Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar

(14th April 1891 - 6th December 1956)

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DR. BABASAHEB AMBEDKAR
WRITINGS AND SPEECHES
VOL. 4

Compiled

by

VASANT MOON

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar : Writings and Speeches

Vol. 4

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Minister for Social Justice and Empowerment
& Chairperson, Dr. Ambedkar Foundation

MESSAGE

Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the Chief Architect of Indian Constitution was a scholar par excellence, a philosopher, a visionary, an emancipator and a true nationalist. He led a number of social movements to secure human rights to the oppressed and depressed sections of the society. He stands as a symbol of struggle for social justice.

The Government of Maharashtra has done a highly commendable work of publication of volumes of unpublished works of Dr. Ambedkar, which have brought out his ideology and philosophy before the Nation and the world.

In pursuance of the recommendations of the Centenary Celebrations Committee of Dr. Ambedkar, constituted under the chairmanship of the then Prime Minister of India, the Dr. Ambedkar Foundation (DAF) was set up for implementation of different schemes, projects and activities for furthering the ideology and message of Dr. Ambedkar among the masses in India as well as abroad.

The DAF took up the work of translation and publication of the Collected Works of Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar published by the Government of Maharashtra in English and Marathi into Hindi and other regional languages. I am extremely thankful to the Government of Maharashtra's consent for bringing out the works of Dr. Ambedkar in English also by the Dr. Ambedkar Foundation.

Dr. Ambedkar's writings are as relevant today as were at the time when these were penned. He firmly believed that our political democracy must stand on the base of social democracy which means a way of life which recognizes liberty, equality and fraternity as the principles of life. He emphasized on measuring the progress of a community by the degree of progress which women have achieved. According to him if we want to maintain democracy not merely in form, but also in fact, we must hold fast to constitutional methods of achieving our social and economic objectives. He advocated that in our political, social and economic life, we must have the principle of one man, one vote, one value.

There is a great deal that we can learn from Dr. Ambedkar's ideology and philosophy which would be beneficial to our Nation building endeavor. I am glad that the DAF is taking steps to spread Dr. Ambedkar's ideology and philosophy to an even wider readership.

I would be grateful for any suggestions on publication of works of Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar.

Selja

(Kumari Selja)

Collected Works of Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar (CWBA)

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FOREWORD

Dr. Ambedkar, the Chief Architect of Indian Constitution, is well-known not only as a constitutionalist and a parliamentarian but also as a scholar and active reformer all over the world. As a champion of the down-trodden he waged relentless struggle against the oppressive features of Hindu society. Throughout his life, he strove for establishment of a new social order based on the principles of liberty, equality, justice and universal brotherhood.

The Indian society owes a tremendous debt to his radical and humanitarian approach for solution of the problems of the Backward Classes.

The Government of Maharashtra is committed to the welfare of the backward classes for whose uplift Dr. Ambedkar dedicated his whole life. Thoughts and teachings of great men like Dr. Ambedkar will always serve as a beacon light for the new generation. Our Government, therefore, feels proud and happy to bring out these three consecutive volumes of his unpublished writings as part of our total project of publication of the writings of Dr. Ambedkar.

(S. B. CHAVAN)

Chief Minister of Maharashtra

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PREFACE

I consider it a great honour to have been asked to write a preface to these volumes which consist of hitherto unpublished writings of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar.

Dr. Ambedkar occupies a position of high eminence among the learned scholars of Indian society and philosophy. His erudition and learning as reflected through his writings may serve as a beacon light for rational approach towards our social and religious problems.

The Government of Maharashtra has undertaken the work of bringing out complete writings of Dr. Ambedkar in a series of volumes. The reconstituted Committee appointed for this work, has now come up with three consecutive volumes of the unpublished writings, which were very eagerly awaited by the students of India's social and political evolution.

The present volumes, which deal with philosophical as well as social problems of Indian society, may prove interesting to the scholars as well as to the new and young generation which is eager to find solutions to the national problems on a rational basis.

The Editorial Board is to be congratulated for the zeal, dedication and care which they brought to bear on the expeditious publication of these volumes.

(Prof. RAM MEGHE)
Minister for Education,
Maharashtra State

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Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Source Material Publication Committee, Maharashtra State

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INTRODUCTION

The members of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Source Material Publication Committee are pleased to present this volume of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's unpublished writings to readers on behalf of the Government of Maharashtra. This volume is significant and unique in several respects. Firstly, the contents of this volume were hitherto unknown. These are the unpublished writings of Dr. Ambedkar which were in the custody of the Administrator General and the custodian of Dr. Ambedkar's property. The students of Dr. Ambedkar's writings and his devoted followers were anxious to read these writings. Some of the followers of Dr. Ambedkar had even gone to the court to secure permission for the printing of these writings although the manuscripts were not in their possession. Thus, these writings had assumed such significance that it was even feared that they had been destroyed or lost.

There is a second reason why this volume is significant. Dr. Ambedkar is known for his versatile genius, but his interpretation of the philosophy of and his historical analysis of the Hindu religion as expressed in these pages may throw new light on his thought.

The third important point is that Dr. Ambedkar's analysis of Hindu Philosophy is intended not as an intellectual exercise but as a definite approach to the strengthening of the Hindu society on the basis of the human values of equality, liberty and fraternity. The analysis ultimately points towards uplifting the down-trodden and absorbing the masses in the national mainstream.

It would not be out of place to note down a few words about the transfer of these papers to the Committee for publication. During his life time, Dr. Ambedkar published many books, but also planned many others. He had also expressed his intention to write his autobiography, the life of Mahatma Phule and the History of the Indian Army, but left no record of any research on these subjects.

After his death, in 1956, all the papers including his unpublished writings were taken into custody by the custodian of the High Court of Delhi. Later, these papers were transferred to the Administrator General of the Government of Maharashtra. Since then, the boxes containing the unpublished manuscripts of Dr. Ambedkar and several other papers were in the custody of the Administrator General.

It was learned that Shri J. B. Bansod, an Advocate from Nagpur, had filed a suit against the Government in the High Court Bench at Nagpur,

which was later transferred to the High Court of Judicature at Bombay. The petitioner had made a simple request seeking permission from the court to either allow him to publish the unpublished writings of Dr. Ambedkar or to direct the Government to publish the same as they had assumed national significance. This litigation was pending before the Bombay High Court for several years.

After the formation of this Committee and after the appointment of Shri V. W. Moon as Officer on Special Duty in 1978, it was felt necessary to secure the unpublished writings of Dr. Ambedkar and to publish them as material of historical importance. Shri Moon personally contacted the legal heris of Dr. Ambedkar and the Administrator General. Shri Bansod, Advocate, was also requested to cooperate. It must be noted with our appreciation that Smt. Savita B. Ambedkar, Shri Prakash Y. Ambedkar and his family members and Shri Bansod, Advocate, all showed keen interest, consented to the Government project for publication and agreed to transfer all the boxes containing the Ambedkar papers to the Government. At last, the Administrator General agreed to transfer all the papers contained in five iron trunks to this Committee. Accordingly, Shri Vasant Moon took possession of the boxes on behalf of the Government of Maharashtra on 18-9-1981. All the five trunks are since stored safely in one of the Officers' Chambers in the Education Department of Mantralaya.

Shri M. B. Chitnis, who, as a close associate of Dr. Ambedkar, was intimately familiar with the latter's handwriting. He was at that time Chairman of the Editorial Board. On receipt of the papers, he spent a fortnight identifying which of the papers were Dr. Ambedkar's manuscripts. This basic process of identification having been accomplished, there remained the stupendous task of reading, interpreting and collating the vast range of MS material in the collection, to decide in what form and in what order it should be presented to the public.

In 1981, Shri. Moon, OSD, set to work on this project. This work of matching and sorting was a delicate and difficult one as well as immensely time-consuming. Many of the works what Dr. Ambedkar had evidently intended to complete, were scattered here and there in an incomplete state in the manuscript form. It was therefore necessary to retrieve and collate the fragments in order to place them in proper order. Only after very many hours of reading, selecting and reflecting not only on the contents of these papers but also what was already known of Dr. Ambedkar's work and thought, did Shri. Moon arrive at the present selection and arrangement of those MS.

This task was not merely strenuous at the intellectual level but also at the physical one due to the condition of the papers themselves. These had been stored in the closed boxes for more than 30 years. They were fumigated with insecticides, with the result that a most poisonous foul odour emitted from these papers. Shri Moon and his staff had to suffer infection of the skin and eyes and required medical treatment.

After two years of strenuous work, Shri Moon had submitted a detailed report to the Editorial Board on 17-9-1983 containing recommendations as to the proper arrangement and presentation of the papers as they were to appear in a published form. The present volume is substantially in accordance with these recommendations.

In the execution of this laborious work, invaluable assistance was rendered by the Stenographers Shri Anil Kavale and Shri L. R. Meher, and Shri S. A. Mungekar as a clerk.

After the proposed arrangements had been approved by the Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Source Material Publication Editorial Committee in its meeting dated 23-9-1986, Shri Moon and his staff took on the tasks associated with publication, i.e. proof reading and indexing.

In the papers that the Editorial Board scrutinised, we have come across 51 titles of unpublished writings (including 26 of 'Riddles in Hinduism'). In addition to these, we have received 14 unpublished essays of Dr. Ambedkar from Shri S. S. Rege, the Ex-Librarian of the Siddharth College, Bombay. The essays received from Shri Rege are shown by asterisk in the list mentioned below. Not all these essays are complete. All the essays have been divided into three volumes as under :

VOLUME 3 :

1. Philosophy of Hinduism
2. The Hindu Social Order : Its Essential Principles
3. The Hindu Social Order : Its Unique Features
4. Symbols of Hinduism
5. Ancient India on Exhumation
6. The Ancient Regime—The State of the Aryan Society
7. A Sunken Priesthood
8. Reformers and Their Fate

*9. The Decline and Fall of Buddhism

10. The Literature of Brahminism

*11. The Triumph of Brahmanism

12. The Morals of the House—Manusmriti or the Gospel of Counter-Revolution
13. The Philosophic Defence of Counter-Revolution: Krishna and His Gita
14. Analytical notes of Virat Parva and Uddyog Parva

15. Brahmins Vs Kshatriyas
16. Shudras and the Counter-Revolution
17. The Woman and the Counter-Revolution
18. Buddha or Karl Marx
19. Schemes of books

VOLUME 4:

Riddles in Hinduism (27 Chapters including 1 from Shri S. S. Rege) [While composing this Volume, the total number of Riddles (24), including Appendices (8), has come to 32.]

VOLUME 5:

1. Untouchables or Children of India's Ghetto
*2. The House the Hindus have Built
*3. The Rock on which it is Built
*4. Why Lawlessness is Lawful ?
*5. Touchables Vs Untouchables
*6. Hinduism and the Legacy of Brahminism
*7. Parallel Cases
8. Civilization or Felony
9. The Origin of Untouchability
10. The Curse of Caste
*11. From Millions to Fractions
12. The Revolt of Untouchables
13. Held at Bay
14. Away from the Hindus
15. A Warning to the Untouchables
16. Caste and Conversion
*17. Christianizing the Untouchables
*18. The Condition of the Convert
*19. Under the Providence of Mr. Gandhi
*20. Gandhi and His Fast

In this Introduction we propose to deal with all the questions raised about these manuscripts in order to clear the air about the publication of all Dr. Ambedkar's extant writings.

It is generally believed by the followers of Dr. Ambedkar that Dr. Ambedkar had completed the books entitled : (1) Riddles of Hinduism, (2) The Buddha and Karl Marx and (3) Revolution and Counter-Revolution. The manuscripts of "Riddles of Hinduism" have been found in separate chapters bundled together in one file. These chapters contain corrections, erasures, alterations, etc. by the hands of Dr. Ambedkar himself. Fortunately, the introduction by Dr. Ambedkar is also available for this book. We, however, regret that the

final manuscript of this volume has not been found. The Committee has accepted the title "Riddles in Hinduism", given by Dr. Ambedkar in his Introduction to the Book.

"The Buddha and Karl Marx" was also said to have been completed by Dr. Ambedkar, but we have not come across such a book among the manuscripts. There is, however, a typed copy of a book entitled "Gautam the Buddha and Karl Marx" (A Critique and Comparative Study of their Systems of Philosophy) by LEUKE—Vijaya Publishing House, Colombo) (year of publication not mentioned). One short essay of 34 pages by Dr. Ambedkar entitled "Buddha or Karl Marx" was however found and being included in the third volume. A third book, viz., "Revolution and Counter-Revolution", was also believed to have been completed by Dr. Ambedkar. A printed scheme for this treatise has been found in the papers received by the Committee. It appears that Dr. Ambedkar had started working on various chapters simultaneously. Scattered pages have been found in the boxes and are gathered together.

We are tempted here to present the process of writing of Dr. Ambedkar which will give an idea of the colossal efforts he used to make in the writing of a book. He had had his own discipline. He used to make a blue-print of the book before starting the text. The Editorial Board found many such blue-prints designed by him, viz., "India and Communism", "Riddles in Hinduism", "Can I be a Hindu?", "Revolution and Counter-Revolution", "What Brahmins have done to the Untouchables", "Essays on Bhagvat Gita", "Buddha and Karl Marx", etc. But some of these were not even begun and those which were begun were left incomplete.

It will be interesting to present an illustration. Dr. Ambedkar had prepared a blue-print for a book entitled "India and Communism". The contents are as follows :

Part—I The Pre-requisites of Communism

Chapter 1—The Birth-place of Communism

Chapter 2—Communism & Democracy

Chapter 3—Communism & Social Order

Part—II India and the Pre-requisites of Communism

Chapter 4—The Hindu Social Order

Chapter 5—The Basis of the Hindu Social Order

Chapter 6—Impediments to Communism arising from the Social Order.

Part—III What then shall we do ?

Chapter 1—Marx and the European Social Order

Chapter 2—Manu and the Hindu Social Order

Dr. Ambedkar could complete only Chapters 4 and 5 of the scheme viz., "The Hindu Social Order" and "The Basis of the Hindu Social Order". It appears that when it struck to him that he should deal with two more topics in Part III he added those two topics in his own handwriting on the typed page. In the same well-bound file of typed material, there appears a page entitled "Can I be a Hindu?" which bears his signature in pencil and a table of contents on the next page as follows :

Introduction

Symbols of Hinduism

Part-I—Caste

Part-II—Cults—Worship of Deities

Part-III—Superman

The third page bears sub-titles of the chapters as follows:

1. Symbols represent the soul of a thing
2. Symbols of Christianity
3. Symbols of Islam
4. Symbols of Jainism
5. Symbols of Buddhism
6. Symbols of Hinduism
7. What are the Symbols of Hinduism ?

Three

1. Caste.
2. Cults—
   (1) Rama
   (2) Krishna
   (3) Shiva
   (4) Vishnu
3. Service of Superman

The plan as designed above remains incomplete except for the chapter on, "Symbols of Hinduism".

The Editorial Committee has found a chapter on "Riddles of Rama and Krishna" which might have been intended for the volume "Riddles in Hinduism". The 24 riddles as proposed in his original plan were changed often in blue-prints. The seriatim of the contents and chapters and the arrangement of the file do not synchronize. The chapter on Rama and Krishna did not find a place in the listing of the contents of the book. However, we are including it in the volume on Riddles.

At the end we are confident that our time and our pains will not go unrewarded when Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's hitherto unpublished works will be brought in a proper form before the general public as well as interested scholars.

We place on record our deep sense of gratitude to Smt. Savita B. Ambedkar, Shri Prakash Y. Ambedkar and his family members for granting permission to the Government for publication of all the writings of Dr. Ambedkar. Shri Y. I. Desai, the Administrator General and Custodian of Dr. Ambedkar's Estate deserves our appreciation for transfer of the manuscripts to the Government. Shri J. B. Bansod, an Advocate from Nagpur also deserves thanks for co-operating with the Committee. We record our deep appreciation of the Late Shri M. B. Chitnis for sparing his valuable time, labour and guidance in his failing health.

We express our sincere gratitude to Shri Shankarrao Chavan, the Hon'ble Chief Minister, Prof. Ram Meghe, the Education Minister, and Miss Chandrika Keniya, the Minister of State for Education, Maharashtra State, for their decision to publish all the manuscripts. We thank Shri R. S. Gavai, the Vice-President of the Committee and MLC for his initiative, guidance and invaluable efforts in solving the Committee's problems. We are also thankful to Shri Madhusudan Kolhatkar, Secretary, Education Department, Maharashtra State, for his valuable advice. We thank Shri R. S. Jambhule, Director; Shri S. A. Deokar, Joint Director; Shri J. B. Kulkarni, Asistant Secretary; " Shri M. M. Awate, Deputy Director and Shri E. M. Meshram, Superintendent, all of the Education Department, for taking keen interest in the process of publication.

A special mention needs to be made of Dr. P. T. Borale, Shri S. S. Rege, Dr. B. D. Phadke and Shri Daya Pawar, Members of the Committee, who met together several times and made invaluable suggestions in the editing of this volume. We express our deep appreciation for their contribution.

Shri S. S. Rege, a Member of this Committee, was kind enough to spare the manuscripts of 14 essays of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar which had been in his possession for many years. These essays have enriched the material included in these three volumes. The Members of the Committee are most indebted to Shri Rege for his kindness.

Shri G. D. Dhond, the Director; Shri P. S. More and Shri Purkar,the Managers; Shri R. J. Mahatekar, the Dy. Manager; Shri J. S. Nagvekar, Operator Film Setter, and the staff of the Department of Printing and Stationery deserve full appreciation and thanks for their expeditious printing with utmost care and sincerity.

EDITORS
Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Source
Material Publication Committee
Maharashtra State

Bombay
2nd October 1987

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Riddles in Hinduism

An Exposition

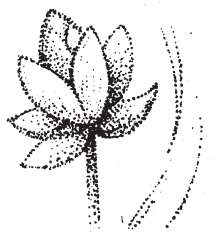
To

Enlighten the Masses

By

B. R. Ambedkar

M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc, LL.D., D.Litt., Barrister-at-Law.



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INTRODUCTION

This book is an exposition of the beliefs propounded by what might be called Brahmanic theology. It is intended for the common mass of Hindus who need to be awakened to know in what quagmire the Brahmins have placed them and to lead them on to the road of rational thinking.

The Brahmins have propagated the view that the Hindu civilization is Sanatan, that is, unchanging. This view has been reinforced by a good many of the European Scholars who have said that the Hindu civilization is static. In this book I have attempted to show that this view is not in accord with facts and that Hindu Society has changed from time to time and that often times the change is of the most radical kind. In this connection, compare the Riddles from Himsa to Ahimsa and from Ahimsa back to Himsa. I want to make the mass of people to realize that Hindu religion is not Sanatan.

The second purpose of this book is to draw attention of the Hindu masses to the devices of the Brahmins and to make them think for themselves how they have been deceived and misguided by the Brahmins.

It will be noticed how the Brahmins have changed and chopped. There was a time when they worshipped the Vedic Gods. Then came a time when they abandoned their Vedic Gods and started worshipping non-Vedic Gods. One may well ask them—where is Indra, where is Varuna, where is Brahma, where is Mitra — the Gods mentioned in the Vedas? They have all disappeared. And why, because the worship of Indra, Varuna and Brahma ceased to be profitable. Not only did the Brahmins abandon their Vedic Gods but there are cases where they have become the worshippers of Muslim Pirs. In this connection one glaring case may be referred to. In Kalyan near Bombay there is a famous Darga of Pir called Bawa Malangsha on the top of a hill. It is a very famous Darga. Every year a Urs (pilgrimage) is held and offerings are made. The person who officiates at the Darga as a priest

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This is a seven-page manuscript, with corrections in Dr. Ambedkar's handwriting. Last few paras are additions in the handwriting by Dr. Ambedkar to the typed script.—Ed.

is a Brahmin, sitting near it, wearing the clothes of Muslims and receiving monies offered at the Darga. This he did for the sake of money. Religion or no religion what the Brahmin wants is Dakshina. Indeed the Brahmins have made religion a matter of trade and commerce. Compare with this faithlessness of the Brahmins the fidelity of the Jews to their Gods even when their conqueror Nebuchadnezzar forced the Jews to abandon their religion and adopt his (religion)[1].

Nebuchadnezzar, the king, made an image of gold, whose height was three score cubits, and the breadth thereof six cubits; he set it up in the plain of Dura, in the province of Babylon.

Nebuchadnezzar, the king, ordered the princes, the governors, the captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces to come to the dedication of the image which Nebuchadnezzar, the king had set up.

Then the princes, the governors, the captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces, were gathered together unto the dedication of the image that Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up; and they stood before the image that Nebuchadnezzar had set up.

Then an herald cried aloud,

> "To you, it is commanded, O people, nations, and languages, That at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sack-but, psaltery, dulcimer and all kinds of musick, ye fall down and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up:
>
> And who so falleth not down and worshippeth shall the same hour be cast into the midst of burning fiery furnace."

Therefore at that time, when all the people heared the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sack-but, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of musick, all the people, the nations, and the languages fell down and worshipped the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up.

Wherefore at that time certain Chaldeans came near, and accused the Jews.

They spake and said to the king Nebuchadnezzar,

> "O King, live for ever.
>
> Thou, O king, hast made a decree, that every man that shall hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sack-but, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of musick shall fall down and worship the golden image;

[1] What follows is from Damet Ch. 3 (Old Testament).

And who so falleth not down and worshippeth that he should be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace;

There are certain Jews whom thou hast set over the affairs of the province of Babylon; Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego; these men, O king, have not regarded thee; they serve not thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up."

Then Nebuchadnezzar in his rage and fury commanded to bring Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego. Then they brought these men before king.

Nebuchadnezzar spake and said unto them,

"Is it true, O Shadrach, Meshach and Abed-nego, do not ye serve my gods, nor worship the golden image which I have set up?

Now if ye'be ready that at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sack-but, psaltery, and dulcimer, and all kinds of musick, ye fall down and worship the image which I have made; well! but if ye worship not, ye shall be cast the same hour into the midst of a burning fiery furnace; and who is that God that shall deliver you out of my hands?"

Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, answered and said to the king, "O Nebuchadnezzar, we are not careful to answer thee in this matter.

If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace and he will deliver us out of thine hand, O King.

But if not, be it known unto thee, O King, that we will not serve thy Gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up."

Then was Nebuchadnezzar full of fury, and the form of his visage was changed against Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego; therefore he spake, and commanded that they should heat the furnace one seven times more than it was wont to be heated.

And he commanded the most mighty men that were in his army to bind Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, and to cast them into the burning fiery furnace.

Then these men were bound in their coats, their hosen and their hats, and their other garments, and were cast into the midst of the burning fiery furnace.

Therefore because the king's commandment was urgent, and the furnace exceeding hot, the flame of the fire slew those men that took up Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego.

And these three men, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, fell down bound into the midst of the burning fiery furnace."

Can the Brahmins of India show such stead-fast faith and attachment for their Gods and to their religious faith?

Buckle in his history of civilization says:

> "It is evident that until doubt began, progress was impossible. For as we have clearly seen, the advance of civilization solely depends on the acquisitions made by the human intellect and on the extent to which those acquisitions are diffused. But men who are perfectly satisfied with their own knowledge will never attempt to increase it. Men who are perfectly convinced of the accuracy of their opinions will never take the pains of examining the basis on which they are built. They look with wonder, and often with horror, on views contrary to those which they inherited from their fathers; and while they are in this state of mind, it is impossible that they should receive any new truth which interferes with their foregone conclusions.
>
> On this account it is, that although the acquisition of fresh knowledge is the necessary precursor of every step in social progress, such acquisition must itself be preceded by a love of inquiry, and therefore by a spirit of doubt; because without doubt there will be no inquiry and without inquiry there will be no knowledge. For knowledge is not an inert and passive principle which comes to us whether we will or not; but it must be sought before it can be won; it is the product of great labour and therefore of great sacrifice. And it is absurd to suppose that men will incur the labour, and make the sacrifice for subjects respecting which they are already perfectly content. They who do not feel the darkness, will never look for the light. If on any point we have attained to certainty, we make no further inquiry on that point; because inquiry would be useless, or perhaps dangerous. The doubt must intervene, before the investigation can begin. Here, than we have the act of doubting as the originator or, at all events, the necessary antecedent of all progress."

Now the Brahmins have left no room for doubt, for they have propounded a most mischievous dogma which the Brahmins have spread among the masses, is the dogma of the infallibility of the Vedas. If the Hindu intellect has ceased to grow and if the Hindu civilization and culture has become a stagnant and stinking pool, this dogma must be destroyed root and branch if India is to progress. The Vedas are a worthless set of books. There is no reason either to call them sacred or infallible. The Brahmins have invested it with sanctity and infallibility only because by a later interpolation of what is called the Purusha — Sukta, the Vedas have made them the lords of the Earth. Nobody has

had the courage to ask why these worthless books which contain nothing but invocation to tribal Gods to destory the Enemies, loot their property and give it to their followers (have been made sacred and infallible)[1]. But the time has come when the Hindu mind must be freed from the *hold** which the silly ideas propagated by the Brahmins, have on them. Without this liberation India has no future. I have undertaken this task knowing full well what *risk** it involves. I am not afraid of the consequences. I shall be happy if I succeed in stirring the masses.

B. R. AMBEDKAR

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[1] Inserted by the editors—Ed.

* The word 'hold' has been introduced by us. This word is illegible in the hand-written manuscript. So also the word 'risk' is missing from the original.

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PART I
Religious

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RIDDLE NO. 1

THE DIFFICULTY OF KNOWING WHY ONE IS A HINDU

India is a conjeries of communities. There are in it Parsis, Christians, Mohammedans and Hindus. The basis of these communities is not racial. It is of course religious. This is a superficial view. What is interesting to know is why is a Parsi a Parsi and why is a Christian a Christian, why is a Muslim a Muslim and why is a Hindu a Hindu? With regard to the Parsi, the Christian and the Muslim it is smooth sailing. Ask a Parsi why he calls himself a Parsi he will have no difficulty in answering the question. He will say he is a Parsi because he is a follower of Zoraster. Ask the same question to a Christian. He too will have no difficulty in answering the question. He is a Christian because he believes in Jesus Christ. Put the same question to a Muslim. He too will have no hesitation in answering it. He will say he is a believer in Islam and that is why he is a Muslim.

Now ask the same question to a Hindu and there is no doubt that he will be completely bewildered and would not know what to say.

If he says that he is a Hindu because he worships the same God as the Hindu Community does his answer cannot be true. All Hindus do not worship one God. Some Hindus are monotheists, some are polytheists and some are pantheists. Even those Hindus who are monotheists are not worshippers of the same Gods. Some worship the God Vishnu, some Shiva, some Rama, some Krishna. Some do not worship the male Gods. They worship a goddess. Even then they do not worship the same Goddesses. They worship different Goddesses. Some worship Kali, some worship Parvati, some worship Laxmi.

Coming to the Polytheists they worship all the Gods. They will worship Vishnu and Shiva, also Rama and Krishna. They will worship Kali, Parvati and Laxmi. A Hindu will fast on the Shivaratri day because it is sacred to Shiva. He will fast on Ekadashi day because it is sacred to Vishnu. He will plant a Bel tree because it is sacred to Shiva and he will plant a Tulsi because it is dear to Vishnu.

Polytheists among the Hindus do not confine their homage to the Hindu Gods. No Hindu hesitates to worship a Muslim Pir or

a Christian Goddess. Thousands of Hindus go to a Muslim Pir and make offerings. Actually there are in some places Brahmins who own the office of a hereditary priesthood of a Muslim Pir and wear a Muslim Pir's dress. Thousands of Hindus go to make offerings to the Christian Goddess Mant Mauli near Bombay.

The worship of the Christian or Muslim Gods is only on occasions. But there are more permanent transfer of religious allegiance. There are many so-called Hindus whose religion has a strong Muhammadan content. Notable amongst these are the followers of the strange Panchpiriya cult, who worship five Muhammadan saints, of uncertain name and identity, and sacrifice cocks to them, employing for the purpose as their priest a Muhammadan Dafali fakir. Throughout India many Hindus make pilgrimages to Muhammadan shrines, such as that of Sakhi Sarwar in the Punjab.

Speaking of the Malkanas Mr. Blunt says that they are converted Hindus of various castes belonging to Agra and the adjoining districts, chiefly Muttra, Ettah and Mainpuri. They are of Rajput, Jat and Bania descent. They are reluctant to describe themselves as Musalmans, and generally give their original caste name and scarcely recognize the name Malkana. Their names are Hindu; they mostly worship in Hindu temples; they use the salutation Ram-Ram; they intermarry amongst themselves only. On the other hand, they sometimes frequent a mosque, practise circumcision and bury their dead; they will eat with Muhammadans if they are particular friends.

In Gujarat there are several similar communities — such as the Matia Kunbis, who call in Brahmans for their chief ceremonies, but are followers of the Pirana saint Imam Shah and his successors, and bury their dead as do the Muhammadans; the Sheikhadas at their weddings employ both Hindu and a Muhammadan priest, and the Momans who practise circumcision, bury their dead and read the Gujarati Koran, but in other respects follow Hindu custom and ceremonial.

If he says that "I am a Hindu because I hold to the beliefs of the Hindus" his answer cannot be right for here one is confronted with the fact that Hinduism has no definite creed. The beliefs of persons who are by all admitted to be Hindus often differ more widely from each other than do those of Christians and Muhammadans. Limiting the issue to cardinal beliefs the Hindus differ among themselves as to the beliefs which are of cardinal importance. Some say that all the Hindu scriptures must be accepted, but some would exclude the Tantras, while others would regard only the Vedas as of primary importance; some again think that the sole essential is belief in the doctrine of karma and metempsychosis.

A complex congeries of creeds and doctrines is Hinduism. It shelters within its portals monotheists, polytheists and pantheists; worshippers of the great Gods Shiva and Vishnu or of their female counterparts, as well as worshippers of the divine mothers or the spirits of trees, rocks and streams and the tutelary village deities; persons who propitiate their deity by all manner of bloody sacrifices, and persons who will not only kill no living creature but who must not even use the word 'cut'; those whose ritual consists mainly of prayers and hymns, and those who indulge in unspeakable orgies in the name of religion; and a host of more or less heterodox sectaries, many of whom deny the supremacy of the Brahmans, or at least have non-Brahmanical religious leaders.

If he says that he is a Hindu because he observes the same customs as other Hindus do his answer cannot be true. For all Hindus do not observe the same customs.

In the north near relatives are forbidden to marry; but in the south cousin marriage is prescribed, and even closer alliances are sometimes permitted. As a rule female chastity is highly valued, but some communities set little store by it, at any rate prior to marriage, and others make it a rule to dedicate one daughter to a life of religious prostitution. In some parts the women move about freely; in others they are kept secluded. In some parts they wear skirts; in others trousers.

Again if he said that he is a Hindu because he believes in the caste system his answer cannot be accepted as satisfactory. It is quite true that no Hindu is interested in what his neighbour believes, but he is very much interested in knowing whether he can eat with him or take water from his hands. In other words it means that the caste system is an essential feature of Hinduism and a man who does not belong to a recognized Hindu Caste cannot be a Hindu. While all this is true it must not be forgotten that observance of caste is not enough. Many Musalmans and many Christians observe caste if not in the matter of inter-dining certainly in the matter of inter-marriage. But they cannot be called Hindus on that account. Both elements must be present. He must be a Hindu and he must also observe caste. This brings us back to the old question who is a Hindu? It leaves us where we are.

Is it not a question for every Hindu to consider why in the matter of his own religion his position is so embarrassing and so puzzling? Why is he not able to answer so simple a question which every Parsi, every Christian, and every Muslim can answer? Is it not time that he should ask himself what are the causes that has brought about this Religious chaos ?

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RIDDLE NO. 2

THE ORIGIN OF THE VEDAS- THE BRAHMINIC EXPLANATION OR AN EXERCISE IN THE ART OF CIRCUMLOCUTION

There is hardly any Hindu who does not regard the Vedas as the most sacred Book of his religion. And yet ask any Hindu what is the origin of the Vedas and it would be difficult to find one who can give a clear and a definite answer to the simple question. Of course, if the question was addressed to a Vedic Brahmin he would say that the Vedas are Sanatan. But this is no answer to the question. For first of all what does the word *Sanatan* means?

The best explanation of the word *Sanatan* is to be found in the Commentary by Kalluka Bhatt on Chapter I Shlokas 22-23 of the Manu Smriti. This is what Kulluka Bhatt defines the word Sanatan[1].

[1] Muir Sanskrit Texts Vol. III. p. 6.

We have found 72 pages dealing with the subject "Origin of the Vedas". These pages were neither arranged properly nor paged either by the typist or by the author. We have attempted to organize and arrange all these loose papers systematically and divide them into the Riddle No. 2 to 6, in accordance with the arrangement given in the Table of contents. It is difficult to assume that all these pages are complete in the treatment of the subject of each Chapter.

There is, however, one independent chapter containing 61 pages under the title 'Riddle of the Vedas' placed as Appendix I. That essay deals with all the subjects mentioned in the Table of Contents at Sr. No. 2 to 6 in a consolidated manner. Several paras may be found repeated in that essay. The original MS of the chapters 2 to 6 included here bears corrections and modifications in the handwriting of the author, whereas the Chapter included as Appendix I is a typed second copy having no corrections at all. We have followed the chronology of the Table of contents and the pages of corrected MS are arranged accordingly. —Ed.

"The word Sanatana he says, means 'eternally pre-existing'. The doctrine of the superhuman origin of the Vedas is maintained by Manu. The same Vedas which (existed) in the previous mundane era (Kalpa) were preserved in the memory of the omniscient Brahma, who was one with the supreme spirit. It was those same Vedas that, in the beginning of the present Kalpa, he drew forth from Agni, Vayu and Surya; and this dogma, which is founded upon the Veda, is not to be questioned, for the Veda says, 'the Rig-Veda comes from Agni, the Yajur-Veda from Vayu, and the *Sama-Veda* from Surya."

To understand the explanation by *Kulluka Bhatt* it is necessary to explain what Kalpa means.

A Kalpa is a reckoning of time adopted by the Vedic Brahmins. The Brahmanic reckoning of time divides time into (1) Varsha, (2) Yuga, (3) Mahayuga, (4) Manvantara and (5) Kalpa.

Varsha is easy enough to understand. It corresponds to the term year.

What exactly the period of time covered by the term Yuga covers there is no unanimity.

A Mahayuga is a period covered by a group of four Yugas: (1) Krita Yuga, (2) Treta Yuga, (3) Dwapar Yuga and (4) Kali Yuga. The four Yugas follow one another in a cycle, when the period of the first Yuga is spent it is followed by the second and so on in the order given. When the cycle is complete one Mahayuga is completed and a new Mahayuga opens. Every Mahayuga begins with the Krita Yuga and ends with Kali Yuga.

There is no uncertainty as to the time relation of a Mahayuga and a Kalpa. 71 Mahayugas make one Kalpa. There is however some uncertainty as to the time relation between Mahayuga and Manvantara. A Manvantara is equal to 71 Mahayugas "and something more". What exact period of time that 'something more' means, the Brahmins have not been able to state categorically. Consequently the time relation between Manvantara and Kalpa is uncertain.

But this does not matter very much for our present purposes. For the present it is enough to confine our attention to Kalpa.

The idea underlying 'Kalpa' is closely connected with the creation and dissolution of the Universe. The creation of the world is called *Srashti*. The dissolution of the universe is called *Pralaya*. Time between *Srashti* and *Pralaya* is called *Kalpa*. The idea of the origin of the Vedas is thus more intimately connected with the idea of Kalpa

According to this scheme of things, what is supposed to happen is that when a *Kalpa* begins creation begins. With the beginning of the creation there comes into being a new series of Vedas. What Kulluka

Bhatt wants to convey is that though in a sense every new Kalpa has a new series of Vedas the same old Vedas are reproduced by Brahma from his memory. That is why he says the Vedas are Sanatan i.e., eternally pre-existing.

What Kalluka Bhatt says is that the Vedas are reproduced from memory. The real question is who made them and not who reproduced them. Even if one accepts the theory of reproduction at the beginning of each Kalpa the question still remains who made the Vedas when the first Kalpa began. The Vedas could not have come into being *ex-nihilo*. They must have a beginning though they may have no end. Why don't the Brahmins say openly? Why this circumlocution?

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RIDDLE NO. 3

THE TESTIMONY OF OTHER SHASTRAS ON THE ORIGIN OF THE VEDAS

I

The search for the origin of the Vedas may well begin with the Vedas themselves.

The Rig-Veda propounds a theory of the origin of the Vedas. It is set out in the famous Purusha Sukta. According to it, there was a mystic sacrifice of the Purusha a mythical being and it is out of this sacrifice that the three Vedas namely, Rig, Sama, Yajus came into being.

The Sama-Veda and Yajur-Veda have nothing to say about the origin of the Vedas.

The only other Veda that refers to this question is the Atharva-Veda. It has many explanations regarding the origin of the Vedas. One explanation[1] reads as follows:

> "From Time the Rig verses sprang; the Yajus sprang from Time."

There are also two other views propounded in the Atharva-Veda on this subject. The first of these is not very intelligent and may be given in its own language which runs as follows[2]:

> "Declare who that Skamba (supporting principle) is in whom the primeval rishis, the rick, saman, and yajush, the earth and the one rishi, are sustained. . . .
>
> "Declare who is that Skamba from whom they cut off the rick verses, from whom they scrapped off the yajush, of whom the saman verses are the hairs and the verses of Atharvan and Angiras the mouth."

Obviously this statement is a challenge to some one who had proclaimed that the Rig, Sama and Yajur Veda were born out of a Skamba.

The second explanation given in the Atharva-Veda is that the Vedas sprang from Indra.[3]

[1] Atharva-Veda XIX 54. 3. Quoted in Muir S. I. III. p. 4.

[2] Atharva-Veda X 7.14 quoted in Muir S. I. III. p. 3.

[3] Muir S. T. III. p. 4.

II

This is all that the Vedas have to say about their own origin. Next in order of the Vedas come the Brahmanas. We must therefore inquire into what they have to say on this subject. The only Brahmanas which attempt to explain the origin of the Vedas are the Satapatha Brahmana, the Taitteriya Brahmana, Aitereya Brahmana and Kaushitaki Brahmana.

The Satapatha Brahmana has a variety of explanations. One attributes the origin of the Vedas to Prajapati[1]. According to it:

> "Prajapati, was formerly this universe (i.e., the sole existence) one only. He desired, 'may I become, may I be propagated'. He toiled in devotion, he performed austerity.
>
> "From him, when he had so toiled and performed austerity, three worlds were created—earth, air and sky. He infused warmth into these three worlds. From them, thus heated, three lights were produced,— Agni (fire), this which purifies i.e., Pavana, or Vayu, (the Wind), and Surya (the Sun). He infused heat into these three lights. From them so heated the three Vedas were produced,— the Rig-Veda from Agni (fire), the Yajur-Veda from Vayu (Wind) and the Sama-Veda from Surya (the Sun). He infused warmth into these three Vedas. From them so heated three luminous essences were produced, *bhuh,* from the Rig-Veda, *bhuvah* from the Yajur-Veda, and *svar* from the Sama-Veda. Hence, with the Rig-Veda, the office of the *adhvaryu;* with the Sama-Veda, the duty of the *udgatri;* while the function of the brahman arose through the luminous essence of the triple science (i.e., the three Vedas combined)."

The Satapatha Brahmana gives another variant[2] of this explanation of the origin of the Veda from Prajapati. The explanation is that Prajapati created the Vedas from waters. Says the Satapatha Brahmana:

> "This male, Prajapati, desired, 'May I multiply, may I be propagated'. He toiled in devotion; he practised austere-fervour. Having done so he first of all created sacred knowledge, the triple Vedic science. This became a basis for him. Wherefore men say, 'sacred knowledge is the basis of this universe'. Hence after studying the Veda a man has a standing ground; for sacred knowledge is his foundation. Resting on this basis he (Prajapati) practised austere-fervour. He created the waters from Vach (speech) as their world. Vach was his; she was created. As she pervaded (apnot) waters were

[1] Muir Sanskrit Texts, III. p. 5.

[2] *Ibid,* p. 8

called 'apah'. As she covered (avrinot) all, water was called 'Var'. He desired, 'May I be propagated from these waters'. Along with this triple Vedic science he entered the waters. Thence sprang an egg. He gave it an impulse; and said ' let there be, let there be, let there be again'. Thence was first created sacred knowledge, the triple Vedic science. Wherefore men say, 'Sacred knowledge is the first-born thing' in this universe. Moreover, it was sacred knowledge which was created from that Male in front, wherefore it was created as his mouth. Hence they say of a man learned in the Veda, 'he is like Agni; for the sacred knowledge is Agni's mouth'."

There is a third explanation[1] given in the Satapatha Brahmana:

" I settle thee in the ocean as they seat."

" Mind is the ocean. From the mind-ocean with speech for a shovel the Gods dug out the triple Vedic science. Hence this verse has been uttered; 'May the brilliant deity today know where they placed that offering which the Gods dug out with sharp shovels. Mind is the ocean; speech is the sharp shovel; the triple Vedic Science is the offering. In reference to this the verse has been uttered. He settles it in Mind."

The Taitteriya— Brahmana has three explanations to offer. It speaks of the Vedas as being derived from Prajapati. It also says Prajapati created king Soma and after him the three Vedas were created[2]. This Brahmana has another explanation[3] quite unconnected with Prajapati. According to it:

"Vach (speech) is an imperishable thing, and the first-born of the ceremonial, the mother of the Vedas, and the centre-point of immortality. Delighting in us, she came to the sacrifice. May the protecting goddess be ready to listen to my invocation, she whom the wise rishis, the composers of hymns, the Gods sought by austere-fervour, and by laborious devotion."

To crown all this the Taitteriya Brahmana offers a third explanation. It says that the Vedas came from the beard of Prajapati.[4]

III

The Upanishads have also attempted to explain the origin of the Vedas.

The explanation offered by the Chhandogya Upanishad is the same[5]

[1] Muir I. pp. 9-10.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 8.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 10.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 10.

[5] *Ibid* p. 5.

as that given by the Satapatha Brahmana—namely that the Rig-Veda originated from Agni, Yajus from Vayu and Sam from the Sun.

The Brahad Aranyaka Upanishad has two explanations to offer. In one place, it says[1]:

> "As from a fire made of moist wood, various modifications of smoke proceed, so is the breathing of this great Being the Rig-Veda, the Yajur-Veda, the Sama-Veda, the Atharvangirases, the Itihasas, Puranas, science, the Upanishads, verses (slokas), aphorisms, comments of different kinds—all these are his breathings."

In another place, it says[2]:

> "Prajapati (identified with Death or the Devourer) is said to have produced Vach (speech), and through her, together with soul, to have created all things, including the Vedas."
>
> "By that speech and that soul he created all things whatsoever, rick, yajush, and saman texts, metres, sacrifices, creatures and animals."
>
> " The three Vedas are (identifiable with) these three things (speech, mind and breath). Speech is the Rig-Veda, mind the Yajur-Veda and breath the Sama-Veda."

IV

Coming to the Smritis, there are two theories as to the origin of the Vedas to be found in the Manu Smriti. In one place[3], it is said that the Vedas were created by Brahma.

> "He (Brahma) in the beginning fashioned from the words of the Veda the several names, functions, and separate conditions of all (creatures). That Lord also created the subtle host of active and living deities, and of Sadhyas, and eternal sacrifice. And in order to the performance of sacrifice, he drew forth from Agni, from Vayu and from Surya, the triple eternal Veda, distinguished as Rick, Yajush and Saman."

In another place[4], he seems to accept the story of Prajapati being the originator of the Vedas as would be evident from the following:

> "Prajapati also milked out of the three Vedas the letters, *'a', 'u',* and *'m'* together with the words *'bhuh', 'bhuvah'* and *'svar'*. The same supreme Prajapati also milked from each of the three Vedas one of the three portions of the text called Savitri (or gayatri), beginning with the word *tat* . . . . The three great imperishable particles (bhuh,

[1] Muir Vol. I. p. 8.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 9.

[3] *Ibid. p.* 6.

[4] *Ibid p.* 7.

bhuvah, svar) preceded by om, and the gayatri of three lines, are to be regarded as the mouth of Brahma."

V

It is also interesting to note what the Puranas have to say about the origin of the Vedas. The Vishnu Purana[1] says:

"From his eastern mouth Brahma formed the gayatra, the rick verses, the trivrit, the soma-rathantara, and of sacrifices, the agnishtoma. From his southern mouth he created the yajush verses, the trishtubh metre, the panchadasa-stoma, the vrihat-saman and the ukthya. From his western mouth he formed the saman verses, the jagatimetre, the saptadasa-stoma, the vairupa, and the atiratra. From his northern mouth he framed the ekavinsa, the atharvan, the aptoryaman, with the anushtubh and biraj metres."

The Bhagvat Purana[2] says:

"Once the Vedas sprang from the four-faced creator, as he was meditating 'how shall I create the aggregate worlds as before?... He formed from his eastern and other mouths the Vedas called rick, yajush, saman, and atharvan, together with praise, sacrifice, hymns and expiation." *[*There appears to be some quotations missing as there is no link between these two paragraphs.*]

"Entering between her eyes. From her there was then produced a quadruple being in the form of a Male, lustrous as Brahma, undefined, eternal, undecaying, devoid of bodily senses or qualities, distinguished by the attribute of brilliancy, pure as the rays of the moon, radiant, and embodied in letters. The God fashioned the Rig-Veda, with the Yajush from his eyes, the Sama-Veda from the tip of his tongue, and the Atharvan from his head. These Vedas, as soon as they are born, find a body, (kshetra). Hence they obtain their character of Vedas, because they find (vindanti) that abode. These Vedas then create the pre-existent eternal Brahma (sacred science), a Male of celestial form, with their own mind-born qualities."

It also accepts Prajapati as the origin. It says that when the Supreme being was intent on creating the Universe, Hiranyagarbha, or Prajapati, issued from his mouth the sound 'Om', and was desired to divide himself—a process which he was in great doubt how he should effect—the Harivamsa proceeds[3]:

" While he was thus reflecting, the sound 'om' issued from him, and resounded through the earth, air and sky. While the God of Gods

[1] Muir Vol. I. p. 11.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 11.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 14.

was again and again repeating this, the essence of mind, the vashatkara proceeded from his heart. Next, the sacred and transcendent vyahritis, (bhuh, bhuvah, svar), formed of the great smriti, in the form of sound, were produced from earth, air, and sky. Then appeared the goddess, the most excellent of meters, with twenty-four syllables (the gayatri). Reflecting on the divine text (beginning with) 'tat', the Lord formed the Savitri. He then produced all the Vedas, the Rick, Saman, Atharvan, and Yajush, with their prayers and rites."

VI

Here we have eleven different explanations regarding the origin of the Vedas—(1) as originating from the mystical sacrifice of Purusha, (2) as resting on Skambha, (3) as cut or scraped off from him, as being his hair and his mouth, (4) as springing from Indra, (5) as produced from Time, (6) as produced from Agni, Vayu and Surya, (7) as springing from Prajapati, and the Waters, (8) as being the breath of Brahma, (9) as being dug by the Gods out of mind-ocean, (10) as being the hair of Prajapati's beard and (11) as being the offspring of Vach.

This bewildering multiplicity of answers to a simple question is a riddle. The writers who have come forward to furnish these answers are all Brahmins. They belong to the same Vaidik school of thought. They alone were the guardians of the ancient religious lore. Why should they have given such incoherent and chaotic answers to a very simple question?

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RIDDLE NO. 4

WHY SUDDENLY THE BRAHMINS DECLARE THE VEDAS TO BE INFALLIBLE AND NOT TO BE QUESTIONED?

To say that the Vedas occupy a very high position in the Religious literature of the Hindus is to make an understatement. To say that the Vedas form the sacred literature of the Hindus will also be an inadequate statement. For the Vedas besides being a sacred literature of the Hindus is a book whose authority cannot be questioned. The Vedas are infallible. Any argument based on the Vedas is final and conclusive. There is no appeal against it. This is the theory of the Vedic Brahmins and is accepted by the generality of the Hindus.

I

On what does this theory rest? The theory rests on the view that the Vedas are *Apaurusheya.* When the Vedic Brahmins say that the Vedas are *Apaurusheya* what they mean is that they were not made by man. Not being made by man, they are free from the failings, faults and frailties to which every man is subject and are therefore infallible.

II

It is difficult to understand how such a theory came to be propounded by the Vedic Brahmins. For there was a time when the Vedic Brahmins themselves thought quite differently on the question of the authority of the Vedas as being final and conclusive. These *Vaidik* Brahmins are no other than the authors of the various Dharma Sutras.

The following are the views expressed by the Dharma Sutras on question of the authority of the Vedas:

To begin with the Gautama Dharma Sutra.

It lays down the following rule on the question of the infallibility of the Vedas.

"The Veda is the source of the sacred law" I-1.

"And the tradition and practice of those who know the Veda" I-2.

"If authorities of equal force are conflicting, (either may be followed at) pleasure" I-4.

The Vashishta Dharma Sutra propounds the following view:

"The sacred law has been settled by the revealed texts i.e., Vedas and by the tradition of the sages" I-4.

"On the failure of (rules given in) these (two sources) the practice of Shishtas (has) authority". I-5.

The views of Baudhayana are given below:

Prasna I, Adhyaya I, Kandika I.

(1) The sacred law is taught in each Veda.

(2) We will explain (it) in accordance with that.

(3) (The sacred law), taught in the tradition (Smriti) stands second.

(4) The practice of the Sishtas (stands) third.

(5) On failure of them an Assembly consisting at least of ten members (shall decide disputed points of law).

The view taken by the Apastamba Dharma Sutra is clear from the following extract from that Sutra:

"Now, therefore, we will declare the acts productive of merit which form part of the customs of daily life" I-1.

"The authority (for these duties) is the agreement (samaya) of those who know the law". I-2.

"And (the authorities for the latter are) the Vedas alone" I-3.

With regard to the *Shishtas* both the Vashishtha Dharma Sutra and also the Baudhayana Dharma Sutra have taken particular care to define who can be regarded as *Shishtas*.

The Vashishta Dharma Sutra says:

"He whose heart is free from desire (is called) a Shishta". I-6.

Baudhayana goes into much greater details about the qualification of the Shishtas. This is what he says:

"5. Shishtas, forsooth, (are those) who are free from envy, free from pride, contented with a store of grain sufficient for ten days, free from covetousness, and free from hypocrisy, arrogance, greed, perplexity and anger."

"6. Those are called Shishtas who, in accordance with the sacred law, have studied the Veda together with its appendages, know how to draw inferences from that (and) are able to adduce proofs perceptible by the senses from the revealed texts."

Baudhayana has also something very interesting to say about the assembly whom he authorises to decide. The following are his views on the matter:

"8. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'Four men, who each know one of the four Vedas, a Mimansaka, one who knows the Angas, one who recites (the works on) the sacred law, and three Brahmanas belonging to (three different) orders, constitute an assembly consisting at least of ten members."

"9. There may be five, or there may be three, or there may be one blameless man, who decides (questions regarding) the sacred law. But a thousand fools (can) not do it)."

"As an elephant made of wood, as an antelope made of leather, such an unlearned Brahmana; those three having nothing but the name (of their kind)".

This review of Dharma Sutras[1] shows that the (1) Veda, (2) Tradition (Smriti), (3) Practice of Shishta and (4) Agreement in an assembly were the four different authorities which were required to be referred to in the decision of an issue which was in controversy. It also shows that there was a time when the Vedas were not the sole infallible authorities. That was the time represented by the Dharma Sutras of Vashishta and Baudhayana. Apastambha does not invest the Vedas with any authority at all. Knowledge of Vedas is made by him as an electoral qualification for membership of the Assembly whose agreed decision is the law and the only law. The Veda was not at all regarded as a book of authority and when the only recognized source of authority was an agreement arrived at in an Assembly of the learned. It is only in the time of Gautama that the Vedas came to be regarded as the only authority. There was a time when an agreed decision of the Assembly was admitted as one source of authority. That is the period represented by Baudhayana.

This conclusion is reinforced by the following quotation from the Satapatha Brahmana. It says:

[*Left incomplete. Quotation and further discussion not given.*]

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[1] According to Max Muller the period of the Dharma Sutras was sometime between 600 and 200 B.C.

RIDDLE No. 5

WHY DID THE BRAHMINS GO FURTHER AND DECLARE THAT THE VEDAS ARE NEITHER MADE BY MAN NOR BY GOD?

The Vedic Brahmins were not content with investing the Vedas with Infallibility. They went further and asserted that the Vedas were Apaurusheya. By this they meant the Vedas were not made by man. This doctrine no doubt leads to the doctrine of Infallibility. For not being made by man they are free from the failings, faults and frailties of man and are therefore infallible. All the same it is necessary to examine the theory separately for it is an independent theory.

Is there really no human author of the Vedas? Are they really Apaurusheya ? The best evidence on the subject is the evidence of the *Anukramanis*— a special class of literature which forms part of the ancient Sanskrit literature. What are called Anukramanis are nothing but systematic indices to various portions of the ancient Vedic literature. Every Veda has an Anukramani, sometimes have more than one Anukramani. Seven Anukramanis for the Rig-Veda are known to be in existence, five by Shaunaka, one by Katyayana and one by an unknown author. For the Yajur-Veda there exist three Anukramanis, one for each of the three Shakhas, Atreyi, Charayaniyas and Madhyandina. For the Sama-Veda there are two Anukramanis, one is called Arsheya-Brahmana and the other is known by the name Parishistas. As to the Atharva-Veda one Anukramani is known to exist. It is known as Brihat-Sarvanukramani.

The most perfect Anukramani according to Prof. Max Muller is Katyayana's Sarvanukramani to the Rig-Veda. Its importance lies in the fact that it gives (1) the first words of each hymn, (2) the number of verses, (3) the name and the family of the Rishi who composed it, (4) the names of the deities and (5) the metres of every verse. What emerges from a reference to the Sarvanukramani is that the Rishis are the authors of the hymns which make up the Rig-Veda. The Rig-Veda therefore on the evidence of the Anukramani cannot but be regarded as a man-made work. The same must be the conclusion regarding the other Vedas.

That the Anukramanis are realistic is proved by many passages in the Rig-Veda in which the Rishis describe themselves as the composers of the hymns.

Below are given a few of such passages:

"The Kanvas make a prayer to you, hear well their invocation'. Thus, O, Indra, yoker of steeds, have the Gotamas made hymns for these efficaciously"

"This hymn has efficaciously been made to you, O opulent Asvins, by the Manas"

"These magnifying prayers, (this) hymn, O Asvins, the Gritsamadas have made for you"

"Aspiring to heaven, the sage Kusikas have made a hymn with praises to thee, O Indra."

"Nodhas, descendant of Gotama, fashioned this new hymn for (thee), Indra, who are of old, and who yokest thy steeds"

"Thus O, hero, have the Gritsamadas, desiring succour, fashioned for thee a hymn as men make works."

"The sages generated an efficacious production and a prayer for Indra."

"These hymns, Agni, generated for thee, celebrate thy bounty in cows and horses."

"Our father hath discovered (or invented) this great, sevenheaded hymn, born of sacred truth; Ayasya, friend of all men celebrating Indra, has generated the fourth song of praise."

"We, the Raghuanas, have uttered to Agni honied speech; we incessantly laud him with eulogies."

"Thus, all ye Adityas, Aditi, and ye ruling powers, has the wise son of Plati magnified you. The celestial race has been lauded by the immortal Gaya."

"He it is whom they call a rishi, a priest, a pious sacrificer, a chanter of prayers, a reciter of hymns, he it is who knows the three bodies of the brilliant (Agni), the man who is most prominent in bestowing gifts."

Apart from the evidence of the Anukramanis there is another sort of evidence which militates against the theory of the Vedas being Apaurusheya. The Rishis themselves have treated the Vedas as a human and as a historical product. The hymns of Rig-Veda distinguish between ancient and modern Rishis. Here are a few of them:

"Agni, who is worthy to be celebrated by former as well as modern rishis, will bring the gods hither."

"The former rishis who invoked thee for succour.

"Hear the hymn of me this modern sage, of this modern (sage)."

"Indra, as thou hast been like a joy to former worshippers who praised thee, like waters to the thirsty, I invoke thee again and again with this hymn."

"The ancient rishis, resplendent and sage, have placed in front of them (Brihaspati) with gladdening tongue."

"Neither the ancients nor later men, nor any modern man, has attained to (conceived) thy prowess, O, Madhavan."

"As (Indra's) former worshippers were, (may we be) blameless, irreproachable, and unharmed."

"For, now, O energetic god, men are thy worshippers as the ancients born of old and the men of the middle and later ages have been thy friends, And O, much-invoked think of the most recent of all.

"To Him (Indra) our ancient fathers, the seven Navagava sages desiring food, (resorted) with their hymns."

"Glorified by our newest hymn, do thou bring to us wealth and food with progeny."

A closer study of the Rig-Veda will show that the Rig-Veda itself makes a distinction between old hymns and new hymns. Some of them are given below:

"Glorified by our newest hymn, do thou bring to us wealth and food and progeny."

"Agni thou hast announced (or do thou announcest) among the gods this our offering, our newest hymn."

"Through our new hymns, do thou, vigorous in action, destroyer of cities, sustain us with invigorating blessings."

"I bring to Agni, the son of strength, a new and energetic hymn, a production of thought uttered by the voice (vachah)."

"I present to the mighty protector a mental production, a new utterance (now) springing up"

"May the new prayer impel thee, the heroic well-accourted, the loud-thundering to succour us."

"I seek like the ancients, to stimulate thee, the ancient, with a new hymn."

"May the new hymns made to praise you, may these prayers gratify you."

" Sing O, Sobhari, with a new hymn to these youthful, vigorous, and brilliant (gods)

"Indra, slayer of Vritra, thunderer, invoked of many, we (thy) numerous (worshippers) bring to thee, as thy hire, hymns which never before existed."

"I will address to this ancient (deity) my new praises which he desires; May he listen to us"

"Desiring horses, cattle, and wealth we invoke thee to approach us."

Given this abundance of evidence to prove the human origin of the Vedas it is a riddle to find that the Brahmins should so strenuously propagate this extravagant view that the Vedas are not man made. What made the Brahmins propagate such a view?

Notwithstanding this there were eminent philosophers who were prepared to accept the authority of the Vedas although they were not prepared to admit that the Vedas were *Sanatan* or *Apaurush.*

The Gautama the founder of what is called the Nyaya system of Philosopy said:

"The authority of the Veda, like that of the formulas, and the Ayur-Veda (treatise on medicine) follows from the authority of the competent persons from whom they proceeded. Since the competent maker of the Veda possesses authority, inculcates truth, it results from the force of the terms that the Veda was uttered by a person of this character; and by this reasoning the authority of the Veda is to be inferred. He illustrates this by the case of the formulas and the Ayur-Veda. By formulas *(mantra)* are meant the sentences which neutralize poison etc., and the section containing the Ayur-Veda forms part of the Veda. Now as the authority of these two classes of writings is admitted by general consent, the authority of everything which possess the characteristics of the Veda must be inferred from this example. Some, however, explain the aphorism thus; a Veda is that in which authority is found or recognized. From such Vedicity (or Possession of the character of a Veda) the authority of any work is to be inferred."

The Vaishashika system admits that the Vedas are authoritative. But the grounds on which it rests its conclusion are:

(1) That the Vedas are the product of an intelligent mind and

(2) That they have been uttered by God. Therefore they are authoritative.

The Sankhya system founded by Kapila held the view that eternity cannot be predicated of the Vedas, since various texts in the Vedas themselves declare them to have been produced. It expressly denies that the Vedas originated from the conscious effort of any divine being. According to the Sankhya, the Vedas like the Sun shine by their own light, and evince an inherent power both of revealing their own perfection and of elucidating all other things, past and future, great and small, near and remote. The system of Philosophy known as the

Vedanta seems to support two distant views. It ascribes the origin of the Vedas to Brahma as its source or cause of source using the term Brahma as neuter denoting the supreme spirit and not as masculine designating the personal creator. It also speaks of the eternity of the Vedas and makes mention of a self-dependent author.

The Brahmins did not remain content with the argument that the Vedas were not made by man. They went much further and contended that the Vedas were not made even by God. This theory is propounded by Jaimini the author of the Purva Mimansa. Jaimini's arguments in favour of the thesis are so strange that one has to know them in order to realize their strangeness.

It is in the *Purva Mimansa*— a book of Brahmanic philosophy— that this doctrine of the Vedas being Apaurusheya is propounded. The following extracts from the book will reveal the nature of the argument.

Jaimini the author of the Purva Mimamsa first deals with the argument of the Naiyayikas who assert that the Vedas are made by Parameshwara and states the case made out by the Naiyayikas.

The argument of the Mimansakas is:

> "The Veda could not have been uttered by the incorporeal Paramesvara (God), who has no palate or other organs of speech, and therefore cannot be conceived to have pronounced the letters (of which it is composed.). This objection (answers the Naiyayika) is not happy, because, though Paramesvara is by nature incorporeal, he can yet, by way of sport assume a body, in order to show kindness to his devoted worshippers. Consequently, the arguments in favour of the doctrine that the Veda had no personal author are inconclusive."

He then proceeds to state his arguments in favour of the Doctrine of the Mimansakas—

> "I shall now clear up all these difficulties. What is meant by this *paurusheyatva* ('derivation from a personal author') which it is sought to prove? Is it (1) mere procession (*utpannatva*) from a person (purusha) like the procession of the Veda from persons such as ourselves, when we daily utter it? or (2) is it the arrangement— with a view to its manifestation—of knowledge acquired by other modes of proof, in the sense in which persons like ourselves compose a treatise? If the first meaning be intended, there will be no dispute.
>
> If the second sense be meant, I ask whether the Veda is proved (to be authoritative) in virtue (a) of its being founded on inference, or (b) of its being founded on supernatural information (*agama-balat*)?

The former alternative (a) i.e., that the Veda derives its authority from being founded on inference cannot be correct, since this theory breaks down, if it be applied to the sentence of the Malati Madhava or any other secular poem (which may contain inferences destitute of authority). If, on the other hand, you say (b) that the contents of the Veda are distinguished from those of other books of having authority, this explanation also will fail to satisfy a philosopher. For the word of the Veda is (defined to be) a word which proves things that are not provable by any other evidence.

Now if it could be established that this Vedic word did nothing more than prove things that are provable by other evidence, we should be involved in the same sort of contradiction as if a man were to say that his mother was a barren woman.

And even if we conceded that Parameswara might in sport assume a body, it would not be conceivable that in that case he should perceive things beyond the reach of the senses, from the want of any means of apprehending objects removed from him in place, in time, and in nature. Nor is it to be thought that his eyes and other sense alone would have the power of producing such knowledge, since men can only attain to conceptions corresponding with what they have perceived.

This is what has been said by the Guru (Prabhakara) when he refutes this supposition of an omniscient author; 'Wherever any object is perceived (by the organ of sight) in its most perfect exercise, such perception can only have reference to the vision of something very distant or very minute, since no organ can go beyond its own proper objects, as e.g., the ear can never become cognizant of form'.

Hence the authority of the Veda does not arise in virtue of any supernatural information acquired by the Deity in a corporeal shape."

These are arguments urged by Jaimini to destroy the case of the Naiyayikas. Jaimini then proceeds to give his positive arguments to show why the Vedas are not the word of God but something superior to that. This is what he says:

"In the preceding aphorism it was declared that the connection of words and their meanings is eternal. Desiring now to prove that this (eternity of connection) is dependent on the eternity of words (or sound), he begins by setting forth the first side of the question, viz., the doctrine of those who maintain that sound is not eternal."

"Some, i.e., the followers of the Nyaya philosophy, say that sound is a product, because we see that it is the result of effort, which it would not be if it were eternal."

"That it is not eternal, on account of its transitoriness, i.e., because after a moment it ceases to be perceived."

"Because, we employ in reference to it the expression 'making' i.e., we speak of 'making' a sound."

"Because it is perceived by different persons at once, and is consequently in immediate contact with the organs of sense of those, both far and near, which it could not be if it were one and eternal."

"Because sounds have both an original and a modified form; as e.g., in the case of *dadhi atra,* which is changed into *dadhy atra,* the original letter '*i*' being altered into '*y*' by the rules of permutation. Now, no substance which undergoes a change is eternal."

"Because sound is augmented by the number of those who make it. Consequently the opinion of the Mimansaka, who say that sound is merely manifested, and not created, by human effort, is wrong; since even a thousand manifesters do not increase the object which they manifest, as a jar is not made larger by a thousand lamps."

These objections against the Mimansaka theory that sound is manifested, and not created, by those who utter it, are now answered by Jaimini. Says Jaimini:

"But, according to both schools, viz., that which holds sound to be created, and that which regards it as merely manifested, the perception of it is alike momentary. But of these two views, the theory of manifestation is shown in the next aphorism to be the correct one."

"The non-perception at any particular time, of sound, which, in reality, perpetually exists, arises from the fact that the utterer of sound has not come into contact with his object i.e., sound. Sound is eternal, because we recognize the letter *'k',* for instance, to be the same sound which we have always heard, and because it is the simplest method of accounting for the phenomenon to suppose that it is the same. The still atmosphere which interferes with the perception of sound, is removed by the conjunctions and disjunctions of air issuing from a speaker's mouth, and thus sound (which always exists, though unperceived) becomes perceptible. This is the reply to the objection of its 'transitoriness'.

"The word, 'making' sounds; merely means employing or uttering them."

"One sound is simultaneously heard by different persons, just as one Sun is seen by them at one and the same time, Sound like the Sun is a vast, and not a minute object, and thus may be perceptible by different persons, though remote from one another."

"The letter '*y*', which is substituted for '*i*' in the instance referred to under Sutra 10, is not a modification of '*i*', but a distinct letter. Consequently, sound is not modified."

"It is an increase of 'noise', not of sound, that is occasioned by a multitude of speakers. The word 'noise' refers to the 'conjunctions' and 'disjunctions' of the air which enter simultaneously into the hearer's ear from different quarters; and it is of these that an increase takes place."

"Sound must be eternal, because its utterance is fitted to convey a meaning to other persons. If it were not eternal (or abiding), it would not continue till the hearer had learned its sense, and thus he would not learn the sense, because the cause had ceased to exist."

"Sound is eternal, because it is in every case correctly and uniformly recognised by many persons simultaneously; and it is inconceivable that they should all at once fall into a mistake."

"When the word '*go*' (cow) has been repeated ten times, the hearers will say that the word '*go*' has been ten times pronounced, not that ten words having the sound of '*go*' have been uttered ; and this fact also is adduced as a proof of the eternity of sound.

"Sound is eternal, because we have no ground for anticipating its destruction.

"But it may be urged that sound is a modification of air, since it arises from its conjunctions, and because the Siksha (or Vedanga treating of pronunciation) says that 'air arrives at the condition of sound' and as it is thus produced from air, it cannot be eternal."

A reply to this difficulty is given in Sutra 22.

"Sound is not a modification of air, because if it were, the organ of hearing would have no appropriate object which it could perceive. No modification of air (help by the Naiyayikas to be tangible) could be perceived by the organ of hearing, which deals only with intangible sound."

"And the eternity of sound is established by the argument discoverable in the Vedic text, 'with an eternal voice, O Virupa'. Now, though this sentence had another object in view, it, nevertheless, declares the eternity of language, and hence sound is eternal."

Such is the argument by Jaimini in favour of his thesis that the Vedas are eternal and not made by man, not even by God.

The bases on which his thesis rests are simple.

Firstly God has no body and no palate and therefore he could not utter the Vedas.

Secondly, Assuming God had a body, God could not perceive things which are beyond the reach of the senses while the Vedas contain things beyond the reach of human senses.

Thirdly, The connection between a word and its meaning is eternal.

Fourthly, Sound is eternal.

Fifthly, Because sound is eternal words which are made up of sounds are also eternal.

Sixthly Because words are eternal therefore the Vedas are eternal and because the Vedas are eternal they are not made by man nor by God.

What can one say of these premises? Can there be anything more absurd? Who can accept that the Vedas contain something not comprehensible by human senses ? Who can accept that there is an eternal connection between a word and its meaning ? Who can accept that sound is not created nor manifested but is eternal ?

Having regard to these absurd premises one is led to ask why did the Brahmins make such a desparate attempt for establishing a desparate conclusion? What did they want to gain thereby? Was it because the Vedas had been made the exponent of the Chaturvarna with the Brahmins as the Lord of all?

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RIDDLE NO. 6

THE CONTENTS OF THE VEDAS: HAVE THEY ANY MORAL OR SPIRITUAL VALUE?

I

If the Vedas are to be accepted as binding and Infallible then what they teach must have ethical and spiritual value. Nobody can regard a rag to be binding and infallible because a Philosopher like Jaimini came forward to lend his authority to such a proposal. Have the Vedas any ethical or spiritual value? Every Hindu who regards the Vedas are infallible is bound to consider this question.

Modern writers have expressed views which deny any spiritual value to the Vedas. As an illustration one may refer to the views of Prof. Muir. According to Prof. Muir[1]:

> "The whole character of these compositions and the circumstances under which, from internal evidence, they appear to have arisen, are in harmony with the supposition that they were nothing more than the natural expression of the personal hopes and feelings of those ancient bards of whom they were first recited. In these songs the Aryan sages celebrated the praises of their ancestral gods (while at the same time they sought to conciliate their goodwill by a variety of oblations supposed to be acceptable to them), and besought of them all the blessings which men in general desired—health, wealth, long life, cattle, offspring, victory over their enemies, foregiveness of sin, and in some cases also celestial felicity."

It would no doubt be objected that all foreign scholars are prejudiced and that their views cannot therefore be accepted. Fortunately we are not altogether dependent upon the views of foreigners. There are leaders of indegeneous schools of thought which have taken the same view. The most notorious example is that of the Charvakas.

The opposition of Charvaka can be seen from the following quotation which reproduces his line of argument against the Vaidikas[2]:

> "If you object that, if there be no such thing as happiness in a future world, then how should men of experienced wisdom engage

[1] Muir. Sanskrit Texts. Vol. III (Page not mentioned).

[2] Sarva Darshan Sangraha p. 10.

in the agnihotra and other sacrifices, which can only be performed with great expenditure of money and bodily fatigue. Your objection cannot be accepted as any proof to the contrary, since the agnihotra, etc., are only useful as means of livelihood; for the Veda is tainted by three faults of untruth, self-contradiction, and tautology; then again the impostors who call themselves Vaidic pundits are mutually destructive, as the authority of the Jnan-Kanda is overthrown by those who maintain the authority of the Karma-Kanda and those who maintain the authority of the Jnan-Kanda reject that of the Karma-Kanda; and lastly, the three Vedas themselves are only the incoherent rhapsodies of knaves and to this effect runs the popular saying:

"The Agnihotra, the three Vedas, the ascetic, three staves, and smearing oneself with ashes," Brihaspati says, "these are but means of livelihood for those who have no manliness nor sense."

Brahaspati is another example of the same school of thought. Brahaspati was far more bold and militant in his opposition to the Vedas than the Charvakas. As reported by Madhava Acharya, Brahaspati argued[1]:—

"There is no heaven, no final liberation, nor any soul in another world; Nor do the actions of the four castes, orders etc., produce any real effect. The Agnihotra, the three Vedas, the ascetic's three stages and smearing one's self with ashes, ... were made by Nature as the livelihood of those destitute of knowledge and manliness; If a beast slain in the Jyotishtoma rite will itself go to heaven; why then does not the sacrificer forthwith offer his own father?

If the Sraddha produces gratification to beings who are dead, then here, too, in the case of travellers when they start, it is needless to give provisions for the journey.

If beings in heaven are gratified by our offering the Sraddha here, then why not give the food down below to those who are standing on the housetop ?

While life remains let a man live happily, let him feed on ghee even though he runs in debt;

When once the body becomes ashes, how can it ever return again?

If he who departs from the body goes to another world, how is that he comes not back again restless for love of his kindred?

Hence it is only a means of livelihood that Brahmans have established here.

All these ceremonies are for the dead, there is no other fruit anywhere. The three authors of the Vedas were buffoons, knaves and demons.

[1] Sarva Darshan Sangraha (Page not mentioned).

All the well-known formulas of the pundits Jarphari, Turphari, and all the obscene rites for the queen commanded in the Aswamedha;

These were invented by buffoons, and so all the various kinds of presents to the priests.

While the eating of flesh was similarly commended by night prowling demons."

If the opinions of the Charvaka and Brahaspati are not accepted there is plenty of other evidence. That evidence is recorded in the books of the various schools of philosophy such as the Nyaya, Vaishashikha, Purva and Uttar Mimamsa. It must be said to the credit of the authors of the text-books of these philosophies that before proceeding to defend the authority of the Vedas they have been very careful to set out the case of their opponents who were opposed to the authority of the Vedas. This fact enables us to prove two things: (1) That there was a school of thought which was opposed to recognize the Vedas as books of authority; (2) That they were a respectable group of people whose opinions the defenders of the authority of the Vedas were bound to consider. I reproduce below the case of the opponents as set out in the Nyaya and the Purva Mimamsa.

Gotama the author of the Nyaya system of Philosophy was an upholder of the doctrine of the authority of the Vedas. He has summarized the arguments of his opponents in Sutra 57 which reads as follows[1]:

"The Veda has no authority, since it has the defects of falsehood, self-contradiction, and tautology. That verbal evidence, which is distinct from such as relates to visible objects, i.e., the Veda, has no authority. Why? Because it has the defects of falsehood etc."

"Of these defects, that of falsehood is established by the fact that we sometimes observe that no fruit results from performing the sacrifice for a son, or the like. 'Self-contradiction' is a discrepancy between a former and a later declaration. Thus the Veda says 'he sacrifices when the Sun is risen; he sacrifices when the Sun is not yet risen. He sacrifices, (I cannot explain the next words says Muir,) A tawny (dog?) carries away the oblation of him who sacrifices before the Sun has risen: and both of these two carry off the oblation of him who sacrifices. Now here there is a contradiction between the words which enjoin sacrifices and the words which intimate by censure that those sacrifices will occasion disastrous results. Again, the Veda has no authority, owing to its 'tautology', as where it is said, he repeats the first thrice, he repeats the last thrice. For as the

[1] Muir III. p. 113.

lastness ultimately coincides with the firstness and as there is a triple repetition of the words, this sentence is tautological. Now since these particular sentences have no authority, the entire Veda will be proved by these specimens to stand in the same predicament, since all its other parts have the same author, or are of the same character, as these portions."

Coming to Jaimini. He summarises the views of the opponents of the Vedas in the first part of Sutras 28 and 32 of his Purva Mimamsa. Sutra 28 says[1] :

"It is also objected that the Vedas cannot be eternal, because we observe that persons, who are not eternal, but subject to birth and death, are mentioned in them. Thus it is said in the Veda 'Babara Pravahani desired', 'Kusurvinda Auddalaki desired'. Now, as the sentences of the Veda in which they are mentioned, could not have existed before these persons were born, it is clear that these sentences had a beginning, and being thus non-eternal, they are proved to be of human composition."

Sutra 32 says[2]:

"It is asked how the Veda can constitute proof of duty when it contains such incoherent nonsense as the following: 'An old ox, in blanket and slippers, is standing at the door and singing benedictions. A Brahman female, desirous of offspring, asks, ' Pray O King, what is the meaning of intercourse on the day of the new moon?' or the following: 'the cows celebrated this sacrifice'."

This is also the view of Yaska the author of Nirukta who says:

(Of the four kinds of verses specified in the preceding section), (a) those which address a god as absent, (b) those which address him as present, and (c) those which address the worshippers as present and the god as absent, are the most numerous, while (d) those which refer to the speaker himself are rare. It happens also that a god is praised without any blessing being invoked, as in the hymn (R. V. i. 32). "I declare the heroic deeds of Indra," etc. Again, blessings are invoked without any praise being offered, as in the words, 'May, I see well with my eyes, be resplendent in my face, and hear well with my ears'. This frequently occurs in the Adhvaryava (Yajur), and in the sacrificial formula. Then again we find oaths and curses as in the words (R.V.vii. 104, 15), 'May I die today, if I am a Yatudhana,' etc. Further, we observe the desire to describe some particular state of things, as in the verse (R. V. x. 129, 2). 'Death was not then, nor immortality,' etc. Then there is lamentation, arising out of a certain

[1] Muir III. p. 77.

[2] Muir III. p. 80.

state of thing, as in the verse (R. V. x. 95, 14), 'The beautiful god will disappear and never return,' etc. Again we have blame and praise, as in the words (R. V. x. 117, 6). "The man who eats alone, sins alone, etc. So, too, in the hymn to dice (R. V. x. 34, 13) there is a censure upon dice, and a commendation of agriculture. Thus the objects for which the hymns were seen by the rishis were very various."

To quote the words of Yaska again—

"Each particular hymn has for its deity the God to whom the Rishi, seeking to obtain any object of desire which he longs for, addresses his prayer."

If this is not enough to prove that there is no ethical or spiritual Value in the Vedas further evidence could be added.

As to morality there is hardly any discussion about it in the Rig-Veda. Nor does the Rig-Veda contain elevating examples of moral life. Three illustrations of cases on the other side may well be given:

First is the conversation between *Yama* and *Yami* who were brother and sister.

"(Yami speaks). I invite my friend to friendship, having come over the vast and desert ocean may Vedhas, after reflecting, place in the earth the offspring (of thee) the father, endowed with excellent qualities."

"(Yama speaks), Thy friend desires not this friendship, for although of one origin, she is of a different form; the hero sons of the great Asura (are) the upholders of heaven, enjoying vast renown."

"(Yami speaks). The immortals take pleasure in (a union) like this which is forbidden to every mortal; let thy mind then concur with mine, and as the progenitor (of all) was the husband (of his daughter), do thou enjoy my person"

"(Yama speaks). We have not done what was done formerly; for how can we who speak truth, utter now that which is untrue? Gandharva (the sun) was in the watery (firmament), and the water was his bride. She is our common parent, hence our near affinity."

"(Yami speaks). The divine omniform generator Twashtri, the progenitor, made us two husband and wife, even in the womb; none frustrate his undertaking; earth and heaven are conscious of this our (union)."

"(Yama speaks). Who knows anything of this (his) first day (of existence)? Who has beheld it? Who has here revealed it? The dwelling of Mitra and of Varuna is vast. What sayest thou, who punishest men with hell?"

"(Yami speaks). The desire of Yama hath approached me Yami, to lie with him in the same bed; I will abandon my person as a wife to her husband; let us exert ourselves in union like the two wheels of a wagon."

"(Yama speaks). The spies of the Gods, which wander upon earth, never stop, never close their eyes. Associate quickly, destructress with some other than with me, and exert yourselves in union, like the two wheels of a wagon."

"(Yami speaks). To him (Yama) let every whorshipper sacrifice both day and night, on him let the eye of the Sun repeatedly rise; (for him may) the kindred pair (day and night unite) with heaven and earth. Yami will adhere to the non-affinity of Yama."

"(Yama speaks). The subsequent ages will come, when sisters will choose one who is not a brother (as a husband); therefore, auspicious one, choose another husband than me, and make thine arm a pillow for thy mate."

"(Yami speaks). Is he a brother whose sister has no lord? Is she a sister (whose brother) misfortune approaches? Overcome by desire, I strongly urge this one request; unite thy person with mine."

"(Yama speaks). I will not unite my person with thine; they call him who approaches a sister, a sinner. Enjoy pleasure with some other than me; thy brother, auspicious one, has no such desire."

"(Yami speaks). Alas, Yama, thou art feeble; we understand not thy mind or thy heart. Some other female exbrances thee as a girth a horse, or as a creeper a tree."

"(Yama speaks). Do thou, Yami, embrace another; and let another embrace thee as a creeper a tree; seek his affection, let him seek thine; and make a happy union."

"May Agni, the destroyer of the Rakshasas consenting to our prayer, drive hence (the evil spirit) who (in the form of) sickness assails thine embryo, who, as the disease durnaman, assails thy womb."

"May Agni concurring in our prayer, destroy the cannibal who, as sickness, assails thine embryo, who, as the disease durnaman, assails thy womb."

"May we exterminate from hence (the evil spirit) who destroys the impregnating energy, the germ as it settles, the moving embryo, who seeks to destroy (the babe) when born."

"May we exterminate from hence (the evil spirit), who separates thy thighs, who lies between husband and wife, who entering thy womb, devours (the seeds). May we exterminate from hence (the evil spirit), who in the form of brother, husband, or paramour, approaches thee, and seeks to destroy thy offspring."

"May we exterminate from hence (the evil spirit) who, having beguiled thee by sleep or darkness, approaches thee, and seeks to destroy thy offspring."

Take some of the Hymns or prayers that are to be found in the Rig-Veda. The following are a few of them—

1. Oh ! God Vayu, how very beautiful you are. We have prepared the Somarasa (an intoxicating drink) with spices. Pray come and drink it and grant us our prayers—Rig. Ved. I. 1.2.1.
2. Oh! God Indra. Bring ye wealth for our protection. Let the wealth that you bring make us happy be increasing and everlasting and help us to kill our enemies—I. 1.8.1.
3. Oh! ye people whenever you are performing your yajna, fail not to praise the Gods Indra and Agni. Advance their position and sing their praises in the Gayatri Meter—I. 21.2.
4. Oh ! ye Agni, please bring the wives of the Gods and Twashta who are eager to come and drink Soma—I. 22.9.
5. We pray that the Gods' wives come to us with all available wings and with all happiness—I. 22.11.
6. I am praying the wives of Indra, Varuna and Agni to come to my place to drink Soma.
7. Oh! Varuna, we are supplicating before you to remove your anger. Oh ! ye Asura, you are all wise, relieve us from our sins—I. 24.14.
8. Our Somarasa has been prepared by women who have churned it backward and forward. Oh ! ye Indra we pray you to come and drink this Soma—I. 28.3.
9. Your enemies who do not make any offering to you may disappear and let your followers who do prosper. Oh ! Indra give us best cows and best horses and make us famous in the world.—I. 29.4.
10. Oh! Agni save us from Rakshasas, from cunning enemies, from those who hate us and want to kill us.—I. 36.15.
11. Oh ! Indra, you are a hero. Come and drink the Soma we have prepared and be ready to give us wealth. Loot the wealth of those who do not make you any offering and give the same to us—I. 81-8-9.
12. Oh! Indra, drink this Soma which is the best, giving immortality and most intoxicating.—I. 84-4.
13. Oh ! Adityas, you come to give us your blessings. You give us victory in war. You are wealthy. You are charitable. Just as a chariot is pulled through a difficult path in the same way you pull us through our dangers.—I. 106-22.

14. Oh ! ye Marutas. . . . .your followers are singing your praises. Be pleased to come and sit on the grass-cushion prepared for you for the purpose of drinking Soma.—VII. 57-1-2.

15. Oh ! ye Mitra-Varuna we have offered you worship in the yajna. Be pleased to accept it and save us from all dangers—VII. 60-12.

These are only a few verses out of a large bundle which form the Rig-Veda. But there can be no doubt that this sample small as it is is true to bulk.

I may state that I have deliberately omitted a good many obscene passages to be found in the Rig-Veda and Yajur-Veda. Those who have any curiosity in the matter might look up the conversation between Surya and Pushan in Rig-Veda Mandal X. 85.37 and between Indra and Indrani in Rig-Veda. Mandal X. 86.6. A further obscenity will also be found in the Ashvamedha Section of the Yajur-Veda.

Leaving these obscenities aside and confining oneself to the prayer portion of the Rig-Veda can any one say that these are morally or spiritually elevating prayers?

As to philosophy there is nothing of it in the Rig-Veda. As Prof. Wilson observes there is in the Rig-Veda, which is the stock Veda, scarcely any indication or doctrinal or philosophical speculation, no allusion to the later notions of the several schools, nor is there any hint of metempsychosis, or of the doctrine intimately allied to it, of the repeated renovation of the world. The Vedas may be useful as a source of information regarding the social life of the Aryans. As a picture of primitive life it is full of curiosity but there is nothing elevating. There are more vices and a few virtues.

II

We may now turn to the Atharva-Veda and examine its contents. The best I can do is to present the following extracts from the table of contents of the Atharva-Veda.

Book 1. Charms to cure diseases and possession by demons of disease (bhaishagyani).

v, 22. Charm against takman (fever) and related diseases.

vi, 20. Charm against takman (fever).

i, 25. Charm against takman (fever).

vii, 116. Charm against takman (fever).

v, 4. Prayer to the Kushtha-plant to destroy takman (fever).

xix, 39. Prayer to the Kushtha-plant to destroy takman (fever) and other ailments.

i, 12. Prayer to lightening, conceived as the cause of fever, headache, and cough.

i, 22. Charm against jaundice and related diseases.

vi, 14. Charm against the disease halasa.

vi, 105. Charm against cough.

i, 2. Charm against excessive discharges from the body.

ii, 3. Charm against excessive discharges from the body, undertaken with spring-water.

vi, 44. Charm against excessive discharges from the body.

i, 3. Charm against constipation and retention of urine.

vi, 90. Charm against internal pain (colic) due to the missiles of Rudra.

i, 10. Charm against dropsy.

vii, 83. Charm against dropsy.

vi, 24. Dropsy, heart-disease, and kindred maladies cured by flowing water.

vi, 80. An oblation to the sun, conceived as one of the two.

ii, 8. Charm against kshetriya, hereditary disease.

ii, 10. Charm against kshetriya, hereditary disease.

iii, 7. Charm against kshetriya, hereditary disease.

i, 23. Leprosy cured by a dark plant.

i, 24. Leprosy cured by a dark plant.

vi, 83. Charm for curing scrofulous sores called *apakit*.

vii, 76. A. Charm for curing scrofulous sores called *apakit*.

B. Charm for curing tumours called gayana.

C. Stanza sung at the mid-day pressure of Soma.

vii, 74. A. Charm for curing scrofulous sores called apakit.

