



# SAMVIT

[ Knowledge that leads to enlightenment ]



Sri Sarada Math, Dakshineswar, Calcutta-700 076

No. 7, March 1983

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# SAMVIT

म नो वृद्ध्या शुभया संयुतवतु ।

May He endow us with good thoughts.

*Shvetashvatara Upanishad III 4*

## Universal Prayers

विष्वानि देव मबितदुंरितानि परा सुव ।

यद्भद्रं तन्न या सुव ॥

O Divine Creator of the world, remove all our misfortunes; bestow upon us that which is good.

*Rig Veda V. lxxxii.5*

● ● ●  
यन्मे छिद्रं चक्षुषो, हृदयस्य मनसो वातितृष्ण  
वृहस्पतिर्मे तद्घातु । शं नो भवतु भुवनस्य यस्पतिः ॥

Whatever may be the defect in my sight, whatever despicable imperfection there may be in my intellect or in my mind, may it be removed by the Lord of Knowledge.

May He who is the Lord of the Universe be gracious to us.

*Yajur Veda xxxvi.2*

## REFLECTIONS

### The Fundamental Aspiration

IN THE gleeful clapping of a child who has struggled to toddle a few steps, and in the rhythmical clapping to a chant of a smiling saint who has snapped the worldly bonds, there is but one joyous expression of life's fulfillment, the attainment of the fundamental aspiration called freedom. If expansion is life and contraction is death, then freedom is the foundation-stone of life. What bird sings sweeter in a golden cage? What plant flourishes within a confining fence? What child grows healthy in an atmosphere of fear and pressure?

The essential condition in life that ensures freedom is struggle. Struggle to wrest oneself free from the forces that strangle life. On the *physical level*, poverty and misery bind people. Exploitation, lack of opportunities, unsympathetic treatment and injustice hardly allow them to rise above hardships by honest efforts. But the wrongs that people do under these unfortunate circumstances are also prompted by a desire to be free. The desire for freedom from hunger prompts the hungry to steal; the desire for freedom from injustice pushes the innocent into revengeful acts; the desire for freedom from slavery makes those in bondage revolt. These victimized people have to be given scope to secure the basic necessities before they can deal with the higher problems of life with freedom.

On the *social level*, obligations and restrictions often rob men and women of the treasure of free choice, imperceptibly but surely. As Henry Thoreau, a citizen of the world, and one of the freest, has observed: 'The surface of the earth is soft and impressible by the feet of men; and so with the path which the mind travels. How worn and dusty then must be the highways of the world, how deep the ruts of tradition and conformity!' Social customs and traditions, however, are not always detrimental to the free and full development of personality; only when reason vanishes and dead habits persist do they spell ruin. A few may succeed in struggling free from physical hardships or social obligations and live according to their ideals, but the majority develop a defeatist attitude. They believe that some bondages of their past karmas, and also the webs they have spun round themselves in this life, have throttled their own voice of freedom, and they give up all hope.

On the *intellectual level*, the struggle for free expression is more poignant. The intellect is a sure and incisive instrument which can penetrate deeply into human nature. It can lead one to higher freedom in thought and action, but, if it is not properly disciplined it may create more trouble and import difficulties not its own. For this reason the *Gita* talks of making the intellect one-pointed (व्यवसायात्मिका बुद्धिरेकेह). If that is not done, the swaying mind is lost in many-branched and endless desires. These manifold entanglements of the mind are described by Emerson as 'the soul's mumps and measles and whooping cough'. Therefore at this level, singleness of purpose in life has to be cultivated. The *Gita* speaks of removing this 'network of ignorance' (मोहकलिल) and making the intellect firm (निश्चला). Fixity of purpose does not lead people away from freedom; it leads them to freedom; it leads to a Yoga that destroys misery (योगो ष्वति दुःखहा).

Those who have discerning reason understand that all the knowledge they have is derived from sense-data. As the *Chandi* (1.47) says: 'The knowledge of all beings is conditioned by the objects of the senses' (ज्ञानमस्ति समस्तस्य जन्तोर्विषयगोचरे). Therefore, at the *spiritual level*, they try to transcend the limitations of sense-knowledge. The quickening impulse for this freedom is termed 'the desire for freedom' (मुमुक्षुत्व). This desire is a soul-force that leads to *mukti* or ultimate liberation. Here the struggle is keenest as aspirants are aware of the bondages that tie them down. They reflect and ask, 'What indeed is this bondage? How has it come upon the Self? How does it come to exist? How is one freed from it?'

The answers to these questions are to be found by oneself 'through the eye of illumination' (स्फुटबोधचक्षुषा). Is one ever cured of a disease by simply uttering the name of the medicine, or is it cured by taking the medicine? So, also, knowledge of the Self is the only means to reach ultimate liberation.

It is an imperative need today to understand this soul-force and energize it. It is not sufficient to hope for some Higher Power to come to our rescue, or to lay the blame on immutable fate, or to wait for the end of life, hoping the next will be better. All have to struggle, here and now, to go forward from the first toddling step to the Supreme Goal of life with joy, strength and freedom.

\* को नाम बन्धः कश्चेष्ट आगतः कथं प्रतिष्ठास्य कथं विमोक्षः । *Viveka-Chudamani* 49a.

## The Living Presence

BARBARA FOXE

THEORIES OF religion and spirituality have always been many and various, but theory without experience is useless in this difficult life of ours. There is in mankind a longing for a constant sense of companionship, a living Presence who is eternally ours. In the words of Sri Ramakrishna: 'Your philosophy is mere speculation. It only reasons. God cannot be realized that way. God cannot remain unmoved if you have *raga-bhakti*, that is, love of God with passionate attachment to Him.' Some years ago, various exponents of religion appeared on British television, and spoke of their beliefs. Next day, Press reviewers remarked that, of them all, one simple young Salvation Army girl shone out above the others, because it was obvious that she walked, talked, ate and breathed with her God. She did not theorize; she was speaking from experience of a living reality.

Many people may perhaps respond to Sri Ramakrishna's words: 'Blessed indeed is the householder who performs his duties in the world, at the same time cherishing love for the lotus feet of God', by a sad admission of defeat, or possibly by an inward determination that one day, when life becomes more peaceful and he has more time, he will start to think about it. But if we wait till we are less busy, we shall wait till death. And if we wait until this Age in which we live turns into an era of general spirituality, no longer torn by violence, sexuality and materialism, we shall find ourselves left like travellers at an empty railway station, waiting for a train that never comes. The wise traveller does not wait. He sets out on foot, if necessary, and all that matters to him is his destination and his Companion on the way. The two, in truth, are one and the same.

The Bhakta's destination does not differ from that of the Jnani, but he will approach his goal not only with, but through his God, until he reaches a point where, as Swami Vivekananda said, the Bhakta 'realizes at last the beautiful and inspiring truth that Love, the Lover, and the Beloved are One'.

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Barbara Foxe, a member of the Vedanta Centre, U.K., is deeply devoted to the ideals taught by Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda. Among her printed works are *Long Journey Home*, and *Harmony in Chaos*. Her stories, plays and documentary programmes have been broadcast on BBC radio.

Many people who are torn by grief, anxiety or exhaustion, fear to embark on a God-centred life because they know that it will bring a certain sense of isolation from other people; it is not a path thronged with fellow pilgrims. Certainly in western countries—in England, for instance, where out of a population of over fifty million, only six million regularly attend a church, and where this Age is referred to as ‘the post-Christian era’—one meets only a few people whose life is absorbed in God; but probably this was always so, in all countries. Attendance at a place of worship is not always a sign of deep spirituality. On the other hand, there are millions who tread the path and do not speak of it. Even in a bus or train, they suddenly appear, and then vanish. Once on a crowded London train, where the conversation, and the books people were reading, could not have been less spiritual, a business man sitting near me opened his brief-case and took out a book about Buddhism, which he read with concentration for an hour. On another occasion in a train, I took out a book of beauty, simplicity and goodness, (*Larkrise to Candleford*) and began to read it. A young woman sitting opposite to me smiled, took a copy of the same book out of her bag, and touched her book against mine, as though the two books were recognizing and greeting each other, and then she too began to read. And the great strength of this path is that it gives us an eternal Companion who does *not* appear and then vanish. We may be alone, but we are no longer lonely.

Three hundred years ago there lived in France a monk called Brother Lawrence, a lay-brother in a monastery of Carmelites in Paris. The lay-brothers were those who worked with their hands and who were accustomed to toil; they worked in the kitchen or on the monastic farms; they were in a sense Karma yogis rather than Raja yogis, though they took part in the whole religious life of the community. They therefore had much in common with the busy life of practical duties lived by householders, and Brother Lawrence had served as a soldier and then as a footman in a rich man’s house for years before he became a monk. He had not been ‘shielded from worldliness’.

In the few letters he left, and brief accounts of him and of his life, we find a man whose whole life was totally dedicated to what he called ‘the practice of the Presence of God.’ In his own words, he ‘renounced for love of Him everything that was not He; and I began to live as if there were none but He and I in the world’.

Renunciation did not mean to him a withdrawal from other people, or from duties, it meant—as Swami Vivekananda also said—delfication; people and work became more precious because they belonged to his Lord, and were lit by His light. Busy housewives may find encouragement in his statement that he worked in the kitchen, where he turned the cake in the pan for love of God, and that he did not ask for any spectacular work or service, it was enough for him to pick up a straw from the ground for love of God.

'The time of business does not, with me, differ from the time of prayer; and in the noise and clatter of my kitchen while several persons are at the same time calling for different things, I possess God in as great tranquility as if I were upon my knees at the Blessed Sacrament.'

He did not find it easy. For some years he was in a stage of struggle, in particular he struggled with a sense of sin; the Catholic church in the Middle Ages put much emphasis on sin, and he feared eternal damnation; whatever his sins may have been, conceit was certainly not one of them. But at last he found profound inward peace and a centre of rest within himself, after accepting that nothing mattered but love of God, and that whatever happened he would continue to love and serve his Lord, without caring what became of him, in this world or the next. For the rest of his life, he found his Companion always present, sometimes beside him and sometimes within his heart, drawing him gently towards Him if he ever forgot, and keeping a continual flow of inner dialogue and delight between God and His devotee. He was troubled by wandering thoughts, as everyone is, and found the remedy in a strength of will which brings back thought, in tranquility.

Referring to a letter from a devout woman, he remarked that she was full of good will, but that she wanted to go 'faster than grace. One does not become holy all at once.' The comfort of that sentence speaks to us across three hundred years. Few of us, indeed, become holy all at once. But we go forward. The words of Sri Ramakrishna when he taught that the wind of God's grace is always blowing, but we must hoist our sail, come to mind when we read Brother Lawrence's statement: 'Those who have the gale of Holy Spirit go forward even in sleep. If the vessel of our soul is tossed with wind and storms, let us awaken the Lord, who reposes in it, and he will quickly calm the sea.'

Sri Sarada Devi, the Holy Mother, was a perfect example of a life of inner communion with God, expressed in loving service to mankind,

and she always insisted that, while suffering is inevitable and spiritually helpful, joy is to be found in simple, constant thought of God. Brother Lawrence made the same point; in the case of a young soldier suffering from grief, he advised a frequent turning to God in the form of a brief prayer or thought even when on the march with sword in hand. Today it would be equally true to say, with shopping-basket or brief-case in hand. There are no exceptions to the rule. Even when watching television—that disturber of harmony—if we consciously watch the screen in the living Presence of God, we shall learn by instinct when to watch and when to switch off. The value of that 'Off' knob is wonderful.

The path of the Bhakta, living in a relationship with the Ishta, Chosen Ideal, in the form of one of the *bhavas*, spiritual moods, regarding Him as master, friend, child, beloved, or parent—could lead to self-delusion without certain safeguards. The ego, conveniently disguised, may be mistaken for the Companion. Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda set out the safeguards against this error: a sense of morality and self-discipline; absolute sincerity; discrimination; the repetition of a holy Name or word, *japa*; meditation; the company of holy men when possible; good friendships; and occasional withdrawal, even if only for one day, from our usual ties and our families—a 'retreat within', alone with God.

In Brother Lawrence's experience, he found that the light grows brighter and the companionship deepens with the passing years, until in old age, as he approached death, he longed to leave the world and see the Beloved face to face, but even while he remained in the world, he was able to say that he now saw Him 'in such a manner as might make me say sometimes, 'I *believe* no more, but I *see*.'

The true lovers of God do not make a great noise about it. Brother Lawrence's life was so silent and humble that it would have amazed him to know that three hundred years later his words and example would bring joy to thousands and would still be relevant in a very different era. Three of the American astronauts who landed on the moon could never have guessed when they left this earth on their flight that on their return they would regain the religious faith of their childhood and begin to live their lives in constant consciousness of a daily companionship with God. They told the world on television that this is what happened to them, and they regard this quiet inner revolution as

more important—though less spectacular—than their unique experience of landing on the moon.

And what of the silent souls who long to find the presence of God, but for some reason feel held back, unable to make a start? Again and again Sri Ramakrishna advised all seekers to pray that they might be given love for God. We pray for so many things, but how rarely do we pray for that! We must cry to God, he said, with yearning, as a child cries to its mother, dragging at the hem of her skirt, perhaps, and she will answer. Francis Thompson, the British poet, wrote of a soul in his own country crying to Jesus as *Ishta* and finding that the Lord came, in response; not in Bethlehem or Jerusalem or Gennesareth where He lived two thousand years ago, but in England today, by the river Thames of his English homeland, here and now:

‘Yea, in the night, my Soul, my daughter,  
Cry—clinging Heaven by the hems:  
And lo, Christ walking on the water  
Not of Gennesareth, but Thames.’

