of Incarnation in modified form; (b) the worship of Vāsudeva; (c) acceptance of the *Gītā* by the great Rāmānuja who wrote a commentary thereon.

Indeed, the passage of the *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka*, referred to

above, the acquisition of the title of *parama-bhāgavata* by Heliodorus who was none of the four castes, the treatment by the *Padma-tantra*⁷⁹ of the two schools as one, the presupposition of Ācārya Śaṅkara—all point to the conclusion that Bhāgavata and Pañcarātra could hardly ever maintain their individuality. Yet, that there was rivalry between the two is reflected in the attitude of Rāmānuja towards the *Bhāgavata*. From the evidence of Alberuni it is clear that the *Bhāgavata* did exist before 1030 A.D. Rāmānuja was born in 1017 A.D. A work of celebrity like the *Bhāgavata* could not possibly escape the notice of Rāmānuja. It is said that wherever Rāmānuja went he tried to substitute the Pañcarātra manual for the *Vaikhānasa-saṁhitā* of the Bhāgavata school.

In this magnificent panorama of the evolution of Vaiṣṇavism, the *Gītā* is the first repository of the teachings of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva. In the *Gītā*, Kṛṣṇa is referred to as Bhagavān;⁸⁰ and so, the *Gītā* is the first authentic pronouncement of the *bhāgavata-dharma*. This unique religion comes to full flowering in the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* that professes to be the mature fruit of the *Vedas*.⁸¹ A large number of saints have taken to this religion.⁸² The *Bhāgavata* provides a couple of lists⁸³ on this issue.

⁷⁹ vide ref. 59, 61 above.

⁸⁰ The *Gītā*, wherever it refers to Kṛṣṇa, addresses him as Bhagavān.

⁸¹ *nigama-kalpataror galitam phalam.* 1.1.3a.

⁸² *vedāham aṅga paramasya hi yoga-māyām
yūyam bhavaś ca bhagavān atha daitya-varyaḥ.
patnī manoḥ sa ca manuś ca tad-ātmajāś ca
pracīna-varhi ybhur aṅga uta dhruvaś ca..
ikṣvākur aila-mucukunda-vidaha-gādhi-
raghvambariṣa-sagarā gaya-nāhuṣā dyāh.
mādhāturalarka-śatadhanvanu-rantidevā
devavrato valir amūrta-rayo dilipah..
saubharyutaṅka-śivi-devala-pippalāda-
sārasvatoddhava-parāśara-bhūriṣenāh.
ye'nye vibhīṣaṇa-hanūmad-upendra-datta-
pārthāṛṣṭiṣeṇa-vidura-śruta-devavaryāh.
te vai vidantiyatitaranti ca deva-māyām
strī-sūdra-hūṇa-savarā api pāpa-jivāh.
yadyadbhuta-krama-parā yaṇa-śila-śikṣās
tiryag-jaṇā api kimu śruta-dhāraṇā ye..* 2.7.43-46.

⁸³ The first list:—

svayambhūr nāradaḥ śambhuḥ kumāraḥ kapilo manuḥ.

prahlādo janako bhīṣmo valir vaiyāsakir vayam..

dvādaśaite vijānīmo dharmam bhāgavatam bhāṭāh. 6.3.20, 21ab.

The second list:—

kavir harir antarikṣaḥ prabuddhaḥ pippalāyanah.

āvirothro'tha drumilāś camasaḥ kara-bhājanah. 5.4.11; 11.2.21.

iti bhāgavata-dharma-darśanā nava mahā-bhāgavatāh. 5.4.12.

They make it clear that Bhāgavataism was by no means confined to the four castes. Even non-Aryan tribes were embraced in its fold.⁸⁴

Indeed, the *Bhāgavata* has imbibed what is best in Vaiṣṇavism. Laid upon the bedrock of the teachings of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, the *Bhāgavata* has incorporated the best⁸⁵ of the Vedic tradition. It is fed and nourished by series of spiritual stalwarts. The best of Pañcarātra and the religious practices of the Tamil saints find their place in its structure. A sense of tolerance has allowed the free inroad of ideas as they have been re-orientated in the light of practical experiences.⁸⁶ The teachings of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* have thus remained dynamic for ever.

In the galaxy of saints associated with the dynamic vitality of the Bhāgavata cult, Nārada and Śaṅḍilya stand out with greater prominence. The *Bhāgavata*⁸⁷ considers Nārada to have incarnated to propagate the religion of the Sātvatas; and the first collection on that religion is the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*.⁸⁸ Similarly,

⁸⁴ *kirāta-hūṇā'ndha-pulinda-pukvasā
ābhīra-śuhmā yavanāḥ khaśā'dayaḥ.
ye'nye ca pāpā yad-upāśrayā'srayāḥ
śudhyanti tasmai prabhaviṣṇave namaḥ.. 2.4.18.*

⁸⁵ *dharmaḥ projjhita-kaitavo'tra paramaḥ. 1.1.2a.*

⁸⁶ Two traditions of the propagation of Vaiṣṇavism—one from Nārāyaṇa (the hermit of the *Puruṣa-sūkta*) and the other from Vāsudeva (Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva)—may be culled from the *Bhāgavata* as follows:—

(1)	(2)
Nārāyaṇa	Vāsudeva
Brahmā (3.4.13)	Saṅkaraṣaṇa (3.8.4.)
Nārada (2.9.43)	Sanat-kumāra (3.8.7-9)
Prahlāda (7.6.28)	Sāṅkhyāyana (3.8.7-9)
Vyāsa (2.9.44)	Parāśara (3.8.7-9)
Śuka (1.7.8)	Maitreya (3.8.7-9)
Parikṣit (1.19.40)	Vidura (3.8.7-9)

The two traditions lend colour to the view that Vaiṣṇavism had started from the *Puruṣa-sūkta* and Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva had infused new life into it. The insertion of some of the names that appear in the two lists (vide ref. 83) confirms the authenticity of the traditions preserved here. It may be mentioned here that of two lists, the first seems to have incorporated mostly Aryan names while the second mostly non-Aryan names.

⁸⁷ *tṛtīyaṁ ṛṣi-sargaṁ vai devarṣiivam upetya saḥ.
tantraṁ sātvatam ācaṣṭa naiṣkarmyaṁ karmaṇām yataḥ.. 1.3.8.*

⁸⁸ *anarthopaśamaṁ sākṣād bhakti-yogam adhokṣaje.
lokasyā'jānato vidvāṁś cakre sātвата-saṁhitām.. 1.7.6.*

Śrīdhara comments: *sātвата-saṁhitām* = *śrī-bhāgavatā'khyām*.

in the *Jayākhya-saṁhitā*,⁸⁹ a representative work of the Pañcarātra school, Śāṅḍilya is referred to as one of the big five to drink deep from the fountain of Vaiṣṇavism. Views of Śāṅḍilya are respectfully recorded by the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*.⁹⁰

Fortunately, both Nārada and Śāṅḍilya have composed *Bhakti-sūtras*—the *Nārada-bhakti-sūtra* and the *Śāṅḍilya-bhakti-sūtra*—that throw useful light on devotion. Among scholarly minds working on the teachings of the *Bhāgavata*, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī⁹¹ and Jīva Gosvāmin⁹² deserve special mention, representing respectively monism and dualism in Vaiṣṇava thought.

In conformity with the principles adopted in the first volume,⁹³ the exposition of the religion of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata* is based on the literal interpretation of its passages in the light of Śrīdhara. Such interpretation has, however, been supplemented by the *Gītā*, the *Bhakti-sūtras*, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī and Jīva Gosvāmin, besides other ancillary works.

⁸⁹ *kāṇvīm śākhām adhiyānāvapagāyana-kaṣīkau.
prapatti-sāstra-niṣṇātau sva-niṣṭhā-niṣṭhitāvubhau...
śāṅḍilyaś ca bharadvājo munir mauñjāyanas tathā.
ime ca pañca-gotra-sthā mukhyāḥ kāṇvīm upāśrītāḥ...*

Jayākhya-saṁhitā pp. 115-16.

⁹⁰ ... *iti ha smā'ha śāṅḍilyaḥ śāṅḍilyaḥ.* Ch U 3.14.4.

⁹¹ In his *Bhakti-rasā'yana*.

⁹² In his *Ṣaṭ-sandarbha*.