B. Charm to appease jealousy.

C. Prayer to Agni, the lord of vows.

vi, 25. Charm against scrofulous sores upon neck and shoulders.

vi, 57. Urine (galasha) as a cure for scrofulous.

iv, 12. Charm with the plant arundhati (laksha) for the cure of fractures.

v, 5. Charm with the plant silaki (laksha) arundhati for the cure of wounds.

vi, 109. The pepper-corn as a cure for wounds.

i, 17. Charm to stop the flow of blood.

ii, 31. Charm against worms.

ii, 32. Charm against worms in cattle.

v, 23. Charm against worms in children.

iv, 6. Charm against poison.

iv, 7. Charm against poison.

vi, 100. Ants as an antidote against poison.

v, 13. Charm against snake-poison.

vi, 12. Charm against snake-poison.

vii, 56. Charm against the poison of serpants, scorpions and insects.

vi, 16. Charm against opthalmia.

vi, 21. Charm to promote the growth of hair.

vi, 136. Charm with the plant nitauni to promote the growth of hair.

vi, 137. Charm to promote the growth of hair.

iv, 4. Charm to promote virility.

vi, 111. Charm against Mania.

iv, 37. Charm with the plant agasringi to drive out Rakshasas, Apsaras and Gandharvas.

ii, 9. Possession by demons of disease, cured by an amulet of ten kinds of wood.

iv, 36. Charm against demons (pisaka) conceived as the cause of disease.

ii, 25. Charm with the plant prisniparni against the demon of disease called kanva.

vi, 32. Charm for driving away demons (Rakshas and Pisakas).

ii, 4. Charm with an amulet derived from the gangidatree against diseases and demons.

xix, 34. Charm with an amulet derived from the gangidatree against diseases and demons.

xix, 35. Charm with an amulet derived from the gangidatree against diseases and demons.

vi, 85. Exorcism of disease by means of an amulet from the varana-tree.

vi, 127. The kipuddru-tree as a panacea.

xix, 38. The healing properties of *bdellium*.

vi, 91. Barley and water as universal remedies.

viii, 7. Hymn to all magic and medicinal plants used as a universal remedy.

vi, 96. Plants as a panacea.

ii, 33. Charm to secure perfect health.

ix, 8. Charm to procure immunity from all diseases.

ii, 29. Charm for obtaining long life and prosperity by transmission of disease. II. Prayers for long life and health (ayushyani).

iii, 11. Prayer for health and long life.

ii, 28. Prayer for long life pronounced over a body.

iii, 31. Prayer for health and long life.

vii, 53. Prayer for long life.

viii, 1. Prayer for exemption from the dangers of death.

viii, 2. Prayers for exemption from the dangers of death.

v, 30. Prayer for exemption from disease and death.

iv, 9. Salve (angana) as a protector of life and limb.

iv, 10. The pearl and its shell as an amulet bestowing long life and prosperity.

xix, 26. Gold as an amulet for long life.

III. Imprecations against demons, sorcerers, and enemies (abhikarikani and Krityapratiharanan).

i, 7. Against sorcerers and demons.

i, 8. Against sorcerers and demons.

i, 16. Charm with lead, against demons and sorcerers.

vi, 2. The soma-oblation directed against demons (rakshas).

ii, 14. Charm against a variety of female demons, conceived as hostile to men, cattle and home.

iii, 9. Against Vishkandha and Kabava (hostile demons).

iv, 20. Charm with a certain plant (sadampushna) which exposes demons and enemies.

iv, 17. Charm with the apamarga-plant, against sorcery, demons and enemies.

iv, 18. Charm with the apamarga-plant against sorcery, demons and enemies.

iv, 19. Mystic power of the apamarga-plant, against demons and sorcerers.

vii, 65. Charm with the apamarga-plant against curses, and the consequence of sinful deeds.

x, 1. Charm to repel sorceries or spells.

v, 14. Charm to repel sorceries or spells.

v, 31. Charm to repel sorceries or spells.

viii, 5. Prayer for protection addressed to a talisman made from the wood of a sraktya-tree.

x, 3. Praise of the virtue of an amulet derived from the varana-tree.

x, 6. Praise of the virtues of an amulet of khadira-wood in the shape of a ploughshare.

ix, 16. Prayer to Varuna for protection against treacherous designs.

ii, 12. Imprecation against enemies thwarting holy work.

vii, 70. Frustration of the sacrifice of an enemy.

ii, 7. Charm against curses and hostile plots undertaken with a certain plant.

iii, 6. The asvattha-tree as a destroyer of enemies.

vi, 75. Oblation for the suppression of enemies (naibadhyam havih).

vi. 37. Curse against one that practises hostile charms.

vii. 13. Charm to deprive enemies of their strength.

IV. Charms pertaining to women (strikarmani).

ii, 36. Charm to obtain a husband.

vi, 60. Charm to obtain a husband.

vi, 82. Charm for obtaining a wife.

vi, 78. Blessing for a married couple.

vii, 36. Love-charm spoken by a bridal couple.

vii, 37. Charm pronounced by the bride over the bridegroom.

vi, 81. A bracelet as an amulet to ensure conception.

iii, 23. Charm for obtaining a son (pumsavanam).

vi, 11. Charm for obtaining a son (pumsavanam).

vii, 35. An incantation to make a woman sterile.

vi, 17. Charm to prevent miscarriage.

i. 11. Charm for easy parturition.

i, 34. Charm with licorice, to secure the love of a woman.

ii, 30. Charm to secure the love of a woman.

vi, 8. Charm to secure the love of a woman.

vi, 9. Charm to secure the love of a woman.

vi, 102. Charm to secure the love of a woman.

iii, 25. Charm to secure the passionate love of a woman.

vii, 38. Charm to secure the love of a man.

vi, 130. Charm to arouse the passionate love of a man.

vi, 132. Charm to arouse the passionate love of a man.

iv, 5. Charm at an assignation.

vi, 77. Charm to cause the return of a truant woman.

vi, 18. Charm to allay jealousy.

i, 14. A woman's incantation against her rival.

iii, 18. Charm of a woman against a rival or co-wife.

vi, 138. Charm for depriving a man of his virility.

i, 18. Charm to remove evil bodily characteristics from a woman.

vi, 110. Expiatory charm for a child born under an unlucky star.

vi, 140. Expiation for the irregular appearance of the first pair of teeth.

V. Charms pertaining to royalty (ragakarmani).

iv, 8. Prayer at the consecration of a king.

iii, 3. Charm for the restoration of an exiled king.

iii, 4. Prayer at the election of a king.

iv, 22. Charm to secure the superiority of a king.

iii, 5. Praise of an amulet derived from the parna-tree, designed to strengthen royal power.

i, 9. Prayer for earthly and heavenly success.

vi, 38. Prayer for lustre and power.

vi, 39. Prayer for glory (yasas).

viii. 8. Battle-charm.

i, 19. Battle-charm against arrow-wounds.

iii, 1. Battle-charm for confusing the enemy.

iii, 2. Battle-charm for confusing the enemy.

vi, 97. Battle-charm of a king upon the eve of battle.

vi, 99. Battle-charm of a king upon the eve of battle.

xi, 9. Prayer to Arbudi and Nyarbudi for help in battle.

xi, 10. Prayer to Trishmdhi for help in battle.

v, 20. Hymn to the battle-drum.

v, 21. Hymn to the battle-drum, the terror of the enemy.

VI. Charms to secure harmony, influence in the Assembly, and the like (sammanasyani).

iii, 30. Charm to secure harmony.

vi, 73. Charm to allay discord.

vi, 74. Charm to allay discord.

vii, 52. Charm against strife and blood shed.

vi, 64. Charm to allay discord.

vi, 42. Charm to appease anger.

vi, 43. Charm to appease anger.

vii, 12. Charm to procure influence in the assembly.

ii, 27. Charm against opponents in debate undertaken with the pata-plant.

vi, 94. Charm to bring about submission to one's will.

VII. Charms to secure prosperity in house, field, cattle, business, gambling and kindred matters.

iii, 12. Prayer at the building of a house.

vi, 142. Blessing during the sowing of grain.

vi, 79. Charm for procuring increase of grain.

vi, 50. Exorcism of vermin infesting grain in the field.

vii, 11. Charm to protect grain from lightning.

ii, 26. Charm for the prosperity of cattle.

iii, 14. Charm for the prosperity of the cattle.

vi, 59. Prayer to the plant arundhati for protection to cattle.

vi, 70. Charm to secure the attachment of a cow to her calf.

iii, 28. Formula in expiation of the birth of twin-calves.

vi, 92. Charm to endow a horse with swiftness.

iii, 13. Charm for conducting a river into a new channel.

vi, 106, Charm to ward off danger from fire.

iv, 3. Shephered's charm against wild beasts and robbers.

iii, 15. A merchant's prayer.

iv, 38. *A.* Prayer for success in gambling.

B. Prayer to secure the return of calves that have strayed to a distance.

vii, 50. Prayer for success at dice.

vi, 56. Exorcism of serpents from the premises.

x, 4. Charm against serpents invoking the horse of Pedu that slays serpents.

xi, 2. Prayer to Bhava and Sarva for protection from dangers.

iv, 28. Prayer to Bhava and Sarva for protection from dangers.

vii, 9. Charm for finding lost property.

vi, 128. Propitiation of the weather-prophet.

xi, 6. Prayer for deliverance from calamity, addressed to the entire pantheon.

VIII. Charms in expiation of sin and defilement.

vi, 45. Prayer against mental delinquency.

vi, 26. Charm to avert evil.

vi, 114. Expiatory formula for imperfections in the sacrifice.

vi, 115. Expiatory formulas for sins.

vi, 112. Expiation for the precedence of a younger brother over an elder.

vi, 113. Expiation for certain heinous crimes.

vi, 120. Prayer for heaven after remission of sins.

vi, 27. Charm against pigeons regarded as ominous birds.

vi, 29. Charm against pigeons regarded as ominous birds.

vi, 29. Charm against ominous pigeons and owls.

vii, 64. Expiation when one is defiled by a black bird of omen.

vi, 46. Exorcism of evil dreams.

vii, 115. Charm for the removal of evil characteristics, and the acquisition of auspicious.

III

It will thus be seen that the Atharva-Veda is nothing but a collection of sorcery, black-magic and medicine. Three-fourths of it is full of sorcery and black magic. It must not however be assumed that it is only the Atharva-Veda which contains black-magic and sorcery. The Rig-Veda is not altogether free from it. There are in it Mantras relating to black magic and sorcery. I give below three Suktas which deal with this matter:

SUKTA XVII (CXLV)

The deity or rather the aim of the hymn is the getting rid of a rival wife; the Rishi is Indrani, the metre of the last verse is Pankati, of the rest Anushtubh.

1. I dig up this most potent medicinal creeper, by which (a wife) destroys a rival wife, by which she secures to herself her husband.
2. O (plant) with up-turned, leaves, auspicious, sent by the Gods, powerful, remove my rival and make my husband mine alone.
3. Excellent (plant) may I too be excellent amongst the excellent, and may she who is my rival be vile amongst the vile.
4. I will not even utter her name, no (woman) takes pleasure in that person; may we remove the other rival wife to a distance.
5. I am triumphing, thou art triumphant; we two being powerful will triumph over my rival.
6. I make thee the triumphant (herb) my pillow, I support thee with that more triumphant (pillow); let thy mind hasten to me as a cow to her calf, let it speed on its way like water.

SUKTA IV (CLV)

The deity of verses 1 and 4 is the averting of misfortune (Alakshmighna), of verses 2 and 3 Brahmanaspati, and of verse 5 the Viswadevas; the Rishi is Sirimbitha, the son of Bharadwaja, the metre is Anushtubh.

1. Miserable, ill-favoured, deformed ever-railing (goddess), go to thy mountain; with these exploits of Sirimbitha we scare thee away.
2. May she be scared away from this (world), scared away from the next (world), the destructress of all embryos; sharp-horned Brihaspati approach, driving away Distress.
3. The wood which floats by the seashore far off, remote from man, seize that, (O, goddess) hard to destroy, and therewith go to a distant shore.
4. Utterers of discordant sounds, when swiftly moving you departed, all the enemies of Indra were slain, disappearing like bubbles.
5. These (Viswadevas) have brought back the (stolen) cattle, they have built up the fire; they have provided food for the Gods. Who will overcome them?

SUKTA XII (CLXIII)

The deity is the cure of phthisis; the Rishi is Vivrihan, the son of Kasyapa; the metre is Anushtubh.

1. I banish disease from thine eyes, from thy head, from thy nose, from thy ears, from thy chin, from thy brain, from thy tongue.
2. I banish disease from thy neck, from thy sinews, from thy bones, from thy joints, from thy upper arms, from thy shoulders, and from thy fore-arms.

3. I banish disease from thine entrails, from thy anus, from thine abdomen, and from thy heart, from thy kidneys, from thy liver, from thy (other) viscera.
4. I banish disease from thy thighs, from thy knees, from thy heels, from thy toes, from thy loins, from thy buttocks, from thy private parts.
5. I banish disease from thy urethra, from thy bladder, from thy hair, from thy nails, from thy whole person.
6. I banish disease from each limb, from each hair, from each joint where it is generated, from thy whole person.

Enough has been extracted from the Vedas to show that they contain nothing that can be said to be spiritually or morally elevating. Neither the subject matter nor contents of the Vedas justify the infallibility with which they have been invested. Why then did the Brahmins struggle so hard to clothe them with sanctity and infallibility ?

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RIDDLE NO. 7

THE TURN OF THE TIDE OR HOW DID THE BRAHMINS DECLARE THE VEDAS TO BE LOWER THAN THE LOWEST OF THEIR SHASTRAS ?

I

The religious literature of the Hindus includes (1) The Vedas, (2) The Brahmanas, (3) The Aranyakas, (4) Upanishads, (5) Sutras, (6) Itihas, (7) Smritis and (8) Puranas.

As has been pointed out there was a time when they occupied the same status. There was no distinction of superior or inferior, sacred or profane, fallible or infallible.

Later on as we have shown the Vedic Brahmins felt that they must make a distinction between the Vedas and other classes of their religious literature. They made the Vedas not only superior to other classes of literature but they made them sacred and infallible. In evolving their dogma of the infallibility of the Vedas they made a distinction and divided their sacred writings in two classes (1) Shruti and (2) Non-Shruti. In the first division they placed only two of the eight classes of literature spoken of above namely—(1) Samhitas and (2) the Brahmanas. The rest they declared as Non-Shruti.

II

When this distinction was first made it is not possible to say. The more important question, however, is on what basis was this division made ? Why were Itihas and Puranas excluded ? Why were Aranyakas and Upanishads excluded ? Why were the Sutras excluded ? One can well understand why Itihas and Puranas were excluded from Shruti. At the time when the division took place they were too elementary and too undeveloped and in all probability included in the Brahmanas. Similarly one can well understand why the Aranyakas are not

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This is a 21-page typed MS originally entitled 'The Supersession of the Vedas', with several corrections and modifications by the author himself. This chapter seems complete as the last para of this chapter is concluded in the handwriting of the author.—Ed.

specifically mentioned as a part of the Shruti. They are a part of the Brahmanas and for that reason it was probably unnecessary to say expressly that they are part of the Shruti. The question of the Upanishads and the Sutras remains a puzzle. Why were they excluded from the Shruti ? The question regarding the Upanishads is the subject matter of another chapter. Here it is proposed to deal with the question of the Sutras. Because the reasons for the exclusion of the Sutras it is not possible to comprehend. If there were good reasons for including the Brahmanas in the category of Shruti the same reasons could not fail to justify the inclusion of the Sutras. As Prof. Max Muller observes :

> "We can understand how a nation might be led to ascribe a superhuman origin to their ancient national poetry, particularly if that poetry consisted chiefly of prayers and hymns addressed to their gods. But it is different with the prose compositions of the Brahmans. The reasons why the Brahmanas which are evidently so much more modern than the Mantras, were allowed to participate in the name of Sruti, could only have been because it was from these theological compositions, and not from the simple old poetry of the hymns, that a supposed divine authority could be derived for the greater number of the ambitious claims of the Brahmanas. But, although we need not ascribe any weight to the arguments by which the Brahmanas endeavoured to establish the contemporaneous origin of the Mantras and Brahmanas there seems to be no reason why we should reject as equally worthless the general opinion with regard to the more ancient date of both the Brahmanas and Mantras, if contrasted with the Sutras and the profane literature of India. It may easily happen, where there is a canon of sacred books, that later compositions become incorporated together with more ancient works, as was the case with the Brahmanas. But we can hardly imagine that old and genuine parts should ever have been excluded from a body of sacred writings, and a more modern date ascribed to them, unless it be in the interest of a party to deny the authority of certain doctrines contained in these rejected documents. There is nothing in the later literature of the Sutras to warrant a supposition of this kind. We can find no reason why the Sutras should not have been ranked as Sruti, except the lateness of their date, if compared with the Brahmanas, and still more with the Mantras. Whether the Brahmanas themselves were aware that ages must have elapsed between the period during which most of the poems of their Rishis were composed, and the times which gave rise to the Brahamanas, is a question which we need hardly hesitate to

answer in the affirmative. But the recklessness with which Indian theologians claim for these Brahmanas the same title and the same age as for the Mantras, shows that the reason must have been peculiarly strong which deterred them from claiming the same divine authority for the Sutras."

The exclusion of the Sutras from the category of Shruti is a riddle that calls for explanation.

There are other riddles which strike the student who cares to investigate into the subject. They relate to the changes in the content of the literature comprised in the term Shruti and their relative authority.

One such riddle relates to the class of literature called the Brahmanas. At one time the Brahmanas were included in the term Shruti. But later on they seem to have lost this position. For Manu[1] seems to exclude the "Brahamanas" from the category of Shruti as may be seen from the following extract from his Smriti :

"By Shruti is meant the Veda, and by Smriti the institutes of law ; the contents of these are not to be questioned by reason, since from them (a knowledge of) duty has shown forth. The Brahman who, relying on rationalistic treatises, shall condemn these two primary sources of knowledge must be excommunicated by the virtuous as a sceptic and reviler of the Vedas.... To those who are seeking a knowledge of duty, the Sruti is the supreme authority."

Why were the Brahmanas excluded from Shruti ?

III

We may now turn to the class of literature called the Smritis, the most important of which are the Manu Smriti and the Yajnavalkya Smriti. The number of Smritis was ever on the increase and the composing of Smritis went on up to the advent of the British. Mitramistra refers to 57 Smritis, Nilakanta to 97 and Kamalakar to 131. The Smriti literature is bigger than any other class of religious literature regarded as sacred by the Hindus.

There are several points regarding the relation of the Smritis to the Vedas.

The first is that the Smriti was not recognized[2] as part of the Dharma Shastra literature represented by the Dharma Sutras such as that of Baudhayana, Gautama or Apastambha. A Smruti originally

[1] Some may depute this on the ground that the word Veda includes "Brahamana" also. This of course is a fact. Bui it seems to me that Manu uses the term Shruti in a restricted sense so as to exclude the Brahmanas. This is supported by the fact that there is in the Manu Smriti no reference to the Brahamanas except in one place (iv. 100) where he says that only the Mantra portion need be studied.

[2] On this subject see the illuminating article by Prof. Altekar on "The position of Smritis as a source of Dharma, in the Kane Memorial Volume, pp. 18-25.

dealt with social customs and conventions that were approved of and recommended by the learned leaders of society. As Prof. Altekar observes :

> "In the beginning, Smritis were identical in nature and contents with *Sadacara* and were based upon it. When Smritis came into existence, the scope of Sadacara became naturally reduced, as much of it was codified by Smritis. It began to denote those old practices which happened not to be codified in Smritis, or those new ones, which had acquired social approval at a period subsequent to the codification of the early Dharmasastras or Smritis."

The second point to note is that the Smritis were treated as quite different from the Vedas or the Srutis. So far as their sanction and their authority were concerned they stood on absolutely different footing. The sanction behind the Sruti was divine. The sanction behind the Smriti was social. In the matter of their authority the Purva Mimamsa lays down two rules. The first rule is that if there is a conflict between two texts of Sruti then both are authoritative and the presumption will be that the Vedas have given an option to follow one or the other. The second rule is that the text of a Smriti should be summarily rejected if it was opposed to the text of the Sruti. These rules were rigorously applied with the result that the Smritis could not acquire either the status or the authority of the Vedas.

Surprising as it may appear a time came when Brahmins took a summersault and gave the Smritis a status superior to that of the Vedas. As Prof. Altekar points out :

> "The Smritis have actually overruled some of the specific dicta of Srutis that were not in consonance with the spirit of the age, or were coming into direct conflict with it. The Vedic practice was to perform *daiva karma* in the morning and the *pitr karma* in the afternoon. In later times the modern *pitr tarpana* came into vogue and it began to be offered in the morning, as the morning bath became the order of the day. Now this procedure is in direct conflict with the Vedic practice prescribed in the above-mentioned rule. Devamabhatta, the author of the *Smrticandrika,* however says that there is nothing wrong in this : the Sruti rule must be presumed to be referring to *pitr karman* other than *tarpana*. The Sruti literature shows that Visvamitra adopted Sunassepa, though he had a hundred sons living ; this would thus permit a person to adopt a son even when he had a number of his own sons living. But Mitramisra says that such a deduction would be wrong ; we shall have to assume that the Smriti practice is also based upon a Sruti text, which is not now available but the existence of which will have to be assumed."

"The Vedic passage, *na seso 'gne' nyajatamasti* certainly disapproves of the practice of the adoption of a son, which is clearly recommended in later times by the Smriti literature. This is a clear example of a Sruti being thrown overboard by a Smriti. But Mitramisra says that there is nothing wrong about the procedure. The Sruti passage is a mere *arthavada ;* it does not lay down any injunction. The Smritis on the other hand prescribe adoption so that *homas* etc. should be properly performed. *Arthavada Sruti* is thus being fittingly overruled by a Smriti text, which has a *vidhi* for its purport."

"The custom of the Sati of the later age is in direct conflict with the vedic injunction prohibiting suicide. Apararka, however, argues that the conflict with Sruti should not invalidate the custom. For the Sruti passage lays down a general principle disapproving suicide, while the Smritis lay down a special exception in the case of a widow."

Whether the customs of a Sati and adoption are good or not is a different question. Somehow or other society had come to approve of them. Smritis gave canonical sanction to them and sought to defend them even against the authority of the Vedas.

The question is why did the Brahmins after having struggled so hard for establishing the supremacy of the Vedas degrade the Vedas and invest the Smritis with authority superior to that of the Vedas ? They did so much to raise the authority of the Vedas above the divine. Why did they drag them below the Smritis which had nothing but social sanction ?

The steps they adopted were so ingenious and artificial that one cannot help feeling that there must have been some definite motive which led the Brahmins to give the Smritis a status superior to that of the Vedas.

To give some idea as to how artificial, ingenious and desparate these arguments were it might be useful to give just a brief outline of them.

As an illustration of an artificial argument, one may refer to the view propounded by Brahaspati. According to him, Sruti and Smriti are the two eyes of the Brahmana, if he is void of one of them he becomes a one-eyed person.

As an illustration of an ingenious argument one may refer to the argument of Kumarila Bhatt. His argument is founded on the theory of lost Sruti. It was argued on behalf of the Smritis that their views cannot be set aside even when they are in direct conflict with the Srutis for they may quite possibly have been based upon a lost text of Sruti, and so the conflict is not a conflict between a text of Sruti and that of

a Smriti. It is really a conflict between an existing and lost text of Sruti. Smriti therefore came to be represented as lost Sruti.

There is a third means adopted by the Brahmins to make the Smritis equal if not superior to the Vedas. It is to be found in the Atri Smriti. Atri says that those who do not respect the Smritis will be subject to curse. Atri's argument is that *Brahmanyam* arises only as a result of a joint study of the Sruti and Smriti and if a person studies the Vedas only but holds the Smriti in contempt he would be immediately condemned to be born as a beast for 21 generations.

Why did the Brahmins adopt such desparate means to place the Smritis on the same footing as the Sruti ? What was their purpose ? What was their motive ?

Prof. Altekar's argument that the Smritis were given supremacy over the Vedas because they gave legal justification to customary law which was of later growth, cannot be accepted as adequate. If the case was that, there was law in the Vedic period and custom had grown later on ; and if there was a conflict between the two, one could have understood the argument that the Smritis were given predominance because they set right the conflict by recognizing the progressive doctrines of the custom. This is not the case. There was no such thing as law in the Vedas. As Professor Kane points out :

> "All law was customary and there was no necessity to give recognition to the customs because they were recognized by the people. Secondly the Smritis cannot be said to be more progressive than the Vedas. Barring the Chaturvarna doctrine which everybody knows the Vedas except in the matter of forms of worship left Society quite free to develop. What the Smritis have done is, take out the unprogressive element in the Vedas namely the Chaturvarna theory and to propagandize it and hammer it into the heads of the people."

Therefore there must be some other reason why the Brahmins gave supremacy to the Smritis over the Vedas.

The Brahmins were not content with their first acrobatics. They performed another.

The Smritis were followed in point of time by the Puranas. There are 18 Puranas and 18 Up-Puranas altogether 36. In one sense the subject matter of the Puranas is the same. They deal with the creation, preservation and destruction of the world. But in the rest of their contents they differ altogether. Some propagate the cult of Brahma, some the cult of Shiva, some the cult of Vishnu, some the cult of Vayu, some the cult of Agni, some the cult of Surya and some the cult of Goddesses and other deities.

As has been noted there was a time when the Puranas were not included in the Shruti. In later times however a striking change seems to have taken place. The Puranas which were considered as too profane to be included in the Shruti were given a superiority over the Vedas.

The Vayu Purana says[1]:

> "First, of all the Shastras, the Purana was uttered by Brahma, Subsequently the Vedas issued from his mouth."

The Matsya Purana not only claims priority of creation for the Puranas as against the Vedas, but also the qualities of eternity and identity with sound, which was once predicated of the Vedas alone.

It says[2]:

> "Pitamaha (Brahma), first of all the immortals, took shape ; then the Vedas with their Angas and Upangas (appendages and minor appendages), and the various modes of their textual arrangements, were manifested. The Purana, eternal, formed of sound, pure, extending to the length of a hundred crores of verses, was the first of the Sastras which Brahma uttered ; and afterwards the Vedas, issued from his mouth ; and also the Mimansa and the Nyaya with its eightfold system of proofs.

The Bhagawat Purana claims equality of authority with the Vedas. It says[3]:

> "(Bramharatra) declared the Purana called the Bhagavata, which stands on an equality with the Veda."

The Brahma-Vaivartta Purana has the audacity to claim superiority over the Vedas. It says[4]:

> "That about which venerable sage, you have inquired, and which you desire, is all known to me, the essence of the Puranas, the pre-eminent Brahma-Vaivartta, which refutes the errors of the Puranas and Upa-puranas, and the Vedas."

This is the second acrobatic performed by the Brahmins in assigning priority, precedence, and authority to their sacred books.

This does not complete the story of the suppression of the Vedas. The worse is yet to come. The Puranas were followed by another class of literature called the *Tantras.**[5] Their number is also quite formidable. Shankaracharya refers to 64 Tantras. There might be many more.

[1] Muir Sanskrit Texts, Vol. III. p. 27.

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 28.

[3] & [4] Quoted by Muir, Vol. III.

*[5] *For further discussion on Smarth Dharma and Tantrik Dharma, please see Appendices IV & V of this Part.*—Editors.

Traditionally the authorship of these works is attributed to Dattatreya, who was an incarnation of the Hindu trinity, Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. They are therefore to be regarded as equally the revelation of the three supreme divinities. In form, however, they are dependent on Shiva alone, who in dialogue with his wife Durga, or Kali, reveals the mystical doctrines and observances which are to be received and practised by his worshippers. This authoritative or 'higher tradition' is further said to have been delivered from his central or fifth mouth. As such it is pre-eminently sacred and secret and may not be revealed to the uninitiated. They are also called by the name Agamas, and as such are sometimes distinguished from Nigama, the text of the Vedas, Dharmashastras, and other sacred books.

The Tantras are regarded specially as the religious text-books of the Saktas and of their various sects. There are different Tantrik schools, with variant traditions, the distinctions between which are little understood outside of their immediate circle of adherents. The ritual of the Tantras of the Daksinacharins, however, is said to be pure and in harmony with the Vedas, while that of the Vamacharins is intended only for Shudras.

The teaching of the Tantras, as of the Puranas is essentially based on the Bhakti-Marga which is regarded by them as superior to the Karma-Marga and Jnana-Marga of the Brahmanas and Upanishads. Adoration of a personal deity is inculcated, especially of the wife of Shiva, who is worshipped as the source of all regenerative power. In all these writings the female principle is personified and made prominent, to the almost total exclusion of the male.

What is the relation of the Tantras to the Vedas ? Kalluka Bhatta the well known commentator of Manu Smriti has no hesitation in asserting that Shruti is two-fold- *Vaidik* and *Tantrik*—which means that the Vedas and the Tantras stand on equal footing. While the Vaidik Brahmins like Kalluka Bhatta admitted the equality of the Tantras to the Vedas, the authors of the Tantras went much beyond. They claimed that the Vedas, the Shastras, and the Puranas are alike a common woman, but the Tantras are like a highborn woman conveying thereby that the Tantras are superior to the Vedas.

From this survey one thing is clear. The Brahmins have not been very steadfast in their belief regarding the sacred character of what they called their books of religion. They fought to maintain the thesis that the Vedas were not only sacred but that they were infallible. Not only they maintained that the Vedas were infallible but they spent their ingenuity to invent strange arguments to support the doctrine of infallibility. Yet they had not the slightest compunction to overthrow

the position of the Vedas and to subordinate them first to the Smritis, then to the Puranas and lastly to the Tantras. The question of all questions is what made the Brahmins degrade the Vedas and supersede them by Smritis, Puranas and the Tantras if they regarded their Vedas as the most sacred ?

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RIDDLE NO. 8

HOW THE UPANISHADS DECLARED WAR ON THE VEDAS ?

What is the position of the Upanishads in relation to the Vedas ? Are the two complimentary to each other or are they antagonistic ? Of course, no Hindu would admit that the Vedas and Upanishads are repugnant to each other. On the contrary, it is the common belief of all Hindus that there is no antagonism between them and that both form part and parcel of the same single system of thought. Is this belief well-founded ?

The principal reason for the rise of such a belief is to be found in the fact that the Upanishads are also known by another name which is called Vedanta. The word Vedanta has got two meanings. In one sense, it means the last parts of the Vedas. In the second sense, it means the essence of the Vedas. The word Vedanta being another name for the Upanishads, the Upanishads themselves have come to acquire these meanings. It is these meanings which are responsible for the common belief that there is no antagonism between the Vedas and the Upanishads.

To what extent are these meanings of the word Upanishads justified by facts ? In the first place, it is well to note the meaning of the word Vedanta. What was the original meaning of the word Vedanta ? Does it mean the last book of the Vedas ?

As observed by Prof. Max Muller[1] :

> "Vedanta is a technical term and did not mean originally the last portions of the Veda, or chapters placed, as it were, at the end of a volume of Vedic literature, but the end i.e., the object, the highest purpose of the Veda. There are, of course, passages, like the one in the Taittiriya-aranyaka (ed-Rajendra Mitra p. 820), which have been misunderstood both by native and European scholars, and where Vedanta means simply the end of the Veda : *yo vedadu svarah*

[1] The Upanishads (S.B.E.) Vol. I, Introduction, p. LXXXVI.

This 15-page typed MS with modifications in the handwriting of the author was originally entitled 'Vedas versus Upanishads'. Concluding two paragraphs are added by the author in his own handwriting.—Ed.

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prokto vedante ka pratishthitah, 'the Om which is pronounced at the beginning of the Veda, and has its place also at the end of the Veda.' Here Vedanta stands simply in opposition to Vedadu, it is impossible to translate it, as Sayana does, by Vedanta or Upanishad. Vedanta, in the sense of philosophy, occurs in the Taittiriya-aranyaka p. 817, in a verse of the Narayania-upanishad repeated in the Mundak-upanishad 111 2, 6 and elsewhere *vedantavignansuniskitarah,* 'those who have well understood the object of the knowledge arising from the Vedanta' not from the last books of the Veda and *Svetasvatara-up* VI-22, *vedante paramam guhyam,* 'the highest mystery in the Vedanta'. Afterwards it is used in the plural also, e.g., Kshurikopanishad, 10 (bibl. Ind. p. 210) *pundariketi Vedanteshu nigadyate,* 'it is called pundarika in the Vedantas' i.e., in the Khandogya and other Upanishads, as the commentator says, but not in the last books of each Veda."

More direct evidence on the point is that which is contained in the Gautama Dharma Sutras. In Chapter XIX verse 12 Gautama speaks of purification and says :

"The purificatory (texts are), the Upanishads, the Vedantas, the Samhita—text of all the Vedas" and so on.

From this it is clear that at the date of Gautama the Upanishads were distinguished from Vedantas and were not acknowledged as a part of the Vedic literature. Hardatta in his commentaries says "those parts of the Aranyakas which are not (Upanishads) are called Vedantas". This is unimpeachable proof that the Upanishads did not come within the range of the Vedic literature and were outside the canons.

This view is also supported by the use of the Veda in the Bhagwat Gita. The word Veda is used in the Bhagwat Gita at several places. And according to Mr. Bhat[1] the word is used in a sense which shows that the author did not include the Upanishads in the term.

The subject matter of the Upanishads is not the same as that of the Vedas. This is also another reason why the Upanishads are not a part of the Vedas. What is the origin of the word Upanishad ? The point is somewhat obscure. Most European scholars are agreed in deriving Upanishad from the root *sad,* to sit down, preceded by the two prepositions, *ni* down and *upa* near, so that it would express the idea of session or assembly of public sitting down near their teacher to listen to his instructions. This is because in the Trikandasesha, the word Upanishad is explained by *Samipasadana* as sitting down near a person.

[1] Sacred Books of the East Vol. II p. 275.

But as Prof. Max Muller points out there are two objections to the acceptance of this derivation. Firstly such a word, it would seem, would have been applicable to any other portion of the Veda as well as to the chapters called Upanishad, and it has never been explained how its meaning came thus to be restricted. Secondly, the word Upanishad, in the sense of session or assembly has never been met with. Whenever the word occurs, it has the meaning of doctrine, secret doctrine, or is simply used as the title of the philosophic treatises which contain the secret doctrine.

There is another explanation proposed by Sankara in his commentary on the Taittiriya-Upanishad II, 9, noted by Prof. Max Muller. According to it the highest bliss is contained in the Upanishad *(param sreyo 'syam nishannam)*. That is why it is called Upanishad. Regarding this, Prof. Max Muller says :

> "The Aranyakas abound in such etymologies which probably were never intended as real as plays on words, helping, to account somehow for their meaning."

Prof. Max Muller however favours a derivation of the word 'Upanishad' from the root *sad* to destroy, and meant knowledge which destroys ignorance, the cause of Samsara, by revealing the knowledge of Brahmana as a means of salvation. Prof. Max Muller points out that this is the meaning which the native scholars have unanimously given to the word Upanishad.

If it be granted that the true derivation of the word 'Upanishad' is what is suggested by Prof. Max Muller, then it would be one piece of evidence to show that the common belief of the Hindus is wrong and that the subject matter of the Vedas and the Upanishads are not complimentary but antagonistic. That the system of thought embodied in the Upanishads is repugnant to that of the Vedas is beyond doubt. A few citations from some of the Upanishads will suffice to show their opposition to the Vedas. The Mundaka Upanishad says :

> "Bramha was produced the first among the gods, maker of the universe, the preserver of the world. He revealed to his eldest son Atharva, the science of Brahma the basis of all knowledge. (2) Atharvan of old declared to Angis this science, which Brahma had unfolded to him ; and Angis, in turn, explained it to Satyavaha, descendant of Bharadvaja, who delivered this traditional lore, in succession, to Angiras. (3) Mahasala Saunaka, approaching Angiras with the proper formalities, inquired, 'What is that, O venerable sage, through the knowledge of which all this (universe) becomes known ? (4) (Angiras) answered, 'Two sciences are to be known— this is what the sages versed in sacred knowledge declare—the

superior and the inferior. (5) The inferior (consists of) the Rig Veda, the Yajur-Veda, the Sama-Veda, the Atharva-Veda, accentuation, ritual grammar, commentary, prosody and astronomy. The superior science is that by which the imperishable is apprehended" by which of course he means the Upanishads.

The Chhandogya Upanishad says :

"(1) Narada approached Sanatkumara, saying, "Instruct me, venerable sage. He received for answer 'Approach me with (tell me) that which thou knowest ; and I will declare to thee whatever more is to be learnt.' (2) Narada replied, 'I am instructed, venerable sage, in the Rig-veda, the Sama-veda, the Yajur-veda, the Atharvana (which is) the fourth, the Itihasas and Purana (which are) the fifth Veda of the Vedas, the rites of the pitris, arithmetic, the knowledge of portents and of great periods, the art of reasoning, ethics, the science of the gods, the knowledge of Scripture, demonology, the science of war, the knowledge of the stars, the sciences of serpents and deities; this is what I have studied. (3) I, venerable man, know only the hymns (mantras); while I am ignorant of soul. But I have heard from reverend sages like thyself that 'the man who is acquainted with soul overpasses grief. Now I, venerable man, am afflicted ; but do thou transport me over my grief. Sanatkumara answered, 'That which thou hast studied is nothing but name. (4) The Rig-veda is name ; and so are the Yajur-veda, the Sama-veda, the Atharvana, which is the fourth, and the Itihasas and Puranas, the fifth Veda of the Vedas, etc., (all the other branches of knowledge are here enumerated just as above),—all these are but names; worship name. (5) He who worships name (with the persuasion that it is) Brahma, ranges as it were at will over all which that name comprehends : such is the prerogative of him who worships name (with the persuasion that it is) Brahma, 'Is there anything, venerable man' asked Narada, 'which is more than name ?' 'There is,' replied, 'something which is more than name'. 'Tell it to me', rejoined Narada."

The Brahadaranyaka Upanishad says :

"In that (condition of profound slumber) a father is no father, a mother is no mother, the worlds are no worlds, the gods are no gods, and the Vedas are no Vedas, sacrifices are no sacrifices. In that condition a thief is no thief, a murderer of embryos is no murderer of embryos, a Pulkasa no Paulakasa, a Chandala no Chandala, a Sramana no Sramana, a devotee no devotee ; the saint has then no relation, either of advantage or disadvantage, to merit or to sin ; for he then crosses over all griefs of the heart."

This is what the Katha Upanishad has to say :

> "This soul is not to be attained by instruction, nor by understanding, nor by much scripture. He is attainable by him whom he chooses. The soul chooses that man's body as his own abode".
>
> "Although this soul is difficult to know, still it may easily be known by the use of proper means. This is what (the author) proceeds to say. This soul is not to be attained, known, by instruction, by the acknowledgement of many Vedas ; nor by understanding, by the power of recollecting the contents of books ; nor by much scripture alone. By what, then, is it to be attained ?
>
> This he declares".

How great was the repugnance to the Upanishads and the philosophy contained in them will be realized if one takes note of the origin of the words Anuloma and Pratiloma which are usually applied to the marriage tie among the Hindus. Speaking of their origin Mr. Kane, points out that[1] :

> "These two words Anuloma and Pratiloma (as applied to marriage or progeny) hardly ever occur in the Vedic literature. In the Br. Up. (II. 1.5) and Kausitaki Br. Up. IV. 8. the word 'Pratiloma' is applied to the procedure adopted by a Brahmana of going to a Kshatriya for knowledge about *'Brahman'*.

Anuloma means according to the heir that is in the natural order of things, Pratiloma means against the heir that is contrary to the natural order. Reading the observations of Mr. Kane in the light of the definition of the word Pratiloma it is obvious that the Upanishads far from being acknowledged as part of the Vedic literature were if not despised, held in low esteem by the Vedic Brahmins. This is an additional piece of evidence which shows that there was a time when the relation between the Vedas and the Upanishads was of antagonism.

Another illustration of the attitude of the Vedic Brahmins towards Brahmins who had studied the Upanishads may be given. It is to be found in the texts of the Dharma Sutras of Baudhayana. Baudhayana in his Dharma Sutras (ii. 8.3) says that at a Shradha ceremony a Rahasyavid is to be invited only if other Brahmins are not available. A Rahasyavid of course means a Brahmin versed in the Upanishads.

The belief that the Vedas and the Upanishads are complimentary came into being is really a riddle.

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[1] History of Dharma Sastra Vol. II, Part-I, p. 52.

RIDDLE NO. 9

HOW THE UPANISHADS CAME TO BE MADE SUBORDINATE TO THE VEDAS ?

In the preceding chapter it was shown that originally the Upanishads were not a part of the Vedas and that the two in the matter of doctrine were opposed to each other. It is instructive to compare the later relations between the Vedas and the Upanishads. The later relations between them are best illustrated by the controversy between two philosophers, Jaimini and Badarayana.

Jaimini is the author of a work called the Mimamsa Sutras while Badarayana is the author of Brahma Sutras. Jaimini is an upholder of the Vedas and Badarayana is an upholder of the Upanishads.

The point of dispute was—Is it necessary to perform sacrifices ? The Vedas say 'yes' and the Upanishads say 'no'.

The position of Jaimini is stated by Badarayana in his Sutras 2-7, and explained by Shankaracharya in his commentary.

Jaimini contends that[1]:

"No one undertakes a sacrificial act unless he is conscious of the fact that he is different from the body and that after death he will go to heaven, where he will enjoy the result of his sacrifices. The Texts dealing with self-knowledge serve merely to enlighten the agent and so are subordinate to sacrificial acts."

In short Jaimini says that all that Vedanta teaches is that self is different from the body and outlive the body. Such a knowledge is not enough. The self must have the aspiration to go to heaven. But it can't go to heaven unless it performs Vedic sacrifices which is what his Karmakand teaches. Therefore his Karmakand is the only Salvation and that the Jnankand from that point of view is quite useless. For this Jaimini relies on the conduct of men who have believed in Vedanta[2]:

[1] See Badarayana Sutra 2 and Shankara's comment on it.

[2] See Badarayana Sutra 3 and Shankara's comment.

'Jaimini versus Badarayana' was the title given to this chapter which was later scored out. This is a 9-page typed MS with modifications in the first two pages by the author.—Ed.

"Janaka, emperor of Videha performed a sacrifice in which gifts were freely distributed (Brih. 3.1.1). I am going to perform a sacrifice sirs (Chh. 5.11.5). Now both Janaka and Asvapati were knowers of the Self. If by this knowledge of the Self they had attained Liberation, there was no need for them to perform sacrifices. But the two texts quoted show that they did perform sacrifices. This proves that it is through sacrificial acts alone that one attains Liberation and not through the knowledge of the Self as the Vedantins hold."

Jaimini makes a positive assertion that the scriptures unmistakably declare[1] "that knowledge of the Self stands in a subordinate relation to sacrificial acts". Jaimini justifies it because he says[2] "the two (knowledge and work) go together (with the departing soul to produce the results)." Jaimini refuses to give an independent position to Badarayana's *Jnanakanda.* He takes his stand on two grounds.

First[3]: "Knowledge of the Self does not independently produce any result."

Second[4]: According to the authority of the Vedas "Knowledge (of Self) stands in a subordinate relation to work."

This is the position of Jaimini towards Badarayana's *Jnanakanda.*

What is the position of Badarayana towards Jaimini and his *Karma Kanda ?* This is explained by Badarayana in Sutras 8 to 17.

The first position[5] taken up by Badarayana is that the Self spoken of by Jaimini is the limited self i.e., the soul is to be distinguished from the Supreme soul and that the Supreme soul is recognized by the Scriptures.

The second[6] position taken up by Badarayana is that the Vedas support both knowledge of Self as well as sacrifices.

The third[7] position taken up by Badarayana is that only those who believe in the Vedas are required to perform sacrifices. But those who follow the Upanishads are not bound by that injunction. As Shankaracharya explains :

"Those who have read the Vedas and known about the sacrifices are entitled to perform work (sacrifices). No work (sacrifice) is prescribed for those who have knowledge of the Self from the Upanishads. Such a knowledge is incompatible with work."

[1] See Badarayana Sutra 4.

[2] See Badarayana Sutra 5.

[3] See Badarayana Sutra 6 and Shankara's commentory.

[4] See Badarayana Sutra 7.

[5] See Badarayana Sutra 8.

[6] See Badarayana Sutra 9.

[7] See Badarayana Sutra 12.

The fourth[1] position taken up by Badarayana is that *Karmakanda* is optional to those who have attained Bramhanand. As Shankaracharya explains :

> "That some have of their own accord given up all work. The point is that after knowledge some may choose to work to set an example to others, while others may give up all work. There is no binding on the knowers of the Self as regards work."

His last and final[2] position is that :

> "Knowledge of the Self is antagonistic to all work and so cannot possibly be subsidiary to work."

And as evidence in support of it he relies[3] on the scriptures which recognizes Sannyas as the fourth Ashram and relieves the Sannyasi from performing sacrifices prescribed by the *Karmakanda*.

Many such Sutras can be found in Badarayana indicating the attitude of the two scholars of thought towards each other. But the one given above is enough as it is so very typical. If one stops to consider the matter the position wears a strange appearance. Jaimini denounces Vedanta as a false Shastra, a snare and a delusion, something superficial, unnecessary and unsubstantial. What does Badarayana do in the face of this attack ? Does he denounce the *Karmakanda* of Jaimini as a false Shastra, a snare and a delusion, something superficial, unnecessary and unsubstantial as the Upanishads themselves did ? No. He only defends his own Vedanta Shastra. But one would expect him to do more. One would expect from Badarayana a denunciation of the *Karmakanda* of Jaimini as a false religion. Badarayana shows no courage. On the contrary he is very apologetic. He concedes that Jaimini's *Karmakanda* is based on the scriptures and the scriptures have authority and sanctity which cannot be repudiated. All that he insists on is that his Vedanta doctrine is also true because it has also the support of the scriptures.

This is not all. What Badarayana does is to use the term Vedanta to cover two senses. He uses it so as to emphasize that the Upanishads do form a part of the Vedic literature. He uses it also to emphasize that Vedanta or the *Jnyanakanda* of the Upanishads is not opposed to the *Karmakanda* of the Vedas that the two are complimentary. Indeed this is the foundation on which Badarayana has raised the whole structure of his Vedanta Sutras.

This thesis of Badarayana—which underlies his Vedanta Sutras and according to which the Upanishads are a part of the Veda and there is

[1] See Badarayana Sutra 15.

[2] See Badarayana Sutra 16.

[3] See Badarayana Sutra 17.

no antagonism between the Vedas and Upanishads—is quite contrary to the tenor of the Upanishads and their relation to the Vedas. Badarayana's attitude is not easy to understand. But it is quite obvious that Badarayana is a queer and a pathetic case of an opponent who begins his battle by admitting the validity of the premises of his adversary. Why did Badarayana concede to Jaimini on the question of infallibility of the Vedas which were opposed to the Upanishads ? Why did he not stand for truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth as expounded by the Upanishads ? The Badarayana has in his Vedanta Sutras betrayed the Upanishads. Why did he do so ?

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RIDDLE NO. 10

WHY DID THE BRAHMINS MAKE THE HINDU GODS FIGHT AGAINST ONE ANOTHER ?

The Hindu theology regarding the world is based upon the doctrine of Trimurti. According to this doctrine the world undergoes three stages. It is created, preserved and destroyed. It is endless series of cycles which goes on without stoppage. The three functions which comprise the cycle are discharged by three Gods, Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh. Brahma creates the world, Vishnu preserves and Mahesh destroys it for the purpose of creation. These gods are spoken of as forming what is called Trimurti. The doctrine of Trimurti postulates that three gods are co-equal in status and are engaged in functions which are contemporary and not competitive. They are friends and not rivals. They are allies of one another and not enemies.

When, however, one studies the literature which depicts the deeds of these three gods one finds a complete difference between the theory and the practice. The Gods far from being friends appear to be worse enemies of one another, competing for supremacy and sovereignty among themselves. A few illustrations from the Puranas will make the matter clear.

At one time Brahma appears to be the most supreme god as compared to Shiva and Vishnu. Brahma is said to be the creator of the universe—the first Prajapati. He is the progenitor of Shiva,[1] and the master of Vishnu because if Vishnu became the preserver of the universe it was because Brahma commanded him to do it. So supreme was Brahma that he was the arbitrator in the conflicts that took place between Rudra and Narayan and between Krishna and Shiva.

Equally certain is the fact that at a subsequent stage Brahma came into conflict with Shiva and Vishnu and strangely enough lost his position and supremacy to his rivals. Two illustrations of his conflict with Vishnu may be given.

[1] Vishnu Purana. Muir. *Ibid.,* p. 392.

The original title was 'Gods at War'. This is a 25-page typed and corrected MS which includes three concluding pages handwritten by the author.—Ed.

The first may well be the story of the Avatars. On the issue of the Avatars there is a rivalry between Brahma and Vishnu. The theory of Avatars or incarnation assumed by God to save humanity from a calamity began with Brahma. He was said to have assumed two Avatars (1) Boar and (2) Fish. But the followers of Vishnu refused to allow this. They asserted that these Avatars were not the Avatars of Brahma but that they were the Avatars of Vishnu. Not only did they appropriate these Avatars of Vishnu they gave to Vishnu many more Avatars.

The Puranas have run riot with the *Avatars* of Vishnu and different Puranas have given different lists of Avatars as will be seen from the following :

AVATARS OF VISHNU

Sr. No.	According to Hari Vamsa	According to Narayani Akhyan	According to Varaha Purana	According to Vayu Purana	According to Bhagwat Purana
1.	Varaha	Hansa	Kurma	Narasinha	Sanatkumar
2.	Narasinha	Kurma	Matsya	Vaman	Boar
3.	Vaman	Matsya	Varaha	Varaha	
4.	Parshuram	Varaha	Narasinha	Kurma	Nara-Narayan
5.	Rama	Narasinha	Vaman	Sangram	Kapila
6.	Krishna	Vaman	Parshuram	Adivaka	Dattatraya
7.		Parshuram	Rama	Tripurari	Jadna
8.		Rama	Krishna	Andhakarh	Rashabha
9.		Krishna	Buddha	Dhvaja	Prithi
10.		Kalkin	Kalkin	Varta	Matsya
11.				Halahal	Kurma
12.				Kolhahal	Dhanwantari
13.					Mohini
14.					Narasinha
15.					Vaman
16.					Parshuram
17.					Ved Vyas
18.					Naradeo
19.					Rama
20.					Krishna
21.					Buddha
22.					Kalkin

The second story may well be the issue of the first born. It is related in the Skanda Purana. The story says that at one time Vishnu lay asleep on the bosom of Devi, a lotus arose from his navel, and its ascending flower soon reached the surface of the flood, Brahma sprang from flower, and looking round without any creature on the boundless

expanse, imagined himself to be first born, and entitled to rank above all future beings ; yet resolved to investigate deep and to ascertain whether any being existed in its universe who could controvert his preeminence, he glided down the stock of the lotus and finding Vishnu asleep, asked loudly who he was 'I am the first born' answered Vishnu ; and when Brahma denied his preprogeniture, they engaged in battle, till Mahadeo pressed between them in great wrath, saying 'It is I who am truly the first born'. But I will resign my place to either of you, who shall be able to reach and behind the summit of my head, or the soles of my foot. Brahma instantly ascended but having fatigued himself to no purpose in the regions of immensity yet loath to abandon his claim, returned to Mahadeo declaring that he had attained and seen the crown of his head, and called as his witness the first born cow. For this union of pride and falsehood, the angry God Shiva ordained that no sacred rites should be performed to Brahma and that the mouth of cow should be defiled. When Vishnu returned, he acknowledged that he had not been able to see the feet of Mahadeo who then told him that he was the first born among the Gods, and should be raised above all. It was after this Mahadeo cut off the fifth head of Brahma who thus suffered the loss of his pride, his power and his influence.

According to this story Brahma's claim to be the first born was false. He was punished by Shiva for making it. Vishnu gets the right to call himself the first born. But that is allowed to him by the grace of Shiva. The followers of Brahma had their revenge on Vishnu for stealing what rightfully belonged to him with the help of Shiva. So they manufactured another legend according to which Vishnu emanated from Brahma's nostrils in the shape of a pig and grew naturally into a boar—a very mean explanation of Vishnu's Avatar as a boar.

After this Brahma tried to create enmity between Shiva and Vishnu evidently to better his own position. This story is told in the Ramayana. It says : "When King Dasaratha was returning to his capital, after taking leave of Janaka, the king of Mithila, whose daughter Sita had just been married to Rama, he was alarmed by the ill-omened sounds uttered by certain birds, which however were counteracted, as the sage Vasishtha assured the king, by the auspicious sign of his being perambulated by the wild animals of the forest. The alarming event indicated was the arrival of Parasurama, preceded by a hurricane which shook the earth and prostrated the trees, and by thick darkness which veiled the sun. He was fearful to behold, brilliant as fire, and bore the axe and a bow on his shoulder. Being received with honour, which he accepted, he proceeded to say to Rama, the son of

Dasaratha that he had heard of his prowess in breaking the bow produced by Janaka and had brought another which he asked Rama to bend, and to fit an arrow on the string ; and if he succeeded in doing so, he (Parasurama) would offer to engage with him in single combat. Dasaratha is rendered anxious by this speech, and adopts a suppliant tone towards Parasurama, but the latter again addresses Rama, and says that the bow he had broken was Siva's, but the one he himself had now brought was Vishnu's. Two celestial bows, he proceeds, were made by Visvakarma of which one was given by the gods to Mahadeva, the other to Vishnu".

The narrative then proceeds :

> "The gods then all made a request to Brahma desiring to find out the strength and weakness of Sitikantha (Mahadeva) and Vishnu. Brahma, most excellent of the three learning the purpose of the gods, created enmity between the two. In this state of enmity a great and terrible fight ensued between Sitikantha and Vishnu each of whom was eager to conquer the other. Siva's bow of dreadful power was then relaxed and the three-eyed Mahadeva was arrested by a muttering. These two eminent deities being entreated by the assembled gods, rishis, and Charanas then became pacified. Seeing that the bow of Siva had been relaxed by the prowess of Vishnu, the gods and rishis esteemed Vishnu to be superior."

Thus Brahma managed to avenge the wrong done to him by Mahadeo.

Even this stratagem did not avail Brahma to maintain his position against Vishnu. Brahma lost his position so completely to Vishnu that Vishnu who at one time was at the command of Brahma became the creator of Brahma.

In his contest with Shiva for supremacy Brahma suffered equal defeat. Here again, the position became completely inverted. Instead of being created by Brahma, Shiva became the creator of Bramha. Brahma lost the power of giving salvation. The god who could give salvation was Shiva and Brahma became no more than a common devotee worshipping Shiva and his Linga in the hope of getting salvation.[1] He was reduced to the position of a servant of Shiva doing the work of charioteer[2] of Shiva.

Ultimately Brahma was knocked out of the field of worship on a charge of having committed adultery with his own daughter. The charge is set out in the Bhagwat Purana in the following terms :

[1] Mahabharata quoted in Muir IV, p. 192.

[2] Mahabharata quoted in Muir IV, p. 199.

"We have heard, O Kshatriya, that Swayambhu (Brahma) had a passion for Vach, his slender and enchanting daughter, who had no passion for him. The Munis, his sons, headed by Marichi, seeing their father bent upon wickedness, admonished him with affection ; 'This is such a thing as has not been done by those before you, nor will those after you do it,— that you, being the lord, should sexually approach your daughter, not restraining your passion. This, O preceptor of the world, is not a laudable deed even in glorious personages, through limitation of whose actions men attain felicity. Glory to that divine being (Vishnu) who by his own lustre revealed this (universe) which abides in himself, he must maintain 'righteousness'. Seeing his sons, the Prajapatis, thus speaking before him the lord of the Prajapatis (Bramha) was ashamed, and abandoned his body. This dreadful body the regions received and it is known as foggy darkness."

The result of this degrading and defamatory attacks on Brahma was to damn him completely. No wonder that his cult disappeared from the face of India leaving him a nominal and theoretical member of the Trimurti.

After Brahma was driven out of the field there remained in the field Shiva and Vishnu. The two however were never at peace. The rivalry and antagonism between the two is continuous.

The Puranas are full of propaganda and counter-propaganda carried on by the Brahmins, protagonists of Shiva and Vishnu. How well matched the propaganda and counter-propaganda was, can be seen from the following few illustrations :

Vishnu is connected with the Vedic God Sun. The worshippers of Shiva connect him with Agni. The motive was that if Vishnu has a Vedic origin Shiva must also have Vedic origin as well. One cannot be inferior to the other in the matter of nobility of origin.

Shiva must be greater than Vishnu and Vishnu must not be less than Shiva. Vishnu has thousand[1] names. So Shiva must have thousand names and he has them[2].

Vishnu has his emblems[3]. They are four. So Shiva must have them and he has them. They are (1) flowing ganges, (2) Chandra (moon), (3) Shesh (snake) and, (4) *Jata* (walled hair). The only point on which Shiva did not compete with Vishnu was the matter of *Avatars*. The reason is not that there was no desire to compete but that philosophically there was an impediment in the way of Shiva taking

[1] *See* Vishnu Sahasranama.

[2] They are mentioned in the Padma Purana.

[3] *Ibid.*

Avatars. The Saivas and Vaisnavas differed fundamentally in their conceptions of immortal bliss. As has been pointed out by Mr. Ayyer :

> "To the Saiva the goal to be reached was final liberation from all fetters, bodily and mental, by their total annihilation. Hence he conceived of Rudra as the inextinguishable, one who could never be destroyed, but who extinguished or destroyed everything else. That was why Rudra came to be called the Destroyer. In the final stage of the spiritual development of an individual, there ought to be no separateness at all from the supreme Shiva. He ought to transcend his body and mind, pleasure and pain, and all opposites or dualities. He should attain union or Sayujya with Shiva in which condition he would not be able to regard himself as separate from Shiva. Till he reached that stage, he was imperfect, however pure he might be, however eligible he might be, for the highest state of Sayujya ; for, those who were eligible had attained only the subordinate stages of Salokya, Samipya and Sarupya. That was also the reason why the doctrine of Avatars did not appeal to the Saiva. God as an Avatar was only a limited being, one who had the capacity, perhaps, of releasing himself from his fetters but not one without fetters. The Vaisnava believed differently. He had also an equally clear conception of the highest state that could be reached, and that ought to be reached. But there was, according to him, nothing appealing in the idea of losing one's own individuality totally. One should be united with the supreme, and yet be conscious of the union. He should be united with the universe which again should be regarded as the other aspect of the supreme imperishable being. He was not, in other words, for the extinction of the universe as if it were something separate and distinct from the Supreme Purusha. He was rather in favour of the preservation of the universe which was neither more nor less than the manifestation of the Purusha so manifested. That was the reason why Vishnu was given the name of the Preserver. After all it is but a difference in the way in which the truth is perceived or viewed. The Saiva viewed the universe as an object of pain and misery—as *Pasha* or fetters (and one bound by it to be *Pasu)* which had to be broken and destroyed. The Vaisnava regarded it as evidencing the greatness of the Purusa and so to be preserved. The Saiva, with his superior pessimism (if it could be so called) was not likely to respect the Dharma Shastras, the Artha Shastras and other scriptures all of which were framed with the purpose of establishing orderliness in the world, inevitable for its welfare. He was bound to be a non-conformist, disdaining rules and conventions. Ideas of caste rigidity would be repugnant to the highly-evolved Saiva who would at best tolerate such

notions in others who had not reached his own stage of development. He would pay respect to and cultivate the society of only such people, to whatever caste they might belong, as were eligible for Samipya, Salokya, Sarupya and Sayujya, with Siva. The Vaisnava, on the other hand, was more concerned with the preservation of all rules and regulations which would have the effect of promoting peace and happiness in the world. If '*Dharma*' perished, the world would perish too, and since the world ought not to perish, for it was a manifestation of the glory of the cosmic Purusa, his duty consisted in doing everything he could for preserving the Dharma. If things went beyond his control he was sure Vishnu would take the matter up himself ; for he would come into the world as an Avatar. But when Vishnu did come upon the earth, it would be to destroy the wicked, that is, all those who were instrumental in upsetting the Dharma, and so it was necessary that one should be careful not to deserve that terrible punishment from Vishnu. Hence, the Agamas or rules laid down for the guidance of Siva bhaktas did not emphasise caste, and were concerned only with the duties of *bhaktas* in general, the proper fulfilment of which would render them fit to gain God vision, and ultimately union with Siva. These were regarded as impure by the others because they were subversive of caste ideas, and as stated before, they were not alluded to in the orthodox scriptures."

In the performance of deeds of glory the propaganda in favour of Shiva is fully matched by counter-propaganda in favour of Vishnu. One illustration of this is the story regarding the origin of the holy river Ganges.[1] The devotees of Shiva attribute its origin to Shiva. They take its origin from Shiva's hair. But the Vaishnavas will not allow it. They have manufactured another legend. According to the Vaishnavite legend the blessed and the blessing river flowed originally out of Vaikunth (the abode of Vishnu) from the foot of Vishnu, and descending upon Kailasa fell on the head of Shiva. There is a two-fold suggestion in the legend. In the first place Shiva is not the source of the Ganges. In the second place Shiva is lower than Vishnu and receives on his head water which flows from the foot of Vishnu.

Another illustration is furnished by the story which relates to the churning of the oceans by the Devas and the Asuras. They used the Mandara mountain as the churning rod and mighty serpant Shesha as a rope to whirl the mountain. The earth began to shake and people became afraid that the world was coming to an end. Vishnu took the Avatar of Kurma (Tortoise) and held the earth on his back and prevented the earth from shaking while the churning was going on.

1. Moore's Hindu Pantheon pp. 40-41.

This story is told in glorification of Vishnu. To this the Shaivites add a supplement. According to this supplement the churning brought out fourteen articles from the depth of the ocean which are called fourteen jewels. Among these fourteen a deadly poison was one. This deadly poison would have destroyed the earth unless somebody was prepared to drink it. Shiva was the only person who came forward to drink it. The suggestion is that Vishnu's act was foolish in allowing the rivals—the Gods and Demons—to bring out this deadly poison. Glory to Shiva for he drank it and saved the world from the evil consequences of the folly of Vishnu.

Third illustration is an attempt to show that Vishnu is a fool and that it is Shiva who with his greater wisdom and greater power saves Vishnu from his folly. It is the story of Akrurasura[1]. Akrur was a demon with the face of a bear, who, nevertheless, was continuously reading the Vedas and performing acts of devotion. Vishnu was greatly pleased and promised him any boon that he would care to ask. Akrurasura requested that no creature, then existing in three worlds, might have power to deprive him of life, and Vishnu complied with his request ; but the demon became so insolent that the Devatas, whom he oppressed, were obliged to conceal themselves, and he assumed the dominion of the world; Vishnu was then sitting on a bank of the Kali, greatly disquieted by the malignant ingratitude of the demon ; and his wrath being kindled, a shape, which never before had existed, sprang from his eyes. It was Mahadeva, in his destructive character, who dispelled in a moment the anxiety of the Vishnu.

This is countered by the story of Bhasmasura intended to show that Shiva was a fool and Vishnu saved him from his folly. Bhasmasura having propitiated Shiva asked for a boon. The boon was to be the power to burn any one on whose head Bhasmasura laid his hands. Shiva granted the boon. Bhasmasura tried to use his boon power against Shiva himself. Shiva became terrified and ran to Vishnu for help. Vishnu promised to help him. Vishnu took the form of a beautiful woman and went to Bhasmasura who became completely enamoured of her. Vishnu asked Bhasmasura to agree to obey him in everything as a condition of surrender. Bhasmasura agreed. Vishnu then asked him to place his hands on his own head which Bhasmasura did with the result that Bhasmasura died and Vishnu got the credit of saving Shiva from the consequences of his folly.

> "Is Isa (Mahadeva) the Cause of causes for any other reasons ? We have not heard that the linga (male organ) of any other person is worshipped by the gods. Declare, if thou hast heard, what other

[1] This story is told in Vishnu Agama and is quoted in Moore's Hindu Pantheon, pp. 19-20.

being's linga except that of Mahesvara is now worshipped, or has formerly been worshipped, by the gods ? He whose linga Brahma and Vishnu, and thou (Indra), with, the deities, continually worship, is therefore then most eminent. Since children bear neither the mark of the lotus (Brahma's), nor of the discus (Vishnu's), nor of the thunderbolt (Indra's), but are marked with the male and the female organs,—therefore offspring is derived from Mahesvara. All women produced from the nature of Devi as their cause, are marked with the female organ, and all males are manifestly marked with the linga of Hara. He who asserts any other cause than Isvara (Mahadeva) or (affirms) that there is any (female) not marked by Devi in the three worlds, including all things movable or immovable, let that fool be thrust out. Know everything which is male to be Isara, and all that is female to be Uma ; for this whole world, movable and immovable, is pervaded by (these) two bodies."

The Greek Philosopher Zenophanes insists that polytheism or plurality of Gods is inconceivable and contradictory. That the only true doctrine was monotheism. Considered from a philosophical point of view, Zenophanes might be right. But from the historical point of view both are natural. Monotheism is natural where society is a single community. Where society is a federation of many communities polytheism is both natural and inevitable. Because every ancient community consisted not merely of men but of men and its Gods it was impossible for the various communities to merge and coalesce except on one condition that its God is also accepted by the rest. This is how polytheism has grown.

Consequently the existence of many Gods among the Hindus is quite understandable because the Hindu Society has been formed by the conglomeration of many tribes and many communities each of whom had their own separate Gods. What strikes one as a strange phenomenon is the sight of the Hindu Gods, struggling one against the other, their combats and feuds and the ascriptions by one God to the other, all things that are a shame and disgrace to common mortals. This is what requires explanation.

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RIDDLE NO. 11

WHY DID THE BRAHMINS MAKE THE HINDU GODS SUFFER TO RISE AND FALL ?

The Hindus are accused of idolatry. But there is nothing wrong in idolatry. Making an idol is nothing more than having a photograph of the deity and if there can be no objection to keeping a photograph what objection can there be to having an image. Real objection to Hindu idolatry is that it is not mere photography, not mere production of an image. It is more than that. The Hindu idol is a living being and is endowed with all the functions of a human being. A Hindu idol is given life by means of a ceremony called *Pranapratishtha*. The Buddhists also are idolatrous in as much as they too worship Buddha's idol. But the idol they worship is only a photograph, a mere image. There is no soul in it. Why the Brahmins endowed the Hindu Gods with souls and made them living beings opens out an inquiry which is bound to be revealing. But this inquiry is outside the scope of this Chapter.

The second charge generally levelled against the Hindus is that they are polytheists i.e., they worship many Gods. Here again the Hindus are not the only people who are guilty of the practice of Polytheism. Other communities have also been known to have practised polytheism. To mention only two. The Romans and the Greeks were essentially polytheists. They too worshipped many Gods. There is therefore no force in this charge.

The real charge which can be levelled against the Hindus most people seem to have missed. That charge is that the Hindus are never steadfast in their devotion to their Gods. There is no such thing as

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This is a 43-page typed MS having corrections and modifications in the handwriting of the author. The concluding para, however, is written in pen by the author himself. The original title on the Chapter was 'The Rise and Fall of the Gods'. This title was scored out in blue pencil, which was normally used by the author for scoring out the matter.—Ed.

loyalty or attachment or faith in one God. In the history of Hindu Gods one finds it a very common experience that some Gods have been worshipped for a time and subsequently their worship has been abandoned and the Gods themselves have been thrown on the scrap-heap. Quite new Gods are adopted and their worship goes with an intensity of devotion which is full and overflowing. Again the new Gods are abandoned and are replaced by a fresh crop of new Gods. So the cycle goes on. In this way the Hindu Gods are always undergoing rise and fall—a phenomenon which is unknown in the history of any other community in the world.

The statement that the Hindus treat their Gods with such levity may not be accepted without demur. Some evidence on this point is therefore necessary. Fortunately there is abundance of it. At present the Hindus worship four Gods (1) Shiva, (2) Vishnu, (3) Rama and (4) Krishna. The question that one has to consider is : are these the only Gods the Hindus have worshipped from the beginning ?

The Hindu Pantheon has the largest number of inmates. The Pantheon of no religion can rival it in point of population. At the time of the Rig-Veda the number of its inmates was colossal. At two places the Rig-Veda[1] speaks of three thousand three hundred and nine Gods. For some reasons, which it is not possible for us now to know, this number came to be reduced to thirty-three[2]. This is a considerable reduction. Nevertheless with thirty three, the Hindu Pantheon remains the largest.

The composition of this group of thirty-three Gods is explained by the Satapatha Brahmana[3] as made up of 8 Vasus, 11 Rudras and 12 Adityas, together with Dyasus and Prithvi (heaven and earth).

Of greater importance than the question of numbers is the question of their relative rank. Was their any distinction between the 33 Gods in point of their rank ? There is a verse in the Rig-Veda which seems to suggest that these thirty-three Gods were divided for purposes of honours and precedence into two classes, one being great and small and the other being young and old. This view seems to be against an earlier view also contained in the Rig-Veda. The old rule says :

> "None of you O ! Gods ! is small
> or young : You are all great".

This is also the conclusion of Prof. Max Muller :

> "When these individual gods are invoked, they are not conceived as limited by the power of others, as superior or inferior in rank. Each god is to the mind of the supplicants as good as all the gods.

[1] Rig-Veda iii, 99 : X 52 : 6, Vaj, S. 33, 7, Muir V, p. 12.
[2] Rig-Veda 1, 139, II, iii, 6, 9 ; VIII 28.1, VIII 30,2, VIII 35.3, Muir V. p. 10.
[3] S. B. IV 5, 7, 2, Muir V, p. II.

He is felt, at the time, as a real divinity, as supreme and absolute, in spite of the necessary limitations which, to our mind, a plurality of gods must entail on every single god. All the rest disappear for a moment from the vision of the poet, and he only, who is to fulfil their desires stands in full light before the eyes of the worshippers."

"Nowhere is any of the Gods
represented as the slave of others".

This is of course true only for a time. A change seems to have come in the old angle of vision towards the Gods. For one finds numerous hymns of the Veda in which some gods are represented as supreme and absolute.

In the first hymn of the second Mandala, Agni is called the ruler of the Universe, the Lord of men, the wise king, the father, the brother, the son, the friend of men ; nay, all the powers and names of the others are distinctly ascribed to Agni.

Then a second god came to be elevated above Agni. He is Indra. Indra is spoken of as the strongest god in the hymns as well as in the Brahmanas, and the burden of one of the songs of the Tenth Book is : *Visvasmad Indra Uttarah* 'Indra is greater than all'.

Then a third god is raised to the highest level. He is Soma. Of Soma, it is said that he was born great and that he conquers every one. He is called the king of the world, he has the power to prolong the life of men, and in one verse he is called the maker of heaven, and earth, of Agni, of Surya, of Indra and of Vishnu. Then Soma was forgotten and a fourth God was elevated. He is Varuna. Varuna was made the highest of all Gods. For what more could human language do than to express the idea of a divine and supreme power, than what the Vedic poet says of Varuna ; 'Thou art Lord of all, of heaven, and earth' or, as is said in another hymn (ii. 27, 10), Thou art the king of all ; of those who are gods, and of those who are men."

From this evidence it is clear that out of the 33 Vedic Gods four Gods, Agni, Indra, Soma and Varuna had emerged as the principal Gods. Not that other gods had ceased to be gods. But these four had become elevated above the rest. At a later stage a change seems to have taken place at the time of the Satapatha Brahmana in the relative position of the different gods. Soma and Varuna had lost their places as the principal gods while Agni and Indra had retained their positions. A new god has emerged. He is Surya. The result is that instead of Agni, Indra, Soma and Varuna ; Agni, Indra and Surya became the principal gods. This is evident from the Satapatha Brahmana which says :

"Originally the gods were all alike, all pure. Of them being all alike, all pure, three desired, 'May we become superior' viz., Agni, Indra and Surya (the sun).

"2. .....

"3. Originally there was not in Agni the same flame, as this flame which is (now) in him. He desired : 'May this flame be in me'. He saw this grahs, he took it ; and hence there became this flame in him.

4. Originally there was not in Indra the same vigour, etc. (as in para 3).

5. Originally there was not in Surya the same lustre etc."

For how long these three Gods continued to hold their places of superiority over the rest it is difficult to say. But that at a later stage a change in the scene has taken place is beyond doubt. This is evident by a reference to the Chula-Niddessa. The Chula Niddessa is a treatise which belongs to the Buddhist literature. Its approximate date is.... *(left incomplete).*

The Chula-Niddessa gives a list of sects which were then prevalent in India. Classified on the basis of creeds and cults. They may be listed as follows :

I. CREEDS

Sr. No.	Name of the Sect	
1.	Ajivika Shravaka[1]	Ajivika[2]
2.	Nigatta Shravakas	Nigantha[3]
3.	Jatil Shravakas	Jatila[4]
4.	Parivrajaka Shravakas	Parivrajaka[5]
5.	Avarudha Shravakas	Avarudhaka

II. CULTS

Sr. No.	Name of the Sect	The deity which is worshipped
1.	Hasti Vratikas[6]	Hasti[7]
2.	Ashva Vratikas	Ashva[8]
3.	Go Vratikas	Go[9]

[1] Shravaka means a disciple.

[2] Mendicants following special rules with regard to livelihood.

[3] Mendicants who are free from all ties and hindrances.

[4] Mendicants who twist their hair on the head.

[5] Mendicants who escape from society.

[6] Vratikas means a devotee.

[7] Elephant.

[8] Horse.

[9] Cow.

II. CULTS *contd.*

Sr. No.	Name of the Sect	The deity which is worshipped
4.	Kukur Vratikas	Kukku[1]
5.	Kaka Vratikas	Kaka[2]
6.	*Vasudeo* Vratikas	Vasudeo
7.	Baldeo Vratikas	Baldeo
8.	Puma Bhadra Vratikas	Puma Bhadra
9.	Mani Bhadra Vratikas	Mani Bhadra
10.	*Agni* Vratikas	Agni
11.	Naga Vratikas	Naga
12.	Suparna Vratikas	Suparna
13.	Yaksha Vratikas	Yaksha
14.	Asura Vratikas	Asura
15.	Gandharva Vratikas	Gandharva
16.	Maharaja Vratikas	Maharaja
17.	Chandra Vratikas	Chandra
18.	*Surya* Vratikas	Surya
19.	*Indra* Vratikas	Indra
20.	*Brahma* Vratikas	Brahma
21.	Deva Vratikas	Deva
22.	Deesha Vratikas	Deesha

Comparing the position as it stood at the time of the Satapatha Brahmana with that arising from the Chula-Niddessa the following propositions may be said to be well-established : (1) Firstly, that the worship of Agni, Surya and Indra continued up to the time of the Chula Niddessa. (2) Secondly, the Cults of Agni, Surya and Indra although they had not ceased, had lost their places of supremacy. Others and quite a number of cults had come into being as rivals and had won the affection of the people. (3) Thirdly, of the new cults there are two which later on became very prominent. They are the cults of Vasudeo (i.e. Krishna) and Brahma and (4) Fourthly the cults of Vishnu, Shiva and Rama had not come into being.

What is the present position as compared with that found in the Chula-Niddessa ? Here again, three propositions are well-established. *First :* the cults of Agni, Indra, Brahma and Surya have disappeared. *Second :* Krishna has retained his position. *Three :* The cults of Vishnu, Shiva and

1 Dog.

2 Crow.

Rama are new cults which have come into existence since the time of the Chula-Niddessa. Given this situation it raises three questions for considerations : *One* is why have the old cults of Agni, Indra, Brahma and Surya disappeared ? Why was the worship of these Gods abandoned ? *Second* is what are the circumstances that gave rise to the new cults of Krishna, Rama, Shiva and Vishnu. *Third* what is the relative position of these new Gods, Krishna, Rama, Shiva and Vishnu ?

For the first question we can find no answer. The Brahmanic literature gives us no clue whatsoever as to why the Brahmins abandoned the worship of Agni, Indra, Surya and Brahma. There is some explanation as to why the cult of Brahma disappeared. It rests in a charge which is found to be levelled in the Brahmanic literature against Brahma. The charge is that he committed rape on his own daughter and hereby made himself unworthy of worship and devotion. Whatever be the truth in the charge it could not be regarded as sufficient to account for the abandonment of Brahma and for two reasons. In the first place, in that age such conduct was not unusual. In the second place, Krishna was guilty of greater immoralities than were charged to Brahma and yet they continued to worship him.

While there is something to speculate about the abandonment of Brahma there is nothing to account for the abandonment of the others. The disappearance of Agni, Indra, Surya and Brahma is thus a mystery. This is no place to solve this mystery. It is enough to say that the *Gods* of the Hindus had ceased to be Gods—a terrible thing.

The second question is also enveloped in mystery. Brahmanic literature, to account for the importance of the cults of these new Gods, Krishna, Vishnu, Shiva and Rama, is full and overflowing. But there is nothing in the Brahmanic literature to account for the rise of these new Gods. Why these new Gods were brought into action is thus a mystery. The mystery however deepens when one finds that some of the new Gods were definitely anti-Vedic.

Let us take the case of Shiva.

That Shiva was originally an Anti-Vedic God is abundently clear. The following two incidents recorded in the Bhagvata Purana (and also in the Mahabharata) throw a flood of light on the subject. The first incident shows how enmity arose between Shiva and his father-in-law Daksha. It appears that the Gods and Rishis were assembled at a sacrifice celebrated by the Prajapatis. On the entrance of Daksha, all the personages who were present, rose to salute him, except Brahma and Shiva. Daksha, after making his obeisance to Brahma, sat down by his command ; but was offended at the treatment he received from Shiva. This is how he addressed Shiva[1] :

[1] Bhagwat Purana quoted in Chapter IV pp. 379-80.

"Beholding Mrida (Shiva) previously seated, Daksha did not brook his want of respect ; and looking at him obliquely with his eyes, as if consuming him, thus spake : 'Hear me, ye Brahman rishis, with the Gods and the Agnis, While I, neither from ignorane nor from passion, describe what is the practice of virtuous persons. But this shameless being (Siva) detracts from the reputation of the guardians of the world, he by whom, stubborn as he is, the course pursued by the good is transgressed. He assumed the position of my disciple, inasmuchas, like a virtuous person, in the face of Brahmans and of fire, he took the hand of my daughter, who resembled Savitri. This monkey-eyed (god), after having taken of (my) fawn-eyed (daughter), has not even by word shown suitable respect to me whom he ought to have risen and saluted. Though unwilling, I yet gave my daughter to this impure and proud abolisher of rites and demolisher of barriers, like the word of the Veda to a Sudra. He roams about in dreadful cemeteries, attended by hosts of ghosts and spirits, like a madman, naked, with dishevelled hair, laughing, weeping, bathed in the ashes of funeral piles, wearing a garland of dead men's (skulls), and ornaments of human bones, pretending to be Siva (auspicious) but in reality Asiva (in-auspicious), insane, beloved by the insane the lord of Pramathas and Bhutas (spirits), beings whose nature is essentially darkness. To this wicked-hearted lord of the infuriate, whose purity has perished. I have, alas ! given my virtuous daughter, at the instigation of Brahma'. Having thus reviled Girisa (Siva), Who did not oppose him, Daksha having then touched water, incensed, began to curse him (thus) : 'Let this Bhava (Siva), lowest of the gods, never, at the worship of the gods, receive any portion along with the gods Indra, Upendra (Vishnu), and others.' Having delivered his malediction, Daksha departed."

The enmity between the father-in-law and son-in-law continues. Daksha being elevated by Brahma to the rank of the Chief of the Prajapatis decided to perform a great Sacrifice called Vrihaspatisava. Seeing the other Gods with their wives going to this Sacrifice, Parvati pressed her husband, Shiva, to accompany her thither. He refers to the insults which he had received from her father, and advises her not to go. She, however (sect. 4), being anxious to see her relatives, disregards his warning and goes ; but being sighted by her father, Daksha, she reproaches him for his hostility to her husband, and threatens to abandon the corporeal frame by which she was connected with her parent. She then voluntarily gives up the ghost. Seeing this, Shiva's attendants, who had followed her, rush on Daksha to kill him. Bhrigu, however, throws an oblation into the southern fire, pronouncing a Yajus text suited to destroy the destroyers of sacrifice *(yajna-ghnena yajusha dakshinagnau*

juhavaha). A troop of Ribhus in consequence spring up, who put Shiva's followers to flight. Shiva is filled with wrath when he hears of the death of Sati (sect. 5). From a lock of his hair, which he tore out, a gigantic demon arose, whom he commended to destroy Daksha and his sacrifice. This demon proceeds with a troop of Shiva's followers, and they all execute the mandate. How they executed the mandate is described in the Bhagvat Purana[1] in the following terms :

> "Some broke the sacrificial vessels, others destroyed the fires, others made water in the ponds, others cut the boundary-cords of the sacrificial ground ; others assaulted the Munis, others reviled their wives ; others seized the gods who were near, and those who had fled.... 19. The divine Bhava (Siva) plucked out the beard of Bhrigu, who was offering oblations with a ladle in his hand, and who had laughed in the assembly, showing his beard. He also tore out the eyes of Bhaga, whom in his wrath he had felled to the ground, and who, when in the assembly, had made a sign to (Daksha when) cursing (Siva) He moreover knocked out the teeth of Pushan (as Bala did the king of Kalinga's), who (Pushan) had laughed, showing his teeth, when the great god was being cursed. Tryambaka (Siva, or Virabhadra, according to the commentator) then cuts off the head of Daksha, but not without some difficulty. The gods report all that had passed to Svayambhu (Brahma), who, with Vishnu, had not been present (sect. 6). Brahma advises the gods to propitiate Siva, whom they had wrongfully excluded from a share in the sacrifice. The deities, headed by Aja (Brahma), accordingly proceed to Kailasa, when they see Siva "bearing the linga desired by devotees, ashes, a staff, a tuft of hair, an antelope's skin, and a digit of the moon, his body shining like an evening cloud". Brahma addresses Mahadeva "as the eternal Brahma, the lord of Sakti and Siva, who are respectively the womb and the seed of the universe,—who, in sport, like a spider, forms all things from Sakti and Siva, who are consubstantial with himself, and preserves and reabsorbs them" (A similar supremacy is ascribed to Vishnu in sect. 7). Brahma adds that it was this great being who had instituted sacrifice, and all the regulations which Brahmans devoutly observe and entreat him, who is beyond all illusion, to have mercy on those who, overcome by its influence, had wrongly attached importance to ceremonial works, and to restore the sacrifice of Daksha, at which a share had been refused to him by evil priests. Mahadeva partly relents (sect. 7)"

There can be no better evidence to prove that Shiva was an anti-vedic God than his destruction of Daksha's Yajna.

[1] Quoted in Muir IV. p. 383-84.

Now let us take Krishna.

There are four persons who go by the name *Krishna*. One Krishna is the son of Satyavati and father of Dhratarashtra, Pandu and Vidur. Second Krishna is the brother of Subhadra and friend of Arjuna. Third Krishna is the son of Vasudeva and Devaki and was resident of Mathura. Fourth Krishna is the one brought up by Nanda and Yeshoda at Gokul and it was he who killed Shishupal. If the Krishna of the Krishna cult is the same as the Krishna son of Devaki there can be no doubt that Krishna originally also was anti-Vedic. From the Chhandogya Upanishad it appears that he was a pupil of Ghora Angiras. What did Ghora Angiras teach him ? This is what the Chhandogya Upanishad says on the subject :

> "Ghora, the descendant of Angiras, having declared this (the preceding mystical lore) to Krishna the son of Devaki, said to him that (which, when he heard) he became free from thirst (i.e. desire), viz., 'let a man at the time of his death have recourse to these three texts, 'Thou art the undecaying, thou art the imperishable, thou art the subtle principle of breath."

The commentator on this text of the Upanishad explains :

> "A person, Ghora by name, and an Angirasa by family, having declared this doctrine of sacrifice to Krishna the son of Devaki, his pupil, then said etc. The connexion of the last word 'said', is with the words which occur some way below, 'these three etc., And having heard this doctrine he became free from desire for any kinds of knowledge. In this manner he praises this knowledge of the Purusha-sacrifice by saying that it was so distinguished that it destroyed all thirst in Krishna, the son of Devaki, for any other knowledge. He now tells us that Ghora Angirasa said after declaring this knowledge to Krishna. It was this : 'Let him who knows the aforesaid sacrifice, at the time of his death have recourse to, mutter, these three texts, *pranasamsitam* means, 'thou art the very minute, and subtle principle of breath."

Obviously the doctrine taught by Ghora Angiras to Krishna was opposed to the Vedas and the Vedic sacrifices as a means of spiritual salvation. On the contrary Vishnu is a Vedic God. Yet his cult is established much later than that of Shiva. Why there has been so much neglect of Vishnu it is difficult to understand.

Similarly Rama though not anti-vedic is unknown to the Vedas. What was the necessity of starting his cult and that too at so late a stage in the history of the country ?

We may now take up the third question—namely what is the relative position of these new Gods to the old Pauranic Gods.

The rise and fall of Bramha, Vishnu and Shiva has already been told in a previous chapter called *Gods at War*. Whatever happened, the struggle for place and power was confined to these three Gods. They were not dragged below any other. But a time came when they were placed below the Devi by name Shri. How this happened is told in the Devi Bhagwat[1]. The Devi Bhagwat says that a Devi by name *Shri* created the whole world and that it is this Goddess who created Bramha, Vishnu and Shiva ! The Devi Bhagwat goes on to state that the Devi desired to rub her palms. The rubbing of palms produced a blister. Out of this blister was born Bramha. When Bramha was born the Devi asked him to marry her. Bramha refused saying she was his mother. The Devi got angry and burned Bramha alive by her wrath and Bramha was reduced to ashes then and there. Devi rubbed her palms a second time and had a second blister. Out of this second blister a second son was born. This was Vishnu. The Devi asked Vishnu to marry her. Vishnu declined saying that she was his mother. Devi got angry and burned down Vishnu to ashes. Devi rubbed her palms a third time and had a third blister. Out of this third blister was born a third son. He was Shiva. The Devi asked Shiva to marry her. Shiva replied : 'I will, provided you assume another body'. Devi agreed. Just then Shiva's eyes fell on the two piles of ashes. Devi replied 'they are the ashes of his two brothers and that she burnt them because they refused to marry her.' On this Shiva said, 'How can I alone marry ? You create two other women so that we all three can marry'. The devi did as she was told and the three Gods were married to the Devi and her female creations. There are two points in the story. One is that even in doing evil Shiva did not wish to appear more sinning than Bramha and Vishnu for fear that he may appear more degraded than his other two competitors. The more important point however is that Bramha, Vishnu and Shiva had fallen in rank and had become the creatures of the Devi.