We are not alone. The soul who cries and He who answers speak with the same voice. The Companion is seeking his own. In the words of Sri Ramakrishna: ‘Not even a leaf moves except by the will of God’.

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*So long as the bee is outside the petals of the lotus, and has not tasted the sweetness of its honey, it hovers round the flower emitting its buzzing sound; but when it is inside the flower, it noiselessly drinks its nectar. So long as a man quarrels and disputes about doctrines and dogmas, he has not tasted the nectar of true faith; when he has tasted it, he becomes quiet and full of peace.*

Sri Ramakrishna

## Sage of the Age

SHIV DHAWAN

ON THE 17th February 1836, was born in Kamarpukur a sage,  
Ramakrishna Paramahansa, the greatest saint of our age.  
His father in a vision saw Vishnu, the Shining One,  
who said he would be born this time as their son.

His father, Khudiram, at Gaya, had this wonderful dream;  
where he sat and communicated with the Lord Supreme.  
In memory of that celestial being, a feast for the eyes  
the little boy was named Gadadhar, or simply Gadai.

A remarkable sweetness of expression and tenderness lit his face;  
with childlike profound humility his personality was graced.  
Gadai was the concentrated embodiment of many *avatars*,  
appearing on India's darkened spiritual horizon like the Pole Star.

Mathematics and other mundane subjects could never please Gadai,  
as towards spiritual heroes his thoughts would always fly.  
He acted out their lives through song and dance  
during which the little boy would go into a trance.

Gadai worshipped the image of Kali as nothing other  
than the great Goddess herself, the Universal Divine Mother.  
Absolutely dedicated to her, his heart was always afire;  
to see the Divine Mother was his only desire.

The image of Kali was awe-inspiring to look at  
but for Ramakrishna it symbolized something deeper than that.  
Through her grace this universe is destroyed and made;  
to this aspect of the Mother, Thakur always prayed.

Skulls adorn her neck, on her waist a girdle of arms,  
her face is terrifying, and at once benignly calm.  
One left hand holds a severed head, in the other a sword is seen;  
the lower right hand offers boons, the upper, 'fear not' means.

At night when everyone was in bed fast asleep,  
Ramakrishna would go to the forest and bitterly weep.  
Not obtaining a vision of Kali Ma, he would cry,  
'Mother why can't I see you—why? why? why?'

Each day he wept bitterly, 'Why can't I see—  
am I so wicked that you don't come to me?  
Where are you? Of enjoyments I seek no other  
than to obtain a vision of you, O Mother!

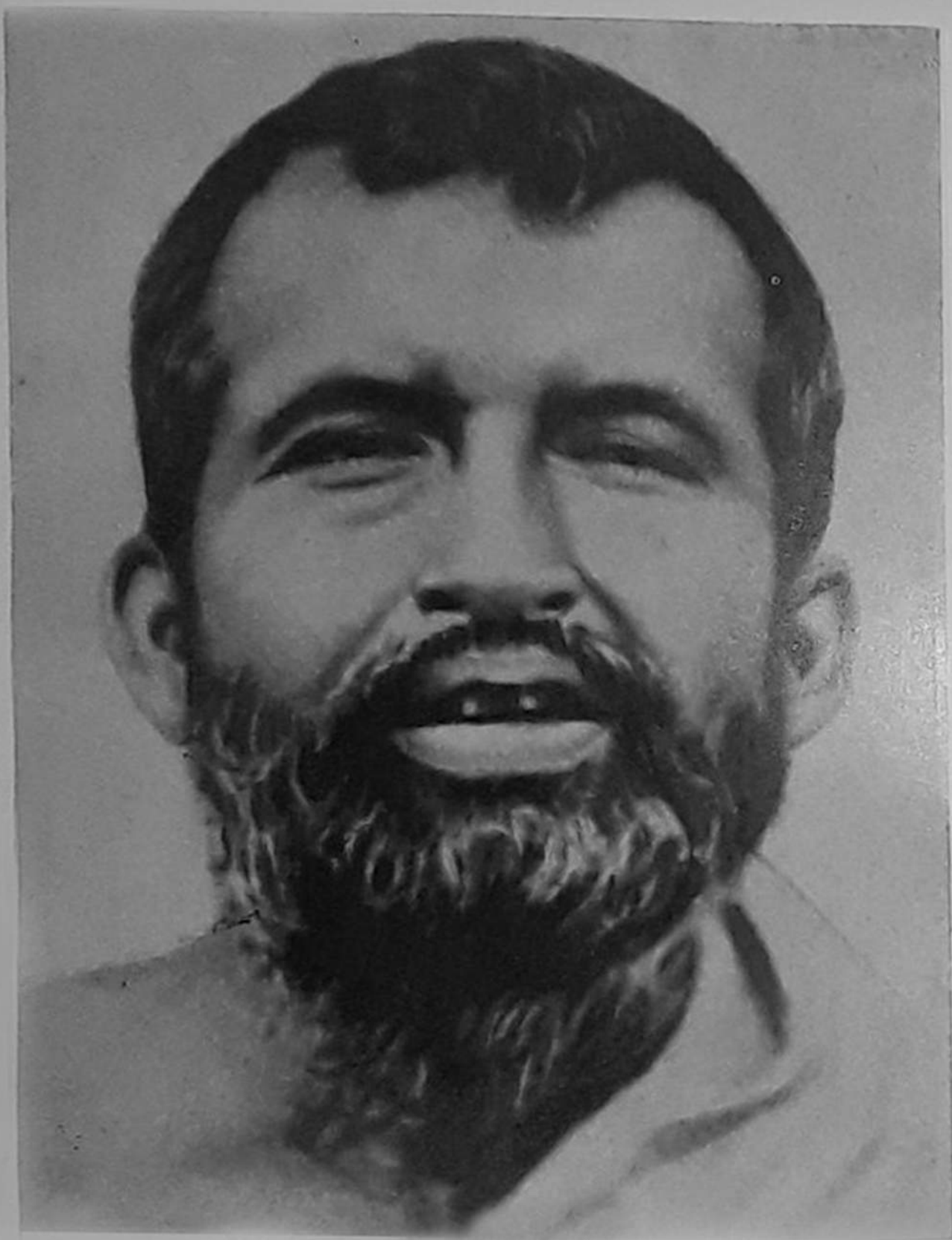
As the temple bells pealed at the close of day,  
growing disconsolate he'd weep and pine away,  
'Another day gone, Mother, I have not seen thee,  
Mother, when, oh when, will you come to me?'

Embodiment of renunciation, he desired to serve mankind.  
This synthesis of ideals, elsewhere we can't find.  
Ramakrishna Paramahansa was God incarnate, a power divine,  
His life was a lighthouse to millions, a spiritual mine.

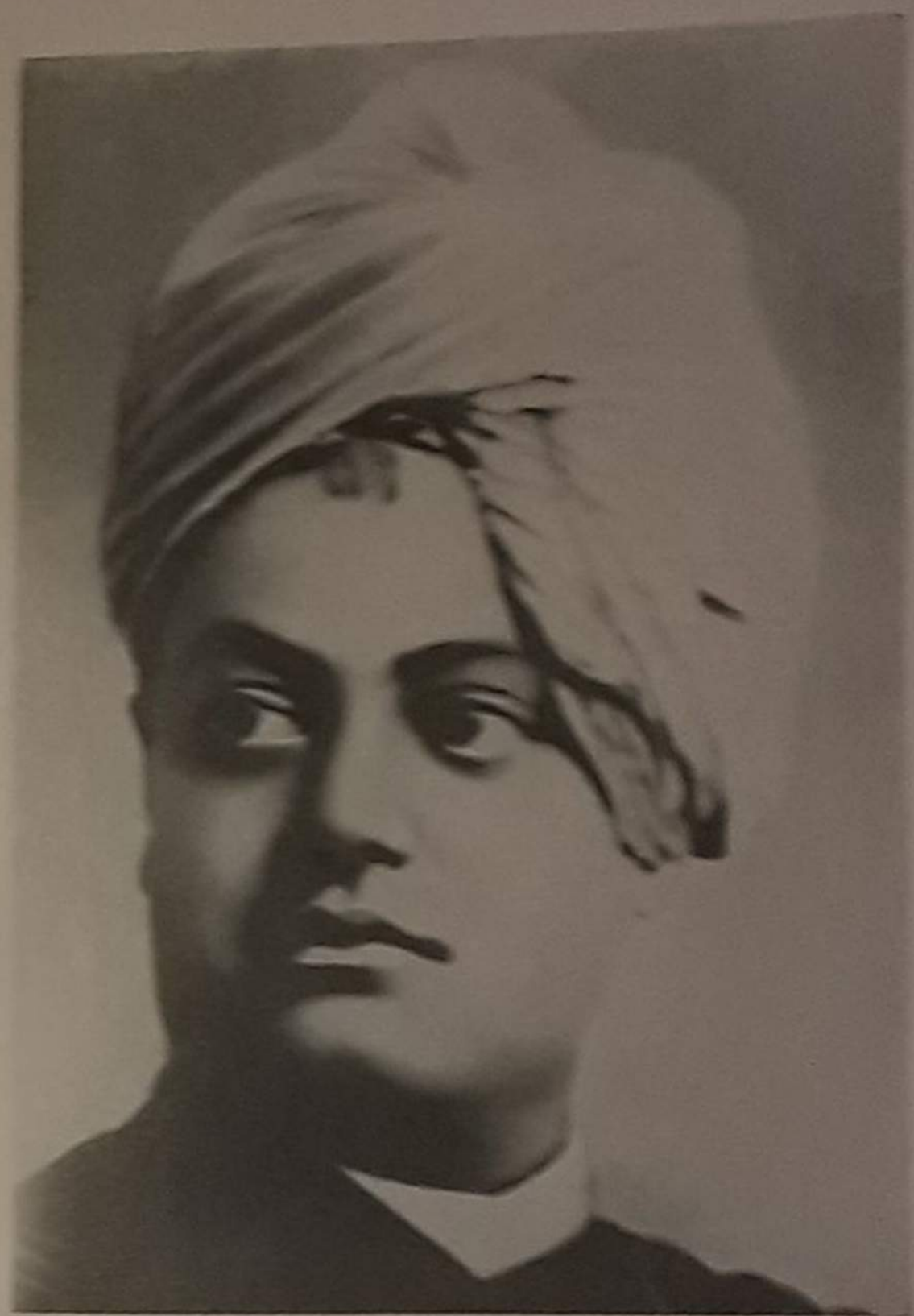
With Bhakti, Ramakrishna trod all religious paths,  
allaying the questions that troubled people's hearts,  
proving by precept, all paths lead to the same goal,  
following any, one can obtain a vision of the Whole.

Sarada Ma, his wife, came, a helping hand to lend  
to assist his spiritual task right until the end.  
Thakur had many disciples, all dear to his heart;  
chief of them was Vivekananda or Narendranath.

Swami Vivekananda, that glorious patriot, ever-shining star,  
zealously spread his Master's message near and far.  
By the efforts of this spiritual son of our land,  
Throughout the world centres of the Ramakrishna Order stand.



Sri Ramakrishna



Swami Vivekananda

## In the Company of the Great

PRAVRAJIKA MUKTIPRANA

IT HAS been said by the great Shankaracharya that the company of a great soul in this world, even for a moment, is a boat for crossing the ocean of life (क्षणमिह सज्जनसंगतिरेका भवति भवार्णवतरणे नौका). The truth of this statement can be proved for we can illustrate it with examples. Swami Vivekananda was such a great soul. Below are given a few examples to show how contact with him became a turning point in the lives of many, and thenceforward they struggled to go beyond the limitations of Maya.

At Hathras Junction in Uttara Pradesh, Sarat Chandra Gupta, the young station-master, saw a young *sannyasin* alighting from the train. At the first sight he was fascinated by the *sannyasin* and invited him to his quarters. Days were spent by them in spiritual conversation. One day the *sannyasin* opened his heart to Sarat Chandra and said that he had a great mission to fulfill but he was in despair at his painfully limited power. What was his mission in life? In the *sannyasin's* words: 'India must become dynamic again and earn the respect of the world through her spiritual powers.' Sarat Chandra was very much touched and offered himself to work for his great mission. Sarat Chandra Gupta, the station master of Hathras, became the first disciple of Swami Vivekananda. He joined the Ramakrishna Order, embraced monastic life and became known as Swami Sadananda.

Sister Nivedita writes, 'Now came the turning point for my faith. . . . The Swami I met here was none other than Swami Vivekananda who afterwards became my Guru and whose teachings have given relief my doubting spirit had been longing for so long.' She was on guard not to be influenced by the Yogi when she met him first. So at the end of the visit, she joined others in giving her verdict that all he had said had been said before and there was nothing new. However, it slowly dawned on her that she had never before met a thinker like this young Yogi who, within only one hour, could express all that she regarded as the highest and the best. She also realized that his call was sounded in the name of that which was strongest and finest in life

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Pravrajika Muktiprana is the General Secretary of Sri Sarada Math, Dakshineswar, Calcutta. She is the author of *Bhagini Nivedita*, *Parivrajaka Vivekananda* and *Sri Ramakrishna* in Bengali.

and was not in any way dependent on the meaner element in man. She knew that a call would come and it did come. She responded to her Master's call. Today, in the Ramakrishna Movement she holds a high place because of her complete dedication to her Guru and his work.