⁹³ vide PSB, Intro pp. xv-xvi.

CHAPTER I

THE SPIRITUAL PATHS

I

Religion (*dharma*) is the natural bond of unity between man and God.¹ It is natural because God is the ideal self of man. In demonstration of this natural bond God abides in the mind of man to guide and direct his ways even when, through the insistence of his instinctive nature, man drifts along the material stream.

The natural bond of unity between man and God is expressed in man's natural craving for God.² All conscious efforts of man are directed to achieve, in the end, the only objective, happiness.³ But search for happiness is search for God, for God is all-bliss.⁴ Unfortunately the material means through which we seek pleasure can present, at their best, the infinitesimal fraction of perfect bliss.⁵ Wisdom requires, if we at all care for perfect bliss, that we should change the method of our strivings for happiness. The spiritual method adopted by man from time to time to satisfy his craving for God, the all-bliss, also goes under the name of religion.

The *Rg-Veda* maintains that gods performed the acts of sacrifice (*ayajanta*) and these were the beginnings of religion.⁶ The *Rg-Vedic Sūkta*⁷ points out that in the acts of sacrifice,

¹ *na hyacutam prīṇayato bahvāyāso'surā'tmajāh. ātmatvāt sarva-bhūtānām siddhatvād iha sarvataḥ.. 7.6.19.*

² *yathā bhrāmyatyayo brahman svayam ākarṣa-sannidhau. tathā me bhidyate cetaś cakra-pāṇer yadycchayā.. 7.5.14.*

³ *yadā vai sukhaṁ labhate'tha karoti, nā'sukhaṁ labdhvā karoti Ch U 7.22.1.*

⁴ *yo vai bhūmā tat sukhaṁ nā'lpe sukham asti. ibid. 7.23.1.*

⁵ *etasyaivā nandasyā'nyāni bhūtāni mātrām upajivanti. BU 4.3.32.*

⁶ *yajñena yajñam ayanjanta devās tāni dharmāni prathamānyāsan. RV 10.90.16ab.*

⁷ *yajña* referred to in ref. 6 as the instrument of *yajana* means *puruṣa: tam yajñam barhiṣi praukṣan puruṣam jātam agrataḥ* (ibid. 7ab); and such *puruṣa* was the sacrificial animal: *devā yad yajñam tanvānā abadhnan puruṣam paśum* (ibid 15cd).

CHAPTER II

THE PATH OF ACTION

I

Although the concept of *dharma* had made its rise as early as the *Ṛg-Veda* and the *Brāhmaṇa* literature had, among others, addressed itself to the task of its interpretation, the *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra* of Jaimini (400 B.C.) may be said to have been the first serious, coherent and exegetical treatment of *dharma*. Jaimini defines¹ it as *codanā-lakṣaṇo'rtho dharmah*. By *codanā*, Śābara (400 A.D.), the illustrious commentator on the *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra*, understands statement (*vacana*) that enjoins (*pravartaka*) some action (*kriyā*).² That by the term *kriyā* Śābara intended sacrifice (*yajña*) is clear from his quotation, in this context, from the *Ṛg-Veda*³ which posits *yajña* as the earliest form of religious act. Yet, Śābara was alive to the fact that the term *kriyā* was liable to wider connotation.⁴ He knew that a *kriyā* could either lead to welfare (*niḥśreyasa*) or to evil. *Jyotiṣṭoma*, for instance, led to heaven while *śyena-yāga* put an end to the life of one's enemy. *Jyotiṣṭoma* was as good a *kriyā* as *śyena-yāga* as both had the sanction of the *Vedas*. Yet, according to Śābara, the mere sanction from the *Vedas* could not make *śyena-yāga* a *dharma*. According to Śābara,⁵ in order to be *dharma* a *kriyā* has not only to have Vedic sanction but it has as well to lead to welfare. Thus Jaimini's *dharma* is, in the light of Śābara, a *kriyā*, i.e., sacrifice or ritual prescribed by the *Vedas* (including the *Brāhmaṇas*)⁶ and directed to human welfare.

¹ JS 1.1.2.

² *codanā iti kriyāyāḥ pravartakam vacanam āhuḥ*. Śābara on JS 1.1.2.

³ *vede'pi "yajñena yajñam ayanjanta devāḥ, tāni dharmāni prathamānyāsan"* iti yajati-sabda-vācyaṃ eva dharmam samāmananti. *ibid*.

⁴ *ubhayam iha codanayā lakṣyate, artho'narthaś ca. ko'rthah?*

yah niḥśreyasāya, jyotiṣṭomā'diḥ. ko'narthaḥ? yah pratyavāyāya, śyena.. ityevam-ādih. *ibid*.

⁵ *anartha dharmā ukto mā bhūt iti artha-grahaṇam.* *ibid*.

⁶ *veda-śabdena ṛg-yajuh-sāmāni brāhmaṇa-sahitāni ucyante.*

Medhātithi on Manu 2.6.

CHAPTER III

THE PATH OF YOGA IN THE UPANIṢADS

I

As early as the *Ṛg-Veda* man withdrew from his natural surroundings to discover the foundation of his own being in the depth of his heart. The *Nāsadiya-sūkta*¹ records the finding of spiritual insight (*manīṣā*) that touched upon the core of man's existence (*sato bandhum*) in the silent privacy of his heart (*hr̥di*). Relentless pursuit of truth has continued unabated since then. The *Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā*² embodies the utterance of the spiritual seer that he has realized that Great Person (*mahāntam puruṣam*) beneath the layers of the physical sun—far deeper than the resplendent substance from which our physical world derives its origin and sustenance. So, according to the *Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā* the path to the Great Person lay across the sun. In the *Upaniṣads* this clue has developed into what is known as the *deva-yāna mārga*. As we have already noticed,³ the solar path moves along the moon (*soma-loka*) and fire (*agni*) and ends in *Viṣṇu-loka*, the *Vaikunṭha-dhāman*—the absolute state of existence rid of all limitations.

By the time of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*⁴ the subtle (*aṇu*) path, that led the finite being of man to the infinity of the Great Puruṣa, was well established. It was recognized therein as being used by the possessors of the highest knowledge (*brahma-vidah*) for attaining the realm of bliss (*svarga*). But it was left to the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* to furnish some details of the path.

¹ *sato bandhum a-sati nir-avindan hr̥di pratīṣyā kavayo manīṣā*. . RV 10.129.4cd.

² *vedāham etaṁ puruṣam mahāntam āditya-varṇam tamasaḥ parastāt*. VS 31.18ab.

³ vide PSB p. 271.

⁴ *aṇuḥ panthā vitataḥ purāṇo mām spr̥ṣṭo'nuvitta mayaiva tena dhīrā apiyanti brahma-vidah svargaṁ lokam ita ūrdhvaṁ vimuktāḥ*. . BU 4.4.8.

CHAPTER IV

THE SYSTEM OF YOGA IN PATAÑJALI

I

The adoption of *yoga* by the *Upaniṣads* was a great impetus to its authentication, formulation and crystallization. On the other hand, moral virtues were coming to their own, as a palliative to ritualistic exaggerations. Added to them, was the unbroken tradition of *yoga*, carefully built up by practitioners both before and after the *Upaniṣads*. All these set up a demand for their recognition into the fabrics of *yoga*. The genius of Patañjali lent itself to this great task of consolidation.

Patañjali knit into the texture of his *yoga* the settlement of organs upon the mind (*dhāraṇā*) of the *Kaṭha*, its easy flow towards the spiritual (*dhyāna*) of the *Svetāśvatara* and the all-absorbing meditation (*samādhi*) of the *Gītā*, as hierarchical stages of intuition. In order to prepare the mind for this spiritual flight, Patañjali adopted regulation of breath (*prāṇā'yāma*) of the *Svetāśvatara*. He further prefaced it with appropriate postures (*āsana*) and recognized the withdrawal of senses from their respective objects (*pratyāhāra*) as its consequence.