Having dealt with the rise and fall of Bramha, Vishnu and Shiva, there remains the vicissitudes in the cults of the two new Gods, Krishna and Rama.

Obviously there is a certain amount of artificiality in the cult of Krishna as compared with the cult of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva. Bramha, Vishnu and Mahesh were born gods. Krishna was a man who was raised to godhood. It is probably to confer godhood on him that the theory was invented that he was the incarnation of Vishnu. But even then his godhood remained imperfect because he was regarded to be only a partial[2] avatar of Vishnu largely because of his debaucheries

[1] Summarised in Satyartha Prakash.

[2] On this point see references in Muir IV pp. 49.

with the *gopis* which would have been inexcusable if he had been a full and perfect *avatar* of Vishnu.

Notwithstanding this humble beginning Krishna became elevated to the position of a supreme God above all others. How great a God he became can be seen by a reference to Chapter X and XIV of the Bhagvat Geeta. In these chapters Krishna says :

"Well then, O best of the Kauravas I will state to you my own divine emanations ; but (only) the chief (ones) for there is no end to the extent of my (emanations). I am the self. O Gudakesa seated in the hearts of all beings ; I am the beginning and the middle and the end also of all beings. I am Vishnu among the Adityas, the beaming Sun among the shining (bodies); I am Marichi among the Maruts, and the Moon among the lunar mansions. Among the Vedas, I am the Sama-veda. I am Indra among the Gods. And I am mind among the senses. I am consciousness in (living) beings. And I am Shankara among the Rudras, the Lord of Wealth among Yakshas and Rakshasas. And I am *fire* among the Vasus, and Meru among the high-topped (mountains). And know me, O Arjuna to be Brihaspati, the chief among domestic priests. I am Skanda among generals. I am the ocean among reservoirs of water. I am Bhrigu among the great sages. I am the Single syllable (Om) among words. Among sacrifices I am the *Gapa* sacrifice ; the Himalaya among the firmly fixed (mountains) ; the Asvattha among all trees, and Narada among divine sages : Chitraratha among the heavenly *choristers,* the sage Kapila among the Siddhas. Among horses know me to be Uchhaissravas, brought forth by (the labour for) the nectar ; and Airavata among the great elephants, and the ruler of men among men. I am the thunderbolt among weapons, the wish-giving (cow) among cows. And I am love which generates. Among serpents I am Vasuki. Among Naga snakes I am Ananta ; I am Varuna among aquatic beings. And I am Aryaman among the manes, and Yama among rulers. Among demons, too, I am Pralhada. I am the king of death (kala, time) among those that count.

"Among beasts I am the lord of beasts, and the son of Vinata among birds. I am the wind among those that blow. I am Rama among those that wield weapons. Among fishes I am Makara, and among streams the Janhavi. Of created things I am the beginning and the end and the middle also. O Arjuna, among sciences, I am the science of the Adhyatma, and I am the argument of controversialists. Among letters I am the letter A, and among the group of compounds the copulative compound. I myself am time inexhaustible and I the creator whose faces are in all directions. I

am death who seizes all, and the source of what is to be. And among females, fame, fortune, speech, memory, intellect, courage, forgiveness. Likewise among Saman hymns, I am the Brihat-saman, and I the Gayatri among metres. I am Margasirsha among the months, the spring among the seasons, of cheats, I am the game of dice ; I am the glory of the glorious ; I am victory. I am industry, I am the goodness of the good. I am Vasudeva among the descendants of Vrishni and Arjuna among the Pandvas. Among sages also, I am Vyasa ; and among the discerning ones, I am the discerning Usanas. I am the rod of those that restrain, and the policy of those that desire victory. I am silence respecting secrets. I am the knowledge of those that have knowledge. And O Arjuna ! I am also that' which is the seed of all things. There is nothing movable or immovable which can exist without me."

"Know that glory (to be) mine which, dwelling in the Sun, lights up the whole world, or in the moon or fire. Entering the earth, I by my power support all things; and becoming the juicy moon, I nourish all herbs. I becoming the fire, and dwelling in the bodies of (all) creatures, and united with the upward and downward life-breaths cause digestion of the four-fold food. And I am placed in the heart of all."

"From me (come) memory, knowledge, and their removal ; I alone am to be learnt from all the Vedas ; I am the author of the Vedantas ; and I alone know the Vedas. There are these two beings in the world, the destructible and the indestructible. The destructible (includes) all things. The unconcerned one is (what is) called the indestructible. But the being supreme is yet another, called the highest self, who as the inexhaustible lord, pervading the three worlds, supports (them). And since I transcend the destructible, and since I am higher also than the indestructible therefore am I celebrated in the world and in the Vedas as the best of things."

It is therefore clear that so far as the Gita is concerned there is no God greater than Krishna. He is, Alla ho Akbar. He is greater than all other Gods.

Let us now turn to the Mahabharata. What do we find ? We find a change in the position of Krishna. There is a rise and fall in his position. In the first place we find Krishna elevated above Shiva. Not only that, Shiva is made to admit and acknowledge the greatness of Krishna. Along with this we also find Krishna degraded to a rank below that of Shiva and is made to acknowledge the greatness of Shiva.

As a piece of evidence in support of the elevation of Krishna above Shiva the following passage from the *Amisasana-Parvan*[1] is very illuminating :

"Superior even to Pitamaha (Bramha) is Hari, the eternal Purusha, Krishna, brilliant as gold, like the sun risen in a cloudless sky, ten-armed, of mighty force, slayer of the foes of the gods, marked with the *srivatsa,* Hrishikesa, adored by all the gods. Bramha is sprung from his belly and I (Mahadeva) from his head, the luminaries from the hair of his head, the gods, and Asuras from the hairs of his body, and the rishis as well as everlasting worlds, have been produced from his body. He is the manifest abode of Pitamaha, and of all the deities. He is the creator of this entire earth, the lord of the three worlds, and the destroyer of creatures, of the stationary and the moveable. He is manifestly the most eminent of the gods, the lord of the deities, the vexer of his foes. He is omniscient, intimately united (with all things), omnipresent facing in every direction, the supreme spirit, Hrishikesa all-pervading, the mighty Lord. There is none superior to him in the three worlds. The slayer of Madhu is eternal, renowned as Govinda. He, the conferer of honour, born to fulfil the purposes of the gods, and assuming a human body, will slay all the kings in battle. For all the hosts of the gods, destitute of Trivikrama (the god who strode thrice), are unable to effect the purposes of the gods, devoid of a leader. He is the leader of all creatures, and worshipped by all creatures.

"Of this lord of the gods, devoted to the purposes of the gods, who is Brahma, and is the constant refuge of gods and rishis, Brahma dwells within the body, abiding in his face, and all the gods are easily sheltered in his body. This god is lotus-eyed, the producer of Sri, dwelling together with Sri ... For the welfare of the gods, Govinda shall arise in the family of the great Manu, possessed of eminent intelligence and (walking) in the excellent path of the Prajapati Manu, characterized by righteousness (Govinda's ancestors are then detailed). In this family, esteemed by Brahmans, of men renowned for valour, distinguished by good conduct and excellent qualities, priests, most pure, this sura, the most eminent of Kshatriya heroic, renowed, conferring honour, shall beget a son Anakadundubhi, the prolonger of his race, known as Vasudev to him shall be born a four-armed son, Vasudeva, liberal, a benefactor of Brahmans, one with Brahma, a lover of Brahmans."

"You the gods, should, as is fit, worship this deity, like the eternal Brahma, approaching him with reverential and excellent garlands of

[1] Muir IV pp. 273-74.

praise. For the divine and glorious Vasudev should be beheld by him who desires to see me and Brahma and Parent. In regard to this, I have no hesitation, that when he is seen I am seen, or the Parent (Brahma), the lord of the gods : know this ye whose wealth is austerity."

We shall now see how Krishna after having been elevated to the position being highest among the Gods is being degraded.

The Mahabharata is so full of incidents and occasions which demonstrate Krishna's inferiority to Shiva that it is difficult to recite the whole of them. One must be content with a few.

The first incident relates to the view taken by Arjuna to slay Jayadratha on the following day. After the vow, Arjuna became very dejected thinking that Jayadratha's friends would do their utmost to save him and that unless he had sure weapons he would not be able to fulfil his vow. Arjuna goes to Krishna for advice. Krishna suggests to Arjuna that he should supplicate to Mahadeva for the Pasupata weapon with which Mahadev himself had formerly destroyed all the Daityas and which, if he obtained it, he would be sure to kill Jayadrath.

The Drone-Parvan which relates the story proceeds to say :

"The righteous Vasudeva (Krishna) then, together with the son of Pritha (Arjuna), reciting the eternal Veda, bowed his head to the ground, beholding him the source of the worlds, the maker of the universe, the unborn, the imperishable lord, the supreme source of mind, the sky, the wind, the abode of the luminaries, the creator of the oceans, the supreme substance of the earth, the framer of gods, Danavas, Yakshas and men, the supreme Brahma of meditative systems, the satisfied, the treasure of those who know Brahma, the creator of the world and also its destroyer, the great impersonated destructive Wrath, the original of the attributes of Indra and Surya. Krishna then reverenced him with voice, mind, understanding and act. Those two (heroes) had recourse to Bhava (Mahadeva) as their refuge,—to him whom the wise, desiring the subtle spiritual abode, attain,—to him the unborn cause. Arjuna, too, again and again reverenced that deity, knowing him to be the beginning of all beings, the source of the past, the future, and the present. Beholding those two, Nara and Narayana, arrived Sarva (Mahadeva), then greatly gratified, said, as if smiling : 'Welcome, most eminent of men, rise up freed from fatigue, and tell me quickly, heroes, what your mind desires. Shall I accomplish for you the object for which you have come ? Choose what is most for your welfare. I will give you all."

Krishna and Arjuna then recite a hymn in honour of Mahadeva,

in the course of which he is designated as the soul of all things, the creator of all things, and the pervader of all things. Arjuna now, after reverencing both Krishna and Mahadeva, asks the latter for the celestial weapon. They are thereupon sent by Mahadeva to a lake where he says he had formerly deposited his bow and arrows. They there saw two serpents, one of which was vomiting flames, and approached them, bowing to Mahadeva and uttering Satarudriya. Through the power of Mahadeva, the serpents change their shape and become a bow and arrow, which Krishna and Arjuna bring to Mahadeva. Eventually Arjuna receives as a boon from Mahadeva the Pasupata weapon, with the power of fulfilling his engagement to slay Jayadratha after which they both return to their camp."

The Anusasana-Parvan of the Mahabharata contains a dialogue between Yudhishthira and Bhishma. Yudhishthira asks Bhishma to tell him the attributes of Mahadeva. This is what Bhishma says in reply :

"I am unable to declare the attributes of the wise Mahadeva, who is an all-pervading god, yet is nowhere seen, who is the creator and the lord of Brahma, Vishnu and Indra, whom the gods, from Brahma to the Pisachas, worship, who transcends material natures as well as spirit (Purusha), who is meditated upon by rishis versed in contemplation (yoga), and possesing an insight into truth, who is the supreme, imperishable Brahma, that which is both non-existent, and at once existent and non-existent. Having agitated matter and spirit by his power, this god of gods and lord of creatures (Prajapati) thence created Bramha. What human being like me, who has been subject to gestation in the womb, and to birth, and is liable to decay and death, can declare the attributes of Bhava, the supreme lord—(who can do this) except Narayana, the bearer of the shell, the discus, and the cub ? This Vishnu, wise, eminent, in qualities, very hard to overcome, with divine insight, of mighty power, beholds (him) with the eye of contemplation. Through his devotion to Rudra, the world is pervaded by the mighty Krishna. Having then propitiated that deity (Mahadeva) at Badari, he (Krishna) obtained from the golden-eyed Mahesvara the quality of being in all worlds more dear than wealth. This Madhava (Krishna) performed austerity for a full thousand years, propitiating Siva, the god who bestows boons, and the preceptor of the world. But in every mundane period (yuga) Mahesvara has been propitiated by Krishna and has been gratified by the eminent devotion of that great personage. This unshaken Hari (Krishna) when seeking, for offspring, has beheld distinctly of what character is the glory of that great parent of the world. Than him I behold none higher. This

large-armed (Krishna) is able to recount fully the names of the god of gods, to describe the qualities of the divine (being) and the real might of Mahesvara in all its extent".

This dialogue between Yudhishthira and Bhishma took place in the presence of Krishna. For immediately after his reply Bhishma calls upon Krishna to celebrate the greatness of Mahadeva. And this supreme God Krishna proceeds to do so without feeling any offence and says :

"The course of the deeds of Isa (Mahadeva) cannot be really known. He whose essence neither the gods headed by Hiranyagarbha, nor the great rishis with Indra, nor the Adityas, the perceivers of the minutest objects, understand,—how can he, the refuge of saints, be known by any mere man ? I shall declare to you exactly some of the attributes of that divine slayer of the Asuras. of the lord of religious ceremonies."

Here not only do we find that Krishna acknowledges his inferiority to Shiva but we also find Shiva conscious of the fact that Krishna has been beaten down and is no longer his superior, indeed is not even his equal. This is evident from Sauptika-parvan where Mahadeva says to Asvathaman[1] :

"I have been duly worshipped by Krishna, the energetic in action, with truth, purity, honesty, liberality, austerity, ceremonies, patience, wisdom, self-control, understanding and words : Wherefore no one is dearer to me than Krishna".

Krishna from being above Shiva, above every God, indeed a Parmeshwar is reduced to the position of being a mere follower of Shiva, begging for petty boons.

This does not complete the story of the degradation of Krishna. He is made to undergo further humiliation. Krishna not only accepted a position of inferiority *vis-a-vis* Shiva but he is sunk so low that he became a disciple of Upamanyu who was a great devotee of Shiva and took Diksha from him in Shaivism. Krishna himself says :

"On the 8th day I was initiated by that Brahamana (Upamanyu) according to the Shastras. Having shaved my entire head, anointing myself with ghee, and taking the staff and kusa grass in my arms I dressed myself in bark fastened with the *mekhala* (the waist string)."

Krishna then performs penance and has a sight of Mahadeo.

Can there be a more glaring instance of so great a rise and so much of a fall in the status of a God ? Krishna who was a Parmeshwar as compared to Shiva who was only an Ishwar does not even remain an Ishwar. He actually becomes a devotee of Shiva and seeks initiation in Shaiva Shastras from a common Brahmin like Upamanyu.

[1] Quoted in Muir p.

The case of Rama as a God is much more artificial than that of Krishna. Rama himself was unware of the fact that he was a God. After recovering Sita on the defeat and death of Ravana, Sita was suspected of unchastity, Rama felt very dejected on hearing the words of those who thus spoke about Sita. The Ramayana says :

> "Then King Kuvera, and Yama with the Pitris and Indra, Lord of the gods, and Varuna, lord of the waters, and the glorious three-eyed Mahadeva, whose ensign is a bull, and Bramha, the creator of the whole world, the most eminent of the knowers of the Veda : (and that King Dasaratha, moving in the air on a celestial car, arrived in that region, equal in lustre to the king of the gods); these all having come on cars brilliant as the Sun, and arrived in the city of Lanka, came near to Raghava (Rama). Then these most eminent gods, holding the large arms of Rama, adorned with armlets, addressed him as he stood with joined hands : How dost thou, the maker of the whole universe, the most eminent of the wise, the pervading, disregard Sita's throwing herself into the fire ? How dost thou not perceive thyself to be the chief of the host of the gods ? (Thou wast) formerly the Vasu Ritadhaman, and the Prajapati of the Vasus. Thou art the primal maker of the three worlds, the self dependent lord, the eighth Rudra of the Rudras, and the fifth of the Sadhyas. The Asvins are thine ears, the Moon and Sun thine eyes."

> "Thou, vexer of thy foes, art seen in the end and at the beginning of created beings. And yet thou disregardest Sita like a common man".

On being thus addressed by these Gods, Rama became surprized and replied :

> "I regard myself as a man, Rama, son of Dasharath : do you, divine being tell me who and whence I am".

On this, Brahma replying to Rama said :

> "Hear my true word, O being of genuine power. Thou art the god, the glorious lord, Narayana, armed with the discus. Thou art the one-horned boar, the conqueror of thy foes, past and future, the true, imperishable Brahma, both in the middle and end. Thou art the supreme righteousness of the worlds, Vishvaksena, the four-armed ; the bearer of the bow, Saranga, Hrishikesa (lord of the senses). Purusha (the male), the highest of Purushas, the unconquered, sword-wielding, Vishnu, and Krishna of mighty force, the general, the leader the true. Thou art intelligence, thou art patience, and self-restraint. Thou art the source of being and cause of destruction, Upendra (the younger Indra), the Madhusudana. Thou art Mahendra (the elder Indra) fulfilling the function of Indra,

he from whose navel springs a lotus, the ender of battles. The great divine rishis call thee the refuge, the resort of suppliants. Thou art the hundred-horned, composed of the Veda, the thousand-headed the mighty. Thou art the primal maker of the three worlds, the self-dependent lord, and the refuge of the Siddhas and Sahyas, O thou primevally born. Thou art sacrifice, thou art the vashatkara, and the omkara, higher than the highest. Men know not who thou art, the source of being, or the destroyer. Thou art seen in all creatures, in Brahmans and in cows, in all the regions, in the mountains and rivers, thousand-footed, glorious, hundred-headed, thousand-eyed. Thou sustainest creatures, and the earth with its mountains ; thou art seen Rama, at the extremity of the earth, in the waters, a mighty serpent supporting the three worlds, gods, Gandharvas, and Danavas. I am thy heart, Rama, the goddess Sarasvati is thy tongue. The gods have been made by Brahma the hairs on thy limbs. The night is called the closing, and the day the opening, of thine eyes. The Vedas are thy thoughts. This (universe) exists not without thee. The whole world is thy body ; the earth is thy stability. Agni is thine anger, Soma is thy pleasure, O thou whose mark is the Srivatsa. By thee the three worlds were traversed of yore with thy three paces, and Mahendra was made king after thou hadst bound the terrible Bali. That which is known as the chiefest light, that which is known as the chiefest darkness, that which is the higher than the highest— thou art called the highest Soul. It is thou who art hymned as that which is called the highest, and is the highest. Men call thee the highest source of continuance, production and destruction."

Obviously, there is the same degree of artificiality in the cult of Rama. Like Krishna he was a man who was made God. Unlike Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh, he was not one who was born God. It is probably to make his Godhood perfect that the theory was invented that he was the incarnation of Vishnu and that Sita his wife was the incarnation of Lakshmi the wife of Vishnu.

In another respect, Rama was fortunate. He did not have to suffer degradation to other Gods as did Brahma, Vishnu and Krishna. There was however an attempt to degrade him below Parasurama the hero of the Brahmins. The story is told in the Ramayana which says :

"When King Dasaratha was returning to his capital, after taking leave of Janaka, the King of Mithila, whose daughter Sita had just been married to Rama he was alarmed by the ill-omened sounds by certain birds, which however were counteracted, as the sage Vasishta assured the king by the auspicious sign of his being perambulated by the wild animals of the forest. The alarming event indicated was the

arrival of Parasurama, preceded by hurricane which shook the earth and prostrated the trees, and by thick darkness which veiled the Sun. He was fearful to behold, "brilliant as fire, and bore his axe and a bow on his shoulder. Being received with honour, which he accepted, he proceeded to say to Rama, the son of Dasaratha that he has heard of his prowess in breaking the bow produced by Janak and had brought another which he asked Rama to bend, and to fit an arrow on the string ; and if he succeeded in doing so, he (Parasurama) would offer to engage with him in single combat."

"Rama replied that though his warlike qualities are condemned by his rival, he will give him a proof of his powers. He then snatches, in anger, the bow from the hand of Parasurama, bends it, fits an arrow on the string ; and tells his challenger that he will not shoot at him because he is a Brahman, and for the sake of his kinsman Visvamitra ; but will either destroy his superhuman capacity of movement, or deprive him of the blessed abodes he has acquired by austerity. The gods now arrive to be witnesses of the scene. Parasurama becomes disheartened and powerless and humbly entreats that he may not be deprived of his faculty of movement lest he should be incapacitated from fulfilling his promise to Kasyappa to leave the earth every night but consents that his blissful abodes may be destroyed."

With this exception Rama had no rivalry with any of the other Gods. He managed to be where he was. With regards to other Gods there is a different story to tell. Poor creatures they became nothing more than mere toys in the hands of the Brahmins. Why did the Brahmins treat the Gods with so scant a respect ?

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RIDDLE NO. 12

WHY DID THE BRAHMINS DETHRONE THE GODS AND ENTHRONE THE GODDESSES ?

The worship of Gods is a thing common to all. But the worship of Goddesses is quite uncommon. The reason is that Gods are generally unmarried and have no wives who can be elevated to the position of Goddesses. How repugnant is the idea of a God being married is well illustrated by the difficulties which early Christians had in persuading the Jews to accept Jesus as the son of God. The Jews retorted saying God is not married and how can Jesus be the son of God.

With the Hindus the position is quite otherwise. They not only worship Gods they also worship Goddesses. This is so from the very beginning.

In the Rig-Veda several Goddesses are mentioned such as *Prithvi, Aditi, Diti, Nishtigri, Indrani, Prisni, Usha, Surya, Agnayi, Varunani, Rodasi, Raka, Sinivali, Sradha, Aramati, Apsaras and Sarasvati.*

Prithvi is a very ancient Aryan Goddess. She is represented either as wife of *Dyaus* heaven or of *Parjanya.* Prithvi is an important Goddess because she is said to be the mother of many Gods.

Aditi is chronologically one of the older Vedic Goddesses. She is described as the mighty mother of the Gods. The Gods, *Mitra, Aryaman* and *Varuna* are her sons. To whom Aditi was married does not appear from the Rig-Veda. We do not know much about *Diti* except that she is mentioned as a goddess along with and in contrast to *Aditi* and that the *Daityas* who were regarded in later Indian mythology as the enemies of the Devas were her sons.

The original title of the Chapter was 'Vedic and non-Vedic Goddesses'. From the subject dealt with in this chapter and from the concluding para, we have placed this at Riddle No. 12 in accordance with the subject mentioned in the Table of Contents. This is a 21-page typed copy having some modifications and also concluding para in the handwriting of the author.—Ed.

The goddess *Nishtigri* is the mother of Indra and the goddess *Indrani* is the wife of Indra. Prisni is the mother of Maruts. *Usha* is described as the daughter of the sky, the sister of *Bhaga* and the kinswoman of *Varuna* and the wife of Surya. The goddess *Surya* is the daughter of *Surya* and the wife of the Gods *Asvins* or *Soma.*

The goddesses *Agnayi, Varunani* and *Rodasi* are the wives of *Agni, Varuna* and *Rudra* respectively. Of the rest of the goddesses are mere personifications of rivers or are mentioned without any details.

From this survey two things are clear. One is that a Hindu God can enter a married state and neither the God nor his worshipper need feel any embarrassment on account of the God acting as though he was no better than a common man. The second is that the God's wife automatically becomes a goddess worthy of worship by the followers of the God.

Leaving the Vedic times and coming to the Pauranic times we come across the names of various Goddesses such as *Devi, Uma, Sati, Ambika, Parvati, Haimavati, Gauri, Kali, Nirriti, Chandi* and *Katyayini, Durga, Dassbhuja. Singhavahini, Mahishasuramardini, Jagaddhatri, Muktakesi, Tara, Chinnamustaka, Jagadgauri, Pratyangira, Annapurna, Ganeshjanani, Krishnakrora* and *Lakshmi.* It is very difficult to construct a who is who of these Goddesses. In the first place it is difficult to say whether each name stands for a distinct and separate Goddess or they are the names of one Goddess. It is equally difficult to be sure of their parentage. Nor can any one say with certainty as to who their husbands are.

According to one account *Uma, Devi, Sati, Parvati, Gauri* and *Ambika* are different names of the same Goddess. On the other hand *Devi* is said by some to be the daughter of Daksha, *Ambika* to be the sister of Rudra. Regarding *Parvati* the Varaha Purana in describing her origin says[1]:

> "Brahma when on a visit to Siva on Mount Kailasa is thus addressed by him : "Say, quickly, O, Brahma, what has induced you to come to me ?' Brahma replies, 'There is a mighty Asura named Andhaka (Darkness), by whom all the gods, having been distressed, came for protection, and I have hastened to inform you of their complaints'. Brahma then looked intently at Siva, who by thought summoned Vishnu into their presence. As the three deities looked at each other, 'from their three refulgent glances sprang into being a virgin of celestial loveliness, of hue cerulean, like the petals of a blue lotus, and adorned with gems, who hashfully bowed before Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. On their asking her who she was, and why she was

[1] Quoted in Wilkins "Hindu Mythology" pp. 290-91.

distinguished by the three colours black, white and red, she said, 'From your glances was I produced : do you not know your own omnipotent energies ?' Brahma then praising her said, 'Thou shalt be named the goddess of three times (past, present and future), the preserver of the universe, and under various appellations shalt thou be worshipped, as thou shalt be the cause of accomplishing the desires of thy votaries. But, O goddess, divide thyself into three forms, according to the colours by which thou art distinguished. She then, as Brahma had requested, divided herself into three parts ; one white, one red, and one black. The white was 'Saraswati of a lovely, felicitious form, and the co-operator with Brahma in creation ; the red was Lakshmi, the beloved of Vishnu, who with him preserves the universe ; the black was Parvati endowed with many qualities and energy of Siva."

Here is an attempt to suggest that *Saraswati, Lakshmi* and *Parvati* are different forms of one and the same divinity. When one remembers that *Sarasvati* is the wife of Brahma, Lakshmi is the wife of Vishnu and Parvati is the wife of Shiva, and also that Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva were at war, this explanation given by the Varah Puran seems very odd.

Who is Gauri ? The Purana says that Gauri is another name for Parvati. The reason how Parvati was called Gauri[1] is that when Shiva and Parvati lived on mount Kailasa, occasionally there were quarrels between them, and on one occasion Shiva reproached her for the blackness of her skin. This taunt so grieved her that she left him for a time, and, repairing to a deep forest, performed a most severe course of austerities, until Brahma granted her as a boon that her complexion should be golden and for this circumstance she is known as Gauri.

Taking the other Goddesses it is not quite certain whether they are different names for one and the same Goddess or whether they are different Goddesses. In the Mahabharata there is a hymn sung by Arjuna to Durga in which he says[2] :

"Reverence be to thee, Siddha-Senani (generalaless of the Siddhas), the noble, the dweller on Mandara, Kumari (Princess), Kali, Kapali, Kapila, Krishna-pingala. Reverence to thee, Bhadrakali ; reverence to thee, Maha Kali, Chandi, Chanda, Tarini (deliveress), Varavarini (beautiful-coloured). O fortunate, Kalyani, O Karali, O Vijaya, O Jaya (victory), younger sister of the chief of cowherds (Krishna), delighting always in Mahisha's blood'. O Uma, Sakambhari, thou white one, thou black one, O destroyer of

[1] Wilkins pp. 289-90.

[2] Quoted in Wilkins pp. 306-07.

Kaithabha ! Of science, thou art the science of Brahma (or of the Vedas), the great sleep of embodied beings. O mother of Skanda (Kartikeya), divine Durga, dweller in wildernesses'. Thou, great goddess, art praised with a pure heart. By thy favour let me ever be victorious in battle."

From this hymn it does appear that some of the Goddesses listed above are simply different names of Durga. Similarly, Dasabhuja, Singhavahini, Mahishamardini, Jagaddhatri, Chinnamustaka, Jagadgauri, Pratyangiri, Annapurna are the same as Durga or different forms of *Durga*.

There are thus two principal Goddesses. One is *Parvati* and the other is *Durga*. The rest are mere names. Parvati is the daughter of Daksha Prajapati and the wife of Shiva and Durga is the sister of Krishna and the wife of Shiva. The relationship of *Durga* and *Kali* is not quite clear. According to the hymn sung by Arjuna, Durga and Kali would appear to be one and the same. But the Linga Purana seems to suggest a different view. According to it[1], Kali is distinct from Durga.

A comparison between the Vedic Goddesses and the Puranic Goddesses cannot be avoided by a student whose business it is not merely to write history but to interpret history. On one point there is a striking contrast, between the two. The worship of the Vedic Goddesses was worship by *courtesy*. They were worshipped only because they were the wives of Gods. The worship of the Puranic Goddesses stand on a different footing. They claim worship in their own right and not because they are wives of Gods. This difference arises because the Vedic Goddesses never went to the battlefield and never performed any heroic deed. The Puranic Goddesses on the other hand went to the battlefield and performed great heroic deeds. Their worship was not by courtesy. It was based upon their heroic and thundering deeds.

There was a great battle, it is said, between Durga and the two *asuras* which brought renown to Durga. The story is told in the Markandeya Purana in full details. It says[2]:

At the close of the Treta Age, two giants, named Sumbha and Nishumbha performed religious austerities for 10,000 years, the merit of which brought Shiva from heaven, who discovered that by this extraordinary devotion, they sought to obtain the blessing of immortality. He reasoned long with them, and vainly endeavoured to persuade them to ask for any other gift. Being denied what they specially wanted, they entered upon still more severe

[1] Wilkins *Ibid.,* pp. 313.

[2] Wilkins *Ibid.,* pp. 302-306.

austerities for another thousand years, when Shiva again appeared, but still refused to grant what they asked. They now suspended themselves with their heads downwards over a slow fire, till the blood streamed from their necks ; they continued thus for 800 years. The Gods began to tremble, lest, by performing such rigid act of holiness, these demons should supplant them on their thrones. The king of the Gods thereupon called a council, and imparted to them his fears. They admitted that there was ground for anxiety, but asked what was the remedy.

Acting upon the advice of Indra, Kandarpa (the God of love), with Rambha and Tilotama, the most beautiful of the celestial nymphs, were sent to fill the minds of the giants with sensual desires. Kandarpa with his arrow wounded both ; upon which, awaking from their absorption, and seeing two beautiful women, they were taken in the snare, and abandoned their devotions. With these women they lived for 5000 years; after which they saw the folly of renouncing their hopes of immortality for the sake of sensual gratifications. They suspected this snare must have been a contrivance of Indra ; so, driving back the nymphs to heaven, they renewed their devotions, cutting the flesh off their bones, and making burnt offerings of it to Shiva. They continued in this way for 1000 years till at last they became mere skeletons ; Shiva again appeared and bestowed upon them his blessing—that in riches and strength they should excel the Gods.

Being exalted above the Gods, they began to make war upon them. After various successes on both sides, the giants became everywhere victorious ; when Indra and the Gods, reduced to a most deplorable state of wretchedness, solicited the interference of Brahma and Vishnu. They referred them to Shiva, who declared that he could do nothing for them. When, however, they reminded him that it was through his blessing they had been ruined, he advised them to perform religious austerities to Durga. They did so : and after some time the goddess appeared, and gave them her blessing ; then disguising herself as a common female carrying a pitcher of water, she passed through the assembly of the gods. She, then assumed her proper form, and said, 'They are celebrating my praise'.

'This new goddess now ascended Mount Himalaya where Chanda and Manda, two of Sumbha and Nisumbha's messengers resided. As these demons wandered over the mountain, they saw the goddess ; and being exceedingly struck with her charms, which they described to their masters, advised them to engage her affections, even if they

gave her all the glorious things which they had obtained in plundering the heavens of the gods.

Sumbha sent Sugriva as messenger to the goddess, to inform her that the riches of the three worlds were in his palace ; that all the offerings which used to be presented to the gods were now offered to him ; and that all these offerings, riches, etc., would be hers, if she would come to him. The goddess replied that the offer was very liberal, but that she had resolved that the person she married must first conquer her in war, and destroy her pride. Sugriva, unwilling, _ to return unsuccessful, pressed for a favourable answer, promising that he would conquer her in war, and subdue her pride ; and asked in an authoritative strain ; 'Did she know his master, before whom none of the inhabitants of the worlds had been able to stand, whether gods, demons, or men ? How then could she, a female think of resisting his offers ? If his master had ordered him, he would have compelled her to go into his presence immediately. She agreed that this was very correct, but that she had taken her resolution, and exhorted him, therefore to persuade his master to come and try his strength with her.

The messenger went and related what he had heard. On hearing his account, Sumbha was filled with rage, and, without making any reply, called for Dhumlochana his commander-in-chief and gave him orders to go to Himalaya and seize the goddess and bring her to him, and, if any attempted a rescue, utterly to destroy them.

The commander went to Himalaya, and acquainted the goddess with his master's orders. She, smiling, invited him to execute them. On the approach of this hero, she set up a dreadful roar, by which he was reduced to ashes. After which she destroyed the army of the giant, leaving only a few fugitives to communicate the tidings. Sumbha and Nisumbha, infuriated, sent Chanda and Manda, who on ascending the mountain, perceived a female sitting on an ass, laughing. On seeing them she became enraged, and drew to her ten, twenty or thirty of their army at a time, devouring them like fruit. She next seized Manda by the hair, cut off his head and holding it over her mouth, drank the blood. Chanda, on seeing the other commander slain in this manner, himself came to close quarters with the goddess. But she, mounted on a lion, sprang on him, and, despatching him as she had done Manda, devoured part of his army, and drank the blood of the slain.

The giants no sooner heard this alarming news than they resolved to go themselves, and collecting their forces, an infinite number of giants, marched to Himalaya. The gods looked down with

astonishment on this vast army, and the goddesses descended to help Mahamaya (Durga), who, however, soon destroyed her foes, Raktavija, the principal commander under Sumbha and Nishumbha, seeing all his men destroyed encountered the goddess in person. But though she covered him with wounds, from every drop of blood which fell to the ground a thousand giants, arose equal in strength to Raktavija himself. Hence innumerable enemies surrounded Durga, and the gods were filled with alarm at the amazing sight. At length Chandi, a goddess, who had assisted Kali (Durga) in the engagement, promised that if she would drink the giant's blood before it fell to the ground, she (Chandi) would engage him and destroy the whole of his strangely formed offspring. Kali consented, and the commander and his army were soon despatched.

Sumbha and Nishumbha, in a state of desperation, next engaged the goddess in single combat, Sumbha making the first onset. The battle was inconceivably dreadful on both sides, till at last both the giants were slain, and Kali sat down to feed on the carnage she had made. The gods and the goddesses chanted the praises of the celestial heroine, who in return bestowed a blessing on each."

The Markandeya Purana also gives a short account of the valorous deeds of Durga done in the various forms it took. It says :

> "As Durga she received the message of the giants ; As Dasabhuja (the ten-armed) she slew part of their army ; As Singhavahini (seated on a lion) she fought with Raktavija ; As Mahishamardini (destroyer of a buffalo) she slew Sumbha in the form of a buffalo ; As Jagaddhatri (the mother of the world) she overcame the army of the giants ; As Kali (the black woman) she slew Raktavija ; As Muktakesi (with flowing hair) she overcame another of the armies of the giants ; As Tara (the saviour) she slew Sumbha in his own proper shape ; As Chinnamastaka (the headless) she killed Nisumbha ; As Jagadgauri (the golden-coloured lady renowned through the world) she received the praises and thanks of the gods."

A comparison between the Vedic and Puranic Goddesses raises some interesting questions. One of them is quite obvious. Vedic literature is full of references to wars against the Asuras. The literature known as Brahmanas replete with them. But all these wars against the Asuras are fought by the Vedic Gods. The Vedic Goddesses never took part in them. With the Puranic Goddesses the situation has undergone a complete change. In the Puranic times there are wars with the Asuras as there were in the Vedic times. The difference is that while in the Vedic times the wars with the Asuras are left to be fought by the Gods in the Puranic times they are left to be fought by the Goddess. Why is

that Puranic Goddesses had to do what the Gods in Vedic times did ? It cannot be that there were no Gods in Puranic times. There were Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva gods who ruled in the Puranic times. When they were there to fight the Asuras why were the Goddesses enrolled for this purpose. This is a riddle which requires explanation.

The second question is what is the source of this power which the Puranic Goddesses possessed and which the Vedic Goddesses never had ? The answer given by the Puranic writers is that this power was the power of the Gods which dwelt in the Goddesses. The general theory was that every God had energy or power which was technically called *Sakti* and that the *Sakti* of every God resided in his wife the Goddess. This had become such an accepted doctrine that every goddess is called a *Sakti* and those who worship the Goddess only are called *Saktas*.

With regard to this doctrine there are one or two questions that call for a reply.

First is this. We may now take it that notwithstanding the many names of the Goddesses as we find in the Puranas we have really five Puranic Goddesses before us—namely, *Sarasvati, Lakshmi, Parvati, Durga* and *Kali*. Sarasvati and Lakshmi are the wives of Brahma and Vishnu who along with Shiva are recognized as the Puranic Gods. Parvati, Durga and Kali are the wives of Shiva. Now *Sarasvati* and *Lakshmi* have killed no Asura and have in fact done no deed of valour. Question is why ? Brahma and Vishnu had *Sakti* which in conformity with the theory must have dwelt in their wives. Why then did *Sarasvati* and *Lakshmi* not take part in the battle with the Asuras ? This part is only reserved for the wives of Shiva. Even here Parvati's role is quite different from that of Durga. Parvati is represented as a simple woman. She has no heroic deeds to her credit like the ones claimed for Durga. Like Durga, Parvati is also the Sakti of Shiva. Why was Shiva's Sakti dwelling in Parvati so dull, so dormant, and so inactive as to be non-existent ?

The second point is that though this doctrine may be a good justification for starting the worship of Goddesses independently of Gods, it is difficult to accept either the logical or historical basis of the doctrine. Looking at it purely from the point of view of logic if every God has *Sakti* then even the Vedic Gods must have had it. Why then was this doctrine not applied to the wives of the Vedic Gods ? Looking at it from the point of view of history, there is no justification for saying that the Puranic Gods had *Sakti* in them.

Further the Brahmins do not seem to have realized that by making Durga the heroine who alone was capable of destroying the Asuras,

they were making their own Gods a set of miserable cowards. It seems that the Gods could not defend themselves against the Asuras and had to beg of their wives to come to their rescue. One illustration from the Markandeya Purana is enough to prove how imbecile the Puranic Gods were shown by the Brahmins against the Asuras. Says the Markandeya Purana :

> "Mahisha, king of the giants, at one time overcame the gods in war, and reduced them to such a state of want that they wandered through the earth as beggars. Indra first conducted them to Brahma, and then to Siva ; but as these gods could render no assistance, they turned to Vishnu, who was so grieved at the sight of their wretchedness, that streams of glory issued from his face, whence came a female figure named Mahamaya (another name of Durga). Streams of glory issued from the faces of the other gods also, which in like manner entered Mahamaya ; in consequence of which she became a body of glory, like a mountain of fire. The gods then handed their weapons to this dreadful being, who with a frightful scream ascended into the air, slew the giant, and gave redress to the gods."

How can such cowardly Gods have any prowess ? If they had none, how can they give it to their wives. To say that Goddesses must be worshipped because they have *Sakti* is not merely a riddle but an absurdity. It requires explanation why this doctrine of Sakti was invented. Was it to put it a new commodity on the market that the Brahmins started the worship of the Goddesses and degraded the Gods ?

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RIDDLE NO. 13

THE RIDDLE OF THE AHIMSA

Any one who compares the habits and social practices of the latter-day Hindus with those of the Ancient Aryans he will find a tremendous change almost amounting to a social revolution.

The Aryans were a race of gamblers. Gambling was developed to science in very early days of the Aryan Civilization so much so that they had even devised certain technical terms. The Hindus used the words Krita, Treta, Dwapara and Kali as the names of the four Yugas or periods into which historical times are divided. As a matter of fact originally these are the names of the dices used by the Aryans at gambling . The luckiest dice was called Krita and the unluckiest was called Kali. Treta and Dwapara were intermediate between them. Not only was gambling well developed among the ancient Aryans but the stakes were very high. Gambling with high money stakes have been known elsewhere. But they are nothing as compared with those which are known to have been offered by the Aryans. Kingdoms and even their wives were offered by them as stakes at gambling. King Nala staked his kingdom and lost it. The Pandavas went much beyond. They not only staked their kingdom they also staked their wife Draupadi and lost both. Among the Aryans gambling was not the game of the rich. It was a vice of the many. So widespread was gambling among the Ancient Aryans that the burden of all the writers of the Dharma Sutras (Shastras ?) was to impress upon the King the urgency of controlling it by State Authorities under stringent laws.

The original Table of Contents shows Riddle No. 13 as 'How the Brahmins who were once cow-killers became the worshippers of the Cow ?' This chapter is not found in the papers. However, few pages entitled 'Riddle of Ahimsa' have been found. The Riddle has been placed here as it seems to deal with the same topic. This chapter consisting of 10 typed pages is obviously incomplete as the remaining text is missing.—Ed.

The relation of the sexes among the Aryans were of a loose sort. There was a time when they did not know marriage as a permanent tie between a man and a woman. This is evident from the Mahabharata where Kunti the wife of Pandu refers to this in her reply to Pandu's exhortation to go to produce children from some one else. There was a time when the Aryans did not observe the rule of prohibited degrees in their sex relations. There are cases among them of brother cohabiting with sister, son with mother, father with daughter and grand-father with grand-daughter. There was a communism in women. It was a simple communism where many men shared a woman and no one had a private property in or exclusive right over a woman. In such a communism the woman was called Ganika, belonging to many. There was also a regulated form of communism in women among the Aryans. In this the woman was shared among a group of men but the day of each was fixed and the woman was called *Warangana* one whose days are fixed. Prostitution flourished and has taken the worst form. Nowhere else have prostitutes consented to submit to sexual intercourse in public. But the practice existed among the Ancient Aryans. Bestiality also prevailed among the Ancient Aryans and among those who were guilty of it are to be reckoned some of the most reverend Rishis.

The Ancient Aryans were also a race of drunkards. Wine formed a most essential part of their religion. The Vedic Gods drank wine. The divine wine was called Soma. Since the Gods of the Aryans drank wine the Aryans had no scruples in the matter of drinking. Indeed to drink it was a part of an Aryan's religious duty. There were so many Soma sacrifices among the Ancient Aryans that there were hardly any days when Soma was not drunk. Soma was restricted to only the three upper classes, namely the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas and the Vaishas. That does not mean the Shudras were abstainers. Who were denied Soma drank Sura which was ordinary, unconsecrated wine sold in the market. Not only the male Aryans were addicted to drinking but the females also indulged in drinking. The Kaushitaki Grihya Sutra I. 11-12 advises that four or eight women who are not widowed after having been regaled with wine and food should be called to dance for four times on the night previous to the wedding ceremony. This habit of drinking intoxicating liquor was not confined to the Non-Brahmin women. Even Brahmin women were addicted to it. That drinking was not regarded as a sin ; it was not even a vice, it was quite a respectable practice. The Rig-Veda says :

"Worshipping the sun before drinking madira (wine)".

The Yajur-Veda says :

"Oh, Deva Soma ! being strengthened and invigorated by Sura (wine), by thy pure spirit, please the Devas ; give juicy food to the sacrificer and vigour to Brahmanas and Kshatriyas."

The Mantra Brahmana says :

"By which women have been made enjoyable by men, and by which water has been transformed into wine (for the enjoyment of men)," etc.

That Rama and Sita both drank wine is admitted by the Ramayana. Uttar Khand says :

"Like Indra in the case (of his wife) Shachi, Ramachandra saw that Sita drank purified honey called wine. Servants brought for Ramahandra meat and sweet fruit.

So did Krishna and Arjuna. The Udyoga Parva of the Mahabharata says :

"Arjuna and Shrikrishna drinking wine made from honey and being sweet-scented and garlanded, wearing splendid clothes and ornaments, sat on a golden throne studded with various jewels. I saw Shrikrishna's feet on Arjuna's lap, and Arjuna's feet on Draupadi and Satyabhama's lap."

The greatest change that has taken place is in the diet. The present day Hindus are very particular about their diet. There are twofold limitations on commensality. A Hindu will not eat food cooked by a Non-Hindu. A Hindu will not eat food cooked even by a Hindu unless he is a Brahmin or a man of his caste. The Hindu is not only particular on the question of whose food he should eat, he is also particular to what he should eat. From the point of view of diet Hindus may be divided into two main classes.

(1) Those who are vegetarians.

(2) Those who are non-vegetarians.

The non-vegetarians again fall into several sub-divisions :

Those who will eat all kinds of flesh and fish.

Those who will eat only fish.

Those who will eat flesh are sub-divided into following categories :

(*i*) Those who will eat the flesh of any animal except the cow.

(*ii*) Those who will eat the flesh of any animal including that of the cow.

(*iii*) Those who will eat flesh but not of a cow (whether dead or slaughtered) nor of chicken.

Classifying the Hindu Population from the point of view of its diet the Brahmins are divided into two classes (1) Pancha Gauda and (2) Panch Dravida.

Of these Panch Dravida are completely vegetarian. The Panch Gauda's with the exception of one section namely Gauda Saraswatas are also completely vegetarian. The Untouchables who are at the other *end* of the Hindu Society are non-vegetarian. They eat meat, not merely of goats and fowls but also of the cow irrespective whether it is dead or slaughtered. The Non-Brahmins who are midway between the Brahmins and the Untouchables have different ways. Some like the Brahmins are Vegetarians. The rest unlike the Brahmins are non-vegetarians. All of them are alike in one thing namely that all of them are opposed to eating the cow's flesh.

There is one other aspect of the question which needs to be mentioned. It is the question of killing an animal for purposes of food. On this the Hindu mind is more or less united. No Hindu will kill an animal not even for food. Except for a small caste known as Khatiks there are no butchers among the Hindus. Even the Untouchables will not kill. He eats the flesh of a dead cow. But he will not kill a cow. In India today the butcher is a Musalman and any Hindu who wants to kill an animal for his food has to seek the services of a Musalman. Every Hindu believes in Ahimsa.

Since when did vegetarianism come into India ? When did Ahimsa become an established belief ? There are Hindus who do not understand the propriety of this question. They hold that vegetarianism and Ahimsa are not new things in India.

The evidence in support of the contention that the ancient Aryans the ancestors of present-day Hindus were not only meat-eaters but. beef-eaters is really overwhelming. As evidences in support of this view it is enough to draw attention to the following facts :

They are quite indisputable.

Take the case of Madhuparka.

Among the ancient Aryans there was well established procedure of reception to be given to a guest which is known as Madhuparka the detailed descriptions regarding which will be found in the various Grihya Sutras. According to most of the Grihya Sutras there are six persons who deserve Madhuparka. Namely (1) Ritvij or the Brahmin called to perform a sacrifice, (2) Acharya, the teacher, (3) the Bridegroom, (4) The King, (5) The Snatak, the student who has just finished his studies at the Gurukul and (6) Any person who is dear to the host. Some add Atithi to this list. Except in the case of the Ritvij, King and Acharya, Madhuparka is to be offered to the rest once in a year. To the Ritvij, King and Acharya it is to be offered each time they come. The procedure consisted first in washing by the host the feet of his guest, then the offer of the Madhuparka and the drinking of it by the quest accompanied by certain Mantras.

What were the components of the Madhuparka ? Madhuparka literally means a ceremony in which honey is shed or poured on the hand of a person. This is what Madhuparka was in its beginning. But in course its ingredients grew and included much more than honey. At one time it included three ingredients—curds honey and butter. There was a time when it was made of five things curds, honey, ghee, yava and barley. Then it came to be a mixture of nine items. The Kausika Sutra speaks of nine kinds of mixtures, viz. *Brahma* (honey and curds), *Aindra* (of *payasa), Saumya* (curds and ghee), *Mausala* (saine and ghee, this being used only in *Sautramani* and *Rajasuya* sacrifices), *Varuna* (water and ghee). *Sravana* (sesame oil and ghee). *Parivrajaka* (sesame oil and oil cake). Then we come to the time of the Manava Grahya Sutra which says that the Veda declares that the Madhuparka must not be without flesh and so it recommends that if the cow is let loose, goat's meat *or payasa* (rice cooked in milk) may be offered ; The *Hir* gr. i. 13.14 says that other meat should be offered ; *Baud.* gr. says (1.2.51-54) that when the cow is let off. the flesh of a goat or ram may be offered or some forest flesh (of a deer & c.,) may be offered, as there can be no Madhuparka without flesh or if one is unable to offer flesh one may cook ground grains. But in the final stage flesh became the most essential part of Madhuparka. In fact some of the Grihya Sutras go to the length of saying that there can be no Madhuparka without flesh. This they base upon an express injunction contained in the Rig-Veda (VIII. 101.5) which says "Let the Madhuparka not be without flesh".

Flesh eating was thus quite common. From the Brahmins to the Shudras everybody ate meat. In the Dharmasutras numerous rules are given about the flesh of beasts and birds and about fishes. Gaut. 17.27-31. Ap. Dh. S. 1.5.17.35 Vas. Dh. S. 14.39-40. Yaj. I. 177. Vishnu Dh. S. 51.6. Sankha (quoted by Apararka p. 1167). Ramayana (Kiskindha 17.39). Markendey Purana (35.2-4) prescribe that one should avoid the flesh of all five-nailed animals except of porcupine, hare, svavidh (a boar of hedgehog), iguana, rhinoceros and tortoise (some of these works omit the rhinoceros). Gautama adds that one should also avoid the flesh of all animals with two rows of teeth in the two jaws, of hairy animals, of hairless animals (like snakes), of village cocks and hogs and of cows and bulls. Ap. Dh. S. 1.5.17. 29-31 first forbids the flesh of animals with one hoof only, of camels, of gavaya (Gayal), of the village hog, of the sarabha and of cows, but adds the exception that the flesh, of milch cows and of bulls may be eaten as the Vajasaneyaka declares the flesh of these to be pure. Ap. Dh. S. (II.2.5.15) forbids the use of flesh to a teacher of the Veda in the

(INCOMPLETE. FURTHER TEXT MISSING)

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RIDDLE NO. 14

FROM AHIMSA BACK TO HIMSA

"From Himsa to Ahimsa" is only a part of the story of Ahimsa. There is another part of the story which can only be described, under the heading "From Ahimsa back to Himsa". The second part of the story will be clear if only one were to note the religious practices of the Tantras and Tantraism to which a reference has already been made.

The essentials of Tantrik worship are the five Makars. These five Makars consists of:

1. The drinking of wine and liquors of various kinds ... (Madya);
2. The eating of meat ..... (Mansa);
3. The eating of fish ..... (Matsya);
4. The eating of parched or fried grain ..... (Mudra);
5. The sexual union ..... (Maithuna).

It is unnecessary to say at this stage anything about Maithuna or Sexual intercourse having been made an element of religious worship.

It is sufficient to take note of Madya and Mansa.

With regard to the first four of these acts the Tantras prescribe twelve sorts of liquors, three sorts of wine, and three sorts of meat. Pulastya, one of the ancient sages who is the supposed author of certain law-books, also enumerates twelve kinds of liquors, as follows:

"1. Liquor extracted from the bread fruit (panasa), called Jack-liquor;
2. From grapes (draksha);
3. From date-palm (kharjuri);
4. From common palm (tali), or toddy:
5. From coconut (narikela);
6. From sugarcane (ikshu);
7. From Madhavika plant;

The chapter seems to be a continuation of the previous chapter on 'Ahimsa'. There are six typed pages with few corrections and having the title written by the author himself- Ed.

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8. Long-pepper liquor (saira);

9. Soap-berry liquor (arishta);

10. Honey-liquor (madhuka);

11. A kind of rum or liquor prepared from molasses, etc. (called Gaudi, or sometimes Maireya);

12. Arrack, or liquor prepared from rice and other grain (sura or Varuni, or paishti).

Besides the above twelve kinds of spirituous drink others are frequently mentioned, for example, *Tanka,* made from wood-apple, Koli, made from the jujbe; and *Kadambari;* the last being the favourite beverage of Bala-Rama.

The meat may be that of birds, beasts, or fish. The parched grain is eaten, like dry biscuit, as a relish with the wine and spirituous liquors. The drinking of each kind of drink is supposed to be attended with its own peculiar merit and advantage. Thus one liquor gives salvation, another learning, another power, another wealth, another destroys enemies, another cures diseases, another removes sin, another purifies the soul."

The Tantrik worship had gone deep into Bengal. Referring to his own experience Rajendra Lal Mitra says[1]:

> "I knew a highly respectable widow lady, connected with one of the most distinguished families in Calcutta, who belonged to the Kaula sect, and had survived the 75th birthday, who never said her prayers (and she did so regularly every morning and evening) without touching the point of her tongue with a tooth-pick dipped in a phial of arrack, and sprinkling a few drops of the liquor on the flowers which she offered to her god. I doubt very much if she had ever drunk a wine-glassful of arrack at once in all her life, and certain it is that she never had any idea of the pleasures of drinking; but, as a faithful Kaula, she felt herself in duty-bound to observe the mandates of her religion with the greatest scrupulousness. That thousands of others do so, I have every reason to believe. In some parts of Bengal, where arrack is not easily accessible, such female votaries prepare a substitute by dropping the milk of a coconut in a bell-metal pot, or milk in a copper vessel, and drink a few drops of the same. Men are, however, not so abstemious, and the Tantras ordain a daily allowance of five cupsful, the cup being so made as to contain five tolas, or two ounces, i.e. they are permitted to take ten ounces or about a pint of arrack daily".

This Tantrik worship was not confined to the small corner of Bengal. As is pointed out by Mahamahopadhyaya Jadaveshwara Tarkaratna[2]:

[1] Rajendralal Mitra — Indo-Aryans Vol. pp. 405-6.

[2] Quoted by Avalon in his principles of Tantra Part-I. Introduction p. XXXVIII.

"Just as the Bengalis of the higher castes are divided into Shaktas, Vaishnavas, and Shaivas, so it is with the peoples of Kamarupa, Mithila, Utkala, and Kalinga, and the Kashmirian pandits. The Shakti Mantra, Shiva Mantra, and Vishnu Mantra, are each Tantrik. Amongst Dakshinatyas, Mahamahopadhyaya Subramanya Shastri, and many others, are Shaktas. The late Mahamahopadhyaya Rama Mishra Shastri, Bhagavatacharya, and many others, were and are Vaishnavas. Mahamahopadhyaya Shivakumara Shastri, and a number of others, are Shaivas. In Vrindavana there are many Shaktas as well as Vaishnava Brahmanas, though amongst the higher castes in Maharashtra and other Southern Indian countries, Shaivas and Vaishnavas are more numerous than Shaktas. Followers of the Pashupata and Jangama cults are Shaivas whereas those of Madhavacharya and Ramanujacharya are Vaishnavas. Many in the North-West are initiated in the Rama-Mantra, which is to be found only in the Tantra. It is still more remarkable that, according to this author, the pandas of Shri Purushottama are all Shaktas, and the priests of Kamakhya Devi are all Vaishnavas."

Although it is not possible to give the exact date when the Tantras and Tantra worship came into existence there is no doubt that their date is after Manu. This fact makes the rise of the Tantra worship a matter of great surprize. The Tantras not only lifted the prohibition enacted by Manu against wine and flesh but they made drinking and flesh eating articles of faith.

The surprising thing is the part that the Brahmins have played in furthering the Tantra and Tantra worship. The Tantras had no respect for the Vedas. The Tantrikas said that the Vedas were like a common woman open to all but that the Tantra was like a high-born woman kept secluded. The Tantra was never repudiated by the Brahmins. On the other hand they recognized it as a fifth Veda. So orthodox a Brahmin as Kulluka-Bhatt the celebrated Commentator on Manu Smriti says that Shruti is of two kinds, Vaidik and Tantrik. Not only did the Brahmins not repudiate the Tantras but actually promoted the Tantrik worship. The Matrika Bheda Tantra makes Shiva address his wife Parvati as follows[1]:

"O sweet speaking goddess, the salvation of Brahmanas depends on drinking wine. I impart to you a great truth, O mountain born, when I say that the Brahman who devotes himself to drinking and its accompaniments, forthwith becomes a Siva. Even as water mixes with water, and metal blends with metal; even as the confined

1Quoted by Rajendralal Mitra in Indo-Aryans Vol. p.

space in a pitcher merges into the great body of the confining vessel, and air mingles with air, so does a Brahman melt into Brahma, the universal soul".

"There is not the least doubt about this. Likeness to the divinity and other forms of beatitude are designed for Kshatriyas and others; but true knowledge can never be acquired without drinking spirituous liquor; therefore should Brahmans always drink. No one becomes a Brahman by repeating the Gayatri, the mother of the Vedas: he is called a Brahman only when he has knowledge of Brahma. The ambrosia of the gods is their Brahma, and on earth it is arrack (or liquor distilled from rice); and because one attains through it the condition of a god (suratva), therefore is that liquor called sura."

Why did the Brahmins repudiate father Manu and start again drinking liquor and flesh eating which Manu had stopped? This is a riddle.

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RIDDLE NO. 15

HOW DID THE BRAHMINS WED AN AHIMSAK GOD TO A BLOODTHIRSTY GODDESS ?

Having started drinking and flesh eating the Brahmins did not hesitate to write puranas advocating animal sacrifices. One such Purana requires a special mention. It is called the Kali Purana. This Purana is written with the express purpose of propagating the worship of the goddess Kali. In this Purana there is an adhhyaya called Rudhir Adhhyaya which means the bloody chapter.

I give below a summary of the Rudhir Adhhyaya. In this chapter[1] the God Shiva addresses his three sons Betal, Bhairawar, and Bhairava in the following terms:

> "I will relate you, my sons, the ceremonies and rules to be observed in sacrifices which being duly attended to are productive of the divine favour.
>
> "The forms laid down in the Vaishnaivi Tantra, are to be followed on all occasions and may be observed by sacrifices to all Deities."
>
> "Birds, tortoise, allegators, fish, nine species of wild animals, buffaloes, bulls, he-goats, inchneumons, wild boars, rhinoceroses, antelopes, guanas, reindeer, lions, tigers, men and blood drawn from the offerer's own body, are looked upon as proper oblations to the Goddess Chandica, the Bhairavas &c."
>
> "It is through sacrifices that princes obtain bliss, heaven, and victory over their enemies."
>
> "The pleasure which the Goddess receives from an oblation of the fish and tortoises is of one month's duration, and three from that of a crocodile. By the blood of the nine specifies of wild animals the Goddess is satisfied nine months, and for that space of time

[1]The chapter is translated in English by Mr. W. C. Blaquiere and will be found in the Asiatic Researches vol. pp.

This is a 16-page typed MS having modifications by the author himself. All the pages are numbered serially and the treatment of the subject seems complete.—Ed.

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continues propitious to the offerer's welfare. The blood of the wild bull and Guana give pleasure for one year, and that of the antelope and wild boar for twelve years. The Sarabhas blood satisfies the Goddess for twenty-five years, and buffalo's and rhinoceros's blood for a hundred, and that of the tiger an equal number. That of the lion, reindeer, and the human species produces pleasure, which lasts a thousand years. The flesh of these, severally, gives the pleasure for the same duration of time as their blood. Now attend to the different fruits attending an offering of the flesh of a rhinoceros or antelope, as also of the fish called Rohita."

"The flesh of the antelope and rhinoceros pleases the Goddess five hundred years and the Rohita fish and *Bardhrinasa* give my beloved (i.e. the Goddess Cali) delight for three hundred years."

"A spotless goat, who drinks only twice in twenty-four hours, whose limbs are slender, and who is the prime among a herd, is called *Bardhrinasa,* and is reckoned as the best of Havyas (i.e. offerings to the Deities) and Cavyas, (i.e. offerings to the deceased progenitors)."

"The bird whose throat is blue and head red and legs black with white feathers, is called also *Barshrinasa,* and is king of the birds, and the favourite of me and Vishnu."

"By a human sacrifice attended by the forms laid down, Devi is pleased one thousand years and by sacrifice of three men, one hundred thousand years. By human flesh, Camachya, Chandica, and Bhairava who assumes my shape, are pleased one thousand years. An oblation of blood which has been rendered pure by holy texts, is equal to ambrosia; the head also afford much delight to the Goddess Chandica. Let therefore the learned when paying adoration to the Goddess, offer blood and the head, and when performing the sacrifices to fire, make oblations of flesh."

"Let the performer of the sacrifice be cautious never to offer bad flesh, as the head and blood are looked upon by themselves equal to ambrosia."

"The gourd, sugar cane, spirituous liquors, and fermented liquors are looked upon as equivalent to other offerings, and please the Goddess for the same duration of time as the sacrifice of a goat."

"The performance of the sacrifice, with a Chandrahasa, or Gatri, (two weapons of the king) is reckoned the best mode, and with a hetcher or knife, or a sangeul, the second best, and the beheadings

with a hoe a Bhallac (an instrument of the spade kind) the inferior mode."

"Exclusive of these weapons no others of the spear of arrow kind ought ever to be used in performing a sacrifice, as the offering is not accepted by the Goddess, and the giver of it dies. He who, with his hands, tears off the head of the consecrated animal, or bird, shall be considered equally guilty with him who has slain a Brahman, and shall undergo great sufferings.

"Let not the learned use the axe, before they have invoked it by holy texts, which have been mentioned heretofore, and framed by the learned for the occasion; let those I now tell you, be joined to them and the axe invoked, and particularly so, where the sacrifice is to be made to the Goddesses Durga and Camachya."

"Let the sacrificer repeat the word Kali twice, then the words '*Devi Bajreswari, the Lawha Dandayai, Namah!*' which words may be rendered *'Hail! Cali, Cali! Hail! Devi! goddess of thunder, Hail Iron sceptered Goddess!*' Let him then take the axe in his hand, and again invoke the flame by the Calratriya text as follows:

"Let the sacrificer say: '*Hrang Hring. Cali, Cali.'* O horrid toothed Goddess: eat, cut, destroy all the malignant, cut with this axe, bind; seize; drink blood; *spheng* secure, Salutations to Cali." Thus ends the Calratriya Mantra."

"The Charge (the axe) being invoked by this text called the Calratriya Mantra, Calratri (the Goddess of darkness) herself presides over the axe uplifted for the destruction of the sacrificer's enemies."

"The sacrificers must make use of all the tests directed previous to the sacrifice, and also of the following, addressing himself to the victim."

"Beasts were created by the self existing, himself to be immolated at sacrifices. I therefore immolate thee, without incurring any sin in depriving thee of life."

"Let the sacrificer then name the Deity to whom the sacrifice is made, and the purpose for which it is performed; and by the above text immolate the victim, whose face is to be towards the north, or else let the sacrificer turn his own face to the north, and the victim's to the east; Having immolated the victim, let him without fail mix salt &c., as before mentioned with the blood."

"The vessel in which the blood is to be presented, is to be according to the circumstances of the offerer, of gold, silver, copper, brass, or leaves sewed together, or of earth, or of *tutenague,* or of any of the species of wood used in sacrifices."

"Let it not be presented in an iron vessel, nor in one made of the hide of an animal, or the bark of tree; nor in a pewter, tin, or leaden vessel. Let not the blood be represented in the holy vessel named Srub and Sruch, nor on the ground. Let it not be presented in the Ghata (i.e. an earthern-jar always used in other religious ceremonies). Let it not be presented by pouring it on the ground, or into any of the vessels used at other times for offering food to the Deity, Let not the good man who wishes for prosperity, offer the blood in any of these vessels. Human blood must always be presented in a metallic or earthern vessel; and never on any account in a vessel made of leaves, or similar substance.

"The offering of a horse, except at the Aswamedha sacrifice, is wrong, as also offering an elephant, except at the Gaja Medha; Let therefore the ruler of men observe never to offer them except on those occasions. And on no account whatsoever let him offer them to the Goddess Devi, using the wild bull called Chanrara as a substitute for the horse, when the occasion required one."

"Let not the Brahman ever offer a lion or a tiger, or his own blood, or spirituous liquors to the Goddess Devi. If a Brahmen sacrifices either a lion, a tiger, or a man, he goes to hell, and passes but a short time in this world attended with misery and misfortune."

"If a Brahman offers his own blood, his guilt is equal to that of the slayers of a Brahman; and if he offers spirituous liquors he is no longer a Brahman."

"Let not a Cshectree offer an entelope; if he does, he incurs the guilt of a Brahmin slayer where the sacrifice of lions, or tigers, or of the human species is required, let the three first classes act thus; having formed the image of the lion, tiger, or human shape with butter, paste, or barley meal, let them sacrifice the same as if a living victim, the axe being first invoked by the text Nomo, &c.

"Where the sacrifice of a number of animals is to take place it is sufficient to bring and present two or three to the Deity, which serves as a consecration of the whole. I have now related to you, O Bhairava, in general terms, the ceremonies and forms of sacrifices attend now to the different texts to be used on the several different occasions."

"When a buffalo is presented to Devi, Bhairavee, or Bhairava let the sacrificer use the following Mantra in invoking the victim."

"In the manner that thou destroyest, Horses, in the manner that thou earnest Chandica, destroy my enemies, and bear prosperity to me, O Buffalo!"

"O steed of death, of exquisite and unperishable form, produce me long life and fame. Salutation to thee, o buffalo!"

"Now attend to the particulars relative to the offering of human blood."

"Let a human victim be sacrificed at a place of holy worship, or at a cemetery where dead bodies are burried. Let the oblation be performed in the part of the cemetery called Heruca, which has been already described, or at a temple of Camachya, or on a mountain. Now attend to the mode."

"The cemetery represents me, and is called Bhairava, it has also a part called Tantarange; the cemetery must be divided into these two division, and a third called Heruca."

"The human victim is to be immolated in the east division which is sacred to Bhairava, the head is to be presented in the south division, which is looked upon as the place sculls sacred to Bhairavi, and the blood is to be presented in the west division, which is denominated Heruca."

"Having immolated a human victim, with all the requisite ceremonies at a cemetery or holy place, let the sacrificer be cautious not to cast eyes upon the victim."

"On other occasion also, let not the sacrificer, cast eyes upon the victim immolated, but present the head with eyes averted."

"The victim must be a person of good appearance, and be prepared by ablutions, and requisite ceremonies, such as eating consecrated food the day before, and by abstinance from flesh and venery; and must be adorned with chaplets of flowers and besmeared with sandal wood."

"Then causing the victim to face the north, let the sacrificer worship the several deities presiding over the different parts of the victims body; let the worship be then paid to the victim himself by his name."

"Thus let the sacrificer worship the victim, adding whatever other texts are applicable to the occasion, and have been before mentioned.

"Let not the female, whether quadruped or bird, or a woman be ever sacrificed; the sacrificer of either will indubitably fall into hell, where the victim of either the beasts or birds creation, are very numerous, the immolation of a female is excusable; but this rule does not hold good, as to the human species."

"Let not a Brahman or a Chandala be sacrificed; nor a prince; nor that which has already been presented to a Brahmen, or a deity; nor the offspring of a prince, nor who has conquered in battle; nor

the offspring of a Brahman, or of a Cshettree; nor a childless brother, nor a father, nor a learned person, nor one who is unwilling, nor the maternal uncle of the sacrificer. Those not here named, and animals, and birds of unknown species are unfit. If these named are not forthcoming, let their place be supplied by a male ass or camel. If other animals are forthcoming, the sacrifice of a tiger, camel, or ass must be avoided."

"Having first worshipped the victim, whether human, beast, or bird, as directed, let the sacrificer, immolate him uttering the Mantra directed for the occasion, and address the deity with the text laid down before."

"Let the head and blood of a human victim be presented on the right side of Devi, and the sacrificer address her standing in front. Let the head and blood of birds be presented on the left and the blood of a person's own body in front. Let the ambrosia proceeding from the heads of carnivorous animals and birds be presented on the left hand, as also the blood of all aquatic animals."

"Let the antelope's head and blood, and that of the tortoise, rhinoceros and hare and crocodile, and fish be presented in front." "Let a lion's head and blood, be presented on the right hand, and the rhinoceros's also; let not, on any account, the head or blood of a victim ever be presented behind the Deity, but on the right, left and in front."

"Let the consecrated lamp, be placed either on the right hand, or in front but on no account, on the left. Let incense be burnt on the left, and in front, but not on the right hand. Let perfumes, flowers and ornaments, be presented in front; with respect to the different parts of the circle, where to present the offerings, the mode already laid down may be observed. Let Madira (spirituous liquor) be presented behind other liquids on the left."

"Where it is absolutely necessary to offer spirits, let the three first classes of men supply their place, by coconut juice in a brass vessel, or honey in a copper one. Even in a time of calamity, let not a man of the three first classes, offer spirituous liquor, except that made from flowers, or stewed dishes. Let princes, ministers of state, counsellors, and vendors of spirituous liquors, make human sacrifices, for the purpose of attaining prosperity and wealth."

"If a human sacrifice is performed, without the consent of the prince, the performer incurs sin. In cases of imminent danger or war, sacrifices may be performed at pleasure, by princes themselves and their ministers, but by none else."

"The day previous to a human sacrifice, let the victim be prepared by the text Manastac, and three Devi Gandha Sucthas, and the texts Wadrang; and by touching his head with the axe, and besmearing the axe with sandal &c, perfumes, and then taking some of the sandal, &c, from off the axe, and besmearing the victim's neck therewith."

"Then let the text Ambe Ambica, &c, and the Towdra and Bhairava texts be used, and Devi herself will guard the victim who, when thus purified, malady does not approach him, nor does his mind suffer any derangement from grief and similar causes, nor does the death or birth of a kinsman render him impure."

* * * * *

"Having secured the victim with cords, and also with (Mantras) let him strike off the head, and present it to Devi, with due care. Let him make these sacrifices in proportion to the increase or decrease of his enemies, chopping off the heads of victims for the purpose of bringing destruction on his foes, infusing, by holy texts, the soul of the enemy into the body of the victim, which will when immolated, deprive the foe of life also."

"The blood must be drawn for the express purpose of an oblation, and from a man pure in body and mind, and free from fear; it must be caught in the petal of lotus and presented. It may be presented in a gold, silver, brass or iron vessel, with the due from, the texts recited."

"The blood, if drawn by incision made with a knife, axe or sangeul, gives pleasure, in proportion to the size of the weapon."

"The sacrificer may present one fourth of the quantity which a lotus petal will contain, but he must not give more on any account; nor cut his body more than is necessary. He who willingly offers the blood of his body and his own flesh, the size of a grain of linseed, Masha, tila, or mudya, with zeal and fervency, obtains what he desires in the course of six months."

He who performs sacrifices according to these rules, obtains, his wishes to the utmost extent."

* * * * *

This is the Dharma which the Kali Purana preaches.

After centuries of Ahimsa ordained by Manu here is Himsa in full blast sanctioned by the Tantras in its worst and all inclusive form—

animal and human Himsa. These Himsa practices preached in the sanguinary chapter of Kali Purana had become quite widespread. As to the revival of animal sacrifice what happens at the Kali Temple in Calcutta furnishes unmistakable proof. That this temple should have become a perfect slaughter house where daily hundreds of goats are sacrificed to appease the Goddess Kali can only be explained by the teachings of the Kali Purana. Today human beings are not sacrificed to the Goddess Kali. But it does not mean that it never happened. On the contrary there is abundant evidence to show that human sacrifice like animal sacrifice was practised as taught by the Kali Purana. Dr. Rajendralal Mitra says[1]:

> "The fact is well known that for a long time the rite (of Human Sacrifice) was common all over Hindustan; and persons are not wanting who suspect that there are still nooks and corners in India, where human victims are occasionally slaughtered for the gratification of the Devi. In old families which belong to the sect of the Vamacharis, and whose ancestors formerly offered human victims at the Durga and the Kali Pujas, a practice still obtains of sacrificing an effigy, in lieu of a living man. The effigy, a foot long, is made of dried milk (khira), and sacrified according to the formula laid down in the Kalika Purana the only addition being a few mantras designed typically to vivify the image. A friend of mine, Babu Hemachandra Ker, Deputy Magistrate of twenty four Pergunnahs and author of an excellent work on the culture of Jute in Bengal informs me that in the eastern districts of Bengal this sacrifice is frequently performed; but the image instead of being slaughtered by a single individual, is cut up simultaneously by all the grown up members of the family, either with separate knives, or with a single knife held jointly by all. This is known by the name of Satruball or "sacrifice of any enemy". The sacrifice, both in the case of Nara Bali and the Satru Bali is performed secretly, generally at midnight. The Satrubali, however, is a distinct rite, apart from the Narabali of the Kalika Purana, and authority for it occurs in the *Vrihannila Tantra,* in which it is said, after performing certain other rites therein described, "a king should sacrifice his enemy (in an effigy) made with dried milk (khira). He should slaughter it himself, looking at it with a fiery glance, striking deep, and dividing it into two with a single stroke. This should be done after infusing life into it by the rite of Prana Pratishtha, and repeating the name of the person to be destroyed. O consort of Mahesa, he doubtless destroys thereby his enemies."

[1]Indo-Aryans Vol. II. pp. 109-111.

Now the important point to note in this connection is that Kali is the wife of Shiva. The question that arises is does Shiva accept animal sacrifice? The answer to this question is that at one time Shiva did live on animal sacrifice. This statement may come as a surprise to the present day worshippers of Shiva. But it is a fact and those who need any evidence in support of it, have only to refer to the Ashvalayan Grihya-Sutra which gives a most elaborate description of a bull-sacrifice for the appeasement of Shiva. I give below the actual text from the Ashavalayan Grihya Sutra[1]. This is what it says:

1. "Now the spit-ox (sacrificed to Rudra).
2. In autumn or in spring, under the (Nakshatra) Ardra.
3. The vest of his herd.
4. (An ox) which is neither leprous nor speckled.
5. One with black spots, according to some.
6. If he likes, a black one, if its colour incline to copper-colour.
7. He sprinkles it with water, into which he has thrown rice and barley.
8. From head to tail.
9. With (the formula), 'Grow up, agreeable to Rudra the great god'.
10. He should let it grow up. When it has cut its teeth, or when it has become a bull.
11. To a quarter (of the horizon) which is sacrificially pure.
12. At a place which cannot be seen from the village.
13. After midnight.
14. According to some, after sunrise.
15. Having caused a Brahman who is versed in learning and knows the practice (of this sacrifice), to sit down, having driven a fresh branch with leaves into the ground as a sacrificial post, (having taken) two creeping plants or two kusa ropes as two girdles, and having wound the one round the sacrificial post, and tied the other round the middle of the animal's head, he binds it to the sacrificial post or to the girdle (which he had tied to that post) with (the formula), 'Agreeable to him to whom adoration (is brought), I bind thee'.
16. The sprinkling with water and what follows is the same as at the animal sacrifice.
17. We shall state what is different.
18. Let him sacrifice the omentum with the Patri or with a leaf-thus it is understood (in the Sruti).

[1]S. B. of East. Vol. XXIX p. 255-259 (Max-Muller).

19. With (the formula), 'To Hara, Mrida, Sarva, Siva, Bhava, Mahadeva, Ugra, Bhima, Pasu-pati, Rudra, Sankara, Isana svaha'!
20. Or with the last six (parts of that formula).
21. Or with (the formula), 'To Rudra svaha'!
22. Let him make Bali offerings towards the four quarters (of the horizon, to each on four rings of Kusa net-work, with the formulas), 'The hosts, Rudra, which thou hast towards the estern direction, to them this (offering is brought). Adoration to thee! Do no harm to me ! 'In this way the assigning (of the offerings is performed) according to the different quarters (of the horizon).
23. With the following four hymns he should worship the four quarters, viz., 'what shall we do Rudra,' 'These prayers to Rudra,' 'To thee, O father,' 'These songs to Rudra with the strong bow.' (Rig-Veda I,43, 114; II, 33; VII, 46).
24. (This) worship to the quarters (of the horizon (is performed) at all sacrifices to Rudra.
25. The husks and chaff (of the rice), the tail, the skin, the head, the feet (of the sacrificial animal) he should throw into the fire.
26. He should turn the skin to some use according to Samvatya.
27. To the north of the fire, on rows of Darbha grass, or on rings of Kusa network, he should pour out the blood (of the sacrificial animal) with (the formula) 'Hissing ones! Noisy ones! Searching ones ! Seizing ones ! Serpents ! What here belongs to you, take that.'
28. Then, turning to the north (he assigns it) to the serpents (in the words) 'Hissing ones! What here belongs to you take that'.

    Then the serpents take whatever has flowed down there of blood or of the contents of stomach and entrails.
29. All names, all hosts, all exaltations belong to him—to a sacrificer who knows that, he gives joy.
30. Even to a man who only with words sets forth (some part) of that (ceremony), he will do no harm; thus it is understood (in the Sruti).
31. He should not partake of that (sacrifice).
32. They should not take anything belonging to it into the village. For this God will do harm to (human) creatures.
33. He should keep away his people from the vicinity (of the place where he has sacrificed).
34. On an express injunction, however, he should partake (of that sacrificial food) for it will bring luck.
35. This split-ox sacrifice procures wealth, (open) space, purity, sons, cattle, long life, splendour.
36. After he has sacrificed, he should let loose another (animal).

37. He should not be without such an animal.
38. Then he will not be without cattle—thus it is understood (in the Sruti).
39. Muttering the Santatiya hymn, he should go to his house.
40. If disease befalls his cattle, he should sacrifice to that same God in the midst of his cow-stable.
41. A mess of cooked food, which he sacrificed in its entirety.
42. Having thrown the sacrificial grass and the Agya into the fire, he should lead his cows through the smoke.
43. Murmuring the Santatiya hymn, he should go in the midst of his cattle.
44. Adoration to Saunaka; Adoration to Saunaka!"

Today Shiva does not accept animal sacrifice. This change in the form of worship of Shiva is the result of the acceptance by the principle of Ahimsa. Having changed from *himsa* to *Ahimsa* the Brahmans changed Shiva from a *Himsak* God to an *Ahimsak* God. The cult of Kali has come into being long after Shiva had become an Ahimsak God. Never the less Kali his wife was made an himsak Goddess. The result is that we have a cruel contrast of a bloodless god having a blood-thirsty Goddess as his wife. Isn't it a riddle? Why did the Brahmins do such a thing?

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APPENDIX I

THE RIDDLE OF THE VEDAS

The Vedas are the sacred Books of the Hindus. There are several questions that arise in connection with them. What is their origin, who is their author, what is their authority, these are some of them (questions).

To begin with the first. According to the Hindus they are *Sanatana* which means that they are "eternally pre-existing". There is no justification for this view unless it be based upon a statement which occurs in the Atharva-Veda. It says[1]:

"From Time the Rig verses sprang; the Yajus sprang from Time". But there are other views quite opposed to this.

Starting from the Atharva-Veda it must be noted that besides this view there are two other views propounded in that Veda. The first of these is not very intelligent and may be given in its own language which runs as follows[2]:

"Declare who that Skambha (supporting principle) is in whom the primeval rishis, the rich, saman, and yajush, the earth, and the one rishi, are sustained .... 20. Declare who is that Skambha from whom they cut off the rich verses, from whom they scraped off the yajush, of whom the saman verses are the hairs and the verses of Atharvan and Angiras the mouth".

The second explanation given in the Atharva-Veda is that the Vedas sprang from Indra[3].

Explanation of the Rig-Veda is to be found in the Purusha-Sukta. According to it there was a universal sacrifice in which the victim was the mystical being called Purusha and it is out of the sacrifice of this

[1] Atharva-Veda XIX 54, 3.

[2] Quoted in Muir's Sanskrit Texts vol. III, p. 3.

[3] Quoted in Muir Sanskrit Texts, p.

This is a consolidated chapter on the Riddle of the Vedas dealing with most of the subjects discussed by the author in the earlier chapter Nos. 2 to 6 of this book. In all there are 61 typed pages bearing no corrections at all. This copy is a typed carbon copy.—Ed.

Purusha that the three Vedas namely Rig, Saman and Yajur came into being.

The Sam-Veda and the Yajur-Veda make no reference to the origin of the Vedas.

Proceeding to the writings called Brahmanas we find attempts to explain the origin of the Vedas in the Satapatha Brahmana, the Taitteriya Brahmana, Aitareya Brahmana and Kaushitaki Brahmana.

The Satapatha Brahmana has a variety of explanations. It attributes the origin of the Vedas to Prajapati. According to it Prajapati by his austerity created three worlds—Earth, Air and Sky. He infused warmth into these three worlds. From them, thus heated, three lights were produced,— Agni (fire), Vayu (wind) and Surya (the sun). From them so heated the three Vedas were produced,- the Rig-Veda from Agni, the Yajur-Veda from Vayu and Sam-Veda from the Sun.

This is also the explanation given by the Aitereya and the Kaushitaki Brahmana.

The Satapatha Brahmana gives another variant[1] of this explanation of the origin of the Veda from Prajapati. The explanation is that Prajapati created the Vedas from waters. Says the Satapatha Brahmana—

> "This Male Prajapati, desired, 'May I multiply, may I be propagated'. He toiled in devotion he practised austere-fervour. Having done so he first of all created sacred knowledge, the triple Vedic science. This became a basis for him. Wherefore men say, 'sacred knowledge is the basis of this universe.' Hence after studying the Veda a man has a standing ground: for sacred knowledge is his foundation. Resting on this basis he (Prajapati) practised austere fervour. 9. He created the waters from Vach (speech), as their world. Vach was his; she was created. She pervaded all this whatever exists. As she pervaded (apnot), waters were called 'apah'. As she covered (avrinot) all, water was called 'var'. 10. He desired, 'May I be propagated from these waters.' Along with this triple Vedic science he entered the waters. Thence sprang an egg. He gave it an impulse; and said, 'let there be, let there be, let there be again'. Thence was first created sacred knowledge, the triple Vedic science. Wherefore men say, 'Sacred knowledge is the first-born thing in this universe. Moreover, it was sacred knowledge which was created from that Male in front, wherefore it was created as his mouth. Hence they say of a man learned in the Veda, He is like Agni; for the sacred knowledge is Agni's mouth?".

[1] Muir Sanskrit Texts. III p. 8.

> "As from a fire made of moist wood various modifications of smoke proceed, so is the breathing of this great being; the Rig-Veda, the Yajur-veda, the Sama-veda, the Atharv-angirases, the Itihasas, Puranas, science, the Upanishads, verses (slokas), aphorisms, comments of different kings—all these are his breathings".

There is a third explanation[1] given in the Satapatha Brahmana:

> "I settle thee in the ocean as they seat" Mind is the ocean. From the mind-ocean with speech for a shovel the gods dug out the triple Vedic science. Hence this verse has been uttered: 'May the brilliant deity to-day know where they placed that offering which the gods dug out with sharp shovels. Mind is the ocean; speech is the sharp shovel; the triple Vedic science is the offering. In reference to this the verse has been uttered. He settles it in Mind".

The Taitteriya-Brahmana has three explanations to offer. It speaks of the Vedas as being derived from Prajapati. It also says Prajapati created King Soma and after him the three Vedas were created[2]. This Brahmana has another explanation[3] quite unconnected with Prajapati. According to it:

> "Vach (speech) is an imperishable thing, and the first-born of the ceremonial, the mother of the Vedas, and the centre-point of immortality. Delighting in us, she came to the sacrifice. May the protecting goddess be ready to listen to my invocation, she whom the wise rishis, the composers of hymns, the gods, sought by austere-fervour, and by laborious devotion."

To crown all this the Taitteriya Brahmana offers a third explanation. It says that the Vedas came from the beard of Prajapati.

Legends regarding the origin of the Vedas are also to be found in the Upanishads.

The legend recorded in the Chhandogya Upanishad is the same as that found in the Satapatha Brahmana—namely that the Rig-Veda originated from Agni, Yajus from Vayu and Sam from the Sun.

The Brahad Aranyaka Upanishad which is a part of the Satapatha Brahmana, records quite a different legend. It says:

> "Prajapati (identified with Death, or the Devourer) is said to have produced Vach (speech), and through her, together with soul, to have created all things, including the Vedas."

> "By that speech and that soul he created all things whatsoever, rich, yajush, and saman texts, metres, sacrifices, creatures, and animals. The three Vedas are (identifiable with) these three things (speech, mind and breath). Speech is the Rig-veda, mind the Yajur-veda, and breath the Sama-veda."

[1] Muir I pp. 9-10.

[2] *Muir* I p. 8.

[3] *Ibid.* I p. 10.

Coming to the Smritis there are two theories as to the origin of the Vedas to be found in the Manu Smriti. In one place it is said that the Vedas were created by Brahma:

> "He (Brahma) in the beginning fashioned from the worlds of the Veda the several names, functions and separate conditions of all (creatures). That Lord also created the subtle host of active and living deities, and of Sadhyas, and eternal sacrifice, he drew forth from Agni, from Vayu, and from Surya, the triple eternal Veda, distinguished as Rich, Yajush, and Saman."

In another place he seems to accept the story of Prajapati being the originator of the Vedas as would be evident from the following:

> "Prajapati also milked out of the three Vedas the letters *a, u* and *m,* together with the words *bhuh, bhuvah* and *svar*. The same supreme Prajapati also milked from each of the three Vedas one of the (three) portions of the text called *savitri* (or gayatri), beginning with the word *tat* …….. The three great imperishable particles (*bhuh, bhuvah, svar*) preceded by *om,* and the *gayatri* of three lines, are to be regarded as the mouth of Brahma".

It is also interesting to note what the Puranas have to say about the origin of the Vedas. The Vishnu Purana says:

> "From his eastern mouth Brahma formed the *gayatri,* the rich verses, the *trivrit,* the *samarathantara,* and of sacrifices, the *agnishtoma*. From his southern mouth he created the yajush verses the *trishtubh* metre, the *panchadasa stome,* the *vrihat-saman* and the *ukthya*. From his western mouth he formed the *saman* verses, the *jagati metre,* the *saptadasa-stome,* the *vairupa,* and the *atiratra*. From his northern mouth he framed the *ekavinsa,* the *atharvan,* the *aptoryaman,* with the *annushtubh* and *biraj metres."*

The Bhagvat Purana says:

> "Once the Vedas sprang from the four-faced creator, as he was meditating 'how shall I create the aggregate world as before?' …… He formed from his eastern and other mouths the Vedas called *rich, yajush, saman,* and *atharvan,* together with praise, sacrifice, hymns, and expiration".