Captain and Mrs. Sevier were both earnest students of religion and seekers of the highest Truth. They had been searching for it in various sects and creeds. One day with great expectations they went to attend the lecture of Swami Vivekananda. They intuitively felt that his was the message they were waiting for. They said convincingly, 'This is the man and this is the philosophy that we have been seeking in vain all through our lives.' Captain and Mrs. Sevier offered their services to Swamiji and followed him to India.

'He said something, the particular words of which I do not remember, but instantly to me that was truth, and the second sentence he spoke was truth, and the third sentence was truth. And I listened to him for seven years and whatever he uttered was to me truth,' said Miss Josephine Macleod, an American lady. She described herself as 'a friend of Swamiji' and played a very significant role in the Ramakrishna Movement.

Those who have gone through the lives of Swami Kalyanananda, Swami Nishchayananda and Mr. Goodwin know how after coming in contact with Swami Vivekananda they offered themselves at his feet and carried out his orders to serve humanity, in their different ways, till the end of their lives.

There were many other disciples of Swami Vivekananda. Some of them became well known by holding important positions in the Ramakrishna Order, and afterwards themselves became sources of inspiration for many aspirants. There were others, less known, who did not play important roles, but all were blessed in their individual lives.

#### Infalibility of the Company of the Holy

A question will arise—can we prove the infalibility of the statement that the company of the great souls always helps in life? For example, besides his disciples, there were many others who came in contact with Swami Vivekananda, both in the East and in the West. Did this contact bring any remarkable or visible change in all these people? The answer is—certainly not. We may refer to the *Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna* and say that they are like people who preferred to sit

in the boat and wait for their friends, instead of listening with devotion to the nectar-like words of Sri Ramakrishna. Think of a magnet. The magnet has tremendous power of attracting iron. But if the iron is covered with dirt it cannot be attracted by the magnet. When the dirt is removed, it is at once drawn by the magnet. Take the example of a mirror. If the mirror is clean and shining, the face is reflected in it. Similarly, only pure souls are immediately attracted by a great soul. Purity is the first condition of attraction. It cannot, however, be said conclusively that the contact with a great soul is not effective. In the *Naradiya Bhakti Sutra* it has been said, the company of a great soul is rare to obtain, it is difficult to understand and infallibly effective (महत्संगस्तु दुर्लभोजगम्योऽमोघश्च III.39). Some day it is bound to bear fruit, but may be not even in one birth. What does it matter? He who makes enjoyment the sole aim of life has to come and go repeatedly in this world and is caught in the snares of Maya. Then suddenly it flashes on his mind, through the grace of a great soul, that the goal of human life is to see God or to realize the Self and not to run after enjoyments. These thoughts bring a turning point in his life. It is not that he becomes spiritual-minded immediately and starts his spiritual life. But he carries the impression of it in his subconscious mind, sometimes faintly and sometimes clearly, but underneath it goes on flowing.

We can compare this to a small streamlet, born in the region of a snow-clad mountain. It courses down through jungles and rocks, sometimes lost in the forest, sometimes hidden under thick ice, but all along the current is flowing underneath the surface. Even after reaching the plain, its course is not easy and smooth. It finds many obstacles. But meandering through them all it reaches its destiny, namely, the ocean. On merging with the ocean, its life's purpose is fulfilled.

Likewise a person starts his journey through life. In the beginning he has no definite purpose. Conflicting ideas, ambitions, desires, problems and difficulties confuse him. Then suddenly he comes across a great soul and an idea of a higher life dawns on him. He ponders over it again and again, and then turns to a new path. Certainly the journey along this path is not at all smooth or straight; sometimes the ideal is entirely forgotten. But slowly, may be not in one birth, he works it out and reaches his destination. In the case of pure souls the effect of the influence of the great soul starts immediately, as in the examples given above.

Contact with a great soul does not always influence lives directly. It is not always made personally. Many get inspiration through the writings of a great soul like Swamiji. These writings open up a new world before them. They come forward, accept his lead and dedicate themselves to his teaching. That is why great stress is put on study or *svadhyaya*. Sri Ramakrishna used to give importance to holy company. A holy person reminds one of God, makes one conscious of the goal of life, which in his words is 'to realize God'.

The seed is planted and in due course it starts sprouting. The *Gita* says, 'the person of faith obtains knowledge' (श्रद्धावान् लभते ज्ञानम्). So one must have *Shraddha*—strong faith in Shastras and in the words of the Guru which lead one gently towards the ultimate reality, thus fulfilling the words that the company of a great soul is infallibly effective —महत्संगस्तु अमोघः.

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*The monk who has a lovely friend, who pays  
Deference and reverence to him, who does  
What friends advise,—if mindful and composed  
Such in due course shall win all fetters' end.*

The Buddha

## Brahma-Sutra-Bhashya of Sri Shankaracharya

M. R. YARDI

WHEN I was posted as Collector of Nasik, I had the unbelievable good fortune of coming into contact with His Holiness Dr. Kurtakoti, the former Shankaracharya of Karvir Peeth. I had the privilege to sit at his feet and read the *Shankara-Bhashya* on the *Brahma-Sutras* in the traditional manner. He himself had an opportunity to study Shankara-Vedanta under the able guidance of the then Shankaracharya of Sringeri Math, and although he was steeped in the traditional knowledge of ancient Indian philosophy and had a profound respect for our great *acharyas*, teachers, he had a refreshingly modern outlook. The series of articles which I propose to write for *Samvit* is based on the copious notes I took at the time of instruction, but the views expressed are my own. At the outset, however, I would like to make a submission. There is the apocryphal story of an Indian lecturer of English, who went to Oxford to study English literature. When he was asked to write an essay on Chaucer, he wrote what he considered a learned essay, giving profuse quotations from well-known authors who had studied Chaucer. His tutor made the following cryptic remark on his essay: 'Your essay is both original and beautiful. But I regret to say that what is beautiful is not original and what is original is not beautiful'. I would humbly say that whatever the readers will think original and beautiful in these articles, the credit goes to my teacher. Whatever faults there are should be ascribed to my deficient understanding.

### Authorship

It is clear from Sri Shankara's Bhashya that Badarayana was the celebrated author of the *Brahma-Sutra (B.S.)*. He refers to Krishna Dvaipayana Vyasa in his comment on *B.S.III.3.32*, where he says that according to Smriti the ancient sage Apantaratma, the teacher of the Vedas, became, at the behest of Vishnu, Krishna Dvaipayana, in the period between the Dvapara and Kali ages. Sri Shankara does not mention that he was also known as Badarayana nor does he describe him as the *sutrakara*, composer of the *Sutra*. Although Sri Ramanuja and other commentators affirm their identity, there is not sufficient authority to hold that Badarayana was the same as Veda-Vyasa of

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*Mahabharata* fame. It is nowhere mentioned in the *Mahabharata* that Vyasa was also called Badarayana. It is true that there is a reference to the *Brahma-Sutra* in the *Bhagavad Gita*.<sup>\*</sup> But the commentators themselves are divided on the issue whether this is a reference to the *Brahma-Sutra* of Badarayana. Again, Sri Ramanuja and Sri Madhva hold the view that the extant *Brahma-Sutra* is referred to here. Sri Shankara, however, seems to have a doubt on this point, as he interprets the phrase, 'by the words in the *Brahma-Sutras*' (ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैः) as passages suggestive of Brahman, where he seems to take *sutra* to mean *suchaka*, a pointer. This is obviously not a satisfactory explanation. According to Prof. R. D. Ranade, 'and also' (चैव) evidently suggests a work other than the Vedas and the qualifying phrase, 'full of reasons and well-settled' (हेतुमद्भिर्विनिश्चितैः) would apply more appropriately to the exposition of Brahman in a *Brahma-Sutra*, which, however, may not refer to the work of Badarayana, but of an earlier author mentioned by him such as Ashmarathya or Badari.

On the other hand it is found that in some *sutras* Badarayana seems to rely on a Smriti, and this is taken by all the commentators to be the *Gita*. For instance on *B.S.* I.2.6, (स्मृतेष्व्च) the Smriti passages quoted by Sri Shankara are the verses XVIII.61 and XIII.2 of the *Gita*. Similar is the case of two other *sutras*, *B.S.* I.3.23 and II.3.45, 'It is also said in the Smritis' (अपि च स्मर्यते). So also the *B.S.* IV.2.21, 'And (these) are mentioned in the Smriti for the yogis; and these two are mentioned in the Smriti' (योगिनः प्रति च स्मर्यते स्मार्ते चैते) is explained by citing the *Gita* verses VIII.24,25 alone. The word *sutra* obviously refers to the two paths by which yogis depart at the time of death and in consequence attain to liberation or are reborn. These paths are mentioned as *deva-yana* and *pitri-yana* in the *Rig Veda* (X.19.1, X.2.7) and the *Chandogya Upanishad* (V.10). The *Gita* refers to them as the *shukla* and *krishna* or *uttarayana* and *dakshinayana* and states that those who depart when the sun is in the northern course, go by the way of fire and light and attain to liberation, while those who die when the sun is in the southern course, go by the way of smoke and darkness and return to earth. Here the *Gita* seems to adopt the traditional view, while the *Brahma-Sutra* advocates the more advanced view that

\* ब्रह्मसूत्रपदैश्चैव हेतुमद्भिर्विनिश्चितैः । XIII.4. 'As also by the words in the *Brahma-Sutras*, which are full of reasons and well-settled.'

emancipation depends, not on the time of death but, on the stage of spiritual development attained by a person at the time of death. This is one of the grounds on which Telang and others hold the view that the *Brahma-Sutra* is a work later than the *Gita*.

#### Date

It is difficult to fix the date of the *Brahma-Sutra* on the basis of the authorities mentioned in it. The *Brahma-Sutra* mentions the views of Atreya once, Ashmarathya twice, Audulomi thrice, Badari four times and Jaimini eleven times. Except for Jaimini these names do not appear in the *Mahabharata*, but they find mention in the *sutra* literature. For instance, the *Bodhayana Grihya-Sutra* mentions the names of Atreya, Kashakritsna and Badari. The name of Atreya occurs also in the *Taittiriya Pratishakhya* and the *Bharadvaja Grihya-Sutra*. The names of Karshnajini, Kashakritsna and Badari appear in the *Katyayana Sutra*. Ashmarathya is mentioned in the *Ashvalayana Shrauta-Sutra* and Audulomi in Patanjali's *Mahabhashya*. There is no reason to believe that all these *sutra* works belonged to one period and so the names of the seers referred to in them may have lived at different times. While Jaimini is mentioned in the *Mahabharata* as a pupil of Vyasa, it is not clear whether he is the same as the author of the *Purva-Mimamsa-Sutra*. Jaimini quotes in his *Mimamsa-Sutra* the views of Badarayana only to controvert them. Badarayana returns the compliment by mentioning the views of Jaimini as *prima facie* arguments, *purvapaksha*, and rebutting them. This exchange seems to take place on an equal level, not as one between a teacher and a pupil. While it is difficult to draw any firm conclusion about their dates, one may safely infer that Jaimini, the author of the *Purva-Mimamsa-Sutra* and Badarayana, the author of the *Brahma-Sutra*, along with the earlier teachers, mentioned by the latter, lived much later than the *Mahabharata* times, probably during the period in which the *sutra* form of literature had come into vogue. That the *Brahma-Sutra* was written after the rise of Buddhism is clear from the fact that it has examined the Jaina and Buddhist doctrines. There is no strong evidence to suggest that these *sutras* are later additions.

It is likely that these earlier teachers mentioned in the *Brahma-Sutra* had also composed *sutra* works on Vedanta. Thus according to Dr. P.V. Kane, Atreya, Ashmarathya and Karshnajini had probably

composed works on *Purva-Mimamsa* and Vedanta, and Audulomi and Kashakritsna had composed works on Vedanta only. It seems that Badari had a more progressive outlook as he held that the Shudras are entitled to perform Vedic sacrifices. Dr. Kane therefore hazards a guess that the reference in the *Gita* to the *Brahma-Sutras* in verse XIII.4 may be to the works of these earlier teachers<sup>1</sup>. However that may be, it is clear that Badarayana had quite a few predecessors who made significant contributions to the evolution of the Vedanta doctrine. It has puzzled many scholars as to why Badarayana, who composed all the *sutras* in the *Brahma-Sutra*, quotes his name in only seven *sutras*. This gives rise to the controversy whether there was more than one Badarayana. It may simply be that Badarayana, while systematizing and consolidating the traditional Vedanta doctrine, is taking credit only for his special contributions to it.

#### Interpretation of the Sutras

In interpreting the *Sutras*, we have to grapple with the fact that most of them are too short to pass the test of clarity as required by the definition of a *sutra*.<sup>\*</sup> Among the five hundred and fifty-five *sutras*, it is possible to determine beyond doubt the meaning of only a few *sutras*. Many of them simply state 'from the Smriti' (स्मृतेष्व), 'from the Shruti' (श्रुतेष्व), 'from what is seen' (दर्शनाच्च), 'and it shows' (दर्शयति च), and so on, without indicating either the work or the authority on which they are based. Most of them have become debatable, as they have been interpreted differently by different commentators. Similarly, it is not easy to determine in what sense the *sutrakara* has used the various terms such as *pratyaksha*, direct perception, *anumana*, inference, *pradhana*, primary source, *atman* and Brahman. It has also become next to impossible to determine the Vedanta doctrine of *Brahma-Sutra* on the basis of the commentaries on them. Every one of its commentators, such as Shankara, Bhaskara, Ramanuja, Srikantha, Nimbarka, Madhva and Vallabha claims that his *bhashya* alone and none other reflects truly the Vedanta doctrine of Badarayana. There is, however, a consensus among all who believe in the authority of the Vedas that one attains final bliss only through the knowledge of Vedanta. But which one of the different *bhashyas* will lead to this true knowledge of

\* स्वल्पाक्षरमसन्दिग्धं सारवत् विश्वतोमुखम्, 'It should have few words, be free from doubt, give the essence and cover all aspects of the topic.'