With rare insight, Patañjali could discern that perfect harmony between the body and the mind must be established before intuition could have its way. This meant training both of the body and of the mind, a tuning to the common cause. Patañjali judiciously introduced in this context the group of five virtues emerging as correctives to the imperfections of the sacrificial cult: non-violence (*a-himsā*), truth (*satya*), non-stealing (*a-steya*), subsistence with minimum (*a-parigraha*) and continence (*brahmacharya*). In recognition of their precious contribution to the moulding of man to self-control that comprised the core of the *yoga* of Patañjali, he took them as the very foundation of moral life. The indispensability of these virtues is reflected in the name proposed for them by Patañjali—*yamas*,

APPENDIX

YOGA IN THE LATER UPANIṢADS

The Upaniṣadic control of the mind both as the active agent (*prāṇa*) and as the agent of revelation (*citta*) has been pursued by the later *Upaniṣads* in spite of Patañjali's systematization of *yoga* into the eightfold method. They kept before them the motto of the earlier *Upaniṣads*, viz., the realization of identity between the Jīva and Brahman as the goal of spiritual endeavour. They paid due respect to Patañjali's systematization by recognizing sixfold *yoga* as the method for attaining the said identity—sixfold because the earlier *Upaniṣads* had emphasized *dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna* and *samādhi* for sharpening the power of revelation, besides *prāṇā'yāma* with its antecedent and consequent, *āsana* and *pratyaḥhāra* respectively. Confinement to the six accessories suggests on the one hand the allegiance of the later *Upaniṣads* to the tradition laid down by the earlier *Upaniṣads*, while on the other it bears the clear impact of Patañjali's trend of unification of ideas that were taking shape somewhat loosely in the Upaniṣadic thinking.

A number of later Yoga *Upaniṣads*—the *Dhyāna-bindu*,¹ the *Yoga-cūḍā-maṇi*,² the *Amṛta-nāda*,³ the *Darśana*,⁴ the *Yoga-tattva*,⁵ the *Sāṅḍilya*⁶ and the *Tejo-bindu*⁷—have unanimously accepted the sixfold *yoga* for deliverance from the world when one is awakened to the perfect identity between one's own self and Brahman. The concept of the sixfold *yoga* is more or less on the lines of Patañjali although these *Upaniṣads* may be said to have restored the original concept of the goal viz., the identity between the Jīva and Brahman. The improvements suggested on the sixfold *yoga* by the later *Upaniṣads* have sometime taken the form of increasing number of a particular accessory. For

¹ *āsanaṁ prāṇa-saṁrodhaṁ pratyaḥhāraś ca dhāraṇā.
dhyānaṁ samādhir etāni yogāṅgāni bhavanti sat.*

² *Yoga-cūḍā-maṇi*, p. 337.

³ *Amṛta-nāda*, p. 14.

⁴ *Darśana*, p. 153.

⁵ *Yoga-tattva*, p. 368.

⁶ *Sāṅḍilya*, p. 518.

⁷ *Tejo-bindu*, p. 51.

CHAPTER V

THE PATH OF KNOWLEDGE IN THE BHĀGAVATA

I

The evolution of the concept of *yoga* makes an interesting study. In the *Rg-Veda*,¹ the term *yoga* means accompaniment. The *Upaniṣads* have sublimated this idea to a high metaphysical level, the perfect identity between the Jīva and Brahman. In the pluralistic framework of Patañjali, on the other hand, *yoga* stood for *vi-yoga*, the severance of the individual spirit (*puruṣa*) from the twenty-four categories.

But this evolution refers to *yoga* as the goal of spiritual strivings. It fell upon Patañjali to establish *yoga* as a spiritual technique as well. Although the *Gītā*² had used the term in the same sense which the *Bhāgavata*³ exploited in its exposition of the spiritual paths, yet when not prefixed by *karman*, *jñāna* or *bhakti* the term came to mean the eightfold *yoga* of Patañjali. The creative genius of Patañjali has left indelible stamp on the mind of posterity which is thus wont to relate the great master to *yoga*.

The *Bhāgavata*,⁴ for instance, states that *yoga* and *bhakti-yoga* lead to the same goal; and as Śrīdhara⁵ points out, the term *yoga* used by the *Bhāgavata* in this context refers to the eightfold *yoga*. Subsequently, the *Bhāgavata*⁶ confirms the same point when it says that *jñāna-yoga* and *bhakti-yoga* take to the same destination. These observations by the *Bhāgavata* dem-

¹ *ekasmin yoge bhuraṇā samāne pari vām sapta sravato ratho gāt.*
RV 7.67.8ab.

² *loke'smin dviividhā niṣṭhā purā proktā mayā'nagha.*
jñāna-yogena sām̐khyānām karma-yogena yoginām.. *Gītā* 3.3.

³ *yogās trayo mayā proktā nṛṇām śreṣṭho-vidhiṣayā.*
jñānaṁ karma ca bhaktiṣ ca nopāyo'nyo'sti kutrचित्.. 11.20.6.

⁴ *bhakti-yogaś ca yogaś ca mayā mānavyudiritah.*
yayor ekatarenaiva puruṣaḥ puruṣaṁ vrajet.. 3.29.35.

⁵ *uktam hi bhakti-yogaṁ pūrvoktena aṣṭā'ṅga-yogena saha upasamharati*
bhakti-yogaś ceti. Śrīdhara on 3.29.35.

⁶ *jñāna-yogaś ca man-niṣṭho nair-guṇyo bhakti-lakṣaṇah.*
dvayor apyeka evā'rtho bhagavac-chabda-lakṣaṇah.. 3.32.32.

CHAPTER VI

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PATH OF DEVOTION

I

According to the *Matsya-Purāṇa*,¹ the distinctive feature of the *Bhāgavata* consists in its exposition of *dharma* (*dharma-vistara*). Laid upon the bedrock of the *gāyatrī* with which the *Bhāgavata* begins, such exposition, the *Matsya-Purāṇa* further adds, deals also with the killing of Vṛtra, the arch-enemy of Indra. The description by the *Matsya-Purāṇa* closely corresponds to the basic structure of the *Śrīmad-Bhāgavata*. The *Bhāgavata* opens² with the *gāyatrī* embodying the contemplation of the Supreme Truth. It is immediately succeeded by the thesis that the *Bhāgavata* is primarily concerned with the exposition of the supreme religion (*parama dharma*), although Truth that annihilates sorrow and showers blessings also engages adequate attention of the present work. The *Bhāgavata* claims its special privilege, over other works of celebrity, to imprison the Almighty in the heart of hearts, by the unique excellence of the supreme religion which it is out to expound.³ That such religion is not a mere theory but wells forth from the vital spring of the experience of the spiritual stalwarts is borne out by the *Bhāgavata* with copious and apt illustrations including the episode⁴ of the demon Vṛtra. Although the *Bhāgavata* deals with many other episodes exemplifying the fruition of spiritual life and although the episode of Vṛtra has been drawn upon, from the *Rg-Veda* down to the enormous mass of religious literature, as a stock example of the triumph of divinity over the evil spirit, the *Bhāgavata* has given the episode a new orienta-

¹ *yatrā'dhikṛtya gāyatrīm varṇyate dharma-vistarāḥ.*

vṛtrā'sura-vadhōpetam tad bhāgavatam iṣyate.. MP 53.20.

² *dhāmnā svena sadā nirasta-kuhakaṁ satyaṁ param dhimahi.* 1.1.1d.

³ *dharmāḥ projjhita-kaitavo'tra paramo nir-matsarāṇām satām*

vedyaṁ vāstavam atra vastu śiva-daṁ tāpa-trayonmūlanam.

śrīmad-bhāgavate mahā-muni-kṛte kim vā parair iśvaraḥ

sadyo hṛdyavarudhayate'tra kṛtibhiḥ śuśrūṣubhis tat-kṣaṇāt.. 1.1.2.

⁴ 6.11.

CHAPTER VII

THE NATURE OF DEVOTION

I

Devotion of the *Srīmad-Bhāgavata* is the sally of the mind (*mano-gati*) to the adorable (*bhājanya*) Bhagavān, the supreme reservoir of majesty (*bhaga*), whose lotus-feet are the universal shelter and who removes materiality by the revelation of his unique being in the hearts of his devotees, while making for bondage for those who have turned away from him.¹ Such sally has the claim to be regarded as the primordial religion of the *Ṛg-Veda*. As already indicated, sacrifice of the person to the Supreme Person by the gods comprised the first religion. In the *Upaniṣads*,² the gods stood for the sense organs; and the mind represents the empirical personality. So, when the *Bhāgavata* defines³ devotion as the sally of the mind to Hari (*sattva*), with all sense organs, sunk ordinarily in secular and ritualistic acts, following the suit, it is a restatement of religion first promulgated in the *Ṛg-Veda*. All sense organs, having engaged themselves in the act of surrendering the mind to Bhagavān, may therefore be said to have kept up the Vedic tradition of sacrifice, although in a highly spiritual sense.