The Markandeya Purana says :

> "From the eastern mouth of Brahma, who sprang by an imperceptible birth from that divided egg, there suddenly issued first of all the *Rich* verses, 2. resembling China roses, brilliant in appearance, internally united, though separated from each other, and characterized by the quality of passion (*rajas*). *3.* From his southern mouth came, unrestrained, the *Yajush* verses of the colour of gold, and disunited. 4. From the western mouth of the supreme

Brahma appeared the *Saman* verses and the metres. 5 and 6. From the northern mouth of the Vedas (Brahma) was manifested the entire Atharvana of the colour of black bees and collyrium, having a character at once terrible and not terrible, capable of neutralising the arts of enchanter pleasant, characterized by the qualities both of purity and darkness, and both beautiful and the contrary. The verses of the *Rich* are distinguished by the quality of passion (*rajas*), those of the *Yajush* by purity (*satva*) those of the *Saman* by darkness (*tamas*), and those of the *Atharvan* by both darkness and purity."

The Harivamsa supports both theories that of Brahma and Prajapati:

"For the emancipation of the world, Brahma, sunk in contemplation, issuing in a luminous form from the region of the moon, penetrated into the heart of Gayatri, entering between her eyes. From her there was then produced a quadruple being in the form of a Male, lustrous as Brahma, undefined, eternal, undecaying devoid of bodily senses or qualities, distinguished by the attribute of brilliancy, pure as the rays of the moon, radiant, and emboidied in letters. The god fashioned the Rigveda, with the Yajush from his eyes, the Sama-veda from the tip of his tongue, and the Atharvan from his head. These Vedas, as soon as they are born, find a body (kshetra). Hence they obtain their character of Vedas, because they find (vindanti) that abode. These Vedas then create the pre-existent eternal brahma (sacred science), a Male of celestial form, with their own mind-born qualities".

It also accepts Prajapati as the origin. It says that when the Supreme being was intent on creating the Universe, Hiranyagarbha, or Prajapati, issued from his mouth, and was desired to divide himself—a process which he was in great doubt how he should effect; the Harivamsa proceeds:

"While he was thus reflecting, the sound 'om' issued from him, and resounded through the earth, air, and sky. While the god of gods was again and again repeating this, the essence of mind, the vashatkara proceeded from his heart. Next, the sacred and transcendent *vyahritis,* (*bhuh, bhuvah, svar*), formed of the great smiriti, in the form of sound, were produced from earth, air, and sky. Then appeared the goddess, the most excellent of metres, with twenty-four syllables (*the gayatri*). Reflecting on the divine text (beginning with) "tax", the Lord formed the *savitri*. He then produced all the Vedas, the *Rich. Saman, Atharvan,* and *Yajush,* with their prayers and rites."

Here we have eleven different explanations regarding the origin of the Vedas—(1) as originating from the mystical sacrifice of Purusha, (2) as resting on Skambha (3) as cut of scrapped off from him, as being his hair, and his mouth, (4) as springing from Indra, (5) as produced from Time, (6) as produced from Agni, Vayu and Surya, (7) as springing from Prajapati, and the Waters, (8) as being the breath of Brahma, (9) as being dug by the Gods out of the mind-ocean, (10) as being the hair of Prajapati's beard and (11) as being the Offspring of Vach.

This bewildering multiplicity of answers to a simple question is a riddle. The writers who have come forward to furnish these answers are all Brahmins. They belong to the same Vaidic School of thought. They alone were the guardians of the ancient religious lore. Why should such a coherent body of scholars should have given such incoherent and chaotic answers to a very simple question?

II

Who is the author of the Vedas? The belief of the Hindus is that the Vedas are supernatural productions. To use the technical term the Vedas are *Apaurusheya* i.e. made by a non-human agency.

What is the evidence in support of this dogma? Among the Ancient Sanskrit literature there is a class of works called *Anukramanis*. They are systematic indices to various portions of the Ancient Vedic literature. Every Veda has an Anukramani, sometimes more than one Anukramani. Seven Anukramanis for the Rig-Veda are known to be in existence, five by Shaunaka, one by Katyayana and one by an unknown author. For the Yajur-Veda there exist three Anukramanis, one for each of the three Shakhas, Atreyi, Charayaniyas, and Madhyandina. For the Sam-Veda there are two Anukramanis, one is called Arsheya-Brahmana and the other is known by the name Parishistas. One Anukramani to the Atharya-Veda is known to exist. Its title is Brihat-Sarvanukramani.

The most perfect Anukramani according to Prof. Max-Muller is Katyayana's Sarvanukramani to the Rig-Veda. Its importance lies in the fact that it gives (1) the first words of each hymn, (2) the number of verses, (3) the name and the family of the Rishi who composed it, (4) the names of the deities and (5) the metres of every verse. What emerges from a reference to the Sarvanukramani is that the Rishis are the Authors of the hymns which make up the Rig-Veda. The Rig-Veda therefore on the evidence of the Anukramani cannot but be regarded as a man-made work. The same must be the conclusion regarding the other Vedas.

That the Anukramanis are realistic is proved by many passages in the Rig-Veda in which the Rishis describe themselves as the composers of the hymns.

Below are given a few of such passages:

"The Kanvas make a prayer to you; hear well their invocations."

"Thus, O Indra, yoker of steeds, have the Gotamas made hymns for thee efficaciously."

"This hymn has efficaciously been made to you, O opulent Asvins, by the Manas."

"These magnifying prayers, (this) hymn, O Asvins, the Gritsamadas have made for you."

"Aspiring to heaven, the sage Kusikas have made a hymn with praises to thee, O Indra."

"Nodhas, descendant of Gotama, fashioned this new hymn for (thee), Indra, who art of old, and who yokest thy steeds."

"Thus, O hero, have the Gritsamadas, desiring succour, fashioned for thee a hymn, as men make works."

"The sages generated an efficacious production and a prayer of Indra."

"These hymns, Agni, generated for thee, celebrate thy bounty in cows and horses."

"Our father hath discovered (or invented) this great, seven-headed hymn, born of sacred truth; Ayasya, friend of all men, celebrating Indra, has generated the fourth song of praise."

"We, the Rahuganas, have uttered to Agni honied speech; we incessantly laud him with eulogies."

"Thus, all ye Adityas, Aditi, and ye ruling powers, has the wise son of Plati magnified you. The celestial race has been lauded by the immortal Gaya."

"He it is whom they call a rishi, a priest, a pious sacrificer, a chaunter of prayers, a reciter of hymns; he it is who knows the three bodies of the brilliant (Agni),—the man who is most prominent in bestowing gifts."

Apart from the evidence of the Anukramanis there is another sort of evidence which mistakes against the theory of the Vedas being Apaurushya. The Rishis themselves have treated the Vedas as a human and as a historical product. The hymns of Rig-Veda distinguish between ancient and modern Rishis. Here are a few of them:

"Agni, who is worthy to be celebrated by former, as well as modern rishis, will bring the gods hither."

"The former rishis who invoked thee for succour."

"Hear the hymn of me this modern sage, of this modern (sage)."

"Indra, as thou hast been like a joy to former worshippers who praised thee, like waters to the thirsty, I invoke thee again and again with this hymn."

"The ancient rishis, resplendent and sage, have placed in front of them (Brihaspati) with gladdening tongue".

"Neither the ancients nor later men, nor any modern man, has attained to (conceive) thy prowess, O Madhavan."

"As (Indra's) former worshippers were (may we be) blameless, irreproachable, and unharmed."

"For now, O energetic god, men are thy worshippers, as the ancients born of old and the men of the middle and later ages have been thy friends. And, O much-invoked, think of the most recent of all".

"To Him (Indra) our ancient fathers, the seven Navagva sages, desiring food, (resorted) with their hymns."

"Glorified by our newest hymn, do thou bring to us wealth and food with progeny."

A close study of the Rig-Veda will show that the Rig-Veda itself makes a distinction between old hymns and new hymns. Some of them are given below:

"Glorified by our newest hymn, do thou bring to us wealth and food with progeny."

"Agni, thou hast announced (or do thou announce) among the gods this our offering, our newest hymn".

"Through our new hymns, do thou, vigorous in action, destroyer of cities, sustain us with invigorating blessings."

"I bring to Agni, the son of strength, a new and energetic hymn, a production of thought uttered by the voice (vachah)".

"I present to the mighty protector a mental production, a new utterance (now) springing up".

"May the new prayer impel thee, the heroic, well-accounted; the loud-thundering to succour us."

"I seek life, the ancients, to stimulate thee the ancients, with a new hymn."

"May the new hymns made to praise you, may these prayers gratify you."

"Sing, O Sobhari, with a new hymn to these youthful, vigorous, and brilliant (gods)."

"Indra, slayer of Vrittra, thunderer, invoked of many, we (thy) numerous (worshippers) bring to thee, as thy hire, hymns which never before existed."

"I will address to this ancient (deity) my new praised, which he desires; may he listen to us."

"Desiring horses, cattle and wealth, we invoke thee to approach us."

Given this abundance of evidence to prove the human origin of the Vedas it is a riddle to find that the Brahmins should so strenuously propagate so extravagent view that the Vedas are of supernatural origin. What made the Brahmins propagate such a view?

III

What is the authority of the Vedas? With regard to this there prevail two distinct dogmas amongst the Hindus. The first is that the Vedas are eternal. Stopping to examine this dogma the question is what justification is there for such a view? If the Hindus believed that the Vedas were the most ancient works in the world no one can have any quarrel with them. But there is nothing to justify the extraordinary proposition that they are eternal in the sense that they had no beginning in time. Once it is established that the Rishis are the makers of the Vedas it needs no additional proof to establish that the Vedas have a beginning in time which must coincide with the existence of the Rishis. Given that the Rishis are the authors of the Vedas the dogma as to their eternal character is an absurdity.

The dogma is sought to be sustained by a series of reasoning which is no less absurd.

In the first place let it be noted that this dogma does not rest on the ground that the Vedas are created by God. That was the view of one school of philosophers called Naiyayiks. But strange as it may appear Jaimini the author of the Purva Mimansa whose views on this subject have become the dogmas of the Hindus was not prepared to accept this ground. The following quotation from the Mimansakas is worthy of note:

"But (asks the Mimansaka) how can the Veda have been uttered by the incorporeal Paramesvara (God), who has no palate or other organs of speech, and therefore cannot be conceived to have pronounced the letters (of which it is composed)? This object (answers the Naiyayika) is not happy, because, though Parameshvara is by nature incorporeal, he can yet, by way of sport, assume a body, in order to show kindness to his devoted worshippers. Consequently the arguments in favour of the doctrine that the Veda had no personal author are inconducive.

"I shall now (says the Mimansaka) clear up all these difficulties. What is meant by this Paurusheyatva ('derivation from a personal author') which it is sought to prove? Is it (1) mere procession from a person (purusha) like the procession of the Veda from persons such as ourselves, when we daily utter it? or (2) is it the arrangement—with a view to its manifestation—of knowledge acquired by other modes of proof, in the sense in which persons like ourselves compose a treatise? If the first meaning be intended, there will be no dispute. If the second sense be meant, I ask whether the Veda is proved (to be authoritative) in virtue (*a*) of its being founded on inference, or (*b*) of its being founded on supernatural information? The former alternative (*a*) (i.e. That the Veda derives its authority from being founded on inference) cannot be correct, since this theory breaks down, if it be applied to the sentences of the Malati Madhava or any other secular poem (which may contain inferences destitute of authority). If, on the other hand, you say (*b*) that the contents of the Veda are distinguished from those of other books having authority, this explanation also will fail to satisfy a philosopher. For the word of the Veda is (defined to be) a word which proves things that are not provable by any other evidence. Now if it could be established that this Vedic word did nothing more than prove things that are provable by other evidence, we should be involved in the same sort of contradiction as if a man were to say that his mother was a barren woman. And even if a man were conceded that (in that case) he should perceive things beyond the reach of the senses, from the want of any means of apprehending objects removed from him in place, in time, and in nature. Nor is it to be thought that his eyes and other senses alone would have the power of producing such knowledge since men can only attain to conceptions, corresponding with what they have perceived. This is what has been said by the Guru (Prabhakara) when he refutes (this supposition of) an omniscient author: 'Whenever any object is perceived (by the organ of sight) in its most perfect exercise, such perception can only have reference to the vision of something very distant or very minute, since no organ can go beyond its own proper objects, as e.g. the ear can never become cognizant of form. Hence the authority of the Veda does not arise in virtue of any supernatural information (acquired by the Deity) in a corporeal shape."

What is then the reasoning on which this dogma of the eternity of the Veda is founded? The reasoning can be best appreciated if I give it in the very words of Jaimini's Purva Mimansa.

"In the preceding aphorism it was declared that the connection of words and their meanings is eternal. Desiring now to prove that this (eternity of connection) is dependent on the eternity of words (or sound), he begins by setting forth the first side of the question, viz., the doctrine of those who maintain that sound is not eternal."

"Some, i.e. the followers of the Nyaya philosophy, say that sound is a product, because we see that it is the result of effort, which it would not be if it were eternal."

"That it is not eternal, on account of its transitoriness, i.e. because after a moment it ceases to be perceived."

"Because, we employ in reference to it the expression 'making', i.e. we speak of 'making' a sound".

"Because it is perceived by different persons at once, and is consequently in immediate contact with the organs of sense of those both far and near, which it could not be if it were one and eternal".

"Because sounds have both an original and a modified form; as e.g. in the case of dadhi atra, which is changed into dadhya atra, the original letter being altered into by the rules of permutation. Now, no substance which undergoes a change is eternal. Because sound is augmented by the number of those who make it. Consequently the opinion of the Mimansaka, who say that sound is merely manifested, and not created, by human effort, is wrong, since even a thousand manifesters do not increase the object which they manifest, as a jar is not made larger by a thousand lamps."

These objections against the Mimansaka theory that sound is manifested, and not created, by those who utter it, are answered in the following Sutras:

"But, according to both schools, viz., that which holds sound to be created, and that which regards it as merely manifested, the perception of it is alike momentary. But of these two views, the theory of manifestation is shown in the next aphorism to be the correct one." The non-perception at any particular time, of sound, which, in reality, perpetually exists, arises from the fact that the utterer of sound has not come into contact with his object, i.e. sound. Sound is eternal, because we recognise the letter k, for instance, to be the same sound which we have always heard, and because it is the simplest method of accounting for the phenomenon to suppose that it is the same. The still atmosphere which interferes with the perception of sound, is removed by the conjunctions and disjunctions of air issuing from a speaker's mouth, and thus sound (which always exists though unperceived) becomes perceptible. This is the reply to the objection of its 'transitoriness'."

"The word 'making' sounds, merely means implying or uttering them".

"One sound is simultaneously heard by different persons, just as one Sun is seen by them at one and the same time. Sound, like the Sun, is a vast, and not a minute object, and thus may be perceptible by different persons, though remote from one another."

"The letter *y,* which is substituted for *i* in the instance referred to under Sutra 10, is not a modification of *i,* but a distinct letter. Consequently sound is not modified."

"It is an increase of 'noise', not of sound, that is occasioned by a multitude of speakers. The word 'noise' refers to the 'conjunctions' and 'disjunctions' of the air which enter simultaneously into the hearer's ear from different quarters; and it is of these that an increase takes place".

"Sound must be eternal, because its utterance is fitted to convey a meaning to other persons. If it were not eternal (or abiding), it would not continue till the hearer had learned its sense, and thus he would not learn the sense, because the cause had ceased to exist."

"Sound is eternal, because it is in every case correctly and uniformly recognized by many persons simultaneously; and it is inconceivable that they should all at once fall into a mistake".

"When the word go (cow) has been repeated ten times, the hearers will say that the word Go has been ten times pronounced, not that ten words having the sound of Go have been uttered; and this fact also is adduced as a proof of the eternity of sound in Sutra 20".

"Because each sound is not numerically different from itself repeated."

"Sound is eternal, because we have no ground for anticipating its destruction."

"But it may be urged that sound is a modification of air, since it arises from its conjunctions, and because the Siksha (or Vedanga treating of pronunciation) says that 'air arrives at the condition of sound' and as it is thus produced from air, it cannot be eternal". A reply to this difficulty is given in Sutra 22—

"Sound is not a modification of air, because, if it were, the organ of hearing would have no appropriate object which it could perceive. No modification of air (held by the Naiyayikas to be tangible) could be perceived by the organ of hearing, which deals only with intangible sound".

"And the eternity of sound is established by the argument discoverable in the vedic text, 'with an eternal voice, O Virupa'.

Now, though this sentence had another object in view, it, nevertheless, declares the eternity of language, and hence sound is eternal".

Reduced to simple syllogism the sound is eternal, the words of the Vedas are sound, therefore words of the Vedas are eternal. Absurdity in reasoning cannot go further. The riddle is why did the Brahmins propound this doctrine of the eternity of the Vedas? Why did the Brahmins adopt such an absurd reasoning in support of their doctrine? Why did the Brahmins refuse to accept the view that the Vedas were the word of God?

The second dogma relating to the authority of the Vedas is that they are not only sacred but they are also infallible.

It is difficult to understand why the Brahmins endeavoured to invest the Vedas with infallibility?

There is no law in the Vedas in the strict sense of the term law.

The Vedas do not preach Dharma in the sense of morality. The three following extracts from the Vedas can hardly be said to be consonant with morality.

"(Yami speaks). I invite my friend to friendship, having come o'er the vast and desert ocean; may Vedhas, after reflecting, place in the earth the offspring (of thee) the father, endowed with excellent qualities".

"(Yama speaks). Thy friend desires not this friendship, for although of one origin, she is of a different form; the hero sons of the great Asura (are) the upholders of heaven, enjoying vast renown."

"(Yami speaks). The immortals take pleasure in (a union) like this which is forbidden to every mortal; let thy mind then concur with mine, and as the progenitor (of all) was the husband (of his daughter), do thou enjoy my person."

"(Yama speaks). We have not done what was done formerly; for how can we who speak truth, utter now that which is untrue? Gandharva (the Sun) was in the watery (firmament), and the water was his bride. She is our common parent, hence our near affinity."

"(Yami speaks). The divine omniform generator Twashtri, the progenitor, made us two, husband and wife, even in the womb; none frustrate his undertaking; earth and heaven are conscious of this our (union)."

"(Yama speaks). Who knows anything of this (his) first day (of existence)? Who has beheld it? Who has here revealed it? The dwelling of Mitra and of Varuna is vast. What saysest thou, who punishest men with hell?"

"(Yami speaks). The desire of Yama hath approached me Yami, to lie with him in the same bed; I will abandon my person as a wife to her husband; let us exert ourselves in union like the two wheels of a waggon."

"(Yama speaks). The spies of the Gods, which wander upon earth, never stop, never close their eyes. Associate quickly, destructress, with some other than with me, and exert yourselves in union, like the two wheels of a waggon."

"(Yami speaks). To him (Yama) let every worshipper sacrifice both day and night, on him let the eye of the Sun repeatedly rise; (for him may) the kindred pair (day and night unite) with heaven and earth. Yami will adhere to the non-affinity of Yama".

"(Yama speaks). The subsequent ages will come, when sisters will choose one who is not a brother (as a husband); therefore, auspicious one, choose another husband that me, and make thine arm a pillow for thy mate."

"(Yami speaks). Is he a brother whose sister has no lord? Is she a sister (whose brother) misfortune approaches? Overcome by desire, I strongly urge this one request; unite thy person with mine."

"(Yama speaks). I will not unite my person with thine; they call him who approaches a sister, a sinner. Enjoy pleasure with some other than me; thy brother, auspicious one, has no such desire."

"(Yami speaks). Alas, Yama, thou art feeble; we understand not thy mind or thy heart. Some other female embraces thee as a girth a horse, or as a creeper a tree."

"(Yama speaks). Do thou, Yami, embrace another; and let another embrace thee as a creeper a tree; seek his affection, let him seek thine; and make a happy union".

"May Agni, the destroyer of the Rakshasas consenting to our prayer, drive hence (the evil spirit) who (in the form of) sickness assails thine embryo, who, as the disease durnaman, assails thy womb."

"May Agni, concurring in our prayer, destroy the cannibal who is sickness, assails thine embryo, who as the disease durnaman, assails thy womb."

"May we exterminate from hence (the evil spirit) who destroys the impregnating energy, the germ as it settles, the moving embryo, who seeks to destroy (the babe) when born."

"May we exterminate from hence (the evil spirit) who separate thy thighs, who lies between husband and wife, who, entering thy womb, devours (the seed)."

"May we exterminate from hence (the evil spirit), who in the form of brother, husband, or paramour, approaches thee, and seeks to destroy thy offspring."

"May we exterminate from hence (the evil spirit) who, having beguiled thee by sleep or darkness, approaches thee, and seeks to destroy thy offspring."

The Vedas contain two things. In the first place they contain the hopes and wishes of the Aryans as expressed by the Rishis. As observed by Mr. Muir:

"The whole character of these compositions, and the circumstances under which, from internal evidence, they appear to have arisen, are in harmony with the supposition that they were nothing more than the natural expression of the personal hopes and feelings of those ancient bards by whom they were first recited. In these songs the Aryan sages celebrated the praises of their ancestral gods (while at the same time they sought to conciliate their goodwill by a variety of oblations supposed to be acceptable to them), and besought of them all the blessings which men in general desire— health, wealth, long life, cattle, offspring, victory over their enemies, forgiveness of sin, and in some cases also celestial felicity."

This is also the view of Yaska the author of Nirukta who says:

"(Of the four kinds of verses specified in the preceding section) (*a*) those which address a god as absent, (*b*) those which address him as present, and (*c*) those which address the worshippers as present and the god as absent, are the most numerous, while those (*d*) which refer to the speaker himself are rare. It happens also that a god is praised without any blessing being invoked, as in the hymn (R. V. i. 32). 'I declare the heroic deeds of Indra', etc. Again blessings are invoked without any praise being offered, as in the words, 'May I see well with my eyes, be resplendent in my face, and hear well with my ears'. This frequently occurs in the Adhvaryava (Yajur), and in the sacrificial formula. Then again we find oaths and curses as in the words (R. V. vii. 104, 15), 'May I die to-day, if I am a Yatudhana,' etc. Further, we observe the desire to describe some particular state of things, as in the verse (R. V. x. 129, 2), 'Death was not then, nor immortality,' etc. Then there is lamentation, arising out of a certain state of things, as in the verse (R. V. x. 95, 14), 'The beautiful god will disappear and never return,' etc. Again, we have blame and praise, as in the words (R. V. x. 117, 6), 'The man who eats alone, sins alone, etc. So, too, in the hymn to dice (R. V. x. 34, 13) there is a censure upon dice, and a commendation of agriculture. Thus the objects for which the hymns were seen by the rishis were very various."

SUKTA XII (CLXIII)

The deity is the cure of Phthisis; the Rishi is Vivrihan, the son of Kasyapa; the metre is Anushtubh.

1. I banish disease from thine eyes, from thy head, from thy nose, from thy ears, from thy chin, from thy brain, from thy tongue.
2. I banish disease from thy neck, from thy sinews, from thy bones, from thy joints, from thy upper arms, from thy shoulders, and from thy fore-arms.
3. I banish disease from thine entrails, from thy anus, from thine abdomen, and from thy heart, from thy kidneys, from thy liver, from thy (other viscera).
4. I banish disease from thy thighs, from thy knees, from thy heels, from thy toes, from thy loins, from thy buttocks, from thy private parts.
5. I banish disease from thy urethra, from thy bladder, from thy hair, from thy nails, from thy whole person.
6. I banish disease from each limb, from each hair, from each joint where it is generated, from thy whole person.

As Prof. Wilson observes there is in the Rig-Veda (which is the stock Veda) scarcely any indication of doctrinal or philosophical speculation, no allusion to the later notions of the several schools, nor is there any hint of metempsychosis, or of the doctrine intimately allied to it, of the repeated renovation of the world. The Vedas may be useful as a source of information regarding the social life of the Aryans. As a picture of primitive life it is full of curiosity but there is nothing elevating. There are more vices and a few virtues.

Given the nature and substance of the contents of the Vedas it is a riddle why the Brahmins claimed infallibility for such superstitious writings as the Vedas.

There would have been some justification for this doctrine of infallibility if the Rishis who made the hymns had claimed it for themselves. But it is quite clear that the Rishis have made no such pretentions. On the contrary they have occasionally confessed their ignorance of matters in which they had interest and curiosity. Compare the following utterances of the Rishis as given in the Rig-Veda:

> "Ignorant, not knowing in my mind, I enquire after these hidden abodes of the gods; the sages have stretched out seven threads for a hoof over the yearling calf (or over the sun, the abode of all things).
>
> 6. Not comprehending, I ask those sages who comprehend this matter; unknowing (I ask) that I may know; what is the one thing, in the form of the uncreated one, who has upheld these six worlds?

37. I do not recognize if I am like this; I go on perplexed and bound in mind. When the first born sons of sacrifice (or truth) come to me, then I enjoy a share of that word."

"What was the forest, what the tree, out of which they fashioned heaven and earth, which continue to exist undecaying, whilst days, and many dawns have passed away?

"Which of these two (Heaven and Earth) is the first? Which is the last? How were they produced? Who, o sages, knows?"

"How many fires are there? How many suns ? how many dawns ? How many waters ? I do not, fathers, say this to you in jest; I really ask you, sages, in order that I may know". 5. "There ray (or cord), obliquely extended, was it below, or was it above? There were generative sources, and there were great powers, *svadha* (a self-supporting principle) below, and effort above. 6. Who knows, who hath here declared, whence this creation was produced, whence (it came) ? The gods were subsequent to the creation of this universe; who then knows whence it sprang. 7. When this creation sprang, whether any one formed it or not, he who, in the highest heavens, is the overseer of this universe,— he indeed knows or he does not know."

There are other points with regard to this dogma of infallibility which are noteworthy.

IV

The first point is, is this dogma original or is this a new contention raised at sometime later in the history of India. The general view is that it is the original doctrine. A reference to the Dharma Sutras which are the earliest law books which deal with this subject go to show that this is not a correct view. The Gautama Dharma Sutra lays down the following rule on the question of the infallibility of the vedas.

"The Veda is the source of the sacred law". I.1.

"And the tradition and practice of those who know the (Veda)"— I.2.

"If (authorities) of equal force are conflicting (either may be followed at) pleasure". I.4.

The Vashishta Dharma Sutra propounds the following view:

"The Sacred law has been settled by the revealed texts and by the tradition of the sages" I.4. "On the failure of (rules given in) these (two sources) the practice of Shistas has authority." I.5.

"He whose heart is free from desire (is called) a shista". I.6. The views of Baudhayana are given below:

Prasna 1, Adhyaya 1, Kandika 1.

1. The sacred law is taught in each Veda.
2. We will explain (it) in accordance with that.
3. (The sacred law), taught in the Tradition (Smriti, stands) second.
4. The practice of the Sishtas (stands) third.
5. Sishtas, forsooth, (are those) who are free from envy, free from pride, contented with a store of grain sufficient for ten days, free from covetousness, and free from hypocrisy, arrogance, greed, perplexity, and anger.
6. '(Those are called) Sishtas who, in accordance with the sacred law, have studied the Veda together with its appendages, know how to draw references from that, (and) are above to adduce proofs perceptible by the senses from the revealed texts'.
7. On failure of them, an assembly consisting at least of ten members (shall decide disputed points of law).
8. Now they quote also (the following verses): 'Four men, who each know one of the four Vedas, a Mimansaka, one who knows the Angas, one who recites (the works on) the sacred law, and three brahamanas belonging to (three different) order, (constitute) an assembly consisting, at least of ten members'.
9. 'There may be five, or there may be three, or there may be one blameless man, who decides (questions regarding) the sacred law. But a, thousand fools (can) not (do it).'
10. 'As an elephant made of wood, as an antelope made of leather, such an unlearned Brahmana; those three having nothing but the name (of their kind)'.

The view taken by the Apastamba Dharma Sutra is clear from the following extract from that Sutra:

"Now, therefore, we will declare the acts productive of merit which form part of the customs of daily life". I.1.

"The authority (for these duties) is the agreement (samaya) of these who know the law". I.2.

"And (the authorities for the latter are) the Vedas alone". I.3.

A review of the Dharma Sutras show how this dogma of the infallibility of the Veda is a historical product. It shows that the (1) Veda, (2) Tradition (Smriti), (3) Practice of Sishta and (4) Agreement in an Assembly were the four different authorities about which the controversy as to which of these should be regarded as infallible. It also shows that there was a time when the Vedas were not the sole infallible authorities. That was the time represented by the Dharma Sutras of Vasistha and Baudhayana. It is only in the time of Gautama

that the Vedas came to be regarded as the only authority. There was a time when an agreed decision of the Assembly was admitted as one source of authority. That is the period represented by Baudhayana. Lastly the review shows that there was a time when the Veda was not at all regarded as a book of authority and when the only recognized source of authority was an agreement arrived at in an assembly of the learned. That is the period when Apastamba[1] wrote his Dharma Sutras i.e. somewhere between 600 and 200 B.C.[2]

It is thus obvious that there was a deliberate attempt to invest the Vedas with an infallible authority which they did not at one time possess and the question is what were the circumstances and the motives which led the Brahmins to propagate the sole and final authority of the Vedas.

The second point connected with this subject of infallibility of the Vedas relates to the discrimination made by the Brahmins in limiting the virtue of infallibility to certain Vedic writings only and not extending it to the whole range of them. To understand this point it is necessary to know what is meant by the phrase Vedic literature.

The phrase Vedic literature can be used in two senses. In its limited sense it includes (1) The Samhita, (2) The Brahmanas, (3) Aranyakas, (4) Upanishads and (5) Sutras. When used in an extended sense it includes two other heads (6) Itihasas and (7) Puranas.

The first thing to note is that there was a time when all these writings were classed in the same category, and no distinction was made between them on the basis of revealed and profane or on the basis of supernatural and human or on the basis of authoritative and non-authoritative. This is clear from the view expressed in the Satapatha Brahmana which says:

> "This Male, Prajapati, desired, 'May I multiply, may I be propagated.' He toiled in devotion; he practised austere-fervour. Having done so he first of all created sacred knowledge the triple Vedic science. This became a basis for him. Wherefore men say, sacred knowledge is the basis of this universe.' Hence after studying the veda a man has a standing ground; for sacred knowledge is his foundation. Resting on this basis he (Prajapati) practised austere-fervour. (9) He created the waters from Vach (speech) as their world. Vach was his: She was created. She pervaded all this whatever exists. As she pervaded (apnot) waters were called "apah". As she covered (avrinot) all, water was called 'var'. (10) He desired,

[1] The reference to the Vedas in the Apastamba Dharma Sutras must not be misunderstood. Apastamba does not invest the Vedas with any authority at all. Knowledge of Vedas is made by him as an electoral qualification for membership of the Assembly whose agreed decision is the law and the only law.

[2] This is the period assigned to the Sutras by Prof. Max-Muller. The Apastamba being the oldest.

May I be propagated from these waters. Along with this triple Vedic science he entered the waters. Thence sprang an egg. He gave it an impulse; and said, "Let there be, let there be, let there be again. Thence was first created sacred knowledge, the triple Vedic science. Wherefore men, say, 'Sacred knowledge is the first-born thing in this universe. Moreover, it was sacred knowledge which was created from that Male in front, wherefore it was created as his mouth. Hence they say of a man learned in the Veda,' 'He is like Agni; for sacred knowledge is Agni's Mouth'."

"As from a fire made of moist wood various modifications of smoke proceed, so is the breathing of this great being. The Rig-Veda, the Yajur-veda, the Sama-veda, the Atharvan-girases, the Itihasas, Puranas, science, the Upanishads, verses (slokas), aphorims, comments of different kinds—all these are his breathings."

But when the Brahmans sought to establish their dogma of infallibility they made a distinction and divided the Vedic writings in two classes (1) Shruti and (2) Non-Shruti. In the first division they placed only two of them (1) Sanhitas and (2) the Brahmanas and invested them with infallibility. The rest they declared as non-Shruti therefore of no authority. When this distinction, was first made it is not possible to say. One can well understand why the last two categories were excluded from the Shruti part division of the Vedic literature. They were too elementary and too undeveloped and in all probability included in the Brahmanas.

One can well understand why the Aranyakas are not specifically mentioned as a part of the Shruti. They are part of the Shruti and must be for the simple reason that they are a part of the Brahmanas. The position of the Upanishads is not clear. But if they are not included in the Shruti one can well understand why they were excluded. But the case of the Sutras stands on a different footing. They are definitely excluded from the category of Shruti and for reasons, which it is not possible to comprehend. If there were good reasons for including the Brahmanas in the category of Shruti the same reasons could not fail to justify the inclusion of the Sutras. As Prof. Max Muller observes:

"We can understand how a nation might be led to ascribe a superhuman origin to their ancient national poetry, particularly if that poetry consisted chiefly of prayers and hymns addressed to their gods. But it is different with the prose compositions of the Brahamanas. The reason why the Brahmanas, which are evidently so much more modern than the Mantras, were allowed to participate in

> the name of Sruti, could only have been because it was from these theological compositions, and not from the simple old poetry of the hymns, that a supposed divine authority could be derived for the greater 'number of the ambitious claims of the Brahmans. But, although we need not ascribe any weight to the arguments by which the Brahmans endeavoured to establish the contemporaneous origin of the Mantras and Brahmanas there seems to be no reason why we should reject as equally worthless the general opinion with regard to the more ancient date of both the Brahmanas and Mantras, if contrasted with the Sutras and the profane literature of India. It may easily happen, where there is a cannon of sacred books, that later compositions become incorporated together with more ancient works, as was the case with the Brahmanas. But we can hardly imagine that old and genuine parts should ever have been excluded from a body of sacred writings, and a more modern date ascribed to them, unless it be in the interest of a party to deny the authority of certain doctrines contained in these rejected documents. There is nothing in the later literature of the Sutras to warrant a supposition of this kind. We can find no reason why the Sutras should not have been ranked as Sruti, except the lateness of their date, if compared with the Brahmanas, and still more with the Mantras. Whether the Brahmanas themselves were aware that ages must have elapsed between the period during which most of the poems of their rishis were composed, and the times which gave rise to the Brahmanas, is a question which we need hardly hesitate to answer in the affirmative. But the recklessness with which Indian theologians claim for these Brahmanas the same title and the same age as for the Mantras, shows that the reasons must have been peculiarly strong which deterred them from claiming the same divine authority for the Sutras."

The third point relates to the changes that took place in the scope of the term Shruti and in their infallibility. Manu excludes[1] the "Brahamanas" from the category of Shruti as may be seen from the following extract from his Smriti:

> "By Sruti is meant the Veda, and by Smriti the institutes of law; the contents of these are not to be questioned by reason, since from them (a knowledge of) duty has shown forth. The Brahman who, relying on rationalistic treatises, shall contemn these two primary

[1] some may dispute this on the ground that the word Veda includes 'Brahmana' also. This of course is a fact. But it seems to me that Manu uses the term Shruti in a restricted sense so as to exclude the Brahmanas. This is supported by the fact that there is in the Manu Smriti no reference to the Brahmanas except in one place (iv. 100) where he says that only the Mantra portion need be studied.

sources of knowledge must be excommunicated by the virtuous as a sceptic and reviler of the Vedas .....13. To those who are seeking a knowledge of duty, the Sruti is the supreme authority."

The fourth point relates to the claim put forth in the Puranas for precedence over the Vedas in the order of creation.

The Vayu Purana says[1]:

"First of all the Shastras, the Purana was uttered by Brahma. Subsequently the vedas issued from his mouth".

The Matsya Purana not only claims priority of creation for the Puranas as against the Vedas, but also the qualities of eternity and identity with sound, which was once predicated of the Vedas alone. It says[2]:

"Pitamaha (Brahma), first of all the immortals, took shape; then the Vedas with their Angas and Upangas (appendages and minor appendages), and the various modes of their textual arrangement, were manifested. (3) The Purana, eternal, formed of sound, pure, extending to the length of a hundred crores of verses, was the first of the Sastras which Brahma uttered; and afterwards the Vedas, issued from his mouth; and also the Mimansa and the Nyaya with its eightfold system of proofs. (5) From him (Brahma), who was devoted to the study of the Vedas, and desirous of offspring, sprang mind-born sons, so called because they were at first created by his mind."

The Bhagwat Purana claims equality of authority with the Vedas. It says:

"(Bramharatra) declared the Purana called the Bhagavata, which stands on an equality with the Veda."

The Brahma-Vaivartta Purana has the audacity to claim superiority over the Vedas. It says:

"That about which venerable sage, you have inquired, and which you desire, is all known to me, the essence of the Puranas, the pre-eminent Brahma-Vaivarta, which refutes the errors of the Puranas and Upapuranas, and the Vedas."

This survey discloses a number of riddles in regard to the Vedas. In addition to the three riddles namely why did the Brahmins insist that the Vedas were eternally pre-existing, that they were non-man, non-God made, that they were infallible. There are other riddles regarding the Vedas which are equally puzzling—The Vedas at one time did not have any precedence or infallibility. Why did the

[1] Quoted in Muir Sanskrit Texts Vol. III p. 27.

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 28.

Brahmins feel it necessary to give the Vedas this infallibility, why did the Brahmins exclude the Sutras from the term Sruti and why did the Brahmins give up the infallibility of the Vedas and sought to give infallibility to the Puranas?

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APPENDIX II

THE RIDDLE OF THE VEDANTA

Of the six schools of philosophy which were expounded by the ancient philosophers of India the most famous is of course the Vedanta philosophy. Not only has it the name but it has also a hold on the Hindus which none of its rivals has ever had. Every follower of the Vedas is proud of the Vedanta. He not only owns it but regards it as the most valuable contribution which India has made to the philosophic thought of the world. He regards Vedanta philosophy as embodying the end or aim of the teachings of the Vedas, a sort of culmination or flowering of the teachings of the Veda. He never suspects that there was any time in the history of India when the Vedanta Philosophy was regarded as repugnant and hostile to the Vedas. He would never believe that there was a time when the word Vedanta had a totally different meaning than the meaning which is now current and according to which the word Vedanta far from being used in the sense of culmination of Vedic thought was used to designate a body of thought contained in a body which was outside the range of the cannonical part of the Vedic literature. Yet that was in fact the case.

It is true that this repugnance between the Vedas and the Vedanta does not become manifest from the word Upanishad which is the generic name of the literature on which the Vedanta philosophy came to be built up and about the etymology of which there is a considerable difference of opinion.

Most European scholars are agreed in deriving Upanishad from the root *sad,* to sit down, preceded by the two prepositions *ni,* down, and *upa,* near, so that it would express the idea of session, or assembly of public sitting down near a person. As Prof. Max Muller points out there are two objections to the acceptance of this derivation. Firstly such a word, it would seem, would have been applicable to any other

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This is a 21-page typed first copy entitled 'The Riddle of the Vedanta'. The chapter seems complete and does not contain any modifications by the author.—Ed.

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portion of the Veda as well as to the chapters called Upanishad, and it has never been explained how its meaning came thus to be restricted. Secondly the word Upanishad, in the sense of session or assembly has never been met with. Whenever the word occurs, it has the meaning of doctrine, secret doctrine, or is simply used as the title of the philosophic treatises which contains the secret doctrine. There is a third explanation noted by Prof. Max Muller proposed by Sankara in his commentary on the Taittiriya-Upanishad II, 9, is that the highest bliss is contained in the Upanishad (*param sreyo'syam nishannam*). Regarding this Prof. Max Muller says:

> "The Aranyakas abound in such etymologies, which probably were never intended as real as plays on words, helping to account somehow for their meaning."

Prof. Max Muller however favours a derivation of the word Upanishad from the root *sad* to destroy and meant knowledge which destroys ignorance, the cause of Samsara, by revealing the knowledge of Brahma as a means of salvation. Prof. Max Muller points out that this is the meaning which the native scholars have unanimously given to the word Upanishad.

If it be granted that this is the true derivation of the word Upanishad it would be one piece of evidence in support of the thesis that there was a time in the history of India when Vedanta was regarded as a system of thought which was repugnant to the Vedas. But it is not necessary to depend upon the help of etymology to support the thesis. There are other evidences better and more direct. In the first place the word Vedanta was never used to denote "the last books of the Vedas" which they are. As observed by Prof. Max Muller[1]:

> "Vedanta as a technical term, did not mean originally the last portions of the Veda, or chapters placed, as it were, at the end of a volume of Vedic literature, but the end, i.e. the object, the highest purpose of the Veda. There are, of course, passages, like the one in the Taittirya-Aranyaka (ed. Rajendra Mitra p. 820), which have been misunderstood both by native and European scholars, and where Vedanta means simply the end of the Veda : *yo vedadu svarah prokto vedante ka pratishthitah,* 'the Om which is pronounced at the beginning of the Veda, and has its place also at the end of the Veda". Here Vedanta stands simply in opposition to Vadadu, it is impossible to translate it, as Sayana does, by Vedanta or Upanishad. Vedanta, in the sense of philosophy, occurs in the Taittiriya-Aranyaka (p. 817), in a verse of the Narayania-Upanishad, repeated in the Mundak-Upanishad III, 2, 6 and

[1] The Upanishads (S.B.E.) Vol. I, Introduction p. Ixxxvi.

elsewhere *Vedantavignansuniskitarhah,* 'those who have well understood the object of the knowledge arising from the Vedanta,' not 'from the last books of the Veda', and *Svetasvatara-up.* VI, 22, *vedante paramam guhyam,* 'the highest mystery in the Vedanta'. Afterwards it is used in the plural also, e.g. Kshurikopanishad, 10 (bibl. Ind. p. 210) *pundariketi vedantesfau nigadyate,* 'it is called pundarika in the Vedantas', i.e. in the Khandogya and other Upanishads, as the commentator says, but not in the last books of each Veda."

More direct evidence on the point is that which is contained in the Gautama Dharma Sutras. In Chapter **XIX** verse 12 speaks of purification and says[1]:

"The purificatory (texts are), the Upanishads, the Vedantas, the Samhita text of all the Vedas" and so on.

From this it is clear that at the date of Gautama the Upanishads were distinguished from Vedantas and were not acknowledged as a part of the Vedic literature. Hardatta in his commentaries says "those parts of the Aranyakas which are not (Upanishads) are called Vedantas". This is unimpeachable proof that the Upanishads did not come within the range of the Vedic literature and were outside the cannon.

This view is also supported by the use of the Veda in the Bhagwat Gita. The word Veda is used in the Bhagwat Gita at several places. And according to Mr. Bhat[2] the word is used in a sense which shows that the author did not include the Upanishads in the term.

That the Upanishads were excluded from the cannonical literature of the Vedas is provided by the opposition of the Upanishads to the views preached in the Vedas that the religious observances and sacrifices were the only means of salvation. A few citation from some of the Upanishads will suffice to show their opposition to the Vedas.

The Mundaka Upanishad says:

"Brahma was produced the first among the gods, maker of the universe, the preserver of the world. He revealed to his eldest son Atharva, the science of Brahma, the basis of all knowledge. (2) Atharvan of old declared to Angis this science, which Brahma had unfolded to him; and Angis, in turn, explained it to Satyavaha, descendent of Bharadvaja, who delivered this traditional lore, in succession, to Angiras. (3) Mahasala Saunaka, approaching Angiras with the proper formalities, inquired, 'What is that, O venerable sage, through the knowledge of which all this (universe) becomes known?' (4) (Angiras) answered, 'Two sciences are to be known— this is what the sages versed in sacred knowledge declared— the superior and the inferior. (5) The inferior (consists of) the Rig-veda,

[1] Sacred Books of the East Vol. II. p. 275.

the Yajur-veda, the Sama-veda, the Atharva-veda, accentuation, ritual, grammar, commentary, prosody, and astronomy. The superior science is that by which the imperishable is apprehended."

The Chhandoyaga Upanishad says:

"(1) Narada approached Sanatkumara, saying, 'Instruct me, venerable sage'. He received for answer, 'Approach me with (tell me) that which thou knowest; and I will declare to thee whatever more is to be learnt.' (2) Narada replied, 'I am instructed, venerable sage, in the Rig-veda, the Sama-Veda, the Yajur-veda, the Atharva-veda (which is) the fourth, the Itihasas and Puranas (which are) the fifth Veda of the Vedas, the rites of the pitris, arithmetic, the knowledge of portents, and of great periods, the art of reasoning, ethics, the science of the gods, the knowledge of scripture, demonology, the science of war, the knowledge of the stars, the science of serpents and deities; this is what I have studied. (3) I, venerable man, know only the hymns (mantras), while I am ignorant of soul. But I have heard from reverend sages like thyself that 'the man who is acquainted with soul overpasses grief'. Now, I venerable man, am afflicted; but do thou transport me over my grief. Sanatkumara answered, 'That which thou hast studied is nothing but name. (4) The Rig-veda is name; and so are the Yajur-veda, the Sama-veda, the Atharvana, which is the fourth and the Itihasas and Puranas, the fifth Veda of the Vedas, etc. (all the other branches of knowledge are here enumerated just as above), all these are but names; worship name. (5) He who worships name (with the persuasion that it is) Brahma, ranges as it were at will over all which that name comprehends;—such is the prerogative of him who worships name (with the persuation that it is) Brahma. 'Is there anything venerable man' asked Narada, 'Which is more than name?', 'There is,' replied (Sanatkumara), 'something which is more than name'. 'Tell it to me', rejoined Narada."

The Brahadarnyaka Upanishad says:

"In that (condition of profound slumber) a father is no father, a mother is no mother, the words are no words, the gods are no gods, and the Vedas are no Vedas, sacrifices are no sacrifices. In that condition a thief is no thief, a murderer of embryos is no murderer of embryos, a Paulakasa no Paulakasa, a Chandala no Chandala, a Sramana no Sramana, a devotee no devotee; the saint has then no relation, either of advantage or disadvantage, to merit or to sin; for he then crosses over all griefs of the heart."

This is what the Katha Upanishad has to say:

"This soul is not to be attained by instruction, nor by understanding, nor by much scripture. He is attainable by him

whom he chooses. The soul chooses that man's body as his own abode".

"Although this soul is difficult to know, still it may easily be known by the use of proper means. This is what (the author) proceeds to say. This soul is not to be attained, known by instruction, by the acknowledgement of many Vedas; nor by understanding, by the power of recollecting the contents of books; nor by much scripture alone. By what, then, is it to be attained? This he declares".

How great was the repugnance to the Upanishads and the philosophy contained in them will be realized if one takes note of the origin of the words Anuloma and Pratiloma which are usually applied to the marriage tie among the Hindus. Speaking of their origin Mr. Kane points out that[1]:

"These two words Anuloma and Pratiloma (as applied to marriage or progeny) hardly ever occur in the Vedic literature. In the Br. Up. (II. 1.15) and Kausitaki Br. Up. IV. 18 the word 'Pratiloma' is applied to the procedure adopted by a Brahmana of going to a Kshatriya for knowledge about *"Brahman"*.

Anuloma means according to the heir that is in the natural order of things. Pratiloma means against the heir that is contrary to the natural order. Reading the observations of Mr. Kane in the light of the definition of the word Pratiloma it is obvious that the Upanishads far from being acknowledged as part of the Vedic literature were if not despised, held in low esteem by the Vedic Brahmins. It is a riddle to find that the Brahmins who were opponents of the Vedanta should become subsequently the supporters and upholders of the Vedanta.

II

This is one riddle of the Vedanta. There is another. The Vedantists were not the only opponents of the Vedas and its doctrine of ritualism as a means of salvations. Madhava Acharya the author of the Sarva Darshana Sangraha mentions two other opponents of the Vaidikas, Charvaka and Brahaspati. Their attack on the Vaidikas was quite formidable in its logic and its .....

The opposition of Charvaka can be seen from the following quotation which reproduces his line of argument against the Vaidikas[2]:

"If you object that, if there be no such thing as happiness in a future world, then how should men of experienced wisdom engage

[1] History of Dharmasastra Vol. II. Part I p. 52.

[2] Sarva Darshan Sangraha (Translated by Cowell) p. 64.

in the agnihotra and other sacrifices, which can only be performed with great expenditure of money and bodily fatigue. Your objection cannot be accepted as any proof to the contrary, since the agnihotra, &c, are only useful as means of livelihood, for the Veda is tainted by three faults of un-truth, self-contradiction, and tautology; then again the impostors who call themselves Vedic pundits are mutually destructive as the authority of the Jnan-kanda is overthrown by those who maintain authority of the Jnan-kanda reject that of the Karmakanda; and lastly, the three Vedas themselves are only the incoherent rhapsodes of knaves, and to this effect runs the popular saying:

'The Agnihotra, the three Vedas, the ascetic's three staves, and smearing oneself with ashes, Brihaspati says, these are but means of livelihood for those who have no manliness nor sense'.

rahaspati was far more bold and militant in his opposition to Vaidism. As reported by Madhava Acharya Brihaspati argued[1]:

"There is no heaven, no final liberation, nor any soul in another world,

Nor do the actions of the four castes, orders &c, produce any real effect.

The Agnihotra, the three Vedas, the ascetic's three staves and smearing oneself with ashes,

Were made by Nature as the livelihood of those destitute of knowledge and manliness.

If a beast slain in the Jyotishtoma rite will itself go to heaven, Why then does not the sacrificer forthwith offer his own father?

If the Sraddha produces gratification to beings who are dead, Then here, too, in the case of travellers when they start, it is needless to give provisions for the journey.

While life remains let a man live happily, let him feed on ghee even though he runs in debt.

When once the body becomes ashes, how can it ever return again?

If he who departs from the body goes to another world,

How is that he comes not back again, restless for love of his kindred ?

Hence it is only as a means of livelihood that Brahmans have established here.

All these ceremonies for the dead,—there is no other fruit anywhere.

The three authors of the Vedas were buffoons, knaves and demons.

[1] Sarva Darshan Sangraha p. 10.

All the well-known formulas of the Pandits, jarphari, turphari,

And all the obscene rites for the queen commanded in the Aswamedha,

These were invented by buffoons, and so all the various kinds of presents to the priests,

While the eating of flesh was similarly commended by night prowling demons."

Why did the Vedic Brahmans compromise with the Vedantists but did not compromise with Charvak and Brihaspati. It is a riddle that awaits explanation.

III

A third riddle remains to be mentioned. This is its most appropriate place for it has reference to the Vedas and Vedantas, not in their crude form but in the philosophical garb which was given to them by two masters of the art of systematization whose names are quite well known in the history of Sanskrit Literature namely Jaimini and Badarayana, the former as the author of Mimansa and the latter as the author of Brahma Sutras. To them and to their work a reference has already been made in the earlier pages and some idea has been given of their place in the formulation of the Vedik beliefs and Vedantik speculations. What remains to be done is to compare and contrast the attitude which one has towards the philosophy of the other.

Starting on this inquiry one is struck by the parallelism between Jaimini and Badarayana in the presentation of the subject matter. As Prof. Belvalkar points out the Vedant Sutras are very closely modelled upon the Karma Sutras. In the matter of methodology and terminology Badarayana very carefully follows Jaimini. He accepts Jaimini rules of interpreting the text of the Shruti. He uses Jaimini's technical terms in the sense in which they have been used by Jaimini. He uses the very illustrations which are employed by Jaimini.

The parallelism shows that Badarayana must have felt that he was the exponent of a rival philosophy which was being attacked by Jaimini and that in replying to the attack he must follow Jaimini's technique.

Question is did Badarayana take the stand of an opponent of Jaimini ?

That Jaimini was his opponent Badarayana himself admits, the attitude of Jaimini towards Vedanta. It is stated by Badarayana in his Sutras 2-7 and explained by Shankaracharya in his commentary.

Jaimini contends that:

> "No one undertakes a sacrificial act unless he is conscious of the fact that he is different from the body and that after death he will go to heaven, where he will enjoy the results of his sacrifices. The Texts dealing with self-knowledge serve merely to enlighten the agent and so are subordinate to sacrificial acts."

In short Jaimini says that all that Vedanta teaches is that self is different from the body and outlives the body. Such a knowledge is not enough. The Self must have the aspiration to go to Heaven. But it can't go to heaven unless it performs Vedic sacrifices which is what his Karmakand teaches. Therefore his Karmakand is the only way of Salvation and that the Jnankand from that point of view is quite useless. For this Jaimini relies on the conduct of men who have believed in Vedanta[1]:

> "Janaka, emperor of Videha performed a sacrifice in which gifts were freely distributed" (Brih. 3.1.1); "I am going to perform a sacrifice, sirs" (Ch. 5.11.5). Now both Janaka and Asvapati were knowers of the Self. If by this knowledge of the Self they had attained Liberation, there was no need for them to perform sacrifices. But the two texts quoted show that they did perform sacrifices. This proves that it is through sacrificial acts alone that one attains Liberation, and not through the knowledge of the Self as the Vedantins hold."

Jaimini makes a positive assertion that the scriptures unmistakably declare[2] "that knowledge of the Self stands in a subordinate relation to sacrificial acts."

Jaimini justifies it because he says[3]:

> "the two (knowledge and work) go together (with the departing soul to produce the results.)"

Jaimini refuses to give an independent position to Badarayana's Jnana kanda. He takes his stands on two grounds.

First[4] "Knowledge of the Self does not independently produce any result."

Second[5] according to the authority of the Vedas "Knowledge (of Self) stands in a subordinate relation to work."

This is the position of Jaimini towards Badaryana's Jnanakanda. What is the position of Badarayana towards Jaimini and his Karma Kanda? This is explained by Badarayana in Sutras 8 to 17.

The first position[6] taken up by Badarayana is that the Self spoken of by Jaimini is the limited self i.e. the soul and is to be distinguished

1. See Badarayana Sutra 3 and Sankara's comment.
2. Badarayana Sutra 4.
3. See Badarayana Sutra 5.
4. Badarayana Sutra 6. Shankar's commentary.
5. See Badarayana Sutra 7. Shankar's commentary.
6. See Badarayana Sutra 8. Shankar's commentary.

from the supreme soul and that the supreme soul is recognized by the Scriptures.

The second[1] position taken by Badarayana is that the Vedas support both knowledge of Self as well as Sacrifices.

The third[2] position taken up by Badarayana is that only those who believe in the Vedas are required to perform Sacrifices. But those who follow the Upanishadas are not bound by that injunction. As Shankaracharya explains:

> "Those who have read the Vedas and known about the sacrifices are entitled to perform work (sacrifice). No work (sacrifice) is prescribed for those who have knowledge of the Self from the Upanishads. Such a knowledge is incompatible with work."

The fourth[3] position taken up by Badarayana is that Karmakanda is optional to those who have attained Bramhadnan. As Shankaracharya explains:

> "That some have of their own accord given up all work. The point is that after knowledge some may choose to work to set an example to others, while others may give up all work. There is no binding on the knowers of the Self as regards work".

His last and final[4] position is that:

> "Knowledge of the Self is antagonistic to all work and so cannot possibly be subsidiary to work."

And as evidence in support of it he relies[5] on the scriptures which recognizes Sannyasa the fourth Ashram and relieves the Sannyasi from performing sacrifices prescribed by the Karma Kand.

Many such Sutras can be found in Badarayana indicating the attitude of the two schools of thought towards each other. But the one given above is enough as it is so very typical. If one stops to consider the matter the position wears a strange appearance. Jaimini denounces Vedanta as a false Shastra, a snare and a delusion, something superficial, unnecessary and unsubstantial. What does Badarayana do in the face of this attack? Does he denounce the Karmakanda of Jaimini as a false Shastra, a snare and a delusion, something superficial unnecessary and insubstantial? No. He only defends his own Vedanta Shastra. But one would expect him to do more. One would expect from Badarayana a denunciation of the Karmakanda of Jaimini as a false religion. Badarayana shows no such courage. On the contrary he is very apologetic. He concedes that Jaimini's Karmakanda

1. See Badarayana Sutra 9.
2. See Badarayana Sutra 12.
3. See Badarayana Sutra 15.
4. See Badarayana Sutra 16.
5. See Badarayana Sutra 17.

based on the scriptures and the scriptures have authority and sanctity which cannot be repudiated. All that he insists on is that his Vedanta doctrine is also true because it has also the support of the scriptures.

This is not all. What Badarayana does is to use the term Vedanta to cover these senses. He uses it so as to emphasize that the Upanishads do form a part of the Vedic literature. He used it also to emphasize what Vedanta or the Dnyanakanda of the Upanishads is not opposed to the Karmakanda of the Vedas that the two are complimentary. Indeed this is the foundation on which Badarayana has raised the whole structure of his Vedanta Sutras.

This thesis of Badarayana—which underlies his Vedanta Sutras and according to which the Upanishads are a part of the Veda and there is no antagonism between the Vedas and Upanishads—is quite contrary to the tenor of the Upanishads and their relation to the Vedas. Badarayana's attitude is not easy to understand. But it is quite obvious that Badarayana's is a queer and a pathetic case of an opponent who begins his battle by admitting the validity of the premises of his adversary.? Why did Badarayana concede to Jaimini on the question of infallibility of the Vedas which were opposed to the Upanishads ? Why did he not stand for truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. This is a riddle that requires explanation.

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APPENDIX III

THE RIDDLE OF THE TRIMURTI

To say that Hindu Religion is made up of sects is no less true than to say that Hindu Society is made up of castes. But not half the attention paid to the study of castes has been paid to the study of sects. This is as unfortunate as it is strange. Sects have played as great a part in India's history as castes have done. Indeed some sects just as some castes have made the history of India what it is.

The sects which make up the Hindu Religion are of course legion. It is impossible to explore the origin of all and compare and contrast their cults within the compass of a chapter. All that can be done is to take the most important ones and to present some of problems connected with them. The most important of these sects in the history of India have been three, one believing in the cult of God Brahma, second believing in the cult of Vishnu and the third believing in the cult of Shiva or Mahesha. The following are some of the questions, which cannot but puzzle the student who has studied the origin and history of these cults.

The Chula-Niddessa a Buddhist treatize refers to various sects which were at one time prevalent in India. Classified on the basis of creeds and cults they may be listed as follows:

I CREEDS

Serial No.	Name of the Sect		Essence of the creed
1	Ajivika Shravaka[1]	..	Ajivika[2]
2	Nigatta Shravakas	..	Nigautha[3]

[1] Shravaka means a disciple.

[2] Mendicants following special rules with regard to livelihood.

[3] Mendicants who are free from all ties and hindrances.

This Riddle may be read along with the Riddle No. 11 which deals with The Rise and Fall of Gods. This title 'The Riddle of the Trimurti' however does not find place in the original Table of Contents, nor was it available in the MS received by the Govt. This copy has been spared by Shri S. S. Rege—Ed.

I CREEDS—*contd.*

Serial No.	Name of the Sect		Essence of the creed
3	Jatil Shravakas	..	Jatila[1]
4	Parivrajaka Shravakas	..	Parivrajaka[2]
5	Avarudha Shravakas	..	Avarudhaka

II CULTS

Serial No.	Name of the Sect		The deity which is worshipped
1	Hasti Vratikas[3]	..	Hasti[4]
2	Ashva Vratikas	..	Ashva[5]
3	Go Vratikas	..	Go[6]
4	Kukur Vratikas	..	Kukku[7]
5	Kaka Vratikas	..	Kaka[8]
6	Vasudeo Vratikas	..	Vasudeo
7	Baldeo Vratikas	..	Baldeo
8	Purna Bhadra Vratikas	..	Purna Bhadra
9	Mani Bhadra Vratikas	..	Mani Bhadra
10	Agni Vratikas	..	Agni
11	Naga Vratikas	..	Naga
12	Suparna Vratikas	..	Suparna
13	Yaksha Vratikas	..	Yaksha
14	Asura Vratikas	..	Asura
15	Gandharva Vratikas	..	Gandharva
16	Maharaja Vratikas	..	Maharaja
17	Chandra Vratikas	..	Chandra
18	Surya Vratikas	..	Surya
19	Indra Vratikas	..	Indra
20	Brahma Vratikas	..	Brahma
21	Deva Vratikas	..	Deva
22	Deesha Vratikas	..	Deesha

[1] Mendicants who twist their hair on the head.

[2] Mendicants who escape from society.

[3] Vratika means a devotee.

[4] Elephant.

[5] Horse.

[6] Cow.

[7] Dog.

[8] Crow.

Comparing the cults of the three Gods with the cults of the various Gods mentioned in the list, two conclusions are obvious. One conclusion is that the cults of Vishnu and Mahesha are new fabrications, later in origin than those mentioned in the Chula Niddessa. The second conclusion is that all the old cults have disappeared. Searching for the causes of this strange phenomenon it is quite clear that New Cults could not have come into being unless the Brahmins had taken up the cause of propagating these new cults. Similarly old cults could not have disappeared if the Brahmins had not ceased to propagate them. The question that puzzles the student of history is why did the Brahmins fabricate these new cults? Why did they give up the old cults ? The question not only puzzles but staggers the student when the God that has vanished in this revolution is no other than Indra. Indra is a Vedic God. He is the greatest of the Vedic Gods. The Brahmins worshipped Indra and praised him as the supreme God for hundreds if not thousands of years. What made the Brahmins give up Indra and become the devotees of Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh? Were the reasons for transfer of loyalties by the Brahmins spiritual or commercial?

Who is this Shiva whom the Brahmins adopted as their God in preference to Indra? The story of Daksha Prajapati's Yajna and the part played by Shiva throws great light on Shiva. The story is that somewhere in the Himalayas king Daksha was performing an Yajna. This Yajna was attended by all Devas, Danavas, Pishachas, Nagas, Rakshasas and Rishis. But Shiva absented as Daksha did not give him invitations. Dadhichi one of the Rishis scolded Daksha for his failure to invite Shiva and to perform his puja. Daksha refused to call Shiva and said " I have seen many of your Rudras. Go away, I don't recognize your Shiva." Dadhichi replied "You have all conspired against Shiva, take care, your Yajna will never reach a successful finis." Mahadeo coming to know of this created a Rakshasas from his mouth and this Rakshasas destroyed the Yajna started by Daksha. This shows that there was a time when Brahmins refused to recognize Shiva as the God to be worshipped or it shows that Shiva was against the Yajna system of the Brahmanas.

The difference between the Aryans and the Non-Aryans was cultural and not racial. The cultural difference centred round two points. The Aryans believed in Chaturvarna. The Non-Aryans were opposed to it. *The Aryans* believed in the performance of Yajna as the essence of their religion. The Non-Aryans were opposed Yajna. Examining the story of Daksha's Yajna in the light of these facts it is quite obvious that Shiva was a Non-Vedic and a Non-Aryan God. The question is

why did the Brahmins, the pillars of Vedic culture, adopt Shiva as their God?

The third question that puzzles the student is the reformation and transformation which the Brahmins have made in the original format of Shiva and Vishnu.

The Hindus are not aware that Shiva is a non-Vedic, non-Aryan God. They identify him with God Rudra mentioned in the Vedas. So that to the Hindus Rudra is the same as Shiva. Now in the Taiteriya Samhita of the Yajur-Veda there is a hymn in praise of Rudra. In this hymn Rudra i.e. Shiva is described as the lord of thieves, robbers, dacoits, as the King of the degraded, of potters and blacksmiths. The question is how did the Brahmins venture to accept this king of thieves and robbers as their supreme God?

There is another reformation in the character of Rudra which the Brahmins have made while accepting him as their God Shiva. In the Ashvalayan Grihya Sutra the proper way of worshipping Rudra is prescribed. According to it the worship of Rudra was to be the sacrifice of a bull. The Sutra gives details of the season, and the Nakshatra for performing this sacrifice. It tells the householder to select the best bull from the stable. It prescribes its colour. It recommends that it should be fat. It should be consecrated with rice water or barley water. Then it should be slaughtered and offered to the Rudra addressing him by all his names and his tail, hide, head and feet should be thrown into the fire. Evidently Rudra was a 'himsak' God to whom animal sacrifice was necessary. Shiva on the other hand has been an Ahimsaka God. He is not offered animal sacrifice. Question is what compelled the Brahmins to make Shiva give up his meat diet and be a vegetarian.

Hindus all over India accept without shame or remorse the virtue of Linga Puja—Phallus worship. This phallus worship is associated with Shiva and it is commonly held that the true way of worshipping Shiva is to worship the Shiva Linga. Was Linga puja always associated with Shiva? Some very interesting facts are brought to light by Prof. Dandekar in his essay on "Vishnu in the Veda". Says Prof. Dandekar:

> "The most significant word in this connection is *Sipivista,* which is exclusively employed in the Veda with reference to Vishnu. The passages where the word occurs in RV (VII. 99.7; VII. 100. 5-6) seems to have been kept obscure with a purpose. The Vedic poets evidently sought to make a guarded and casual reference to that aspect of Vishnu's personality which was indicated by the word, *Sipivista.* Many attempts have been made to explain the word, but few satisfy the requirements of philosophy and none brings out the

true nature of Vishnu. It is not possible to separate philologically the word Sepa (*Penis*) from sipi. Other similar *idg*. forms are Sipha (a root pkt. chepa, lat. oippus, seipio (staff) etc. Even Nirukta (V. 7) seems to be vaguely supporting this view though its further explanation is not clear. Added to that word is a form from the root viz., thus making the whole word mean 'the changing phallus; the swelling and diminishing penis'. We may now easily understand why the Vedic poets speak in such guarded and obscure way about this form of Vishnu. In this connection it is very significant to note what Nirukta (V. 8-9) says of this name of Vishnu: The word sipivista has thus unmistakably preserved Vishnu's ancient phallic nature. There are also many other incidental references to Vishnu in the Vedic hymns and ritual, which clearly associate him with the notion of fertility, productivity and self life."

"One of the obscure features of the Vedic Shraddha-ritual is that the Angustha, without nail, is to be dipped into the offering intended for the *pitars*. This action is accompanied by an invocation to Vishnu. The Angustha is undoubtedly a symbol of the phallus. Vishnu is, in this rite, clearly connected with the phallic aspect of the Vedic ritual. In later literature we find Vishnu actually identified with the thumb. In the I.S. passage (VI. 2.4.2) we find another piece of evidence in this regard. Vishnu's entering into the mother earth is a symbolical description of a fertility rite. The words, *Tanvardhanah,* used with reference to Vishnu's (VII. 99.1; VIII. 100.2) may further be understood to be indicative of his phallic nature. Vishnu is significantly identified, in later literature, with Hiranyagarbha, and Narayana. Vishnu's close connection with Sinivali (AV. VII. 46.3), the 'broad-hipped' divinity protecting the feminine sex-functions, throws considerable light on this aspect of Visnu's personality. According to the Sankhyana-grahyasutra (I. 22.13), the Mantra (X. 184.1) accompanies the garbha-ceremony, thus suggesting that Vishnu is the efficacious protector of the embryos. In AV (VII. 17.4), Vishnu is clearly connected with sex-functions. The two epithets of *Vishnu Nisiktapa* (VII. 36.9) 'protector of the semen', and *Sumajjani* (I. 156.2) 'facilitating easy birth' speak for themselves. The word, *Paumsya* 'manly vigour' is significantly used with reference to Vishnu in RV (E. 155.3-4). In the Vrsakapi-hymn (X. 86), Indra is said to have been exhausted, when a bold, lascivious monkey administered to him some medicine, through which Indra regained his manly power. This Vrsakapi is identified, in later literature, with Vishnu, the word-being also mentioned as one of his names "in the Vishnusahasranama."

On the evidence produced by Prof. Dandekar phallus worship was in its origin connected with Vishnu. In the Puranas we do not find the Phallus worship associated with Vishnu. In the Puranas it is associated with Shiva. This is a most astounding transformation. Vishnu who was from the beginning associated with the Linga worship was dissociated from it and Shiva who had no association with the Linga worship has come to be identified with it. Question is what made the Brahmins dissociate Vishnu from Linga worship and fasten it on to Shiva?

There remains the last and the important question. It relates to the inter-relations of Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesha.

Nothing probably sums up so well the inter-relations between Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesha as does the story of the birth of the God Dattatraya. Briefly the story is that one afternoon when Sarasvati, Laxmi and Parvati, the wives of the three Gods were sitting together chit-chatting, Narada, the sage on eternal tour, came to visit them. In the course of the conversation a question arose as who was the most chaste woman in the land. Narada held out that Anusuya the wife of Rishi by name Atri—as the purest and most chaste woman. This was violently disputed by the three, each one of whom claimed to have that title. Narada disproved their claim by recounting the many acts of adultery which one of them was guilty of. They were silenced but they became very angry. They wanted to retrieve their position *vis-a-vis* Anusuya. In their wisdom they decided that the only way by which this could be done was to have Anusuya seduced to illicit intercourse. Having decided upon their plan of action the three women told to their husbands when they returned in the evening what Narada said about them in the afternoon and scolded them by saying that they were the cause of their wives humiliation. For if they had committed adultery with Anusuya she and they would have been on the same level and Narada would not have found cause to humiliate them. They asked their husbands whether they cared for their wives and if they did were they not in duty bound to proceed forthwith to invade the chastity of Anusuya and to pull her down from the high pedestle of purity and chastity on which Narada had placed her. The Gods were convinced that what was suggested by their wives was their duty and that they could not shirk the task.

The three Gods started on an expedition to rob Anusuya of her honour and marched on to the hutment of Atri. The three Gods disguised themselves as three Brahmin Mendicants. When they arrived Atri was away. But Anusuya welcomed them and prepared food for them. When the meal was ready she asked them to sit and partake of

the meal. The three Gods replied that they would take food at her house only if she agreed to serve them food in a naked condition. The rule of hospitality in ancient India was that Brahmin guest must not depart dissatisfied. Everything he asked must be given to him. In obedience to this rule Anusuya agreed to serve them naked. While she was serving food to them in this naked condition Atri arrived. On seeing Atri the three Gods who were taking food with Anusuya standing naked took the form of new born babes. The three Gods in the form of babes were placed by Atri in a craddle. In the craddle their bodies having become integrated into one and their heads having remained separate there arose the God Dattatraya who has one body and three heads representing the three Gods, Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesha.

The story has a stink of immorality in it and the close of it may have been deliberately designed so as to cover up the actual fact of Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesha having outraged Anusuya to lower her down to the level of their wives. Be that as it may the story illustrates the view once prevalent among the Hindus that three Gods Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesha were co-equal in status and their functions are complimentary and not competitive. They were spoken of as forming Trimurti—three in one and one in three, all sustaining the world, Brahma by creating it, Vishnu by preserving it and Shiva by destroying it.

This state of harmony did not last long. The Brahmins who were the propagandists of these three Gods divided themselves into three camps each becoming devoted to one to the exclusion of the other two. The result of this was a systematic campaign of villification and degradation by the Brahmins devoted to one God of the other Gods.

It is interesting as well as instructive to note what the Brahmins have done to Brahma. There was a time when the Brahmins raised Brahma to the highest pinnacle of power and glory. They presented him as the creator of the Universe—the first Prajapati. He was their sole supreme God. The Brahmins had developed the theory of *Avatar* which holds that God when necessary incarnates into different forms, human or animal. This they use for twofold purpose, firstly to elevate the supremacy of a God in whom they are interested and secondly to reconcile the conflict between Gods as different personalities.

The Brahmins have run riot with this theory of *Avatar* and different Puranas have given different lists of Avatars as will be seen from the following:

	According to Hari Vamsha	According to Narayani Akhyan	According to Varaha Purana	According to Vayu Purana	According to Bhagwat Purana
1	Varaha	Hansa	Kurma	Narasinha	Sanatkumar
2	Narasinha	Kurma	Matsya	Vaman	Boar
3	Vaman	Matsya	Varaha	Varaha	
4	Parshuram	Varaha	Narasinha	Kurma	Nara-Narayan
5	Rama	Narasinha	Vaman	Sangram	Kapila
6	Krishna	Vaman	Parshuram	Adivaka	Dattatraya
7		Parshuram	Rama	Tripurari	Jadna
8		Rama	Krishna	Andhakarh	Rashabha
9		Krishna	Buddha	Dhvaja	Prithi
10		Kalkin	Kalkin	Varta	Matsya
11				Halahal	Kurma
12				Kolhahal	Dhanwantri
13					Mohini
14					Narasinha
15					Vaman
16					Parshuram
17					Ved Vyas
18					Naradeo
19					Rama
20					Krishna
21					Buddha
22					Kalkin

These Avatars are all said by these Puranas to be the Avatars of Vishnu. But to begin, with when the Avatars had begun to be coined the story of the two Avatars—of the Boar[1] and the Fish[2]—which in later times given to Vishnu was given by the Brahmins to Brahma. Again even when the Brahmins admitted Shiva and Vishnu as co-equal with Brahma they maintained the supremacy of Brahma over Shiva and Vishnu. The Brahmins made him the progenitor of Shiva[3] and propagated the view that if Vishnu[4] became the preserver of the world it was because of the command of the Brahma. With the plurality of Gods, conflicts between them were always present and some God to act as Arbitrator and settler of disputes was necessary.

[1] Ramayana—Quoted in Muir's Sanskrit Texts Vol. IV p. 33.

[2] Mahabharata—Vana Parva & Linga Purana—Muir *Ibid.,* pp. 38-39.

[3] Vishnu Purana—Muir *Ibid* p. 392.

[4] Ramayana—Muir *Ibid* p. 477.

Puranas are full of such conflicts, even wars among Gods. There were conflicts between Rudra and Narayana[1], between Krishna and Shiva[2]. In these conflicts the Brahmins have made Brahma the Arbitrator.

The same Brahmins who elevated Brahma to such pre-eminence turned against him, started degrading him and mud-slinging him. They started propagating the view that Brahma was really inferior to Vishnu and Shiva. Contrary to their previous utterances the Brahmins said that Brahma was born from Shiva[3] and some said that he was born from Vishnu[4].

The Brahmins completely inverted the relation between Shiva and Brahma. Brahma was no longer the God who could give salvation. The God who could give salvation was Shiva and they reduced Brahma to the position of a common devotee worshipping Shiva and Linga in the hope of getting salvation[5]. They reduced him to the position of servant of Shiva by making him the charioteer of Shiva[6].

The Brahmins did not stop with degrading Brahma. They villified him in the worst manner possible. They broadcast the story of his having committed rape on his own daughter Sarasvati which is repeated in the Bhagwat Purana[7]:

> "We have heard, O Kshatriya, that Svayambhu (Brahma) had a passion for Vach, his slender and enchanting daughter, who had no passion for him. The Munis, his sons, headed by Marichi, seeing their father bent upon wickedness, admonished him with affection: 'This is such a thing as has never been done by those before you, nor will those after you do it,—that you, being the lord, should sexually approach your daughter, not restraining your passion. This, O preceptor of the world, is not a laudable deed even in glorious personages, through imitation of whose actions men attain felicity. Glory to that divine being (Vishnu) who by his own lustre revealed this (universe) which abides in himself,—he must maintain righteousness'. Seeing his sons, the Prajapatis, thus speaking before him, the lord of the Prajapatis (Brahma) was ashamed, and abandoned his body. This dreadful body the regions received, and it is known as foggy darkness."

The result of this degrading and defamatory attacks on Brahma was to damn him completely. No wonder that his cult disappeared from the face of India leaving him a nominal and theoretical member of the Trimurti.

[1] Mahabharat Shanti Parva Quoted in Muir Vol. IV. p. 240.

[2] Mahabharat Shanti Parva *Ibid.* p. 279.

[3] Mahabharat Anushasan Parva—Muir *Ibid.* p. 188.

[4] Bhagwat Purana—*Ibid.* p. 43.

[5] Mahabharat quoted in Muir's Sanskrit Texts Vol. IV p. 192.

[6] *Ibid,* p. 193.

[7] Muir's Sanskrit Texts Vol. IV p. 47.

After Brahma was driven out of the field there remained two parties of Brahmanas, one engaged in favour of Shiva and the other engaged in favour of Vishnu. Let us see what they did as protagonists of their rival deities. Neither party succeeded in driving out the cult of its rival God. The cult of Shiva and the cult of Vishnu have continued to exist and flourish. Notwithstanding the many cults that have subsequently come into existence they have not been eclipsed. This is largely due to the propaganda and counter-propaganda carried on by the Brahmin protagonists of Shiva and Vishnu. How well matched the propaganda and counter propaganda was, can be seen from the following few illustrations.

Vishnu is connected with the Vedic God Sun. The worshippers of Shiva connect him with Agni. If one has Vedic origin the other must have Vedic origin as well. One cannot be inferior to the other in the matter of nobility of origin.

Shiva must be greater than Vishnu and Vishnu must not be less than Shiva. Vishnu has thousand names[1]. So Shiva must have thousand names and he has them[2]. Vishnu has his emblems[3]. So must have Shiva and he has them[4].

In the performance of deeds of glory the propaganda in favour of one is fully matched by counter-propaganda in favour of the other. One illustration of this is the story regarding the origin of the holy river Ganges[5]. The devotees of Shiva attribute its origin to Shiva. They make it take its origin from Shiva's hair. But the Vaishnavas will not allow it. They have manufactured another legend. According to the Vaishnavite legend the blessed and the blessing river flowed originally out of Vaikunth (the abode of Vishnu) from the foot of Vishnu, and descending upon Kailasa fell on the head of Shiva. There is a two-fold suggestion in the legend. In the first place Shiva is not the source of the Ganges. In the second place Shiva is lower than Vishnu and receives on his head water which flows from the foot of Vishnu.

Another illustration is furnished by the story which relates to the churning of the oceans by the Devas and the Asuras. They used the Mandara mountain as the churning rod and huge serpent Shesha as a rope to whirl the mountain. The earth began to shake and people became afraid that the world was coming to an end. Vishnu took the Avatar of Kurma (tortoise) and held the earth on his back and prevented the earth from shaking while the churning was going on.

[1] *See* Vishnu Sahasranama.

[2] They are mentioned in the Padma Purana.

[3] *See* above.

[4] They are (1) Flowing Ganges (2) Chandra i.e. Moon and (3) Shesh (snake) and (4) Matted hair.

[5] Moore; Hindu Pantheon pp. 40-41.

This story is told in glorification of Vishnu. To this the Shaivites add a supplement. According to this supplement the churning brought out fourteen articles from the depth of the ocean which are called fourteen jewels. Among these fourteen a deadly poison was one. This deadly poison would have destroyed the earth unless somebody drank it. Shiva was the only person who came to drink it. The suggetion is that Vishnu's act was foolish in allowing the rivals the Gods and Demons to bring out this deadly poison. Glory to Shiva for he drank it and saved the world from the evil consequences of the folly of Vishnu.

Third illustration is an attempt to show that Vishnu is a fool and that it is Shiva who with his greater wisdom and greater power saves Vishnu from his folly. It is the story of Akrurasura[1]. Akrur was a demon with the face of a bear, who, nevertheless, was continuously reading the Vedas and performing acts of devotion. Vishnu was greatly pleased and promised him any boon that he would care to ask. Akrurasura requested that no creature, then existing in the three worlds, might have power to deprive him of life, and Vishnu complied with his request; but the demon became so insolent that the Devatas, whom he oppressed, were obliged to conceal themselves, and he assumed the dominion of the world; Vishnu was then sitting on a bank of the Kali, greatly disquieted by the malignant ingratitude of the demon; and his wrath being kindled, a shape, which never before had existed, sprang from his eyes. It was Mahadeva, in his destructive character, who dispelled in a moment the anxiety of the Vishnu.

This is countered by the story of Bhasmasura intended to show that Shiva was a fool and Vishnu saved him from his folly. Bhasmasura having propitiated Shiva asked for a boon. The boon was to be the power to burn any one on whose head Bhasmasura laid his hands. Shiva granted the boon. Bhasmasura tried to use his boon power against Shiva himself. Shiva became terrified and ran to Vishnu for help. Vishnu promised to help him. Vishnu took the form of a beautiful woman and went to Bhasmasura who became completely enamoured of her. Vishnu asked Bhasmasura to agree to obey him in everything as a condition of surrender. Bhasmasura agreed. Vishnu then asked him to place his hands on his own head which Bhasmasura did with the result that Bhasmasur died and Vishnu got the credit of saving Shiva from the consequences of his folly.

The rivalry and the consequent enmity among these Gods is best illustrated by the legend as to which of them is the first born. The story as related in the Skand Purana[2] says that one time Vishnu lay

[1] The story is told in Vishnu Agama and is quoted in Moore's Hindu Pantheon pp. 19-20.

[2] Quoted in Moore's Hindu Pantheon pp. 17-18.

extended asleep on the bosom of Devi, a lotus arose from his navel, and its ascending flower soon reached the surface of the flood, Brahma sprang from that flower, and looking round without any creature on the boundless expanse, imagined himself to be the first born, and entitled to rank above all future beings; yet, resolved to investigate deep and to ascertain whether any being existed in its universe who could controvert his pre-eminence, he glided down the stock of the lotus and finding Vishnu asleep, asked loudly who he was ? 'I am the first born' answered Vishnu; and when Brahma denied his primogeniture, they had an obstinate battle, till Mahadeo pressed between them in great wrath, saying 'It is I who am truly the first born. But I will resign my place to either of you, who shall be able to reach behind the summit of my head, or the soles of my foot. Brahma instantly ascended; but having fatigued himself to no purpose in the regions of immensity, yet loath to abandon his claim, returned to Mahadeo, declaring that he had attained and seen the crown of his head, and called as his witness the first born cow. For this union of pride and falsehood, the angry God ordained, that no sacred Shiva rites should be performed to Brahma and that the mouth of cow should be defiled. When Vishnu returned, he acknowledged that he had not been able to see the feet of Mahadeo, who then told him that he was the first born among the Gods, and should be raised above all. It was after this Mahadeo cut off the fifth head of Brahma who thus suffered the loss of his pride, his power and his influence.

According to this story Brahma's claim to be the first born was false. He was punished by Shiva for making it. Vishnu gets the right to call himself the first born. But that is allowed to him by the grace of Shiva. The followers of Brahma had their revenge on Vishnu for stealing what rightfully belonged to him with the help of Shiva. So they manufactured another legend[1] according to which Vishnu emanated from Brahma's nostrils in the shape of a pig and grew naturally into a boar—a very mean explanation of Vishnu's avatar as a boar.

The rivalry among these Gods had taken the shape of rivalry among traders and results in indecent abuse of Shiva by Vishnu and of Vishnu by Shiva.

Such are the facts about the Trinity and its subsequent history.

There is nothing new in the conception of Trinity.

The conception of Trinity is an old one, older than Yaska. To reduce the chaos of innumerable Gods the early Brahmins were engaged to select some Gods and to make them pre-eminent over the rest. The number of such pre-eminent Gods was fixed at three. Of these Agni

[1] Quoted by Moore, *Ibid.* p. 184.

and Surya were two. For the third place there was rivalry between Vayu and Indra. Consequently one finds the Trinity of Agni, Indra and Surya or Agni, Vayu and Surya. The new trinity is identical in its conception with the old though different in its personnel. Every member of this Trinity is new. It seems after the first Trinity was dissolved no new Trinity existed for a considerable time. In the Chulla Nidessa there is mention only of Brahma Vratikas. There is no mention of Vishnu Vratikas or Shiva Vratikas. This means that at the time of the Chula Nidessa the cult of Vishnu and the cult of Shiva had not come into being. They were later on added to the cult of Brahma and constituted into a Trinity. Several questions rise in one's mind when one considers the part played by the Brahmins in the evolution and confounding of the Trinity.

The first that arises is the faithlessness of the Brahamins to their Gods, the easy manner in which they abandon one set of Gods for another. In this connection one is reminded of the Jewish priests and Nebuchad-Nez-Zar.

" Neb-U-Chad-Nez-Zar[1] the king made an image of gold, whose height was three score cubits, and the breadth thereof six cubits he set it up in the plain of Du-ra, in the province of Bab-y-lon.

" 2. Then Neb-u-chad-nez-zar the king sent to gather together the princes (satraps), the governors (deputies), and the captains (governors), the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces, to come to the dedication of the image which Neb-u-chad-nez-zar the king had set up.

"3. Then the princes, the governors, and the captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces, were gathered together unto the dedication of the image that Neb-u-chad-nez-zar the king had set up; and they stood before the image that Neb-u-chad-nez-zar had set up.

4. "Then an herald cried aloud, To you it is commanded, O people, nations, and languages.

5. That at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, dulcimer, and all kinds of musick, ye fall down and worship the golden image that Neb-u-chad-nez-zar the king hath set up;

6. And whoso falleth not down and worshippeth shall the same hour be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace.

7. Therefore at that time, when all the people heard, the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and all kinds of musick, all the people, the nations, and the languages, fell down and

[1] Old Testament—Daniel Chap. 3. verses 1-23.

worshipped the golden image that Neb-u-chad-nez-zar the king had set up."

8. Wherefore at that time certain Chal-de-ans came near, and, accused the Jews.

9. They spake and said to the king Neb-u-chad-nez-zar, "O King, live for ever."

10. "Thou, O King, hast made a decree, that every man that shall hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer, and all kinds of musick, shall fall down and worship the golden image."

11. "And whoso falleth not down and worshippeth, that he should be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace."

12. "There are certain Jews whom thou hast set over the affairs of the province of Bab-y-lon, Sha-dra*ch*, Me-sha*ch* and A-bed-ne-go; these men, O king, have not regarded thee; they serve not thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up."

13. "Then Neb-u-chad-nez-zar in his rage and fury commanded to bring O Sha-dra*ch*, Me-sha*ch,* and A-bed-ne-go. Then they brought these men before the king.

14. Neb-u-chad-nez-zar spake and said unto them, "Is it true, O Sha-dra*ch*, Me-sha*ch,* and A-bed-ne-go, do not ye serve my gods, nor worship the golden image which I have set up?"

15. "Now if ye be ready that at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer, and all kinds of musick, ye fall down and worship the image which I have made; well; but if ye worship not, ye shall be cast the same hour into the midst of a burning fiery furnace; and who is that God that shall deliver you out of my hands?"

16. Sha-drach, Me-shach, and A-bed-ne-go, answered and said to the king, "O Neb-u-chad-nez-zar, we are not careful to answer thee in this matter."

17. "If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver us out of thine hand, O king."

18. "But if not, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up."

19. "Then was Neb-u-chad-nez-zar full of fury, and the form of his visage was changed against Sha-drach, Me-shach and A-bed-ne- go; therefore he spake, and commanded that they should heat the furnace one seven times more than it was wont to be heated.

20. And he commanded the most mighty men that were in his army to bind Sha-drach, Me-shach, and A-bed-ne-go and to cast them into the burning fiery furnace.

21. Then these men were bound in their coats, their hosen, and their hats, and their other garments, and were cast into the midst of the burning fiery furnace.

22. Therefore because the king's commandment was urgent, and the furnace exceeding hot, the flame of the fire slew those men that took up Sha-drach, Me-shach, and A-bed-ne-go.

23. And these three men, Sha-drach, Me-shach, and A-bed-ne-go, fell bound into the midst of the burning fiery furnance."

Why did the Brahmins give up the first Trinity? There is no indication that they were compelled to foreswear those Gods. Was it love of gain or lucre?