Vedanta is a matter of special interest not only to historians but also to spiritual aspirants.

It is beyond doubt that among the extant *bhashyas* on the *Brahma-Sutra*, the *Shankara-Bhashya* is the oldest. Some of the great thinkers in this land who came after Sri Shankara have been his followers. Sri Shankara has not made any attempt in his *Bhashya* to establish the supremacy of any sectarian God such as Lord Shiva or Lord Vishnu, but has upheld the knowledge of the Upanishadic Brahman as the path of God-realization. Given the premise that the Vedanta doctrine is based on the Shruti texts, the *Shankara-Bhashya* will undoubtedly be considered a rational treatise, which examines critically the different philosophical views on the ultimate Truth about this universe. He maintains that the performance of a religious rite can admit of *vikalpa*, option, but the knowledge of Brahman, which is self-existent, should leave no room for doubt. In view of this, his insistence that the Upanishadic passages should be interpreted only in the light of reason and intuitive experience deserves consideration. Sri Shankara easily excels the other commentators in the skill with which he weighs the views of other *acharyas*, to arrive at his conclusions, the facility with which he gives profuse and apt quotations from the Upanishads and the early works of Vedanta and the courage with which he discards old prejudices. As Thibaut rightly observes, none of the other Vedanta and non-Vedanta systems can compare with the Vedanta system of Sri Shankara in 'boldness, depth and subtlety of speculation'.

Although the *Shankara-Bhashya* is the oldest among the extant commentaries, it is evident that Sri Shankara has on more than one occasion tried to rebut the views of a *vrittikara*, commentator, who had preceded him. Possibly this *vrittikara* is Bodhayana, whose authority Sri Ramanuja claims to follow in his *Shri-Bhashya*. In addition to Bodhayana, Sri Ramanuja appeals to a number of earlier teachers who had carried on the tradition of the Vedanta in the matter of the interpretation of the *Brahma-Sutra*. It is thus possible that those commentators who had preceded Sri Shankara had interpreted the *Brahma-Sutra* in their own way. Sri Shankara, too seems to have occasionally departed from the views of Badarayana. This is clear from the fact that when he refers to the views of the *Sutrakara*, he uses the verbs in the third person singular such as: 'it shows' (दर्शयति), 'it will illustrate' (प्रपञ्चयिष्यति), or the passive past participle such as 'shown' (दर्शित) or

'illustrated' (प्रपञ्चित). However, when he wants to express a view of his own, he generally puts it in the first person plural such as 'we spoke' (अबोचाम), 'in this case we say' (एवं प्राप्ते ब्रूमः) or by the potential past participle such as 'but this is to be said here' (इदं त्विह वक्तव्यम्), 'the *sutras* should be interpreted thus', (सूत्राणि त्वेवं व्याख्येयानि) 'it should be accepted thus' (अभ्युपगन्तव्यः), and so on. In studying the *Shankara-Bhashya*, therefore, we have to keep this at the back of our minds and try to follow the *bhashyakara's* interpretation of the *sutras*. It is proposed to do this according to the topics dealt with in the *Brahma-Sutra* and not according to the *sutras*, one by one, but, in doing so, care will be taken that the meanings of the relevant *sutras* are clearly brought out.

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## India's Awakening and Sri Ramakrishna

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SRI RAMAKRISHNA'S life in its depth and dimensions is so subtle that we cannot apply to it either the conventional norms and methods of the biographer or the logic of the average historian. The rationalist it eludes. And yet this remarkable life represents the soul of India.

The Indian awakening was undoubtedly bound up with spiritual regeneration and Sri Ramakrishna revitalized the realities of spiritual life to an incredulous world both by precept and example. He rescued all the emerging forces of the nineteenth century from the artificial domain of theoreticians. He revived the failing spiritual power and regenerated human dignity in the midst of the conflict and confusion that engulfed society. Mahatma Gandhi found him a living embodiment of godliness. Romain Rolland considered him a younger brother of Christ. R.C. Majumdar says that 'the modern age in India was truly inaugurated not by Rammohan but by Sri Ramakrishna' <sup>1</sup>

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Sri Ramakrishna appeared at a psychological moment in the history of India. The country was in a transitional phase, resulting from the conflict of rationalism and empiricism which led to never-ending controversies between the modern reformers and the traditionalists. Sri Ramakrishna's simple comments struck an even balance between the two, incorporating the best of both and thus leading to the emergence of something which was characteristically Indian in its approach and yet universal in its application.

The wonder of it is that this superb achievement was attained by a person who did not possess power, prestige or academic qualifications in the conventional sense. He was not a traditional priest. By his deep spiritual experience of the entire range of Upanishadic truths he heralded an epoch-making Hindu renaissance. The discipline and exercise through which he reached the stage of devotional comprehensiveness were most wonderful. Subhas Chandra Bose remarked that 'the effectiveness of Ramakrishna's appeal lay in the fact that he had practised what he preached to reach the acme of spiritual progress'.

#### The Limitations of Nineteenth Century Hindu Religion

The contemporary religious reformers failed to display, as Sri Ramakrishna did, that panoramic vision of religion which pinpointed the central unity in the diversity of creeds. Because the reformers ultimately became sectarian, the trend of the growing spirit of universalism witnessed in the nineteenth century did not proceed far. Rammohan's ideal of universalism was subordinated to the Hindu-identity of the Adi Brahma Samaj, subsequently leading to the emergence of sectarianism in the Brahma hierarchy, in spite of Keshab Chandra Sen's futile efforts for universalism.

Sri Ramakrishna salvaged from the hidden depths of Hinduism a spirit of universalism and released it, liberalizing all sectarian views. This marks a new era in the evolution of religious thought, which recognized the individual identity of each sect and reaffirmed the basic unity of all religions, transcending the barriers between sects and communities as well as the geographical boundaries between man and man. He emphatically declared that there are as many paths as beliefs, and that all religions are true, just as water is the same everywhere, no matter by what name we call it. He elaborated his point by saying that one can reach the roof of a house by scaling a wall with the help

of a ladder, a rope, or by climbing the stairs. But once the roof is reached, the means no longer has relevance. His message is: 'Do not argue about doctrine and religions; there is only one goal. All rivers flow to the ocean; flow and let others flow too.' This message infused fresh breath into Hinduism. Sister Nivedita thought, 'Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa is the epitome of the whole. His was the great super-conscious life which alone can witness to the infinitude of the current that bears us all oceanwards.'<sup>2</sup> This universality evoked profound admiration in Rabindranath and he wrote: 'The manifold revelation of the joy of the Infinite has given form to a shrine of unity in your life.'

So-called Hindu idolatry was one of the principal targets of criticism by Christian missionaries in the nineteenth century. Sri Ramakrishna's clear and decisive reply to this criticism was that God is with form and without form, which implies that both views of God are not contradictory but complementary. It is for the individual to select his path according to his predilection. Sri Ramakrishna thus spoke about the harmony of religions and taught about a God who is above all gods, a religion which ascends above all our religiosities, transcending all dogmatism, rituals and contrivances. Sylvain Levi observed, 'as Ramakrishna's heart and mind were for all countries, his name too is a common property of mankind'.

Rammohan, Devendranath Tagore and Keshab Chandra Sen had striven to build up a spiritual unity but their approach was more intellectual and academic. Sri Ramakrishna, by his direct and simple approach could reach the hearts of people from all walks of life. They were attracted and influenced by his magnetic personality. He never preached or delivered sermons, but through witty conversation and simple stories and parables he explained the most difficult and subtle intricacies of philosophy and religion and emphasized the need to cultivate faith, devotion and love.

### Divinity and the Dignity of Man

His spiritual realizations enabled Sri Ramakrishna to see the divinity of man in a measure hitherto unexplored. He humbly prayed to the Divine Mother, 'Oh Mother, let me remain in contact with men. Do not make me a mere ascetic.' He regarded the development of character as the primary function of religion and made no distinction between man and man because of caste, creed or occupation. He gave to humanity

a message of hope and vision through his realization of divinity in the phenomenal world. This threw open to him a new vista in which he saw his Divine Mother and all people on the same plane. He made it clear to his disciples that the *jiva*, the living being, is no other than Shiva, the Divine; that every creature is God Himself in a particular garb of name and form. His emphasis on service to humanity, not mercy or pity, was the strongest protest ever made against the prevailing social inequalities, discrimination and domination. This outlook was far more radical, and the innumerable acts of service rendered by the monastic members of his Order had their genesis in this dictum.

Sri Ramakrishna had deep sympathy for 'the hungry millions', and for ailing mankind. He knew that the regeneration of a country would never be possible on an 'empty stomach', and so he insisted that first it would be imperative to eliminate hunger by the proper distribution of food.

He spent hours listening to the problems of suffering people. Just a word, a smile, or a touch gave solace to them, and the sense of tranquility for which they yearned. Thus he recognized the sanctity of human dignity, especially of women. Sri Ramakrishna recognized the Divine Mother even in the most degraded women. The esteem in which he held women had hitherto been unknown. It is very much the mood of the present day Women's Lib movement, which seeks respect, not mere sympathy. He worshipped Bhavatarini, the presiding deity of Dakshineswar, as his Divine Mother. Moreover, the three persons who profoundly influenced his life were all women. The Bhairavi Brahmani, his first spiritual guide, Rani Rasmani, his wealthy patron and Sri Sarada Devi, his life's companion.

### Innovative Teachings

It is surprising that Sri Ramakrishna, in his own way, categorically advocated family planning by means of self-restraint. This is his message for modern India for solving the acute problem of over-population. An equally effective innovative was his emphasis on the proper channelization of the energy of youth. He taught the virtue of work and the dignity of labour. Every kind of work is important in its own domain and it cannot by itself determine the social rank of the worker. Education, in his estimate, is not the mere scanning of texts but a process that develops character and instills in it the values of true

scholarship and idealism. He advocated cosmopolitan living, irrespective of faiths and material prosperity.

#### Catalyst of National Consciousness

Sri Ramakrishna, looked upon as a godman, contributed much to mundane arts. His use of colloquial language and expressions and his incorporation of simple, effective and precise metaphors and similes drawn from the day-to-day life of common people, as recorded in his teachings, opened a new vista in the expansion of Bengali literature.

His contribution to Bengali drama cannot be overemphasized. At a time when participation in the theatre was virtually taboo, Sri Ramakrishna, oblivious of the adverse reaction in society, spontaneously patronized the contemporary theatrical movement in its difficult initial stages. Indeed his presence in the theatre during a performance inspired many a giant in this line, such as Girish Chandra Ghosh who may be considered a creation of Sri Ramakrishna himself, as far as theatrical art is concerned. Another outstanding example is Nati Binodini, who received Sri Ramakrishna's blessings, notwithstanding her position of social derogation.

Similarly, spontaneity was the life of the devotional songs sung and encouraged by Sri Ramakrishna, in contrast to the artificiality of the songs which were popular at that time.

A most notable feature of the Ramakrishna era was that in spite of their so-called academic education and other forms of sophistication, stalwarts, not only of Bengal but from other parts of India, converged towards him, irrespective of their religious faith, social ideology and racial origin. He was able to attract brilliant or famous people, intellectual giants with whom he had apparently nothing else in common. The universality of his appeal was unique and unparalleled. The all-round progress that nineteenth century Bengal witnessed found expression in Sri Ramakrishna's life and teachings and this led to what can be termed a national consciousness. Sri Ramakrishna was a historical necessity and he stepped in at a critical juncture of history to catalyze the process of India's awakening.

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## Illusions

VIRGINIA MANN

ON A great flight of fancy, imagine an impossible feat as though it could be done. Suppose that we had an enormous sheet of glass and we began at the ocean's edge, walking steadfastly forward, pushing the sea back and emptying the land under our feet. Finally we reach the lowest point in the ocean's floor, its most abysmal depth.

Now we can step back and see a living cross-section of the ocean with all its processes unfolding before our eyes.

We are first attracted to the surface, principally because of its incessant activity. Waves rise and fall, disappearing here and reappearing there. As we scan its length, we observe areas where the waves break in shallow crests, scarcely more than a lake's surface, in a moderate wind. To our south, the winds have ceased and the surface is almost as smooth as that of a small pond, showing movement only in the solid rise and fall of its bulk, like the in and out breathing of a sleeper. It is in the doldrums.

To our north a gale is in process and mighty waves mount to gigantic heights, crashing down on one another tumultuously, running swiftly forward where they dash themselves against our glass in thunderous thrusts, recoiling from the blow with showers of shattered spume dancing like rain in the sunlight before falling in anonymity back into the sea.

This endless variety of activity along the surface fascinates and engrosses us for a long time. Remarkable indeed that the one and the same sea can range from the serenity of the doldrums to the turbulent activity of the storm-induced violence to our north. It is readily appreciated that external forces play upon the ocean's surface influencing the quality of its life, whimsically granting tranquility or upheaval with the shift of the winds

Subliminally at first, then directly, we become aware that a far different condition exists immediately beneath the surface. There is no vertical movement here. No rise and fall. The scan is definitely horizontal. The only sign of activity is the movement in the form of

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tides, undertows, and streams but they are not apparent to the eye. This level moves to an entirely different rhythm from the surface.