The direction of the mind to Bhagavān is, according to the *Bhāgavata*, natural (*svābhāvikī*), not vitiated by partisan outlook (*a-vyavahitā*), selfless (*a-haitukī*) and secured against

¹ *bhaje bhājanyā'raṇa-pāda-paṅkajam*
bhagasya kṛtsnasya param parāyaṇam.
bhakteśvalam bhāvita-bhūta-bhāvanam
bhavāpāham tvā bhava-bhavam īṣvaram.. 5.17.18.

² vide e.g., BU 1.3.1.

³ *devānām guṇa-līṅgānām ānuśravika-karmaṇām.*
sattva evaika-manaso vṛttiḥ svābhāviki tu yā.
animittā bhāgavati bhaktiḥ siddher gariyasi.. 3.25.32.

also,

mad-guṇa-sruti-mātreṇa mayi sarva-guhāśaye.
mano-gatir a-vicchinnā yathā gaṅgāmbhaso'mbudhau..
lakṣaṇam bhakti-yogasya nir-guṇasya hyudāhṛtam..
a-haitukyavyavahitā yā bhaktiḥ puruṣottame.. 3.29.11, 12.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DOCTRINE OF DIVINE GRACE

I

In his persistent struggle for existence and also to satisfy his inborn desire to gain control over Nature, the early man had looked beyond his own self for divine intervention. Animated by the streaks of lightning, the howlings of storm and the boomings of cloud, he sought eagerly the helping hands of the gods whom he discerned to work behind the vagrancy of natural powers. He would interpret the dangers of Nature as the wrath of the gods, breaking upon him as a consequence of his sins.¹ So, he would implore them to condone his sins and be pleased with him instead.² The individuality of the natural threat provoked the concept of individual gods; and the early man improvised various formal devices to meet them. The entire Vedic ritualism has spent itself out in achieving the single aim—to turn the gods to good humour.

During the sacrificial milieu, the concept of the gods had been shaping itself in unbroken continuity in the mind of man, resulting finally in the replacement of polytheism by pantheism. Yāska³ has recorded this change of human approach to the gods when he observed that *one* god was privileged to receive diverse homages from man—that the individual gods have sunk their differences in the unitary being of *one* god. According to the etymological interpretation of the term Viṣṇu,⁴ such all-comprehensive being could legitimately be called by the same name.

¹ *kim āga āsa varuna jyeṣṭham
yat stotāraṁ jighāṁsasi sakhāyam.
pra tan me voco dūḍabha svadhāvo'
va tvānena namasā tura iyāc. . .* RV 7.86.4.

² *tubhyedete bahulā adri-dugdhās
camū-śadaś camasā indra-pānāḥ.
vyaśnuhi tarṇayā kāmam eṣām
athā mano vasu-deyāya kṛṣva. . .* RV 1.54.9.

³ vide Intro. ref. 26.

⁴ *viśates, tivra-raśmi-dvāreṇa sarvatra vyāveśāt; vyaśnoter vā,
viśvaṁ raśmibhir vyaśnute iti.*

CHAPTER IX

BHĀGAVATA-DHARMA

I

The moral virtues and the spiritual practices, calculated to purify the mind for receiving divine grace, are called the *bhāgavata-dharmas*. In not less than twenty places¹ the *Bhāgavata* enumerates them under different appellations—supreme religion (*para dharma*), my religion (*mama dharma*) and so on—with different ends in view. An analysis of these statements discloses the fact that the *Bhāgavata*, with its typically synthetic approach, has incorporated within the framework of the *bhāgavata-dharmas* the traditional virtues that have gone into the practice of religious men belonging to different affiliations. The Yoga virtues of fivefold *yama* and fivefold *niyama* together with the fourfold decoration of the mind (*parikarman*) viz., universal friendliness (*maitrī*), kindness (*karuṇā*), happiness (*muditā*) and indifference (*upekṣā*), the Vedāntic virtues of six varieties—control of the mind (*śama*), control of the senses (*dama*), tolerance (*titikṣā*), abstention from all prescribed acts (*uparati*), concentration (*samādhāna*) and faith (*śraddhā*)—the art of action recommended by the *Gītā*, the ninefold devotion brought about by the unique blending of Vedic and Tāntric practices, the Tāntric modes such as installation of idol in the temple, spiritual initiation (*dīkṣā*), regular visit to temples, pilgrimage, observance of occasional festivals and so on, have all found entrance in the structure of the *bhāgavata-dharmas* besides attitudes like maintenance of isolation and silence, measured and pure food and the spirit of humility in all affairs. Counted at different places in different groups, these virtues

¹References arranged according to the number of the *bhāgavata-dharmas*:—(a) 11.3.23-31; (b) 7.11.8-12; (c) 5.5.10-13; (d) 3.28.2-7; (e) 11.11.34-41; (f) 3.29.15-19; (g) 4.22.22-25; (h) 3.27.6-11; (i) 11.19.20-24; (j) 11.29.9-15, 17; (k) 7.7.30-35; (l) 9.4.18-22; (m) 2.3.17-24; (n) 7.5.23-24; (o) 3.27.21-23; (p) 10.10.38; (q) 10.86.46; (r) 1.2.14; (s) 2.1.5, 2.2.36; (t) 12.3.52.

CHAPTER X

THE PATH OF ACTION

I

Life is activity at its core. Laziness that appears to deny it is in fact inactivity in limited sphere. Laziness has to call for activity simply to keep life a-going and thus to make laziness possible. Activity is shared by man with other animals. Yet he differs from other animals on the ground of specialized activity. In other words, man is capable of organizing activity into a discipline that gives coherence to the individual, his society and the world, as it binds together all the three in some kind of unity. The term *dharma* may be pressed into service to denote such disciplined activity through which life has sought for its harmonious expression.

In course of its harmonious evolution through activity, life has set before it certain values which it considers worthy of achievement. But the stress and strain, involved in the realization of values which have changed with the changing needs of man, do not seem to have brought him nearer to them. On the contrary, selfish ends, often enlarged into national interests, have helped widen the cleavage between man and man. Harmony is threatened by dangerous disruption. Is man, by his own doing, drifting to his total annihilation?

Should, then, activity be discarded, if it has defeated its own end? No, is the answer of the *Gītā*.¹ Activity being the vital expression of life, there is nothing wrong with it *per se*. But the so-called discipline of activity requires overhauling in the light of spiritual outlook, in order to make it a real discipline. The art of transforming pragmatic activity into a spiritual discipline is what the *Gītā* calls *karma-yoga*. It consists, according to the *Gītā*, in the restoration of the sense of equilibrium (*samatva*), that emphasizes the performance of activity

¹ *niyataṁ kuru karma tvaṁ karma jyāyo hyakarmaṇaḥ.
śarīra-yātrā'pi ca te na prasidhyed a-karmaṇaḥ.* . . . *Gītā* 3.8.

CHAPTER XI

THE PATH OF NINEFOLD DEVOTION

I

Tempered by ninefold devotion, faith in God culminates in the profound longing of the votary for having Bhagavān as his beloved. One can therefore legitimately expect the ninefold devotion to represent the hierarchical expressions of his fondness, analogous to those found in an earthly lover. The lover first listens to all about the beloved. His respectful attention gradually heightens his feelings which then find articulation through his discussions about the beloved. The feelings steadily grow deeper so that his mind takes inward direction to plunge into the being of the beloved. The frantic search is then crowned with the presence of the beloved. The lover takes to her feet, pours all tender effusions thereon and at last lies prostrate to win her over to his side. He expresses in no ambiguous terms his unqualified humility. Having received, as a consequence, friendly gesture from her, the feelings of the lover rise to their zenith; and with full confidence the lover surrenders himself to the beloved, tearing himself away from all associations. It is complete self-abnegation guaranteed by veritable exuberance of his tender feeling (*rati*).