The second question is why did the Brahmins who became the votaries of the three Gods follow the principle of live and let live? Why was one sect bent on destroying the other. There was no doctrinal difference between these sects worth the name. Their theology, cosmology and philosophy were all one and the same. The riddle becomes all the great. Was this sectarian quarrel political? Did the Brahmins make religion a matter of politics? Otherwise what is the explanation of this quarrel ?

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APPENDIX IV

II SMARTH DHARMA

The Sacred literature of Smarth Dharma consists of the *Smritis* or the Law Books. These law books contain what may be called the Canon Law. This Canon Law as will be seen later on is vast in its compass and treats of such subjects as law, government, civic rights and duties of the different classes in society, penances for sins and punishments for offences. The purely secular part of this Dharma is not relevant for the purpose in hand. What is relevant is that part, of it which is accepted as belonging strictly to religion.

The Smarth Dharma i.e. Dharma based on Smritis is based on five dogmas. The first dogma of Smarth Dharma is the belief in Trinity of Gods, composed of three Gods: Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh or Shiva. In this Trinity, Brahma is the creator of the world, Vishnu is the preserver and Shiva is the destroyer. Instead of the thirty-three Gods of the Srauta Dharma, Smarth Dharma limits the pantheon to only three.

The second dogma of the Smarth Dharma is the recognition of the purificatory ceremonies which are called Sanskaras or sacraments. According to the Smarth Dharma every householder must perform certain ceremonies. If he does not he becomes a *patit* i.e. one who is fallen from grace and therefore.....

(*The above text is on a typed Page No. 21. Further pages of this chapter are missing. The following text is from the loose sheets enumerated in blue pencil from page No. 55 to 65 only, except page No. 56. All these pages have corrections and instructions in the handwriting of the author.*)—Ed.

There are few loose pages on ' Smarth Dharma and Tantrik Dharma'. Smarth Dharma is numbered as Part II while Tantrik Dharma is numbered as Part III. It seems that Part I consisted of Srauta Dharma. There is only one page of Smarth Dharma numbered as 21. The Tantrik Dharma starts from page 55 and ends at page 65 except page No. 56 with three more handwritten pages added by the author.—Ed.

Punishments and Penances occupy very prominent place in Pauranik Dharma. In the Srauta Dharma Yama has nothing to do with the future punishment of the wicked. The idea of penal retribution after death for sins committed during life is unknown. But the Puranas have considerably enlarged the Powers of Yama in this respect.

> "Yama fulfils the office of judge of the dead, as well as sovereign of the damned; all that die appearing before him, and being confronted with Chitragupta, the recorder, by whom their actions have been registered. The virtuous are thence conveyed to Swarga, or Elysium, whilst the wicked are driven to the different regions of Naraka, or Tartarus".

> " The dreadful Chitragupta with a voice like that issuing from the clouds at the mundane dissolution, gleaming like a mountain of collyrium, terrible with lightning like weapons, having thirty-two arms, as big as three yojans, red-eyed, long-nosed, his face furnished with grinders and projecting teeth, his eyes resembling oblong ponds, bearing death and diseases."

Sin will be punished after death. So also there is expiation for sin if the- sinner wishes by performing certain penances for removing sin.

But what is sin? According to the Pauranik Dharma it does not mean the commission of a moral wrong. It means the non-performance of the observances prescribed by the Puranas. Such is Pauranik Dharma.

III TANTRIK DHARMA

What is known as the Tantrik Dharma centres round the worship of *Shakti*. Shakti literally means power or energy. But in Tantrism it means the female partner of a male God. The literature of the Tantrik Dharma is quite vast and forms quite a separate branch of the Hindu Religious literature. It is necessary to observe that the Shakta form of Hinduism is equipped with a vast mythological personnel of its own, an immense array of female personalities, constituting a distinct division of the Hindu Pantheon.

In its origin the Tantrik Dharma is only an extension of the Pauranik Dharma. It is the Puranas which first began with the recognition of the female unmarried goddesses or as objects of worship. This was followed by the recognition of married females who were the wives of the Gods. It is in support of their recognition of the right of the wives of the Gods to be worshipped as goddesses that the Puranas set out the principle of Shaktism. According to the Puranas

a deity though single has a dual character. In one it is quiescent, in the other active. The active nature of the deity is called his Shakti (i.e. his power). This *Shakti* of the deity is personified by the Puranas as the wife of the deity. This is the foundation of what is called Shaktism or the worship of the wife of certain deities.

The essence of Shaktism lies in the exclusive worship of the female deity in her most comprehensive character as the great power (Sakti) of Nature, the one mother of the Universe (Jagan-Mata, Jagad-Amba)—the mighty mysterious Force whose function is to direct and control two quite distinct operations; namely, first, the working of the natural appetites and passions, whether for the support of the body by eating and drinking, or for the propagation of living organisms through sexual cohabitation; secondly, the acquisition of supernatural faculties and magical powers (siddhi), whether for a man's own individual exaltation or for the annihilation of his opponents.

And here it is necessary to observe that the Sakta form of Hinduism is equipped with a vast mythological Personnel of its own—an immense array of female personalities, constituting a distinct division of the Hindu Pantheon.

Yet the whole array of the Tantrik female Pantheon spreading out as it does into countless ramifications, Shaktism has its root in the wife of Shiva. By common consent she is held to be the source or first point of departure of the entire female mythological system. She also stands at its head; and it is remarkable that in every one of the male God Shiva's characteristics, his consort is not only his counterpart, but a representation of all his attributes intensified. We have already pointed out how it came to pass that the male God gradually gathered under his own personality the attributes and functions of all other divinities, and thus became to his own special worshippers the great God (Mahadevah) of Hinduism. Similarly and in a much greater degree did his female counterpart become the one great goddess (Maha-devi) of the Sakta hierarchy: representing in her own person all other female manifestations of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, and absorbing all their functions. For this reason even the wives of Brahma and Vishnu were said to be her daughters. As to the opposite and contradictory qualities attributed to her, these are no source of difficulty to a Hindu mind. She is simply in all respects a duplicate of her husband but a duplicate painted in deeper or more vivid colours.

And just as Shiva is at one time white (Sveta, Sukla) both in complexion and character, at another black (Kala); so his female

nature also became one half white (whence one of her names Gauri) and the other half black (whence her name Kali).

Then, again, each of these opposite characters became variously modified and endlessly multiplied. The white or mild nature ramified into the Saktis called Uma, Gauri, Lakshmi, Sarasvati, etc., the black or fierce nature into those called Kali, Durga, Candi, Camunda, etc. And just as Shiva has 1008 names or epithets, so his wife possesses a feminine duplicate of nearly everyone of his designations. At least one thousand distinct appellations are assigned to her, some expressive of her benignant, some of her ferocious character. Notably it is declared in the Tantras that if any one repeats eight of her names containing the letter *m,* kings will become his servants, all men will love him, and all his difficulties come to a happy termination.

In short, all the other Saktis came to be included by the Saktas under the *Sakti* or female energy of Shiva, which eventually developed into innumerable separate manifestations and personifications.

But it began in a rather modest way by starting the worship of the Durga along with Shiva, Laxmi along with Vishnu, Radha along with Krishna and Sita along with Rama. The number of Shaktis was not defined.

Sometimes only eight Saktis are enumerated and sometimes nine, viz, Vaishnavi, Brahmani, Raudri, Mahesvari, Narasinhi, Varahi, Indrani, Karttiki, and Pradhana. Others reckon fifty forms of the Sakti of Vishnu, besides Laxmi; and fifty of Siva or Rudra, besides Durga or Gauri. Sarasvati is named as a Sakti of Vishnu and Rudra, as well as Brahma. According to the Vayu-purana, the female nature of Rudra (Siva) became two-fold, one half Asita or white, and the other half Sita or black, each of these again becoming manifold. The white or mild nature includes the Saktis Uma, Gauri, Laxmi, Sarasvati, &c, the black or fierce nature includes Durga, Kali, Candi, Camunda, &c.

Soon however all the Shaktis were universalized under the Shakti or female energy which eventually developed into innumerable separate manifestations and personifications.

These personifications, following the analogy of some of Vishnu's incarnations, are sometimes grouped according to a supposed difference of participation in the divine energy, such for example as the full energy (*purna sakti*), the partial (*ansarupini*) the still more partial (*kala-rupini*), and the partial of the partial (kalansa-rupini), this last including mortal women in various degrees, from Brahman

women downwards, who are all worshipped as forms of the divine mother manifesting herself upon earth; for it must not be forgotten that in the Sakta creed every female is a present divinity.

The more usual classification, however, begins with the Mahavidyas. These are held to be ten in number, that number being probably selected to match the ten chief incarnations of Vishnu. They are called Mahavidyas as sources of the goddess' highest knowledge; that is to say, of the knowledge which confers preternatural powers. They have all different attributes, and are thus designated: (1) Kali (sometimes called Syama), black in colour, fierce and irascible in character. (2) Tara, a more benign manifestation, worshipped especially in Kashmir. (3) Shodasi, a beautiful girl of sixteen (also called Tripura worshipped in Malabar). (4) Bhuvanesvari. (5) Bhairavi. (6) Chinna-mastaka, a naked goddess holding in one hand a blood-stained scimitar and in the other her own severed head, which drinks the warm blood gushing from her headless trunk. (7) Dhumavati, in the form of smoke. (8) Vagala or Bagala, having the face of crane. (9) Matangi, a woman of the Bhangi caste. (10) Kamalatmika. Of these the first two are especially Mahavidyas, the next five vidyas, and the last three Siddhavidyas.

The next class of personifications or manifestations of the goddess are the Matris or Matrika (or Maha-matris), the great mothers of the Universe. These are more important than the Mahavidyas in their connexion with the prevalence of Mother-worship, a form of religion which, among the peasantry of India, often takes the place of every other creed. This will be more fully explained in the chapter on tutelary deities.

The Matris or Mothers are: 1. Vaishnavi, 2. Brahmi or Brahmani, often represented with four faces or heads like the God Brahma, 3. Karttikeyi, sometimes called Mayuri, 4. Indrani, 5. Yami, 6. Varahi, connected with the boar incarnation of Vishnu, 7. Devi or Isani, represented with a trident in one hand as wife of Shiva. 8. Laxmi. Each of these divine Mothers is represented with a child in her lap.

Closely related to the Mothers is a class of female personifications called the eight Nayikas or mistresses. These, of course, are not necessarily mothers. In fact no other idea is connected with them than that of illegitimate sexual love. They are called Balini, Kamesvari, Vimala, Aruna, Medini, Jayini. Sarvesvari and Kaulesi.

Another class of manifestations is that of the Yoginis. These are sometimes represented as eight fairies or sorceresses created by and attendant on Durga, sometimes as mere forms of that goddess, sixty

or sixty-five in number, and capable of being multiplied to the number of ten millions.

Other classes not worth enumerating are the Dakinis and Sakinis. These are simply female friends or ogresses of most repulsive habits, and are not so much manifestations of the goddess as impish servants always attendant on her.

But it is in the form Kali—the form under which the goddess is worshiped at Calcutta—that she is most terrible.

The following is a free translation of two passages in the Tantras descriptive of Kali's appearance:

> "One should adore with liquors and oblations that Kali who has a terrible gaping mouth and uncombed hair : who has four hands and a splendid garland formed of the heads of the giants she has slain and whose blood she has drunk; who holds a sword in her lotus-like hands; who is fearless and awards blessings; who is as black as the large clouds and has the whole sky for her clothes; who has string of skulls round her neck and a throat besmeared with blood; who wears ear-rings (consisting of two dead bodies); who carries two dead bodies in her hands; who has terrible teeth and smiling face; whose form is awful and who dwells in burning-grounds (for consuming corpses); who stands on the breast of her husband Maha-deva."

(*Page Nos. 63-64 are missing. The script of Page No. 65 only is given below along with the concluding para written in the handwriting of the author.*)

The Tantrik worship is altogether different from Srauta or Pauranik worship. It is in keeping with its central philosophy namely the best form of worship is the fullest satisfaction of the carnal desires of man. The Tantrik worship is summed up in what are called five *Makaras,* The five Makaras are:

(i) The drinking of *Madya* (i.e. wine and liquors of various kinds).

(ii) The eating of *Mansa* (meat).

(iii) The eating of *Matsya* (fish).

(iv) The eating of *Mudra* (parched or fried grain).

(v) The performance of *Maithun* (sexual intercourse with a woman).

The Tantrik Puja consists in the performance of these acts. It is not necessary to draw attention to the fact that whatever is declared as *nishidha* (prohibited) is allowed in the Tantrik worship even sexual intercourse with a woman being prescribed as part of the Puja. Such is the growth of the Hindu Religion. On reading this history a student of

true religion is forced to ask: Where is the place of morality in the Hindu Religion?

Religion no doubt started its career by asking many questions:

> "What am I?" "Who made the Universe?" "If God made it what is the relation of Ego to God?" "What is the right way to propitiate God ?" " What is the relation between I and the Non-I i.e. between man and universe?" "What constitutes good life or that will please God?" etc.

Most of these questions have been taken over by theology, metaphysics, philosophy and ethics, into which religion has become split. But there is one question that remains with religion to preach and propagate namely what constitutes good life. A religion which does not do so is no religion at all.

Why have the Brahmins made the Hindu religion so nude; so devoid of morality? The Hindu religion is nothing but worshipping so many Gods and Goddesses, worshipping so many trees, visiting so many places of pilgrimage and making offerings to the Brahmins. Was the religion formulating for enabling the Brahmins to earn their living? Did they ever think that morality is the foundation of society and that unless morality is imbedded in religion it (has no driving)* force. These are questions which the Brahmins must answer.

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*The words are introduced by us as this portion of the page is moth-eaten.

APPENDIX V

THE INFALLIBILITY OF THE VEDAS

The Hindus are enjoined to study the Vedas every day the Satapatha Brahmana explains the reasons for it. It says:

"There are only five great sacrifices, which are the great ceremonies, viz., the offering to living creatures,[1] the offering to men, the offering to the fathers, the offering to the gods, and the Veda-offering (*Brahma-yajna*). *2.* Let an oblation be daily presented to living creatures. Thus the offering to them is fulfilled. Let (hospitality) be daily bestowed even down to the bowl of water; Thus is the offering to men fulfilled. Let the oblation to the gods be daily presented[2] as far as the faggot of wood. Thus is the offering to the gods fulfilled. 3. Next is the Veda-offering. This means private study[3] (of the sacred books). In this Veda-sacrifice speech is the *juhu,* the soul the *upabhrit,* the eye the *dhruva,* intelligence the sruva,[4] truth the ablution, and paradise the conclusion. He who, knowing this, daily studies the Veda, conquers an undecaying world more than thrice as great as that which he acquires who bestows this whole earth filled with riches. Wherefore the Veda should be studied. 4. Verses of the Rig-veda are milk-oblations to the Gods. He who, knowing this, daily reads these verses satisfies the gods with milk-oblations; and they being satisfied, satisfy him with property, with breath, with generative power, with complete bodily soundness, with all excellent blessings. Streams of butter, streams of honey flow as svadha-oblations to the fathers. 5. Yajush-verses are

[1] This sacrifice, as I learn from Prof. Aufrecht, consists in scattering grain for the benefit of birds, etc. See Bohtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, s. v. bali. In regard to the other sacrifices see Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, i. pp. 150, 153, 182 ff., 203 ff.

[2] In explanation of this Prof. Aufrecht refers to Katyayana's Srauta Sutras, iv. 1, 10 and Manu, iii. 210, 214, 218.

[3] Svadhyayah sva-sakhadhyanam " Reading of the Veda in one's own sakha."—comm.

[4] These words denote sacrificial spoons or ladles of different kinds of wood. See the drawings of them in Prof. Muller's article on the funeral rites of the Brahmans, Journ. of the Germ. or. Sec. Vol. ix. pp. Ixxviii and Lxxx.

This is a six-page typed copy on 'The Infallibility of the Vedas' having no corrections or instructions by the author. The latter portion of this chapter is not available.—Ed.

offerings of butter to the gods. He who, knowing this, daily reads these verses, satisfies the gods with offerings of butter; and they, being satisfied, satisfy him, etc. (as in the preceding paragraph). 6. Saman-verses are soma-libations to the gods. He who, knowing this, daily reads these verses, satisfies the gods with soma-libations; and they being satisfied, satisfy him, etc. (as above). 7. Verses of Atharvan and Angiras (atharvangirasah[1]) are oblations of fat to the gods. He who, knowing this, daily reads these verses, satisfies the gods with oblations of fat; and they etc. (as above). 8. Prescriptive and scientific treatises, dialogues, traditions, tales, verses and eulogistic texts are oblations of honey to the gods. He who, knowing this, daily reads these, satisfies the gods with oblations of honey; and they etc. (as above). 9. Of this Veda-sacrifice there are four Vashatkaras when the wind blows, when it lightens, when it thunders, when it crashes; wherefore when it blows, lightens, thunders, or crashes, let the man, who knows this, read, in order that these *Vashatkaras* may not be interrupted[2]. He who does so is freed from dying a second time, and attains to an union with Brahma. Even if he cannot read vigorously, let him read one text relating to the gods. Thus he is not deprived of his living creatures."

xi. 5, 7, 1 : "Now comes an encomium upon Vedic study. Study and teaching are loved. He (who practises them) becomes composed in mind. Independent of others, he daily attains his objects, sleeps pleasantly, becomes his own best physician. Control of his senses, concentration of mind, increase of intelligence, renown, capacity to educate mankind [are the results of study]. Increasing intelligence secures for the Brahman the four attributes of saintliness, suitable conduct, renown, and capacity for educating mankind. When so educated, men guarantee to the Brahman the enjoyment of the four prerogatives which are his due, reverence, the receipt of gifts, freedom from oppression, and from death by violence. 2. Of all the modes of exertion, which are known between heaven and earth, study of the Veda occupies the highest rank, (in the case of him) who, knowing this, studies it. Wherefore this study is to be practised. 3. On every occasion when a man studies the Vedic hymns he (in fact) performs a complete *ceremonial of sacrifice,* i.e. whosoever, knowing this, so studies. Wherefore this study, etc., etc. 4. And even when a man perfumed with unguents adorned with jewels, satiated with food, and reposing on a comfortable couch, studies the Veda he (has all the merit of one who) performs penance

[1] The Atharva Samhita is so called.

[2] See Bothlingk and Roth's Lexicon, s. v. chhambat.

(left) to the very tips of his nails[1]: (such is the case with him) who, knowing this, studies. Wherefore etc. 5. Rig-veda-verses are honey, Sama-verses butter, Yajus-verses nectar (*amrita*). When a man reads dialogues (*vakovakya*) and legends these two sorts of composition are respectively oblations of cooked milk and cooked flesh. 6. He who, knowing this, daily reads Rig-veda verses, satisfies the gods with honey; and they, when satisfied, satisfy him with all objects of desire, and with all enjoyments. 7. He who, knowing this, daily reads Sama-verses, satisfies the gods with butter; and they, when satisfied, etc. (as before). 8. He who, knowing this, daily reads Yajus-verses, satisfies the gods with nectar; and they, etc. (as before). 9. He who, knowing this, daily studies dialogues and the different classes of ancient stories, satisfies the gods with milk—and flesh-oblations; and they, etc. (as before). 10. The waters move. The Sun moves. The Moon moves. The constellations move. The Brahman who on any day does not study the Veda, is on that day like what these moving bodies would be if they ceased to move or act. Wherefore such study is to be practised. Let a man therefore present as his offering a verse of the Rig-veda, or the Saman, or the Yajush, or a Gatha, or a Kumvya, in order that the course of his observances may not be interrupted."

Manu also supports the Satapatha Brahmana. He says:

"The Veda is the eternal eye of the fathers, of Gods, and of men; it is beyond human power and comprehension; this is a certain conclusion. Whatever traditions are apart from the Veda, and all heretical views, are fruitless in the next world, for they are declared to be founded on darkness. All other (books) external to the Veda, which arise and pass away, are worthless and false from their recentness of date. The system of the four castes, the three worlds, the four states of life, all that has been, now is, or shall be, is made manifest by the Veda. The objects of touch and taste, sound, form, and odour, as the fifth, are made known by the Veda, together with their products, qualities, and the character of their action. The eternal Veda supports all beings; hence I regard it as the principle instrument of well-being to this creature, man. Command of armies, royal authority, the administration of criminal justice, and the sovereignty of all worlds, he alone deserves who knows the

[1] This sentence is differently rendered by Professor Weber, Ind. Stud. x. p. 112, as follows: "He burns (with sacred fire) to the very tips of his nails." In a later page of the same Essay we are told that according to the doctrine of a teacher called Naka Maudgaly as stated in the Taittiriya Aranyaka, the study and teaching of the Veda are the real tapas svadhyaya-pravachane eva tad hi tapah). In the text of the Aranyaka itself, vii. 8, it is declared that study and teaching should always accompany such spiritual or ritual acts as satyam, tapas, dama, sama the *agnihotra* sacrifice, etc. See Indische Studien, ii. 214, and x. 113.

Veda. As fire, when it has acquired force, burns up even green trees, so he who knows the Veda consumes the taint of his soul which has been contracted from works. He who comprehends the essential meaning of the Veda, in whatever order of life he may be, is prepared for absorption into Brahma, even while abiding in this lower world."

Manu however is not satisfied with this. He goes much beyond and enunciates the following new doctrine—

"By Sruti is meant the Veda, and by Smriti the institutes of law: the contents of these are not to be questioned by reason, since from them (a knowledge of) duty has shone forth. The Brahman who, relying on rationalistic treatises[1], shall contemn these two primary sources of knowledge, must be excommunicated by the virtuous as a sceptic and reviler of the Vedas . . . . . 13. To those who are seeking a knowledge of duty, the sruti is the supreme authority."

●●

[1] This, however, must be read in conjunction with the precept in xii. 106, which declares arsham dharmopadesam cha veda-sastravirodhina yas tarkenanusandhatte sa dharman veda naparah "He, and he only is acquainted with duty, who investigates the injunctions of the rishis, and the precepts of the smriti, by reasonings which do not contradict the Veda."

PART II
Social

According to the original Table of Contents by the author Part I and Part III are classified as Religious and Political respectively while Part II is not given any classification. However, this part is classified as 'Social' on one of the pages from Riddle No. 21. This Part contained six riddles including 'The Riddle of Women' entitled 'Why did the Brahmins degrade the Indian Women ?'. This chapter has already been included in Vol. No. 3 of this series under the title 'Revolution and Counter-Revolution' vide Ch. 17. Hence it is excluded from this volume.

RIDDLE NO. 16

THE FOUR VARNAS—ARE THE BRAHMINS SURE OF THEIR ORIGIN?

It is the cardinal faith of every Hindu that the Hindu Social Order is a Divine Order. The prescriptions of this Divine Order are three. *First* Society is permanently divided into four classes namely (1) Brahmins, (2) Kshatriyas, (3) Vaishyas and (4) Shudras. *Second* the four classes in point of their mutual status are linked together in an order of graded inequality. The Brahmins are at the head and above all others. The Kshatriyas below the Brahmins but above the Vaishyas and the Shudras. The Vaishyas below the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas but above the Shudras and the Shudras below all. *Third* the occupations of the four classes are fixed. The occupation of the Brahmins is to acquire learning and to teach. The occupation of the Kshatriyas is to fight, that of the Vaishyas to trade and that of the Shudras to serve as menials to the other three classes above him. This is called by the Hindus the Varna Vevastha. It is the very soul of Hinduism. Without Varna Vevastha there is nothing else in Hinduism to distinguish it from other religions. That being so it is only proper that an enquiry should be made into the origin of this Varna system.

For an explanation of its origin we must have recourse to what the ancient Hindu literature has to say on the subject.

I

It would be better to collect together in the first place the views expressed in the Vedas.

This is a 33-page typed script having all necessary corrections and additions incorporated by the author. There are two concluding pages written by the author himself. All the pages of the chapter are loose sheets tagged together with a title page in the handwriting of the author.—Ed.

The subject is referred to in the Rig-Veda in the 90th Hymn of the 10th Book. It runs as follows:

> "1 Purusha has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet. On every side enveloping the earth, he overpassed (it) by a space of ten fingers. 2. Purusha himself is this whole (universe), whatever has been and whatever shall be. He is also the lord of immortality since (or, when) by food he expands. 3. Such is his 'greatness, and Purusha is superior to this. All existences are a quarter of him; and three-fourths of him are that which is immortal in the sky. 4. With three quarters Purusha mounted upwards. A quarter of him was again produced here. He was then diffused everywhere over things which eat and things which do not eat. 5. From him was born Viraj, and from Viraj, Purusha. When born, he extended beyond the earth, both behind and before. 6. When the Gods performed a sacrifice with Purusha as the oblation, the spring was its butter, the summer its fuel, and the autumn its (accompanying) offering. 7. This victim Purusha, born in the beginning, they immolated on the sacrificial grass. With him the gods, the Sadhyas, and the rishis sacrificed. 8. From that universal sacrifice were provided curds and butter. It formed those aerial (creatures) and animals both wild and tame. 9. From the universal sacrifice sprang the *rich* and *saman* verses, the *metres* and the *yajush*. 10. From it sprang horses, and all animals with two rows of teeth; kine sprang from it; from it goats and sheep. 11. When (the gods) divided Purusha, into how many parts did they cut him up? What was his mouth? What arms (had he)? What (two objects) are said (to have been) his thighs and feet? 12. The Brahman was his mouth; the Rajanya was made his arms; the being (called) the Vaisya, he was his thighs; the Sudra sprang from his feet. 13. The moon sprang from his soul (manas), the sun from his eye, Indra and Agni from his mouth, and Vayu from his breath. 14. From his navel arose the air, from his head the sky, from his feet the earth, from his ear the (four) quarters; in this manner (the gods) formed the worlds. 15. When the gods, performing sacrifice, bound Purusha as a victim, there were seven sticks (struck up) for it (around the fire), and thrice seven pieces of fuel were made. 16. With sacrifice the gods performed the sacrifice. These were the earliest rites. These great powers have sought the sky, where are the former Sadhyas, gods."

This hymn is known by its general name Purusha Sukta and is supposed to embody the official doctrine of Varna.

How far do the other Vedas support this theory?

The Sama-Veda has not incorporated the Purusha Sukta among its hymns. Nor does it give any other explanation of the Varna.

The Yajur-Veda has two branches—the *White Yajur-Veda* and the *Black Yajur-Veda.*

The Black Yajur-Veda is known to have three Sanhitas or collection of Mantras, the *Kathaka Sanhita,* the *Maitriyani Sanhita* and *Taitterriya Sanhita.*

The White Yajur-Veda has only one Sanhita which is known as Vajasaneya Sanhita.

The Maitriyani Sanhita and the Kathak Sanhita of the Black Yajur-Veda do not make any reference to the Purusha Sukta of the Rig-Veda; nor do they attempt to give any other explanation of the origin of the Varna system.

It is only Taitterriya Sanhita of the Black Yajur-Veda and the Vajasaneya Sanhita of the White Yajur-Veda that have spoken something relating to the Varna system.

The Vajasaneya Sanhita contains one explanation of the origin of the Varna System. The Taitterriya Sanhita on the other hand contains two explanations. There are two things to be noted about these two explanations contained in the Taitterriya Sanhita. The first is that these two do not agree with each other in the least; they are quite different. The second is that one of them agrees completely with that contained in the Vajasaneya Sanhita of the White Yajur-Veda. The following is the text of the Taitterriya Sanhita which may be taken as an independent explanation :

"He (the Vratya) became filled with passions thence sprang the Rajanya".

> " Let the king to whose house the Vratya who knows this, comes as a guest, cause him to be respected as superior to himself. So doing he does no injury to his royal rank, or to his realm. From him arose the Brahman (Brahman) and the Kshattra (Kshatriya). They said, 'Into whom shall we enter, etc."

The explanation contained in the Vajasaneya Sanhita which tallies with the second[1] explanation given by the Taitterriya Sanhita reads as follows:

> "He lauded with one. Living beings were formed. Prajapati was the ruler. He lauded with three: the Brahman was created: Brahmanaspati was the ruler. He lauded with five; existing things were created : Brahmanaspati was the ruler. He lauded with seven; the seven rishis were created; Dhatri was the ruler. He lauded

[1] Khanda IV. Prapathaka III Verses X following-

with nine; the Fathers were created: Aditi was the ruler. He lauded with eleven: the seasons were created: the Artavas were the rulers. He lauded with thirteen: the months were created: the year was the ruler. He lauded with fifteen: the Kshattra (the Kshattriya) was created: Indra was the ruler. He lauded with seventeen: animals were created: Brihaspati was the ruler. He lauded with nineteen; the Sudra and the Arya (Vaisya) were created: day and night were the rulers. He lauded with twenty-one : animals with undivided hoofs were created: Varuna was the ruler. He lauded with twenty-three: small animals were created: Pushan was the ruler. He lauded with twenty-five; wild animals were created: Vayu was the ruler (compare R.V.x. 90, 8). He lauded with twenty-seven: heaven and earth separated: Vasus, Rudras, and Adityas separated after them: they were the rulers. He lauded with twenty-nine: trees were created: Soma was the ruler. He lauded with thirty-one: living beings were created: The first and second halves of the month were the rulers. He lauded with thirty-one; existing things were tranquilized; Prajapati Parameshthin was the ruler."

Here it should be noted that not only there is no unanimity between the Rig-Veda and the Yajur-Veda but there is no agreement between the two Samhitas of the Yajur-Veda on so important a subject as the origin of the Varnas.

Let us turn to the Atharva-Veda. The Atharva-Veda has also two explanations to give. It incorporates the Purusha Sukta though the order of the verses varies from the order in which they stand in the Rig-Veda. What is however important to note is that the Atharva-Veda is not content with the Purusha Sukta. It offers other explanations also. One such explanation reads as follows[1]:

"The Brahman was born the first, with ten heads and ten faces. He first drank the *soma*; he made poison powerless".

"The Gods were afraid of the Rajanya when he was in the womb. They bound him with bonds when he was in the womb. Consequently this Rajanya is born bound. If he were unborn unbound he would go on slaying his enemies. In regard to whatever Rajanya any one desires that he should born unbound, and should go on slaying his enemies, let him offer for him this Aindra-Birhaspatya oblation. A Rajanya has the character of Indra, and a Brahman is Brihaspati. It is through the Brahman that any one releases the Rajanya from his bond. The golden bond, a gift, manifestly releases from the bond that fetters him."

[1] Muir's Sanskrit Texts Vol. I pp. 21-22.

The other explanation speaks of people being descended from Manu and is to be found referred to in the following passages[1]:

> " Prayers and hymns were formerly congregated in the Indra, in the ceremony which Atharvan, father Manu, and Dadhyanch celebrated". " Whatever prosperity or succour father Manu obtained by sacrifices, may we gain all that under thy guidance, O Rudra."
>
> "Those pure remedies of yours, O Maruts, those which are most auspicious, ye vigorous gods, those which are beneficient, those which our father Manu chose, those, and the blessing and succour of Rudra, I desire."
>
> "That ancient friend hath been equipped with the powers of the mighty (gods). Father Manu has prepared hymns to him, as portals of success to the gods."
>
> "Sacrifice is Manu, our protecting father."
>
> "Do ye (gods) deliver, protect and intercede for us; do not lead us far away from the paternal path of Manu."
>
> "He (Agni) who abides among the offspring of Manu as the invoker (of the gods), is even the lord of these riches."
>
> "Agni, together with the gods, and the children of Manush, celebrating a multiform sacrifice with hymns, etc." "Ye gods, Vajas, and Ribhukshans, come to our sacrifice by the path travelled by the gods, that ye, pleasing deities, may institute a sacrifice among these people of Manush on auspicious days".
>
> " The people of Manush praise in the sacrifices Agni, the invoker."
>
> "Whenever Agni, lord of the people, kindled, abides gratified among the people of Manush, he repels all Rakshasas."

Stopping for a moment to take stock so to say of the position it is quite clear that there is no unanimity among the Vedas on the origin of the four Varnas. None of the other Vedas agree with the Rig-Veda that the Brahamin was created from the mouth of the Prajapati, the Kshatriyas from his arms, the Vaishyas from his thighs and the Shudras from his feet.

II

Let us now turn to the writings called the Brahmanas and see what they have to say on this question.

The explanation given by the Sathpatha Brahmana is as follows[2]:

> "(Uttering) '*bhuh'* Prajapati generated this earth. (Uttering) '*bhuvah*' he generated the air, and (uttering) '*svah*', he generated

[1] Muir's Sanskrit Texts Vol. I pp. 162-165.

[2] Muir Sanskrit Texts Vol. I p. 17.

the sky. This Universe is co-extensive with these worlds. (The fire) is placed with the whole. Saying *'bhuh',* Prajapati generated the Brahman; (saying) *'bhuvah'* he generated the Kshattra; (and saying) '*svah'* he generated the Vis. The fire is placed with the whole, (saying) '*bhuh',* Prajapati generated himself; (saying) '*bhuvah*' he generated offspring; (saying) '*svah*', he generated animals. This world is so much as self, offspring, and animals. (The fire) is placed with the whole."

The Sathpatha Brahmana also gives another explanation. It reads as follows[1]:

"Brahma (here, according to the commentator, existing in the form of Agni, and representing the Brahman caste) was formerly this (universe), one only. Being one, it did not develop. It energetically created an excellent form, the Kshattra, viz., those among the gods who are powers (kshattrani), Indra, Varuna, Soma Rudra, Parjanya, Yama, Mrityu, Isana. Hence nothing is superior to the Kshattra. Therefore the Brahman sits below the Kshattriya at the Rajasuya-sacrifice; he confers that glory on the Kshattra (the royal power). This, the Brahma, is the source of the Kshattra; hence, although the king attains supremacy, he at the end resorts to the Brahma as his source. Whoever destroys him (the Brahman) destroys his own source. He becomes most miserable, as one who has injured a superior. 24. He did not develop. He created the Vis, those classes of gods who are designated by troops, Vasus, Rudras, Adityas, Visvadevas, Maruts, 25. He did not develop. He created the Sudra class, Pushan. This earth is Pushan; for she nourishes all that exists. 26. He did not develop. He energetically created an excellent form, Justice (Dharma). This is the ruler (kshattra) of the ruler (kshattra), namely justice. Hence nothing is superior to justice. Therefore the weaker seeks (to overcome) the stronger by justice, as by a king. This justice is truth. In consequence they say of a man who speaks truth, ' he speaks justice;' or of a man who is uttering justice, 'he speaks truth.' For this is both of these. 27. This is the Brahma, Kshattra, Vis and Sudra. Through Agni it became Brahma among the gods, the Brahman among men, through the (divine) Kshatriya a (human) Kshattriya, through the (divine) Vaisya a (human) Vaisya, through the (divine) Sudra a (human) Sudra. Wherefore it is in Agni among the gods and in a Brahman among men, that they seek after an abode."

The Taittiriya Brahmana offers three explanations. First is in the following terms[2]:

[1] Muir Sanskrit Text Vol. I p. 20.

[2] Muir I p. 17.

"This entire (universe) has been created by Brahma. Men say that the Vaisya class was produced from Rick-verses. They say that the Yajur-Veda is the womb from which the Kshattriya was born. The Sama-Veda is the source from which the Brahmans sprang. This word the ancients declared to the ancients."

The second says[1]:

"The Brahman caste is sprung from the gods; the Sudra from the Asuras".

The third is as follows[2]:

"Let him at his will milk out with a wooden dish. But let not a Sudra milk it out. For this Sudra has sprung from non-existence. They say that which a Sudra milks out is no oblation. Let not a Sudra milk out the Agnihotra. For they do not purify that. When that passes beyond the filter, then it is an oblation".

Again looking at the testimony of the Brahmanas how far do they support the Purusha Sukta? Not one of them do.

III

The next thing would be to see what the Smritis have to offer some explanation of the origin of the Varna system. It is worthwhile taking note of them. This is what Manu has to say on the subject[3].

"He (the self-existent) having felt desire, and willing to create various living beings from his own body, first created the waters, and threw into them a seed. 9. That seed became a golden egg, of lustre equal to the Sun; in it he himself was born as a Brahma, the parent of all the worlds. 10. The waters are called *narah,* for they are sprung from Nara; and as they were his first sphere of motion he is therefore called Narayana. 11. Produced from the imperceptible eternal, existent and non-existent, cause, the male (Purusha) is celebrated in the world as Brahma. 12. After dwelling for a year in the egg, the glorious being, himself, by his own contemplation, split it in twain."

"That the worlds might be peopled, he caused the Brahman, the Kshattriya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra to issue from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet. 32. Having divided his own body into two parts, the lord (Brahma became), with the half of male (purusha), and with the half, a female; and in her he created Viraj. 33. Know, O most excellent twice-born men, that I, whom that male, (Purusha) Viraj, himself am the creator of all this world.

[1] Muir's Sanskrit Texts Vol. I p. 21.

[2] *Ibid* p. 21.

[3] *Ibid* pp. 36-37.

34. Desiring to produce living creatures, I performed very arduous devotion and first created ten Maharshis, Great rishis, lords of living beings, 35. viz., Marichi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Prachetas, Vasishtha, Bhrigu, and Narada. 36. They, endowed with great energy, created other seven Manus, gods, and abodes of gods, and Maharshis of boundless might; 37. Yakshas. Rakshases, Pisachas, Gandharvas, Apsaras, Asuras, Nagas, Serpents, great birds, and the different classes of pitris; 38. Lightnings, thunderbolts, clouds, portentous atmospheric sounds, comets, and various luminaries; 39. Kinnars, apes, fishes, different sorts of birds, cattle, deer, men, beasts with two rows of teeth; 40. small and large reptiles mouths; lice, flies, fleas, all gadflies, and gnats, and motionless things of different sorts. 41. Thus by my appointment, and by the force of devotion, was all this World both motionless and moving, created by those great beings, according to the (previous) actions of each creature."

There is also another view expressed by Manu in his Smriti as to the basic reasons for dividing men into four classes[1] :

> "I shall now declare succinctly in order the states which the soul reaches by means of each of these qualities. 40. Souls endowed with the *Satlva* quality attain to godhead: those having the rajas quality become men; whilst those characterized by tamas always become beasts—such is the threefold destination..... 43. Elephants, horses, Sudras and contemptible Mlenchhas, lions, tigers, and boars form the middle dark condition..... 46. Kings, Kshattriyas, a King's priests (purohitah), and men whose chief occupation is the war of words, compose the middle condition of passion.... 48. Devotees, ascetics, Brahmans, the deities borne on aerial cars, constellations, and Daityas, constitute the lowest condition of goodness. 49. Sacrificing priests, rishis, Gods, the Vedas, the celestial luminaries, years, the fathers, the Sadhyas, form the second condition of goodness. 50. Brahma, the creators, righteousness, the Great one (*mahat*) the Unapparent One (*avyakta*) compose the highest condition of goodness."

Manu of course agrees with the Rig-Veda. But his view is of no use for comparison. It is not original. He is merely repeating the Rig-Veda.

IV

It will be interesting to compare with these views those contained in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.

[1] Muir's Sanskrit Texts Vol. I p. 41.

The Ramayana says that the four Varnas are the offspring of Manu, the daughter of Daksha and the wife of Kasyapa[1].

> "Listen while I declare to you from the commencement all the Prajapatis (lord of creatures) who came into existence in the earliest time. Kardama was the first, then Vokrita, Sesha, Samsraya, the energetic Bahuputra, Sthanu, Marichi, Atri, the strong Kratu, Pulastya, Angiras, Prachetas, Pulaha, Daksha, then Vivasvat, Arishtanemi, and the glorious Kasyapa, who was the last. The Prajapati Daksha is famed to have had sixty daughters. Of these Kasyapa took in marriage eight elegant maidens, Aditi, Diti, Danu, Kalaka, Tamra, Krodhavasa, Manu and Anala. Kasyapa pleased, then said to these maids, 'ye shall bring forth sons like me, preservers of the three worlds. Aditi, Diti, Danu and Kalaka assented; but the others did not agree. Thirty-three gods were born by Aditi, the Adityas, Vasus, Rudras, and the two Asvins. Manu (wife) of Kasyapa, produced men—Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras. 'Brahmans were born from the mouth, Kshattriyas from the breast, Vaisyas from the thighs, and Sudras from the feet,' So says the Veda. Anala gave birth to all trees with pure fruits."

Strange, very strange that Valmiki should have credited the creation of the four Varnas to Kassyapa instead of to Prajapati. His knowledge was evidently based only on hearsay. It is clear he did not know what the Vedas had said.

Now the Mahabharata gives four different explanations in four different places. The first runs as follows:

> "Born all with splendour, like that of great rishis, the ten sons of Prachetas, reputed to have been virtuous and holy; and by them the glorious beings were formerly burnt up by fire springing from their mouths. From them was born Daksha Prachetas, and from Daksha, the parent, of the world (were produced), these creatures. Cohabiting with Virini, the Muni Daksha begot a thousand sons like himself, famous for their religious observances, to whom Narada taught the doctrine of final liberation, the unequalled knowledge of the Sankhya. Desirous of creating offspring, the Prajapati Daksha next formed fifty daughters of whom he gave ten to Dharma, thirteen to Kasyapa, and twenty-seven, devoted to the regulation of time, to Indu (Soma) . . . . . on Dakshayani, the most excellent of his thirteen wives, Kasyapa, the son of Marichi, begot the Adityas, headed by Indra and distinguished by their energy, and also Vivasvat. To Vivasvat was born a son, the mighty Yama Vaivasvata. To Martanda (i.e. Vivasvat, the Sun) was born the wise

[1] Muir's Sanskrit Texts Vol. I pp. 116-117.

and mighty Manu, and also the renowned Yama, his (Manu's) younger brother. Righteous was this wise Manu, on whom a race was founded. Hence this (family) of men became known as the race of Manu. Brahmans, Kshattriyas, and other men sprang from this Manu. From him O King, came the Brahman conjoined with the Kshatriya."

The theory propounded here is very much the same as that contained in the Ramayana with this difference, namely, the Mahabharata makes Manu, the progenitor of the four Varnas and secondly it does not say that the four Varnas were born from the different parts of Manu.

The second explanation[1] given by the Mahabharata follows what is given in the Purusha Sukta of the Rig-Veda. It reads thus:

"The King should appoint to be his royal priest a man who will protect the good, and restrain the wicked. On this subject they relate this following ancient story of a conversation between Pururavas the son of Ila and Matarisvan (Vayu, the windgod). Pururavas said: " You must explain to me whence the Brahman, and whence the (other) three castes were produced, and whence the superiority (of the first) arises." Matarisvan answered: "The Brahman was created from Brahma's mouth, the Kshatriya from his arms, the Vaisya from his thighs, while for the purpose of serving these three castes was produced the fourth class, the Sudra, fashioned from his feet. The Brahman, as soon as born, becomes the lord of all beings upon the earth, for the purpose of protecting the treasure of righteousness. Then (the creator) constituted the Kshattriya the controller of the earth, a second Yama to bear the rod, for the satisfaction of the people. And it was Brahma's ordinance that the Vaisya should sustain these three classes with money and grain, and that the Sudra should serve them." The son of Ila then enquired: "Tell me, Vayu to whom the earth, with its wealth rightfully belongs, to the Brahman or the Kshattriya?" Vayu replied: "All this, whatever exists in the world is the Brahman's property by right of primogeniture; this is known to those who are skilled in the laws of duty. It is his own which the Brahman eats, puts on, and bestows. He is the chief of all the castes, the first-born and the most excellent. Just as a woman when she has lost her (first) husband, takes her brother in law for a second; so the Brahman is thy first resource in calamity; afterwards another may arise".

The third view is expounded in the Shantiparva of the Mahabharata[2]:

[1] Muir's Vol. I p.

[2] *Ibid* pp. 139-40.

Bhrigu replied: 'Brahma thus formerly created the Prajapatis, penetrated by his own energy, and in splendour equalling the sun and fire. The lord then formed truth, righteousness austere fervour, and the eternal Veda (or sacred science), virtuous practice, and purity for (the attainment of) heaven. He also formed the Gods, Danavas, Gandharvas, Daityas, Asuras, Maharagas, Yakshas, Rakshasas, Nagas, Pisachas, and men, Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras, as well as all other classes (varna) of beings. The colour (varna) of the Brahmans was white; that of the Kshattriyas red; that of the Vaishyas yellow, and that of the Sudras black.' Bharadvaja here rejoins: 'If the caste (varna) of the four classes is distinguished by their colour (varna), then a confusion of all the castes is observable. Desire, anger, fear, cupidity, grief, apprehension, hunger, fatigue, prevail over us all, by what then, is caste discriminated? Sweat, urine, excrement, phlegm, bile and blood (are common to all) the bodies of all decay; by what then is caste discriminated ? There are innumerable kinds of things moving and stationary how is the class (varna) of these various objects to be determined?' Bhrigu replies: "There is no difference of castes":"

The fourth explanation is also contained in the same Shantiparva. It says:

"Bharadvaja again enquires: 'What is that in virtue of which a man is a Brahman, a Kshattriya, a Vaisya, or a Sudra; tell me, O most eloquent Brahman rishi'. Bhrigu replies: 'He who is pure, consecrated by the natal and other ceremonies, who has completely studied the Veda, lives in the practice of the six ceremonies, performs perfectly the rites of purification, who eats the remains of oblations, is attached to his religious teacher, is constant in religious observances, and devoted to truth. — is called a Brahman. He in whom are seen truth, liberality inoffensiveness, harmlessness, modesty, compassion, and austere fervour—is declared to be a Brahman. He who practises the duty arising out of the kingly office, who is addicted to the study of the Veda, and who delights in giving and receiving, is called a Kshattriya. He who readily occupies himself with cattle, who is devoted to agriculture and acquisition, who is pure, and is perfect in the study of the Veda,—is denominated a Vaisya. He who is habitually addicted to all kinds of food, performs all kinds of work, who is unclean, who has abandoned the Veda, and does not practise pure observances,— is traditionally called a Sudra. And this (which I have stated) is the mark of a Sudra, and it is not found in a Brahman: (such) a Sudra will remain a Sudra, while the Brahman (who so acts) will be no Brahman."

Except in one place the Mahabharata gives no support to the Rig-Vedic origin of the Varna System.

V

Let us inquire what the Puranas have to say on the origin of the Varna System.

To begin with the Vishnu Purana. There are three theories propounded in the Vishnu Purana on the origin of the Chaturvarna.

According to one the origin is to be ascribed to Manu. Says the Vishnu Purana[1]:

> "Before the mundane egg existed the divine Brahma Hiranyagarbha, the eternal originator of all worlds, who was the form of essence of Brahma, who consists of the divine Vishnu, who again is identical with Rik, Yajush, Saman and Atharva Vedas. From Brahma's right thumb was born the Prajapati Daksha; Daksha had a daughter Aditi; from her was born Vivasvat; and from him sprang Manu. Manu had sons called Ikshvaku, Nriga, Dhrishta, Saryati, Narishanta, Pramsu, Nabhagandishta, Karusha and Prishadhra. From Karusha the Karushas, Kshattriyas of great power, were descended. Nabhaga, the son of Nedishta, became a Vaisya."

This explanation is incomplete. It only explains the origin of Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. It does not explain the origin of Brahmanas and Sudras. There is also another and a different version in the Vishnu Purana. It says:

> "Desirous of a son, Manu sacrificed to Mitra and Varuna; but in consequence of a wrong invocation through an irregularity of the hotri (priest) a daughter called Illa was born. Then through the favour of Mitra and Varuna she bore to Manu a son called Sudyumna. But being again changed into a female through the wrath of Isvara (Mahadeva) she wandered near the hermitage of Budha the son of Soma (the Moon); who becoming enamoured of her had by her a son called Pururavas. After his birth, the God who is formed of sacrifice of the Rik, Yajush, Saman, and Atharva Vedas, of all things, of mind, of nothing, he who is in the form of the sacrificial Male, was worshipped by the rishis of infinite splendour who desired that Sudyumna should recover his manhood. Through the fervour of this God Ila became again Sudhumna."
>
> "According to the Vishnu Purana, Atri was the son of Brahma, and the father of Soma (the Moon), whom Brahma installed as the

[1] Muir I pp. 220-221.

sovereign of plants, Brahmans and stars. After celebrating the Rajasuya sacrifice. Soma became intoxicated with pride, and carried up Tara (Star), the wife of Brihaspati, the preceptor of the gods, whom, although admonished and entreated by Brahma, the gods, and rishis, he refused to restore. Soma's part was taken by Usanas; and Rudra, who had studied under Angiras, aided Brihaspati. A fiery conflict ensued between the two sides, supported respectively by the gods and the Daityas, etc. Brahma interposed, and compelled Soma to restore Tara to her husband. She had, however, in the meantime become pregnant and bore a son Budha (the planet Mercury), of whom, when strongly urged, she acknowledged Soma to be the father. Pururavas, as has been already mentioned, was the son of this Budha by Illa, the daughter of Manu.

"Pururavas had six sons, of whom the eldest was Ayus. Ayus had five sons: Nahusha, Kshattra-vriddha, Rambha, Raji, and Anenas."

"Kshattravriddha had a son Sunahotra, who had three sons, Kasa, Lesa, and Gritsamada. From the last sprang Saunaka, *who originated the system of four castes*. Kasa had a son Kasiraja, of whom again Dirghatamas was the son as Dhanvantari was Dirghatamas."

The third version ascribes[1] the origin to Brahma. It says:

"Maitreya[2] says: 'You have described to me the Arvaksrotas, or human creation; declare to me, O Brahman, in detail the manner in which Brahma formed it. Tell me how and with what qualities, he created the castes, and what are traditionally reputed to be the functions of the Brahmans and others'. Parasara replies: 3. When, true to his design, Brahma became desirous to create the world, creatures in whom goodness (*sattva*) prevailed sprang from his mouth: 4. Others in whom passion (*rajas*) predominated came from his breast; other in whom both passion and darkness (*tamas*) were strong, proceeded from his thigh; 5. Others he created from his feet, whose chief characteristic was darkness. Of these was composed the system of four castes, Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras, who had respectively issued from his mouth, breast, thighs, and feet."

Herein the Vishnu Purana has given the Rig-Vedic theory supported by the Sankhya Philosophy.

In the Harivamsa are to be found two theories. One[3] upholds the theory of the origin of the Varnas as being born from one of the

[1] Muir's Sanskrit Texts Vol. I pp. 61-62.

[2] The Vishnu Purana is cast in the form of a dialogue between Maitreya the student who asks questions and Rishi Parashara who answers his questions.

[3] Muir's Sanskrit Texts Vol. I p. 227.

descendents of Manu as the stock of descent than the one mentioned by the Vishnu Purana:

> "The son of Gritsamada was Sunaka, from whom sprang the Saunakas, Brahmanas, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras."
>
> "Vitatha was the father of five sons, Suhotra, Suhotri, Gaya, Garga, and the great Kapila. Suhotra had two sons, the exalted Kasaka, and King Gritsamati. The sons of the latter were Brahmans, Kshattriyas and Vaisyas."

The other version speaks of their being formed by Vishnu who sprang from Brahma and had become Prajapati Daksha and is as follows[1]:

> "Janmejaya[2] says: ' I have heard, O Brahman the (description of the) Brahma Yuga, the first of the ages. I desire also to be accurately informed both summarily, and in detail, about the age of the Kshattriyas, with its numerous observances, illustrated as it was by sacrifice, and described, as it has been by men skilled in the art of narration.' Vaisamapayana replied. 'I shall describe to you that age revered for its sacrifices and distinguished for its various works of liberality, as well as for its people. Emancipation, practising unobstructed ceremonies, both in action and in abstinence from action constantly intent upon Brahma, united to Brahman as the highest object,—Brahmans glorious and sanctified in their conduct, leading a life of continence, disciplined by the knowledge of Brahman,—Brahmans complete in their observances, perfect in knowledge, and contemplative,—when at the end of a thousand yugas, their majesty was full, these Munis became involved in the dissolution of the world. Then Vishnu, sprung from Brahma, removed beyond the sphere of sense, absorbed in contemplation, became the Prajapati Daksha, and formed numerous creatures. The Brahmans, beautiful (or, dear to Soma), were formed from an imperishable (*akshara*), the Kshattriyas from a perishable (*kshara*), element, the Vaisyas from alteration, the Sudras from a modification of smoke. While Vishnu was thinking upon the castes (*varnan*) Brahmans were formed with white, red, yellow, and blue colour (varnaih). Hence in the world men have become divided into castes, being of four descriptions, Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras, one in form, distinct in their duties, two-footed, very wonderful, full of energy(?), skilled in expedients in all their occupations. Rites are declared to be prescribed by the Vedas for the three (highest) castes. By that contemplation practised by the being

1 Muir's Vol. I pp. 152-153.

2 The Harivamsa is a dialogue between Janmejaya and Vaishampayan.

> sprung from Brahma—by that practised in his character as Vishnu—the Lord Prachetasa (Daksha), i.e. Vishnu the great contemplator (Yogin), passed through his wisdom and energy from that state of meditation into the sphere of works. Next the Sudras, produced from extinction, are destitute of rites. Hence they are not entitled to be admitted to the purificatory ceremonies, nor does sacred science belong to them. Just as the cloud of smoke which rises from the fire on the friction of the fuel, and is dissipated, is of no service in the sacrificial rite, so too the Sudras wandering over the earth, are altogether (useless for purposes of sacrifice) owing to their birth, their mode of life devoid of purity and their want of the observances prescribed in the Veda."

The Bhagwat[1] Purana has also an explanation as to the origin of the Varnas, It says:

> "At the end of many thousand years the living soul which resides in time, action, and natural quality gave life to that lifeless egg floating on the water. Purusha then having burst the egg, issued from it was a thousand thighs, feet, arms, eyes, faces and heads. With his members the sages fashion the worlds, the seven lower worlds with his loins etc., and the seven upper worlds with his groin, etc. The Brahman was the mouth of Purusha, the Kshattriya his arms, the Vaishya was born from the thighs, the Sudra from the feet of the divine being. The earth was formed from his feet, the air from his navel; the heaven by the heart, and the mahaloka by the breast of the mighty one."

Lastly the Vayu Purana. What does it say? It takes up the theory of Manu as the originator of the Varna System.

> "The son of Gritsamada was Sunaka, from whom sprang Saunaka. In his family were born Brahmanas, Kshattriyas, Vaisya, and Sudras, twice-born men with various functions."

VI

What a chaos? Why could the Brahmins not give a uniform, and consistent explanation of the origin of the four Varnas?

On the issue of who created them, there is no uniformity. The Rig-Veda says the four Varnas were created by Prajapati. It does not mention which Prajapati. One would like to know which Prajapati it was who created the four Varnas. For there are so many Prajapatis. But even on the point of creation by Prajapati there is no agreement. One says they were created by Brahman. Another says they were created by Kassyapa. The third says they were created by Manu.

[1] Muir's Sanskrit Texts Vol. I p. 156.

On the issue how many Varnas, the creator—whoever he was— created, again there is no uniformity. The Rig-Veda says four Varnas were created. But other authorities say only two Varnas were created, some say Brahmans and Kshatriyas and some say Brahmana and Shudras.

On the issue the relations intended by the creator for binding together the four Varnas the Rig-Veda lays down the rule of graded inequality based on the importance of the part of the creation from which the particular Varna was born. But the white Yajur-Veda denies this theory of the Rig-Veda. So also the Upanishad, Ramayana, Mahabharata, and Puranas. Indeed the Hari Vansha goes to the length of saying that the Shudras are twice born.

This chaos seems to be the result of concoction of the theory of Chaturvarna which the Brahmins quietly singled into the Rig-Veda contrary to established traditions?

What was the purpose, what was the motive of the Brahmins who concocted this theory?

●●

RIDDLE NO. 17

THE FOUR ASHRAMAS—THE WHY AND HOW ABOUT THEM

The division of society into four orders called Varnas is not the only peculiar feature of Hindu Society. What is called Ashram Dharma is another. There is however one point of difference between the two. The Varna Dharma is a theory of the organization of society. The Ashram Dharma on the other hand is a theory of regulating the life of an individual.

The Ashram Dharma divides the life of an individual into four stages (1) Brahmacharya, (2) Grahasthashram, (3) Vanaprastha and (4) Sannyas. The state of Brahmacharya has both *de jure* and *de facto* connotation in that it means an unmarried state of life. Its *de jure* connotation means the stage of study under a teacher. Grahasthashram is the stage of a householder, a stage of a married family life. The stage of Sannyas is a stage of renunciation of civic rights and responsibilities. It is a stage of civic death. The stage of Vanaprastha is in between Grahasthashram and Sannyas. It is a stage in which one belongs to society but is bound to live away from society. As the name implies it prescribes dwelling in forest.

The Hindus believe that this institution of Ashram Dharma is as vital as that of the Varna Dharma for the well-being society. They call the two by a joint name of Varnashram Dharma as though they were one and integral. The two together form the steel-frame of the Hindu Society.

To begin with it would be better to have a full understanding of the Ashram Dharma before inquiring into its origin and its purpose and its peculiarities. The best source for an exposition of the Ashram system is the Manu Smriti from which the following relevant extracts are reproduced:

This is an 18-page Manuscript. This is the typed first copy with a title written in the author's handwriting.—Ed.

"In the eighth year after conception, one should perform the initiation (*upanayana*) of a Brahmana, in the eleventh after conception (that) of a Kshatriya, but in the twelfth that of a Vaisya[1]."

"A twice-born man who, not having studied the Veda, applies himself to other (and worldly study), soon falls, even while living, to the condition of a Sudra and his descendants (after him)."[2]

"The vow of the three Vedas under a teacher must be kept for thirty-six years or for half that time, or for a quarter, or until the (student) has perfectly learnt them."

"Who has studied in due order the three Vedas, or two, or even one only, without breaking the (rule of) studentship, shall enter the order of householder."[3]

"The student, the householder, the hermit, and the ascetic, these (constitute) four separate orders, which all spring from (the order of) householders."

"But all (or) even (any of) these orders, assumed successively in accordance with the Institutes (of the sacred law), lead the Brahmana who acts by the preceding (rules) to the highest state."

"And in accordance with the precepts of the Veda and of the Smriti, *the housekeeper is declared to be superior to all of them;* for he supports the other three[4]."

"A Twice-born *Snataka,* who has thus lived according to the law in the order of householders, may, taking a firm resolution and keeping his organs in subjection, dwell in the forest, duly (observing the rules given below):

"When a householder sees his (skin) wrinkled and (his hair) white, and the sons of his sons, then he may resort to the forest[5]."

"But having thus passed the third part of (a man's natural term of) life in the forest, he may live as an ascetic during the fourth part of his existence, after abandoning all attachment to worldly objects."

"He who after passing from order to order, after offering sacrifices and subduing his senses, becomes tired with (giving alms and offerings of food), as ascetic, gains bliss after death."

"When he has paid the three debts, let him apply his mind to (the attainment of) final liberation; he who seeks it without having paid (his debts) sinks downwards."

[1] Manu Smriti Chapter II 36.

[2] *Ibid.,* II 168.

[3] *Ibid.* III 1-2.

[4] *Ibid.,* VI 87-89.

[5] *Ibid,* VI 1-2.

"Having studied the Vedas in accordance with the rule, having begot sons according to the sacred law, and having offered sacrifices according to his ability, he may direct his mind to (the attainment of) final liberation."

"A twice-born man who seeks final liberation, without having studied the Vedas, without having begotten sons, and without having offered sacrifices, sinks downwards[1]."

From these rules it is clear that according to Manu there are three features of the Ashram Dharma. First is that it is not open to Shudras and women. The second is Brahmacharya which is compulsory, so is Grahasthashram. Vanaprastha and Sannyas are not compulsory. The third is that one must pass from one stage to another in the order in which they stand namely first Brahmacharya, then Grahasthashram, then Vanaprastha and lastly Sannyas. No one can omit one and enter the next stage.

A cursory reflection on this system of stages which may well be called a system of planned economy of the life of the individual raises many questions. First is what forced Manu to have such a system of planned economy. Referring to the Vedas, the theory of stages in life is quite unknown. The Vedas speak of Brahmachari. But there is nothing to show that Brahmacharya was regarded as the first and inescapable stage in life. Why did the Brahmins make Brahmacharya as the compulsory stage in the life of an individual? This is the first riddle about the Ashram Dharma.

The second question is why Manu made it obligatory to observe the order of sequence in the following of the different stages of life by the individual. Now there is no doubt that there was a time when it was open to a Brahmachari to enter any of the three Ashrams! He may become a Grahasthashrami or he may at once become a Sannyasi without becoming a Grahasthashrami. Compare what the authors of the Dharma Sutras have to say on the point.

Vasistha Dharma Sutra[2] says:

"There are four orders viz. (that of) the student, (that of) the householder, (that of) the hermit, and (that of) the ascetic".

"A man who has studied one, two or three Vedas without violating the rules of studentship, *may enter any of these* (orders) *whichsoever he pleases*."

Gautama Dharma Sutra[3] says:

"Some (declare, that) he (who has studied the Veda) *may make his choice* (which) among the orders (he is going to enter.)"

[1] Manu Smriti. Chapter VI. 33-37.

[2] *Ibid* Chapter VII verses 1, 2, 3.

[3] *Ibid* Chapter III verses 1 and 2.

"The four orders are, (that of) the student (that of) the householder, (that) of the ascetic (*bhikshu*) (and that of) the hermit in the woods (*Vaikhanasa*)."

It is obvious from the views expressed by the Dharma Shastras that there was a time when the married state was an optional state. After Brahmacharya one would straight enter the stage of Vanaprastha or Sannyasa. Why did Manu remove the option and make the married state an obligatory state, why did he make the married state a condition precedent to the stage of hermit and the stage of hermit a condition precedent to the stage of a Sannyas?

After Grahasthashram there remain two stages to complete the round of life—Vanaprastha and Sannyas. The question is why Manu felt the necessity of life of the individual after Grahasthashram into two stages. Why was one stage of Sannyas not enough? The rules of regulating the life of the Vanaprastha and the Sannyasi as laid down in Manu are so alike that they give some point to the question.

In the following table a comparative study is made of the Codes for the Vanaprastha and the Sannyasa as prescribed by Manu:

The Code for Vanaprastha	The Code for Sannyasi
"Abandoning all food raised by cultivation and all his belongings, he may depart into the forest, either committing his wife to his sons, or accompanied by her." Ch. VI-3.	"Having performed the Ishti, sacred to the Lord of creatures (Pragapati) where (he gives) all his property as the sacrificial fee, having reposited the sacred fires in himself, a Brahmana may depart from his house, (as an ascetic)." Ch. VI-38.
"Taking with him the sacred fire and the implements required for domestic (sacrifices) he may go forth from the village into the forest and reside there, duly controlling his senses." Ch. VI-4	"Worlds, radiant in brilliancy, become (the portion) of him who recites (the texts) regarding Brahman and departs from his house (as an ascetic), after giving a promise of safety to all created beings." Ch. VI-39.
"Let him offer those five great sacrifices according to the rule, with various kinds of pure food fit for ascetics, or with herbs, roots and fruit." VI-5.	"For that twice-born man, by whom not the smallest danger even is caused to created beings, there will be no danger from any (quarter) after he is freed from his body." Ch. VI-40.

The Code for Vanaprastha	The Code for Sannyasi
"Let him wear a skin or a tattered garment; let him bathe in the evening or in the morning and let him always wear (his hair in) braids the hair on his body, his beard, and his nails (being unipped)." VI-6.	"Departing from his house fully provided with the means of purification (Pavitra), let him wander about absolutely silent, and caring nothing for enjoyments that may be offered (to him)." Ch. VI-41.
"Let him perform the Bali-offering with such food as he eats and give alms according to his ability; let him honour those who come to his hermitage with alms consisting of water roots and fruit." VI-7.	"Let him always wander alone, without any companion, in order to attain (final liberation) fully understanding that the solitary (man, who) neither forsakes nor is forsaken, gains his end." Ch. VI-42
"Let him be always industrious in privately reciting the Veda; let him be patient of hardships, friendly (towards all), of collected mind, ever liberal and never a receiver of gifts, and compassionate towards all living creatures." VI-8.	"He shall neither possess a fire, nor a dwelling, is may go to a village for his food, (he shall be) indifferent to everything, firm of purpose, meditating (and) concentrating his mind on Brahman." Ch. VI-43.
"Let him offer, according to the law, the Agnihotra with three sacred fires, never omitting the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices at the proper time." VI-9.	"A potsherd (instead of an alms-bowl) the roots of trees (for a dwelling), coarse worn-out garments, life in solitude and indifference towards everything, are the marks of one who has attained liberation. Ch. VI-44.
"Let him also offer the Nakshatreshti, the Agrayana; and the Katurmasya (sacrifices), as well as the Turayana and likewise the Dakshayana, in due order." VI-10.	" Let him not desire to die, let him not desire to live, let him wait for (his appointed) time, as a servant (waits) for the payment of his wages." Ch. VI-45.
"With pure grains, fit for ascetics, which grow in spring and in autumn, and which he himself has collected, let him severally prepare the sacrificial cakes (*purodasa*) and the boilded messes (karu), as the law directs." VI-11.	"Delighting in what refers to the Soul, sitting (in the postures prescribed by the Yoga), independent (of external help) entirely abstaining from sensual enjoyments, with himself for his only companion, he shall live in

The Code for Vanaprastha	The Code for Sannyasi
	this world, desiring the bliss (of final liberation." Ch. VI-49.
"Having offered those most pure sacrificial viands, consisting of the produce of the forest, he may use the remainder for himself (mixed with) salt prepared by himself." VI-12.	"Neither by (explaining) prodigies and omens, nor by skill in astrology and palmistry nor by giving advice and by the exposition (of the Sastras) let him, ever seek to obtain alms." Ch. VI-50.
"Let him eat vegetables that grow on dry land or in water, flowers, roots and fruits, the productions of pure trees, and oils extracted from forest-fruits." VI-13.	"Let him not (in order to beg) go near a house filled with hermits, Brahmanas, birds, dogs or other mendicants." Ch. VI-51.
"Let him avoid honey, flesh and mushrooms growing on the ground (or elsewhere, the vegetables called) Bhustrina, and Sigruka, and the Sleshmantaka fruit." VI-14.	"His hair, nails and beards being clipped carrying an alms-bowl, a staff, and a water-pot, let him continually wander about controlling himself and not hurting any creature." Ch. VI-52.
"Let him throw away in the month of Asvina the food of ascetics, which he formerly collected, likewise his worn-out clothes and his vegetables, roots and fruit." VI-15.	"His vessels shall not be made of metal, they shall be free from fractures, it is ordained that they shall be cleansed with water, like (the cups, called) Kamasa, at a sacrifice." Ch. VI-53.
"Let him not eat anything (grown on) ploughed (land), though it may have been thrown away by somebody, nor roots and fruit grown in a village, though (he may be) tormented (by hunger)." VI-16.	"A gourd, a wooden bowl, an earthen (dish), or one made of split cane, Manu the son of Svayambhu, has declared (to be) vessels (suitable) for an ascetic." Ch. VI-54.
"He may eat either what has been cooked with fire, or what has been ripened by time; he either may use a stone for grinding or his teeth be his mortar." VI-17.	"Let him go to beg once (a day), let him not be eager to obtain a large quantity (of alms); for an ascetic who eagerly seeks, alms, attaches himself also to sensual enjoyments." Ch. VI-55.

[1] Manu Smriti, Chapter VI verses 38-45.

[2] *Ibid,* Chapter VI 207.

[3] *Ibid,* Chapter VI 208.

The Code for Vanaprastha	The Code for Sannyasi
"He may either at once (after his daily meal) cleanse (his vessel for collecting food), or lay up a store sufficient for a month, or gather what suffices for six months or for a year." VI-18.	"When no smoke ascends from (the kitchen), when the pestle lies motionless, when the members have been extinguished, when the people have finished their meal, when the remnants in the dishes have been removed, let the ascetic always go to beg." Ch. VI-56.
"Having collected food according to his ability he may either eat at night (only) or in the daytime (only), or at every fourth mealtime, or at every eighth." VI-19.	"Let him not be sorry when he obtains nothing, nor rejoice when he obtains (something), let him (accept) so much only as will sustain life, let him not care about the (quality of his) utensils." Ch. VI-57.
"Or, he may live according to the rule of the lunar penance (Kandrayana), daily diminishing the quality of his food in the bright (half of the month) and (increasing it in the dark (half); or he may eat on the last days of each fortnight once (a day only), boiled barley-gruel." VI-20.	"Let him disdain all (food) obtained in consequence of humble salutations, (for) even an ascetic who has attained final liberation, is bound (with the fetters of the Samsara) by accepting (food given) in consequence of humble salutations." Ch. VI-58.
"Or, he may constantly subsist on flowers, roots, and fruit alone, which have been ripened by time and have fallen spontaneously following the rule of the (Institutes) of *Vikhanas*." VI-21.	"By eating little, and by standing and sitting in solitude, let him restrain his senses, if they are attracted by sensual objects." Ch. VI-59.
"Let him either roll about on the ground, or stand during the day on tiptoe, (or) let him alternately stand and sit down; going at the *Savanas* (at sunrise, at midday, and at sunset) to water in the forest (in order to bathe)." VI-22.	"By the restraint of his senses, by the destruction of love and hatred, and by the abstention from injuring the creatures, he becomes fit for immortality." Ch. VI-60.

[1] Manu Smriti Chap. VI 209.

The Code for Vanaprastha	The Code for Sannyasi
"In summer let him expose himself to the heat of five fires, during the rainy season live under the open sky, and in winter be dressed in wet clothes, (thus) gradually increasing (the rigour of) his austerities." VI-23.	"When by the disposition (of his heart) he becomes indifferent to all objects, he obtains eternal happiness both in this world and after death." Ch. VI-80.
"When he bathes at the three Savanas (Sunrise, midday and Sunset), let him offer libations of water to the manes and the gods, and practising harsher and harsher austerities, let him dry up his bodily frame." VI-24.	" He who has in this manner gradually given up all attachments and is freed from all the pairs (of opposites), reposes in Brahman alone." Ch. VI-81.
"Having reposited the three sacred fires in himself, according to the prescribed rule, let him live without a fire, without a house wholly silent, subsisting on roots and fruit." VI-25.	"All that has been declared (above) depends on meditation; for he who is not proficient in the knowledge of that which refers to the Soul reaps not the full reward of the performance of rites." Ch. VI-82.
"Making no effort (to procure) things that give pleasure, chaste, sleeping on the bare ground, not caring for any shelter, dwelling at the roots of trees. VI-26.	"Let him constantly recite (those texts) of the Veda which refer to the sacrifice, (those) referring to the deities, and (those) which treat of the Soul and are contained in the concluding portions of the Veda (Vedanta)." Ch. VI-83.
"From Brahmanas (who live as) ascetics let him receive alms, (barely sufficient) to support life, or from other householders of the twice-born (castes) who reside in the forest." VI-27.	"That is the refuge of the ignorant, and even that (the refuge) of those who know (the meaning of the Veda); that is (the protection) of those who seek (bliss in) heaven and of those who seek endless (beatitude)." Ch. VI-84.
"Or (the hermit who dwells in the forest) may bring food from a village, receiving it either in a hollow dish (of leaves), in (his naked) hand, or in a broken earthen dish, and may eat eight mouthfuls." VI-28	"A twice-born man who becomes an ascetic, after the successive performance of the above-mentioned acts, shakes off sin here below and reaches the highest Brahman." Ch. VI-85.

The Code for Vanaprastha	The Code for Sannyasi
"These and other observances must a Brahmana who dwells in the forest diligently practise, and in order to attain complete (union with) the (supreme) Soul, (he must study) the various sacred texts contained in the Upanishads." VI-29.	

Comparing the Vanaprastha with Sannyas and Grahasthashram with Vanaprastha one sees some very striking resemblances between them. Comparing Vanaprastha with Sannyas there are only a few differences in the modes of life prescribed for them. Firstly a Vanaprastha does not abandon his wife or his rights over his property. But a Sannyasi must abandon both. Secondly, a Vanaprastha can have a fixed dwelling although it must be in a forest. But a Sannyasi cannot have a fixed dwelling not even in a forest. He must keep on wandering from place to place. Thirdly, a Sannyasi is debarred from expounding the Shastras while the Vanaprastha is not expressly placed under such a disability. As for the rest their mode of life is identical.

The resemblance between Grahasthashram and Vanaprastha is also very close. The Vanaprasthi is a Grahasthashrami for all essential purposes. Like the Grahasthashrami be continues to be a married man. Like, the Grahasthashrami he continues to be the owner of his property. Like the Grahasthashrami he does not renounce the world and like the Grahasthashrami he follows the Vedic religion. The only points of difference between the Vanaprasthi and the Grahasthashrami are three. (1) the Grahasthashrami is not bound to observe abstinence in his food and clothing to which a Vanaprasti is subject. (2) The Grahasthashrami dwells in the midst of society while the Vanaprasthi is required to live in a forest. (3) The Vanaprasti is free to study the Vedanta while the Grahasthashrami is confined to the study of the Vedas. As for the rest their modes of life are identical.

Having regard to these close resemblances between Grahasthashram and Vanaprastha and between Vanaprastha and Sannyas it is difficult to understand why Manu recognized this third ashram of Vanaprastha in between Grahasthashram and Sannyas as an ashram distinct and separate from both. As a matter of fact, there could be only three ashrams: (1) Brahmacharya, (2) Grahasthashram and (3) Sannyas. This seems to be also the view of Shankaracharya who in his Brahma Sutra in defending the validity of Sannyas against the Purva Mimansa School speaks only of three ashramas.

Where did Manu get this idea of Vanaprastha Ashram? What is his source? As has been pointed out above, Grahasthashram was not the next compulsory stage of life after Brahmacharya. A Brahmachari may at once become Sannyasi without entering the stage of Grahasthashram. But there was also another line of life which a Brahmachari who did not wish to marry immediately could adopt namely to become *Aranas* or *Aranamanas*[1]. They were Brahmacharies who wish to continue the life of Study without marrying. These Aranas lived in hermitages in forests outside the villages or centres of population. The forests where these *Arana* ascetics lived were called *Aranyas* and the philosophical works of these *aranas* were called *Aranyakas*. It is obvious that Manu's Vanaprastha is the original *Arana* with two differences (1) he has compelled Arana to enter the marital state and (2) the arana stage instead of being the second stage is prescribed as the third stage. The whole scheme of Manu rest in the principle that marriage is compulsory. A Brahmachari if he wishes to become a Sannyasi he must become a Vanaprastha and if he wishes to become a Vanaprastha he must become a Grasthashrami i.e., he must marry. Manu made escape from marriage impossible. Why?

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[1.] Radha Kumud mookerjee—Ancient India Education p-6.

RIDDLE NO. 18

MANU'S MADNESS OR THE BRAHMANIC EXPLANATION OF THE ORIGIN OF THE MIXED CASTES

A reader of the Manu Smriti will find that Manu for the purposes of his discussion groups the various castes under certain specific heads namely (1) Aryan Castes, (2) Non-Aryan Castes, (3) Vratya Castes, (4) Fallen Castes and (5) Sankara Castes.

By Aryan Castes he means the four varnas namely Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra. In other words, Manu regards the system of Chaturvarna to be the essence of Aryanism. By Non-Aryan Castes he means those communities who do not accept the creed of Chaturvarna and he, cites the community called Dasyu as an illustration of those whom he regards as a Non-Aryan community[1]. By Vratyas he means those castes who were once believers in the Chaturvarna but who had rebelled against it.

The list of Vratyas given by Manu includes the following castes:

Vratya Brahmanas	Vratya Kshatriyas	Vratya Vaishyas
1. Bhrigga Kantaka	1. Jhalla	1. Sudhanvana
2. Avantya	2. Malla	2. Acharya
3. Vatadhana	3. Lacchavi	3. Karusha
4. Phushpada	4. Nata	4. Vijanman
5. Saikha	5. Karana	5. Maitra
	6. Khasa	6. Satvata
	7. Dravida.	

[1] Manu X. 45. This verse is of great significance for two reasons. In the first place, it shows Shudra as different from Dasyu. In the second place, it shows that a Shudra is an Arya.

This is about 20-page MS on 'the origin of the mixed castes'. Through the original typed MS several handwritten pages are inserted by the author and the text has been modified with several amendments pasted on the pages.—Ed.

In the list of Fallen Castes Manu includes those Kshatriyas who have become Shudras by reason of the disuse of Aryan rites and ceremonies and loss of services of the Brahmin priests. They are enumerated by Manu as under:

1. Paundrakas
2. Cholas
3. Dravidas
4. Kambhojas
5. Yavanas
6. Sakas
7. Paradas
8. Pahlvas
9. Chinas
10. Kiratas
11. Daradas

By Sankara Castes Manu means Castes the members of which are born of parents who do not belong to the same caste.

These mixed castes he divides into various categories (1) Progeny of different Aryan Castes which he subdivides into two classes (a) Anuloma and (b) Pratiloma, (2) Progeny of Anuloma and Pratiloma Castes and (3) Progeny of Non-Aryan and the Aryan Anuloma and Pratiloma Castes. Those included by Manu under the head of mixed castes are shown below under different categories:

1. PROGENY OF MIXED ARYAN CASTES

Father	Mother	Progeny known as	Anuloma or Pratiloma
Brahman	Kshatriya	?	
Brahman	Vaishya	Ambashta	Anuloma
Brahman	Shudra	Nishad (Parasava)	Anuloma
Kshatriya	Brahman	Suta	Pratiloma
Kshatriya	Vaishya	?	
Kshatriya	Shudra	Ugra	Anuloma
Vaishya	Brahman	Vaidehaka	Pratiloma
Vaishya	Kshatriya	Magadha	Pratiloma
Vaishya	Shudra	Karana	Anuloma
Shudra	Brahman	Chandala	Pratiloma
Shudra	Kshatriya	Ksattri	Pratiloma
Shudra	Vaishya	Ayogava	Pratiloma

2. PROGENY OF ARYAN CASTES WITH ANULOMA-PRATILOMA CASTES

Father	Mother	Progeny known as
1. Brahman	Ugra	Avrita
2. Brahman	Ambashta	Abhira
3. Brahman	Abhira	Dhigvana
4. Shudra	Nishada	Kukutaka

3. PROGENY OF MIXED MARRIAGES BETWEEN ANULOMA AND PRATILOMA CASTES

Father	Mother	Progeny known as
1. Vaideha	Ayogava	Maitreyaka
2. Nishada	Ayogava	Margava (Das)
		Kaivarta
3. Nishada	Vaideha	Karavara
4. Vaidehaka	Ambashta	Vena
5. Vaidehaka	Karavara	Andhra
6. Vaidehaka	Nishada	Meda
7. Chandala	Vaideha	Pandusopaka
8. Nishada	Vaideha	Ahindaka
9. Chandala	Pukkassa	Sopaka
10. Chandala	Nishada	Antyavasin
11. Kshattari	Ugra	Swapaka

To Manu's list of Sankar (mixed) Castes additions have been made by his successors. Among these are the authors of Aushanas Smriti, Baudhayana Smriti, Vashistha Smriti, Yajnavalkya Smriti and the Suta Sanhita.

Of these additions four have been made by the Aushanas Smriti. They are noted below:

Name of the mixed caste	Father's caste	Mother's caste
1. Pulaksa	Shudra	Kshatriya
2. Yekaj	Pulaksa	Vaishya
3. Charmakarka	Ayogava	Brahmin
4. Venuka	Suta	Brahmin

The following four are added by the Baudhayana Smriti:

Name of the mixed caste	Father's caste	Mother's caste
1. Kshatriya	Kshatriya	Vaishya
2. Brahmana	Brahmana	Kshatriya
3. Vaina	Vaidehaka	Ambashta
4. Shvapaka	Ugra	Kshatriya

The Vashishta Smriti adds one to the list of Manu, namely:

Name of the mixed caste	Father's caste	Mother's caste
Vaina	Shudra	Kshatriya

The Yajnavalkya Smriti adds two new castes to Manu's list of mixed castes.

Name of the mixed caste	Father's caste	Mother's caste
1. Murdhavasika	Brahmin	Kshatriya
2. Mahisya	Kshatriya	Vaishya

The Additions made by the author of the Suta Sanhita are on a vast scale. They number sixty-three castes.

Name of the mixed caste		Father's caste	Mother's caste
1.	Ambashteya	Kshatriya	Vaishya
2.	Urdhvanapita	Brahman	Vaishya
3.	Katkar	Vaishya	Shudra
4.	Kumbhkar	Brahman	Vaishya
5.	Kunda	Brahman	Married Brahmin
6.	Golaka	Brahman	Brahmin Widow
7.	Chakri	Shudra	Vaishya
8.	Daushantya	Kshatriya	Shudra
9.	Daushantee	Kshatriya	Shudra
10.	Pattanshali	Shudra	Vaishya
11.	Pulinda	Vaishya	Kshatriya
12.	Bahyadas	Shudra	Brahmin
13.	Bhoja	Vaishya	Kshatriya
14.	Mahikar	Vaishya	Vaishya
15.	Manavika	Shudra	Shudra
16.	Mleccha	Vaishya	Kshatriya
17.	Shalika	Vaishya	Kshatriya
18.	Shundika	Brahmin	Shudra
19.	Shulikha	Kshatriya	Shudra
20.	Saparna	Brahman	Kshatriya
21.	Agneyanartaka	Ambashta	Ambashta
22.	Apitar	Brahman	Daushanti
23.	Ashramaka	Dantakevala	Shudra

Name of the mixed caste		Father's caste	Mother's caste
24.	Udabandha	Sanaka	Kshatriya
25.	Karana	Nata	Kshatriya
26.	Karma	Karana	Kshatriya
27.	Karmakar	Renuka	Kshatriya
28.	Karmar	Mahishya	Karana
29.	Kukkunda	Magadha	Shudra
30.	Guhaka	Swapach	Brahman
31.	Charmopajivan	Vaidehika	Brahman
32.	Chamakar	Ayogava	Brahmani
33.	Charmajivi	Nishad	Karushi
34.	Taksha	Mahishya	Karana
35.	Takshavriti	Ugra	Brahman
36.	Dantakavelaka	Chandala	Vaishya
37.	Dasyu	Nishad	Ayogava
38.	Drumila	Nishad	Kshatriya
39.	Nata	Picchalla	Kshatriya
40.	Napita	Nishada	Brahmin
41.	Niladivarnavikreta	Ayogava	Chirkari
42.	Piccahalla	Malla	Kshatriya
43.	Pingala	Brahmin	Ayogava
44.	Bhaglabdha	Daushanta	Brahmani
45.	Bharusha	Sudhanva	Vaishya
46.	Bhairava	Nishada	Shudra
47.	Matanga	Vijanma	Vaishya
48.	Madhuka	Vaidehika	Ayogava
49.	Matakar	Dasyu	Vaishya
50.	Maitra	Vijanma	Vaishya
51.	Rajaka	Vaideha	Brahman
52.	Rathakar	Mahishya	Karana
53.	Renuka	Napita	Brahman
54.	Lohakar	Mahishya	Brahmani
55.	Vardhaki	Mahishya	Brahmani
56.	Varya	Sudhanva	Vaishya
57.	Vijanma	Bharusha	Vaishya
58.	Shilp	Mahishya	Karana
59.	Shvapach	Chandala	Brahmani
60.	Sanaka	Magadha	Kshatriya
61.	Samudra	Takashavrati	Vaishya
62.	Satvata	Vijanma	Vaishya
63.	Sunishada	Nishad	Vaishya

Of the five categories of castes it is easy to understand the explanation given by Manu as regards the first four. But the same cannot be said in respect of his treatment of the fifth category namely the *Sankar* (mixed) caste. There are various questions that begin to trouble the mind. In the first place Manu's list of mixed castes is a perfunctory list. It is not an exhaustive list, stating all the possibilities of *Sankar*.

In discussing the mixed castes born out of the mixture of the Aryan castes with the Anuloma-Pratiloma castes, Manu should have specified the names of castes which are the progeny of each of the four Aryan castes with each of the 12 Anuloma-Pratiloma castes. If he had done so we should have had a list of forty-eight resulting castes. As a matter of fact he states only the names of four castes of mixed marriages of this category.

In discussing the progeny of mixed marriages between Anuloma-Pratiloma castes given the fact that we have 12 of them, Manu should have given the names of 144 resulting castes. As a matter of fact, Manu only gives a list of 11 castes. In the formation of these 11 castes, Manu gives five possible combinations of 5 castes only. Of these one (Vaideha) is outside the Anuloma-Pratiloma list. The case of the 8 are not considered at all.

His account of the Sankar castes born out of the Non-Aryan and the Aryan castes is equally discrepant. We ought to have had first a list of castes resulting from a combination between the Non-Aryans with each of the four Aryan castes. We have none of them. Assuming that there was only one Non-Aryan caste—Dasyu—we ought to have had a list of 12 castes resulting from a conjugation of Dasyus with each of the Anuloma-Pratiloma castes. As a matter of fact we have in Manu only one conjugation.

In the discussion of this subject of mixed castes Manu does not consider the conjugation between the Vratyas and the Aryan castes, the Vratyas and the Anuloma-Pratiloma castes, the Vratyas and the Non-Aryan castes.

Among these omissions by Manu there are some that are glaring as well as significant. Take the case of Sankar between Brahmins and Kshatriyas. He does not mention the caste born out of the Sankar between these two. Nor does he mention whether the Sankar caste begotten of these two was a Pratiloma or Anuloma. Why did Manu fail to deal with this question. Is it to be supposed that such a Sankar did not occur in his time? Or was he afraid to mention it? If so, of whom was he afraid ?

Some of the names of the mixed castes mentioned by Manu and the other Smritikaras appear to be quite fictitious.

For some of the communities mentioned as being of bastard origin have never been heard of before Manu. Nor does any one know what has happened to them since. They are today non-existent without leaving any trace behind. Caste is an insoluble substance and once a caste is formed it maintains its separate existence, unless for any special reason it dies out. This can happen but to a few.

Who are the *Ayogava, Dhigvana, Ugra, Pukkasa, Svapaka, Svapacha, Pandusopaka, Ahindaka, Bandika, Matta, Mahikar, Shalika, Shundika, Shulika, Yekaj, Kukunda* to mention only a few. Where are they? What has happened to them?

Let us now proceed to compare Manu with the rest of Smritikars. Are they unanimous on the origin of the various mixed castes referred to by them? Far from it compare the following cases.