All ocean bathers know that one dives under an overwhelming wave or it will knock the hapless jumper off his feet and send him tumbling head over heels to the beach. The experience is educational. Here before us looms a grand-daddy wave towering far higher than our ability to safely jump it. It is menacing, strong, violent. Yet we dive below its surface and find that all that strength is only skin-deep. It rolls over us with a gentle bump. In the troughs between waves we may be only hip-deep in water. One feels that big waves at this shallow depth would surely extend to the ocean floor. But they do not. They are superficial indeed. We notice this right away, viewed through the cross section our glass has created.

There is an appearance of invisible boundary lines sectioning off levels of depth. Sea life flourishes in the first underlevel, darting hither and thither in the unending search for food and the avoidance of danger from its predators.

On the next level, sea life thins out markedly. It is quieter here. The chirrupings and gulping of the upper level fish subside into a deeper, more sonorous hum. Fish move more languidly in the cold and heavier pressure. They are still stimulated by and subject to the movement of deep streams wending through the water, but the more rapid tides and undertows are above them.

This level too has a rhythm of its own.

Letting our gaze sink to ever deepening levels, we note the absence of activity. No sea life exists here, at least in a form discernable to our eye. Stillness prevails. At last we reach the silent bottom of the sea.

We can imagine that in the silence of its depths, the sea can be aware of the sounds and rhythms of all its levels. Carlos Castenada described an exercise his mentor, Don Juan, instructed him to master. He had him sit at night alone in the desert and listen to the sounds of the wind in the chaparral. Upon learning to concentrate single pointedly upon that sound, he was to separate out the peculiar sounds of individual bushes, hearing only the distinctive rustles of each sound so that he could identify them one from another. Accomplishing this, he was then to hear them separately—but all at once—the sound and the sound within the sound as though an orchestra might freeze and sustain

a single note of music giving us the opportunity to hear the totality of the sound and at the same time separate the sound of the violin from the cello, the winds from the reeds, the brasses, the drums and the piano—all separate and all at once.

Granting human endowments to the ocean's floor, we can imagine that it could be aware of each of the levels as to sound, rhythm and activity separately and totally all at the same time.

The reverse is not true. It seems reasonable that the sounds of an agitated surface, splashing and dashing about, would drown out for it any other sounds. Certainly, preoccupied with trying to maintain its equilibrium while being pulled to higher and higher heights, it has no time for experiencing the quieter movement beneath its surface.

Only in the doldrums, in the absolute stillness that was the dread of the ancient mariners but the joy of meditators, can there be the expectancy of experiencing deeper levels of itself.

Finally, the singular feature of the sea that impresses itself upon us is that it is one thing despite its seeming fragmentation. There is no real separation of the surface from the floor. It is all the sea. There is no real separation between the active, storm-tossed sea to the north and the glass-like doldrums to the south. We are defied to show an obstacle or a visible boundary setting any part of it away from another. We have observed that activity proliferates at shallower levels and disappears at deeper levels, that movement is more rapid near the surface and slows dramatically in the depths. But nowhere is there any separation with the apparent exception of the surface. Here a wave is individualized, seemingly. But is it? Has it any existence separate and apart from the ocean out of which it rises and into which it will disappear? Has it any separation from the waves that rise and fall in front and behind it or to its right and left? Have they as a unit any separation from the waves that preceded and will follow them? Has it any separation from the levels below it or indeed from the ocean's floor itself? Has it such a separation either vertically or horizontally?

In a sudden burst of understanding that may not be separate, apart and alone, may it then cling to the belief in its own uniqueness by considering its sub-surface to be vertical, referring to 'my deeper levels' restrictedly, imagining that there are boundaries setting 'my deeper levels' from 'your deeper levels', as though we coexist by staking out our individualized territories, separate and apart, straight up or straight down, whichever the viewpoint?

Nowhere do we see any evidence that a wave has a vertical structure suspended below its surface contours. Beneath its shallow, rootless shape lies itself, without form, stretching endlessly downward with no separation beneath the surface from its companion waves.

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## The Invention of the Decimal Place Value

MAMATA DEB

THE MOST important contribution of ancient India in the field of mathematics was the creation of the decimal place value notation. In this system there are nine symbols for the numbers one to nine and the zero symbol. These ten symbols are quite sufficient for the writing of all the numbers in a simple way and the system is now used throughout the civilized world. The inventor of this system is still unknown and there is some controversy regarding the place of its origin. There is evidence which points to the conclusion that India is the most probable place where the decimal system was invented and developed.

From the earliest known times 'ten' has formed the basis of numeration in India. In the *Yajur Veda* the numerical denominations of  $10, 10^2, 10^3 \dots 10^{12}$  are listed. In Buddhist literature, we find that the numerical denominations were further extended on a centesimal scale. But opinion is divided about the way these numbers were written down. It is generally held that the numbers were written out in full in words, although symbols for the smaller numbers might have existed. The figures contained in the seals of Mohenjo Daro have not been deciphered yet, but it seems they contain numerical symbols for numbers up to thirteen. The figures used in the inscriptions of Ashoka and later times can be divided into two classes: one known as Brahmi and the other known as Kharoshti. In the Brahmi script there are separate signs for each of the numbers, 1, 4 to 9 and 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, 100, 200, 300,  $\dots$  1000, 2000, and so on. The formation of intermediate and higher numbers followed a fixed rule. The number 247, for example, is written with the help of symbols for 200, 40 and 7 as (200) (40) (7).

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This system of writing numbers with no place value was gradually given up and it was out of use by the end of the eighth century. Meanwhile efforts were being made to evolve a suitable numeral, and different systems were adopted by the masters from time to time.

A system of expressing numbers by words was evolved in the early centuries of the Christian era. In the words for numerals, the number zero, was denoted by the words : *shunya, kha, gagana, ambara, akasha* and so on. The number one was expressed by : *adi, sashi, indu, vidhu* and so on. The number two was expressed by : *yama, yamala, akshi, nayana* and so on. In the beginning the word system was used just as a curiosity. As the place value system was unknown, different words were used to denote different numbers and we can find word symbols representing numbers up to 49, and more. The large numbers were split up into smaller parts and then expressed in word symbols.

Probably the place value notation was known in India around 200, B.C., and in literature references to the place value notation are found in works of 100. B.C. But the use of word-numerals with place value notation occurs for the first time in the Bakshali manuscript of the third century and then in the *Aryabhattiya* composed in A.D. 499. In all later works of mathematics it occurs without exception.

It became a fashion to write the word-numerals following a right to left arrangement. For example, in the *Agni Purana* the number 1, 582, 237, 800 is expressed as *kha* (0), *kha* (0), *ashta* (8), *muni* (7), *rama* (3), *netra* (2), *netra* (2), *ashta* (8), *shara* (5), *ratripah* (1). This arrangement is contrary to the left to right arrangement of the Brahmi script, also it is different from the left to right arrangement of modern numerals.

Using words for numerals entailed very long arrangements of words, and these were difficult to handle. So, from about the fifth century A.D. alphabetic notations were used to denote numbers. The alphabetic notations replaced the word-numerals in all mathematical and astronomical works. Different mathematicians adopted different alphabetic notations; but most of them were variations of the word system with a decimal place value system. This system was never used by the common people nor was it used to make calculations in everyday life. This is to be expected as quite natural, because during these early centuries of the Christian era, efforts were made to perfect the methods of arithmetic operations in a place value system.

The ancient works on Indian mathematics do not give a full description of these rules of arithmetic, namely, addition, subtraction, multiplication and division. Therefore, it is extremely difficult to trace how these methods of arithmetic operation developed. Aryabhatta I, in his famous book, includes a discussion of the rule of extracting square roots, but he does not mention any other rule, most probably because these rules were well known to the mathematicians of his time. Brahmagupta, however, refers to several methods of multiplication, he gives a brief description of these and he also describes the method of taking cube roots. In the process of extracting square roots and cube roots, a knowledge of the modern methods of division and multiplication is a necessity. So an examination of Brahmagupta's work leads to the conclusion that the modern methods of division and multiplication in the decimal place value system were known in India as early as the fifth century A.D.

In his *Brahma-Sphuta-Siddhanta*, Brahmagupta gives a full treatment of zero. He defines zero, considers addition, subtraction, multiplication, of zero and by zero (but he directs that the operation of  $X \div 0$  and  $0 \div X$  should be written as  $\frac{X}{0}$  and  $\frac{0}{X}$ ). So, by the end of the sixth century A.D. the methods of computation in the decimal place value system must have been perfected. Also, in no work of mathematics and astronomy later than the sixth century do we find the use of old numerals without a place value concept. This is strong proof to testify to our earlier statement.

In inscriptions, however, the new notation was used much later, the first record being the Gurjara grant plate from Sankheda, written in A.D. 595. This shows that the new system took time to become popular. After the eighth century the rules of computation in arithmetic appeared in books like the *Maha-Siddhanta* by Aryabhatta II, the *Ganita-Tilaka* by Shripati and other popular works. Side by side, the modern *nagari* figures evolved, as the old numeral figures went out of use through gradual change. As a consequence of all this the old system was entirely forgotten in India after the eighth century A.D.

The situation was different in other countries. The Arabs had come to know about the numerical system of India but could not put it to use in Arabic mathematical works before the end of the eighth century because the methods of computation had not reached them earlier. That the knowledge of Hindu numerals had reached the Arabs in the

seventh century A.D., is evident from a quotation from the Syrian scholar, Sebokhot. He says, 'I will omit all discussion of the science of the Hindus, a people not the same as the Syrians. Their subtle discoveries in the science of astronomy—discoveries that are more ingenious than those of the Greeks and Babylonians—their computation that surpasses description. I wish only to say that their computation is done by means of nine signs.'

The decimal place value system reached Europe after the tenth century. In 1228 a book was written in which the system as well as its use in business computation had been explained. By the middle of the fifteenth century this system was generally adopted by all the nations of western Europe, but it came into common use only in the seventeenth century.

It is surprising that so little is known about the history of the evolution of the decimal place value system. There was a common belief among the Arabs that 'a convention of sages at the command of Lord Brahma created this system.' We may infer that the system was discovered in India in very ancient times, but at the time of discovery it was known to only a limited number of scholars; it took time to become popular and so the people of India had forgotten the inventor or inventors of their numerals, and as a very long time had elapsed, various legends had developed about its invention.

#### Landmarks in the History of Hindu Numerals

1. Vedic Age	Names for big numbers like $10^{12}$ , basis of enumeration being 10. Symbols for smaller numbers might have existed. Large numbers written out in full words.
2. 600–100 B.C.	Widespread use of Brahmi and Kheroshti numerals. Separate symbols for numbers from 1 to 19. Bigger numbers formed by combination of smaller ones.
3. 100 B.C.–A.D. 400	Developed forms of Brahmi numerals. Earliest use of the zero symbol and probable invention of the place value system. Use of word numerals.

4. A.D. 400–800

Use of word numerals with place value in all major works on mathematics and astronomy. Alphabetic system with place value used by Aryabhatta I. Zero becomes a small circle. Laws applicable to zero stated by Bhaskara I. Rules of arithmetic in place value notation perfected.

5. A.D. 800–1100

*Brahma-Sphuta-Siddhanta* and *Khanda-Khadyaka* of Brahmagupta translated into Arabic. Hindu numerals introduced to Arabs.

## The Nature of Consciousness in Indian Philosophy

BRAHMACHARINI LALITHA

THE 'NATURE of consciousness' is an important and controversial problem in the study of philosophy. There are varying views, and they may be said to span two possible extremes, one of which denies totally the reality of consciousness, while the other regards it as the sole reality. For example:

The Buddhist Nihilist maintains that there is no such thing as eternal consciousness.

The Materialist admits consciousness only as a by-product of material processes; an epiphenomenon.

The Naiyayika chooses to admit consciousness only as a property of the Self, an adventitious property.

The Mimamsaka regards consciousness as a karma or action of the Self.

The Samkhya thinker regards consciousness as the very distinctive essence of the spirit (which is an entity distinct from matter).

The Absolutist Vedantin (Advaitin) prefers to regard it as the essence not only of the Self or Spirit but of the whole of Reality.

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### The Buddhist Nihilist View

Acceptance of an eternal changeless Self whose essence is Being-Consciousness-Bliss is the view of the Upanishads which was rejected by the Buddha. In highlighting the misery that pervades our lives, he pointed out the essential impermanence of 'things'. Consequently he came to view change as supreme, and rejected an eternal changeless substance. For him matter is a mere collection of qualities, and mind is another collection of changing states of consciousness. There is nothing beneath or beyond these changing states. The Self is merely a label pointing to a series of changing states—material and psychical. The nominalistic, highly empiricistic, positivistic attitude of the Buddhist view is obvious here. Hence the classification by *Samyutta-Nikaya* (III.86) of consciousness or *Vijnana* as one of the five aggregates or *skandas* that make up the Self.\*

The doctrine of the Buddha undergoes transformation at the hands of his later followers, the famous schools of Buddhism. Of these, the *Vijnanavadin* is of interest to us here. He admits the reality of nothing but consciousness which is an aggregate of, or a series of, changing states. This constant succession of states of consciousness alone is the truth to the *Vijnanavadin* and there is nothing else apart from or outside this consciousness. The external objects are merely an 'externalization' of this subjective reality, hence are false. The *Vijnanavadin* derives the strongest support to his belief from dreams where the ideas of mind themselves appear as external objects. Consciousness or awareness is identical with the objects of which we are aware. Though this position is beset with difficulties, as Professor Hiriyanna rightly observes, 'the Yogachara reasoning has a negative force which cannot be easily thrust aside. They point to the indemonstrability of the opposite view maintained in Realism.'<sup>1</sup>

Next comes the *Madhyamika* school of Buddhism which argues that the position of the *Yogachara* is inconsistent. According to the *Madhyamika* even the belief in the ultimate reality of consciousness or *Vijnana* should be subjected to the same kind of analysis to which

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\* There is a great deal of similarity between this view and that of Hume. But Dr. Radhakrishnan while noting this similarity attributes this nominalistic view to Nagasena, the Buddhist teacher of *The Questions of Milinda* and not to the Buddha himself. *Indian Philosophy* (London 1958), I.390-398.

the external world is subjected by the Yogachara. If this is done, the ultimate reality of even consciousness has to be rejected. This is done by the Madhyamika who resorts to believing that all objects including consciousness have 'no intrinsic character whatever' (*nissvabhava*). It is only from a practical point of view that we may accept the reality of consciousness and objects, not from a philosophical point of view. So he does not believe in either an outer reality or an inner; and therefore his doctrine is described as Shunyavada. This view of the Buddhists has been refuted extensively by other Hindu philosophers.