Śravaṇa

In the context of the *bhāgavata-dharma*, the votary possessed by *śraddhā* (faith) takes a dip in the listening (*śravaṇa*) to God. Having freed his mind from the obsession of sacrificial rites, the votary takes for the first time to the thirst for honey of the God's lotus feet.¹ He eagerly listens to God's names that

¹ *karmaṇyasminn anāsvāse dhūma-dhūmrā'tmanām bhavān. āpāyayati govinda-pāda-padmā'savam madhu.. 1.18.12.*

CHAPTER XII

LOVE DIVINE

I

Dedication of the earthly self to God marks the end of spiritual strivings.¹ The worshipper, in order to have access to the mysteries of the Divine, had to merge his limited being in the being of the limitless. The art of dedication was addressed to this task. The mind, that summed up the earthly self, was required to be purged of impurities, so that it could receive the Divine to be engrossed therein. The art of dedication, therefore, began its career with the surrender of all acts to God. This prevented the inroad of fresh acts. The knowledge that accompanied this process helped the totality of the worshipper to deepen into the faith in God. With faith, outward activity was transformed into inward flow, directedness of the mind to God. The stage of ninefold devotion now came into operation. The trinity of *śravaṇa*, *kīrtana* and *smaraṇa*, in their hierarchical advancement, assisted to eradicate the accumulated stock of impurities, so that barring the actions that have matured into the present birth of the worshipper, all other impurities are dispensed with. As the matured actions are to end with the termination of the present birth, the worshipper feels secured at this stage against further births, the outcomes of actions. Thus confident of a guaranteed future, the worshipper now indulges in personal worship of God. His personal touch, vouchsafed for by *pāda-sevā*, *arcana* and *vandana*, stimulates unstinted submission (*dāsya*) on the part of the worshipper who feels himself at closer proximity of God (*sakhya*). The sense of proximity culminates in the awakening of passion (*rati*) for God. Thus when faith in God is nursed by ninefold devotion to develop into passion for Him, the obstinacy of the earthly self to live by its own gives way. For, passion for God sweeps it away. The

¹ *evam dharmair manuṣyānām uddhavā'tma-nivedinām.
mayi sañjāyate bhaktiḥ ko'nyo'rtho'syā'vaśiṣyate . . . 11.19.24.*

CONCLUSION

Religion is the process of self-discovery. It is the method directed to the realization of the ideal potentialities of man. As man represents the totality of willing, knowing and feeling, growth of religion means the development of all the three faculties. The purpose of religious effort is to achieve harmonious growth of each faculty to reach the same apex. The realization of this end is bound to be an extremely complicated affair involving, as it does, the most delicate correlation among the three faculties.

In India, sacrifice of the *Brāhmaṇa* period was a demonstration that man's willing was at work, while knowing and feeling were playing subordinate role. The early *Upaniṣads* emphasized man's power of knowing over willing and feeling. In fact, willing, as outward activity, was superseded at this stage by inward light, while feeling was yet to mature. The later *Upaniṣads* provided opportunities for the development of feeling when undifferentiated Brahman matured into the concept of the Supreme Deity.

The days for the triumph of each of the three faculties were commemorated in the recognition of the three paths—the path of action, the path of knowledge and the path of devotion. There was, of course, the claim of the path of *yoga* for being regarded as the fourth. But because of its close association with the path of knowledge, being a technique for enhancing the quality of knowledge, it could conveniently be included, as has been done by the *Bhāgavata*, in the path of knowledge. On closer scrutiny, the path of action could also be handled in the same light. It could legitimately be regarded as a stepping stone to either the path of knowledge or the path of devotion. While the demand on the path of action was bound to vary in nature according to the general climate of the path it led to, the path of action was deprived of its independence it used to enjoy during the sacrificial era, when the religious emphasis shifted from external conformity to inner purity. Thus, either the path of knowledge or the path of devotion was open to man

and he could adopt either, according as it suited his temperament. This meant that he would have to start from the path of action which will bring to the fore his natural inclination—contemplativeness or emotional effusion.

The path of knowledge and the path of devotion stand on par both with regard to the ultimate aim and their concern with the development of the mind. Both the paths aim at the supreme excellence of man and both assert that this can be achieved by the infinite development of man's mind. But their difference of approach is not less emphatic. The path of knowledge is a hard task-master. It demands uncompromising abstinence, ruthless suppression of nature, strict inhibition of the instinctive life of man. The inexorable law of *karman* is bound to have its way. Man is the architect of his own destiny which he can by no way escape. The question of mercy, forgiveness or redemption is absolutely irrelevant. Pedestrian principles of morality haunt the performer and they will be on him until he is bled white. But the path of devotion is for the sublimation of man's inherent tendencies. It admits the claims of instinctive life involving human frailties. It tunes natural life to higher spiritual values, transfigures the animal into the god. It is never late to correct, because the moral is the inevitable end of the natural. Irresistible is the attraction of the spiritual, to which the triviality of man has to respond. Such response cleanses, elevates, transforms. This is so because man is not a stranger to the 'region beyond' but is an integral part of it. He belongs to a different order than where he is. This sojourn is bound to end and he will one day be awakened to the native glory of his unfathomable depth. Call it divine grace, redemption or anything, it is bound to come for the spiritual resurrection of man buried in materiality.

The path of knowledge in the *Upaniṣads* stands for the unity of the Jīva and Brahman, the individual and the Infinite. The technique of *yoga* formulated in the *Upaniṣads* and systematized in the *Yoga-sūtra* of Patañjali comes as an aid to this path to bring inhibitory pressure on the mind so that it falls asleep to the world of matter and makes for the merger of the individual to the Transcendental. The *Bhāgavata* has united the Upaniṣadic approach with the *yoga* technique of Patañjali. It has further enriched this unity with the blending

of Tāntricism characterized by the blooming of spiritual lotuses nestled in human form. The whole process of self-elevation is kint into the texture of the fullest realization of the mystic sound *om* of which the mind is a concrete representation. Indeed the path of knowledge centres upon the mind by shutting out the external world and the highest vision is achieved in the silent depth of the mind. The grandeur of Truth is the exclusive privilege of a fortunate few.

Although it has tried to make the best of the traditional ways of religious thinking, by organizing conventions and experiences into a living system with the admixture of devotional element, the *Bhāgavata* is at its best with what it calls the *bhāgavata-dharma*. Originating from no less a person than Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva, it fuses in its stream the best of the Vedic and the Tāntric thoughts; and the result is the unique doctrine of love or the *bhāgavata-dharma*. The central note of religion, viz., self-discovery is nowhere so emphatically borne out as in the *bhāgavata-dharma*. It aims at nothing less than the realization of Bhagavān, the Supreme Person, the highest fulfilment of the individual. It is a self-complete religious system that takes due cognizance of the harmonious growth of all the three faculties—willing, knowing and feeling—phasing them out into their natural order of hierarchy. The first phase is, therefore, concerned with the full play of the power of willing. It consists in the performance of one's duties that draw their inspiration from the central fact of God. The constant endeavour to harmonize them to the tune of God kindles the inward flame. While physical activity may be called *pravṛtta-karman*, its inward turn upon God deserves the designation of *nivṛtta-karman*. Traffic in God results in the dawning of the second phase viz., illumination. Beneath the crust of personal ego, shines the world of God, where the diversity is found to have been woven into the fibre of unitary vision. Such vision reaches its peak when from the actual one rises to the grandeur of the ideal. It is the expression of infinite life revealed for the first time in the splendour of knowledge. The union of the actual and the ideal is established in the absolute freedom of the Absolute, the divine ecstasy. To rise up to that state is to ascend the land of bliss. The spontaneity of eternal bliss is perpetually realizing itself as eternal life of which the world is

just an actualization of infinite possibilities. The land of bliss is the culmination of feeling. It is the third phase in which knowledge is transcended in the beauty of enjoyment.

Less than the highest stage in which the duality of the worshipper and the worshipped is coalesced into the integrity of the Absolute, religion has to take resort to symbol. As the reflection of the Absolute on man's mind, God is a symbol, whose presence is absolutely necessary for the growth of religion. At the beginning of the operation of willing, God is the inner controller. He becomes extremely personal when man's dispassionate performance of physical activity gives place to the inward flow that constantly strives to raise itself up to God, as God reciprocates by His constant condescension. With God taking recopossession of the ego, the worshipper lands from his sheltered being to the wider sphere of existence. Personal God then appears as Brahman. The barriers of the inward and the outward are then broken and the single being permeates all that one sees and feels. The worshipper is fused, like everything else, into Brahman and that implants in him the consciousness of another dimension so long obscured by the triviality of his limited ego. Yet Brahmahood is superseded by the being beyond, the ideal urge (Paramātmān) being actualized in the shape of the world. Finally, the votary proceeds to Bhagavān, the fountain of eternal life. Having reached this fulfilment of religion, the votary forsakes the symbol and becomes established in the highest fulfilment of his own being. This state is symbolized in the grand union of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, when the individual embraces eternal bliss in which the duality of the worshipper and the worshipped is transcended in the Absolute.