	Smriti	Father's caste	Mother's caste
		I AYOGAVA	
1.	Manu	Shudra	Vaishya
2.	Aushanas	Vaishya	Kshatriya
3.	Yajnavalkya	Shudra	Vaishya
4.	Baudhayana	Vaishya	Kshatriya
5.	Agni Purana	Shudra	Kshatriya
		II UGRA	
1.	Manu	Kshatriya	Shudra
2.	Aushanas	Brahman	Shudra
3.	Yajnavalkya	Kshatriya	Vaishya
4.	Vashishtha	Kshatriya	Vaishya
5.	Suta	Vaishya	Shudra
		III NISHADA	
1.	Manu	Brahmana	Shudra
2.	Aushanas	Brahmana	Shudra
3.	Baudhayana	Brahmana	Shudra
4.	Yajnavalkya	Brahmana	Shudra
5.	Suta Sanhita	Brahmana	Vaishya
6.	Suta Sanhita	Brahmana	Shudra
7.	Vashishta	Vaishya	Shudra
		IV PUKKASA	
1.	Manu	Nishada	Shudra
2.	Brihad-Vishnu	Shudra	Kshatriya
3.	Brihad-Vishnu	Vaishya	Kshatriya

	Smriti	Father's caste	Mother's caste
		V MAGADHA	
1.	Manu	Vaishya	Kshatriya
2.	Suta	Vaishya	Kshatriya
3.	Baudhayana	Shudra	Vaishya
4.	Yajnavalkya	Vaishya	Kshatriya
5.	Brihad Vishnu	Vaishya	Kshatriya
6.	Brihad Vishnu	Shudra	Kshatriya
7.	Brihad Vishnu	Vaishya	Brahmana
		VI RATHAKAR	
1.	Aushanas	Kshatriya	Brahmana
2.	Baudhayana	Vaishya	Shudra
3.	Suta	Kshatriya	Brahmana
		VII VAIDEHAKA	
1.	Manu	Shudra	Vaishya
2.	Manu	Vaishya	Brahmana
3.	Yajnavalkya	Vaishya	Brahmana

If these different Smritikaras are dealing with facts about the origin and genesis of the mixed castes mentioned above how can such a wide difference of opinion exist among them? The conjugation of two castes can logically produce a third mixed caste. But how the conjugation of the same two castes produce a number of different castes ? But this is exactly what Manu and his followers seem to be asserting. Consider the following cases:

I. Conjugation of Kshatriya father and Vaishya mother.
   1. Baudhyayana says that the caste of the progeny is *Kshatriya.*
   2. Yajnavalkya says it is *Mahishya.*
   3. Suta says it is *Ambashta.*

II. Conjugation of Shudra father and Kshatriya mother—
   1. Manu says the Progeny is *Ksattri.*
   2. *Aushanas says it is Pullaksa.*
   3. Vashishta says it is *Vaina.*

III. Conjugation of Brahmana father and Vaishya mother.
   1. Manu says that the progeny is called Ambashta.
   2. Suta once says it is called *Urdhava Napita* but again says it is called *Kumbhakar.*

IV. Conjugation of Vaishya father and Kshatriya mother—
   1. Manu says that the progeny is called *Magadha.*

2. Suta states that (1) Bhoja, (2) Mleccha, (3) Shalik and (4) Pulinda are the Progenies of this single conjugation.

V. Conjugation of Kshatriya father and Shudra mother—

1. Manu says that the progeny is called Ugra.
2. Suta says that (1) Daushantya, (2) Daushantee and (3) Shulika are the progenies of this single conjugation.

VI. Conjugation of Shudra father and Vaishya mother—

1. Manu says the progeny is called Ayogava.
2. Suta says the progeny is (1) Pattanshali and (2) Chakri.

Let us take up another question. Is Manu's explanation of the genesis of the mixed castes historically true?

To begin with the Abhira. According to Manu the Abhiras are the bastards born of Brahmin males and Ambashta females. What does history say about them? History says that the Abhiras (the corrupt form of which is Ahira) were pastoral tribes which inhabited the lower districts of the North-West as far as Sindh. They were a ruling independent Tribe and according to the Vishnu Purana[1] the Abhiras conquered Magadha and reigned there for several years.

The *Ambashta*[2] says Manu are the bastards born of Brahmana male and Vaishya female. Patanjali speaks of Ambashtyas as those who are the natives of a country called Ambashta. That the Ambashtas were an independent tribe is beyond dispute. The Ambashtas are mentioned by Megasthenes the Greek Ambassador at the Court of Chandragupta Maurya as one of the tribes living in the Punjab who fought against Alexander when he invaded India. The Ambashtas are mentioned in the Mahabharata. They were reputed for their political system and for their bravery.

The *Andhras*[3] says Manu are bastards of second degree in so far as they are the progeny of Vaidehaka male and Karavara female both of which belong to bastard castes. The testimony of history is quite different. The Andhras are a people who inhabited that part of the country which forms the eastern part of the Deccan Plateau. The Andhras are mentioned by Megasthenes. Pliny the Elder (77 A.D.) refers to them as a powerful tribe enjoying paramount sway over their land in the Deccan, possessed numerous villages, thirty walled towns defended by moats and lowers and supplies their king with an immense army consisting of 1,00,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants.

[1] Book IV Chapter 24.

[2] For Ambashtas see Jaiswal's Hindu Polity—Part-I, pp. 73-74.

[3] For the Andhras see—Early Dynasties of Andhradesa—by Bhavaraju Venkata Krishnarao. They are also called Satavahanas.

According to Manu the *Magadhas*[1] are bastards born of Vaishya male and Kshatriya female. Panini the Grammarian gives quite a different derivation of 'Magadha'. According to him "Magadha" means a person who comes from the country known as Magadha. Magadha corresponds roughly to the present Patna and Gaya districts of Bihar. The Magadhas have been mentioned as independent sovereign people right from the earliest times. They are first mentioned in the Atharva-Veda. The famous Jarasandha was the king of Magadha who was a contemporary of the Pandavas.

According to Manu the *Nishadas* are the bastards born caste from Brahmin males and Shudra females. History has quite a different tale to tell. The Nishadas were a native tribe with its own independent territory and its own kings. They are a very ancient tribe. The Ramayana mentions Guha as the King of Nishadas whose capital was Sringaverapura and who showed hospitality to Rama when he was undergoing excile in the forest.

As to the *Vaidehaka* Manu says that they are the bastards born of Vaishya Male and Brahmin female. Etymologically Vaidehaka means a person who is a native of the country called Videha[2]. Ancient *Videha* corresponds to the modern districts of Champaran and Darbhanga in Bihar. The country and its people have been known to history from a very remote antiquity. The Yajur-Veda mentions them. Ramayana refers to them. Sita the wife of Rama is the daughter of Janak who was the king of Videha and whose capital was Mithila.

Many more cases could be examined. Those that have been are quite sufficient to show how Manu has perverted history and defamed the most respectable and powerful tribes into bastards. This wholesale bastardization of huge communities Manu did not apply to the Vratyas. But his successors carried the scheme further and bastardized the Vratyas also. Karma in Manu is Vratya. But the Brahma Vaivarta Purana makes them Bastards and says that they are the progeny of Vaishya father and Shudra mother. Paundraka in Manu is Vratya. But in the Brahmavaivarta Purana he is a bastard born of Vaishya father and Chundi mother. Malla in Manu is Vratya. But in the Brahma Vaivarta Purana he is a bastard born of Letta father and Tibara mother. The Vharjjakautakas are Vratya Brahmanas according to Manu. But in the Gautama Sanhita they are bastards born from a Brahman father and Vaishya mother. The Yavanas were declared by Manu as Vratya Kshatriya. But in Gautama Sanhita they are shown as bastards born of a Kshatriya father and Shudra mother.

[1] For the History of Magadha see Chapter IV of Ancient Indian Tribes by B.C. Law.

[2] For the History of the Videhas see part II Chapter I of Kshatriya clans in Buddhist India by B.C. Law.

The Kiratas are according to Manu Vratya Kshatriyas. But the Ballalacharitta makes them bastards born from Vaishya father and Brahmin mother.

It is quite clear that some of the communities mentioned by Manu as being bastard in origin far from being bastard were independent in origin and yet Manu and the rest of the Smratikara's call them Bastards. Why this madness on their part ? Is there a method in their madness?

Having regard to all these considerations it is a riddle why Manu at all raised the question of mixed castes and what he wanted to say about them?

It is possible that Manu had realized that the Chaturvarna had failed and that the existence of a large number of castes which should neither be described as Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras was the best proof of the break down of the Chaturvarna and that he was therefore called upon to explain how these castes who were outside the Chaturvarna came into existence notwithstanding the rule of Chaturvarnas.

But did Manu realize how terrible is the Explanation which he has given? What does his explanation amount to?

What a reflection on the character of men and particularly of women. It is obvious that the unions of men and women must have been clandestine because prohibited by the rule of Chaturvarna. Such clandestine unions could take place only here and there. They could not have taken place on a wholesale scale. But unless one assumes a wholesale state of promiscuity how can one justify the origin of the Chandals or untouchables as given by Manu.

The caste of Chandala is said by Manu to be the progeny of illegitimate intercourse between a Shudra male and a Brahman female. Can this be true? It means that Brahmin women must have been very lax in their morality and must have had special sexual attraction for the Shudra[1]. This is unbelievable.

So vast is the Chandala population that even if every Brahmin female was a mistress of a Shudra it could not account of the vast number of Chandalas in the country.

Did Manu realize by propounding his theory of the origin of the mixed castes he was assigning an ignoble origin to a vast number of the people of this country leading to their social and moral degradation. Why did he say that the castes were mixed in origin, when as a matter of fact they were independent in their existence?

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1 Megasthenes records that the ancient Brahmins were distrustful of their wives and did not communicate their metaphysical doctrine to women on the ground that being talkative they would communicate their knowledge to those who had no right to it which probably means the Shudras.

RIDDLE No. 19

THE CHANGE FROM PATERNITY TO MATERNITY. WHAT DID THE BRAHMINS WISH TO GAIN BY IT?

Mr. Mayne in his treatise on Hindu law has pointed out some anomalous features of the rules of Kinships. He says:

"No part of the Hindu Law is more anomalous than that which governs the family relations. Not only does there appear to be a complete break of continuity between the ancient system and that which now prevails, but the different parts of the ancient system appear in this respect to be in direct conflict with each other. We find a law of inheritance, which assumes the possibility of tracing male ancestors in an unbroken pedigre extending to fourteen generations; while coupled with it is a family law, in which several admitted forms of marriage are only euphemisms for seduction and rape, and in which twelve sorts of sons are recognized, the majority of whom have no blood relationship to their own father."

The existence of this anomaly is a fact and will be quite clear to those who care to study the Hindu Law of marriage and paternity.

The Hindu Law recognizes eight different forms of marriage, namely (1) Brahma, (2) Daiva, (3) Arsha, (4) Prajapatya, (5) Asura, (6) Gandharva, (7) Rakshasa and (8) Paisacha.

The Brahma marriage is the gift of a daughter, clothed and decked to a man learned in the Veda, whom her father voluntarily invites and respectfully receives.

The Daiva marriage consists of the giving of the daughter by father to the family priest attending a sacrifice at the time of the payment of the sacrificial fee and in lieu of it.

Arsha marriage is characterized by the fact that the bridegroom has to pay a price for the bride to the father of the bride.

Prajapatya form of marriage is marked by the application of a man for a girl to be his wife and the granting of the application by the

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This is an eleven-page typed chapter. Except the title of the chapter no other additions are found in the handwriting of the author.—Ed.

father of the girl. The difference between Prajapatya and Brahma marriage lies in the fact that in the latter the gift of the daughter is made by the father voluntarily but has to be applied for. The fifth or the *Asura* form of marriage is that in which the bridegroom having given as much wealth as he can afford to the father and paternal kinsmen and to the girl herself takes her as his wife. There is not much difference between *Arsha* and Asura forms of marriage. Both involve sale of the bride. The difference lies in this that in the Arsha form the price is fixed while in the Asura form it is not.

Gandharva marriage is a marriage by consent contracted from non-religious and sensual motives. Marriage by seizure of a maiden by force from her house while she weeps and calls for assistance after her kinsmen and friends have been slain in battle or wounded and their houses broken open, is the marriage styled *Rakshasa*.

Paisacha marriage is marriage by rape on a girl either when she is asleep or flushed with strong liquor or disordered in her intellect.

Hindu Law recognized thirteen kinds of sons. (1) Aurasa, (2) Kshetraja, (3) Pautrikaputra, (4) Kanina, (5) Gudhaja, (6) Punarbhava, (7) Sahodhaja, (8) Dattaka, (9) Kritrima, (10) Kritaka, (11) Apaviddha, (12) Svayamdatta and (13) Nishada.

The *Aurasa* is a son begotten by a man himself upon his lawfully wedded wife.

Putrikaputra means a son born to a daughter. Its significance lies in the system under which a man who had a daughter but no son could also have his daughter to cohabit with a man selected or appointed by him. If a daughter gave birth to a son by such sexual intercourse the son became the son of the girl's father. It was because of this that the son was called Putrikaputra. Man's right to compel his daughter to submit to sexual intercourse with a man of his choice in order to get a son for himself continued to exist even after the daughter was married. That is why a man was warned not to marry a girl who had no brothers.

Kshetraja literally means son of the field i.e., of the wife. In Hindu ideology the wife is likened to the field and the husband being likened to the master of the field. Where the husband was dead, or alive but impotent or incurably diseased the brother or any other *sapinda* of the deceased was appointed by the family to procreate a son on the wife. The practice was called *Niyoga* and the son so begotten was called *Kshetraja*.

If an unmarried daughter living in the house of her father has through illicit intercourse given birth to a son and if she subsequently was married the son before marriage was claimed by her husband as his son. Such a son was called *Kanina*.

The *Gudhaja* was apparently a son born to a woman while the husband had access to her but it is suspected that he is born of an adulterous connection. As there is no proof by an irrebutable presumption so to say the husband is entitled to claim the son as his own. He is called *Gudhaja* because his birth is clouded in suspicious, Gudha meaning suspicion.

Sahodhaja is a son born to a woman who was pregnant at the time of her marriage. It is not certain whether he is the son of the husband who had access to the mother before marriage or whether it is the case of a son begotten by a person other than the husband. But it is certain that the *Sahodhaja,* is a son born to a pregnant maiden and claimed as his son by the man who marries her.

Punarbhava is the son of a woman who abandoned by her husband and having lived with others, re-enters his family. It is also used to denote the son of a woman who leaves an impotent, outcaste, or a mad or diceased husband and takes another husband.

Parasava[1] is the son of a Brahmin by his Shudra wife.

The rest of the sons are adopted sons as distinguished for those who were claimed as sons.

Dattaka is the son whom his father and mother give in adoption to another whose son he then becomes.

Kratrima is a son adopted with the adoptee's consent only.

Krita is a son purchased from his parents.

Apaviddha is a boy abandoned by his parents and is then taken in adopted and reckoned as a son.

Svayamdatta is a boy bereft of parents or abandoned by them seeks a man shelter and presents himself saying 'Let me become thy son' when accepted he becomes his son.

It will be noticed how true it is to say that many forms of marriage are only euphemisms for seduction and rape and how many of the sons have no blood relationship to their father. These different forms of marriage and different kinds of sons were recognized as lawful even up to the time of Mana and even the changes made by Manu are very minor. With regard to the forms of marriage Manu[2] does not declare them to be illegal. All that he says that of the eight forms, six, namely, Brahma, Daiva, Arsha, Prajapatya, Asura, Gandharva, Rakshasa and Paisachya are lawful for a Kshatriya, and that three namely Asura, Gandharva and Paisachya are lawful for a Vaishya and a Shudra.

[1] He was also called Nishad. Jimutvahana seems to make a difference between Parasava and Nishad. Parasava he says is the son of a Brahmin by an unmarried Shudra woman while Nishad is the son of a Brahmin by his Shudra wife.

[2] Manu III. 23.

Similarly he does not disaffiliate any of the 12 sons. On the contrary he recognises their kinship. The only change he makes is to alter the rules of inheritance by putting them into two classes (1) heirs and kinsmen and (2) kinsmen but not heirs. He says[1] :

> 159. "The legitimate son of the body, the son begotten on a wife, the son adopted, the son made, the son secretly born, and the son cast off (are) the six heirs and kinsmen."
>
> 160. "The son of an unmarried damsel, the son received with the wife, the son bought, the son begotten on a remarried woman; the son self-given and the son of a Sudra female (are) the six (who are) not heirs, (but) kinsmen."
>
> 162. "If the two heirs of one man be a legitimate son of his body and a son begotten on his wife, each (of the two sons), to the exclusion of the other, shall take the estate of his (natural) father."
>
> 163. "The legitimate son of the body alone (shall be) the owner of the paternal estate; but, in order to avoid harshness, let him allow a maintenance to the rest."

There is another part of the law of consanguinity which has undergone a profound change but which has hardly been noticed by anybody. It relates to the determination of the Varna of the child. What is to be the Varna of the child? Is it to be the father's Varna or the mother's Varna? According to the law as it prevailed in the days before Manu the Varna of the child was determined by the Varna of the father. The Varna of the mother was of no account. A few illustrations will suffice to prove the thesis.

	Father		Mother		Child	
	Name	Varna	Name	Varna	Name	Varna
1.	Shantanu	Kshatriya	Ganga	Unknown	Bhishma	Kshatriya
2.	Parashara	Brahmana	Matsyagandha	Fisherman	Krishna Dwaya	Brahman
3.	Vashishtha	Brahmana	Akshamala		Payan	
4.	Shantanu	Kshatriya	Matsyagandha	Fisherman	Vichitravirya	Kshatriya
5.	Vishwamitra	Kshatriya	Menaka	Apsara	Shakuntala	Kshatriya
6.	Yayati	Kshatriya	Devayani	Brahmin	Yadu	Kshatriya
7.	Yayati	Kshatriya	Sharmishtha	Asuri	Druhya	Kshatriya
8.	Jaratkaru	Brahman	Jaratkari	Naga	Astika	Brahmin

[1] Manu IX. 159-160: 162-163: pp. 359-60.

What does Manu do? The changes made by Manu in the law of the child's Varna are of a most revolutionary character. Manu[1] lays down the following rules:

5. "In all castes (varna) those (children) only which are begotten in the direct order on wedded wives, equal (in caste) and married as (virgins) are to be considered as belonging to the same caste (as their fathers)."

6. " Sons, begotten by twice-born men on wives of the next lower castes, they declare to be similar (to their fathers, but) blamed on account of the fault (inherent) in their mothers."

14. "Those sons of the twice-born, begotten on wives of the next lower castes, who have been enumerated in due order, they call by the name Anantaras (belonging to the next lower caste) on account of the blemish (inherent) in their mothers"

41. "Six sons, begotten (by Aryans) on women of equal and the next lower castes (Anantara), have the duties of twice-born men; but all those born in consequence of a violation of the law are, as regards their duties, equal to Sudras."

Manu distinguishes the following cases:

(1) Where the father and mother belong to the same Varna.

(2) Where the mother belongs to a Varna next lower to that of the father e.g., Brahman father and Kshatriya mother, Kshatriya father and Vaishya mother, Vaishya father and Shudra mother.

(3) Where the mother belongs to a Varna more than one degree lower to that of the father, e.g., Brahmin father and Vaishya or Shudra mother, Kshatriya father and Shudra mother.

In the first case the Varna of the child is to be the Varna of the father. In the second case also the Varna of the child is to be the Varna of the father. But in the third case the child is not to have the father's Varna. Manu does not expressly say what is to be the Varna of the child if it is not to be that of the father. But all the commentators of Manu Medhatithi, Kalluka Bhatt, Narada and Nandapandit—agree

saying what of the course is obvious that in such cases the Varna of the child shall be the Varna of the mother. In short Manu altered the law of the child's Varna from that of Pitrasavarna—according to father's Varna to Matrasavarna—according to mother's Varna.

This is most revolutionary change. It is a pity few have realized that given the forms of marriage, kinds of sons, the permissibility of Anuloma marriages and the theory of Pitrasavarnya, the Varna system notwithstanding the desire of the Brahmins to make it a closed system remained an open system. There were so many holes so to say in the

[1] Manu Chap. X verses 5, 6, 14 and 41, pp. 402, 403, 404 and 412.

Varna system. Some of the forms of marriage had no relation to the theory of the Varna. Indeed they could not have. The Rakshas and the Paisachya marriages were in all probability marriages in which the males belonged to the lower varnas and the females to the higher varnas. The law of sonship probably left many loopholes for the sons of Shudra to pass as children of the Brahmin. Take for instances sons such as Gudhajas, Sahodhajas, Kanina. Who can say that they were not begotten by Shudra or Brahmin, Kshatriya or Vaishya. Whatever doubts there may be about these the Anuloma system of marriage which was sanctioned by law combined with the law of Pitrasavarnya had the positive effect of keeping the Varna system of allowing the lower Varnas to pass into the higher Varna. A Shudra could not become a Brahmin, a Kshatriya or a Vaishya. But the child of a Shudra woman could become a Vaishya if she was married to a Vaishya, a Kshatriya if she was married to a Kshatriya and even a Brahmin if she was married to a Brahmin. The elevation and the incorporation of the lower orders into the higher orders was positive and certain though the way of doing it was indirect. This was one result of the old system. The other result was that a community of a Varna was always a mixed and a composite community. A Brahmin community might conceivably consist of children born of Brahmin women, Kshatriya women, Vaishya women, and Shudra women all entitled to the rights and privileges belonging to the Brahmin community. A Kshatriya community may conceivably consist of children born of Kshatriya women, Vaishya women and Shudra women all recognized as Kshatriya and entitled to the rights and privileges of the Kshatriya community. Similarly the Vaishya community may conceivably consist of children born of Vaishya women and Shudra women all recognized as Vaishyas and entitled to the rights and privileges of the Vaishya community.

The change made by Manu is opposed to some of the most fundamental notions of Hindu Law. In the first place, it is opposed to the Kshetra-Kshetraja rule of Hindu Law. According to this rule, which deals with the question of property in a child says that the owner of the child is the *de jure* husband of the mother and not the *de facto* father of the child. Manu is aware of this theory. He puts it in the following terms[1]:

> "Thus men who have no marital property in women, but sow in the fields owned by others, may raise up fruit to the husbands, but the procreator can have no advantage from it. Unless there be a special agreement between the owners of the land and of the seed

[1] Mayne Hindu Law p. 83.

the fruit belongs clearly to the landowner, for the receptacle is more important than the seed."

It is on this that the right to the 12 kinds of sons is founded.

This change was also opposed to the rule of Patna Potestas. Hindu family is a Patriarchal family same as the Roman family. In both the father possessed certain authority over members of the family. Manu is aware of this and recognized it in most ample terms. Defining the authority of the Hindu father, Manu says:

"Three persons, a wife, a son, and a slave, are declared by law to have in general no wealth exclusively their own; the wealth which they may earn is regularly acquired for the man to whom they belong."

They belong to the head of the family—namely the father. Under the Patna Potestas the sons earnings are the property of the father. The change in the law of paternity mean a definite loss to the father.

Why did Manu change the law from Pitra-savarnya to Matra-savarnya ?

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RIDDLE No. 20

KALI VARJYA OR THE BRAHMANIC ART OF SUSPENDING THE OPERATION OF SIN WITHOUT CALLING IT SIN

Few have heard of the Brahmanic dogma called Kali Varjya. It must not be confused with another Brahmanic Dogma of Kali Yuga. The dogma of Kali Varja prescribes that customs and usages which are valid and good in other yugas are not to be observed in the Kali Age. The references to these instructions are scattered in the different Puranas. But the Adityapurana has codified them and brought them together[1]. The practices which are Kali Varjya are given below :

(1) To appoint the husband's brother for procreating a son on a widow.

(2) The remarriage of a (married) girl (whose marriage is not consummated) and of one (whose marriage was consummated) to another husband (after the death of the first.

(3) The marriage with girls of different Varna among persons of the three twice-born classes.

(4) The killing even in a straight fight of Brahmanas that have become desperadoes.

(5) The acceptance (for all ordinary intercourse such as eating with him) of a twice-born person who is in the habit of voyaging over the sea in a ship even after he has undergone a *prayascitta*.

(6) The initiation for a *sattra*.

(7) The taking of a *Kamandali* (a jar for water).

(8) Starting on the Great Journey.

(9) The killing of a cow in the sacrifice called *Gomedha*.

(10) The partaking of wine even in the *Srautmani* sacrifice.

[1] I have taken them from Mahamahopadhya Kane's Paper on the subject.

This is a nine-page typed copy with several corrections by the author himself. For Notes on all 43 Kali Varjyas, please see Notes to Appendix I of this part.—Ed:

(11-12) Licking the ladle (sruc) after the Agnihotra Hoama in order to take off the remains of the offerings and using the ladle in the Agnihotra afterwards when it has been so licked.

(13) Entering into the stage of forest hermit as laid down in sastras about it.

(14) Lessening the periods of impurity (due to death and birth) in accordance with the conduct and Vedic learning of a man.

(15) Prescribing death as the penance *(prayascitta)* for Brahmans.

(16) Expiation (by secretly performed *prayascittas)* of the mortal sins other than theft (of gold) and the sin of contact (with those guilty of Mahapatakas).

(17) The act of offering with Mantras animal flesh to the bridegroom, the guest and the pitras.

(18) The acceptance as sons of those other than the aurasa (natural) and adopted sons.

(19) Ordinary intercourse with those who incurred the sin of (having intercourse with) women of higher castes, even after they had undergone the *prayascitta* for such sin.

(20) The abandonment of the wife of an elderly person or of one who is entitled to respect) when she has had intercourse with one with whom it is severely condemned.

(21) Killing oneself for the sake of another.

(22) Giving up food left after one has partaken of it.

(23) Resolve to worship a particular idol for life (in return for payment).

(24) Touching the bodies of persons who are in impurity due to death after the charred bones are collected.

(25) The actual slaughter by Brahmanas of the sacrificial animal.

(26) Sale of the Soma plant by Brahmanas.

(27) Securing food even from a Sudra when a Brahmana had no food for six times of meals (i.e., for three days).

(28) Permission to (a Brahmana) householder to take cooked food from Sudras if they are his *dasas,* cowherds, hereditary friends, persons cultivating his land on an agreement to pay part of the produce.

(29) Going on a very distant pilgrimage.

(30) Behaviour of a pupil towards his teacher's wife as towards a teacher that is declared (in Smritis).

(31) The maintenance by Brahmanas in adversity (by following unworthy avocations) and the mode of livelihood in which a Brahmana does not care to accumulate for tomorrow.

(32) The acceptance of *aranis* (two wooden blocks for producing fire) by Brahmanas in the *Homa* at the time of *Jatakarma* in order that all the ceremonies for the child from *Jatakarma* to his marriage may be performed therein.

(33) Constant journeys by Brahmanas.

(34) Blowing of fire with the mouth (i.e., without employing a bamboo dhamani).

(35) Allowing women who have become polluted by rape, etc., to freely mix in the caste (when they have performed prayascitta) as declared in the sastric texts.

(36) Begging of food by a sannyasin from persons of all Varnas (including Sudra).

(37) To wait (i.e., not to use) for ten days water that has recently been dug in the grounds.

(38) Giving fee to the teacher as demanded by him (at the end of study) according to the rules laid down in the sastra.

(39) The employment of Sudras as cooks for Brahmanas and the rest.

(40) suicide of old people by falling from a precipice of into fire.

(41) Performing *acamana* by respectable people in water that would remain even after a cow has drunk it to its heart's content.

(42) Fining witnesses who depose to a dispute between father and son.

(43) Sannyasin should stay where he happens to be in the evening.

The strange thing about this code of Kali-Varjya is that its significance has not been fully appreciated. It is simply referred to as a list of things forbidden in Kali Yug. But there is more than this behind this list of don'ts. People are no doubt forbidden to follow the practice listed in the Kali Varjya Code. The question however, is: Are these practices condemned as being immoral, sinful or otherwise harmful to society? The answer is no. One likes to know why these practices if they are forbidden are not condemned? Herein lies the riddle of the Kali Varjya Code. This technique of forbidding a practice without condemning it stands in utter contrast with the procedure followed in earlier ages. To take only one illustration. The Apastambha Dharma Sutra forbids the practice of giving all property to the eldest son. But he condemns it. Why did the Brahmins invent this new technique, forbid but not condemn? There must be some special reason for this departure. What is that reason?

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APPENDIX I

THE RIDDLE OF THE VARNASHRAM DHARMA

Reference has already been made to the two dogmas of *Varna Dharma* and *Asharm Dharma,* which are called by the collective names of *Varnashram Dharma* and which form so fundamental a part of Hinduism. It cannot but be instructive to know the views expressed by the ancient writers on these strange dogmas.

I

To begin with Varna Dharma. It would be better to collect together in the first place the views expressed in the Vedas.

The subject is referred to in the Rig-Veda in the 90th Hymn of the 10th Book. It runs as follows:—

> "1. Purusha has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, on every side enveloping the earth he overpassed (if) by a space of ten fingers. 2. Purusha himself is this whole (universe), whatever has been and whatever shall be. He is also the lord of immortality since (or, when) by food he expands. 3. Such is his greatness, and Purusha is superior to this. All existences are a quarter of him; and three-fourths of him are that which is immortal in the sky. 4. With three quarters Purusha mounted upwards. A quarter of him was again produced here. He was then diffused everywhere over-things which eat and things which do not eat. 5. From him was born Viraj, and from Viraj, Purusha. When born, he extended beyond the earth, both behind and before. 6. When the Gods performed a sacrifice

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This is a consolidated version of Riddle No. 16 & 17 entitled 'Varnashram Dharma'. This title does not find place in the original Table of Contents. Hence this is placed as Appendix. It is difficult to identify which of the two versions is later. Quotations have been retained in both the texts while the interpretation seems to be modified at various places. This is a 55-page typed copy without having any corrections by the author.—Ed.

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with Purush as the oblation, the spring was its butter, the summer its fuel, and the autumn its (accompanying) offering. 7. This victim, Purush, born in the beginning, they immolated on the sacrificial grass. With him the gods, the Sadhyas, and the rishis sacrificed. 8. From that universal sacrifice were provided curds and butter. It formed those aerial (creatures) and animals both wild and tame. 9. From the universal sacrifice sprang the *rich* and *saman* verses, the *metres* and the *yajush*. 10. From it sprang horses, and all animals with two rows of teeth; kine sprang from it; from it goats and sheep. 11. When (the Gods) divided Purusha, into how many parts did they cut him up ? What was his mouth ? What arms (had he) ? What (two objects) are said (to have been) the thighs and feet ? 12. The Brahmana was his mouth; the Rajanya was made his arms; the being (called) the Vaisya, he was his thighs; the Sudra sprang from his feet. 13. The moon sprang from his soul (manas), the sun from his eye, Indra and Agni from his mouth, and Vayu from his breath. 14. From his navel arose the air, from his head the sky, from his feet the earth, from his ear the (four) quarters; in this manner (the Gods) formed the worlds. 15. When the Gods, performing sacrifice, bound Purusha as a victim, there were seven sticks (struck up) for it (around the fire), and thrice seven pieces of fuel were made. 16. With sacrifice the Gods performed the sacrifice. These were the earliest rites. These great powers have sought the sky, where are the former Sadhyas, gods".

This hymn is known by its general name Purusha Sukta and is supposed to embody the official doctrine of Varna and Caste.

The first thing to do is to inquire which of the other Vedas accept the theory of the origin of the Varna system as propounded in the Purusha Sukta of the Rig-Veda. Examining the different Vedas from this point of view the result appears to be very striking.

The Sama-Veda has not incorporated the Purusha Sukta among its hymns. Nor does it give any other explanation of the Varna Dharma.

The Yajur-Veda discloses a very great degree of diversity of opinion on this issue. Taking up the case of the White Yajur-Veda separately from that of the Black Yajur-Veda the position as it emerges from a comparison of its three available Sanhitas stands thus. Of the three Sanhitas the Kathaka Sanhita and Maitreyani Sanhita do not make any reference to the Purusha Sukta of the Rig-Veda nor do they make any attempt to give any other explanation of the Varna system. The Vajaseniya Sanhita is the only Sanhita of the Yajur-Veda which incorporates the Purusha Sukta but not without transposition of the verses. But the Vajasaneya Sanhita gives a new and original

explanation of the Varna system quite different from what is given in the Purusha Sukta[1]:

> " He lauded with one Living beings were formed; Prajapati was the ruler. He lauded with three: the Brahman (Brahman) was created: Brahmanaspati was the ruler. He lauded with five; existing things were created: Bhutanampati was the ruler. He lauded with seven; the seven rishis were created: Dhatri was the ruler. He lauded with nine; the Fathers were created: Aditi was the ruler. He lauded with eleven: the seasons were created: The Artavas were the rulers. He lauded with thirteen: the months were created : the year was the ruler. He lauded with fifteen: the Kshattra (the Kshattriya) was created: Indra was the ruler. He lauded with seventeen: animals were created: Brihaspati was the ruler. He lauded with nineteen: the Sudra and the Arya (Vaisya) were created: day and night were the rulers. He lauded with twenty-one: animals with undivided hoofs were created: Varuna was the ruler. He lauded with twenty-three; small animals were created: Pushan was the ruler. He lauded with twenty-five: wild animals were created: Vayu was the ruler (compare R.V. x. 90, 8). He lauded with twentyseven: heaven and earth separated: Vasus, Rudras, and Adityas separated after them: they were the rulers. He lauded with twentynine; trees were created: Soma was the ruler. He lauded with thirty-one: living beings were created: The first and second halves of the month were the rulers. He lauded with thirty one: existing things were tranquillized; Prajapati Parameshthin was the ruler."

Turning to the Black Yajur-Veda there is only one Sanhita of it which is available. It is called Taitterriya Sanhita. This Sanhita offers two explanations. The first explanation[2] is the same which is given in the Vajaseniya Sanhita as its own original explanation. The second explanation is its own particular explanation and is not to be found in the Vajaseniya Sanhita. It reads as follows[3]:

> "He (the Vratya) became filled with passions thence sprang the Rajanya".
>
> "Let the king to whose house the Vratya who knows this, comes as a guest, cause him to be respected as superior to himself. So doing he does no injury to his royal rank, or to his realm. From him arose the Brahman (*Brahman*) and the Kshattra (*Kshatriya*). They said, 'Into whom shall we enter', etc."

The important point is that while the Vajaseniya Sanhita incorporates the Purusha Sukta from the Rig-Veda the Taiterriya Sanhita altogether omits to take any notice of it whatsoever.

[1] Muir Sanskrit Texts. Vol. I. P. 18.

[2] See Khanda IV. Prapathaka III verses X following.

[3] *Ibid* I p. 22.

The Atharva-Veda incorporates the Purusha Sukta. But the order of the verses varies from the order in which they stand in the Rig-Veda. But like the Vajaseniya Sanhita and the Taitterriya Sanhita of the Yajur-Veda the Atharva is not content with the Purusha Sukta. It offers other explanations. They are not as complete and as universal as the Purusha Sukta but they are special to it[1]:

> "The Brahman was born the first, with ten heads and ten faces. He first drank the *soma;* he made poison powerless".

> "The Gods were afraid of the Rajanya when he was in the womb. They bound him with bonds when he was in the womb. Consequently this Rajanya is born bound. If he were unborn unbound he would go on slaying his enemies. In regard to whatever Rajanya any one desires that he should be born unbound, and should go on slaying his enemies, let him offer for him this Aindra-Birhaspatya oblation. A Rajanya has the character of Indra, and a Brahman is Brihaspati. It is through the Brahman that any one releases the Rajanya from his bond. The golden bond, a gift, manifestly releases from the bond that fetters him."

Purusha as the origin of the four Varnas is not the only explanation of the origin of the Varna system that is to be found in the Vedas. There is another explanation. It speaks of people being descended from Manu and is to be found referred to in the following passages[2]:

> "Prayers and hymns were formerly congregated in the Indra, in the ceremony which Atharvan, father Manu, and Dadhyanch celebrated".

Whatever prosperity or succour father Manu obtained by sacrifices, may we gain all that under thy guidance, o Rudra."

> "Those pure remedies of yours, O Maruts, those which are-most auspicious, ye vigorous gods, those which are beneficient, those which our father Manu chose, those, and the blessing and succour of Rudra, I desire."

> "That ancient friend hath been equipped with the powers of the mighty (gods). Father Manu has prepared hymns to him, as portals of success to the gods."

> "Sacrifice is Manu, our protecting father."

> "Do ye (gods) deliver, protect, and intercede for us; do not lead us far away from the paternal path of Manu."

> "He (Agni) who abides among the offspring of Manu as the invoker (of the gods), is even the lord of these riches."

> "Agni, together with the gods, and the children of Manush, celebrating a multiform sacrifice with hymns etc."

[1] Muir's Sanskrit Texts Vol. I. p. 21-22.

[2] *Ibid.,* pp. 162-165.

"Ye gods, Vajas, and Ribhukshans, come to our sacrifice by the path travelled by the gods, that ye, pleasing deities, may institute a sacrifice among these people of Manush on auspicious days."

"The people of *Manush* praise in the sacrifices Agni the invoker."

"Whenever Agni, lord of the people, kindled, abides gratified among the people of Manush, he repels all Rakshasas."

Let us now turn to the writing called the Brahmanas and take note of what they have to say on this question.

The explanation given by the Sathapatha Brahmana is as follows[1]:

"(Uttering) 'bhuh', Prajapati generated this earth. (Uttering) 'bhuvah' he generated the air, and (uttering) 'svah', he generated the sky. This universe is co-extensive with these worlds. (The fire) is placed with the whole. Saying 'bhuh', Prajapati generated the Brahman (saying) 'bhuvah' he generated the Kshattra; (and saying) 'svah', he generated the Vis. The fire is placed with the whole. (Saying) 'bhuh', Prajapati generated himself; (saying 'bhuvah' he generated offspring; (saying) 'svah' he generated animals. This world is so much as self, offspring, and animals. (The fire) is placed with the whole."

Besides this there is another explanation to be found in this Brahmans[2]:

"Brahma (here, according to the commentator, existing in the form of Agni, and representing the Brahman caste) was formerly this (universe), one only. Being one, it did not develope. It energetically created an excellent form, the Kshattra, viz, those among the gods who are powers (kshattrani), Indra, Varuna, Soma, Rudra, Parjanya, Yama, Mrityu, Issana. Hence nothing is superior to the Kshattra. Therefore the Brahman sits below the Kshattriya at the rajasuya-sacrifice; he confers that glory on the kshattra (the royal power). This, the Brahma, is the source of the Kshattra; Hence, although the king attains, supremacy, he at the end resorts to the Brahma as his source. Whoever destroys him (the Brahman) destroys his own source. He becomes most miserable, as one who has injured a superior. 24. He did not develope. he created the Viz-Viz, those classes of gods who are designated by troops, Vasus, Rudras, Adityas, Visvedevas, Maruts; 25. He did not develope. He created the Sudra class, Pushan. This earth is Pushan; for she nourishes all that exists. 26. He did not develope. He energetically created an excellent form, Justice (Dharma). This is the ruler (kshattra) of the ruler (kshattra), namely Justice, hence nothing is

[1] Quoted by Muir Sanskrit Texts Vol. I. p. 17.

[2] Muir's Sanskrit Texts. Vol. I p. 20.

superior to justice. Therefore the weaker seeks (to overcome) the stronger by justice, as by a king. This justice is truth. In consequence they say of a man who speaks truth, 'he speaks justice;' or of a man who is uttering justice, 'he speaks truth.' For this is both of these. 27. This is the Brahma, Kshattra, Viz. and Sudra.

"Through Agni it became Brahma among the gods, the Brahman among men, through the (divine) Kshattriya a (human) Kshattriya, through the (divine) Vaisya a (human) Vaisya, through the (divine) Sudra a (human) Sudra. Wherefore it is in Agni among the gods and in a Brahman among men, that they seek after an abode."

The Taittiriya Brahmana has the following explanations to offer. First is in the following terms[1]:

"This entire (universe) has been created by Brahma. Men say that the Vaisya class was produced from rich-verses. They say that the Yajur-Veda is the womb from which the Kshattriya was born. The Sama-Veda is the source from which the Brahmans sprang. This word the ancients declared to the ancients."

The second refers only two varnas—only Brahman and Sudra and says[2]:

"The Brahman caste is sprung from the gods; the Sudra from the Asuras"

The third explains the origin of the Sudras in the following terms[3]:

"Let him at his will milk out with a wooden dish. But let not a Sudra milk it out. For this Sudra has sprung from non-existence. They say that that which a Sudra milks out is no oblation. Let not a Sudra milk out the Agnihotra. For they do not purify that. When that passes beyond the filter, then it is an oblation"

The next thing would be to see what explanation the Smritis have to offer for the origin of the Varna system. This is what Manu has to say in his Smriti[4]:—

"He (the self-existent) having felt desire, and willing to create various living beings from his own body, first created the waters, and threw into them a seed. 9. That seed became a golden egg, of lustre equal to the sun; in it he himself was born as a Brahma, the parent of all the worlds. 10. The waters are called narah, for they are sprung from Nara: and as they were his first sphere of motion he is therefore called Narayana. 11. Produced from the imperceptible eternal, existent and non-existent, cause, they male (purusha) is celebrated in the world as Brahma. 12. After dwelling for a year in the egg, the glorious being, himself, by his own contemplation, split

[1] Muir I. p. 17

[2] & [3] Muir's Sanskrit Texts Vol. I p. 21.

[4] Muir's Vol. I pp. 36 and 37.

it in twain. That the worlds might be peopled, he caused the Brahman, the Kshattriya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra to issue from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet. 32. Having divided his own body into two parts, the lord (Brahma) became, with the half a male (purusha) and with the half, a female; and in her he created Viraj. 33. Know, o most excellent twice-born men, that I, whom that male, (purusha) Viraj, himself created, am the creator of all this world. 34. Desiring to produce living creatures, I performed very arduous devotion, and first created ten Maharshis (great rishis), lords of living beings, (35) viz. Marichi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Prachetas, Vasistha, Bhrigu, and Narada. 36. They, endowed with great energy, created other seven Manus, gods, and abodes of gods, and Maharshis of boundless might; (37) Yakshas, Rakshases, Pishchas, Gandharvas, Apsaras, Asuras, Nagas, Serpents, great Birds, and the different classes of Pitris; (38) lightnings, thunderbolts, clouds, portentous atmospheric sounds, comets, and various luminaries; (39) Kinnars, apes, fishes, different sorts of birds, cattle, deer, men. beasts with two rows of teeth; (40) small and large reptiles, mouths, lice, flies, fleas, all gadflies, and gnats, and motionless things of different sorts. 41. Thus by my appointment, and by the force of devotion, was all. This world Both Motionless and Moving, created by those great beings, according to the (previous) actions of each creature."

There is also another view expressed by Manu in his Smriti as to the basic reasons for dividing men into four classes[1]:

"I shall now declare succinctly in order the states which the soul reaches by means of each of these qualities. 40. Souls endowed with the Sattva quality attain to godhead; those having the rajas quality become men; whilst those characterized by tamas always become beasts— such is the threefold destination. 43. Elephants, horses, Sudras and contemptible Mlechhas, lions, tigers, and boars form the middle dark condition..... 46. Kings, Kshattriyas, a King's priests (purohitah), and men whose chief occupation is the war of words, compose the middle condition of passion.... 48. Devotees, ascetics, Brahmans, the deities borne on aerial cars, constellations, and Daityas, constitute the lowest condition of goodness. 49. Sacrificing priests, rishis, gods, the vedas, the celestial luminaries, years, the fathers the Sadhyas, form the second condition of goodness. 50. Brahma, the creators, righteousness, the Great one (mahat) the Unapparent One (avyakta) compose the highest condition of goodness."

[1] Muir's Sanskrit Texts Vol. pp. 41.

It is interesting to compare with these views: those contained in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.

The Ramayana says that the four Varnas are the offspring of Manu, the daughter of Daksha and the wife of Kasyappa[1].

> "Listen while I declare to you from the commencement all the Prajapatis (lord of creatures) who came into existence in the earliest time. Kardama was the first, then Vokrita, Sesha, Samsraya, the energetic Bahuputra, Sthanu, Marichi, Atri, the strong Kratu, Pulastya, Angiras, Prachetas, Pulaha, Daksha, then Vivasvat, Arishtanemi, and the glorious Kasyapa, who was the last. The Prajapati Daksha is famed to have had sixty daughters. Of these Kasyapa took in marriage eight elegant maidens, Aditi, Diti, Danu, Kalaka, Tamra, Krodhavasa, Manu and Anala. Kasyapa pleased, then to these maids, ' ye shall bring forth sons like to me, preserves of the three worlds'. Aditi, Diti, Danu and Kalaka assented; but the others did not agree. Thirty-three gods were born by Aditi, the Adityas, Vasus, Rudras, and the two Asvins. Manu (wife) of Kasyapa, produced men, Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras. ' Brahmans were born from the mouth, Kshattriyas from the breast, Vaisyas from the thighs, and Sudras from the feet,' so says the Veda. Anala gave birth to all trees with pure fruits."

The Mahabharata gives the following explanation[2]:

> "Born all with splendour, like that of great rishis, the ten sons of Prachetas are reputed to have been virtuous and holy; and by them the glorious beings were formerly burnt up by fire springing from their mouths. From them was born Daksha Prachetas, and from Daksha, the Parent of the world (were produced), these creatures. Cohabiting with Virini, the Muni Daksha begot a thousand sons like himself, famous for their religious observances, to whom Narada taught the doctrine of final liberation, the unequalled knowledge of the Sankhya. Desirous of creating offspring, the Prajapati Daksha next formed fifty daughters of whom he gave ten to Dharma, thirteen to Kasyapa, and twenty-seven, devoted to the regulation of time, to Indu (Soma)..... On Dakshayani, the most excellent of his thirteen wives, Kasyapa, the son of Marichi, begot the Adityas, headed by Indra and distinguished by their energy, and also Vivasvat. To Vivasvat was born a son, the mighty Yama Vaivasvata. To Martanda (i.e. Vivasvat, the sun) was born the wise and mighty Manu, and also the renowned Yama, his (Manu's) younger brother. Righteous was this wise Manu, on whom a race

[1] Muir's Sanskrit Texts Vol. I pp. 116-117.

[2] Muir's Sanskrit Texts Vol. I. pp. 125.

was founded. Hence this (family) of men became known as the race of Manu. Brahmans, Kshattriyas, and other men sprang from this Manu. From him o king, came the Brahman conjoined with the Kshatriya."

In another place the Mahabharata gives the origin as it is given in the Purusha Sukta:

"The king should appoint to be his royal priest a man who will protect the good, and restrain the wicked. On this subject they relate this following ancient story of a conversation between Pururavas the son of Illa, and Matarisvan (Vayu, the Windgod). Pururavas said: You must explain to me whence the Brahman, and whence the (other) three castes were produced, and whence the superiority (of the first) arises. Matarisvan answered: the Brahman was created from Brahman's mouth, the Kshatriya from his arms, the Vaisya from his thighs, while for the purpose of serving these three castes was produced the fourth class, the Sudra, fashioned from his feet. The Brahman, as soon as born, becomes the lord of all beings upon the earth, for the purpose of protecting the treasure of righteousness. Then (the creator) constituted Kshatriya the controller of the earth, a second Yama to bear the rod, for the satisfaction of the people. And it was Brahma's ordinance that the Vaisya should sustain these three classes with money and grain, and that the Sudra should serve them. The son of Illa then enquired : Tell me, Vayu, to whom the earth, with its wealth, rightfully belongs, to the Brahman or the Kshatriyya ? Vayu replied: All this, whatever exists in the world, is the Brahman's property by right of primogeniture; this is known to those who are skilled in the laws of duty. It is his own which the Brahman eats, puts on, and bestows. He is the chief of all the castes, the first-born and the most excellent. Just as a woman when she has lost her (first) husband, takes her brother in law for a second; so the Brahman is the first resource in calamity; afterwards another may arise".

There is a third view maintained in the Shantiparva of Mahabharata[1]:—

"Bhrigu replied: 'Brahma thus formerly created the Prajapatis, Brahmanic, penetrated by his own energy, and in splendour equalling the sun and fire. The lord then formed truth, righteousness austere fervour, and the eternal veda (or sacred science), Virtuous practice, and purity for (the attainment of) heaven. He also formed the gods, Danavas, Gandharvas, Daityas, Asuras, Mahoragas, Yakshas, Rakshasas, Nagas, Pisachas, and men, Brahmans,

[1] Muir's Sanskrit Texts Vol. I pp. 139-140.

Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras, as well as all other classes (varnah) of beings. The colour (varna) of the Brahmans was white; that of the Kshatriyas red; that of the Vaishyas yellow; and that of the Sudra black.' Bharadvaja here rejoins: ' If the caste (varna) of the four classes is distinguished by their colour (varna), then a confusion of all the castes is observable. Desire, anger, fear, cupidity, grief, apprehension, hunger, fatigue, prevail over us all, by what then, is caste discriminated ? Sweat, urine, excrement, phlegm, bile and blood (are common to all) the bodies of all decay; by what then is caste discriminated? There are innumerable kinds of things moving and stationary, how is the class (varna) of these various objects to be determined ?"

Bhrigu replies: There is no difference of castes :

In the same Shantiparva there is a fourth theory[1]:

"Bharadvaja again enquires: 'What is that in virtue of which a man is a Brahman, a Kshattriya, a Vaisya, or a Sudra; tell me, o, most eloquent Brahman rishi'. Bhrigu replies: 'He who is pure, consecrated by the natal and other ceremonies, who has completely studied the Veda, lives in the practice of the six ceremonies, performs perfectly the rites of purification, who eats the remains of oblations, is attached to his religious teacher, is constant in religious observances, and devoted to truth is called a Brahman. He in whom are seen truth, liberality, inoffensiveness, harmlessness, modesty compassion, and austere fervour,—is declared to be a Brahman. He who practises the duty arising out of the kingly office, who is addicted to the study of the Veda, and who delights in giving and receiving, is called a Kshattriya. He who readily occupies himself with cattle, who is devoted to agriculture, and acquisition, who is pure, and is perfect in the study of the Veda,— is denominated a Vaisya. He who is habitually addicted to all kinds of food, performs all kinds of work, who is unclean, who has abandoned the Veda, and does not practise pure observances,— is traditionally called a Sudra. And this (which I have stated) is the mark of a Sudra, and it is not found in a Brahman: (such) a Sudra will remain a Sudra, while the Brahman (who so acts) will be no Brahman".

Let us inquire what the Puranas have to say on the origin of the Varna System.

To begin with the Vishnu Purana. There are two theories propounded in the Vishnu Purana on the origin of the Chaturvarna.

According to one ascribes the origin to Manu[2]:

[1] Muir's Sanskrit Texts Vol. I pp. 141-142.

[2] Muir's Sanskrit Text Vol. I pp. 220-221.

"Before the mundane egg existed the divine Brahma Hiranyagarbha, the eternal originator of all worlds, who was the form of essence of Brahma, who consists of the divine Vishnu, who again is identical with Rik, Yajush, Saman and Atharva Vedas. From Brahma's right thumb was born the Prajapati Daksha; Daksha had a daughter Aditi; from her was born Vivasvat; and from him sprang Manu. Manu had sons called Ikshvaku, Nriga, Dhrishta, Saryati, Narishanta, Puramsu, Nabhagandishta, Karusha, and Prishadhra."

"From Karusha the Karushas, Kshattriyas of great power, were descended."

"Nabhaga, the son of Nedishta, became a Vaisya".

Of this explanation ascribing the origin to Manu there is another and a different version in the Vishnu Purana:

"Desirous of a son, Manu sacrificed to Mitra and Varuna; but in consequence of a wrong invocation through an irregularity of the hotri-priest, a daughter called Illa was born. Then through the favour of Mitra and Varuna she became to Manu a son called Sudyumna. But being again changed into a female through the wrath of Isvara (Mahadeva) she wandered near the hermitage of Budha the son of Soma (the Moon); who becoming enamoured of her had by her a son called Pururavas. After his birth, the god who is formed of sacrifice, of the Rik, Yajush, Saman, and Atharva-Vedas, of all things, of mind, of nothing, he who is in the form of the sacrificial Male, was worshipped by the rishis of infinite splendour who desired that Sudyumn should recover his manhood. Through the favour of this god Ila became again Sudhumna."

"According to the Vishnu Purana, Atri was the son of Brahma, and the father of Soma (the moon), whom Brahma installed as the sovereign of plants, Brahmans and stars. After celebrating the rajasuya sacrifice, Soma became intoxicated with pride, and carried off Tara (Star) the wife of Brihaspati the preceptor of the gods, whom, although admonished and entreated by Brahma, the gods, and rishis, he refused to restore, Soma's part was taken by Usanas; and Rudra, who had studied under Angiras, aided Brihaspati. A fierce conflict ensued between the two sides, supported respectively by the gods and the Daityas, etc. Brahma interposed, and compelled Soma to restore Tara to her husband. She had, however, in the meantime become pregnant, and borne a son Budha (the planet Mercury), of whom, when strongly urged, she acknowledged Soma to be the father. Pururavas, as has been already mentioned, was the

son of this Budha by Illa, the daughter of Manu. The loves of Pururavas and the Apsara Urvasi are related in the Satapatha Brahmana, xi. 5, 1, 1 in the Vishnu Purana, iv. 6, 19 ff; in the Bhagavata Purana, ix, 14; and in the Harivamsa, section 26. The Mahabharata, Adip. sect. 75, alludes to Pururavas as having been engaged in a contest with the Brahmanas. This passage will be quoted hereafter. According to the Vishnu Purana, iv, 7, 1, Pururavas had six sons, of whom the eldest was Ayus. Ayus had five sons: Nahusha, Kshatra-vriddha, Rambha, Raji, and Anenas."

"Kshattravriddha had a son Sunahotra, who had three sons, Kasa, Lesa, and Gritsamada. From the last sprang Saunaka, who progenited the system of four castes. Kasa had a son Kasiraja, of whom again Dirghatamas was the son as Dhanvantri was Dirghatamas."

The second ascribes the origin to Brahma as the following extract from the Vishnu Purana shows[1]:

"Maitreya[2] says: You have described to me the Arvaksrotas, or human creation; declare to me, o Brahman, in detail the manner in which Brahma formed it. Tell me how and with what qualities, he created the castes, and what are traditionally reputed to be the functions of the Brahmans and others. Parasara replies: 3. When, true to his design, Brahma became desirous to create the world, creatures in whom goodness (sattva) prevailed sprang from his mouth; 4. Others in whom passion (rajas) predominated came from his breast; others in whom both passion and darkness (tamas) were strong, proceeded from his thigh; (5) others he created from his feet, whose chief characteristic was darkness. Of these was composed the system of four castes, Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras, who had respectively issued from his mouth, breast, thighs, and feet. 6. Brahma formed this entire fourfold institution of classes for the performance of sacrifices, the gods nourish mankind by discharging rain. Sacrifices, the causes of prosperity, (8) are constantly celebrated by virtuous men, devoted to their duties, who avoid wrong observances, and walk in the right path. 9. Men, in consequence of their humanity, obtain heaven and final liberation; and they proceed to the world which they desire".

In the Harivamsa are to be found two theories. It upholds the theory of the origin of the Varnas as being born from one of the descendents of Manu as the stock of descent than the one mentioned by the Vishnu Purana[3]:

[1] Muir's Sanskrit Texts Vol. I pp. 61-62.

[2] The Vishnu Purana is cast in the form of a dialogue between Maitreya the student who asks questions and Rishi Parashara who answers his questions.

[3] Muir's Sanskrit Text Vol. I p. 227.

"The son of Gritsamada was Sunaka, from whom sprang the Saunakas, Brahmanas, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras."

"Vitatha was the father of five sons, Suhotra, Suhotri, Gaya, Garga, and the great Kapila. Suhotra had two sons, the exalted Kasaka, and King Gritsamati. The sons of the latter were Brahmans, Kshattriyas, and Vaisyas."

The other version speaks of their being formed by Vishnu who sprang from Brahma and had become Prajapati Daksha and is as follows[1];

"Janmejaya[2] says: I have heard, o Brahman the (description of the) Brahma Yuga, the first of the ages. I desire also to be accurately informed both summarily, and in detail, about the age of the Kshattriyas, with its numerous observances, illustrated as it was by sacrifice, and described, as it has been by men skilled in the art of narration. Vaisamapayana replied: I shall describe to you that age revered for its sacrifices and distinguished for its various works -of liberality, as well as for its people. Those Munis of the size of a thumb had been absorbed by the Sun's rays. Following a rule of life leading to final emancipation, practising unobstructed cremonies, both in action and in abstinence from action constantly intent upon Brahma, united to Brahman as the highest object,— Brahmans glorious and sanctified in their conduct, leading a life of continence, disciplined by the knowledge of Brahman,— Brahmans complete in their observances, perfect in knowledge, and contemplative, when at the end of a thousand yugas, their majesty was full, these Munis became involved in the dissolution of the world. Then Vishnu sprung from Brahma, removed beyond the sphere of sense, absorbed in contemplation, became the Prajapati Daksha, and formed numerous creatures. The Brahmans, beautiful (or, dear to Soma), were formed from an imperishable (akshara); the Kshattriyas from a perishable (kshara), element; the Vaisyas from alteration; the Sudras from a modification of smoke. While Vishnu was thinking upon the castes (varna) Brahmans were formed with white, red, yellow, and blue colours (varanaih). Hence in the world men have become divided into castes, being of four descriptions, Brahmans, Kshattriyas Vaisyas, and Sudras, one in form, distinct in their duties, "two-footed, very wonderful, full of energy(?), skilled in expedients in all their occupations. Rites are declared to be prescribed by the Vedas for the three (highest) castes. By that contemplation practised by the being sprung from

[1] Muir's Vol. I pp. 152-153

[2] The Harivamsa is a dialogue between Janmejaya and Vaishampayan.

Brahma— by that practised in his character as Vishnu—, the Lord Prachetasa (Daksha), i.e. Vishnu the great contemplator (yogin), passed through his wisdom and energy from that state of meditation into the sphere of works. Next the Sudras, produced from extinction, are destitute of rites. Hence they are not entitled to be admitted to the purificatory ceremonies, nor does sacred science belong to them. Just as the cloud of smoke which rises from the fire on the friction of the fuel, and is dissipated, is of no service in the sacrificial rite, so too the Sudras wandering over the earth, are altogether (useless for purposes of sacrifice) owing to their birth, their mode of life devoid of purity and their want of the observances prescribed in the Veda."

Lastly the Bhagwat Purana[1]:

"At the end of many thousand years the living soul which resides in time, action, and natural quality gave life to that lifeless egg floating on the water. Purusha then having burst the egg, issued from it was a thousand thighs, feet, arms, eyes, faces and heads. With his members the sages fashion the worlds, the seven lower worlds with his loins etc., and the seven upper worlds with his groin, etc. The Brahman (was) the mouth of Purusha, the Kshattriya his arms, the Vaishya was born from the thighs, the Sudra from the feet of the divine being. The earth was formed from his feet, the air from his navel; the heaven by the heart, and the mahaloka by the breast of the mighty one".

The Vayu Purana takes up the theory of Manu but says:

"The son of Gritsamada was Sunaka, from whom sprang Saunaka. In his family were born Brahamanas, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras, twice-born men with various functions".

What does this survey show ? If it shows anything it shows what a chaotic state has been created by the Brahmans in trying to explain the origin of the Varna system. There is no uniformity or consistency in the explanations they have offered. One and the same authority gives a variety of explanations. One and the same authority gives explanations some of which are mythical, some of which are mystical and rationalistic all intended to serve the same purpose namely to explain the origin of the Varna system.

The Vedas attempt to explain the Varnas as having arisen from Purusha, from Manu, from Prajapati, from Vratya and from Soma.

The Brahmanas show a marked divergence from the Vedas. They do not acknowledge Purusha, Manu, Vratya or Soma as the originators of the four varnas. They vacilliate between Prajapati and Brahma

[1] Muir's Sanskrit Texts Vol. I p. 156.

which is a new importation. The Taitteriya Brahmana sports with an altogether new theory. It speaks of Brahmins born of Gods and Sudras from Asuras.

The Manu Smriti offers two explanation mythological and rational. The mythological explanations ascribes the origin to Brahma and the rational ascribes it to the constitutional make up of the individual. The Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Puranas seem to be in support of the theory of Manu as the progenitor of the four Varnas. In the handling of the theme of Manu they have made a complete mess of him. In the Ramayana this Manu is a female a daughter of Daksha and wife of Kasyappa. In the Mahabharata Manu is a male and not a female. He is the son of Vivasvat who is the son of Kasyappa. In the Mahabharata the wife of Kasyappa is not Manu but is Dakshayani who is also said to be the daughter of Daksha. The Puranas while expounding the theory of Manu as the originator of the four varnas have introduced into it many divergent elements. The Vishnu Purana instead of ascribing the origin to Manu proceeds to ascribe it to his sons. But in hurry explains the origin of the two Varnas only, namely, Brahmins and Sudras from two of Manu's eight sons and forgets to give an explanation of the two other varnas. In another place the same Vishnu Purana expounds another theory by which origin of the four Varnas through Manu in the female line of his daughter Ila. According to the second theory Ila married Pururavas who had six sons the eldest of whom was Ayus. From Ayus to Kshatravridha, from him Sunahotra, from him Gritsamada. The four varnas were originated from Gritsamada. The Vayu Purana does not admit this. It says that the four varnas were born from Saunaka the grandson of Gritsamada. The Harivamsa in one place agrees with the Vishnu Purana that the progenitor was Gritsamada with this difference that the Sudras did not spring but from whom gives no explanation. In another place it says that the four varnas sprang from Sunaka the son of Gritsamada thus differing from itself, from the Vishnu Purana and from the Vayu Purana.

These explanations are like effusions of the imbeciles. They show how hard the Brahmins were put to for the defence of the Varna system. The question is why were the Brahmins not able to give a consistent and uniform unimpeachable, convincing and rational explanation of the Varna system of which they have been such strong protagonists ?

Of these numerous explanations there are two on which the Varna system is defended by the Brahmins of today.

The first is the origin of the four Varnas from Purusha the theory that is propounded in the Purusha Sukta of the Rig-Veda. It is not a historical explanation. It would be something if it were mythological for mythology is history even if it is history in hyperbole. But it is not. The explanation is purely mystic. It is a fantastic dream of a troubled mind. That is why it was never regarded as the explanation and that is why there were so many other rival explanations. That it was treated with scant courtesy even by the Vedic writers is obvious from two circumstances. In the first place it occurs in the miscellaneous portion of the Rig-Veda. In the second place it does not occur in the Kathak and Maitreyani Sanhita of the White Yajur-Veda and the Taitteriya Sanhitas of the Black Yajur-Veda do not adopt it. The Sam-Veda incorporates only 5 Mantras of the Purusha Sukta from the Rig-Veda and what is important is that in adopting these five Mantras omit those which speak of the four Varnas springing from the four parts of the body of the Purusha. It is of course a very late composition and has been interpolated after all the four Vedas had taken their present shape. But apart from that it has all the marks showing its authors were not very sure of their explanation carrying conviction. It is probably an allegory, figurative narration which the Brahmins attempted to convert into a literal statement of hard fact. It does not solve the riddle. On the contrary it creates a riddle— which is, why were the Brahmins interested in supporting the theory of Chaturvarna.

The rational explanation has behind it the authority of the Bhagwat Geeta. Krishna, the God of the Hindus, explains that he created the system of Chaturvarna and propounds the theory that it is a system of difference of Guna: innate virtue. This theory of difference of Guna is derived from the Sankhya Philosophy of Kapila. Krishna offers this explanation of Chaturvarna in a commanding spirit as though it was incontrovertible. The Sankhya Philosophy no doubt asserts as a fundamental proposition that matter has got three Gunas-Raj, Tama and Satva. Matter is not inert. It is instable equilibrium when all the three Gunas are coequal in their power. Matter becomes dynamic when the equilibrium is disturbed when one Guna becomes masterful over others. Krishna was of course very clever in seeking to give scientific explanation of the Varna system by applying the Sankhya Theory of Guna dharma. But in doing so Krishna has really made a fool of himself. He did not realize that there are four Varnas and three Gunas and whatever ingenuity he might claim to have he could not account for the four Varnas with a theory which did not require more than three Gunas. Here again what appears to be a rational explanation is an absurd explanation. It does not solve the riddle. It

creates one. Why were the Brahmins fighting so hard to justify the Chaturvarna ?

II

The Ashram Dharma divides the life of an individual into four stages (1) Brahmcharya, (2) Grahasthashram, (3) Vanaprastha and (4) Sannyas. The state of Brahmacharya has both a *de jure* and *de facto* connotation. Its *de facto* connotation is that it means an unmarried state of life. Its *de jure* connotation means the stage of study under a teacher. Grahasthashram is the stage of a householder—a stage of married family life. The stage of Sannyas is a stage of renunciation of civic rights and responsibilities. It is a stage of civic death. The stage of Vanaprastha is in between Grahasthashram and Sannyas. It is a stage in which one belongs to society but is bound to live away from society. As the name implies it prescribes dwelling in forest.

The Hindus believe that this institution of Ashram Dharma is as old as that of the Varna Dharma. They call the two by a joint name of Varnashram Dharma as though they were one and integral, and the two together form the steelframe of the Hindu Society.

To begin with it would be better to have a full understanding of the Ashram Dharma before inquiring into its origin and its purpose and its peculiarities. The best source for an exposition of the Ashram system is the Manu Smriti from which the following relevant extracts are reproduced:

Ch. II-36. In the eighth year after conception, one should perform the initiation (upanayana) of a Brahmana, in the eleventh after conception (that) of a Kshatriya, but in the twelfth that of a Vaisya.

Ch. II-168. A twice-born man who, not having studied the Veda, applies himself to other (and wordly study), soon falls, even while living, to the condition of a Sudra and his descendants (after him).

Ch. III-1. The vow of the three Vedas under a teacher must be kept for thirty-six years or for half that time, or for a quarter, or until the (student) has perfectly learnt them.

Ch. III-2. Who has studied in due order the three Vedas, or two, or even one only, without breaking the (rule of) studentship, shall enter the order of householder.

Ch. VI-8. The student, the householder, the hermit, and the ascetic, these (constitute) four separate orders, which all spring from (the order of) householders.

Ch. VI-88. But all (or) even (any of) these orders, assumed successively in accordance with the Institutes (of the sacred law), lead the Brahmana who acts by the preceding (rules) to the highest state.

Ch. VI-89. And in accordance with the precepts of the Veda and of the Smriti, the housekeeper is declared to be superior to all of them; for he supports the other three.

Ch. VI-1. A twice-born Snataka, who has thus lived according to the law in the order of householders, may, taking a firm resolution and keeping his organs in subjection, dwell in the forest, duly (observing the rules given below).

Ch. VI-2. When a householder sees his (skin) wrinkled and (his hair) white, and the sons of his sons, then he may resort to the forest.

Ch. VI-33. But having thus passed the third part of (a man's natural term of) life in the forest, he may live as an ascetic during the fourth part of his existence, after abandoning all attachment to worldly objects.

Ch. VI-34. He who after passing from order to order, after offering sacrifices and subduing his senses, becomes, tired with giving alms and offerings of food, an ascetic, gains bliss after death.

Ch. VI-35. When he has paid the three debts, let him apply his mind to (the attainment of) final liberation; he who seeks it without having paid (his debts) sinks downwards.

Ch. VI-36. Having studied the Vedas in accordance with the rule, having begot sons according to the sacred law, and having offered sacrifices according to his ability, he may direct his mind to (the attainment of) final liberation.

Ch. VI-37. A twice-born man who seeks final liberation, without having studied the Vedas, without having begotten sons and without having offered sacrifices, sinks downwards."

For these rules it is clear that according to Manu there are three features of the Ashram Dharma. First is that it is not open to Shudras and Women. The second is Brahmacharya which is compulsory, so is Grahasthashram. Vanaprastha and Sannyas are not compulsory. The third is that one must pass from one stage to another in the order in which they stand namely first Brahmacharya, then Grahasthashram, then Vanaprastha and lastly Sannyas. No one can omit one and enter the next stage.

Judging what Manu says in the light of history there are several questions which arise. Referring to the Vedas the theory of stages in life is quite unknown. The Vedas speak of Brahmachari. But there is nothing to show that Brahmarcharya was regarded as an inescapable stage in life. There is reference to 'Yatis' in the Rig-Veda. That again was not regarded as a stage in life. Indeed unlike the Sannyasi the Yati in the Rig-Vedic times is a hated institution. In fact there are many hymns in the Rig-Veda where Indra is spoken of as having thrown the Yatis to the wolves. Why did the Brahmins formulate this theory of the four Ashramas? This is the first riddle about the Asbram Dharma.

The second riddle relates to the order of sequence among the four Ashramas. Now there is no doubt that there was a time when it was open to a Brahmachari to enter any of the three Ashrams. He may become a Grahasthashrami or he may at once become a Sannyasi without becoming a Grahasthashrami. Compare what the authors of the Dharma Sutras have to say on the point.

Vashishta Dharma Sutra says[1] :

"There are four orders, viz. (that of) the student, (that of) the householder, (that of) the hermit, and (that of) the ascetic."

"A man who has studied one, two, or three Vedas without violating the rules of studentship, may enter any of these (orders), whichsoever he pleases."

Gautama Dharma Sutra says[2]:

"Some (declare, that) he (who has studied the Veda) may make his choice (which) among the orders (he is going to enter)."

"(The four orders are, that of) the student (that of) the householder, (that of) the ascetic (Bhikshu), (and that of) the hermit in the woods (vaikhanasa).

Why did Manu remove the option and make the married state an obligatory state, why did he make the married state a condition precedent to the stage of hermit and the stage of hermit a condition precedent to the stage of a Sannyasi?

If the four stages of life have been devised to serve some important end it is difficult to understand why the two classes Shudras and women were excluded? The Shudras and women can only be householders according to the scheme of Manu. Why can they not be Brahmachari, Vanaprasthi or Sannyasi? What harm can there be either to them or to society if the Ashram Dharma was open to them ?

There are other riddles about the system of Ashram Dharma.

[1] S.B.E. Vol. XIV. p. 40. Chapter VII. verses 1, 2, 3.

[2] S.B.E. Vol. II, p. 192. Chapter III. verses 1, 2.

First relates to the distinctions which Manu makes among the Brahmacharis.[1]

Ch. II-41. Let students according to the order (of their castes), wear (as upper dresses) the skins of black antelopes, spotted deer, and he-goats, and (lower garments) made of a hemp, flax or wool.[1]

Ch. II-42. The girdle of a Brahmana shall consist of a triple cord of Munga grass, smooth and soft; (that) of a Kshatriya, of a bowstring, made of Murva fibres; (that) of a Vaisya, of hempen threads.

Ch. II-43. If Munga grass (and so forth) be not procurable, (the girdles) may be made of Kusa, Asmantaka, and Balbaga (fibres), with a single threefold knot, or with three or five (knots according to the custom of the family).

Ch. II-44. The sacrificial string of a Brahmana shall be made of cotton, (shall be) twisted to the right, (and consist) of three threads, that of a Kshatriya of hempen threads, (and) that of a Vaisya of woolen threads.

Ch. II-45. A Brahmana shall (carry), according to the sacred law, a staff of Bilva or Palasa a Kshatriya, or Vata or Khadira; (and) a Vaisya, of Pilu or Udumbara.

Ch. II-46. The staff of a Brahmana shall be made of such length as to reach the end of his hair; that of a Kshatriya, to reach his forehead; (and) that of a Vaisya, to reach (the tip of his) nose.

Ch. II-47. Let all the staves be straight, without a blemish, handsome to look at, not likely to terrify men, with their bark perfect, unhurt by fire.

Ch. II-48. Having taken a staff according to his choice, having worshipped the sun and walked round the fire, turning his right hand towards it, (the student) should beg alms according to the prescribed rule.

Ch. II-49. An initiated Brahmana should beg, beginning (his request with the word) lady (bhavati); a Kshatriya, placing (the word) Lady in the middle, but a Vaisya placing it at the end (of the formula).

The Brahmacharis all belong to the same class, namely they are twiceborn. Why should it be necessary to make a distinction in the material of their upper garment ? Why should it be necessary to make a distinction in the material of their sacred thread ? Why should it be necessary to make a distinction in their staffs ? Why should it be necessary to make a distinction in the syntax of the formula for begging alms ? Why should a Brahman Brahmachari say “Bhagvati Bhikshyam Dehi” ? Why should a Kshatriya Brahmachari say “Bhikshyam Bhavati Dehi”? Why should a Vaishya Brahmachari say “Bhikshyam dehi bhavati”?

[1] S.B.E. Vol. XXV Manu pp. 37-39.

The Ashram Dharma is a peculiar institution of the Hindus and they are very proud of it. It is true that it has no parallel anywhere. But it is equally true that it is without any merit. Compulsory Brahmacharya appears very attractive since it has the look of compulsory education for children. It was certainly not universal. Shudras and women were excluded from it. Having regard to the fact that the Shudras and women form nearly 9/10ths of the Hindu Society it is obvious that the scheme was the result of cunningness rather than wisdom. It certainly was tainted by discrimination against the masses. It was scheme for the education of the governing classes. Compulsory marriage to say the least is a most stupid rule that can be imagined. To compel everyone to marry irrespective of money or health is to open the road to ruination both for the individual and the nation unless it is accompanied by a scheme whereby the state undertakes to guarantee subsistence to everybody. The most non-sensical stages are those of Vanaprastha and the Sannyasi. Let me quote the rules regarding these two.

The following is the code prescribed by Manu for the Vanaprastha[1]:

Ch. VI-3. Abandoning all food raised by cultivation, and all his belongings, he may depart into the forest, either committing his wife to his sons, or accompanied by her.

Ch. VI-4. Taking with him the sacred fire and the implements required for domestic (sacrifices) he may go forth from the village into the forest and reside there, duly controlling his senses.

Ch. VI-5. Let him offer those five great sacrifices according to the rule, with various kinds of pure food fit for ascetics, or with herbs, roots and fruit.

Ch. VI-6. Let him wear a skin or a tattered garment; let him bathe in the evening or in the morning and let him always were (his hair in) braids, the hair on his body, his beard, and his nails (being unclipped).

Ch. VI-7. Let him perform the Bali-offering with such food as he eats, and give alms according to his ability; let him honour those who come to his hermitage with alms consisting of water roots and fruit.

Ch. VI-8. Let him be always industrious in privately reciting the Veda; let him be patient of hardships, friendly (towards all), of collected mind, ever liberal and never a receiver of gifts, and compassionate towards all living creatures.

Ch. VI-9. Let him offer, according to the law, the Agnihotra with three sacred fires, never omitting the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices at the proper time.

[1] S.B.E. VOL XXV, pp. 199-203.

Ch. VI-10. Let him also offer the Nakshatreshti, the Agrayana, and the Katurmasya (sacrifices), as well as the Turayana and likewise the Dakshayana, in due order.

Ch. VI-11. With pure grains, fit for ascetics, which grow in spring and in autumn, and which he himself has collected, let him severally prepare the sacrificial cakes (purodasa) and the boiled messes (karu), as the law directs.

Ch. VI-12. Having offered those most pure sacrificial viands, consisting of the produce of the forest, he may use the remainder for himself, (mixed with) salt prepared by himself.

Ch. VI-13. Let him eat vegetables that grow on dry land or in water, flowers, roots and fruits, the productions of pure trees, and oils extracted from forest fruits.

Ch. VI-14. Let him avoid honey, flesh and mushrooms growing on the ground (for elsewhere, the vegetables called) Bhustrina, and Sigruka, and the Sleshmantaka fruit.

Ch. VI-15. Let him throw away in the month of Asvina the food of ascetics, which he formerly collected, likewise his worn-out clothes and his vegetables, roots, and fruits.

Ch. VI-16. Let him not eat anything (grown on) ploughed (land), though it may have been thrown away by somebody, nor roots and fruit grown in a village, though (he may be) tormented (by hunger).

Ch. VI-17. He may eat either what has been cooked with fire, or what has been ripened by time; he either may use a stone for grinding, or his teeth may be his mortar.

Ch. VI-18. He may either at once (after his daily meal) cleanse (his vessel for collecting food), or lay up a store sufficient for a month, or gather what suffices for six months or for a year.

Ch. VI-19. Having collected food according to his ability he may either eat at night (only) or in the day-time (only), or at every fourth meal-time, or at every eighth.

Ch. VI-20. Or he may live according to the rule of the lunar penance (Kandrayana, daily diminishing the quantity of his food) in the bright (half of the month) and (increasing it) in the dark (half); or he may eat on the last days of each fortnight, once (a day only), boiled barley-gruel.

Ch. VI-21. Or he may constantly subsist on flowers, roots, and fruit alone, which have been ripened by time and have fallen spontaneously, following the rule of the (Institutes) of Vikhanas.

Ch. VI-22. Let him either roll about on the ground, or stand during the day on tiptoe, (or) let him alternately stand and sit down; going at the Savanas (at sunrise, at midday, and at sunset) to water in the forest (in order to bathe).

Ch. VI-23. In summer let him expose himself to the heat of five fires, during the rainy season live under the open sky, and in winter be dressed in wet clothes, (thus) gradually increasing (the rigour of) his austerities.

Ch. VI-24. When he bathes at the three Savanas (sunrise, midday, and sunset), let him offer libations of water to the manes and the gods and practising harsher and harsher austerities, let him dry up his bodily frame.

Ch. VI-25. Having reposited the three sacred fires in himself, according to the prescribed rule, let him live without a fire, without a house, wholly silent, subsisting on roots and fruit.

Ch. VI-26. Making no effort (to procure) things that give pleasure, chaste, sleeping on the bare ground, not caring for any shelter, dwelling at the roots of trees.

Ch. VI-27. From Brahmanas (who live as) ascetics let him receive alms, (barely sufficient) to support life, or from other householders of the twiceborn (castes) who reside in the forest.

Ch. VI-28. Or (the hermit who dwells in the forest may bring food) from a village, receiving it either in a hollow dish (of leaves), in (his naked) hand, or in a broken earthen dish, and may eat eight mouthfuls.

Ch. VI-29. These and other observances must a Brahmana who dwells in the forest diligently practise, and in order to attain complete (union with) the (supreme) soul, (he must study) the various sacred texts contained in the Upanishadas.

The rules for a Sannyasi prescribed in the Manu Smriti are as follows[1]:

Ch. VI-38. Having performed the Ishti, sacred to the Lord of creatures (pragapati) where (he gives) all his property as the sacrificial fee, having reposited the sacred fires in himself, a Brahmana may depart from his house (as an ascetic).

Ch. VI-39. Worlds, radiant in brilliancy, become (the portion) of him who recites (the texts regarding) Brahman and departs from his house (as an ascetic), after giving a promise of safety to all created beings.

Ch. VI-40. For that twice-born man, by whom not the smallest danger even is caused to created beings, there will be no danger from any (quarter) after he is freed from his body.

Ch. VI-41. Departing from his house fully provided with the means of purification (Pavitra), let him wander about absolutely silent, and caring nothing for enjoyments that may be offered (to him).

Ch. VI-42. Let him always wander alone, without any companion, in order to attain (final liberation), fully understanding that the solitary (man, who) neither forsakes nor is forsaken, gains his end.

[1] S.B.E. Vol. XXV. Ch. VI verses 38-45 pp. 205-206;

Ch. VI-43. He shall neither possess a fire, nor a dwelling, he may go to a village for his food, (he shall be) indifferent to everything, firm of purpose, meditating (and) concentrating his mind on Brahman.

Ch. VI-44. A potsherd (instead of an alms-bowl), the roots of trees (for a dwelling), coarse worn-out garments, life in solitude and indifference towards, everything, are the marks of one who has attained liberation.

Ch. VI-45. Let him not desire to die, let him not desire to live, let him wait for (his appointed) time, as a servant (waits) for the payment of his wages.

Ch. VI-49. Delighting in what refers to the Soul, sitting (in the postures prescribed by the Yoga), independent (of external help) entirely abstaining from sensual enjoyments, with himself for his only companion, he shall live in this world, desiring the bliss (of final liberation).

Ch. VI-50. Neither by (explaining) prodigies and omens, nor by skill, in astrology and palmistry, nor by giving advice and by the exposition (of the Sastras), let him ever seek to obtain alms.

Ch. VI-51. Let him not (in order to beg) go near a house filled with hermits, Brahmanas, birds, dogs, or other mendicants.

Ch. VI-52. His hair, nails, and beards being clipped, carrying an alms bowl, a staff, and a water-pot let him continually wander about controlling himself and not hurting any creature.

Ch. VI-53. His vessels shall not be made of metal, they shall be free from fractures, it is ordained that they shall be cleansed with water, like (the cups, called) Kamasa, at a sacrifice.

Ch. VI-54. A gourd, a wooden bowl, an earthen (dish), or one made of split cane, Manu, the son of Svayambhu, has declared (to be) vessels (suitable) for an ascetic.

Ch. VI-55. Let him go to beg once (a day), let him not be eager to obtain a large quantity (of alms); for an ascetic who eagerly seeks, alms, attaches himself also to sensual enjoyments.

Ch. VI-56. When no smoke ascends from (the kitchen), when the pestle lies motionless, when the embers have been extinguished, when the people have finished their meal, when the remnants in the dishes have been removed, let the ascetic always go to beg.

Ch. VI-57. Let him not be sorry when he obtains nothing, nor rejoice when he obtains (something), let him (accept) so much only as will sustain life, let him not care about the (quality of his) utensils.

Ch. VI-58. Let him disdain all (food) obtained in consequence of humble salutations, (for) even an ascetic who has attained final

[1] S.B.E. Chapter VI pp. 207-209.

liberation, is bound (with the fetters of the Samsara) by accepting (food given) in consequence of humble salutations.

Ch. VI-59. By eating little, and by standing and sitting in solitude, let him restrain his senses, if they are attracted by sensual objects.

Ch. VI-60. By the restraint of his senses, by the destruction of love and hatred, and by the abstention from injuring the creatures, he becomes fit for immortality.

Ch. VI-80. [1]When by the disposition (of his heart) he becomes indifferent to all objects, he obtains eternal happiness both in this world and after death.

Ch. VI-81. He who has in this manner gradually given up all attachments and is freed from all the pairs (of opposites), reposes in Brahman alone.

Ch. VI-82. All that has been declared (above) depends on meditation; for he who is not proficient in the knowledge of that which refers to the Soul reaps not the full reward of the performance of rites.

Ch. VI-83. Let him constantly recite (those texts of) the Veda which refer to the sacrifice (those) referring to the deities, and (those) which treat of the Soul and are contained in the concluding portions of the Veda (Vedanta).

Ch. VI-84. That is the refuge of the ignorant, and even that (the refuge) of those who know (the meaning of the Veda); that is (the protection) of those who seek (bliss in) heaven and of those who seek endless (beatitude).

Ch. VI-85. A twice-born man who becomes an ascetic, after the successive performance of the above-mentioned acts, shakes off sin here below and reaches the highest Brahman.

Comparing the Vanaprastha with the Sannyasi the resemblance in this observances is so close that one is led to ask why these two stages are created as separate stages. There appear to be only a few differences. Firstly a Vanaprastha may take his wife with him and a Sannyasi cannot. Secondly a Vanaprastha is required only to leave his property behind, and a Sannyasi has to divest himself of it. Thirdly a Vanaprastha must make his dwelling in a forest and a Sannyasi cannot have a fixed dwelling but keep on wandering from place to place. As for the rest their mode of life is identical. Why did the Brahmins recognize an additional stage such as that of a Vanaprastha when the stage of Sannyas would have sufficed for both. But the question remains—namely what good these two stages serve. They cannot be cited as examples of self sacrifice. The Vanaprastha and Sannyasi cannot but be old men. Manu is very positive as to the

[1] S.B.E. Vol. XXV versus 80-85 pp. 213-14.

period when a Man can become Vanaprastha. The time ripe for it is after wrinkles which is of course quite an advanced age. The Sannyasi must be still more advanced in age. To exhibit such people who have enjoyed all the pleasures of life as instances of self-sacrifice because they choose to give up their pleasures at a stage of life when they are incapable of enjoying them must be nothing short of folly. Admittedly this abandonment of home and family is not for the purpose of rendering social service to suffering humanity. The purpose is to enable them to perform austerities and to wait peaceful death. It seems to be a height of folly to cut of old and aged men from him and family and die in jungles uncared and unwept for so insignificant and trivial a purpose.

The Ashram system is an ancient attempt of planned economy produced by the Brahmins. It is so stupid that it is a riddle to understand the causes and the motives which have led the Brahmins to devise it.

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APPENDIX II

COMPULSORY MATRIMONY

Manu prescribes that an individual's life on earth be divided into four stages. The four stages are: (1) Brahmacharya, (2) Grahasthashram, (3) Vanaprastha and (4) Sanyas. The stage of Brahmacharya is the stage of studentship—a period devoted to the study of the Vedas. The stage of Grahasthashram is the stage of married state or as Manu calls it the state of being an householder marrying and rearing a family. In the Vanaprastha stage the Vanaprastha ceases to be an householder in as much as he abandons his house. He, however, does not abandon his wife. He lives in jungle but does not give up his right to his property. He is dead in so far as the religious duties of an householder are concerned but he is not civilly dead. The stage of Sanyas is the stage in which a person breaks his marital tie, abandons his wife, gives up his wordly goods and leaves his household and does not follow the religious injunctions enjoined upon a householder and goes and lives in jungle to meditate upon Brahma. He is deemed to have committed civil death.

The division of man's life into stages is an idea older than Manu. What is important is the changes Manu has made in the scheme.

The first change Manu has made is that he has made marriage compulsory. A Brahmachari after he has finished his study must marry. This is the rule laid down by Manu as may be seen from the following:

> III. 2 (A student) "Who has studied in due order the three Vedas, or two, or even one only, without breaking (the rules of) studentship *shall* enter the order of householder."
>
> III. 4 "Having bathed, with the permission of his teacher, and performed according to the rule the Samavartana (the rite on returning home), a twice-born man shall marry a wife of equal caste who is endowed with auspicious marks."

This chapter may be read along with the Riddle on 'The Four Ashramas'.—Ed.