The early Buddhist view that there is no Self except a series of changing states poses the serious problem of how this fact comes to be known. Change cannot be detected by an entity which is itself changing. 'In the very act of analysing the self and dismissing it as but a series of momentary states, he is passing beyond those states and positing an enduring self which is able to view them together, for a series as such can never become aware of itself.'<sup>2</sup>

The Vijnanavadin kicks a hornet's nest by declaring that consciousness 'externalizes' itself and appears as objects. This 'externalization' is unintelligible as there is nothing beside or beyond consciousness according to Vijnanavada. The Madhyamika position is also objectionable to other Hindu philosophers. If the truth of the *shunya* or void is declared, then the perceiver of the void should exist (*शून्यस्यापि स्वसाक्षित्वात्*).<sup>3</sup> Surely, everything cannot be denied. Denial can never be absolute. Consciousness cannot be denied as the very act of denying involves its affirmation. Shankara in his commentary has put it with the greatest force when he declares that one cannot deny one's own self (*य एव हि निराकर्ता तदेव तस्य स्वरूपम्*, II.iii.7).

### The Materialistic View

Now we come to the Charvaka or the materialist who admits the reality of consciousness but restricts it to the empirical and reduces it to the status of an epiphenomenon. Since consciousness is perceived, the Charvaka admits its reality but he does not regard it as a property of any spiritual substance. It is matter itself that exhibits this quality of consciousness. Since it is always perceived only in a body made up of material elements, he believes that consciousness is an off-shoot of matter. To the objection, How is it that consciousness is never found to be associated with the material elements taken individually, and

seems to be associated with their combination? the Charvaka replies that by the analogy of the emergence of the intoxicating quality of a new compound whose elements, individually taken, lacked that property, consciousness appears when the body is formed and disappears when the body disintegrates. It is neither eternal nor transcendental.

Though the position of the Charvaka is theoretically irrefutable, it is not altogether free from defects. First there is the difficulty of regarding consciousness as a property of the body. Then it can be either an essential or an accidental property. If it is essential, it should always be found with the body, which is not the case. So it must be accidental. Since we are not always conscious—as when we sleep, swoon and so on—the regular appearance and disappearance of consciousness must be attributed to the agency of something which is distinct from both the body and consciousness. Also, though consciousness is always found associated with a physical organism it cannot prove that consciousness is destroyed when the body is destroyed. It is quite possible that consciousness manifests through a body, and hence when a body is destroyed it is the manifestation that is affected and not the very existence of consciousness. And if consciousness is really a property of the body, then why can it not be known by other people exactly in the same way as all other properties of the body are known? is but another question that confronts the Charvaka.

#### The Nyaya View

The Nyaya view of consciousness is hardly better than that of the Charvaka. According to the Naiyayika, consciousness is a property not of the body, as in Charvaka, but of an eternal substance, the self, generated by its contact with mind. But it is not a permanent property of the self. Since permanent properties of an eternal substance alone can be eternal, consciousness is not an eternal property. According to the Naiyayika, consciousness cannot be regarded as a permanent essential property of the self because the self is seen to be without it at times, as in sleep, swoon and so on, i.e., whenever it is not in contact with the mind, senses and so on. Thus the self, in his view, is different from matter in that it may become conscious, and consciousness is not organic to the self. In spiritual liberation, the self is not only without consciousness but is without every other attribute that characterized it during its empirical existence. Thus nothing is organic to the self.

Here also, since consciousness is regarded as an adventitious property of the self, we have the same difficulty as we had in the Charvaka. If consciousness 'comes' and 'goes' as when we awake and swoon, how is this arrival and departure of consciousness produced or reduced? This requires the presence of an entity other than consciousness. We cannot say that it is the self, for the self of Nyaya without consciousness is indistinguishable from the unconscious body of the Charvaka. Just as such a body cannot know, such a self too cannot know.

### The Mimamsa View

In Nyaya consciousness is regarded as a quality that arises in the self when it comes into contact with mind, senses and so on. The self in itself is qualityless and thus consciousness is not basically related to it. This is not so in Mimamsa where consciousness is regarded as a 'karma' or action of the self. Thus it comes to be more intimately connected with the self. Mimamsa, unlike Nyaya, admits activity in the self and thus consciousness, whenever it exists, is intimately connected with the self. But, as in Nyaya, consciousness is not permanent, and is quite distinct from the self. It belongs to the many selves and disappears from them completely at times, such as in deep sleep, liberation and so on. Thus the Mimamsa view is slightly better than the Nyaya view in so far as it relates the self and consciousness more intimately than the latter does, despite emphasizing their distinction. The most important contribution of the Mimamsaka is his belief in the *svatah-prakashatva* or self-revelatoriness of consciousness. Consciousness, whenever it is there, not only reveals itself unaided but also reveals the cognizer (subject) as well as the objects of cognition. This is the famous *triputi-samvit* doctrine of the Mimamsakas. This consciousness which is distinct from the self, but is intimately connected with it comes to be regarded as the very nature or essence of the self by Samkhya thinkers whose view will be considered presently.

### The Samkhya View

The difficulty involved in regarding consciousness as an accidental or adventitious property of the self is overcome by the Samkhya thinker who regards consciousness as organic to the self or the Purusha. Consciousness is the essence of the spirit and it is immutable and eternal. In the system of Samkhya the self and pure consciousness are one and the same. Besides spirits, matter or Prakriti is also admitted

to be real and all change that we normally ascribe to consciousness is regarded by the school as really belonging to matter and hence wrongly attributed to the spirit. The point to be noted in Samkhya is the fact that consciousness is no more regarded as a quality, either adventitious or eternal, of some substance, but is itself regarded as a substance. Consciousness is spirit itself, not its attribute. Consciousness comes to enjoy the status of an ontological object, a status which it shares with Prakriti. If this transcendental consciousness comes to be distinguished from its own unreal modifications, it is intellect, *buddhi*, a product of Prakriti, that is responsible for it. *Buddhi* is the source of the usual and familiar distinction of the knower, the known and knowledge. This triple splitting up of consciousness should not be mistaken for its ultimate *svarupa* or *svabhava*, form or nature. It is the nature of intelligence alone and, owing to the reflection of consciousness in *buddhi*, comes to be attributed to the former. There are many selves and hence there is a plurality of consciousness according to Samkhya.

#### The Advaitic View

According to the Nyaya view, consciousness is viewed as a quality or attribute and not as the essence of the self (चिद्वर्म आत्मा न तु चित्स्वभावः). But in Vedanta, consciousness comes to be regarded not as a *dharma* of the self but its own nature, its *svabhava*, very much as in Samkhya. But in Samkhya, consciousness, which is identical with Purusha, is at once *vibhu* and *aneka*, pervading and many. Many proofs are given in support of this plurality, which are all dismissed by the Absolutist Vedantin who argues that the proofs offered support only the 'manyness' of the empirical self, and not of the transcendental Self. Even if we stick to the substance-quality view and declare that *atman* is the substance of which consciousness is a quality, the Absolutist Vedantin holds that since substance and its attributes are identical, consciousness is identical with the self. Just as when it is asserted that, 'that which shines is the Sun', what is really meant is that brightness is the very *nature* of the Sun, similarly, when it is said that the 'self is an agent of cognition' what is really meant is that cognition is its very essence, and not its activity.<sup>4</sup> So it is to be understood that the self is not an *agent* of the *activity* of knowledge, but it is knowledge itself. Consciousness is not an attribute separate from *atman*, but it is *atman* itself. 'Consciousness must be regarded as either inseparable from the self or

absolutely non-existent'. (आत्मा चाविनाभावमयदा विलयं ब्रजेत्).<sup>5</sup> Thus for the Absolutist Vedantin consciousness is real by its own right, immutable, eternal and is everything that exists. There is no distinction between the self and consciousness. A distinction may be made in the empirical world but that may be allowed only for practical convenience; it is never true.

### Vishishta-Advaita View

The many views of consciousness, so far considered, fall into two broad groups—one group viewing consciousness as a quality of the self (however varied this view may be) and the other denying this and regarding consciousness as the essence of the self, as the very self itself.

Ramanuja, the protagonist of the Vishishta-Advaita view differs from both these groups. According to him *atman* is an eternal substance and since consciousness is its natural attribute, it too is eternal. But it is not just an attribute of the self; it is its essence too. The self is '*chidrupa*' that is, *chit* or consciousness is its *svarupa*; but it is *chaitanya gunaka* too, i.e., *chaitanya* or consciousness is its *guna*, quality (एवमात्मा चिद्रूप एव चैतन्यगुणकः).<sup>6</sup>

This view undoubtedly has the merit of synthesis but it is regarded as 'not clear' by Dr. Radhakrishnan and 'not satisfactory' by Dr. S. K. Saksena. Dr. Saksena thinks that an eternal attribute is indistinguishable from essence and therefore concludes that 'If Self is to be eternally conscious then the hypothesis of consciousness as a '*dharma*' *guna* or quality is redundant, because it is already provided for in the hypothesis of 'essence' or '*Svarupa*.' . . . Ramanuja's effort, therefore, to hold on to the concept of consciousness as a quality '*dharma*' and to run with the idea of the eternality of the '*chit svarupa*' of the self is far from being successful.'<sup>7</sup>

But one thing that becomes very clear while going through the relevant portions of Ramanuja's commentary is the fact that Ramanuja sees certain metaphysical difficulties in holding the view that consciousness is either a quality *only* of the Self or its essence *only*. Hence his effort to give sufficient importance to both the substantive and attributive aspects of consciousness. Prof. P.N. Srinivasachari puts it very clearly when he writes : 'The self and its consciousness are *distin-guishable* but not *divisible*. Self-consciousness implies the self that is

conscious and *consciousness* of the self and the distinction between substantive intelligence and attributive intelligence, like light and its luminosity.<sup>8</sup>

### Conclusion

This is the brief survey of the concept of consciousness as it has been variously understood by different schools of Philosophy in India. The study of consciousness under varying circumstances, barring the study by the nascent science of Western Psychology, is a unique feature of Indian thought. This study taken up by the seers of the Upanishads and certain later Indian Philosophers is a key to the understanding of the nature of man and the nature of reality.

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  6. *Sri Bhashya* I.i.i. Also see his commentary on II.iii.27,29.
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## The Brahman Shahis of Kabul

K.N. PANDITA

KALHANA'S CHRONICLE, the *Rajatarangini* (*R*), mentions in several places the Brahman Shahi rulers of the Kabul valley.<sup>1</sup> Before the Brahman Shahis came to rule Kabul, there are historical records to show that the Hindu Shahiya dynasty ruled over Kabul. The earliest reference to this dynasty is found in Al-Biruni's *India*. The word *Shahi* is of Aryan linguistic origin and is so old as to be found in the cuneiform rock inscription of Darius (the Achaemenian king of Iran) at Behestun (*Vehesthana*) in the form *Xshaya*, with the prefix *pata* it becomes *pata-xshaya* which is *Padashah* is modern Persian.

Al-Biruni's record indicates the presence of Hindu rulers in Kabul, who were of Turkish stock but of Tibetan origin.<sup>2</sup> The occupation of Kabul by these Turks, prior to the advent of the Muslims, is confirmed by the Muslim historians Tabari and Biladuri.<sup>3</sup> It is to be noted that when early Muslim historians used the word 'Tibet' they referred to a much larger geographical entity than what it is today. Greek and Chinese authors also state that a race from Tartary (Western China) occupied the valley of the Indus and the neighbouring countries in the first year of the Christian era. The nomadic Yue-Tehis being driven out from their original seat in Western China about A.D. 160, established themselves in Transoxiana and the neighbouring lands. Their chief named Khieou-tsicou-hy, after subjugating the other rulers of his own tribe, proclaimed himself the king of the lands of Oxus, Hindu Kush and the Little Tibet. The conquerors who remained in the valley of Kabul received the name of the 'Little Yue-Tehis.'<sup>4</sup> This, then, is the beginning of the Turki Shahi rule in Kabul.

Barhtigin has been named as the founder of the Turki Shahi dynasty. This name seems to be composed of two parts, 'Barh' and 'tigin'; 'tigin' is a common Turkish (central Asian) suffix meaning brave, as in Subuktigin, Alaptigin, and so on. M. Reinaud is of the opinion that 'Barh' or 'Barha' corresponds probably to the word 'Phara-hatassa' which Lassen and Wilson read on certain Graeco-Bactrian coins, and is the same name which the Greeks have converted into 'Pharates' and 'Phraoites'.