The *Bhāgavata* has knit the *puruṣa-kaivalya* of the Sāṅkhya-Yoga, the *Brahma-kaivalya* of the *Upaniṣads*, the *Paramātmā-kaivalya* of earlier Vaiṣṇavism into a grand hierarchy with *Bhagavat-kaivalya* as its crest. They are taken as inevitable stages through which the *bhāgavata-dharma* grows. In this, the disconnected *kaivalyas* have undergone complete orientation. The individual is stripped of his ego not to be left to his spiritual isolation (*puruṣa-kaivalya*), but it is taken to be a preparation to enter the depth of the world. With the attainment of *Brahma-kaivalya* he grows into a rare gentle spirit with infinitely heightened sensibility to feel for the world. He satisfies his love for

God by loving the world. Having exhausted the actual, he then rises to the potential, the brink of eternal life, the grandeur of infinity, the *Paramātma-kaivalya*. From there, he finally ascends to *Bhagavat-kaivalya*, the final source of all diversity, the bliss that never flags. But this assertion of eternal life over the temporal is not the denial of the latter but the grand communion of the two. Religion here reaches the order of the Transcendental being of which the present world is only a single fulfilment of infinite possibilities.

A religious person thus need not forsake the present world. Perfection of religion is to be alive to the width and the depth of the soul. It is a state of being in which the mind transcends itself to perfect exposure to the Absolute. While the Self-luminous, eternally blissful being of the Absolute (all such metaphors being hopelessly inadequate to describe that state) floods the entire being of man, he as the receiving centre of that being is said to be religious. The path of knowledge and the path of devotion aim at this end. It is the highest fulfilment of knowledge and love.

Yet the *Bhāgavata* prefers the path of devotion, the *bhāgavata-dharma*, in which knowledge kindles into love for Reality, the immanent and the transcendent—in which love for the world is satisfactorily accommodated in the love for the Transcendental.

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GLOSSARY

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- A-karman* : Committal of a prohibited act.
- Akhaṇḍā'kāra-citta-vṛtti* : The integral vision of Brahman.
- Agni-hotra* : Daily oblation on fire.
- Advaya-jñāna* : Non-dual consciousness.
- Adhyātma-yoga* : Intuition of the soul within.
- Ananya-bhāva* : Single-pointed devotion.
- Anāhata* : The third unbeaten spiritual lotus.
- Anubhāva* : The expressive condition of a sentiment.
- Anu-rakti* : Attachment consequent upon knowledge.
- Antah-praṇava* : Internal manifestation of *om* at *anāhata*.
- Antyajas* : Seven kinds of low hybrid castes.
- Antyā'vasāyins* : Very low hybrid castes.
- Aparā prakṛti* : Matter.
- A-parigraha* : Non-acceptance of more than what is needed.
- Apāna* : The air of excretion.
- Apūrvā* : Religious merit or demerit.
- Apūrvā-vidhi* : Prescriptive injunction by the *Veda*.
- Abhiniveśa* : Passion for living.
- Abhyāsa* : Persistent practice of *yama* and *ni-yama*.
- Arcana* : Worship of God.
- Artha-vāda* : Eulogistic or censorious statement by the *Veda*.
- Arhaṇa* : Worship.
- Avasthā-pariṇāma* : Constant change of an object.
- Avidyā* : Ignorance.
- A-samprajñāta* : Super-conscious meditation.
- A-steya* : Non-stealing.
- Asmitā* : Egoity.
- Ahaṁkāra* : The principle of egoity.
- A-himsā* : Non-injury.
- Āgamas* : New Scriptures, the *Tantras*.
- Ātma-tuṣṭi* : Self-satisfaction.
- Ātma-nivedana* : Self-surrender.
- Ātma-yajña* : Self-sacrifice to the Supreme Soul.
- Ātma-lābha* : Realization of the Supreme Soul.
- Ādi Puruṣa* : The Primal Man, within and beyond creation.
- Ābhāsa* : Imaginary religion.
- Ālambana* : The nucleus of a sentiment.
- Āvasathya* : Fire for heating a living room.
- Āśrama* : The stage of life.
- Āśrama-dharma* : Religious code for a stage of life.

<i>Āsana</i>	: Posture for concentration.
<i>Āhavanīya</i>	: Fire for oblation to the gods.
<i>Iṣṭa</i>	: Sacrifice.
<i>Īśvara-praṇidhāna</i>	: (i) Dedication of all endeavours to God. (ii) Repetition of <i>om</i> with the knowledge of its meaning.
<i>Udāna</i>	: The breath for transmigrating.
<i>Uddīpana</i>	: Excitant condition of a sentiment.
<i>Unmani-avasthā</i>	: Supra-mental state.
<i>Upa-dharma</i>	: Semblance of religion.
<i>Uparati</i>	: Abstention from all prescribed acts.
<i>Upekṣā</i>	: Indifference to others' wrongs.
<i>Rta</i>	: Moral order.
<i>Ēkānta-bhakti</i>	: Single-pointed devotion.
<i>Karuṇā</i>	: Mercy.
<i>Karman</i>	: Action.
<i>Karma-kāṇḍa</i>	: The Section on activity in Yāska's <i>Nirukta</i> .
<i>Karma-yoga</i>	: The discipline of action.
<i>Kānta-bhāva</i>	: Devotional love of the beloved.
<i>Kāmya-karmān</i>	: Motivated action.
<i>Kīrtana</i>	: Chanting of God's name etc.
<i>Kuṭicara</i>	: Recluse living in a hut.
<i>Kuṇḍalinī-śakti</i>	: The power of consciousness dormant in man.
<i>Kumbhaka</i>	: The art of the suspension of breath.
<i>Kriyā</i>	: Activity.
<i>Kriyā-yoga</i>	: Religious practices recommended by the <i>Tantras</i> .
<i>Khecari-mudrā</i>	: A highly technical yogic device.
<i>Gāyatrī</i>	: R̥g-Vedic verse, very sacred and daily recited by the Brāhmaṇas.
<i>Gārhapatya</i>	: Fire for selfless oblation.
<i>Guṇa-dharma</i>	: A religious practice with a condition precedent.
<i>Go-loka</i>	: The realm of resplendent bliss.
<i>Gauṇī bhakti</i>	: Secondary devotion.
<i>Grāmya dharma</i>	: Popular religious practice.
<i>Cāturmāsya</i>	: Four-monthly sacrifice.
<i>Citta-vṛtti</i>	: Mental mode.
<i>Cit-śakti</i>	: The power of spirituality.
<i>Chala</i>	: Pretence of religion.
<i>Jivana</i>	: Vital subsistence.
<i>Jivan-muktā'vasthā</i>	: The state of enlightenment, while still living.
<i>Jñāna</i>	: Knowledge.
<i>Jñāna-prasāda</i>	: Refinement of knowledge.
<i>Jñāna-yoga</i>	: The discipline of knowledge.
<i>Jyotiṣṭoma</i>	: <i>Soma</i> sacrifice leading to heaven.
<i>Tattva-bhāva</i>	: Realization of identity between the Jīva and Brahman.