The second change Manu has made is to prohibit entry into the order of Sanyas for a Brahmachari who had not married. Marriage is made by Manu a condition precedent to Sanyas. He declares entry into Sanyas without having undergone the stage of marriage to be a sin.

VI. 35 "When he has paid the three debts, let him apply his mind to (the attainment of) final liberation; he who seeks it without having paid (his debts) sinks downwards."

VI. 36 "Having studied the Vedas in accordance with the rule, having begot sons according to the sacred law, and having offered sacrifices according to his ability, he may direct his mind to (the attainment of) final liberation."

VI. 37 "A twice-born man who seeks final liberation, without having studied the Vedas, without having begotten sons, and without having offered sacrifices, sinks downwards."

VI. 38 "Having performed the Ishti, sacred to the Lord of creatures (Prajapati), where (he gives) all his property as the sacrificial fee, having reposited the sacred fires in himself, a Brahmana may depart from his house (as an ascetic)."

The third change made by Manu is to prohibit an householder from becoming a Sannyasi without first entering the stage of Vanaprastha.

VI. 1 "A twice-born Snataka, who has thus lived according to the law in the order of householders, may, taking a firm resolution and keeping his organs in subjection, dwell in the forest, duly (observing the rules given below)."

VI. 2. "When a householder sees his (skin) wrinkled, and (his hair) white, and the sons of his sons, then he may resort to the forest.

VI. 3. "Abandoning all food raised by cultivation, and all his belongings, he may depart into the forest, either committing his wife to his sons or accompanied by her."

These changes made by Manu are of course revolutionary changes as compared with the rules which governed them before the time of Manu. On this point, I will only quote the relevant rules contained in two of the Dharma Shastras, the Vasistha Dharma Sutra and the Gautama Dharma Sutra.

Vasistha Dharma Sutra[1] says:

"There are four orders viz., (that of) student, (that of) the householder, (that of) the hermit, and (that of) the ascetic."

"A man who has studied one, two or three Vedas without violating the rules of studentship, *may enter any of these* (orders) *whichsoever he pleases."*

[1] Chapter VII. Verses 1, 2, 3.

Gautama Dharma Sutra[1] says:

> " Some (declare, that) he (who has studied the Veda) *may make his choice* (which) among the orders (he is going to enter)."
>
> " (The four orders are, that) the student (that of) the householder, (that) of the ascetic (bhikshu) (and that of) the hermit in the woods (Vaikhanasa)."

As is clear from the two Dharma Shastras what order a person should enter after completing the stage of Brahmacharya is a matter which was left to his choice. If he wished he might marry and become as householder; or without entering into the marital state he might if so inclined straightaway enter into the order of a Sannyasi. That Manu in making matrimony a condition precedent for entry into the order of Vanaprashtha and Sannyas has made a revolutionary change is therefore quite obvious.

There is another change Manu seems to have made. One does not see why to reach Sannyasa after matrimony it was necessary to go through Vanaprastha. Why one could not straightaway become a Sannyasi. After all is there any difference between a Vanaprastha and a Sannyasi which can be called to be fundamental? In an excursus to this Chapter, I have collected together the rules made by Manu for regulating the conduct of the Vanaprastha and the Sannyasi. From a perusal of these rules it will be found that there is hardly any difference. Except the fact that the Vanaprastha is required to perform some of the religious duties and observances which are prescribed for the householders there is in substance no difference between men who have entered the two orders. It is equally true that the ends to be realized by the Vanaprastha and the Sannyasi are the same. How similar are the ends to be achieved by them can be seen by reference to the following texts from Manu.

ENDS TO BE ACHIEVED

Vanaprastha	Sannyasi
VI. 29 "These and other observances must a Brahmana who dwells in the forest diligently practise, and in order to *attain complete* (*union with) the Supreme Soul,* (he must study) the various sacred texts contained in the Upanishads.	VI. 85 "A twice-born man who becomes an ascetic after the successive performance of the abovementioned acts, shakes off sin here below and *reaches the highest Brahmin.*

[1] Chapter III. Verses 1 and 2.

Why then Manu carved out Vanaprastha as a separate stage from Grahasthashram and from Sannyas? Regarding Vanaprastha it can be said that such a class existed before Manu. They were called Aranas. According to Prof. Radha Kumud Mookerji[1]:

> "Brahmacharis, who wanted to continue as such, without marrying in pursuit of knowledge, were called *Aranas* or *Aranamans*. These *Aranas* lived in hermitages in the forests outside the villages or centres of population. The forests where these *Arana* ascetics lived were, called *Aranyas*. The philosophical speculations of these learned ascetics regarding such ultimate problems as Brahma, Creation, Soul, or Immortality are embodied in works called Aranyakas."

To these old Aranas Manu gave the name Vanaprasthas which has the same meaning as Aranas. Manu has not only made a change in names he has introduced another change of considerable significance. In between Brahmacharya and Vanaprastha he has introduced a married state. While the original Vanaprastha or Arana was an unmarried person, Manu's Vanaprastha was necessarily a married man. In the old system Brahmacharya was followed by Vanaprastha or by Grahasthashram depending upon the choice of the individual. Manu changed the order, so that no one could become a Vanaprastha unless he was first married.

The old system, the two stages of Vanaprastha or Sannyasi, did not involve any hardship or cruelty to wives and children. The new system introduced by Manu did. For to force a person to marry and then to permit him to abandon his wife is nothing short of cruelty if it did not involve criminality. But Manu did not care for such considerations. He was bent on making matrimony compulsory for all.

Why did Manu do it? Why did he make Grahasthashram compulsory for a Vanaprastha or Sannyasi? Manu recognizes the married state as a superior stage the foundation of all other states. As he says:

> VI. 87 "The student, the householder, the hermit and the ascetics, these (constitute) four separate orders, which all spring from (the order of) householders.
>
> VI. 88 "But all (or even any of) these orders, assumed successively in accordance with the Institutes (of the sacred law), lead the Brahmana who acts by the preceding (rules) to the highest state.
>
> VI. 89 "And in accordance with the precepts of the Veda and of the Smriti, the housekeeper is declared to be superior to all of them; for he supports the other three.

[1] Education in Ancient India p. 6.

VI. 90 "As all rivers, both great and small, find a resting-place in the ocean, even so men of all orders find protection with householders."

Granting the truth of this statement the question still remains why did Manu insist upon marriage as a condition precedent to Vanaprastha or Sannyas? The only answer is that he wanted to discourage persons, from becoming Sannyasi. Why did Manu dislike the order of Vanaprastha or Sannyasi? The answer is that the religion ofBuddhawas largely supported and propagated by Sannyasis called Bhikshus. It was easy for unmarried persons to become Bhikshus. Manu was anxious to stop this. Hence the condition of marriage.

EXCURSUS

COMPARATIVE CODE FOR VANAPRASTHA AND SANNYASI

I. Connection with the household on entry into the order

Vanaprastha	Sannyasi
VI. 3 "Abandoning all food raised by cultivation and all his belongings he may depart into the forest, either committing his wife to his sons, or accompanied by her."	VI. 38 "Having performed the Ishti, sacred to the Lord of creatures (Pragapati) where (he gives) all his property as the sacrificial fee, having reposited the sacred fires in himself, a Brahmana may depart from his house (as an ascetic)."

II. Rules Regarding Dwelling

Vanaprastha	Sannyasi
VI. 4 "Taking with him the sacred fire and the implements required for domestic (sacrifices) he may go forth from the village into the forest and reside there, duly controlling his senses."	VI. 41 "Departing from his house fully provided with the means of purification (Pavitra), let him wander about absolutely silent, and caring nothing for enjoyments that may be offered (to him)."
	VI. 42 " Let him always wander alone, without any companion, in order to attain (final liberation) fully understanding that the solitary man who neither forsakes nor is forsaken, gains his end."

II. Rules Regarding Dwelling—contd.

Vanaprastha	Sannyasi
	VI. 43 "He shall neither possess a fire, nor a dwelling he may go to a village for his food, (he shall be) indifferent to everything, firm of purpose, meditating (and) concentrating his mind on Brahman."

III. Rules as to Mode of Life

Vanaprastha	Sannyasi
VI. 6 "Let him wear a skin or a tattered garment; let him bathe in the evening or in the morning and let him always wear (his hair in) braids, the hair on his body, and his nails (being unclipped)."	VI. 44 "A potsherd (instead of an alms-bowl) the roots of trees (for a dwelling), coarse worn-out garments, life in solitude and indifference towards, everything are the marks of one who has attained liberation."
	VI. 52 "His hair, nails and beard being clipped carrying an alms-bowl, staff, and a water-pot let him continually wander about controlling himself and not hurting any creature."
	VI. 53 "His vessels shall not be made of metal, they shall be free from fractures, it is ordained that they shall be cleansed with water, like (the cups called) Kamasa, at a sacrifice."
	VI. 54 "A gourd, a wooden bowl, an earthen (dish) or one made of split cane, Manu the son of Swayambhu, has declared (to be) vessels (suitable) for an ascetic."

IV. Rules as to Means of Livelihood

Vanaprastha	Sannyasi
VI. 11 "With pure grains, fit for ascetics, which grow in spring, and in autumn and which he himself	VI. 49 " Delighting in what refers to the Soul sitting in the posture prescribed by the Yoga,

IV. Rules as to Means of Livelihood—contd.

Vanaprastha	Sannyasi
has collected, let him severally prepare the sacrificial cakes (purodasa) and the boiled messes (Karu) as the law directs."	independent (of external help) entirely abstaining from sensual enjoyment with himself for his only companion he shall live in this world desiring the bliss (of final liberation)."
VI. 12 "Having offered those most pure sacrificial viands, consisting of the produce of the forest, he may use the remainder for himself (mixed with) salt prepared by himself."	VI. 50 "Neither by explaining prodigies and omens, nor by skill in astrology and palmistry nor by giving advice and by the exposition (of the Sastras) let him, ever seek to obtain alms."
VI. 26 "Making no effort (to procure) things that give pleasure chaste, sleeping on the bare ground, not caring for any shelter, dwelling at the roots of trees."	VI. 51 "Let him not (in order to beg) go near a house filled with hermits, Brahmanas, birds, dogs, or other mendicants."
VI. 27 "From Brahmans (who live as) ascetics; let him receive alms, (barely sufficient) to support life, or from other householders of the twice-born (castes) who reside in the forest."	
VI. 28 "Or (the hermit) who dwells in the forest) may bring (food) from a village, receiving it either in a hollow dish (of leaves) in (his naked) hand, or in a broken earthern dish, and may eat eight mouthfuls."	

V. Rules as to Food

Vanaprastha	Sannyasi
VI. 13 "Let him eat vegetables that grow on dry land or in water, flowers, roots and fruits, the productions of pure trees and oils extracted from forest-fruits."	VI. 55 "Let him go to beg once a day, let him not be eager to obtain a large quantity (of alms); for an ascetic who eagerly seeks alms, attaches himself also to sensual enjoyments."
VI. 14 " Let him avoid honey, flesh and mushrooms growing on the	VI. 56 " When no smoke ascends from (the kitchen) when the pestle

V. Rules as to Food—contd.

Vanaprastha	Sannyasi
ground (or elsewhere, the vegetables called) Bhustrina and Sigruka, and the Sleshmantaka fruits."	lies motionless, when the members have been extinguished, when the people have finished their meal, when the remnants in the dishes have been removed let the ascetic always go to beg."
VI. 15 "Let him throw away in the mouth of Asvina the food of ascetics, which he formerly collected, likewise his worn-out clothes and his vegetables, roots and fruit."	VI. 57 " Let him not be sorry when he obtains nothing, nor rejoice when he obtains (something), let him (accept) so much only as will sustain life, let him not care about the (quality of his) utensils.
VI. 16 "Let him not eat anything (grown on) ploughed (land), though it may have been thrown away by somebody, nor roots and fruit grown in a village, though (he may be) tormented (by hunger)."	
VI. 17 "He may eat either what has been cooked with fire, or what has been ripened by time; he either may use a stone for grinding or his teeth may be his mortar."	VI. 58 "Let him disdain all (food) obtained in consequence of humble salutations, (for) even an ascetic who has attained final liberation, is bound (with the fetters of the Samsara) by accepting (food given) in consequence of humble salutations."
VI. 18 "He may either at once (after his daily meal) cleanse (his vessel for collecting food), or lay up a store sufficient for a month, or gather what suffices for six months or for a year."	
VI. 19 "Having collected food according to his ability, he may either eat at night (only), or in the day-time (only) or at every fourth meal-time or at every eighth."	
VI. 20 "Or, he may live according to the rule of the lunar penance (Kandrayana, daily diminishing the	

V. Rules as to Food—contd.

Vanaprastha	Sannyasi
quantity of his food) in the bright (half of the month) and (increasing it) in the dark (half); or he may eat on the last days of each fortnight once (a day only), boiled barley-gruel."	
VI. 21 "Or he may constantly subsist on flowers, roots, and fruit alone, which have been ripened by time and have fallen spontaneously, following the rule of the (Institutes) of Vikhanas."	
VI. 22 "Let him either roll about on the ground, or stand during the day on tiptoe, (or) let him alternately stand and sit down; going at the Savanas (at sunrise, at midday, and at sunset) to water in the forest (in order to bathe).	

VI. Duties to be performed

Vanaprastha	Sannyasi
VI. 5 "Let him offer those five great sacrifices according to the rule, with various kinds of pure food fit for ascetics, or with herbs, roots, and fruit."	VI. 65 "By deep meditation let him recognize the subtle nature of the Supreme Soul, and its presence in all organisms, both the highest and the lowest."
VI. 7 "Let him perform the Balioffering with such food as he eats', and give alms according to his ability; let him honour those who come to his hermitage with alms consisting of water, roots, and fruit."	VI. 83 "Let him constantly recite (those texts) of the Veda which refer to the sacrifice (those) refering to the deities and (those) which treat of the soul and are contained in the concluding portions of the Veda (Vedanta)."
VI. 8 "Let him be always industrious in privately reciting the Veda; let him be patient of hardships, friendly (towards all), of collected mind, ever liberal and never a receiver of gifts,	

VI. Duties to be performed—contd.

Vanaprastha	Sannyasi
and compassionate towards all living creatures."	
VI. 9 "Let him offer, according to the law, the Agnihotra with three sacred fires, never omitting the new-moon and full-moon sacrifices at the proper time."	
VI. 10 "Let him also offer the Nakshatreshti, the Agrayana, and the Katurmasya (sacrifices), as well as Turayana and likewise the Dakshayana, in due order."	
VI. 23 "In Summer let him expose himself to the heat of the five fires, during the rainy season live under the open sky, and in winter be dressed in wet clothes, (thus) gradually increasing (the rigour of) his austerities."	
VI. 24 "When he bathes at the three Savanas (sunrise, midday and sunset), let him offer libations of water to the manes and the Gods, and practising harsher and harsher austerities, let him dry up his bodily frame."	
VI. 25 "Having reposited the three sacred fires in himself, according to the prescribed rule, let him live without a fire, without a house wholly silent, subsisting on roots and fruit."	

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PART III

Political

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RIDDLE NO. 21

THE THEORY OF MANVANTARA

The Brahmins had a theory of the Government of their country from Heaven. This seems to be the idea underlying what is called a Manvantara.

The idea underlying a *Manvantara* is related to the political Government of the country. It is founded on the belief that the Government of the world is entrusted to a corporation for a fixed period. This corporation consists of an officer called Manu and Saptarishis (seven Rishis) and one Indra conducting the affairs of the country from their seats in Heaven without consulting the people or ascertaining their wishes. The period of the reign by one corporation is called a Manvantara after Manu the premier authority in the ruling set. When the reign of one Manu is over he is succeeded by another Manu and so on. As in the case of the Yugas, the Manvantaras also move in cycles. Fourteen Manvantaras make one cycle.

The Vishnu Purana gives us an idea of these Manvantaras which is as follows:

> "Then Brahma created himself the Manu Swayambhuva, born of, and identical with, his original self, for the protection of created beings; and the female portion of himself he constituted Satarupa, whom austerity purified from the sin (of forbidden nuptials), and whom the divine Manu Swayambhuva took to wife.

Stopping here for the moment one might ask—What does this mean? Does it mean that Brahma was a hermaphrodite? Does it mean that Manu Swayambhu married his sister Satarupa? How very strange if this is true as the Vishnu Purana seems to suggest.

The Vishnu Purana proceeds to say:

> "From these two are born two sons, Priyavrata and Uttanpada, and two daughters, named Prasuti and Akuti graced with loveliness

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This is an 11-page MS of which last four pages are in the handwriting of the author.—Ed.

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and exhalted merit. Prasuti he gave to Daksha and gave Akuti to the Patriarch Ruchi, who espoused her. Akuti bore to Ruchi twins, Yajna and Dakshina, who afterwards became husband and wife (again a case of a brother marrying his sister) and had twelve sons, the deities called Yamas, in the Manvantara of Swayambhuva."

"The first Manu was Swayambhuva, then came Swarochisha, then Auttami, then Tamasa, then Raivata, then Chakshusha; these six Manus have passed away. The Manu who presides over the seventh Manvantara, which is the present period, is Vaivaswata the son of the sun."

"I will now, enumerate, says the author of the Vishnu Purana, the presiding Gods, Rishis, and sons of the Manu Swarochisha. The deities of this period (or the second Manvantara) were called Paravatas and Tushitas; and the King of the gods was the mighty Vipaschit. The seven Rishis were Urja, Stambha, Prana, Dattoli, Rishabha, Nischara, and Arvarivat. And Chaitra, Kimpurusha, and others were the Manu's sons.

"In the third period, or Manwantara of Auttamin, Susanti was the Indra, the king of the gods, the orders of whom were the Sudhamas, Satyas, Sivas, Pradersanas, and Vasavertis; each of the five orders consisting of twelve divinities. The seven sons of Vasishtha were the seven Rishis; and Aja, Parasu, Divya, and others were the sons of Manu.

"In the period of Tamasa, the fourth Manu, the Surupas, Haris, Satyas, and Sudhis were the classes of Gods, each comprising twenty-seven. Sivi was the Indra, also designated by his performance of a hundred sacrifices (or named Satakratu). The seven Rishis were Jyotirdhama, Prithu, Kavya, Chaitra, Agni, Vanaka and Pivara. The sons of Tamasa were the mighty kings Nara, Khyati, Santhaya, Janujangha and others."

"In the fifth interval (Manvantara) the Manu was Raivata; the Indra was Vibhu, the classes of gods, consisting of fourteen each, were the Amitbhas, Abhutarasas, Vaikunthas, and Sumedhas; the seven Rishis were Hiranyaroma, Vedasri, Urddhabahu, Vedabahu, Sudhaman, Parjanya and Mahamuni; the sons of Raivata were Balabandhu, Susambhavya, Satyaka, and other valiant kings."

"These four Manus, Swarochisha, Auttami, Tamasa, and Raivata, were all descended from Priyavrata, who in consequence of propitiating Vishnu by his devotions, obtained these rules of the Manvantaras for his posterity.

"Chakshusha was the Manu of the sixth period in which the Indra was Manojva; the five classes of Gods were the Adyas,

Prastutas, Bhavyas, Prithugas, and the magnanimous Lekhas eight of each Sumedhas, Virajas, Havishmat, Uttama, Madhu, Abhinaman and Sahishnu were the seven sages; the kings of the earth, the sons of Chaksusha, were the powerful Uru, Puru, Satadhumna and others."

"The Manu of the present seventh Manvantara is the wise lord of obsequies, and illustrious offspring of the sun called Manu Vaivaswata and deities are the Adityas, Vasus and Rudras; their sovereign is Purandara; Vasishtha, Kasyapa, Atri, Jamadagni, Gautama, Viswamitra and Bharadwaja are the seven Rishis; and the nine pious sons of Vaivaswata Manu are the kings of Ikshwaku, Nabhanidishta, Karusha, Prishadhra, and the celebrated Vasumat."

So far the particulars of seven Manvantaras which are given by the Vishnu Purana relate to Manvantaras which had run out at the time when the Vishnu Purana was written. Whether the rule of the Manvantaras was an external one the Brahmins have been silent. But the author of the Vishnu Purana knew that seven more Manvantaras were to come. Below are given the particulars of these seven.

Sanjana, the daughter of Vishwakarman was the wife of the sun, and bore him, three children, the Manu (Vaivaswata), Yama and the goddess Yami (or the Yamuna river). Unable to endure the fervours of her lord, Sanjana gave him Chhaya as his handmaid, and repaired to the forests to practise devout exercises. The sun, supposing Chhaya to be his wife Sanjana, begot by her three other children Sanaischara (Saturn), another Manu (Savarni) and a daughter Tapati (the Tapti river). Chhaya upon one occasion, being offended with Yama, the son of Sanjana, denounced an imprecation upon him, and thereby revealed to Yama and to the sun that she was not in truth Sanjana, the mother of the former. Being further informed by Chhaya that his wife had gone to the wilderness the sun beheld her by the eye of meditation engaged in austerities, in the figure of a mare (in the region of Uttara Kuru). Metamorphosing himself into a horse, he rejoined his wife, and begot three other children, the two Aswins, and Revanta, and then brought Sanjana back to his own dwelling. To diminish his intensity, Vishwakarman placed the luminary on his lathe to grind off some of his effulgence; and in this manner reduced it an eighth; for more than that was inseparable. The parts of the divine Vaishnava splendour, residing in the sun, that were filed off by Viswakarma fell blazing down upon the earth, and the artist constructed of them the discuss of Vishnu, the trident of Shiva, the weapon of the god of wealth, the lance of Kartikeya, and the weapons of the other gods; all these Viswakarman fabricated from the superflous rays of the sun."

"The son of Chhaya, who was called also a Manu was denominated Savarni, from being of the same caste (Savarni) as his elder brother, the Manu Vaivaswata. He presides over the ensuing or eighth Manvantara; the particulars of which and the following, I will now relate. In the period in which Savarni shall be the Manu, the classes of the gods will be Sutapas, Ambitabhas and Mukhyas; twenty-one of each. The seven Rishis will be Diptimat, Gaiava, Rama, Kripa, Drauni; my son Vyasa will be the sixth and the seventh will be Rishyasringa. The Indra will be Bali, the sinless son of Virochana who through the favour of Vishnu is actually sovereign of part of Pataia. The royal progeny of Savarni will be Virajas, Arvarivas, Nirmoha, and others."

"The ninth Manu will be Dakshasavarni. The Paras, Marichigarbhas and Sudharmas will be the three classes of divinities; each consisting of twelve, their powerful chief will be the Indra Adbhuta Savana, Dyutimat, Bhavya, Vasu, Medhatithi, Jyotishaman and Satya, will be the seven Rishis. Dhritketu, Driptiketu, Panchahasta, Nirmaya, Prithusrava, and others will be the sons of the Manu.

"In the tenth Manwantara the Manu will be Brahma-savarni; the gods will be the Sudhamas, Virudhas, and Satasankhyas; the Indra will be the mighty Santi; the Rishis will be Havishaman, Sukriti, Satya, Appammurthi, Nabhaga, Apratimaujas and Satyaketu; and the ten sons of the Manu will be Sukshetra, Uttamaujas, Harishena and others."

"In the eleventh Manwantara the Manu will be Dharma-savarni; the principal classes of gods will be the Vihangamas. Kamagamas, and the Nirmanaratis, each thirty in number; of whom Vrisha will be the Indra; the Rishis will be Nischara, Agnitejas, Vapushaman, Vishnu, Aruni, Havishaman, and Anagha; the kings of the earth, and sons of the Manu, will be Savarga, Sarvadharma, Devanika, and others."

"In the twelfth Manvantara the son of Rudra-Savarni, will be the Manu: Ritudhama will be the Indra; and the Haritas, Lohitas; Sumanasas and Sukramas will be the classes of gods, each comprising fifteen Tapaswi, Sutapas, Tapomurti Taporti, Tapodhriti, Tapodyuti and Tapodhana will be the Rishis; and Devas, Upadeva, Devasreshtha and others will be the manu's sons, and mighty monarchs on the earth."

"In the thirteenth Manvantara the Manu will be Rauchya; the classes of gods, thirty-three in each, will be Sudhamanas, Sudharmans and Sukarmanas, their Indra will be Divaspati;

the Rishis will be Nirmoha, Tatwadersin, Nishprakampa, Nirutsuka, Dhritimat, Avyaya and Sutapas; and Chitrasena, Vichitra, and others will be the kings."

"In the fourteenth Manvantara, Bhautya will be the Manu; Suchi, the Indra; the five classes of gods will be the Chakshushas, the Pavitras, Kanishthas Bhrajiras and Vavriddhas; the seven Rishis will be Agnibahu, Suchi, Sikra, Magadha, Gridhra, Yukta and Ajita; and the sons of the Manu will be Uru, Gabhir, Gabhira, Bradhna and others who will be kings, and will rule over the earth."

Such is the theory of Manvantaras. We now hear of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The Brahmanic theory was just the opposite of it. It was a theory of the Dictatorship over the Proletariat by the Heavenly fathers.

Be that as it may the question that primarily comes to one's mind is:

How these fourteen Manus who succeeded one another rule the people ? What laws did they make for the governance of the people ? The only place where one can get an answer is the Manusmriti.

Referring to the first chapter of Manusmriti we get the following answers:

Ch. I.1. The great sages approached Manu, who was seated with a collected mind, and, having duly worshipped him spoke as follows:

2. Deign, divine one, do declare to us precisely and in due order the sacred laws of each of the (four chief) castes (Varna) and of the intermediate ones.

3. For thou, O Lord, alone knowest the purport of the rites and knowledge of the Soul taught in this whole ordinance of the Swayambhu (Manu) which is unknowable and unfathomable.

Manu replies to them saying:

5. This universe existed in the shape of darkness unperceived, destitute of distinctive marks, unattainable by reasoning, unknowable, wholly immersed as it were in deep sleep.

8. Swayambhu Manu desiring to produce beings of many kinds from his own body, first with a thought created the waters and placed his seed in them.

9. That (Seed) became a golden egg, in brilliancy equal to the sun; in that Egg he himself was born as Brahman, the progenitor of the whole world.

34. Then, I, desiring to produce created beings performed very difficult austerities and thereby called into existence ten great sages, lords of created beings.

35. Marichi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Prachetas, Vashishta, Bhrigu and Narada.

58. But he having composed these Institutes of the sacred law, himself taught them, according to rule, to me alone in the beginning: next I taught them to Marichi and the other sages.

59. Bhrigu will fully recite to you these Institutes; for that sage learned the whole in its entirety from me.

From this it appears that the only Manu who made laws was the Swayambhu Manu. According to Vishnu Purana, each Manvantara had its own Manu. Why did they not make laws for their own Manvantara. Or was it the laws made by Swayambhu Manu were to be Eternal. If so, why did the Brahmins have separate Manvantara.

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RIDDLE NO. 22

BRAHMA IS NOT DHARMA. WHAT GOOD IS BRAHMA?

There are various forms of Government known to history—Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy to which may be added Dictatorship.

The most prevalent form of Government at the present time is Democracy. There is however no unanimity as to what constitutes Democracy. When one examines the question one finds that there are two views about it. One view is that Democracy is a form of Government. According to this view where the Government is chosen by the people that is where Government is a representative Government there is Democracy. According to this view Democracy is just synonymous with Representative Government which means adult suffrage and periodical elections.

According to another view a democracy is more than a form of Government. It is a form of the organization of Society. There are two essential conditions which characterize a democratically constituted society. First is the absence of stratification of society into classes. The Second is a social habit on the part of individuals and groups which is ready for continuous readjustment or recognition of reciprocity of interests. As to the first there can be no doubt that it is the most essential condition of Democracy. As Prof. Dewey[1] has observed:

[Quotation referred to by the author is not recorded in the original MS from 'Democracy and Education', by Dewey p. 98.]

The second condition is equally necessary for a democratically constituted society. The results of this lack of reciprocity of interests

[1] Democracy & Education p. 98.

This chapter consists about 20 pages out of which first two pages and the concluding six are in the handwriting of the author. The rest are typed pages with all necessary modifications by Dr. Ambedkar.—Ed.

among groups and individuals produce anti-democratic results which have been well described by Prof. Dewey[1] when he says:

[Quotation from 'Democracy and Education' of page 99 referred to by the author is not recorded in the original MS.]

Of the two views about democracy there is no doubt that the first one is very superficial if not erroneous. There cannot be democratic Government unless the society for which it functions is democratic in its form and structure. Those who hold that democracy need be no more than a mere matter of elections seem to make three mistakes.

One mistake they make is to believe that Government is something which is quite distinct and separate from society. As a matter of fact Government is not something which is distinct and separate from Society. Government is one of the many institutions which Society rears and to which it assigns the function of carrying out some of the duties which are necessary for collective social life.

The Second mistake they make lies in their failure to realize that a Government is to reflect the ultimate purposes, aims, objects and wishes of society and this can happen only where the society in which the Government is rooted is democratic. If society is not democratic, Government can never be. Where society is divided into two classes governing and the governed the Government is bound to be the Government of the governing class.

The third mistake they make is to forget that whether Government would be good or bad democratic or undemocratic depends to a large extent up on the instrumentalities particularly the Civil Service on which every where Government has to depend for administering the Law. It all depends upon the social milieu in which civil servants are nurtured. If the social milieu is undemocratic the Government is bound to be undemocratic.

There is one other mistake which is responsible for the view that for democracy to function it is enough to have a democratic form of Government. To realize this mistake it is necessary to have some idea of what is meant by good Government.

Good Government means good laws and good administration. This is the essence of good Government. Nothing else can be. Now there cannot be good Government in this sense if those who are invested with ruling power seek the advantage of their own class instead of the advantage of the whole people or of those who are downtrodden.

Whether the Democratic form of Government will result in good will depend upon the disposition of the individuals composing society. If the mental disposition of the individuals is democratic then the

[1] Democracy & Education p. 99.

democratic form of Government can be expected to result in good Government. If not, democratic form of Government may easily become a dangerous form of Government. If the individuals in a society are separated into classes and the classes are isolated from one another and each individual feels that his loyalty to his class must come before his loyalty to every thing else and living in class compartments he becomes class conscious bound to place the interests of his class above the interests of others, uses his authority to pervert law and justice to promote the interests, of his class and for this purpose practises systematically discrimination against persons who do not belong to his caste in every sphere of life what can a democratic Government do. In a Society where classes clash and are charged with anti-social feelings and spirit of aggressiveness, the Government can hardly discharge its task of governing with justice and fairplay. In such a society, Government even though it may in form be a government of the people and by the people it can never be a Government for the people. It will be a Government by a class for a class. A Government for the people can be *had* only where the attitude of each individual is democratic which means that each individual is prepared to treat every other individual as his equal and is prepared to give him the same liberty which he claims for himself. This democratic attitude of mind is the result of socialization of the individual in a democratic society. Democratic society is therefore a prerequisite of a democratic Government. Democratic Governments have toppled down in largely due to the fact that the society for which they were set up was not democratic.

Unfortunately to what extent the task of good Government depends upon the mental and moral disposition of its subjects has seldom been realized. Democracy is more than a political machine. It is even more than a social system. It is an attitude of mind or a philosophy of life.

Some equate Democracy with equality and liberty. Equality and liberty are no doubt the deepest concern of Democracy. But the more important question is what sustains equality and liberty? Some would say that it is the law of the state which sustains equality and liberty. This is not a true answer. What sustains equality and liberty is fellow-felling. What the French Revolutionists called fraternity. The word fraternity is not an adequate expression. The proper term is what the Buddha called, Maitree. Without Fraternity Liberty would destroy equality and equality would destroy liberty. If in Democracy liberty does not destroy equality and equality does not destroy liberty, it is because at the basis of both there is fraternity. Fraternity is therefore the root of Democracy.

The foregoing discussion is merely a preliminary to the main question. That question is—wherein lie the roots of fraternity without which Democracy is not possible? Beyond dispute, it has its origin in Religion.

In examining the possibilities of the origin of Democracy or its functioning successfully one must go to the Religion of the people and ask—does it teach fraternity or does it not? If it does, the chances for a democratic Government are great. If it does not, the chances are poor. Of course other factors may affect the possibilities. But if fraternity is not there, there is nothing to built democracy on. Why did Democracy not grow in India? That is the main question. The answer is quite simple. The Hindu Religion does not teach fraternity. Instead it teaches division of society into classes or varnas and the maintenance of separate class consciousness. In such a system where is the room for Democracy ?

The Hindu social system is undemocratic not by accident. It is designed to be undemocratic. Its division of society into *varnas* and castes, and of castes and outcastes are not theories but are decrees. They are all barricades raised against democracy.

From this it would appear that the doctrine of fraternity was unknown to the Hindu Religious and Philosophic thought. But such a conclusion would not be warranted by the facts of history. The Hindu Religious and Philosophic thought gave rise to an idea which had greater potentialities for producing social democracy *than* the idea of fraternity. It is the doctrine of Brahmaism[1].

It would not be surprising if some one asked what is this Brahmaism? It is something new even to Hindus. The Hindus are familiar with Vedanta. They are familar with Brahmanism. But they are certainly not familiar with Brahmaism. Before proceeding further a few words of explanation are necessary.

There are three strands in the philosophic and religious thought of the Hindus. They may be designated as (1) *Brahmaism* (2) *Vedanta* and (3) *Brahmanism*. Although they are correlated they stand for three different and distinct ideologies.

The essence of Brahmaism is summed up in a dogma which is stated in three different forms. They are—

(i) *Sarvam Khalvidam Brahma*—All this is Brahma.

(ii) *Aham Brahmasmi*—Atmana (Self) is the same as Brahma.

Therefore I am Brahma.

(iii) *Tattvamasi*—Atmana (Self) is the same as Brahma.

Therefore thou art also Brahma.

[1] have borrowed this word from Prof. Hopkin's–The Epics of India.

They are called Mahavakyas which means Great Sayings and they sum up the essence of Brahmaism.

The following are the dogmas which sum up the teachings of Vedant—

I Brahma is the only reality.

II The world is maya or unreal.

III Jiva and Brahma are—

(i) according to one school identical;

(ii) according to another not identical but are elements of him and not separate from him;

(iii) according to the third school they are distinct and separate.

The creed of *Bramhanism* may be summed up in the following dogmas—

(i) Belief in the chaturvarna.

(ii) Sanctity and infallibility of the Vedas.

(iii) Sacrifices to Gods the only way to salvation.

Most people know the distinction between the Vedanta and Brahmanism and the points of controversy between them. But very few people know the distinction between Brahmaism and Vedanta. Even Hindus are not aware of the doctrine of Brahmaism and the distinction between it and Vedanta. But the distinction is obvious. While Brahmaism and Vedanta agree that Atman is the same as Brahma. But the two differ in that Brahmaism does not treat the world as unreal, Vedanta does. This is the fundamental difference between the two.

The essence of Brahmaism is that the world is real and the reality behind the world is Brahma. Everything therefore is of the essence of Brahma.

There are two criticisms which have been levelled against Brahmaism. It is said that Brahmaism is piece of impudence. For a man to say "I am Brahma" is a kind of arrogance. The other criticism levelled against Brahmaism is the inability of man to know Brahma. 'I am Brahma' may appear to be impudence. But it can also be an assertion of one's own worth. In a world where humanity suffers so much from an inferiority complex such an assertion on the part of man is to be welcomed. Democracy demands that each individual shall have every opportunity for realizing its worth. It also requires that each individual shall know that he is as good as everybody else. Those who sneer at *Aham Brahmasmi* (I am Brahma) as an impudent utterance forget the other part of the *Maha Vakya* namely *Tatvamasi* (Thou art also Brahma). If *Aham Brahmasmi* has stood alone without the conjunct of *Tatvamasi* it may not have been possible to sneer at it. But

with the conjunct of *Tatvanmsi* the charge of selfish arrogance cannot stand against Brahmaism.

It may well be that Brahma is unknowable. But all the same this theory of Brahma has certain social implications which have a tremendous value as a foundation for Democracy. If all persons are parts of Brahma then all are equal and all must enjoy the same liberty which is what Democracy means. Looked at from this point of view Brahma may be unknowable. But there cannot be slightest doubt that no doctrine could furnish a stronger foundation for Democracy than the doctrine of Brahma.

To support Democracy because we are all children of God is a very weak foundation for Democracy to rest on. That is why Democracy is so shaky wherever it made to rest on such a foundation. But to recognize and realize that you and I are parts of the same cosmic principle leaves room for no other theory of associated life except democracy. It does not merely preach Democracy. It makes democracy an obligation of one and all.

Western students of Democracy have spread the belief that Democracy has stemmed either from Christianity or from Plato and that there is no other source of inspiration for democracy. If they had known that India too had developed the doctrine of Brahmaism which furnishes a better foundation for Democracy they would not have been so dogmatic. India too must be admitted to have a contribution towards a theoretical foundation for Democracy.

The question is what happened to this doctrine of Brahmaism ? It is quite obvious that Brahmaism had no social effects. It was not made the basis of Dharma. When asked why this happened the answer is that Brahmaism is only philosophy, as though philosophy arises not out of social life but out of nothing and for nothing. Philosophy is no purely theoretic matter. It has practical potentialities. Philosophy has its roots in the problems of life and whatever theories philosophy propounds must return to society as instruments of re-constructing society. It is not enough to know. Those who know must endeavour to fulfil.

Why then Brahmaism failed to produce a new society? This is a great riddle. It is not that the Brahmins did not recognize the doctrine of Brahmaism. They did. But they did not ask how they could support inequality between the Brahmin and the Shudra, between man and woman, between casteman and outcaste ? But they did not. The result is that we have on the one hand the most democratic principle of Brahmaism and on the other hand a society infested with castes, sub-outcastes, primitive tribes and criminal tribes. Can there be

a greater dilemma than this ? What is more ridiculous is the teaching of the Great Shankaracharya. For it was this Shankarcharya who taught that there is Brahma and this Brahma is real and that it pervades all and at the same time upheld all the inequities of the Brahmanic society. Only a lunatic could be happy with being the propounder of two such contradictions. Truely as the Brahmin is like a cow, he can eat anything and everything as the cow does and remain a Brahmin.

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RIDDLE NO. 23

KALI YUGA—WHY HAVE THE BRAHMINS MADE IT UNENDING?

If there is any notion widespread among the Hindus and understood by every man and woman adult or old, mature or immature it is that of the Kali Yuga. They are all aware of the fact that the present Yuga is Kali Yuga and that they are living in the Kali Yuga. The theory of Kali Yuga has a psychological effect upon the mind of the people. It means that it is an unpropitious age. It is an immoral age. It is therefore an age in which human effort will not bear any fruit. It is therefore necessary to inquire as to how such a notion arose. There are really four points which require elucidation. They are (1) What is "Kali Yuga?, (2) When did Kali Yuga begin ?, (3) When is the Kali Yuga to end ? and (4) Why such a notion was spread among the people.

I

To begin with the first point. For the purposes of this inquiry it is better to split the words Kali Yuga and consider them separately. What is meant by Yuga ? The word Yuga occurs in the Rig-Veda in the sense of age, generation or tribe as in the expressions *Yuge Yuge* (in every age), *Uttara Yugani* (future ages), Uttare Yuge (later ages) and *Purvani Yugani* (former ages) etc. It occurs in connection with Manushy, Manusha, Manushah in which case it denotes generations of men. It just meant ages. Various attempts are made to asertain the period the Vaidikas intended to be covered by the term 'Yuga'. *Yuga* is derived from the Sanskrit root *Yuj* which means to join and may have had the

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This chapter contains 45 typed pages. Only 9 pages of this chapter at the beginning are numbered. While no other pages are numbered. Howsoever the text of this chapter has been found to be complete and without any loss of material.—Ed.

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same meaning as the astronomical term 'conjunction'. Prof. Weber suggests that the period of time known as *Yuga* was connected with four lunar phases.

Following this suggestion Mr. Rangacharya[1] has advanced the theory that "in all probability the earliest conception of a Yuga meant the period of a month from new-moon when the Sun and the Moon see each other i.e., they are in conjunction". This view is not accepted by others. For instance, according to Mr. Shamshastry[2] the term Yuga is in the sense of a single human year as in the Setumahatmya which is said to form part of the Skanda Purana. According to the same authority it is used in the sense of a Parva or half a lunation, known as a white or dark half of a lunar month.

All these attempts do not help us to know what was the period which the Vaidikas intended to be covered by a Yuga.

While in the literature of the Vaidikas or theologians there is no exactitude regarding the use of the term Yuga in the literature of the astronomers (writers on Vedanga Jyotish) as distinguished from the Vaidikas the word Yuga connotes a definite period. According to them, a Yuga means a cycle of five years which are called (1) Samvatsara, (2) Parivatsara, (3) Idvatsara, (4) Anuvatsara and (5) Vatsara.

Coming to *Kali* it is one of the cycles made up of four *Yugas: Krita, Treta, Dwapar* and *Kali*. What is the origin of- the term *Kali* ? The terms Krita, Treta, Dwapar and Kali are known to have been used in the three different connections. The earliest use of the term Kali as well as of other terms is connected with the game of dice.

From the Rig-Veda it appears that the dice piece that was used in the game was made of the brown fruit of the Vibhitaka tree being about the size of a nutmeg, nearly round with five slightly flattened sides. Later on the dice was made of four sides instead of five. Each side was marked with the different numerals 4, 3, 2 and 1. The side marked with 4 was called Krita, with 3 Treta, with 2 Dwapara and with 1 Kali. Shamshastry gives an account of how a game of dice formed part of sacrifice and how it was played. The following is his account[3]:

> "Taking a cow belonging to the sacrificer, a number of players used to go along the streets of a town or village, and making the cow the stake, they used to play at dice in different batches with those who deposited grain as their stake. Each player used to throw on the ground a hundred or more *Cowries* (shells), and when the

[1] The Yugas: A question of Hindu Chronology and History p. 19.

[2] Drapsa: The Vedic cycle of Eclipses (1938) p. 88.

number of the Cowries thus cast and fallen with their face upwards or downwards, as agreed upon, was exactly divisible by four then the sacrificer was declared to have won; but if otherwise he was defeated. With the grain thus won, four Brahmans used to be fed on the day of sacrifice."

Professor Eggling's references[1] to the Vedic literature leave no doubt about the prevalence of the game of dice almost from the earliest time. It is also clear from his references that the game was played with five dice four of which were called *Krita* while the fifth was called Kali. He also points out that there were various modes in which the game was played and says that according to the earliest mode of playing the game, if all the dice fell uniformly with the marked sides either upwards or downwards then the player won the game. The game of dice formed part of the Rajasuya and also of the sacrificial ceremony connected with the establishment of the sacred fire.

These terms—Krita, Treta, Dwapara and Kali—were also used in Mathematics. This is clear from the following passage from Abbayadevasuri's Commentary on Bhagvati Sutra a voluminous work on Jaina religion.

"In mathematical terminology an even number is called 'Yugma', and an odd number 'Ojah'. Here there are, however, two numbers deserving of the name 'Yugma' and two numbers deserving of the name 'Ojah'. Still, by the word 'Yugma' four Yugmas i.e., four numbers are meant. Of them i.e., Krita-yugma: Krita means accomplished, i.e., complete, for the reason that there is no other number after four, which bears a separate name (i.e., a name different from the four names Krita and others). That number which is not incomplete like Tryoja and other numbers, and which is a special even number is Kritayugma. As to Tryoja: that particular odd number which is uneven from above a Krityugma is Tryoja. As the Dwaparayugma:—That number which is another even number like Krityugma, but different from it and which is measured by two from the beginning or from above a Krityugma is Dwaparayugma— Dvapara is a special grammatical word. As to Kalyoja:—That special uneven number which is odd by Kali, i.e., to a Kritayugma is called Kalyoja. That number etc. which even divided by four, ends in complete division, Krityugma. In the series of numbers, the number four, though it need not be divided by four because it is itself four, is also called Krityugma."

Shamshastry[2] mentions another sense in which these terms are used. According to him, they are used to mean the Parvas of those names,

[1] See his note on the subject in his edition of Satpatha Brahmana. Vol. IV p. 107.

[2] Shamshastry, Drapsa pp. 92-93

such as Krita Parva, Treta Parva, Dwapara Parva and Kali Parva. A Parva is a period of 15 tithis or days otherwise called Paksha. For reasons connected with religious ceremonies the exact time when a Parva closed was regarded as important. It was held that the Parvas fell into four classes according to the time of their closing. They were held to close either (1) at Sunrise, (2) at one quarter or Pada of the day, (3) after 2 quarters or Padas of the day or (4) at or after three quarters or Padas of the day. The first was called *Krita* Parva, the second *Treta* Parva, the third *Dwapara* Parva and the fourth *Kali* Parva.

Whatever the meaning in which the words *Kali* and *Yuga* were used at one time, the term *Kali Yuga* has long since been used to designate a unit in the Hindu system of reckoning time. According to the Hindus there is a cycle of time which consists of four Yugas of which the Kali Yuga forms one. The other Yugas are called *Krita, Treta* and *Dwapar*.

II

When did the present Kali Yuga begin ? There are two different answers to the question.

According to the Aitereya Brahmana it began with Nabhanedishta son of Vaivasvata Manu. According to the Puranas it began on the death of Krishna after the battle of Mahabharata.

The first has been reduced to time term by Dr. Shamshastry[1] who says that Kali Yuga began in 3101 B.C. The second has been worked out by Mr. Gopal Aiyer with meticulous care. His view is that the Mahabharat War commenced on the 14th of October and ended on the night of 31st October 1194 B.C. He places the death of Krishna 16 years after the close of the war basing his conclusion on the ground that Parikshit was 16 when he was installed on the throne and reading it with the connected facts namely that the Pandavas went of Mahaprasthan immediately after installing Parikshit on the throne and this they did on the very day Krishna died. This gives 1177 B.C. as the date of the commencement of the Kali Yuga.

We have thus two different dates for the commencement of the Kali Yuga 3101 B.C. and 1177 B.C. This is the first riddle about the Kali Yuga. Two explanations are forthcoming for these two widely separated dates for the commencement of one and the same Yuga. One explanation is 3101 B.C. is the date of the commencement of the Kalpa and not of Kali and it was a mistake on the part of the copyist who misread Kalpa for Kali and brought about this confusion. The other

[1] Gavam Ayana.

explanation is that given by Dr. Shamshastry. According to him there were two Kali Yuga Eras which must be distinguished, one beginning in 3101 B.C. and another beginning in 1260 or 1240. B.C. The first lasted about 1840 or 1860 years and was lost.

III

When is the Kali Yuga going to end ? On this question the view of the great Indian Astronomer Gargacharya in his *Siddhanta* when speaking of Salisuka Maurya the fourth in succession from Asoka makes the following important observation[1]:

"Then the viciously valiant Greeks, after reducing Saketa, Panchala country to Mathura, will reach Kusumadhwaja (Patna): Pushpapura being taken all provinces will undoubtedly be in disorder. The unconquerable Yavanas will not remain in the middle country. There will be cruel and dreadful war among themselves. Then after the destruction of the Greeks at the end of the Yuga, seven powerful Kings reign in Oudha."

The important words are "after the destruction of the Greeks at the end of the Yuga". These words give rise to two questions (1) which Yuga Garga has in mind and (2) when did the defeat and destruction of the Greeks in India take place. Now the answers to these questions are not in doubt. By Yuga he means Kali Yuga and the destruction and defeat of the Greeks took place about 165 B.C. It is not mere matter of inference from facts. There are direct statements in chapters 188 and 190 of the Vanaparva of the Mahabharata that the Barbarian Sakas, Yavanas, Balhikas and many others will devastate Bharatvarsna '*at the end of the Kali Yuga*'.

The result which follows when the two statements are put together is that the Kali Yuga ended in 165 B.C. There is also another argument which supports this conclusion. According to the Mahabharata, Kali Yuga was to comprise a period of one thousand years[2]. If we accept the statement that the Kali Yuga began in 1171 B.C. and deduct one thousand years since then we cannot escape the conclusion that Kali Yuga should have ended by about 171 B.C. which is not very far from the historical fact referred to by Garga as happening at the close of the Kali Yuga. There can therefore be no doubt that in the opinion of the chief Astronomer[3], Kali Yuga came to end by about 165 B.C. What is however the position ? The position is that according to the Vaidika Brahman's Kali Yuga has not ended. It still continues. This is clear

[1] Quoted by R. C. Dutt in his 'Civilization in Ancient India'.

[2] Chronology of Ancient India p. 117.

[3] Garga's statement seems to be corroborated by the statement in the Mahabharata that the period of Kali Yuga is 1000 years. For we add 171 to 1000 we get 1171 which is said to be the beginning of Kali.

from the terms of *Sankalpa* which is a declaration which every Hindu makes even today before undertaking any religious ceremony. The Sankalpa is in the following terms[1]:

> "On the auspicious day and hour, in the second Parardha of First Bramha, which is called the Kalpa of the *White* Boar, in the period of *Vaivasvata* Manu, *in the Kali Yuga,* in the country of Jambudvipa in Bharatavarsha in the country of Bharat, in the luni-solar cycle of the sixty years which begins with Pradhava and ends with Kshaya or Akshaya and which is current, as ordained by Lord Vishnu, in the year (name), of the cycle, in the Southern or the Northern Ayana, as the case may be, in the white or dark half, on the Tithi, I (name) begin to perform the rite (name) the object of pleasing the Almighty."

The question we have to consider is why and how the Vedic Brahmins manage to keep the *Kali* Yuga going on when the astronomer had said it was closed. The first thing to do is to ascertain what is the original period of the *Kali Yuga* ? According to the Vishnu Purana:

> "The Kritayuga comprises 4000 years, the Treta 3000; the Dwapara 2000 and the Kali 1000. Thus those that know the past have declared."

Thus Kali Yuga originally covered a period of 1000 years only. It is obvious that even on this reckoning the Kali Yuga should have ended long ago even according to the reckoning of the Vedic Brahmins. But it has not. What is the resason ? Obviously, because the period originally covered by the Kali Yuga came to be lengthened. This was done in two ways.

Firstly, it was done by adding two periods called Sandhya and Sandhyamsa before and after the commencement and the end of a Yuga. Authority for this can be found in the same passage of the Vishnu Purana already referred to and which reads as follows:

> "The period that precedes a Yuga is called *Sandhya*..... and the period which comes after a Yuga is called *Sandhyamsa,* which lasts for a like period. The intervals between these Sandhyas and Sandhyamsas are known as the Yugas called Krita, Treta and the like."

What was the period of Sandhya and Sandhyamsa ? Was it uniform for all the Yugas or did it differ with the Yuga. Sandhya and Sandhyamsa periods were not uniform. They differed with each Yuga. The following table gives some idea of the four Yugas and their Sandhya and Sandhyamsa—

[1] Shamshastry. Drapsa p. 84

Unit of a Mahayuga		Period	Dawn	Twilight	Total
Krita Yuga	..	4000	400	400	4800
Treta Yuga	..	3000	300	300	3600
Dwapara Yuga	..	2000	200	200	2400
Kali Yuga	..	1000	100	100	1200
Maha Yuga		..	..	..	12000

The Kali Yuga instead of remaining as before a period of 1,000 years was lengthened to a period of 1,200 years by the addition of Sandhya and Sandhyamsa.

Secondly a new innovation was made. It was declared that the period fixed for the Yugas was really a period of divine years and not human years. According to the Vedic Brahmins one divine day was equal to one human year so that the period of Kali Yuga which was 1,000 years plus 200 years of Sandhya and Sandhamsa i.e. 1,200 years in all became (1200 × 360) equal to 4,32,000 years. In these two ways the Vedic Brahmins instead of declaring the end of Kali Yuga in 165 B.C. as the astronomer had said extended its life to 4,32,000 years. No wonder Kali Yuga continues even to-day and will continue for lakhs of years. There is no end to the Kali Yuga.

IV

What does the *Kali Yuga* stand for ? The *Kali Yuga* means an age of *adharma,* an age which is demoralized and an age in which the laws made by the King ought not to be obeyed. One question at once arises. Why was the Kali Yuga more demoralized than the preceding Yugas? What was the moral condition of the Aryans in the Yuga or Yugas preceding the present Kali Yuga? Anyone who compares the habits and social practices of the later Aryans with those of the ancient Aryans will find a tremendous improvement almost amounting to a social revolution in their manners and morals.

The religion of the Vedic Aryans was full of barbaric and obscene observances. Human sacrifice formed a part of their religion and was called Naramedhayagna. Most elaborate descriptions of the rite are found in the Yajur-Veda Samhita, Yajur-Veda Brahmanas, the Sankhyana and Vaitana Sutras. The worship of genitals or what is called Phallus worship was quite prevalent among the ancient Aryans. The cult of the phallus came to be known as Skambha and was

recognized as part of Aryan religion as may be seen in the hymn in Atharva-Veda X.7. Another instance of obscenity which disfigured the religion of the Ancient Aryans is connected with the Ashvamedha Yajna or the horse sacrifice. A necessary part of the Ashvamedha was the introduction of the *Sepas* (penis) of the Medha (dead horse) into the Yoni (vagina) of the chief wife of the Yajamana (the sacrificer) accompanied by the recital of long series of Mantras by the Brahmin priests. A Mantra in the Vajasaneya Samhita (xxiii. 18) shows that there used to be a competition among the queens as to who was to receive this high honour of being served by the horse. Those who want to know more about it will find it in the commentary of Mahidhara on the Yejur-Veda where he gives full description of the details of this obscene rite which had formed a part of the Aryan religion.

The morals of the Ancient Aryans were no better than their religion. The Aryans were a race of gamblers. Gambling was developed by them into a science in very early days of the Aryan civilization so much so that they had even devised the dice and given them certain technical terms. The luckiest dice was called Krit and the unluckiest was called Kali. Treta and Dwapara were intermediate between them. Not only was gambling well developed among the ancient Aryans but they did not play without stakes. They gambled with such abandon that there is really no comparison with their spirit of gambling. Kingdoms and even wives were offered as stakes at gambling. King Nala staked his kingdom and lost it. The Pandvas went much beyond. They not only staked their kingdom but they also staked their wife, Draupadi, and lost both. Among the Aryans gambling was not the game of the rich. It was a vice of the many.

The ancient Aryans were also a race of drunkards. Wine formed a most essential part of their religion. The Vedic Gods drank wine. The divine wine was called Soma. Since the Gods of the Aryans drank wine the Aryans had no scruples in the matter of drinking. Indeed to drink it was a part of an Aryan's religious duty. There were so many Soma sacrifices among the ancient Aryans that there were hardly any days when Soma was not drunk. Soma was restricted to only the three upper classes, namely, the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas. That does not mean the Shudras were abstainers. Those who were denied Soma drank Sura which was ordinary, unconsecrated wine sold in the market. Not only the Male Aryans were addicted to drinking but the females also indulged in drinking. The Kaushitaki Grihya Sutra . I.11.12 advises that four or eight women who are not widowed after having been regaled with wine and food should be called to dance for four times on the night previous to the wedding ceremony. This habit

of drinking intoxicating liquor was not confined to the Non-Brahmin women. Even Brahmin women were addicted to it. Drinking was not regarded as a sin. It was not even a vice, it was quite a respectable practice. The Rig-Veda says:

> "Worshipping the Sun before drinking Madira (wine)."

The Yajur-Veda says:

> " Oh, Deva Soma! being strengthened and invigorated by Sura (wine), by thy pure spirit please the Devas; give juicy food to the sacrificer and vigour to Brahmanas and Kshatriyas."

The Mantra Brahmana says:

> "By which women have been made enjoyable by men, and by which water has been transformed into wine (for the enjoyment of men), etc."

That Rama and Sita both drank wine is admitted by the Ramayana. Utter Khand says:

> "Like Indra in the case of (his wife) Shachi, Rama Chandra made Sita drink purified honey made wine. Servants brought for Rama Chandra meat and sweet fruits."

So did Krishna and Arjuna. In the Udyoga Parva of the Mahabharat Sanjaya says:

> "Arjuna and Shri Krishna drinking wine made from honey and being sweet-scented and garlanded, wearing splendid clothes and ornaments, sat on a golden throne studded with various jewels. I saw Shrikrishna's feet on Arjuna's lap, and Arjuna's feet on Draupadi and Satyabhama's lap."

We may next proceed to consider the marital relations of men and women. What does history say? In the beginning there was no law of marriage among the Aryans. It was a state of complete promiscuity both in the higher and lower classes of the society. There was no such thing as a question of prohibited degrees as the following instances will show.

Brahma married his own daughter *Satarupa*. Their son was Manu the founder of the Pruthu dynasty which preceded the rise of the *Aiksvakas* and the *Ailas*.

Hiranyakashpu married his daughter Rohini. Other cases of father marrying daughters are Vashishtha and Shatrupa, Janhu and Jannhavi, and Surya and Usha. That such marriages between father and daughters were common is indicated by the usage of recognizing *Kanin* sons. Kanin sons mean sons born to unmarried daughter. They were *in law* the sons of the father of the girl. Obviously they must be sons begotten by the father on his own daughter

There are cases of father and son cohabiting with the same woman, Brahma is the father of Manu and Satarupa is his mother. This Satarupa is also the wife of Manu. Another case is that of *Shradha*. She is the wife of Vivasvat. Their son is Manu. But Shradha is also the wife of Manu thus indicating the practice of father and son sharing a woman. It was open for a person to marry his brother's daughter. Dharma married 10 daughters of Daksha though Daksha and Dharma were brothers. One could also marry his uncle's daughter as did Kasyapa who married 13 wives all of whom were the daughters of Daksha and Daksha was the brother of Kasyapa's father Marichi.

The case of Yama and Yami mentioned in the Rig-Veda is a notorious case, which throws a great deal of light on the question of marriages between brothers and sisters. Because Yama refused to cohabit with Yami it must not be supposed that such marriages did not exist.

The Adi Parva of the Mahabharata gives a geneology which begins from Brahmadeva. According to this geneology Brahma had three sons Marichi, Daksha and Dharma and one daughter whose name the geneology unfortunately does not give. In this very geneology it is stated that Daksha married the daughter of Brahma who was his sister and had a vast number of daughters variously estimated as being between 50 and 60. Other instances of marriages between brothers and sisters could be cited. They are Pushan and his sister Acchoda and Amavasu. Purukutsa and Narmada, Viprachiti and Simhika, Nahusa and Viraja, Sukra-Usanas and Go, Amsumat and Yasoda, Dasaratha and Kausalya, Rama and Sita; Suka and Pivari; Draupadi and Prasti are all cases of brothers marrying sisters.

The following cases show that there was no prohibition against son cohabiting with his mother. There is the case of Pushan and his mother Manu and Satrupa and Manu and Shradha. Attention may also be drawn to two other cases, Arjuna and Urvashi and Arjuna and Uttara. Uttara was married to Abhimanyu son of Arjuna when he was barely 16. Uttara was associated with Arjuna. He taught her music and dancing. Uttara is described as being in love with Arjuna and the Mahabharata speaks of their getting married as a natural sequel to their love affair. The Mahabharata does not say that they were actually married but If they were, then Abhimanyu can be said to have married his mother. The Arjuna Urvasi episode is more positive in its indication.

Indra was the real father of Arjuna. Urvashi was the mistress of Indra and therefore in the position of a mother to Arjuna. She was a tutor to Arjuna and taught him music and dancing. Urvasi became

enamoured of Arjuna and with the consent of his father, Indra, approached Arjuna for sexual intercourse. Arjuna refused to agree on the ground that she was like mother to him. Urvashi's conduct has historically more significant than Arjuna's denial and for two reasons. The very request by Urvashi to Arjuna and the consent by Indra show that Urvashi was following a well established practice. Secondly, Urvashi in her reply to Arjuna tells him in a pointed manner that this was a well recognized custom and that all Arjuna's forefathers had accepted precisely similar invitations without any guilt being attached to them.

Nothing illustrates better than the complete disregard of consanguity in cohabitation in ancient India than the following story which is related in the second Adhyaya of the Harivamsha. According to it Soma was the son of ten fathers—suggesting the existence of Polyandry—each one of whom was called Pralheta. Soma had a daughter *Marisha*—The ten fathers of *Soma* and *Soma* himself cohabited with Marisha. This is a case of ten grand-fathers and father married to a woman who was a grand-daughter and daughter to her husbands. In the same Adhyaya the story of Daksha Prajapati is told. This Daksha Prajapati who is the son of Soma is said to have given his 27 daughters to his father, Soma for procreation. In the third Adhyaya of Harivamsha the author says that Daksha gave his daughter in marriage to his own father Brahma on whom Brahma begot a son who became famous as Narada. All these are cases of cohabitation of Sapinda men, with Sapinda women.

The ancient Aryan women were sold. The sale of daughters is evidenced by the Arsha form of marriage. According to the technical terms used the father of the boy gave *Go-Mithuna* and took the girl. This is another way of saying that the girl was sold for a *Go-Mithuna*. Go-Mithuna means one cow and one bull which was regarded as a reasonable price of a girl. Not only daughters were sold by their fathers but wives also were sold by their husbands. The Harivamsha in its 79th Adhyaya describes how a religious rite called Punyaka-Vrata should be the fee that should be offered to the officiating priest. It says that the wives of Brahmins should be purchased from their husbands and given to the officiating priest as his fee. It is quite obvious from this that Brahmins freely sold their wives for a consideration.

That the ancient Aryans let their women on rent for cohabitation to others is also a fact. In the Mahabharata there is an account of the life of Madhavi in Adhyayas 103 to 123. According to this account Madhavi was the daughter of King Yayati. Yayati made a gift of her to Galawa. Galva who was a Rishi as a fee to a priest. Galva rented her

out to three kings in succession but to each for a period necessary to beget a son on her. After the tenancy of the third king terminated Madhavi was surrendered by Galva to his Guru Vishvamitra who made her his wife. Vishvamitra kept her till he begot a son on her and gave her back to Galva. Galva returned her to her father Yayati.

Polygamy and Polyandry were raging in the ancient Aryan society. The fact is so well known that it is unnecessary to record cases which show its existence. But what is probably not well known is the fact of promiscuity. Promiscuity in matters of sex becomes quite apparent if one were only to examine the rules of Niyoga which the Aryan name for a system under which a woman who is wedded can beget on herself a progeny from another who is not her husband. This system resulted in a complete state of promiscuity for it was uncontrolled. In the first place, there was no limit to the number of Niyogas open to a woman. Madhuti had one Niyoga allowed to her. Ambika had one actual Niyoga and another proposed. Saradandayani had three. Pandu allowed his wife Kunti four Niyogas. Vyusistasva was permitted to have 7 and Vali is known to have allowed as many as 17 Niyogas, 11 on one and 6 on his second wife. Just as there was no limit to the number of Niyogas so also there was no definition of cases in which Niyoga was permissible. Niyoga took place in the lifetime of the husband and even in cases where the husband was not overcome by any congenital incapacity to procreate. The initiative was probably taken by the wife. The choice of a man was left to her. She was free to find out with whom she would unite a Niyoga and how many times, if she chose the same man. The Niyogas were another name for illicit intercourse between men and women which might last for one night or twelve years or more with the husband a willing and a sleeping partner in this trade of fornication.

These were the manners and morals of common men in the ancient Aryan Society. What were the morals of the Brahmins ? Truth to tell they were no better men than those of the common men. The looseness of the morals among the Brahmins is evidenced by many instances. But a few will suffice. The cases showing that the Brahmins used to sell their wives has already been referred to. I will give other cases showing looseness. The Utanka is a pupil of Veda (the Purohita of Janmejaya III). The wife of Veda most calmly requests Utanka to take the place of her husband and 'approach' her for the sake of virtue. Another case that may be referred to in this connection is that of Uddalaka's wife. She is free to go to other Brahmins either of her own free will, or in response to invitations. Shwetketu is her son by one of her husband's pupils. These are not mere instances of laxity or adultery. These are

cases of recognized latitudes allowed to Brahmin women. Jatila-Gautami was a Brahmin woman and had 7 husbands who were Rishis. The Mahabharata says that the wives of the citizens admire Draupadi in the company of her five husbands and compare her to Jatila Gautami with her seven husbands. *Mamata* is the wife of *Utathya*. But Brahaspati the brother of Utathya had free access to Mamata during the life time of Utathya. The only objection Mamata once raises to him is to ask him to wait on account of her pregnancy but does not say that approaches to her were either improper or unlawful.

Such immoralities were so common among the Brahmins that Draupadi when she was called a cow by Duryodhana for her polyandry is said to have said she was sorry that her husbands were not born as Brahmins.

Let us examine the morality of the rishis. What do we find?

The first thing we find is the prevalence of bestiality among the rishis. Take the case of the rishi called *Vibhandaka*. In Adhyaya 100 of the Vana Parva of the Mahabharata it is stated that he cohabited with a female deer and that the female deer bore a son to him who subsequently became known as Rishi Shranga. In Adhyaya 1 as well as in 118 of the Adi Parva of the Mahabharata there is a narration of how Pandu the father of the Pandavas received his curse from the Rishi by name Dama. Vyas says that the Rishi Dama was once engaged in the act of coitus with a female deer in a jungle. While so engaged Pandu shot him with an arrow before the rishi was spent as a result of it Dama died. But before he died Dama uttered a curse saying that if Pandu ever thought of approaching his wife he would die instantly. Vyas tries to gloss this bestiality of the rishi by saying that the Rishi and his wife had both taken the form of deer in fun and frolic. Other instances of such bestiality by the rishis it will not be difficult to find if a diligent search was made in the ancient religious literature in India.

Another heinous practice which is associated with the rishis is cohabitation with women in the open and within the sight of the public. In Adhyaya 63 of the Adi Parva of the Mahabharata a description is given of how the Rishi Parashara had sexual intercourse with Satyavati, alias Matsya Gandha a fisherman's girl. Vyas says that he cohabited with her in the open and in public. Another similar instance is to be found in Adhyaya 104 of the Adi Parva. It is stated therein that the Rishi Dirgha Tama cohabited with a woman in the sight of the public. There are many such instances mentioned in the Mahabharata. There is, however, no need to encumber the record with them. For the word *Ayonija* is enough to prove the general existence

of the practice. Most Hindus know that Sita, Draupadi and other renowned ladies are spoken of *Ayonija.* What they mean by *Ayonija* is a child born by immaculate conception. There is however no warrant from etymological point of view to give such a meaning to the Ayoni. The root meaning of the word Yoni is house. *Yonija* means a child born or conceived in the house. *Ayonija* means a child born or conceived outside the house. If this is the correct etymology of Ayonija it testifies to the practice of indulging in sexual intercourse in the open within the sight of the public.

Another practice which evidences the revolting immorality of the rishis in the Chandyogya Upanishad. According to this Upanishad it appears that the rishis had made a rule that if while they were engaged in performing a *Yajna* if a woman expressed a desire for sexual intercourse with the rishi who was approached should immediately without waiting for the completion of the Yajna and without caring to retire in a secluded spot proceeded to commit sexual intercourse with her in the Yajna Mandap and in the sight of the public. This immoral performance of the rishi was elevated to the position of a Religious observance and given the technical name of *Vamadev- Vrata* which was later on revived as *Vama-Marga.*

This does not exhaust all that one finds in the ancient sacredotal literature of the Aryans about the morality of the rishis. One phase of their moral life remains to be mentioned.

The ancient Aryans also seem to be possessed with the desire to have better progeny which they accomplished by sending their wives to others and it was mostly to the rishis who were regarded by the Aryas as pedigree cattle. The number of rishis who figure in such cases form quite a formidable number. Indeed the rishis seemed to have made a regular trade in this kind of immorality and they were so lucky that even kings asked them to impregnate the queens. Let us now take the Devas[1].

The Devas were a powerful and most licentious community. They even molested the wives of the rishis. The story of how Indra raped Ahalya the wife of Rishi Gautama is well known. But the immoralities they committed on the Aryan women were unspeakable. The Devas as a community appears to have established an overlordship over the Aryan community in very early times. This overlordship had become degenerated that the Aryan women had to prostitute themselves to

[1] One does not know what to say of the scholar who first translated the Sanskrit word *Deva* by the English word God. It was the greatest blunder which has resulted in confusion and has prevented a proper understanding of the social life of the Aryans as revealed in the Vedic literature. That Deva was the name of a community is beyond question. That Rakshas, Daityas, Danavas are also names of different communities in the same manner as the words Arya and Dasyu are must also be accepted without question.

satisfy the lust of the Devas. The Aryans took pride if his wife was in the keeping of a Deva and was impregnated by him. The mention is in the Mahabharata and in the Harivamsha of sons born to Arya women from Indra, Yama, Nasatya, Agni, Vayu and other Devas is so frequent that one is astounded to note the scale on which such illicit intercourse between the Devas and the Arya women was going on.

In course of time the relations between the Devas and the Aryans became stablized and appears to have taken the form of feudalism. The Devas exacted two boons[1] from the Aryans.

The first boon was the *Yajna* which were periodic feasts given by the Aryans to the Devas in return for the protection of the Devas in their fight against the Rakshasas, Daityas and Danavas. The Yajnas were nothing but feudal exactions of the Devas. If they have not been so understood it is largely because the word Deva instead of thought to be the name of a community is regarded as a term for expressing the idea of God which is quite wrong at any rate in the early stages of Aryan Society.

The second boon claimed by the Devas against the Aryans was the prior right to enjoy Aryan woman. This was systematized at a very early date. There is a mention of it in the Rig-Veda in X. 85.40. According to it the first right over an Arya female was that of Soma, second of Gandharva, third of Agni and lastly of the Aryan. Every Aryan woman was hypothecated to some Deva who had a right to enjoy her first on becoming puber. Before she could be married to an Aryan she had to be redeemed by getting the right of the Deva extinguished by making him a proper payment. The description of the marriage ceremony given in the 7th Khandika of the 1st Adhyaya of the Ashvalayan Grahya Sutra furnish the most cogent proof of the existence of the system. A careful and critical examination of the Sutra reveals that at the marriage three Devas were present. *Aryaman, Varuna* and *Pushan,* obviously because they had a right of prelibation over the bride. The first thing that the bride-groom does, is to bring her near a stone slab and make her stand on it telling her 'Tread on this stone, like a stone be firm. Overcome the enemies; tread the foes down'. This means that the bridegroom does it to liberate the bride from the physical control of the three Devas whom he regards as his enemies. The Devas get angry and march on the bridegroom. The brother of the bride intervenes and tries to settle the dispute. He brings parched gram with a view *to* offer it the Angry Deva with a view to

[1] Whether the relations between the Devas and the Aryans were of the nature of the feudal relations between the Lord and the Vellein has not yet been investigated largely because the Devas are not considered as a community of men. The boons claimed by the Devas from the Aryans are the same as those claimed by the Lord from his Vellein. (1) First fruits and (2) Prima Noctis.

buy off their rights over the bride. The brother then asks the bride to join her palms and make a hollow. He then fills the hollow of her palm with the parched grain and pours clarified butter on it and asks her to offer it to each Deva three times. This offering is called *Avadana*. While the bride is making this Avadana to the Deva the brother of the bride utters a statement which is very significant. He says "This girl is making this Avadana to Aryaman Deva through Agni. Aryaman should therefore relinquish his right over the girl and should not disturb the possession of the bridegroom". Separate Avadanas are made by the bride to the other two Devas and in their case also the brother alters the same formula. After the Avadan follows the Pradakshana round the Agni which is called SAPTAPADI after which the marriage of the bride and bridegroom becomes complete valid and good. All this of course is very illuminating and throw a flood of light on the utter subjection of the Aryans to the Devas and moral degradation of Devas as well as of the Aryans.

Lawyers know that Saptapadi is the most essential ceremony in a Hindu marriage and that without it there is no marriage at Law. But very few know why Saptapadi has so great an importance. The reason is quite obvious. It is a test whether the Deva who had his right of prelibation over the bride was satisfied with the Avadana and was prepared to release her. If the Deva allowed the bridegroom to take the bride away with him up to a distance covered by the Saptapadi it raised an irrebutable presumption that the Deva was satisfied with the compensation and that his right was extinguished and the girl was free to be the wife of another. The Saptapadi cannot have any other meaning. The fact that Saptapadi is necessary in every marriage shows how universally prevalent this kind of immorality had been among the Devas and the Aryans.

This survey cannot be complete without separate reference to the morals of Krishna. Since the beginning of Kali Yuga which is the same thing is associated with his death his morals became of considerable importance. How do the morals of Krishna compare with those of the others? Full details are given in another place about the sort of life Krishna led. To that I will add here a few. Krishna belonged to the Vrasni (Yadava family). The Yadavas were polygamous. The Yadava Kings are reported to have innumerable wives and innumerable sons— a stain from which Krishna himself was not free. But this Yadava family and Krishna's own house was not free from the stain of parental incest. The case of a father marrying daughter is reported by the Matsya Purana to have occurred in the Yadav family. According to Matsya Purana, King Taittiri an ancestor of Krishna married his own

daughter and begot-on her a son by name Nala. The case of a son cohabiting with his mother is found in the conduct of *Samba* the son of Krishna. The Matsya Purana tells how Samba lived an illicit life with the wives of Krishna his father and how Krishna got angry and cursed Samba and the guilty wives on that account. There is a reference to this in the Mahabharata also. Satyabhama asked Draupadi the secret of her power over her five husbands. According to the Mahabharata Draupadi warned her against talking or staying in private with her step-sons. This corroborates what the Matsya Purana has to say about *Samba.* Samba's is not the only case. His brother Pradyumna married his foster mother *Mayavati* the wife of Sambara.

Such is the state of morals in the Aryan Society before the death of Krishna. It is not possible to divide this history into definite Yugas and to say that what state of morals existed in the Krita, what in Treta and what in Dwapara Yuga which closed at the death of Krishna If, however, we allow the ancient Aryans a spirit of progressive reform it is possible to say that the worst cases of immorality occurred in earliest age i.e. the Krita age, the less revolting in the Treta and the least revolting in the Dwapara and the best in the Kali age.

This line of thinking does not rest upon mere general development of human society as we see all over the world. That instead of undergoing a moral decay the ancient Aryan society was engaged in removing social evils by undertaking bold reforms is borne out by its history.

Devas and the rishis occupied a very high place in the eyes of the common Aryan and as is usual the inferior always imitate their superior. What the superior class does forms a standard for the inferior. The immoralities which were prevalent in the Aryan Society were largely the result of the imitation by the common man of the immoral acts and deeds of the Devas and the rishis. To stop the spread of immoralities in society the leaders of the Aryan Society introduced a reform of the greatest significance. They declared that acts and deeds of the Devas and the rishis are not to be cited[1] or treated as precedents. In this way one cause and source of immorality was removed by a bold, and courageous stroke.

Other reforms were equally drastic. The Mahabharata refers to two reformers Dirghatama and Shwetaketu. It was laid down by Shwetketu that the marriage is indissoluble and there was to be no divorce. Two reforms are attributed to Dirghatama. He stopped polyandry and declared that a woman can have only one husband at

[1] The rules that Rishis' conduct is not to be cited or treated as precedent is laid down in Gautama Dharma Sutra *Na Deva Charitama Chareta* has reference to the bar enacted against treating the acts and deeds of the Devas as precedent. It is a floating verse whose source it has not been possible to locate.

a time. The second reform he is said to have carried out was to lay down conditions for regulating Niyog. The following were the most important of these conditions.

(i) The father or brother of the widow (or of the widow's husband) shall assemble the Gurus who taught or sacrificed for the deceased husband and his relatives and shall appoint her to raise issue for the deceased husband[1].

(ii) (1) The husband, whether living or dead, must have no sons; (2) The Gurus in a family council should decide to appoint the widow to raise issue for her husband; (3) The person appointed must be either the husband's brother or a sapinda, or sagotra of the husband or (according to Gautama) a sapravara or a person of the same caste. (4) The person appointed and the widow must be actuated by no lust but only by a sense of duty; (5) The person appointed must be anointed with ghee or oil (Narada Stripumsa, 82) must not speak with or kiss her or engage in the sportive dalliance with the women; (6) This relationship was to last till one son was born (or two according to some); (7) The widow must be comparatively young, she should not be old or sterile, or past child-bearing or sickly or unwilling or pregnant (Baud. Dh. S. II. 2.70, Narad, Stripumsa 83.84); (8) After the birth of a son they were to regard themselves as father-in-law and daughter-in-law (Manu IX, 62). It is further made clear by the texts that if a brother-in-law has intercourse with his sister-in-law without appointment by elders or if he does so even when appointed by elders but the other circumstances do not exist (e.g., if the husband has a son), he would be guilty of the sin of incest."

There are other reforms carried out by the ancient Aryan Society necessary to improve its morals. One was to establish the rule of prohibited degrees for purposes of marriage to prevent recurrence of father-daughter, brother-sister, mother-son, grandfather-grand daughter marriages. The other was to declare sexual intercourse between the wife of the Guru and the pupil a heinous sin. Equally clear is the evidence in support of an attempt to control gambling. Every treatise in the series called Dharma Sutras contain references to laws made throwing on the King the duty and urgency of controlling gambling by State authorities under stringent laws.

All these reforms had taken effect long before the Kali Yuga started and it is natural to hold that from the point of view of morality the Kali Yuga was a better age. To call it an age in which morals were declining is not only without foundation but is an utter perversion.

[1] Kane Vol. II part 1 p. 601.

This discussion about the Kali Yuga raised many riddles in the first place. How and when did the idea of mahayuga arise? It is true that all over the world the idea of a golden age lying in the past has been prevalent. But the idea of a Mahayuga is quite satisfied with the idea of a golden past prevelent elsewhere in India. Elsewhere the golden past is deemed to return. It is gone for ever. But in the idea of the Mahayuga the golden past is not gone for ever. It is to return after the cycle is complete.

The second riddle is why was the Kali Yuga not closed in 165 B.C. When according to the astronomer it was due to end why was it continued. Third riddle is the addition of Sandhya and Sandhyamsa periods to the *Kali Yuga*. It is quite obvious that these were later additions. For the Vishnu Purana states them separately. If they were original parts of Kali Yuga they would not have been stated separately why were these additions made. A fourth riddle is the change in the counting of the period. Originally the period of the Kali Yuga was said to be human years. Subsequently it was said to be a period of divine years with the result of the Kali Yuga being confined to 1200 years became extended to 4,32,000 years. That this was an innovation is quite obvious. For the Mahabharata knows nothing about this calculation in term of divine years. Why was this innovation made? What was the object of the Vedic Brahmins in thus indefinitely extending the period of the Kali Yuga? Was it to blackmail some Shudra Kings that the theory of Kali Yuga was invented and made unending so as to destroy his subjects from having any faith in his rule?

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RIDDLE NO. 24

THE RIDDLE OF THE KALI YUGA

The Units into which time is broken up for the purposes of reckoning it which are prevalent among the Hindus have not deserved the attention which their extraordinary character call for. This is a matter which forms one of the principal subject matter of the Puranas. There are according to the Puranas five measures of time (1) Varsha, (2) Yuga, (3) Maha Yuga, (4) Manwantara and (5) Kalpa. I will draw upon the Vishnu Purana to show what these units are.

To begin with the Varsha. This is how the Vishnu Purana explains it[1] :

> "Oh best of sages, fifteen twinklings of the eye make a *Kashtha;* thirty Kalas, one *Muhurtta;* thirty Muhurttas constitute a day and night of mortals : thirty such days make a month, divided into two half-months : six months form an *Ayana* (the period of the Sun's progress north or south of the ecliptic): and two Ayanas compose a year."

The same is explained in greater details at another place in the Vishnu Purana[2].

> "Fifteen twinklings of the eye *(Nimedhas)* make a *Kashtha;* thirty Kashthas, a *Kala;* Thirty Kalas, a *Muhurtta* (forty-eighty minutes); and thirty Muhurttas, a day and night; the portions of the day are longer or shorter, as has been explained; but the Sandhya is always the same in increase or decrease, being only one Muhurtta. From the period that a line may be drawn across the Sun (or that half his orb is visible) to the expiration of three Muhurttas (two hours and twenty-four minutes), that interval is called Pratar (morning),

[1] Wilson's Vishnu Purana pp. 22-23.

[2] *Ibid.*

This is another version entitled 'The Riddle of the Kali Yuga'. The copy available with us is a carbon copy having no corrections or modifications by the author. This chapter contains 40 pages.—Ed.

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forming a fifth portion of the day. The next portion, or three Muhurttas from morning, is termed *Sangava* (forenoon): the three next Muhurttas constitute mid-day; the afternoon comprises the next three Muhurttas; the three Muhurttas following are considered as the evening; and the fifteen Muhurttas of the day are thus classed in five portions of three each."

"Fifteen days of thirty Muhurttas each are called a *Paksha* (a lunar fortnight); two of these make a month; and two months, a solar season; three seasons a northern or southern declination *(Ayana);* and those two compose a year."

The conception of Yuga is explained by the Vishnu Purana in the following terms[1] :

"Twelve thousand divine years, each composed of (three hundred and sixty) such days, constitute the period of the four Yugas, or ages. They are thus distributed : the Krita age has four thousand divine years; the Treta three thousand; the Dwapara two thousand; and Kali age one thousand; so those acquainted with antiquity have declared.

"The period that precedes a Yuga is called a *Sandhya,* and it is of as many hundred years as there are thousand in the Yuga; and the period that follows a Yuga, termed the *Sandhyansa,* is of similar duration. The interval between the Sandhya and the Sandhyasana is the Yuga, denominated, Krita, Treta, &c."

The term Yuga is also used by the Vishnu Purana to denote a different measure of time. It says[2] :

"Years, made up of four kinds of months, are distinguished into five kinds; and an aggregate of all the varieties of time is termed a Yuga, or cycle. The years are severally, called Samvatsara, Idvatsara, Anuvatsara, Parivatsara, and Vatsara. This is the time called a Yuga."

The measure of Maha Yuga is an extension of the Yuga. As the Vishnu Purana points out[3] :

"The Krita, Treta, Dwapara, and Kali constitute a great age, or aggregate of four ages : a thousand such aggregates are a day of Brahma."

The Manwantara is explained by the Vishnu Purana in the following terms[4] :

"The interval, called a Manwantara, is equal to seventy-one times, the number of years contained in the four Yugas, with some additional years."

[1] Wilson's Vishnu Purana. p. 23.

[2] Wilson's Vishnu Purana. p. 23.

[3] Wilson's Vishnu Purana. p. 23.

[4] Wilson's Vishnu Purana pp. 24.

What is Kalpa is stated by the Vishnu Purana in the following brief text :

"Kalpa (or the day) of Brahma."

These are the periods in which time is divided. The time included in these periods may next be noted.

The *Varsha* is simple enough. It is the same as the year or a period of 365 days. The Yuga, Maha Yuga, Manwantara and Kalpa are not so simple for calculating the periods. It would be easier to treat Yuga, Maha Yuga etc., as sub-divisions of a Kalpa rather than treat the Kalpa as a multiple of Yuga. Proceeding along that line the relation between a Kalpa and a Maha Yuga is that in one Kalpa there are 71 Maha Yugas while one Maha Yuga consists of four Yugas and a Manwantara is equal to 71 Maha Yugas with some additional years.

In computing the periods covered by these units we cannot take Yuga as our base for computation. For the Yuga is a fixed but not uniform period. The basis of computation is the Maha Yuga which consists of a fixed period.

A Maha Yuga consists of a period of four Yugas called (1) Krita, (2) Treta, (3) Dwapara and (4) Kali. Each Yuga has its period fixed. Each Yuga in addition to its period has a dawn and a twilight which have fixed-duration. Actual period as well as the period of the dawn and the twilight are different for the different Yugas.

Yug	Period	Dawn	Twilight	Total
Krita ..	4000	400	400	4800
Treta ..	3000	300	300	3600
Dwapara ..	2000	200	200	2400
Kali ..	1000	100	100	1200
Maha Yuga	.....	...	...	12000

This computation of the Maha Yuga is in terms of divine years i.e. 12000 divine years or years of Brahma make up one Maha Yuga at the rate of one year of men being equal to one divine day the Maha Yuga in terms of human or mortal years comes to (360 × 12000) 43,20,000 years.

Seventy-one Maha Yugas make one Kalpa. This means that a Kalpa is equal to (43,20,000 × 71) 3,06,72,000.

Coming to Manwantaras one Manvantara is equal to 71 Maha Yugas plus something more. The period of a manvantara is equal to

that of a Kalpa i.e. 3,06,72,000 *plus* something more. The period of a Manvantara is bigger than the period included in a Kalpa.

The conception of a *Varsha* is in accord with astronomy and is necessary for the purpose of calculating time.

The conception of a Kalpa is both mythological and cosmological and is based upon the belief that the Universe undergoes the process of creation and dissolution; at the hands of Brahma and the period between creation and dissolution is called Kalpa. The first book of the Vishnu Purana is occupied with this. It begins with the details of creation. Creation is of twofold character, (1) primary (sarga) i.e. the origin of the universe from Prakriti or eternal crude matter; (2) Secondary (Pratisarga) i.e. the manner in which forms of things are developed from elementary substances previously evolved, or the manner in which they reappear after their temporary destruction. Both these creations are periodical, but the termination of the first occurs only at the end of the life of Brahma, when not only all the Gods and all other forms are annihilated, but the elements are again merged into primary substance, besides which one only spiritual being exists; the later takes place at the end of every Kalpa or day of Brahma, and affects only the forms of inferior creatures, and lower worlds, leaving the substance of the universe entire, and sages and Gods unharmed. Such is the conception underlying Kalpa.

The conception underlying Manvantara is mythological if not historical. It starts with the belief that Brahma gave rise to creation, inanimate as well as animate. But the animates did not multiply themselves. Brahma then created other 9 mind born sons but they were without desire or passion, inspired with holy, wisdom, estranged from the universe, and undesirous of progeny. Brahma having perceived this was filled with wrath. Brahma then converted himself into two persons, the first male, or Manu Swayambhuva and the first woman, or Satarupa. Manu Swayambhuva married Satarupa. Thus began the first Manvantara which is called Manvantara Swayambhuva. The fourteen Manvantaras are described as follows[1]

> "Then, Brahma created himself the Manu Swayambhuva, born of, and identical with, his original self, for the protection of created beings, and the female portion of himself he constituted Satarupa, whom austerity purified from the sin (of forbidden nuptials), and whom the divine Manu Swayambhuva took to wife. From these two were born two sons, Priyavrata and Uttanapada, and two daughters, named Prasuti and Akuti graced with loveliness and exalted merit. Prasuti he gave to Daksha, after giving Akuti to the Patriarch Ruchi, who espoused her. Akuti bore to Ruchi twins, Yajna and

Dakshina, who afterwards became husband and wife; and had twelve sons, the deities called Yamas, in the Manwantara of Swayambhuva."