## Duration of the Reign of the Turkish Hindu Shahiyas of Kabul

Al-Biruni says that 'the rule remained among his 'Barhtigin's descendants for sixty generations'. To suppose that a single dynasty ruled for sixty generations would be something unrealistic. It is not improbable that these rulers were the Turks or other tribes like Shakas, Turushkas, Duraris and the Yue-Tehis (generally spoken of as the White Huns) but we cannot be certain about this. Whatever the case, they would still be classed under the generic designation of Turks. The last of them appears to have reigned about A.D. 850. This much may not necessarily give rise to any controversy but to the suggestion that the Turki Shahi dynasty of Kabul rose with the downfall of the Graeco-Bactrian Empire in 125 B.C. needs to be substantiated more fully.

Al-Biruni regrets the carelessness of the Hindus in their attempt to maintain a record of the chronological succession of their kings. However, he informs us that the pedigree of the royal Turki Shahi family, written on silk, existed in the fortress of Nagarkot (Kangra); he very much desired to acquaint himself with this pedigree, but could not. So he is not able to give us the chronological order of succession of the dynasty, but he does mention the name Kanika as one in the line. In all probability Kanika is identifiable as Kanishka of Indian history.<sup>5</sup>

Al-Biruni mentions Lagaturman as the last king of the dynasty. Elliot and Dowson made an attempt to give the names of some rulers of this dynasty in order of succession. Although inaccurate, the names they mention are: Barhtigin, Kanak, Katorman.<sup>6</sup>

The last-named ruler, as recorded by Al-Biruni and as read by Sachau, is Lagaturman. However, one should not rule out the possibility of an error on the part of the scribe which has resulted in a controversy over this name. Banakati has recorded it as 'Katurman' but to exclude one of the probable forms of this name, i.e. 'Torman' could be hazardous. Kalhana mentions an identical name 'Kamaluka' for Torman (V. 233).

Al-Biruni then proceeds to record the story of the deposition of Lagaturman by his vizir named Kalhar or Kallar, a Brahman, perhaps because of the former's bad manners and worse behaviour. The minister found by accident certain hidden treasures. This helped him gain sufficient power to put the king in chains and finally in prison.

With him, therefore, the Turki Shahiya dynasty came to an end—a fact borne out by the meaningful remark of Al-Biruni. Thus it was that

the last king of this house of Tibetan origin, which had held the royal power for so long a period, let it slip from his hands.

### The Brahman Shahis

It can therefore justifiably be inferred that after the deposition of Lagaturman (or Katurman or Torman) the Turki Shahi ruling dynasty in Kabul was succeeded by the Brahman Shahis and that Kallar or Kalhar (the vizir) was its founder. Al-Biruni is clear in calling him a Brahman and a little further in the same passage says that after him ruled the Brahman kings.<sup>7</sup>

Investigation at this point brings us to the controversy over the name 'Kallar' stemming from the recording in the *R* (V.233) which runs as follows :

'He (Gopalavarman) bestowed the kingdom of the rebellious Shahi upon Torman, Lalliya's son and gave him the new name Kamaluka.'

Stein is convinced that a misreading of Lalliya or Lalli as 'Kallar' (in Al-Biruni's work) accounts for such a corruption by well-known palaeographic peculiarities of Arabic manuscripts.<sup>8</sup> Subsequent Arab or Persian historians, and more especially the author of *Jami-'ut-Tawarikh* have omitted all notice of Kallar. However, further proof in support of Stein's contention would be highly desirable to see this controversy at rest.

Lalliya's qualities of valour and generosity have been eloquently spoken of by Kalhana, adding that the rulers of the north had sought his protection. For more details in this connection one may consult Note *ka* of *Kalhanakrit Rajatarangini*, a Hindi work by Dr. Raghunath Singh.

In two interesting verses in the *R* (V. 152, 153) we find a poetic description of the extent of Lalliya's kingdom. It says that 'Alkhanas support the illustrious Lalliya Shahi—who, placed between a lion and a boar, resembled Arya Varta (as it lies) between the Himalayas and Vin-dhya (mountains) in whose town Udabhanda (other) kings found safety. . . . He was not accepted into service by Shankaravarman (A.D. 883-902) who desired to remove him from his sovereign position.'

The genealogical order of the Brahman Shahi dynasty ruling at Udabhanda, given by Al-Biruni, who in turn has been quoted by subsequent historians like Elliot<sup>9</sup> and Stein<sup>10</sup> is :

1. Kallar, 2. Samand (Samanta), 3. Kamalu (Kamaluka), 4. Bhim, 5. Jaipal, 6. Anandpal, 7. Tarojanpal (Trilochanpal).

But Al-Biruni's serial order admits variations in the light of Kalhana's statement, quoted above, that Gopalavarman gave the kingdom to Lalliya's son Torman with the new name Kamaluka. In that case the second king in the line appears to be Kamalu (Kamaluka) Torman and not Samand (Samanta). *Jamī-ut-Tawārīkh* describes Samand as the immediate successor to Kanak, a more erroneous assertion.

A simple question may be asked here. Why should Gopalavarman have given him (Torman) the new name Kamaluka? Was it to Brahmanize his name which was of Turkish origin? Furthermore, the controversy about the real successor to Lalliya also remains to be resolved.

Samanta's coins are to be found easily in Afghanistan, the Punjab, and the whole of northern India, according to General Cunningham. The emblem on his coins shows a bull and a horseman which is indicative of his Brahmanic creed.<sup>11</sup> But the fact of the impression 'Sri Samanta' on the coins for nearly two centuries remains to be explained. Could it be that Samanta was a mere title, meaning 'the warrior' or 'the leader', and had previously been adopted by the Brahman Shahi kings?

The name Kamaluka (Kamalu) besides being mentioned in Al-Biruni's *India* also occurs in *Jawam'e-ul Hikayat* of Awfi.<sup>12</sup> Kamaluka has been mentioned as a contemporary of the Saffarid chief of Khorasan, namely, Amrul Laith (A.D. 878-900).<sup>13</sup> Kamaluka had made an attempt to check the advance of Fardaghan, Amrul Laith's governor of Zabulistan, after learning that the Hindu temple at Sakhawand in Zabulistan<sup>14</sup> had been destroyed and the 'idolators' overthrown by the invader.

This incident suggests that the Muslims had been menacing the remainder of the Shahi domain in Kabul valley directly from the West. There is much weight in Stein's assertion that the Muslims took possession of Kabul in A.D. 871.<sup>15</sup>

As in the case of other rulers of this dynasty, it is difficult to ascertain the exact year of Kamaluka's accession. Elliot has discussed this issue at length and various conjectures have been taken note of. However, without ignoring the computations made by Thomas who maintains that the succession of Samanta occurred in A.D. 935,<sup>16</sup> Elliot is of the opinion that Kamalu ascended the throne in A.D. 890, about the middle of the reign of Amrul Laith.<sup>17</sup>

The name of Bhim, the next ruler of the house, occurs a number of times in the *R*. A slab bearing the inscription 'Maharaj Adhiraj Parameshwar Shahi Sri Bhim Dev' is reported to have been found at Daboi.<sup>18</sup> Kalhana (VI.177,178) calls him the maternal uncle of Queen Didda, the daughter of the daughter of Bhim Shahi and the wife of Kshemagupta, the king of the Lohara dynasty of Kashmir. Thus for the first time an indication of a matrimonial relationship between the ruling dynasties of the Loharas of Kashmir and the Shahis of Udashandapura is historically established. The same Bhim built the high temple of Bhim-Keshava in Kashmir, the ruins of which have been identified by Stein<sup>19</sup> with those at a place called Bum'zu, about one mile to the north of the sacred springs of Martanda. An accurate description of this ancient shrine, now converted into a Muslim 'Ziarat' (of Baba Bamdin Sahib) is to be found in *J.A.S.B.* 1866, on page 100. The name of this place, as mentioned in the *Mahatmya*, is Bhimdvipa (Bhim-dvipa) in which the second component, 'dvipa' in Sanskrit, is 'zu' in Kashmiri. Hence, Bum'zu.

The last two cantos of Kalhana's work are filled with the narration of the rulers of the Lohara dynasty of Kashmir. Lohara or Lohara Kotta is the Lohren of today in the district of Poonch (Parnotsa, Prunts).\*

Elliot has identified him with Sri Bhim Deva of the bull and the horseman series, whose coins are found in the valley of the Kabul river. Strangely enough Arab historians, such as Utbi and Firishta, have considered him the founder of Nagarkot.<sup>20</sup>

Bhim was succeeded by Jaipal. The *R* does not give us much information about him, and what Elliot and Dowson have to say of him has been elicited from such Persian works as the *Tarikh-i-Yamini* and *Kanoon-i-Mas'udi*. The principal places of his residence appear to be Lahore, Bhera and Waihand. In the west, the border of his kingdom did not extend beyond Waihand.<sup>21</sup> Jaipal's encounter with Subuktigin has been recorded in the Persian work *Adab-ul-Muluk* by Mohammad bin Mansoor. But the account of his wars with the Turks, as given in *Kalhanakrit Rajatarangini* by Dr. Raghunath Singh,<sup>22</sup> asks for a clear and convincing proof.

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\* For details in this connection, one may refer to Note E in the second volume of Stein's translation of the *R*.

Trilochanpal,\* fifth in the line of Brahman Shahi dynasty, appears to have sought military assistance from Samgramaraja of Kashmir (A.D. 1003-28) to check the advancing columns of Hammira on the other bank of the Taushi river. Hammira is the Sanskritized form of Amir, the title of Mahmud of Ghazna (Amirul Mo'minin) and the Taushi is the present river Tuhi in the Poonch valley.<sup>23</sup> A close reading of verses 47 to 69 of the *R* shows that the battle on the banks of the Taushi, in which Tunga, the commander of the Kashmiri troops was defeated, could have finally decided the fate of the Shahi dynasty. This event must also have marked the beginning of a long era of forced conversion of Hindus to Islam in that area. Geographically speaking, the battle on the banks of the Tuhi was also important because Mahmud's troops seem to have chosen the Jhelum-Lohren (via Kotli) route, leading to Tosamaidan and then to the valley of Kashmir.<sup>24</sup> Trilochanpal retreated (after the battle) by the same route and the 'chiefs on the borders of Kashmir are said to have made their submission to the Sultan in consequence of this victory.'

Trilochanpal's name has been recorded in more than one form, retaining the second part 'pala' (pal) in each case. The Persian poets of Ghaznavid, and also of later periods, used the word 'Jaipal' as a common title for Indian (Hindu) kings. For instance, in an encomium composed by Minuchehri, a court poet of Mahmud and Mas'ud, Jaipal is synonymous with 'Pegov', 'Kaisar' and so on.

Obviously, subjugation of the Brahman Shahis by Mahmud Ghaznavi was a somewhat protracted affair. The contents of the letter written by Anandapal to Mahmud, reproduced by Al-Biruni in his work, are interesting as well as informative and worthy of being quoted in full.

'I have learnt that the Turks have rebelled against you and are spreading in Khorasan. If you wish I shall come to you with 5,000 horsemen, 10,000 foot-soldiers and 100 elephants, or, if you wish, I shall send you my son with double the number. In acting thus, I do not speculate on the impression which this will make on you. I have been conquered by you and, therefore, I do not wish another man should conquer you.'<sup>25</sup>

\* Arab historians have recorded this name in various forms—see Elliot and Dowson, II, 427.

The diplomatic language of the letter should not go unnoticed. Leaving aside all other inferences, one may consider the significance of 'double the number' which the subjugated king could muster by way of assistance to his conqueror. This helps us to estimate the military strength of the Brahman Shahis during the heyday of their power.

The last of the house of Brahman Shahis was Bhimpal who, according to Al-Biruni, was killed in A.H. 417 (A.D. 1026), five years after the life of his father, Trilochanpal, was put to an end. With Bhimpal's exit, the illustrious house of the Shahis of Udashanda became extinct.

### The Extent of the Kingdom

The Brahman Shahis flourished in the valley of Kabul and the adjoining area between the rise of the Saffarides and the Ghaznavides, say roughly between A.D. 850-1002. It has already been said that the kingdom of Lalliya, the founder of the dynasty, extended between the territories of the Darads and the Turushkas (Muslim Turks).<sup>26</sup> From the annals of the Chinese, we learn that in the middle of the eighth century, Udyana, the modern Swat with the neighbouring hill regions, was united with Gandhara under the rule of the king of Ki-Pin (Kabul) who, in all probability, belonged to the dynasty of the Turkish Shahiyas of Kabul.<sup>27</sup> Lalliya's domain must have bordered the territories held to this day by the Darad tribes inhabiting Kohistan on the upper Indus, Chilas and Chitral rivers.

Coins of Samand (Samanta) were found in great profusion in Afghanistan, Punjab and the whole of northern India<sup>28</sup> and those of Anandapal in the Punjab and northern parts of the Ganges Doab.<sup>29</sup> It may, therefore, be inferred that the kingdom of the Shahis extended up to the western banks of Sindh in the south and the Hindukush in the north with their centre in the town of Udashanda.