- Tamas* : The principle of inertia.
Tarkaṇa : Apprehension.
Titikṣā : Tolerance.
Turīya : The transcendental.
Taijasa : The soul in dream.
Dākṣiṇa : Fire for oblation to the fathers.
Dama : The control of the senses.
Darśa-pūrṇamāsa : New-moon and full-moon sacrifices.
Dahra : The vacant space in the mind.
Dāsya : Servitude to God.
Dikṣā : Spiritual initiation.
Deva-yajña : Sacrifice to the gods.
Deva-yāna-mārga : The path to the gods.
Daivata-kāṇḍa : The Section on the gods in Yāska's *Nirukta*.
Dravya-yajña : Sacrifice to the gods with articles.
Dharma-pariṇāma : Origination of an object.
Dhāraṇā : Concentration.
Dhyāna : Contemplation.
Navadhā bhakti : Ninefold devotion, listening to God's name
 etc.
Nāda : Sound in the state of pulsating consciousness.
Nigamas : Traditional Scriptures, the *Vedas*.
Nitya : Daily duties.
Nididhyāsana : Meditation.
Nidrā : Ignorance.
Ni-yama : The fivefold restraint (cleanliness etc.).
Niyama-vidhi : Restrictive injunction by the *Veda*.
Nirodha : Sublation of mental modes.
Nirguṇa-bhakti : Unqualified devotion.
Nir-bīja : Free from objectivity.
Nir-bīja samādhi : Non-objective meditation.
Nir-vikalpa : Undifferentiated consciousness.
Nir-vicāra : Intuition of subtle categories *per se*.
Nir-vitarka : Intuition of gross categories *per se*.
Nivṛtta-karman : Spiritual action.
Nṛ-yajña : Hospitality to men.
Naimittika : Occasional duties.
Naisthikī rati : Undeflecting passion for God.
Naisargikī rati : Spontaneous passion for God.
Pañca-mahā-yajñas : Five great sacrifices (reading of the Scriptures
 etc.).
Pañcā'gni-vidyā : The secret knowledge of the five fires.
Para-dharma : Religion for others.
Para dharma : The supreme religion.
Para vairāgya : Supreme detachment.
Parama dharma : The supreme religion.
Parama vyoman : The transcendental vacuum.

- Parama-haṁsa* : The great swan to the lotus-feet of God; the recluse.
Paramātman : The Supreme Soul.
Paramātma-kaivalya : Identity with the Supreme Soul.
Parā : Sound in the state of unruffled consciousness.
Parā prakṛti : The individual soul.
Parā bhakti : Devotion *par excellence*.
Pariṇāma : Transformation.
Parisaṁkhyā-vidhi : Prohibitive injunction by the *Veda*.
Paśu-yāga : Animal-sacrifice.
Paśyanti : Sound in the state of definitive knowledge.
Pāda-sevā : (i) Progressive journey to the four grades of Reality.
(ii) Service to the lotus-feet of God.

Pārama-haṁsya-dharma : The religion of the recluse.
Pitr-yajñā : Sacrifice to the fathers.
Putreṣṭi : Ritual on the birth of a baby.
Puruṣa : (i) Reality, immanent and transcendent.
(ii) The individual soul.
Puruṣa-kaivalya : Spiritual isolation from matter.
Pūraaka : The art of the inhalation of breath.
Pūrta : Social service.
Prajñā : Intuition.
Praṇava : The mystic syllable, *om*.
Pratīka-upāsana : Worship of the symbol.
Pratyāhāra : Withdrawal of organs from their respective objects.

Pramāṇa : Valid knowledge.
Pravṛtta-karman : Selfish deed.
Prajñā : The soul in dreamless sleep.
Prāṇa : Life.
Prāṇa-vidyā : The secret knowledge of life.
Prāṇā'yāma : The control of breath.
Pṛīti : Love.
Preyas : The sentiment of affection to the superior.
Bala : Attractiveness.
Bahūdaka : A recluse on constant move.
Bāhya-praṇava : Manifestation of *om* as audible sound.
Bindu : Drop.
Bīja : The core of objectivity.
Brahman : Reality that bursts into creation.
Brahma-kāṇḍa : The Section on knowledge in Yāska's *Nirukta*.

Brahma-kaivalya : Identity with Brahman.
Brahmacarya : The stage of celibacy.
Brahmacārīn : A celibate reading the *Vedas*.

- Brahma-nāḍī* : The cavity in man, leading to Brahman.
Brahma-pura : Human body.
Brahma-randhra : Same as *Brahma-nāḍī*.
Brahma-rātri : Divine Darkness.
Brahma-hrada : Mental vacuum reigned upon by Brahman.
Brahmaṇya : Exegetical literature on the Vedic *Samhitās*.
Bhakti : Devotion.
Bhakti-yoga : The discipline of devotion.
Bhagavat : Transcendental all-powerful bliss.
Bhagavat-kaivalya : Coalescence with Bhagavān.
Bhāgavata-adhama : The humble devotee to Bhagavān.
Bhāgavata-uttama : The best devotee to Bhagavān.
Bhāgavata-dharma : The religion of devotion to Bhagavān.
Bhāgavata-madhyama : The moderate devotee to Bhagavān.
Bhāva : Devotional mood.
Bhāvanā-prakarṣa : Intense thinking.
Bhūta-yajña : Hospitality to birds and animals.
Bhoga : Enjoyment of pleasure and pain.
Maṇipura : The spiritual lotus in the navel region.
Madhura bhakti : The devotion of sweet love.
Madhyamā : The precursor of audible sound.
Manana : Discursive thinking.
Manas : The mind.
Maniṣā : Spiritual insight.
Mano-vahā : The path that conveys the mind.
Mama dharma : Religion leading to Bhagavān.
Mahat : The category of intellect.
Mahā-vratas : The great vows (non-injury etc.).
Māyā : The power of delusion.
Mukhya-prāṇa : The primal vital air.
Muditā : Pleasure at others' happiness.
Mūlā'dhāra : The spiritual lotus at the pelvis.
Maitrī : Universal friendliness.
Mokṣa : Liberation.
Mokṣa-dharma : Religious practices leading to salvation.
Yama : The fivefold restraint (non-injury etc.).
Rajas : The principle of activity.
Rati : Passion for God.
Recaka : The art of the exhalation of breath.
Lakṣaṇa-pariṇāma : Variation in time-object relationship.
Līṅga-vyapoha : Elimination of the subtle body.
Vandana : Physical prostration.
Varna-dharma : Religious code for a caste.
Varnā'srama-dharma : Religious code according to one's caste and stage of life.
Vātsalya : The sentiment of affectional regard.

<i>Vānaprastha</i>	:	The stage of resorting to forest.
<i>Vi-karman</i>	:	Omission of a prescribed act.
<i>Vikalpa</i>	:	Imagination.
<i>Vi-dharma</i>	:	Negation of religion.
<i>Vidhi</i>	:	Injunction by the <i>Veda</i> .
<i>Viparyaya</i>	:	False knowledge.
<i>Vibhūti</i>	:	Supernatural power.
<i>Viveka-khyāti</i>	:	Discriminative knowledge between matter and the soul.
<i>Viśuddha-sattva</i>	:	Pure matter.
<i>Viśva</i>	:	The soul in waking state.
<i>Viśva-māyā</i>	:	Cosmic illusion.
<i>Viṣṇu-māyā</i>	:	The power of Viṣṇu; also called Śrī.
<i>Viṣṇu-loka</i>	:	The abode of Viṣṇu, viz., Vaikuṅṭha-dhāman.
<i>Vīrya</i>	:	Concentration.
<i>Vṛtti</i>	:	Mental mode.
<i>Vaikunṭha-dhāman</i>	:	The limitless realm of light.
<i>Vaikharī</i>	:	The audible sound.
<i>Vairāgya</i>	:	Detachment.
<i>Vairāja-Puruṣa</i>	:	The Cosmic Man embracing the fourteen worlds.
<i>Vaiṣṇava-yoga</i>	:	The technique of exploring truth within by means of <i>om</i> .
<i>Vaiṣṇavī-mudrā</i>	:	A technical device for concentration.
<i>Vyabhicārin</i>	:	Fluctuating condition of a sentiment.
<i>Vyāna</i>	:	Vital air pervading the whole body.
<i>Vyūha</i>	:	God's Emanation.
<i>Śakti</i>	:	Latent power.
<i>Śama</i>	:	The control of the mind.
<i>Śaraṇā'patti</i>	:	To take shelter in God.
<i>Śānta-bhakti</i>	:	Tranquil devotion.
<i>Śuddhā bhakti</i>	:	Pure devotion.
<i>Śṛṅgāra</i>	:	Devotional sentiment of love.
<i>Śyena-yāga</i>	:	Sacrifice to kill one's enemy.
<i>Śraddhā</i>	:	Faith.
<i>Śravaṇa</i>	:	Listening to God's name etc.
<i>Śrī</i>	:	The consort of Viṣṇu.
<i>Śruti</i>	:	The <i>Vedas</i> including the <i>Upaniṣads</i> .
<i>Samskāra</i>	:	Latent impression.
<i>Samskāra-śeṣa</i>	:	Reduction of the mind to latent impression.
<i>Sakhya</i>	:	Friendship.
<i>Sañcita-karman</i>	:	Accumulated stock of action.
<i>Sattva</i>	:	The principle of revelation.
<i>Satya</i>	:	Truth.
<i>Satya-loka</i>	:	The region of the cosmic creator (Brahmā).
<i>Satra</i>	:	Thousand-year sacrifice.