"[1]The first Manu was Swayambhuva, then came Swarochisha, the Auttami, then Tamasa, then Raivata, then Chakshusha : these six Manus have passed away. The Manu who presides over the seventh Manwantara, which is the present period, is Vaivaswata, the son of the Sun."

"The period of Swayambhuva Manu, in the beginning of the Kalpa, has already been described by me, together with the gods, Rishis, and other personages, who then flourished. I will now, therefore, enumerate the presiding gods, Rishis, and sons of the Manu, *in the Manwantara of Swarochisha.* The deities of this period (or the second Manvantara) were the classes called Paravatas and Tushitas; and the king of the gods was the mighty Vipaschit. The seven Rishis were Urja, Stambha, Praria, Dattoli, Rishabha, Nischara, and Arvarivat; and Chaitra, Kimpurusha and others, were the Manu's sons.

"In the *third period,* Or Manwantara of Auttami, Susanti was the Indra, the king of the gods the orders of whom were the Sudhamas, Satyas, Sivas, Pradersanas, and Vasavertis; each of the five orders consisting of twelve divinities. The seven sons of Vasishtha were the seven Rishis; and Aja, Parasu, Divya and others, were the sons of the Manu.

"The Surupas, Haris, Satyas, and Sudhis were the classes of gods, each comprising twenty-seven, in the period of Tamasa, the *fourth Manu.* Sivi was the Indra, also designated by his performance of a hundred sacrifices (or named Satakratu). The seven Rishis were Jyotirdhama, Prithu, Kavya, Chaitra, Agni, Vanaka, and Pivara. The sons of Tamasa were the mighty kings Nara, Khyati, Santahaya, Janujangha, and others."

"In the *fifth* interval the Manu was Raivata; the Indra was vibhu : the classes of gods, consisting of fourteen each, were the Amitabhas, Abhutarajasas, Vaikunthas, and Sumedhasas; the seven Rishis were Hiranyaroma, Vedasri, Urdohabahu, Vedabahu, Sudhaman, Parjanya, and Mahamuni : the sons of Raivata were Balabandhu Susambhavya, Satyaka, and other valiant kings."

"These four Manus, Swarochisha, Auttami, Tamasa, and Raivata, were all descended from Priyavrata, who in consequence of propitiating Vishnu by his devotions, obtained these rulers of the Manwantaras for his posterity.

"Chakshusha was the Manu of the *sixth period* in which the Indra was Janojava; the five classes of gods were the Adya,

Prastutas, Bhavyas, Prithugas, and the magnanimous Lekhas, eight of each : Sumedhas, Virajas, Havishmat, Uttama, Madhu, Abhinaman, and Sahishnu were the seven sages; the kings of the earth, the sons of Chakshusha, were the powerful Uru, Puru, Satadhumna, and others."

"The Manu of the *present* is the wise lord of obsequies, the illustrious offspring of the sun; the deities are the Adityas, Vasus, and Rudras; their sovereign is Purandra : Vasistha, Kasyapa, Atri, Jamadagni, Gautama, Viswamitra, and Bharadwaja are the seven Rishis; and the nine pious sons of Vaivaswata Manu are the kings Ikshwaku, Nabhaga, Dhrishta, Sanyati, Narishyanata Nabhanidishta, Karusha, Prishadhra, and the celebrated Vasumat."

So far the particulars of seven Manvantaras which are spoken of by the Vishnu Purana as the past Manwantaras. Below are given the particulars of other seven[1] :

"Sanjana, the daughter of Viswakarman, was the wife of the Sun, and bore him three children, the Manu (Vaivaswata), Yama, and the goddess Yami (or the Yamuna river). Unable to endure the fervours of her lord, Sanjana gave him. Chhaya as his handmaid, and repaired to the forests to practise devout exercises. The Sun, supposing Chhaya to be his wife Sanjana, begot by her three other children, Sanaischara (Saturn), another Manu (Savarni), and a daughter Tapati (the Tapti river). Chhaya, upon one occasion, being offended with Yama, the son of Sanjana, denounced an imprecation upon him, and thereby revealed to Yama and to the Sun that she was not in truth Sanjana, the mother of the former. Being further informed by Chhaya that his wife had gone the wilderness, the Sun beheld her by the eye of meditation engaged in austerities, in the figure of a mare (in the region of Uttara Kuru). Metamorphosing himself into a horse, he rejoined his wife, and begot three other children, the two Aswins, and Revanta, and then brought Sanjana back to his own dwelling. To diminish his intensity, Viswakarman placed the luminary on his lathe to grind off some of his effulgence; and in this manner reduced it an eight, for more than that was inseparable. The parts of the divine Vaishnava slendour, residing in the Sun, that were filed off by Viswakarman, fell blazing down upon the earth, and the artist constructed of them the discuss of Vishnu, the trident of Siva, the weapon of the god of wealth, the lance of Kartikeya, and the weapons of the other gods : all these Viswakarman fabricated from the superfluous rays of the sun.

[1] Wilson's Vishnu Purana pp. 266-69.

"The son of Chhaya, who was called also a Manu was denominated Savarni, from being of the same caste (Savarni) as his elder brother, the Manu Vaivaswata. He presides over the ensuing or *eighth Manwantara;* the particulars of which, and the following, I will now relate. In the period in which Savarni shall be the Manu, the classes of the gods will be Sutapas, Amitabhas, and Mukhyas; twentyone of each. The seven Rishis will be Diptimat, Galava, Rama, Kripa, Drauni; my son Vyasa will be the sixth, and the seventh will be Rishyasringa. The Indra will be Bali, the sinless son of Virochan who through the favour of Vishnu is actually sovereign of part of Patala. The royal progeny of Savarni will be Virajas, Arvariva, Nirmoha, and others."

"The *ninth Manu* will be Daksha-Savarni. The Paras, Marichigarbhas, and Sudharmas will be the three classes of divinities, each consisting of twelve; their powerful chief will be the Indra, Abhuta. Savana, Dyutimat, Bhavya, Vasu, Medhatithi, Jyotishaman, and Satya will be the seven Rishis. Dhritketu, Driptiketu, Panchahasta, Niramaya, Prithusraya, and others will be the sons of the Manu."

"In the *tenth Manwantara* the Manu will be Brahma-savarni; the gods will be the Sudhamas, Viruddhas, and Satasankhyas; the Indra will be the mighty Santi; the Rishis will be Havishaman, Sukriti, Satya, Appammurti, Nabhaga, Apratimaujas and Satyaketu; and the ten sons of the Manu will be Sukshetra, Uttamaujas, Harishena and others."

"In the *eleventh Manwantara* the Manu will be Dharma-savarni; the principal classes of gods will be the Vihangama Kamagamas, and the Nirmanaratis, each thirty in number; of whom Vrisha will be the Indra : the Rishis will be Nischara, Agnitejas, Vapushaman, Vishnu, Aruni, Havishaman, and Anagha; the kings of the earth, and sons of the Manu, will be Savarga, Sarvadharma, Devanika, and others."

"In the *twelfth Manwantara* the son of Rudra, Savarni, will be the Manu : Ritudhama will be the Indra; and the Haritas, Lohitas : Sumanasas, and Sukrmas will be the classes of gods, each comprising fifteen Tapaswi, Sutapas, Tapomurti, Taporati, Tapodhriti, Tapodyuti and Tapodhana will be the Rishis; and Devavan, Upadeva, Devasreshtha and others, will be the Manu's sons, and mighty monarchs on the earth."

"In the *thirteenth Manwantara* the Manu will be Rauchya; the classes of gods thirty-three in each will be the Sudhamanas, Sudharmans, and Sukarmanas, their Indra will be Divaspati; the

Rishis will be Nirmoha, Tatwadersin, Nishprakampa, Nirutsuka, Dhritimat, Avyaya, and Sutapas; and Chitrasena, Vichitra, and others, will be the kings."

> "In the fourteenth Manwantara, Bhautya will be the Manu; Suchi, the Indra : the five classes of gods will be the Chakshushas, the Pavitras. Kanishthas, Bhrajiras, and Vavriddhas; the seven Rishis will be Agnibahu, Suchi, Sukra, Magadha, Gridhra, Yukta and Ajita; and the sons of the Manu will be Uru, Gabhira, Bradhna, and others, who will be kings, and will rule over the earth."

The scheme of Manwantaras seems to be designed to provide a governing body for the universe during the period of a Manwantara. Over every Manwantara there presides a Manu as the legislator, Deities to worship, seven Rishis and a King to administer the affairs.

As the Vishnu Purana says[1]:

> "The deities of the different classes receive the sacrifices during the Manwantaras to which they severally belong; and the sons of the Manu themselves, and their descendants, are the sovereigns of the earth for the whole of the same term. The Manu, the seven Rishis, the gods, the sons of the Manu, who are kings, and Indra, are the beings who preside over the world during each Manwantara."

But the scheme of chronology called the Maha Yuga is a most perplexing business.

Why Kalpa should have been divided into Maha Yugas and why a Maha Yuga should have been sub-divided into four Yugas, Krita, Treta, Dwapara and Kali is a riddle which needs explanation. It is not based on mythology and unlike the era it has no reference to any real or supposed history of the Hindus.

In the first place why was the period covered by a Yuga so enormously extended as to make the whole chronoloy appear fabulous and fabricated

In the Rig-Veda the word *Yuga* occurs at least 38 times. It is used in the sense of age, generation, yoke or tribe. In a few places it appears to refer to a very brief period. In many places it appears to refer to a very brief period and Sayana even goes so far as to render the term yuge yuge by pratidinam i.e. every day.

In the next place the conception of four Yugas is associated with a deterioration in the moral fibre in society. This conception is well stated in the following extract from the Mahabharata[2] :

"The Krita is that age in which righteousness is eternal. In the time of that most excellent of Yugas (everything) had been done

[1] Wilson's Vishnu Purana pp. 269-70.

[2] Muir's Sanskrit Text Vol. I pp. 144-146.

(Krita) and nothing (remained) to be done. Duties did not then languish, nor did the people decline. Afterwards, through (the influence of) time, this yuga fell into a state of inferiority. In that age there were neither Gods, Danavas, Gahdharvas, Yakshas, Rakshasas, nor Pannagas; no buying or selling went on; the Vedas were not classed as Saman, Rich, and Yajush; no efforts were made by men: the fruit (of the earth was obtained) by their mere wish : righteousness and abandonment of the world (prevailed). No disease or decline of the organs of sense arose through the influence of the age; there was no malice, weeping, pride, or deceipt; no contention, and how could there be any lassitude ? No hatred, cruelty, fear affliction, jealousy, or envy. Hence the Supreme Brahma was the transcendent resort of those Yogins. Then Narayana the soul of all beings, was white, Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras possessed the characteristics of Krita. In that age were born creatures devoted to their duties. They were alike in the object of their trust, in observances and in their knowledge. At that period the castes, alike in their functions, fulfilled their duties, were unceasingly devoted to one deity, and used one formula (mantra), one rule and one rite. Though they had separate duties, they had but one Veda, and practised one duty. By works connected with the four orders, and dependent on conjunctures of time, but unaffected by desire, or (hope of) reward, they attained to supreme felicity. This complete and eternal righteousness of the four castes during the Krita was marked by the character of that age and sought after union with the supreme soul. The Krita age was free from the three qualities. Understand now the Treta, in which sacrifice commenced, righteousness decreased by a fourth, Vishnu became red; and men adhered to truth, and were devoted to a righteousness dependent on ceremonies. Then sacrifices prevailed, with holy acts and a variety of rites. In the Treta men acted with an object in view, seeking after reward for their rites and their fights, and no longer disposed to austerities and to liberality from (a simple feeling of) duty. In this age, however, they were devoted to their own duties, and to religious ceremonies. In the Dwapara age righteousness was diminished by two quarters, Vishnu became yellow, and the Veda fourfold. Some studied four Vedas, others three, others two, others one, and some none at all. The scriptures being thus divided, ceremonies were celebrated in a great variety of ways; and the people being occupied with austerity and the bestowal of gifts; became full of passion (rajasi). Owing to ignorance of the one Veda, Vedas were multiplied. And now from the decline of goodness (Sattva) few only adhered to

> truth. When men had fallen away from goodness, many diseases, desires and calamities, caused by destiny, assailed them, by which they were severely afflicted, and driven to practice austerities. Others desiring enjoyment and heavenly bliss, offered sacrifices. Thus, when they had reached the Dwapara, men declined through unrighteousness. In the Kali righteousness remained to the extent of one fourth only. Arrived in that age of darkness, Vishnu became black; practices enjoined by the Vedas, works of righteousness, and rites of sacrifice, ceased. Calamities, diseases, fatigue, faults, such as anger, etc., distresses, anxiety, hunger, fear, prevailed. As the ages revolve, righteousness again declines. When this takes places the people also decline. When they decay, the impulses which actuate them also decay. The practices generated by this declension of the Yugas frustrate men's aims. Such is the Kali Yuga which has existed for a short time. Those who are long lived act in conformity with the character of the age."

This is undoubtedly very strange. There is reference to these terms in the ancient vedic literature. The words Krita, Treta, Dwapara and Askanda occur in the Taittiriya Sanhita and in the Vajasaneyi Sanhita, in the Aiteriya Brahmana and also in the Satapatha Brahmana. The Satapatha Brahmana refers "to Krita as one who takes advantage of mistakes in the game; to the Treta as one who plays on a regular plan; to the Dwapara as one who plans to over reach his fellow player to Askanda a post of the gaming room". In the Aiteriya Brahmana and the Taiteriya Brahmana the word Kali is used in place of Askanda. The Taiteriya Brahmana speaks of the Krita as the master of the gaming hall, to the Treta as one who takes advantage of mistakes, to the Dwapara as one who sits outside, to the Kali as one who is like a post of the gaming house i.e. never leaves it. The Aiteriya Brahmana says :

There is every success to be hoped; for the unluckiest die, the Kali is lying, two others are slowly moving and half fallen, but the luckiest, the Krita, is in full motion." It is clear that in all these places the words have no other meaning than that of throws or dice in gambling.

The sense in which Manu uses these terms may also be noted. He says[1]

> "The Krita, Treta, Dwapara and Kaliyugas are all modes of a King's action; for a King is called a Yuga; while asleep he is Kali; waking he is the Dwapra age; he is intent upon action he is Treta, moving about he is Krita."

[1] Manu IX 301-302.

Comparing Manu with his predecessors one has to admit that a definite change in the connotation of these words have taken place-words which formed part of the gamblers jargon have become terms of Politics having reference to the readiness of the King to do his duty and making a distinction between various types of kings, those who are active, those who are intent on action, those who are awake and those who are sleeping i.e. allowing society to go to dogs.

The question is what are the circumstances that forced the Brahmins to invent the theory of Kali Yuga ? Why did the Brahmins make Kali Yuga synonymous with the degraded state of Society ? Why Manu calls a sleeping ruler King Kali ? Who was the King ruling in Manu's time ? Why does he call him a sleeping King ? These are some of the riddles which the theory of Kali Yuga gives rise to.

There are other riddles besides these which a close examination of the Kali Yuga theory presents us with. When does the Kali age actually commence ?

There are various theories about the precise date when the Kali Yuga began. The Puranas have given two dates. Some say that it commenced about the beginning of the XIV century B.C. Others say that it began on the 18th February 3102 B.C. a date on which the war between the Kauravas and Pandavas is alleged to have been found. As pointed out by Prof. Iyengar there is no evidence to prove that the Kali era was used earlier than the VII century A.D. anywhere in India. It occurs for the first time in an inscription belonging to the reign of Pulakeshi II who ruled at Badami between 610 and 642 A.D. It records two dates the Saka date 556 and the Kali date 3735. These dates adopt 3102 B.C. as the starting date of Kali Yuga. This is wrong. The date 3102 B.C. is neither the date of the Mahabharata war nor is the date of the commencement of the Kali Yuga. Mr. Kane has conclusively proved. According to the most positive statements regarding the king of different dynasties that have ruled from Parikshit the son of the Pandavas the precise date of the Mahabharata War was 1263 B.C. It cannot be 3102 B.C. Mr. Kane has also shown that the date 3102 B.C. stands for the beginning of the Kalpa and not for the beginning of Kali and that the linking up of Kali with the date 3102 B.C. instead of with the Kalpa was an error due to a misreading or a wrong transcription the term *Kalpadi* into *Kalyadi*. There is thus no precise date which the Brahmins can give for the commencement of the Kali Age. That there should be precise beginning which can be assigned to so remarkable an event is a riddle.

But there are other riddles which may be mentioned.

There are two dogmas associated with the Kali Age. It is strongly held by the Brahmans that in the Kali Age there are only two Varnas— the first and the last—the Brahmins and the Shudras. The two middle ones Kshatriyas and Vaishyas they say are non-existent. What is the basis of this dogma ? What does this dogma mean ? Does this mean that these Varnas were lost to Brahmanism or does this mean that they ceased to exist ?

Which is the period of India's history which in fact accords with this dogma ?

Does this mean that the loss of these two Varnas to Brahmanism marks the beginning of Kali Yuga ?

The second dogma associated with the theory of the Kali Yuga is called Kali Varjya—which means customs and usages which are not to be observed in the Kali Age. They are scattered in the different Puranas. But the Adityapurana has modified them and brought them in one place. The practices which come under Kali Varjya are given below[1] :

1. To appoint the husband's brother for procreating a son on a widow[2].

"2. The remarriage of a (married) girl (whose marriage is not consummated) and of one (whose marriage was consummated) to another husband (after the death of the first)."[3]

3. [4]The marriage with girls of different Varna among persons of the three twice-born classes."[5]

"4. [6]The killing even in a straight fight of Brahmanas that have become desperadoes.[7]"

"5. The acceptance (for all ordinary intercourse such as eating with him) of a twice-born person who is in the habit of voyaging over the sea in a ship, even after he has undergone a prayascitta[8].

[1] Kali Varjya, P. V. Kane, pp. 8-16.

[2] This refers to the practice of *niyoga,* which was allowed by Gautama (18-9-14, Narada stripuma verse 58), Yajnavalkya (I. 68-69) though it was condemned by Manu (9.64-68), and Brahaspati.

[3] This refers to re-marriage of widows. Narada (stripumsa, verses 98-100) allowed re-marriage of even Brahmana widows in certain calamities and Parasara did the same while Vasistha (17.74) and Baudhayana-dharma-sutra (IV. 1.18) allow the re-marriage of a girl whose first marriage was not consummated.

The passage is read 'balikaksatayonysca' also; in that case it will mean only 'a married girl whose marriage has not been consummated' while the other reading refers to two kinds of widows (whose marriage is consummated and whose marriage is not so).

[4] Kali Varjya, P. V. Kane, pp. 8-16.

[5] Most ancient smritis allowed anuloma marriages e.g. Baudhayanadharmasutra I. 8. 2-5, Vashishtha I. 24-27, Manu III 14-19, Yajnavalkya 1. 56-57.

[6] Kali Varjya, P. V. Kane, pp. 8-16.

[7] This is a subject which very much exercised the minds of writers on dharma; Manu (8.350.351) Vishnu V. 180-80, Vashishtha (III. 15-18) permit the killing of an atatayibrahmans, while Sumantu says 'there is no sin in killing an attatayin, except a brahmana and a cow', and so forbids the killing even of an atatayi-brahmana. Vide Mitaksara on Yaj. II. 21 for a discussion on this.

[8] Baudhayana-dharmasutra 1.1.20 mentions voyage as a practice peculiar to Brahmanas of Northern India and condemns it, by placing it first among Pataniyas (II. 1.41). Some writers say that prohibition applies to one who often crosses the sea as the compound 'nauyathu' shows. Ausanasa says that 'samudraga' is patita (p. 525, of Jivananada).

"6. The initiation for a sattra.

"7. The taking a Kamandalu (a jar for water[1])"

"8. Starting on the Great Journey."[2]

"9. The killing of a cow in the sacrifice called Gomedha;"[3]

"10. The partaking of wine even in the Srautmani sacrifice."[4]

11-12. Licking the ladle (sruc) after the Agnihotra Homa in order to take off the remains of the offerings and using the ladle, in the agnihotra afterwards when it has been so licked."[5]

"13. Entering into the stage of forest hermit as laid down in sastras about it."[6]

"14. Lessening the periods of impurity (due to death and birth) in accordance with the conduct and vedic learning of a man."[7]

"15. Prescribing death as the penance (Prayascitta) for Brahmanas."[8]

"16. Explanation (by secretly performed Prayascittas) of the mortal sins other than theft (of gold) and the sin of contact (with those guilty of Mahapatakas)."[9]

"17. The act of offering with Mantras animal flesh to the bridegroom, the guest, and the pitrs."[10]

[1] Baudhayana-dharmasutra (1.3-4) prescribes among the observances of Snatakas (those who have finished their study and have married or are about to marry) that they should carry a (earthen or wooden) pot filled with water Vashishtha 12.14 and Manu 4.36 and Yaj. I 132 also do the same. The Madanaparijata (pp. 15-16) while 'quoting some of these verses says that 'Kamandaluvidharana' refers to perpetual studenthood, but that is not correct, since in the Naradiya-purana quoted above note 5,) the two are separately mentioned as forbidden.

[2] This refers to the practice of starting towards the north-east in the case of those who had become forest-dwellers (vide Manu VI. 31 and Yaj. 111. 55) and the practice of old men killing themselves by starting on the great journey till the body falls, by falling from a percipice or by entering the Ganges at a holy place like Prayaga or by entering fire. Vide Apararka p. 536 where the Smriti passages allowing this are quoted. Note that Sudraka, the reputed Author of the Mrecchakatika, is said to have entered fire and vide Raghuvamsa 8,94; Atri, verses 218-219 which are quoted even by Medhatithi on Manu V. 88; E. instances of kings throwing themselves into the Ganges at Prayaga.

[3] Vide Sankhayana-srauta 14.15.1, Katyayanasrauta XXII, 11.3-4 and Manu XI. 74.

[4] This is a sacrifice principally to Sutraman (i.e. Indra) in which three cups of wine were offered to the Asvins, Sarasvati and Indra and a Brahmana had to be hired for drinking the remnants of wine offered. Vide Taittiriya—Brahmana 1. 8.6.2, Sankhayana-Srauta 15.15-1-14 and Sabara on Purva mimansa-sutra 111. 5. 14-15.

[5] Vide Tai-Br. II. 1.4. and Satyasadhastrauta for this.

[6] Ap. Dharma-sutra. 11. 9.21. 18. II. 9. 23.2, Manu VI. 1-32, Vashishtha IX. I-II contain elaborate rules about this stage.

[7] Vide Parasara quoted above saying that a Brahmana who is endowed with both vedic learning and agnihotra has to observe Assucha (mourning) only for one day and he who is only learned has to observe it for three days. Vide also Brahaspati quoted by Haradatta on Gautama 14.1. In Kali a flat rule of ten days for all came to be prescribed. Visvarupa on Yaj. III. 30 has an eleborate discussion on this text and ultimately gets rid of it by saying that it is only an arthavada meant to praise the absence of greed and presence of excellent conduct. It is not quite unreasonable to infer that if Visvarupa had attached any value to or known these verses on Kalivarjya he would not have failed to make use of them for explaining away Parasara.

[8] Manu (II. 89 and 146) says that for wilfully killing a Brahmana and drinking wine the Prayachitta is death Gautama 21, 7 says-the same, following Manu.

[9] Manu XI, 54 enumerates contact with those guilty of the four mahapataka, as a fifth mahapataka. Gautama 24 and Vashishtha 25 prescribe secret prayascittas even for mahapatakas like Brahmahatya. This rule says that there are no secret prayascittas in Kali for Brahmahatya, or drinking wine and for incest. Vide Apararka p. 1212 for rules as to who was entitled to secret prayascittas.

[10] Madhuparka was offered to honoured guests among whom the bridegroom was included. Vide Gautama V, 25-35, Yaj. 1. 109. The offering of flesh of various animals in Sraddha was supposed to conduce to the enjoyment of pitrs. Vide Yaj. I. 258-260, Manu III. 123. According to Asvalayana Grhyasutra 1. 24-26 Madhuparka could not be offered without flesh. Vide Vashishtha IV. 5-6.

"18. [1]The acceptance as sons of those other than the *aurasa* (natural) and adopted sons."[2]

"19. Ordinary intercourse with those who incurred the sin of (having intercourse with) women of higher castes, even after they had undergone the Prayascitta for such sin."[3]

"20. The abandonment of the wife of an elderly person (or of one who is entitled to respect) when she has had intercourse with one with whom it is severely condemned."[4]

"21. [5]"Killing oneself for the sake of another."[6]

"22. Giving up food left after one has partaken of it."[7]

"23. Resolve to worship a particular idol for life (in return for payment)"[8].

"24. Touching the bodies of persons who are in impurity due to death after the charred bones are collected"[9].

"25. The actual slaughter by Brahmanas of the sacrificial animal."

"26. [10]Sale of the Soma plant by Brahamanas."[11]

"27. Securing food even from a Shudra when a Brahamana has had no food for six times of meals (i.e. for three days)."[12]

"28. Permission to (a Brahamana) householder to take cooked food from Shudras if they are his dasas, cowherds, hereditary friends, persons cultivating his land on an agreement to pay part of the produce."[13]

[1] Kane's Kalivarjya pp. 8-16.

[2] Manu 9. 165-80, Yaj. II. 128-132 and others speak of twelve kinds of sons.

[3] Gautama (IV. 20 and 22-23) severely condemns the intercourse of men of lower castes with women of higher castes and holds that their progeny is *dharmahina*.

[4] Vashishtha 21.10 says 'four kinds of women viz. one who has intercourse with a pupil or with the husband's teacher, or one who kills her husband or commits adultery with a man or degraded caste, should be abandoned.

Yaj. (III. 296-297) is against and says that even such women should be kept, near the house and given starving maintenance. Vide Atri V. 1-5.

[5] Kane's Kalivarjya pp. 8-12.

[6] The Smritis say that a man should run the risk of life for cows and Brahmanas; vide Manu XI. 79 and Vishnu III. 45.

[7] Vashishtha 14.20-21 says that food left after one has partaken of it from what was taken out for oneself or food touched by such leaving should not be eaten. Or this may mean 'giving to another the leavings of food': some smritis permit giving Ucchista to Shudras and the like, which is forbidden here. Vide Gautama X. 61 and Manu X. 125.

[8] Manu III. 152 makes a Brahmana performing worship for money unfit for invitation in sraddha and 'devakrtya'.

[9] Collection of charred bones took place on the fourth day after cremation. Vishnu 19, 10-12; Vaikhanasa-Smartasutra V. 7; Samvarta, verses 38-39.

[10] Kane's Kalivarjya p. 13.

[11] Katyayana Srauta (VII. 6.2-4) says that Soma should be purchased from a Brahmana of the Kautsa gotra or a Shudra; but Manu X. 88 forbids a Brahmana the sale of Soma along with many other things even though living by agriculture and the avocations of a Vaishya and Manu (III. 158 and 170) condemns a Brahmana who sells Soma as unfit for being invited at a Sraddha.

[12] Manu XI. 16 allows a Brahmana who has had no food for three-days to take food for one day from one whose actions are low and so does Yaj. III. 43. if we read 'hinakarmana' it would mean 'even by doing what is low' (i.e. by begging or theft or by such actions as are described in Narada, abhyupetya-susrusa, vv. 5-7).

[13] Manu smritis allow a Brahmana to have cooked food from Shudras if they are that Brahmana's dasas, barber, cowherd, or cultivator of his land, hereditary, friends. Vide Gautama 17.6, Manu IV. 253, Yaj. 1. 166 (where the first half is the same as here). Angiras 120, Parasara XI.

"29. [1]Going on a very distant pilgrimage."

"30. Behaviour of a pupil towards his teacher's wife as towards a teacher that is declared in smrtis"[2].

"31. The maintenance by Brahamanas in adversity (by following unworthy avocations) and the mode of livelihood in which a Brahmana does not care to accumulate for tomorrow."[3]

"32. [4]The acceptance of *aranis* (two wooden blocks for producing fire) by Brahmanas (in the Homa at the time of *jatakarma)* in order that all the ceremonies for the child from *jatakarma* to his marriage may be performed therein."[5]

"33. Constant journeys by Brahamanas."

"34. Blowing of fire with the mouth (i.e. without employing a bamboo *dhamni."*[6]

"35. Allowing women who have become polluted by rape, &c, to freely mix in the caste (when they have performed *prayascitta*) as declared in the sastric texts."[7]

"36. [8]Begging of food by a *sannayasin* from persons of all Varnas (including sudra)."[9]

"37. To wait (i.e. not to use) for ten days water that has recently been dug in the ground."

"38. Giving fee to the teacher as demanded by him (at the end of study) according to the rules laid down in the sastra."[10]

"39. "The employment of sudras as cook for Brahmanas and the rest."[12]

"40. Suicide of old people by calling from a precipice or into fire."[13]

[1] Kane's Kalivarjya p. 14.

[2] Manu 11. 210 prescribes that the wives of one's teacher, if they are of the same Varna as the teacher, are to be honoured like the teacher and if they are not of the same Varna then by rising to receive them and by saluting them.

[3] Gautama VII. 1-7, Ap. Dh. S. I. 7.20. 11-17, 21. 4, Yaj. III. 35.44 and others allow a Brahmana to live by the occupations of a Kshatriya or Vaishya in adversity. Manu IV. 7 places before a Brahmana the ideal that he should not accumulate more corn than what is required for three days or for the current day. Both these extremes are forbidden here.

[4] Kane's Kalivarjya p. 14.

[5] The Samsakarya-kaustubha quotes a grhyaphrisista for this.

[6] In Manu IV. 53 also the same prohibition occurs. In Vedic passages blowing at the fire with breath from the mouth direct was allowed. Vide Haradatta on Ap. Dh. S. 1.5.15.20.

[7] Even so late a smrti a Devala's (verse 47) allows a woman raped even by Mlecchas to become pure after prayaschitta for three days. The Adityapurana appears to be most harsh on innocent and unfortunate women.

[8] Kane's Kalivarjya p. 15.

[9] Baudhayana-dharma-sutra II. 10 allows a Sannyasin to beg food from all Varnas, while Manu (VI. 43) and Yaj. 111. 59 prescribe that he should beg in a village in the evening and Vashishtha also (X. 7) requires him to beg at seven houses not selected beforehand. But Vasishta says a little later on (X. 24) that he should subsist on what he would get at the houses of Brahmanas.

[10] Yaj. I. 51 prescribes that a student after finishing Vedic study and performing vratas should give fees to the teacher as the latter desires and should perform the ceremonial bath.

[11] Kane's Kalivarjya p. 15.

[12] The Apastamba-dharmasutra II. 2.3.4 allowed sudras to be cooks for the three higher Varnas under the supervision of aryas.

[13] Vide Item No. 8 above.

"41. Performing Acamana by respectable people in water that would remain even after a cow has drunk it to its heart's content."[1]

"42. Fining witnesses who depose to a dispute between father and son."[12]

"43. Sannyasin should stay where he happened to, be in the evening."[13]

These are the Kali Varjyas set out in the adityapurana.

The strange thing about this code of Kali Varjya is that its significance has not been fully appreciated, it is simply referred to as a list of things forbidden in the Kali Yuga. But there is more than this behind this list of don'ts. People are no doubt forbidden to follow the practices listed in the Kali Varjya Code. The question however is : Are these practices condemned as being immoral, sinful or otherwise harmful to society ? The answer is no. One likes to know why these practices if they are forbidden are not condemned ? Herein lies the riddle of the Kali Varjya Code. This technique of forbidding a practice without condemning it stands in utter contrast with the procedure followed in earlier ages. To take only one illustration. The Apastamba Dharma Sutra forbids the practice of giving all property to the eldest son. But he condemns it. Why did the Brahmins invent this new technics forbid but not condemn ? There must be some special reason for this departure. What is that reason ?

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[1] Vashishtha III. 35 says that water accumulated in a hole on the ground would be fit for *acamana* if it is as much as would quench the thirst of a cow. Vide Manu V. 128 and Yaj I. 192.

[2] Yaj. II. 239 prescribes a fine of three panas for witnesses in disputes between father and son.

[3] This may also mean 'a sannyasin should be at the houses in the evening'.

APPENDIX I

THE RIDDLE OF RAMA AND KRISHNA

Rama is the hero of the Ramayana whose author is Valmiki. The story of the Ramayana is a very short one. Besides it is simple and in itself there is nothing sensational about it.

Rama is the son of Dasharatha the king of Ayodhya the modern Benares. Dasharatha had three wives, Kausalya, Kaikeyi and Sumitra besides several hundred concubines. Kaikeyi had married Dasharatha on terms which were at the time of marriage unspecified and which Dasharatha was bound to fulfil whenever he was called upon by Kaikeyi to do so. Dasharatha was childless for a long time. An heir to the throne was ardently desired by him. Seeing that there was no hope of his begetting a son on any of his three wives he decided to perform a Putreshti Yajna and called the sage Shrung at the sacrifice who prepared pindas and gave the three wives of Dasharatha to eat them. After they ate the pindas three wives became pregnant and gave birth to sons. Kausalya gave birth to Rama, Kaikeyi gave birth to Bharata and Sumitra gave birth to two sons Laxman and Satrughana. In due course Rama was married to Sita. When Rama came of age, Dasharatha thought of resigning the throne in favour of Rama and retiring from kingship. While this was being settled Kaikeyi raised the question of rendering her satisfaction of the terms on which she had married Dasharatha. On being asked to state her terms she demanded that her son Bharata should be installed on the throne in preference to Rama and Rama should live in forest for 12 years. Dasharatha with great reluctance agreed. Bharata became king of Ayodhya and Rama accompanied by his wife Sita and his step brother Laxman went to live in the forest. While the three living in the forest Ravana the king of Lanka kidnapped Sita and took her away and kept her in his palace

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This is a 49-page typed copy placed in a well-bound file along with the MS of 'Symbols of Hinduism'. This riddle does not find place in the original Table of Contents. Hence this is included as an Appendix to this part.—Ed.

Note: Government does not concur with the views expressed in this Chapter.

intending to make her one of his wives. Rama and Laxman then started search of Sita. On the way they meet Sugriva and Hanuman two leading personages of the Vanara (monkey) race and form friendship with them. With their help the place of the abduction was located and with their help they marched on Lanka, defeated Ravana in the battle and rescued Sita. Rama returns with Laxman and Sita to Ayodhya. By that time twelve years had elapsed and the term prescribed by Kaikeyi was fulfilled with the result that Bharata gave up the throne and in his place Rama became the king of Ayodhya.

Such is in brief the outline of the story of the Ramayana as told by Valmiki.

There is nothing in this story to make Rama the object of worship. He is only a dutiful son. But Valmiki saw something extraordinary in Rama and that is why he undertook to compose the Ramayana. Valmiki asked Narada the following question[1] :

> "Tell me Oh ! Narada, who is the most accomplished man on earth at the present time ?"

and then goes on to elaborate what he means by accomplished man. He defines his accomplished man as :

> "Powerful, one who knows the secret of religion, one who knows gratitude, truthful, one who is ready to sacrifice his self interest even when in distress to fulfil a religious vow, virtuous in his conduct, eager to safeguard the interests of all, strong pleasing in appearance with power of self-control, able to subdue anger, illustrious, with no jealousy for the prosperity of others, and in war able to strike terror in the hearts of Gods."

Narada then asks for time to consider and after mature deliberation tells him that the only person who can be said to possess these virtues is Rama, the son of Dasharatha.

It is because of his virtues that Rama has come to be deified.

But is Rama a worthy personality of deification ? Let those who accept him an object worthy of worship as a God consider the following facts.

Rama's birth is miraculous and it may be that the suggestion that he was born from a pinda prepared by the sage Shrung is an allegorical glass to cover the naked truth that he was begotten upon Kausalya by the sage Shrung although the two did not stand in the relationship of husband and wife. In any case his birth if not disreputable in its origin is certainly unnatural.

There are other incidents connected with the birth of Rama the unsavory character of which it will be difficult to deny.

[1] Balakanda Sarga I. slokas 1-5.

Valmiki starts his Ramayana by emphasizing the fact that Rama is an Avatar of Vishnu and it is Vishnu who agreed to take birth as Rama and be the son of Dasharatha. The God Brahma came to know of this and felt that in order that this Rama Avatar of Vishnu be a complete success arrangement shall be made that Rama shall have powerful associates to help him and cooperate with him. There were none such existing then.

The Gods agreed to carry out the command of Brahma and engaged themselves in wholesale acts of fornication not only against Apsaras who were prostitutes not only against the unmarried daughters of Yakshas and Nagas but also against the lawfully wedded wives of Ruksha, Vidhyadhar, Gandharvas, Kinnars and Vanaras and produced the Vanaras who became the associates of Rama.

Rama's birth is thus accompanied by general debauchery if not in his case certainly in the case of his associates. His marriage to Sita is not above comment. According to Buddha Ramayana, Sita was the sister of Rama, both were the children of Dasharatha. The Ramayana of Valmiki does not agree with the relationship mentioned in Buddha Ramayana. According to Valmiki Sita was the daughter of the king Janaka of Videha and therefore not a sister of Rama. This is not convincing for even according to Valmiki she is not the natural born daughter of Janaka but a child found by a farmer in his field while ploughing it and presented by him to king Janaka and brought up by Janaka. It was therefore in a superficial sense that Sita could be said to be the daughter of Janaka. The story in the Buddha Ramayana is natural and not inconsistent with the Aryan rules[1] of marriage. If the story is true, then Rama's marriage to Sita is no ideal to be copied. In another sense Rama's marriage was not an ideal marriage which could be copied. One of the virtues ascribed to Rama is that he was monogamous. It is difficult to understand how such a notion could have become common. For it has no foundation in fact. Even Valmiki refers[2] to the many wives of Rama. These were of course in addition to his many concubines. In this he was the true son of his nominal father Dasharatha who had not only the three wives referred to above but many others.

Let us next consider his character as an individual and as a king.

In speaking of him as an individual I will refer to only two incidents one relating to his treatment of Vali and other relating to his treatment of his own wife Sita. First let us consider the incident of Vali.

[1] Among the Aryans marriages between brothers and sisters were allowed.

[2] Ayodhyakanda Sarga VIII sloka 12.

Vali and Sugriva were two brothers. They belonged to the Vanar race and came from a ruling family which had its own kingdom the capital of which was Kishkindha. At the time when Sita was kidnapped by Ravana, Vali was reigning at Kishkindha. While Vali was on the throne he was engaged in a war with a Rakshasa by name Mayavi. In the personal combat between the two Mayavi ran for his life. Both Vali and Sugriva pursued him. Mayavi entered into a deep cavity in the earth, Vali asked Sugriva to wait at the mouth of the cavity and himself went inside. After sometime a flood of blood came from inside the cavity. Sugriva concluded that Vali must have been killed by Mayavi and came to Kishkindha and got himself declared king in place of Vali and made Hanuman his Prime Minister.

As a matter of fact, Vali was not killed. It was Mayavi who was killed by Vali. Vali came out of the cavity but did not find Sugriva there. He proceeded to Kishkindha and to his great surprise he found that Sugriva had proclaimed himself king. Vali naturally became enraged at this act of treachery on the part of his brother Sugriva and he had good ground to be. Sugriva should have ascertained, should not merely have assumed that Vali was dead. Secondly Vali had a son by name Angad whom Sugriva should have made the king as the legitimate heir of Vali. He did neither of the two things. His was a clear case of usurpation. Vali drove out Sugriva and took back the throne. The two brothers became mortal enemies.

This occurred just after Ravana had kidnapped Sita. Rama and Laxman were wandering in search of her. Sugriva and Hanuman were wandering in search of friends who could help them to regain the throne from Vali. The two parties met quite accidentally. After informing each other of their difficulties a compact was arrived at between the two. It was agreed that Rama should help Sugriva to kill Vali and to establish him on the throne of Kishkindha. On the part of Sugriva and Hanuman it was agreed that they should help Rama to regain Sita. To enable Rama to fulfil his part of the compact it was planned that Sugriva should wear a garland in his neck as to be easily distinguishable to Rama from Vali and that while the dual was going on Rama should conceal himself behind a tree and then shoot an arrow at Vali and kill him. Accordingly a dual was arranged, Sugriva with a garland in his neck and while the daul was on, Rama standing behind a tree shot Vali with his arrow and opened the way to Sugriva to be the king of Kishkindha. This murder of Vali is the greatest blot on the character of Rama. It was a crime which was thoroughly unprovoked, for Vali had no quarrel with Rama. It was most cowardly act for Vali was unarmed. It was a planned and premeditated murder.

Consider his treatment of his own wife Sita. With the army collected for him by Sugriva and Hanuman, Rama invades Lanka. There too he plays the same mean part as he did as between the two brothers Vali and Sugriva. He takes the help of Bibhishana the brother of Ravana promising him to kill Ravana and his son and place him on the vacant throne. Rama kills Ravana and also his son Indrajit. The first thing Rama does after the close of the fight is to give a decent burial to the dead body of Ravana. Thereafter he interests himself in the coronation of Bibhishana and it is after the coronation is over that he sends Hanuman to Sita and that took to inform her that he, Laxman and Sugriva are hale and hearty and that they have killed Ravana.

The first thing he should have done after disposing of Ravana was to have gone to Sita. He does not do so. He finds more interest in the coronation than in Sita. Even when the coronation is over he does not go himself but sends Hanuman. And what is the message he sends ? He does not ask Hanuman to bring her. He asks him to inform her that he is hale and hearty. It is Sita who expresses to Hanuman her desire to see Rama, Rama does not go to Sita his own wife who was kidnapped and confined by Ravana for more than 10 months. Sita is brought to him and what does Rama say to Sita when he sees her ? It would be difficult to believe any man with ordinary human kindness could address to his wife in such dire distress as Rama did to Sita when he met her in Lanka if there was not the direct authority of Valmiki. This is how Rama addressed her[1] :

> "I have got you as a prize in a war after conquering my enemy your captor. I have recovered my honour and punished my enemy. People have witnessed my military prowess and I am glad my labours have been rewarded. I came here to kill Ravana and wash off the dishonour. I did not take this trouble for your sake."

Could there be anything more cruel than this conduct of Rama towards Sita ? He does not stop there. He proceeded to tell her :

> "I suspect your conduct. You must have been spoiled by Ravana. Your very sight is revolting to me. On you daughter of Janaka, I allow you to go anywhere you like. I have nothing to do with you. I conquerred you back and I am content for that was my object. I cannot think that Ravana would have failed to enjoy a woman as beautiful as you are."

Quite naturally Sita calls Rama low and mean and tells him quite plainly that she would have committed suicide and saved him all this trouble if when Hanuman first came he had sent her a message that he had abandoned her on the ground that she was kidnapped. To, give

[1] Yudhakanda Sarga II5 slokas 1-23.

him no excuse Sita undertakes to prove her purity. She enters the fire and comes out unscathed. The Gods satisfied with this evidence proclaim that she is pure. It is then that Rama agrees to take her back to Ayodhya.

And what does he do with her when he brings her back to Ayodhya. Of course, he became king and she became queen. But while Rama remained king, Sita ceased to be a queen very soon. This incident reflects great infamy upon Rama. It is recorded by Valmiki in his Ramayana that some days after the coronation of Rama and Sita as king and queen Sita conceived. Seeing that she was carrying some residents of evil disposition began to calumniate Sita suggesting that she must have conceived from Ravana while she was in Lanka and blaming Rama for taking such a woman back as his wife. This malicious gossip in the town was reported by Bhadra, the Court joker to Rama. Rama evidently was stung by this calumny. He was overwhelmed with a sense of disgrace. This is quite natural. What is quite unnatural is the means he adopts of getting rid of this disgrace. To get rid of this disgrace he takes the shortest cut and the swiftest means—namely to abandon her, a woman in a somewhat advanced state of pregnancy in a jungle, without friends, without provision, without even notice in a most treacherous manner. There is no doubt that the idea of abandoning Sita was not sudden and had not occurred to Rama on the spur of the moment. The genesis of the idea the developing of it and the plan of executing are worth some detailed mention. When Bhadra reports to him the gossip about Sita which had spread in the town Rama calls his brothers and tells them his feelings. He tells them Sita's purity and chastity was proved in Lanka, that Gods had vouched for it and that he absolutely believed in her innocence, purity and chastity. "All the same the public are calumniating Sita and are blaming me and putting me to shame. No one can tolerate such disgrace. Honour is a great asset, Gods as well as great men strive to maintain it in tact. I cannot bear this dishonour and disgrace. To save myself from such dishonour and disgrace I shall be ready even to abandon you. Don't think I shall hesitate to abandon Sita."

This shows that he had made up his mind to abandon Sita as the easiest way of saving himself from public calumny without waiting to consider whether the way was fair or foul. The life of Sita simply did not count. What counted was his own personal name and fame. He of course does not take the manly course of stopping this gossip, which as a king he could do and which as a husband who was convinced of his wife's innocence he was bound to it. He yielded to the public gossip

and there are not wanting Hindus who use this as ground to prove that Rama was a democratic king when others could equally well say that he was a weak and cowardly monarch : Be that as it may that diabolical plan of saving his name and his fame he discloses to his brothers but not to Sita the only person who was affected by it and the only person who was entitled to have notice of it. But she is kept entirely in the dark. Rama keeps it away from Sita as a closely guarded secret and was waiting for an opportunity to put his plan into action. Eventually the cruel fate of Sita gives him the opportunity he was waiting for. Women who are carrying exhibit all sorts of cravings for all sorts of things. Rama knew of this. So one day he asked Sita if there was anything for which she felt a craving. She said yes. Rama said what was it. She replied that she would like to live in the vicinity of the Ashrama of sage on the bank of the river Ganges and live on fruits and roots at least for one night. Rama simply jumped at the suggestion of Sita and said "Be easy my dear I shall see that you are sent there tomorrow". Sita treats this as an honest promise by a loving husband. But what does Rama do ? He thinks it is a good opportunity for carrying through his plan of abandoning Sita. Accordingly he called his brothers to a secret conference and disclosed to them his determination to use this desire of Sita as an opportunity to carry out his plan of abandonment of Sita. He tells his brothers not to intercede on behalf of Sita, and warns them that if they came in his way he would look upon them as his enemies. Then he tells Laxman to take Sita in a chariot next day to the Ashram in the jungle on the bank of the river Ganges and to abandon her there. Laxman did not know how he could muster courage to tell Sita what was decided about Sita by Rama. Sensing his difficulty Rama informs Laxman that Sita had already expressed her desire to spend some time in the vicinity of an Ashrama on the bank of the river and eased the mind of Laxman. This confabulation took place at night. Next morning Laxman asked Sumanta to yoke the horses to the chariot. Sumanta informs Laxman of his having done so. Laxman then goes into the palace and meets Sita and reminds her of her having expressed her desire to pass some days in the vicinity of an Ashrama and Rama having promised to fulfil the same and tells her of his having been charged by Rama to do the needful in the matter. He points to her the chariot waiting there and says 'let us go!' Sita jumps into the chariot with her heart full of gratitude to Rama. With Laxman as her companion and Sumanta as coachman the chariot proceeds to its appointed place. At last they were on the bank of the Ganges and were ferried across by the fishermen. Laxman fell at Sita's feet, and with hot tears issuing

from his eyes he said 'Pardon me, O, blameless queen, for what I am doing. My orders are to abandon you here, for the people blame Rama for keeping you in his house."

Sita abandoned by Rama and left to die in a jungle went for shelter in the Ashrama of Valmiki which was near about. Valmiki gave her protection and kept her in his Ashram. There in course of time Sita gave birth to twin sons, called Kusa and Lava. The three lived with Valmiki. Valmiki brought up the boys and taught them to sing the Ramayana which he had composed. For 12 years the boys lived in the forest in the Ashrama of Valmiki not far from Ayodhya where Rama continued to rule. Never once in those 12 years this model husband and loving father cared to inquire what had happened to Sita whether she was living or whether she was dead. Twelve years after Rama meets Sita in a strange manner. Rama decided to perform a Yadna and issued invitation to all the Rishis to attend and take part. For reasons best known to Rama himself no invitation was issued to Valmiki although his Ashram was near to Ayodhya. But Valmiki came to the Yadna of his own accord accompanied by the two sons of Sita introducing them as his disciples. While the Yadna was going on the two boys used to perform recitations of Ramayana in the presence of the Assembly. Rama was very pleased and made inquiries when he was informed that they were the sons of Sita. It was then he remembered Sita and what does he do then ? He does not send for Sita. He calls these innocent boys who knew nothing about their parents' sin, who were the only victims of a cruel destiny to tell Valmiki that if Sita was pure and chaste she could present herself in the Assembly to take a vow thereby remove the calumny cast against herself and himself. This is a thing she had once done in Lanka. This is a thing she could have been asked to do again before she was sent away. There was no promise that after this vindication of her character Rama was prepared to take her back. Valmiki brings her to the Assembly. When she was in front of Rama, Valmiki said, 'O, son of Dasharatha, here is Sita whom you abandoned in consequence of public disapprobation. She will now swear her purity if permitted by you. Here are your twin-born sons bred up by me in my hermitage.' 'I know,' said Rama 'that Sita is pure and that these are my sons. She performed an ordeal in Lanka in proof of her purity and therefore I took her back. But people here have doubts still and let Sita perform an ordeal here that all these Rishis and people may witness it."

With eyes cast down on the ground and with hands folded Sita swore "As I never thought of any man except Rama even in my mind, let mother Earth open and bury me. As I always loved Rama in words,

in thoughts, and in deed, let mother Earth open and bury me ! As she uttered the oath, the earth verily opened and Sita was carried away inside seated on a golden *simhasana* (throne). Heavenly flowers fell on Sita's head while the audience looked on as in a trance.

That means that Sita preferred to die rather than return to Rama who had behaved no better than a brute.

Such is the tragedy of Sita and the crime of Rama the God.

Let me throw some search light on Rama the King.

Rama is held out as an ideal King. But can that conclusion be said to be founded in fact ?

As a matter of fact Rama never functions, as a King. He was a nominal King. The administration as Valmiki states were entrusted to Bharata his brother. He had freed himself from the cares and worries about his kingdom and his subjects. Valmiki has very minutely described[1] the daily life of Rama after he became King. According to that account the day was divided into two parts. Up to forenoon and afternoon. From morning to forenoon he was engaged in performing religious rites and ceremonies and offering devotion. The afternoon he spent alternately in the company of Court jesters and in the Zenana. When he got tired of the Zenana he joined the company of jesters and when he got tired of jesters he went back to the Zenana[2]. Valmiki also gives a detailed description of how Rama spent his life in the Zenana. This Zenana was housed in a park called Ashoka Vana. There Rama used to take his meal. The food according to Valmiki consisted of all kinds of delicious viands. They included flesh and fruits and liquor. Rama was not a teetotaller. He drank liquor copiously and Valmiki records that Rama saw to it that Sita joined with him in his drinking bouts[3]. From the description of the Zenana of Rama as given by Valmiki it was by no means a mean thing. There were Apsaras, Uraga and Kinnari accomplished in dancing and singing. There were other beautiful women brought from different parts. Rama sat in the midst of these women drinking and dancing. They pleased Rama and Rama garlanded them. Valmiki calls Rama as a 'Prince among women's men'. This was not a day's affair. It was a regular course of his life.

As has already been said Rama never attended to public business. He never observed the ancient rule of Indian kings of hearing the wrongs of his subjects and attempting to redress them. Only one occasion has been recorded by Valmiki when he personally heard the grievance of his subjects. But unfortunately the occasion turned out to be a tragic one. He took upon himself to redress the wrong but. in

[1] Uttara Kanda Sarga 42 sloka 27.

[2] Uttara Kanda Sarga 43 sloka 1.

[2] *Ibid.,* Sarga 42 sloka 8.

doing so committed the worst crime that history has ever recorded. The incident is known as the murder of Sambuka the Shudra. It is said by Valmiki that in Rama's reign there were no premature deaths in his kingdom. It happened, however, that a certain Brahman's son died in a premature death. The bereaved father carried his body to the gate of the king's palace, and placing it there, cried aloud and bitterly reproached Rama for the death of his son, saying that it must be the consequence of some sin committed within his realm, and that the king himself was guilty if he did not punish it; and finally threatened to end his life there by sitting *dharna* (hunger-strike) against Rama unless his son was restored to life. Rama thereupon consulted his council of eight learned Rishis and Narada amongst them told Rama that some Shudra among his subjects must have been performing Tapasya (ascetic exercises), and thereby going against Dharma (sacred law); for according to it the practice of Tapasya was proper to the twice-born alone, while the duty of the Shudras consisted only in the service of the twice-born. Rama was thus convinced that it was the sin committed by a Shudra in transgressing Dharma in that manner, which was responsible for the death of the Brahmin boy. So, Rama mounted his aerial car and scoured the countryside for the culprit. At last, in a wild region far away to the south he espied a man practising rigorous austerities of a certain kind. He approached the man, and with no more ado than to enquire of him and inform himself that he was a Shudra, by name Sambuka who was practising Tapasya with a view to going to heaven in his own earthly person and without so much as a warning, expostulation or the like addressed to him, cut off his head. And lo and behold ! that very moment the dead Brahman boy in distant Ayodhya began to breathe again. Here in the wilds the Gods rained flowers on the king from their joy at his having prevented a Shudra from gaining admission to their celestial abode through the power of the Tapasya which he had no right to perform. They also appeared before Rama and congratulated him on his deed. In answer to his prayer to them to revive the dead Brahman boy lying at the palace gate in Ayodhya, they informed him that he had already come to life. They then departed. Rama thence proceeded to the Ashrama which was nearby of the sage Agastya, who commended the step he had taken with Sambuka, and presented him with a divine bracelet. Rama then returned to his capital.

Such is Rama.

II

Now about. Krishna.

He is the hero of the Mahabharata. Really speaking the Mahabharata is principally connected with the Kauravas and the Pandavas. It is the story of the war fought by the two for right to the kingdom which belonged to their ancestors. They should be the principal characters. But they are not. It is Krishna who is the hero of the epic. This is a little strange thing. But what is stranger still is the possibility not being a contemporary of the Kauravas and Pandavas. Krishna was the friend of the Pandavas who had their empire. Krishna was the enemy of Kansa who also had his empire. It does not seem possible that two such empires should subsist side by side at once and at the same time. Secondly, in the Mahabharata there is nothing to show that there was any intercourse between the two empires. The two stories of Krishna and the Pandavas have been mixed together at some later date in order to provide Krishna with a larger theater to play a bigger part. The mixture of the two stories is the result of a deliberate design on the part of Vyas to glorify Krishna and to raise him above all.

In the hands of Vyas Krishna is God among men. That is why he is made the hero of the Mahabharata. Does Krishna really deserve to be called God among men ? A short sketch of his life alone will help to give a correct answer. Krishna was born at Mathura at midnight on the 8th day of the month of Bhadra. His father was Vasudeva of the Yadu race, and his mother Devaki, daughter of Devaka, the brother of Ugrasen, king of Mathura. Ugrasen's wife had an illicit connection with Drumila the Danava king of Saubha. From this illicit connection was born Kansa who was in a sense the cousin of Devaki. Kansa imprisoned Ugrasen and usurped the throne of Mathura. Having heard from Narada or *Daivavani,* a voice from Heaven that Devaki's eighth child would kill him, Kansa imprisoned both Devaki and her husband and killed six of their children as they were born one after another. The seventh child, Balarama, was miraculously transferred from Devaki's womb to that of Rohini, another wife of Vasudeva. When the eighth child, Krishna, was born, he was secretly borne by his father to the other side of the river Yamuna, where Nanda and his wife Yasoda, natives of Vraja, were then living. The Yamuna rolled back her waters to make way for the divine child, the Ananta, the chief of serpents protected him with his ample hood from the heavy torrent of rain that was then falling. By a previous arrangement, Vasudeva exchanged his son for Nanda's newly born daughter, Yogindra or Mahamaya, and

presented the latter to Kansa as his eighth child, but she flew away, telling him that the child which is being brought up by Nanda and Yasoda would kill him. This led Kansa to make a series of unsuccessful attempts to kill the child Krishna. With this object he sent to Vraja a number of Asuras in various forms. The killing of these Asuras and number of other heroic deeds, impossible for an ordinary human child, are the chief staple of the Puranic account of Krishna's early life. Some of them are mentioned in the Mahabharata also. As might be expected, the authorities differ largely in their narration of these facts. I mention only some of them, following chiefly the later authorities.

The first or one of the first of these is the killing of Putana. She was Kansa's nurse and was sent by him to kill Krishna in the form of a female vulture, according to Harivamsa, and of a beautiful woman according to the Bhagavata. As she pretending to suckle Krishna, put her poisoned breast into his mouth, he sucked it so powerfully as to draw out her very life-blood so that she fell down with an yell and died.

Krishna performed another of these feats when he was only three months old. It was the breaking of a *Sakata,* a cart which was used as a cupboard and had several jars and pans, full of milk and curd, ranged on it. According to the Harivamsa Sakata was an Asura sent by Kansa and had entered the cart intending to crush the infant Krishna by its weight. However, Yasoda had placed the boy under the cart and gone to bathe in the Yamuna. On her return she was told that he had kicked against it and broken it to pieces with all that lay on it. This event surprised and frightened Yasoda, and she offered pujas to avert the evils threatened by it.

When Putana and Sakata's attempts to kill Krishna having failed, Kansa sent another of his emissaries an asura named Trinavarta, to attempt the same task. He came in the form of a bird and carried aloft the divine child, then only a year old. But he soon dropped down dead with the child safe and holding his throat tightly.

The next feat was the breaking of two arjuna trees growing side by side. They are described as the bodies of two Yakshas who were converted into this form by a curse, and who were released by this feat of Krishna. When he had learnt to crawl about and could hardly be kept out of mischief Yasoda tied him with a rope to a wooden mortar and went to mind her household duties. When she was out of sight, Krishna began to drag the mortar after him till it stuck fast between the trees. Still pulling the heavy weight after him, he uprooted the trees and made them fall down with a tremendous noise, himself remaining unhurt by them.

Now these events filled Nanda with fear, and he seriously thought of leaving Vraja and moving to another settlement. While he was thus thinking, the place was infested with wolves which made great havoc among the cattle and made it quite unsafe. This fixed the wavering intention of the nomads and they moved with all their belongings to the pleasant woodland named Vrindavan. Krishna was then only seven years old.

After his removal to this new settlement, Krishna killed quite a large number of Asuras. One of them was Aristha, who came in the form of a bull; another, Kesin, who was disguised as a horse. Five others, Vratrasura, Bakasura, Aghasura, Bhomasura and Sankhasura, the last a Yaksha. More important than these was Kaliya, a snake chief, who lived with his family in a whirlpool of the Yamuna and thus poisoned its water. Krishna one day threw himself on Kaliya's hood and danced so wildly as to make him vomit blood. He would thus have killed him, but on the intervention of the snake's family, he spared him and allowed him to move away to another abode.

The subjugation of Kaliya was followed by Vastra-harana, the carrying away of clothes, a hard nut to crack for worshippers and admirers of the Puranic Krishna. The whole narration is so obscene, that even the merest outlines will, I fear, be felt to be indelicate. But I must give them in as decent a form as is possible, to make my brief account of Krishna's doings as full as I can. Some Gopies had dived into the waters of the Yamuna for a bath, leaving their clothes on the banks, as is said to be still the custom in some parts of the country. Krishna seized the clothes and with them climbed upon a tree on the riverside. When asked to return them, he refused to do so unless the women approached the tree and each begged her own dress for herself. This they could do only by coming naked out of the water and presenting themselves naked before Krishna. When they did this, Krishna was pleased and he gave them their clothes. This story is found in the Bhagavata.

The next of Krishna's feats was the uplifting of the Govardhan Hill. The Gopas were about to celebrate their annual sacrifices to Indra, the God of rain, and began to make grand preparations for it. Krishna pointed out to them that as they were a pastoral and not an agricultural tribe, their real Gods were kine, hills and woods, and them only they should worship, and not such Gods as the rain-giving Indra. The Gopas were convinced, and giving up their intention of worshipping Indra celebrated a grand sacrifice to the hill Govardhan, the nourisher of kine, accompanied with feasting and dancing. Indra was as he could not but be greatly enraged at this affront offered to him, and as

punishment, he poured rain on the Gopa settlement for seven days and nights continually. Krishna, nothing daunted, uprooted the hill and held it up as an umbrella over the settlement and thus protected the Gopas and their cattle from the ruinous effects of Indra's wrath. As to the jealousy between Indra and the Krishna of the Rig-Veda and that between the former and the Vishnu of the Satapatha Brahmana, I have already spoken in my first lecture.

Krishna's youthful career was full of illicit intimacy with the young women of Brindaben which is called his Rasalila. Rasa is a sort of circular dance in which the hands of the dancers, men and women, are joined together. It is said to be still prevalent among some of the wild tribes of this country. Krishna, it is stated, was in the habit of often enjoying this dance with the young Gopis of Brindaben, who loved him passionately. One of these dances is described in the Vishnu Purana, the Harivamsa and the Bhagavata. All these authorities interpret the Gopi's love for Krishna as piety—love to God, and see nothing wrong in their amorous dealings with him—dealings which, in the case of any other person, would be highly reprehensible according to their own admission. All agree as to the general character of the affair—the scene, the time and season, the drawing of the women with sweet music, the dance, the amorous feelings of the women for Krishna, and their expression in various ways. But while the Vishnu Purana tries— not always successfully—to keep within the limits of decency, the Harivamsa begins to be plainly indecent, and. the Bhagavata throws away all reserve and revels in indecency.

Of all his indecencies the worst is his illicit life with one Gopi by name Radha. Krishna's illicit relations with Radha are portrayed in the Brahmavaivarta Purana. Krishna is married to Rukmani the daughter of King Rukmangad. Radha was married to ..... . Krishna who abandons his lawfully wedded wife Rukmini and seduces Radha wife of another man and lives with her in sin without remorse.

Krishna was also a warrior and a politician even at a very early age, we are told, when he was in his twelfth year. Every one of his acts whether as a warrior or as a politician was an immoral act. His first act in this sphere was the assassination of his maternal uncle Kamsa. 'Assassination' is not too strong a term for it, for though Kamsa had given him provocation, he was not killed in the course of a battle or even in a single combat. The story is that having heard God Krishna's youthful feats at Brindaban, Kamsa got frightened and determined to secure his death by confronting him with a great athelete in an open exhibition of arms. Accordingly he announced the celebration of a *dhanuryajna* a bow sacrifice, and invited Krishna, Balarama and their

Gopa friends to it. Akrura, an adherent of Krishna, but an officer of Kamsa, was deputed by the latter to bring the brothers to Mathura. They came, determined to kill Kamsa. He had provoked not only them, but other Yadavas also, whom his persecution had compelled to leave Mathura. The brothers were therefore supported by a conspiracy against him. Having arrived at Mathura, they desired to change their simple Gopa dress for a more decent one, and asked for clothes from Kamsa's washerman, whom they met in the street. As the man behaved insolently with them, they killed him and took from his stock whatever clothes they liked. They then met Kubja, a hunch-backed woman who served as Kamsa's perfumer. At their request she annointed them with sandal paste and in return was cured by Krishna of her bodily deformity. The Bhagvata makes him visit her on a subsequent occasion and describes his union with her with its characteristic indecency. However, on the present occasion, the brothers annointed by Kubja and garlanded by Sudama, a flower-seller, entered the place of sacrifice and broke the great bow to which the sacrifice was to be offered. The frightened Kamsa sent an elephant named Kuvalayapida to kill them. Krishna killed the elephant and entered the arena. There the brothers encountered Kamsa's chosen athletes, Chanura, Mustika, Toshalaka and Andhra. Krishna killed Chanura and Toshalaka and Balarama the other two. Frustrated in his plan of securing Krishna's death by stratagem Kamsa ordered the brothers and their Gopa friends to be turned out and banished from his kingdom, their herds to be confiscated and Vasudeva, Nanda and his own father Ugrasen to be assassinated. At this Krishna got upon the platform on which Kamsa was seated, and seizing him by the hair, threw him down on the ground and killed him. Having consoled Kamsa's weeping wives he ordered a royal cremation for him, and refusing the kingdom offered him by Ugrasen, installed the latter on the throne and invited his banished relatives to return to Mathura.

The next episode is Krishna's fight with Jarasandha, emperor of Magadha, and Kalayavana. Jarasandha was the son-in-law of Kamsa. Enraged by Krishna's assassination of Kamsa, his son-in-law, Jarasandha is said to have invaded Mathura seventeen times and to have been every time repulsed by Krishna. Fearing, however, that an eighteenth invasion would be disastrous to the city, Krishna removed the Yadavas to Dwarka at the west end of Gujarat Peninsula. After the removal of the Yadavas from Mathura, the city was besieged by Kalayavana at the instigation of Jarasandha. While pursuing the unarmed Krishna, however, out of the city, the invader was burnt to ashes, by fire issuing from the eyes of king Muchakunda, who had

been sleeping in a mountain cave and whom he had awakened with a kick mistaking him for Krishna. Krishna defeated the army of Kalayavana but while flying to Dwaraka with the booty, he was overtaken by Jarasandha. He, however, evaded his enemy by climbing a hill and flying to Dwaraka after jumping down from it.

Krishna was now, for the first time, married. He married Rukmini, daughter of Bhishmaka, king of Vidarbha. Her father, at Jarasandha's advice, was making preparations to get her married to Sishupala, Krishna's cousin and king of Chedi. But Krishna carried her off on the day before the proposed marriage. The Bhagavata says she had fallen in love with Krishna and had addressed a love letter to him. This does not seem to be true. For Krishna did not remain a true and faithful husband of Rukmini. Rukmini was gradually followed by an enormously vast army of co-wives till the number of Krishna's consorts rose to sixteen thousand one hundred and eight. His children numbered one lakh and eighty-thousand. The chief of his wives were the well-known eight, Rukmini, Satyabhama, Jambavati, Kalindi, Mitrabinda, Satya, Bhadra, and Lakshmana. The remaining sixteen thousand and one hundred were married to him on the same day. They belonged originally to the harem of king Naraka of Pragjyotish whom Krishna defeated and killed at the invitation of Indra, whose mother's ear-rings had been carried away by Naraka. While paying a visit after the battle to Indra's heaven in company with Satyabhama, this lady took fancy to Indra's famous parijat tree. To oblige his wife, Krishna had to fight with the God whom he had just favoured. Indra, though the chief of the Vedic Gods, and though he was helped by the latter on this occasion was indeed no match for the 'Incarnation of the Supreme Being' and was forced to part with his favourite flower-tree, which was thus carried to Dwarka and planted there. The story of how he obtained his chief eight wives is very interesting. The story of how he got Rukmini is already told. Satyabhama was the daughter of Satyajit, a Yadava chief who gave her away in marriage to Krishna because he was afraid of him and wished to buy his favour. Jambavati was the daughter of Jambavna, a bear chief, against whom Krishna waged a long war to recover a previous gem he had taken away from a Yadava. Jambavana was defeated and presented his daughter to Krishna, as a peace-offering. Kalindi went through a series of austerities in order to get Krishna as her husband and her devotion was rewarded by the marriage she had sought. Mitrabinda was a cousin of Krishna and was carried off by him from the Svayamvara grounds. Satya was the daughter of Nagnajit, king of Ayodhya and was won by Krishna when he had achieved a brave feat of arms, namely, killing a number of

naughty bulls belonging to Nagnajit. Bhadra was another cousin of Krishna and was married by him in the usual way. Lakshmana was the daughter of Brihatsena, king of Madra. and was carried off by him from the Swayamavara grounds.

Krishna's part in Arjuna's marriage with Subhadra, sister of Balarama and Krishna's half sister is noteworthy. In the course of his travels Arjuna arrived at the holy place of Prabhasa, and was received by Krishna on the hill of Raivataka. There he was enamoured of Subhadra and asked Krishna how he could get her. Krishna advised him to carry her off as a brave Kshatriya without depending upon the chances of a Svayamvaram, the usual Kshatriya form of marriage. The Yadavas were at first enraged at this outrage, but when Krishna convinced them that Arjuna would be a very worthy husband for Subhadra, and that by carrying her off he had done nothing unworthy of a hero, they consented to the union. And how could they do otherwise ? Krishna did not simply argue like us, poor talkers. He, as we have already seen, had backed his precepts by his example.

It is interesting to note how Krishna disposed of Jarasandha and Sishupala who created trouble at the Rajasuya performed by Yudhisthira. Jarasandha had imprisoned a large number of kings and intended to sacrifice them to Rudra. Unless he was killed and the imprisoned princes released and given an opportunity to pay homage to Yudhisthira, the latter's claim as emperor could not be established. Krishna therefore proceeded with Bhima and Arjuna to Rajagriha, Jarasandha's capital, and challenged him to a single combat with anyone of them he might choose. Such a challenge could not be refused by a Kshatriya, and Jarasandha, at the anticipation of death at his opponent's hand, declared his son Sahadev as his heir apparent and chose Bhima as his opponent. The combat lasted thirteen days, and Jarasandha at length met with a painful death at his rival's hand. Having put Sahadev on his father's throne, and invited the released princes to attend Yudhisthira's Rajasuya, Krishna and his friends returned to Indraprastha.

In due course the Rajasuya came off. Of the various functions and duties connected with the ceremony, Krishna is said to have taken charge of washing the feet of the Brahmans. This is a sure indication of the comparative modernness of the Mahabharata, at any rate, of this story. For in ancient times, even when the supremacy of the Brahmans had been established, the Kshatriyas never paid them any servile honour. However when the sacrifice was over, the time came for Yudhisthira to make presents to the assembled princes, priests and other persons deserving honour. To whom must honour be paid first ?

Yudhisthira having asked Bhishma's opinion on the matter, the latter replied that Krishna was the person to be honoured first. Accordingly Sahadeva at Yudhishtira's command presented the Arghya, the mark of honour, to Krishna, and the latter accepted it. This upset Sishupala, who made a long speech, challenging Krishna's right to the honour and abusing the Pandavas for paying any honour and Krishna for accepting it. Bhishma made another speech narrating Krishna's exploits and achievements at length, and declaring his divinity. Sishupala rose again, rebutted Bhishma's arguments one after another, and grossly abused him. It is pointed out by Krishna's recent biographers, that of the charges brought against Krishna by Sishupala, there is no mention of his dealings with the Brindaban Gopis, a sure indication, according to them, that when the Mahabharatha was composed, the story of these dealings of Krishna, a story made so much of by the writers of the Puranas and the later poets, was not conceived. However, at the end of Sishupala's speech Bhishma, who saw that Yudhishtira was afraid lest Sishupala and his followers might obstruct the completion of the ceremony, said, addressing them that if they were resolved to die they might challenge the divine Krishna himself to fight. At this Sishupala challenged Krishna, who rose in response and narrated his opponent's numerous misdeeds. Then with the words, "At the request of his mother, my aunt, I have pardoned a hundred of Sishupala's offences. But I cannot pardon the insulting words he has spoken of me before the assembled princes : I kill him before you all". He threw his chakra at him and cut off his head.

Actions of Krishna during the Mahabharata War may now be reviewed. The following are some of them :

1. When Satyaki, Krishna's friend, was hard pressed by Bhurisrava, son of Somadatta, Krishna induced Arjuna to cut off his arms, and thereby made it easy for Satyaki to kill him.

2. When Abhimanyu was unfairly surrounded and killed by seven Kaurava warriors, Arjuna vowed the death of the ring leader, Jayadratha, next day before sunset, or, failing that his own death by entering into fire. When the Sun was about to set, and Jayadratha remained unslain, Krishna miraculously hid the Sun, on which Jayadratha, having come out Krishna uncovered the Sun, and Arjuna killed Jayadratha when he was unaware.

3. Despairing of Drona being ever killed by fair means Krishna advised the Pandavas to kill him unfairly. If he could be made to cast down his arms, he could, Krishna said, be killed easily. This could be done if he was told that his son, Asvathama was dead. Bhima tried the suggested device. He killed an elephant named after

Drona's son and told him that Asvathama was killed. The warrior was somewhat depressed by the news, but did not quite believe it. At this juncture he was hard pressed by a number of sages to cease fighting and prepare himself for heaven with meditations worthy of a Brahmana. This checked the hero still more and he applied to the truthful Yudhisthira for correct information about his son. Finding Yudhisthira unwilling to tell a lie, Krishna overcame his reluctance by a long exhortation, in the course of which he announced his ethics of untruth in the following edifying text from Vasishtha's Smriti.

"In marriage, in amorous dealings, when one's life is in danger, when the whole of one's possession is going to be lost, and when a Brahman's interest is at stake, untruth should be told. The wise have said that speaking untruth on these five occasions is not a sin." Yudhisthir's scruples were stifled, and he said to his preceptor, "Yes, Asvathama is killed" adding in a low voice, "that is, an elephant" which last words, however were not heard by Dron. His depression was complete, and on hearing some bitterly reproachful words from Bhima, he gave up his arms, and while sitting in a meditative posture, was killed by Dhristhadyumna.

4. When Bhima was unsuccessfully fighting with Duryodhana by the side of the Dvaipayana Lake Krishna reminded him through Arjuna that he had vowed the breaking of his opponent's thighs. Now striking a rival below the navel was unfair, but as Duryodhana could not be killed except by such an unfair means, Krishna advised Bhima to adopt the same and Bhima did."

The death of Krishna throws a flood of light on his morals. Krishna died as the Ruler of Dwaraka. What was this Dwaraka like and what sort of death awaited him ?

In founding his city of Dwaraka he had taken care to settle thousands of 'unfortunates' there. As the Harivamsa said : 'O, hero having conquerred the abodes of the Daityas (giants) with the help of brave Yadus, the Lord settled thousands of public women in Dwaraka". Dancing, singing and drinking by men and women married and prostitutes filled the city of Dwaraka. We get a description of a seatrip in which these women formed a principal source of enjoyment. Excited by their singing and dancing, the brothers Krishna and Balarama joined in the dancing with their wives. They were followed by the other Yadava chiefs and by Arjuna and Narada. Then a fresh excitement was sought. Men and women all fell into the sea and at Krishna's suggestion, the gentlemen began a jalakrida water sport, with the ladies, Krishna leading one party, and Balarama another,

while the courtesans added to the amusement by their music. This was followed by eating and drinking and this again by a special musical performance in which the leaders themselves exhibited their respective skill in handling various musical instruments. It will thus be seen what a jolly people these Yadavas were, and with what contempt they would have treated the objections urged nowadays by the Brahmans and such other purists against nautch parties and the native theatres. It was in one of these revels—a drunken revel—that the Yadavas were destroyed. They, it is said, had incurred the displeasure of a number of sages by a childish trick played on the latter by some of their boys. These boys disguised Samba, one of Krishna's sons, as a woman with child, tying an iron pestle below his navel, and asked the sages to say what child the 'woman' would give birth to. The enraged sage said 'she' would produce an iron pestle which would be the ruin of the Yadavas. Fearing the worst consequences from this curse, the boys took the pestle to the sea-side and rubbed it away. But its particles came out in the form of *erakas,* a kind of reeds and its last remaining bit, which had been thrown into the sea, was afterwards recovered and used by a hunter as the point of an arrow; Now it was with these erakas that the Yadavas killed themselves. They had gone in large parties to the holy place of Prabhasa. They indulged in drinking there and this proved their ruin. The evils of drinking there had been found out at length by Krishna and some other Yadava leaders, and it was prohibited on pain of death by a public notification. But the prohibition had no effect. The drunken Yadavas at first quarrelled and then began to fight and kill one another. When some of Krishna's own sons were killed he himself joined in the fight and killed a large number of his own people. He then went in search of Balarama. He found him in meditative posture and saw his spirit passing out of his body in the form of a large serpent i.e., Sesha Naga, the divine snake whom he had incarnated. Krishna now felt that it was time for him also to pass away. He then bade farewell to his father and his wives, telling them that he had sent for Arjuna, who would take charge of them. Then he seated himself under a tree, hidden by its leafy and outstretching branches, and composed his mind in meditation. While thus sitting, a hunter named Jara mistook him for a deer and hit him with an arrow, one pointed with the last remaining bit of the fatal pestle. Discovering his mistake, the man fell at Krishna's feet and was pardoned and flew away to heaven, illumining all sides by its dazzling light. Arjuna came and proceeded towards Hastinapur with the surviving Yadavas—men and women. But his good genius having left him he had lost the power of his hitherto mighty arm and his

unrivalled skill as an archer. A number of Ahiras, armed only with lathis, attacked his party and carried off many of the women, and he reached Hastinapur only with a small remnant. After Arjuna's departure the sea engulfed Dwaraka, and nothing was left to speak of the Yadavas, their glories, their domestic broils and their revels.

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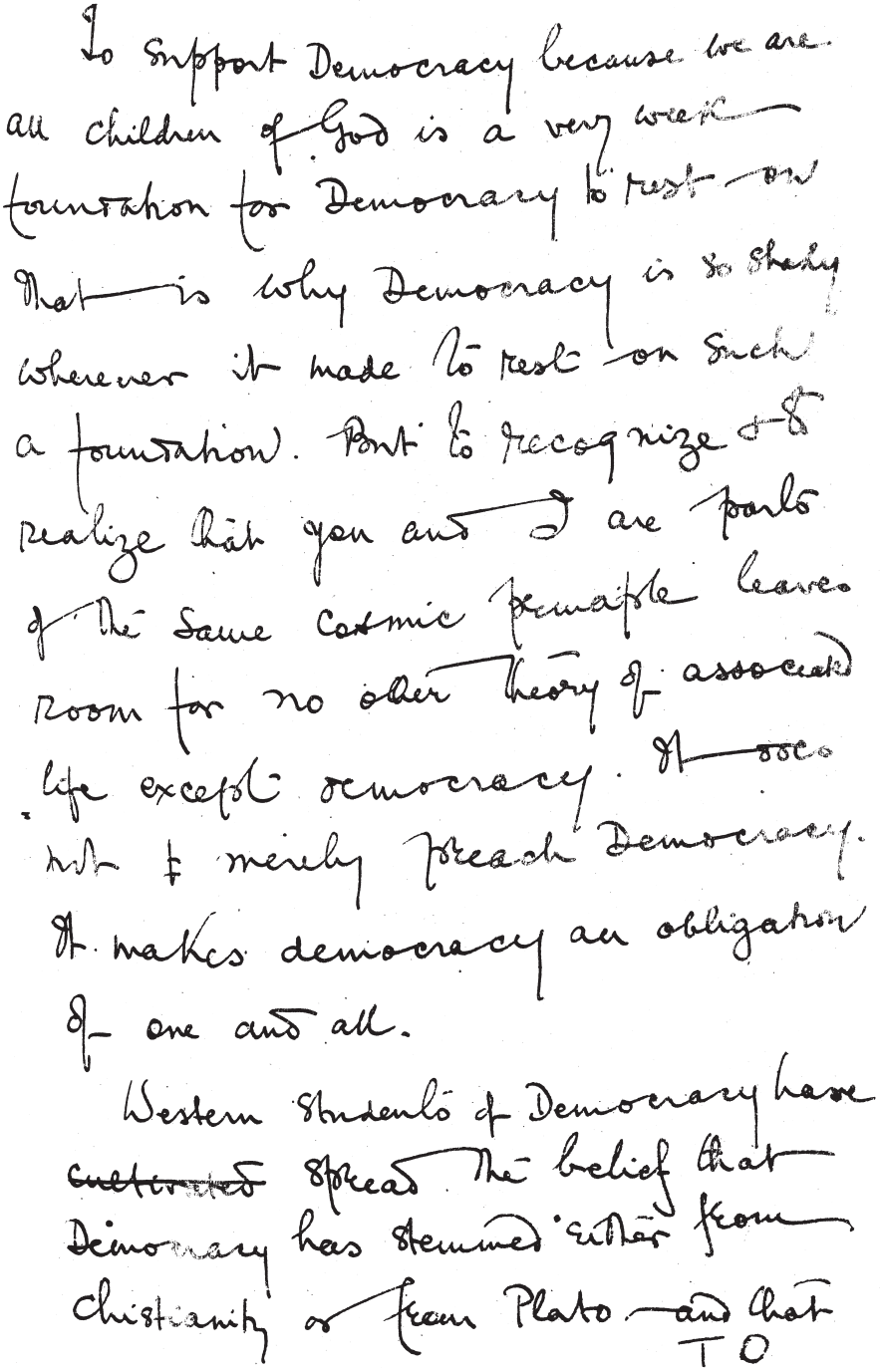
Specimen of Dr. Ambedkar's handwriting from the Riddle No. 22 entitled 'Brahma is not Dharma'.


To support Democracy because we are all children of God is a very weak foundation for Democracy to rest on That is why Democracy is so shaky wherever it made to rest on such a foundation. Want to recognize & realize that you and I are parts of the same Cosmic principle leaves room for no other theory of associated life except democracy. It does not merely preach Democracy. It makes democracy an obligation of one and all.

Western students of Democracy have ~~contended~~ spread the belief that Democracy has stemmed either from Christianity or from Plato and that

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there is no other source of inspiration for democracy. If they had known that India too had developed the doctrine of Brahmanism which furnishes a better foundation for Democracy they would not have been so dogmatic. India too must be admitted to have a contribution towards a theoretical foundation for Democracy. ~~and~~

The question is what ~~has~~ happened to this doctrine of Brahmanism? It is quite obvious that Brahmanism had no social effects. It was not made the basis of Dharma. When asked why this happened the answer is that Brahmanism is only philosophy — as though philosophy arises not out of social life but out of nothing and for nothing.

Philosophy is no purely theoretic matter. It has practical potentialities. Philosophy has its roots in the problems of life and whatever theories philosophy propounds must return to society as instruments of re-Constructing Society. It is not Enough to Know. Those who Know must endeavour to fulfil.

Why then Brahmanism failed to produce a new society? This is a great riddle. It is not that the Brahamins did not recognize the doctrine of Brahmanism. They did. But they did not ask ~~this question~~ how they could support inequality between the Brahamin & the Shudra

between man and ~~man~~ woman
between Casteman and outcastes?
But they did not. The result
is that we have on the one hand
the most democratic principle of
Bramhaism and on the other hand
a society infested with castes,
sub-castes, outcastes, primitive tribes
and criminal tribes. Can there
be a greater dilemma than this
What is ~~most~~ more rediculous is
the teaching of ~~Shanka~~ the Great
Shankaracharya. ~~than whom there~~
~~cannot be a greater idiot~~. For it
was this Shankarckarya who taught
that there is Bramha and this
Bramha is real and that it pervades
all and at the same time upheld

all the inequities of the Brahmanic Society. Only a lunatic could be happy with ~~two such contradictions~~ ~~Cheris~~ being the propounder of two such contradictions. ~~How the Brahamins killed Brahmanism is a riddle that calls for an solution explanation.~~

Truely as the Brahamin is like a Cow. He can eat any thing and every thing as the Cow does and remain a Brahamin.

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9	2	destory	destroy
13	1	conjeries	congeries
16	7	means	mean
29	7	these	thee
	15	are	art
	25	Raghuanas	Rahuganas
35	29	help	held
38	13	ascetic	ascetic's
	23	stages	staves
42	24	exbrances	embraces
45	1	lightening	lightning
46	4	serpants	serpents
65	39	Pulkasa	Paulakasa
69	2	Bramhanand	Brahmadnan
77	37	serpant	serpent
81	27	Dyasus	Dyaus
85	33	abundently	abundantly
86	4	ignorane	ignorance
	8	inasmuchas	in-as-much as
87	4	commended	commanded
92	14	moveable	movable
94	21	possesing	possessing
98	15	destory	destroy
99	13	Usha	Ushas
103	38	messangers	messengers
112	30	Markendey	Markandeya
113	8	consists	consist
114	4	molasess	molasses
120	5	earthern-jar	earthen-jar
	10	earthern	earthen
	25	entelope	antelope
123	22	vessle	vessel
126	7	estern	eastern
131	34	expiration	expiation
132	19	emboidied	embodied
	37	smiriti	smriti
133	3	of scrapped	or scraped
134	31	chaunter	chanter
135	31	well-accounted	well-accourted
	33	life	like
136	1	praised	praises
	7	extravagent	extravagant
138	17-18	into dadhya atra, the original letter being altered into by	into *dadhy atra,* the original letter 'i' being altered into 'y' by
140	41	saysest	sayest
141	15	that	than
	39	separate	separates
145	33	these	those
147	14	aphorims	aphorism
148	11	cannon	canon
151	17	cannonical	canonical
	31	modofications	modifications
152	6	treatises	treatise
153	21	cannon	canon
	26	cannonical	canonical

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Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct
156	15	rahaspati	Brahaspati
161	23	Nigautha	Nigantha
165	34	ephithets	epithets
172	18	Shiva	*delete*
183	1	the	The
195	17	what the	what explanation. The
213	21	be	he
228	3	irrebutable	irrebuttable
	5	suspicious	suspicion,
229	29	Dwaya	Dwayapayana
	30	Payan	*delete*
233	13	first	first).
235	19	of into	or into
276	39	rules	rulers
277	2	each	each,
278	38	manu's	Manu's
279	6	Kanishthas	Kanishthas,
283	36-37	fellow-felling. What	fellow-feeling what
284	10	built	build
	28	familar	familiar
	32	designaged	designated
286	1	Tatvanmsi	Tatvamasi
	14	and realize	and to realize
288	20	asertain	ascertain
298	42	Galawa.	*delete*
303	24	irrebutable	irrebuttable
307	19	(forty-eighty	(forty-eight
308	22	Sandhyasana	Sandhyamsa
311	4	the	then
	32	vibhu	Vibhu
318	15	modified	codified
322	21	technics	technique,
323	12	Shrung at the sacrifice who prepared	Shrung to perform the sacrifice. The sage Shrung at the sacrifice prepared"
324	41	of which	*delete*
326	34 & 36	dual	duel
	37	daul	duel
329	32 & 39	Sumanta	Sumantra
332	3	Valmiki	Valmiki[1] Foot-Note :[1] "On Rama-Rajya and the Slave—mentality of our Orthodox—An Expostulatory Letter to the Greatest Hindu of the Age from a Critical Co-religionsist" by Shri S. D. Nadkarni, Published by Samaj Samata Sangh, Bombay, 1932—p. (as instructed in the handwritten MS).
351	9	inciples.	Principles

* *Corrected from the handwritten MS.*—Ed.