### Udashanda

Udashanda (Udashandapura), the name of the seat of the Brahman Shahis has occurred in three verses of the *R* (V. 152, V.232 and VII.1081). In Jonaraja's *Chronicle*, too, it has occurred in verse 372, the context being its capture by Sultan Shihab-ud-din of Kashmir A.D. 1354-73. The ruler of Udashandapura, namely Govind Khana is distinctly spoken of as the ruler of the Indus region (Sindhupa). But Al-Biruni records the name as Waihand<sup>30</sup> (as the capital of Gandhar)

situated to the west of Indus and above its junction with the Kabul river at Attock. General Cunningham has pointed out the varying forms of this word like Und, Hund, Chind, Hond and so on. Modern geographers and cartographers have made use of all these forms of the name for the old site. Udabhanda is a Sanskrit word composed of two parts; *uda* (water) and *bhanda* (pot), meaning water-pot. Hiuen Tsang, a much earlier traveller than Al-Biruni, visited this rich and great city where the King of Kapisha (Kabul) dwelt, and recorded its name as U-to-kia-han-Ch'a.<sup>31</sup> The correct Sanskrit version, according to Stein, should be Udakakhanda and the stages of phonetic changes in Indo-Aryan vernacular phonology have been mentioned as follows:

Udakahanda Udayahand Uay-Hand Uaihand Waihand\* of Al-Biruni.

The correct identification of the site of Waihand with the modern village, Und, (Hund, Ohind, Uhand etc.) in Pakistan was first made by St. Martin. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang described its correct position as bordering the south along the river Sindh (Si-u-ki). General Cunningham gave a detailed description of many old ruins at this place which was confirmed by Stein after his visit to Und in December 1891.<sup>32</sup> The name, as pronounced by the local people, is Und (Oond) and by local people we mean those whose mother tongue is Western Punjabi (Hindki).

Udabhanda was certainly a prosperous city during the heyday of the Brahman Shahi rulers. Today the old city has been wiped away by the waters of the Sindh, and nothing beyond a tiny village by the name of Und exists there.

#### Political Relations

Commenting on the character of the Brahman Shahi rule, Al-Biruni has this laudatory remark to make, 'We must say that in all their grandeur, they never slackened in the ardent desire of doing that which is good and right, that they were men of noble sentiment and noble bearing.'<sup>33</sup>

The Shahi princes, known as Rajputras, at the royal court in Kashmir were brave and possessed of a martial spirit. This is proved by their

\* This process of phonetic conversion is in accordance with the rules adopted by Dr. Grierson, see, *On the Phonology of the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars*, Z.D.M.G., xlix, 395.

participation in several military expeditions and wars, to which occasional references were made in the *R*. The princesses and queens were also gifted with heroism and valour. For instance, there is a graphic account of their spirit of resistance and their defiance of the overwhelming forces of Uchchala when he made a bid to enter the palace of King Harsha of Kashmir (A.D. 1089-1101). As a last resort, the womenfolk went out with huge burning candles and set fire to the 'Chatushikka' (royal palace). They even took part in the political affairs of the State. It is interesting to find that the princesses of the Brahman Shahi house of Udashanda sent a secret message to King Harsha saying that Malla was intriguing against him and that the conspirator ought to be liquidated. Later events proved the truth of these reports (VII.146).

The Brahman Shahis showed their mettle as Kshatriyas and, by virtue of their deeds, were almost absorbed in that category of the Hindu community.

Investigation into the history of the political relations between the Brahman Shahi and the contemporary rulers of Kashmir would probably yield interesting if not startling results. However, it may be mentioned that indirect matrimonial relations between the two royal houses were established with the marriage of Didda, a grand-daughter of King Bhim Shahi on her mother's side, to Kshemagupta (A.D. 950-58). Didda was the daughter of Siruharaja, the Chief of Lohara (modern Lohren) and the kingdom of Parnotsa (Poonch). It was this union which led to the establishment of the rule of Lohara dynasty over Kashmir. Queen Didda played a significant role in the history of Kashmir. 'From the noble stock of Shahis,' says Stein, 'Didda appears to have inherited also the political capacity and energy which enabled her to maintain herself as the virtual ruler of Kashmir for nearly fifty years.'

It was during the reign of Samgramaraja (A.D. 1003-28), the first of the Lohara rulers of Kashmir, that Mahmud of Ghazna launched an attack on Trilochanpal, the Shahi ruler. In order to put up adequate resistance to the invader, Trilochanpal sought the assistance of the king of Kashmir. For this purpose Samgramaraja sent an expedition under the command of Tunga to assist the Shahi ruler. Kalhana informs us that Tunga was hospitably received by the Shahi ruler but neglected the warning of Trilochanpal regarding posting of scouts, night watches and military exercises and so on. He had offered the advice in view

of his past experience of fighting against the 'Turushkas'. Tunga did not pay heed and was defeated. Kalhana mentions the heroic efforts which the brave Shahis subsequently made to recover their lost kingdom but their efforts proved of no avail.

## References

1. For example: a. In the course of Lalitaditya's war with Yashovarman (about A.D. 744) we find a record of distribution of high offices among the notable persons of those days ending with the sentence: 'The Shahis and other princes were the officers in these high posts.' (IV.142, 143). b. During the reign of Shankaravarman (A.D. 883-902), Alakhana, the ruler of Gurjara had been receiving the support of the illustrious Lalliya Shahi (VI.51). c. Gopalavarman, the ruler of Kashmir (A.D. 902-4) vanquished the Shahi Kingdom at Udashandapura and bestowed it upon Lalliya's son, Torman renamed Kamaluka (V.232.233).
2. *India*, (tr. Sachau), II.10.
3. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as Told by Its Own Historian* (Lucknow), II.411.
4. *ibid.*, 408.
5. According to Hieun-Tsang, Kanishka's empire comprised the whole valley of Kabul, the province of Peshawar, the Punjab and Kashmir. He had crossed the Hindu Kush and subjected Tukharistan and Little Tibet.
6. *op. cit.*, II.420.
7. *India*, II.13.
8. M.A. Stein, *Kalhana's Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir* (London) II.336.
9. *op. cit.*, II.420.
10. Stein; *op. cit.*, II.336.
11. *J.R.A.S.*, IX.183.
12. I.xii.18.
13. For more information see *Saffarian*, a Persian work published by Bonyad-e Pahlawi, Teheran. Also see *Muntakhbat-Tawarikh* (tr. Rankey), I.481.
14. Modern Zabol. Also see the Persian work *Hamasa Sarai dar Iran* by Dr. Z.U. Safa.
15. Stein, *op. cit.*, II.339.
16. *J.R.A.S.*, IX.178.
17. *op. cit.*, II.424.
18. Raghunath Singh, *Kalhanakrit Rajatarangini* (Varanasi 1969), II.4.
19. Stein, *op. cit.*, II.250.
20. *op. cit.*, II.425.
21. *ibid.*
22. *op. cit.*, Note *Kha*, 4-6.
23. Stein, *op. cit.*, I.271.
24. Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, II.41.
25. *India*, II.13.
26. Stein, *op. cit.*, II.338.
27. *J.R.A.S.*, VI.349.
28. M. Longperier, *Fragments Arabes et Persans*, 223.
29. *J.R.A.S.*, IX.181.
30. *India*, I.206, 259.
31. Stein, *op. cit.*, II.337.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *India*, II.13.

## Is Samkhya Philosophy Atheistic?

MADHAVI SAMAJDAR

SAMKHYA PHILOSOPHY is apparently atheistic. In fact it is the only school of Indian thought that seeks to explain the creation, existence and dissolution of the universe in a rational way, independent of the concept of a Supreme Being, an ultimate creator, without any reference to theology. According to Samkhya this manifested world is traced to an unmanifested ground, Prakriti, which has neither beginning nor end. Everything originates from Prakriti and nothing is destroyed or lost. One kind of energy or substance is transformed into another. Prakriti thus plays the role of a mother to the universe. Alongside this Prakriti, which is formless, undifferentiated, limitless and indestructible, Samkhya also conceives of the existence of Purusha for the fulfilment of the process of creation from Prakriti. To be precise, it is just the other way around. Purusha, though itself devoid of *gunas* and is a passive witness, is the ideal cause of creation—पुरुषार्थ एव हेतुः (*Samkhya Karika*, 31). Contradictory though it may seem, Mother Nature is in fact, in a position secondary to Purusha in the world process.

According to traditional Samkhya, Purushas are many and not one. There have been divergences of opinion among scholars as to the singularity or plurality of Purusha, but in the ultimate analysis, the existence of one Purusha or *Purusha-visheshha*, distinctive Purusha, is irresistible. According to Max Muller, 'Many Purushas, from a metaphysical point of view, necessitate the admission of one Purusha. . . . Because, if the Purushas were supposed to be many, they would not be Purushas, and being Purusha they would by necessity cease to be many.'<sup>1</sup>

Traditional Samkhya does not admit the existence of Ishvara. There is no mention of Ishvara either in the *Tattva-Samasa* of Kapila or in the *Samkhya Karika* of Ishvara Krishna. In the *Samkhya-Pravachana-Sutram*, which is ascribed to Kapila, the existence of God or Ishvara is denied. For this reason, scholars draw a distinction between Kapila's philosophy and that of Patanjali by characterizing the former as atheistic and the latter as theistic. The crucial point of distinction is the

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acceptance by Patanjali of another principle, *tattva*, in addition to the twenty-five principles of Samkhya.

According to Patanjali, this twenty-sixth principle or *tattva*, is Ishvara. It is neither Prakriti nor Purusha, but is *Purusha-vishesha*, distinctive Purusha. It is different from both Pradhana, which is another name for Prakriti, and Purusha. Then, the question arises, Who is distinctive Purusha, other than Ishvara?

Both Vedanta and Yoga philosophy admit the existence of an eternal God, which is denied by Samkhya. Vijñānabhikṣu, the commentator on the *Samkhya-Pravachana-Sutra*, seeks to explain this contradiction. His view is that the authors of Samkhya were actuated by pragmatic principles in denying the existence of an eternal God lest the admission of such an existence might adversely affect independence of thought and conscience. That being so, there is no case for contradiction between Vedanta and Yoga on the one hand, and Samkhya on the other, in respect of the existence of Ishvara. But that does not end the controversy.

Vachaspati Mishra, the commentator on the *Samkhya Karika*, and Madhavacharya, the author of *Sarva-Darshana-Samgraha*, hold a different view. They believe that Prakriti's evolution is her spontaneous act, an intuitive necessity. It is not influenced by any external, intelligent principle such as the Supreme Being or a subordinate agent as Brahma. It has no external cause. Now, how are these conflicting views to be reconciled?

#### Reconciliation

It has been said that there is no mention of Ishvara either in the *Tattva-Samasa* or in the *Samkhya Karika*. Yet, Gaudapada, in his commentary on the *Karika* (61), raises the question of Ishvara by negation. His argument is, how can Ishvara, who is supposed to be devoid of *gunas*, be the creator of the world which is endowed with *gunas*? Vachaspati Mishra, in his commentary on the *Karika*, also supports this view—'Thus then is this creation originated by Prakriti . . . in the interest of another as in her own interest . . .' (इत्येष प्रकृतिवृत्तो . . . स्वार्थं एव परार्थं धारम्भः, *Karika*, 56). It may be argued that Prakriti, which is the ultimate source of creation, is presided over by Ishvara. But in answer to that proposition Vachaspati says that the involvement of Ishvara, who is devoid of all activities, is absurd. It has been said in the

*Brahma-Sutra* that Brahman is the originator of Prakriti (I.iv.27), but Vachaspati refutes this view also and denies the element of Brahman in the process of creation. His argument is that the urge for creation is possible in Prakriti, even though Prakriti is unintelligent. However, such an urge is not possible for Ishvara. The urge to create may originate either from self-interest or mercy, but what interest can Ishvara, who is the repository of all power, have in creation? Again, the plea of mercy as the origin does not hold good in view of the fact that all creatures are not created equal. Karma is capable of producing its own results and no intervention by Ishvara is required. The commentator, Gaudapada, is silent about the existence or non-existence of God. But Kapila repeatedly and unequivocally asserts that the existence of Ishvara is not possible to admit because of the lack of proof.<sup>2</sup>

The three kinds of proof accepted by Samkhya are perception, inference and scriptural testimony. But when there is lack of proof of the existence of Ishvara, none of these three kinds of proof holds good. This argument of the author of the *Sutra* appears to be rather unconvincing. In this connection the view of Max Muller appears to be a balanced one when he says, 'We must remember that Kapila had committed himself to no more than that it is impossible to prove the existence of Ishvara, this Ishvara not being synonymous with God, in the highest sense of the word, but restricted to a personal creator and ruler of the world.'<sup>3</sup> Again, 'It is important again to observe that Kapila does not make a point of vehemently denying the existence of an Ishvara, but seems likewise to have been brought to discuss the subject, as it were, by the way only, while engaged in discussing the nature of sensuous perception.'<sup>4</sup>

But in spite of all arguments in favour of an immanent Prakriti carrying on the process of creation for the purpose of Purusha, one question remains unanswered. If the Purusha of Samkhya is merely a passive witness without any involvement in the process, the idea of Prakriti creating for Purusha's purpose is meaningless. The analogy of milk oozing from the cow's udder of itself for the benefit of the calf and the metaphor of the magnet and iron filings are unconvincing. The intransigence of the Samkhya protagonists in evading the question of the existence of a third factor to co-ordinate the two independent elements, Prakriti and Purusha, into harmonious activity has been toughly challenged by Badarayana and other distinguished philosophers of

the East and the West.

If Purusha and Prakriti are independent, a superior power is required to bring about harmonious co-operation between the two. Purusha and Prakriti are in fact but two aspects of an ultimate oneness; they appear dual due to a misconception. The fallacy of the Samkhya view on this point can perhaps be explained and the gap bridged by the acceptance of a universal soul which is active and intelligent and is indistinguishable from the Brahman of Vedanta and the Ishvara of other philosophical schools.

### References

1. *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy* (Varanasi 1971), 286.
  2. *Samkhya Pravachana Sutram*, I.92, V.10, V.46, VI.64.
  3. *op. cit.*, 325.
  4. *ibid.*, 327.
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