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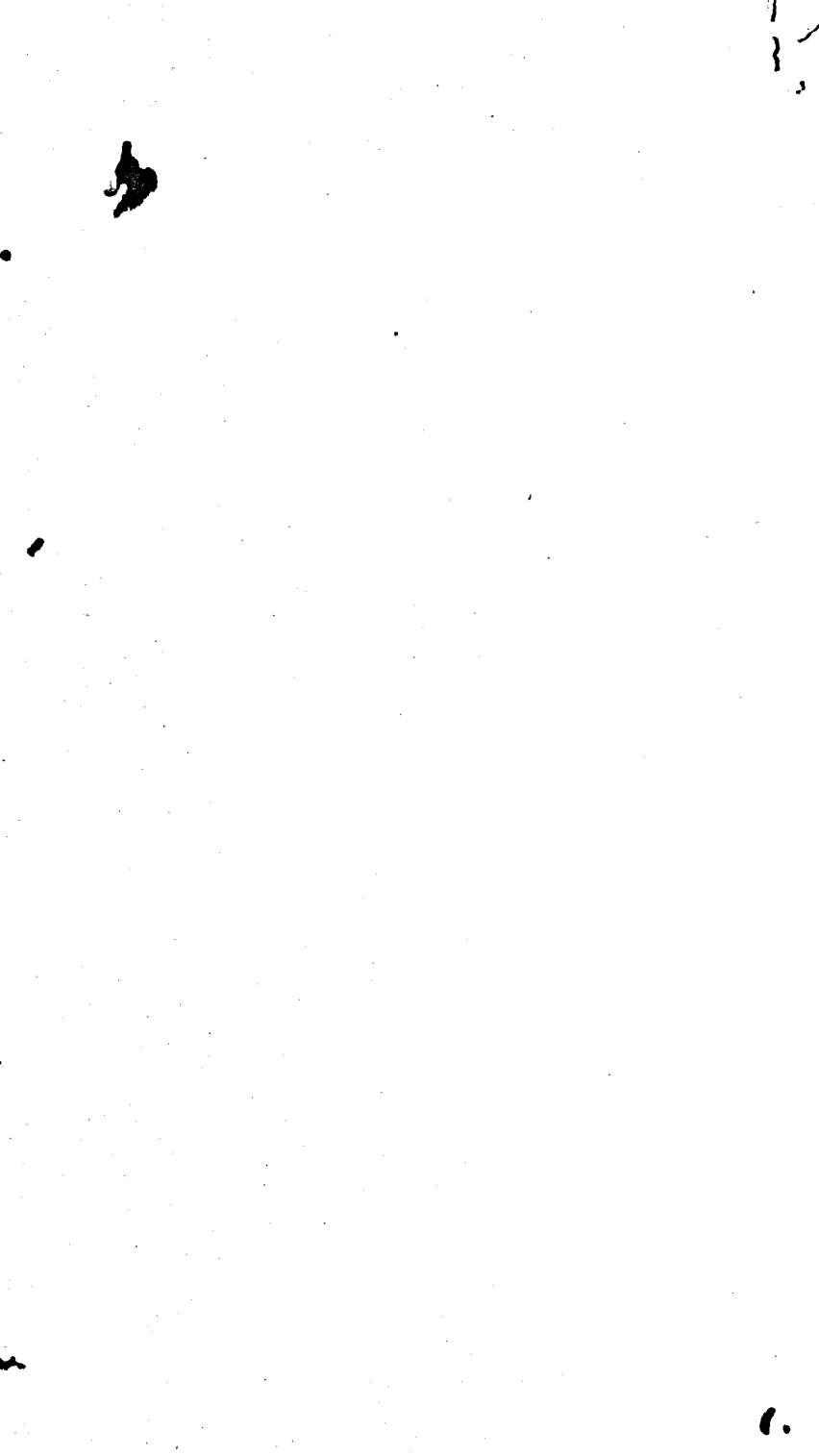
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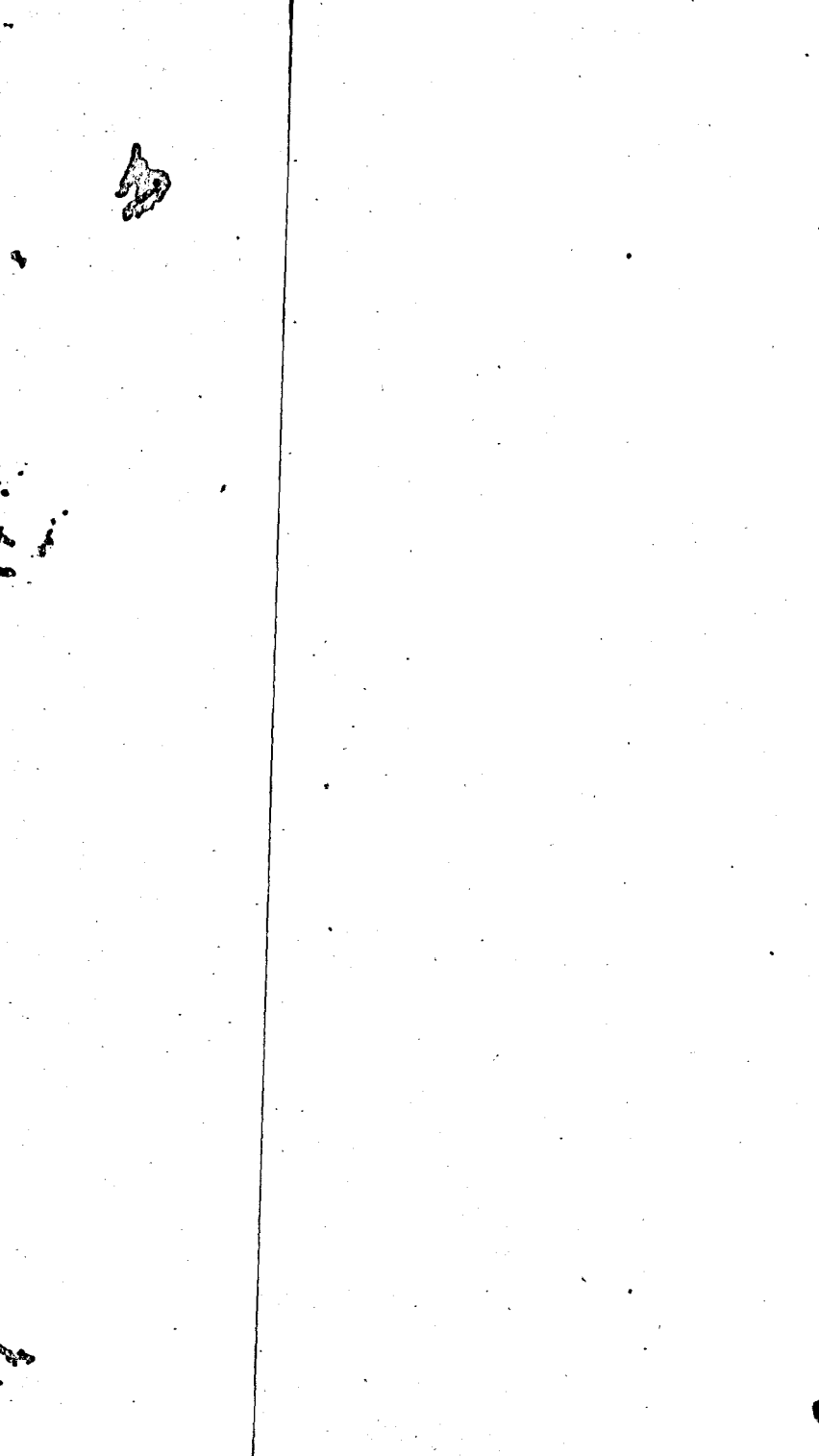
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